NOTA BENE

Small Country, Long Journeys

Norwegian Expedition Films

Edited by Eirik Frisvold Hanssen
and Maria Fosheim Lund

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NASJONALBIBLIOTEKETS SKRIFTSERIE

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NASJONALBIBLIOTEKET, OSLO 2017

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01. Introduction

Eirik Frisvold Hanssen

This collection presents recent research on Norwegian expedition films, held in the film archive of the National Library of Norway. At the center of the first three chapters is film footage made in connection with Roald Amundsen's *Fram* expedition to the South Pole in 1910–12. Espen Ytreberg examines the film as part of a broader media event, Jane Gaines considers how the film footage in conjunction with Amundsen's diary can be used in the writing of history, and Jan Anders Diesen traces the century-long tradition of Norwegian polar expedition film, from Amundsen up to the present. In the subsequent chapter, Bjørn Sørenssen examines the expedition films of Thor Iversen, primarily made in the 1920s and 1930s in and around Svalbard, a territory that had recently been colonized by Norway, and in part places these films in the tradition of the polar expedition film outlined above.

In the second half of the volume, we leave the polar regions of the Arctic and Antarctica for three chapters examining films of ex-

peditions in areas close to a different circle of latitude, the Equator: Carl Lumholtz's ethnographic expedition to Borneo in 1917 (discussed by Alison Griffiths), Thor Heyerdahl's journey on the balsa raft *Kon-Tiki* across the South Equatorial current between Peru and Polynesia in 1947 (discussed by Axel Andersson and Malin Wahlberg), and finally Per Høst's travels in the Darién region in Panama in 1948 and 1949 (examined by Gunnar Iversen).

The majority of the chapters are based on papers presented at the conference, "Fra Grønland til Galapagos" organized by the National Library of Norway in September 2012, and address the following questions: What is an expedition film, and how has the genre changed during the past century? What conditions apply for the making of expedition films? How were the films exhibited? How do the films take part in broader media ensembles and media events? How can they be placed within established film historiographies, with particular regard to the documentary film and the travelogue? How is ideology, for example, related to nationalism, colonialism, and ethnocentrism, represented through the expedition film? And, finally, how do the films function as historical sources of a past event?

Aspects of the adventure

Two of the films held at the National Library of Norway and examined in this volume have been inscribed in UNESCO's Memory of the World Register, which lists documentary heritage of "world significance and outstanding universal value", namely the footage from Amundsen's South Pole expedition from 1910–12 (inscribed in 2005) and Heyerdahl's film *Kon-Tiki* from 1950 (which is included

as part of the entire Thor Heyerdahl archive, inscribed in 2011).[1] The nomination forms submitted to UNESCO emphasize the nature of the expeditions themselves, not only in terms of the human endurance and skill involved, but also the optimistic national contexts surrounding the respective endeavors. Amundsen's placing of the Norwegian flag at the South Pole in 1911 took place six years after Norway's independence from Sweden, while Heyerdahl's successful journey from Peru to Polynesia by raft occurred only two years after the end of the Second World War. Another striking resemblance between the two expeditions is the use of old-fashioned technologies: Heyerdahl's balsa raft made according to ancient construction methods and materials, and Amundsen's reliance on well-tested, old machinery in contrast to the state-of-the-art (but unsuccessful) technologies employed by Robert Falcon Scott, whose *Terra Nova* expedition famously attempted to reach the South Pole in competition with Amundsen.

The common emphasis on the apparent simplicity of the technological means used during both expeditions is also mirrored by a recurring way of describing the films themselves as primitive, unpolished, shot by amateurs, and characterized by a set of distinct limitations both with regard to technical quality and the vital moments that are absent from the footage. It is frequently mentioned that neither *Kon-Tiki* nor the South Pole film were shot by profes-

1 http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/memory-of-the-world/register/ (accessed on July 19, 2017). While the National Library preserves the films, the remainder of the Thor Heyerdahl collection is housed at the Kon-Tiki Museum in Oslo.

sional filmmakers; instead, expedition members with little or no training functioned as camera operators and still photographers (see chapters by Ytreberg, Gaines, and Axelsson and Wahlberg in this volume). The less than perfect technical quality of the photographs and films from the Norwegian South Pole expedition are contrasted to Herbert Ponting's extraordinary images from the simultaneous *Terra Nova* expedition (compiled into the film, *The Great White Silence* in 1924, and later re-edited in 1933 as a sound film titled *90° North*). One striking absence in the Norwegian South Pole footage is shared with their British counterpart: the film camera was not taken on the last leg of the expedition, thus there is no footage of Amundsen and his companions reaching the Pole. The essential moment of the endeavor was never captured on film.

The striking imperfections of the film material are also the main point in French film theorist André Bazin's writing on *Kon-Tiki* in 1951, undoubtedly the most well-known analysis of a Norwegian film in the history of film criticism. Bazin places the film within what he characterizes as a "rebirth" of the "film of exploration", moving towards documentary authenticity after the Second World War (154). Also in *Kon-Tiki* essential parts of the event are absent from the film, and Bazin points out that the most dramatic moments of the expedition usually are missing because crew members were too busy to pick up the camera. The making of the film "is so totally identified with the action that it so imperfectly unfolds; because it is itself an aspect of the adventure" (161). Bazin's famous descriptions of how Kon-Tiki "manages to be the most beautiful of films while not being a film at all" (160) and as the "premature ruins

of a film that never was completed" (161) are echoed by Griffiths in this volume who argues that expedition films sometimes can be claimed to be "barely films at all", due to the secondary role of the camera on the journey, and because the exhibition of film often took place in venues outside the institution of the cinema, and thus often on the margins of traditional film historiography. The dilemma of the expedition film and of documentary realism in cinema is that the assumed perfect photographic image comes at a cost, according to Bazin. *Kon-Tiki*'s imperfections are there because the film does not "falsify the conditions of the experience it recounts". To be a cinematic witness to an event means finding the necessary compromise between "what a man can seize of it on film while at the same time being part of it" (162). Apparently unaware of the film from Amundsen's expedition, Bazin refers to Ponting's film from Scott's expedition as the first example of the "provision for a cinematic report as an integral part of the expedition itself", and the first film to be made of a polar expedition (157). In fact, Bazin identifies Ponting's South Pole film as a direct ancestor to *Kon-Tiki*, in part due to the limits and incompleteness of the footage, limitations that arguably are far more pronounced in the film shot by crew members in the parallel expedition held by Amundsen.

Media manifestations

When audiences viewed the film footage of the South Pole expedition, either in a cinema or a lecture hall, they did see a visual record of the conquest of the Pole, but in the form of still photography rather than moving images. During expeditions, film footage was

usually produced or 'collected' with a variety of other material (such as fieldwork notes, diaries, protocols, artefacts, photographs) and other media representations produced as the expedition was taking place (such as radio broadcasts and newspaper articles) or at a later date (books and lectures). As demonstrated by several of the authors in this volume, expeditions are often inseparable from their representations across various media, their appearance as "media events", a term employed here both by Ytreberg with regard to Amundsen's conquest of the South Pole and by Axelsson and Wahlberg describing the *Kon-Tiki* expedition. Media and publishing strategies were integrated in the painstaking planning of expeditions and were in many cases essential for funding.

The footage from Amundsen's South Pole expedition, comprising a total of 557 meters of film, exists both in the form of a theatrical version screened in cinemas and as films edited to be included in Amundsen's illustrated lectures. The film can be considered a *variant* both through its diverse manifestations and screening contexts as well as being one of several types of media representation of the event. Axelsson and Wahlberg examine how *Kon-Tiki* functioned as a media event as the expedition transpired, and long before the release of the film, describing radio broadcasts and newspaper articles wired from the raft as a kind of "live performance" of the expedition. Similarly, Griffiths demonstrates how Lumholtz's Borneo expedition is manifested not only through film but also in the various forms of a published book, fieldwork diaries and still photographs.

Ytreberg claims that the ensemble of media, complementing

each other through their combination, assisted in making Amundsen's account of the conquest of the South Pole "credible and factual". Here again is an echo of Bazin who also understood one of the functions of the media ensemble as providing veracity and authenticity, acknowledging cinema's limited capacity to present the world in its entirety. Though the film camera is unparalleled as a "witness" it is insufficient on its own: "a film cannot cover every aim of an expedition, not even its principal material aspects" (156). The faith in what we see can, according to Bazin, "be tested" by the interaction between film and other media, of which he mentions books, newspapers, radio, the new medium of television and, in particular, the illustrated lecture.

The primary common denominator between all the films examined in this volume is probably their connection to the lecture format. Footage from all the expeditions was originally presented, either in part or exclusively, in the context of the multimedia format of illustrated lectures, which also included other types of visual material, in particular photographic slides, with the filmmaker-explorer usually performing the role of narrator. Lectures often took place in other venues than the cinema, sometimes providing scientific or cultural prestige, such as museums and universities, or gala performances in opera houses and concert halls. The exhibition of expedition films outside the institution of the movie theater is also an important reminder of cinema's "multi-sitedness" throughout its history (Waller). The impurity of the film medium also allows non-filmic material to be included in the edited films: the aforementioned still photograph of the arrival at the South Pole, direct

quotes from Lumholtz's fieldwork diaries presented as intertitles, and Heyerdahl presented as a lecturer in the prologue of *Kon-Tiki*, with the lecture format also informing the structure, address and narrativization of the event and the images we see. By tracing the polar expedition film as a Norwegian film genre across a century, Diesen particularly underlines its intermedial logic where the connection between film and the illustrated lecture is particularly persistent. Through numerous examples, Diesen shows the striking continuity between the films made in connection with Amundsen's expeditions in the 1910s and 1920s and modern-day polar explorer Børge Ousland's combination of lectures with television documentaries and video blogs during the past two decades.

As the films are analyzed in conjunction with other media representations throughout the volume, this is also reflected in the illustrations that are included. Frame enlargements from films are combined with still photographs in various formats, posters, film programs, and newspaper illustrations and advertisements.

Views and voice

The encyclopedia definition of an "expedition", as Griffiths points out, is a journey made with a purpose, whether for war, exploration, conquest of territory or scientific research, all of which can be seen as related activities. Griffiths describes the expedition film as an "enigmatic genre" characterized by "generic inclusiveness". It is difficult to identify an ontology or a fixed set of genre conventions for the expedition film, which perhaps were manifested in its purest form in the 1910s and 1920s, through examples such as the various

polar expedition films linked to Roald Amundsen or the many ethnographic expeditions which were filmed, such as Lumholtz's anthropological studies in Borneo.

The "expedition film" as a category in this volume is, however, not restricted to the strenuous exploration of uncharted territories or westerners' "first contact" with indigenous people. The lack of a fixed set of conventions as to what constitutes an "expedition film" also reflects the vast changes within the time-frame of this collection, both in terms of the nature of the "expedition" as such, the stylistic, technological and institutional conditions of cinema, and broader cultural, representational and political developments, including new forms of travel in the first half of the twentieth century and changes in the methodologies of anthropology after the Second World War. The central trope of the "first" (the first arrival, first conquest, first contact as exemplified by the "race" between Scott and Amundsen) is substituted by other approaches. For example, Axelsson and Wahlberg demonstrate how Heyerdahl framed the Kon-Tiki expedition as an exercise in "experimental archeology" for testing a hypothesis about population migration rather than discovering or conquering new territory.

The expedition film often produces a merger between popular visual culture and the sensory qualities of science, also linked to values such as masculinity, nation-building, imperialism, and individual heroism. The expedition film is both a product of the unprecedented increase in travel during the twentieth century, including the expansion of tourism, as well as a media culture where representations of foreign places and people were increasingly

commodified. The expedition film should be placed in a broader media context not only because of their concrete interaction with other media representations, described above. It is also characteristic of a nineteenth- and twentieth-century textual and visual culture representing travel, exploration, and "foreign" landscapes and people found in travel literature, in visual media such as photography, magic lantern slides, stereography, panoramas and dioramas, illustrated magazines and postcards, and in sites such as museums, world's fairs and zoos (see Bell et al, 1–3, Amad, 50).

Expedition films are obviously linked to the more wide-ranging genre of the "travel film" which, according to Jennifer Peterson, had established specific formal and stylistic conventions by 1907 (3). Several of the authors in this volume refer to Tom Gunning's concept of the 'view' aesthetic, placing the visual rhetoric of film within conventions established in the travel subjects of early cinema. Again, the connection to the lecture format is key to defining one of the most significant differences between the expedition film and the conventions of the early travel film. While filmmakers behind early travelogues usually were anonymous, the illustrated lecture was centered around the individual traveler, explorer, or hero, made famous by a media-driven celebrity culture. Thus, as Peterson has shown, the difference between the expedition film and the illustrated lecture, on the one hand, and the early travelogue on the other is linked to voice, to the presence of a first-person narrator also found in travel literature. "Travel lectures not only documented other places and other people, they also documented the self [...] the lecturer's constructed public persona" in contrast to the typical early

travelogue which featured a "generalized, disembodied subject rather than exploring any individual subjectivity" (Peterson, 24). Bazin also emphasized the "presence and words of the speaker-witness" in the context of the illustrated lecture to "complement and authenticate the image on the screen" (156). The 'view' offered by the expedition film is thus an embodied one anchored in the individual, emphasizing the journey as a challenging physical and intellectual endeavor.

Both Diesen and Sørenssen relate the very different types of polar expedition films they discuss to the broader developments of documentary film conventions during the 1920s and 1930s. Diesen refers to Eric Barnouw's well-known notion of the documentarist as "explorer" constituting the first "rebirth" of the documentary, with Robert Flaherty's *Nanook of the North* (1922) as the most famous example. Sørenssen places Thor Iversen's films on the "fringes" of both the emerging conventions of the documentary film (while tracing a movement towards the argumentative use of shots characteristic of these conventions) and the Norwegian polar expedition film (while clearly placing them as a continuation of this tradition). Axelsson and Wahlberg also place the aesthetic of documentary "authenticity" in *Kon-Tiki,* embraced by Bazin, within contemporary developments in documentary cinema, for example, the US war documentary of the 1940s.

Evidence and encounters

The plurality of variants, of which the expedition film is but one manifestation, constitute the evidence for an historical event (such

as a specific expedition) and for the writing of history in general. Thus, Ytreberg argues, the mediated character of an event should be included in our historical examination of it. Axelsson and Wahlberg underline the relationship between the practice of writing history, reproducing cultural memory, and the making of myths relating to the nation and individual heroism in popular cultural media contexts. Questions of evidence are central to these films both as articulations of past events and as documents that function by asserting scientific findings and substantiating claims to photographic truth.

Gaines traces what she describes as four historiographical "paradoxes" from reading the South Pole film in conjunction with Amundsen's diary, considering both the impossibility of withdrawing entirely from the present when narrating the past and confronting what actually counts as evidence of the past. Gaines searches for contemporary attitudes towards the film material made in connection with the expedition, and reflects on the degree to which film footage, or the medium of film itself, at the time were considered as evidence or a permanent record of the event. Thus, while the many media representations where a film is but one example, can be understood as complementing and verifying each other, as argued above, Gaines is also interested in considering how the many material manifestations and variants of a historical event encountered in the archive also can imply a potential doubt regarding how the past may be interpreted. The mediated character of the past, as evidenced in its multiple archival documents, only represents the starting point of the "fictioning" that later takes place in the writing of history that draws on these archival sources.

To include the present in our understanding of the past obviously allows critical approaches informed by hindsight. There are problematic aspects of ethnocentrism and Eurocentrism in the films by Lumholtz and Høst that, of course, were not as apparent when the expeditions were carried out or when the films were made, even as such values certainly still permeate our present. Likewise, Gaines includes the perspectives of the present in the narration of the South Pole conquest by implementing the dichotomy between new versus old technologies (referring to Amundsen's refusal of the technological progress embraced by Scott in favor of old, well-tested technologies) and by introducing concepts such as sustainability and ecology to the reading of Amundsen's diary. According to Gaines, such notions are central to our time rather than Amundsen's but are, nonetheless, difficult to disregard when confronted with the careful planning of the expedition, in particular the use of dogs for companionship, transport and food, as described by Amundsen himself, and the recent knowledge of the dramatic changes to the landscape of Antarctica a century after the South Pole was first reached. Diesen also shows how Ousland addresses the consequences of ice melting near the poles in one of his recent documentaries, directly linking global warming to another Norwegian endeavor: the oil industry. The impact of the changing media landscape to the persisting figure of the explorer-filmmaker-lecturer is consequently eclipsed by changes to the physical landscape explored and represented.

While this collection examines works that we identify as Norwegian expedition films, we are certainly also dealing with a genre

that challenges notions of a film's particular "nationality". This is demonstrated in Axelsson and Wahlberg's account of the transnational production history of *Kon-Tiki*, but first and foremost through the fact that most of the films are shot outside Norwegian territory, and thus also represent other places and nations. As the designation of nationality is also a matter of claiming ownership, this question is particularly important with regard to ethnographic films, as discussed by Griffiths, and how such films might also be said to belong to the cultural patrimony of the indigenous people depicted. While the films from the Arctic and Antarctic expeditions primarily deal with the anthropocentric project of exploring, conquering and exploiting the natural world and its resources, the films examined in the three last chapters introduce matters relating to ethnographic knowledge.[2] Griffiths and Iversen examine the central notion of the encounter between the filmmaker-scientist and the people who are the subject of ethnographic study and filmic representation. The presence of Lumholtz and Høst are included in the respective films, documenting their role as witness, participant, and even subject to the return gaze of the people they intend to study. Griffiths and Iversen also extend this notion of encounter between filmmaker and subject to the meeting between the films and their spectators, and the emotional and bodily experiences involved. Iversen examines how Høst's positive, idealized depiction of indige-

2 This aspect is not entirely absent from the polar expedition film either, see for example the depiction of Inuit people in the film *Med Maud over Polhavet 1922–1925*, documenting one of Amundsen's expeditions, and briefly discussed by Diesen in this volume.

nous people unspoilt by modernity is still infused with the problematic imperialist dichotomy of Self and Other. The "contact zone" where the meeting between filmmaker and subjects takes place is characterized by unequal power relations such that the "salvage ethnography" practiced by Høst is informed by exoticism and voyeurism. Films from anthropological expeditions were often used to confirm the stasis of others and thus reinforce notions of western modern development (Bell et al, 11). By examining the contemporary Norwegian critical reception of the film, Iversen also argues that *The Forbidden Jungle* not only functioned as a display of an exotic "Other" but also entailed the possibility for self-reflection.

It is our hope that the chapters in this volume will provide similar possibilities for critical and illuminating reflection on how Norwegian expedition films took part not only in shaping the understanding of specific events, but also the construction of an assumed national identity and attitudes toward the world outside Norway's borders, from the poles to the Equator.

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02. The Amundsen South Pole Expedition Film and Its Media Contexts

Espen Ytreberg

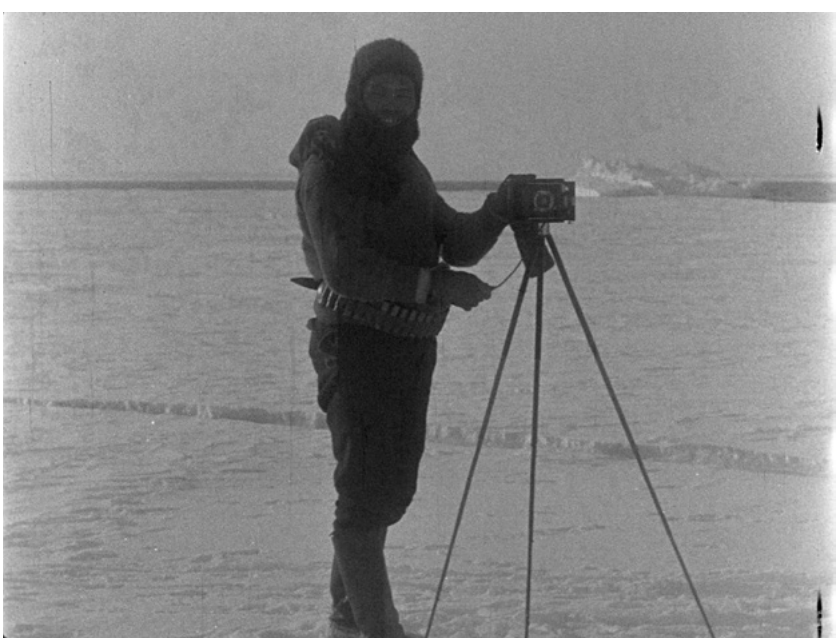

Fig. 1. The film camera captures a photographic camera. Frame enlargement from film footage taken during Amundsen's South Pole Expedition. Nasjonalbiblioteket.

A brief scene can be glimpsed in the film footage recorded by members of the *Fram* expedition to the South Pole in 1910–1912, where a film camera captures a photographic camera with its operator standing on the Ross Barrier at the edge of the Antarctic continent. This image does not seem to have been included in the theatrical versions that were screened in cinemas, nor when the *Fram* expedition leader Roald Amundsen held his numerous "illustrated lectures" about the conquest (see Diesen in this volume). It remains in the discarded material as a reminder of how the expedition was a media-saturated enterprise, an exercise in media representation, as well as in trekking and navigation.

It is easy to assume that the media-saturated society is somehow a new thing. In fact, technological media of mass production, distribution and consumption have penetrated Western societies for centuries. This chapter concerns a major media event at the beginning of the twentieth century in Norway but also throughout the Western world: the conquest of the South Pole in December 1911 by Roald Amundsen and a team of four members from the *Fram* expedition.[1] At that time, societies were already deeply marked by the workings of various media, although not always the same media outlets as today, and not always interrelating in the same ways. Famous explorers were often media celebrities whose fame and careers were enabled and promoted by contemporary

1 The chapter is a further developed version of Ytreberg 2014. Here, greater emphasis has been placed on the expedition film, as well as on the relationship between film and other media in Amundsen's illustrated lectures.

media (Lund and Berg 2012, Riffenburgh 1994, Robinson 2006). Furthermore, society's major events were, as a rule, comprehensively mediated in a number of respects. Studies of events from this time demonstrate how journalists and media professionals were routinely instrumental in planning them; how the media covered the same events, and to some extent also served as arenas for them to take place. Studies have also shown how the media-based distribution and storage of information about such events in retrospect was crucial to its wider and longer-lasting impact (e.g. Bösch and Schmidt 2010, Lenger and Nünning 2008). The South Pole conquest was a media event in all of these respects. The importance of the various media to this event—particularly film—and the way they came together in what may be called a media ensemble is the focus of this article.[2]

2 The concept of a "media ensemble" has some affinities with the concept of a "media system" as defined by Bastiansen (2008). The media ensemble particularly concerns functional interrelations between media platforms, genres and forms, however, and is less geared towards characterising institutional and media-organisational features. Historical media events present occasions for the formation of such ensembles. In the case of planned events, the construction of an ensemble with interlinking and connected media parts is one major aspect of planning. At least from the late 19th century on, planned efforts towards building media ensembles became so extensive that one might speak of the ensemble as constituting an entire media environment.

The historical sources for the conquest of the South Pole are, of course, the various media outlets themselves. In that sense, it can be argued that the examination of any historical event should involve its mediated character. 557 meters of nitrate film (which corresponds to 30.5 minutes of film screened at 16 frames per second) is extant and restored from the recordings made during the expedition by several team members. A film travelogue, two illustrated lecture versions and the raw material have been published on DVD by the Norwegian Film Institute, and fitted with important research essays that inform this article (particularly Diesen 2010, to which this article is much indebted). The film footage included in *Roald Amundsen's South Pole Expedition 1910–1912* is *Fram*'s journey from Kristiania (now Oslo) to the Ross Barrier and back; the establishment of the base camp on the Barrier; several scenes from everyday life there, as well as shots of the five-man team ostensibly departing for and returning from the South Pole. Various versions of the film footage were screened in cinemas as well as in connection with Amundsen's illustrated lectures on the conquest. The film material travelled throughout Norway, Europe and the US after Amundsen's return from the South Pole.

As for printed sources, Roald Amundsen's own voluminous and bestselling book account (Amundsen 1912/2003), written while en route from the South Pole, relies on his extensive published diaries (Amundsen 1912/2010). Because they were written continuously, with great attention to detail, the diaries of Amundsen and other expedition members provide valuable first-hand accounts. This article's discussion of the Norwegian newspaper coverage of the South

Pole expedition builds on a newspaper analysis comprising coverage of the expedition in *Aftenposten, Dagbladet and Morgenposten*, from three key time intervals between June 1910 and October 1912.[3]

As for photography, 140 photographs from the expedition, including five taken at the South Pole itself, survive. As was the case with the expedition film footage, they were taken by various expedition members—by amateurs, in other words—which resulted in a poorer quality than, for instance, the photographs from Robert Falcon Scott's competing *Terra Nova* expedition, which included the professional photographer Herbert Ponting. The *Fram* expedition photographs exist in a number of versions in Norwegian collections—chiefly, the Fram Museum and the National Library of Norway. Analyses of the photographs in this article is based on Amundsen's collection of lantern slides from the South Pole held at the Fram Museum (Kløver 2009; see also Lund and Berg 2012, Huntford 1987).

3 The time periods analysed are June 1–31, 1910 (the time of the *Fram* expedition's departure from Oslo); October 1–16, 1910 (when news was published of the change to the South Pole as Amundsen's destination); March 1–31, 1911 (when news came that Scott's and Amundsen's expeditions were engaged in a head-to-head 'race'), and September 1–October 5, 1912 (the beginning of Amundsen's first lecture tour based on South Pole material). The selection of these four time intervals reflect a wish to focus on the key turning points of the event, rather than what may have been a more continuous flow of newspaper coverage. For the last period, *Morgenposten* was not included in the analysis. The gathering and systematization of material was done by Elise Kleivane.

Background and media management

The 1911 South Pole conquest was not Roald Amundsen's first successful expedition—he had traversed the Northwest Passage in 1903–6—but it cemented his status as a Norwegian national hero and considerably extended his fame internationally. This status was the foundation for his attractiveness for funders—chiefly Norwegian businessmen, royalty, and government. Polar explorers such as Ernest Shackleton, Robert E. Peary, Frederick A. Cook, Fridtjof Nansen and Robert Falcon Scott had all relied more or less on their celebrity status in this way, and Amundsen was no exception. A man without the regular employment available to researchers (such as Nansen) and military men (such as Scott), Amundsen depended on income from media products that could be sold to a broad audience, and on funders' willingness to finance polar explorations in the name of national pride, to some extent also scientific progress. That is why the South Pole expedition brought a film camera and two photographic cameras. It is also a main reason why Amundsen kept a diary; the expedition was very much planned with a view to being subsequently communicated via the media to a paying mass audience.

The main funder of the South Pole expedition was the Norwegian Government. With the 1905 Norwegian independence from Sweden only a few years in the past, nationalist sentiment underpinned the government's interest in sponsoring explorers (Fulsås 2004, Ytreberg 2017). A donation drive by the newspaper *Morgenbladet* resulted in the third-largest donation to the expedition, behind that of a private businessman, but ahead of the Norwegian King and Queen (Amundsen 1912/2003; list of donors, unpaginated

appendix). A further means of funding was media sales and illustrated lecture tours. Royalties from the book and lecture tour that followed Amundsen's successful navigation of the Northwest Passage in 1903–6 went into financing the South Pole expedition (Huntford 1980, 134). In the case of the South Pole expedition, it seems clear that the very decision to embark on it was premised on contemporary public interest, or, more precisely, on how Amundsen perceived this public interest and sought to shape it. Earlier attempts at media management had been made when Amundsen struck a deal with the newspaper *Morgenbladet* involving exclusive rights to the news of the Northwest Passage expedition's success. His telegraphic message sent from Nome, Alaska, was delayed, and the news leaked out, spoiling the element of exclusivity and torpedoing his newspaper deal. According to his biographer Tor Bomann-Larsen, this episode taught Amundsen a lesson about the need to actively manage the distribution of information about his exploits (Bomann-Larsen 1998, 82–83).

Amundsen's original plan, presented publicly in 1908, was to conquer the North Pole. It was based on this premise that he secured funding from the Norwegian parliament. But in 1909, first Cook and then Peary laid competing claims to having reached the North Pole. In so far as the conquest of poles was to be seen as a race for first place, with winners and losers, Amundsen no longer saw a chance to win the North Pole for himself and for Norway. He considered Norwegian public opinion to be interested mainly in who came first, roused by the suspense of the race, much more than by possible scientific advances resulting from the explorations. The

need to maintain public interest impelled Amundsen to aim instead for the remaining unconquered pole. In his writings, Amundsen was quite explicit with regard to the importance of public attention as a driving force behind his entire enterprise, and behind his shift of destination to the South Pole: "If I were to succeed in rousing interest in my endeavor, no course of action now remained for me than to seek a resolution of that one remaining major issue—the South Pole" (1912/2003, 118).

The communication of this somewhat opportunistic volte-face was a sensitive matter, and involved extensive management, if not manipulation, of the Norwegian press. The communication of news related to Roald Amundsen's adventures was carefully staged for the press, mainly by his brother Leon Amundsen. Well after the expedition had irrevocably left Norway in June 1910, during a stop-over on the island of Madeira, Roald Amundsen broke the news to his crew. Immediately after, Leon summoned the Norwegian press on October 1 for a formal announcement of the plan to aim for the South Pole instead. He employed the tactic of sharing information with a select group of leading newspapers. An article in *Morgen-posten* describes how the press briefing was arranged:

> On Saturday, the presence of representatives of the Press at Hotel Continental [in Oslo] was requested in order to receive news from Roald Amundsen's 'Fram' expedition. Roald Amundsen's brother, Leon Amundsen, had brought them back from Madeira. And news it was indeed, of a most unexpected nature. As one will see from the communiqué we have

> printed below, and whose contents were communicated to the King and Professor Nansen […], Roald Amundsen intends to do a detour to the South Pole before heading off to the North Pole (October 3, 1910).[4]

The communiqué's reference to contact with the nation's highest political power and with the august hero-explorer figure of Fridtjof Nansen seems to have helped make palatable the rather questionable interpretation of the South Pole expedition as a mere detour on the way to the North Pole. Judging from the coverage in *Aftenposten, Morgenposten and Dagbladet*, the Amundsen brothers' media management efforts were relatively successful. *Dagbladet* did call the decision "mysterious" (October 2, 1910), but otherwise stuck to citing the communiqué.

Media management was a main concern for the *Fram* expedition team also after the conquest proper. The ship's return voyage was shaped by the need to update journalists, to produce and to manage news stories. A key instance of media management occurred once Fram reached civilization in Hobart, Tasmania, on March 7, 1912. The local press boated out to *Fram*'s anchoring place to dig for news, but were denied both information and entry to the boat. After a few days anchored offshore, Roald Amundsen went onshore incognito, carrying telegrams containing the key phrase "the Pole has been reached." According to a pre-conceived arrangement,

4 All translations from Norwegian newspapers by the author of this chapter.

Amundsen sent encrypted telegrams to his brother, the Norwegian king, and Fridtjof Nansen, informing them of the expedition's success. The telegram to Leon contained directives to forward information to the buyers of exclusive rights to the news: *Aftenposten and Tidens Tegn* for the Norwegian market and London's *Daily Chronicle* for the international rights (Bomann-Larsen 1998, 171–2).

The expedition film: views and entertaining scenes

Film was used to document polar exploration from the medium's infancy. A film camera was on board for Carsten Borchgrevink's Antarctic expedition in 1898–1900 (Diesen 2010, 119). Film footage exists from many historical polar explorations, including that of Ernest Shackleton to the Antarctic in 1907–9. The *Fram* expedition's film camera was operated by several expedition members (Diesen 2010, 108). Two factors limited both the use of the camera, and the resulting footage. Firstly, it was operated by amateurs. The expedition crew had been taught only the bare essentials of how to use cameras. This limited both the quality of the shots and the usability of the raw material for constructing clear and appealing expositions and narratives. Secondly, film cameras of the time were too cumbersome to carry beyond the edge of the Antarctic continent. Consequently, the film footage is limited to *Fram*'s voyages between Norway and the Antarctic continent, as well as the expedition's base camp area on the Ross Barrier. There is no footage of the final leg from the Ross Barrier into the Antarctic interior and to the South Pole itself, as the camera was not brought along.

The film *Roald Amundsen's South Pole Expedition* 1910–1912 deploys what film scholar Tom Gunning (1997, 14–15) has called a "view aesthetic," characteristic of early nonfiction film; stringing together a number of attention-grabbing views of the natural and social world. The camera palpably communicates a certain look—in this case from the vantage point of the trekking explorer. Roughly speaking, the film footage contains two types of sequences. The first is landscape views, often in the form of slow left-to-right pans—*Fram* against the backdrop of Kristiania, whales swimming in the Antarctic Bay of Whales, sled dogs running on the ice, and the monumental Ross Barrier. These were all spectacular sights for a Norwegian audience in the early twentieth century, novel experiences of a land and conditions never seen before. These scenes illustrate one of Tom Gunning's main points about early film: More than being integrated narratives, they presented a series of often exotic views from places outside audiences' direct knowledge, "placing the world within one's reach" (1986, 64).

Elements of entertainment were also key ingredients in the South Pole film. Several sequences were clearly shot with an intention of being amusing to an audience. They feature scenes of the expedition team acting and interacting, providing glimpses into the expedition's everyday life. They show the expedition crew joking around on board *Fram*; one scene is a display of carnivalesque celebrations when *Fram* crosses the Equator and a crew member performs silly dances dressed in women's clothes. These entertainment sequences often feature animals; seals, penguins, and particularly the expedition's numerous Greenland dogs. Ambitions to provide

light entertainment are particularly noticeable when penguins appear. In addition to the physical comedy they provide, one lengthy sequence features an expedition member staging a comical quasi-conversation with a penguin.

Fig. 2. An expedition member approaches a penguin on the ice. Frame enlargement from *Fram's South Polar Expedition*, English lecture version. Nasjonalbiblioteket.

In the sequence with the penguin and the expedition crew member, the views and entertaining scenes become a combination of the exotic and the everyday, providing a lighthearted and attractive version of expedition life. Actual expedition life was also arduous and brutal, for instance in the ways dogs were treated. Interestingly, sequences in the raw material of dogs being lashed and treated roughly do not seem to have made it into the versions edited for

public screenings. The function of the film within a broader media ensemble context seems to have been to provide an attractive sense of everydayness. It invites viewers to identify with the members of the expedition and to vicariously join their exciting and fun adventures. The moving image sequences contributed to the overall media event what the technology of film was uniquely able to contribute in 1911—a particularly engaging and lively encounter with the expedition members and the milieus they navigated.

The book: authoritative descriptions

Beyond the film, the main source for accounts from the everyday life and experiences of the expedition team is Roald Amundsen's travel journal, *Sydpolen* (1912/2003). This is perhaps the single most authoritative first-hand account of the South Pole conquest. It has since been established as something of a classic in Norwegian travel literature. *Sydpolen* provides detailed accounts of day-to-day activities on board the *Fram*—the base camp where the Expedition spent an Antarctic winter—and a similarly detailed account of how a five-man party from the expedition reached the South Pole. The book does at times report on Amundsen's subjective experiences and emotions. Here, as in the film, certain troubles and conflicts tend to be underreported, however—probably for the sake of saleability.[5]

5 These troubles include a confrontation between Roald Amundsen and the senior crew member Hjalmar Johansen, which resulted in the latter being excluded from the South Pole expedition party, and fed into other internal quarrels and conflicts. The confrontation has been extensively discussed in the biographies on Amundsen (Bomann-Larsen 1998, Huntford 1980, Wisting 2011).

Generally, *Sydpolen*'s prose is one of exact and exhaustive detail. The book abounds with description of such specifics as how the base camp was built, how measurements were made, depots laid and markers set up, the fitting of sleds and the planning of rations. At every turn, the properties of things are named and the qualities of phenomena are described. Amundsen was clearly at pains to specify at every stage the degree of planning and work that went into the conquest, and how every task was carried out. In particular, *Sydpolen* abounds with descriptions of logistics, technologies in use, observations and measurements. In these respects the information is closely based on Amundsen's diaries. It has been pointed out that *Sydpolen* refrains from developing a number of narrativizations that the travel book genre allows for. In a close reading, Henning Howlid Wærp (2011, 206), for instance, points to the striking fact that Amundsen starts his account with a kind of extended abstract. In effect, Amundsen here provides an eight-page summary of the entire account to follow. This works against building a sense of identification with the protagonists, or suspense as to how the expedition will fare against its obstacles. In Wærp's discussion, the lack of a narrative strategy in the book is treated as something of a shortcoming.

There is no denying the limited interest of much of *Sydpolen* for those who do not revel in expedition minutiae. However it may be fruitful to view this book as a description rather than as a narrative, and to avoid the assumption that the former necessarily stands at the service of the latter (Chatman 1990, Hamon 1981). *Sydpolen* does stick to a chronology, but one that orders statements of fact rather than the parameters of drama. The book is not predominantly

a narrative of conquest, in the same way that a recipe for the making of soup is not predominantly a narrative of soup-making, but a description of it. Amundsen's main concern in his book was to lay out the facts in a way that would support the claim of conquest, in a situation where the claim might be contested, as Cook's and Peary's claims to the North Pole conquest had been contested a few years earlier. In combination with photographs from the South Pole and Amundsen's diaries, *Sydpolen* played a vital role in providing authoritative descriptions of the conquest that had taken place.

The newspapers: dramatization and simultaneity

The Amundsen expedition was eagerly covered by Norwegian newspapers as it unfolded, to some extent also by newspapers in other nations that were directly engaged in polar exploration, such as Great Britain, the United States, and Australia. Continuous coverage allowed them to function within the overall South Pole media event in distinctive ways. The newspapers provided an example of how a narrative of the expedition was constructed as the events unfolded. In his account of American discourses on Arctic exploration, Michael Robinson has argued that "Stories, more than specimens or scientific observations, constituted the real currency of Arctic exploration" (2006, 6). In the case of the South Pole conquest, the main narrative revolved around the notion of a "race for the Pole" between the *Fram* expedition and Scott's *Terra Nova* expedition. The latter perished tragically and famously on the way back from the South Pole, where the expedition arrived approximately one month after Amundsen and his men.

The unfolding of the South Pole media event covered a period of almost two years, from the time *Fram* left Norway in June 1910, via the act of conquest on the other side of the globe, until the crew returned to Norway during the early summer of 1912. Including Amundsen's lecture tours adds another eighteen months and several continents to the event's progression. There were significant developments over time in how the Norwegian newspapers covered the South Pole conquest. In June 1910, when *Fram* left Kristiania, the major newspapers published reports. These were for the most part limited to single-column length, however, and they were also as a rule relatively descriptive, limited for the most part to the registering of fact. *Dagbladet* may serve as an example here:

> Fram took farewell with Kristiania today. Quietly and simply, with no fuss. At twelve o'clock, the King and Queen and their entourage paid a visit on board and were received by Captain Amundsen and the crew, who lined the bridge during the embarkation. […] At about four today, 'Fram' set sail … (June 2, 1910).

Four months later, in early October 1910, came the news of Amundsen's decision to aim not for the North, but instead for the South Pole. Marked changes now occurred in the newspapers' framing of the event, as they brought the uncertainties and competitive elements connected both with the change of course and the new destination to the forefront.

A further development in newspaper coverage came in late March 1911, when the ship *Terra Nova*, which had carried Scott's expedition team to their base camp on the edge of the Antarctic continent, arrived in New Zealand. News was then wired that the *Fram* and *Terra Nova* base camps were established relatively close to each other. This was the point where it became salient to frame events squarely as a 'race' between Scott and Amundsen, and as a national contest between the British Empire and Norway, the upstart nation from the margins. At this point, newspaper coverage became strongly narrativized, in the sense of emphasizing the motives for actions in the event, their uncertain and irreversible consequences, and the stakes involved. Coverage became noticeably personalized and dramatic. *Dagbladet* considered that this was going to be "an exceptionally exciting race between two evenly matched contenders" (March 29, 1911). *Aftenposten* wrote:

> The main question, which has occupied all Norwegians and all those who have anxiously followed Roald Amundsen's expedition with 'Fram', has been: Which route will he choose? […] Today a telegram from Scott's expedition, which has just returned to New Zealand, has solved this riddle: Roald Amundsen has chosen the English route […] Amundsen has made the sensible choice for one who wishes to compete successfully in the exciting race for the South Pole (March 28, 1911).

While the expedition was ongoing, the Norwegian newspapers had very limited access to information about it. They relied on cable

wires relayed from Buenos Aires, which was visited by *Fram* at intervals of several months. Nevertheless, the fact that the newspapers were following the story as it was developing, invited readers back home to be excited about the stakes and investments of this ongoing race for the Pole.

Newspapers are traditionally considered media of periodicity, rather than of simultaneity (Turner 2002). Although newspapers lacked the instantaneity of recording and distribution that characterizes, for instance, telegraphy and radio, they could still engender a sense of simultaneity with an event in this type of sustained coverage. It has been pointed out that print media have contributed to a variety of "imagined communities," to use Benedict Anderson's well-known term (1983). Clearly, Norwegian newspapers were appealing to a Norwegian imagined community invested in feelings of national pride and dreams of their country making its mark among other nations. The South Pole conquest after all took place only six years after Norway became independent from Sweden. This national sentiment was enabled by periodical media whose technologies and journalistic practices made possible what Stephen Kern has termed a "simultaneity of experience" across not only nations, but the entire globe (1983, 70).

The photographs: evidence and national symbolism

The film footage and diaries of Amundsen and other participants could be said to have provided documentation of the expedition's activities. These were not media that were considered to provide hard evidence, however, since writing was not sufficiently indexical

and the film camera could not be carried all the way to the South Pole. Polar exploration in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was profoundly marked by the problem of fixing precisely the place of conquest and of providing hard evidence that one had been there. The prime example of a place that proved troublesome to pin down with lasting success was the North Pole. Neither Robert E. Peary nor Frederick Cook were able to come back with conclusive evidence that they had made it to the actual, geographical North Pole. When Peary is most often credited with the conquest today, this is largely because his claim was somewhat less obviously weak and his subsequent media campaign against Cook more aggressive and unscrupulous. Indeed this was as much a conflict between the two competing newspapers, *New York Herald* and *New York Times*, as between the two explorers (Riffenburgh 1994, 165–90).

Consequently, Amundsen's South Pole expedition was always planned with the documenting and distributing of authoritative evidence about the exact time and location of conquest in mind. The available measuring technology (odometer, compass and sextant in combination with an artificial horizon) led the expedition to within a few kilometres of the geographic South Pole, but beyond this, measurements gave conflicting information (Huntford 1980, 350–365). The Amundsen team's three-day stay at the approximate South Pole was spent mainly doing repeated measurements. A somewhat conflicted diary entry by Amundsen on December 16 reads: "We will be taking observations throughout the night, since these results are quite baffling. We will after all have to consider this place to be the Pole" (Amundsen 2010, 313).

A main challenge for Amundsen and his men, then, was to convince others that they had been at the actual geographic South Pole when the technology for measurement provided only approximations. The expedition team's planned and concerted use of media technologies served as a solution—particularly the use of photography. The photographs that exist of the geographic South Pole from December 14 through 16, 1911 extended the measurements into convincing arguments for the factualness and legitimacy of the conquest. In addition to featuring various expedition members, the photographs all centrally feature the Norwegian flag, planted into the snow and ice. One photograph depicts Roald Amundsen and expedition team member Helmer Hanssen doing positioning measurements with a sextant and an artificial horizon.

The placing of a flag conventionally signals the annexation of territory. In this case it also does the crucial job of defining a visible and legible place in the undifferentiated white flatness of the Central Antarctic Plateau. Where the available measurement technologies could only provide approximations, the photographs provided a media representation of the exact geographic South Pole. The Norwegian flag is a highly dense symbol that here communicated not only the act of possession and of making a place, but also who made the conquest (the Norwegian *Fram* team) and for whom the conquest was made (the national collective of Norway). Here, the flag also indicates the spot of the geographic South Pole, and becomes the event's central mediated symbol.

The most well-known and widely reproduced of the photographs has come to incarnate the South Pole conquest in the Norwe-

gian popular imagination. It shows the expedition team baring their heads and facing a small tent with a Norwegian flag flying from the top. The composition of the photograph indicates an active dramatization: The four team members (Amundsen to the far left) are tidily spaced out for the camera on the same plane, and it is possible to make out that their faces are lifted in a show of reverence to the flag. The bulking together on the left balances the symbolic edifice on the right. The retouching and coloring enhances these compositional features. In a thorough discussion of this image's many versions and complex history of provenance, Harald Østgaard Lund has noted that Amundsen preferred the most retouched and colored glass positives for his lecture tours (2010, 173).

The tent edifice was also a product of advance planning, a reserve tent that was used only for display purposes, conceived to be part of a symbolic motif portraying the concrete moment and place of conquest. In Amundsen's own account he suggested that the tent was specifically intended for this use upon arrival at the South Pole, and the photographs of it were quite likely planned with subsequent media uses in mind (1912/2003, 502). The iconic image of the climactic moment of conquest, then, is an example both of media management and of media as evidence.

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Fig. 3. Amundsen and Hanssen with a sextant and an artificial horizon. Photographer unknown. Colored photographic glass plate. Courtesy of The Fram Museum.

Fig. 4. Saluting the flag at the South Pole. Photographer: Olav Bjaaland. Colored photographic glass plate. Courtesy of The Fram Museum.

Film and photography in exhibition contexts

The ensemble of media that was involved in making the South Pole conquest into a media event, came together in interesting and complex ways via the contexts of exhibition. The ways that media interacted varied according to the requirements of different contexts. A key example is the interaction between film and photography. These media were functionally integrated both in Amundsen's illustrated lectures and in cinema exhibitions, but in quite different ways. Interspersing the spoken word with slide photographs and film, Roald Amundsen's illustrated lectures provide an example of the rich and complex interrelationships between early twentieth-century media.

The illustrated lecture circuit was an important part of that time's cultural industries and public life, helping to establish the speakers as key public figures (Musser and Nelson, Peterson 1997, Ruoff 2006). In this performer-driven format, the authority of the speaker often derived from travels into exotic realms; the films themselves were often so-called "travelogues" that presented views from faraway realms and anthropologies of non-Western peoples (see e.g. Dixon 2013, Griffiths 2002). According to Miriam Hansen, the on-stage film lecturer experienced a revival around 1908–9, precisely at the time when Amundsen started his career as a lecturer on the strength of his explorations of the Northwest Passage. Hansen sees the lecturer as a means of providing the cinema originally associated with lowbrow culture and the working classes with educational value and a "middle-class discourse of uplift" (1991, 96).

While preparing for the South Pole expedition, Amundsen had just completed a lecture tour in the US that included a perfor-

mance in Madison Square Garden. After the expedition, Amundsen sought to capitalize on several lecture tours throughout Europe and America in the years 1912–1914. For the purposes of these tours, Amundsen and other explorers used agents to book their performances, which took place in theatres and public hall venues along a well-established lecture circuit. The precise order of talk, still and moving images in Amundsen's lectures is not known, and may have varied. The key point in this context is that both the film footage and the photographs were linked together by the discourse of Amundsen the lecturer. What we do know from newspaper reports is that the still and moving images were very popular with audiences (Diesen 2010, 124–128). Penguins sliding on the ice and interacting with expedition members were a particular audience favourite (e.g. *Aftenposten*, September 9, 1912). The climactic point of the talk came when Amundsen arrived at the moment of conquest, a point at which applause and audience rapture would reach its height. At this point, the still photographs would be displayed. The image of the tent with a Norwegian flag being saluted at the South Pole seems to have taken centre stage at this point, establishing the image as iconic in the collective Norwegian imagination.

As for cinema exhibition, the expedition had probably been fitted with a film camera by that time's leading Norwegian cinema entrepreneur, Hugo Hermansen (Diesen 2010, 129–132). In 1912, when the film premiered, Norwegian cinema was following the lead of larger Western nations in moving from screening a number of short films within a variety theater setting, towards a program of films in dedicated cinemas (Evensmo 1992, 26–39). Thus there was

no external on-stage performer to provide links and context; the film needed to provide this itself. The theatrical version of the film needs to be understood against this background, particularly its incorporation of photography in the middle of the filmic discourse. In an attempt to compensate for the fact that the film camera could not be brought along for the final leg of the expedition, the film's editor Hermansen cut together a series of generic sledding images followed by the intertitle "Departure for the Pole," ending with a shot that shows sleds moving away from the camera and into the icy expanse. These images were used to represent the expedition's departure from the base camp towards the South Pole, and were followed by the still photo of the tent with a Norwegian flag being saluted at the South Pole. After this still image had arrested the filmic discourse, moving images of sleds headed towards the camera were inserted to represent the return of the expedition team to base camp. The transition from moving to still images and back seems to have been something of a makeshift solution. At the same time, this remediation did impart certain qualities to the narrative. It lent the film a moment of still grandeur at the narrative moment of climax—in the service of expansive Norwegian nationalism and of Roald Amundsen's mediated fame.

This narrative of the climax of conquest echoed throughout the media material, as it was repeated innumerable times. The repetition happened in Amundsen's many illustrated lectures, in screenings of the film version, and in the newspapers' coverage of those lectures and screenings, following on from their ongoing coverage of the conquest itself. The narration of the climax of conquest was

underpinned, made credible and factual, by an ensemble of media. The book and diaries provided authoritative descriptions of technologies in use, observations and measurements. These print media worked in concert with the photographs, whose evidential qualities were key to demonstrating that the conquest had in fact taken place. They also worked in concert with the film, communicating the wonder and excitement of polar exploits, all contributing to making the South Pole conquest into a media event.

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03. The History Lesson in Amundsen's 1910–1912 South Pole Film Footage

Jane M. Gaines

In the summer of 2012, summer of athletic records broken in the London Olympics as well as temperature records in the heat wave in the American Midwest, I read Roald Amundsen's 1912 published memoirs *Race to the South Pole*. When everyone was talking about athletic endurance and global warming, I could not help but read the pole accounts from 1911 in these same terms. Amundsen's race that pitted what I saw as "ecological" knowledge and skill against formidable natural elements had come to grip me as it offered parables for the present. Perhaps it was also that such parallels stood out because I began with a "new versus old technologies" frame of mind. After all, I had begun by reading Amundsen as background to research I was doing on the restored motion picture film *Roald Amundsen's South Pole Expedition 1910–1912* taken during the "race" in which the Norwegian team beat the British led by Robert Falcon Scott by a month, as every child in Norway must know.

But I quickly became sidetracked from the original question—the early pole explorer's use of the cinematograph camera. Caught

up in the narrative of conquest, I added Amundsen's 1927 memoir *My Life as an Explorer* and went on to *Endurance*, the gripping account of British explorer Ernest Shackleton's aborted 1914 trip to the Antarctic in which his ship was frozen in by the ice and had to be abandoned. Like many researchers before me, I emerged from my reading of Amundsen's two books most impressed with his sub-zero weather survivor skills and master-planning, especially the calculation that required cannibalizing his Eskimo sledge dogs, fed both to each other and to the explorers at predetermined points. A huskie dog has 50 lbs. of edible meat on its carcass, I learned (Amundsen 2008, 43).

Fig. 1. Dog team at the Ross Barrier. Frame enlargement from *Fram's South Polar Expedition*, English lecture version. Nasjonalbiblioteket.

Amundsen often records the name of the animal when each sled dog is shot for food. He seems to have been especially pained when, on the trip back from the Pole, they have to eat his favorite dog Lasse of whom he says that "[h]e had worn himself out completely and was no longer worth anything. He was divided into fifteen portions, as nearly equal as possible, and given to his companions" (Amundsen 2008, 145). The diary reader, a century later, recalls that Amundsen had started with ninety-seven "Eskimo" dogs shipped from Greenland (2007, 106).[1] They start for the Pole with fifty-two dogs. With six hundred and eighty-three miles to go (of eight hundred and seventy total) from the South Pole back to Framheim, the base camp, the explorers calculate how it is that with forty-two dogs left they can end up with twelve. Remarkably, Amundsen later recalled, they *did* end up with twelve dogs (2008, 143).[2]

1 Amundsen (2007, 69) says that he had ordered "100 of the finest Greenland dogs" from the Royal Greenland Trading Company.

2 To give an idea of what I mean by the terms in which they "calculated" their survival: "We calculated, from the experience we had had, that we ought to be able to reach this point again with twelve logs (*sic*) left. We now had forty-two dogs. Our plan was to take all the forty-two up to the plateau; there twenty-four of them were to be slaughtered, and the journey continued with three sledges and eighteen dogs. Of these last eighteen, it would be necessary, in our opinion, to slaughter six in order to bring the other twelve back to this point. As the number of dogs grew less, the sledges would become lighter and lighter, and when the time came for reducing the number to twelve, we should only have two sledges left. This time again our calculations came out approximately right; it was only in reckoning the number of days that we made a little mistake—we took eight days less than the time allowed. The number of dogs agreed exactly; we reached this point again with twelve" (Amundsen 2007, 143).

Among other factors, Amundsen also credits the party's survival to their pemmican diet, the hard cakes made of his special ingredients—lard, vegetables, oatmeal with dried milk and dried meat or fish—carefully rationed and fed to dogs as well as men (2007, 68). Thinking of climate variation he later describes three levels of reindeer-skin clothing weight (2007, 87). Then he recalls inventing a game in which team members had to guess the temperature each morning during the winter siege while they awaited their spring expedition (2007, 254–55).

Such detail in the "diary" and the memoir might lead the reader to conclude that Amundsen was thinking about the limit of human stamina, the economy of food consumption, and the ecology of arctic survival. But how could he have thought in this manner if terms like "ecology" are not his but ours? World *ecological* conditions, after all, are the concern of our time, not his. Looking back at my first encounter with early polar narratives I now realize that there is no subtracting what we now know. I could not help but read his food, dog, and clothing calculations as models of "sustainability." And of course in reading about the dropping temperatures in 1912, signaling the coming winter months, I thought about the rate at which, scientists tell us, the Antarctic continent is melting from below. Perhaps because Amundsen's Antarctic appeared so pristine, all I could think of was planetary "pollution" and "species extinction." Present concerns were triggered for me at every turn. Some might say that this was inevitable given contemporary climate anxiety about polar ice, one example of which is the popular documentary *Chasing Ice* (US, 2012) in which photographer Jeff Orlowski records

world glacial changes with specially rigged still cameras. Anyone would in this case see the historical past in present day terms. But my reading was historical research and I knew that the proper historian is expected to "bring back" to readers such historical events "just as they were" and in so doing must scrupulously avoid the taint of the present.

I knew this, and I tried. Thus following the food, dog, and clothing calculations I tried to learn, as one attempts to do from historical accounts, to "think in the same terms" that historical others might have used to think. Undoubtedly I did learn to think in other terms, and perhaps not as I would have expected. For instance, I learned to think as the Norwegians—then a newly independent nation—who needed the pole victory to prove themselves, although later commentary points out that they also worried about offending Britain should they beat their old and powerful ally to the pole (Huntford 1999, 530). So I learned as I read to take the Norwegian attitude toward the British party led by Robert Falcon Scott, to see Scott as valiant but oddly "behind the times." Following Amundsen, I was led to see Scott as a relatively inexperienced polar explorer, led to think that even though his expedition was expensively outfitted and that he had could afford to bring the latest transport technology—motorized sledges—his venture was finally doomed because he relied on the wrong technologies.

Looking back, to be honest, although I studied how to think "in their terms" I could not help but think in terms unavoidably ours. I interpreted Scott's stubborn elitism as the kind of British arrogance that it is popular to see as contributing to the end of an

Fig. 2. The *Fram* in the Bay of Whales. Frame enlargement from *Fram's South Polar Expedition*, English lecture version. Nasjonalbiblioteket.

Empire, and even considered the British loss as a preface to their demise at the end of World War I, only a few years away. And I made Amundsen's story into a parable of new versus old technologies in their capacity to foster "sustainability," the concept that did not exist when Amundsen set sail in the *Fram* from Kristiania (later Oslo) in 1910 and arrived at the Bay of Whales in 1911. Of course Amundsen was focused on the technologies of husky dogs which he considered so superior to the British use of ponies. Retrospectively in the publication of the "diary" he had the advantage of contrasting his success with the Eskimo dog with Scott's unfortunate decision to use "Manchurian ponies" (2007, 69–70). Again, in the 1927 memoir, he brings up the dogs, which the British had stubbornly refused to consider in favor of ponies that died and "motor sledges"

which proved useless on the ice.[3] Scott's failure to rely on dogs is even, in Amundsen's analysis, the "fatal mistake" that contributed to his "tragic end" (2008, 42). By 1927, readers of the memoir would know that Scott and two others had reached the pole a month after the Norwegians, but perished on the return trip, languishing in a tent just fifteen miles from their supply depot. As Amundsen reminds his readers, Scott and the others died "from actual starvation" (2008, 44). Would there have been more dramatic evidence of Amundsen's superior planning than the frozen body of his rival? One problem before us, then, is not only the question of the relation between the present and the historical past but, in attempts to access the events of the past, what counts as evidence of what transpired, as we will see.

What I here call the new philosophy of history is an inquiry whose goal is to challenge the rules of the academic discipline into which university students of history are still initiated today. I should clarify that although a significant group of European and U.S. scholars work in the contemporary philosophy of history, there is no consensus about what exactly to call this field of inquiry and it has gone by the term "postmodern history" but most broadly those associated with it could be said to use "theories of history."[4] This is,

3 See MacPhee (2010, 133–138) for a fuller explanation of the difficulties Scott encountered with ponies and motorized sledges. He quotes Scott, as writing in his diary: "The dream of great help from the machines is at an end!" (138).

4 Referenced here are some of those thinkers including Hayden White, Paul Ricoeur, and Keith Jenkins. For a longer discussion of the new philosophy of history see Gaines (2015).

perhaps, an approach for the moment of information overload. The philosophical approach slows down our research (and perhaps the emphasis on data collection as providing definitive answers) by posing extremely difficult, often unanswerable questions. These would be such questions as: Does the existence of the moving image artefactual footage of the 1910–1912 pole exploration housed in the National Library of Norway mean that the past continues to exist in the present? We may wonder, further, if the historian's research can be said to "bring back" the past in such a way that it can be "known," with emphasis here on knowledge-as-mastery.

To begin with, the new philosophy of history is not exactly dedicated to the better methods of knowledge acquisition, standing back as it does to cross-examine the term "history" as well as the discipline's methodological practices. One of the first premises here is that "history," the term, is ambiguous. In English and Norwegian (*historie*) as well in the other Romance language words (the French *histoire*) into which the word "history" is translated, the term has a double meaning, referring both to events and the study of those events. A useful way to think of this doubleness is also to distinguish between "what happened," and the later accounting of "what happened."[5] Further, we are reminded as well that the concept of "history-in-general," close to what we call "history itself,"

5 This is a simplification of Trouillot (1995, 5) who argues for seeing the boundary between past and present as often epistemologically designated by a distinction between "what happened" and "what was said to have happened."

is a relatively recent eighteenth-century development. As historian Reinhart Koselleck explains, this newer "history" can be understood as a "secret or evident plan…in whose name one could believe oneself to be acting" (2004, 35). "History itself" implies an inviolate legacy and a final authority which comes through when we refer, for instance, to "history revealed," the "wisdom of history," or even write something like "history will show." But if "history" is both authoritative *and* mysterious, you may wonder why I would title this essay "the history lesson" in the remarkable Amundsen polar footage of 1910–1912. Because what can we possibly learn from "history" if it is finally a "secret plan"? The history *lesson*, if that is my goal, is not "learning from the mistakes of the past," which the new philosophy of history disdains. What is to be learned, or better, considered, is that the historical narratives we tell each other say as much or more about *us* in our present as they do about those unknown others whose former existence we research and whose lives we narrate. My insistence on the contemporary question of "sustainability" is a case in point. And further, that the gap between historical events and what we later write about how "they took place," as we say, "in history," is finally unbreachable. We are faced with the events of the historical past, a past so vast and as-yet-uncharted that any attempt to *fully* know it is impossible from the start—almost like the Antarctic continent itself.

To return now to my earlier discussion, from a vantage more theoretical. If I insist on a "sustainability" or a comparative technological "new versus old" reading of Amundsen's South Pole exploration, as I said, it would appear that I am breaking one of the first

rules of traditional historiography—I am reading the historical past *not* in "its own terms" but in terms of the historical present. If nothing else, then my Norwegian expedition research dramatizes the impossibility of the historian's complete divorce from the present from which he or she writes. But I am not alone in urging that we rethink the prohibition against what is called "presentism," influenced as I am by the contemporary philosophy of history, the approach that authorizes my disaffection and break with the historian's tradition. For in this philosophical break it is foundational to see the present as also historical *in its own way*. So just as it is impossible to get the "present" out of the study of the past, the "past," as events and especially as objects, can be persistently "there" in the present. Furthermore—and here is a point more difficult to get around—there is no access to the past except through the present.

On the inextricability of past and present, Paul Ricoeur turns the question back on us: "In short," he says, "is the past intelligible in any other way than as persisting in the present?" (1985, 144) To put this question alternatively: "How can we possibly know the past except as it persists in the present?" As for the problem of the two times that can never converge but are nonetheless inseparable, this is best dealt with as a paradox. Thus here is the first of four paradoxes I propose in the interests of a theory of history: Paradox # 1: The past and the present co-exist. Jacques Rancière has said that "It's over two centuries now since history has designated not the narrative of things past, but a mode of co-presence, a way of thinking and experiencing the co-belonging of experiences and inter-expressivity of the forms and signs that give them shape" (2006,

177). The past that is so persistent as to be said to co-exist with the present. And if we posit co-existence, the present, as we saw, it is not easily filtered out from our research perspective. Persistent in its own way, it is always there as unacknowledged assumption or frame, if nothing else.

Thus foregrounding my contemporary frame, let me return specifically to the "new versus old" technology comparison, which is, in fact, a predictable frame, especially as an approach to the significance of early exploration film footage of which the film *Roald Amundsen's South Pole Expedition 1910–1912* is a prime example. Since that footage has been awarded a prestigious "Memory of the World" UNESCO designation, we might consider here the official justification for such an honor. The UNESCO home page thus describes the footage: "This is the earliest footage Roald Amundsen had filmed from his expeditions. Amundsen was far-sighted, and the documentation is unique—this is the earliest infancy of film!" (as quoted in Diesen 2010, 105). The "new versus old" exercise in which we look for origins or to the "infancy" of motion picture film technology is well established. But such claims to "firstness," are always false claims because it has proven so easy to move the starting date. In addition, given that past events are by definition remote and unconfirmable, it might be pointed out that misattribution is the rule not the exception. Although UNESCO credits Amundsen with taking a cinematograph camera on the 1910 expedition, this was not Amundsen's idea at all as Jan Anders Diesen tells us. It was most likely the idea of Hugo Hermansen, the Norwegian film director and entrepreneur who originally arranged for the camera.

Amundsen signed a contract with the Norsk Kinematograf Aktieselskab that obligated him to deliver the film footage and which in return gave him permission to use it later in his lectures on the expedition (Diesen 2010, 129, 131).

But the question of "old versus new" becomes more complicated when the measure of "advance," of one technology over another, is presented. Why would we want to claim that Amundsen was "far-sighted," or even, as it is often said, "ahead of his time"? Of course his standing relative to change-over-time bolsters or justifies the UNESCO award. But in polar exploration, the question of "advance" is not necessarily tied to the technologically new-in-time if the final arbiter of "advance" is the successful arrival and return from the pole—with evidence to prove it. The polar "race" seen retrospectively refuses an easy technological progress from "old to new" narrative. Why? For one thing, the old as indigenous tradition comes back as the "new," where what Amundsen learned from his earlier experience among the Inuit peoples of the Arctic North becomes "in advance of" the British methods. Reindeer underwear and outerwear is superior to British canvas. In addition, Amundsen was following the techniques proven by Fridtjof Nansen who with "light sleds" as opposed to "heavy sledges" had "revolutionized Polar exploration" in his North Pole attempts (2008, 131). Within a few years, however, Amundsen had to pronounce another "revolution" in polar exploration. Soon after returning from the South Pole the explorer announced that "[a]ircraft has supplanted the dog," and by 1914 he was learning to fly a Farnam airplane (2008, 132).

So my point is this: It is not surprising that today Amundsen,

the first to the South Pole, might be claimed as "in advance" of Scott. Common-sense knowledge would lead us to award the pole victory to the more technologically forward-looking of the two rivals. It was only after his return, however, that Amundsen, once so worried about the British technological advance, touted the superiority of dog sled technology. We also later learn that he was concerned about the motorized sledges and, because he wanted to be the first to transmit the news should he reach the pole first, was extremely worried that his rival might have had telegraph equipment aboard his ship, the *Terra Nova*.

Fig. 3. The first camp on the ice at the Bay of Whales, January, 1911. Film camera to the left of the tent. Photographer unknown. Colored photographic glass plate. Courtesy of The Fram Museum.

Although Scott did not have telegraph equipment it could be argued that Robert Falcon Scott was more "advanced" when it came to communications technology, especially still and motion picture photography, having brought along the master cinematographer Herbert Ponting (Diesen 2010, 149). Amundsen had only one technological toe in the cinema century—a single 35mm motion picture camera. It was, however, an "old, worn, apparatus," which jammed and caused them to lose footage. Amundsen was even surprised when the first "cinematograph" images developed on board the *Fram* actually came out. As he wrote in his diary, they did "turn out very good" (as quoted in Diesen 2010, 109). Since of Amundsen we could say that he was both "ahead" and "not ahead," of his time, we wonder what is achieved by the claim that he was "far-sighted."

At least in the case of the South Pole conquest the new may be outmoded by the old if Amundsen's methods won out over Scott's plan. Then again, although Scott planned to use motorized sledges and ponies to pull supplies, because the machine malfunctioned and the ponies did not survive, the British had to man-haul their sleds to the pole. Thus by default the British fell back on what could be seen as the "oldest" method of transport. We could continue with this exercise in the relativity of old to new but let us instead make this observation: It is not only that the "new" and the "old" do not stay in the same place but that what counts as evidence doesn't either. This question arises because Amundsen appears to have been indifferent to, or even oblivious of, the function motion photography appears to have had from its inception—as documentary record of events. We might even be led from Amundsen's

example to question our assumption that this documentary function was universally established in 1910.

From all accounts, however, the early polar explorers are obsessed with the problem of empirical proof. In this they are like traditional historians who want to present the community with irrefutable scientific proof in order to—what else—*to confirm* a narrative of a finding. In both cases—the explorer and the historian—the use of evidence to "prove" what happened is not exactly "foolproof." We might be led to think that history, the object of study, can be approached scientifically. But how is this possible? The other history, the study, is finally not a science. As for the polar explorers, what is *considered* evidence is not necessarily a historical constant and is best not confused with, for example, the science of meteorology. The 1910–1912 polar explorations are especially interesting because of the mix of kinds of evidence gathered onsite or noted in daily diary records.

In the divergence between "what happened" and what was later recalled or written—the events and their narration—we see something that plagued explorers of both North and South Poles. They worried that the polar achievement, the *goal* of the feat of endurance, could be miscalculated and even "faked." In reading the pole literature we know how much Amundsen worried about the precision of his meteorological and astronomical observations noted on paper and valued over photographic evidence (see also Ytreberg in this volume). Consider Amundsen's focus on these readings relative to the photographic images taken by the expedition member and ski champion Olav Bjaaland who appears to have been the one

explorer who brought a still camera with him and who took the photos that came out, whereas Amundsen's still photographs, it is thought, did not turn out (Lund 2010, 169). In retrospect, we could attribute the interest in photographic technology to the younger team members who went to considerable trouble to make some of these surviving images. In his short memoir, the expedition member and naval officer Lt. Kristian Prestrud links the cinematograph with the preserved record of momentous events. It was Prestrud who shot the start for the trek to the Pole on October 20, 1911, and one assumes that this is the extant footage designated by the intertitle "Departure for the Pole (dog teams in motion)." A few weeks later Prestrud drags the heavy camera out again to shoot a second "departure" sequence. This was the start for a small party's exploration of King Edward VII Land (1912, 204–205). Prestrud's account explains that as he joined the team he handed the cinematograph over to Adolf Lindstrøm, the cook, who continued to crank the camera after the departing party had receded into the distance. "I was out with the cinematograph apparatus, in order if possible to immortalize the start," he later writes (1912, 216). In all of the Norwegian South Pole recollections I have read this is the only reference to an idea that motion photography might later be taken to be something like a permanent record.

Perhaps Amundsen was concentrating on the only records acknowledged by the scientific community which he would need to submit upon his return. He even has a back-up plan to rescue these records in the event that he did not return with them. That Amundsen's contingency plan involved Scott was either standard practice

Fig. 4. Departure for the Pole. Frame enlargement from *Fram's South Polar Expedition*, English lecture version. Nasjonalbiblioteket.

or incredibly canny. In his biography he describes leaving records of the "observations" taken in the ten-mile radius of the Norwegian tent (2008, 44).[6] This suggests that he made a duplicate set, one to take with him and the other to leave for Scott. But while Amundsen prepared for the event of his own demise he may not have prepared for Scott's and the eventuality that the evidence of the conquest would arrive belatedly. Thus it is that the preservation of two other pieces of evidence of the pole achievement is somewhat gruesome.

6 See Lund and Berg (2012, 155) for a reproduction of Amundsen's South Pole sketch.

The letter Amundsen addressed to King Haakon, the Norwegian king, also left at the North Pole for Scott to find, is, along with Scott's own diary, found in the tent in which he and his companions starved to death fifteen miles from their next depot at the 80 degree South mark. Amundsen writes of this evidence in his 1927 biography: "It so happens that my claim to the capture of the South pole rests not only on my word but also on the testimony of my unfortunate competitor, the gallant Captain Scott, whose diary records his finding our tent and notes when he reached the Pole three weeks later…this testimony—tragically preserved, from the dead hand of a competitor in the race…" (2008, 123).

But in the same sentence he takes back this claim, countering written records with a test from an earlier age, with a standard that seems quaint today—the evidence of character. Scott's diary reference, Amundsen writes, is "really of less value, as evidence, than the evidence of my personal character as it has been written by my whole life" (2008, 123). Or, we are to take his word for it that he arrived at the South Pole. The same measure Amundsen applied to the Cook-Peary controversy, the notorious dispute over which of the two Americans, Dr. Frederic A. Cook or Admiral Robert E. Peary, reached the North Pole first in their 1909 attempts. "But, you ask, how do you know?" Amundsen confronts his reader. "You have only his word for it." He goes on, hypothetically, saying that "Peary…with his technical knowledge, could easily have faked his records." Amundsen here admits what everyone else has thought, but reassures himself that Peary did not falsify his claim: "I know because I know Peary…." (2008, 123).

As *we* now know, however, there is bleak irony in Amundsen's insistence that Peary's actions be taken as confirmation of his character and that therefore the explorer's character backs up evidence or even itself counts as evidence. A recent return to the controversy over whether Peary or Cook reached the North Pole takes the position that Peary was "untruthful" in the calculation of distance. Although Peary, first to return, had long been considered the first to arrive at the North Pole, more recent explorers have found not Peary's but Cook's evidence to be accurate (Henderson 2005, 11). Such a re-evaluation has the effect of re-introducing the "character" question not only into the Peary-Cook controversy but into the many accounts of this group of early polar explorers. No account of Amundsen's 1910–1912 expedition is complete without raising the issue as to why he announced to his backers and his crew that his goal was the North Pole when he secretly intended to attempt the South Pole. Amundsen continued to defend his decision to travel not to the North but to the South Pole because he had received word that the North Pole had been achieved by Peary in April, 1909 (2008, 41). It may be that, given the cloud hanging over Amundsen's decision, if contemporary historians continue to pour over the documentary evidence from the Amundsen-Scott competition, they may still be driven, in part, by the question of character, as though

character might hold the key to "what happened."[7]

Yes, the discovery of new documentary evidence will inspire re-interpretation of these events. The availability of two hundred and forty-eight glass diapositives discovered in 1986 in an attic belonging to one of Amundsen's heirs becomes an irresistible evidentiary lure for us, drawing us back to 1912 (Lund 2010, 173). More recently, there is the restored 35mm motion picture footage from the 1910–1912 South Pole expedition as well as the footage from Amundsen's 1926 flight of the airship *Norge* over the North Pole, the documents that stimulate my inquiry.

So the question of re-interpretation brings me to Paradox # 2: History remains the same all the while that it doesn't. Here, the "what happened" and the narration of "what happened" merge and the ambiguity of the term "history" produces genuine perplexity. In support of "history" as multiple and ever-shifting around an event that only happened once, one need only count the plethora of versions of the Amundsen-Scott "race" to the South Pole. Even on the issue of Amundsen's secret decision, the polar expeditioner biographer Roland Huntford now reflects that "[w]ith the passage of time, his secret change from the North Pole to the South appears a necessary deception" (1999, 562). But the remarkable existence of so many

7 Larson (2011, 18) brings the question of character and evidence together when he suggests that the very plethora of evidence that Amundsen left for Scott (which would confirm that both had reached it) had to do with the Cook-Peary dispute and consequently the question of character. He says: "Presumably neither wanted to repeat the bitter dispute that still clouded the discovery of the North Pole and tarnished its claimants' reputations." Diesen (2010, 105) refers to the way in which "new sides of the polar explorer are frequently exposed" as he remains the subject of documentary films as well as biographies and novels.

intriguing documents and objects like those photographed in the American Museum of Natural History Antarctic centennial exhibition catalogue *Race to the End: Amundsen, Scott, and the Attainment of the South Pole* invite still more comparative re-readings and more study. These would be surviving objects like the remains of the Polheim tent erected by the Norwegians and retrieved by Dr. Edward Wilson (MacPhee 2010, 165). Perhaps a sign of the critical distance a century affords is the U.S. museum curator's observation: "Thus there will never be *the* story of Scott or of Amundsen or of Shackleton, but only versions thereof, and the version adopted by one generation may be quite different from that preferred by another" (MacPhee 2010, 116). These versions, however, had a way of becoming so many realities over the century, Amundsen's several tellings included. So we may easily demonstrate how versions shifted over a century along with what has counted as evidence. But the retellings that trouble *the* story do not address how it is that a present retelling can have anything to do with the past events to which we have no access. So to push the co-existence hypothesis of Paradox # 1 further, I offer another paradox.

Paradox # 3: The past exists at the same time that it does not exist. We have already discussed the persistence of the past in the present, but hovering behind the idea of a persisting past—the nation's legacy, its mythologies—is the question as to what of the historical past can be said to "still exist." Why? Because to persist is not exactly to exist, although a philosophical case could be made for this. First, however, let us distinguish between events and objects. As we know, historical objects exist in the present of museums and

archives whereas events and persons do not. The existence of objects is exemplified, for instance, by historical documents like reels of film still extant—557 meters from the 1910–12 Amundsen South Pole expedition, or 30.5 minutes of film projected at 16 frames per second.[8] Objects can be restored and "brought back" to life, so to speak, but the events of the past cannot. And why, other than because the past "no longer exists?"

Relevant here is philosopher of history Louis O. Mink's theory of the contradiction in the academic approach to historical knowledge. That is, while the historian may adhere to the position that events in their own present now "belong" to the past he or she may also subscribe to the idea that the past no longer exists. On one "side" of the paradox one may be invested in past events as immutable and on the other hold to the conviction that these events have no claim as entities—that the past "isn't *there* at all" (1987, 93). Also original to Mink is the idea that since we don't want to give up either position we instead "oscillate" between these two sides of the paradox, and even think that the two positions are consistent because we are able to hold the two at once (94). If we did not believe in a past independent of our constructions of it why would we return to the evidence again and again? Perhaps to once more attempt access to inaccessible events in order to finally and authoritatively settle a

8 Although *Aftenposten* in August 27, 1912, reported that 6–7,000 meters of raw film stock were brought back (Diesen 2010, 183–4). But this may be an error—as Amundsen refers to processing his exposed photographic stock at Framheim over the winter. Even if thousands of meters of film footage were returned, roughly 5,500 meters must have been lost—either early discarded because unviewable or deteriorated over the century.

dispute over those events. But one cannot call upon the authority of "history" without investing in the idea that events *did take place* and that key technological-evidentiary objects were produced, some of which continue to exist in the present of the museum—the written diary, the photograph, and the moving picture film footage.

So now I want to shift to the other side of the paradox and argue that Amundsen's South Pole expedition of December 1910 to January 1912 today has no existence other than in the historical narratives produced around it. As one new philosopher of history, Keith Jenkins, has argued, in the end "only texts matter historically." Furthermore, he thinks, they ultimately count more than "what actually happened" (2003, 42). Now to ask the relevant question: Does one, for instance, argue that one text is wrong or incomplete because it fails to refer to other established texts? Well, actually, that is standard practice. While the historian may be challenging other texts, historical events are conjured up as the battlefield in dispute and "history itself" is invoked as the final arbiter. But the contention that the historian invokes a history that he or she cannot access is not the most unsettling aspect of the critique of narrative history and its empirical investments. For several decades now that critique has held that the mode of a traditional historical argument recruits the devices of narrative rhetoric, delivering evidence in the mode of fiction.

Which brings us at last to Paradox # 4: The narrativization of historical events produces them as more and "less real." In the most extreme position, Michel Foucault, whom the philosophy of history counts as honorary, would confess in an interview to having in his

work as a historian "never written anything but fiction," although qualifying this by saying that he does not mean the absence of "truth." And if such "fictions" have the function of truth, or produce "effects of truth" that is not for him an issue. It would in the end be "political realities," he says, that determine the ways in which one "fictions history" (1980, 193). To put it this way, then: Many have now "fictioned" the great narrative of the Norwegian conquest of the South Pole, casting it into non-fiction but yet a distinctly literary form, as historian Hayden White and his followers would see it.[9] To say that these historical events have been "fictioned," however, is not the same thing as saying that it is a "fiction" that Amundsen was the first to reach the South Pole. Nothing we can now say or do can unmake the pole conquest. It occurs to me that I may be taking some risk in advancing this idea to either librarians or archivists, charged as they are with preserving the primary documents that scholars use to confirm and contest assertions about "what happened." But librarians are also the keepers of *all of* the versions—the disputed and the currently definitive. The very existence of versions, if one considers all of them in their divergence, confirms that we make of the past what we need and want to make of it.

To bring together the newly restored documentary footage of Amundsen's exploration, in a version edited to tell his story, is to bring this new telling together with all of the other tellings about

9 See Cowie (2011, 39–40) who quotes William Guynn on Hayden White's point about how historians and novelists both use literary devices. Here she goes on to explain the relevance for documentary film theory in that non-fiction employs the rhetoric of narrative just as fiction does.

the expedition over the century. It is not only a "document" but an arrangement of documents framed by the original intertitles such as "First encounter with ice" to "Departure for the Pole" and finally "Return from the Pole," a "before" and an "after," plotted in the tradition of narrative rhetoric.[10] That is, the footage works to argue: "The Norwegians really achieved the South Pole and returned safely." But there is something particular about the documentary approach, especially seen in footage of world exploration. As Elizabeth Cowie explains the difference between fiction and non-fiction, fiction is about what "could have occurred," while documentary realism (non-fiction) requires recognition of existing worlds—those to-be-known or to be "discovered." Our fascination with exploration footage may be with the unfamiliar and even the unknowable. Documentary moving imagery, like the historical research that we write up, can deliver the unsettling "unknowableness of the unknown," in Cowie's terms. Yet despite its inscrutability it comes to us organized in a new way—"organized into knowledge," as she says (2011, 38). The outcome is paradoxical, however, for in totally transforming the contingent into the "knowable," documentary (as historical research) does not just deliver either new or known reality. This kind of footage, especially in its narrative arrangement deployed in the

10 Jan Anders Diesen's research shows that the intertitles for all the language versions including the German and English versions were probably done by Hugo Hermansen around 1912. In the DVD release from 2010 there are several language versions of the film. The included "long version" of the film consists of the 557 meters of footage from the expedition that is extant, and is in a sense a "new" version, edited together by the restoration team into the order they believed the footage must have been shot in, using the lecture versions and theatrical versions as a guideline.

production of the "knowable," produces a reality "both realistic and less real" (Cowie 2011, 39). One could say that the fictionalization of the South Pole conquest, portrayed realistically, has now produced that event as "a reality," but in so doing has diverged from or taken license with an experiential and historical "real." And thinking of the image of unknowability with which the huge frozen continent presents us, we have to admit that our access to the events of December, 1911, must always be imaginatively mediated.

Or, as Hayden White would challenge us: "How else can any past, which by definition comprises events, processes, structures, and so forth, considered to be no longer perceivable, be represented in either consciousness or discourse except in an 'imaginary' way?" (1987, 57). I could encourage us to think that this moving image film footage, because of the double unknowns that it has stored for us—the unreachable non-existent past and the unexplored geography—belongs to a strange imagined realm that we call Antarctica in 1911. The consensus is that this realm and those events are not exactly "made up." Newly restored motion photographic footage confronts us again with the evidence that indicates that the Norwegians actually *did* reach there by sailing vessel. But Amundsen's Antarctica, of all places and times, for all of us who will never go there, must be imagined none the less.

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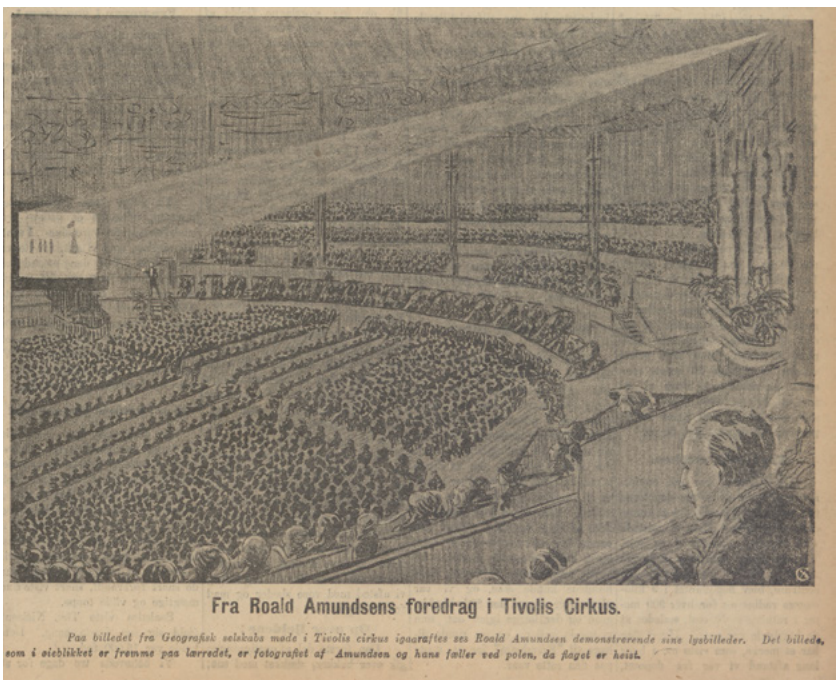
04. A Century of Polar Expedition Films: From Roald Amundsen to Børge Ousland

Jan Anders Diesen

On Sunday, March 3, 2013, I was among one thousand spectators filling Campbell Hall, the largest lecture hall at the University of California Santa Barbara. The Norwegian polar explorer Børge Ousland had come to sunny California to give a lecture titled "Adventures in Polar Exploration". For two hours Ousland held the audience spellbound with the story of his journeys in the Arctic and Antarctica. On stage in front of the large screen he showed examples of and elaborated on events from his polar expeditions. He clicked his way through a PowerPoint presentation featuring photographs, maps, film clips and references to some of the early Norwegian polar explorers. As a film historian who has researched the old polar exploration films, it was clear to me that Ousland had followed in Nansen and Amundsen's footsteps in more ways than one. It felt as if I had travelled at least one hundred years back in time. Campbell Hall was not as big as the Cirkus Verdensteateret ("Circus World Theater") in Kristiania, but the speaker standing on

stage in front of the screen reminded me very much of Roald Amundsen as I had seen him depicted in an illustration accompanying an article in the Norwegian national daily *Aftenposten* from 1912.



Fra Roald Amundsens foredrag i Tivolis Cirkus.

Paa billedet fra Geografisk selskabs møde i Tivolis cirkus igaaraftes ses Roald Amundsen demonstrerende sine lysbilleder. Det billede, som i øieblikket er fremme paa lærredet, er fotografiet af Amundsen og hans fører ved polen, da flaget er heist.

Fig. 1. *Aftenposten*, September 12, 1912. Nasjonalbiblioteket.

A tenacious Norwegian documentary genre

On November 9, 1912 Roald Amundsen showed moving images from his South Pole expedition at the Cirkus Verdensteatret in Kristiania. The film screening marked the start of a long tradition in Norwegian film history—films about expeditions in the Arctic and Antarctica. In conjunction with the Nansen-Amundsen Year and the centennial commemoration of the conquest of the South Pole, both in 2011, a large number of commemorative programs were produced about recent and previous races to the South Pole along with news segments about the South Pole centennial. The National Library of Norway and the Norwegian Film Institute also restored and released on DVD many of the old polar expedition films. Børge Ousland made a new documentary for the television series *Ut i naturen* ("Out in the Wilds") about a sailing trip around the Arctic through the Northeast and Northwest passages entitled *Northern Passage* (NRK, 2011). Any list endeavoring to include all the more recent films and television programs would be a long one.

The polar exploration film is a tenacious genre in Norwegian film and television history. It would appear as if Norwegians still want to hear about and see presentations of national polar explorers and their stories. Many people have emphasized the historical significance and the polar explorers' impact on nation building. The young nation Norway—recently liberated from the union with Sweden—needed an area to shine. Amundsen's biographer Tor Bomann-Larsen has argued that being able to triumph over ice and snow became such a field. He refers to Norway as "Our planet's sole

superpower on skis", and offers the following image of the Norwegian national sentiment:

> Through Fridtjof Nansen's work, skis had become the very girder of Norwegian self-awareness in the building of the nation. It was the wonder drug that had brought the tiny population from the edge of the world into a prominent position. (1993, 122).[1]

Initially Nansen and Amundsen, but also the more or less well-known explorers on the frozen wasteland, such as Otto Sverdrup, Hjalmar Riiser-Larsen and all the others leading up to Børge Ousland,[2] are the evidence demonstrating that Norwegians arguably are unrivaled in this area, as documented by the polar expedition films.

This chapter begins with a presentation of the popular lectures held by the polar explorers both nationally and internationally. It was in such contexts that the polar exploration films were shown for the first time. This presentation is followed by a relatively comprehensive review of the films made by Norway's perhaps greatest polar hero, Roald Amundsen, before moving on to present a brief outline of the development of the genre up to the age of television and digital

1 All translations from Norwegian by the author.

2 Among others, Ragnar Thorseth, Erling Kagge, Simon and Sjur Mørdre, Liv Arnesen and Rune Gjeldnes.

media, at which point particular attention will be devoted to Børge Ousland.

The origin of the genre – lecture films and travelogues

In the early 1900s, public lectures were popular cultural events, as clearly evidenced by the lecture agencies that were operating on a large scale. Gerald Christy ran Lecture Agency, Ltd. in London, and in a document written on the agency's stationary Christy clearly states:

> The Lecture Agency Ltd. (founded 1879) acts as agent without proprietary right, for all leading lecturers and entertainers of the day, and corresponds with all the principal Literary, Scientific and Philosophical Societies, Mechanics Institutes, Y.N.C.A.s Lecture etc etc.[3]

The lecturers included celebrities from politics, religion, culture and science, along with a long list of famous explorers, with polar explorers constituting a large group. Nansen was among the most popular, and lectures were lucrative. Nansen earned just as much (or more) per lecture when he went on tour in the US after the North Pole expedition of 1893–96 as he earned as a professor at the University of Kristiania. In a letter to his wife Eva from Boston dated

3 Roald Amundsen's letters, held at the National Library of Norway.

November 5, 1897,[4] he writes that the payment for the Boston lectures was NOK 7,000 (equivalent to USD 1,800); as a professor in Oslo he earned NOK 4,500 per year (Jølle 2011, 260).

Among the first to use moving images to illustrate his lectures was Burton Holmes, a "man whose name was synonymous with the word travelogue. He invented it trying to escape the word lecture. He wanted a term to suggest entertainment rather than something educational or documentary."[5] Holmes began using film clips on a lecture tour as far back as in 1897–1898. In the program we can read:

> In addition to the lantern slides in color there will be presented for the first time in connection with a course of travel lectures, a series of pictures to which a modern miracle has added the illusion of life itself—the reproduction of recorded motion. Mr. Holmes has secured the most perfect instrument yet invented for the projection of Motion Pictures. A different series will be shown at every performance after the conclusion of the lecture (as cited in Caldwell 2006, 12).

Holmes also understood at an early point that motion picture shows would be a dangerous competitor to the lectures he gave. The complex motion picture show programs always contained travel films.

4 Document collection of the National Library of Norway.

5 As stated by Lowell Thomas in an homage radio program in connection with Holmes' death on July 22, 1958. Holmes was also referred to as "The Greatest Traveler of His Time, 1892–1952." For sixty years he was either travelling around the world or giving lectures on his travels.

The mobility of people was limited; only the most privileged were able to travel. Cinemas gave people the opportunity to experience different, exotic locations, as described by Tom Gunning: "The camera literally acts as a tourist, spectator or investigator, and the pleasure in the film lies in this surrogate of looking" (1997, 15).

The travel film was a popular genre in cinemas during the period leading up to the end of the First World War. According to Jennifer Peterson, "[t]hey occupied a consistent spot in many evening film programmes; often a single travelogue would be sandwiched between comedies or other forms of nonfiction such as newsreels" (1997, 78–79).

As popular lecturers (such as the polar explorers) felt the competition of the movie theatres, it was not long before moving images became an important part of their lectures—as described by Gregory A. Waller:

> By the mid-1910s, the combination of spoken address, motion pictures, and (often) lantern slides was arguably the prime format in the burgeoning field of non-theatrical cinema in the United States. Most visible of these multiple-media lectures—particularly in metropolitan areas—were regularly scheduled tours by Burton Holmes and other specialists in travelogues or travel talks booked as commercial offerings in large, multi-purpose halls and opera houses, culturally prominent sites that also often featured more directly topical presentations about the war and current geopolitics (2015, 150).

Fig. 2. Cinema advertisement in *Tidens Tegn*, September 28, 1912. Nasjonalbiblioteket.

The polar explorers of the so-called "heroic period"[6] did not waste any time in mastering the format. According to Robert Dixon, who has studied the lecture tours of the polar cameraman Frank Hurley from Australia, the popularity of the polar heroes' lectures experienced a decline when the First World War broke out (2006, 72). To fill the halls, lecturers were thus obliged to employ multimedia elements.

The polar heroes were inspired by the professional showmen who toured with multimedia shows using slides, film, music and sound effects. Even though some lecturers still managed alone on stage, the lecture genre evolved into what Americans called "Picture Talks"—illustrated lectures. It was this new lecture format that Amundsen was obliged to adopt.

It is likely that the British polar explorer Ernest Shackleton inspired Roald Amundsen to recognize the benefits of bringing a film camera on the journey to the South Pole. Shackleton brought a film camera on the *Nimrod* expedition to the South Pole in 1907–9, and although he and his colleagues were forced to turn back less than a hundred miles from the pole, he had set a furthest-south record that made him a world-famous hero. Amundsen admired the Irishman and attended the gala performance in Kristiania held by the Norwegian Geographical Society on October 15, 1909 in his honor. Shackleton, who was also on the staff of the Christy Lecture

6 The Heroic period is thought to have begun at the start of the twentieth century and ended with Shackleton's death in South Georgia in 1922, when the Heroic period was superseded by a "technological period". New technology (aircraft, airships, motor vehicles, telegraph, radio etc.) would now be used for all it was worth to reach the far edges of the globe.

Agency, gave a lecture on the expedition during which he showed both slides and moving images. The newspapers wrote with enthusiasm about the lecture:

> The entire lecture, which we have previously printed in full, is accompanied by outstanding and extremely interesting slides and moving images. (…)
>
> And then he showed some pictures from the animal kingdom. These were first and foremost of PENGUINS. Their life, their way of being, was however best transmitted through the cinematographic images. They awakened the most uproarious amusement, these oddly tame, awkward and heavy animals. We see them waddling bow-legged, standing upright on short hind legs, they were very reminiscent of a group of old women. Some of them were veritable comedians, acting out a strange comedy. (…)
>
> In the cinematographic images one sees the departure, the rescue of the tent in the wind on the ice, seals being teased until they hop into the ocean and an abundance of other amusing images. (*Aftenposten*, October 16, 1909)

However, Shackleton was among those who experienced the decline in the popularity of the polar lectures when he returned from his *Endurance* expedition in 1916. The expedition that had the goal of crossing Antarctica turned into a disaster. The *Endurance* was frozen stuck in the ice and destroyed; the expedition party under Shackleton's leadership managed with much ado to come safely to land on

the deserted Elephant Island. From there Shackleton travelled with five men on a lifeboat through tempestuous seas to the Grytviken settlement, a whaling station on an island of South Georgia in the southern Atlantic. From Grytviken he organized a rescue mission the following year that retrieved the rest of the expedition party, including the cameraman Hurley. But Shackleton's heroic deed on the frozen wasteland did not hold the same appeal as the heroic deeds carried out in the trenches during WWI. Among his posthumous papers at the Scott Polar Research Institute in Cambridge, there are accounts of how disconsolate he was about giving lectures to a half empty house.

Roald Amundsen's South Pole expedition 1910-12

It has been stated about Amundsen that he felt best alone on stage with the Norwegian flag. But he was also proficient with slides. "I have fortunately dug up some slides", he writes in a letter "without them it would be too dry". The crate of glass plates would come to be his faithful companion for many years (Bomann-Larsen 1995, 58). He was less comfortable with film, but the gala performance featuring Shackleton convinced him that moving images could make his lectures even more popular. And when the cinema owner Hugo Hermansen offered to supply him with a camera and rolls of film, Amundsen brought the film equipment along when he set out on his famous South Pole expedition on the vessel *Fram* in 1910. He later made sure to film all his expeditions. Amundsen earned considerable sums on the multimedia lecture tours which were his most important source of income.

However, Roald Amundsen was not the first Norwegian to film a polar expedition. In 1898, Carsten Borchgrevink, as leader of an English expedition, brought a film camera to Antarctica, only two or three years after the Lumière brothers had shown their first films in Paris. It was Borchgrevink's affluent sponsor, the publisher George Newnes, who believed in film as a news medium and sent a camera from England. The scenes from the departure are found in the British Film Institute, but no more film recordings were made. Borchgrevink and his photographer, the scientist Louis Bernacchi, were the first to discover that the film camera was not fit for use in cold regions. The first winter spent in Antarctica was therefore not preserved on film. Bernacchi did not manage to crank the film in the camera and the strip of film cracked and was rendered useless. After 1898, both the mechanics and the film stock were improved. The American expedition leader Anthony Fiala, who was hired as a photographer on the first Ziegler expedition and who led the second Ziegler expedition headed for the North Pole in 1901–5, wrapped the camera up in warm blankets before filming.

When Amundsen set out on his South Pole expedition, most of the technical problems related to filming in extremely cold temperatures had been solved. From this expedition, Amundsen and his team secured moving images of life onboard the polar vessel *Fram*, of activities around the base Framheim, of the departure with a dog team headed for the pole and animal life in Antarctica, with penguins as a central motif. The film materials he subsequently brought home with him from Antarctica were discussed in both *Tidens Tegn* and *Aftenposten*. The former also printed Amundsen's

lecture "Conquest of the South Pole" in its entirety, giving the following description of the event:

> Amundsen was welcomed with a burst of ear-shattering applause when he stepped forward to speak. We have printed his lecture elsewhere in the magazine. It was frequently interrupted by fervent cheers, especially when in the course of the long series of photographic and moving images from the journey he introduced his handsome companions, each of whom received words of praise on their path to world fame. The enthusiasm expressed by his supporters and spectators reached its most powerful climax when Amundsen showed the picture of the Norwegian flag waving on the South Pole plateau. The jubilant cheers of myriad voices then roared up towards him. (*Tidens Tegn*, September 10, 1912)

After Amundsen had concluded his Norwegian lecture tour on September 25, 1912, Hugo Hermansen edited a version that could be shown independently in cinemas. Hermansen was the director of the cinema company Aktieselskapet Kino and a well-known figure in the capital, and owned cinemas throughout the country. At that time is was common for cinema owners to procure the films for their theaters, and he had personally equipped Amundsen with both rolls of film and a camera. He also edited the final version of the film. A mere three days later, coinciding with Amundsen's departure for Stockholm to start a short tour in the larger Swedish and Danish cities, the Cirkus Verdensteateret launched the South

Pole film as a part of its new movie theater program: "With exclusive rights for Kristiania: The conquest of the South Pole. The entire film of Roald Amundsen's Expedition" (*Tidens Tegn*, September 28, 1912). The moment had arrived for the cinema version unaccompanied by the lecture. Instead of Amundsen it was now the cinema orchestra under the direction of Christian Teilman that linked together the elements of the South Pole narrative.

Amundsen's North Pole films

It appears as if Amundsen wanted something more than just film clips to accompany the lectures when the North Pole was to be conquered after the First World War. Thus, both lecture films and film versions for cinemas exist from Amundsen's expeditions headed for the North Pole in the 1920s.

After the triumph at the South Pole, Amundsen now directed his interest towards the North Pole and in June 1918 he set out on an expedition on the ship *Maud* to cross the Arctic Ocean. When he eventually realized that the project would not succeed because the vessel became stuck in the ice, he launched the idea of reaching the pole by air. This would be documented on film. Amundsen had decided to utilize both professional photographers and trained pilots to document their voyages towards the North Pole, and had made inquiries at the Norwegian film company Bio-Film (and the photographer Reidar Lund), realizing that expedition films could be successful on their own in cinemas without interfering with his lecturing activities. Herbert Ponting and Frank Hurley's documentaries from the expeditions of Scott, Mawson and Shackleton had

drawn relatively large audiences in cinemas without accompanying lectures.

Lund attended parts of the polar expedition on *Maud*—the outcome of which was *Med Roald Amundsen's nordpolekspedition til første vinterkvarter (With Roald Amundsen's North Pole Expedition to the First Winter Quarter)* (1923).[7] The film follows *Maud* northward from Seattle to Alaska with the aircraft packed in huge crates on board. Lund filmed the setting up of Amundsen's base in Point Barrow and the first attempted flights. The film ends with a plane crash and a shot of *Maud* continuing her journey across the Arctic Ocean, interspersed with illustrative footage of the life of the Inuit and aerial footage of Arctic landscapes.

After the first unsuccessful attempt with *Maud*, Amundsen was forced to look for collaborating partners to finance new expeditions. The *Maud* expedition had been ruinous for the polar explorer, but the Norwegian Aviation Society (and not least the American millionaire Lincoln Ellsworth) made another attempt possible with the flying boats N24 and N25.

Amundsen also wanted Lund to accompany the next air expedition with Ellsworth in 1925. However, the photographer was forced to decline due to other feature film commitments but recommended "the only two qualified" Norwegian cameramen at that

7 It was probably not the first part of the polar journey. Amundsen had set out on the journey on *Maud* in June 1918 and the first overwintering quarters were never filmed. It was only when Amundsen realized that the crossing of the Arctic Ocean would not go as planned and threw himself into the new plans for a trip by air, that film documentation was initated.

Fig. 3 Roald Amundsen. Publicity still from *Roald Amundsen—Lincoln Ellsworth's Polar Flight 1925*. Photographer unknown. Nasjonalbiblioteket.

time: Paul Berge and Gunnar Nilsen-Vig.[8] It was Paul Berge who got the job and Berge's company, A/S Spektro-film, was responsible for the production of the film. Paul Berge documented the transport to Svalbard, the preparations for take-off and the departure itself, as well as the wildlife and Constitution Day celebration in

8 Roald Amundsen's letters, held at the National Library of Norway. Gunnar Nilsen-Vig (1886–1959) was later Rasmus Breistein's permanent cameraman and admired for his beautiful landscape images. That he was able to withstand exhausting expeditions is demonstrated by his documentaries from the ascent of the mountain Store Skagastølstind from 1919.

Kings Bay. There is no footage from the flight, but when the expedition landed at latitude 87 degrees 44 minutes north to gain its bearings and they discovered that one of the airships was destroyed, the mechanic Oskar Omdal began documentation on film. All alone on the frozen wasteland with a destroyed aircraft and a thousand kilometers from civilization, the film shows the construction of a take-off strip on the ice using a scout's axe, knives and other improvised tools. Omdal's film footage from the twenty-four days on the ice documents the crew's desperate toil, determination and resilience in the Arctic. When one of the flying boats was finally prepared to attempt take-off with the crew from both aircrafts on board, everything non-essential was left behind. Food, extra clothing, equipment, and film cameras were abandoned on the ice—only the film footage was packed into the flying boat. Flight Lieutenant Riiser-Larsen managed the master feat of taking off from the ice floe, and when they landed eight hours later on the northern edge of Svalbard, the crew was rescued by a whaling vessel.[9] Berge also filmed the homecoming in Kings Bay and the welcome upon their arrival in Oslo. The footage became the film *Roald Amundsen—Lincoln Ellsworths Flyveekspedisjon 1925* (*Roald Amundsen—Lincoln Ellsworth's Polar Flight 1925*, Omdal and Berge, 1925), which was a box office success.

The polar ship *Maud* constitutes the final image in Lund's film from 1923. The final title reads "Meanwhile, 'Maud' continues

9 For more information, see Diesen 2011.

Fig. 4 Original painted poster in a large format for *With Maud Across the Arctic Ocean*. Designed by Erling Nielsen. Reprinted with permission. Nasjonalbiblioteket.

her hazardous journey through the ice to…….where?" The answer to the question is revealed in the documentary *Med Maud over Polhavet* (*With Maud Across the Arctic Ocean*, Odd Dahl, 1926) released three years later. Lund's motion picture company Bio-Film produced the film, which focused on the pilot, Odd Dahl, one of the

eight men who accompanied *Maud* through the ice for three years. Although modest flight attempts are found in this film as well, here the scientific work is the most important aspect of the expedition. Amundsen has left the ship to carry out his attempted flights and appears only in the film's introduction in a close-up to connect the *Maud* expedition with the famous explorer.

Amundsen's last film was made in connection with the successful airship voyage from Svalbard via the North Pole to Alaska. The expedition's official name was the "Amundsen—Ellsworth—Nobile Transpolar Flight" on the airship *Norge*. Again, Berge was the cameraman, present at the factory in Italy where the airship was manufactured who immortalized the delivery of the Italian vessel with Mussolini in attendance. Berge subsequently travelled to Svalbard and filmed the preparations, the aircraft's arrival in Norway and the departure heading north. The film *Luftskipet "Norge"s flukt over Polhavet* (*The Airship Norge's Flight Across the Arctic Ocean*, Berge, 1926)[10] concludes with footage from the journey from Nome, Alaska to Seattle and the jubilant homecoming in Oslo. On this occasion the film footage from the airship crossing and the voyage home from Teller, Alaska, was filmed by the pilot and side rudder operator lieutenant Emil Andreas Horgen, who had taken a photography course in Stockholm.

10 For a long time, the only available footage from the film of the airship voyage *Luftskibet "Norges" flugt over Polhavet/The Flight of the Airship "Norge" over the Arctic Ocean* (Berge, 1926) in Norway was a 43-minute American fragment. Fortunately, in 2012 copies were found in both Belgian and Swiss film archives that formed the basis for a new restoration by the National Library of Norway.

After the polar journey on the airship *Norge*, Amundsen declared:

> (…) I now view my research career as concluded. I was given the opportunity to carry out what I had resolved to do. That is sufficient honor for a man. In the future I will always follow with great interest the remaining unanswered questions up there in the remote Polar Regions, but I can no longer hope to find as abundant a work field as that which now lies behind me. I will therefore try to make my peace with these questions and devote the majority of my time to giving lectures and writing (…) (1927, 205ff).

The polar film writes itself into film history as a vitalization of the actuality genre, being stories about expeditions and heroism from remote and exotic regions that had great audience appeal. Their form approached what we associate with the documentary of today. Film scholar Eric Barnouw writes in his history of the documentary film that it "is perhaps not surprising that in the exploration field, the documentary had its first rebirth" (1993, 30). This statement is followed by a chapter on Robert Flaherty's *Nanook of the North* (1922), a film about the grueling life of the Inuit in Hudson Bay which for many is considered as a starting point for the documentary film tradition. Barnouw holds that "the documentarist-as-explorer" was important for the development of the documentary genre, and Lunde and Berge's films about Amundsen's expeditions to the North Pole fall into the ranks of this tradition.

Polar expeditions in new forms

Amundsen was not the only Norwegian polar explorer to use a film camera in the first half of the twentieth century. Reidar Lund had experience from filming in Arctic regions after taking part in Professor Olaf Holtedahl's expedition to Novaya Zemlya in 1921 resulting in the film *Under Polarkredsens himmel* (*Beneath the Sky of the Polar Circle*) which premiered in cinemas the same year. Riiser-Larsen continued as a polar explorer after his collaboration with Amundsen. His participation in the *Norvegia* expedition in Antarctica is documented in the film *Mot ukjent land* (*Towards unchartered territory*) from 1930.

Einar-Arne Drivenes and Harald Dag Jølle have written about the polar explorers who followed after Amundsen. When describing how two young men, Bjørn Staib and Bjørn Reese, in 1962 decided to follow Nansen's ski trail across Greenland, the authors argue:

> Staib and Reese's trip heralded a new interest in polar journeys and a new type of journey that took into account the fact that 'everything had been done', but which did not become inhibited by this fact. The poles had been conquered, and the passages found, but most of what had been done before could be done faster, better, and in a more extreme fashion (2006, 459).

Since the early 1960s there have been a number of Norwegian expeditions that would repeat the feats faster, better or in a more extreme

fashion—with and without a camera. In 1982 Ragnar Thorseth travelled to the North Pole on a snowmobile. Starting in 1990 there was a new wave of polar expeditions headed for the North Pole as well as the South Pole, beginning with three rugged Norwegian men who wanted to reach the North Pole on skis without being resupplied along the way. Due to an accident during the trip, only two of them went on to complete the expedition, and these two, Erling Kagge and Børge Ousland, have written themselves into Norwegian polar history with their "first man expeditions." Erling Kagge was the first to walk alone to the South Pole in 1993; he was also the first to have surmounted all "three poles" (as the highest mountain in the world, Mount Everest, is often considered the third of the earth's "poles").

Børge Ousland was the first person to make his way on foot to the North Pole unsupported (1994), and he was the first to cross the Arctic Ocean alone (2001). He was the first to reach the North Pole in the full Arctic night and the first to cross Antarctica alone (1996–97). Ousland's own list of achievements remains as yet open; as recently as in 2010 he carried out, as mentioned by way of introduction, an incredible expedition through the Northwest and Northeast Passages.

The list of modern day Norwegian polar explorers is long: the brothers Simon and Sjur Mørdre reached both poles in the course

of a single year (1991);[11] Cato Zahl Pedersen was the first person with a physical disability to reach the South Pole on skis (1994), Liv Arnesen the first woman to reach the South Pole alone (1994), while Rune Gjeldnes crossed both the Arctic region (2000) and Antarctica (2005–06) at their widest respective points. There have been many others. And some of them brought along a cameraman or at least a video camera so a film could be made.

Polar exploration films made for television

In recent decades, television has become an important medium for depicting polar exploration. Travel documentaries are popular and films from journeys to the Arctic region and Antarctica hold a continued fascination. Trygve Berge, who participated in Thorseth's snowmobile trip in 1982, received his training at the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation (NRK) in the early 1970s. He was a trained cameraman and brought along 16mm equipment on the journey north, as video recording equipment was not yet sufficiently developed. In a telephone conversation at Christmas 2010, Trygve Berge tells of how he is envious of the equipment available for polar explorers today. The old-fashioned equipment that was still in use in 1982 was far from simple to operate, and he struggled to thread

11 The Mørdre brothers were accompanied by a professional cameraman on their voyage to the South Pole. Hallgrim Ødegaard made the documentary *Gjennom stillhetens landskap* (*The Landscape of Silence*, 1992) from the expedition. In the deleted scenes included in the DVD version *Roald Amundsens Sydpolsekspedisjon 1910–1912/ Roald Amundsen's South Pole Expedition 1910–1912*, he tells interviewer Ingrid Dokka about his experiences as a cameraman in −40°C conditions and demonstrates his own and Amundsen's camera.

the film through the camera. Berge, who has more than thirty years' experience with filming in Polar Regions, explains:

> Expedition filming in Polar Regions was more complicated in the 1980s than it is today. On the first expeditions (the Northwest Passage, the North Pole and Saga Siglar) I used 16mm film and separate sound recording. On the North Pole journey, the cold was a huge problem. The film became brittle and crumbled to pieces.[12] For every roll of film I threaded through the camera, eight to ten rolls of film were destroyed. Ice crystals on the film gate were also problematic. Tiny ice particles accumulated around the film gate and displaced the film off the focus plane. The result was a lot of blurry footage. Sound recording was also virtually impossible because the tape became brittle and cracked. The material we came home with was therefore very limited and in the final film almost all of the footage has been used. The film nonetheless offers a good image of how the expedition transpired.
>
> The largest cinematic challenge on the initial expeditions was the impossibility of recording synchronized sound. We could not record conversations or transmit spontaneous feelings and experiences. We had to confine ourselves to filming

12 A scene in the North Pole film depicts this; we see a close-up of an aerial camera magazine and large quantities of film fragments. After having read about these problems in all reports from the Arctic since Borchgrevink, an illustration and proper documentation of it was fitting. (Author's note.)

> the external action and lost a lot of possibilities to communicate how the expeditions were experienced there and then.

Digital recording technology has made life easier for the new polar explorers. Small digital cameras are lightweight, and the technical problems minimal. Olav Bjaaland's simple little Kodak pocket camera secured the iconic photograph from the South Pole landing in 1911. Amundsen had allowed all members of the expedition party to take along a few personal items and the skier from Morgedal chose the little camera. When the expedition's camera broke down, it was up to Bjaaland's camera to perform the work of documentation. The digital video camera of today is at least as small and simple as Bjaaland's pocket camera, and satisfying quality requirements for both cinema and television.

Børge Ousland – a new polar filmmaker

When the Scott Polar Research Institute at the University of Cambridge published the book *Face to Face: Polar Portraits* (2008), Ousland was presented as

> a renowned explorer, writer and filmmaker. Something of a national hero in Norway, he is widely admired not only for his expedition achievements but also for the core values he promotes; humility, meticulous planning, self-reliance and a sincere appreciation of the natural world. He is not the typical modern 'explorer', keen to perform upon the stage of fame. The most important rule of success in exploration:

> 'Preparation, and a little luck', Ousland says, with characteristic modesty (170).

To call Ousland a filmmaker is perhaps a bit of an overstatement, but as a polar cameraman he has shown continuous improvement. Films have been made from most of Børge Ousland's expeditions. A review of the films serves to demonstrate well the most recent development of the polar film genre.

The television documentary, *Nordpolen: det siste kappløpet* (*Poles Apart*, Paul Cleary, 1991), from his first North Pole expedition together with Erling Kagge and Geir Randby was a Norwegian-British co-production. The documentary depicts the race between the Norwegian expedition and an English expedition led by Ranulph Fiennes to reach the pole without any outside support. The documentary is composed of footage from the preparations, talking heads who discuss the plans, shots of test runs on the pack ice and the expedition members' own video and film footage along with archival film footage and stills. The events are presented chronologically. The Norwegian filming during the trip was shot by Geir Randby, but he injured himself early and was flown out along with the film equipment. So in the end, it is Kagge and Ousland's photographs that illustrate the exhausting journey. Fiennes had brought along lightweight video equipment and in the tent in the evenings he and his travel companion filmed one another while they told of their hardships. Thus, even though it was the Norwegian party that succeeded, the documentary is dominated by the British footage and the British polar explorers.

Ousland's next film was *Alene til Nordpolen* (*Alone to the North Pole*, 1994). Here he collaborated with the director Håvard Jenssen and acquired a Hi8 video camera. Although the film is a mixture of reconstructions and authentic footage from the expedition, the film has a clearer signature. It is clearly Børge Ousland we see and hear, both when he talks to the camera in the tent and when the actor Sven Nordin reads the commentary based on diary entries and Ousland's thoughts and reflections about snow and ice, family and friends, struggle and stamina. Although it is Jenssen's video footage that shows the polar explorer battling with brash ice and ice channels, filmed in good weather conditions near the starting point, the viewer comprehends the struggle when they encounter the hostile landscape in stills and the rough Hi8 footage of Ousland's weary and frozen face in close-up. Jenssen's footage of Ousland's wife, son and father are also woven into the narrative.

In the following documentaries we meet an increasingly skilled cameraman: *Alene over Sydpolen* (*Alone across Antarctica*, 1997), *Det store hvite* (*The Big White*, Håvard Jenssen, 2001) and the television series *I Nansens fotspor* (*In Nansen's Footsteps*, 2009).[13] Although Ousland continued to collaborate with television professionals in completing the documentaries, his filming steadily improved, and the footage was no longer limited to short filming

13 I mention only the polar exploration films in this context fully aware of the fact that he also carried out expeditions to and filmed on Mount Everest (2003) and in Patagonia (2005). From the winter expedition to the North Pole with Mike Horn in 2006 there is no film for obvious reasons; this time he went to the pole during the full darkness of the polar winter.

sessions in the tent following the day's exertions. In a telephone conversation (December 2010) Ousland spoke of how he gradually started participating in the editing process, and how he was inspired by the Norwegian explorer Lars Monsen's approach to filmmaking, involving the technique of filming oneself in activity and commenting on the situations during his last expeditions.

In the television documentary *I Nansens fotspor* (*In Nansen's Footsteps*, 2009), made in collaboration with NRK, all the video footage is made by Ousland and his travelling companion Thomas Ulrich. The documentary is in two parts and depicts the three-month expedition from the North Pole across Franz Josef Land following the trail of Nansen and Johansen's famous journey in the 1890s. Tore Rosshaug, who edited the film and also wrote the commentary, acquired old photographs from Nansen and Johansen's journey, and had a narrator read a selection of texts from Nansen's book *Fram over Polhavet* (*Farthest North*), but the remainder comprises Ousland's (and Ulrich's) film footage and photographs. The series was broadcast as part of the aforementioned NRK series *Ut i naturen*. The documentary is probably the most extreme *Ut i naturen* voyage that NRK has broadcast in recent years. Here there is more wilderness and struggle for survival than viewers are accustomed to seeing, while also being a documentary about and homage to the early polar heroes. Ousland's most recent television documentary to date is the aforementioned *Northern Passage* (2011).

The new lecture films

The polar explorers of today are also popular lecturers and new

technology makes it easier to create appealing presentations employing beautiful images and film clips. Now they travel around the world with their small computers or memory sticks and present memorable lectures reminiscent of the Cirkus Verdensteateret in September 1912 when Amundsen stood at the podium with his pointer.

Børge Ousland makes his living from lecturing, and considers film and television as PR for his lectures. And it appears to be working: the experience from Santa Barbara indicates as much. His lecture was part of a series called "National Geographic Live!" and he did not need a long list of accolades to fill Campbell Hall:

> When it comes to polar exploration, Børge Ousland is a natural. An avid outdoorsman and former member of Norway's Marinejeger—equivalent to the U.S. Navy SEALs—he has the physical and mental toughness to survive extreme conditions, as demonstrated by his history-making solo crossing of the Antarctic. Heir to a great Norwegian tradition of polar voyages, he has crafted expeditions replicating the feats of pioneers—in some cases accomplishing what they were unable to do. An audience favorite for his charismatic and compelling presentations, Ousland will report on his latest expeditions with photos and hair-raising video, fresh from the field (UCSB arts & lectures. Program presentation, spring 2013).

New technology has improved the opportunities for documenting and transmitting expedition experiences. In the new digital reality

it is possible to maintain contact with civilization almost regardless of where one might be. On the last expedition Ousland maintained a blog so interested enthusiasts could follow him on the journey. During the expedition through the Northern Passages in 2010, he posted daily reports from the journey. Using a digital video camera, a laptop and a satellite telephone, film clips could be posted on YouTube and his own website. It was from these YouTube clips, along with the rest of the video footage, that Tore Rosshaug and the technicians at NRK created the television documentary *Northern Passage* (2011).

Børge Ousland's polar exploration films are adapted to the current era, as the explorer masters the digital world. However, the role of a lecturer at a podium equipped with stills and film clips is still an important part of the polar explorer's life. In this sense, not much has changed since Amundsen was alive.

Postscript

One thing that has changed dramatically since Amundsen's day is the climate. Ousland frequently takes advantage of his place in the spotlight to communicate a message about global warming. In *Northern Passage,* he shows how he was able to sail through both Northern Passages in the course of one summer because dramatic quantities of ice near the poles are melting at an increasingly rapid rate—Amundsen spent two expeditions and six years on the same sailing trip. As the vessel approaches its starting point after three-and-a-half months of sailing, the expedition passes by one of the Norwegian oil drilling platforms in the North Sea and Ousland

comments on the activity on the platform: "We are talking about global warming, and here we are; pumping oil up—becoming rich—and polluting the world." The ship sails to shore and Ousland concludes with the following statement:

> We have completed the circumnavigation of the North Pole—the first ever. The North East and the North West Passage—all around. This is the most concrete example that climate change is actually happening.

Børge Ousland finds it necessary to conclude his polar expedition film with a warning. He places some responsibility on the shoulders of the Norwegian oil industry for polluting the environment and compounding global warming, but the television documentary is not an investigative, critical disclosure with analyses and accusations. It is up to the viewer to apply the facts merely presented by Ousland. *Northern Passage* is another film in the series of "first ever" documentaries from polar zones. Hopefully global warming will not make it the last instance in the long series of polar expedition films.

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05. Thor Iversen and Arctic Expedition Film on the Geographical and Documentary Fringe in the 1930s

Bjørn Sørenssen

A little known but nonetheless important figure in the field of Norwegian polar exploration is the oceanographer-cum-filmmaker Thor Iversen (1873–1953), who made films on the fringe of the Norwegian "polar expedition film" subgenre. In the decades following Roald Amundsen's conquest of the South Pole as well as later exploits in the Arctic, Norwegian filmmakers latched on to the fervor surrounding Norwegian polar expeditions. This chapter will give an overview of how this served as a context for Thor Iversen's comparably modest attempts at making educational lecture films that would convey knowledge about the Norwegian Arctic Sea. After this general overview, Iversen's films will be briefly described, before they are discussed with reference to Tom Gunning's concept of "aesthetics of the view". Finally, it will be argued that Iversen's *Stalking the Nautilus* can be considered a "view" film, and as such an extended narrative experiment in this tradition.

Between the years 1912 and 1945 Thor Iversen worked as a consultant for the Norwegian Directorate of Fisheries, conducting

yearly expeditions in the Norwegian Sea and the Barents Sea, mapping fishing resources. He was also an accomplished photographer and left a collection of more than 8,000 photographs as documentation of Norwegian fisheries and maritime coastal life in Norway and life in the Norwegian Arctic. Starting out as a sailor, Iversen later became captain of the research vessel *Michael Sars* between 1900 and 1912. In 1923 and 1924 he led two expeditions mapping the island Hopen in the Svalbard archipelago, where the southernmost point of the island now has the name Cape Thor while the highest mountain is called Iversenfjellet (Mt. Iversen).

In 1929, Iversen was involved in the unsuccessful attempt at annexing Victoria Island, south of Franz Joseph Land, for the Norwegian government (Gjertz and Mørkved, 1998). The following year he was involved in the attempted Norwegian colonization of parts of East Greenland under the name of Eirik Raudes Land (Eirik the Red's Land), and he returned to East Greenland on the expeditions that the Norwegian government organized as part of the national claim and "occupation" of this desolate area in 1932 and 1933. In 1933, the International Court of Justice in The Hague discarded the Norwegian claim, a ruling accepted by the Norwegian government (Drivenes and Jølle 2006, 296–302). During World War II, Iversen stayed with the Norwegian government in exile in London, preparing a policy for Norwegian fisheries after the war.

Having become adept at utilizing photography on his expeditions, in the mid-1920s Iversen also began using a film camera, resulting in more than three hours of material on 35mm film from several of his expeditions. This material gives the impression of an

accomplished photographer who also mastered elementary cinematography techniques, and he was also able to edit the material in a semi-professional way. A series of separate silent films from his Arctic research expeditions between the years 1927 and 1937 were edited into a film by the title *Høit mot nord* (*Towards the High North*) which was presented as a documentary feature at the municipal cinema of Bergen in 1939.[1] In 1930 Iversen completed his first three films with which he in all likelihood toured Norway during the winter of 1930–31: *På sildefiske* (*Herring Fisheries*) (1930), *Vårtokt til Bjørnøya* (*Spring voyage to Bear Island*) (1930) and *Svalbardtokt* (*Svalbard Expedition*) (ca. 1930). The films are each about ten minutes long, with professionally made intertitles and animated maps inserted to explain the geographical setting, a pattern that would be used in ensuing films. In 1931, Iversen expanded on this format with *På jakt etter Nautilus* (*Stalking the Nautilus*). In 1933, he presented images from the East Greenland expeditions in the film *Til Sydøst-Grønland* (*To Southeast Greenland*), which in 1935 was followed by *Til Jan Mayen*, presenting life on the island of Jan Mayen in the Barents Sea, including its important weather station. In 1936, Iversen went on tour with the spectacular *Hvor isbjørnen ferdes* (*Where the Polar Bear Wanders*), and in 1939 he ended the series with the film *Til verdens nordligste fiskefelt* (*To the Northernmost Fisheries in the World*).

1 All film titles are translated into English by the author.

The polar expedition film as a Norwegian subgenre of the travel film

The subgenre of the travel film often referred to as the polar expedition film emerged as something of a Norwegian specialty between the years 1911 and 1930. There are several reasons for this trend, closely associated with the many Norwegian-led Arctic and Antarctic expeditions around the turn of the century as well as the rise of nationalism in a newly independent country. Explorers like Fridtjof Nansen, Otto Sverdrup and Roald Amundsen evolved into important national icons for the young nation through their expeditions, culminating in Amundsen's conquest of the South Pole in December 1911. The film from Amundsen's expedition firmly established this new genre of the polar expedition film in Norway (see Ytreberg, Gaines, and Diesen in this volume). In the years to follow, expedition activity increased, providing the country with an area of national excellence and identity, even becoming an arena for colonialism with the Svalbard Treaty in 1925 and the attempt to annex East Greenland in 1931 as its culminating points. Against this background, it is hardly surprising that actuality and travel films focusing on polar expeditions evolved into a dominant mode within the modest Norwegian nonfiction film production of the time (for an overview of Norwegian polar expedition films in the 1910s and 1920s, see Diesen in this volume).

Amundsen's polar exploits probably inspired Norwegian filmmakers to find similar opportunities for popular and, assumedly, profitable film presentations. The popularity of these films can be explained by Amundsen's position as a Norwegian national hero.

His conquest of the South Pole in competition with the hapless Scott in 1911 had secured international fame for the young and insecure nation, and combined with the expeditionary feats in the Arctic region of Fridtjof Nansen this contributed towards forging a strong link between polar exploration and Norwegian national identity.

The series of popular polar expedition films shown in Norwegian cinemas ended in 1930 with a film about the third *Norvegia* expedition to the Antarctic. Between 1927 and 1931 the ship *Norvegia* made four expeditions to the Antarctic, financed by a Norwegian ship owner. The idea behind the expeditions was to examine the possibilities for commercial whaling and thus they were instrumental in initiating large-scale whaling in the area. The leader of the third expedition was Hjalmar Riiser-Larsen, a pilot who had accompanied Amundsen on his arctic expeditions in 1925–26 and flown with him across the North Pole in the airship *Norge*. Riiser-Larsen had brought film equipment, and the resulting film premiered in November 1930 as *Mot ukjent land: Norvegia-ekspedisjonen 1929|30* (*Into unchartered territory: the Norvegia expedition 1929|1930*).

If this was the last of the polar expedition films made for theatrical distribution, the genre was supplemented in other distribution formats. In the 1920s Norwegian companies, and especially the Tiedemann tobacco company, became interested in film as an advertising medium and saw an opportunity to advertise by sponsoring short films, with the clear understanding that the film would contain advertising sequences. In 1931 Norwegian seal hunters proclaimed a part of East Greenland as a Norwegian administrative province in what more or less amounted to an "occupation". The

sitting Norwegian cabinet seized this opportunity to divert public opinion from the rather precarious economic situation at home and the young lawyer and arctic explorer, Helge Ingstad, was named governor of Norwegian affairs in the area and sent off to East Greenland. Ingstad's expedition was covered by cameraman Ottar Gladtvet and resulted in the film *Tiedemanns naturfilm: Grønlands-ekspedisjonen 1932* (*Tiedemann's Nature Films: The Greenland Expedition 1932*) that was sent in four parts to the Norwegian bureau of film censorship to be given separate censorship numbers, indicating a format that could easily be shown at regular feature film presentations. These films depicted various landscapes and activities in the harsh climate that the Norwegian public by then had been habitually treated to through other expedition films. What was new about *Tiedemann's Nature Films: The Greenland Expedition 1932*, however, was the compulsory shots of Helge Ingstad and his colleagues puffing away on Tiedemann's cigarettes.[2]

Iversen's polar films: giving access to an exotic arctic world

With the films *På sildefiske* (*Herring Fisheries*), *Vårtokt til Bjørnøya* (*Spring voyage to Bear Island*) and *Svalbardtokt* (*Svalbard Expedition*), all made in 1930, Thor Iversen established a format he would follow in most of his subsequent films. This format was based on the early travelogue, telling in motion picture images (and presumably

2 For further discussion of this period, see Sørenssen, 1999, and Diesen, 2015.

accompanied by live verbal narration) the story of a purposeful maritime journey — what is known as a *tokt* in Norwegian. The travelogue was an established format in early non-fiction film closely associated with the popular travel talks illustrated by photographic slides in the nineteenth century. One of the most famous pioneers in this field, E. Burton Holmes, coined the very word "travelogue" in 1904 (Barber 1993:82). Later the word would also be used to describe travel films in general.

Fig. 1. Frame enlargement from *På sildefiske*. Nasjonalbiblioteket.

Iversen's 1930 films were tailored to the original travelogue format of Burton Holmes. They were short films meant to be supplemented by a talk. The two films *Vårtokt til Bjørnøya*/*Spring Voyage to Bear Island* and *Svalbardtokt*/*Svalbard Journey* seem to

originate from the same expedition, a research journey aboard the ship S/S *Sotra*. Iversen's footage from this journey was edited into two thematically coherent films, probably with the intention of using them in different talks. *Spring Voyage to Bear Island* opens with shots of the S/S *Sotra* leaving Bergen, followed by shots from the annual cod fishing in the Lofoten archipelago. Here Iversen inserts an animated map, showing the route the S/S *Sotra* would follow during its voyage. He proceeds to show the activities of a research ship in the fishing grounds off Bjørnøya (Bear Island), an island situated midway between the Norwegian mainland and Svalbard (the Norwegian name for the Spitsbergen archipelago), catching, marking and releasing fish. He also shows activities on the island of Bjørnøya, where a radio telegraph station was crucial for Norwegian meteorology.

Svalbard Journey follows the pattern of the first film. After repeating the animated map of the journey, the first images of Svalbard is introduced with the intertitle "After a long journey across the ocean, we see the mountains around Isfjorden during the first days of July".[3] Then follows a (static) map of Svalbard and the surrounding islands, with the names of the most important geographical features of the islands. A series of images shot from the ship present the "abandoned Dutch mining town of Barentsburg".[4] In one of the side arms of Isfjorden, the ship stops to hunt seals—

3 All intertitles are translated into English by the author.

4 Coal mining in Barentsburg would be resumed two years later by the Soviet Union.

securing meat for the expedition. Sailors hauling seal carcasses aboard illustrate this. Iversen also shows a major catch of shrimp destined for the Norwegian coal miners in Longyearbyen. With the last four kilometers into Longyearbyen covered by ice, the process of using dynamite to blast open a channel into the harbor of the northernmost town of Norway was necessitated, a welcome event for the filmmaker. Then follows what probably are among the earliest moving images of daily life in Longyearbyen, with glimpses of the coal production and a visit to a dog kennel, before the expedition makes a side trip to inquire about a trapper who lives in an isolated hut. A bit of suspense is introduced with the intertitle "Nobody had heard from him in eight months. Was he dead? No! We found him, although he was without food and quite lean, but nevertheless in good spirits". We see the trapper come out from his hut to greet his visitors and later given provisions before leaving him to continue trapping. *Svalbard Journey* ends with shots from a bird cliff off the Spitsbergen coast and shots taken from the shore of the S/S *Sotra* steaming into the summer night under the midnight sun. From the initial animated map, we know that the *Sotra* also visited the town of Ny-Ålesund further north, before returning to the Norwegian mainland, so there is reason to suspect that Iversen had run out of film stock by then as no images from Ny-Ålesund are included in the final film.

Til Sydøst-Grønland/To Southeast Greenland from 1933 is created in the same mold as the films from 1930, but has an extra function—that of the actuality. The historical context for the film was a conflict between Norway and Denmark in 1931–32 over East

Greenland, and Iversen followed a ship bringing supplies to the Norwegian "occupiers" of the area. The format is the same as in Iversen's earlier films with a running time of ten minutes, and with an introductory animated map of the area in question and the route of the supply ship marked on the illustration. The film then proceeds to present locations chosen for Norwegian trappers as well as the trappers themselves as proof of Norwegian presence on the East Greenland coast, providing the viewer with a fascinating glimpse of what at the time was expected to become a Norwegian Arctic colony.

To Jan Mayen is back on "neutral" ground, following Iversen's journey to the fishing banks around the island of Jan Mayen. This film goes further into the details of scientific work conducted aboard, showing the different catching methods used, as well as presenting a chart of the migration of arctic cod. Iversen also goes ashore on the North Atlantic island situated halfway between Northern Norway and Greenland. Here, he finds remnants of the activities of whalers from the several nations that used this as a base in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, and presents the imprint that the twentieth century has made on the island in the form of the radiotelegraph station and its operators.

The last of the films made by Thor Iversen prior to World War II, *Til verdens nordligste fiskefelt/To the Northernmost Fisheries in the World*, is a two-part film. While returning to Svalbard again, the emphasis on how the twentieth century has made its mark on the remote islands is underlined. For example, tourism is introduced with Iversen's camera following the passengers of the Norwegian America Line's *Stavangerfjord* during a cruise to Svalbard.

Other markers of modern activities are the *Sotra* bringing gasoline to pilots performing aerial mapping of the islands, and later the camera is witness to a Svalbard soccer championship match. The film further presents another glimpse of Barentsburg, where the abandoned mining town seen in *Svaldbardtokt* from 1930 now bustles with the activity of a Soviet mining enterprise. The advanced and modern techniques of the new steam trawlers are contrasted with shots of a schooner from the Faroe Islands using old-fashioned angling methods.

Cinema of attractions and attempts at narrative documentary in the films of Thor Iversen

The silent travel film genre was one of the earliest popular and developed forms of film practice dating back to before the Nickelodeon period. Together with the actuality film, it represented the major form of early non-fiction film. As a result of the development of dramatic narrative and, subsequently, the feature film, non-fiction formats were relegated to the outskirts of the exhibition repertoire. The actuality film later developed into the newsreel, which was screened as part of regular movie theater programming, while the travel film, or travelogue, survived by sporadic appearances in the cinema repertoire or alternative exhibition formats such as lecture tours throughout the silent period.

One interesting aspect of the travel film genre is the amazing consistency of the format, from the earliest days in the 1890s into the period of sound film. This consistency becomes all the more remarkable when compared with the dramatic evolution of the

fiction film during the silent period. It is possible to argue that the travel film found its form in the first decade of the century and changed very little from then on.

Tom Gunning's characterization of early non-fiction film as dominated by "the aesthetics of the *view*" entails a film mode that, he argues, possesses mimetic qualities:

> To my mind the most characteristic quality of a "view" lies in the way it mimes the act of looking and observing. In other words, we don't just experience a "view" film as a presentation of a place, an event or a process, but also as the mimesis of the act of observing (1997:15).

The *view* is closely connected to what Gunning has termed the *cinema of attractions*, a general descriptive term applied to early cinema as opposed to the narrative form developed in fiction film between the years 1906 and 1912—with an emphasis on *showing* rather than *telling.* Gunning contrasts the independence of the shot in the view tradition with the later documentary, as developed in the British documentary tradition under John Grierson (who originated and defined the concept of documentary film) with its argumentative use of shots, either as evidence or as part of a logically constructed narrative (Gunning 1997:16).

Films like *Spring Voyage to Bear Island, Svalbard Expedition, To Southeast Greenland, To Jan Mayen* and *To the Northernmost Fisheries in the World* are all representative of the view aesthetic mode referred to as the "place" mode. The camera becomes the extended

eye of the spectator, allowing an experience that lies outside everyday life and environment, and, as such, Iversen seeks out images that are striking, unknown and exotic. The "places" in question are presented seemingly at random and with their inherent "view" qualities they were likely meant, as in the original travelogue tradition, to be supplemented by verbal narration in addition to the intertitles.

For Norwegian audiences living along the country's western and northern coastlines, where sealing, whaling and polar bear hunting were important sources of income, the films gave important insight into the lives of the men who would live for months under difficult and dangerous conditions in the Arctic to provide for their families. For other audiences it served as a reminder that Norway was more than just the Norwegian mainland.

Where the Polar Bear Wanders (1936), Iversen's film on polar bear hunting, is an excellent example of how the *view* film may also express complexities. The film combines footage from two expeditions to Hopen Island, and the result is a visually stunning film—thanks to Iversen's mastery of filming in the difficult light conditions of the polar areas—enhanced by his use of panchromatic film stock. The editing assembles various stages of polar bear hunting:

→

Fig. 2. Frame enlargement from *Hvor isbjørnen ferdes*. The hunter is loading his gun and firing two deadly shots. Nasjonalbiblioteket.

Fig. 3. Frame enlargement from *Hvor isbjørnen ferdes*. The carcass of the polar bear is hauled aboard by its neck. Nasjonalbiblioteket.

a shot of the lookout on the masthead signaling a sighting of a bear with her two cubs is followed by a shot of the ship's crew getting ready and the hunter loading his gun and firing two deadly shots. In a following segment of accelerating close-ups, the film then shows the crew racing to lower the dory to row to the ice floe where the dead bear lies, while an intertitle informs "The sow has been killed. The two cubs are to be caught alive." The carcass of the polar bear is hauled aboard by its neck, whereupon the cubs are chased into open water and caught with lassos, then brought aboard. The next sequence shows other killings, followed by close-ups of the skinning and carving of the animals and a shot of bear hams salted and hung in the rigging to dry, accompanied by the intertitle "Bear ham is good food".

Where the Polar Bear Wanders is a typical *view film* of the kind Gunning characterizes as a "process film", as opposed to a "place film", where the experience of a geographical place is the main attraction. In the process film, the main objective is to show the process of making a product—in this case products made from the polar bear's meat and skin. The *attraction* element is, of course, connected to the exotic "product"—with moving images of the polar bear, an animal that inhabits mostly unpopulated areas of the world. Iversen's Norwegian audiences of the 1930s were probably less shocked to watch the hunting scenes than the horrified audience present when the film was shown at the silent film festival *Giornate del Cinema Muto* in Pordenone, Italy, in 1999. For a Norwegian audience in 1936 the context for the hunt for polar bears and seals was the knowledge that those practices were important for the national economy.

According to official statistics 30,294 polar bears were caught in the century between 1871 and 1973 (when the polar bear became protected as an endangered species). Out of these, 1,683, or around 6 per cent, were sold to zoological gardens worldwide. This was an important source of income for fishermen from Northern Norway, and the majority of the polar bears were caught by sealing ships, like the one featured in Iversen's film (Søby 2009). Similar to many process films of its kind it gave the answer to the question "How is the polar bear hunted and what happens to the bears?"—admittedly a more exciting question than those found in other process films, such as "How is Dutch cheese made?".

The enticingly titled *Stalking the Nautilus* demonstrates Thor Iversen's will to transcend the *view aesthetic* of the traditional expedition film in favor of dramatization in the form of a "found story". *Stalking the Nautilus* was born from a news story well known to Iversen's putative audience in 1931, but a story that can appear incomprehensible to later generations, which is that of Sir George Hubert Wilkins' attempt to reach the North Pole with the help of a submarine named *Nautilus*. Hubert Wilkins (1888–1958) was an Australian cinematographer, pilot and explorer. He had served as an ornithologist on the explorer Sir Ernest Shackleton's last expedition to the islands off the Antarctic in 1922–23. Together with Carl Ben Eielson, Hubert Wilkins conducted important Arctic airplane crossings, including a crossing from Point Barrow, Alaska, to Spitsbergen in 1928 (Drivenes and Jølle 2009, 277). In 1929 Wilkins launched a plan for reaching the North Pole in a submarine, and managed to get financial backing from the newspaper mogul William Randolph

Hearst as well as Roald Amundsen's financial partner and explorer, Lincoln Ellsworth. His plan was to reach the North Pole submerged in the *Nautilus*, a decommissioned U.S. submarine from World War I. From the outset in the summer of 1931, the *Nautilus* expedition experienced problems. On the way across the North Atlantic both engines failed, leaving the boat adrift, which had to be towed to Ireland for repairs. Later, after leaving Norway for the Arctic region, it was discovered that the diving planes of the submarine, necessary for navigating under the ice, did not work, and the expedition had to give up and return to Bergen, Norway. On the way back, the submarine was badly damaged during a storm, and as repairs seemed impossible, the boat was scuttled, and sank in a fjord.

The Wilkins expedition was a major media event in Norway, with newspapers bringing daily updates on the tribulations of Hubert Wilkins and his crew, and Thor Iversen obviously wanted to take advantage of this widespread interest with the film he was preparing for the lecture tour market in the winter of 1931–32. Having secured footage of the scuttling of the *Nautilus* (the first attempt had to be cancelled because of bad weather), he decided to make it the narrative core of an otherwise traditional travelogue. The film shows how he started out by motorcar across Finnmark county and includes some of the sights on the way to Hammerfest (the world's northernmost town) where Iversen then embarked on the sealing vessel *Veiding* for his yearly expedition assignment for the Norwegian Fisheries Directory. *Veiding* set sail to the herring fisheries off Iceland, and the film includes images from the village of Siglafjörður and then Iversen's old stomping grounds off the coast of East

Greenland, before sailing north towards Spitsbergen. Not until this point, half-way into the film, does *Stalking the Nautilus* include narration in the form of an intertitle, after a visit to the coal mines of Ny-Ålesund on Spitsbergen: "From the coal hills we are looking for the *Nautilus*. It was lying out of sight behind a promontory nearby.—But nobody knew that." The two next intertitles also refer to the *Nautilus*: "North to 81 degrees latitude—but no *Nautilus*", "We return to Longyearbyen. Wilkins' *Nautilus* had been there the previous day". After presenting more images from Spitsbergen, where he treats the audience to a "phantom ride" with the camera mounted on a dog sled, and Bjørnøya in the middle of the North Atlantic, the focus returns to Bergen where a shot of the badly battered submarine with "Nautilus" written in large letters printed on its hull is

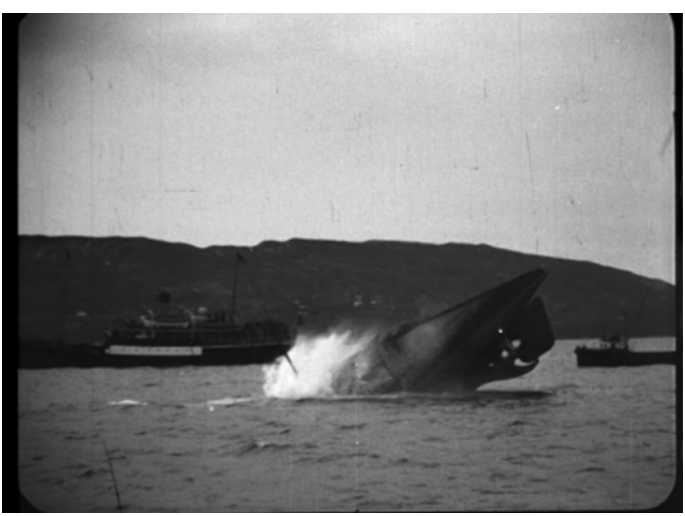

Fig. 4. Frame enlargement from *På jakt etter Nautilus*. The boat was scuttled and consequently sank in a fjord. Nasjonalbiblioteket.

preceded by the intertitle: "Finally we meet …"

The last fifteen minutes of the film is dedicated to the two attempts at scuttling the *Nautilus*. Iversen had taken great care in securing images of the people and notables involved in the process, and tries to enliven it with wry commentaries in the intertitles. At this point, the attempt to construct a narrative centered on the search for the elusive *Nautilus* turned into an actuality affair, ending with the *Nautilus* sinking in the fjord, as the intertitle comments: "…he chose his grave among the seven mountains of Bergen, sick to death with the miseries of this world."

At the time when Thor Iversen presented his films publicly, it was largely to an audience who were already accustomed to the sights and sounds of the 'talkies' but still thankful for being able to experience the sights—if not the sounds—of the exotic life among seal and polar bear hunters. Iversen used his films to experiment with the medium, representing, as other explorers with a film camera, a continuation of the travelogue tradition as well as the view aesthetic established during the earliest days of filmmaking. Nevertheless, it is possible to spot an influence from and a will to emulate the new form of non-fiction film, soon to be called the documentary.

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06. Through Central Borneo with Carl Lumholtz: The Visual and Textual Output of a Norwegian Explorer

Alison Griffiths

Derived from the Latin *expeditio*, the word "expedition" can be traced to fifteenth-century late Middle English, and is defined as "an excursion, journey, or voyage made for some specific purpose, as of war or exploration."[1] Expeditious, derived from the same Latin root, connotes urgency, efficiency, and an imperative not to delay. While expeditions embarked on by scientists or anthropologists in the early twentieth century are clearly different to those undertaken by conquering armies, they share similarities with military or colonial aggressors. Tactical intelligence gathering including geo-cultural knowledge of the region, reconnaissance, surveillance, diplomacy, establishing trade routes, and a measure of cultural sensitivity to mitigate distrust and unrest are features of both endeavors. At the same time, the ethnographic expedition film is similar in

1 The definition is from http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/expedition accessed June 25, 2012.

many respects to films made of native peoples from any number of contexts; however, while one could argue that every expedition film representing native peoples is to some extent an ethnographic film, not every ethnographic film is an expedition film, for the simple reason that footage might have been obtained at a North American World's Fair, at a market in Cairo, or by a tourist/adventurer on a family vacation in Japan.

Sketchpads, still cameras, sound recording equipment, and motion picture cameras were employed on expeditions to assist in data collection, chart progress, embellish or even replace traditional written field notes. Photographs, phonographic recordings, and motion pictures provide compelling (if not comprehensive) glimpses of interaction between native peoples and government officials, scientists, ethnographers, and members of the expedition party. Examining Norwegian ethnologist Carl Sofus Lumholtz's 1917 expedition film *In Borneo the Land of the Head-Hunters*,[2] this chapter considers how ethnographic knowledge is constructed differently across Lumholtz's film, his published account of the expedition, *Through Central Borneo* (1920), and his fieldwork diaries.[3]

2 It's worth pointing out that the title shares a close resemblance to Edward S. Curtis' ethnographically rich film *In the Land of the Head-Hunters*, made in 1914. The film has undergone extensive restoration and garnered recognition for being a fascinating fictional account of the Kwakwaka'wakw peoples of the Queen Charlotte Strait region of the Central Coast of British Columbia. The reconstruction is now available on Blu-ray and DVD from Milestone and a volume documents the process as well as placing the film within American film history. See Evans and Glass 2014.

3 For an introduction to the expedition film, see Griffiths 2002, 127–70, 283–311; Peterson 2013; Staples 2005, 51–78; Bell, Brown, Gordon 2013; and Bloom 1993.

What were the environmental conditions for image making in the field, and what did Lumholtz have to do to get the shots and footage he needed? And, how did Lumholtz make sense of the reverse ethnography at play when he undoubtedly was as much an object of interest to his Borneo subjects as they were to him? Lumholtz's only foray into expedition filmmaking, the little-known *In Borneo the Land of the Head-Hunters* makes for a rich case study in early expedition filmmaking, in part because of the triangulation across the written, photographic, and moving image accounts and for the remarkable footage of indigenous practices of the tribes of Borneo, the third largest island in the world, covering an area of roughly 287,000 square miles. As a native of Norway, however, Lumholtz's legacy must also be read against the backdrop of the increasing circulation of visual media across the globe. Lumholtz was an inveterate traveler, a globe-trotter if you will, who seized upon the possibilities of using motion pictures to vivify the visual vocabulary of indigenous culture obtained via photographs when he embarked on what would be his third and last major expedition before his death at the age of seventy-one in Saranac, New York in 1921.

"My Wandering Life": Lumholtz Pre-Borneo

Born in Fåberg, near Lillehammer, Norway, in 1851 and a graduate in theology from the University of Christiana (now the University of Oslo), Lumholtz achieved a solid reputation among his peers as an anthropologist, naturalist, and explorer. His journeys to Australia, Mexico, and Borneo over a span of thirty years were sponsored by such prestigious institutions as the American Geographical Society of New York, the Norwegian Geographical Society, the Royal Geographic Society of London, the Royal Dutch Geographic Society, the American Museum of Natural History, as well as the King and Queen of Norway. Lumholtz wrote four books aimed at scholarly and general readers: *Among Cannibals* (1889),[4] recounting his trip to Australia; *Unknown Mexico* (1902); *New Trails in Mexico* (1912); and *Through Central Borneo* (1920) including taking a large number of photographs in all except his expedition to Australia. The decision to publish his research for general readers was not atypical for anthropologists at the time. British anthropologist Walter Baldwin Spencer, who studied Aboriginal Australians at the turn of the last century, supplied articles and photographs to a Melbourne newspaper during his expedition, hoping to whet readers' appetites for a series of lectures he would deliver upon his return from the field.[5] Perhaps mindful of the mainstream status of motion pictures within

4 Lumholtz relied heavily on secondary visual material of Australian Aborigines. See Broyles et al 2014, 1.

5 See Griffiths 2002, 161–66, for more on Spencer's arrangement with the Melbourne press and his subsequent lecture tour.

modern entertainment by the mid-teens, it made perfect sense for Lumholtz to bring along a camera on his expedition to Borneo. To assist in that endeavor, he hired a young Chinese photographer in Singapore called Ah Sewey to assist in developing the plates and film.[6]

The University of Christiana sponsored the 1880–1884 expedition to Australia where Lumholtz was hired to collect animal and bird specimens by Professor of Zoology Robert Collett (1842–1913). Embarking from Gracemere in Australia, Lumholtz traveled in Western Queensland from the Valley of the Lagoons to the Herbert River Valley west of Cardwell, about 175km south of Cairns.[7] The relative shallowness of Lumholtz's Australian research compared to his reports on the subsequent Mexican and Bornean expeditions suggests that his humanism and cultural relativism were bumping up against nineteenth-century racist theories of evolutionary biology. For example, at the same time Lumholtz chides fellow Norwegians in an article on the expedition in the *Journal of the American*

6 In the preface to *Through Central Borneo*, Lumholtz refers to the following individuals being attached to his expedition: an unnamed surveyor from the Topografische Inrichting (Topographical Institute) in Batavia who worked, possibly gratis, on supplying maps; a trained Sarawak Dayak taxidermist; and later in the expedition, a Javanese man. Lumholtz took credit for all of the photographs that appeared in the book with the exception of those credited to Dr. J.C. Koningsberger, President of the Volksraad, Buitenzorg, Java (pictures facing page 26); J.F. Labohm (pictures facing pages 16 and 17); and A.M. Erskine (lower picture facing page 286).

7 Lumholtz's stay among the Australian Aborigines and travels through the region was memorialized in 1994 via the creation of the Lumholtz National Park, which includes the Wallaman Falls. However, the name was changed to Gurringun National Park in 2003 to reflect its indigenous provenance. www.anbg.gov/au/bigoraphy/lumhotz-carl-sofus.html. Accessed May 17, 2012.

Geographical Society of New York for not knowing whether forks and knives were used in Australia—such observers have "no idea of the wealth, the advanced state of civilization and the luxury to be found in the southern part of the continent"—he displays a similar ethnocentrism in the same paragraph when he describes meeting "the lowest and most degraded type of humanity—a people in the most primitive and savage state of life—a people whose highest conception of numbers does not extend beyond 5" (1889, 1–2). East Asian Studies scholar Victor T. King alludes to this tension in his 1991 introduction to the Oxford University Press reissue of *Through Central Borneo,* in which he notes that Lumholtz's Australian ethnographic research reveals "a mix of keen observation and empathy with aboriginal life, along with some condescension, prejudice and even contempt" (vii). Though King attempts to recuperate Lumholtz's position by pointing out that Lumholtz "stayed and traveled with the aborigines [*sic*] alone in an attempt to see the world through their eyes," King's judgment is not shared by Australian anthropologist Christopher Anderson who portrays Lumholtz as paranoid about his personal safety among the Queensland Aborigines while being fascinated, obsessed even, by their otherness (1981, 230). So worried was Lumholtz that he performed a nightly ritual of firing his gun to remind the locals "of my superiority". "Not one word was said. It was like my 'good night' to them", recalled Lumholtz, who also described being "at the zenith of my power", and proud of being "the first, even among admiring savages". Notwithstanding his anxiety, he enjoyed his three months camping with the Australian Aborigines, calling the experience "interesting" and

"fascinating", and took obvious enjoyment from being among the first Europeans to spend extended time with Australia's first peoples (1889, 1–2).

Lumholtz also broke new ground in his ethnographic research on Mexico, since he was the first person to photograph the Tarahumara, Pima, Tepehuan, Tubar, Cora, Huichol, and Tarascan tribes of the country; he also photographed the Tohono Oodham people of southwestern Arizona and northwestern Sonora, the descendants of whom still cherish the only photographs ever taken of their ancestors (Broyles et al. 2014, 3). But it is only by understanding how Lumholtz saw the world through the mindset of a Norwegian national living at the turn of the last century with professional ties to the United States, that we can grasp the significance of *Borneo*. In Lumholtz's fieldwork notebooks, written mostly in English but with some passages in Norwegian, and housed at the Museum of Cultural History in Oslo, he compares the Penihings and Long-Glats peoples' belief in a friendly spirit ("antoh") to that of the Norwegian "nøkken" (The Nix) superstition and at another point when he is traveling in a canoe in turbulent waters he is reminded of tobogganing in Norway (Lumholtz 2006, 105, 164).[8] The American author Henry James was struck by the ubiquity of this practice of comparison, unsure of its profit but acutely aware of how frequently travelers indulged in it. James even had a term for this type of inveterate traveler, calling him or her a "cosmopolite", someone "infected

8 Lumholtz's main concern while traveling through the choppy water was for the camera and other image-making equipment and instruments.

with a baleful spirit…that uncomfortable consequence of seeing many lands and feeling at home in none" (James as quoted in Leed 1991, 67).

Lumholtz was a cultural translator in more than one sense, translating his unfamiliar experiences in Borneo into relatable Norwegian referents, and, given his Norwegian mother tongue, translating his recollections and interpretation of the day's events into his English journal. Lumholtz may be perceived as a character in his own narrative of living in Borneo, a character he wants Norwegian readers to identify with. Although retaining his Norwegian citizenship, Lumholtz called New York his home after an 1890 US lecture tour, and despite periodic trips to Norway, he moved in an elite philanthropic circle of such notable men as Andrew Carnegie, J. Pierpont Morgan, and the Vanderbilts. Funding from the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH), the American Geographical Society, and private donations from wealthy New Yorkers made possible four major expeditions to the southwestern US and Mexico between 1890 and 1898, producing a masterful visual account of the peoples of the region.[9]

9 The first expedition took place in 1890–91 and was to Casa Grande, Arizona in the company of a physical geographer, botanist, and zoologist; the second in 1892 to the Tarahumare, Tepehuanes, and Tubares Indians; a third, the longest (three and a half years), most ambitious and sponsored by the AMNH, from 1894–97 where he lived once again with the Tarahumare, Coras, Huichol, Tepecanos, Nahuas, and Tarascos. According to King, he "made very large ethnographic and archaeological collections for the [AMNH] and compiled detailed data on little-known customs, myths, artifacts, vocabularies, melodies, and decorative patterns." His final expedition in 1898 was with Dr. Ales Hrdlicka and involved a relatively brief, four-month return visit to the Tarahumare and Huichol. (King 1991, xiii-ix).

Lumholtz's status as a wide-ranging explorer and Scandinavian transplant living in a cosmopolitan city helped him gain support for his research and may have motivated his decision to compose his field notes in English rather than Norwegian. He sought out potential sponsors for future expeditions within a growing milieu of adventurer-explorers, many of who were members of the Explorer's Club in New York City, including Carl Akeley and Martin and Osa Johnson. Fluent in Norwegian, English, and Spanish, Lumholtz followed a path of cultural migration from Europe to the United States. He was a cosmopolitan transnational, an ethnologist with neither formal training (not uncommon at the time) nor a permanent university appointment. Like other anthropologists of his generation, Lumholtz was part of a growing cohort of cultural collectors who moved from the center to periphery and back again, clustering in hubs such as New York, London, and Mexico City. They operated much like today's global cultural and scientific entrepreneurs, seeking sponsorship for their expeditions from museums, international organizations, and professional societies.

Lumholtz had certainly come a long way since suffering a mental breakdown while studying for his theology exams in 1869; recalling how he felt he wrote, "this strain brought on a nervous breakdown, which, however, unexpectedly turned to my benefit" (1921, 225–226). The episode placed him at a crossroads: that summer he traveled alone to collect specimens from the mountainous region of central Norway and underwent an experience reminiscent of psychologist Abraham Maslowe's (1964) idea of a peak experience, feeling at last free from the "confinements of metaphysics and

scholasticism", overcome, as it were by nature; in his words, "love of nature took stronger and stronger hold of me and one day it occurred to me what a misfortune it would be to die without having seen the whole earth" (Lumholtz 1921, 225–226).

Lumholtz's formative experience as a naturalist occurred while he was recovering from a stressful episode in his life; travelling, collecting, and being alone (which he was, as the only European on a great many of these expeditions) doubtless shaped how he saw the world, an invaluable frame of reference for understanding why he chose to shoot what he did when filming *Borneo* and why he struck out alone on so many of his expeditions.[10] The lure of travel as escape seems to have figured prominently in Lumholtz's life; as Bernard Sellato argues, "in truth it was maybe his contempt for the Westerners that led him to his errant life" (1994, 213).[11] Travel's deep roots in both a medieval notion of suffering, penance, and character testing and more modern notions of pleasure seeking underscore Lumholtz's wanderlust; as theorist Eric Leed explains, the "changes of character effected by travel are not so much the introduction of something new into the personality of the traveler as a revelation of something ineradicably present—perhaps courage, perdurance, the

10 Describing his third, and longest expedition to Mexico between 1894–97, Lumholtz wrote: "As on my former expeditions, I remained for months with different tribes, discharging my companions" (1903, 127).

11 In French: «En réalité, ce fut peut-être son mépris pour les Occidentaux qui le conduisit à sa vie d'errance.» My thanks to Philippe Boulet-Gercourt and Jill Boulet-Gercourt for assistance with translation.

ability to endure pain, the persistence of skills and abilities even in a context of fatigue and danger" (1991, 8).

Lumholtz is the participant observer *par excellence* in Borneo, not only recognizing the strategic value of "going native", in his words "gaining their friendship and their confidence specially by singing their songs and always treating them justly" (1903, 127), but also by being game, defined by the Oxford English dictionary as "full of pluck, spirit, or fight". Reviewing *Unknown Mexico*, British anthropologist Alfred Cort Haddon praised the author for being a trained explorer and humanist, someone who could not only "describe the country as he traverses and discourse pleasantly on the interesting animal and plant life…but, from our point of view… [demonstrates] the rarer and more valuable quality of sympathy with his fellow man." It was only by this faculty, Haddon argued, that "insight be gained into the true nature of the people" (1903, 27).[12] And yet Lumholtz's restlessness, his desire to be on the move in Borneo, sacrificed analytical depth for travelogue/generalist gloss, as he conceded in *Through Central Borneo* when he asked his colleagues to cut him some slack: "Circumstances naturally prevented me from making a thorough study of any tribe, but I indulge the hope that the material here presented may prove in some degree acceptable to the specialist as well as the general reader" (2006, n.p.).

12 *Man* was published by the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

Through Central Borneo: Intertextuality and the Political Economy of Image Collection

> At times the natives here showed no disinclination to being photographed, but they wanted wang (money) for posing.
> Carl Lumholtz, Borneo, 1914–17

Jointly financed by the King and Queen of Norway, the Norwegian Geographical Society, the Royal Geographic Society of London, and Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap (Dutch Royal Geographical Society), as well as what Lumholtz called "subscriptions" from Norwegian, American and English friends, Lumholtz nevertheless described the Borneo expedition as a "Norwegian undertaking", and not only hoped to meet up with a Norwegian geologist and botanist in Batavia, but arranged to have collections shipped back to Norway.[13] Lumholtz's fundraising derived from a patchwork of gifts from large state-funded institutions and friends, not that far removed from contemporary filmmakers seeking funding from philanthropic organizations as well as crowdsourced Kickstarter campaigns.

13 Norway almost lost the entire collection, however, and if the AMNH had not procrastinated about securing funds and low-balled the offer made to Lumholz's brother, executor of Carl's estate after his death in 1922, the collection would have stayed in New York rather than go to the Cultural History Museum in Oslo. See correspondence at the AMNH.

Traveling in Borneo differed from his earlier expeditions in the United States, Mexico, and Australia.[14] With European occupation of Borneo complete by 1906 (the Dutch controlled over two-thirds of the island), Lumholtz expressed doubts about finding pristine subjects to study: "Well administered by Europeans as Borneo undoubtedly is, the question may well arise as to whether the natives are not becoming sufficiently civilized to render purposeless expeditions to study them" (2006, 32). In addition to Ah Sewey, Lumholtz also hired J. Demmini, from the well-known Topografische Inrichting (Topographical Institute) in Batavia to be the expedition photographer and an indigenous surveyor, H.P. Loing, who also worked at the same institution (Lumholtz 2006, 109).[15] The colonial context is evoked by frequent shots early in the film of native guards under the command of a Dutch officer patrolling the river, footage of a squad of military police, and a shot of women at the river's edge sifting through gravel for precious stones. The Dutch-owned diamond plantations were leased to the native peoples, and stones were sent to Martapura to be cut by local experts.

14 Lumholtz's initial itinerary was scuttled as a result of war breaking out; he had planned to explore New Guinea but the Governor-General would allow him neither ships nor soldiers for the exploration. After initially visiting Borneo in 1914, he then traveled to India to wait out the war before returning to Borneo in 1915: "Plans were to start from Banjermasin in the south, ascend the Barito River, branching into its northern tributary the Busang, to cross the watershed to the Mahakam or Kutei River." Following this river to its mouth he would reach the east coast near Samarinda (Lumholtz 2006, 109).

15 Demmini left the expedition early due to illness and Lumholtz took over the job of photographing, enlisting the assistance of an unnamed lieutenant to develop the prints. Despite some unsatisfactory initial results, he got the hang of it and the images turned out to be usable (Lumholtz 2006, 175).

Fig. 1 Long shot of the expedition party, Borneo, c. 1916. Courtesy of the Museum of Cultural History, Oslo.

Traveling through territory that had been claimed not only by the Dutch but by the British, and far away from his adopted home in the United States, Lumholtz comes across as a more seasoned and relaxed ethnographer in Borneo than in Australia, comfortable among the thirteen tribes of the large island, and if occasionally frustrated at the extent of Western encroachment, nevertheless impressed by what he saw.[16] In this photograph of members of the expedition party (fig. 1) the landscape nearly absorbs the identities

16 The tribes included the Kayans, Kenyahs, Murungs, Penyahbongs, Saputans, the nomadic Punans and Bukits, Penihings, Oma-Sulings, Long-Glats, Katingans, Duhoi (Ot-Danums), and the Tamoans, Lumholtz, "Preface," Lumholtz, 2006.

of the group members, the giant trees in the foreground dramatically framing the group as it recedes into, and is almost engulfed by the dense jungle. If Lumholtz still ruled by the gun, he gave no hint of feeling threatened in Borneo, eulogizing: "Never have I been among a people so close to nature, strikingly intelligent, friendly, and the most aesthetic on the globe" (2006, 23).

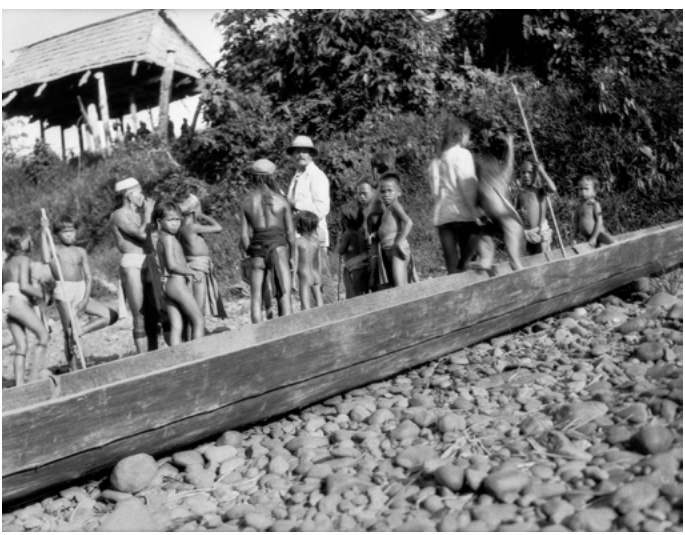

Fig. 2. The only image of the expedition party that includes Carl Lumholtz, Borneo, c. 1916. Courtesy of the Museum of Cultural History, Oslo.

Lumholtz's fieldnotes, photographs and film constitute a goldmine of information on the expedition.[17] Lumholtz is both a sightseer in the touristic sense and a site-seer in a cartographic sense, constructing a visual memory that, as film theorist Giuliana Bruno argues, shores up cinema's legacy as an apparatus that transforms pictures into a geography of lived and living space. Bruno's idea of the spectator as a *voyageur*, a passenger "who traverses a haptic, emotive terrain", is especially relevant in the case of films that constitute autoethnography when the camera is turned on the expedition party, since in these instances, the spectator is invited to identify more explicitly with the ethnographer-filmmaker's subjectivity (Bruno 2002, 16). However, staging scenes for the camera (paying subjects if necessary) and imposing temporal or spatial ellipses remind us that expedition footage is by no means a transparent record of what occurred in the profilmic encounter. And while expedition footage literalizes the idea of virtual travel, the idea of *being there* that Anne Friedberg famously called cinema's "*mobilized, 'virtual' gaze*", the constantly changing spatial cues can make for a discombobulating spectatorial experience, mitigated by the inclusion of intertitles or the contextualizing comments of a lecturer (1993, 2).

Like other anthropologists undertaking fieldwork, Lumholtz at times became the subject of a reverse ethnography, where the anthropologist outsider, rather than the indigenous insider, becomes

17 The Museum of Cultural History in Oslo owns more than 1,400 prints and negatives from Lumholtz's fieldwork in Mexico (1890–1910), Borneo (1914–1917) and India (1914–1915); the AMNH has more than 2,500 5 × 7 nitrate negatives, 300 61/2 × 81/1 negatives, in addition to glass plates (Broyles et al 2014, 4).

Fig. 3 Photograph with original caption from the book *Through Central Borneo* (1920): "Two Murung Women Squatting in Order to Observe the Author". Courtesy of the Museum of Cultural History, Oslo.

the object of the gaze, as illustrated in the caption for this photograph of three women squatting which says "Murung Women Squatting in Order to Observe the Author" (fig. 3). His decision to take the photograph and give it this caption introduces a playfully reflexive and equalizing quality to the visual encounter. Discussing his Mexico expeditions in a 1903 issue of *The Geographical Journal*, Lumholtz discussed becoming the object of suspicion and fear: "Always at first the natives would resist me, and I have in more than one tribe been considered as a man-eater, subsisting on women and children, whom I killed by the camera" (127). Lumholtz often performed his morning "gymnastic exercises" in front of an audience

of boys: "They do not know whether to laugh or not; this is not queerer than many other things they see the white man doing", he recounted in his diary.[18] Lumholtz reported feeling remarkably fit throughout the expedition, especially for someone in his mid-60s, although he did complain about the climate, saying he felt "almost unwell in the depressing atmosphere where the sun's rays have little effect".[19]

Fig. 4 Lumholtz participating in Katingan Dayaks' dance wearing a white pith helmet. Frame enlargement from *In Borneo the Land of the Head Hunters.* Original print held at the British Film Institute.

18 Lumholtz diary entry, May 4, 1914, Vol. III 1914-a2, March 25-May 12. Lumholtz Diary Collection, Museum of Cultural History, Oslo [hereafter abbreviated to LDC-MCH]. The diary is in three volumes; a roman numeral in the abbreviation signifies the volume.

19 Lumholtz diary entry, Jan. 19, 1914, LDCII-MCH

In addition to Lumholtz's presence acknowledged through glances or sustained gazes at the camera, in one sequence he takes center stage, asking his assistant Ah Sewey to shoot footage of Lumholtz participating in a Katingan Dayaks dance, part of a ceremony arranged for Lumholtz at Malay kampong, Maura Topu in the northern part of Borneo. The scene is a memorable example of reverse ethnography in which the anthropologist threatens to steal the limelight once he enters the scene, standing out as he does in his white pith helmet and western garb (fig. 4).[20] The intertitles provide a much-needed context on the ceremony with surprising candor, acknowledging that Lumholtz organized the ceremony and paid for the pig that would be sacrificed (the pig's blood would be offered to Kapatong, guardian of the soul of deceased tribe members). Paying six florins for the pig, the ceremony took place in front of the kapala's house next to a sacred pillar (called a kapatong) that had been erected on the occasion of a death. Lumholtz shot footage of six men dancing around the kapatong; musicians playing drums; the sacrifice of the pig whose blood is caught in a bowl; a man climbing the kapatong with the bowl; and the drinking of rice brandy.[21] Lumholtz enters the scene toward the end, when he is led by a woman to participate in the dance; holding hands in a circle, the dancers perform pliés in a slow rhythmic fashion creating the illusion that the sequence has been filmed in slow motion. Lumholtz

20 For a detailed analysis of this sequences see, Griffiths 2000, 91–110.

21 For a description of Dayak ceremony involving the sacrifice of the pig, see Lumholtz 2006, 115–118.

wants to be memorialized as a participant-observer in this sequence, and since he admits to having joined in the dance "on many previous occasions", this was an opportunity for him to record a cultural practice that was meaningful both for him and the Dayaks. The footage does double duty, therefore, serving both as a record of significant cultural rituals as well as validating Lumholtz's first-person witnessing of the event. No doubt it was added to Lumholtz's inventory of images he had taken (he kept a list of those he still needed to shoot). For example, an entry on May 16, 1914 lists "Dancing, Wrestling, Rice Pounding, Kampong landscape, Paddi ground, Ripping our eyebrows, Cradle, Women bamboo" as obtained, and under the word "Needed" includes fire-making implements and penis piercing.[22]

There's a mise-en-abyme quality to the structure of Lumholtz's diary, photographs, and film, with the diary referentially serving as the center of gravity for the book *Through Central Borneo* and the film's intertitles. Portions of the diary are reproduced verbatim in both the book and in the film's intertitles (written either by Lumholtz or by a professional title writer). Lumholtz's first-person narrative in the intertitles inject authenticity, drama, and a hint of his temperament into the film—in the case of his description of the Tase Nine Day Feast, the written word supersedes the visual, as the titles are noticeably longer than the relatively brief shots—his voice a direct echo of some of the standard tropes of

22 Lumholtz diary entry, May 16, 1914, LDCI-MCH

travel writing. We know from a diary entry about the Tase Nine Day Feast that the filming occurred on or around May 4, 1914; a woman who had been sick for two years had died and Lumholtz recalled listening to the hollowing out of the log to make the coffin in the shape of a rhinoceros. Adjusting the exposure times of the photographs he took of the coffin, Lumholtz returned at 3pm to, as he put it, "kinematograph" the heavy casket being carried aloft by several Dayak men, who apparently had no objection to him filming the proceedings (fig. 5).[23]

Lumholtz's diaries and the film's second intertitle contain references to the environmental challenges of travelling and working in Borneo:[24] "Considering the extremely moist climate, and that clear photography was possible only a few hours of the day we are fortunate in securing many beautiful scenes of the islands and the native tribes". The battle against the humidity was unending: "My cameras were inside of solid steel boxes, provided with rubber bands against the covers, making them water tight. Nevertheless upon opening one that had been closed for three weeks the camera inside was found to be white with mold".[25] Lumholtz's diary contains other clues about what it was like to work under demanding

23 Lumholtz Diary entry, May 4, 1914, LDCIII-MCH

24 My thanks to Øivind Fuglerud for providing information and access to this collection. Lumholtz wrote approximately 30 notebooks, mostly between 1914–1918. His digitized photographs can be found at http://www.unimus.no/foto. For an overview of Lumholtz's entire photographic oeuvre, see Broyles et al. 2014.

25 Lumholtz diary entries, Feb. 1, 1914 (Vol I LDCI-MCH) and Jan 14, 1914 Vol. II Jan. 6-March 24 (Vol. II LDCI-MCH); Lumholtz, 2006, 190.

Fig. 5 Dayak men carrying a coffin. Frame enlargement from *In Borneo the Land of the Head Hunters*.

field conditions, from the effect of the heat and humidity on the body (on May 2, Lumholtz complained that "perspiration falls like rain drops, when I photograph"[26]) to the political economy of image production, the fact that photographs and kinematographs, like all other material objects of value, came at a price. Lumholtz fretted about the rain's effect upon the photographic plates (he admitted in a Feb 1, 1914 diary entry that "I could not help thinking about the photo. [*sic*] plates"), taking advantage of breaks in the rain and fog to shoot.[27] Despite taking precautions, some rolls of film fell into

26 Lumholtz diary entry, May 2, 1914, LDC1-MCH

27 See the diary entry for Feb. 18, 1914, in which Lumholtz refers to hurrying out with this camera, LDC1-MCH.

the water (even finding water cold enough for developing plates was difficult), although despite these problems, Lumholtz established a veritable cottage industry of image making while traveling across the island.

In addition to securing cold water, other hurdles in the labor of image production include poor light as a result of rain and fog, drying film getting eaten by grasshoppers, equipment operation and safety, and sitter fees.[28] Money and commodities were often combined in the deals struck for photographing, filming, or taking anthropometric measurements of various tribes; wrote Lumholtz, "The Saputans were shy about being photographed, but their objections could be overcome by payments of coin. The kapala, always alive to the value of money, set the example by consenting to pose with his family for a consideration of one florin to each" (2006, 160). Regarding the Kenyah people, Lumholtz complained that "women, as usual, were timid about being photographed for it is a universal belief that such an operation prevents women from bearing children. However, by giving money, cloth, sugar, or the like, which would enable them to offer some little sacrifice to protecting spirits, I usually succeeded". If the woman was pregnant or caring for a small child, no inducement succeeded, since it was believed that the child would be plagued with bad luck or disease if exposed to the camera (2006, 70). Lumholtz would often take anthropometric mea-

28 For more on the challenges of procuring footage, see Lumholtz 2006, preface, 40, 45, 70, 114, 142, 151, 171, 179.

surements and photographs in the same sitting, and complained about "gently protesting natives, to whose primitive minds these operations appear weirdly mysterious" (2006, 176). Both anthropometry and photography produced knowledge about the body, but were plagued by inaccuracies, inflated truth-values, and intrusive logistics; Lumholtz tried bribing one kapala with gin when he refused to be photographed because his wife was pregnant (he resisted being measured as well but finally gave in). Lumholtz became something of the bogey-man-with-the-camera for the women and children who feared that every time they saw him he would want to take their likeness (2006, 205, 262).

Other aspects of image production brought additional stress. Despite complaining about having to pay for permission to take certain photographs, Lumholtz suffered from the opposite problem, being inundated with visitors requesting to be photographed and having to "deny myself to all callers regardless of their wishes" (2006, 52). Lumholtz also worried about finding suitable subjects representative of specific cultural practices or indigenous types, and, not surprisingly, making them comply to his staging requests, including making a Sultan man dress in full garb (Lumholtz recorded in his diary that the "black coat troubled [the man] immensely)".[29] This reminds us not only of Mary Louise Pratt's model of the contact zone, but also of the unusual status of the expedition film as a genre with frequently paid social actors. One seldom thinks about the

29 Lumholtz diary entry, March 2, 1914, Vol. II Jan. 6-March 24; LDCII-MCH

subjects of documentary films receiving payment for their appearance, but in many ethnographic films, there's a fair trade policy at work (1991, 34).[30]

Ethnographic filmmaker and visual anthropology theorist David MacDougall's argument that the film viewer is more restrained than a viewer in daily life (2006, 22) is illustrated in an intertitle stating, "you might not think it, but this Saputan swimmer is a man", a title that should more logically read "you might not be able to see it", reminding us that knowledge is always contingent in ethnographic image collection. The intertitles also don't tell us about how concerned Lumholtz was traveling by river: "Quite refreshing to hear their joyous shouts" he wrote as five Trahus and twenty-four Dayak men "eagerly and quickly paddled us up against the stream… One soon assumes a feeling of confidence in these experienced men, as they accord to circumstances, paddled, stalked or dragged us by the long rattan rope which is attached to the bow of the boat, inside".[31] However, as speech acts that skew our interpretation of the moving images surrounding them, intertitles cannot explain the meaning of one of the most enigmatic shots in ethnographic film, the return gaze, a shot whose effects Paula Amad argues are "profoundly ambivalent", analogous to a "handwritten

30 An example can be seen in the fact that Lumholtz is both drawn to and repelled by the native women in Borneo, and finds them to be enigmatic subjects. Describing Kayan women he said: "The women, free and easy in their manners, were ladylike to a surprising degree. In spite of having had ten teeth of the upper jaw filed down and the remainder coloured black by the constant chewing of bretel, they are literally to the manner born", Lumholtz 2006, 53.

31 Lumholtz diary entry, May 1, 1914, LDCI-MCH

note found amid the otherwise printed official record of history [that] seems to stare down the present, demanding a historical showdown of sorts" (2013, 54).

Fig. 6 Sapotan chief getting his ears pierced. Frame enlargement from *In Borneo the Land of the Head Hunters*.

A scene in which a Sapotan chief gets his ears pierced with an empty cartridge so a tiger's corner tooth can be inserted in the ear lobe is fascinating not only for the suspicious glances at the camera of two of the attendants, but for the corporeal squirm experienced by the audience (fig. 6), what Amad describes as a "highly affective response…in the viewer-critic [that] often resembles a sort of shudder (of complicity, disgust, empathy, and/or pleasure)" (54). The attendants' glance at the camera seems to trigger what MacDougall, borrowing Merleau-Ponty's idea of a "postural 'impregnation'",

argues is a corporeal and emotional transference between spectator and subject, a "deeper response than empathy, as if the body had been struck, or had taken on the physical qualities of the other body" (2006, 23). Lumholtz maintains a respectful (and safe) distance throughout this scene in medium long shot; a board is held behind the chief's earlobe to provide traction for the insertion of the cartridge and to mitigate concerns aroused by the release of evil spirits from the shedding of the chief's blood; rice, believed to liberate good spirits, is scattered on the ground. "For a compensation I was permitted to photograph [the] operation", wrote Lumholtz, noting too, that given its importance, it was well worth the expense (2006, 201).

Fig. 7 Rajah warriors holding shields in front of their bodies. Frame enlargement from *In Borneo the Land of the Head Hunters*.

Another return gaze shot with equally visceral power is the warrior demonstration sequence, reminiscent of the 1898 British film *Savage Attack at Southampton* where African men arriving at the British port stand with their shields and spears facing the camera. Lumholtz's warrior scene opens with a long shot in which eight men run rapidly toward the camera, ending up in a tight tableau that showcases their decorative shields (fig. 7). Their return gazes remind us that the shot can be associated with spectacle, visual excess, and many other meanings as the audience becomes a stand-in for the enemy, colonial authorities, neutral bystander, or even family members.

Through Central Borneo and the Enigmatic Expedition Film

> I felt inclined to join the dancers.
> Intertitle, *In Borneo*[32]

Film shot as part of expeditions varies in length, quality, frequency, purpose, style, tone, usefulness, and shelf life, sometimes becoming orphaned or even destroyed because of nitrate damage or combustion. Cultural practices are either staged specifically for the camera with the filmmaker (or sometimes native peoples) making specific

32 This intertitle contextualizes a scene when Lumholtz joins the Katingan Dayaks dance after being led by "the most beautiful maiden of the tribe" into the performance to drink from a rice brandy bowl; the full intertitle reads: "Entering into the spirit of the ceremony, I felt inclined to join the dancers as I have done on many previous occasions".

requests, or the camera records from the point of view of a bystander. When escapologist Harry Houdini became enamored with film in the mid-1910s, he started lugging a motion-picture camera with him and would shoot situations that seemed unusual or uncanny, such as a visit to a cemetery that would always include footage of Houdini posing among the graves (Kellock 1928, 272). A desire to experience a singular phenomenon—such as meeting a famous person—was often in competition with the need to memorialize it on film, a dilemma affecting virtually everyone today with a smartphone: to record or to experience unencumbered by a device.

While the decision to shoot footage for an expedition film is dependent on a range of variables including weather conditions, co-operation of the film's intended subjects, wishes of the sponsor, presence of a professional filmmaker, and intended use value of the footage, the long take often defines the visual vocabulary of the pre-1920 expedition film. The most enigmatic of shots, the long take calls attention to cinema's artifice while simultaneously inviting us to become lost in the time of the shot, as Mary Ann Doane argues:

> [T]he long take is a gaze at an autonomous, unfolding scene whose duration is a function of the duration and potential waywardness of events themselves. Its length situates it as an invitation to chance and unpredictability, an invitation that is abruptly canceled by the cut. The cut is the mechanism whereby temporality becomes a product of the apparatus, repudiating the role of cinema as a record of a time outside itself (2002, 224).

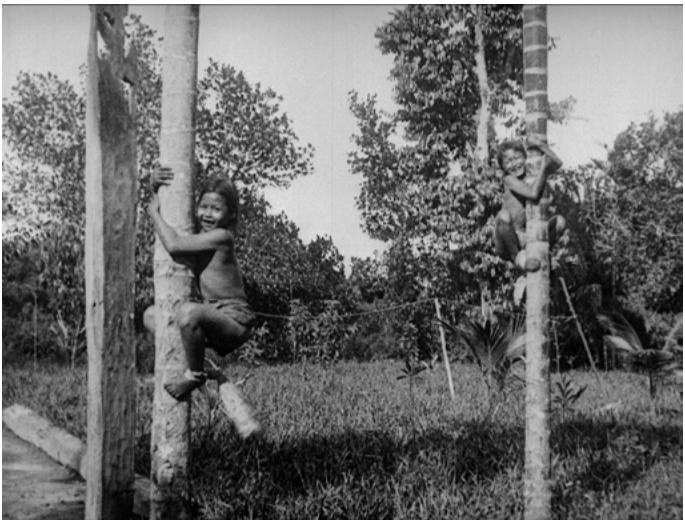

Fig. 8 Boys climbing trees. Frame enlargement from *In Borneo the Land of the Head Hunters*.

A sequence from *In Borneo* in which we witness two boys climb a tree (fig. 8), marvel at their skills, and perhaps entertain the idea of a sudden intrusion into the edges of the frame or slip by the climbers, speaks to another aspect of Doane's analysis of the long take, the likelihood that the source of disruption may come not only from editing but some unintended action, person, or animal entering the frame. Doane's notion of the ineluctable cut slicing into the profilmic is illustrated in a sequence in which women puff nonchalantly on large handmade cigars. Lumholtz referred to the women smoking cigars "just like men" in a journal entry for May 16, 1914, noting that they often smoked while drying bamboo upright in front of a

fire.[33] In this instance the long take is tantamount to staring or gawking, where the novelty value of the observed tempts the observer to stick around and keep looking. The long take's isomorphism with the human stare reminds us that just like looking, there are many factors involved in ending a shot, including running out of film, the safety of the filmmaker, and ethical sensitivity toward the filmed subject, although the camera, unlike a starer, is more likely to take liberties and roll well past the point of approbation.

The expedition genre's logic of forward movement is visually corroborated in the recurring shot of travel by water (an overdetermined sign given it was crucial for developing photographs). The codification of this shot in both travel and expedition film exemplifies Gregory A. Waller's (2012) point about the modular structure of expedition film, its lack of cause and effect, eschewal of chronology, and organization around points of interest; as Jennifer Peterson explains, "In contrast to the narrative-driven lecture that serves as their model, most travelogue films lack even the barest narrative gesture of a journey. The films simply present a series of images joined together by the unifying topic of place" (2013, 146). But if some of the points of interest in *Borneo* seem arbitrary and fragmented, there's a similarly elliptical quality to Lumholtz's prose in the book; across two conjoining sentences he jumps from birth, to burial, to climbing: "At the birth of a child all the men leave the premises, including the husband. The dead are buried in the ground

33 Lumholtz Fieldwork Diary, Vol. I 1914, Jan. 6-April 5, LDCI-MCH.

a metre deep, head toward the rising sun. The Punans climb trees in the same manner as the Kayans and other Dayaks I have seen…" (2006, 50). On the surface, Lumholtz's hopscotching around topics shares little with observational cinema's more leisurely visual dynamic, espoused by film theorist André Bazin, ethnographic film educator Colin Young, and the anthropologist Roger Sandall (who coined the term "observational" for certain documentary film types in 1972), what Anna Grimshaw and Amanda Ravetz describe as "the renewed respect for context, a foregrounding of relationships, connections and continuities rather than an isolation of discrete segments or parts" (Grimshaw and Ravetz 2009, 5). And yet Lumholtz's film holds our gaze on many occasions and if viewed in conjunction with the book, promises an experience closer to slow cinema than the moving postcard aesthetic of the early travelogue.[34] While space precludes more in-depth discussion of what cues an elliptical versus sustained engagement with a subject matter, suffice it to say that the presence of both is a signal feature of many ethnographic films made at this time.

34 For more on the aesthetic impulses of the travelogue, see Peterson 2013, 137–74. Slow cinema is a form of art cinema emphasizing the long take, an anti-narrative sensibility, and a strong observational quality. See Luca and Jorge 2015, and Jaffe 2014.

The Governing Logic, Audience, and Legacy of the Expedition Film

By 1930, well over ten years after Lumholtz made *Borneo*, the expedition genre had been popularized by a series of box office hits, including *Nanook of the North* (Robert Flaherty, 1922), *Simba: King of the Beast* (Martin and Osa Johnson, 1928), *Grass: A Nation's Battle for Life* (Merian C. Cooper and Ernest Schoedsack, 1925); *Chang: A Drama of the Wilderness* (Merian C. Cooper and Ernest Schoedsack, 1927); and *Hunting Tigers in India* (James Leo Meehan, 1929). Responding to the box office appeal of these films, a 1930 *Variety* article entitled "Wealthy Killing Time Making Travel Films" noted: "With money and time on their hands, this form of amusement has a particular appeal for the sportsman type among the wealthy. All those who penetrate… far-off places do not always make pictures deliberately intended for public exhibition, but most take along plenty of still cameras and at least one small motion picture camera" (90). Coining the term "rich man expeditions", *Variety* cited several recent examples of Park Avenue financing supporting the costs of the equipment and film, including Robert Flaherty's mentee Varick Frissell, whom with backing from Paramount Pictures, filmed the first Hollywood-style sound film in Canada, but was tragically killed by dynamite when he returned to shoot additional footage of the Labrador ice floes.[35] Had Lumholtz lived that long, he would

35 Frissell established the Newfoundland-Labrador Film Company, which sailed in January 1930 to St. John's to shoot footage of the seal-hunting trade. According to *Variety*, Frissell was responsible for directing both the expedition and the film (Anon 1930, 90).

doubtless have known Frissell, and even though raised in different social contexts, both were infected by wanderlust and a desire to make the farthermost reaches of the globe more accessible to armchair Columbuses back home.

It's interesting to consider what kind of audience is imagined for the expedition film in its most inclusive form. Although *Borneo* was made at the cusp of the first wave of explorer-adventurer films, it was influenced more by the ethnographic travelogue of itinerant lecturers such as Lyman H. Howe, Burton Holmes, and Douglas Mawson than by the romanticized ethnographic reconstructions of Robert Flaherty and Edward Curtis. It's inadvisable, however, to draw hard and fast distinctions across these expedition films, since, as Waller has pointed out, they are all marked by generic inclusiveness (2012). Not all expedition *footage* gets edited into an expedition *film*; unlike travelogues, expedition films are not necessarily expository (although they can be instructional). Footage sometimes remains in modular form, developed in the order it was shipped, and retained as a visual record similar to written fieldnotes.

The expedition film is governed by a "yes…but" structure, suggesting ways in which it conforms to other nonfiction genres of the era, but also the ways in which it is exceptional. It is like the travelogue, but not as slick; like the manners and customs ethnographic film, but with a wandering eye; and finally, like the soon-to-be-coined documentary film, but with less discipline or coherent aesthetic style. Elsewhere I have written that expedition films are barely films at all, insofar as they conform neither to the protocols of the industrialized Hollywood product, the oneiric quality of the

home movie, nor the instructional mandate of the early actuality (Griffiths 2013, 90–108). There's an awkwardness to the expedition film, a result of the camera's subsidiary role in the expedition, the frequent discomfort of both the native peoples and the members of the expedition party in front of the camera, and the "we were here" imperative that puts pressure on the cinematographer to decide when and what to shoot. To be sure, by the early 1910s, virtually every major expedition party heading out either toward the poles, jungle, or desert included a cinematographer with them. Arthur Edwin Krows, author of the multi-part "Motion Pictures—Not For Theatres" published in *Educational Screen* in the late 1930s, traced this influence to Paul Rainey's *African Hunt* (1912) and Herbert Ponting's *90 Degrees South* (1914) about Captain Robert Falcon Scott, films with a powerful bandwagon effect (1938, 325).

Given that expedition films are born out of unique geo-cultural conditions, it behoves us to tread with care when generalizing too much, since for every popularized expedition film that was released to critical acclaim or deemed a box office flop in the 1920s and 1930s, there were films being shot with far less fanfare, on miniscule budgets, and with no clear idea as to who they were being made for other than the sponsoring institution. As for the indigenous peoples who appear on camera, they have every right to claim these films as important historical records of their cultural patrimony as Australian Aborigines did with Haddon's five 1898 films of the Mer islanders off the northeast coast of Australia, which last

approximately four minutes (Griffiths 2002, 127–148).[36] We can but hope that the descendants of the people of Borneo who appear in this film find much in Lumholtz's footage to celebrate; these are, after all, their ancestors, their lives, their cultural patrimony. This may be easier said than done, however, as Jane Anderson and Kim Christen point out in their research on alternatives to traditional copyright for indigenous communities and the cultural materials they steward: "Framed as the 'subjects' of these works, not as their authors and owners, Indigenous peoples and communities have had no legal rights to determine how and when this documentary material should be accessed or by whom" (2013, 106). This is thankfully changing as a result of the Traditional Knowledge (TK) Licenses and Labels initiative, which will be delivered through an accessible educational digital platform.[37] When Lumholtz recorded in his diary the single word "Kinematographed", the verb signified an activity that was not only logistically fraught and unpredictable in terms of the image quality and use value, but was also enmeshed in debates that would only surface decades later as the "complex intellectual property needs of Indigenous peoples, communities, and collectivities wishing to manage, maintain, and preserve their digital cultural heritage" are positioned in relation to multiple sets of rights and stakeholders (Anderson and Christen 2013, 106).

Some expedition footage remains raw forever, consisting of very brief recordings of cultural practices, as was the case with

36 For more on Haddon's 1898 ethnographic filmmaking, see Griffiths 2002, 127–48.

37 http://localcontexts.org/ Accessed August 31, 2017.

Haddon's films. Ironically, in the case of *Borneo: In the Land of the Head-Hunters*, the film may finally find the audience Lumholtz hoped for but never reached, in part due to his sudden death in 1921 and the film's dive into obscurity. There are records of just two screenings, at the London Geographical Society and in Oslo in 1920, and no evidence of a theatrical run or screenings in the United States. The folksy style of the intertitles with reference to prohibition not having reached Borneo is fairly incontrovertible proof that Lumholtz had an American audience in mind when he returned to the US with the footage. Had Lumholtz lived longer, there's no doubt his film would have been screened at the AMNH and at the Explorer's Club in New York and other scientific organizations, although it would have been overshadowed in 1922 by the release of Flaherty's blockbuster *Nanook* that captured the public imagination and led to a contract with Paramount to repeat the success. The modular structure of each film—*Nanook* hews to a more linear narrative in the sequences with his pseudo-family, with memorable scenes of hunting, ceremonial life, dance, travel, and awareness of the camera—is conveniently sized for the elliptical form of contemporary online and social media platforms. Lumholtz's diary entries read in some instances like Facebook or Instagram feeds, and some of the film's scenes could be compared to contemporary Vlogging.

But let us not forget that in addition to being a skilled ethnographer, Lumholtz was a businessman who wanted to exploit the cross-platform appeal of his ethnography (he had presumably made money from sales of his previous books and, perhaps, hoped to make even more money from the Borneo trip in book and film

form). Collectively, the book, diaries, and film help us better grasp Lumholtz's legacy as an early twentieth-century ethnographer, adventurer, and writer who understood the significance of film as a modern recording device. Lumholtz's image-making and books are testimony to the long history of the global circulation of images of native peoples, a history that involves all manner of deft negotiations, transactions, and finagling seldom visible in the image track and intertitles. Lumholtz embodied the modern anthropological commitment to what Anna Grimshaw calls the going to see for yourself principle, rejecting "hearsay" in favor of a multimodal approach to collecting visual and written information (2001, 7). That Lumholtz had no problem moving freely across the various textual forms he produced lends weight to Grimshaw's argument about the "interplay between vision as method and metaphysic," a way of using images to situate oneself in relation to the world as well as to tell stories about that world (2001, 10,7). Lumholtz's world was rapidly changing, as he lamented when he commented on the sociopolitical structure of Borneo, although popular interest in native peoples had by no means softened, as evidenced by the financial success of many commercial ethnographic films of the 1920s. Lumholtz's legacy has been protected through the careful archiving of his photographic collection; his film *Borneo: In the Land of the Head-Hunters* can now be added to this corpus and situated within a broader context of Norwegian expedition films that includes the triumphal polar expedition filmmaking discussed elsewhere in this collection.

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07. In the Wake of a Postwar Adventure: Myth and Media Technologies in the Making of *Kon-Tiki*

Axel Andersson and Malin Wahlberg

Kon-Tiki (1950) stands out as the most internationally successful and popular documentary ever produced by the Scandinavian film industry. The box office success of the 1951 international version of the film, and the related Academy Award (1952), ensured that this spectacular and risky sea crossing, and reenactment of a prehistoric voyage, became a world famous event. In 1947, Thor Heyerdahl and five crew members covered the 8,000 kilometers of ocean between Peru and a Polynesian island on a balsa raft that was constructed almost entirely without the benefit of modern tools, ropes, or nails. Heyerdahl undertook this voyage to prove his theory that prehistoric white people, who had initiated the great civilizations of the Americas, had sailed on to Polynesia. Basing his theory on pseudo-scientific studies on "race" developed by writers like Arthur de Gobineau in the nineteenth century and further elaborated by the eugenicist movement of the early twentieth, Heyerdahl proposed a constitutive link between whiteness and civilization (Andersson 2010, 83–93, 153–163; Andersson 2011, 71–77). To bolster his argument,

he interwove it with idiosyncratic interpretations of myths from the Americas and Polynesia.[1] The Kon-Tiki project was designed to explore "non-western myths", but the supposed verification provided by the expedition was based on colonial preconceptions, which were themselves expressions of racist and mythical assumptions of whiteness. The project also provided a new narrative that enshrined the event, including the word "Kon-Tiki", in popular post-war culture.

Heyerdahl, who has since been acknowledged as a national hero in Norway, is also considered the director of the film *Kon-Tiki*. The formative role of this film is evident at the Kon-Tiki Museum in Oslo, where visitors attend screenings arranged close to the ultimate artefact of the voyage: the balsa raft itself. An international version of the DVD is for sale in the museum shop. It credits Heyerdahl as the director of the film and identifies the Kon-Tiki Museum in Oslo as the copyright holder. The museum plays a crucial role in commemorating Heyerdahl as a Norwegian national hero. The film *Kon-Tiki* also serves to bridge the present and the past as a significant Norwegian symbol of national identity infused with a theme of heroic masculinity that also characterizes a wider Norse seafaring tradition associated with figures such as Roald Amundsen (1872–1928) and Fridtjof Nansen (1861–1930). This association is further strengthened by the museum's location just across from the Norwegian Maritime Museum and the Fram Museum. The latter

1 And misinterpretations; see Kirch 2012, 59.

was built around the schooner used by Nansen and Amundsen. The Kon-Tiki Museum is also not far from the Viking Ship Museum, confirming the link to an even longer nautical tradition.

For the present volume, we argue that Kon-Tiki as a historical expedition, a film, and a transnational production history deserves renewed attention. Most importantly, its production history yields new insights into the expedition film as media culture, screen event, and intercultural narrative in the post-war era. In the following, we propose a critical reassessment of the expedition and the production of *Kon-Tiki* to illuminate some historiographic aspects of myth and myth-making, and to look more closely at the international interests, transnational influences, and media technologies involved in how Heyerdahl created this narrative.

Strangely absent in Heyerdahl's own account of the film, as well as in subsequent scholarship, is its transnational production history. It is true that leading film historians in the field, such as Gunnar Iversen, have credited the importance of the Swedish company Artfilm and the producer and director Olle Nordemar's realization of *Kon-Tiki* in Stockholm 1949–50 (2001a, 84). Eric Nordemar edited the film and the cinematographers Gösta Bjurman and Hilding Bladh managed to re-frame Heyerdahl's original film images, which were in turn orchestrated by Gösta Wiholm's dramatic sound effects and Sune Waldimir's musical score.[2] What neverthe-

2 See the Swedish Film Database. http://www.sfi.se/sv/svensk-filmdatabas/Item/?itemid=4293&type=MOVIE&iv=Basic. Accessed August 22, 2017.

less remains obscure is the longer, more complex, production history of the film, which started with the gradual realization of the expedition as a media event, and tied in to Olle Nordemar's experience with 16mm film aesthetics, film production in wartime Hollywood, and the crucial role played by the optical printer he obtained in the US and brought back to Stockholm.

In Norwegian film history, there are more representative examples of the expedition genre, but *Kon-Tiki* is historically and culturally an interesting case in that the film has been formative in the production and reproduction of a Norwegian success story and in the national commemoration of this historical event. *Kon-Tiki* presents national and international audiences with a screen event and a drama that retains its fascination. Nordemar's editing and orchestration of the surviving 16mm footage combined with Heyerdahl's poetic and entertaining narration in ways that enhanced the document of a spectacular expedition. This is especially poignant in the three 1950 Scandinavian versions, that include voice-over tracks in Danish, Swedish and Norwegian respectively, with the commentary spoken by Heyerdahl himself. Similarly, the 16mm camera played an important role in the enactment of the unlikely sea crossing. The original 16mm footage provided a mesmerizing record of life and events onboard the Kon-Tiki, but an attentive look at the sequences also reveals activities, thrills, and gags that tie in nicely with *Kon-Tiki* as a cinematic adventure. As will be discussed, the 16mm camera was pivotal to Heyerdahl's attempt to prove his theories, prepare illustrations for his forthcoming lectures, and infuse his narrative with dramatic details and comic anecdotes. Hence, it is

not merely the film's production history that calls for a more thorough reflection, but the success of *Kon-Tiki* in reenacting and commemorating the actual expedition. The film breaks with narrow conceptions of film genres, such as the expedition film, the wildlife documentary, and the adventure film, to exemplify the workings of related cinematic conventions. We argue that even from the perspective of contemporary documentary, *Kon-Tiki* stands out as a film in which the paradoxes immanent to André Bazin's "thrill of the real" seem to play out, or to crystallize in ways that mirror "our obsession with realism", to quote Philip Rosen's reading of Bazin (2003, 48).

Heyerdahl and the expedition film

The relationship between documentation and storytelling in *Kon-Tiki* cannot be limited to a consideration of the film's aesthetics and mode of address. It calls for a discussion that extends the framework of this production history to include the media coverage of the expedition itself and Heyerdahl's conscious crafting of the narrative. Hence, we will have to start by contextualizing the expedition, as the adventurer-scientist Heyerdahl seems to have been quite aware of the workings of media technology and media culture.

By the time Heyerdahl and his crew completed the construction of their "prehistoric" balsa raft, what constituted an expedition had devolved somewhat from the path-breaking process of discovery that it once denoted. It had been associated with the pursuit of the "firsts" in terms of conquests that had spurred expeditions as adventures and potential narratives. As the number of such "firsts" or conquests diminished, this challenge affected the expedition

genre and how they would be represented in media culture. Born in 1914, Heyerdahl grew up during an era where classical tales of discovery would still impress and mesmerize the audiences of illustrated lectures and films. But as he eventually found, few adventurous journeys remained to be undertaken. A year spent in French Polynesia (1936–1937) provided him with his first expeditionary adventure, although, at this point, the destination in question had been "discovered" so many times that it had turned into a cliché. Heyerdahl had a difficult time turning this voyage into a compelling narrative, seemingly at first unaware that classical Romantic Polynesian exotica was outdated. In 1938, Heyerdahl published *På jakt efter paradiset* (*Hunt for Paradise*) and began lecturing, but with little success. He was still nothing but a latecomer to expeditions and to French Polynesia.

Ten years later, Heyerdahl initiated a second project. This time, he undertook what he described to be an experimental method for proving his hypotheses on prehistoric migrations. "Historical reenactment" or "experimental archaeology" would perhaps be the contemporary labels most fitting for his method. The aim was to replicate a type of balsa raft that, according to his research and related assumptions, had brought a white "culture-bearing aristocracy" from South America to populate Polynesia (Heyerdahl 1950, 15, 17–21, 133–134, 152; Heyerdahl 1952, 229, 345, XXVI–XXVII). This would explain why the islands of the Pacific were inhabited by a people "more like ourselves [addressing a supposed white reader] than most aboriginal people", characterized by "intelligent features appealing to the European mind" (1952, 3, 13, 91). The raft was

named after the supposed leader of the original journey of discovery: Con Tici, now spelled "Kon-Tiki" for trademark purposes (Andersson 2010, 71). Heyerdahl's efforts in trademarking make it clear that he was now more aware of the role of media, or that producing media content was one of the primary aims of the voyage. At the outset of the project, Heyerdahl sought to maximize media attention by making use of a combination of different platforms and publications. He secured a contract with a publisher for a future book, but he also made sure to add 16mm cameras and radio equipment to the list of things needed for the expedition. Kon-Tiki was to be framed and documented as an epic journey (Andersson 2010, 35, 45–46). The previous failure was not to be repeated.

The stated goal of the Kon-Tiki expedition, to provide an *authentic* reenactment of a prehistoric sea journey, presented Heyerdahl with a dilemma (Andersson 2010, 33, 66). The scientific project risked being reduced to mere spectacle, with the entire expedition appearing to have been undertaken with the sole aim of creating a media sensation. In addition, bringing modern media technology on board had the potential for anachronism on a supposedly "prehistoric" journey (Andersson 2010, 33). As shown by the other chapters of this volume (see Ytreberg, Gaines, and Diesen), modern journeys of "discovery" or "exploration", such as the race to the poles in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the later rivalry to conquer Mount Everest, were staged before the camera to provide a visual record for upcoming lectures and books. Many of these adventures were also subject to news coverage. In Norway, as elsewhere, photographic documentation was key for

expeditions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as for example, in the case of Roald Amundsen, who reached the South Pole in 1911.

According to Gunnar Iversen, Amundsen's first project in 1896 produced an extensive collection of photographs. Contemporary media technology was a prerequisite for the documentation and financing of expeditions. The "expedition film" became an acknowledged documentary genre in 1912 with Amundsen's short film *Roald Amundsens Sydpolsferd (1910–1912)* (Roald Amundsen's South Pole Expedition (1910–1912). Iversen emphasizes that Amundsen not only brought camera equipment but a projector as well, and aside from filming everyday activities and dramatic scenes set up primarily for future screen attractions, screenings were regularly scheduled to entertain and encourage the crew (2001b, 142–143). Iversen contends that Kon-Tiki holds a significant position as Norway's most famous documentary, suggesting that it is not only part of cultural memory, but of "our preconception of national identity" (2001a, 84). Still, in the shadow of Amundsen and the travelogues and expedition films of the 1910s through the 1950s, Iversen contends that Kon-Tiki was "a mere by-product". Heyerdahl's journey was no film expedition, but an adventurous and risky sea crossing, in which the 16mm cameras were primarily used to provide visible evidence of his and his crew's achievement (2001a, 84). Iversen downplays the impact of the film in Norway at the time of its international success, asserting that Kon-Tiki was "less important than the equally well received 1950 production *Gjensyn med jungelfolket* (*Forbidden Jungle* by Per Høst) and his later film Same

Jakki (Last of the Nomads, Per Høst, 1957) (2001a, 90, see also Iversen in this volume).

If *Kon-Tiki* was a "by-product", the question remains: of what? (2001a, 84). It has often been suggested that Heyerdahl's 16mm record of the expedition was made merely for "scientific purposes", or, in the words of André Bazin, filmed "without thinking too much of its commercial value" (1952, 28).[3] The dangerous expedition was thus made to prove a theory by means of a spectacular reenactment and, of course, visible evidence contributed to giving credibility to the enterprise. Still, even before the publication and cinematic enactment of the Kon-Tiki narrative, the expedition was also accomplished as a media event.

A media event in the making

Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz's (1992) notion of the "media event" in the sense of "television ceremonies" and social integration "achieved via mass communication" has provided a useful analytical tool in contemporary media studies. The case of Kon-Tiki calls attention to the possibility of historicizing and further elaborating this concept. The Kon-Tiki expedition was not only a risky sea voyage and the bold attempt of an adventurer and amateur scientist to prove his theses, it was meticulously and intentionally the subject of an enacted media event. Throughout the journey, Heyerdahl worked on his story, while also consciously staging dramatic scenes for it.

3 Authors' translation.

The unfolding narrative reached audiences via newspaper articles wired from the raft—thus long before the expedition was conveyed as an authentic story by Heyerdahl's illustrated lectures, his book and, eventually, the film.

Dayan and Katz focus on the example of television, the space-binding and real-time aspect of news coverage in broadcast media, and the global reach and unifying rituals of television spectatorship. On a related note, Nick Couldry addresses the media event as something that "connects actions across multiple locations within an overall action-frame that is focused on one central, broadcast 'event'" (2003, 60). This focus on visual media and live transmission tends to overlook earlier ways in which news was conveyed and audiences addressed in the pre-television era. Dayan and Katz's concept of the "*live* and *remote*" could also relate to radio transmissions, and the extensive interplay between radio technology and print media that characterized the highly publicized world of the modern journey of discovery. The approximate real-time of current affairs in newspaper reports and radio-transmitted expedition updates were successful in forging a present event into an unfolding story of transnational media attention.

Before the departure, Heyerdahl made a deal with the international press syndicate North American Newspaper Association (NANA) in addition to one with Norsk Telegrambyrå (NTB) for the Norwegian press rights. The deal with NANA, signed in February 1947, ensured Heyerdahl a prestigious platform, with the *New*

York Times as one of NANA's customers.[4] In his subsequent books, Heyerdahl contends that he had hesitated to bring a radio on board because it would have been out of place on a prehistoric raft (1950, 33). But at the same time, the deals with NANA and NTB were based on continuous radio broadcasts throughout the crossing. Furthermore, Heyerdahl had an arrangement with the Norwegian military stationed in Washington, where he was able to set up office for his expedition with the military attaché of the Norwegian Embassy. These contacts also made it possible to get in touch with American and British Armed Forces, which would help equip the raft with, among other things, radio wireless sets. In all, four such sets were provided and installed on the raft. The Pentagon took an active interest in the voyage, probably seeing an opportunity to generate positive publicity.

During the 101-day voyage, the six-man crew, of which two were skilled operators, sent 370 messages, both in Morse code and as audio communication (the latter to be used for radio broadcasts). Heyerdahl sent an article about every second day to the NANA office for them to sell as soon as possible to US and international media, as he wanted to keep media attention for the Kon-Tiki expedition in order to, as quickly as possible, connect to a large readership. Through these writings in the newspapers, Heyerdahl paved the way for the Kon-Tiki story to be represented in other media after

4 The production of the media event surrounding the Kon-Tiki and the production of the film is evident from the uncatalogued Thor Heyerdahl archive at the Kon-Tiki Museum. See Andersson, 2010, 33–55,113–122.

the voyage. Hence, Heyerdahl was *performing* the expedition as an event both lived and transmitted. He wrote, photographed and, not least, filmed, throughout the journey in order to ensure documentation and the material for upcoming presentations.

In total, Heyerdahl wrote 60 articles on the raft, and the broadcast updates were primarily transmitted and published in the United States. The *New York Times*, for example, published 36 of Heyerdahl's articles that had been wired to the NANA office for editing and delivery to the papers. He evidently viewed the United States as the most important market for this dramatized adventure. He lectured extensively in the United States during the winter and spring of 1948, making use of a rough copy of the 16mm footage. Although the camera was crucial for the expedition, something that he noted even before leaving Peru, selling the film for theatrical release proved much more complicated than expected.

Kon-Tiki: a Trans-Atlantic production history

Towards the end of the film *Kon-Tiki*, following the dramatic landing of the balsa raft on the deadly reefs of a Polynesian island, a sequence shows Heyerdahl and his crew securing the heroic wreck. The broken mast is decorated with two flags, the Norwegian flag and a smaller one, "that of The New York Explorer's Club," as explained by the narrator. The ritual hoisting of this particular flag to mark the conclusion of a successful expedition reflected the significant American sponsorship and interest behind Heyerdahl's project.

Heyerdahl had, as we have seen, a clear understanding of the power of the moving image. When the Pentagon offered to cooperate, among the first things he asked for was film and photographic equipment.[5] However, a combination of bad luck and what may have been a lack of technical expertise reduced the chances for a theatrical feature film based on the 16mm records. Most of the color film was stolen in Peru before departure, and of the remaining exposed 8,000 feet of 16mm film, half was ruined by sea water. A meagre one hour and forty minutes of footage was left by the time he arrived in Hollywood and unsuccessfully tried to get film producers' attention. Heyerdahl had all along been aware of the potential of his footage, but he seems to have become increasingly desperate in search for a producer willing to make a documentary. Lectures, radio interviews, and a written account were familiar media venues for the explorer. Meanwhile, he never failed to praise the quality and spectacular content of his 16mm footage, and he did not permit fragmentary out-takes to be used in a possible newsreel short (Andersson 2010, 115).

In the fall of 1947, Heyerdahl made a rough cut for his illustrated lectures, but kept looking for ways to make a documentary. In March 1948, a Norwegian-French initiative offered to make a docudrama produced by Salve Staubo, combining 16mm fragments and

5 The collaboration with the Pentagon begun with a meeting on December 12, 1946 organized through the office of the military attaché at the Norwegian embassy in Washington, DC. On December 26, 1946 this was made public when the Division of Public Relations of the US War Department announced that they and "the noted Norwegian explorer" had entered an agreement concerning the expedition. (Andersson 2010, 34–40,113).

staged scenes. The idea was to film the romance between Heyerdahl and his wife—even though they were in the process of separating. Due to what seems to have been a lack of funding, the romantic docudrama *Kon-Tiki* never left the planning stage (115–116).

Heyerdahl had aimed for real-time coverage, starting with the flurry of articles sent from the raft in mid-ocean. The film project, by contrast, seemed to never get started, although the tide turned in 1949 when Swedish film producer Olle Nordemar attended one of Heyerdahl's illustrated lectures in Stockholm. Nordemar immediately saw the potential for making a film from Heyerdahl's footage and narrative. He contacted Heyerdahl, who negotiated a deal with Artfilm in early autumn 1949. Nordemar had just obtained an optical printer from the United States with which he could convert 16mm film to the 35mm required by movie theaters. One of his main contributions was the idea of turning the technical imperfections of Heyerdahl's material into its main strength. The rough footage became a sign of its authenticity, an exciting adventure unfolding in spectacular glimpses at sea level. Only a few introductory studio scenes, explanatory graphics, and a voice-over were to be added.

Nordemar's immediate interest in the *Kon-Tiki* project is confirmed by his former colleague Lennart Ehrenborg, who had worked at Artfilm in Stockholm from the company's founding in 1948 until 1955. In 1956, he was hired as a producer by the new film department at the Swedish Radio Corporation. In the wake of the *Kon-Tiki* success, Ehrenborg produced a documentary series for Swedish television dedicated to Heyerdahl's follow-up expeditions, such as *Aku-Aku på Påskön,* (1957), *Pyramider och Papyrus* and *På*

papyrusbåt över Atlanten (both 1970) from the *Ra* expedition, which was also released as a theatrical version with the title *The Ra Expeditions* (1972)—nominated for an Academy Award for best documentary—and *Tigris* (1979) (Furhammar 2008, 177). Regarding *Kon-Tiki*, Ehrenborg has voiced regrets over the usually overlooked role of the Swedish editor and the production company Artfilm. He recalls Nordemar's excitement in 1949 after seeing the 16mm footage presented by Heyerdahl at one of his three public lectures at the concert hall Konserthuset in Stockholm:

> The Hollywood producers' verdict had been that the footage was too amateurish and water damaged to be of any interest. Heyerdahl was offered the disheartening option of having 2–3 minutes of edited footage for an American newsreel. By contrast, Nordemar convinced us all that *Kon-Tiki* would be a great documentary thanks to the optical printer. *Kon-Tiki* became one of the first Artfilm productions, and the contract was signed on the back of the restaurant bill during a dinner with Heyerdahl. [6]

An optical printer is a device consisting of one or more film projectors linked to a movie camera. It allows the re-filming and copying of individual frames. In the case of the *Kon-Tiki* footage, it made all the difference since the partly damaged frames could be bracketed

6 All statements by Lennart Ehrenborg refer to a conversation with Malin Wahlberg that took place on March 19, 2013.

with the fine ones, and frames that were completely destroyed could be replaced by inserted stills. In addition to enlarging frames from 16mm to 35mm, the optical printer provided the perfect tool for saving, restoring, and dramatizing the original footage. The machine made it possible to copy the unaffected part of single frames, balance the shakiness of the amateur takes, add optical pan shots, and remove scratches and dark shadows.

The optical printer, designed by Linwood G. Dunn in 1945, was bought by Nordemar and shipped to Stockholm. A costly purchase, it received additional support from the Swedish army, and the optical printer was stored in a rock shelter for possible use during wartime, but in 1947 it was moved to the Artfilm studio. Ehrenborg recalls that it was a precious piece of equipment, possibly the only one in Europe at the time. Photographer Gösta Bjurman, who had studied special effects in Hollywood, was hired by Artfilm to handle the machine, "and nobody else was allowed to even touch the printer during the making of *Kon-Tiki*".[7]

The earlier option, making a docudrama out of the *Kon-Tiki* footage, shows how anxious Heyerdahl was to give his narrative a filmic form, although he was certainly flexible in terms of style and genre. His encounter with Nordemar and Artfilm took the film in quite a different direction. This is not surprising, considering that Heyerdahl was a novice when it came to editing and directing a movie. On the other hand, Heyerdahl's long experience from radio

7 Ehrenborg discussed the history and creative possibilities of the optical printer in an article written for the daily *Svenska Dagbladet*. See Ehrenborg 1949.

transmissions, illustrated lectures, and print media was evident in the written account of his expedition, and Nordemar's dramatized compilation provided an ideal format for the film manuscript: no embellishments, no Hollywood twists or romantic subplots. It also, significantly, lacked the ponderous bathos associated with interwar expedition films, which added to the illusion of a record in the raw, something direct and curiously "unmediated."

The result was an inexpensive documentary, which in style and narration was also influenced by Nordemar's impressions of filmmaking at the US Office of War Information (OWI) in the spring and summer of 1945. OWI had worked with Hollywood throughout the war to produce both propaganda material and instruction films. Typically, the raw material had been 16mm footage, shot in the heat of action, blown up to 35mm and edited into a dramatized narrative. Proximity to the event was more important than technical details such as composition, and the major task of these war films was to communicate what American servicemen were going through in the theatres of war. The films were also increasingly marked by a gruesome realism as the war wore on, keeping pace with the toll taken by the conflict also on the home front.

The staged opening scene of *Kon-Tiki* differs from the rest of the film in both content and style. The scene was directed by Ehrenborg and had been shot by photographer Hilding Bladh in the Sandrews studio Centrumateljeerna at Gärdet in Stockholm. In a series of frontal framings, the crew members introduce themselves by name and with a brief account of their function onboard the Kon-Tiki. Ehrenborg has fond memories of his first collabo-

ration with Heyerdahl, working an entire night to record the text spoken in Swedish: "Heyerdahl was asked repeatedly to speak in 'Scandinavian', that is, to downplay his accent and to avoid specific Norwegian expressions".[8]

Fig. 1. The Kon-Tiki crew in the staged opening sequence of the film. Publicity still, photographer unknown. Nasjonalbiblioteket.

8 Ehrenborg's personal account, March 19, 2013, op. cit.

Aside from music and sound effects, Nordemar's compilation featured Heyerdahl's first-person narrative; precise, factual observations combined with humorous details, the overall rhythm of a suspense story, and poetic reflections on the splendor of the ocean, the sea life, and the daily challenges on board. To this was added the subjectivity and charm of Heyerdahl's voice and accent, which to a Nordic audience still conveyed something quintessentially Norwegian.

Visceral images in dramatic orchestration: the mise-en-scène of an ocean crossing

Kon-Tiki opened at the Grand movie theater in Stockholm on January 13, 1950. As Sune Waldimir's powerful, symphonic score filled the room and set the tone for the heroic adventure at hand, Hesselberg's drawing of the god Con Tici filled the screen.[9] White letters proudly announced the opening of "The authentic film about Thor Heyerdahl's Kon-Tiki Expedition in 1947". A preface followed which stressed the originality of the footage and the hardships endured in realizing both the expedition and its visual record:

> We have chosen to present the film in its original form, as filmed by crew members during the expedition. Accordingly, the result is proportionate to the problems encountered by

9 Copied by Hesselberg from a stone monolith that had been excavated at Tiwanaku in the early 1930s. See Wendell 1934, 441, and Heyerdahl 1998, 192.

amateur photographers working onboard a rolling raft in the open sea. What is shown, however, is what actually took place.

The original Swedish 1950 version featured Heyerdahl as the narrator, struggling, it seems, to comply with the producer's wish that he "downplay" his Norwegian accent for the voice-over, and, yet, this reading added to the authentic impact of the explorer's own account of the expedition. The opening scene in the Stockholm studio/Traveller's Club setting was even more awkward as crew members Herman Watzinger, Erik Hasselberg, Knut Haugland, and Torstein Raaby gave brief presentations in the manner required. The men appeared somewhat nonplussed as they delivered their lines in a forced Swedish accent. For the American theatrical version of the film (the so-called "Oscar version)", the radio and TV personality Ben Grauer gave an introductory lecture, in the conventional educational mode of being seated at a desk, addressing the audience with some background information, and in the British distribution print the same introductory lecture was delivered by famous radio and TV journalist, Richard Dimbleby. In these English-language versions, Heyerdahl read his narrative in a voice-over characterized by his poignant Norwegian accent. Heyerdahl's personal mixture of factual details, speculative hypothesis, poetic description, and the many humorous details of his log notes added to the reenactment of the expedition. *Kon-Tiki*, thus, resulted in a first-person narrative, a compelling, seemingly day-to-day report of the sea journey. The chance element of photographic representation was highlighted by the reframing and orchestration of the 16mm record; sound effects

of wind and waves, ropes and splashing water, seem to place the spectator at sea level and in the rolling sea. The image content is stunning, and the visceral impact of the images is notable. This is true of everyday gestures and the more spectacular appearance of sea life. Views shot on the raft, from the mast, or onboard one of the two rubber dinghies felt spectacular to movie audiences in the early 1950s, and the low camera certainly remains captivating.

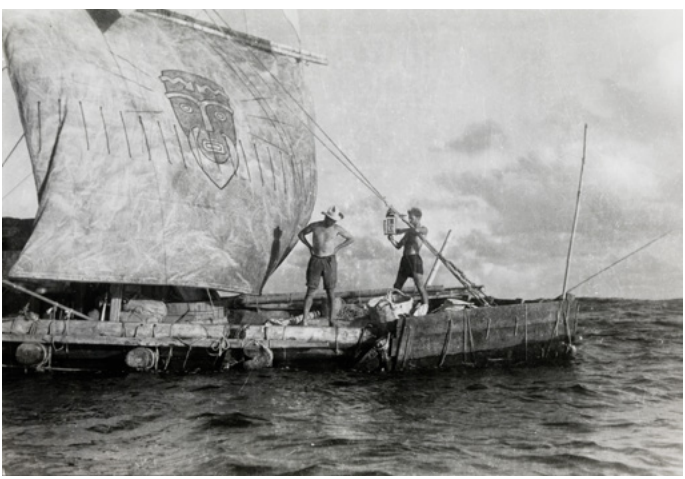

Fig. 2 The sail of the Kon-Tiki raft was decorated with the image of "Con-Tici", designed by Erik Hesselberg and inspired by a stone monolith at Tiwanaku. Nasjonalbiblioteket.

Swedish film critics praised Nordemar's work. In *Stockholm-stidningen*, the film critic known by the pseudonym "Robin Hood" (Bengt Idestam-Alquist), acknowledged the importance of the optical printer, "the magical apparatus" and its capabilities when mastered by talent to create "wonders" in turning hopeless film

fragments into cinema. "There is only one optical printer in Europe, and it belongs to Artfilm, Lennart Bernadotte and Nordemar's production company". The reviewer of *Svenska Dagbladet* commented on the extraordinary risks of the sea journey, and on the fact that "throughout the five-day thunderstorm, as suggested by Heyerdahl's narration, there was no time for filming". Still, as pointed out by the critic using the pseudonym "Lill", the challenges of this risky sea journey were constantly evoked by sound and montage, and in ways that would make *Kon-Tiki* "sail over movie screens world-wide, to the pleasure and thrills of young and old, men and women alike". In *Aftonbladet*, another reviewer agreed on the film's stunning impact, on the visceral effect of the rolling raft, and the snapping sharks, but added a gendered conclusion: It was a movie "for men, made by men".[10]

Heyerdahl's narrative and Nordemar's editing and dramatization of the original footage added to the impression that *Kon-Tiki* also attuned to the Hollywood history of exotic adventures and expedition films; the explorer-hero against the challenges of nature and the wild—the compelling voyeurism at work in scenes where jaguars and tigers are killed on camera. No matter that in films like Walter

10 All quotes from the Swedish release of the film at the movie theatre Grand in Stockholm on January 13, 1950 are compiled by the Swedish Film Institute, and published on the Swedish Film Database: http://www.sfi.se/sv/svensk-filmdatabas/Item/?itemid=4293&type=MOVIE-&iv=Comments. Translations into English are by the authors.

Futter's *Africa Speaks* (1930) scenes were often staged.[11] As has been repeatedly shown, authenticity does not necessarily equal realism in moving images. But the testimonial impact of the moving image as a document tends to be further enhanced in compilation films, and the original 16mm footage not only increased the veracity of Kon-Tiki, but the presence of everyday details under extraordinary conditions meshed beautifully with the efficiency of Heyerdahl's written account and his unique voice-over.

In his essay "Cinema and Exploration", Bazin emphasized the brute quality of *Kon Tiki*'s amateur images and "the significant omission of drama in the footage, because out of practical reasons the crew member who for the moment was in charge of shooting had to stop filming as soon as something unexpected or dangerous happened" (Bazin, 2005, 161; Wahlberg, 2008, 36).[12] The drama of *Kon-Tiki* consists in the denied vision of these moments, which makes the film "itself an aspect of the adventure" (Bazin, 2005, 161). Bazin's argument is consistent with his reflections on the phenomenological impact of compiled archive images, of recorded moments unfolding and repeated in the present (Bazin 2003, 41–52). In line with Monica Dall'Asta's rereading of "the event" in Bazin's film theory, the celebration of *Kon-Tiki* as a cinematic achievement

11 For example, Allessandro Pezzati (2012) accounts for the legendary Sasha Siemel's expeditions in South America and how crucial such scenes were for the credibility of Siemel as an explorer, lecturer, but also as a star in the Hollywood action series.

12 The visceral experience of danger in *Kon-Tiki* exemplifies the important distinction between the imprint of photographic inscription and the phenomenological notion of *the trace*. See Wahlberg 2008, 30–36.

matches his "poetics of transparency", according to which, to accomplish its revelatory mission, cinema as a technical-linguistic apparatus must step down to make room for reality, since in film "nature at last does more than imitate art: it imitates the artist" (2011, 58). In relation to *Kon-Tiki*, and rather than merely claiming cinema to be a window on the world, Bazin points to the phenomenology of cinematic time, film experience and the impact of moving images: "It is not so much the photograph of the whale that interests us as the photograph of the *danger*" (Bazin, 2005, 161). And danger there was, immanent in virtually every frame: the insane project of enduring a trip on a balsa wood raft, the vulnerability of six men under possible attack by the whale shark (the magnificent giant with the spotted back that was caught by the camera and is seen in the film), a storm, or simply the everyday danger of the slippery deck or the possibility of illness. Together with the conventional use of music, sound effects suggesting the splashing of water or the struggle of a captured shark onboard, Nordemar's strategic stop-motion intervention focuses the narrative on the brave men and their scientific mission: "We had no more chance of stopping a whale in its track than of stopping this film", and the image freezes, showing the glistering back of the giant whale as it dives just in time to avoid capsizing the raft.

Dilys Powell's 1952 review "Home Made Epic" for *The Sunday Times* typifies the film's reception in calling it a piece of "cinematic realism". Powell noted with satisfaction that the crew had not stooped to "re-enact their adventures" with "faces frozen in the hero's traditional embarrassment", nor had they allowed themselves to be

substituted by professional actors in a romanticized fictional version. This was, in other words, "the real thing", a conclusion shared by critics wherever *Kon-Tiki* was screened. "Perhaps the professionals from Hollywood will retell this story in their own fashion", one reviewer for the *Manchester Guardian* mused, adding, "they will be able to produce nothing as impressive as this simple record".[13]

Kon-Tiki combined the attraction of filmed wildlife with the authenticity of apparently amateur footage, but also brought to the mix the affective authority of the war film. This was a genre that appears to have been Nordemar's single most important influence and style guide for the editing and poetic enactment of Heyerdahl's footage.

Nordemar, with his experiences in the OWI, was impressed by the new cinematic realism born out of the need to cinematically represent the war. The audiences, especially in the United States, had been successively introduced to a cinematic style in which the more naturalistic the shot, the more apparently true the representation of danger was thought to be. This came to the fore in the combat report films shot by the US Signal Corps on 16mm cameras and later, as with *Kon-Tiki*, converted to 35mm for wider distribution. This footage, often taken under fire by photographers on the front lines, produced sequences that were, in the words of Thomas Doherty, "obstructed, jerky, out of focus, off-kilter, up close, and jagged" (1999, 408). For example, *To the Shores of Iwo Jima* (1945) offers

13 Excerpts from reviews in this paragraph are cited in Andersson 2010, 122–123.

harrowingly realistic images of war, far removed from traditional and seamless Hollywood narratives. Here was a cinema that, according to Doherty, "not only permitted technical flaws in photography but showcased them as verification of fidelity to reality" (140).

However, Nordemar managed to free the *Kon-Tiki* project from the symbolic-political register typically associated with cinematic realism after the war. A symbolic coupling of the jagged and blurred naturalism with "problems" had already appeared in Frank Capra's Why We Fight series produced for the OWI between 1942 and 1945. Capra used the realistic 16mm images to symbolize the world of the Axis and the Allies: war, devastation, suffering for the former, bibles and the Liberty Bell, for the latter (Andersson 2010, 129). Cinematic naturalism in feature films was also becoming deeply connected with political content, as in Italian neo-realism.

The work of the optical printer combined with the conventional use of film music to intensify the pulse-beat of dramatic scenes and the spectacular anecdotes of Heyerdahl's narration. As we look at the massive back of an approaching whale, the voice-over recounts a moment when "the raft was being surrounded by a school of whales". The music reaches a crescendo as the narrator recalls that, "they made it straight toward the Kon-Tiki … It was scary to look straight down into their smooth, shiny blow holes, but it would always dive just short of the raft, diving down into the translucid depths beyond the raft". The splendor of wildlife is often described poetically, but scenes were also seemingly arranged onboard to produce spectacular images, most notably in the case of "the shark cage". A series of shots demonstrates the construction

and function of this makeshift arrangement, as Knut Haugland steps into the frail basket and descends into the water, and the narrator recalls that they were often visited by sharks. A recurrent motif consists of crew members' naked feet performing risky maneuvers among dolphin fish or snapping sharks, "in preparation for a delicious dinner".

Kon-Tiki offers a cinematic adventure and a popular science narrative that, despite the overall dryness of the narration, invokes the thrills and pleasures of the spectacular expedition as screen event. However, the direct "othering gaze" that tends to be associated with the expedition film and other subgenres of the ethnographic film is limited to the final section where, for example, the radio equipment from Kon-Tiki is demonstrated to a group of excited Polynesian natives. This scene has nothing in common with the grotesque mise-en-scène in *Nanook of the North* (Robert Flaherty, 1922), where Nanook bites into the gramophone disk, which is meant to illustrate the native's amazement at this piece of modern technology. Still, Faye Ginsburg's distinction between the supposed "documentation of first encounter" and "performance" certainly applies to the way the Polynesians are framed in *Kon-Tiki* (2002, 39–40). They are additionally exoticized and objectified in the lingering framing of women belly-dancing for the blond heroes. Still, *Kon-Tiki* is for the most part an adventure film, a nature documentary, and a dramatized record of an expedition where inserted graphics, maps, and detailed, "scientific" observations, and technical accounts are meant to add to Heyerdahl's authentic record of his "prehistoric" sea crossing. On one occasion in particular, radio

Fig. 3. One of the photographs inserted into the film to illustrate the cabin interior. Nasjonalbiblioteket.

equipment is shown being installed under the roof. The narrator gives credit to the radio operators, and the constant challenges he faced in keeping the equipment from getting wet. Once during the crossing, the narrator recalls, they managed to contact a radio station on the other side of the world, and this was to publicly announce that they had sailed halfway across the Pacific, "2,500 miles from the nearest land". In realizing the dramatization of the original footage, Nordemar and Heyerdahl also focused a large part of the narration on domestic scenes onboard the raft that link the realistic images

to an implied peaceful intimacy among the six men. The camera details everyday life and the men's intense coexistence on the limited space afforded by eleven balsa logs. A series of photographs have been inserted to illustrate this idealized account of communal life. The narrator explains that the parts of the film showing the "indoor" portion of the raft were unfortunately damaged by water, which was why a few photographs were inserted. A montage sequence set to the Swedish song "Flickan i Havanna" by Evert Taube and performed by Erik Hesselberg provides a fascinating record of leisure time, which included playing the guitar and gathering stranded flying fish for the breakfast pan. Conflicts or signs of irritation among the men are nowhere to be found, or have been cut. The practical skills of the crew, and their imaginative ways of reinventing "prehistoric" strategies for survival, fill out the idealized self-representation of *Kon-Tiki*.

Concluding remarks

With the assistance of Olle Nordemar and Artfilm, Thor Heyerdahl provided a mesmerizing image of danger and pleasure, a heroic success story, and an adventurous encounter with the wonders of nature and sea life. This combination made it an escapist narrative perfectly suited to the appetites of post-war movie audiences. As we have seen, *Kon-Tiki* recalls the complex interweaving of claims to scientific truth and narrative imagination. Visible evidence provided by analog media was combined with the scripted truths and performance elements that have always been immanent to the expedition film. This was accomplished by drawing on educational con-

ventions that date back to the illustrated lecture and the spectacular image content of the explorer's camera. However, the Kon-Tiki story and the successful film were equally the result of a narrative enactment facilitated by the media technology and media culture of the time.

In this chapter we have attempted a reassessment of Kon-Tiki, both in terms of the actual expedition, its representations, and the production history of *Kon-Tiki*. In doing so, we have suggested that this example provides a case in point for a more general reflection on problems of historiography and the production and reproduction of cultural memory. More than anything, the Kon-Tiki voyage was infused with myths and turned itself into a mythical event—and a subject for national commemoration. It seems that *Kon-Tiki* operates on multiple levels in the ways that it ties into a longer Norwegian narrative about seafaring and exploration. *Kon-Tiki* stands out as an "archive memory", but it was a film and a narrative that became a media event and a film experience beyond Norway. The film became a runaway success in a number of countries, not least in the United States where it received major distribution and grossed three million dollars in one year—much more than feature films like Hitchcock's *Spellbound* (1945) and *Notorious* (1946) (Sassoon 2006, 1012). *Kon-Tiki's* heroic and aesthetic variation on an old theme in Norwegian expedition film history presented a "Norwegian" adventure to an exceptionally large international audience. The legacy of the Kon-Tiki expedition and the mythical dimension that was reinforced by the film remains poignant in the Norwegian national context of public commemoration.

Interestingly, when the 2012 remake *Kon-Tiki* (Joachim Rønning and Espen Sandberg) premiered, it immediately attracted record audiences in Norway, although the film was far less successful abroad (Staude and Strøm, 2012). Today, the Kon-Tiki Museum's website refers to *Kon-Tiki* (Heyerdahl and Nordemar, 1950) as the "Original Kon-Tiki Film", the 1950 production's bibliographical entry being indexed as "The Kon-Tiki Expedition Film (1950)" (The Kon-Tiki Museum).

The commemoration of *Kon-Tiki* in popular culture bridges the present and the past in fascinating ways, recalling a film that still today thrills audiences as an entertaining factual report and a visceral screen event; a heroic tale that creates a compelling link with national identity in Norway.

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08. In the Contact Zone: Transculturation in Per Høst's *The Forbidden Jungle*

Gunnar Iversen

In the path-breaking book *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* from 1992, Mary Louise Pratt introduced the term "contact zone." Here, Pratt defines contact zones as "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today" (4). A contact zone is a place where two cultures contact and inform each other, spaces of encounter, negotiation, domination but also sometimes reciprocal exchange. What takes place in the contact zone Pratt calls "transculturation."

The contact zone has become an important concept for understanding cultural difference, and how an "Other" is constructed through writing or filmmaking. It is a relational term, implying that one of the two cultures that meet have the power to define, and often dominate, the other. The contact zone can be the imperial frontier, and the social space that the contact zone creates can be a highly eroticized one (90–91). There are many connections between Pratt's

concept and Edward Said's more known term "orientalism", but Pratt's definition of the transculturation concept emphasizes the merging and converging of cultures in the contact zone itself, and the exchanges between cultures. Even though Pratt's concepts are most often used to discuss highly asymmetrical relations between two cultures, the terms can also be applied to negotiations that produce positive outcomes for both cultures. Indeed, the words "contact zone" imply a meeting between cultures that have the possibility of reciprocal exchange.

The contact zone can also be a productive concept in order to understand how documentaries can be used. A documentary can depict a contact zone, a place where two cultures meet, and a film can in itself become a contact zone, where people from one culture "meet" people from another, through images and sounds. For a cinema audience, documentary film representations of people from different cultures have unique interpretive possibilities, as film can offer images of the western "self" as well of the exotic "other".

In this chapter, I will discuss the 1950 travelogue *Gjensyn med jungelfolket*, using its English title *The Forbidden Jungle*, made by the Norwegian zoologist and documentary filmmaker Per Høst (1907–1971). I will examine the film and its reception in Norway and, through the concept of contact zone, the cultural meetings in and through the film. *The Forbidden Jungle* can in itself be understood as a contact zone, giving a large Norwegian audience in 1950 the chance to make an audiovisual journey to the jungle on the border between Panama and Colombia and "meet" the Chocó people. Even though the meeting is not dialogic, and not a real but mediated

encounter for both cultures, I will demonstrate how the term "contact zone" can be useful in the discussion of documentary film and its interpretive power.

Documentary success

The most popular Norwegian film to be shown in Norwegian cinemas in 1950 was a documentary. However, it was not Thor Heyerdahl's acclaimed and Oscar-winning *Kon-Tiki*, which was also a major success the same year (see Andersson and Wahlberg in this volume). Another travelogue was much more successful domestically and drew even larger crowds to Norwegian cinemas. This film was *The Forbidden Jungle*, largely forgotten today, but a huge box office success in 1950 (Iversen 2014, 97). Directed by Per Høst, one of the most important and prolific documentary filmmakers in Norway, *The Forbidden Jungle* was also later screened in Sweden, England and the Netherlands.

Born in Oslo in 1907, Per Høst was educated as a zoologist. His first inspiration to become a zoologist came after attending a film lecture by the Norwegian explorer and ethnographer Carl Lumholtz (1851–1922) in Oslo in 1920 where *In Borneo: the Land of the Head-Hunters* was screened (see Griffiths in this volume for an analysis of Lumholtz's film). Høst turned to filmmaking in 1934 as part of his research and study of wild animals. He made a number of short documentaries and commercials in the 1930s and went on tour with two feature-length silent lecture films about animal life in the arctic region and on the Hardangervidda plateau in 1937 and 1939. Throughout his life, Høst continued to make feature-length

silent lecture films and became a household name in Norway by traveling all over the country and screening his films accompanied by live commentary.

At the start, making nature documentaries was most of all a hobby for Høst, and a way of earning extra money to finance his research. He considered himself first and foremost a zoologist. This, however, changed during World War II, when he spent time in Canada and the US making wartime propaganda films and coordinating the production and distribution of Norwegian documentary shorts about the war effort. Per Høst was living in the US at the time when German troops invaded Norway in 1940. He had negotiated a position at the American Museum of Natural History to start working for its leader, Richard Archbold. This institution had a Biological Station in Florida's Everglades, a region of tropical wetlands where Høst researched mammals. He was then enlisted as a propaganda filmmaker by the Norwegian exile government and the Interallied Training Film Committee in New York (Iversen 2014, 41–54).

After the war had ended, Høst made two feature-length documentaries in the US, one about Norwegian settlements in the US, *Det norske Amerika* (*The Norwegian America*, 1946), another about the Everglades, *Med filmkamera i jungelen* (*With a Film Camera in the Jungle*, 1946). The success of these films, first in the US and later in Norway, and the fact that he had not had a chance to work on his zoology thesis for many years, made him turn to filmmaking full-time. For the rest of his life he remained Norway's most well-known and prolific documentary filmmaker, making popular documentaries about nature, wildlife and indigenous peoples.

Per Høst had always wanted to be an explorer and his many trips to the Arctic Sea before the war, as well as his trip to Florida, whetted his appetite for travel. His 1946 Florida travelogue, *With a Film Camera in the Jungle*, included sequences with the Native American Seminole people, and became popular among audiences in Norway. Reviewers compared him to the Swedish zoologist and filmmaker Bengt Berg, as well as the adventurer-filmmaker Martin Johnson (Iversen 2014, 61). Martin and Osa Johnson's *Simba* (1928) was a big success in Norway, as in many other countries, and even after World War II it remained the most frequently cited reference for Norwegian journalists reviewing Høst's films.

From 1947 to 1950, Høst went on frequent expeditions to South and Central America from his base in New York, making documentaries in Panama, Colombia and Guatemala. In 1948, he travelled to the Darién area, Panama's largest but least-developed province, and made the now-lost, feature-length silent lecture documentary *Jungelfolket* (*The Jungle People*) that became successful when Høst toured with the film in Norway in October and November of 1948. The film depicted the Chocó Indians[1] in the tropical rain forests of eastern Panama and the animal life in the same area. A US version was named *The Forbidden Jungle* and the popularity of

1 The ethnic term "Chocó", however, is a misnomer applied to two distinct linguistic groups, the Emberá and Wounan. Historically, they were largely confined to the Department of Chocó, western Colombia, from where the name derives. Roughly 40,000 Chocó Indians inhabit the Pacific lowlands from northern Ecuador to the Panama Canal. Source: https://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/panama/choc-indian-relocation-dari-n-panama (accessed June 30, 2016).

this lecture film prompted him to use the same English-language title for his next film from the Darién province.

The 34-minute *Mayafolkets land* (*Land of the Maya*, 1949) was the second of Høst's documentaries from South and Central America and was widely screened in Norwegian cinemas as part of a short film program by Høst's own production and distribution company, Norsk Kulturfilm. After the trip to Guatemala and in-between popular film lectures in the US organized by the National Lecture Bureau and National Lecture Management, Høst returned to the Pacific lowland areas bordering Panama and Colombia. Reusing footage from *The Jungle People*, while also adding new material, Høst completed *The Forbidden Jungle* in 1950.

The Forbidden Jungle is a sound documentary for the cinema, and not a silent lecture film. It became Høst's national as well as international breakthrough as a documentary filmmaker. He made two other feature-length documentaries from South and Central America in the mid-1950s, *Ecuador* (1954) and *Galapagos* (1955), the latter together with Thor Heyerdahl, but subsequently turned more and more to filming in Norway.[2]

In the contact zone

The Forbidden Jungle is a travelogue depicting the filmmaker's travels on the border area between Panama and Colombia in 1948 and 1949. The film is most of all a portrait of the Chocó Indians of the

2 See Iversen 2014 for a discussion of Høst's later career and work on the Sámi people.

Darién province. The Darién is still regarded as one of the most biologically diverse and species-rich regions of the world, with myriad tropical rain forest habitats (Herlihy 2003, 316). The Chocó people inhabit the tropical forest, scattered along the river systems of Darién (Faron 1961, 94–102). Even today the Chocó people are a little studied tropical rain forest group, and when Per Høst traveled in the river systems in the late 1940s they had only recently been "rediscovered" by Westerners.

The Forbidden Jungle starts with a history lesson in the form of intertitles explaining where what is consistently referred to as the Chocó Indians live, and then presenting briefly their history. Their modern history is a bloody one. Høst describes how Spanish colonizers in the sixteenth century entered their territory and forced the Chocó to labor in gold mines, killing thousands, until the Chocó rebelled against the Spaniards and pushed them out of the area, before retreating into more isolated mountain areas.

This history lesson does not present the Chocó as outside of time, but in a concrete history of oppression and conflict. The introduction gives a dark background to the current situation of the tribe. One of the central themes in *The Forbidden Jungle* is the contact between the Chocó and "white" people, and the problematic contact zone in which they meet.

The first defining historical context in *The Forbidden Jungle* leads to a discussion and depiction of what can be seen as the film's contemporary contact zone, as Høst clearly positions himself as a white Westerner and explorer, and contrasts his own interactions and relationships with the Chocó not only to the Spaniards in the six-

teenth century, but also with other contemporary Westerners. Høst includes scenes from a trading post in the jungle in order to create a contrast between two types of communication in a contact zone and also to contrast the "civilized world" with the world of the natives.

The Chocó society is further described as an earthly paradise. Their society is free of crime, brutality and violence, and they do not have any words for war, Høst asserts, before making a big point of the fact that he never once saw a parent strike a child and that the Chocó do not have any modern weapons. In one scene he shows a group of people near a hut and comments in voice-over that the rifle seen in the background belongs to his guide from another indigenous tribe, and not the Chocó, thus distinguishing them from other tribes as well as the white population.

Høst's voice-over narrative describes a contrast early on in the film between Chocó society and the "modern machine culture" that he himself represents. The Chocó Indians are consistently portrayed in a positive light, as the opposite of modern Western machine culture. To underscore this point, Høst himself is constantly defined in the film as a representative of a negative machine culture, being the man with the movie camera and sound equipment. He films himself with different technical apparatuses numerous times, as part of the authentication of the sounds and images in the film, in order to underline the fact that *he* was *there*, but this also continuously links him to the negative connotations given Western society as the opposite of the ideal Chocó society.

As a travelogue, *The Forbidden Jungle* carries the testimony of what Mary Louise Pratt would describe as a "sentimental hero"

(1992, 75), with Høst casting himself as the main protagonist. His objective is partly that of a scientist, telling the narrative of geographical discovery and observation, and partly one of personal experience and adventure. While constantly discussing difference, the film can at the same time be seen as a way of problematizing the hierarchy of colonialism, by showing the relational situation in the contact zone of the trading post, and by constantly insisting that the Chocó is better than the western societies of the so-called civilized world.

In the beginning of the film Høst makes his way from the trading post to the jungle. The depiction of the trading post represents the contemporary cultural domination and corruption of the Chocó. Høst's story underlines how he first met Chocó people at the trading post, but that he then traveled with an indigenous guide from another tribe to Chocó land in order to see their real life, uncorrupted by Western machine culture. On the trading post, Høst films drunk and fighting Chocó in order to show the audience how modern-day contact replays the earlier tragic relationship between Chocó and Western culture. Thus, corruption through contact with white men in the trading post contact zone is in itself an important theme in the film.

Spatiality is a key concept in cultural and literary studies, and the metaphor of the contact zone foregrounds the spatiality of the cultural meeting. Cultural geographer Edward W. Soja introduced the concept of "spatiality" in the late 1980s in order to put emphasis on the socially produced and interpreted nature of space (2011). He and other cultural geographers have demonstrated that space as

well as place and landscape are not fixed, but in a constant state of transition as a result of struggles of power and resistance.

Returning to *The Forbidden Jungle*, the contrasting metaphors of the civilized part of the world as an oppressive and violent machine culture and the harmonic and peaceful Chocó society are the two cultural "spaces" that meet in the contact zone. Here the Chocó are still being exploited, getting cheap alcohol from selling bananas, becoming aggressive and violent and no longer peace-loving. The harmonic family-life is also interrupted and Høst films a drunk father fighting his son. In the spatiality of the film, the corrupting contact zone is the negative space, where machine culture changes the Chocó in a negative way, and their own society is the positive pole of the film, and the positive space and culture.

The Forbidden Jungle presents the Chocó people as pre-modern and child-like, not outside of time, but at the same time frozen *in* time, to be looked at by audiences in the movie theater. Watching the film today, it is obvious how not only its power relations are unequal, but also how Høst's discourse mimics aspects of colonialism and transculturation. Even though he wanted to present the Chocó positively, his discourse is highly problematic. For Høst, Chocó society served as a model for Western civilization, and not the other way around, having a number of qualities that western culture had lost. Obviously, the trauma from World War II looms behind his conclusion. Still, reducing the Chocó to "children" is one of several highly problematic discourses in the film, undermining its positive message.

The Chocó are compared to children in numerous ways. On the most obvious level they are often described as small of stature

and constantly compared to the tall Western explorer Høst, who frequently is photographed together with the Chocó. Even though Høst explains in the voice-over narration that the surface comparison between the Chocó and himself is deceptive, since he was an unusually tall European and wore thick-soled boots while the Indians were barefoot, the images of the Indians and the "white man"

Fig. 1. A group of Chocó people posing for both the film and photographic camera during the shooting of *The Forbidden Jungle*. Reprinted with permission.

create an obvious and highly visible contrast. The Chocó are compared to children in other ways too and even though most of the time it is clear that Høst wants to present the Chocó in purely positive terms—foregrounding their innocence, kindness, lack of aggression and violence, careful and respectful attitude towards the natural environment, lack of a "money culture", and love of beautiful things—his depiction ends up becoming highly ambiguous.

Per Høst makes a big point about the fact that the Chocó love to dress up and that he learned after his first visit that the best gift he could give them was lipstick, which both men and women use to paint their faces and bodies. They also love flowers and "pretty things," and he comments on how men could stop to pick flowers on one of their many hunting trips into the rainforest jungle in order to adorn themselves. He finds their vanity adorable, but also a bit problematic. He further uses the word "primitive" in order to describe their way of life several times.

The tone of Høsts's voice in the narration is especially interesting here. His voice is as far from a "voice-of-God" as possible, Høst being a well-known figure for most viewers and his voice being inextricably linked to his own presence in the film. But even if it is a "voice-of-man", it still is a voice "from above". Høst has a perspective on the Chocó that they do not have and they are not given a chance to comment, question or give perspective on him and his project. The tone and rhetoric are both paternalistic and preachy. Through the imagery, his words, and the tone of his voice, he comes off as acting like a "Father", while the Chocó are the children. Even while he clearly found all aspects of their society positive, and

represents it as an ideal and paradise-like way of life, the words and images used to convey this message are highly ideological and part of a discourse of imperialist subordination. The Chocó does not have agency or a real "voice". This is one of the interesting but also problematic aspects of the film, especially when seen today.

Clearly, Per Høst considered his film as something close to what later has been known as "salvage ethnography", and in the very beginning of the film the voice-over points to the fact that he wanted to record the Chocó way of life before it was too late. He characterizes the Chocó as a culture still mostly untouched by modern culture, but acknowledges the fact that it only is a question of time before this situation is changed. He says in his voice-over: "Therefore, I have seen it as my task to give an authentic picture of how the Chocó live today, in words, photographs, sound recordings and film. So that we at least could have a picture of their primitive life form before it is too late".[3] Here, Høst uses the Norwegian expression "et bilde" for what I have translated as "picture", literally meaning "an image", as a way of describing his filmic salvage ethnography.

Since the 1960s, anthropologists have used the term "salvage ethnography" as part of an ongoing critique of ethnography and anthropology in the twentieth century, and many have seen the recording of cultures threatened with extinction or changing as a result of modernization as highly problematic. In itself it is part of the

3 Author's translation

transculturation in the contact zone. Høst's presence in the Chocó territory in one sense transforms Chocó space into another contact zone. Although not as negative as the space of the trading post, his presence is also changing Chocó life.

Unlike *Nanook of the North* (Robert J. Flaherty, 1922) and other travelogues that can be said to exhibit a type of salvage ethnography discourse, Høst does not stage any scenes, nor does he ask the natives to act out or reconstruct older practices or rituals. He mostly just observes Chocó life as a participating witness. He frequently includes scenes with himself, not only in order to show how his presence is different from the presence of other white men at the trading post, but also in order to appear more truthful and to give his observations weight and authority.

Per Høst is a participant observer but also a witness. He is a witness to the events at the trading post and a witness to the life of the Chocó in their "jungle paradise". His film is a way for him to tell audiences in Europe about the wondrous culture he found in the rainforests of Panama and Colombia, and a representation of a way of life that is extremely different from life in Europe, and to him a much better way of living. Bearing witness affirms the reality of the event that is witnessed, and in that way produces its "truth" (Hallas 2009, 10). To witness something requires one's physical presence at the event, and that is one reason why Høst frequently includes himself in the scenes, demonstrating that *he* was *there*. A testimony does not escape the dynamics of power, and can be complex and layered, with shifting and conflicting meanings, and *The Forbidden Jungle* is a good example of this.

Film scholar Roger Hallas has extended the metaphor of witnessing to audiovisual media. Studying documentary film representations of AIDS patients, he uses the concept of the "secondary witness" to characterize the position and role of the cinema audience. Hallas points out that the "viewer can become a witness herself or himself, a secondary witness, with the responsibility that the position accrues" (20). However, not every person who goes to the cinema to see a documentary automatically becomes a secondary witness. Secondary witnessing is linked to a special ethical space, and it is only within this special ethical space that secondary witnessing becomes possible. For Hallas, the ethical space is created when viewers "relinquish their normal positions of narrative identification and voyeuristic mastery in favor of entertaining an intersubjective space in which spectatorship may constitute an ethical encounter with the other" (20). There will always be a question of interpretation, whether the space created is truly ethical or not, but this opens up the question of transculturation and documentary as a contact zone.

In *The Forbidden Jungle*, Per Høst is not only witnessing what goes on in the contact zone of the trading post, or observing the Chocó way of life. He is also actively discussing cultural difference. His presence is of importance in order to determine whether the space his film creates is ethical or not, and it is also linked to a discourse of authenticity through technology that was important for the success of the film in the 1950s.

Sensory experience and the role of technology

One of the reasons why *The Forbidden Jungle* became such a big success in Norway in 1950 and was later shown to large audiences in several other Western countries was Per Høst's use of sound and image technologies. His travelogue features shots in lush and warm red and green colors, which added a sensory dimension to the images, and he included a number of scenes where sound technology added yet another sensory dimension to the film. The use of color and location sound was unusual at this point in the history of documentary filmmaking, and it works both to strengthen Høst's discourse of authenticity and to give the audience an uncommon type of multi-sensory representation of an indigenous people.

In the film, Høst represents the dangerous and threatening machine culture with his many recording apparatuses, and he includes numerous shots where he is seen with the camera or a Magnetophon tape recorder recording location sounds, speaking voices, or music. The sensory experience of seeing in color and hearing through the technology of magnetic sound is important, not only as an attraction for the audience, but also as a way for Høst to include rich and vivid descriptions in his travelogue. Mary Louise Pratt points out that the sentimental writing of the sentimental hero "explicitly anchors what is being expressed in the sensory experience, judgement, agency, or desires of the human subjects" (1992, 76). Similarly, Høst's authority lies in the authenticity of his felt experience.

Even though color is a major attraction, it can be argued that sound is even more important in *The Forbidden Jungle*. Høst fore-

grounds his use of the magnetic sound technology of the Magnetophon (Milner 2009, 111ff), and there are a number of scenes where the filmmaker comments on the technology's capacity for reproducing reality, and especially on the difference between his real-life experiences in the jungle and the images and sounds of the finished film. In one scene we see an image seemingly alive with sunspots, opaque spots close to the camera, but Høst remarks in his voice-over that the image is occluded by thousands of butterflies. In another scene he remarks on the fact that the sounds of howler monkeys may seem frightening to the viewer, but that hearing them at night in the jungle was a much more disturbing and frightening experience.

In this way, the film technology itself becomes a theme in the film, differentiating Høst's film from other contemporary films in the same genre made in black and white with virtually no location sound, pointing to the many problems of representation itself. The technology is instrumental in guaranteeing the film's authenticity, and also in order to reflect authentic behavior by the Chocó people. Even though the Chocó are said to never have previously encountered a film camera or a sound recording apparatus, they do not react with incredulity. Their reaction to technology is not in any way misused to depict them as primitive people. In contrast to the infamous and much-criticized scene in *Nanook of the North* where the Inuit "Nanook" bites into a gramophone record after incredulously laughing at the machine, the Chocó are depicted as interested but unaffected by the magnetic audio technology. Especially the shaman Gajego is portrayed as genuinely fascinated by the Magnetophon

and listening to his own voice after being recorded by Høst (Iversen 2014, 234).

Fig. 2. Gajego, the Chocó shaman, with the Magnetophon and Per Høst with the recording equipment. Reprinted with permission.

Flaherty's film has been characterized as the first example of participatory filmmaking, and he did work closely with the Inuk man appearing as "Nanook" in making the film (Ruby 1980, 449–452). However, the scene in *Nanook of the North* remains problematic because the audience laughs *at* and not *with* the Inuit (Rothman 1998, 31–33). In *The Forbidden Jungle*, Gajego listens with dignity and interest to his own voice, and is not portrayed as "primitive" or without knowledge, dignity, or perspective on the modern devices.

The Forbidden Jungle shows a very different reaction to new technology by indigenous people than what is seen in many other documentaries.

Even today, *The Forbidden Jungle* offers sensory qualities through its warm, bright and lush green and red colors and use of location sound. In 1950, Norwegian reviewers frequently commented on Høst's use of sophisticated sound and color technology. With 16mm Kodachrome color film stock and the Magnetophon for recording voices, music and sounds from birds and animals, Høst's depiction of the Chocó places them in a rich and detailed sensory "world". The foregrounding of technology in *The Forbidden Jungle* has aspects of self-promotion to it, showing the filmmaker with his groundbreaking equipment, but it also works as a way of underlining the authenticity of the film by signaling the personal and subjective aspect of his representation of the Chocó.

Bodies in everyday space

Even if color and sound played an important role in the success of *The Forbidden Jungle*, another attraction is signaled in the posters and PR material for the movie. Posters for Høst's South American films typically showed images of nearly naked or bare-breasted women. Indeed, the program made for the US screenings of his first film about the Chocó people showed a medium close up of a bare-breasted young woman.

Fig. 3. Norwegian poster for *The Forbidden Jungle*, designed by Mathis Kværne. Nasjonalbiblioteket.

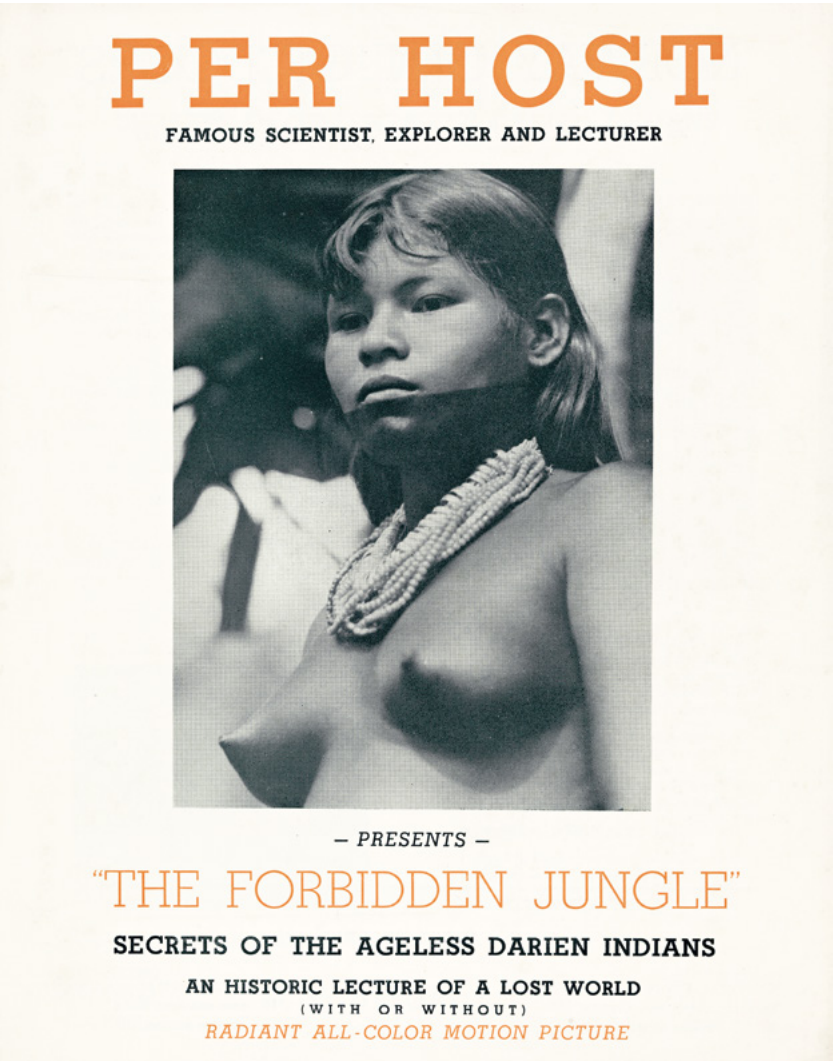

Fig. 4 English-language program for *The Forbidden Jungle* (*Jungelfolket*), the now-lost silent lecture film that Høst toured with in Norway in the fall of 1948. Høst re-used the title for his 1950 feature-length sound film. Designer unknown. Nasjonalbiblioteket.

The film's English title is to a certain extent false advertising, a way of creating an exotic context for the screenings of his material. *The Forbidden Jungle* does not reveal any spectacular rituals or aspects of Chocó life that had been forbidden to Western eyes, and the film is not spectacular in any particular way. Rather, it shows people, animals, insects, plants and the natural life in a region of Panama.

The purpose of the film is to record Chocó life before their paradise-like culture is further corrupted by trade or other forms of contact with Western people, but the film's gaze is at the same time ambiguous and troubling. On the one hand Høst's gaze is an example of what has been called the "anthropological gaze", but on the other hand it is exoticizing and voyeuristic, which is most obvious in his representations of women as sexual objects and erotic spectacles.

The African-American author Zora Neale Hurston used the metaphor of the "spy-glass of anthropology" to describe a lesson learned during her training as an anthropologist under Franz Boas, which was a way "to signal the enabling distancing of perspective and self-regard which the scientific apparatus afforded her" (Jacobs 1997, 329). Høst was not an ethnographer or an anthropologist proper. His work is closer to the more old-fashioned amateur or journalistic type of cultural reportage that by then had been replaced by the participant-observer method. However, as a trained zoologist, and with his various technical apparatuses, Høst to a certain extent can be said to have had the approach of a trained scientist. His own cultural background also gave him perspective and distance, having lived in a completely different culture than the Chocó.

There are two aspects in Høst's practice and discourse in *The Forbidden Jungle* that seem to contradict Neale Hurston's "spy-glass of anthropology" characterization. Unlike Boas or other anthropologists at the time when the movie was filmed, Høst was not advocating cultural relativism, or arguing for the equality of different cultural formations. Instead he argued that the Chocó society and way of life was much better than the Western culture he himself represented, and he used different strategies in his work, through voice-over as well as images, to show how the peaceful and harmonic life of the Chocó was superior to that of Western civilization.

The other aspect is how Høst is not only observing with detachment through the scientific "spy-glass" of his camera, if such a position ever could be possible, but rather peeking through his lens like a voyeur, especially interested in women's nearly naked bodies.

In a number of scenes in the film, we witness a kind of nudity otherwise "forbidden" in cinemas in Europe and the US at the time. In most scenes the nakedness is not enhanced, and thus becomes a more integral part of the portrayal of everyday life. However, other scenes depict everyday bodies as a pretext for showing nearly naked women, like the footage where young women and children wash themselves with soap in the river. This scene is part of Høst's description of one of the many positive aspects of the Chocó, their hygiene and cleanliness, but in his voice-over Høst tells us that he is using a telephoto lens because the women did not like him filming them washing in the water, wanting to secure spaces where the camera was not able to record them, and thus he is ignoring their request. This fact adds to the already voyeuristic character of the scene.

In this, and some other shorter scenes in the film, Høst's spyglass gaze of science is replaced by male voyeurism, and mimics the imperial white gaze of colonialism in its sexualizing of Chocó women, as well as creating an unethical space (Said 1978, Alloula 1986). This gaze is gendered, voyeuristic, and objectifying. Høst uses the female bodies and nakedness as a trope for the positive aspects of the Chocó, their innocence, cleanliness, beauty and naturalness, but it is at the same time charged with erotic interest. The images of bare-breasted women do freeze the flow of action in a couple of short moments of erotic contemplation, as Laura Mulvey described the determining male gaze in classical Hollywood cinema, and these scenes present woman as image and man as bearer of the look. Chocó women are partly defined by their to-be-looked-at-ness, to use Mulvey's apt description (Mulvey 1975, 11). According to Mulvey, women's bodies are typically presented for the audience to be looked at, and women are sexual objects and erotic spectacles in the film.

This aspect creates a conflicting or multilayered discourse in the film. Høst is not primarily interested in the spectacular, but wants to convey to his Western audience the ordinary life-world of the Chocó. At the same time he creates some erotic spectacles that exotify the indigenous women. They are seen through the dark lens of imperialism and orientalism, and these parts of the film work against its focus on the quotidian as well as the main argument of their culture being more positive than European machine culture.

Throughout *The Forbidden Jungle*, Høst uses different concepts and images to portray his cultural meetings with the Chocó.

Not only to define what Chocó society *is*, but also what it is *not*, by framing his narrative about Chocó life and society within a context of history as well as transculturation. *The Forbidden Jungle* is not only a narrative about a journey and an example of filmic salvage ethnography, it is also an object lesson for a violent and repressed European machine culture. Writing about the Chocó in his autobiography in 1951, in English titled *What the World Showed Me*, Høst obviously regrets leaving the Chocó, and would rather have remained in this earthly paradise than going back to Europe and Norway (Høst 1951).

Cultural meeting and interpretive power

If a documentary film is characterized as a contact zone, the contact is, in the case of *The Forbidden Jungle*, a one-way relation. One group of people are represented on-screen, while another group gaze at and listen to people who are mostly unaware of the impact of their representation on their audience. The two disparate groups of people, the different cultures, do not, in Mary Louise Pratt's words "grapple with each other"; the relationship is highly asymmetrical (1992, 4). However, it is not directly a relation of domination and subordination. What takes place is hardly what Pratt calls transculturation since the "culturation" here is one-way. But it can still change, in a positive or a negative way, the audience who experiences the documentary representation of the world.

Being presented with an alternative and positive world, far from Western culture, can make self-reflection possible. Journalists reviewing the film in Oslo in 1950 seem to illustrate this position

in their reviews. In a review in *Dagbladet*, one of the biggest newspapers in Norway, author and journalist Gunnar Larsen writes: "Everyone should see the closed and harmonious fairytale-land of Per Høst, where snakes lurk in the treetops, but not in paradise". He continues by contrasting the Chocó to his own modern city of Oslo: "And the paradox is that if you should visit the only place in the world without danger, you should travel to the 'dangerous' Choco Indians, the kindest and nicest people in the world" (Larsen 1950).[4] To this reviewer the contrast between Norwegian and Chocó people was obvious, and Høst's film was an object lesson also directed at post-war Norwegian society. By holding up the mirror of the Chocó society, Høst makes film critics see their own country and way of life in a new and surprising way. It is not the non-western "other" that is dangerous, it is the self, and the journalists come close to becoming "secondary witnesses", even though the space of the film is not ethically unproblematic.

Despite its sensational title, *The Forbidden Jungle* is a multilayered testimony from a cultural meeting in a contact zone. The film establishes a reversed cultural hierarchy, with Chocó at the top, described and depicted as a much better society than contemporary Europe with its violent machine culture. Reviews in Norwegian newspapers suggest that the film managed to convey a picture of a

4 Author's translation. The Norwegian original is: «Alle bør se Per Høsts lukkede og harmoniske evertyrland, hvor slangen lurer i tretoppene, men ikke i paradiset. Og paradokset blir at skal man oppsøke snart det eneste sted hvor det ikke er farlig her i verden lenger, så bør man reise til de 'farlige' choco-indianerne, verdens snilleste og hyggeligste mennesker».

"kinder and nicer people", and functioned more as a route to knowledge than a voyeuristic exercise. Høst creates a new allegorical map with his film, placing Europe and the machine cultures of the West at the margins in the process of reterritorializing, highlighting the beauty and harmony of Chocó society.

Høst's film is first and foremost a travelogue, searching for and finding the "vanishing primitive", that is saved as images and sounds in his film. The travelogue has a bad reputation in anthropology and cultural representation, in part because of its character as a "fragment genre" showing a number of fragments from a journey. The episodic and loosely woven string of pearls of anecdotes that characterize the genre is pinpointed in the French expression *cinéma papillon*. Most travelogues, and most of Høst's films, are like butterflies, restlessly moving from one place to another, from one scene to another, gathering a multitude of varied but superficial impressions. Cultural critic Steve Clark has summed up the travelogue genre as such: "Anecdote matters more than commentary, digression [more] than sequence" (1999, 18). This is a suitable characterization also of *The Forbidden Jungle*.

Many have argued that the fragmentary quality of the travelogue is not fitting for a true cultural representation because of its lack of depth (Islam 1996, Clifford 1997, Clark 1999). Anthropologists have criticized the travelogue, while also acknowledging that the boundaries between travelogue and ethnography or anthropology are sometimes blurred (Lévi-Strauss 2011, 17–18). Even though the travelogue most often delivers a "thin" and not a "thick" description of a culture, to use Clifford Geertz' famous expressions, there

are different types of travelogues, and different forms of thin or thick descriptions (1973, 3–30).

Literary scholar Syed Manzurul Islam has distinguished between two types of travelers and their travelogues. On the one hand is the sedentary traveler, who follows the roads of power, and who does not change after the journey. On the other is the nomadic traveler, who breaks with the paths of power, and who returns as a new and changed person (Islam 1996, vii, 37, 73). Høst is neither of these two types, but rather something in-between, since he in many ways follows the roads of power, but does change and returns to Norway as a new man, having found in the Chocó society a much better way of life. He is more nomadic than sedentary. Communicating this life-changing experience through what I am arguing is a thematizing of the contact zone in *The Forbidden Jungle* is of utmost importance to him. Høst presents himself as a witness and his film as a testimony of his journey to a "forbidden" territory seemingly populated by aggressive cannibals, as other white men have told him. Instead of danger, Høst finds a harmonious and positive society without violence or aggression. This opens up the possibility, after all, of a possible function of a "secondary witness" where Høst himself or the audience see themselves in a new light through the cultural meeting.

The Forbidden Jungle may be flawed. Seeing it today, and not in its "ethnographic present", brings out its deficiencies and use of audio-visual strategies that come close to being orientalist and imperialist. The film is in itself a contact zone, a space where different discourses about the Chocó meet and create conflicting images. A space where different discourses meet, clash and grapple with each

other. Depicted as a paradise and an alternative to Western culture, but seen through discourses that to a large degree reduce and essentialize the Chocó, the picture *is* ambiguous.

However flawed, the film did have a potential for education, not among the Chocó, but for its large Western audience. The cultural meeting it describes has an interpretive power, not only in regard to the Chocó, but also the Western "opposite". The film set out to change how Westerners perceived people from a very different culture, and there is some evidence that the film achieved its goal. The reception in Norwegian newspapers is full of surprising comments about Self as well as the Other.

By depicting a complex contact zone, both the trading post in the film and Høst's own encounter with the Chocó, the film itself could become a filmic contact zone, creating some secondary witnesses, redrawing traditional cultural geographies and spatial limits, and changing Self through the Other.

Note

This article builds on my research on the life and work of Per Høst, published in Norwegian in Iversen 2014.

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09. Filmography

NORWEGIAN FILM PRODUCTIONS AND HOLDINGS IN THE FILM ARCHIVE OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF NORWAY

Roald Amundsen's Sydpolsferd
Fram's South Polar Expedition
Norway 1912, b/w and tinted, approx. 17' (Norwegian theatrical version), approx. 21' (English lecture version), approx. 11' (German lecture version), approx. 43' (assembly of all extant original film footage) PHOTOGRAPHY: Leon Amundsen, Kristian Prestrud, and others
RESTORATION MATERIAL: DCP (Norwegian theatrical version, English lecture version, German lecture version, assembly of original takes), 35mm duplicate negative, 35mm duplicate positive, 35mm copy
ARCHIVAL MATERIAL: 35mm nitrate copy (English lecture version) | Released on DVD by the Norwegian Film Institute, 2010

In Borneo, the Land of the Head-Hunters
Norway/UK, 1920, tinted / b/w, approx. 49'
PHOTOGRAPHY: Carl Lumholtz, and others
RESTORATION MATERIAL: DCP, based on 35mm duplicate negative from the collection of the British Film Institute

Under polarkredsens himmel. Med Professor Holtedahl's Ekspedition til Novaja Semlja PRODUCTION: Bio-Film Co., Norway 1921, approx: 29' | PHOTOGRAPHY: Reidar Lund | Presumed lost

Med Roald Amundsen's nordpolsekspedition til første vinterkvarter With Roald Amundsen's North Pole Expedition to the First Winter Quarter | PRODUCTION: Bio-Film Co, Norway 1923, tinted, approx. 61'
PHOTOGRAPHY: Reidar Lund, and others
RESTORATION MATERIAL: DCP, 35mm duplicate negative, 35mm duplicate positive, 35mm copy | ARCHIVAL MATERIAL: 35mm nitrate copy material | Released on DVD by the National Library of Norway, 2013

Roald Amundsen–Lincoln Ellsworths flyveekspedisjon 1925 Roald Amundsen—Lincoln Ellsworth's Polar Flight 1925
PRODUCTION: A/S Spektro-Film, Norway 1925, tinted, approx. 77' | PHOTOGRAPHY: Paul Berge, Oskar Omdal | RESTORATION MATERIAL: DCP, 35mm duplicate negative, 35mm duplicate positive, 35mm copy
ARCHIVAL MATERIAL: 35mm nitrate copy
Released on DVD by the Norwegian Film Institute, 2010

Med «Maud» over Polhavet With «Maud» Across the Arctic Ocean | PRODUCTION: Bio-Film Co., Norway 1926, b/w, approx. 82' PHOTOGRAPHY: Odd Dahl, and others RESTORATION MATERIAL: DCP, 35mm duplicate negative, 35mm duplicate positive, 35mm copy | ARCHIVAL MATERIAL: 35mm nitrate copy | Released on DVD by the National Library of Norway, 2013

Luftskibet «Norge»s flukt over Polhavet. Roald Amundsen, Ellsworth og Nobiles flyveekspedition 1926 The Airship Norge's Flight Across the Arctic Ocean PRODUCTION: A/S Spektro-Film, Norway 1926, tinted, approx. 87' | PHOTOGRAPHY: Paul Berge, Emil Horgen | RESTORATION MATERIAL: DCP, 35mm duplicate negative, 35mm duplicate positive, 35mm copy ARCHIVAL MATERIAL: 35mm nitrate negative, 35mm copy (incomplete) | Released on DVD by the National Library of Norway, 2012

Mot ukjent land: Norvegia-ekspedisjonen 1929/30 PRODUCTION: A/S Norvegia Film-Co., Norway 1930, tinted, approx: 77' PHOTOGRAPHY: Hjalmar Riiser-Larsen RESTORATION MATERIAL: 35mm duplicate negative, 35mm copy (incomplete) ARCHIVAL MATERIAL: 35mm nitrate copy (incomplete)

På sildefiske PRODUCTION: Thor Iversen, Norway 1930, b/w, approx. 8' | PHOTOGRAPHY, EDITING: Thor Iversen | RESTORATION MATERIAL: 35mm duplicate negative, 35mm duplicate positive | ARCHIVAL MATERIAL: 35mm nitrate copy, 16mm copy

Vårtokt til Bjørnøya Norway 1930, b/w, approx. 11' | DIRECTOR, PHOTOGRAPHY, EDITING: Thor Iversen | RESTORATION MATERIAL: 35mm duplicate negative ARCHIVAL MATERIAL: 16mm copy

Svalbardtokt Norway 1930, b/w, approx. 22' PHOTOGRAPHY, EDITING: Thor Iversen ARCHIVAL MATERIAL: 16mm copy

På jakt efter Nautilus Norway 1931, b/w, approx. 21' | DIRECTOR, PHOTOGRAPHY, EDITING: Thor Iversen | RESTORATION MATERIAL: 35mm duplicate negative ARCHIVAL MATERIAL: 35mm nitrate copy, 16mm copies

Tiedemanns naturfilm : Helge Ingstads Grønlandsekspedisjon 1932-33 Norway 1932–33, b/w, approx. 20' | PRODUCTION: Gladtvet-film | RESTORATION MATERIAL: 35mm duplicate negative, 35mm copy ARCHIVAL MATERIAL: 35mm nitrate copy

Til Sydøst-Grønland Norway 1933(?), b/w, approx. 23' | PHOTOGRAPHY, EDITING: Thor Iversen | RESTORATION MATERIAL: 35mm duplicate negative | ARCHIVAL MATERIAL: 16mm copy

Til Jan Mayen Norway 1935, b/w, approx. 11' PHOTOGRAPHY, EDITING: Thor Iversen RESTORATION MATERIAL: 35mm duplicate negative, 35mm copy | ARCHIVAL MATERIAL: 16mm copy

Hvor isbjørnen ferdes (Høit mot nord I) Production: Kvefjord Film, Norway 1935, b/w, approx. 15' | PHOTOGRAPHY, EDITING: Thor Iversen | RESTORATION MATERIAL: 35mm duplicate negative, 35mm duplicate positive, 35mm copy | ARCHIVAL MATERIAL: 35mm nitrate copy, 16mm copies

Til verdens nordligste fiskefelt Norway 1939, b/w, approx. 34' (incomplete) DIRECTOR, PHOTOGRAPHY, EDITING: Thor Iversen | RESTORATION MATERIAL: 35mm duplicate negative, 35mm copy | ARCHIVAL MATERIAL: 16mm copies

Det norske Amerika Norway 1946, color, approx. 10' | DIRECTOR, SCREENPLAY: Per Høst | ARCHIVAL MATERIAL: 16mm copy

Med filmkamera i jungelen PRODUCTION: Per Høst, Norway 1946, color | DIRECTOR, PHOTOGRAPHY, SCREENPLAY: Per Høst | Presumed lost

Vårsildfiske på Vestlandet PRODUCTION: Kommunenes filmcentral A/S, Norway 1948, b/w, sound, approx. 10' | On commission from Reklamefondet for den norske hermetikkindustri | PHOTOGRAPHY: Thor Iversen RESTORATION MATERIAL: 35mm duplicate negative, 35mm duplicate sound negative, 35mm duplicate positive | ARCHIVAL MATERIAL: 35mm nitrate copies

Mayafolkets land PRODUCTION: Per Høst, Norway 1949, color, approx: 34' | DIRECTOR, PHOTOGRAPHY, SCREENPLAY: Per Høst ARCHIVAL MATERIAL: 16mm copy (incomplete)

Kon-Tiki PRODUCTION: Thor Heyerdahl, Artfilm AB, Norway/Sweden 1950, b/w, approx. 75' | DIRECTOR: Olle Nordemar, SCREENPLAY: Thor Heyerdahl, PHOTOGRAPHY: Thor Heyerdahl, Hilding Bladh, and others RESTORATION MATERIAL: DCP (Norwegian and US versions), 35mm duplicate positive, 35mm copy. DCP of the US version based on 35mm negatives from the collections of the Museum of Modern Art, New York, NY

ARCHIVAL MATERIAL: 35mm picture and sound negatives (in Norwegian, Swedish and English language versions) | Released on DVD by the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation, 2012

Gjensyn med jungelfolket PRODUCTION: Per Høst Film A/S, Norway, 1950, color, approx. 82' | DIRECTOR, PHOTOGRAPHY, SCREENPLAY: Per Høst | ARCHIVAL MATERIAL: 16mm copies

Ecuador PRODUCTION: Per Høst Film A/S, Norway 1953–1954, color, approx: 83' DIRECTOR, PHOTOGRAPHY, SCREENPLAY: Per Høst | Presumed lost, some 16mm production material extant

Galapagos PRODUCTION: Per Høst Film A/S, Norway 1955, color, approx. 78' PHOTOGRAPHY: Per Høst and others, screenplay: Per Høst, Thor Heyerdahl RESTORATION MATERIAL: 35mm copy, 35mm duplicate positive | ARCHIVAL MATERIAL: 35mm negatives (blown up from 16mm shooting format), 35mm copy

Same Jakki PRODUCTION: Per Høst Film A/S, Norway, 1957, color, approx. 100' | DIRECTOR: Per Høst | RESTORATION MATERIAL: 35mm duplicate positive | ARCHIVAL MATERIAL: 16mm and 35mm copies (with Norwegian and English subtitles)

Aku-Aku PRODUCTION: Thor Heyerdahl, Artfilm A/B, Norway/Sweden, 1960, color, approx. 86' | DIRECTOR, SCREENPLAY: Thor Heyerdahl, PHOTOGRAPHY: Erling J. Schjerven RESTORATION MATERIAL: 35mm duplicate positive, 35mm duplicate negative ARCHIVAL MATERIAL: 35mm picture and sound negatives (Norwegian, Swedish, English and German language versions), 35mm copies, 16mm copies

Ra PRODUCTION: Thor Heyerdahl, Sveriges Radio, Sweden/Norway 1972, color, approx. 106' | DIRECTOR, SCREENPLAY: Thor Heyerdahl, PHOTOGRAPHY: Carlo Mauri, Kei Ohara RESTORATION MATERIAL: 35mm, color, sound (Norwegian version), 35mm, color, sound (US version) | ARCHIVAL MATERIAL: 16mm negatives, 17.5mm magnetic sound, 16mm production material

Tigris PRODUCTION: BBC, Thor Heyerdahl, Lennart Ehrenborg, UK/Norway 1979, color, approx. 50' | ARCHIVAL MATERIAL: 16mm negatives, production material, sound recording tapes

Kon-Tiki PRODUCTION: Recorded Picture Company, Nordisk Film Production, and others, UK/Norway/Germany/Denmark/Sweden 2012, color, approx: 118' | DIRECTOR: Joachim Rønning, Espen Sandberg, PHOTOGRAPHY: Geir Hartly Andreassen, SCREENPLAY: Petter Skavlan | ARCHIVAL MATERIAL: DCP and DPX

INTERNATIONAL FILM PRODUCTIONS

African Hunt/Paul J. Rainey's African Hunt PRODUCTION: Jungle Film Co., USA 1912 | PHOTOGRAPHY: John C. Hemment

Nanook of the North PRODUCTION: Revillon Frères, USA 1922 | DIRECTOR, PHOTOGRAPHY: Robert J. Flaherty

The Great White Silence 90° South PRODUCTION: Gaumont British Picture Corp., UK, 1924, 1933 | DIRECTOR: Herbert G. Ponting

Grass : A Nation's Battle for Life PRODUCTION: Cooper and Shoedsack, USA 1925 | DIRECTOR: Merian C. Cooper, PHOTOGRAPHY: Ernest B. Schoedsack

Chang : A Drama of the Wilderness PRODUCTION: Paramount Famous Lasky Corp., USA 1927 | DIRECTOR: Merian C. Cooper, PHOTOGRAPHY: Ernest B. Schoedsack

Simba : The King of Beasts PRODUCTION: Martin Johnson African Exedition Corp. USA 1928 | PHOTOGRAPHY: Martin Johnson, Osa Johnson

Hunting Tigers in India PRODUCTION: Talking Picture Epics, Inc., | USA 1929 DIRECTOR: George M. Dyott, Leo Meehan

Africa Speaks! PRODUCTION: Mascot Pictures, USA 1930 | DIRECTOR: Walter Futter, PHOTOGRAPHY: Paul L. Hoefler

To the Shores of Iwo Jima PRODUCTION: U.S. Government Office of War Information, USA 1945

TELEVISION PRODUCTIONS

Northern Passage PRODUCTION: NRK, Norway 2011 | DIRECTOR: Tore Rosshaug, Frank Bjarkø, PHOTOGRAPHY: Børge Ousland and others

Nordpolen: det siste kappløpet / Poles Apart UK, 1991 | DIRECTOR: Paul Cleary

Alene til Nordpolen PRODUCTION: Videomaker, Norway 1994, 52' | DIRECTOR, SCREENPLAY: Håvard Jenssen, Per JORDAL, SAM HALL, PHOTOGRAPHY: Børge Ousland, Håvard Jenssen

Alene over Sydpolen Børge Ousland, Norway 1997 | PHOTOGRAPHY: Børge Ousland

Det store hvite PRODUCTION: Videomaker, Norway 2001, 52' | DIRECTOR: Håvard Jenssen, PHOTOGRAPHY: Børge Ousland, Håvard Jenssen, Ole Fretheim

I Nansens fotspor : Gjennom Frans Josefs land PRODUCTION: NRK, Norway 2009, 54' | DIRECTOR, SCREENPLAY: Tore Rosshaug, FRANK BJARKØ, PHOTOGRAPHY: Børge Ousland, Thomas Ulrich

10. Contributors

AXEL ANDERSSON is a Swedish writer and art critic, currently editor-in-chief at *Kritiklabbet* in Stockholm. He earned his doctorate in history at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy, in 2007 and is the author of *A Hero for the Atomic Age: Thor Heyerdahl and the Kon-Tiki Expedition* (2010). Andersson has contributed writings on cultural history, media theory, contemporary art, dance and cinema to a number of scholarly anthologies and journals. His latest book is *Den koloniala simskolan* (The Colonial School of Swimming) (2016), which traces the disappearance and return, via colonial locales, of the crawl swimming technique. In this work, and in many of his other project, he investigates the performative dimension of media and its intersection with narrations of identity.

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MALIN WAHLBERG is Associate Professor of Cinema Studies at the Department for Media Studies at Stockholm University. She is the author of Volume 21 *Documentary Time. Film and Phenomenology* in the Visible Evidence Series (University of Minnesota Press, 2008), as well as essays and book chapters on subjects including aesthetic theory, science cinema, video art, and television documentary. Her recent work includes an archive project on Vietnam documentaries and solidarity programming in the context of early public broadcasting culture, and a theoretical project on sonic traces, voice and aurality in documentary memory work.

ESPEN YTREBERG is Professor of Media Studies at the Department of Media and Communication, University of Oslo. His research interests include media history generally and historical media events particularly. He has published internationally on polar conquests and world›s fairs in *Media Culture & Society*, *Media History* and the *International Journal of Communication*. He has also authored a historical novel on Roald Amundsen's South Pole conquest (*Amundsen*, Tiden, 2016) and a monograph on the Oslo Centenary Jubilee Exhibition (*En forsvunnet by*, Press, 2014).

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Small Country, Long Journeys: Norwegian Expedition Films explores a wide variety of Norwegian expedition films, including Roald Amundsen's South Pole expedition, Carl Lumholtz's travels in Borneo, and Thor Heyerdahl's journey on the Kon-Tiki. Leading film and media scholars examine the genre characteristics of expedition films, their production and exhibition contexts, and their role in constructing broader media events, national identity, and the writing of history.

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