Rethinking Space in the landscapes of Nordic cuisine.

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Introduction – space and its representation

In her book *For Space*, of 2005, Doreen Massey advocates unpacking our approach to thinking about and, importantly, "imagining" space not as "a surface continuous and given" but instead as "a meeting-up of histories", where an accretion of numerous trajectories contribute to how a given space *is* – certainly not singular nor even merely plural but where fluid and multivalent elements continually produce a space. In other words where space is in a constant state of being made (Massey 2005: 9).

Massey's object is to offer a new way of thinking about space, one that departs from the established 'habit' that conceives of space in relation to place, as counterpoised each to the other (Bergson 1911, Tuan 1977, Cresswell 2002). Here, 'place' is typically understood as "closed, coherent, integrated, as authentic, as 'home', a secure retreat", as meaningful, lived and everyday, generally taken to refer to somewhere real and bounded and with identifiable material and cultural characteristics; while 'space' is taken to be fairly vague, open and even abstract, and therefore implicitly meaning-less (Massey 2005: 6). As such, space and place have typically been framed in terms of an opposition: "the abstract versus the everyday, and so forth" (ibid). In an important intervention into the conception of space, Massey asks: "What then if we refuse this imagination?" (ibid).

Massey's core motivation appears to be pivoted around issues of social justice in a globalised and uncertain world, insisting on the recognition of the role and rights of Others, who are often not visible within representations. She argues that the tendency to hold a fixed, still, closed idea of a given space denies the richness and reality of all that has gone into, and continually goes into, creating that space – for Massey it is especially important to register the shifts, movements, people and social relations within a given space. Furthermore, the locality of any given geographical space is "implicated in the global" (Massey 2005: 102). In short she advocates a new approach to space where the vitality and dynamism of real life, together with social justice, are brought back into the picture.

> Space then cannot be a static slice orthogonal to time and defined in opposition to it. If movement is reality itself then what we think of as space is a cut through all those trajectories; a simultaneity of unfinished stories.' … 'space has time / times within it" (Massey 2003: 111).

This necessarily brings us to the 'problem' of the visual representation of space where, for photography in particular, the epistemological limits of the medium pose a problem, as Laura Mulvey has expressed it: "The still photograph represents an unattached instant, unequivocally grounded in its indexical relation to the moment of registration" (2006: 13). Perhaps less obvious is the degree to which the selected representation "asserts the moment at which one frame was recorded" (14). In this sense it fixes time in a continuous present, as in Barthes' well-rehearsed argument (1980). But in addition there is another way in which fixing occurs. The 'framing' of the photograph also insists upon or suggests a bounded-ness to the location in which it was taken and therefore landscape photographs may "play out a romance of detachment" (Massey 2005: 103).

For Massey, the fixity of such images is significant for the ways in which we conceive of space. She argues that through a historical connotation, (particularly following Bergson 1911) the very "conceptualisation of space" has been reduced to a "dimension for the display / representation of different moments in time", and this, she suggests, is not only long-established but "implicit" (Massey 2005: 7). Moreover, that this might lead us to imagine space as "static, closed, immobile, as the opposite of time" (18). Instead, Massey cautions that "time and space must be thought together", that they are "implicated in each other" (ibid), hence her proposition that we must "refuse that distinction … between place (as meaningful, lived and everyday) and space (as what? The outside? The abstract? The meaning*less*)?", in order fully to acknowledge the life, vitality and dynamism of any given space (6). In summary:

> it is not space that takes the life out of time, but representation. The real trouble is that the old equation of representation with spacialisation has taken the life out of space (Massey 2003: 113).

At the heart of this chapter lies an interest in the contribution made by contemporary landscape photography to the ways in which geographic spaces are conceptualised, envisioned, thought about – in others words – *imagined*. Here, I attempt to approach the representation of space in the spirit proposed by Massey – refusing the conventional notion that an abstract, or open, space is implicitly a meaning*less* space.

Massey is on record for saying that the discipline of geography fascinates her, because it is "a very multidisciplinary discipline" (2013), bringing together physi-

cal geography – topography geomorphology, biogeography, meteorology, climatology – with elements of the social and economic. The same might be claimed for landscape as a genre of photography – except, I argue, that all too often the social is absent, or indeed absented, by the selections, choices, framings, interests and tastes of the photographer – strongly influenced by the conventions of the genre, of course, and the function of the given landscape image – particularly within commercial and applied photography.

Here, I mean to refer to photographic representation, not so much as mimesis (Bryson 1983) rooted in an indexical trace of particular places and spaces, but as part of a discourse producing ideas about the North. More specifically, I am interested in examining how landscape photography is implicated in the process of constructing ideas about Nordic or Scandinavian space, through an investigation of a particular genre of commercial landscape photography; that used in the illustration of contemporary cookery books centered on this region. This focus enables me to think about some of the ways in which the Nordic region has been imagined in recent times and the role this plays in ongoing constructions of the North in the context of globalisation.

Through a study of examples of photographic landscape illustrations used in Nordic cookery writing, I explore the representation of a particular geographic and cultural space. The chapter therefore draws on Massey for the purposes of, in her words, "prising open" the "often hidden, ways of conceiving" of space (2005: 6).[1] The idea of the "hidden" interests me, particularly the ways in which attitudes and ideas – myths in Barthes' terms – lie quietly concealed within particular types of landscape photography found in everyday cultural products such as illustrated books, magazines and marketing materials of various kinds (Barthes 1957).

For this analysis of examples of landscape photography of the Nordic region, my intention is to "question the habit of thinking" about this particular space, "as a surface" – or more accurately as an array of surfaces, as visualised through photography (Massey 2005: 4). I aim to create a dialogue between two ideas of 'space' offered by Massey; the abstract intellectual space intended to facilitate an opening-up of thinking; and the dynamic geographical and social space, considered through the examples of landscape photography purposefully created to play a supporting role to cookery writing from the Nordic region. In-so-doing, I invite reflection upon what happens to "our implicit imagination" of the Nordic if we do this (Massey 2005: 4).

The cookbook genre is perhaps an unlikely focus for an analysis of landscape photography. However, in recent years there has been a proliferation of publications on Nordic (and Scandinavian) cuisine, most of which are richly illustrated with photographs of landscape and nature and other kinds of imagery. Within

1 Note Massey's work was largely focused on London and on South/Latin American.

the pages of such regional cookery books different histories are brought together around identifiable themes and characteristics, where old ideas about the region may be perpetuated and new ideas may be ignited. Following Anderson (1983), Appadurai (1988) and Massey (2005), it is argued that such books play a part in the creation of ideas about the North; in a continual process of making and unmaking.

Some narratives about the Nordic, as evidenced in two important books on its regional cuisine, are revealing of attitudes to the effects of globalisation. Firstly, I will argue that in one key example of Nordic cookery writing and photographic illustration, *NOMA: Time and Place in Nordic Cuisine*, published in 2010, some effects of globalisation are addressed and critiqued by an approach to locally produced food that challenges our thinking about the Nordic in relation to global issues. In the context of thinking about Massey, *NOMA* has an interesting subtitle: 'Time and Place in Nordic Cuisine' – I will return to this evocation of 'time' and of 'place'.

By way of contrast, I consider a second example, *The Nordic Cook Book* (Nilsson 2015). This, I will argue, evidences a resistance to change, achieved through the absenting or denial of the presence of any cultural Other, despite the de facto influence of people from within the Nordic population who originate from other parts of the world. The idea of time evoked here is that of timelessness.

The argument here is underpinned by a wider interest in the ways that landscape photography, and the landscape genre more generally, influences our ideas about particular kinds of geographic, cultural, and social space; an interest in the representation of the spaces (and places) of landscape and how they come to shape our imaginative world. However, my particular curiosity has been sparked by what I will call the 'stripped-out' landscape image; by which I mean simplified, with extraneous detail removed, left out of the frame or avoided by the compositional choices made by the photographer. Often these are almost abstract landscape images of a kind that, I would argue, play into the notion of a 'pristine', 'wilderness' image of Nordic regions. Examples of such 'air-brushed', fictive images can be found in applied / commercial landscape photography and have co-opted an aesthetic first cultivated by high-end landscape photographic art – for example that of Richard Misrach (b. 1949), Hiroshi Sugimoto (b. 1949), Axel Hütte (b. 1951) – and of Andreas Gursky (b. 1955) particularly with images such as *Düsseldorf Flughafen II* (1994). However, for all these artists the landscape genre has been employed in a critical relation to its subject matter. This is especially apparent in Gursky's work – for example in *Rhein II*, (1999) – in this example the artist has purposefully stripped-out particular elements of the geographical space, thereby encouraging the viewer to notice and question the absences – the human impact for example.

A 'stripped-out' form of landscape image may be thought about in relation to Massey's ideas on 'space as a dimension' – an abstract sense of space without the particularities of 'place' (Massey 2006). The role that such images play in our individual and collective consciousness is of interest when we imagine Nordic regions,

particularly when they may signify as timeless and pristine landscapes. In such instances, and in the context of neoliberalism and globalisation, these 'stripped-out', supposedly 'pristine' landscapes can have a cultural, political and market value. My argument is that such images in their embodiment of the pristine have a role in the functioning of the neoliberal, late capitalist world order.

Ideas on the North

To study the cookbooks of a given country or region is to gain access to a wider set of factors than its food heritage and contemporary cuisine. Carol Gold, in her 2007 account of the history of Danish cookbooks, observes that we tend to "delve" into a cookbook but "very few people actually read" them, instead, they appear to function as "documents of desires, fears and hopes" (11).[2] In 1988, 21 years before Gold's work on Danish food culture, Arjun Appadurai published an influential study of Indian cuisine: *How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India*. In it he suggested that cookbooks offer the kinds of "vicarious pleasures" associated with the "literature of the senses" (3). Furthermore, in a design related context, Adrian Forty's important thesis in *Objects of Desire* (1986) demonstrated that the impulse driving the demand for a given product is determined by the ideas and values embodied by it. The two contemporary case studies under discussion here – *NOMA* and *The Nordic Cook Book* – are examples of highly popular products that appeal both to the "senses", and to particular "desires", ideas and values. The attraction of such books appears to be located in the promise of sensory delights, a connection to 'authenticity' (although experienced vicariously), and to ideas of sociability where good, simple food can be shared with friends and family. All this is conveyed by the descriptions of the raw ingredients for the type of food under discussion, its preparation and presentation. However, hopes and fears, ideas and values, and promises of sensory pleasures, are also evoked through an abundance of photographic images – many of which are landscapes – created and selected on the basis of the ideas and values they embody and the appeal they have for us as readers, viewers and consumers.

The signifiers and aesthetics found in the kinds of landscape images utilised in cookbooks associated with the Nordic region draw upon ideas about the North that have been developed over centuries, and were famously explored by Peter Davidson, in *The Idea of North*, first published in 2005, and the subject of much discussion and academic work since. Here, Davidson suggests that "everyone carries their own idea of north within them"; a phrase repeated several times, for em-

2 Gold, 2007, p11 quoting Nicola Humble from: 'A Touch of Boheme: Documents of Desires, Fears and Hopes', *Times Literary Supplement*, June 1996, p15.

phasis one assumes (Davidson 2016: 10). Indeed, the vastness and vagueness of the imagined area encompassed by the North is associated with so many different ideas and imaginaries that "a choice has to be made of a few points of focus" (172). The same is true for the purposes of this discussion, for which a few familiar characteristics and tropes will have to suffice. According to Davidson the North is typically perceived as a "harder place, a place of dearth: uplands, adverse weather, remoteness from cities … a region of austere marvels … a shadowless, treeless place" (11). This is also borne out by Ysanne Holt who, writing about northern England and Scotland, says remoteness is often sought out for its suggestiveness of "an intense and immediate authenticity" (2013: 218). Holt notes that ideas about the North often point to the "untamed and unruly", sometimes linking these with "an elemental purity" (ibid). Many related ideas, such as: clean, pure, simple and wild – can be found in abundance in food writing on the characteristic pleasures of Scandinavian and Nordic food, all typically connoting freshness, authenticity and the merits of a modest way of life.

Davidson noticed that images of Scandinavia are often imbued with the "colours of twilight, … the early winter dark" and of the "protracted summer evenings", observing that films by Knut Erik Jensen "return again and again to the cobalt-blue of the last of the light" (2016: 185). He also notes a "crepuscular grey" recurring in interior shots of painted rooms and in the depictions of autumn landscapes and of "numinous twilight houses" found in archetypal paintings of the 18th, 19th and even early 20th century, such as those by Nils Kreuger and Vilhem Hammershøi; "the painter of light fading in rooms" with their "balance of serenity and melancholy" (ibid). Davidson suggests that such images "speak powerfully to every element in the spectator that would play with the idea of renouncing the metropolis – presence, activity, movement – for remoteness, absence, stillness"; concluding that, essentially "these images are about pastness" (ibid).

However, it is not only the representation of topographies and interiors that shape our ideas; the weather of a given place is often imbued with loaded characteristics where it may be "enlisted to heighten an effect; to typify" and "to establish a … characterization" (Massey 2003: 109). Thus, the depiction of the elements can be instrumental to the establishment of what has been described as a "moral climatology" (Livingstone, 2002), where weather and climate are "mobilised as culturally inflected categories to reinforce particular political geographies" (Massey 2003: 109). In the case of the Nordic region, the association of harsh weather conditions and long, dark winters, combined with remote and austere landscapes, have been employed to connote the worthiness of struggle and endurance.

Nordic identity

Just as ideas about the North have been created and reinforced over time, the idea of an identifiable and coherent 'Nordicness' should also be understood as a construction. In his groundbreaking study of 1983, *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson demonstrates that imagination is central to the construction of community identities, defining nations as 'imagined' communities; "imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (6). Following Gellner (1964), he argues that 'nationalism' is not simply there ready to be awoken, but has to be created and that visual representation has played a central role in the creation of ideas about nationhood; literally making a nation imaginable. According to Anderson, "almost all serious scholars" agree that national identities have only been extant in any meaningful way since the late eighteenth century, yet "all nations imagine themselves ancient". He describes the ways that such nations successfully construct a belief in a shared ancient history, as a "puzzle"; wondering "how new things could be imagined so old" (Anderson 1991). Anderson observes that the rise of nationhood coincided with a decline of the major religions, but that the mechanism for nations coming into existence originated in the widening availability of print media, where a shared language and common interests were disseminated in books and newspapers, where "mass produced reading" was inscribed with a "grammar and syntax" of national identity, fundamental to the establishment of national imaginaries (1991).

This new situation was also connected to a changing sense of time; a new mechanical, industrialised time. Moreover, Anderson cites Benjamin's idea of "Messianic time" (1973: 265),[3] where there exists "a simultaneity of past and future in a instantaneous present" which Anderson describes as of "such fundamental importance that, without taking it fully into account we will find it difficult to probe the obscure genesis of nationalism" (Anderson 1983: 24). Through literature and newspapers, people become aware of the existence of one another and of life going on in different places at the same time; meaning that while the members that make up a given nation will "never know most of their fellow-members … yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson 1983: 6). However, this process necessitates that the complexities of a given 'national' history are distilled into a few key dates and events, which are then repeated in an apparently endless account that narrates the nation's supposed ancient history. Furthermore, details, and even substantial factors that do not sit comfortably in the narrative are "reinterpreted to make them seamless" (Anderson 1991).

The Nordic region is made up of several national and community identities brought together under a combined regional identity. The terms 'Nordic' or 'Scan-

3 Quote reprinted in Anderson 1983: 24

dinavian' are frequently used as synonyms for a small group of countries in northern Europe, located on or near the Scandinavian Peninsula, and in the North Atlantic. However, the interchangeable use of these terms – for example in the titles of books on the region's food culture – is at best misleading; their histories and roots are complex to an extent that is beyond the scope of this discussion. So, let the following suffice: the term 'Scandinavia' is generally used as a collective noun for Denmark, Sweden and Norway – largely, but not exclusively, based on cultural and linguistic links – while 'Nordic' also includes Finland, Iceland, Greenland, the Faroe Islands and Aaland Islands, and was to some extent coined as a matter of political expediency. A key milestone in the establishment of the term 'Nordic' came in 1952 when the Nordic Council was founded to develop cooperative transport and administrative systems and was responsible for enabling distribution and travel across the region without need of a passport. It continues to play a central role in enabling these countries to work together effectively in matters such as transport, communication, education and other cultural and economic activities.

Since the early 2000s there has been a systematic effort from a variety of local and national authorities within the Nordic region to brand local identities for a "global public", but as Reestorff et al observe, this has been concurrent with efforts to create safeguards against globalisation (2011: 14). Any meaningful understanding of the region needs to incorporate an appreciation of demographic shifts in terms of migration both within the region and from further afield. Rural areas have experienced significant levels of depopulation due to internal migration into cities where labour markets are stronger, creating shortages in the agricultural workforce. As a result regional authorities have encouraged transnational migrants to fill labour gaps in the countryside.

Anderson's purpose in identifying the mechanisms for producing national identity was based upon his wish to understand what drives people to be prepared to die for their country, arguing that nationalism is fuelled by feelings of love rather than incitement to hatred (1983: 142). However, in the context of globalization, anxieties about national identity flourish. For Massey, this is why the re-imagination of place and space is crucial. She argues that where the specificities of a given notionally bounded area – a "local place" – is the site of "the everyday, the real and valued practices, the geographical source of meaning," the effects of globalisation can fuel anxieties that result in "a retreat to place" (Massey 2005:5).

One manifestation of this emerged in 2004 when the Danish Government set up a "canonisation project" – to define and construct lists of cultural practices and products that are identifiably Danish – in order to project a common national culture as a "safeguard against globalization" (Reestorff et al 2011: 14); an example of what Anderson calls an "official nationalism"; a "conscious, self-protective policy …emanating from the state" (1983: 159). In this context the term 'globalisation' appears to refer to the frequency, ease and speed by which cultural products and

practices are exchanged across regional, as well as national, borders – including of course cooking practices, cookery books and landscape photography. However, globalisation involves more than this. Massey argues that the "particular form of neoliberal capitalist globalization" (2005: 4) that we are experiencing, is not a "natural" or inevitable development, but a "duplicitous combination of the glorification of the (unequally) free movement of capital on the one hand with the firm control over the movement of labour on the other" (ibid).

In their 2011 study of the impact of globalisation on contemporary Nordic art, *Globalizing Art: Negotiating Place, Identity and Nation in Contemporary Nordic Art*, Bodile Marie Stavning Thomsen and Kristin Ørjasæter set out to move beyond the perspective of the "self-sufficient nation-state" and are at pains to point out that the region "cannot be thought of as self-contained" (Reestorff et al: 10) and neither should it be understood as a coherent unit (11). Moreover, they stress that the assertion of an identifiable "Nordicness" must be understood as a construction, where cultural products such as contemporary art are the result of an "intertwining of the national, regional, and global", and where the "Nordic" is a negotiated concept and "always in transformation" (ibid); essentially agreeing with the ideas of Anderson, Appadurai and Massey who see culture as in a continual process of production:

> In this way globalization fuels an ongoing process of negotiating Norwegian, Danish, Swedish, Finnish, Icelandic, Faroese, and Greenlandic national cultures and a common understanding of a specific Nordic culture (Reestorff et al 2011: 14).

Globalizing Art demonstrates that one of the effects of globalisation is that "the movements of 'flows' of different symbolic forms, objects, subjects simply transcend national borders with an unprecedented intensity" – in a "complex connectivity" (Reestorff *et al* 2011: 15).[4] I am particularly interested in the extent to which *NOMA* and *The Nordic Cook Book* openly acknowledge the interplay of 'other' cultural influences on 'Nordic' cuisine. I consider the work of two highly influential 'Nordic' chefs – one with an agenda for preserving what he takes to be identifiably Nordic cooking traditions – appearing to deny the influence of the global, whilst the other invites a fresh approach to the Nordic when it comes to food – but one that very much acknowledges the impact of globalisation through its very assertion of locality.

4 Following John Tomlinson, 1999.

The cookbooks

Food writing about Scandinavian and Nordic cuisine is long-established and far-ranging.[5] In the English speaking regions alone there is a long tradition; in the USA and more recently in the UK, and across Australasia too. Although collections of handwritten recipes from the Nordic region survive from the thirteenth century, the first published cookbooks date from the early seventeenth century. These publications tended not to be illustrated; a practice that largely continued up until the early 20th century – and, on the occasions when they were, it was with tiny pen and ink drawings. However, this slowly changed with an increase in black and white as well as colour photography and other illustrations; at a time when the print quality of mass-produced books was of a markedly lower standard than we are now used to. Then from the early/mid 1960s substantial books on Scandinavian cooking were written and published in the UK and USA (Johnson 1964, Hazelton 1965, Brown 1968),[6] often by those with close family or professional links to the region.

From this period such books typically gave accounts of Scandinavian customs and the contexts in which they originated; describing the short and cool growing season that led to a limited range of ingredients and a great dependency on preserving – for example Hazelton describes a cuisine that was "very monotonous" (Hazelton 1965: 6) but where good food was characterised as "pure" and "fresh tasting" (8). They emphasised the degree of care taken in their approach to hospitality which was based on "simple pleasures", where flowers on the table were "a necessity of daily life", the art of arranging food was "taught in every household course" and "every Scandinavian cookbook has illustration upon illustration of beautifully presented foods to guide the housewife" (6).

Then from the 1970s photographic illustration became commonplace. Images of ingredients, cooking procedures, finished dishes and tables spread ready for the meal became widespread. During this period writers on Scandinavian cuisine took a pragmatic approach; one emphasising that her book "does not offer exotic dishes such as roast reindeer" (Frank 1978: 4). However, the significance of the photography grew with the inclusion of increasing numbers of images of food, plus a few contextualising shots began to accompany the food writing. This continued through to the recent past when from around 2010, with the release of the publication of *NOMA: Time and Place in Nordic Cuisine* (Redzepi 2010), the design

5 Note: for most of this history of cookery writing the titles and content of cookbooks from this region reflected specific nations or used the term Scandinavian, only in the 21st century has the term Nordic been widely used.

6 See Hardisty, Jutte (1970) for a comment in the Introduction that suggests that the British have 'recently become interested in food', n.p.

and layout of publications on Nordic cookery writing has undergone a noticeable change with the inclusion of significant numbers of photographs of landscapes and the 'natural' world. On initial consideration these appear to support and give a wider context to the accounts of food and recipes, however the two books under discussion have moved so far towards the visual that they are effectively a hybrid genre – where the cook book and photo book meet. The general increase in photographic illustration, placed alongside recipes in books on cuisine and food traditions, can perhaps be understood in the wider context of writing on food and lifestyle, for in the age of the internet we are more likely to use our laptop or mobile phone to find a recipe. This new style of cookbook offers a sensory appeal: visual, olfactory and haptic in a new "literature of the senses" (Appadurai 1988: 3). Such books promise a palpable experience that vicariously transports us to the places of our imagination.

My own research suggests that this increasing tendency appears to have been given additional momentum by the publication of *NOMA* in 2010; a highly acclaimed book written by René Redzepi (b.1977). Redzepi is the head-chef at *noma* – an innovative restaurant based in Copenhagen. He was pivotal to its conception and development, and has been in-post since it opened in 2003.[7] With this venture Redzepi has been credited with 'reinventing Nordic cuisine'.[8] The multi award-winning restaurant was voted the "World's Best Restaurant" in 2010, 2011, 2012 & 2014,[9] attracting huge attention across the food writing media. The original restaurant closed in 2017 in order to relocate elsewhere in the city the following year. There have been further temporary manifestations of *noma* 'popping-up' in a number of cities around the world – in each case the emphasis is on the local availability of ingredients.[10] Redzepi's reputation, and the associated MAD Academy,[11] continue to flourish. It is also important to note the early involvement of Icelandic / Danish artist Olafur Eliasson (b.1967), who worked closely with Redzepi and his team in the development of the approach to food.

The title '*NOMA*' is based on an abbreviation of the two Danish words 'nordisk' (Nordic) and 'mad' (food) – Nordic food – however, the innovative approach and style of the food have given rise to the epithet the 'new Nordic cuisine'. The second clause of the title – *Time and Place in Nordic Cuisine* – points to the deeper concerns

7 Note *NOMA* (capitals) is used for the book title and *noma* (lower case) for the restaurant – this follows the established practice.

8 Co-founded with Claus Meyer, food writer however they parted company soon after.

9 As voted by Restaurant magazine's World's Best Restaurants in 2010, 2011, 2012 and 2014.

10 For example London 2012,Tokyo in 2015, Sydney 2016 and Mexico 2017.

11 MAD Academy is an educational venture, based in Copenhagen, set-up by Redzepi in 2011 to support the global food industry – at the time of writing Magnus Nilsson has just been appointed director of the new MAD Academy.

of the book which has been designed to set out the food philosophy and creativity of Redzepi, around which the cuisine is based. Fundamental to the approach is a belief in the importance of seasonality and locality in the production of, and foraging for, quality ingredients. Here Redzepi engages in what he calls "The Perfect Storm"; a term he uses to encapsulate "the maelstrom of operating at the cutting edge of international gastronomy using only locally sourced ingredients" (Redzepi 2010: 'Frontispiece' n.p.). Therefore, the notion of 'time' promoted by the ethos underpinning *NOMA*, is the present. It is based entirely upon what is locally available; in season. The time of *NOMA* is 'now'.

Commentators typically note the way that the approach is based on "clean flavours" and an emphasis on "purity, simplicity and freshness".[12] Such characteristics have long been associated with the Nordic, leading me to suggest that while the cuisine might be 'new' the tropes of Nordicness are well established – all of which are signified in the photography that almost dominates the book. Indeed, from the outset photography was to play an important role. A statement by Redzepi in the frontispiece explains that around 200 "specially commissioned" photographs, by Ditte Isager, are included showing Redzepi's "dishes, his suppliers and ingredients" and significantly for this discussion – "the Nordic landscape" – for perhaps most surprising is the way in which the photographs operate, in that they are not merely illustrative of the food under discussion. Although most depict ingredients or plated food, the ingredients appear in their original state, recently harvested or foraged and the finished dishes are often presented with raw, freshly gathered leaves, moss, flowers, berries or grasses – in this way a strong connection to nature is established visually. Interspersed are numerous shots of land and seascapes, and of nature – these make rather oblique reference to the food under discussion – for example a photograph of a large field of "Fennel growing on the West Coast of Zealand" (48); a pine forest in "Zealand Woods" (109); the autumn branches of a "Beech Tree" (170); a seascape and a coastline in Arctic Norway, each with the title – "Norwegian Fjord" (132 and 138-9). Some depict specific people associated with *noma* – actively gathering ingredients or posing motionless for portraits in the landscape – as in "Hanne Letoft from South Zealand" (44) and "Susanne Grefberg from Gotland" (181) – each pictured standing beneath a huge sky; "K.S. Møller from Zealand" collecting fungi in woodland (211); and "Tage Rønne from Hareskovby" pictured on the wooded banks of a lake gazing upward (234) – in all such shots the landscape dominates. Through its use of photography the book presents the food under discussion as very firmly connected to the season and to the land or sea; to the time and the place.

12 See also "The New Nordic Food manifesto", 2004, (http://www.newnordicfood.org) accessed February 10, 2020

These are just a few examples. There are almost two hundred full-page photographs, including one double-page spread – landscape in format in other words. I suggest that the emphasis on photography – but particularly the way in which landscape and nature photography is used – is almost as radical in approach as the cuisine itself. The scale, quality and quantity of the photography suggests that for some readers this publication functions much like a coffee-table book – to be enjoyed visually – and in many instances it is difficult to believe that the recipes will be attempted, for they depend upon highly obscure ingredients and are largely intended to demonstrate an approach that can be adapted according to the specifics of any given locality and season.

However, its ambition goes beyond this. Its purpose is to feed and inspire the imagination. Presented here – in a kind of visual manifesto – is a new philosophy of cooking and eating, where the photography enables the reader to envision the approach despite its radicalism; and for Redzepi and his team to create "new ways to see the world" (Mirzoeff 2015: 297). As Nicolas Mirzoeff has identified for all kinds of activists, and which I now relate to food revolutionaries such as Redzepi and Eliasson, "visual culture is a way to create forms of change" (289). But whereas Mirzoeff advances the idea that in the contemporary world this is fundamentally about digital, networked culture – the use of pixels – this *NOMA* publication takes the form of a large format, hardback book. If the "medium is the message" (McLuhan, 1964), then *NOMA*'s message is embedded in, and carried by, the abundance of simple, palpable photographic images, printed on thick, heavy, high-quality paper – to enrich the experience and feed the imagination.

In this new 'literature of the senses', examples of carefully considered and well produced photography serve to compete with the internet – but, in addition to this, Eliasson insists that there is something fundamentally different about what Redzepi is doing; something experimental and bent upon making the connection between the "meal on the plate" and the environment. However, while "the *NOMA* environment is largely Scandinavian", Eliasson insists that "we should see the greater ecosystem too" (2010: 9) – from his position of both food revolutionary and artist, he likens the experience of food to that of art – and suggests that as with art "we should not separate form and content" (ibid). Eliasson argues that if "food can be political … about responsibility, sustainability, geography and culture" then "maybe this knowledge can be made into a kind of flavour enhancer" (Eliasson 2010: 9).

Following the enormous success of this approach to photographic illustration, unparalleled in other regional cuisine, there has been a general increase in the use of photography in cookbooks but particularly those centered on the Nordic regions; the prime example being Magnus Nilsson's *The Nordic Cook Book* of 2015. Nilsson is a highly successful and sought after chef, his restaurant *Fäviken* in Sweden is routinely listed among the World's " 50 Best Restaurants". In addition, Nils-

son is a keen photographer – all the landscape and portrait photography in this book is his, taken during the period of research, largely between 2012 and 2014.

The book includes large numbers of photographs – around 130 in total. About 45 of these are by Erik Olsson and relate to the recipes; mostly showing finished dishes and plated food. Each of these have been set in the centre of the given page, and 'framed' by a generous white boarder. The rest are by Nilsson and they are larger – filling the full size of the pages – these include pictures of the natural world, interiors and portraits. Interspersed among all these are over 40 large landscape photographs – 35 of which are reproduced as full, double-page spreads. It is the latter in particular that shifts the genre of the book from a standard cookbook to a hybrid cookery/photography book. These landscapes typically depict sparse and remote places – and at times the framing renders them almost abstract. Of particular interest are those forming the title-pages for the various sections that provide an organising structure for the book's 768 pages. First, a double-page image forms the title-page for the "INTRODUCTION" (n.p.) – a seascape entirely dominated by an empty sky – sets the tone for the sea and landscape photography in the book overall. The photographs for the title-pages for other sections rarely have an obvious link to the particular subject matter – examples include: a section on "EGGS" carries an almost abstract image of a "Vast view and moody sky, about to start raining, Iceland, early May 2013" (38-39); for "PORK" – "Powerlines and vast view, snow, close to North Cape, Norway May 2014" (294-295), another almost abstract image which despite the powerlines appears pristine; for "BEEF AND VEAL" – "Iceland Spring, 2013 (310-311)", showing a wide expanse of stark rocky ground against a high mountain scene obscured by misty cloud; for "PASTRIES, BISCUITS AND SWEETS" – "Atlantic Ocean, April 2013" (528-529); for "BASICS AND CONDIMENTS" – "Melting glacier and volcanic ash, Iceland Spring 2013" (640-641) and for "GLOSSARY" an untitled seascape, obscured by fog (724-725). These are but a few.

In addition to those filling the numerous title-pages, double-page landscape photographs are interspersed throughout the book – such as "Fog and puffins in flight, Faroe Islands, end of July 2013" (282-283) – an empty image but for a few ethereal birds almost lost in the mist. Also included are a number of near abstract images based on natural forms – one example is an extreme close-up of a rock – entitled "A really beautiful stone surface by the Norwegian coast … Norway, May 2014" (620-621).

Nilsson took around 8,000 photographs during his research trips. All landscapes included in this book appear to have been taken in Norway, Iceland, the Faroe Islands and Sweden – particularly Jämtland – Nilsson's homeland. Only occasionally is there a gentler agricultural scene – such as that on the title-page for "VEGETABLES & LEGUMES" – "Fields and hills close to my home, Jämtland, Sweden, June 2014" (76-77). None of the landscape images is from Denmark – which

has an altogether tamer topography and fewer remote and uncultivated places, and none is from Finland. In 2016, the year following the publication of his cookbook, he brought out a book of photography on Nordic "landscapes, food and people".[13]

Both heritage and modernity are signified – photographs of ancient utensils, still in use to this day in some cases. One photograph brings the reader's attention to the longevity of the processes and utensils used; in this case the date of 1774 marked on "the upper handle of the milk sieve" (60-61). Heritage is also established by a return to traditional line illustrations to demonstrate traditional techniques, for example "how to clean a Baltic herring" (192). Other photographs show modern clean and bright surfaces and serving dishes. The old and the new are brought together across the range of illustrations used in the book overall – in one particular case within a photograph showing a computer key pad alongside an aged and cured leg of mutton "having been nibbled … photographed on a desk in an Oslo home" (410). This should remind us of Anderson's idea that the genesis of a national identity requires the establishment of "a simultaneity of past and future in an instantaneous present" (1983: 24).

I consider this to be a beautiful book, lovingly researched and crafted. With genuine integrity Nilsson worked to document and preserve the deep heritage of the cooking practices of this vast region through the fastidious collection of recipes and contextual knowledge. As he explains: "We can theorize how people ate in the old days, but we can't recreate it, so it's important to document and keep the transfer of food knowledge going" (Rob, 2015). His thorough approach was rewarded when in the year of its publication it was winner of BBC Radio 4's 'Food Programme'; a programme that has earned respect for its serious approach to food and cooking with over 40 years of regular broadcasting. However, I am concerned that there is a sense in which the food, and therefore wider culture, of the Nordic region is represented here as fixed and bounded, through its selection of photographic and other imagery.

Arjun Appadurai argues that: "We need to view cookbooks in the contemporary world as revealing artifacts of culture in the making" (1988: 22). This approach whereby cookery books are understood as fundamentally revealing of, but importantly also contributing to "culture in the making", is an idea that sits well alongside Massey's notion of space as dynamic, continually in the state of being "made", and is not just a central concern of this chapter but also for Redzepi and Eliasson, in the 'now' of NOMA's approach. Both Appadurai and Gold demonstrate that "cookbooks tell stories" but, moreover, they are of academic value because of what they "tell us about the society in which they were written" (Gold 2007: 13); the

13 Nilsson, Magnus (2016): Nordic: a Photographic Essay of Landscapes, Food and People, London & NY, Phaidon.

unwitting testimony of the writers who draw on and reveal a far wider range of factors than mere ingredients and culinary skills. For example: levels of literacy, levels of numeracy, changes in the economy, "structures of class and hierarchy", the growth of bourgeois consciousness, or of "domestic ideologies"(Appadurai 1988: 3), the evolution of nationalism and national identity. And importantly – as shifts that occur as a "country … encounters the rest of the world from within the boundaries of the … state"(Gold 2007: 13). In this way changes in what we see in cookbooks relate to what is happening in the real world – and are not merely reflective. Arguably, far more interesting, are the ways in which cultural products such as images, including those in cookery books, are productive – acting as catalysts of change in society by leading on new ways of seeing, understanding and negotiating the world, contributing to the acceptance of ideas and to the construction of identity. Gold points to the ways in which cookery writing can "open up worlds" and "allow our imagination to wander freely across the globe"(177). As already suggested, today an unprecedented emphasis is put upon not simply illustrating cookbooks with photographs of ingredients or finished dishes but on the geographical context from which they originate – so much so that such books are designed to stimulate the imagination.

However, they are potentially also productive of negative and defensive attitudes. Much like Appadurai's (1988) work on the construction of national identity in India through an analysis of its food culture, Gold's 2007 study of Danish cookbooks, produced in and for their country of origin, revealed "clear statements of nationalism and debate over nationalist issues" (176). However, while the books on regional cuisine under discussion here purport to be recipe books about a region, they have largely been produced for audiences outside of that region – primarily for English speaking readers.[14] Therefore, if like Gold, I am to suggest that they reveal something "about the society in which they were written", then I will also need to consider how they function for the 'reader' of these books in the English speaking world. (13)

The Nordic landscape 'as a surface'

As already established, Massey set out to challenge the habit of thinking about space "as a surface" and this is particularly applicable to the still (two-dimensional) photographic image. In examples of landscape photography the spaces of the Nordic region have been characterised through a small number of different tropes;

14 For example there appears to be a wide appeal outside of Denmark – in UK and Germany in particular – note effects of easier travel – globalisation – Thomsen, B.M.S. notes the emergence of 'Nordic' contemporary art colonies' in Berlin for example p16-17.

images that evoke a severe wilderness, sometimes with dramatic topography but often featureless and austere, and appearing to be empty. The latter are typically captured in distant, pulled back shots. Such characteristics – whether dramatic or empty – are often combined with an impression of remoteness, perhaps fulfilling a desire that there are such places in existence, as yet unspoiled; an outsider's view of Nordic regions, because they know little of the human activities and stories that have played out across such landscapes. Often these depictions appear as empty, stripped-out, abstracted spaces – superficial in appearance – literally "a surface". Massey's concerns about the effects of space are rooted in a moral objection, where "the old chain of meaning (space-representation-stasis) continues to wield its power. The legacy lingers on" (2003: 113). What she brings to the discussion of space are the interests of communities at a global level in terms of their stories, their values, their priorities; ultimately their equal right to consideration in any encounter of a given space. Central to her argument is an unease that when we imagine space as a surface it "carries with it social and political effects" (2005: 4), the danger being that it can lead us to "conceive of other places, peoples, cultures simply as phenomena 'on' this surface" (ibid). But this, she argues, "is not an innocent manoeuvre, for by this means they are deprived of histories" (ibid).

I now return to my concern with the 'stripped-out' landscape image to consider the effects of this kind of photographic illustration with its particular ways of imagining Nordic space; as pristine, pure, clean, untouched. Following Massey I suggest that in order to change our habit of seeing this space we must consider what has been left out of the picture, for as Massey says, to imagine a given space simply as a surface may have the effect of producing a narrative that "obliterates the multiplicities, the contemporaneous heterogeneities of space" (2005: 5). This takes me back to Nilsson's book: *The Nordic Cook Book* – for despite its signifiers of history, heritage and authenticity there is little trace or evidence here of the cultural complexity that created the foods described and illustrated. Yet Nilsson has stated that "Nordic food culture is made up of influences from all over the world", which have been adapted to suit local circumstances and tastes, insisting that "Nordic cooking is not conservative, it is in fact open-minded" (2015: 36). But this claim is not adequately borne out in the experience of reading the book, and is entirely absent in its visual aspects – particularly through its photography – for despite the occasional suggestion that the recipes need not be dutifully adhered to, the overall message suggests a clinging onto a tradition (a narrow tradition), creating a strong impression of timelessness.

A chapter in *The Nordic Cook Book* written by Nordic food historian, Richard Tellström, explains that in a region that "allows policy and nation building to dictate food culture, minorities are necessarily marginalised and their influence on the food culture is overlooked" (2015: 25). He argues that this situation has been created by a lack of research on "the national position of minority cuisines … either

in their own right, or in relation to the major food cultures" (ibid). Tellström cites the indigenous Sami minority, of over 100,000 people, and the fact that Roma people are also present in similar numbers. And he says, vaguely, that "there are other ethnic and religious minority groups whose food culture constitutes an indispensable part of Nordic culture", but again he explains that these have not been researched, either in their own right or in relation to the mainstream Nordic culinary culture, and says it is for this reason that it is "not possible to give a complete picture of the food culture that exists among the people in the Nordic countries" (ibid). This is a telling use of language – "a complete picture" – of course no picture is ever complete, the nature of representation is such that selections have to be made and as a result there will always be losses. However, like Massey, my concern is that we are not habituated to consider the absences within any given picture frame. And nowhere is this more relevant than in relation to the 'stripped-out' landscape image, to which Massey's ideas provide an important corrective framework.

Nordic artists have long explored for themselves this question of 'what has been left out of the picture'. The 2011 study by Thomsen and Ørjasæter, mentioned at the start of this discussion, considers the activities of contemporary artists whose work engages in negotiations and constructions of "new, less territorially bound communities, territories and social relations" and found that for these artists the experience of deterritorialisation transforms the "old national communities into anachronisms" (Reestorff *et al*: 29). More specifically, following Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, whose work took the representation of the Other to be a site for ethical concern (Spivak 1983),[15] Ørjasæter asks "what it takes to make the audience look for the voices of the participating subalterns" (Reestorff *et al*: 29) – concurring with Spivak, she concludes that in the Nordic region, even with the knowledge of post-colonial theory and an awareness of globalised issues and interests, "ethnocentrism is not dead" (Ørjasæter 2011: 236).

It transpires that *The Nordic Cook Book* was in part a response to Nilsson learning that:

> the islands' sheep farmers and fishermen are now starting families with people not native to the region – from as far away as Thailand and the Philippines – and who weren't raised on classic recipes for puffin stuffed with cake, or boiled sheep's head (Rob 2015).

As a result Nilsson set out to "document" the food heritage of the entire Nordic region – to both "define" and "preserve". He explains that he was determined to

15 Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty (1983): Lecture 'Can the subaltern speak', first published in the journal *Wedge*, 1985.

include all aspects of this heritage including photographs of pilot whales being butchered believing them to be necessary to the understanding of the region's food culture and is on record as saying: "I don't think its right to censor culture" (ibid). However, despite this, he and the book's publisher produced a highly selective view of the Nordic as unchanged, rooted in and dependent upon mainstream tradition – while the impact of globalisation and immigration are not visible in these supposed 'documents'. Furthermore, the media representation of this food-writer prefers to show him as an archetypal 'pure' Nordic male, typically picturing him against a remote landscape in the Faroe Islands and ignoring his cosmopolitan interests as a chef and apparent "love of tacos" (ibid), or the fact that he runs restaurants in many locations including popular Scandinavian ski resorts.

In *The Nordic Cook Book* Magnus Nilsson's purist visual representations appear to resist the potential to renegotiate what Thomsen and Ørjasæter describe as, "the frameworks constructing national identity … in light of new transnational relations" (back-cover), in what amounts to a denial of the influences of the food cultures of indigenous peoples and of migrant communities. Conversely, *NOMA's* emphasis on the local calls attention to the global – mutually dependent terms – in so far as it highlights some of the more negative impacts of globalisation as they relate to the transport of food over vast distances and the resultant heavy use of fossil fuels and emissions of greenhouse gases to the detriment of the well-being of the planet and all its inhabitants – human and non-human. Moreover, the philosophy behind the approach articulated in *NOMA*, unlike that underpinning *The Nordic Cook Book*, does not become manifest as an anxiety about local identity, nor as a purist preoccupation with defending the historic characteristics of mainstream food traditions. Instead, it actively encourages an open and creative attitude to the availability and use of local, seasonal ingredients. However, while reinventing the local food culture – creating a new Nordic cuisine – with its determinedly 'open' approach to the use of locally and seasonally available ingredients, *NOMA* none-the-less perpetuates the tropes of 'Nordicness' and contributes to a continual making and remaking of the Nordic region in ways that are entirely recognisable. But, in insisting on local seasonal foods, the philosophy underpinning the approach to cuisine here refuses to "play out a romance of detachment" and instead takes responsibility for the resources used (Massey 2005: 103).

Concluding thoughts – Massey's gift of space

At the start of this chapter I set in motion a train of thought that drew from Massey's provocation to "question the habit of thinking" of space "as a surface" and instead to learn to think of it in terms of "a meeting-up of histories"(2005: 4). My aim was to consider what happens to our "implicit imagination" of the Nordic

if we do this (ibid). Following Massey I set out to rethink the conventional notion that an abstract, or open, space is implicitly a meaningless space (2005: 6).

This discussion has sought to reflect upon whether *NOMA* and *The Nordic Cook Book* may be considered as sites of negotiated practices, where the 'Nordic' as a concept is "always in transformation" (Reestorff *et al* 2011: 11). Ultimately, I have found that the key difference between the two books lies in the producers of *NOMA* being willing to imagine "new types of communities", (Reestorff *et al* 2011:10) while Nilsson appears to want to document something as it is, or even as it was, – "to keep the transfer of food knowledge going" (Rob, 2015). In being protective of mainstream Nordic heritage Nilsson's approach has been to produce an account of the Nordic region as fixed and bounded. But, as Massey asserted, "You can't go back in space … You can't hold places … still" (Massey 2003: 111).

During the first two decades of the 21st century the Nordic region has increasingly been affected by globalisation through the movements of people and products from other parts of the world – particularly the Global South. However, photographic representations of Nordic landscapes and the wider cultural environment, as used in popular and widely available cooking and life-style publications, impose permanence and order, thereby negating the "possibility" of "imagining space as the sphere… of the existence of multiplicity" (Massey 2005: 10). In avoiding some important aspects of life in the region *The Nordic Cook Book* is an example of this. Here the myth of the Nordic as a single cultural entity is perpetuated, and the realities of global migration are rendered invisible. In representations of places and spaces, expunged of the details of the "contemporaneous heterogeneity" of human life (Massey 2005: 10), the apparent absence of Others is thus normalised in a manner that denies their contributions to an ever-transforming culture – the negotiated 'Nordicness' that comes of globalised interactions and influence. This reinforces anxieties about the presence of the Other and contributes to the production of xenophobia. The 'stripped-out' landscape is arguably, therefore, a site where uncomfortable factors are omitted in order to achieve, in Anderson's terms, a seamlessness that will facilitate the "imagined community" (Anderson 1991).

In some, though not all respects, the use of photography in *NOMA* is less problematic. The philosophy underpinning *noma* / *NOMA* is fiercely aware of the politics that underscore global food production and distribution. Its commitment to sourcing ingredients locally and seasonally is borne of a concern for the global. And in insisting on an entirely innovative – even experimental – approach to food, the whole project side-steps any need to engage with tradition or heritage. However, as with *The Nordic Cook Book*, there are no photographic references to the ethnic population or the global Other – therefore once again this registers as an absence. However, for a reader who is paying close attention, perhaps two photographs stand out (Redzepi 2010: 154 & 203). Each depicts a recipe that includes

chocolate – nowhere else is such an 'exotic' ingredient called for. But its inclusion is conspicuous – making the reader sharply aware of the journey that such an ingredient will have undergone, in terms of production and transport, and therefore the lives it will have touched. Clearly such images are not "meaning*less*".

The place occupied by commercial landscape photography in shaping our ideas about the North, and the Nordic region more specifically, is also relevant to the formation of attitudes to the physical environment – the so-called 'natural' world. The Nordic imaginary feeds on the illusory documentary quality of much landscape photography, contributing to an everyday denial of the realities of climate breakdown and ecological catastrophe. While seemingly innocent, everyday abstracted landscape images serve to obscure the realities of environmental degradation, deny the effects of over-consumption, and facilitate our willingness to continue to consume, unchecked. In their refusal of the material realities of global capitalism such images representing Nordic space are, once again, certainly not "meaning*less*" (Massey 2005: 6), but they are negatively encoded – here the signification of an abiding natural wilderness serves to deny the scale of the effects of exploitation and over-consumption of the earth's resources, a form of denial central to the ideologies of global capitalism.

In *For Space*, Massey argues against the notion that space is static and unchanging, an idea based on an 'old' way of thinking in which there is a "conflation of the spatial with representation" (Massey 2005: 30). Such a way of conceiving space imposes permanence and order on "history/life/the real world", avoiding the complexities and dislocations of the living world; within such a conception "there is no multiplicity" and no "co-existence of difference" (2003: 113) – for these reasons the stripped-out landscape image may be understood as one example among many "Hegemonic geographical imaginations" (Massey 2003: 114).

The problem of reducing space to "stasis" resides in the way that the "very life, and most certainly the politics, are taken out of it" (Massey 2005: 30). Massey recalls that she developed these ideas slowly, in the context of observing the "perniciousness of exclusive localisms", understanding them to have been produced by the "grim inequalities of today's hegemonic form of globalization" but was at a loss to know how to respond (Massey 2005: 6). In a sense this study of Nordic cookbooks is my response to similar concerns. I have noted particular forms of visual representation that give expression to, and perpetuate, such 'localisms' – in this case a genre of landscape photography employed within an everyday commercial context. Here stripped-out and near abstract landscape images are central. Massey's "gift of space" offers a fresh strategy for reconsidering these kinds of representations, meaning that, ultimately, Massey's prerogative is a quietly optimistic one. Core to her thesis is a deeply held belief in the importance of being vigilant in the ways that we approach space. Indeed, for Massey, taking space seriously "opens up our minds" (2013) and creates the potential where "progressive

politics can also be imagined" because invariably the "spacial is political" (Massey 2005: 9).

However, the world is in an even darker place than it was when Massey was working on these ideas. Drawn to geography for its possibilities as a multidisciplinary subject she never-the-less argues that there is a need to bring together the social and natural sciences, "more than we have historically done" particularly in an age burdened with "environmental problems … which are *utterly* social too" (2013). Taking a lead from Massey, I would like to think that more is possible in relation to the ways in which we approach the representation of space through the genre of landscape photography; that social commitment and progressive politics find a stronger voice and critical distance in engaging with the representation of space; in its practice, reception and theorisation. In taking space seriously we come to understand that the 'stripped-out' landscape photograph was never "meaning*less*" and going forward into a future of harsh global turbulence, may cease to be tenable – for it will have entirely lost its veneer of innocence.

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