‘THIS TRAGICALLY OBSCURED SUMMER’
News Media and Uncertainties of Veracity in the
1928 Nobile/Amundsen Disaster

Visions of a disaster

To what extent and under which circumstances can news media be trusted to provide factual information about distant events? In the summer of 1928, such questions dominated Norwegian news media, which were filled with reports of drama in the far north, where the Atlantic ocean meets the Polar ice cap. Two famous explorers were missing, their fate unknown. One was the Italian explorer and engineer Umberto Nobile, whose airship 'Italia' crashed into the ice north of the Svalbard archipelago on May 24, after making several flights to and near the North Pole. The other was the Norwegian explorer Roald Amundsen, conqueror of the South Pole and the Northwest Passage. He was last seen heading north across the Atlantic in an aeroplane to rescue Nobile, on June 18. The Norwegian press was particularly preoccupied with Amundsen's unknown fate, which has remained unclear to this day, since Amundsen and his crew were never found. (Note 1) Umberto Nobile and 10 of the 17-man 'Italia' crew were rescued from the ice cap after 40 days.

On July 11, 1928, the Norwegian newspaper *Dagbladet* brought an interview with a farmer who was also a noted psychic. At that point, Nobile had been found but there was no trace of Amundsen, and Norwegian news media were intensely preoccupied with the latter's fate. Using his parapsychological powers of inner vision, the psychic had 'seen' Amundsen's plane fly to Nobile's location and land safely not far away from it, according to *Dagbladet*. Questioned by the journalist as to whether everyone was all right, the psychic confirmed they were. He added that the situation was dangerous and aid was needed urgently.

Parapsychology and journalistic newsgathering are strange bedfellows, and the *Dagbladet* interview was a somewhat odd, one-off occurrence in the empirical literature gathered for this article. There is no reason to believe its information was accorded the same status as that provided by actual experts or eyewitnesses. At the same time, it is worth noting how the journalist's questions to the psychic were relatively similar to those posed in news items that featured actual witnesses and experts on the dramatic incidents in the Polar sea during the summer of 1928. The reports at this time were acutely concerned with establishing what had actually happened, and with the extraordinary challenges of ascertaining basic facts. The

reality-status of descriptions provided by a psychic was and is highly dubious, of course, but similar doubts attached themselves to much of the information offered by more traditional sources. Rumours abounded, for instance. Some of them were quickly dispelled, others not.

What *Dagbladet*'s interview does is point us, somewhat obliquely, toward a more general concern in the news coverage; the problem of settling news reports' degree of factual veracity. When what a psychic sees in the polar sea could be reported with as straight a face as that of *Dagbladet*, reporters may have gotten used to treating radical forms of uncertainty over facts as something of a matter of course. As this article will try and demonstrate, various kinds of basic uncertainty over factual veracity in distant and disastrous events permeated the coverage of Nobile's crash and Amundsen's disappearance. It examines those uncertainties, and the ways they became a central concern for the contemporary actors who tried to assess them, reduce or contain them - or who simply tried to live with the uncertainties when basic information proved permanently unavailable, as was the case with the fate of Amundsen's crew.

The material analysed for the article includes the Norwegian national newspapers *Aftenposten* (Norway's greatest-circulation newspaper; conservative/centrist), *Tidens Tegn* (conservative), and *Dagbladet* (liberal). 700 reports have been retrieved partly from digital and partly paper archives at the Norwegian National Library. Two time periods have been investigated for all three newspapers: May 4-15, 1928 covers the voyage of the Nobile-led airship 'Italia' from southern Europe up to and including its first departure from Svalbard. The second and main period is June 18 – August 5, 1928. This includes the airship's departure from North Norway and the disappearance of Amundsen's airplane 'Latham'; the various expeditions looking for 'Italia' and 'Latham'; the rescue of Nobile on June 23, later also rescues of the offshoot Viglieri and Malmgren groups from 'Italia'; and the return of Nobile by train via Norway to Rome.

As for the quantity of coverage, it varied considerably between the three newspapers. *Dagbladet* had the more limited coverage, with several days between items, and the first page rarely dominated entirely by news of the two events in question. Both *Aftenposten* and *Tidens Tegn* clearly considered them among the most newsworthy, if not *the* most in the summer of 1928. Their coverage was almost daily, often dominating the first page, and often including 3-15 single items in one edition

(with two daily editions, *Aftenposten* was quantitatively by far the most voluminous). Given that the events were a journalistic priority also for the relatively less active *Dagbladet*, the twin events were clearly considered by Norwegian newspapers to be one of the most important events of the summer of 1928, possibly the single most important one.

The mediation of events

In an Anglo-American media studies context, the term 'media event' attaches first and foremost to post-war events in a broadcast-dominated era, to some extent also to events from a contemporary era of convergence and digital/social media. Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz' seminal book *Media Events* of 1992 emphasized the foundational importance of media to events, but their investigations were limited to ceremonial events of the broadcast-dominated era. (Note 2) As for earlier events, a body of research exists to demonstrate that media dimensions of major events exist much further back in time, depending on how widely the concept of "medium" is defined. (Note 3) Even if one limits it only to technological media, there is no doubt that major events of the early 20th century were routinely and pervasively shaped by the workings of media such as newspapers, radio and the telegraph. It seems safe to say that in this century, major events were media events, in the sense that they were extensively covered by the media, that media played a role as actors in the event, and that our subsequent memories and conceptualisations of the event are themselves mediated.

This article works from the premise that mediation can be seen as a basic dimension of events that take place on the macro-levels of society - as distinct from a wider philosophical definition of events that includes any occurrence bounded in time and space. In the discipline of history, one would speak traditionally of "historical events", the short-term actions of great men for example in wars, coronations and revolutions, and the sudden and momentous acts of nature for example in floods and volcano eruptions. This conception from the 19th century was decisively displaced by the Annales school, and particularly in Fernand Braudel's relegation of events to a tertiary status as historical phenomena of the short term, relative to the medium term of conjunctures and the long term, the "longue durée." (Note 4) This article builds on

recent work on the event in history that considers it rather as a prism that connects to wider conjunctures by means of discourses and narrations (Note 5). It contributes to the literature on disastrous events, which are mainly associated with the dangers and unpredictability of nature. (Note 6) They display certain common characteristics that mark also the 1928 twin events: the news media having to play catch-up; an emphasis on drama, personal tragedy and courage; the assessment of risk, the allocation of responsibilities and the distribution of blame.

A key question in research on the media event has been whether the information communicated by media as part of such events can be trusted to be factually accurate. A line of critical commentary has held that media events will tend to decouple from reality, producing spectacles and simulations separated from reality (Note 7). In this article, the question of settling veracity in news media is treated descriptively, as a historical variable to be assessed from the available empirical material. Existing research on 20th century media events (Note 8) has pointed to a general increase in available information about the event, and to an increasing reflexivity in journalistic discourse about the mechanisms of mediation.

The technologies and logistics of a radically remote event

Geographically and meteorologically speaking, it is hard to think of more unavailable events than those of the summer of 1928. They took place in radically remote and uninhabited areas of extreme climate and weather, poorly if at all charted. The fact that these events were still covered by Norwegian and international newspapers on a daily basis is a testament to how far the developments in technology and logistics had advanced at that time. Radio telegraphy was enabled by a string of telegraph stations along the coast of North Norway, on several locations in the western Svalbard archipelago, and at the small island of Bjørnøya in between. Radio receivers and transmitters had also recently become portable enough to use on planes and airships. The system of radio communication this afforded, particularly benefitted the distribution of meteorological data. It also helped the ocean ship routes along the Norwegian coast and through the North Atlantic to the Svalbard archipelago. A recently completed train infrastructure to the North Norwegian town of Narvik

allowed the transport of heavy equipment and provided a starting point for expeditions further north. (note 9)

At the same time, these technologies and logistical networks were seriously stretched, at times to breaking point, by the challenges of covering the twin events, which were not only remote but also exceedingly complex in terms of their actors. The nations of Norway, Italy, Russia, Sweden, Germany, France and Finland were involved; in the rescue phase they dispatched a total of approximately 19 airplanes and 21 ships. An additional 200 small fishing and leisure vessels were recruited to be on the outlook, according to one overview. (note 10) Extreme, unpredictable weather and sea ice conditions were a constant challenge for all involved, causing constant delays, major and minor technological breakdowns.

Also, technological coordination was demanding. Covering events meant sending out dedicated reporters who needed to rely on media technologies for coding, representing and transferring information, as well as on the available transport technologies and infrastructures for getting to North Norway and then Svalbard. Still, the coordination of reporting was a small matter compared to the task of coordinating the rescue operations themselves. There was a lack of basic and verifiable information on meteorology, geography, aviation technology and nautics. On top of this came several factors that worked against coordination. One was competition among the actors for the prestige of rescuing those in need; another was national geopolitical interest, and the need of states for legitimating their actions in the eyes of domestic citizens.

Although the political context will not be a focus of analysis in this article, it is worth noting that relationships became increasingly strained between the Norwegian and Italian state and media, in the course of the summer of 1928. Norwegian press coverage of both Nobile's and the Mussolini government became increasingly critical. (note 11) In Norwegian public perception, Nobile was widely seen as in part responsible for Amundsen's death by recklessly crashing 'Italia' and thus causing a need for risky rescue operations.

Forms of uncertainty in the newspaper coverage

A characteristic of the coverage of these events by all three Norwegian newspapers was their continuous emphasis on whether information provided by sources was reliable and correct. To some extent, of course, this emphasis is a quite general genre feature of news reports, then as now. A closer look at the coverage of the twin events may demonstrate that the issue went deeper at that time, however.

In quantitative terms, by far the most common type of item in all three newspapers was a descriptive report on the movements and actions of the actors, earlier that day or on the preceding day. These items were most commonly held in what one might call a telegram style, and were indeed regularly based on actual telegrams. The majority of them listed observable and often quantifiable facts about meteorology, geography, aviary and nautical schedules and technologies. They also regularly highlighted the interrelations between these. One small update from *Dagbladet* (June 5, 1928) may illustrate this (note 12):

‘The latest. "Italia" departs tonight. According to a telegram from (the North Norwegian town) Vadsø to County Governor Lund, "Italia" will depart for Svalbard tonight. General Nobile has still not come ashore from the airship. Meteorologists’ reports from Green Harbour [in Svalbard] today morning were for a fresh breeze from the North-East, cloudy, high cumulus clouds, 11 degrees minus, and from Bjørnøya is reported a north-westerly fresh breeze, cloudy, high cumulus clouds, 4 degrees minus, and falling barometric pressure. Tonight, Bjørnøya had a small storm, but winds have fallen somewhat. "Città de Milano" [an Italian rescue ship] has not been able to reach Ny Ålesund (at Svalbard) because of ice conditions.’

This item mainly dealt with meteorology and atmospheric (barometric pressure), that is, with foreseeing the precise temperatures and weather conditions for flying an airship over the North Atlantic. The underlying drama was that airships were vulnerable to extreme weather, and that North Atlantic weather was subject to rapid changes. The small item needed to find space to account for three locations (Vadsø in North Norway, Green Harbour/Ny Ålesund in Svalbard, Bjørnøya midway between), and two happenings at the same time: Nobile’s and ‘Italia’ setting off from north Norway toward Svalbard, and the Italian ship Città de Milano off of Svalbard, from which the expedition would be coordinated via radio communication. This temporal

and spatial complexity was needed merely to provide an account of the main Italian actors in an early phase before the airship crashed. It spoke to the density of information needed to provide authoritative accounts, information that as mentioned would be very hard to provide.

In this small *Dagbladet* item also, a host of uncertainties were indicated, although they were in a sense kept in check by the factually descriptive prose of the journalist: what the weather would be like in the coming hours and days, exactly when ‘Italia’ would depart, why Nobile did not come out of his airship while in Vadsø, how much the weather conditions were liable to obstruct Città de Milano’s landing in Svalbard.

The first page titles of *Tidens Tegn* on June 20, 1928, provides a sense of how uncertainties could so to speak be heaped on top of each other when the newspapers tried to report on the two events, while premonitions of disastrous happenings were building in Norway. Here also, the titles involved a host of intertwined actors, ships, aircraft, rescue operations, and countries:

‘Where is Roald Amundsen?’

‘No reports on Latham since Monday evening.’

‘It is assumed that Amundsen after departure from [the North Norwegian town] Tromsø set course directly for Nobile’s camp.’

‘Rumours that he was to have arrived there yesterday are in no way confirmed.’

‘As of tonight no one was able to know his location.’

The uncertain veracity of information was dealt with in a great range of news reports. Perhaps most common among them was reporting rumours; *Aftenposten*’s Svalbard correspondent commented (June 26, 1928) that the Svalbard area of Kings Bay was crammed with journalists and ‘flooded by rumours’. Particularly following the disappearance of ‘Latham’ and Amundsen, reports describing rumours appeared or were followed up on more or less daily. A related type of news item was the speculation. As opposed to rumours, these were hypotheses that came from authorized sources (sometimes actors in the rescue operation, sometimes journalists themselves) and were presented as uncertain possibility, not simply asserted as fact. They shared with rumours the characteristic of being fundamentally uncertain, and were not

always confirmed or disconfirmed. These headlines from the front page of *Dagbladet* (June 20, 1928) provide examples:

‘Has Amundsen arrived with Nobile?’

“Italia”’s radio today comes through with inexplicable clarity. Recurring radio signals: "All clear." "All clear". "Can you hear us?"

This report was published in a period of maximum uncertainty about basic facts – after the disappearance of ‘Italia’ and ‘Latham,’ but before the rescue of the former’s crew. The headline speculated that Amundsen’s Latham plane might have arrived with Nobile and the ‘Italia’ crew on the ice north of Svalbard. Since the crew never reported any such encounter with ‘Latham’ after being rescued, this seems unlikely; however the crew also reported hearing unidentified planes overhead, so that this speculation was not disproved. As for the reason to speculate in the above item, it was both quite specifically media-technological in content and quite arcane. Nobile’s ‘Italia’ crew had rescued their radio transmitter from the airship wreckage, and were able to send messages giving the coordinates of their location. It was a continual problem for those receiving that the radio signals were weak; however this *Dagbladet* headline emphasized that the signals had suddenly become much clearer. The report speculated the reason might be that Amundsen had landed with the ‘Italia’ crew who were now using the ‘Latham’ radio transmitter. This seems unlikely in retrospect, but here again is a speculation that was never decisively dispelled.

The journalistic handling of uncertainty

It is interesting to note just how much this *Dagbladet* report from June 20 went into detail in order to explain the technological specifics of radio telegraphy. It provided the acronym ID used by different transmitters, and went so far as to cite the highly coded language of telegrams from ‘Italia’:

A telegram forwarded by the Geophysical Institute to the Ministry of Defense this noon, is as follows: Our telegraph operator this morning at 8.45 at approx. 35 m the following: idro v italia ok ok qrk? Rr idro v Italia k.

The report was also quite careful in giving the sources of radio signal reception with whom the journalist was in contact (the Norwegian Ministry of defense, receiving its info from The Norwegian Geophysical Institute; telegrams to the newspaper communicated from Agenzia Stefani in Rome, which in its turn had radio contact with the coordinating unit on board Città de Milano).

This careful and relatively presentation of sources and distribution networks for information was characteristic of the journalistic coverage in general. It was not uncommon for reports to record the steps of the journalist's work with the sources, including the uncertainties of the information passed on, as in *Aftenposten* (May 7, 1928):

Yesterday we approached the Meteorological Institute with an inquiry as to the weather conditions during the flight of 'Italia' from Vadsø to Kings Bay. The Institute did not know which instructions had been passed from the Geophysical Institute in Tromsø to the expedition and had not itself received any communications from the airship, but judging by the available reports from meteorological stations, Nobile has left Vadsø at a very opportune time.

In a certain sense, this mode of self-description was relatively traditional, for instance in its deferential attitude to official sources. Still in this article's context, it seems worth noting how the journalist carefully self-reported his own steps in gathering the information, describing its factual status and inherent uncertainties.

If this kind of news item could be said to contain uncertainty within an overall account even as it was formulated, other aspects of the coverage did something of the same via the way various items were presented within the context of the newspaper as a whole. Almost any of the newspapers' front pages for the most news-intensive periods could be recruited as examples. In *Aftenposten* of June 22, 1928, for instance, six of seven front-page items concerned the twin events after the crashes and before the Nobile rescue: a rescue ship ordered to go north by the Norwegian government; Norwegian planes ordered to go on searching for 'Latham' off of Svalbard; a Russian icebreaker set to look for the 'Italia' crew; prospects for a break-off group from Nobile's crew walking south toward Svalbard on the sea ice; meetings being held in Oslo to coordinate Norwegian rescue operations; Italian authorities celebrating one of

their pilots managing to overfly the Nobile crew on the ice; an Italian rescue ship starting from Pisa; reports of a possible German rescue ship operation.

Each item in this front-page throng concerned the actions of a different set of actors. Generally, the **visual** impression the front page gave was of a great multitude of rescuers acting simultaneously, in a mix of humanitarian coordination and nationalistic competition. For those newspaper readers who actually tried, the precise temporal and spatial relations between all these actors would have been very complex to make out. The reports came in to *Aftenposten*'s morning issue at various points in time during the previous afternoon, evening and early night; they would have referred to events taking place partly in that time period and partly earlier. Also, these various temporal points and durations were reported with varying degrees of explicitness and precision. In short, the likely impression for readers was that of a bewildering variety of things going on from day to day, constantly, all over Europe and the North Atlantic ocean.

Some of the actors themselves at the time expressed thoughts that the uncertain veracity of information presented a fundamental, perhaps even irresolvable problem. In *Tidens Tegn* (July 12, 1928) the Swedish professor Gerard de Geer, a polar expert, was cited as being doubtful that the breakout group from the Nobile crew would ever be found:

... by all accounts, the last acts of the deeply tragic epilogue to Nobile's North Pole adventure is now being played out for an open stage, with no possibility that the world can come to the rescue, and the whole North Pole adventure may never be fully resolved, since General Nobile may turn out to be the only surviving witness.

Events did not turn out quite as badly: seven men from the 'Italia' crew perished, but the rest were rescued. A sense of the unknowable and a lack of resolution seem to have persisted in the Norwegian press, however. Toward the tail end of the disastrous events, in his obituary words on Roald Amundsen, the academic and polar expert Sven Hedin wrote melancholically of 'this tragically obscured summer' (*Tidens Tegn*, July 17, 1928).

The case of journalist Odd Arnesen

On June 21, 1928, *Aftenposten* carried this headline: 'In the crosshairs of the world. While Ny Ålesund – the polar aviation town – waits for help. A Svalbard letter from the on-site 'Aftenposten' correspondent.' That correspondent was Odd Arnesen, *Aftenposten's* man in Svalbard's largest town of Ny-Ålesund. Arnesen was something of a linchpin in the news coverage of the twin disaster events. In addition to doing continuous news updates for *Aftenposten*, Arnesen also wrote a number of large and prominently placed features for the newspaper. They mixed narrative accounts of the various search and rescue attempts with evocative descriptions of the milieus and natures of the Svalbard archipelago. Arnesen belonged to a tradition of adventure journalism going back to Henry Morton Stanley. In a discussion of the Swedish journalist Knut Stubbendorff, who also covered the 1928 disasters, Johan Jarlbrink describes this tradition as involving a personalised form of journalism that dramatized and highlighted the competencies and reporting feats of the journalist. (Note 13) Arnesen's features employed a more conversational, expansive register than his regular reports for *Aftenposten*, seeking to convey not merely facts but also moods and experiences. He reported the leaving and returning of search parties, the suspense of waiting for their return, whether the searches were successful or not.

Arnesen's reports from Svalbard were marked by the same pervasive uncertainty that characterised the Norwegian newspaper coverage more generally. He presented it in terms of both his own subjective experience, that of people in Svalbard and of the rescue teams. An example is Arnesen's visit on board the *Città de Milano*, and his vivid description of the air of expectancy on board this rescue ship while its crew waited for the return of planes from scouting trips attempting to locate 'Italia': 'On board the *Città de Milano*, minds can be read – a form of mindreading that is not hard since the single thought on everyone's mind is this: can we save our sixteen men from the grip of the ice?' (*Aftenposten*, May 30, 1928)

On July 14, when Nobile and his crew had been rescued, Arnesen wrote a feature detailing his journey from Ny-Ålesund to Virgo Bay at the northwest end of the Svalbard archipelago to interview the rescued Nobile, who was in care on board the *Città de Milano*. The extensive feature was actively narrated with Arnesen himself and two German film photographers as protagonists, on the beat trying to land the first interview with Nobile. In this report as in others by Arnesen, uncertainty was a

narrative resource, a tool for building suspense and reader involvement. Still the whole endeavor was an anticlimax, since the three were barred by the Italians from accessing Nobile. Also, Arnesen reported unsuccessful inquiries with the Italian rescue crew about Amundsen, whose disappearance was to remain a mystery. '[the answer] is only a short No, nothing new.' (*Aftenposten*, July 14, 1928).

Arnesen's features were a study not only in contemporary experiences of factual uncertainty, but also in how a journalist handled them. His reports emphasized, even idealized, the bravery of those searching for Nobile. He also exhorted the possibilities of the new technologies and infrastructures that were being tried out. Arnesen often relied on a humorous, somewhat detached writing style. He would typically use a humorous register to characterize the media apparatus established at Ny-Ålesund. Infrastructures of information ran through it, and the place was flooded with media professionals (journalists, film photographers, radio and telegraphy operators) who had caught rides with rescue ships and planes. Arnesen painted the portrait of a remote location utterly transformed into a media hub. 'Half of this mining town now consists of journalists', he half-joked in a report from June 30 before describing how local residents had been talked into working for the media on the side. Arnesen told stories about journalists competing for stories and film photographers evading exclusive rights agreements. He also commented humorously on the strains this invasion of the media put on local communities:

'Journalists' requests for lodging are now being turned down in the overpopulated polar aviation town (of Ny-Ålesund) – simply because not so much as a closet is vacant. Some joker even suggested a bounty on journalists, so one understands there are plenty of them, if not a surplus. The local hospital [...] has received its first 'patients' for ages, in the form of journalists and cameramen. The enterprising little radio station has struggled to keep up lately. A rationing of telegrams has been seriously considered. This is how news services are swelling up.' (*Aftenposten*, June 30, 1928)

Arnesen also described how this milieu of media people was dominated by rumours, which he termed 'barracks telegrams'. Here is Arnesen dramatizing the voices of the journalist barracks: 'Have you heard it? An American airship is coming here to look for "Italia" with 10-15 planes.' Soon after there was talk also of submarines and

warships, but when one member of the media came to the barracks and claimed that a couple of Russian icebreakers would arrive also, according to Arnesen the other journalists' collective answer was: 'Don't try and pull that one on us.' (*Aftenposten*, June 30, 1928)

Discussion

The twin events of Umberto Nobile's crash and Roald Amundsen's fatal disappearance in the summer of 1928 constituted an extreme case in some important respects – certainly in the remoteness and complexity of these events, probably in that the basic facts of Amundsen's fate were never made clear. Still it is tempting to speculate on the historical development and significance of the basic uncertainty of factual veracity uncovered in this article's analyses, and the journalistic handling of it in Norwegian newspaper during the summer of 1928. A preoccupation with uncertainty was, it should be said, not unique to this polar event. It could be found also in the media coverage of a similar event in 1911. (note 14) At that time, Norwegian newspapers were certainly preoccupied with reporting the uncertainties surrounding a dangerous polar expedition (Roald Amundsen's South Pole conquest and his 'race for the pole' with Robert Falcon Scott). The kind of daily coverage of the events' continuous unfolding that the newspaper material from 1928 contains, did not exist in 1911, however, because the available technologies did not allow it to the same extent. In 1911, several months passed between each news update, since no means of simultaneous media communication could then be established between the Antarctic inland and the rest of the world. The conquest was not reported until Amundsen arrived at a telegraph station in Tasmania, almost four months after the moment of conquest itself.

The amount and speed of available information was significantly greater in 1928, then. Interestingly, so was an intensified and even more pervasive sense of factual uncertainty. A commonsense view would be that more available information reduces uncertainty over factual veracity. On the contrary, from the event of 1911 to that in 1928, both seemed to grow in concert. One may even speculate that the two were connected, so that the more the supply of information increased, the more uncertainty over factual veracity tended to increase with it. When it seems tempting to

pose such a counterintuitive argument, it is perhaps not only because of the available historical evidence but also because we live in a present-day situation where the sheer amount of instantaneously available information via media about events near and far is greater than ever. At the same time, worries are intensifying not only about a lack of substance, independence and real critique in journalism, but also suspicions about falsehoods, speculations, irresponsible rumours and other so-called 'fake news'. And the media of the present day has its own preoccupations with men who claim extraordinary vision on dubious factual grounds.

Notes

Note 1. Bomann-Larsen, *Roald Amundsen*, 527-537; Kristensen, *Amundsens siste reise*, 293-335.

Note 2. Dayan and Katz, *Media Events*. See also e.g. Couldry et al, *Media Events...*; Scannell, "Media Events"; Seeck and Rantanen, "Media events, spectacles..."

Note 3. Particularly Bösch and Schmidt, *Medialisierte Ereignisse*; Lenger and Nünning, *Medienereignisse der Moderne*.

Note 4. Braudel, *The Mediterranean ...*; Braudel, "History and the Social Sciences."

Note 5: See e.g. Arquembourg, *L'événement et les medias*; Dosse, *Renaissance de l'Événement*; Ytreberg, 'The 1911 South Pole Conquest.'

Note 6. Particularly Bösch and Schmidt, *Medialisierte Ereignisse*; Ekström, "Exhibiting disasters"; Ekström and Kverndokk, "Culture of Disaster."

Note 7. See e.g. Boorstin, *The Image*; Nora, "L'Événement monstre," Kellner, "Media Spectacle ..."

Note 8. E.g. Lenger, "Einleitung", 8; Fulsås, *Havet, døden og vêret*, 89-108.

Note 9. Berg, *Amundsen og hans aeronauter*, 254.

Note 10. Kristensen, *Amundsens siste reise*, 338.

Note 11. Aas, "One Man's Foolishness...", 183-84.

Note 12. All citations have been translated from Norwegian by this article's author.

Note 13. Jarlbrink, "Knut Stubbendorffs ..."

Note 14. Ytreberg, 'The 1911 South Pole Conquest.'

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