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In Search of Legitimacy: Class, Gender and Moral Discipline in Early Swedish Working-Class literature c. 1910*

This paper deals with certain tensions in early Swedish working-class literature of the first generation, c. 1910. These texts were a *Gebrauchsliteratur*—a literature for *use* in the class struggle of the time—but the use primarily was existential and political reflection, and it was effected by special (non-acknowledged) aesthetic means that did not conform to the aesthetics of the current literary institution. This literature was thus mainly considered *illegitimate*, and the theme of my paper is the tension between what might be called *Gebrauchsliteratur* and *Kunsliteratur* in the modern (post-romantic) era. I will argue that this tension is between two different aesthetics, which is to say that the conception of a *Gebrauchsliteratur*—a literature for use—presupposes a certain aesthetic and that this aesthetic requires certain non-aesthetic (or non-canonized) kinds of reading in order to be discovered.¹ Only if accepted in its aesthetic otherness may the peculiar potential of these texts make itself felt, an otherness both cognitively and normatively unfamiliar.²

The early working-class literature

As for a quick impression of the texts: specific for this *first-generation* working-class literature is an open, episodic, montage-looking form, focusing on labour, toil, survival and collective struggle for better condi-

tions. This apparently fragmentary kind of composition was criticized by leading critics both then and later on.³ The more well-known *second-generation* working-class literature of the 1930s, on the other hand, rather deals with the individual's *Bildung* and emancipation from the collective; and the form chosen mainly is that of the more closed and aesthetically acknowledged *Bildungsroman*.⁴ Several of these latter authors—mostly men—were admitted into the bourgeois literary establishment, gradually abandoning working-class literature. Quite a few became honorary doctors, some were elected to the Swedish Academy, and two of them finally won the Nobel Prize—Harry Martinson and Eyvind Johnson.

The early working-class authors, on the other hand, mostly remained manual labourers all of their professional life, and their literary works were written at night or during periods of unemployment. These brute realities certainly contributed to the lasting class perspective of their literary texts. Today, remembered authors of that kind are e.g. Martin Koch, Gustaf Hedenvind Eriksson, and Dan Andersson; they all made their *début* about 1910–1914. Others, like Maria Sandel and Karl Östman, are mentioned less often. True, Sandel has been noticed as the first woman author of so-called proletarian literature in Sweden, and her work is mentioned as an important documentary source—but it is not accorded any literary value.⁵ On the contrary, today her work is regarded as antiquated, and even in its own time it was seen as aesthetically defective.⁶ The same kind of sentence is passed on Östman—to the extent that his work is commented on at all. In his own days he and his colleagues also were accused of “stridslust i klassagitation” [a pugnacity of class agitation], “en omogen stridslust mot det samhälle, som ger dem bröd” [an immature pugnacity against the society that gives them their bread], and of being “fridstörande ogräs” [peace-disturbing weed].⁷ Left-wing critics of the radical 1970s, on the contrary, accused both him and Sandel of gradually abandoning their class perspective in

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favour of bourgeois individualism and psychologism in their later works⁸—which of course were the ones that other critics liked the best, and for the same reasons.

Thus, when confronted with these authors, critics of opposite camps and different times are offended—politically, aesthetically, or both—but the question remains as to what kind of literature this is and how it can be adequately described from a literary point of view. In its own days, as *literature* it was regarded as illegitimate because of its low working-class origin: a literary career still demanded erudition and an academic education, and new authors without this background were viewed with suspicion.⁹ But these were also the years of the beginning of the so-called “democratization of Parnassus”, when a worker could become an author while remaining in the position of a worker.¹⁰

This change was partly caused by the strength of the growing Labour movement and its efforts to legitimize itself by bringing bourgeois knowledge and culture into the broad masses of the working classes—while at the same time developing their class consciousness. To that end, folk high schools were built, and study circles were arranged all over the country; and that is how many working-class authors discovered their calling.¹¹

In order to understand what kind of literature this was—and in what ways it was illegitimate literature—it is wise to adopt a historical approach, remembering its function as a literature for *use*. In order for that literariness to appear, this use-aspect must also be observed, that is, the functional context for which the texts were made.¹²

The problem: didactics and aesthetics

Maria Sandel and Karl Östman, like their generation-mates, wrote in a realistic, often naturalistic tradition with romantic-sentimental or even melodramatic and grotesque strains—well-known patterns of the

1800s.¹³ But they also wrote in a didactic tradition with progenitors from both pre-modern pragmatic aesthetics, religious revivalism, and political agitation literature. This didacticism was contrary to the modern aesthetics of literary autonomy, maintained by the post-symbolist avant-garde and the so-called decadents. In fact, it was contrary to the moral didacticism of leading critics of the time as well,¹⁴ since it was associated with the working classes and thus threatening.¹⁵ This other didacticism could be both moral and practical: in Sandel the reader is confronted with illustrative moral examples—both good and bad—as well as with detailed description of broken family life in the urban wilderness, and poor cooking in miserable working-class kitchens. In Östman we meet lucid cases of workers’ attitudes toward the authorities and toward each other at the work-place, as well as instructive descriptions of the different steps of the working process.

The working-class authors wanted to reach a public, primarily their own class-mates, but in the long run also readers from the middle class.¹⁶ At this time—about 1910—the Labour movement had developed an *Öffentlichkeit* of its own, with newspapers and even publishing companies.¹⁷ Yet most working-class literature was edited by bourgeois publishing companies¹⁸ – presumably as a bonus effect of the current literary trend of bourgeois realism.¹⁹ The broadening public, however, also created problems, since it compelled the working-class author to speak with two voices.²⁰ The ambition of working-class literature was to influence, to change opinions and attitudes: to *teach*, to *move* and to *awaken*. But the actual readers often preferred to be *pleased*; they wanted entertainment, excitement, and beauty; they did not want reminders of misery, either their own or others’.²¹ This is an attitude that Östman often notes, not least among his own class-mates.²² So the problem is: how could didactics and aesthetics be combined in the same text? In other words, how could a *Gebrauchsliteratur* become a *Kunstliteratur* without losing its usefulness?

The didactic aim here is pulling towards pragmatic aesthetics, while the artistic aim is pulling towards literary experimentation in fulfilling this pragmatism. But these allegedly opposite tendencies also support each other. The working-class authors of the day wrote in all genres and media; they used *Kunstlitteratur* as a *Gebrauchsliterarische* means, so to speak,²³ yet this *Gebrauchsliteratur* was serving an *other* didacticism than that of the debate article, the pamphlet, and the piece of agitation literature. It is a *literary* didacticism – based on narrative, fiction, and vivid depiction – although without the kind of literariness that is fostered in a modern literary institution; it is unfamiliar with the ‘disinterested beholding’ which, with Kant, became fundamental in modern aesthetics.²⁴ What does this *functional* aesthetic consist of?

Let us have a look at some examples—mainly chosen from Maria Sandel.

Maria Sandel – an example

Maria Sandel was a seamstress—a tricot knitteress (*trikåstickerska*)—living in the poor working-class quarters of Kungsholmen in Stockholm. This was also the environment she depicted as an author.²⁵

Meditative reading (“Min gata”)

Sandel’s first short-story collection *Vid Svältgränsen* [At the hunger line] was published in 1908, that is, in the span of time between the great general strikes of 1902 and 1909. All the stories deal with different aspects of everyday life in the poorest working-class quarters of Stockholm. In the story “Min gata” [My street] the narrative frame is a wandering along the proletarian’s street. But the real wanderer in fact is the *reader*, guided by the didactic narrator. “Do you see?” she incessantly urges; “Watch here!” “Look there!” “Consider this!” When, in the afternoon, the workers on their way home from the factory are focused, the narrator grows eager, appealing, didactic—aiming at arousing the

reader’s engagement, of course, but still more his or her *meditation* and *reflection*.

Men se på de gamla männen, de åldriga kvinnorna! O, de gamla, som fyratio, femtio år gjort evigt samma grepp med handen, haft evigt samma ljud för örat och för ögat samma syn! Se på de gamla, som åldrats i oupphörlig, tacklös kamp för ett knappt bröd åt sig och de sina, för hvilka allt i lifvet blifvit vana, allt utom det, som gör tillvaron dräglig. Se på deras krökta ryggar och stultande gång och tänk på hur det skall kännas att häfva en värkbruten, illa hvilad kropp ur bädden i arla morgon! Tänk på de långa timmarna af jäkt, (94:) bekymmer och fattighuset i perspektiv — så vida ej döden förbarmar sig. Tänk! — och du skall våndas af medlidande Ty de gamla ha intet hopp. De unga kunna och skola strida sig till ljusare villkor, ofta skola de stupa — för att resa sig än starkare. Men de gamla de kunna bara segna ned — — —” (93f.)

[But look at the old men, the aged women! Oh, the aged, for forty, fifty years eternally doing the same operation with their hands, eternally having the same sound in their ears, and their eyes eternally the same sight! Look at the aged, having grown old in perpetual thankless struggle for scarce bread for themselves and their people, for whom everything in life has become habit, except for that which makes existence tolerable. Look at their bent backs and stiff gait, and consider what it would be like to heave up an aching, badly rested body from the bed early in the morning! Consider the long hours of rushing, worry, and the poorhouse in perspective—unless death takes pity. Consider!—and you shall suffer agony with compassion. For the aged have no hope. The young can and should struggle their way to brighter conditions, and often they will fall—in order to rise still stronger. But the aged could only sink down...]

The many expressions of here and now assume a deictic function that lends the narrative the character of an ongoing course of events, taking place in the reader’s face. This is a common technique in ancient literary tradition, deriving its origin from meditative Christian *devotional literature*.²⁶ What should be meditated on could be any mundane thing, but the process should lead to “andelige och himmelske ting” [spiritual and heavenly things], often Christ in his vicarious suffering.²⁷ As depicted through these meditative literary techniques, the working class in Sandel, in fact, acquires a Christ-like role. This becomes still more evident when the very physical work is depicted—as for instance in *Östman*.²⁸

This meditative way of reading from the tradition of devotional literature was inherited and further developed by the Religious Revival

Movement—the so-called *läsarna* [‘readers’]—and from there it got into the Labour movement and the other secular popular movements. As is shown by previous research, this meditative reading was intense and personal: the readers *gömde det lästa i sitt hjärta* [kept what was read in their hearts], as the phrase was, bringing it to bear on their own personal situations.²⁹

In Sandel, on the one hand, disparate scenes are lined up together—impressionistically depicted in a form of composition opposing current conventions of a well-made story. On the other hand, these scenes are kept together through various formal devices. Most important is the narrator, guiding the reader through a manifold world, populated by all working-class layers. This is presented as an *unfamiliar* world, being made familiar only in the course of the wandering: the *multiplicity* of the street mirroring the *fullness* of the class. The scenes are woven together into a network where a solidarity theme is developed—a theme bearing witness to the *unity* of the apparently disparate class.

Compositional offense (*Familjen Vinge*)

Sandel’s first novel, *Familjen Vinge och deras grannar* [The Vinge family and their neighbours], was published in 1909 as a serial in the Labour movement’s own newspaper, *Social-Demokraten*. It has on the whole the same open composition as “Min gata.” The scenes change between different settings, and the sub-title of the novel emphasizes the multiplicity and the wide perspective: *En bok om verkstadsgossar och fabriksflickor* [A book about engine fitter boys and factory girls]. The story lines are many, and there is no unified plot. The text instead is kept together by the problems that are depicted in the disparate scenes: the dangers of factory work, unemployment, poverty, strikes, tuberculosis, housing shortage, restrictions of space, alcoholism, maltreatment, criminality, prostitution, venereal diseases, single mothers, and even paedophilia.

These problems are depicted from the point of view of the woman worker, and her world is the centre of attention. The linchpins of this world are the family and home, and the struggle of keeping the home together is most often the woman’s lonely task. But the woman’s life is lived outside the home just as much: in the factory for hats or chocolate, and in all the foreign stairwells to be scrubbed. This classic dual role is not questioned in Sandel. What is questioned instead is the moral disorder deriving from factory work in those days, equally affecting women and men.³⁰ Sandel’s strong moral passion produces the typical crossing of her texts between pathetics, melodrama, and extreme naturalism. But her moralism is given expression in different and contradictory voices—a peculiarity also noted in the scanty research on Sandel.³¹

Within the Labour movement, questions of morality were high in rank on the agenda in those days, not least within the party press. They were actualized not least by the struggle against so-called *smutslitteratur* [dirty literature]—in 1909 still ongoing.³² The struggle concerned not only bad taste and lack of education, but also moral disorder and depravity in general. The social democrats were anxious to step forward on the side of education and morals, since in bourgeois circles crudity and immorality were often associated with the working classes. Thus it was important to change that impression, and the effect was a far-reaching moral rearmament within the Labour movement itself. As has been made clear by earlier research, the idea of *den skötsamme arbetaren* [the conscientious worker], and the insistence on inner discipline, have thus developed as a part of the class struggle itself.³³

In Sandel’s *Familjen Vinge* the final chapter is of special interest in this context, because the tension between didactics and aesthetics is carried to extremes. The heading of the chapter is “Som icke har någon rubrik” [Which has no heading], giving the novel a sombre and yet quite open ending: an eight-year-old girl is found raped in her own bed. The penultimate chapter “Morsan får en dotter” [Mum is getting a daughter], on

the contrary, offers a round-off more suitable to traditional novelistic expectations: Mrs Vinge's daughter has died of tuberculosis, but Mrs Vinge instead takes care of another young woman, an abandoned mother, thereby getting even a grandchild (however illegitimate). One might ask why Sandel chose to refrain from the possibility of a conventional ending of her novel. True, Sandel always writes episodically, often also using open endings. But this final chapter is special.

Initially the problem of cramped housing accommodation is treated, but the chapter ends in this paedophile rape: a lodger forces himself on the eight-year-old Vera, daughter of the family. The reader is not spared many details. The naturalism here is unexpectedly far-reaching, even considering that the serial was published in the Labour movement's own newspaper. At first we meet the impatiently waiting perpetrator Larsson—as if from the inside of his own yearning body, wriggling in his improvised bed:

Stolarna, på vilka soffloket var lagt, knakade under bördan av en tung kropp, som, brinnande av onda lustar, rolöst vältrade sig. Kolen i gallret hade längesedan slocknat, men, tända av åtrå, gnistrade nu ett par ögon i mörkret, riktades oupphörligt mot lilla Veras bädd—Larssons ögon. Än av frossbrytningar ristes hans muskulösa kropp, än kände han det som om flammor slickat hans kött. Morrande läten stötte ut genom sammanbitna tänder—han såg den lilla barnkroppen med sin inre blick, snövit, spenslig, han tyckte sig känna dess doft... Med ett ryck kom han i sittande ställning, hans läppar fläktes upp över käkarna, pannhuden drogs ihop till valkar—han lyssnade. Djupa snarkningar från sängen... Ingen fara alltså. Med ett lystet språng är Larsson ur sin bädd. (317f.)

[The chairs, on top of which the seat of the sofa was placed, were creaking under the burden of a heavy body, restlessly rolling, burning from evil lust. The coal of the fire-guard long ago had gone out, but now a pair of eyes, lightened by lust, were sparkling in the dark, incessantly turning towards little Vera's bed—Larsson's eyes. Now his muscular body was shivering from fit of ague, now he felt as though flames were licking his flesh. Growling sounds were uttered through his compressed teeth—he saw the child's little body in his mind's eye, snow-white, delicate, he fancied its scent... With a start he got into a sitting posture, his lips split open over his jaws, the skin of his forehead contracted into calluses—he was listening.

Deep snorings from the bed... Thus, no fear. With a covetous leap, Larsson is out of his bed.]

Then a significant blank, and suddenly the victim is exhibited—as the torn prey of a wild beast:

Skälvande ligger lilla Vera bland de upprivna sängkläderna. Hennes linne är i trasor, kroppen blodig. Med ena handen plockar hon bland flikarna, som ville hon skylla sig, den andra ligger slapp och orörlig över bröstet, den är bruten i leden. Blödande spår efter tänder har hon i kinden. Utan att igenkänna far och mor stirrar hon på dem med dödsrämsel i ögonen, medan hennes läppar, med korta, hickande uppehåll, forma ideligt, ideligt samma stavelse: pa-pa-pa... Men hon kan icke frambringa ett ljud.

Hon är stum. (320)

[Shivering little Vera is lying among the rummaged bedclothes. Her camisole torn to rags, her body bloodstained. Her one hand pottering about the patches, as if she wanted to cover herself, the other one lying limp and immobile over her chest, the joint fractured. Bleeding traces of teeth on her cheek. Without recognizing her father and mother she stares at them, fear of death in her eyes, her lips with short hiccuping pauses, continually forming the same syllable: pa-pa-pa... But she cannot bring forth a sound.

She is dumb.]

With these words the book ends: *SLUT* [The End] is written in big capitals. Thus, silence and dumbness end a chapter telling us about the missing of the heading, while simultaneously having a heading as noted above. This is like a variant of the ancient liar's paradox. So what is the sense of it?

The same question was evidently posed by the chief editor K.O. Bonnier when the book edition was actualized in 1913. He accepted the manuscript on the condition that the text was given 'a better concentration,' at the same time wondering "om icke ett och annat uttryck är för hårdt och partifärgat" [if a thing or two were not too harsh and party-coloured]); that is, the tone should be subdued.³⁴ This led to Sandel's extensive cutting, even though the recently quoted passages of the paedophile chapter were left intact. But she did reverse the order between the last two chapters: the rape is inserted before the preceding "Morsan får en dotter" [Mother gets a daughter]. In this way the narrative acquires a conventional rounded-off ending, which takes the sting out of the disquieting paedophile chapter. In addition, it is fitted with a conventional heading, now reading "Stjärnblomstrets öde" [The Fate of

the Starwort], alluding to the girl's pet name. Through these changes the novel *Familjen Vinge* becomes quite a different text: it might be read as a good novel according to the taste of the time, but it does not as easily open itself for meditative reading.

Summary

This means that the *use-literary* function of awakening and engaging will be realized only through the *aesthetic* function of frustrating expectations, of *making* the familiar *strange*, thereby arousing *reflection*. Didactics and aesthetics here are tightly interwoven, the one unthinkable without the other. As Roland Barthes might say: the stable *readerly* text in the course of the act of reading is presented as unstable and *writerly*.³⁵

The idea of making things strange is certainly central also to modernist aesthetics.³⁶ But the presuppositions and functional contexts are quite different. The making-strange of modernist aesthetics goes together with the idea of the autonomy of art. Seeing in new and different ways is in modernist aesthetics a value in itself, disengaged from every imaginable use-function.³⁷ The primary aim of the specifically modernist technique of making-strange is to arouse reflection on *art*—as already Pär Lagerkvist claimed when in 1913 he advocated “ren konst” [pure art].³⁸ This is a leading aesthetic value even today: great literature is *meta-literature*.³⁹

The making-strange of working-class literature, on the other hand, pertains to an aesthetic of use, going back to a pre-modern view of art, but simultaneously approaching the didactic method of *Verfremdung* that Bertolt Brecht would later develop.⁴⁰ The aim is to call forth, by every available means, a meditative reading and reflection—on life *outside* art. This results in a concretely depicting literature that may indeed seem dated if read with the glasses of modernity. But, as I have tried to show, there are other glasses—partly supplied by the text-in-context itself.⁴¹ It

is just a question of keeping an eye on one's way of reading and contemplating the use of literature, most of all in literary criticism.

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Notes

¹ See “Gebrauchsliteratur” in von Wilpert, *Sachwörterbuch der Literatur*, p. 329.

² See the distinction *des kognitiv Fremden/ des normativ Fremden* in Mecklenburg, “Über kulturelle und poetische Alterität,” p. 81.

³ See e.g. “Koch, Martin” in *Svenskt litteraturllexikon*, p. 255, and Fahlgren, *Litteraturkritiker*, pp. 72, 74.

⁴ See Thorsell, “Den svenska parnassens ‘demokratisering,’” p. 523.

⁵ See e.g. negative reviews of the new edition of *Virveln* (1913) in 1975: Engström, “En omotiverad återutgivning” in *Skånska Dagbladet*, 24 Apr. 1975, and Halldén, “Maria Sandels omsorg om sanningen,” in *Dagens Nyheter*, 12 Mai 1975. See also Arrbäck Falk, “Maria Sandel,” p. 3704, and Witt-Brattström in her “Efterord” to the new edition of *Virveln*, p. 269.

⁶ Even the social democrat Erik Hedén in his review of *Virveln* in *Social-Demokraten*, 17 Dec. 1913, feels prompted to defend its loose composition. A typical bourgeois reaction is Rosa Heckscher’s consistently negative review of Sandel’s *Hexdansen* (1919) in *Svensk tidskrift* 1920. But cf. Hedén’s opposite evaluation of the same qualities in *Social-Demokraten*, 16 Dec. 1919.

⁷ Sign. “Eron,” review of Östman’s *Pilgrimer*.

⁸ For Östman see Falk et al., “Karl Östman,” p. 227. For Sandel, see Arrbäck Falk, “Maria Sandel,” pp. 3674, 3704.

⁹ See Albert Viksten—himself a working-class author—quoted in Gärdegård, “Efterskrift,” in Östman’s *Stabbläggare*, pp. 225f.

¹⁰ See Thorsell, “Parnassen,” p. 521.

¹¹ Thorsell, “Parnassen,” p. 525. See also the biographies in Furuland, *Folkhögskolan*.

¹² See Jauss, “Horizon Structure,” on the necessary interaction between the old and familiar and the new and the other, p. 203.

¹³ See also Berger, “Karnevaliska element i Maria Sandels texter,” on Bakhtinian carnivalistic devices in Sandel.

¹⁴ This moralizing is evident in the leading critic of the time, Fredrik Böök. See T. Forser, *Bööks trettiotal*, pp. 13, 15.

¹⁵ For the threatening working-classes, see Boëthius, *Nick Carter*, pp. 119, 158, 222f., 251, and Godin, *Klassmedvetandet*, pp. 118f., 130–132.

¹⁶ Godin, *Klassmedvetandet*, pp. 136f., Olsson, “Proletärförfattaren,” pp. 58, 69f.

¹⁷ E.g. Socialdemokratiska Arbetarepartiets bok- och broschyrförlag (1889), Brands förlag (1897), Frams förlag (1903), Framtidens förlag (1908), and from 1912 also Tidens förlag. As for a Swedish proletarian *Öffentlighet*, see Furuland, “Litteratur och samhälle,” pp. 21–24.

¹⁸ See Svedjedal in Furuland & Svedjedal, *Svensk arbetarlitteratur*, p. 440; also 443, 444f.

¹⁹ See e.g. Olof Rabenius commenting on “moderna svenska samhällsskildringar” [‘modern Swedish depictions of society’] in his overview “Svenska romaner och noveller,” *Ord&Bild* 1912, p. 232.

²⁰ See Olsson, “Proletärförfattaren,” pp. 69f., analysing this double authorial position in Östman.

²¹ See Fahlgren, *Litteraturkritiker*, p. 73.

²² Cf. the narrator’s defense in Östman’s short story “Kapar-Karlsson,” p. 44. For an analysis, see Agrell, “‘Gömma det lästa,’” pp. 74f.

²³ Cf. Boëthius, *Nick Carter*, p. 265, on Hjalmar Branting’s view of culture.

²⁴ See Eysteinson, *Modernism*, p. 125. Cf. also Hansson, *Från Hercules till Swea*, p. 11, on the modern Kantian aesthetics breaking into the classical rhetorical system of literature in Sweden.

²⁵ For informative analytic overviews on Sandel, see Forselius, “‘Moralismens heta blod,’” and Godin, *Klassmedvetandet*, pp. 123–139.

²⁶ See Hunter, *Before Novels*, pp. 202f., Hansson, *Ett språk för själen*, pp. 133–141, 147f.; also Thorén, *I Zions tempel*, e.g. pp. 84f. on C.M. Bellman’s Christian meditative poetry.

²⁷ Hansson, *Ett språk för själen*, pp. 137f.

²⁸ See Agrell, “‘Gömma det lästa,’” on Östman’s depiction of a working-site accident.

²⁹ See Ambjörnsson, *Den skötsamme arbetaren*, p. 129, and Furuland, “Konsten att läsa,” p. 13. Cf. also Godin, *Klassmedvetandet*, p. 135, on patterns of devotional conversion-stories structuring Sandel’s narrative.

³⁰ For demoralizing factory work, see Boëthius, *Nick Carter*, pp. 118, 234f, 240, and Godin, *Klassmedvetandet*, pp. 134f. Cf. Sandel’s narrator in *Virveln*, p. 20.

³¹ Forselius, “‘Själsadeln och de ystra sinnenas rop,’” pp. 32, 38–40, 48.

³² For the course of events, see Boëthius, *Nick Carter*, pp. 131–133, and chapter V.

³³ Ambjörnsson, *Den skötsamme arbetaren*, pp. 261f., and J. Frykman & O. Löfgren, *Den kultiverade människan* (1979), p. 34, Horgby, *Egensinne och skötsamhet*, pp.

43f., 67f., 272f., 361f., Boëthius, *Nick Carter*, pp. 260f., 262–264, 270, 276. Also Agrell, “Modernitet, sekularisering och heliga värden,” pp. 183f.

³⁴ Svedjedal, *Bokens samhälle*, p. 295.

³⁵ Barthes, *S/Z*, pp. 4f.

³⁶ See Shklovski, “Art as Device,” commented on in Eysteinson, *Modernism* pp. 45f., 199.

³⁷ See Eysteinson, *Modernism*, pp. 41, 44f., and Johnson, “An Aesthetics of Negativity.”

³⁸ Lagerkvist, *Ordkonst och bildkonst*, p. 42.

³⁹ See e.g. Rönnholm and Skyum-Nielsen in “Litteraturen är född skyldig,” a conversation on contemporary Nordic literature, in *Ord & Bild* 2000:4–5.

⁴⁰ See Tihanov, “The Politics of Estrangement,” p. 688. Cf. Brecht’s *Lehrstücke*, his *Hauspostille*, and his *Kriegs-Fibel*; see the analysis in e.g. Evans, “Brecht’s *War-Primer*,” and Agrell, “Documentarism,” pp. 50–52.

⁴¹ See Jauss, “The Identity of the Poetic Text,” pp. 20, 23, on transformation of horizon and reconstructing the pre-judgments of the original addressee.