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SWEDISH  
WOMEN'S WRITING  
ON EXPORT

Tracing Transnational Reception in  
the Nineteenth Century

Yvonne Leffler (volume editor), Åsa Arping, Jenny Bergenmar,  
Gunilla Hermansson & Birgitta Johansson Lindh

*Swedish Women's Writing on Export: Tracing  
Transnational Reception in the Nineteenth Century*

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## INTRODUCTION

### Swedish Women’s Writing on Export. Tracing Transnational Reception in the Nineteenth Century

THIS BOOK IS the result of a collaborative research project and five scholars’ joint effort to investigate the transnational dissemination and reception of Swedish nineteenth-century literature, in particular women’s writing.<sup>1</sup> The following chapters examine the mechanisms behind the circulation of literature written in a small European language. In addition to offering new historical knowledge on the export of Swedish literature, the objective is to highlight the general methodological and theoretical challenges which are brought to the fore by specific case studies. The investigation engages in the discussion of the basis for constructing and writing literary history, and therefore also considers questions of how we understand and build our knowledge of the history of literature. Thus, the intention is to produce new and deeper historical understanding of how literature travels, migrates, and is renegotiated in the process, as well as to reassess the significance of women as transcultural writers and mediators.

In Sweden, with its long history as a sovereign nation state, literary studies have by tradition focused on national literature, or, alternatively, on important foreign influences on Swedish literature. As a consequence, with a few exceptions, little is known about the literary “outflow” from Sweden, especially before the 1960s.<sup>2</sup> Still, despite the limited number of native speakers, it has been established that Sweden is currently among the top 20 countries in the world as an export nation of fiction, which means that Swedish is more prominent as a literary language than might be expected.<sup>3</sup> Contrary to what has previously been argued, the first wave of success did not occur as late as the fin

de siècle, 1880–1910, after the Scandinavian “Modern Breakthrough”, with authors such as August Strindberg and Selma Lagerlöf. The present study shows that the export of Swedish literature started with a massive dissemination of novels by women writers already in the mid- and second half of the nineteenth century. The works by novelists Fredrika Bremer and Emilie Flygare-Carlén were widely translated, read, and reviewed both nationally and internationally. As early as in the 1820s and 1830s, Romantic epic poetry, especially Esaias Tegnér’s *Friðtjof’s Saga* (1825), gained enthusiastic European and American readerships. This means that Sweden in the early and mid-nineteenth century had already established its position as a prominent literary nation.

The case studies in this book centre on five women writers: Julia Nyberg (1785–1854), Fredrika Bremer (1801–1865), Emilie Flygare-Carlén (1807–1892), Anne Charlotte Leffler (1849–1892), and Selma Lagerlöf (1858–1940). As previous research on English-language literatures in the nineteenth century has shown, women’s writing during the nineteenth century was more widely read and disseminated than the works by their male contemporaries, who were more directed towards securing a status in national culture.<sup>4</sup> This project’s preliminary mapping of the translations of Swedish literature from 1820 to World War I, indicated a similar pattern, which has been confirmed during the investigation. Therefore, an important aim of this study is to insist on the significance and necessity of a gender perspective, which is all too often neglected in research on transcultural circulation and world literature.<sup>5</sup> The five authors were active during a period of time when the conditions for writing, publishing, and distribution changed rapidly, on a national as well as an international market, especially for women writers. Consequently, their careers provide instructive examples of prevailing mechanisms and changing power relations in the literary field.

The five writers and their works represent both essential periods and dominant genres of the century, such as romantic poetry (Nyberg), the domestic and realistic novel (Bremer, Flygare-Carlén), the drama of the Modern Breakthrough (Leffler), and the neo-romanticist and symbolic prose around 1900 (Lagerlöf). From a Swedish perspective, these writers were among the most influential and well received in their time. Still, their international reception differs and illustrates substantial differences in transcultural reception, as do their posthumous reputation and “after-life” in Swedish literary history. An understanding of the translation, dissemination, and reception of these writers not only contests the acknowledged national account of Swedish literature, it also illustrates new and general aspects of transcultural circulation and impact, with implications on a global scale.

## CONCEPTUALISING CIRCULATION

There are critical issues pertaining to both temporal and spatial aspects which must be considered before venturing into a study of literary reception across borders. One important impetus for this study is the so-called transnational turn in literary historiography.<sup>6</sup> The contributions to this shift within the fields of new comparative literature, world literature, and translation studies have concentrated on discussing the risks or gains of a global versus a local perspective. While David Damrosch understands world literature as literature that gains in translation, Emily Apter has warned against the loss of specificity, not least when dealing with literature in minor languages whose particularities are at risk of being displaced by generic thoughts of “universal translatability or global applicability”.<sup>7</sup> Although literary texts might lose or gain in translation, literature written in a small language, such as Swedish, needs to be translated in order to reach international readers. In view of this, the role of translation has to be addressed. Especially the transcultural reception of the Swedish novels demonstrate certain aspects of what Lawrence Venuti calls “the violence of translation”, that is how the translated source text is domesticated or foreignized in translation.<sup>8</sup>

This investigation treats reception and circulation patterns as historical phenomena, in line with the “ecological” approach proposed by Alexander Beecroft. By using ecology as a metaphor, Beecroft seeks an understanding of how “texts and literatures thrive in a wide variety of ways”, even beyond economic conditions and recognition within cultural centres.<sup>9</sup> All literatures are continually and inevitably transnational in the sense that they consist of ongoing interactions between different domestic and external cultures.<sup>10</sup> At the same time as an investigation of nineteenth-century literature needs to acknowledge the national significances, it must also recognize literary flows as expressions of transnationalism and transculturalism within the national framework. Although the century was strongly characterized by nation-building processes, many of the actual national borders were far from stable, and did not always coincide with cultural and linguistic demarcations. Dealing with specific patterns of reception, the term *transcultural* will therefore often be more adequate than *transnational*. In some of the cases discussed in this study, the transcultural versus transnational aspects of literary reception are indeed underscored, as for example in the seamless integration of Fredrika Bremer’s and Emilie Flygare-Carlén’s novels into a tradition of domestic novels that was similar all over Europe. This mode of writing and publishing could be

described as a transcultural practice. Other cases, such as the reception of Selma Lagerlöf, show that texts that circulated internationally were still often received as expressly national or regional.

As the studies in this book show, nineteenth-century literature is to a substantial degree part of current domestic ideological struggles, as well as various global processes. How the national identity of a text is negotiated or refracted to meet ideological needs in the country of reception is especially crucial concerning Bremer and Lagerlöf. It is evident that the problems and themes dealt with by the five women writers coincided with nation-building and emancipatory processes in different regions and cultural spheres of society; this is also an important explanation to the either short-lived or prolonged popularity of some of the authors. One important conclusion to be drawn from the different case studies is that national and transnational processes are not only going on simultaneously, they can actually promote each other.

How is it possible to account for the combined temporal and cultural complexities from a transnational and transcultural perspective? While periodization has been the prevalent mode to order the chronology of national literary histories, these periods do not always translate to the conditions for travelling texts.<sup>11</sup> As Petra Broomans and Ester Jiresch have stressed, cultural transfer occurs over time. It is a process divided into many stages, often including a period of “quarantine”, while the agents of transmission search for the right channels for disseminating a translated piece of work and having it received in the target area.<sup>12</sup> A postponement in time from the original edition and the publication and reception of the work in the target languages is thus common and must be taken into consideration when defining the period of research.

The five chapters in this book deal with the long, or rather the prolonged, nineteenth century, roughly from the 1820s to World War I. Even this relatively narrow slice of history clearly demonstrates that literary reception cannot be fully understood in terms of literary periods, since they are not universally applicable. The temporality of a national canon is in some cases jumbled or reversed when literary works cross national and linguistic borders. For example, the success of Bremer's and Flygare-Carlén's novels in the mid- and second half of the nineteenth century promoted or in some cases coincided with translations of Tegnér's romantic *Friðtjof's Saga* from 1825, as well as with some of Strindberg's work from the 1880s. Thereby the case studies unravel formerly unknown connections and overlappings in the transcultural reception of Swedish literature. Treating literary works as *historical events* gives opportunities to demonstrate how they may coincide in transcultural contexts, even though the texts in their original language,

or the works as events in the national sphere, may pertain to different times and periods in national literary histories.

Another critical issue is the unequal conditions within literary circulation systems. The models and research inspired by world-systems theory, as represented by for example Franco Moretti and Pascale Casanova, sees the global literary system as a single system, characterized by a continual and unequal struggle between centres and peripheries.<sup>13</sup> However, Casanova and Moretti's versions have been criticized for their tendency to focus on or even enlarge specific power relations, and for assuming that literary trends always take the route from the centres to the peripheries.<sup>14</sup> An alternative, presented by Stefan Helgesson, is a "circulational approach", displaying the literary landscape more like a network with no definitive centres or peripheries.<sup>15</sup> Despite the obvious advantage of providing a different perspective for studying the movements of literature, this perspective, on the other hand, runs the risk of disregarding important historical power relations. It is necessary to acknowledge that experiences of cultural status influence how the agents of transnational circulation (writers, critics, translators, editors, publishers etc.) act and express themselves.

In this study, the notions of centres and peripheries are retained, but the results challenge the one-sided focus on France and Britain in the European nineteenth-century literary geography, and therefore this study avoids the simplification that polarizing models necessarily entail. As already indicated, the Swedish cases may be viewed as representative of small European literatures, inhabiting a place in the semi-periphery, both regarding geography and cultural impact. Semi-peripheral literatures are basically situated between centre and periphery and they mix central and peripheral forms of organisation in ways that distinguish them from literatures in central cultures on one hand, and those in more peripheral ones on the other.<sup>16</sup> Although the concept of semi-periphery is derived from world-systems theory, it is used here to nuance common dichotomies such as centre/periphery, major/minor, small/large.<sup>17</sup>

Swedish literature is neither culturally central, like British and French, nor is it written in a large colonial language, such as English, French, or Spanish. However, in terms of transnational circulation, there were and still are specific and often favourable conditions for Swedish literature, such as an interest fuelled by stereotypical utopian images of the North. Nevertheless, the Swedish cases may provide relevant insights for studies in other non-Scandinavian literatures as well, given the simple facts that the area of the peripheries put together are larger than the centres and the small literatures outnumber the large ones. In this way, the case studies may contribute to counterbalancing

an unfortunate side-effect of postcolonial studies, namely its growing marginalization of Europe's small literatures, as claimed by Anna Klubocka and Theo D'haen.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, the results of the case studies demonstrate that the communication between peripheries is vital to the circulation of literature, and that there are other literary centres of importance for the transmission of Swedish literature, apart from London and Paris. In this context, it is essential to recognize the flows between different peripheral or semi-peripheral literatures. For example, the reception of Swedish women's novels in the Czech lands in the second part of the century demonstrates that semi-peripheral literatures may invoke each other as an act of distancing themselves from the centre, in this case from contemporary Central Europe dominated by the German language.

#### WORLD LITERATURES, CANON, AND GENDER

Although this study is more concerned with reception studies in a comparative perspective than with world literature, the question will nonetheless impose itself: Could any of the Swedish nineteenth-century works investigated here be considered as world literature? The answer of course depends on the definition. Symptomatically, in *What Is World Literature?* (2003) David Damrosch answers the title's question in a number of ways, putting emphasize on circulation, translation, effect/impact, production, processes of entering and falling out of world literature, and on reading strategies respectively. The most inclusive answer is that world literature is literature that circulates beyond its place of origin, and, as already mentioned, literature that gains in translation, in Damrosch's words, works in translation where "stylistic losses" are counterbalanced by "an expansion of depth".<sup>19</sup>

Most of the literary works included in the following chapters were originally not produced for circulation outside of Sweden or the Nordic region. Still, several of them acquired, more or less immediately, transcultural status, and thereby the ability to communicate cross-culturally. However much cherished and popular in their time, none of the five women writers belong to what could be labelled "canonical world literature". They cannot be considered part of a common global and timeless cultural heritage in the sense that their works are continuously made available through translations.<sup>20</sup> In today's Swedish literary canon, they belong to what Damrosch calls "the shadow canon" – they represent once popular writers who have faded into the background.<sup>21</sup> The only exception is the Nobel Prize winner Selma Lagerlöf, who still

has a secure place in the domestic “hypercanon”, together with contemporary male writers, such as August Strindberg.

An important aim of this study is to investigate the logics behind this development and to insist on the necessity of historicizing the processes that are currently placed within the term *world literature*. The purpose is to detect the mechanisms, interests, relations, and even accidental circumstances, which have governed the canonizing and de-canonicalizing processes through time. Special attention is paid to certain aspects of gender. The case studies verify the importance of gender concerning the writers and their readers, but they also demonstrate how the perception of gender changed during the century in relation to publicity, certain genres, and literary strata. In the mid-nineteenth century, being a female novelist depicting female characters, and thereby primarily addressing female readers, could promote international success. However, later in the century these qualities could be used to downgrade the same writer’s literary status.

Another objective of this study is to highlight different aspects of the complex relationship between what is acknowledged and included versus what is unknown and excluded in today’s national – and European – literary history. In order to describe how the past is communicated and shared by different communities and how this simultaneously involves processes of recognizing or forgetting, the concept of cultural memory, developed by Aleida and Jan Assman and others, can be used.<sup>22</sup> According to Aleida Assman, canonization is an active form of cultural memory, selecting certain works (in this case, works of literature) as especially valuable and established for the collective identity. Yet cultural memory consists of an interaction between canon and archive. The archive, where the cultural reference memory is placed, is situated halfway between what is actively remembered and what is forgotten. It has become a storeroom for information that is no longer in use but potentially available for new uses and interpretations. This kind of overlooked or unnoticed information is used in the case studies to revalue the contemporary reception and international impact of the writers in question.

Even Selma Lagerlöf, who holds a fairly solid position within the national cultural memory and in the literary canon, is remembered for some aspects of her works, while other aspects are forgotten or disregarded. This complicated process also involves the dynamics between domestic and foreign aspects; the ones that are important for the national self-image are remembered, while other aspects are only recovered when the international reception is revisited. Studying literary history from the perspective of reception may also change focus from

works that have been canonized nationally as the author's "greatest" to other less recognized and continuously revived texts.

The significance of past distribution strategies and publication procedures is often overlooked or unidentified by today's scholars who are working with nineteenth-century literature. For example, for cultural transmitters introducing a new author, publications in papers or periodicals could be a starting point. At the time, it could be easier to place a text in a journal or newspaper, be it serials or short stories, than to convince a publishing house of the commercial value in the immediate translation and publication of an entire novel. In some periods, anthologies were important vehicles for the presentation of foreign literature, often poetry, short stories, and extracts of novels. In addition, the texts chosen for translation tended to be those most likely to fit the readerships in different cultural contexts, which may not always be the same texts that were, or now are, most valued in the domestic context.

Thus, when a writer is considered from the viewpoint of literary transmission and international dissemination, works other than the ones most nationally noted are often brought forward. The canonized images of authors and their works may also change in other ways when seen from abroad. A writer can be perceived as representing something specific, for example, certain values or aesthetics in the domestic context, which is not in accordance with the international reception of the same writer. The opposite is of course also possible. The items found in the "archive" outside the nation may also, when observed and presented, change the prevailing national, canonized image and actually affect which writers are to be considered as transculturally influential from a current and/or historical perspective.

To return to the idea of world literature, in addition to providing a canon, it is above all a mode of reading, according to Damrosch.<sup>23</sup> Again, complexities multiply with the cultural, geographical, institutional, and temporal scope of readers and readings. The concept of world literature has been constructed differently by different reading communities in a wide sense. One important aspect to critically address in a study such as this is the fact that today's conceptual frameworks in many respects were launched, theorized, and institutionalized during the very same period that is being examined, that is, in the nineteenth century. Thus, Goethe's remarks on world literature still haunt contemporary discussion of comparative literature, even when its centrality is challenged by other voices.<sup>24</sup> This further emphasizes the importance of adding historical specificity to the ongoing discussion.

In the following, attention is paid to historical "readings" or constructions of world literature, especially in the two chapters on Nyberg

and Lagerlöf. But generally, the concept appears first and foremost as a research question directed towards understanding an aspect of literary history. In other words, the question of world literature has relevance only as long as it sheds new light on the complex issues of reception and cultural impact. In this respect, the case studies may be viewed as different tests of the relevance and potential of a “world literary” perspective. The current strong consolidation of world literature as a specific field of research, however, gives every reason to examine other kinds of transcultural transfer, and other kinds of impact, without restricting the field of vision to “world” or “global” significance.<sup>25</sup>

#### TRANSLATION AND OTHER RECEPTION EVENTS

The increased relevance of transnational and transcultural perspectives in literary studies may to some extent be understood as a product of postcolonial critique against the Eurocentric perimeters of comparative literature, or as a consequence of a globalized world and various questions posed by postmodern fiction and culture. Regardless of the multi-layered motives and theoretical differences within this field of research, it has inevitably entailed a renewed focus on reception. When Linda Hutcheon and Mario J. Valdés, among others, challenged the national, teleological models for writing literary history in *Rethinking Literary History* (2002), Valdés in particular renewed the stress on the reception and uses of literature as fundamental for a historical understanding.<sup>26</sup> He understands the literary text as a *historical event*, comprising human action of production and reception, and this event must be reconstructed and reflected upon as a product of the present.<sup>27</sup> Following this impetus, it is possible to ask: If literature is viewed as a historical event, what, then, is a *reception event*? In his tentative list, Valdés highlights institutionalized reception, such as reviews, academic interpretations, and the writing of literary history, while translation is actually only added in the further discussion.<sup>28</sup> Lieven D’hulst also acknowledges the importance of other kinds of reception events when he highlights transfer techniques, such as parody, pastiche, imitation, plagiarism, quotations, and edited versions of a text.<sup>29</sup> The Women Writers’ Network, which compiles information on women writers in history, has constructed the European database *WomenWriters*. Reception types listed on the database include awards, bibliography, plagiarism, and quotations in addition to the already mentioned intertextual relations, editions, and translations.<sup>30</sup>

Needless to say, reception is a wide and complicated category. Scholars in book history and the history of reading stress that the only evidences historians can access is in the form of *records* of reception,

not the reading act as such, nor other kinds of consumption.<sup>31</sup> This means that literary history viewed as reception events is only accessible through reception documents of different kinds, traces of events, or proof of human intervention or action.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, many reception documents cannot be taken as proof of interactions with literary texts at all, but with “author myths” and other aspects of celebrity culture or canonizing processes. Finally, traces of reception may be found outside the world of letters and papers, in other media and in material culture and memory culture – pen cases, perfumes, and paper dolls are some examples from the material used in this study.<sup>33</sup>

Translation, however, remains a vital issue for transnational and transcultural circulation in the nineteenth century. Pascale Casanova and others have intensely singled out translation as a necessity for minor literatures in order to reach international readers.<sup>34</sup> In line with these arguments, tracing and mapping translations have been fundamental for the production of the following chapters about the international reception of Swedish women’s writing in the nineteenth century. Outside Sweden, literature published in Swedish was, by mid-century, only read by some minor Swedish-speaking communities outside the country, mainly by Finland-Swedes, the Swedish-speaking population in today’s Finland, and later also by Swedish immigrants in the United States. Inter-Scandinavian proficiency also furthered the cultural and scientific networking in the Nordic region during the century and it became an important part of the programme of Scandinavism in the second half of the century.<sup>35</sup>

Translation scholars have stressed the combination of chance and intent, systematic strivings, personal contacts and networks, and national and/or political aims and interests, when it comes to transnational achievements.<sup>36</sup> Just as important is to acknowledge the vital role of cultural mediators and the possibilities and limits given by the technological, political, and ideological developments of the different periods, as has been done by other research groups.<sup>37</sup> In this book, the dissemination and reception of the five writers are examined on different levels related to translations and cultural transmission in order to illustrate the complex and dynamic relations between translation and various kinds of reception, for example, critical and private responses documented in published texts and private correspondence. The case studies show that translations, prefaces, fan fiction, press material such as literary notices and advertisements, as well as mentions of the author in the context of literary surveys and historical accounts, have been important components in the transfer of Swedish literature to other parts of the world. The studies also clarify that reception texts are produced

and recycled across borders; images, valuations, and even specific formulations travel. Reception of literature often work in chains, as reception of reception in so many links.

The fundamental difficulties of measuring the impact of literary works or authorships run through this investigation. However, elements of quantitative methods, including different kinds of “mapping”, make hitherto unknown dissemination patterns visible and facilitate a more representative depiction of nineteenth-century literary history. In a broader context, literary change and exchange emerge in previously unknown ways, beyond established concepts of originality, innovation, and cultural power relations. Here impact works beyond aesthetic influence, as part of a profound re-interpretative process exceeding the mere circulation of cultural goods: a cultural encounter, or cultural transfer.<sup>38</sup>

### METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGES

Digitally available library catalogues and increasing amounts of press material available online have radically changed the conditions for scholars attempting to answer questions about how literature has travelled and crossed different borders. However, to date, there are few examples of studies attempting to identify the movement of literary forms across languages using digital methods.<sup>39</sup> Publication data on translation is one way to discover patterns on a larger scale.

In this project, a basic understanding of the mechanisms behind the circulation of literary works has been achieved through a mapping of how and to what extent the five Swedish writers have been translated into other languages. However, publication data in sources such as UNESCO’s *Index Translationum*, worldcat.org, and Google Books is both scarce and insufficient. Collections in the National Library of Sweden are also incomplete, although legal deposit legislation has ensured the acquisition of every item printed and circulated in Sweden since the seventeenth century. Within the national online catalogue, *Libris*, a bibliography and sub-database that indexes Swedish literature, especially fiction that has been translated and printed outside of Sweden is under construction – *Suecana Extranea*. While *Libris* includes as much as half of all translated works by canonized national writers, such as Lagerlöf, it only includes about a third or a quarter of all translations by transculturally bestselling writers, such as Flygare-Carlén. Translated works published in anthologies and collections in languages other than Swedish are seldom listed, and serialized works published in foreign periodicals, newspapers, and magazines are even less likely to be recorded in the national catalogue.

In order to achieve a more complete picture of translations of Swedish authors, a project database, *SWED*, has been constructed. The purpose has been to list and sort all publications by the writers studied, both their original works in Swedish and the translations of each work.<sup>40</sup> In addition to the five writers included in the study, the database contains data on the translations of 16 other Swedish writers, used as reference writers.<sup>41</sup> Thus, the database can be used to chart and compare the male and female writers, as well as to draw statistics in order to visualize the results. The graphs, tables, and charts included in the following chapters are based on data compiled from *SWED 2018*.

Collecting data from publicly available online sources entails various problems, depending on how the data is presented and compiled, and how searchable it is. As the writers represent different literary periods and genres, as well as different publication strategies, the amount of available data differs. While it has been a complicated undertaking to find translations of the romantic poems by Nyberg and the radical dramas by Leffler, it is sometimes an overwhelming task to sort and survey the number of works in translation by bestselling novelists such as Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, and Lagerlöf. It is also hard to identify and estimate the amount of separately published stories included in other publications – collections, anthologies, children’s books, textbooks, and so on – by writers such as Nyberg and Lagerlöf. Works that are not published as books, but are included in for example periodicals and anthologies, are often not included in current digitized library catalogues, databases, and printed bibliographies.

Considering these discrepancies between different forms of publication, the number of translated titles recorded in available library sources does not fully describe the actual translation or the reception of an author. In some cases, texts or extracts have been circulated in handwritten manuscripts, such as unpublished translations of novels, short stories, and poems. In the nineteenth century, parts of contemporary poems were used as epigraphs in popular novels or quoted in travelogues, diaries, and letters. Certain types of texts were performed orally in specific social circumstances, for example in literary salons, or at court. Some kinds of literary texts, such as dramas, were translated but never published although they were staged or presented in several local languages. Sometimes however, traces of these kinds of reception can be found in other sources. To give an example from the case studies: while there does not seem to exist a translation of a certain drama by Leffler, it might be possible to find an advertisement in a local paper announcing a coming performance or a review of a performance.

Moreover, it is difficult to determine in which contexts a specific

printed translation was read. In the early and mid-nineteenth century, the cultural elite preferred to read fiction in culturally high-status languages besides in the regional vernacular. For example, in Poland, Hungary, and the Czech lands, literature was often read in German. In Turkey, Italy, and Spain, literates often read foreign literature in French. Thus, works written in certain languages were read in regions of Europe that are today associated with other national languages. However, in some cases one and the same text is translated and retranslated several times and published in various editions and reprinted in local vernaculars, such as Czech, Hungarian, and Estonian. This indicates that it was read by people in a certain region and probably by a large number of readers, possibly including readers not belonging to the cultural élite.

Accordingly, working with translations of Swedish nineteenth-century literature means dealing with a multi-language corpus of both literary texts and online sources. This fact raises methodological challenges as the digitized world is substantially unequal: English, German, and French material is well documented while more arduous work is required to obtain digitized sources in minor languages. It also requires extensive linguistic skills to properly interpret data. In certain European languages, not only the text and the title of a literary work are translated but sometimes also the name of the author is spelt in a local manner. For example, in Czech, Emilie Flygare-Carlén frequently appears as *Emilie Flygaré-Carlénové*, or *Flygare-Karlénové*.

Publication data on reception documents is not searchable in national library catalogues in the same way as are translations. The reception documents used in the case studies have been retrieved from databases containing press material in different languages, both non-commercial open access archives, such as Gallica, Hemeroteca digital and Chronicling America, made available by the National Libraries of France, Spain, and the Library of Congress respectively, and commercially digitized databases accessible through subscription, such as Gale's 19th Century U.S. Newspapers. Although it would be interesting to use digital methods in order to track how literary critics recycle texts in reviews, or to trace commonly used tropes about Sweden or women writers, it is not possible without a considerable amount of pre-processing, involving the transformation of image to text, correction of OCR errors, and identification and retrieval of the relevant material. Due to these circumstances, the study combines quantitative methods in the investigation of patterns in translations with qualitative methods in the analysis of reception documents.

The most common and manageable way to study literary transfer, including reception, between nations and languages, is to delimit a case

study to a bilateral investigation. One reason for the scarcity of research dealing with a more complex traffic of texts and ideas between three or more languages and cultures, is that such a task demands both skills in several languages and historical knowledge of diverse cultural contexts. In order to deal with some of the problems connected with working with a multi-language corpus and reception texts representing different literary cultures, it is necessary to include scholars with expertise in other languages and literary cultures. It has been particularly important to do so in order to examine the reception of the top-selling Swedish novels in languages such as Czech, Hungarian, and Polish. Some of these results have been published in the anthology *The Triumph of the Swedish Nineteenth-Century Novel in Central and Eastern Europe* (ed. Leffler 2019).<sup>42</sup>

## OUTLINE

The five case studies presented in the following are ordered chronologically, to give an overview of different essential periods and dominating genres and how the writers were transmitted and received in different languages and cultural contexts. Thus, the chapters explore different aspects of the translation and reception of Swedish nineteenth-century literature.

Chapter 1, “Julia Nyberg/Euphrosyne: Romantic Poetry Between Superficial Reception and World Literature”, about the romantic poet Julia Nyberg, brings several general problems to the fore. One of them is the status of poetry in current research on translation and reception within world literature research and theory. Gunilla Hermansson discusses this and the accompanying methodological difficulties, as well as the future potential of computer-aided analysis in this context. Nyberg’s international fate demonstrates the significance of gender, genre, and images of the nation for the reception of poetry at large and Swedish romantic poetry specifically. It also necessitates an examination and critical discussion of the interplay between different kinds of reception, first and foremost those of translations and introductions, as well as the practices of recycling critical comments. This in turn sheds light on the parallel and intertwined constructions and negotiations of a Swedish literary canon inside and outside the nation, as well as the complex motives behind what Hermansson labels “superficial reception” in an era marked by a desire to both know and master the literature of other nations.

The two following chapters highlight various aspects of the trans-cultural dissemination and reception of two bestselling Swedish novelists in the mid- and late nineteenth century. In Chapter 2, “The Miss

Austen of Sweden’: Fredrika Bremer’s Transatlantic Triumph in the Age of Reprint”, Åsa Arping investigates the prerequisites for the first international Swedish novelist, Fredrika Bremer, and especially the intense presence of her works in American print media and book market in the 1840s. As this investigation shows, Bremer’s novels served special purposes at a specific historical and cultural situation that can explain the intense, yet rather short-lived, “Bremer-mania”. Bremer’s depictions of Scandinavian family life offered, according to Arping, a postcolonial “transfer-identity” – a significant alternative to prevailing British cultural norms. In order to explain the provisional function of Bremer in this nation-building context, Alexander Beecroft’s concept “nationalist appropriation” is used. The chapter also examines the significant role of the translator for a successful transcultural reception, in this case Bremer’s translator Mary Botham Howitt, who fought hard against competing publishers and their cheap editions, often reprinting her versions without permission. Some concluding remarks also address the differences between Bremer’s contemporary status and subsequent literary history writing, pointing to the challenges these discrepancies imply for future research on the nineteenth-century novel.

Chapter 3, “From Bestselling Novelist to Forgotten Woman Writer: The Transcultural Circulation of Emilie Flygare-Carlén’s Novels”, challenges previous results on literary circulation of novels in Europe in the nineteenth century. Starting by addressing some of the methodological problems connected to mapping the transcultural dissemination of one of the most widely circulated novelists at the time, Emilie Flygare-Carlén, Yvonne Leffler demonstrates how Scandinavian novels travelled along particular literary routes in Europe and thereby proves the importance of being translated into German. The case of Flygare-Carlén confirms both the triumph of the novel as literary form and the increasing “feminization” of novels by female writers by the end of the nineteenth century. The growing importance of genre and gender in marketing Flygare-Carlén’s novels is illustrated by the study of covers, illustrations, prefaces, and advertising texts. Also, by comparing the transcultural reception of Flygare-Carlén with that of some of her contemporary male colleagues, this chapter discusses the complex interplay of gender and genre, international success, and nation-based canonization. Thus, just as Arping does in her chapter on Bremer, Leffler points at the discrepancies between a successful novelist’s contemporary fame and future literary status in literary history, and she concludes by discussing some of the reasons behind these inconsistencies.

Chapter 4, “The British, French, and German Reception of Anne Charlotte Leffler’s Plays in a Changing Cultural Context”, focuses on

the dissemination and reception of one of the premier female playwrights of the Modern Breakthrough, Anne Charlotte Leffler, and especially the transcultural presentation of her plays in France, Germany, and Great Britain. Birgitta Johansson Lindh investigates the conditions for the European reception of dramas by a woman playwright from a minor-language area in a period when the standards of literary and theatrical evaluation radically changed along with the growth of a social awareness in society, including gender and womanhood. Different routes of dissemination for Leffler's works are examined. In connection, the social movements of the late nineteenth century are claimed to be of importance for the reception of Leffler's radical plays. Ways of estimating a successful cultural transfer and the idea of the transformation of "literation" in the context of world literature is explored by Johansson Lindh from the perspective of Leffler as a female author, and as such a representative of the "new woman" within the literary, political, and intellectual elite in Europe.

In Chapter 5, "Between Värmland and the World: A Comparative Reception History of Selma Lagerlöf", Jenny Bergenmar firstly surveys the export of Lagerlöf's works: the different waves of translations in Europe, as well as the outset of global circulation. Secondly, the reception of Lagerlöf's work in Europe is studied in a comparative perspective, and the methodological challenges concomitant to the comparison of reception in different languages and national contexts are discussed. Drawing on previous research on Lagerlöf's reception in Germany and France before and around the time she was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature, the reactions to her texts in these two different literary cultures are compared. The reception in Spain, which has not been studied before, is included and thereby the relation between a European view on North and South is emphasized. Using David Damrosch's concept "refraction", Bergenmar analyses the employment of Lagerlöf's translated texts to meet different national and ideological needs. The comparative perspective also makes visible how the reception of Lagerlöf in Sweden is reproduced and recycled by critics in Germany, France, and Spain. In imagological terms, the images of homes and homeland in Lagerlöf's works play an important role in the creation of "hetero-images" of Sweden present in the critical reception. They may also have played a part in Lagerlöf's success in a Europe intensely occupied by nation building and experiencing a surge of nationalist movements.

## NOTES

- 1 The research project “Swedish Women Writers on Export in the Nineteenth Century”, directed by Yvonne Leffler at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden, was funded by the Swedish Research Council 2014–2016.
- 2 Johan Svedjedal, “Svensk skönlitteratur i världen. Litteratursociologiska problem och perspektiv”, in Svedjedal, Johan (ed.), *Svensk litteratur som världslitteratur. En antologi*, Uppsala: Avdelningen för litteratursociologi, 2012, pp. 11–14, 47–54. See also Alexander Beecroft, *An Ecology of World Literature: From Antiquity to the Present Day*, New York: Verso, 2015, p. 256.
- 3 Svedjedal, “Svensk skönlitteratur i världen”, pp. 24–38. Bibliographical data started to be collected in the 1960s in *Suecana extranea* at the National Library in Sweden (<http://www.kb.se/english/find/bibliographies/suecana/>). It is, however, far from complete and particularly unreliable when dealing with Swedish literature before the 1950s.
- 4 About women as the main authors of British novels, see Gaye Tuchman, with Nina E. Fortin, *Edging Women Out: Victorian Novelists, Publishers and Social Change*, London: Yale Press, 1989. About American literature, see Susan Coultrap-McQuin, *Doing Literary Business: American Women Writers in the Nineteenth Century*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990. About the export of the Australian nineteenth-century novel, see Katherine Bode, *Reading by Numbers: Recalibrating the Literary Field*, London and New York: Anthem Press, 2012.
- 5 See Jenny Bergenmar and Katarina Leppänen, “Gender and Vernaculars in Digital Humanities and World Literature”, *Nora: Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, No. 4, 2017, pp. 232–246. Exceptions are, for example, the HERA project *Travelling Texts 1790–1914: Transnational Reception of Women’s Writing at the Fringes of Europe*, <http://travelingtexts.huygens.knaw.nl/> [retrieved 31 August 2018] and the research group directed by Petra Broomans at the University of Groningen, and their publications in the series *Studies on Cultural Transfer and Transmission*, Groningen: Barkhuis 2009–, [http://www.barkhuis.nl/product\\_info.php?products\\_id=107](http://www.barkhuis.nl/product_info.php?products_id=107), (15 June 2018).
- 6 Paul Jay, *Global Matters: The Transnational Turn in Literary Studies*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010.
- 7 David Damrosch, *What Is World Literature?* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003, p. 281. Emily Apter, “Untranslatables: A World System”, *New Literary History*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (Summer 2008), pp. 581.
- 8 Lawrence Venuti, “Translation as Cultural Politics: Régimes of Domestication in English”, in Mona Baker (ed.), *Critical Readings in Translation Studies*, London and New York: Routledge, 2010, pp. 68–69.
- 9 Beecroft, *An Ecology of World Literature*, p. 19. Katarina Leppänen also warns against the world-system theories of world literature for not allowing aesthetic values other than those which are readable as manifestations of capitalist modernity, in Katarina Leppänen, “Semiperifera anmärkningar: En diskussion om regionens plats i världslitteraturen”, *Tidskrift för litteraturvetenskap*, 2018:1–2, p. 85. See also Mario J. Valdés, “Rethinking the

- History of Literary History”, in Linda Hutcheon and Mario J. Valdés (eds.), *Rethinking Literary History*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 100–101.
- 10 Beecroft, *An Ecology of World Literature*, p. 199.
- 11 Periods presume geographic, often national, borders, Eric Hayot argues in “Against Periodization, or on Institutional Time”, *New Literary History*, Vol. 42, No. 4, 2011, p. 744. Periodization as a method has been challenged from different positions, from Moretti’s attempt to map aesthetic form and genres through time and space to Wai Chee Dimock’s proposition of “deep time” as a way to disrupt the chronological and teleological interpretations that decide which geographic and cultural spaces can be connected to each other, Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History*, London and New York: Verso, 2005; Wai Chee Dimock, *Through Other Continents: American Literature Across Deep Time*, Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010.
- It is not clear how a literary history based on notions of “deep time”, suspending standard periods to the benefit of waves or cycles, would look, see Matthew Eatough, “Literary History of World-Systems II: World Literature and Deep Time”, *Literature Compass*, Vol. 12, No. 11, 2015, p. 609.
- 12 Petra Broomans and Ester Jiresch, “The Invasion of Books”, in Petra Broomans and Ester Jiresch (eds.), *The Invasion of Books in Peripheral Literary Fields: Transmitting Preferences and Images in Media, Networks and Translation*, [Studies on Cultural Transfer and Transmission, Volume 3], Groningen: Barkhuis, 2011, p. 12. Also, Damrosch points out that “world literature” is multitemporal, as well as multicultural”, see Damrosch, *What Is World Literature?*, p. 16.
- 13 Franco Moretti, “Conjectures on World Literature”, *New Left Review*, No. 1, 2000, pp. 54–68. Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, translated by M. DeBevoise, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- 14 Notable critiques are Francesca Orsini, “India in the Mirror of World Fiction”, *New Left Review*, No. 13, 2002, pp. 74–88; Efraín Kristal, “‘Considering Coldly...’: A Response to Franco Moretti”, *New Left Review*, No. 15, 2002, pp. 61–74.
- 15 Stefan Helgesson, “Going Global: An Afterword”, in Stefan Helgesson (ed.), *Literary History: Towards a Global Perspective*, Vol. 4: *Literary Interactions in the Modern World* 2, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, New York: 2006, p. 308.
- 16 Cf. Anna Klobucka, “Theorizing the European Periphery”, *Symploke*, Vol. 5, No 1., 1997, p. 129.
- 17 Another attempt at differentiating and nuancing is provided by the concept of the “ultraminor”, cf. Bergur Rønne Moberg and David Damrosch, “Introduction: Defining the Ultraminor”, *Journal of World Literature*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 2017, pp. 133–137. See also Mads Rosendahl Thomsen’s nuancing of the centre-periphery model by introducing historical sub-centres, in *Mapping World Literature: International Canonization and Transnational Literature*, London & New York: Continuum, 2008, pp. 35–40.
- 18 Klobucka, “Theorizing the European Periphery”, pp. 127–128; Theo D’haen *The Routledge Concise History of World Literature*, London and

- New York: Routledge, 2012, p. 153. On Swedish literature as belonging to a semi-periphery, see Svedjedal “Svensk skönlitteratur i världsperspektiv”, p. 36, and Johan Heilbron, “Translation as a Cultural World System”, *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology*, Vol. 8, No 1, 2000, p. 14.
- 19 Damrosch, *What Is World Literature?*, pp. 4, 288–297. Quotation from p. 289.
- 20 Damrosch calls this category the “established body of classics”, in *What Is World Literature?*, p. 15.
- 21 David Damrosch, “World Literature in a Postcanonical, Hypercanonical Age”, in Haun Saussy (ed.), *Comparative Literature in an Age of Globalization*, Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006, pp. 45f.
- 22 Cf. Aleida Assman, “Canon and Archive”, and Jan Assman, “Communicative and Cultural Memory”, in Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (eds.), *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, Berlin & New York: de Gruyter, 2008, pp. 97–108 and 109–118.
- 23 Damrosch, *What Is World Literature?* p. 297. Readers and reading are fundamental in Beecroft’s definition of literatures and his understanding of world literature; see in particular *An Ecology of World Literature*, p. 16.
- 24 Johann Wolfgang (von) Goethe, “On World Literature (1827)”, in Theo D’haen, César Domínguez, and Mads Rosendahl Thomsen (eds.), *World Literature: A Reader* (Routledge Literature Readers), London and New York: Routledge 2013, pp. 9–15.
- 25 Stefan Helgesson and Pieter Vermeulen comment on the consolidation of the field in their introduction to *Institutions of World Literature: Writing, Translation, Markets*, New York: Routledge, 2016, p. 2.
- 26 “The work of literature exists to the extent that it is read and discussed by real readers in real communities, and for history to lose sight of this would be an error of the first magnitude”, Mario J. Valdés, “Rethinking the History of Literary History”, p. 66.
- 27 Valdés, “Rethinking the History of Literary History”, especially pp. 67, 81–83.
- 28 Cf. Valdés, 2002, p. 82.
- 29 D’hulst proposes the umbrella term “assumed transfer” as a “tool to identify the forms, meanings and functions of a broad spectrum of exchange activities taking place both between and within cultures”. Lieven D’hulst, “(Re)locating Translation History. From Assumed Translation to Assumed Transfer”, *Translation Studies*, No. 2, 2012, p. 150.
- 30 NEWW: *New Approaches to European Women’s Writing*. The database *WomenWriters*: <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/womenwriters>. See also Gisèle Sapiro on the mediations of literary reception in “Comparativism, Transfers, Entangled History: Sociological Perspectives on Literature”, in Ali Behdad and Dominic Thomas (eds.), *A Companion to Comparative Literature*, Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2011, p. 234.
- Cf. Sapiro: “Above and beyond the linguistic transposition involved in translation, which raises the questions of norms of translation (Toury, 1995), reception of a translated text is mediated by publication and diffusion modalities: paratext (preface, postface), material form (press, articles in specialized reviews, brochures, books), environment and placement in

the given media (location on the page of the journal or series for a book). The reception is then mediated by the work's various interpretations or appropriations from agents (individual and institutional), both professionals (critics, pairs) and amateurs, whether they belong to the literary field (reviews, juries, academies) or not (press, courts, political parties). The latter may consist of organizations (censors, associations, morality leagues) or they may be private initiatives". Sapiro, "Comparativism, Transfers, Entangled History, p. 234.

- 31 Cf. Robert Darnton, "First Steps towards a History of Reading", *Australian Journal of French Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 1, 1986, pp. 5–30; Roger Chartier, "Communities of Readers", *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries Between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, pp. 1–24, translated by Lydia C. Cochrane, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994 [1992]. Helgesson and Vermeulen acknowledge the importance of book history in the critical study of world literature in *Institutions of World Literature*, pp. 10–11. See also D'hulst: "transfer is an opaque process – partly invisible, partly mental, and therefore only partly observable", "(Re)locating Translation History", p. 142, see also p. 150.
- 32 Valdés uses the same metaphor "[t]he traces of the event", in "Rethinking the History of Literary History", p. 81.
- 33 A pen case with pictures of the two Swedish novelists Emilie Flygare-Carlén and Fredrika Bremer was made exclusively for Henry Ravenée by A. Sommerville & Co in Birmingham, now on display at The Nordic Museum N.M 0121258, Stockholm; Emilie Flygare-Carlén and Fredrika Bremer was presented as a paper doll in the Swedish magazine *Husmodern*, 12:1953; A perfume named Fredrika Bremer with a portrait of the novelist on the bottle is sold in a shop called *Habana 1791 Aromas Coloniales*, address: Calle Mercaderes 156, in the old town of Havana, Cuba. On reception in other media see, for example, Elinor Shaffer's preface to the Ossian volume in the series *The Reception of British Authors in Europe*, Howard Gaskill (ed.), *The Reception of Ossian in Europe*, London & New York: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004, p. viii.
- 34 Pascale Casanova, "Consecration and Accumulation of Literary Capital: Translation as Unequal Exchange" [2002], in Mona Baker (ed.), *Critical Readings in Translation Studies*, London & New York, 2010, p. 296; *The World Republic of Letters*, p. 23. See also Petra Broomans and Ester Jiresch, "The Invasion of Books, p. 12; Sapiro, "Comparativism, Transfers, Entangled History", p. 233; and Lawrence Venuti, "World Literature and Translation Studies", in Theo D'haen, David Damrosch and Djelal Kadir (eds.), *Routledge Companion to World Literature*, London: Routledge, 2012, p. 180.
- 35 On Scandinavism and the question of languages, see for example Henrik Ullstad, "Med mjöd och manligt glam på fädrrens sätt": Studentskandinavismen som ideologi och performative praktik", in Magdalena Hillström and Hanne Sanders (eds.), *Skandinavism: En rörelse och en idé under 1800-talet*, Göteborg/Stockholm: Makadam 2014, pp. 90–93; and Kari Haarder Ekman, 'Mitt hems gränser vidgades': En studie i den kulturella Skandinavismen under 1800-talet; Göteborg/Stockholm: Makadam, 2010, chapters 2 and 4.

Fritz Paul has commented on the limited number of readers outside of Scandinavia who have the linguistic skills to read it in the original Scandinavian language, even between the Scandinavian countries in “Die übersetzerische Entdeckung europäischer Literaturen: Skandinavienschwelle”, Harald Kittel et al. (eds.) *Übersetzung, Translation, Traduction: Ein internationales Handbuch der Übersetzungsforschung*, Vol. 2, Berlin: de Gruyter 2007, p. 1625.

- 36 Cf. Kenneth Haynes, “Translation and British Literary Culture”, in Peter France and Kenneth Haynes (eds.), *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, Vol. 4, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006, p. 5; Susan Bassnett and Peter France, “Translation, Politics, and the Law”, in Peter France and Kenneth Haynes (eds.), *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, p. 49.
- 37 See for example the research group directed by Petra Broomans at Groningen University and their publications in the series *Studies on Cultural Transfer and Transmission*, Groningen: Barkhuis 2009, [http://www.barkhuis.nl/product\\_info.php?products\\_id=107](http://www.barkhuis.nl/product_info.php?products_id=107) (15 June 2018)
- 38 See for example Michel Espagne, *Les transferts culturels franco-allemand*, Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1999, p. 1.
- 39 Exceptions are, for example, Andrew Piper, “Novel Devotions: Conversational Reading, Computational Modeling, and the Modern Novel”, *New Literary History*, Vol. 46, No 1, 2015, pp. 63–98; and Hoyt Long and Richard Jean So, “Turbulent Flow: A Computational Model of World Literature”, *Modern Language Quarterly*, Vol. 77, No 3, 2016, pp. 345–367.
- 40 SWED was created as a search tool and digitized bibliography and is to be published. It contains information on the title and subtitle of the text; the original Swedish title of a translated text (if identified); the language of translation; the name of the translator and publisher; place, country, and year of publication; and additional information about the work. It also records the source of information and thus identifies at least one library or archive that holds an existing copy of the publication. For a complete list of all digitized sources, see appendix.
- 41 Besides the five main writers, Julia Nyberg, Fredrika Bremer, Emilie Flygare-Carlén, Anne Charlotte Leffler, and Selma Lagerlöf, *SWED 2018* includes as reference authors: Carl Jonas Love Almqvist, Per Daniel Amadeus Atterbom, Victoria Benedictsson, August Blanche, Magnus Jacob Crusenstolpe, Alfred Hedenstierna, Sophie von Knorring, Carl Fredrik Ridderstad, Viktor Rydberg, Marie Sophie Schwartz, Ludvig Runeberg, August Strindberg, Wilhelmina Stålberg, Esaias Tegnér, and Zacharias Topelius. The reference authors consist both of the most canonized Swedish nineteenth-century writers in Swedish literary history and other nowadays more or less forgotten nineteenth-century writers that were popular in their time and therefore also translated into other languages.
- 42 Yvonne Leffler (ed.), *The Triumph of the Swedish Nineteenth-Century Novel in Central and Eastern Europe*, Göteborg: LIR-skrifter 9, 2019.



Gunilla Hermansson

## JULIA NYBERG / EUPHROSYNE

Romantic Poetry, World Literature,  
and Superficial Reception

IN THE CONTEXT of this investigation, the Romantic poet Julia Nyberg (1785–1854) represents simultaneously a hyper-typical case and an exception. In spite of the successful reception of her poetry in Sweden, the international impact was exceptionally meagre measured by number of translations. In this sense, she forms a sharp contrast to first and foremost the prolific fiction writers Fredrika Bremer, Emilie Flygare-Carlén and Selma Lagerlöf. At the same time, the international reception of Nyberg illuminates conditions, dynamics, and effects which are common to all the cases in our study, namely, those connected with the abundance of recycled secondary or superficial reception texts.

*Secondary reception* here means reception that is not primarily based on the reading of the author's works, but rather on the reading of other reception texts, which themselves may be secondary, or tertiary, etc. Instead of the works themselves, what becomes translated and recycled are bio-bibliographical information and critical assessments from reviews, introductions, monographs, articles, and other kinds of literary surveys or news. When these kinds of secondary reception events are not paralleled or backed up by reading, that is, by indications that the author's works have been read to some extent in the same receiving culture (in the original language or in translation), and especially when the information or knowledge transmitted by the reception texts is narrowed down to a minimum as in Nyberg's case, we may rightfully label the reception *superficial*.

This is, of course, also what makes Nyberg a typical case for all European writers who gained an audience in their home country during

the nineteenth century and on that account attracted some attention in other countries before they faded and were led into the memory storage room which Aleida Assmann has called “the archive”.<sup>1</sup> These writers were never close to a transnational breakthrough that would make it obvious or natural for researchers today to consider them in terms of canonical world literature. But they had not been invisible either. This chapter argues that there may be relevant things to learn about transcultural reception patterns from authorships that fell between the obscure and the famous, or between the great unread and canonical world literature – not least if we acknowledge that both of these categories were tentative, unstable, and under negotiation then as now.

Interestingly enough, when writers and editors produced their visions of what world literature might be during the second half of the nineteenth century, Nyberg was considered in two prominent reception genres: translation anthologies and histories of world literature. Johannes Scherr (1817–1886) provided a very limited space for Swedish poetry in his *Bildersaal der Weltliteratur* (1848), which is often considered to be the first, trendsetting anthology of world poetry in Germany. Nyberg did not fit in there. Nevertheless, Scherr chose to mention Nyberg in his world literary history some years later. In general, she would often be mentioned in accounts of Swedish literary history, while her poetry remained largely inaccessible to foreign readers. To understand the relations between translation reception and secondary reception is one of the difficult challenges raised by Nyberg’s case. The other large concern has to do with genre. The slimness of Nyberg’s translational impact in Europe and America may be explained by an unfortunate combination of genre, gender, nationality, and timing, as will be shown. But even measuring Nyberg’s distance from the few canonical exceptions or highlights – or how representative she might be for her legion of colleagues – is somewhat complicated by the very fact that she wrote poetry. On the other hand, her choices of genres as well as the complex interplay between the superficial reception and canonizing processes across national boundaries are also what make her an interesting case and a challenge for existing theories and methods of research on world literature, transnational reception, and cultural memory studies.

#### ENTERING THE SWEDISH CANON

In Sweden, Nyberg was considered to be the only female poet with a true talent who had joined ranks with the new Romantic school, known as the Phosphorists. The quarterly journal *Phosphoros* (1810–1814), from which the young poets and critics got their public name,

was an exclusively male forum, but they welcomed the idea of a female poet.<sup>2</sup> When Nyberg anonymously sent some poems to the leader of the group, P.D.A. Atterbom, in 1816, he decided to publish three of them in the annual calendar, *Poetisk Kalender*, for 1817 (Poetical Calendar, often referred to as a Musenalmanach in international reception). The calendar was conceived as a more popular publication aiming at a wider audience, especially women readers. Of the two names Nyberg had used in the letter, “Laura Euphrasine”, Atterbom chose *Euphrosyne*, and this became her pseudonym and trademark for the rest of her career. The following year, when Atterbom was travelling in Europe, partly in exile from his adversaries in Sweden, her poems dominated *Poetisk Kalender* for 1818. In his preface, Atterbom imagined that he would at least be remembered as the one who introduced Euphrosyne and her divine poems to the Swedish public.<sup>3</sup> Her anonymity did not last long, and she was also known by her birth name, Julia Christina (or Kerstin) Svärdström, and the names of her first and second husbands, Asping and Nyberg.

Julia Nyberg would only publish one short story, “Den sköna Cunigunda” (1828, The Fair Cunigunda) during her lifetime.<sup>4</sup> Hers were verse genres: lyrical poetry, verse dramas, and legends, which she published from 1816 towards the middle of the century, mostly in calendars and periodicals but also as separate collections. Several of her poems were set to music and disseminated through songbooks. Like many of her female colleagues in the rest of Europe, she depended on a male network for advice, reworking, and editing as well as contact with publishers and printers, especially in the early stages of her career. Being a writer by occupation was not an option at that time in Sweden, although there are a few earlier examples in Swedish literary history of poets supporting themselves by their pens, among them women poets such as Sophia Elisabeth Brenner (1659–1730) and especially Hedvig Charlotta Nordenflycht (1718–1763).<sup>5</sup> Accordingly, Nyberg welcomed the money she earned from her collections (anthologies gave no fees) but expressed a condescending sympathy for those who had to make their living by writing when this became more common in the late 1820s.<sup>6</sup>

The immediate reactions to Nyberg’s verse in the Swedish press and literary circles were overall very appreciative and encouraging, with the exception of comments and reviews from the most conservative critics, who opposed the idea of a published female poet altogether.<sup>7</sup> Critics, including Atterbom, would certainly not refrain from pointing out weaknesses. However, by the late 1820s the point of disagreement was mostly whether Nyberg should be ranked as number one or number two among all Swedish *female* poets. Atterbom had assigned her the

highest seat, while other critics reserved that space for Anna Maria Lenngren (1754–1815), an Enlightenment poet known for her ironic and satirical comments on her time.<sup>8</sup> Nyberg's status was always double: she was both a Romantic poet and a women writer, and her work was both judged in comparison with the other, male, Romantic poets in Sweden, and as part of a special compartment of women writers.

In the second half of the century, when the Phosphorist aesthetics were considered untimely, the characterizations would split into positive and negative sections. On one hand, she would be considered a natural and worthy member of the school, but on the other hand, she would be criticized as an unoriginal imitator of outdated aesthetics which, moreover, required an education that she could not possess.<sup>9</sup> During the 1920s and 1930s the positive opinions withered away and she was put aside as insignificant by influential Swedish literary historians such as Fredrik Böök and Henrik Schück. Some 50 years later, when feminist criticism challenged the canon, she was rediscovered and also included in the Scandinavian project *The History of Nordic Women Writers* (1993–1998). In David Damrosch's terms, Nyberg currently belongs to both a shadow canon and a counter canon, but only in a national context.<sup>10</sup> In the most recent history of Swedish literature (published 2009), the only mention of her work is in a long caption to a portrait, further indicating her continued precarious status, at the fringes of the main narrative of Swedish Romanticism.<sup>11</sup>

#### POETRY AND TRANSCULTURAL RECEPTION

Unfortunately, most methods of distant reading and theories of world literature are poorly designed for uncovering and understanding the transcultural circulation of poetry. Case studies of the reception of selected, canonized poets as well as bibliographies of translations from one language to another have covered important parts of the transnational poetry culture during the nineteenth century.<sup>12</sup> But these efforts have not inspired attempts either at incorporating the great unread of translated poetry or mapping and theorizing the typical processes of poetry circulation during the nineteenth century in a global or European perspective. This state of affairs appears to result from a combination of scholarly disinterest and practical, yet almost impassable, obstacles. The lack of interest in poetry, or, rather, the overwhelmingly novel-centric outlook of world literature research and distant readings, has been addressed quite frankly by Franco Moretti: “My model of canon formation is based on novels for the simple reason that they have been the most widespread literary form of the past two or three centuries

and are therefore crucial to any social account of literature.”<sup>13</sup> Against John Guillory, and with reference to Walter Benjamin, he argues that lyric poetry lost its social function “sometime between Heine and Baudelaire”.<sup>14</sup> When confronted with Efraín Kristal’s objections from the viewpoint of Spanish American poetry,<sup>15</sup> Moretti simply countered with one example of a wavelike transnational impact, namely that of Petrarchism, suggesting that poetry actually does follow the laws of novels. At the same time, he acknowledged that we need to learn more about “the international diffusion of drama, poetry and so on”.<sup>16</sup>

The novel was indeed the main commercial literary genre in the nineteenth century, as it is today. Nevertheless, all travels into the uncharted land of transnational poetry circulation, even such modest ones as the present study, must take their point of departure in the fact that poetry did have a social function in the different European cultures. Not only prior to the historical watershed proposed by Moretti, but also parallel and often in competition with the novel. In fact, as Günter Häntzschel has pointed out, the social history of German literature in the second half of the nineteenth century is impossible to understand without taking the abundance of poetry publishing into account, be it ever so conservative or trivial according to later standards.<sup>17</sup> According to Häntzschel, lyrical poetry in Germany did not lose its significance as a medium for mass communication until the outbreak of World War I.<sup>18</sup>

The almost programmatically proclaimed centrality of lyrical poetry for the Romantics has been justly counterbalanced by studies highlighting the importance of other genres, and the relations between the later canonized few and the more popular bestsellers as well as the mass of minor poets have been brought into new, and more historically true, light. The explorations of the non-canonical parts of Romantic literature have nonetheless further stressed the tangible presence of poetry in everyday life. Stephen C. Behrendt even describes the Romantic period in England as a “poetry-mad era”, in which poetry enjoyed “a cultural centrality – as well as a currency in public discourse – that it has not enjoyed for nearly two centuries [...].”<sup>19</sup>

Later in the century, poetry became part of very different cultures, such as classroom recitation and a commodity culture with gift book anthologies explicitly providing “fugitive pieces” for pleasure, sensation, and relaxation instead of samples of literary quality and refinement.<sup>20</sup> The sheer extensiveness of “worthless” poetry in Victorian periodicals was the main reason for leaving it out of the *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals*.<sup>21</sup> Alison Chapman and Caley Ehnes, however, comment on its social significance:

While original poetry by well-known poets gave serial titles cultural capital and increased circulation, periodical poetry as a whole demonstrates that most Victorians read their poetry through ephemeral, serial print, and that, rather than only denoting high art, prestige poetry, and technical mastery, for most Victorians poetry was an integral part of daily life. Periodical poetry indicates that Victorian poetry was not only seen as a distinct literary vocation, but also as a mode of self-expression available to all readers and writers [...].<sup>22</sup>

But of course, this does not automatically imply that foreign and/or translated poetry played similar roles in either part of the century, in England or in other receiving countries. Even more important, acknowledging the social function of poetry cannot eliminate the very real methodological obstacles for arriving at a general picture of how poetry travelled in the Western world during the nineteenth century.

The fact that premises for poetry to be translated and circulated were somewhat different from those of the novel gives rise to the suspicion that the transnational “laws of diffusion” also differed. The act of translating poetry was often part of the elitist, “technical mastery” part of poetry production rather than the more popular strata of “self-expression”. Translating verse was, and is, often a more intricate task than translating prose, especially if the aim was to render the verses metrically correct and to reproduce the rhyme pattern, if there were any. The status of poetry translation, however, was not a constant but depended on the context and aims, as well as the source language, style, and prestige of the poet and translator.<sup>23</sup> Verse translation could be part of numerous practices, academic work or exams, self-improvement (*Bildung*), and poetical training and development. Its aim could be to educate the reading masses and/or to further an ideological and political agenda.<sup>24</sup> The Herderian idea of poetry as the quintessential expression of a nation (*Volk*) and the interest in “primitive”, vernacular, and popular poetry and epics loosened the knot between important names and important translations. The variety of practices and labels for the products, such as imitations, free translations, adaptations, prose, or literal translation also testify to the room for manoeuvre and different ambitions and aims.<sup>25</sup> Towards the end of the century, there was an overall turn towards professionalization and high standards of the translators’ linguistic skills.<sup>26</sup> But poetry attracted more amateurs and enthusiasts than professionals, since poetry translation was “not generally a serious source of income”, as Peter France puts it.<sup>27</sup>

Bibliographical research and statistics in the two major language areas, English and French, have shown that the share of translated

*volumes* of poetry actually was not that different from the share of translated volumes of novels in the first half of the century – that is, if translations from ancient Greek and Latin are included. According to France and Haynes' investigations of the *Nineteenth-Century Short Title Catalogue* (based on library holdings in the UK, Ireland and USA), volumes of poetry translations into English were 13,1% of the total in 1830, which can be compared to 15,5% for narrative fiction as well as for drama, including opera. By 1890, however, the share of translated poetry and dramas had decreased while that of novels almost had been doubled.<sup>28</sup> The poetry in both these years was dominated by Latin and Greek, often “being no more than prose cribs for students”.<sup>29</sup> The translated literature into French 1810–1840 was overall dominated (ca. 40%) by ancient Greek and Latin literature and this category was dominated by poetry, as shown in Blaise Wilfert-Portal's bibliometric analysis.<sup>30</sup> Leaving this part aside, volumes of translated poetry from modern languages made a modest appearance: they amounted to about 6% of the total of translated works between 1816 and 1839, compared to about 27% for novels during the same years.<sup>31</sup> In the latter half of the century French literature concentrated itself within the rapidly growing domestic market, which resulted in a drop in translations for both genres.<sup>32</sup>

As noted in these previous studies, counting volumes of poetry can never be an exhaustive or truly representative way of measuring the poetry translations of a period. What has to be taken into account is that the publication patterns for poetry and verse were complex and differentiated, which also affected the patterns for translated poetry. Poetry was indeed published in separate volumes, but more often in calendars, periodicals, newspapers, anthologies, chap books, leaflets, broadsides, schoolbooks, and songbooks or sheets. Poems were also embedded in novels and dramatic works, copied in private albums, passed on through letters, and through oral performances.<sup>33</sup> Translated poetry was published in all these genres and media. Authors would combine translated and original poems in one and the same volume of poetry, and specimens could be included in literary histories and articles introducing the recent poetical output of this or that nation.<sup>34</sup>

Reception media such as anthologies and periodicals, on the other hand, were more favourable for poetry (and short stories) than for novels – although the importance of serial publications of translated novels has also been underestimated (see Åsa Arping's and Yvonne Leffler's chapters).<sup>35</sup> When the market for poetry books collapsed in England during the 1830s and 1840s, leaving it up to “middle-class poets with independent wealth” to take the financial risks, the literary annuals

flourished and the periodical market for poetry increased, Chapman and Ehnes remark.<sup>36</sup> France and Haynes find that a large majority of translations in English periodicals during the nineteenth century were short, mainly lyric verse: “Because the space occupied by short verse did not require a large investment of money, time, or labour, a wide range of languages and authors could be included at relatively small cost”.<sup>37</sup>

In Germany, anthologies were the dominant medium for poetry distribution between 1840 and 1914. According to Häntzschel, they were also more important for the dissemination of foreign poetry than periodicals and volumes (collections of/from an oeuvre) taken as a whole.<sup>38</sup> Although the overlaps between anthologies and the neighbouring genres are significant, the overall pattern is that anthologies took over the poetry market from volumes of a single author as well as from the calendars, and from collections of varied and mixed genres, which were popular in the first decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>39</sup> In contrast to volumes of poetry by one author only, anthologies were cheap (no fees to pay, except for the editor), easy to produce, and easy to sell over a longer period of time.<sup>40</sup> The same could apply for translation anthologies, especially if they elaborated on an already existent corpus of translations – what Helga Essmann and other members of the Göttinger group of translation researchers have defined as an *editor's anthology* (as opposed to a *translator's anthology*, where usually one translator has translated as well as chosen the texts).<sup>41</sup>

Given this, it is an extremely complicated matter to collect, assess, and compare reception data from different linguistic areas. Library catalogues traditionally only register volumes; national bibliographies seldom register translated poetry, or any poetry;<sup>42</sup> and databases with metadata or digitized texts are often difficult to navigate in a systematic way, not to speak of how affected they are by access restrictions and/or incompleteness. Researchers are confined to what is accessible at the moment, and therefore also to the unevenness between the digital “status” in the different countries.

Digital classification methods may perhaps in time prove helpful in overcoming the problem of identifying and extracting the poetry in different publication and reception media.<sup>43</sup> The challenge for comparative or transnational research would be to also develop methods for identifying translations of poems. At present, the amount and diversity of digitized data and the economic resources for working with text mining projects are highly limited outside the large digital humanities labs in America and Europe. The problem, however, is not only that a full digitization on a global or even European scale appears as utopian as the idea of achieving total interconnectivity between all databases

and developing digital tools that effectively transcend all linguistic barriers. We also need to consider what kinds of questions the large-scale data analysis would be able to answer when it comes to poetry, canonization, and world literature.<sup>44</sup> I shall return to the questions of the limits and potential of distant readings by the end of the chapter.

#### TRANSLATIONS, AND THE LACK THEREOF

For the reasons stated above, the findings that I have made concerning the international reception of Julia Nyberg's work can only be understood as preliminary and indicative. From available catalogues, bibliographies, and searchable full-text databases,<sup>45</sup> it would seem that only one of Nyberg's works was ever translated and published as a single volume. This was the dramatized legend *Christophorus*, which was included in a Finnish series of cheap editions as late as 1905.<sup>46</sup> Between her debut and the outbreak of World War I, at least four of Nyberg's poems were published in translation in five different German anthologies in 1842, 1868, 1877, and 1883. One of these was also translated



Fig. 1: Cover of *Kristóforos: Legenda* (1905), translated by J. Enlund.

in a Dutch history of Scandinavian literature (1860). A fifth poem was translated for a British literary history of Scandinavian literature (1852). The most translated poem was “Vårvindar friska” (Fresh Spring Breezes), which was included in German and English translation in a trilingual songbook, *Die schönsten Volkslieder Schwedens: The Most Beautiful Swedish National Songs: Sveriges skönaste folkvisor* (1895), published in Stockholm. It also appeared in an Icelandic anthology of children’s songs (1907) and a bilingual Swedish-American songbook (1909).<sup>47</sup> As is clear, there is (so far) no evidence that any poem appeared in translation in more than three different anthologies or other works. However, some lines from another poem, which Emilie Flygare-Carlén used as mottos for two chapters in her novel *Gustavus Lindorm* (*Gustav Lindorm*, 1839), were translated with the novel into, for instance, German (1843) and English (1853), and in this way fragments of Nyberg’s work thrived on the export successes of her younger colleague (see Yvonne Leffler’s chapter).

Nyberg wrote “Vårvindar friska” to a traditional melody and published it with the title, “Den stackars Anna, eller Moll-toner från Norrland” (Poor Anna, or tones in minor from Norrland) in 1828.<sup>48</sup> The song’s popularity in Sweden (and elsewhere) rose when it was arranged for men’s choir and became part of the standard repertoire of the student choir associations in the 1860s.<sup>49</sup> The inclusion, however, was at the cost of at least two-thirds of the poem. It was reduced from six to one or two stanzas, which made the poem fit the male voices and the context of the student choirs celebrating spring, youth, and Swedishness – an ongoing tradition established during the first decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>50</sup> Accordingly, the three found translations appeared in different song collections, without author attribution in the trilingual and the Icelandic songbooks,<sup>51</sup> and with Nyberg’s name in the bilingual American songbook.

Some Scandinavian songbooks would include “Vårvindar friska” untranslated later in the century.<sup>52</sup> The same song was in the programme when a group of student singers from Uppsala captivated the Parisian audience at a large choir contest during the World Exhibition Fair in 1867.<sup>53</sup> Digitized American newspapers show that the Swedish version was also part of concert programmes in New York and Chicago in the 1870s and 1880s at least. The expression “Vårvindar friska” had by then become part of the Swedish language on both sides of the Atlantic, in comments on spring, and could also be used in advertisements, especially after the turn of the century (Fig. 2 shows one example). The widest dissemination of the song was probably through Ingrid Bergman’s performance in the Hollywood movie *The Bells of St. Mary’s*

(1945), in which she played a Swedish-born nun. “Värvindar friska” is in fact still a stock phrase in Sweden, and the song – with one or two stanzas – is part of today’s canon of songs, resulting, among other things, in diverse interpretations and disseminations on the global, commercial, and crowdsourced archive YouTube.<sup>54</sup>

The few translations of Nyberg’s poetry found in my sources were published with a delay of 25 to 67 years from their first publication in Sweden. In fact, only two of the found translations were issued before Nyberg’s death in 1854. But her poems were also to some extent disseminated to audiences abroad without translation, in the Swedish-American communities, as shown, as well as to Scandinavian readers. In early attempts to bring the Scandinavian literatures closer, around 1830, some of Nyberg’s poems were presented to Scandinavian readers without translation.<sup>55</sup> There may be more translated poems in nineteenth-century periodicals or anthologies not covered by my sources. However, it seems safe to conclude that Nyberg’s status as the most successful female poet within Swedish Romanticism was no guarantee of a successful international dissemination of her work. If this statistically insignificant data allows any conclusions, they are, firstly, that the typical translation or dissemination context is an anthology or introduction of one kind or another. Secondly, the translations (as far as these results show) are guided by a wider interest in Scandinavian or Swedish literature from 1840 and onwards.

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till olika priser.

Fig. 2: Advertisement for baby prams in *Svea* (Worcester, Mass.) 4/6–1902. The text opens: “When fresh spring breezes play and whisper, you should let the baby enjoy the fresh air more than ever. Nothing is more strengthening and invigorating.”

Still, what these scant figures mean may be difficult to estimate without a broader picture. Owing to the important bibliography, *Schweidische Literatur in deutscher Übersetzung 1830–1980* (1987–1988) by Heinz-Georg Halbe, Fritz Paul, and Regina Quandt, it is possible to establish a more general picture of anthologized Swedish poetry in German translation between 1830 and 1914. Including the Swedish-speaking poets in Finland (leaving unidentified authors as well as some uncertain cases aside), the corpus consists of 122 different poets who were jointly responsible for more than 1600 poem/verse publications. I use the term “verse” in order to signal that I include both lyrical and epic-lyrical poetry such as ballads and extracts from other narrative or dramatic poems. Inclusiveness struck me as most productive for the aim here, which is to get a fuller picture of the reception of Swedish Romantic poetry (as opposed to prose fiction), especially Nyberg’s, in German anthologies.<sup>56</sup> But I must stress once again that the numbers and graphs provided here must be viewed as pointing out tendencies.

In the established corpus, the most anthologized writer was the Swedish-Finnish J.L. Runeberg (1804–1877) with more than 270 entries, followed by the Swedish Esaias Tegnér (1782–1846) with almost 240. Throughout the century they were both regarded as the foremost national poets in their respective countries, and Runeberg was also considered a vital part of Swedish literature. His song “Vårt land” (Our country) from the cycle of narrative poems, *The Tales of Ensign Stål* (*Fänrik Ståls Sägner* I-II, 1848–1860), was among the most popular patriotic songs in Sweden.

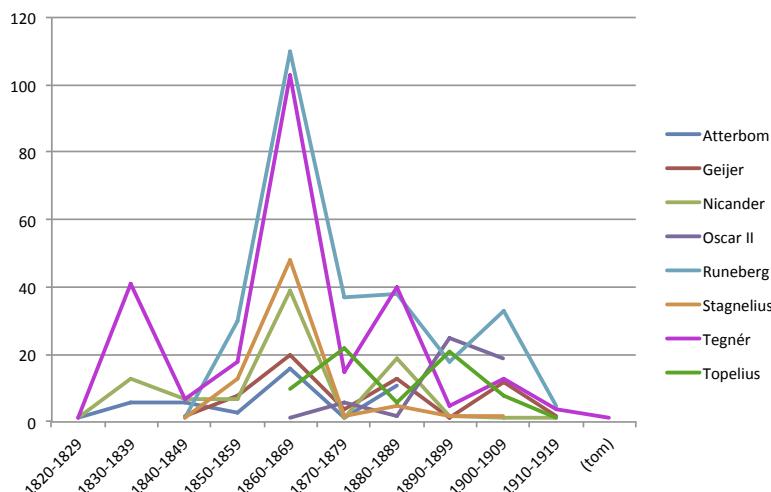


Fig. 3: The eight most translated Swedish-speaking poets in German anthologies 1830–1914, arranged by decades.

Of the 122 poets in the corpus, one-third had only one poem published, and 72% had fewer than 10 poems published, the eight most translated poets being responsible for more than half of the published poems. The highest-ranking Swedish poets are all Romantics with the exception of Oscar II (1829–1907), who published a wealth of writings, including idealistic, patriotic poetry from the late 1850s onward, and who enjoyed a reputation as the most educated monarch in Europe in his time.<sup>57</sup> The Finland-Swedish writers Runeberg and Zacharias Topelius succeed one another in the extensive transitional phase between Romanticism and Realism in Scandinavian literary history. An interesting detail is that Runeberg actually used Nyberg's poetry in order to attack and distance himself from the Swedish Phosphorist school in 1832 in a review of the first part of her collected work.<sup>58</sup> If we visualize these most translated writers' entries in a graph according to decades (Fig. 3), they all share a definite peak in the 1860s and a much smaller one in the 1880s. The exceptions are Topelius and Oscar II, whose pattern goes against the trend, probably because they belong to another generation – and also due to the latter's inclusion in anthologies dedicated exclusively to royal poets in the 1870s and 1890s.

Even though these are approximate numbers, they suggest that among the translated Swedish poets during the long nineteenth century, Nyberg was rather typical in her low translational impact in Germany. Her ranking with six items in fact places her in the upper half of all the translated poets (Fig. 4). Even her commitment to Romanticism is representative.

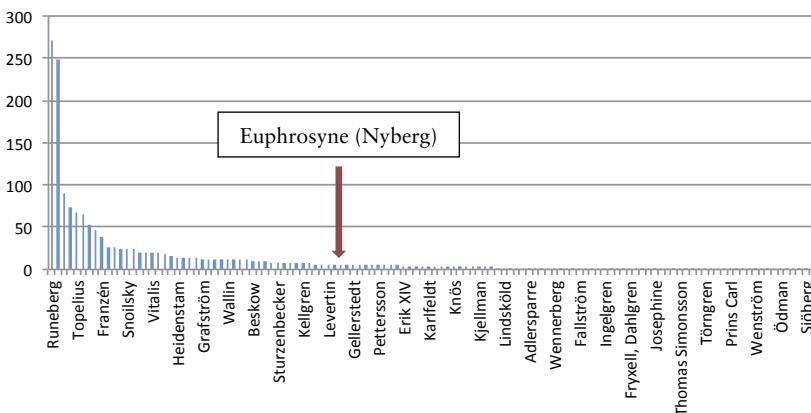


Fig. 4: Swedish and Finnish-Swedish authors in the German verse anthologies 1830–1914 arranged by number of translated titles (the graph shows only a random selection of the 122 names).

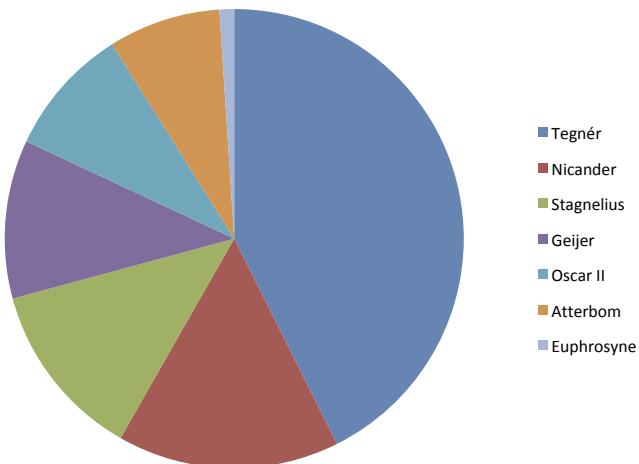


Fig. 5: Nyberg's (Euphrosyne's) share of translated verse in relation to the six most translated Swedish poets in German anthologies 1830–1914.

Nyberg's presence exclusively in anthologies with Swedish or Scandinavian poetry is also typical. It is evident, and of course quite natural, that the peaks for translated Swedish poems do not coincide with the anthologies with world literature ambitions, but with anthologies devoted strictly to Swedish, Finland-Swedish, or Scandinavian poetry (the proportions are visualized in Fig. 6).<sup>59</sup> As Lutz Röhling points out, almost all German anthologies of world poetry 1848–1912 would dedicate no more than a few pages to Scandinavian poems, and the impression is that Swedish poetry had the status as one of the small but fine literatures (“kleiner, aber feiner Literaturen”).<sup>60</sup> According to Birgit Bödeker and Heike Leopold, the world poetry anthologies were dominated by poems in the Romance languages (ca. 30%) and English (ca. 16%), whereas the Scandinavian contributions were quite consistently between 7 and 10%.<sup>61</sup>

Single anthologies of Swedish and Nordic poetry are almost solely responsible for the different peaks in the 1850s and 1860s, whereas there were a few more initiatives in 1889 and 1903.<sup>62</sup> The Swedish-speaking poets who were included in the anthologies with a wider “worldwide” scope were most often Runeberg and Tegnér (represented in 10 and 12 of 17 anthologies published between 1838 and 1912).<sup>63</sup>

The German data may not be representative for other receiving cultures. According to Helga Essmann and Armin Paul Frank, translation anthologies were particularly numerous in Germany compared to

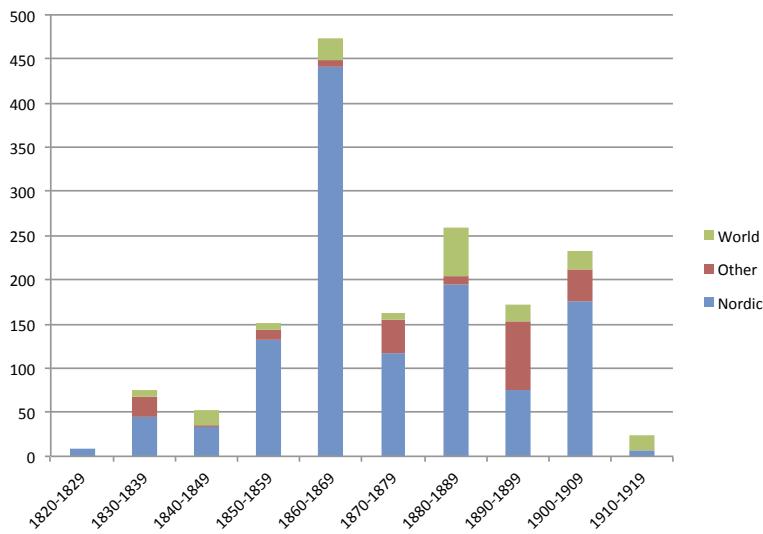


Fig. 6: Swedish verse in German anthologies 1830–1914 arranged by decades and according to anthology types.

other European countries.<sup>64</sup> Between 1840 and 1870 this category even outnumbered all other verse anthologies in Germany, and interest in world poetry manifested itself in socially and politically diverse camps and attracted both male and female editors.<sup>65</sup> It has not been possible to examine anthologies in other major or minor languages in the same manner. Nevertheless, some of the English, American, and French anthologies that I have been able to consult do seem to suggest a pattern parallel to the German one.<sup>66</sup> Further, the (relative) success of the top six Swedish authors in the German anthologies, Tegnér, Nicander, Stagnelius, Geijer, Oscar II, and Atterbom, is mirrored in the fact that they all had at least one separate volume published in Germany and/or France (not in England, though, except for Tegnér).<sup>67</sup> As already mentioned, this was not the case for Nyberg. Her low translational impact in anthologies and on the European-American book market was typical rather than exceptional.

#### TRANSLATION, NATIONALISM, AND GENDER STEREOTYPES

What was the basis for the (relative) successes of the Swedish male poets? Deliberate attempts to export Swedish Romantic literature were not remarkably successful in the first decades of the century. In

1821, the central Phosphorist publisher, writer, and critic V.F. Palmlblad approached F.A. Brockhaus by letters. He presented a range of ideas for introducing Swedish literature to German readers, including a periodical devoted entirely to Swedish and Danish literature, none of which Brockhaus adopted, however. Instead, he cunningly used Palmlblad as an agent in order to export his own articles to the Swedish market.<sup>68</sup>

In this situation, Nyberg would have been unlikely to approach international mediators or publishers of her own accord, even when she had established herself as a name in the Swedish literary field. Nor did she have such a central position in the salons and gatherings of Swedish Romanticism as to be on friendly terms and sustain a correspondence with important foreign visitors, such as Amalia von Helvig (who left Sweden in the same year that Nyberg first contacted Atterbom). Nyberg only travelled outside Sweden in 1843, when she made a trip to Copenhagen and Paris (with other European stops), partly for the sake of her health. Unlike her male colleagues, Nyberg does not appear to have considered literary and cultural networking to be part of the objective or result of her journey. However, the thought of attempting to reach an international audience did cross her mind in these years. In a letter to the Finland-Swedish immigrant writer Adolph Ivar Arwidsson in June 1844, she asked for his opinion on the Swedish women novelists starting to race each other and setting off all the way to America. If the field had not been taken already, she thought, it would not have been such a bad idea, but now it could only become a derivative.<sup>69</sup>

The first truly successful Swedish Romantic work, Tegnér's *Frithiofs Saga* (1825), travelled as if of its own accord. That is, it was not promoted specifically from Sweden by either author or publisher, but was discovered more or less simultaneously by several important cultural mediators abroad, or in rapid chains of influence between the reception events. International interest in Swedish literature was furthered by a preceding interest in Norse literature and culture during the latter part of the eighteenth century, which was growing even stronger in the nineteenth century. It is also known that when Tegnér transformed an Icelandic saga into a modern romance cycle in *Frithiofs Saga*, it propelled an even wider interest in, or first boom for, Swedish literature in Europe and America. The interest in Tegnér's work actually started earlier, with a Danish and a German translation of the poem *Nattvardsbarnen* (The Children of the Lord's Supper, 1820) in 1821 and 1822 respectively, but Tegnér's international fame became a fact with this work. It spurred the interest in his other work, and SWED 2018 shows that, besides his presence in anthologies, more than 200 translated volumes were issued in Europe and America before 1914.

Apparently, the formula for success was to elaborate on the notion of the strong, simple, and brave Viking dedicated to masculine virtues in the format of the epic-lyric romance. Tegnér combined this with Ossianic moods and Biedermeier values, including traditional gender norms. In Tegnér's own lifetime more than 20 editions of *Frithiofs Saga* were published in Germany, and by the outbreak of World War I it had been translated into at least 14 languages. Across Europe and America it inspired other poems, novels, plays, operas, paintings, and songs, as well as tourism in Norway, the land of the hero. The production of translations, retellings, and adaptations continued throughout the century.<sup>70</sup>

Unlike the novel, epic poetry in a broad sense could hardly avoid responding in one way or another to the vast expectations which were laid on *national* epics, found or created anew, in this period. When the cosmopolitan cultural personality Marianne Ehrenström presented Swedish literature for a French-speaking audience in 1826, she saluted Tegnér as the Swedish Ossian.<sup>71</sup> She claimed that the example of Frithiof made every Swede eager to renew his oath to live and die for his country. Although epic poetry was also an experimental genre in Romantic literature, with the potential of becoming “the poetry of world culture” rather than the traditional (chauvinist) hailing of heroic deeds of national concern,<sup>72</sup> the works that did stress the national were evidently met with an enthusiastic response. In the eyes of the cultural mediators, Tegnér's lyrical-epic work fulfilled many of the expectations within the more modern romance expression and in a manner which also answered to hopes and visions for their own national culture. Lutz Rühling has described how the success in Germany mirrored the fact that Sweden had become a projection screen for nostalgic longing for a vigorous and unspoiled culture.<sup>73</sup> Similar ideas thrived in Britain, where ethnic ties were emphasized.<sup>74</sup> In their Scandinavian literary history from 1852, Mary and William Howitt derived the greatness of the British Empire from a healthy infusion of the Scandinavian Vikings, and they even regretted that the Nordic power in *Frithiofs Saga* was tempered by Tegnér's mild spirit and sense of classicism.<sup>75</sup> However, the sum of it was that Tegnér succeeded in meeting many of the foreign expectations of Swedishness, where Nyberg – and quite a few of her male colleagues – failed.

Tegnér, Geijer, and Nicander were all members of the *Götiska förbundet* (“Gothic Association”), founded in 1811 with the aim of revitalizing the Nordic past through scientific and poetic publications (“Gothic” in this context has nothing to do with the tradition of Ann Radcliffe et al.). They all created new literature inspired by Norse tradi-

tions – poems which also confirmed male stereotypes and an idea of the simple, honest, and tough life of the Vikings. Nicander is a poet who is almost forgotten in Sweden today. Like Tegnér's, his work was actually dominated by other kinds of subjects (such as celebrations of Tasso and Napoleon and impressions from his travels in Italy, in Nicander's case), but his status as a member of the “Gothic” school of Swedish Romanticism was most likely paramount for his international dissemination. In some respects, *Frithiofs Saga* could be said to have opened the market, and at the same time narrowed it down.

A few women writers in Sweden also attempted to exploit the contemporary images of the Nordic past or produce their own interpretations or countering versions. Nonetheless, the “Gothic” society, including its literary output and the tradition it instigated, was in essence a male affair, concerned with what Eva Borgström has called “a renaissance for masculinity”.<sup>76</sup> Nyberg very seldom touched upon Vikings in her work, but the Valkyria figure appears to have interested her, although her elaborations leaned more towards the repertoire and imagery of Ossian.<sup>77</sup> The dramatic piece *Norman* and a few of her poems demonstrate her interest in the two female roles available in the Nordic-Scottish blend: the armed and cross-dressing woman taking action on the one hand and the female spectator of battling men on the other, including women who responded to the death of their warrior-lovers by committing suicide in order to reunite with them. Nyberg's “Vikingtärnan” (The Viking maid, 1821) fits the latter profile. Another poem, “Skattgräfarn och brudsmycket” (The treasure hunter and the bridal jewellery, 1820), gives voice to a woman who falls into passive melancholy when her Viking lover travels south on an adventure until she is encouraged by her mother to pick up a sword and travel in pursuit of glory as well. But even this amazon is described as a bard rather than a warrior, and in the end she throws herself on her dead lover's funeral pyre.<sup>78</sup> Apart from the fact that she did not exploit the mainstream Norse-“Gothicism” further than this, Nyberg refrained from venturing into epic poetry and experienced no success with her other attempts, which could have counted and travelled as free-standing works. When she wrote larger dramatic pieces, they failed to fit the preconceived ideas of women's writing, and they were either criticized or ignored by the Swedish critics.

Two examples illustrate how poetry from the “Gothic” school was favoured in the German receiving culture. In the early 1820s, Amalia von Helvig, known to be an important cultural mediator of Swedish Romanticism in Germany, expressed an intention to translate Nyberg

together with other Swedish poets. According to her letters to Atterbom and the Swedish critic Lorenzo Hammarsköld, the plan was to include poems by the most important poets in a historical introduction to Swedish literature.<sup>79</sup> However, the project was never finished, and in the meantime, she and her publishers prioritized the “Gothic” or national poets. Before her death in 1831, von Helvig managed to be one of the first to publish a full translation of *Frithiofs Saga* in 1826, and to disseminate at least six poems by Tegnér (between 1822 and 1828) and an introduction to Nicander’s *Runer* (first published in *Iduna* 1824) in J.F. Cotta’s periodical *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*. The Nicander introduction was followed by translations by Gottlieb Mohnike – another translator of *Frithiofs Saga*. Von Helvig also wrote an introduction to Atterbom’s verse-drama *Lycksalighetens Ö* (1824–1827, Island of the Blest) for the *Morgenblatt* (1828) with translated excerpts, but to her great frustration, Georg von Cotta simply stopped the publication of the second part, even against his father’s orders.<sup>80</sup>

A similar tendency is observable later on, in one of the German anthologies of Swedish poetry. According to an advertisement, poems by Nyberg (Euphrosyne) were supposed to be included in the second volume of the *Hausschatz der Schwedischen Poesie* (1860), together with Atterbom, Stagnelius (referred to as the Swedish Novalis), and others (see Fig. 7). The plan was to provide the original poems and extracts with prose translations, introductions, and commentary by Gottfried von Leinburg in four volumes in order to offer the first non-Swedish literary history of Swedish literature not only in Germany but in all of Europe. However, only the third volume with the poems of Tegnér, Nicander, etc. was published, even though the advertisement claimed that the second volume was the most interesting. Apparently, again, poems from the “Gothic” school were safer – or easier – items to start out with.

Stereotypical images of nation and gender, then, played a very important role for the translation choices. But this only partly explains the pattern of translation of Swedish verse and not why poets such as Atterbom and Stagnelius also made their way into the international market.<sup>81</sup> Leaving aside questions of quality, the answer, I believe, must primarily be sought in the status they enjoyed in their home country and how this was conveyed to foreign readers. This, in turn, was also affected by the combination of gender, genre, and nation. To understand how this worked we must turn to other kinds of reception, starting with the true “face” of the international Nyberg – the Nyberg/Euphrosyne, which was mediated through different surveys of Swedish Romantic literature.



Fig. 7: First page of the advertisement for the first published volume of *Hausschatz der schwedischen Poesie* (Leipzig: Arnoldsche Buchhandlung 1860) and the prospect for the three other volumes that were never realized. Euphrosyne (Nyberg) is mentioned as part of the Phosphorist school and an adept of Atterbom.

## SECONDARY AND SUPERFICIAL RECEPTION

Counting translations alone cannot tell the whole story of the international reception of an oeuvre during the long nineteenth century. Nyberg may not have been widely read, or even read at all, but plenty of readers got the chance to read about her in magazine articles, travelogues, literary histories, encyclopaedias, and a few records of famous women. It must have been on the basis of these mentions that Gustav C. Hebbe could claim in 1843 that Nyberg belonged to those Swedes, which had “not only in Sweden, but also abroad, gained great renown as poets”.<sup>82</sup>

All of the mentioned secondary reception genres were rapidly expanding during the nineteenth century in Europe and America. The quest for education or Bildung within an expanding class of readers also entailed a growing market for knowledge of other literatures. In this market, it seems that serious and influential products competed with exclusively profit-driven enterprises, and rudimentary and secondary knowledge overlapped with knowledge based on reading and appreciation. As is known, these genres also tended (and still tend) to be produced with the aid of recycling, including acts of translation and outright plagiarism.<sup>83</sup> The genres overlapped, borrowed from each other, and formed a circulation system of their own, but one that at the same time was clearly interconnected and in constant interchange with the system of translations.<sup>84</sup>

Nyberg had become literary news by the early 1820s. Travel books often commented on the literature of the country explored, and in the Danish J.L. Beeken's *Dagbog paa en Reise i Sverrig* (Diary from a Trip to Sweden, 1820), Euphrosyne was presented as “Madame Asping” (her first married name), a pleasant lady in her 30s. Beeken described her poetry in the Phosphorist poetical calender as distinguished by amiable innocence and simplicity, and the poem “Den lapplandske Pige” (a Danish translation for “Lappflickan”, the Lapland girl) is highlighted as particularly lovely. Beeken's work may very well be the source of the formulations in *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal* in November 1821:

A lady, too, has ventured on the slippery paths of Parnassus. This lady has never publicly laid aside her incognito. But the poetess Euphrosyne is, in fact, a Mrs. Asping, a very amiable and accomplished woman; the chief characteristic of whose writings is *naïveté*. Her compositions have hitherto been published in the ‘Poetical Calendar’, which is edited by the ingenious poet Atterbom, at Upsal; among her poems, the ‘Lapland Girl’ is distinguished by its excellence.<sup>85</sup>

In contrast, the “Literarische Notizen aus Schweden” in December 1821 in *Literarisches Conversations-Blatt* from the Brockhaus publishing house seemed to rely on insider information about her collected poems as they were being printed. Her elegies, songs, and romances were treasured by the friends of the new, Romantic school in Sweden, the readers were told, and they are all characterized by a warm, childlike feeling for nature, a fresh and naïve portrayal of things, and an agreeable form. But she is also compared to the German poet and writer Helmina (Wilhelmine) von Chézy, referred to as “our Helmina von Chezy”.<sup>86</sup> In the 1830s and 1840s Nyberg was still mentioned in a similar manner in the *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* and *Das Ausland* – and in other magazines paraphrased or translated from the German, such as *The Select Journal of Foreign Periodical Literature* in Boston.<sup>87</sup>

It is known that, whereas F.A. Brockhaus was reluctant to publish Swedish books in translation, he gratefully accepted another of Palmblad's ideas in the early 1820s. Up to the late 1840s, Brockhaus commissioned Palmblad to write articles on Swedish authors and thinkers or to distribute the task to members of his network. They were published in the periodicals *Literarisches Conversations-Blatt*, *Hermes*, and *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, as well as in the different editions of the *Conversations-Lexikon*.<sup>88</sup> In one of these, a long introduction to Swedish literature for *Hermes* 1823, Lorenzo Hammarsköld dedicated almost one page to Nyberg's work.

The characterization in the supplement for the sixth edition of the *Conversations-Lexikon* (1824–1826) appears to have been most influential (despite the knotty style):

The numerous group of Swedish women writers, which is to say female poets, is mostly limited to novels: One who outranks all the others, Euphrosyne (Chrst. Julia Nyberg), whose poems, full of tenderness (“Dikter of [sic!] Euphrosyne”, Upsala, 1822), springs from a pure, sensitive heart, joined the poets mentioned before [Atterbom and the other phosphorists] thanks to her dramatized legend of St. Christopher (in Atterbom's *Musenalmanach* for 1822), and thus also proved how far she towers above her Apollonian sisters, Dor. Dunkel, Eleon. Charl. Alsdedyhll [sic!] (the author of the poem ‘Gefion’, Upsala 1814, 8, which was supposed to give tribute to her family tree), Anna Lenngrén (d. 1817).<sup>89</sup>

Variants of this brief introduction can be detected in a whole range of other reception texts. One example would be the shortened version in an article on “Sweden and Norway” in the *Encyclopaedia Americana*

1832, which also confesses to being based on the German work.<sup>90</sup> Another interesting case is the German travelogue *In Scandinavien: Nordlichter* (1845) by Eduard Boas. By chance, this traveller met Nyberg on a ship bound for Kalmar from Ystad when she was on her way home from her only journey abroad. This part of the travelogue is written in an entertaining, gossipy manner. No one in Germany concerned themselves with Euphrosyne's poems, Boas exclaimed, but the poems and their poet were nonetheless known by every educated Swede.<sup>91</sup> He went on to comment on her looks, which were not as favourable as they had been, her birth year, and her retiring manner on the boat – adding that having their age revealed in every encyclopaedia was a prize women authors had to pay. However, in a following chapter, which gives a survey of Swedish literature disguised as a letter to a lady friend, the tone is quite different. Here Nyberg is singled out as the most distinguished of all female writers in Sweden. But then it also heavily relies on the *Brockhaus* article, including some of the misspellings.<sup>92</sup>

Boas' first comment on the non-existent interest in Nyberg's poems in Germany was disseminated in *Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine*, July 1845, in a review of Boas' work, which translated this part among others: "In Germany, nobody troubles himself about the 'Dikter af Euphrosyne,' but every educated Swede knows them and their authoress".<sup>93</sup> The same section was given in French translation in Xavier Marmier's *Les Voyageurs nouveaux* (Vol. 1, 1851), but in this case, the more informed Marmier added a note with Nyberg's biographical data and a short, appreciative description of her volumes of poetry.<sup>94</sup> He also mentioned the gold medal that the Swedish Academy awarded her in 1829.

The second assessment also travelled to Edinburgh, only to *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, 1849, again with recognizable as well as new misspellings:

It was, however, only in our present century that the real life of female authorship began in Sweden. Far above all others stands Julia Christina Nyberg, better known in her own country by the name of Euphrosyne. Her lyrical productions are full of womanly grace and purity, and evidently spring forth from a heart which breathes the deepest and truest feeling. Her *Legend of St Christopher*, which is to be found in Atterborn's [sic!] 'Almanach of the Muses' for 1822, may be ranked among the best specimens of Swedish poetry. We cannot speak quite so favourably of the tones which Dorothea Dunkel [sic!], Anna Lengréen [sic!], and Eleonora Alsedyll [sic!] have drawn from their lyres; neither do we admire the romances of Charlotte Berger [...].<sup>95</sup>

In fact, even the following part of the article, dealing with the famous and much translated and read Bremer (see Åsa Arping's chapter) is a translation of Boas' work, the part stemming from the *Brockhaus* encyclopaedia.

There are a few characterizations of Nyberg which extend to more than one or two lines. Besides Hammarsköld's 1823 *Hermes* article, the Swedish diplomat and man of letters Jacob Gråberg af Hemsö contributed about half a page in a survey of Swedish literature for the Italian periodical *Nuovo giornale de' letterati* in 1833.<sup>96</sup> Curiously enough, this part was included in the Italian translation of Xavier Marmier's *Histoire de la littérature en Danemark et en Suède* (1839), even though Nyberg was not included in the French original.<sup>97</sup> The Swedish critic Oscar Patrick Sturzen-Becker also characterized Nyberg in his lectures on Swedish literature which were delivered to the Scandinavian Society in Copenhagen 1844. They were published (in Swedish) in Copenhagen in 1845, and in German translation in Leipzig in 1850. Two pages were dedicated to Nyberg, to which was added one poem in the Swedish edition. In Sturzen-Becker's eyes, Nyberg was not just the most accomplished among the female Romantic writers, some of her poems could even compete with those of the best of the male Phosphorists.<sup>98</sup> His characterization was translated and cited in articles in the German periodicals.<sup>99</sup> William and Mary Howitt also relied on him in their Scandinavian literary history, *The Literature and Romance of Northern Europe* (1852). In this case, the characterization of Nyberg was actually followed by a new translation of one of her poems, "The Pine Thrush" ("Trasten"). The choice of poem was presented as deliberate, the thrush serving as a physical connection or mediator between England and the pine forest where the poetess lived.<sup>100</sup> But it also happened to be the poem that Sturzen-Becker cited in his lectures.

The practice of recycling was an acknowledged way of working, and when openly handled, it was also the "informed" way of working. But the repetitions and overlaps could also be commented upon with more critical eyes, among other things in a German review of Marianne Ehrenström's *Notices sur la littérature et les beaux-arts en Suede* (1826) in *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*.<sup>101</sup> The reviewer complained that the literary substance of Ehrenström's work could just as well be found in – and easier digested from – the article on Swedish literature in the latest edition of the Brockhaus encyclopaedia.<sup>102</sup> In 1827, an English enthusiast, R.P. Gillies, instead took the opportunity to elaborate on the exciting development of Swedish Romanticism in a review of Ehrenström's work and F.W. von Schubert's Scandinavian travelogue from 1823.<sup>103</sup> In this context, Nyberg was mentioned in passing as "Madame

Aspin, *alias* Euphrosyne, the Mrs. Hemans, or L.E.L. of the North”, thus making the names of the popular British women poets a short formula for understanding their Swedish colleague.<sup>104</sup> Gillies’ review was translated and published in *Le Globe* in November 1827, and, according to himself, also in German journals.<sup>105</sup>

Before the eighth edition, published between 1853 and 1886, literature was not part of the article on Sweden in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. It fell upon William Howitt to give a characterization of Swedish literature, and in the next edition (1875–1889), his article was replaced by Edmund W. Gosse’s. For Nyberg’s part, the difference was negligible. Howitt characterized her in two sentences, using the same formula as Gillies: “Kerstin Nyberg is a popular poetess, the L.E.L. of Sweden. Her poems have appeared under the *nom de plume* of Euphrosyne.” Gosse managed in one breath: “Fru Julia Nyberg (1785–1854), under the title of Euphrosyne, was their tenth Muse, and wrote agreeable lyrics.”

Nyberg was already omitted from the article on Sweden in the *Brockhaus* in the eighth edition (1833–1837; the volume which included the article on Sweden was published in 1836). But this was not a general tendency. In other encyclopaedias she would actually get her own article in the second half of the century. Thus, in 1845, a short article on her was included in H.A. Pierer’s *Universal-Lexikon der Gegenwart und Vergangenheit* (“Svärdström”, slightly misplaced alphabetically; a short notice of her name was listed under “Nyberg” 1844).<sup>106</sup> In 1852 this article was reproduced (even the alphabetical confusion) in Julius Meyer’s *Das grosse Conversations-Lexicon für die gebildeten Stände*.<sup>107</sup> The French *Dictionnaire universel des contemporains*, (Vol. 2, Paris 1858 and 1870) included a somewhat longer article on her, closely following the article in the Swedish biographical lexicon. The Swedish lexicon was issued from 1835 to 1857 and seems to be the one strong reason why Nyberg was revived in some of the encyclopaedias outside of Sweden.

Analysing scattered evidence of secondary reception from sources that are immensely rich and at the same time limited and unequal (see the discussion in the introduction to this chapter) is a precarious endeavour, not least bearing in mind Ted Underwood’s caution that “in a database containing millions of sentences, full-text search can turn up twenty examples of anything”.<sup>108</sup> Nevertheless, the very lack of variation within the evidence that has come up in this case would seem to allow for some more general conclusions. Looking at the remarks on Nyberg, a pattern emerges, parallel to the scant translations. When she is mentioned, it is in the context of surveys of modern Swedish literature, occasionally in more specific comments on Swedish women writers. When the intention was to cover the Romantic school in the

context of writing and mediating recent Swedish literary history, Nyberg would be included, if not highlighted, and then often with the double position as part of the Phosphorist school and as a female writer. The assessment of her work, or rather, the reproduction of her status within Swedish literature, is remarkably constant throughout the century and in the different reception contexts. Boas' ironic remark is actually the exception. What the European and American readers (of literary news, encyclopaedias, travelogues, and literary histories) knew about Julia Nyberg was that she wrote naïve and agreeable poetry and that she surpassed all other women poets in Sweden. Sometimes a couple of her titles were mentioned, but no quotations are to be found in the examined sources, and only the English and Dutch literary histories included one translated poem each, as already mentioned.

Furthermore, in the majority of cases this image of Nyberg, as well as many of its formulations, can be traced back to a native Swedish writer. The foreign assessments mirrored the domestic ones and continued to be informed by them. This means that Nyberg's male mentors, editors, publishers, and critics were not only important for the publication and assessment of her poems in Sweden, they were also decisive for their fate abroad. They mentioned her with enthusiasm in letters to their foreign colleagues and in the introductions written for German periodicals and encyclopaedias. At the same time, they initiated the gendered compartmentalization, reducing the diversity of her poetical output into a single profile which fitted the preconceived idea of what a female poet could and should write.

What the reception of Nyberg's work allows us to witness at close range, then, is the parallel and intertwined constructions and negotiations of a gendered Swedish canon inside and outside of Sweden. Swedish literary history was in the making in these years in a very literal sense. The narrative of Swedish Romanticism that we recognize today was created and cemented from the early 1820s to the end of the nineteenth century, in the different reception genres and finally in the growing number of literary histories written in Sweden and elsewhere. The Swedish mediators effectively launched Atterbom and Stagnelius as the most important Romantic poets besides Tegnér, and this is mirrored in the translation pattern. The extension of the narrative around mid-century, when Fredrika Bremer, Emilie Flygare-Carlén, and C.J.L. Almqvist were given prominent positions in the literary history of Sweden, may account for the fact that prose writers such as Bremer and Almqvist actually had just as many records in the German verse anthologies between 1853 and 1889 as the poet Nyberg.<sup>109</sup> This is to say, just as in Nyberg's case, it was probably their status within the literary historical

narrative rather than their international appeal or popularity (which in Almqvist's case was negligible during the nineteenth century),<sup>110</sup> which rendered them a (small) space in the verse anthologies.

History gives us plenty of examples of writers having a larger or more appreciative audience abroad than in their home country. Nevertheless, the cases in this book remind us that national and international reception is much more intertwined than we usually realize at first. In the process examined here, the traffic was not exclusively one-way; the Swedish writers watched the English and German reviews, and verdicts from the foreign critics could also affect the Swedish narratives. In the case of Nyberg, though, the circles closed themselves around domestic agents: What was written by Palmblad or some other Swedish critic in the *Brockhaus* was commented upon in Atterbom's 1823 review of her first collection, and what Hammarsköld wrote in the German *Hermes* 1823 was paraphrased in C.J. Lénström's characterization of her in his history of Swedish poetry from 1840.<sup>111</sup>

The practice of recycling extended also to the authors who did have a remarkable translational impact in the receiving countries, as will be clear in the following chapters of this book. But in Nyberg's case, most of the reception texts, as we have seen, contain only very brief mentions, and quite a lot are merely instances of name-dropping. What circulated in these reception genres was in many cases a strikingly rudimentary and superficial knowledge, as already established, and it did not generate translations of her poems in the periodical press, as far as I have been able to detect.<sup>112</sup> But they must nevertheless have been decisive for the inclusion of the few translations in the literary histories and anthologies that do exist – up to the point when the narrow space that had been reserved for her work closed upon her, such as was the fate of so many of her female colleagues, no matter how prolific they had been in their time.<sup>113</sup>

#### GENDER, NATIONALITY, AND POETRY RECEPTION PATTERNS

The question of gender is intricate, when it comes to poetry and poetry translation during the nineteenth century. In the early Romantic period, according to the diverse literary developments in the different parts of European, gender played a considerable role in determining whether poets would write and publish at all, but the spheres were not as separate as has often been assumed. It is important that we distinguish between a normative gender order and a rhetorical one which was in fact responding to a situation in which women were already

pragmatically navigating between demands and possibilities and establishing themselves in the literary field, as Helen Fronius has reminded us.<sup>114</sup> Stephen C. Behrendt writes in the same vein:

That so many women poets nevertheless effectively challenged these expectations in works that were widely read, and whose influence can often be judged from the stridency with which they were attacked in the press, reminds us again of their historical presence not at the periphery of literary culture but rather – and for most of the Romantic era, too – at its center.<sup>115</sup>

However, the two trends (expansion and acknowledgement opposed to resistance and devaluation) seem to have been increasingly challenging each other, especially after the Romantic period.

Naturally, a comparative perspective needs to take into account the non-simultaneity and different scales of the different literatures in terms of aesthetic norms, the establishment and size of the literary fields and markets as well as the openness towards women writers in those fields – the source culture on the one hand, and the diverse receiving cultures on the other. Again, it is less than straightforward to use a quantitative approach as the numbers in existing research are imprecise (among other things due to difficulties in identifying authors and gender in many cases) and therefore hard to compare in a systematic manner.

Swedish bibliographical research lacks exact numbers for poetry publications before 1866, when the national bibliography, *Svensk bokkatalog*, started to include a genre-based, systematic index. Even from this date it only includes volumes of poetry, and until the turn of the century probably only the volumes which were offered for sale in the larger bookstores, as Gunnel Furuland has pointed out. According to this data, the publication of original Swedish poetry comprised 181 volumes between 1866 and 1875, and 617 volumes between 1906 and 1915.<sup>116</sup> Between 1866 and 1915, the number of volumes amounted to at least 1515. Among these, a small yet discernible percentage was produced by women poets. According to Furuland, the numbers were hovering between 7,5 and 14%, and there was no definite tendency towards a rise until the 1970s.<sup>117</sup>

In comparison, Behrendt mentions well over 10.000 volumes of poetry in England during the period 1770–1830 alone. According to J.R. de Jackson's survey of women poets, *Romantic Poetry of Women 1770–1835* (1993), there were around 400 women publishing poetry in England, and Behrendt adds, "this rises to well over five hundred when one also includes Scotland, Wales, and Ireland".<sup>118</sup> In Germany the number

of authors who published lyrical poetry during the nineteenth century has been estimated at around 20.000. The number of women writers in all genres has been estimated at around 500 in 1825 and over 5000 at the end of the century.<sup>119</sup> Again, the numbers cannot really be compared, but they do point to a more prolific book market compared to Sweden and a parallel increase of women poets in these two major literatures.

The positive developments, as we know, were shadowed by the gendered compartmentalization and drop in status for women's poetry. The growing mass market for literature was a fertile ground not only for novels, but also for more mainstream poetry for women – written by men *and* women. Häntzschel's research on German poetry between 1840 and 1914 shows that poetry was increasingly targeted to a female audience, including translation anthologies which would more freely adapt to the educational level and imagined sensitivity of women.<sup>120</sup> Poetry reading was even emphasized as central for girls' socialization into proper women, often highlighted as more suitable than the reading of novels. In the schools for girls, pupils were taught to approach lyrical texts in an intuitive and emotional way and to produce their own verses from familiar models, all of which furthered an easily accessible, unpretentious, and non-complex poetry.<sup>121</sup> Consequently, according to Häntzschel, lyrical poetry lost its former high status in the last decades of the century.

In Britain, the image of the lyrical poet was increasingly masculinized towards the middle of the century, and the idea that women could not hold an independent voice in the lyrical mode became widespread. This also affected how women were represented in anthologies: women poets would be included in the anthologies, but they were also "bracketed by gender-inflected editorial comments", according to Behrendt.<sup>122</sup> The narrow male canon of the early twentieth century was largely a consequence of this kind of reasoning.

The fact that the receiving markets in these cases were larger and more open to women poets than was the Swedish source culture, then, did not necessarily make it easier for Swedish women poets to enter them. With the ample supply from local poets, the incentive for translating had to be different, Häntzschel states. By 1871 until 1914, national poetry was a solid and self-evident part of the German literary culture, public and private, and international poetry would only be introduced in contexts aiming at challenging the dominant national culture.<sup>123</sup> International poetry was once again launched by the elite as an impetus for literary renewal in the 1880s and 1890s, such as had been seen before 1848.

When we widen the perspective to include secondary reception, the role of gender and nationality is even less straightforward, and Nyberg

is an interesting case in this respect as well. In 1842 she was mentioned *en passant* in Edgar Allan Poe's review of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Ballads and Other Poems*. Her name appeared alongside those of two French writers (Coëtlogon, Lamartine), three German (Herder, Körner, Uhland), two Danish (Brun, Baggesen), two Swedish (Bellman, Tegnér), four British (Keats, Shelley, Coleridge, Tennyson), and two American (Lowell, Longfellow), which were all mentioned as representatives of "a bolder, more natural and ideal composition".<sup>124</sup> A footnote explained that Nyberg was the author of "Dikter *von* Euphrosyne" (my emphasis). According to Adolph B. Benson, Poe probably did not read Swedish,<sup>125</sup> and in 1842 (as it seems), only one poem had been translated into German. As we have seen, Poe may either have taken the German "von" from other reception articles, or hyper-corrected an English version ("Dikter of Euphrosyne").

Why should he mention Nyberg at all? Poe's most heated attacks on Longfellow had not yet begun, but he might still have chosen Scandinavian names to try to beat his rival on his own turf, since Longfellow had established himself as one of the few connoisseurs of Scandinavian literature in America.<sup>126</sup> But why not choose a more central, male poet from the Swedish canon? It is an interteresting thought that the attraction of "Nyberg" might have been the very combination of gender and nationality. In the list above, Poe spread his fan to cover the major literatures plus two small ones (Danish and Swedish), and along with the 14 male poets he included two females (Nyberg and the German-Danish author Friederike Brun, 1765–1835). Leland S. Person has pointed to Poe's ambivalent attitude towards women writers, whom he promoted and reviewed in a manner that anticipated both the growing patriarchal, marginalizing criticism and twentieth century gynocentric views.<sup>127</sup> In the case of Nyberg, the name-dropping was most likely not a product of critical reading and appreciation but should primarily be read as part of an attitude and a staging of himself as a well-informed and modern "gentleman" critic.

A number of the literary surveys claim that Swedish literature has been shamelessly ignored in the receiving culture, a fault that the article or historical work means to correct.<sup>128</sup> This gesture suggests that the didactic or informative aims might be enhanced by other agendas. That is to say, the smallness or the degree of exoticism could be inversely proportional to the symbolic capital gained by the connoisseur. A dose of Swedish literature or a list of names did not necessarily improve sales directly, but could be part of the self-branding of critics, periodicals, series, or publishing houses, as the historian Mark Davies has shown in the case of travelogues.<sup>129</sup>

One example would be the plagiarizing article on Fredrika Bremer in *Chambers's* in 1849, mentioned earlier. It opens with the statement that “translated copies of Swedish poets and historians now obtain a place on the shelves of our public as well as our private libraries and are inquired for with avidity by the ordinary class of intelligent readers”.<sup>130</sup> If “poets” includes novelists, this is a likely scenario. If not, the overstatement is obvious. In 1849, volumes of Swedish poetry in English translation extended to a handful of separate translations of Tegnér’s *Frithiofs Saga* and two translations of his 1822 romance, *Axel*. Two collections of Swedish (and German) poetry from 1828 and 1848 included poems by J.H. Kellgren, E.G. Geijer, and Tegnér.<sup>131</sup> In other words, if there were *copies* of Swedish poetry in the libraries of the “intelligent” readers in 1849, they would reflect the Tegnér craze, which started much earlier. But what was actually on the shelves is perhaps not the primary point. Maybe it was the very idea of having Swedish poetry on the shelves that was alluring. The idea of being a cultivated reader could be linked to knowledge of peripheral or small literatures.

Considering the secondary reception, it would be wrong to conclude that the gendered compartmentalization was exclusively hampering the international reception of Nyberg and her status in the Swedish canon. Apparently, it was important for the Swedish mediators to demonstrate to the rest of the world, in their introductory articles, that Sweden did possess able women writers. From the other angle, the growing interest in Swedish women writers following the popularity of the great novelists would also spill over to their less well known “sister”. When Bremer was commemorated in *The Monthly Religious Magazine* in 1866, a very imprecise list of other Swedish women writers was provided, mentioning that “Julia Nyberg publishes at Upsal tender lyrics”, not being aware that Nyberg had also passed away. When Selma Lagerlöf, like Bremer and Flygare-Carlén before her, was awarded a gold medal by the Swedish Academy in 1904, some drops of fame would also fall on Nyberg’s name in a short anonymous news item in the Czech periodical *Národní listy*.<sup>132</sup> The position in the women’s section of Swedish literature furthered these kinds of remembering, however short or misinformed.

#### POETRY, WORLD LITERATURE, AND THE POTENTIAL OF DISTANT READING

It has been noticed before that a world literary perspective (looking beyond/across national borders) and the negotiations of what could count as “world literature” was not linked from the beginning to the establishment of a canon of texts.<sup>133</sup> But as soon as the ideas were put

into work, mediation and publication could hardly avoid contributing to and being part of canonizing processes. The interesting thing in this context is that when editors, translators, critics, and researchers tried to collect and capture “world literature” in the medium of the book from the late eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth, it first resulted in poetry anthologies and literary histories, or a combination of both.

The earlier-mentioned *Bildersaal der Weltliteratur* (1848) by Johannes Scherr was the first anthology to explicitly use the word “Weltliteratur” in the title. An important precursor was of course J.G. Herder, whose *Volkslieder* (1778–79) was one of the first anthologies that tried to provide a version of the world’s most important poetry as a compilation and translation of specimens from different nations.<sup>134</sup> When the world poetry anthology flourished in Germany in the second half of the nineteenth century, the editors would often refer to Goethe, but their practice would be closer to Herder’s cumulative model. According to the prefaces, as Birgit Bödeker has shown, the anthologies aimed at educating a wide audience with a view to developing taste as well as knowledge. The criteria for selection were first and foremost aesthetic quality, but sometimes this could be overruled by what was deemed most important for a literary-historical understanding.<sup>135</sup>

Harald Kittel has stressed that “anthologies of translated literature are very special media of interliterary contact and transfer, which may perform entirely different cultural tasks for anthologies of indigenous literature”.<sup>136</sup> Researchers such as Kittel, Essmann, and Ulrich J. Beil have largely described these kinds of anthologies as acts of literary imperialism. In the game of who is imitating whom – or who is dominating whom – the editors turned a national inferiority complex into an act on the offensive.<sup>137</sup> This is particularly manifest in Scherr’s 1848 introduction in which he claimed that the German people were the owners of world literature (“die Besitzer der Weltliteratur”) due to the universality of the German spirit and their quality and quantity of translations.<sup>138</sup> Similar points have, unsurprisingly, been made about the “world” literary histories.<sup>139</sup>

Beil uses the case of English Romantic poetry to show how Scherr and other anthologists increasingly arranged the foreign specimens in a way that were meant to confirm the superiority of German poetry.<sup>140</sup> According to Häntzschel, Scherr was under pressure from his publisher, who turned his cosmopolitan project into its opposite.<sup>141</sup> But my point here is rather that Beil may have overestimated the deliberate arrangement of poems in the *Bildersaal* when it comes to smaller literatures. Scherr’s anthology was an editor anthology, primarily composed of

previously published translations. This means that when Scherr chose his Swedish representatives, he was bound to navigate in an, at that time, rather restricted field already circumscribed by the translation activities of Amalia von Helvig, Gottlieb Mohnike, and others. Furthermore, Scherr was rather ungenerous in the first edition: specimens of Tegnér, Atterbom, and Nicander were distributed over 10 pages, which amounts to about 1% for Swedish poetry in the 1228-page book.<sup>142</sup>

Nyberg was not admitted into the “world” poetry anthologies, but she was mentioned in some of the German histories of “world” literature, in a recognizable condensed and recycled fashion. In 1851, Scherr published the first edition of *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur* (General History of Literature), which would be renamed *Illustrierte Geschichte der Weltliteratur* (Illustrated History of World Literature) from the ninth, 1895 edition. After presenting Atterbom as the most important of the Phosphorists, Scherr claimed that among the rest, only one play by Johan Börjesson and some songs (Lieder) by “der Frau Kerstin-Nyberg [sic!]” distinguished themselves.<sup>143</sup> The cumulative approach was the dominant method even in this genre, but obviously, historical narratives could afford to be more inclusive than translation anthologies and move in the direction of a more comprehensive version of world literature. The question is, however, whether it was a difference in scale rather than a difference in kind. Scherr’s and his colleagues’ way of working do not only provide thought-provoking examples, they are also of consequence for how we today can imagine the “world poetry” (canonical or comprehensive) of the nineteenth century and understand the processes of poetry circulation.

When Moretti defined world literature as “a problem that asks for a new critical method” in 2000, he presented distant reading as the answer. Distant readings of large data sets, he claimed, will provide us with a more rational as well as a more transnational literary history. Moreover, “literary history will quickly become very different from what it is now: it will become ‘second hand’: a patchwork of other people’s research, *without a single direct textual reading*”.<sup>144</sup> The wording sounds almost uncannily familiar, and the question is, how different would that literary history actually become in regard to the practices discussed here?

World literature clearly was a problem already in the nineteenth century. The critics, translators, journalists, and scholars trying to deal with the rapidly accelerating quantities of publications in different corners of the world did not have today’s technological muscles. As cultural mediators, they had other aims and ideas about literature and history than researchers do today. But their methods nonetheless

shared some features: non-reading and second-hand information as means to deal with large quantities of data.

When Scherr commented on the variety and comprehensiveness of his *Bildersaal der Weltliteratur* in the introduction to the second edition, he boasted that he had collected the poems from a bulk of thousands of books.<sup>145</sup> Others did not pretend to be able to read it all, but relied more or less explicitly on the selections made by their “native” contacts, as we have already seen. Amalia von Helvig, for example, wrote to her Swedish informants in the early 1820s about her intention to write a longer introduction of contemporary Swedish literature for the German readers. She asked Atterbom to write the historical survey (for a fee), which she would then rewrite, and she asked Hammarsköld to pick out the most suitable poem for each important Swedish poet (among them Nyberg), for – as she put it – she could not possibly read through it all.<sup>146</sup>

World literature was a problem not least in the second part of the century, when the imperative of knowing and mediating foreign literature was taken seriously not only by devoted cultural mediators but also by profit-minded publishers, writers, and hack workers trying to get their share in the new market. This market could almost be likened to a self-inflating bubble; the whole range of reception genres I have dealt with in this chapter attest to the need for guidance through the ever-growing volume of publications nationally and internationally – with all the introductions and selections further adding to the growth.<sup>147</sup> The scenario may be more overwhelming in the twenty-first century, but it is not essentially new.<sup>148</sup>

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, poetry, especially translated poetry, is extremely difficult to process and analyse in a transnational perspective through computer-aided methods of distant reading, first and foremost due to the lack of available and commensurable digitized data. This applies also for secondary reception.<sup>149</sup> But even if the kinds of sources I have dealt with here should be available in so-called “clean” digital formats in the future, and we were to perform different kinds of text mining and establish new statistics in order to see, from a distance, how the canonizing processes work or how one poet or nation is characterized as opposed to all the others – this would amount to nothing more than a distant reading of something that was already a distant reading. Moreover, it would only in rare cases be disconnected from the national canon formation and literary histories. In this respect, transnational reception studies today are, for better or for worse, part of the long history of reception which connects them with the literary cultures that they aim to investigate. To be sure, this ap-

plies to the whole field of world literature understood as literature that travels across national and cultural borders. The problem of selection will never be overcome by new critical methods – as Moretti and other world literature researchers are perfectly aware, hence their insistent focus on the inequality of the world literary system: “Theories will never abolish inequality: they can only hope to explain it”.<sup>150</sup>

What, then, is the explanatory potential for computational distant readings and world literature theory in future research of the transnational reception and flow of poetry during the nineteenth century? How can they help us make sense of the uncharted land? If the editorial, translational, and critical practices of the nineteenth century to some extent determine *what* we are able to see from our distant point of view, they also remind us once again to consider the *how* and the *objectives* of reading, transferring, or otherwise engaging with literary texts. Which kinds of reception events were actually aimed at close reading of foreign specimens of literature, and which were rather part of collecting and storing, or of a browsing culture aimed at feeling connected or informed?<sup>151</sup> To be able to answer questions such as these, mappings of translation reception should ideally be combined with investigations into secondary reception as well as analysis of the practices of recycling in both these kinds of reception. Ryan Cordell has convincingly argued that “computational methods are uniquely suited to helping us understand reprinting practices at scale”,<sup>152</sup> and algorithmic scans of the typical recycling genres could prove indispensable for understanding transnational literary reception in the nineteenth century. Given that it would be possible to establish an expanded and more equal large-scale data corpus, *and* to overcome the lingual barriers, a computational analysis across reception genres and media would allow us to see more precisely how the system of translation and recycling functioned. It could give us important clues concerning the interplay between primary and secondary reception, and what happened in the negotiations and interactions between the national and the international canons.<sup>153</sup>

#### NYBERG, WORLD LITERATURE, AND THE ART OF FORGETTING

“[A] work only has an *effective* life as world literature whenever, and wherever, it is actively present within a literary system beyond that of its original culture”, according to David Damrosch.<sup>154</sup> The extremely difficult question is: what does it mean to be actively present in a literary system? How is that measurable, and how do we compare differ-

ent actualizations or reception events in different contexts? The case of Julia Nyberg rather complicates matters instead of providing us with workable guidelines.

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, the international reception of Nyberg's work was affected by timing, genre, gender, and nationality. Her case has also shown an expected chance factor, when one or another translation project was left unfinished due to external circumstances. But first and foremost it has become clear that Nyberg became part of the Swedish canon at a time when this canon was mass distributed for the first time to different audiences abroad, primarily through secondary reception texts. This process of mediating Swedish literature of the new century started in the 1820s and it – when poetry was concerned – firmly established Sweden's position in the semi-periphery of the cultural maps, in the world poetry anthologies among other things. This was simultaneously a period when the room for manoeuvre was changing for women poets and when the kind of poetry Nyberg wrote lost its former appeal among literary critics. Still, her name filled a purpose in the international confirmation and rewriting of a certain version of Swedish literary history. The fact that her work was not altogether invisible on the international scene during the nineteenth century was in fact an unexpected result of this investigation.

I have tried to understand the growing mass of secondary reception texts in a variety of genres and media, offering knowledge (substantial or superficial) of other literatures, as an answer to – as well as a boosting of – the reading public's desire for Bildung. The relative strength between primary and secondary reception when it comes to impact is not always easily settled. We have seen that an almost ghost-like recycling of reception texts dominates Nyberg's transcultural reception. However, when the recycling article in *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* declared Nyberg to be superior to all other women writers in Sweden, it was at the time (1849) one of the most popular periodicals in Britain, issuing more than 64.000 copies.<sup>155</sup> Should we discard it as a kind of transcultural impact, since no translation of Nyberg's poems was involved and no original assessment or knowledge of any of the writers mentioned was added?

In a letter to Atterbom from 1830, Amalia von Helvig firmly stated that an introduction with translated excerpts would have a much larger effect than a translated volume. Clearly, she was annoyed by the fact that she was competing with other translators of the best-known of the Swedish Romantics (Tegnér, Geijer, Atterbom). But she assured Atterbom that even if Heinrich Neus should succeed in translating his great verse drama *Lyksalighetens Ö*, it would not make its way to the Ger-

man readers: “He [Neus] would hardly be clever enough to abridge, and if the poem remains in its original length, I promise you, that in this hyper-prosaic and political time, no one will read it. I, on the other hand, will make *you known* and therefore remove all which would weaken the interest in the great amount of beauty and excellence”.<sup>156</sup> Although fate would have it that her launch of Atterbom became fragmented through the publisher’s intervention (while Neus’ translation was printed in 1833), her estimation may have been right.

As has become clear, even instances of name-dropping are difficult to measure by one standard. In the context of literary histories, Herbert Grabes sees short mentions as reminders: “at the lowest level of attention, there may be little more than a cursory presentation of names and titles – a level that quite obviously has the sole function of reminding us that there is still so much more of note in written culture”.<sup>157</sup> But short mentions, as shown, may also function as an assurance that this particular nation possesses qualified female poets, or that this particular critic is attentive to female and/or lesser-known poets, or it may be intended as an indication of the comprehensiveness and quality of the survey, signalling that this article or this chapter covers the lot. Name-dropping seems to have no single function. It clearly depends on the context and the resonance of the name; “Goethe”, “Scott”, or “Madame de Staël” still reverberate in a wholly different manner than “Atterbom”, “Nicander”, or “Nyberg” – regardless of how many or few of their works we have actually read. The challenge is to measure the volume and quality of the resonance chamber in a particular culture at a particular time, and not be pre-tuned by the hyper-canonical as it has been distilled and negotiated in our own time.

Was world literature in the middle of the nineteenth century the literature that was translated in the world literature anthologies, or the literature that one read about in the world literary histories? Should ambitions in titles and proclamations be disregarded in favour of translation data? To settle the many questions would require further (if at all possible) investigations into the probable number of readers engaging with the Sweden section in the anthologies in relation to the probable number of readers seeking and processing the information provided in literary histories, introductions, or even the articles on Swedish literature in the encyclopaedias. At the end of the day, whether we arrive at strictly measurable results or not, typical cases such as Nyberg’s are not likely to alter today’s idea of a canon of world literature. But they may help us see the other, parallel, canonical concepts that were active during the nineteenth century – as well as the variety of ways in which mediators and readers engaged with literary texts from other cultures.

In the terms of cultural memory theories, actively circulated memory keeps the past present as *the canon*, whereas the passively stored memory preserves the past as *the archive*. Aleida Assmann has described the archive as a space that is located on the border between forgetting and remembering; its materials are preserved in a state of latency, in a space of intermediary storage (*Zwischenspeicher*)".<sup>158</sup> This border archive seems well suited to describe the reception of Nyberg and her work during the nineteenth century taken as a whole. It oscillated between reminding the readers of her place in the Swedish canon and reducing it to a minimum, including complete silence. "None mentioned – none forgotten" is a phrase that translates well into several languages, including the Scandinavian languages. Nyberg was often mentioned, but the question is, what kind of memory is embodied in such name-dropping? It seems to be an act of remembering which is very close to forgetting. Despite the non-monumentality of Nyberg and her works, the stability of her image and the resulting silence show similarities with Ann Rigney's description of monuments which are not invested with new meaning: "[t]o bring remembrance to a conclusion is de facto already to forget".<sup>159</sup>

However, I find the terms "active" and "passive" difficult to apply to the different reception events hovering on the border between forgetting and remembering. Nyberg's case has demonstrated that superficial reception, translation, and canonizing processes are very much connected in ways that seem to challenge these categories. There is as much activity in the decision to recycle secondary knowledge as there are passive elements in the decision to include a previously translated poem by Tegnér in the next anthology.

The archive, according to Assmann, is the "reference memory" from which professionals such as literary scholars may revitalize stored texts and authorships, acting from "specialized historical curiosity".<sup>160</sup> Hopefully, a study such as this can contribute to a new remembering of Nyberg (although, again, her work is hardly touched upon!), but the days are long past when a literary study could hope for a mass readership. In the academic world literary perspective, the battle was lost long time ago. Anthologies are no less important today, not least for the institutionalization of world literature, as Helgesson and Vermeulen have pointed out.<sup>161</sup> A few Nyberg poems may still be found in Swedish poetry anthologies, but in the influential anthologies of the English-speaking world, *The Longman Anthology of World Literature* (2009) and *The Norton Anthology of World Literature* (2012), all of Sweden's nineteenth-century literature is actively forgotten.<sup>162</sup>

## BIOGRAPHY: JULIA NYBERG



Julia Nyberg (1785–1854) was born Julia Christina (Kerstin) Svärdström in Skultuna, in mid-Sweden about 120 kilometres from Stockholm. Both her parents died when she was 13 years old, and she came under the patronage of the brassworks proprietor in Skultuna, C.J. Adlerwald. He let her attend a girls' school in Stockholm, from 1800 to 1802, where she was taught different women's crafts as well as French, and also some musical skills and orthography. She joined the household at Skultuna and also occasionally earned an income as a teacher, even after she married a tradesman of small wares, J.H. Asping, in 1809. It was not a happy marriage, and after years of economic misfortune they separated in 1818; the divorce was official in 1820. Around the time of the separation, she and Wilhelm Nyberg fell in love. He worked as an accountant at the brassworks and eventually became the manager, a position Julia's father had once had. They married in 1822, and Julia could settle in a small household in her childhood surroundings. Both marriages were childless.

In 1816 she sent a letter to the leading Phosphorist (Romantic) poet at the time, P.D.A. Atterbom. She signed it "Laura Euphrosine" and enclosed a sample of her poems. Atterbom replied enthusiastically and decided to publish three of them in the annual *Poetisk kalender* (1812–1822) for 1817. In April 1817 she revealed her identity to him, but he claimed to have guessed it already. Between 1817 and 1822 a total of 37 of her poems were published in *Poetisk kalender* (Atterbom contributed 65 poems in the same period). The contact with Atterbom marked not only the beginning of Nyberg's literary career but also a long friendship and co-operation between the two. Atterbom revised the poems before publishing, including those in her first volume, which she sent to the Phosphorist publisher V.F. Palmlad early in 1820. Atterbom and Palmlad, however, did not prioritize her work, and it was not published

until summer 1822. Calendars, magazines, newspapers, anthologies, songbooks, and chap books were the important publishing media for her poetry and verse dramas. But over the years she also published two more poetry books (*Nyare dikter* 1828, *Nya dikter* 1842) as well as her collected works in two volumes (*Samlade dikter* vol. I-II, 1831–1832).

Many of her poems expressed the Romantic notion of poetry and love as mediating between man and heaven. As a whole, they spanned from the religious to the Gothic, and from the satiric to the idyllic mode. When she picked up narrative or historical motifs, she would often highlight female agency as well as the loving woman. Her drama *Vublina* (1823) was inspired by a woman commander (Bouboulina) in the Greek-Turkish war. Nyberg looked upon her authorship as a vocation, and her attitude to the economic aspects of publishing was highly ambivalent. As she was never in a position to be able to live by her pen, she could afford to compare writing for money to prostitution.<sup>163</sup> On the other hand, she did not refrain from demanding an advance or negotiating a higher salary.

Male agents such as Atterbom and Palmlad, as well as the critic and writer Lorenzo Hammarsköld, played a decisive role for her literary career, especially in the beginning. The irritations surrounding the delayed publishing of her first book and Atterbom's subsequent critical remarks in his review did not discourage her from seeking his advice when she edited her collected poems a decade later. Her husband, Wilhelm Nyberg, was supportive of her writing and assisted her in making fair copies, among other things. Gradually her network grew and included more male and female writers, critics, and artists such as the critic-writers C.F. Dahlgren and Wendela Hebbe and the composer and musician Emilie Holmberg. The latter accompanied Nyberg when she travelled to Denmark, Germany, Belgium, and France in 1843.

In her letters, Nyberg expressed different sentiments about living in the province, detached from the cultural centres. Most often she would exhibit contentment, enjoying the quiet life free from the demands of society, but at other times she felt frustrated. Moving to Stockholm was probably never a real option, but she was a frequent visitor. Among other things she became a member of Dahlgren's literary club (the so-called *Aganippiska brunnsällskapet*, established in 1839), to which Emilie Flygare-Carlén, Emilie Holmberg, and O.P. Sturzen-Becker also belonged. According to Flygare-Carlén's memoirs, Nyberg was a capable lady among the many gentlemen, in the discussions as well as in the art of drinking Swedish punch and smoking a cigar.<sup>164</sup>

## NOTES

- 1 A short introduction may be found in Aleida Assmann, “Canon and Archive”, in Erll, Astrid and Ansgar Nünning (eds.), *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2010.
- 2 The available correspondence and other documents give no indication that women authors contributed to *Phosphorus* (1810–1814). Sixteen male authors have been identified (some had easily decipherable signatures, others used their proper names) as contributors, whereas two signatures have remained uncertain, cf. Petra Söderlund, *Romantik och förfnuft: V.F. Palmlunds förlag 1810–1830*, Hedemora: Gidlund, 2000, pp. 348–351.
- 3 P.D.A. Atterbom, “Företal till Poetisk kalender för år 1818”, *Poetisk kalender 1818*, pp. xxix–xxx.
- 4 Nyberg indicated that she had no inclination towards prose genres in the account she herself sketched out for the biographical encyclopedia, *Biografiskt lexikon öfver namnkunnige svenska män* (1835–1857), Vol. X, Uppsala: N.M. Lindh, 1844. See also Eva Borgström’s article on Nyberg, “The Fair Cunigunda”, in *The History of Nordic Women’s Literature*: <http://nordic-womensliterature.net/article/fair-cunigunda> (Accessed 15 Dec. 2016).
- 5 On the author role in relation to the book market and the slow development of an autonomous literary field in Bourdieu’s sense in Sweden in the first decades of the nineteenth century, see Söderlund *Romantik och förfnuft*, pp. 25–33. Sophia Elisabet Brenner (1659–1730) was acknowledged and esteemed as a poet and learned woman during her lifetime, and after her husband’s death she was at least promised a state pension, cf. Valborg Lindgärde’s introduction to *Samlade dikter av Sophia Elisabet Brenner*, ed. Lindgärde, Valborg, Stockholm: Svenska Vitterhetssamfundet, 2009, p. XXIII. The influential writer Hedvig Charlotta Nordenflycht (1718–1763), who wrote verse both in the classicist-enlightened and sentimental-religious vein, was actually forced to live by her pen after her husband’s death in 1741, and she was granted a lifelong pension in 1852 by the Swedish state.
- 6 Cf. Eva Borgström, *Om jag får be om ölost. Kring kvinnliga författares kvinnobilder i svensk romantik*, Göteborg: Anamma 1991, pp. 151–194; Söderlund *Romantik och förfnuft*, p. 170.
- 7 Anders Lindeberg was Nyberg’s first fierce critic in that respect. In his review of Nyberg’s drama *Vublina* (1822) he imagined that the poetess was neglecting her husband and children in her vain attempt to rise above her sex and abilities, see Anders Lindeberg, “Vublina”, *Stockholms Posten* 1823, pp. 238–240. At the time, Lindeberg was an anti-Phosphorist supporter of the old school and a loyal (and paid) spokesman for king and government. His passionate engagement for abolishing the theatre monopoly in Stockholm was part of his transformation into a radical republican in the 1830s, which led to imprisonment and a death sentence (and a pardon) in 1834 for offending the sovereign. He would also acknowledge other women authors and embrace the idea of women entering the Swedish Riksdag in the 1840s, cf. Borgström *Om jag får be om ölost*,

- p. 167; *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/Sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=10487> [retrieved 2 Feb. 2018].
- 8 J.E. Rydqvist commented on this discussion in a review in 1828 and decided that it was unnecessary to feel obliged to choose between two so different and capable poets, see “Nyare Dikter af Euphrosyne”, *Heimdall* 1828:33, p. 130. In the long run, however, Lenngren was favoured in Swedish literary histories more than Nyberg.
- 9 See for example C.J. Lénström, *Svenska poesiens historia*, Vol. 2, N.M. Lindh: Örebro, 1840, pp. 427–343, and Henrik Schück, *Sveriges Litteratur intill 1900*, Vol. 2, Gebers: Stockholm, 1935, pp. 52–53.
- 10 David Damrosch, “World Literature in a Postcanonical, Hypercanonical Age”, in Saussy, Haun (ed.), *Comparative Literature in an Age of Globalization*, Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2006.
- 11 Bernt Olsson et al., *Litteraturens historia i Sverige*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., Stockholm: Norstedts, 2009, p. 165. The portrait is, in fact, not Nyberg's, but has been confused with that of her younger colleague, Thekla Knös (1815–1880).
- 12 Some gaps are thus filled by bibliographies of translations which include contributions to different kinds of anthologies and journals, such as the ones used in the present study: Heinz-Georg Halbe, Fritz Paul, and Regina Quandt, *Schwedische Literatur in deutscher Übersetzung 1830–1980: eine Bibliographie*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987–1988; and Petra Broomans and Ingeborg Kroon (eds.), *Zweedse en Zweedstalige Finse auteurs in Nederlandse vertaling 1491–2007: een bibliografie / Svenska och finlandssvenska författare i nederländsk översättning 1491–2007: en bibliografi*, Groningen: Barkhuis, 2013. In the collaborative series *The Reception of British and Irish Authors in Europe* (2002–), edited by Elinor Shaffer, a number of canonized poets have been included (among them S.T. Coleridge and P.B. Shelley), however, the methods used for tracing and assessing poetry translation and other kinds of poetry reception are not addressed or discussed in detail.
- 13 Franco Moretti, “The Slaughterhouse of Literature”, in *Modern Language Quarterly*, Vol. 61, No. 1 (March 2000), p. 209.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Efraín Kristal, “‘Considering coldly...’ A Response to Franco Moretti”, in *New Left Review*, Vol. 5 (May–June 2002), pp. 61–74. Other objections to Moretti's use of the novel as a model for other genres have been formulated by, for instance, Alexander Beecroft, “World Literature Without a Hyphen”, *New Left Review*, Vol. 54 (Nov–Dec 2008), pp. 90–91.
- 16 Franco Moretti, “More Conjectures”, *New Left Review*, Vol. 20 (March–April 2003), p. 75, see also p. 73.
- 17 Günter Häntzschel, “Lyrik und Lyrik-Markt in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Fortschrittsbericht und Projektsskizzierung”, in *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur*, 1982:7, p. 201.
- 18 Günter Häntzschel, “Einleitung”, in *Bibliographie der deutschsprachigen Lyrikanthologien: 1840–1914*, München: Saur, 1991, p. 11. At least from the 1870s the “trivialization” of poetry anthologies was part of a conscious politics for the democratization of poetry according to Häntzschel, *Die deutschsprachigen Lyrikanthologien 1840 bis 1914: Sozialgeschichte*

*der Lyrik des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1997, pp. 152–154. See also Sabine Haass on Victorian anthologies, “Victorian Poetry Anthologies: Their Role and Success in the Nineteenth-Century Book Market”, in *Publishing History*, 1985:17, pp. 51–64; and Coleman Hutchison and Elizabeth Renker on American popular poetry from 1860 to 1920, “Popular Poetry in Circulation”, in Bold, Christine (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, Vol. 6, Oxford University Press, 2011, online ed. 2015. In her study *Shelley’s German Afterlives, 1814–2000*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, Susanne Schmid draws another conclusion of Häntzschel’s and other researchers’ description of the poetry market in Germany during the nineteenth century (p. 65). At the same time, her aim is to show how P.B. Shelley was performed, not only in elitist but also in popular settings and media: “His poetry was not consumed only by the select few; more often than not it was the subject of sociable conversation and public entertainment, and was even taught at the educational institutions he had despised”, p. 64.

- 19 Stephen C. Behrendt, *British Women Poets and the Romantic Writing Community*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, [2009] 2010 (Accessed 12 Jan. 2018). ProQuest Ebook Central, p. 13.
- 20 Cf. Hutchison and Renker “Popular Poetry in Circulation”.
- 21 Cf. Linda K. Hughes, “What the Wellesley Index Left Out: Why Poetry Matters to Periodical Studies”, in *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (2007), p. 91.
- 22 Alison Chapman and Caley Ehnes, “Introduction”, in *Victorian Periodical Poetry*, *Victorian Poetry*, Vol. 52, No. 1 (Spring 2014), p. 3. Few studies have been made on Swedish poetry culture in the nineteenth century. One interesting contribution is Åke Åberg’s dissertation on the literary life of the city of Västerås, 1790–1850, *Västerås mellan Kellgren och Onkel Adam. Studier i provinsens litterära villkor och system*, Västerås kulturnämnds skriftserie 15, Västerås: Kultur- och fritidsnämnden, Västerås Kommun, 1987. Åberg shows that poetry was a steady feature of the provincial papers (ca. 7,7% of the space between 1813 and 1828). The poetry was occasional (ca. 42%) and lyrical (ca. 40%, among these also translated poetry from German, French, English, Italian, and Latin), and included a few drinking songs (2,8%). Satirical epigrams, fables, and classicist *contes* made up 15,2%. Even the more “pure” poetry was often displayed around holidays and aimed to provide entertainment, relaxation, and reflection (pp. 141–142). In the 1830s, the number of poems rose, but as the papers grew in size and the poems became shorter, the total share for verse in the columns was smaller, and they were also removed from the front page (pp. 159–160). In the 1840s the former centrality of poetry in these newspapers was irretrievably lost, according to Åberg. Occasional poetry survived only in handwritten form, as low-status and as part of a professional elite literary production (p. 165).
- 23 The status of translation of Latin poetry changed; for instance, “Translating from Latin verse in the nineteenth century, for the first time since the Renaissance, was not central to the work of major English poets. The Romantics looked more often to Greece, and by Victoria’s reign many of the most influential translators were not the age’s most renowned poets

- [...]. Amateurs, scholars, and minor poets took up the slack and became an important presence in the translation of Latin verse”, John Talbot, “Latin Poetry”, in France, Peter and Kenneth Haynes (eds.), *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, Vol. 4, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006, p. 188.
- 24 Translating certain hymns could be an ideological statement, according to J.R. Watson, “Hymns”, in France and Haynes (eds.), *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, p. 411. Another example could be P.B. Shelley whose poetry was translated by political activists in Europe for very different purposes, cf. Michael Rossington and Susanne Schmid, “Introduction”, in Schmid, Susanne and Michael Rossington (eds.), *The Reception of P.B. Shelley in Europe*, London and New York: Continuum, 2008, p. 8.
- 25 Cf. Christine Lombez, “Poésie”, in Chevrel, Yves, Lieven D’Hulst and Christine Lombez (eds.), *Historie des traductions en Langue Française*, Paris: Verider, 2012, pp. 346–349. According to this, the trend during the century in French verse translation was a move away from imitations towards fidelity to the original, and this must be understood as part of a general trend in the history of translation in Europe.
- 26 Margaret Lesser, “Professionals”, in France and Haynes (eds.), *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, p. 86.
- 27 Peter France, “Amateurs and Enthusiasts”, in France and Haynes (eds.), *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, p. 98.
- 28 The percentages in 1890 were 12,2 for poetry, 11,4 for drama and opera, and 26,6 for fiction, Peter France and Kenneth Haynes, “The Publication of Literary Translation: An Overview”, in France and Haynes (eds.), *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, p. 137. The remaining percentages for 1830 are distributed as follows: 15,9 history/geography, 8,4 biography, 9,2 philosophy, 15,1 religious texts, 7,2 science/social sciences. For 1890 they are: 12,4 history/geography, 7,7 biography, 11,7 philosophy, 13,2 religious texts, 4,7 science/social sciences. France and Haynes stress that the numbers “will result in systematic undercounts”, due to the incompleteness of the catalogue (p. 136), and they add an important note: “Categorization by genre has of course an arbitrary element and is necessarily imprecise. Children’s stories and fables are classified as fiction; travel literature comes under history/geography; ‘social sciences’ includes writings on politics, law and education” (p. 137). See also the table for other years and discussions of the reliability of the numbers, p. 149.
- 29 Ibid. p. 138.
- 30 Blaise Wilfert-Portal, “Traduction Littéraire: approche bibliométrique”, in Chevrel, D’Hulst and Lombez (eds.), *Historie des traductions en Langue Française*, p. 267.
- 31 Poetry swayed between 3,5 % in 1816 and 11,3 % in 1827; novels amounted to 29,6 % at the highest in 1816 and 13,35 % at the lowest in 1839. For drama, the average is 8% between 1816 and 1839, the percentages being quite uneven: 2,7% in 1833 and 31,1% in 1821; see ibid., p. 268.
- 32 The percentages were circa 3,25% for poetry and 10,3% for novels between 1840 and 1875; circa 3,5% for poetry and 6,3% for novels between 1886 and 1905 (calculated from percentages given in ibid., pp. 284, 304).

- 33 On Romantic poetry in oral, manuscript, and printed forms and the complex feedback loops between different media, see Celeste Langan and Maureen N. McLane, “The Medium of Romantic Poetry”, *The Cambridge Companion to British Romantic Poetry*, 2008, p. 243. See also Schmid, *Shelley’s German Afterlives*, pp. 68–72.
- 34 Cf. Lombez, “Poésie”, p. 407; France and Haynes “The Publication of Literary Translation: An Overview”, p. 138, see also p. 143 on translations from different languages in selected periodicals.
- 35 Rainer Schulte’s observation concerns translations in American anthologies and in special issues of literary journals in the 1960s and 1970s, but are relevant for other periods and literatures as well, see “International Literature Transfer via Translation Anthologies”, in Kittel, Harald (ed.), *International Anthologies of Literature in Translation*, Göttinger Beiträge zur internationalen Übersetzungsforschung, Vol. 9, Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1995, pp. 134–148.
- 36 Chapman and Ehnes “Introduction”, pp. 6–7. Andrew Hobbs and Claire Januszewski estimate that poetry publishing from the late 1850s and onwards was led by magazines, “with the huge weight of provincial newspapers acting as significant re-publishers of periodical poetry, alongside the publication of original local poetry. Books were the main source of reprinted poetry in provincial papers in 1800, 1820, and 1840—but afterwards periodicals dominated”, “How Local Newspapers Came to Dominate Victorian Poetry Publishing”, in *Victorian Poetry*, Vol. 52, No. 1 (Spring 2014), p. 75.
- 37 Ibid. p. 145. Interestingly enough, translations from German result in distinct peaks for poetry in *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* in the period 1876–1900, see Natalie M. Houston, Lindsay Lawrence, and April Patrick, “Bibliographical Databases and ‘The Golden Stream’: Constructing the Periodical Poetry Index”, *Victorian Review*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (2012), pp. 69–80, p. 76–77.
- 38 Häntzschel, “Einleitung”, p. 9; cf. Helga Essmann “Einleitung”, in Essmann, Helga and Udo Schöning (eds.), *Weltliteratur in deutschen Versanthologien des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag 1996, p. XII; Helga Essmann and Armin Paul Frank, “Translation Anthologies: An Invitation to the Curious and a Case Study”, in *Target*, 1991:3, 1, pp. 65–90.
- 39 Cf. Häntzschel “Einleitung”, p. 10, see also Häntzschel “Lyrik und Lyrik-Markt in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts”, p. 232.
- 40 Cf. ibid., pp. 221 and 225. See also Hutchison and Renker “Popular Poetry in Circulation”, on the importance of anthologies for American popular poetry in the late nineteenth century.
- 41 Research conducted within the Göttinger Sonderforschungsbereich “Die Literarische Übersetzung”, and especially on anthologies; the two types of anthologies are defined, for instance, in Helga Essmann’s “Einleitung” p. XIII; see also Helga Essmann, “Weltliteratur Between Two Covers: Forms and Functions of German Translation Anthologies”, in Wollmer, Kurt and Michael Irmscher (eds.), *Translating Literatures – Translating Cultures: New Vistas and Approaches in Literary Studies*, Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1998, p. 156.

- 42 Cf. Hughes, “What the Wellesley Index Left Out”; Houston, Lawrence, and Patrick, “Bibliographical Databases and ‘The Golden Stream’”, pp. 69–80.
- 43 See for example Ted Underwood et al., “Mapping Mutable Genres in Structurally Complex Volumes”, 2013, <https://arxiv.org/abs/1309.3323>, Accessed 22 Feb. 2018.
- 44 Chapman and Ehnes comment on the periodical poetry’s resistance towards a whole-scale mapping through digitization, “Introduction”, pp. 5–6. Unfortunately, the problematics of translated poetry and transnational perspectives are only mentioned (p. 5) but never discussed in this special issue on periodical poetry.
- 45 The sources are the library catalogues and full-text databases also used in SWED 2018 (see Appendix), as well as A) Printed bibliographies on translations into German, French, and Dutch: Heinz-Georg Halbe, Fritz Paul, and Regina Quandt, *Schwedische Literatur in deutscher Übersetzung 1830–1980*; Denis Ballu, *Lettres Nordiques, une bibliographie, 1720–2013*, Vol I–II, Stockholm: Kungliga biblioteket, 2016; Petra Broomans and Ingeborg Kroon (eds.), *Zweedse en Zweedstalige Finse auteurs in Nederlandse vertaling 1491–2007*, 2013. Several English printed bibliographies exist, but only a few have proved helpful concerning translated poetry and verse: Nils Afzelius, *A Bibliographical List of Books in English on Sweden and Literary Works Translated into English from Swedish*, Stockholm: Fritz’s, 2nd ed., 1938; and Robert E. Bjork, “A Bibliography of Modern Scandinavian Literature (Excluding H.C. Andersen) in English Translation, 1533–1900, and Listed by Translator”, *Scandinavian Studies*, 7:2005, pp. 105–142 (whereas George Watson (ed.), *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, Vol. 3, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969, only includes translated novels and plays by Bremer (10 titles) and Strindberg (one title) between 1800 and 1900, and Olive Classe (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Literary Translation into English*, London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2000, only includes Strindberg and Lagerlöf); B) Digitized bibliographies: *Index C19*; C) Other publicly available digital archives: archive.org; hathitrust.org; googlebooks.com, (Finnish:) DIGI – National Library’s Digital Collections (<https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/?language=en>), (Danish:) *Arkiv for Dansk Litteratur* ([www.adl.dk](http://www.adl.dk)). The sources have been consulted over the years spanning from 2012 to 2017, which means that new results may come up in renewed searches in the online sources (or from other IP addresses). The searches were aimed at finding translations of Nyberg and other Swedish Romantic poets, as well as reviews, characterizations etc. (secondary reception texts). Apart from the common problem of different last names and alternating spelling habits, Julia Nyberg’s pseudonym *Euphrosyne* – a popular name at the time, for boats as well as for women! – has made it difficult to perform targeted and limited searches. I used the author’s different names as search terms, but also searched for “Atterbom” following the impression that Nyberg was often mentioned in connection with him. Additionally, I searched for “Tegnér”, “Tegnér + Frithiof”, “Nicander” and “Stagnelius”, and conducted broader searches for Swedish poetry and literature in the German, French, British, and American sources.

- 46 [Julia Nyberg] Euphrosyne, *Kristóforos: legenda. Otavan helppohintainen kirjasto* 117, translated by J. Enlund, Helsinki: Otava, 1905.
- 47 The found translations of her poems are: “Nina” in Udo Waldemar Dieterich, *Auswahl einiger Schwedischen Gedichte*, Stockholm 1842; “Julljusen” (Die Weihnachtslieder) and “Kärlekens symbolik” (Die Symbolik der Liebe) in Edmund Lobedanz, *Album Schwedisch-Finnischer Dichtung*, Leipzig 1868; “Julljusen” was also published in A. E. Wollheim, *Die National-Literatur der Skandinavier*, Berlin 1877. “Tiggargossen” (Het Bedelaartjen) in C.J. Hansen, *Noordsche Lettere (Talen, Letterkunden, Overzettingen) als vervolg op de Reisbrieven uit Dietschland en Denemark*, Gent: I.S. van Doosselaere, 1860, as well as (Der Bettelknabe) in *Einige Gedichte von C.D. von Wirsén, Oscar II, B.E. Malmström, E. Sehlstedt, Z. Topelius, J.L. Runeberg u.a.*, translated by Decebe (Chaim Brody), Hamburg: Richter, 1883. Two stanzas from “Den stackars Anna, eller Moll-toner från Norrland”, better known as “Vårvindar friska”, (“Lenzhauen spielen”) in *Die schönsten Volkslieder Schwedens: The Most Beautiful Swedish National Songs: Sveriges schönaste folkvisor*, translated by K. Gercke, Stockholm: Gehrmann, 1895. “Vårvindar friska” (Spring Breezes Crisp), was also published in *Songs of Sweden: Eighty-Seven Swedish Folk- and Popular Songs*, edited by Gustaf Hägg, translated by Henry Grafton Chapman, New York: G. Schirmer, 1909. One stanza (“Vorvindar glaðir”) was translated by Helgi Valtýsson (1877–1971) and included in *Skólasöngvar*, Reykjavík: Guðm. Gamalésson, 1906–1911, edited by Sigrún Einarsson (I thank Jón Yngvi Jóhannsson for helping me locate this translation). Finally, “Trasten” (The Pine Trush) in William and Mary Howitt, *The Literature and Romance of Northern Europe: A Complete History of the Literature of Sweden*, Vol. 2, 1852.
- 48 The song was first published in Nyberg’s collection *Nyare dikter* (Newer Poems, 1828) with the title, “Den stackars Anna, eller Moll-toner från Norrland” (The pitiful Anna, or, tones in minor from Norrland [the North of Sweden]).
- 49 See Gottfrid Kallstenius, *Blad ur Uppsalsångens historia*, Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1913, p. 241; Eva Danielson, “Vårvindar friska”, in *Noterat*, 2000:8, pp. 107–108.
- 50 Cf. Leif Jonsson, Lennart Reimers and Martin Tegen, “Körmusiken”, in *Musiken i Sverige*, Vol. III, Stockholm: Fischer & Co, 2nd ed., 1992, pp. 272–279; Leif Jonsson, *Ljusets Riddarvakt. 1800-talets studentsång utövad som offentlig samhällskonst*, diss. Uppsala 1990, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1990, pp. 83–88.
- 51 None of the songs (mixed traditional and modern) in *Die Schönsten Volkslieder Schwedens* are attributed to either author or composer.
- 52 For example, in a Norwegian songbook for use at the folk high schools, two strophes from “Vårvindar friska” were included, see H.K. Foosnæs and L.M. Bentsen (eds.), *Viser og Sange for Ungdommen*, Kristiania: Nils Lunds Forlag, 1872. The song (and other songs) by Nyberg is also found in Swedish songbooks published by and for the Swedish-Americans. It also appeared on American-Swedish recordings of Swedish songs early in the twentieth century.

- 53 According to Kallstenius *Blad ur Uppsalsångens historia*, p. 242.
- 54 If IMDB may be trusted, the movie premiered in Mexico, Argentina, Sweden, Ireland, Portugal, Finland, France, Denmark, Germany, Spain, Austria, and Japan, <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0037536/releaseinfo>, (Accessed 26 Nov. 2017). The movie is also (at present) available on YouTube.
- 55 In Rasmus Nyerup's anthology, *Scandinavisk Nytaarsgave for Aaret 1828*, republished in 1830 as *Digte af Danske og Svenske berömte Forfattere*, Copenhagen: Beekens, 1830. Nyerup received Nyberg's poems from Hammarsköld, see Karl Warburg, "Rasmus Nyerups svenska brefväxling", in *Samlaren* 1894, pp. 97–141, 135. In the collection, Atterbom and Esaias Tegnér were represented by only one poem each, K.A. Nicander by two, C.F. Dahlgren by three, and Nyberg by four. The anthology included Nyerup's free translation of a song from Atterbom's verse drama *Lyksalighetens ö* (1824–1827), but all other Swedish poetry was in the original language.
- 56 The data is extracted from Heinz-Georg Halbe, Fritz Paul and Regina Quandt, *Schwedische Literatur in deutscher Übersetzung 1830–1980*, and it is made available as a separate part of the SWED Database. I have registered all translated titles of lyrical or epic-lyric poetry in anthologies between 1830 and 1914, leaving out a few titles of uncertain genre category. Distinguishing between these genres would have required a reading of all items and also a risk of forcing arbitrary divisions in a field with blurred boundaries. Excerpts from verse dramas posed another difficulty, since they may consist of more or less rounded parts within the drama (such as some of the songs from Atterbom's *Lyksalighetens ö*), and in either case it may be argued that they have fulfilled a similar function in the anthologies as a poem or an extract from an epic poem. In the end, I decided to also include excerpts from verse dramas; in any case, there are not many in the material. Anonymous ballads have not been registered, but I have included ballads which are attributed to an author (such as the identified "ballad" by Nyberg), even though they are published in an anthology of "Volkslieder". In a few instances I have included data that I have come across from sources other than the German bibliography. All published titles are registered as independent publishing events or posts, which means that one poem (or part of a poem) published in numerous anthologies or in an anthology which was issued in a new edition counts as so many posts (new impressions of one and the same collection are noted in the original record, but has not been added as independent posts). I follow the principle from my source and also include verses which have been published in collections by one author-translator. However, I have not included short excerpts in aphorism collections and the like in the main database, they have been listed separately. Where the title indicates that it has an author, albeit unidentified, I have included it in my database, marking the unknown author with "no record", but I exclude this data in my calculations.
- 57 Oscar II wrote in several genres and was appreciated in Sweden as well as abroad, but he was also the target of criticism and satire from August Strindberg among others. According to Germund Michanek, bibliographies (probably not exhaustive) have shown that the king's work (volumes or pieces of poetry) was published in German 28 times, English 13 times,

French 12 times, Italian 7 times, Danish 6 times, Norwegian 5 times, and in Russian, Hungarian, and Dutch an unspecified number of times. Oscar II's poems were set to music and performed in European concert halls, and in 1889 an adaption of his historical drama *Några timmar på Kronborgs slott* (Some hours at the castle of Kronborg, 1887) could be viewed in 16 different German cities, see Germund Michanek, *Skaldernas konung. Oscar II, litteraturen och litteratörerna*, Stockholm: Norstedt, 1979, p. 68. Michanek, unimpressed by the quality of the king's output, wonders whether a writer with such remarkable international esteem would not be worth a closer study, but he concludes that this is not the case (somewhat contradicting his own thorough study), since the international response was extremely exaggerated and nothing more than a result of a childish infatuation with a monarch-poet in a royalist Europe (p. 69).

- 58 J.L. Runeberg, "Samlade Dikter af Euphrosyne. Första delen", in *Helsingfors Morgonblad* 1832:64, republished in *Samlade arbeten* VI, Helsingfors: Sederholm, 1871, pp. 61–77. Runeberg recommended that Nyberg liberate herself from the Phosphorist manner and – in a recognizable gesture – that she refrain from all deeper and sublime motifs and confine herself to small, light, and simple subjects, scenes from nature, and matters of the heart.
- 59 Using a narrower corpus of world poetry anthologies, Lutz Rühling's graph of the reception of the Scandinavian literature in German gives a slightly different picture with a definite peak for Swedish poetry in 1879, instead; Lutz Rühling, "Nicht mehr als Zahlen und Figuren? Zur statistischen Auswertung von Übersetzungsanthologien", Essmann and Schöning (eds.), *Weltliteratur in deutschen Versanthologien des 19. Jahrhunderts*, p. 241. I have included the anthologies from the Göttingen researchers' Zentralcorpus (Essmann "Einleitung", pp. XII–XIII), which include Swedish poetry, and added four which signal a world-literary ambition in their titles, among them one anthology which actually precedes Scherr's anthology of world poetry by 10 years: J.M. Braun (ed.), *Die Volksharfe. Sammlung der schönsten Volkslieder aller Nationen*, Vol. 1–6, Stuttgart: Köhler, 1838–1840 (Vol. 4, 1838, includes songs from Tegnér's *Frithiofs Saga*), part of the series *Bibliothek des Frohsinns*. With this distribution, the Nordic anthologies accounts for around 76% of the translated titles, 11% is found in the category of "world" anthologies, and 11 % in other kinds of anthologies and collections.
- 60 Lutz Rühling, "Nicht mehr als Zahlen und Figuren?", p. 233. See also Häntzschel, *Die deutschsprachigen Lyrikanthologien 1840 bis 1914*, pp. 110 and 354.
- 61 Birgit Bödeker and Heike Leopold, "'Windrosen' der Weltliteraturanthologien. Diagramme als ein Mittel zur Inhaltsanalyse", in Essmann and Schöning (eds.), *Weltliteratur in deutschen Versanthologien des 19. Jahrhunderts*, p. 207.
- 62 In 1853, F.L. Bömers (ed.), *Schwedens Dichterhain* (Bückeburg: Wolper; Hannover: Schlüter) accounts for 103 of 104 titles; in 1860, Gottfried von Leinburg (ed.), *Hausschatz der schwedischen Poesie*, Vol. III (Leipzig: Arnold) accounts for 140 of 142 titles; in 1861, Ferdinand Otto Freiherrn von Nordenflycht (transl.), *Schwedische Lieder der Neuzeit* (Berlin: Decker) for 146 of 146 titles; in 1868, Edmund Lobedanz (ed.), *Album schwedisch-*

- finnische Dichtung* (Leipzig: Fritsch) for 139 of 139 titles. In 1889, P.J. Willatzen (ed.), *Nordlandsharfe* (Bremen: Heinsius) accounts for 90 of 150 titles, and Carl Fowelin (transl.), *Schwedische Dichtungen* (Berlin: Deubner) for the remaining 56. Finally, in 1903, Johann Jakob Meyer, *Kāvyasamgraha. Erotische und esoterische Lieder* (Leipzig: Lotus) accounts for 27 titles; Emil Jonas (ed.), *Lyrische Anthologi (Nordischer Musenalmanach) hervorragender Skandinavischer Dichter* (Breslau: Schottlaender) for 34; and Hanns von Gumpenberg (ed.), *Schwedische Lyrik* (München: Etzold; Marchlewski) for 121 of 182 titles. New poets were introduced by the end of the nineteenth century, which explains what looks like a discrepancy between the graphs showing the most translated poets (with one decisive peak in the 1860s) and the graphs of all poets in the period (with more peaks) 1830–1914.
- 63 One world poetry anthology from the bibliography, *Pandora. Ein Weltpoetisches Stammbuch*, edited by Maria von Andechs (pseud. for Maria von Leinburg), Leipzig: Arnold, 1860, collects hundreds of shorter experts and has therefore not been included in the database. The Scandinavian section is dominated by Swedish authors (from Queen Kristina to C.A. Wetterbergh), and particularly by Tegnér (more than 40 excerpts).
- 64 “Taken together, the 50-odd German multilateral anthologies of poetry published in 122 years are a significant corpus, hardly rivalled in other countries, representative of the German translation culture, indicating stabilizations and modifications of *Kanonangebote* (suggestions for building canons), and many other important phenomena of translation history at the crossroads of aesthetic (poetic and poetological), translational, social (reading audience), economic (import, re-use of older translations) and related concerns”, Essmann and Frank “Translation Anthologies: An Invitation to the Curious and a Case Study”, p. 71.
- 65 Häntzschel *Die deutschsprachigen Lyrikanthologien 1840 bis 1914*, p. 55, 106, 108.
- 66 As has already been made clear, Nyberg was not included in the English anthologies that I have found (published between 1827 and 1910). Neither was Atterbom, but Tegnér, Geijer, Stagnelius, Runeberg, and Franzén are among the recurring names (see also note 131). Atterbom was, however, translated in the second volume in C.D. Warner’s *A Library of the World’s Best Literature Ancient and Modern*, New York: International Society, 1896–1897. This huge project in 45 volumes translated and reproduced both prose and poetry – and all the authors of this study, except for the first and the last: Nyberg and Lagerlöf. In his poetry anthology *Chants populaires du Nord* (Paris: Charpentier, 1842), Xavier Marmier included French prose translations of Wallin, Geijer, Franzén, Stagnelius, and Grafström, and verse imitations of Franzén, Lenngren, Tegnér, and Wallin, which means that among the Swedish female poets he chose Lenngren over Nyberg. In the German anthologies, Nyberg and Lenngren made a comparable imprint, seven items for Lenngren against Nyberg’s six.
- 67 For Tegnér translations, see SWED 2018. In Germany, the first translated volume by Stagnelius was *Das Mysterium der Seufzer*, translated by L.P. Bagge, Lund: Akad. boktr., 1836; later, his collected writings were edited by Karl Ludwig Kannegießer and published in six volumes in the series *Skandi-*

- navische Bibliothek* (Leipzig 1851); Atterbom's *Die Insel der Glückseligkeit*, translated by Heinrich Neus, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1831–1833; Nicander *Runen*, translated by C.G.F. Mohnike, Stuttgart, Tübingen: Cotta, 1829; Oscar II, *Gedichte Oskar's, des Prinzen von Schweden und Norwegen*, translated by F.L. Bömers, Neusalz: Ruhmer, 1869. Geijer's historical works were translated as volumes before his poems, but a collection, *Gedichte*, translated by L.v. Arentsschildt appeared in 1871 (Leipzig: Reclam). According to Denis Ballu, *Lettres Nordiques, une bibliographie, 1720–2013*, Vol. I-II, Stockholm: Kungliga biblioteket, 2016, only Nicander and Oscar II also had a volume published in French translation before 1914: Nicander, *La glaive runique*, translated by Louis-Antoine Léouzon Le Duc, Paris: Sagnier & Bray, 1846; Oscar II, *Quelques heures au château de Kronborg, le 19 octobre 1658*, translated by Louis Guillaume Ténint, Stockholm: Norstedt, 1858. As in other countries, most of the poets were, however, translated in other reception media, such as periodicals and travelogues, for example Geijer's "gothic" poems (*Pirate*, *Dernier des guerriers*, *Dernier des bardes*) in Jean-Jacques Ampère's three articles on "Suède – Poésies suédoises" for *Le Globe* 1827–1828. Ampère also translated extracts for *Frithiofs Saga* in *Littérature et voyages* 1833; see Lombez "Poésie", p. 397.
- 68 Ruben G:son Berg, "Palmlad och Brockhaus. Några anteckningar ur en brevväxling", in *Samlaren*, 1924, pp. 1–58; Söderlund *Romantik och förfuft*, pp. 263–264.
  - 69 Letter from Nyberg to Arwidsson, June 1844, The National Library in Stockholm, Autografsamlingen (KB1/1).
  - 70 Åke K.G. Lundkvist, "Frithiofs saga på väg", in Törnqvist, Ulla (ed.), *Mötet med Tegnér*, Lund: Tegnérsmuseum, 1996; Andrew Wawn, *The Vikings and the Victorians: Inventing the Old North in Nineteenth Century Britain*, Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2000, pp. 117–141.
  - 71 Marianne Ehrenström, *Notices sur la littérature et les beaux-arts en Suède*, Stockholm: Eckstein, 1826, pp. 96–97. Cf. Thomas Mohnike, "Att bilda Norden efter grekernas mått", in Hermansson, Gunilla and Mads Nygaard Folkmann (eds.), *Svensk og dansk litterær romantik i ny dialog*, Göteborg: Makadam, 2008, pp. 174–175. Ehrenström (1773–1867) came from a mixed, French, German and Swedish background. She was born in Germany, spent her childhood in Stralsund when it was Swedish, and her adult life in Stockholm and Gothenburg. She published two books on Swedish literature, both written in French.
  - 72 Elisa Beshero-Bondar, *Women, Epic and Transition in British Romanticism*, Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2011, p. 10. Beshero-Bondar argues that British epic poetry in the Romantic era "experienced its most radical reinventions as a genre investigating cultural complexities, clashes of ideology, and transformations of identity in moving between the familiar and the exotic. To a much lesser extent than in past centuries can it be said that epics of this moment are written primarily to support a single 'monist' ideology, even when certain ideologies are clearly preferred" (*ibid.*).
  - 73 Lutz Rühling, "Nordische Poeterey und gigantisch-barbarische Dichtart", in Essmann and Schöning (eds.), *Weltliteratur in deutschen Versanthologien des 19. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 107–108.

- 74 Cf. Susan Bassnett and Peter France, “Translation, Politics, and the Law”, in France and Haynes (eds.), *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, pp. 51–52; see also Wawn, *The Vikings and the Victorians*, pp. 117–141; Andrew G. Newby, “‘One Valhalla of the Free’: Scandinavia, Britain and Northern Identity in the Mid-Nineteenth Century”, in Harvard, Jonas and Peter Stadius (eds.), *Communicating the North: Media Structures and Images in the Making of the Nordic Region*, Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate, 2013, pp. 148–169.
- 75 Howitt and Howitt, *The Literature and Romance of Northern Europe*, London: Colburn & Co., 1852, Vol. 1, p. 5; Vol. 2, p. 374.
- 76 Borgström, *Om jag får be om ölost*, p. 51.
- 77 This was not an uncommon trait, as Peter Graves has noted: “To a great extent, [...], *Ossian* had been absorbed: no longer overt and revolutionary as it had been to Thorild, Ossianic diction, imagery and landscape was now a mostly covert and frequently present element in the armoury of poets, particularly those treating Gothic themes”, “Ossian in Sweden and Swedish-speaking Finland”, in Gaskill, Howard (ed.), *The Reception of Ossian in Europe*, London/New York: Thoemmes/Continuum, 2004, p. 205.
- 78 “Skattgräfarn och brudsmycket” and “Vikings-Tärnan” were first published in *Poetisk kalender* 1820 and 1821, respectively. They were also incorporated in *Dikter*, Uppsala: Palmblad & co, 1822 and again in *Samlade dikter*, Vol. 2, Örebro: N.M. Lindh, 1832.
- 79 Letter to Atterbom, 13 Dec. 1822, *Amalia von Helvigs bref till Atterbom*, ed. Hedvig Atterbom-Svensson, Stockholm: Bonniers 1915, pp. 132–134; letters to Hammarsköld, 3 Jan. 1824 and 23 March 1824, The National Library in Stockholm, Hammarsköldska samlingen, Ep. H2:7.
- 80 *Amalia von Helvigs bref*, 1915, pp. 200, 209–210, 214; Amalia von Helvig, “Die Glückseligkeitsinsel. Sagenspiel in fünf Abenteuern von D. A. Atterbom, im Auszuge mitgetheilt”, *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*, 1828: No. 198–204. As early as 1817, von Helvig had published a translation of Geijer’s poem “Den sista skalden” (The last scald) in *Amalia von Helvig* and Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué (eds.), *Taschenbuch der Sagen und Legenden*, Berlin: Realschulbuchhandlung, 1817, pp. 155–168.
- 81 The first Swedish Romantic poets to be introduced with comments and translated excerpts in British periodicals were, it seems, Stagnelius and Atterbom. Ludwig von Mühlenfels wrote articles on these two as well as Bernhard von Beskow, J.H. Kellgren, and Vitalis (Erik Sjöberg) for *Foreign Review* between 1828 and 1829.
- 82 G.C. Hebbe, “Fredrika Bremer”, *The New World*, 23 Dec. 1843, p. 748. Hebbe (1804–1893) was married to the Swedish writer and journalist Wendela Hebbe (1808–1899) but left his family and Sweden 1839 and established himself as a writer and translator in America from 1842, see also Åsa Arping’s chapter.
- 83 Robert Collison, *Encyclopaedias: Their History throughout the Ages*, New York and London: Hafner Publishing Company, 1966, p. 175; Jeff Loveland and Joseph Reagle, “Wikipedia and Encyclopedic Production”, *New Media and Society*, Vol. 15, No. 8 (2013), p. 1299; Ryan Cordell, “Reprinting, Circulation, and the Network Author in the Antebellum Newspapers”, *Ameri-*

*can Literary History*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (2015), pp. 427–429; Birgit Bödeker and Sybille Rohde-Gaur, “Zur Rezeption britischer Literatur in Deutschland (1800–1870). Grundlage und zwei Beispiele”, in Essmann and Schöning (eds.), *Weltliteratur in deutschen Versanthologien des 19. Jahrhunderts*, p. 56; Terry Hale, “Readers and Publishers of Translations in Britain”, in France and Haynes (eds.), *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, pp. 41–42. Meredith L. McGill has described the practice of recycling and reprinting as absolutely central for American publishing culture during the 1830s and 1840s; it was “regional in articulation and transnational in scope”, *American Literature and the Culture of Reprinting, 1834–1853*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003, p. i. “Recycling” is probably the more adequate word for this common and acknowledged practice in the journalistic and scholarly genres during the nineteenth century, whereas plagiarism has been highlighted as an important issue for the critical discussions about poetry, especially in the Romantic period in England by, for instance, Tilar J. Mazzeo in *Plagiarism and Literary Property in the Romantic Period*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.

- 84 On the intertwining of poetry books and periodical poetry, see Chapman and Ehnes, “Introduction”, p. 2. On the intertwining of anthologies, popular magazines, and literary histories, see Häntzschel, “Lyrik und Lyrik-Markt in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts”, p. 233, Häntzschel “Einleitung”, p. 27 and *Die deutschsprachigen Lyrikanthologien 1840 bis 1914*, p. 151.
- 85 “Foreign Varieties”, [–], *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, 3:11, November 1821, p. 569.
- 86 “Die Dichterin Euphrosyne (Julia Christina Swärdström[ ]) lässt gegenwärtig in Uppsala eine Sammlung ihrer Gedichte drucken. Ihre Elegien, Lieder und Romanzen sind bei den Freunden und Freundinnen der sogenannten neureren Schule sehr beliebt. Durch alle weht ein warmes, kindliches Naturgefühl, die Gegenstände sind Frisch aufgefaßt und naiv dargestellt, Sprache und Vers gefällig und fließend. Ihre Muse hat im Ganzen mit der unsrer Helmina von Chézy viele Berührungen”, “Literarische Notizen aus Schweden”, [–], in *Literarisches Conversations-Blatt* 1821: 288, 15 December, p. 1152. In the following year, the publication of the “Gedichte von Euphrosyne” was commented upon: “Schweden hatte in der letzteren Zeit nur Eine Dichterin, Mad. Lengréé [sic!], [...]. In eine Gefilde von schönerem Umfang ist Euphrosyne eingetreten: sie gefällt fast in allen Gattungen ihrer Kunst; ihre Gedichte gehören zu den beliebtesten im Vaterlande”, [sign. 122], “Nachrichten aus Schweden”, in *Beilage zum literarischen Conversations-Blatt* 1822:20, 14 August. Helmina (Wilhelmine) von Chézy’s (1783–1856) was of the same generation as Nyberg. She had contact with several of the German Romantic writers, and their poetry might share some similarities. However, von Chézy wrote in several other genres, including opera librettos and journalistic work, and she was a more controversial figure and had a more adventurous and troublesome career than her Swedish colleague.
- 87 “(From the ‘Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung’). Summary View of Swedish Literature from the beginning of the year 1829 to the month of July, 1831”, *The Select Journal of Foreign Periodical Literature*, 1833:2 (July–October), Boston: C. Bowen, p. 168. See also “Die Schwedische

- Literatur”, *Das Ausland. Ein Tagblatt für geistigen und sittlichen Lebens der Völker*, 29 Dec. 1840, No. 364, p. 1454.
- 88 G:son Berg “Palmlad och Brockhaus”, pp. 1–58; Söderlund *Romantik och förmuft*, p. 177; Carl Santesson, “Tysk kalenderlyrik i Lycksalighetens ö”, in *Samlaren* 1925, p. 184.
- 89 “Die zahlreiche Classe der schwedischen Schriftstellerinnen und, was einerlei sagen will Dichterinnen beschränkt sich meistens auf Romane: eine, die vor allen den Rang verdient, Euphrosyne (Chrst. Julia Nyberg), deren lyrische Gedichte voll inniger Zartheit (“Dikter of [sic!] Euphrosyne”, Upsala, 1822) aus einem reinen, tieffühlenden Herzen hervorgegangen sind, schloß sich durch die dramatisierte Legende des Christophorus (in Atterboms Musenalmanach f. 1822) an die früher genannten Dichter an und bewies auch dadurch, wieweit sie über ihre apollinischen Mitschwestern, Dor. Dunkel [sic!], Eleon. Charl. Alsedyhl [sic!] (die Verfasserin des Gedichts ‘Gefion’, Upsala, 1814, 8., das einen Stammbaum zu feiern bestimmt war), Anna Lenngren (st. 1817) emporragt”, “Schwedische Literatur”, *Neue Folge des Konversations-Lexikons*, Leipzig: Brockhaus, Vol. 12:2 (S–Z), 1826, pp. 100–101. Nyberg appeared earlier in this encyclopaedia in an article on Atterbom, where she was mentioned as one of the contributors to his *Poetical Calender*: “die anmuthige Dichterin Euphrosyne (Julia Christina Svärdström)”, *Conversations-Lexicon. Neue Folge. In zwei Bänden*, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1822, p. 190. This is probably the article Atterbom hinted at when he excused himself for revealing Nyberg’s name in his 1823 review with the fact that it had already been exposed in “the newest Brockhaus”, Atterbom, *Litterära karaktäristiker*, Örebro: Bohlin, 1870, p. 14. The picture of Nyberg’s presence in European and American encyclopaedias rests on searches in the full-text databases mentioned in note 45 as well as the library holding of English, American, German, and French analogue encyclopaedias between 1800 and 1914 at the University Library of Gothenburg University.
- 90 “The numerous class of female Swedish authors and poets is mostly confined to novels. Euphrosyne (Chrst. Julia Nyberg) has written lyrical poems, full of tenderness (*Dikter of Euphrosyne*, Uspal, 1822)”, Francis Lieber, E. Wigglesworth and T.G. Bradford (eds.), *Encyclopædia Americana. Popular Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature, History, Politics and Biography, brought down to the present time; including a copious collection of original articles in American Biography; on the basis of the Seventh Edition of the German Conversations-Lexicon*, Philadelphia: Carey and Lea, 1832, p. 81. The article also repeats many of the misspellings from the Brockhaus-Article, in this passage, the “*Dikter of Euphrosyne*”, instead of the Swedish “*Dikter af Euphrosyne*”.
- 91 “In Deutschland kümmert sig freilich kein Mensch um die ‘Dikter af Euphrosyne,’ doch jeder gebildete Schwede kennt sie und ihre Verfasserin”, Eduard Boas, *In Scandinavien. Nordlichter*, Leipzig: Friedrich Ludwig Herbig, 1845, p. 18. This part of the travelogue was already published a year before, in “Ein Ausflug nach Skandinavien”, *Die Grenzboten. Zeitschrift für Politik, Literatur und Kunst*, 1844:3, p. 126.
- 92 “Das rechte Leben der Schriftstellerinnen begann aber erst in diesem Jahrhundert, und da ragt weit über alle andern Frauen Julie Christina

*Nyberg* hervor, die sich Euphrosyne nennt. Ihre lyrischen Produkte sind weiblich, lieb und hold, aus einer tiefathmenden Brust entsprossen, und die Legende des heil. Christophorus, welche Atterbom's Musenalmanach für 1822 enthielt, reiht sich den besten Dichtungen Schwedens an. Weniger Erfreuliches kann ich Ihnen von den Klängen sagen, die Dorothea *Dunkel*, Anna *Lenngrén* und Eleonora *Alsedyll* [sic!] ihrer Lyra entlocken, odern von Charlotte *Berger*, geb. Gräfin Cronhjelm, deren Romane mit großem Pathos auf französischen Stelzschuhen daherschreiten”, Boas, *In Scandanavien*, p. 96 (italics are bold in original).

- 93 “Northern Lights”, [-]. *Blackwoods Edinburg Magazine*, July 1845, pp. 56–74, p. 57. The reviewer decides, for lack of space, to omit most of Boas' survey of Swedish literature and jumps right to the authors who are most popular in Sweden and Germany, and have “latterly attracted some attention in England” (p. 62): Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, and von Knorring. The reviewer actually reprimands Boas for his merciless criticism of another traveller to Sweden, Ida Hahn-Hahn (*Reise-Versuch im Norden*, 1843), but lets him off on account of the good laughs he provided and the fact that he is “small fry with which it is almost condescension for us to meddle” (*ibid.* p. 74).
- 94 “[E]lle a publié plusieurs volumes de poésies remarquables par leur caractère de douce mélancolie et de simplicité”, Xavier Marmier, *Les Voyageurs nouveaux*, Vol. I, Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1851, p. 120. According to library lending records and letters, Marmier read Euphroyne's (Nyberg's) work among that of other contemporary and historical Swedish poets when he visited Stockholm in 1838, cf. Uno Willers, *Xavier Marmier och Sverige. Skrifter utgivna av Personhistoriska Samfundet* 12, Stockholm: Norstedt, 1949, p. 36.
- 95 “Fredrika Bremer and her Compeers”, [-], *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, 4 Aug. 1849, p. 76.
- 96 Jacob Gråberg af Hemsö, “Sunto della Letteratura Svezzese”, *Nuovo giornale de' letterati*, 1833:70, p. 7. Gråberg was a Swedish diplomat and writer (corresponding member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters from 1810), who was made a count by the pope. He also served as chamberlain for the duke of Tuscany and chief librarian at the Palazzo Pitti in Florence.
- 97 S. Marmier, *Storia della Letteratura in Danimarca e in Svezia* II, translated by Filippo de' Bardi, Firenze: Piatti 1841, pp. 27–28.
- 98 O.P. Sturzenbecher, *Den nyare svenska skön-litteraturen och tidningspressen. En översikt i sex föreläsningar*, Köpenhamn: C.A. Reitzel, 1845, pp. 68–71; *Die neuere Schwedische Literatur*, Leipzig: J.J. Weber, 1850, pp. 57–59; also republished in *Schwedische Celebritäten der neuesten Zeit auf dem Gebiete der Belletistik, Tagespresse & Schaubühne. Aesthetisch-historische Skizzen*, Leipzig: Chr. E Kollmann, 1863, pp. 26–27.
- 99 C. Zoller, “Dänische und Schwedische Literatur. Statistische Uebersicht. Zweiter Artikel”, *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 1852:3, p. 51.
- 100 Howitt and Howitt, *The Literature and Romance of Northern Europe*, pp. 352–354.
- 101 As to Nyberg, Marianne Ehrenström mostly commented on her looks but also added that “[e]lle écrit en general avec agrément et avec esprit”, and she highlighted two poems, “Sommardagen” and “Fogelburen”, *Notices sur la littérature et les beaux-arts en Suede*, p. 122.

- 102 [sign. 22], “Schwedische Literatur”, *Blätter für literarisches Unterhaltung* 1828:192, p. 766. Ehrenström has also been accused of plagiarizing Hammarsköld’s account of Swedish literary history up to 1700 (in his *Svenska vitterheten*, first ed. 1818–1819) by Henrik Schück in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, Vol. 12 (1949), <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/Sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=16725> (Accessed 4 April 2018).
- 103 F.W. von Schubert, *Reise durch Schweden, Norwegen, Lapland, Finnland, und Ingemannland, in den Jahren 1817, 1818 und 1820*, Leipzig: Hinrichs 1823. Schubert seems utterly uninterested in literary matters. He only includes some remarks on writers from the older generation (p. 344), and simply sums up that Stockholm has no lack of distinguished, learned poets and artists (p. 342). R.P. Gillies, on the other hand, wrote in his review of Schubert and Ehrenström: “We take a special interest in Sweden, however, for a reason known to but few of our readers, viz. that since the year 1786, and still more since 1810, there has been a stirring spirit among her literary characters, who, within that short space of time, have achieved so much in various departments, that we may not only expect farther improvement, but also entertain hopes that Swedish authors will one day or another be acknowledged over Europe as highly deserving of respect and attention,” “Review of 1. Reise durch Schweden, [...] 2. Notices sur la Litterature et les Beaux Arts en Suède”, *Foreign Quarterly Review*, p. 190. According to Hedvig af Petersens, Gillies read from the journal *Phosphorus* while living in Germany (and learning Swedish), but he was also informed by the Danish travelogues by Beeken and Christian Molbech and by the Swedish poet he met in Frankfurt am Main, D.G. Ekendahl; see af Petersens, “Robert Pearse Gillies, Foreign Quarterly Review och den svenska litteraturen”, in *Samlaren* 1933:14, pp. 55–106.
- 104 Gillies “Review of 1. Reise durch Schweden”, p. 197.
- 105 R.P. Gillies, *Memoirs of a Literary Veteran; Including Sketches and Anecdotes of the Most Distinguished Literary Characters from 1794 to 1849*, Vol. III, London: Richard Bentley, 1851, p. 162.
- 106 The full title of Pierer’s encyclopaedia’s second edition was *Universal-Lexikon der Gegenwart und Vergangenheit oder neuestes encyclopädisches Wörterbuch der Wissenschaften, Künste und Gewerbe bearbeitet von mehr als 220 Gelehrten*, second revised edition, Altenburg: H.A. Pierer, 34 vol., 1840–1846. At least by the seventh edition (1888–1893) her article was removed again, but she was still mentioned in the article on Swedish literature.
- 107 J. Meyer (ed.), *Das große Conversations-Lexicon für die gebildeten Stände. In Verbindung mit Staatsmänner, Gelehrten, Künstlern und Technikern*, Hildburghausen, Amsterdam, Paris and Philadelphia: Verlag des Bibliographischen Instituts, 1840–1853.
- 108 Ted Underwood, “Theorizing Research Practices We Forgot to Theorize Twenty Years Ago”, *Representations*, 2014: 127, p. 66.
- 109 Bremer only wrote a few pieces of poetry and mostly included them in her novels. Almqvist wrote in all genres, but he was mostly known for his fiction and dramas. In the database, five records are registered for Bremer and six for Almqvist.
- 110 See Yvonne Leffler’s chapter.

- 111 C.J. Lénström, *Svenska poesiens historia*, pp. 427–434; quoting Hammar-sköld, p. 428.
- 112 Nyberg could even be mentioned in a historical survey to an anthology and still not be included in the section of translated poetry, see F.L. Bömers, *Schwedens Dichterhain. Oder Gedichte aus dem Schwedischen, gesammelt und metrisch übersetzt nebst einer Geschichte der Schwedischen Poesie*, Bückeburg/Hannover: Wolper, Schlüter, 1853, p. 18.
- 113 Cf. Behrendt on the fate of British women poets: the “successes of Hemans and Landon were elided by a gendered literary-historical establishment that lauded what it perceived as the delicate femininity of their works and then first minimized and next excluded those works (and their authors) for being precisely what that establishment had imperceptibly branded them. The democracy of the literary marketplace that had given women their public voices over the course of the eighteenth century turned against them in the new exclusionist, masculinist marketplace of the capitalist nineteenth century, taking away that voice when it could no longer either suppress or misrepresent it”, *British Women Poets and the Romantic Writing Community*, pp. 14–15. See also Harriet Kramer Linkin and Stephen C. Behrendt’s introduction to *Romanticism and Women Poets: Opening the Doors of Reception*, Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999. The discussions on “edging women out” have been more extensive concerning writers of fiction and have recently been backed up by text mining experiments on English fiction, Ted Underwood, David Bamman and Sabrina Lee, “The Transformation of Gender in English-Language Fiction”, *Journal of Cultural Analytics* 2.13.18, <http://culturalanalytics.org/2018/02/the-transformation-of-gender-in-english-language-fiction/> (Accessed 21 Feb. 2018). See also Arping’s and Leffler’s chapters in this book.
- 114 Helen Fronius, *Women and Literature in the Goethe Era (1770–1820): Determined Dilettantes*, Oxford: Clarendon 2007.
- 115 Behrendt, *British Women Poets and the Romantic Writing Community*, p. 27, see also p. 8. Cf. Lilla Maria Crisafulli and Cecilia Pietropoli, “Introduction”, in Crisafulli, Lilla Maria and Cecilia Pietropoli (eds.), *Romantic Women Poets: Genre and Gender*, Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007, p. 2; Cathy N. Davidson, “No More Separate Spheres!”, *American Literature*, Vol. 70, No. 3 (1998), pp. 443–463.
- 116 Gunnel Furuland, *Från ‘Poetiska försök i hemmet’ till ‘Den spända strängen’*. Samlingar med svenska språkig originallyrik av kvinnliga författare 1866–1930, Specialarbete, Högskolan i Borås 1989, p. 16. See also Åsa Warnquist’s comments on the rapid change in the later period, *Poesifloden. Utgivningen av diktsamlingar i Sverige 1976–1995*, Lund: Ellerströms 2007, p. 55.
- 117 Furuland *Från ‘Poetiska försök i hemmet’ till ‘Den spända strängen’*, p. 16; Johan Svedjedal “Kvinnorna i den svenska bokbranschen”, in Svedjedal, *Författare och förläggare och andra litteratursociologiska studier*, Stockholm: Gidlunds 1994, p. 82.
- 118 Behrendt, *British Women Poets and the Romantic Writing Community*, pp. 7, 13. The pattern of poetry publishing in literary annuals provided by Harry Hootman’s database shows a distinct gendered slant, even with

non-exhaustive numbers, cf. Chapman and Ehnes “Introduction”, p. 7. See also Andrew Hobbs’ and Claire Januszewski’s discussions of poetry in local newspapers and the different ways of measuring the gender pattern. Around 20% was written by poets identifiable as women, but when “poems rather than poets are counted, the proportion of poetry identified as female-authored is slightly higher, at 27 per cent by women, 73 per cent by men, suggesting that an individual female poet was likely to have slightly more poems published than an individual male poet, perhaps because a higher level of ability was necessary for women to be published in the first place. The increase from no identifiably female poets in 1820 to one-third of the poetry published in 1840 could be due to the rise of the annual as an outlet for female poets from the 1820s onwards and a narrowing of the gap between male and female literacy rates. When ‘original’ poetry by local authors is analysed separately, a slightly lower proportion is female-authored: 22 per cent, compared with 31 per cent for “selected” or reprinted poetry, suggesting that male newspaper editors were influenced by the reputations of authors and the magazines in which they first appeared”, “How Local Newspapers Came to Dominate Victorian Poetry Publishing”, p. 79.

119 Häntzschel *Die deutschsprachigen Lyrikanthologien 1840 bis 1914*, p. 145.

Unfortunately, the statistical analyses of the German verse anthologies provided by Bödecker, Leopold, and Rühling do not consider gender.

120 Ibid. p. 114.

121 Häntzschel, “Lyrik und Lyrik-Markt in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts”, p. 205, see also pp. 217 and 241. Emancipation efforts were not visible in the German verse anthologies until the beginning of the twentieth century, cf. Häntzschel *Die deutschsprachigen Lyrikanthologien 1840 bis 1914*, p. 145, 292–299. See also Åberg, *Västerås mellan Kellgren och Onkel Adam*, p. 184.

122 Behrendt, *British Women Poets and the Romantic Writing Community*, p. 22, see also pp. 17–20. Underwood, Bamman, and Lee’s computational distant reading of British fiction, which confirms the theory of a process of edging women out in the first half of the twentieth century, at the same time stress that it is “important to remember that any ‘masculinization of fiction’ between 1800 and 1960 took place against the backdrop of a broader social change that gave women a vastly larger proportion of the nonfiction book market than they had held in the nineteenth century”, “The Transformation of Gender in English-Language Fiction”. This would probably also affect women’s poetry production.

123 “Anthologien mit internationaler Lyrik dagegen besaßen keine offizielle Unterstützung, kaum institutionelle Verankerung im Schulbetrieb, sie konnten nicht bei offiziellen und offiziösen Veranstaltungen verwendet werden, sie mussten ihr Publikum erst mühsam suchen und blieben bei der Mehrheit unbeachtet oder sogar unerwünscht. Internationale Lyrik war nur da willkommen und ein Bedürfnis der Zeit, wo die deutsche nationale Kultur als einzige Größe in Frage gestellt wurde”, Häntzschel, *Die deutschsprachigen Lyrikanthologien 1840 bis 1914*, p. 357.

124 E.A. Poe, “Ballads and Other Poems”, *Graham’s Lady and Gentleman’s Magazine*, 1842:XX, 3, p. 189.

- 125 Adolph B. Benson, *American Scandinavian Studies, Selected and Edited with a Bibliography by Marshall W.S. Swan*, New York: American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1952, p. 241.
- 126 Cf. Andrew Hilén, *Longfellow and Scandinavia. A Study of the Poet's Relationship with the Northern Languages and Literature*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947, p. 39. Longfellow did come across at least one poem by Nyberg, when his friend from Rome, Nicander, enclosed a transcript in a letter as a comment on a love affair, cf. ibid. p. 165. Poe criticized the quality of Longfellow's poetry and accused him of plagiarism in the so-called Longfellow war, 1845.
- 127 Leland S. Person, "Poe and Nineteenth-Century Gender Construction", in Kennedy, J. Gerald (ed.), *A Historical Guide to Edgar Allan Poe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 132–133.
- 128 For example Ludwig von Mühlenfels' reviews of "E.J. Stagnelii Samlade Skrifter" in *Foreign Review* 1828, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 269 and "Joh. Henr. Kellgrèns [sic!] Samlade skrifter" in *Foreign Review* 1829, vol. 3, no. 5, p. 169; Gråberg af Hemsö, "Sunto della Letteratura Svezzese", *Nuovo giornale de' letterati*, 1833, vol. 26, no. 67, p. 250; Howitt and Howitt, *The Literature and Romance of Northern Europe*, p. v; and Gillies, "Review of 1. Reise durch Schweden", p. 189.
- 129 Mark Davies, *A Perambulating Paradox. British Travel Literature and the Image of Sweden c. 1770–1865*, Lund: Historiska Institutionen, Lunds Universitet, 2000, especially pp. 31–34.
- 130 "Fredrika Bremer and Her Compeers", [-], *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, 4 Aug. 1849, p. 76.
- 131 W.H. Saunders included poems by J.H. Kellgren, E.G. Geijer, and Tegnér in *Poetical Translations from the Swedish Language*, Stockholm: Deleen, 1827, and some poems by Tegnér appeared in J. E. D. Bethune's *Specimens of Swedish and German Poetry*, London: John Murray, 1848. Poems by these authors as well as by Atterbom, E.J. Stagnelius, Bernhard von Beskow, and Vitalis (Erik Sjöberg) had also been translated and commented upon in the *Foreign Review* and *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* in the late 1820s. Specimens of Atterbom, Franzén, Kellgren, and Lenngren, as well as C.M. Bellman, Olof von Dalin, G.F. Gyllenborg, C.G. Leopold, Georg Ingelgren, J.G. Oxenstierna and David Valerius were translated in a review of P.A. Wallmark's *Swedish Anthology (Svensk Anthologi I–III, 1828)* in *The Foreign Quarterly Review*, 1830:6 (Aug.–Nov.), No. XI, pp. 122–141. When, for example, Longfellow issued his *Poets and Poetry of Europe with Introductions and Biographical Notices* (1855), most of the translations from Swedish came from the *Foreign Review* and the *Foreign Quarterly Review* (the two periodicals merged in 1830, cf. af Petersens "Robert Pearse Gillies, Foreign Quarterly Review och den svenska litteraturen", p. 57), cf. Hilén *Longfellow and Scandinavia*, p. 34. In the second half of the nineteenth century it was more common to include translations of Scandinavian works in collections of original poems. Data according to Gustaf N. Swan, "The English Versions of Tegnér's 'Axel': A Bibliographical Sketch", *Publications of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study*, 1913:1, Vol. 4 (Nov.), pp. 179–184; Afzelius, *A Bibliographical List of Books in English on Sweden and Literary Works*

- Translated into English from Swedish*; Bjork, “A Bibliography of Modern Scandinavian Literature”; and searches through library catalogues, WorldCat, Google Books, HathiTrust, and the bibliographic database *Index C19*.
- 132 [sign, Mr. Penn], “Sízy spisy”, *Národní listy*, 1905: 45 (10 March), p. 3.  
Special thanks to Ursula Stohler for translating the text.
- 133 See for example Stefan Hoesel-Uhlig, “Changing Fields: The Direction of Goethe’s *Weltliteratur*”, in Prendergast, Christopher (ed.), *Debating World Literature*, London/New York: Verso, 2004, p. 31; Birgit Bödeker, “Konzepte von Weltliteratur in deutschsprachigen Versdichtungsanthologien des 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts”, in Essmann and Schöning (eds.), *Weltliteratur in deutschen Versanthologien des 19. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 183–204; David Damrosch, *What Is World Literature?*, Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003, p. 3; Thomas O. Beebe, “Introduction: Departures, Emanations, Intersections”, in Beebe, Thomas O. (ed.), *German Literature as World Literature*, New York and London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014, p. 5.
- 134 Cf. Bödeker, “Konzepte von Weltliteratur”; Katie Trumpener, “World Music, World Literature: A Geopolitical View”, in Saussy, Haun (ed.), *Comparative Literature in an Age of Globalization*, Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2006, pp. 185–187; Helga Essmann, “Weltliteratur Between Two Covers”, p. 151.
- 135 Bödeker, “Konzepte von Weltliteratur”, pp. 191–193.
- 136 Harald Kittel, “International Anthologies of Literature in Translation: An Introduction to Incipient Research”, in Kittel (ed.), *International Anthologies of Literature in Translation*, p. XV.
- 137 Cf. Häntzschel, “Einleitung”, p. 25; “Lyrik und Lyrik-Markt in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts”, pp. 234–235.
- 138 “Ein Buch wie das vorliegende ist nur in Deutschland möglich. Erstlich hat die Universalität des deutschen Geistes, die Unermüdlichkeit der deutschen Wissenschaft sich des Verständnisses der geistigen Producte aller Völker und Zeiten zu bemächtigen gewußt in einem Grade, wie es kein anderes Volk es vermochte, und zweitens sind durch eine Fülle meisterlicher Uebersetzungen, wie sie sonst ebenfalls keine andere Nation auszuweisen hat, die Literaturschätze der Fremde zu deutschen Gemeingut geworden. Wir Deutsche dürfen uns in der That die Besitzer der ‘Weltliteratur’ nennen, auf welche Göthe hingewiesen [...]”, Johannes Scherr, *Bildersaal der Weltliteratur*, Stuttgart: Ad. Becher’s Verlag, 1848, p. VI.
- 139 Cf. Theo D’haen, *The Routledge Concise History of World Literature*, London and New York: Routledge, 2012, p. 17.
- 140 Häntzschel’s image of the breadth of aims in 1997 is slightly different: “Es gehört zu den typischen Erscheinungen deutscher Mentalität im Zeitalter der Reaktion, das Konzept der Weltpoesie einerseits freiheitlich-republikansich zu gerieren [...], es anderseits zu Verteidigung einer über konfessioneller Beschränktheit stehenden Gottesidee zu verwenden [...]. Darüber hinaus gerät da Konzept bisweilen aber doch wieder in die Nähe nationaler Gesinnung”, *Die deutschsprachigen Lyrikanthologien 1840 bis 1914*, pp. 108–109, see also p. 113. The tendency to boost German poetry with the aid of translation anthologies is most visible after 1870, ibid. pp. 347–348 and 356.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid. pp. 349–350.

<sup>142</sup> As mentioned earlier, Swedish poetry would normally take up between 7 and 10% in world poetry anthologies, cf. Bödeker and Leopold, “‘Windrosen’ der Weltliteraturanthologien”, p. 207.

<sup>143</sup> Johannes Scherr, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur, von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart*, Stuttgart: Franckh’schen Buchhandlung, 1851, p. 521. Scherr’s characterization of Nicander is quite short (four lines) in light of the fact that he was one of the three poets included in Scherr’s 1848 anthology. J.G.T. Grässle was among the few who wrote in a bit more detail: “Endlich gehört auch eine Dichterin zu ihnen [the new Romantic or Phosphorist school], *Julia Christine Svärdström* Verehelichte Kersten-Nyberg [sic!] (geb. 1785), die unter dem Namen *Euphrosyne* schrieb und an poetischem Genie Atterbom ziemlich nahe kommt, an reicher Phantasie in kleinen Genregemälder aber (z. B. *Junggrund i del* [sic!] gröna, *Lärkan, Trasten, Mimosan, Falken, Liljan och Spindeln* etc.), sowie an religiösem Ernst (z. B. in der Legende vom heiligen Christoph, in Atterbom’s Poetischen Kalender f. 1822) ihn noch übertrifft”, *Lehrbuch einer allgemeinen Literärgeschichte aller bekannten Völker der Welt von der ältesten bis auf die neueste Zeit*, Vol. 3, Leipzig: Arnoldische Buchhandlung, 1858, p. 630. Philipp Schweitzer mentioned Nyberg in his volume on Scandinavian literature in the series *Geschichte der Weltliteratur in Einzeldarstellungen I–X* (1882–1889), edited by Eduard Engel: “Unter ihren mild elegischen, formschönen Dichtungen sind ihre liebenswürtigen natursymbolischen, an Atterbom erinnernden Stücke zu nennen, z.B. ‘Jungfrun i det Gröna’, ein ohne alle Grübelei dem Lenz entlehnter Blütenkranz”, *Geschichte der skandinavischen Litteratur im 19. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig: Wilhelm Friedrich, 1889, p. 160. Of the other histories of world literatures I have consulted, Nyberg was omitted in Karl Rosenkranz, *Handbuch einer allgemeinen Geschichte der Poesie*, Vol. 3, Halle: Eduard Anton, 1833 (so was Tegnér; the only Romantic mentioned is Atterbom, p. 257), and in Julius Hart, *Geschichte der Weltlitteratur und des Theater aller Zeiten und Völker*, Vol. II, Neudamm: J. Neumann, 1896 (in which he mistakenly mentions Hammarsköld as the editor of the journal *Phosphorus*, p. 863), as well as in Adolf Stern, *Geschichte der Weltlitteratur in übersichtlicher Darstellung*, Stuttgart, Rigersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1888.

<sup>144</sup> Franco Moretti, “Conjectures on World Literature”, *New Left Review*, Jan–Feb 2000, pp. 54–68, pp. 55 and 57, see also p. 61 and *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History*, London/New York: Verso 2005, p. 4.

<sup>145</sup> “[N]icht aus hunderten, aber aus tausenden von Büchern hab’ ich dafür gesammelt”, Scherr, *Bildersaal* 1869, p. 7; see also Marion Steffen, “Johannes Scherr als Anthologist und Kulturhistoriker”, in Essmann and Schöning (eds.), *Weltliteratur in deutschen Versanthologien des 19. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 391–409.

<sup>146</sup> “Ich bin nähmlich gesonnen als Anhang des Werkes, von jeden bedeutenden Dichter (besonders neurer Zeit) ein, seine Persönlichkeit bezeichnender Gedicht zu übersätzen. – Bey dieser Wahl bitt ich dringend um Ihren Rath, den es ist mir nicht möglich ganz diese durchzustudieren”, letter to Hammarsköld, 3 Jan. 1824, The National Library in Stockholm, Hammarsköldska

samlingen, Ep. H2:7. See also *Amalia von Helvigs brev till Atterbom*, 1915, p. 133; *Amalia von Helvigs brev till Erik Gustaf Geijer*, translated and edited by W. Gordon Stiernstedt, Stockholm: Bonniers 1950, p. 427.

- 147 Cf. Häntzschel: “Zwischen Autoren und Rezipienten bildet sich eine Zwischeninstanz in Form von gedruckten Beispielsammlungen, Anleitungen, Vorbildern, Zitatenschätzten und Anthologien. Sie nimmt dem einzelnen potentielle eigene Auswahlkriterien, Werturteile, Geschmacksbildungen ab, hebt die individuelle Rezeption auf und fördert in solcher vermittelten Art und Weise die Nivellierung und Trivialisierung der Lyrikrezeption”, “Lyrik und Lyrik-Markt in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts”, pp. 208–209; see also William R. McKelvy’s discussion of how Robert Chambers established “a new historiography of the literary tradition centered on consumption” in his intertwined projects of writing and publishing the *History of the English Language and Literature* (1835), the sequel *Cyclopaedia of English Literature* (1842–1844), and *Chambers’s Edinburgh Journal* (1832–1853 under this title), in “This Enormous Contagion of Paper and Print: Making Literary History in the Age of Steam”, Ferris, Ina and Paul Keen (eds.), *Bookish Histories: Books, Literature, and Commercial Modernity, 1700–1900*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, p. 64.
- 148 “Twenty thousand? How can we do it, what does ‘knowledge’ mean, in this new scenario?”, Franco Moretti, “The Slaughterhouse of Literature”, p. 208.
- 149 More and more attempts are made to use computational methods to analyse digitized periodicals and newspapers, see, for example, Cordell “Reprinting, Circulation, and the Network Author in the Antebellum Newspapers”; Allen Beye Riddell, “How to Read 22,198 Journal Articles: Studying the History of German Studies with Topic Models”, in Erlin, Matt and Lynne Tatlock (eds.), *Distant Readings. Topologies of German Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century*, Rochester, New York: Camden House, 2014, pp. 161–199; Johan Jarlbring and Pelle Snickars, “Cultural Heritage as Digital Noise: Nineteenth Century Newspapers in the Digital Archive”, in *Journal of Documentation*, Vol. 73, No. 6 (2017), pp. 1228–1243.
- 150 Moretti, “More conjectures”, p. 77.
- 151 Arguing from the perspective of American antebellum newspapers, Cordell writes: “When reprinted pieces were marked, for instance, as taken ‘from the *Nashville Union*,’ or ‘*New-York Daily Tribune*,’ those attributions signaled for readers the reach and connectedness of their newspaper, while the authority of the reprinted piece itself – its truth, or its usefulness, or its entertainment value – was vested in its circulation”, “Reprinting, Circulation, and the Network Author in the Antebellum Newspapers”, p. 434, see also p. 430. The argument could be extended to transnational recycling practices.
- 152 Ibid. p. 421. Jarlbring and Snickars’ examination of the reliability of digitized editions of historical newspapers, however, shows that there is still a long way to go, even in digitization projects remaining within one language area.
- 153 Interesting attempts to use digital tools to analyse more limited poetry corpuses and translated poetry do exist, see for instance Hoyt Long, “Fog and Steel: Mapping Communities of Literary Translation in an Information Age”, *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Summer 2015), pp. 281–316.

- See also Natalie M. Houston, “Toward a Computational Analysis of Victorian Poetics”, *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 56, No. 3 (2014), pp. 498–510.
- 154 Damrosch, *What Is World Literature?*, p. 4.
- 155 Numbers according to Scott Bennett, “Revolutions in Thought: Serial Publication and the Mass Market for Reading”, in Shattock, Joanne and Michael Wolff (eds.) *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings*, Leicester University Press and University of Toronto Press, 1982, p. 236.
- 156 Letter to Atterbom 17/10–1830, my translation from the Swedish edition, Atterbom-Svensson, *Amalia von Helvigs bref*, p. 209, “Knappast torde han [Neus] ha begåfning nog att förkorta, och förblir dikten i sin ursprungliga längd, så kan jag lofva att i denna hyperprosaiska och politiska tid, ingen läser den. Jag däremot, ville göra *Er bekant* och därfor låta aflaggsna allt som försvagade intresset för det myckna sköna och förträffliga.”
- 157 Herbert Grabes, “Cultural Memory and the Literary Canon”, in Astrid Erll and Asgar Nünning (eds.), *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008 (e-book 2010), p. 317.
- 158 Assmann, “Canon and Archive”, p. 103.
- 159 Ann Rigney, “The Dynamics of Remembrance: Texts Between Monumentality and Morphing”, in Erll and Nünning (eds.), *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, p. 345.
- 160 Assmann, “Canon and Archive”, pp. 98 and 101.
- 161 “[O]ne salient aspect of this institutional consolidation is its reliance on a particular kind of book: the anthology. The success of the Longman and Norton anthologies of world literature means that many of the texts that are routinely described as world literature reach their audiences as part of anthologies. That many of these texts accordingly only circulate as excerpts is but the most visible sign of the impact that the anthology format has on the actuality of world literature”, Stefan Helgesson and Pieter Vermeulen, “Introduction”, in Helgesson and Vermeulen (eds.) *Institutions of World Literature. Writing, Translation, Markets*, New York/London: Routledge, 2016, p. 11. See also Katie Trumpener’s critique of the anthologies’ continued reliance on national borders, “The Uses and Abuses of World Literature”, *The Journal of American Culture*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (2003), p. 234; and Schulte, “International”, p. 137.
- 162 I depart here from Aleida Assmann’s terms. She defines active forgetting as “trashing and destroying” (“Canon and Archive”, pp. 97–98), whereas leaving behind without material destruction falls under the category of more passive forgetting. The only Scandinavian author who is represented in the two mentioned anthologies is Henrik Ibsen.
- 163 In a letter to Hammarsköld, 17 Aug 1826, cf. Söderlund *Romantik och förfuft*, p. 170.
- 164 Emilie Flygare-Carlén, *Minnen af svenska författarliv 1840-1860*, Vol. I, Stockholm: Bonnier, 1878, pp. 75f.



Åsa Arping

## “THE MISS AUSTEN OF SWEDEN”

### Fredrika Bremer’s Transatlantic Triumph in the Age of Reprint

HOW DID IT happen that mid-nineteenth century readers in the United States became so fond of the Swedish novelist Fredrika Bremer (1801–1865), and why has this not left more traces in either country’s literary history? What significance did gender and translation have in Bremer’s transatlantic triumph, and what were the implications of “Swedishness” in this process? The present chapter will point to a few possible answers and also address a more long-term discussion of literary historiography and canon formation: How are prevailing views on national literature affected when studied from the “outside”, through the lenses of historical observers from abroad?

Just to initially offer a short impression of the kind of excitement Bremer’s novels aroused on the American literary scene, here’s a nostalgic recollection from 1850, eight years after the international breakthrough with the epistolary novel *The Neighbours* (1842):

What a new world was opened to American hearts by the publication of “The Neighbours!” Before that event, we had some vague notion that there were such countries as Sweden and Norway, for we had studied Geography and had seen them very plainly on the map. But as to any real living faith in their existence, any definite assured conviction that they were inhabited by men and women of like passions with ourselves, any clear apprehension that these dear people of the Northland were closely akin to ourselves in their modes of thought and life, and especially in whatever relates to the domestic affections – it was a discovery.<sup>1</sup>



Fig. 1: Fredrika Bremer, engraving from an original painting by Alonzo Chappel (Johnson, Wilson & Co. Publishers, New York, 1878).

According to the article, the appearance of *The Neighbours* was an “event” that opened “a new world” to the American readers. And for them to learn that the people from Scandinavia were not all that different was, it says, “a discovery”. I will return to what was accommodated in these strongly charged remarks. The purpose of this investigation is to add a new angle to earlier statements about Bremer’s American success. I will focus on the receiving “host culture’s” strong interest in Scandinavia, and particularly Sweden, in the 1840s, and the prevailing reprint culture that Bremer’s popular novels were soon subjected to. My main thesis is that her works served particular purposes at a specific time and situation in American cultural history during the pre-Civil War decades, that can help explain the intense yet rather short-lived “Bremer-mania”. My point of departure is the conditions for reception in the United States, with a special focus on gender, nation, and translation. I will discuss how ideas and aesthetics spread, adapt, and reoccur across national, linguistic, and temporal borders, and what challenges these mechanisms evoke for literary historians.

In addition to some initial remarks about previous research and methodology, the first part of the chapter deals with different backgrounds to Bremer's transatlantic success. From the European dissemination of her works, and their visibility in the American book market and print media, I will proceed to Bremer's position in a tradition of "Victorian" women writers. Subsequently, the heavy interest in Scandinavian and Swedish culture, the complicated relationship to Great Britain, and the prevailing print culture situation are put forward as prerequisites for the American reception. The second part of the chapter is dominated by one in-depth example, or *reception event*, characterized by an exchange of ideas as well as an ideological and aesthetical struggle: the animated debate on reprinting and translation following the publication of *New Sketches of Every-Day Life*, including the novel *Strife and Peace; or Scenes in Norway* in 1844. At the very height of Bremer's presence in the American book and print media markets, large values were at stake, economic as well as immaterial (intellectual property). In this context, the professional role of the translator also became an issue of significant importance.

In some concluding remarks, I will address the considerable dissonances between Bremer's contemporary success and her position in succeeding literary history, and illustrate what kinds of challenges these discrepancies may entail for future research on the nineteenth century novel.

#### THE EUROPEAN DISSEMINATION

Fredrika Bremer was Sweden's first novelist with an international reputation. *The Neighbours* (*Grannarne*, 1837) attracted huge attention and represents the start of a remarkable literary career, in Germany and the rest of Europe and Russia, but especially in Great Britain (including the colonies) and the United States, where Bremer was promoted as the Jane Austen of Sweden. Bremer's success also paved the way into the American literary market for other contemporary Scandinavian writers, such as H.C. Andersen (1805–1875), Emilie Flygare-Carlén (1807–1892), and Marie Sophie Schwartz (1819–1894).<sup>2</sup> Still, remarkably little has been written on the transfer, circulation, reception, and impact of Bremer's works in the United States. But first a few words about the European dissemination.

A decade after her debut in Sweden with *Sketches of Everyday Life* (*Teckningar utur hvardagslifvet*, 1828), Fredrika Bremer's works were regularly translated into Danish and German. Her first volume of *Sketches* was published in Danish in 1835, the novels *The President's*

*Daughters* (1834) and *Nina* (1835) were both translated in 1836, and two years later *The President's Daughters* was launched in a German edition, published in Leipzig. *The Neighbours* (1837) was immediately translated into Danish, and the German translation in 1839 was Bremer's breakthrough in the German-speaking parts of Europe. From the early 1840s, everything published by Bremer was translated into German and reissued in recurrent editions by her publisher, F.A. Brockhaus in Leipzig, and competitors F.H. Morin in Berlin and Franckh'sche Verlagshandlung in Stuttgart.

Bremer's English translator, Mary Botham Howitt (1799–1888), who in her translator's preface to *The Neighbours* (1842) introduced the label “the MISS AUSTIN [sic] of Sweden”, played a crucial part in the novel's successful westward launch.<sup>3</sup> Howitt was herself a prolific writer and cultural transmitter, who first came in contact with Bremer's works in German translation when her family lived in Heidelberg from 1840 to 1843, and she also translated the first volumes from the German versions.<sup>4</sup> German was a common transit language of Scandinavian literature at this time.<sup>5</sup> Franco Moretti's and Pascale Casanova's insistence on London and Paris as the central cosmopolitan nodes for nineteenth-century literature is only partially true for Scandinavian literature, especially during the first decades.<sup>6</sup> In Bremer's case, publishing houses in Leipzig, Bielefeld, and Berlin were the main points for further dissemination. It is evident that the German publishers' investments were prerequisites for the subsequent promotion of her works. Before Howitt's first English translation in 1842, more than 20 book editions in German had been published.<sup>7</sup>

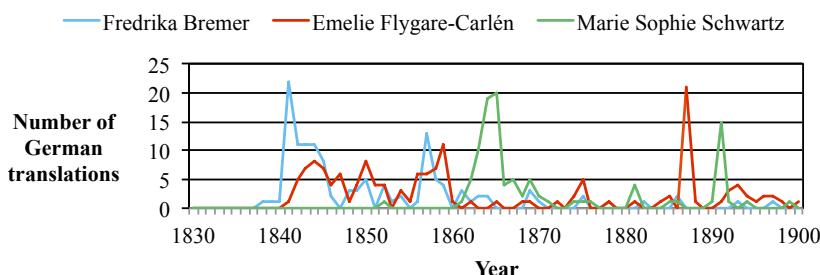


Fig. 2: *German translations over time*. The diagramme shows the number of printed editions by Swedish novelists Bremer, Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz in German translation during the nineteenth century. It is evident that Bremer was predominantly published in German between 1840 and 1870, while editions by Schwartz came later, most of them between 1863 and 1893. The publication period of Flygare-Carlén's works, on the other hand, lasted longer, and her writings also had a strong revival in the late 1880s (SWED 2018).

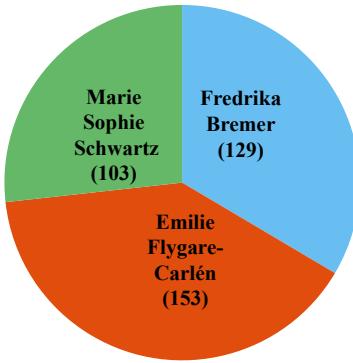


Fig. 3: Total number of printed editions in German by Bremer, Flygare-Carlén och Schwartz 1838–1900, and the distribution in amount between the three writers (SWED 2018).

As Karin Carsten Montén found in her 1981 dissertation on the German reception, Bremer's early works were mostly enthusiastically welcomed, at least in established mainstream periodicals, as an expression of current “Biedermeier” ideals.<sup>8</sup> Although Bremer became immensely popular, critics in radical circles sprung from the “Young Germany” movement blamed her novels as expressions of conservative values.<sup>9</sup> Still, publication continued. Between 1857 and 1863, Brockhaus launched Bremer's collected works, and from 1870 to 1873, Franckh'sche, who had started to compete with Bremer publications in 1843, launched an edition of selected works, and both publishers continued to reissue single novels all through the 1890s.

The first Dutch translation was *The Home*, published in Haarlem in 1841, and the Netherlands remained an important market for Bremer's works. The same novel was translated into Russian in 1842 (St. Petersburg), and in the next year into Belgian (Ghent). In 1844, the first translations into Czech (Kutná Hora) and French (Paris) arrived, and publication in French stayed fairly strong throughout the century. The first translation into Italian (Milano) was launched in 1845.<sup>10</sup> The first book edition in Spanish (translated from Rosalie Puget's French version from the same publishing house) did not arrive until 1883, but as Henriette Partzsch has shown, Bremer was serialized repeatedly in newspapers already in the 1850s.<sup>11</sup> Although she never became widely read in Spain, she was certainly known by many, as “La célèbre escritora sueca”.<sup>12</sup> Still, it is evident that Bremer's works were significantly more popular in Protestant areas, probably due to plot and subject matter, focusing on young women facing parental or societal oppression in their search for fulfilment and independence.

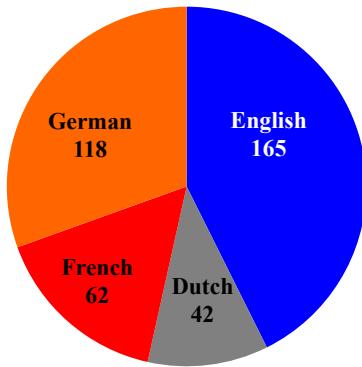


Fig. 4: Number of book editions by Bremer in the most common translated languages 1828–1900 (SWED 2018).

Large readerships in Central and Eastern Europe, whose home countries were in many cases subjugated to the Habsburg Empire, could acquire Bremer's works in German translation. It is clear however, that circulation in the vernacular languages of these areas never reached the same level as for her Swedish competitors Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz. Bremer's entry on these literary markets occurred too early, several decades before the boom of local translations, and her works seem to have been read primarily in intellectual, bilingual circles.

The situation in the Czech lands constitutes an interesting example. Bremer was considerably well-known already in the 1840s, and according to Ondřej Vimr she was the first Scandinavian female writer to be translated into Czech.<sup>13</sup> Still, while Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz became among the most popular translated authors, only one novel and one short story by Bremer (*The Home* and “The Lonely”) were published in Czech. Vimr argues that the reception of Scandinavian literature in the first half of the nineteenth century was wider in German translation, and it is therefore probable that Bremer was more commonly read in German.<sup>14</sup>

Similar conditions characterize the Slovenian territory. The majority of literary works during the nineteenth century were published in German (originals or translations).<sup>15</sup> In her doctoral dissertation on the Slovenian reception of European women writers in the nineteenth century, Tanja Badalič states that although Bremer was not mentioned in the leading periodicals, she was known among contemporary readers and writers (the famous writer Luiza Pesjak for instance mentions Bremer in her diary), and several of her works were represented in mid-century library catalogues.<sup>16</sup>

Bremer was fairly successful in Poland, and perhaps her early introduction in Polish (1852) was a result of former cultural connections between the two countries. According to Magdalena Wasilewska-Chmura, Bremer paved the way for Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz, with eight novels published between 1852 and 1860, all launched by Henryk Natanson in Warsaw.<sup>17</sup> In Hungary, on the other hand, interest was limited, to say the least. Péter Mádl and Ildikó Annus state that although Bremer was well-known and “admired from a distance”, her works did not attract the large readerships, since they depicted a middle-class life that was nonexistent in Hungary at the time.<sup>18</sup> Also, Bremer’s feminist views were not considered suitable for female readers.<sup>19</sup>

### THE LAUNCHING AND RECEPTION IN THE UNITED STATES

In the American context, several studies have been dedicated to Bremer’s 1849–1851 journey and the succeeding travelogue, *The Homes of the New World: Impressions of America* (1853).<sup>20</sup> Signe A. Rooth’s study *Seeress of the Northland: Fredrika Bremer’s American Journey 1849–1851* (1955) gives a valuable overview of Bremer’s position in the United States before, during, and after her visit, concentrating on conditions surrounding the publication of the travelogue. Rooth also provides a concise explanation for the immense popularity of Bremer’s novels in the American mid-century: it was due to “their entertainment value, the universal appeal of their characters and situations, their suitability for the entire family, and the fact that foreign authors were in vogue”.<sup>21</sup> The description somewhat resembles that of Judith Johnston on the contemporary status of Mary Howitt in Great Britain: “the Howitt name was an imprimatur for respectable, moral writings suitable for family reading.”<sup>22</sup> Johnston offers a rich chapter on Howitt’s translations of Bremer’s American travelogue in her 2013 study, *Victorian Women and the Economies of Travel, Translation and Culture, 1830–1870*.

In the 1840s, publishers all over Europe and in the United States were racing to be the first to launch Bremer’s latest works. The pursuit of readers and book buyers is clearly visible in contemporary book catalogues and especially in papers and magazines. My analyses of the American dissemination and reception of Fredrika Bremer’s works are built from the project database SWED (2018), and digitized historical press material. SWED is structured from library catalogues, and lists Bremer’s whole printed book production, all editions in different languages, from 1828 to 2018. Editions published in papers, serialized

or as supplements, are for the most part not included, and, as will be evident later on, the latter is of particular significance in Bremer's case. Some unauthorized editions may also have escaped the radar. Quite a few readers borrowed or subscribed to novels from circulating and lending libraries. Still, these activities are not investigated here.<sup>23</sup>

SWED lists 170 entries for Fredrika Bremer in English between 1842 and 1900 (the majority between 1843 and 1860).<sup>24</sup> Out of these, at least 62 were released in the United States. During the peak year of 1843, 26 different editions were published in English – 14 of them in Great Britain and 12 in the United States. Often the same title was issued in several editions during the same year by different publishers. "Pirated" or reprinted editions were common, and competition was harsh. Several of the American editions were also available in London, and some London editions were marketed in New York.

The SWED records show, that by 1845, the number of new American book editions of Bremer's works had already begun to drop. At this point all her domestic novels launched in Sweden in the 1830s had been published, some of them numerous times, and several publishers had also marketed various editions of collected works. In the 1840s, Bremer's writing took a turn towards more pronounced feminist, metaphysical, and socialist utopian themes. And although novels such as *Brothers and Sisters* (*Syskonlif*, 1848) and *Hertha* (1856) were immediately translated into English, and sometimes published even prior to the Swedish originals, they did not attract the same attention as her earlier works. On the other hand, during her visit to the United States (1849–1851), Bremer published several articles and short stories in American

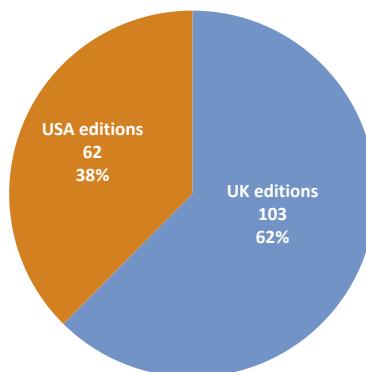


Fig. 5: *American and British Bremer-editions 1842–1900*. Total number and percentage of editions in English published in the United States and Great Britain (SWED 2018).

magazines. In *Sartain's Union Magazine of Literature and Art*, just to give one example, she wrote a profile of the famous Swedish singer Jenny Lind (June 1850), an obituary of former President General Taylor (Sept. 1850), and a serialized travelogue from Denmark, "Northern Love and Legends" (Jan.–April 1851).<sup>25</sup>

A second Bremer-boom in the American book market occurred in 1853, in connection with the travelogue *The Homes of the New World*. Thereafter, publication decreased again. Apart from single editions, Bremer's main publisher, Harper & Brothers, reissued a few titles in their 1870s "Selected Novels" series,<sup>26</sup> and in the 1880s and 1890s London publisher G. Bell & Son reprinted some of Bremer's most popular novels, of which at least *The Neighbours* and *The Home* were also available in New York (1892). While American and British publication dropped, although it did not stop entirely, it increased in other European countries, for example in France and Poland, and stayed fairly strong in France and the Netherlands throughout the century.

Historical press material emphasizes the role and position of women in the nineteenth-century book market in ways that have only recently been acknowledged. Fredrika Bremer's name is traceable all through the medial reception process in the United States – in advertisements, notifications, reviews, critical or introductory essays, biographical portraits, correspondence articles, and obituaries. In *Old Fulton New York Post Cards*, the largest free online collection of New York newspapers on the Internet, the exact search phrase "Miss Bremer" shows a total of 3,072 documents; the same search on *Chronicling America* displays 1,940 hits from 1840 to 1900.<sup>27</sup>

In the daily press of the mid-nineteenth century, literature, and particularly the novel, became very visible and present as a commodity – especially in the advertisement sections; novels were marketed alongside gold and silver, coal and groceries, livestock and, in some American states, slaves. Literature, books, and writers were treated just like any other news items. In populated areas, especially along the northeast coast, every small town had at least one local paper, and the United States had the highest per capita paper circulation in the world.<sup>28</sup> During her American visit, Bremer's movements were covered in detail. The weekly *Steuben Courier* in the small town of Bath, New York, on 27 February 1850 devoted almost the entire first page to a piece on "Miss Bremer's visit to Cooper's Landing". Some papers joked about the "total system of toadyism" in the frequent reports on Bremer's social habits, food preferences, and looks: "In personal appearance, Miss Bremer is remarkable — she has two ears, and four fingers on her right hand, the thumb exclusive."<sup>29</sup>

HURRAH! HURRAH!  
TWO NEW NOVELS BY  
**FREDERIKA BREMER,**  
TRANSLATED BY  
**MARY HOWITT.**

JUST PUBLISHED,  
*From the Advance Sheets, purchased of the Translator in London,*  
THE  
**PRESIDENT'S DAUGHTERS.**  
BY FREDERIKA BREMER,  
AUTHOR OF "THE NEIGHBORS," "THE HOME," &c., &c.  
TRANSLATED BY MARY HOWITT.

PRICE 12½ CENTS; \$9 PER HUNDRED; 10 COPIES BY MAIL FOR \$1.

ALSO,  
**NINA.**  
A Sequel to the "President's Daughters."  
BY FREDERIKA BREMER,  
AUTHOR OF "THE NEIGHBORS," "HOME," &c., &c.  
TRANSLATED BY MARY HOWITT.

PRICE 12½ CENTS; \$9 PER HUNDRED; 10 COPIES BY MAIL FOR \$1.

These works were brought out by our London Agent, in the Great Western; and he informs us that they were not to be published in London till October—consequently, we issue them six weeks in advance of the London edition.

No author of the present day enjoys so great and well-deserved a popularity as Miss BREMER, and surely none can so well present her to the English reader, as MARY, HOWITT—herself one of the most delightful writers of our times. The works now presented in the FIRST AMERICAN EDITIONS, in advance of the European publications, are, if possible, more interesting than "The Neighbors," and "Home;" and we anticipate for them an immense sale.

Address J. WINCHESTER, 36 Ann street.

Fig. 6: Frequent ads. In the family weekly *The New World*, Fredrika Bremer's novels *The President's Daughters* and *Nina* were heavily marketed under the headline “Hurrah! Hurrah!” on 2 September 1843. This ad, from publisher Jonas Winchester, who also ran the paper, even contains a kind of news item, where Winchester states that his Bremer editions precede those in London, that these works are perhaps even better than the earlier ones by Bremer, that Mary Howitt has translated them, and that he anticipates “an immense sale”. The following week a new ad stated that all hopes had been surpassed, with more than 25,000 copies sold. In comparison, the same novels in Sweden were printed in editions of 1,500 copies.

On the advertisement pages Bremer's name recurs frequently, sometimes several works are marketed at the same time, by different publishers or booksellers. Reviews of her works were quite common in the dailies, yet to a fairly large extent copied and circulated. Qualified local criticism was scarce, and utterances were often cited from reviews in the leading London papers or magazines, which were referred to as authorities. However, several literary journals, especially the influential *North American Review*, scrutinized Bremer's works extensively and displayed a thorough interest in Scandinavian history, language, and

culture. Thus, the attention towards Bremer in contemporary American print media was at the same time both superficial and in-depth.

Rather than regular reviews with clear quality judgements, short announcements, or even shorter news items, were frequent. The piece above, from Winchester's publishing house, is a clear example of how even contemporary literary advertising was characterized by a blending of utterances and the dual aims of telling and selling. From a British perspective, Nicholas Mason has observed the symbiotic relationship between marketing and literature, and identifies "advertisements masquerading as book reviews" as the norm in literary magazines.<sup>30</sup> To a modern reader this means blurred lines between different text types. Reviews and advertisements frequently cited earlier reviews, resembling today's habit of displaying advantageous utterances on the book sleeve. This "recycling" method is of course not unique to the American press, although it was perhaps more freely used and appreciated there than elsewhere.

**THE NEIGHBORS—Winchester, Ann street.—A  
beautiful tale, translated by Mary Howitt, from the  
Swedish of Miss Bremer.**

Fig. 7: Early notification in the *New York Herald* in Dec. 1842.

The concise paragraph above is an early notification on Bremer and *The Neighbors* (American spelling) in the *New York Herald*, in December 1842. It is very brief and placed under the headline "Literary Notices &c.". It starts by mentioning the product, the printer, and where the "beautiful tale" can be bought. Ann Street was the printing area par excellence in New York at this time, crowded with printing houses, newspaper publishers, and bookstores. Jonas Winchester at Ann Street No. 30 made a specialty of popular cheap editions in the 1830s and 1840s. He was the first to introduce the French bestselling writer Eugène Sue in English to the American public, and he also invested heavily in Mary Howitt's Bremer translations, which he several times even managed to publish prior to the London editions, by purchasing the proof prints and shipping them over the Atlantic. Winchester was also the owner of *The New World: A Weekly Family Journal of Popular Literature, Science, Art and News*, which besides the ordinary paper edition marketed voluminous supplements containing whole novels printed in the form of newspapers.<sup>31</sup>

After the basic facts, the notification contains a short, qualitative statement: "A beautiful tale", before summing up with the names of translator and writer. The fact that Mary Howitt's name is mentioned



Fig. 8: Jonas Winchester (1810–1887) was an industrious antebellum printer who used current technological and medial conditions to the full, not least through the distribution of novels in newspaper format, which had considerably lower paper and postage costs. Photo: Abraham Bogardus. Courtesy of California History Room, California State Library, Sacramento.

first indicates that she is supposed to be familiar to the readers, or at least better known to them at this time than Fredrika Bremer. The same condition is visible on the title page of the first British and American book editions of *The Neighbours*, where Howitt's name appears in larger font size. Neither the sender of the notification nor the message is distinguishable – is this news, an ad, a review – or perhaps all at once?

The last decade's substantial digitizing of historical periodicals, instigated by federal institutions, universities, corporate organisations, and private and non-profit initiatives, has made possible large-scale text searches.<sup>32</sup> Although the “digital turn” in cultural heritage studies has vastly increased the availability of historical press material, the problem of representativeness is still evident, due to limited, unstable, and changing access to different databases. Rather than aiming for a complete survey, this chapter uses the press material as a means to reach the wider implications of the ideology production surrounding the American reception of Fredrika Bremer. What were the possible responses to the sometimes “strange” depictions by a woman novelist

from a distant part of the world? How did the categories gender and nation work as operating forces in this process, and what role did the translations play, of which most were made by a well-known British female writer with broad cultural knowledge but perhaps less skill in the Swedish language?

### BREMER AS A FEMALE CELEBRITY WRITER

In Swedish literary history, Fredrika Bremer is regarded as the founder of the domestic novel and as a precursor to the women's movement.<sup>33</sup> However, her contribution as a travel writer and her position as an international celebrity author has not been duly emphasized, and as a novelist she is still primarily compared to contemporary Swedish female colleagues, such as Sophie von Knorring (1797–1848) and Emilie Flygare-Carlén. The Swedish focus on Bremer as, first of all, a *female* writer is already evident in the reviews of her first *Sketches of Everyday Life* (1828–1831). Although predominantly positive, the early judgements reveal the typical gendered limitations, where female writers were encouraged as long as they stayed within their “proper”, domestic, sphere.<sup>34</sup> And, as Gaye Tuchman has argued from a British perspective, when novel writing became profitable and prestigious in the 1840s, literary discussion became masculinized and intellectualized.<sup>35</sup> New demands were made on authors to broaden their investigation radius, and many women writers were “edged out”, labelled as dull and sentimental.

Fredrika Bremer received continued attention in Swedish literary history writing and research all through the first decades of the twentieth century, but her status dropped. A series of biographically oriented interpretations characterized the unmarried writer as a harmless spinster, although representatives of the emerging women's movement tried to emphasize her political radicalism. In her 1978 study on the creation of Bremer's emancipatory novel *Hertha* (1856) and its relation to contemporary Swedish society, Greta Wieselgren claimed the novel's major importance in the painful and lengthy political process that eventually led to unmarried women's right to legal independence.<sup>36</sup> Also, Birgitta Holm's 1981 study on Bremer's debut novel *The H-Family* (1830–31), which touted the work as the first bourgeois realist novel in Sweden, was an important inspiration, and in the ensuing decades interest in Bremer's authorship has grown, especially among literary researchers with a gender perspective.<sup>37</sup> Since the start of the new millennium, several of Bremer's novels have been published in new critical editions and have been included in university syllabuses on Swedish literary history.

The same kind of historical gendered dissonances as discussed above are distinct in American literary history writing. In her chapter on Harriet Beecher Stowe's 1852 bestselling *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in *Sensational Designs* (1985), Jane Tompkins depicts how she, as a teacher, never would have dreamed of including Beecher Stowe's bestseller on the reading list for the American Renaissance.<sup>38</sup> Although it was published in the same period as canonized works by Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, Henry David Thoreau, and Walt Whitman – and was probably the most influential novel ever written by an American – its mere popularity seemed degrading. According to Tompkins, dominant twentieth-century critics' hypersensitivity against “sentimentality” has managed to silence not only Beecher Stowe but a whole tradition of feminist domestic novels – thus erasing earlier blockbuster names like Fanny Fern, Susan Warner, Augusta Jane Evans, and Elizabeth Stuart Phelps:

In reaction against their world view, and perhaps even more against their success, twentieth-century critics have taught generations of students to equate popularity with debasement, emotionality with ineffectiveness, religiosity with fakery, domesticity with triviality, and all of these, implicitly, with womanly inferiority.<sup>39</sup>

Although Fredrika Bremer was part of the same circulation, she was not, as will be discussed in more detail, just a “popular” celebrity writer, but was disseminated widely, both among average readers and intellectuals. Her novels were published cheaply and quickly as well as in costly editions. Still, she has shared a similar historical fate as Beecher Stowe: tremendous contemporary success, recurrent rediscovery through a few enthusiasts, but soon exclusion from the canon of major nineteenth-century novelists.

Together with Beecher Stowe, Mary Howitt, and canonized British writers such as Charlotte Brontë and George Eliot, Bremer can be placed in an international contemporary female-authored novel tradition, whose members were widely translated and read by a growing number of middle-class readers, very often women. In an interesting article on “lines of confluence”, with special attention to the literary affinity between Bremer and Charlotte Brontë, Carol Hanbery MacKay has highlighted significant patterns in subject matter, style, mode, and ideology shared by several nineteenth-century women authors, thus forming a kind of “unity through parallelism”.<sup>40</sup> These writers were to a large extent occupied with “the woman question” at a time of major changes in the views on love and marriage, women’s role in family,

the upbringing and education of girls, domesticity versus public life, class issues, etcetera. The family and the home were considered to be a microcosm of society as a whole, and therefore they formed a perfect starting point for depicting the struggle between super- and subordination. Furthermore, the home and the family constituted an area to which women had legitimate access and about which they were considered to possess unique knowledge. The growing “bourgeois” ideology saw women as separate creatures from men, but also as key figures in the formation of modern society and of the nation. As Jane Spencer has argued, “Women’s experience was a major preoccupation for society in general, and for the novelist in particular.”<sup>41</sup> And at the same time as depictions of everyday domestic life were received as something new and refreshing, these novels offered claims with far-reaching political implications, as pointed out by, for example, Laurie Langbauer and Nancy Armstrong.<sup>42</sup> Thus, domestic novels by women writers became an essential arena for cultural and political renegotiation in the mid-nineteenth century.

This cultural fellowship of writing women also often formed actual professional and/or personal networks. In her *Golden Cables of Sympathy: The Transatlantic Sources of Nineteenth-Century Feminism*, Margaret H. McFadden discerns a frantic feminist transatlantic networking and appoints Bremer as one of “the mothers of the matrix”.<sup>43</sup> It is hard to grasp the full meaning of an international networker since it demands research on several national arenas and from many different sources, sometimes in different languages. But by tracing Bremer’s international contacts, acquaintances, and actions, McFadden can state that Bremer “actually set out to become an international person, *une citoyenne du monde*”.<sup>44</sup>

Still, the strongly conditional presence of writing women in nineteenth-century public life made fame double edged. Women writers were promoted in an environment where aesthetic ideals and norms of femininity coincided in an unprecedented fashion.<sup>45</sup> But at the same time, the concept of “separate spheres”, as mentioned above, dictated that femininity presupposed modesty. Women could rule at home, as wives and mothers, as long as they shunned public attention.<sup>46</sup> The “Victorian woman writer” is thus constructed out of contradictory signals of femininity and creativity that made appearing on the book market a balancing act between ruin and fortune, shame and fame. “To perpetuate a sense of women’s ‘natural modesty’, famous female authors (or their alter egos in print) learned to ever more skilfully deflect the appearance of actively desiring celebrity”, states Brenda R. Weber in her 2012 study *Women and Literary Celebrity in the Nine-*

teenth Century: The Transatlantic Production of Fame and Gender.<sup>47</sup> One of Weber's telling examples of the dualities of this task is Harriet Beecher Stowe's extensive publicity tour in England and Scotland after her success with *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, where the writer seemingly compensated for the masses of fans who came to greet her, by retiring to the "ladies' gallery" and leaving it to her husband and brother to speak on her behalf.<sup>48</sup>

When Bremer visited the United States, she was 10 years older than Beecher Stowe was on her tour; she was unmarried and had attained her majority. Although received and sometimes housed by local representatives of a vast network of friends and acquaintances, she also travelled on her own. In *The Homes of the New World* Bremer sometimes complains about the wearisome "lion-life" of a famous foreign writer: "I have shaken hands with from seventy to eighty persons to-day, while I was unable to receive the visits of so many others."<sup>49</sup> She had to face the curiosity of the crowds, sit through long dinner parties, and be everyone's spectacle. The large number of reports on Bremer's looks in the dailies also actualizes the strong connection of the time between the female writer and her femininity:

She is a chatty, pleasant body, and looks kind and considerate enough to be a pattern maiden aunt to all children that love gingerbread and good stories. She is pronounced by all who know her well, to be a most truthful, unassuming, and lovely character. She is one of those persons whose extreme plainness ere long grows quite agreeable, and you think more of her fine and beautiful hand than of her ungraceful figure and prominent nose.<sup>50</sup>

To their contemporaries, nineteenth-century women writers were, as Elaine Showalter has stated, "women first, artists second".<sup>51</sup> Many of them fought hard to both adjust to this view and to criticize it. Like her female colleagues, Bremer was reviewed as a woman and as a writer in the same stroke, compared and measured.

#### SYMBOLIC KINSHIPS AND "TRANSFER IDENTITIES"

But if Bremer was just one of a number of Victorian women writers, what was her particular enticement, and why did the Americans become so fond her? The interest in Bremer was obviously, at least to begin with, connected to the great attention directed towards her in Great Britain.<sup>52</sup> Bremer's depictions of Scandinavian family life made a welcome contrast to earlier reports, like Samuel Laing's, in *A Tour*

*in Sweden in 1838* (1839), of high crime rates, illegitimate children, and widespread drunkenness.<sup>53</sup> Tory-friendly journals such as *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country* (1843) praised Bremer's Christian morality: "Born in a land where the domestic virtues are more generally disregarded than, perhaps, any where [sic] else in Europe, Miss Bremer labours to bring about a better order of things."<sup>54</sup> According to Doris R. Asmundsson, Bremer managed to modify the tarnished Swedish reputation.<sup>55</sup> In the United States, the perception of Scandinavia was at this time gradually also transforming, "from barbarous European peripheries into the centre of the Nordic civilisation".<sup>56</sup>

At this time, American cultural publicity was, as mentioned, still heavily influenced by the opinions of the British critics. For them, Bremer was, in a sense, just another woman writer, although one who offered something fresh and "different". In the London literary journals, Bremer's novels were placed somewhere between the strict social and moral standards of the English, and the, as it was perceived, free and easy manners of the French. Weekly magazine *The Athenæum*'s short review of an edition including the novel *The H-Family*, the drama *The Bondmaid*, and some short stories in 1844, illustrates this opinion of Bremer's intermediate position as neither too careful nor too controversial:

Odd (and to our eyes, lax,) as are certain of the social ordinances of Sweden – in her own person and in her own spirit, Miss Bremer is alike clear of the Utilitarian and prudential cautiousness of Maria Edgeworth – and the gratuitously-disturbing lawlessness of Madame Dudevant [George Sand].<sup>57</sup>

When Fredrika Bremer's first novels were launched and received in the United States, this involved a certain kind of encounter between different cultures, and at least two national literary systems, the Swedish and the American, and to some extent also of course the British. All of these were in their turn parts of a growing global market. Across the Atlantic, curiosity concerning Scandinavian culture, history, and languages had a fairly long prior history. Carl Linnæus (1707–1778) was well-known in New England, and Sweden seems to have been the first country to offer the Americans a pact of friendship and trade (in 1783) after the War of Independence.<sup>58</sup> The members of the leading Transcendentalist movement in New England were extremely interested in Emanuel Swedenborg, who, according to Ralph Waldo Emerson, was among the greatest geniuses of the world, the others being Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, and Goethe.<sup>59</sup> Attention was intensified in northeastern literary circles during

the Romantic era, especially after the 1833 English translation of Esaias Tegnér's Old Norse verse epic *Frithiof's Saga* (1825). Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's influential 1837 essay on the poem and translated parts of two of the cantos in the *North American Review* – declared to be “the first public notice of Swedish literature in the English-speaking world” – further stimulated interest.<sup>60</sup> Longfellow, a professor of Modern languages, had studied Swedish, Danish, and Finnish, spent the summer of 1835 in the Nordic region, and brought, among other works, Bremer's first *Sketches of Everyday Life* back to the Harvard College Library.<sup>61</sup> Also, in 1837, the publication of Danish Antiquarian Carl Christian Rafn's *Antiquitates Americanæ* attracted attention and stimulated in-depth studies in search of the “New World’s” roots in the old North.<sup>62</sup>

From an American perspective, pointing out the “Northmen” or “Goths” as founding fathers became an operative counter-narrative to the Latin story of Columbus’s “discovery”. It also fitted a post-colonial critical and yet receptive position in relation to Great Britain. In their construction of Anglo-Saxon racial supremacy, the British too aspired to a Nordic past.<sup>63</sup> The American version of “Nordicism” was in a sense racially wider and could include all the older Germanic colonizers of the American continent. Still, a special emphasis was placed on Scandinavia and Iceland, the assumed origin of the Old Norse culture.<sup>64</sup> In response to the growing attempts of the British to “appropriate” the North as an indispensable part of its own national discourse, the myth of Vinland attributed a more powerful role to the northeastern white American community as descendants of the first Viking colonists.<sup>65</sup>

Diligent devotees formulated hieroglyphic relations all the way from the Vikings to the Mayflower Pilgrims, westbound settlers, and New England “Yankees”, in a kind of imagined community.<sup>66</sup> These symbolic kinships turned out to be important building blocks in the establishment of a white American history and self-image.<sup>67</sup> In his *American Travellers in Scandinavia* (2017), Dimitrios Kassis argues that the United States' role as a leading nation was specifically justified at a racial level, to a large extent owing to the alleged ancestral connection between (white) Americans and the Norse Vikings.<sup>68</sup> Bremer also exploited these alleged relations, as in this passage from her American travelogue *The Homes of the New World* (1853), which is very flattering to her New England hosts:

The Viking element in the Yankee's nature, and which he, perhaps, originally inherited from the Scandinavian Vikings, compels him incessantly to work, to undertake, to accomplish something which tends either to his own improvement or that of others [...].<sup>69</sup>

The couplings are also visible in the reception. The earlier-mentioned ambitious review essay of Bremer's works, published in the *North American Review* in April 1844, starts off by claiming the closeness between the American "Yankee" spirit and that of the industrious Norsemen and ends by establishing Bremer's "universal" qualities, describing her as someone the American or, rather, the New England reader can easily recognize:

In one respect, we think her superior to most of the contemporary novelists, her characters being universal, not national. Whatever Swedish peculiarity there may be in their manners, there is none in their natures. They are not simply Swedes and Norwegians, but men and women. We recognize them, after a moment's thought, as old acquaintances. They are as much at home in Boston as in Stockholm.<sup>70</sup>

The author's Scandinavian origin is certainly highlighted, and Swedish society is studied in depth, pointing to Laing's earlier observations. But the importance of a specific Swedish "national character" in Bremer's works is, on the other hand, clearly downplayed. Rather, the "foreign" elements seem to offer opportunities for self-knowledge. Half a year earlier, in September 1843, the weekly *The New World*, in its announcement of a forthcoming edition of Bremer's *The President's Daughters*, had an analogous explanation for the great success of her novels:

Something of this extreme popularity may doubtless be attributed to the fact that they come from a strange country – from a corner of the earth to which few were looking for anything genial or intellectual. They open to us, where we least expected it, a new world of human experience; and we are surprised and delighted to find even there the same affections, the same sources of domestic and social happiness, the same beauty of moral principle, and the same sublimity and sustaining strength of religious faith which redeem life here with us from barrenness and wo [sic].<sup>71</sup>

Several leading names in the growing American literary market – Ralph Waldo Emerson, Walt Whitman, Edgar Allan Poe, Margaret Fuller, Fanny Fern, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Louisa May Alcott – all read and/or reviewed Fredrika Bremer.<sup>72</sup> And it is intriguing to reflect on her contemporary importance. By the time of Bremer's breakthrough Washington Irving was of course well-known, also in Europe. But only one of the above mentioned, namely Emerson, could be considered

as fairly established. This raises questions about what impact Bremer might have had for the continued development of American literature. What does it mean that her writings, through Howitt's translations, could admittedly be placed in the Victorian novel tradition, while she was at the same time cherished for not being British, and instead linked to the region that the young American nation was so keen to share history with?

In 1845 there was such a noticeable demand for Swedish literature that Poe, in a review of a new series of Italian prose romances in the weekly *Broadway Journal*, complained that America had been “fairly overwhelmed with both good and bad from the literature of France, Germany, and Sweden [...].”<sup>73</sup>

According to historian Oscar J. Falnes, this interest did not emerge primarily from Scandinavian immigrants or ancestors (the massive immigration of Swedes only began in the late 1860s), but “sprang directly from certain intellectual currents of the century”.<sup>74</sup> Still, in Bremer’s case there was at least one cultural transmitter of Swedish origin in the United States who helped to promote her as well as other Swedish writers in the early 1840s. Gustaf Clemens Hebbe (1804–1893), a lawyer and businessman, had fled Sweden in 1839 because of financial irregularities and then lived an eventful life, including a few years as a journalist and translator in New York.<sup>75</sup> In several review articles in the family weekly *The New World*, Hebbe highlighted contemporary Swedish writers, including, apart from Bremer, Julia Nyberg, Emilie Flygare-Carlén, Sophie von Knorring, Wendela Hebbe (his Swedish wife, signature W.), and male writers such as C.J.L. Almqvist, M.J. Crusenstolpe, G.H. Mellin, and Onkel Adam (Carl Anton Wetterbergh).<sup>76</sup> Hebbe predicted that the American readership would shortly know more about several of these writers, but apart from Flygare-Carlén and, later, Marie Sophie Schwartz, only single titles by Almqvist and Crusenstolpe were launched in the United States.

In the summer of 1844, Clemens Hebbe was promoted in *The New World*’s advertisement section as the translator of the novel *The Beautiful Gabriele; or The Rose of Thistle Island: A Tale of the Swedish Coast*, by new star writer Flygare-Carlén.<sup>77</sup> Hebbe’s and Flygare-Carlén’s entries in the literary field were additional proof of the establishment of Swedish novel writing. At this point it was obviously considered advantageous to be a native speaker when dealing with Swedish literature, both in translation and literary criticism.

One important reason for the American interest in the Nordic region – that Bremer’s work in a sense satisfied – was the need for, what I would like to call, a *transfer identity*. Transfer identities are, as the term might

### Number of works published in USA 1840 - 1900

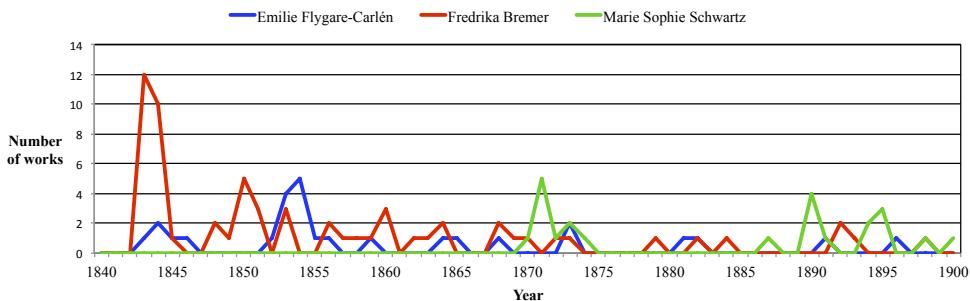


Fig. 9: Number of works published in the United States by Fredrika Bremer, Emilie Flygare-Carlén and Marie-Sophie Schwartz, with Bremer’s “peak” in 1843 clearly visible (SWED 2018).

suggest, temporary – important for a short while, used when needed, then discarded and soon forgotten. But awaiting a distinct domestic literary tradition, Bremer’s Scandinavian version of the female Victorian novel fitted perfectly as a provisional reflection. It offered something new and yet recognizable – depictions of middle-class everyday endeavours, indeed in another corner of the world, but still very similar to contemporary white American home life, at least in the influential northeastern parts. My thesis is that Fredrika Bremer’s works became part of a *transfer culture* in the American pre-Civil War decades, when intellectual life was still largely relying on, yet trying to break free from, British norms. There was a general desire to abolish what Washington Irving called “our mental dependence on England”.<sup>78</sup> In the 1820s, the home-grown American literature was often scorned in the British press, yet one generation later, American writers had grown in confidence; for example, Herman Melville claimed that “men not very much inferior to Shakespeare are this day being born on the banks of the Ohio”.<sup>79</sup>

The complicated relationship between Britain and the United States could be seen as part of what Benedict Anderson has labelled “Long-Distance Nationalism”, a slow process of “displaced identity”, and it would take several generations before “Englishness” was transformed into “American-ness”.<sup>80</sup> Still, as Paul Giles has argued, the British and American literary traditions did not, as literary historians have often claimed, form completely separate developments, but rather a parallel, intertwined “series of reciprocal attractions and repulsions between opposing national situations”.<sup>81</sup> In this context, the fact that Bremer was not British was certainly of importance. And there is reason to believe that Bremer’s success not only paved the way for other Swedish

contemporary writers, but that her works also played a certain part in the Americans' search for a literary tradition of their own. Bremer's novels were morally acceptable, while at the same time their emancipatory subject matter appealed to the readership's special attention to the yearning for freedom, with the liberation from Britain and the sore question of slavery and the abusive expansion westwards close at hand. Perhaps the American settler culture's contradictory experience of being "both colonizer and colonized at once", as Edward Watts has put it,<sup>82</sup> stimulated an appetite for the "moderately strange", where the political issues at stake were slightly different but just as acute.

In *Eclipse of Empires: World History in Nineteenth-Century US Literature and Culture* (2013), Patricia Jane Roylance identifies a strong interest in world history and a rise of historical consciousness in American society in the first half of the nineteenth century, and connects this to a pronounced desire "to avoid the mistakes of past empires".<sup>83</sup> International history was studied in order to reflect on "intranational troubles".<sup>84</sup> Literature at this time played a similar role – "the foreign" could mirror, strengthen, and confirm the known, habitual, or desired. Here it is reasonable to claim that Bremer's works were part of what Alexander Beecroft has called *nationalist appropriation*; they were invoked as long as they served the interests of the American nation-building society.<sup>85</sup> Following David Damrosch's characterization of world literature, the partiality for Bremer corresponded to certain needs in the American "host culture" – and, to return to my previous reasoning, in the British transit culture.<sup>86</sup> In this process Mary Howitt was a crucial mediator. Through her translations, Bremer was received as both domesticated and foreignized; the characters inhabiting her works were considered to be geographically and culturally distant and yet close in emotional and moral terms.<sup>87</sup>

To a certain extent the original "Swedishness" in Bremer's novels was, through Howitt's translations, subjected to a British repackaging and thus "made universal", in the same sense as Casanova has pronounced the Parisian publishing industry as the spot where late nineteenth-century fiction was moulded into a viable format.<sup>88</sup> This transformation into a new, transferable mode was actually noticed in the contemporary cultural debate. In a piece on the ongoing "Bremer war" between Mary Howitt and competing publishers, *The Literary Gazette* in January 1844 complimented Howitt for her "talent in rendering them [Bremer's novels] into a pleasant and accurate English dress".<sup>89</sup> A few months later the French internationally oriented monthly journal *Revue des deux mondes*, in an article on current literary tendencies in Britain and the United States, introduced Bremer as

an heiress to Edgeworth, Austen, and Burney, and stated that she, like them, was occupied with family and home – “objects de culte dans les pays germanique” (“objects of worship in the Germanic countries”).<sup>90</sup> The anonymous critic also introduced Mary Howitt as the one who had undertaken the task of making the Swedish authoress fit into “le costume britannique”.<sup>91</sup>

While this British apparel may explain Bremer’s quick acceptance by American readers, it might also constitute an important reason as to why some of her works relatively soon became subject to American translations. As British and American culture and language use developed in slightly different directions, there was also an increasing demand for home-grown translations that contributed to making popular non-English writers more “American”.

#### REPRINTING AS CULTURAL NORM

Still, neither a prevailing interest in Scandinavia nor how Bremer fitted or transcended contemporary Victorian literary ideals, can fully explain the intense and rapid circulation of her novels in the American market. It must also be considered in the light of a specific media situation in the 1830s and 1840s, when the literary market exploded and publishing and marketing were becoming global endeavours. Britain had a very sound domestic book production and an equally strong export of works by a large number of renowned and bestselling authors, such as Walter Scott and Charles Dickens.<sup>92</sup> When Bremer became the first Scandinavian writer to breach the British literary empire’s thick wall against imports, this was so conspicuous that Samuel Laing, the aforementioned travel writer who had visited and written books on Sweden and Norway in the 1830s, found this worth a special comment in his (unsigned) review of Bremer’s early novels in the *North British Review* (1844):

We cannot be blind to the fact, that the literary interests of the country have thriven remarkably well with this free trade in ideas. We produce enough for our own use and consumpt [sic] at home, import very little, and export large quantities to foreign parts in the various marketable forms of history, philosophy, political economy, poetry, and romance.

What we import of foreign literature, as of foreign grain, rarely answers for seed, or takes roots and flourishes in our soil. Miss Bremer’s works seem to be an exception. No foreign novels in our remembrance have attained such popularity in this country.<sup>93</sup>



Fig. 10: “*Swedish literature pen*”. Pen case in paper, featuring images of Fredrika Bremer and Emilie Flygare-Carlén, made by A. Sommerville & Co, pen manufacturer in Birmingham, England. The pen case was made exclusively for a Henry Ravené, and it is not clear whether the design was regularly used or ordered specifically by the customer. Still, its existence is illustrative of the status of the two Swedish writers in mid and late nineteenth century. Photo: Thomas Adolfsson, Nordiska museet, Stockholm.

While the British relied so heavily on domestic production, much of the American literary expansion at this time came from reprints of foreign works. Since American copyright laws did not protect translations, many works were reissued without payment to the author, translator, or original publisher.<sup>94</sup> Although large amounts of cheap foreign literature were in this way made available to the American readership, the massive access had one obvious drawback: Domestic writers had difficulties in establishing themselves, since national publishers often played it safe by investing in reprints of popular British or French works. Local literary attempts were stifled by mass editions of novels by writers such as Dickens, Edward Bulwer-Lytton, Eugène Sue, and Victor Hugo. It was in the midst of this complex and charged situation that Mary Howitt’s early English translations of Fredrika Bremer’s works occurred.

By the 1840s, the American literary system was beginning to create its own literary infrastructure. Large publishing firms were established in all major cities on the American east coast. Harper & Brothers and G.P. Putnam in New York, T.B. Peterson Brothers and J.M. Campbell in Philadelphia, and J. Munroe & Company and Redding & Company

in Boston all issued Fredrika Bremer's works in different designs and formats. Most of them used Mary Howitt's translations; both Harper and Putnam had personal contact with Bremer. J. Munroe also launched some American translations. The industrious T.B. Peterson even reissued Bremer's *Hertha* (1856) with another title, *The Four Sisters*, and marketed it as a new Bremer novel only two years after the original publication.

Still, book editions were just one of several possible literary publication forms in an emerging exuberant print culture. Entrepreneurial publishers rapidly adjusted to new technological possibilities, changing legislation and a diversified readership. In this "golden age of print", before the economic depression of 1857, Isabelle Lehuu has discerned a period of "in-betweenness", betwixt order and chaos, where earlier standards of print were, for a few years, turned upside down.<sup>95</sup> As papers were not subjected to the same copyright legislation and postal terms as books, some editors seized the opportunity and challenged the traditional media boundaries.<sup>96</sup>

Although short-lived, the most astonishing development was displayed by New York weeklies such as *Brother Jonathan* (1839–1845) and the earlier mentioned *The New World* (1840–1844), which started to compete with the prestigious publishing houses in Boston and Philadelphia by printing supplements to their standard paper editions containing whole novels. These "extras", prototypes of today's pocket editions, were often launched prior to the book editions, very cheap – at 18½ or 12½ cents per copy while regular book editions cost between one or two dollars – and reached sales figures of 20,000 or 25,000.<sup>97</sup>

*The New World* marketed at least four of Bremer's novels as supplements in 1842 and 1843, starting with *The Neighbours* only three weeks after its release in London.<sup>98</sup> Soon "cheap and light" and "popular" paper publications became a real threat to traditional book publishing, and even though influential intellectuals such as Emerson, Thoreau, Poe, and Melville expressed their contempt for the

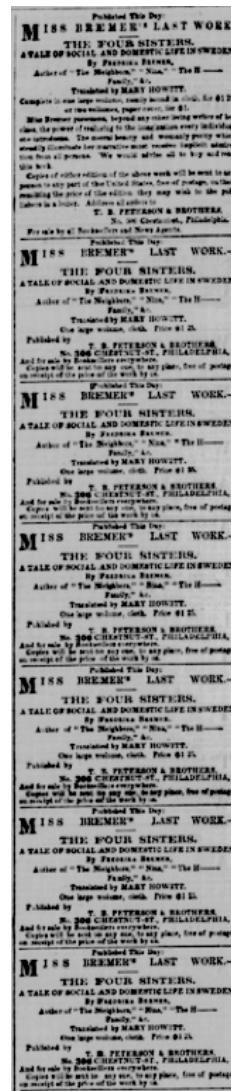


Fig. 11: Massive advertising by T.B. Peterson of *The Four Sisters* (actually *Hertha*) in *New York Daily Tribune*, 20 Nov. 1858.

# THE FOUR SISTERS.

A TALE OF

Social and Domestic Life in Sweden.

BY

FREDRIKA BREMER.

AUTHOR OF

"THE NEIGHBOURS," "NINA," "THE PRESIDENT'S DAUGHTERS," "THE E—FAMILY,"  
"THE HOME," "HOMES IN THE NEW WORLD," ETC., ETC.

TRANSLATED BY

MARY HOWITT.

Authorized American Edition, with the Author's Dedication.

Philadelphia:

T. B. PETERSON AND BROTHERS,  
306 CHESTNUT STREET.

Fig. 12: *The same novel with a new title.* T.B. Peterson and Brothers in Philadelphia launched Fredrika Bremer's *Hertha* (1856) as *The Four Sisters* only two years after the original publication. The publishers used Mary Howitt's translation, but in choosing the title they were perhaps inspired by the German publisher Brockhaus's edition of *Brothers and Sisters* (1848), that came in new edition in 1858, titled *Geschwesterleben*.

commodification of literature and the new media situation, established publishing companies soon began to print their own “pennyworths”.<sup>99</sup> However, as the United States Post Office, after heavy pressure from leading publishers, decided to force the supplements to be carried by book rates, this particular kind of circulation and extensive competition died out. Regular book publishing culture was restored. Still, the cheap editions had come to stay.<sup>100</sup>

In this dramatic process, Isabelle Lehuu has identified a growing dichotomy between canonical and trivial, or legitimate and popular, that also meant an emerging differentiation of reading.<sup>101</sup> Fredrika Bremer's novels were effectively marketed and made available in all commercial circulations and thus reached different strata of the American readership. Still, her early frequent presence in the “popular” supplement publications may have somewhat saturated the market and gradually made publishers more cautious about reissuing her works. And as the



Fig. 13: Novel published in paper format. *The New World*'s ambitions for a nationwide dissemination were sound and clear. In November 1842, American readers could buy Fredrika Bremer's *The Neighbors* (American spelling), in a 62-page octavo supplement, typed in two-column newsprint. The price was 18½ cents.

book business boomed between 1845 and 1857, the increase distinctly came from American authors, who for the first time had the full attention of publishers as well as readers.<sup>102</sup>

As argued by Meredith McGill, reprinting was not hazardous, but something of a cultural norm in the United States for most of the nineteenth century.<sup>103</sup> Affordable reading materials for the general public and the avoidance of "monopolistic" publishing practices were even seen as proofs of an enlightened democracy, and those who were opposed to international copyright defined the manufacturing and dissemination of texts as America's primary cultural role, rather than the creation of original literature.<sup>104</sup> This perspective became an integral part of a national American identity.

To Bremer, the mechanisms of reprinting meant a huge opportunity to reach out to large numbers of readers, but at the same time she did not receive any fees from unauthorized editions. The massive American dissemination added to her fame, but it did not to the same extent increase her fortune. Some authors were beginning to protest. When Charles Dickens, whose works were immensely popular and spread in hundreds of thousands of unauthorized reprints in the United States, during his 1842 American lecture tour mentioned the need for international copyright legislation, he received harsh criticism in the press.<sup>105</sup> Mary

Howitt had a similar experience when she made complaints about the unauthorized American (and British) editions of Fredrika Bremer's early works. The question at stake was not only money and prestige, but also identity, as displayed in cultural values and language use.

### A DRAMATIC RECEPTION EVENT: *New Sketches* (1844)

An important part of a transatlantic perspective on nineteenth-century literature entails questioning the priority of European discourses and the one-way road of influence.<sup>106</sup> People, goods, and ideas crossed the ocean in both directions as well as in circular patterns. Experiences were transmitted in newspapers, travelogues, and letters as well as through oral testimony, and inventions such as steam technology and telegraph wires helped to speed up communications. The question of how literature "travels", and what happens in that process on different levels (culturally, linguistically, etcetera), has become more and more urgent as the process of globalisation has accelerated, with dissemination, cultural transfer, circulation, and transmission as recurrent key concepts.

An enhanced example in the form of a specific *reception event*, connected to the American launch of Bremer's *New Sketches of Every-Day Life: A Diary. Together with Strife and Peace* may be illustrative.<sup>107</sup> Special attention is given to some turbulent months in 1843 and 1844, at a time when "Miss Bremer" had become a household name, and her translator Mary Howitt struggled for what she considered a point of honour – her own prominent position as the discoverer and transmitter of Bremer's works in the English-speaking world in an age of unauthorized reprints. I will use the translator's prefaces in order to establish Howitt's double and sometimes contradictory mission of spreading Fredrika Bremer's name while simultaneously stressing her own significance in this process. Reviews and debate articles are also taken into account in order to show how Howitt's ambitions and translating skills were scrutinized. The apparent piracy that Bremer's novels were subjected to had fundamental pecuniary, juridical, and ideological implications, with different parties claiming their own specific rights and aspirations. This raises interesting questions about power relations and professionalisation of the literary market in the 1840s, and about the possibilities and challenges for individual actors navigating it. An important background factor was the ongoing competition between different publishers, within Britain and the United States, and also between British and American publishers, since Bremer's works were soon part of a prevailing transatlantic literary exchange.

### *Mary Howitt as Bremer's "discoverer"*

The increasing interest in translation history in recent decades has indeed proven the importance of women translators in publishing, as cultural mediators and as political activists.<sup>108</sup> The impact of female networks has also become evident, and the long collaboration between Bremer and Howitt provides a valuable example.

Together with her husband, William Howitt, Mary Howitt was an industrious cultural transmitter in the 1840s and 1850s, translating, introducing, networking, and promoting Scandinavian literature in Britain.<sup>109</sup> Apart from introducing Bremer to English-speaking readers – a total of 18 volumes in Britain between 1842 and 1863 – Howitt is best known for the first English translations of the Danish writer Hans Christian Andersen's stories for children. But she was also herself a versatile writer, who published poetry, didactic fiction, sketches of rural and domestic life, and children's tales. She also contributed to major British literary periodicals such as *The Athenaeum*, *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, and Charles Dickens's *Household Words*.<sup>110</sup> The Howitts were Quakers, and although Mary Howitt shared many of Fredrika Bremer's religiously grounded standpoints, for instance on the abolition of slavery, their opinions also differed, and concerning the rights of women, just to give one example, Bremer was clearly the more radical.<sup>111</sup>

In her autobiography Mary Howitt states that she together with her husband translated two of Bremer's early works – *The Neighbours: A Story of Everyday Life* (1842) and *The Home; or Family Cares and Family Joys* (1843) – from the German versions, “but”, she adds, “in the new editions which speedily followed we compared and revised them with the Swedish”.<sup>112</sup> Although the spouses worked together, only her name appeared on the publications.<sup>113</sup> It was consequential that a new representative of the female-authored tradition of domestic novels should be introduced by a female translator, and the fact that Mary Howitt had already made a name for herself was a decisive advantage in the marketing of the book, as was her characterization of Bremer, in her translator's preface, as a Swedish counterpart to Jane Austen. Translation was an accepted occupation for middle-class women at the time, and made it possible for them to act in public without openly challenging existing power relations.<sup>114</sup> As Lesa Scholl has stated, translation was also an ability that gave educated middle-class women “a more or less unmediated access to foreign ideas”.<sup>115</sup>

Since none of the publishing houses in London were interested in publishing *The Neighbours* to begin with, the Howitts initially printed

it at their own expense. However, as Bremer's popularity rapidly increased, the couple was soon, again according to Howitt's own depiction, preyed on by unscrupulous actors in the unregulated literary market – “our translations were seized by a publisher, altered, and re-issued as new ones.”<sup>116</sup> The problem of unfair competition is evident in Howitt's autobiography and in her letters, and both the Howitts were publicly active in the contemporary debate on reprinting and the need for an international Copyright Act in Great Britain (which also came in 1844 but demanded bilateral agreements).<sup>117</sup> Mary Howitt even took



Fig. 14: Fredrika Bremer's English translator Mary Howitt (1799–1888) often worked together with her husband, but only her name appeared on the publications, initially in larger font size than the writer's. Photograph from *Mary Howitt: An Autobiography*, Vol. 1 (1889).

the liberty of using her “Preface by the Translator” in the English and American 1844 editions of Bremer’s *New Sketches of Every-Day Life* to present a detailed attack on competing publishers and their cheap editions. The actor she pilloried the most, using epithets such as “the Prowler and the Literary Body-snatcher” and “Literary Buccaneer”, was London publisher William Smith. In 1843, the year before the authorized editions were published, he had marketed several of Bremer’s novels “From the Swedish” in his low-price “Standard Library”, including *Strife and Peace*. At least two other publishers – Ingram, Cooke, and Co. in London, and James Munroe & Co. in Boston – also issued the novel in 1843. Smith’s publications were actually translated from the German versions, and it is clear that Howitt considered the competing, untimely cheap editions as trespasses into her domain:

I am as great an advocate for cheap translations as he can be; but I say, in heaven’s name let not translators and publishers become a crowd of cannibals, to devour each other. I do not interfere with the speculations of Smith, or Clarke, or Tomkins – let them at least be good enough to let alone mine.<sup>118</sup>

Mary Howitt aggressively promoted herself as Bremer’s “discoverer”, claiming to have introduced her all over the English-speaking world, “in America, in India, at the Cape, as well as in Australia, *Miss Bremer* is now a household word – nay, more – a household possession and blessing”.<sup>119</sup> Although rather inconspicuous among Bremer’s works, and probably because of Howitt’s startling preface, *New Sketches of Every-Day Life*, and especially *Strife and Peace*, was soon at the centre of attention – as an issue of property rights and linguistic skills. The first authorized editions in English were published by Longman & Co. in London and Harper & Brothers in New York. Yet another London publisher, H.G. Clarke & Co. (mentioned in the quote above), marketed an edition of the same work in 1844, and from that year onwards launched a whole series of “Novels by Fredrika Bremer”.<sup>120</sup>

In her extensive preface in Longman’s and Harper’s editions, Howitt refers to both justice and fairness, and her reasoning gives an interesting insight into the everyday hard work of translators at that time, when many had to find their own assignments and sell them on to publishers:

It is one thing to spend years in acquiring foreign languages; to spend other years in visiting foreign countries, and poring through the vast mass of foreign productions, in order to discover and pick out what is really worthy of being introduced to your countrymen,

– one thing, when you have done all this, at a most serious cost of time, labour, and money; have then taken all other risks, and in fact *created a public*; – and *another thing*, for a man who has done nothing of all this, to avail himself of the fruits of your labours, and of the public favour you have raised.<sup>121</sup>

Howitt's main argument is that the cheap editions should be launched later in the process, allowing a first moderate library edition to “test the public taste”. If the “American pennyworths” immediately invade the market, Howitt argues, quality will drop, and those doing all the groundwork will be driven out, a situation that would eventually threaten the whole literary system. Howitt also blames the competing translations of Bremer's works for having been copied from the German shortened versions, resulting in many errors, illustrated by several examples. She also states that linguistic “Americanisms” and “Yankee slang” have contributed to further debasing the quality of the translations.<sup>122</sup>

Howitt's surprisingly outspoken and even hostile preface was undoubtedly a substantial violation of prevailing female decorum. Not only did she attack several respected male operators in the literary market, she also asserted the value of her own efforts and dwelled on pecuniary matters. And although other parties doubtless invaded Howitt's established activity, these interventions could not be proven to be illegal. This argument was a main point in the London weekly *Athenaeum*'s response to Howitt's preface. The anonymous author found Howitt's remarks most inappropriate and written “in a very questionable temper”.<sup>123</sup> Since no one had specifically violated the law, it was bad manners to hurl accusations. The conclusion of the magazine's response was loud and clear: “the republisher is not to blame, but the law”. In an unsigned review of Longman's and Smith's latest Bremer editions, *The Literary Gazette* commented on the ongoing “Bremer war”. Apart from detecting several shortened parts in Smith's edition of *Strife and Peace*, the article cited both parties in the conflict extensively, referring to Howitt's and Smith's respective prefaces to *The H-Family*. In the latter, Smith, claiming that the German publisher Brockhaus was in fact the main discoverer of the Swedish novelist, which made Howitt's finding “a discovery of a discovery”.<sup>124</sup>

### *The American “Bremer war”*

As soon as the preface became public in the United States, in Harper's New York edition, it was met by counter-attacks in the American press, which had received Howitt's translations of the earlier novels most cor-

dially. Howitt's harsh opinions on the Boston edition of *New Sketches of Every-Day Life* and the destructive "American cheap publication mania", were soon exposed to critical analysis. The Boston papers were unsurprisingly very active in promoting local publisher Munroe & Co., and eager to defend "free enterprise".

In 1843, Munroe & Co. had already published unauthorized versions of Bremer's *The H-Family* and *The President's Daughters*. Not only Howitt had been unhappy about this, she had an American ally in *The New World*, mentioned earlier, whose proprietors had bought the proof prints from Howitt's translations of *The Neighbours*, *The Home*, *The President's Daughters*, and *Nina* and launched these works in cheap paper supplements. In May 1843, the journal delivered an unsigned, spiteful review of Munroe & Co.'s Bremer publications.<sup>125</sup> It is symptomatic that the reviewer begins by underlining their firm belief in "free trade in literature as well as in commerce". The judgement that follows is to be understood as one based solely on qualitative criteria: "If our American writers can give us an English verson [sic] of Frederika

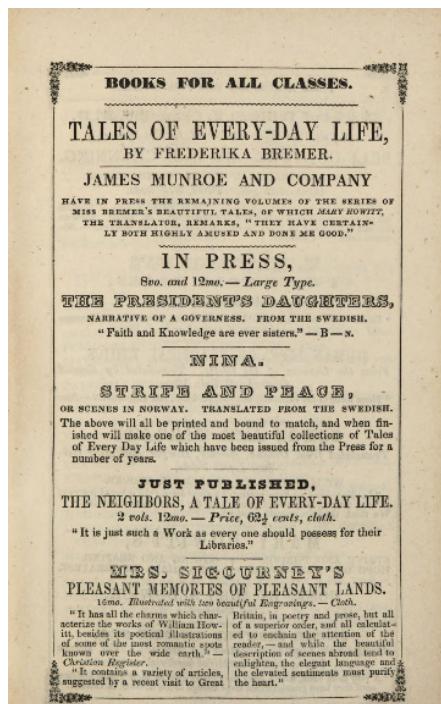


Fig. 15: *Unauthorized versions for sale*. Advertisement in Boston publisher James Munro & Co.'s edition of Fredrika Bremer's *The H-Family*, launched in the "Book for All Classes" series in 1843.

Bremer's novels which is worthy of the original, we say God speed to them with all our hearts.”<sup>126</sup> Obviously this is not the case here, which is illustrated by extensive extracts from the two Boston translations, followed by pungent comments on their linguistic inferiority:

The clumsiness of these extracts, their accumulated and reiterated blunders of style and grammar, need not be designated by us; for they are so apparent and glaring, that we wonder the compositors themselves did not “take the responsibility” of correcting them.

One thing is certain, if Miss Bremer is as familiar with our language as with the art of novel-writing, she will bestow some left-handed compliments on her Boston-translators, should their *productions* ever meet her eye.<sup>127</sup>

The reviewer also claims that Bremer's works have been substantially shortened in the process and concludes that the Boston versions are not actually cheaper than the full-length Howitt translations. Allegations about abbreviated or “poor” versions were common in the contemporary discussion and marketing of bestselling literature. As seen before, Howitt used it in her previously discussed preface, and she was soon herself subjected to the exact same accusation, even in *The New World*. In an advertisement in June 1844, with the showy headline “Caution to the Public!”, the paper's proprietor, printer, and publisher, Winchester, warned readers about “the imperfect edition” of Emilie Flygare-Carlén's *The Rose of Thistle Island* that had just been launched, almost at the same time as Winchester's own version. The translator of this competing edition was Mary Howitt, and her translation was now, as the earlier Boston editions had been, accused of being produced from a German version, shortened, “otherwise mutilated” and “poorly done – tame and spiritless”.<sup>128</sup> It is clear that the quality judgements were strongly dependent on Winchester's own latest investment, an upcoming edition of Flygare-Carlén's novel translated by the aforementioned G.C. Hebbe, in cooperation with Henry C. Deming, one of *The New World*'s editors. The advertisement stresses Hebbe, titled “Dr. Hebbe”, as an expert in Swedish literature, and to the paper's faithful readership he was already known for his Swedish origin, after several signed articles presenting Swedish literature. This advertisement is yet another proof of the ongoing competition concerning Bremer's works, and it also shows that alleged skills in the source language were becoming a sales argument for translated literature.

The most ambitious introduction of Bremer in American print media, which also contained a distinct answer to Mary Howitt's controversial

preface, came in a previously mentioned review essay in the leading literary quarterly the *North American Review* in April 1844. The article has been attributed to James Russell Lowell, the well-known poet, critic, and professor of Modern languages at Harvard, and later editor of the journal.<sup>129</sup> His elder sister was Mary Putnam Lowell, who translated Bremer's *The Bondmaid* (for H.G. Clarke & Co. in 1844) and who was also said to have translated an early American version of *The Neighbours* from the Swedish.<sup>130</sup> As stated previously, there was an intense interest in Scandinavian literature among the leading cultural personalities at the time, especially in New England, and quite a few of them read and discussed Bremer's work. After a substantial cultural, political, and historical survey of Sweden, and an appreciative discussion on how Bremer's works comply with the ideals of the modern novel, the anonymous critic in the *North American Review* turns to the translation of *New Sketches of Every-Day Life*, and it is obvious that Howitt's preface – a “remarkable manifesto”, which is labelled as “the most coarse, ill-natured, unjust, and unwomanly production that we have ever read” – is the reason for this scrutiny:

We were grateful to her [Mary Howitt], and were, perhaps, too careful not to incur the proverbial reproach of looking the gift-horse narrowly in the mouth. But now, we seem only to comply with her own wishes, in applying proper tests to ascertain how much she has debased the pure metal of Miss Bremer, in the process of recoining it for English circulation.<sup>131</sup>

The essay is thereafter written as a direct answer to Howitt's accusations in the preface, mirroring her arguments: “Our own duty is to expose the true character of Mrs. Howitt's allegations against the American translator, and her own unfitness for the task which she claims to monopolize.”<sup>132</sup> Obviously well-oriented in the Swedish language, the critic embarks on a comparison of Munroe's version of *Strife and Peace* and Howitt's own (at Harper & Brothers), and establishes that Howitt had in fact made many similar mistakes, leading him to conclude that Howitt, too, had predominantly used the earlier German versions in her translation. He also claims to have traced a chronological gap that counters Howitt's earlier assertion, in the preface to *The Neighbours*, that other works by Bremer were “ready for publication” at that time.<sup>133</sup> The ambitious text evokes interesting questions, about copyright and language skills, but also about the translator's position as “discoverer” and self-appointed trustee of a specific author:

As to her claim as a discoverer, it is only ridiculous. Miss Bremer's works had gone through several editions in German, and had been praised in the German reviews, long before Mrs. Howitt undertook her "speculation." The Swedish edition of a part of them had been in the Harvard College Library *five years* when Mrs. Howitt's first translation appeared.<sup>134</sup>

For an English woman to criticize language use and to demand market regulations was a quite provocative act, almost a punch in the face of American identity and self-image. In her chapter on Howitt's translation of Bremer's *The Homes of the New World*, Judith Johnston points to translation as a place of appropriation and power struggle that can form a kind of colonization.<sup>135</sup> This is a fruitful perspective when dealing with translations as part of transcultural exchanges and renegotiations. The *North American Review* essay certainly displays a dividing line far beyond the specific translations of Fredrika Bremer's early novels. Split opinions on culture as a common or individual property, which are apparent in the dispute, illustrate a zone of conflict in the century's rapidly growing transatlantic relations that carries clear colonial implications. In a sense, this conflict involved the New World in a collision with the Old – the former colony was "striking back" in response to British imperialism: not only appropriating and repackaging the cultural goods of their earlier rulers, but also grabbing market shares and out-competing them on their own home ground. Still, the American "invasion" of the British book market had complicated repercussions that helped to maintain the Empire's cultural hegemony at a time when its apostate obviously felt the need to build an identity of its own. In this context Mary Howitt's attack against what she regarded as poor-quality translations and unfair competition could very well be interpreted as a colonial demonstration of power, placing her in the midst of conflicting interests and complex power relations. These complications are possible to decode in the preface as well as in the reception of it.

#### *Bremer on Howitt's translation "mistakes"*

Until the 1840s, translation was not fully recognized as a trade of its own, separate from the original publication. Judith Johnston notes that the first of Mary Howitt's translations received very few comments on the translation practice, whereas later works were subjected to a more severe scrutiny.<sup>136</sup> This shift had to do with a growing debate on translation and a professionalization of the industry, as more skilled performers entered the field. As highlighted here, Howitt's competence,

and especially her knowledge of Swedish, was an important element in the animated dispute on Bremer's *New Sketches of Every-Day Life* in the United States – a discussion that Howitt herself helped to trigger through her astonishingly straightforward, even blunt, preface.

Fredrika Bremer herself was publicly taciturn concerning the problem of reprinting, but the question of how to avoid it recurs in her correspondence to publishers and translators. Since the authorized versions were the only ones at least possibly profitable for her publishers, for herself, and for her chosen translator (depending on the agreements made), she did what she could to support them – by asking the Swedish publisher to send printing sheets directly to the translators, arranging transcribed manuscript pages to be sent, or even postponing the Swedish publication in order to allow enough time for the authorized translation to be completed.<sup>137</sup> As for Bremer's opinions on the actual quality of Howitt's translations, her utterances are contradictory. For example, Bremer wrote to Howitt in February 1844 to express "her pleasure at the English publication of 'The Neighbours'".<sup>138</sup> Yet in October of the same year, Bremer mentions Howitt's "mistakes" several times in a letter to the American publisher George P. Putnam:

Then, though she makes occasional mistakes, her style is full of life, and her genial mind shows itself even in the translations; and the knowledge which she has now gained of the Swedish language will make her less subject than ever to mistakes; and Mr. Howitt, being now at home, will be able to correct these.<sup>139</sup>

On principle, Bremer never engaged in public debate – with one crucial exception. When the travelogue from her American journey, *The Homes of the New World*, was published in English in Britain and the United States in 1853, Bremer found several errors and also that some requested changes and omissions had not been edited. Also, the travelogue was criticized for being gossipy and indiscreet concerning the private lives of families Bremer had visited. She obviously felt compelled to defend herself.<sup>140</sup> In a note to the editors of the London *Times* and Washington *Daily National Intelligencer* in December 1853, a piece that was circulated widely and also received many comments, Bremer pointed to "several misconceptions of Swedish words and meanings far from agreeable" and some passages that should have been left out (that had in fact been deleted in the Swedish edition), and she concluded by requesting "a new edition of the English translation carefully corrected after the Swedish book."<sup>141</sup> Howitt's answer, published in the same columns a few days later, quotes Bremer's effusive praise of the translation

in a letter written two months earlier, and emphasizes that she herself has been “employed merely as translator, not as editor”.<sup>142</sup> *The Homes of the New World* originated from 43 long and open-hearted private letters, all but a few to Bremer’s younger sister Agathe, and Bremer relied on her translator’s good judgement to decide which parts should be omitted or made anonymous, so as not to appear offensive to the American audience.<sup>143</sup> As stated earlier, the Howitts mostly worked together, but in this project Mary Howitt had to manage on her own, since William had sailed off to the Australian goldfields.

In an article with the telling heading “Blaming the Messenger”, Laurel Ann Lofsvold has convincingly argued that although Howitt did make some minor mistakes, she was for the most part faithful to the original manuscript and to Bremer’s additional instructions. Bremer’s disappointment concerning *The Homes of the New World* had, according to Lofsvold, “less to do with her [Howitt’s] failings as a translator than with her weakness as an editor”.<sup>144</sup> Thus, the conflict was caused by different expectations as to what should be included in the translation task. Regarded from current practice, where the role of translator and editor are clearly separated, it is easy to acknowledge Howitt’s perspective on the matter, even though the division of labour was not so obvious in the mid-nineteenth century. Perhaps these unclear borders can explain why this encounter did not cause any serious or prolonged discord. Also, once the initial indignation had settled, Bremer was genuinely worried about the crack her criticism had caused Mary Howitt’s professional reputation.<sup>145</sup> She invited Howitt to translate her forthcoming novel, *Hertha*, and their cooperation continued for another ten years, through the remainder of Bremer’s career. She was grateful to Howitt for having introduced her to a new international readership. Although Bremer was well-known in Sweden already in the early 1830s, the immense British and American success of *The Neighbours* came as a pleasant surprise, and she seems to have been anxious to continue the collaboration. The two actually became very good friends; Bremer visited the Howitt family on her way to and from America, and Howitt’s daughter Margaret spent a whole year at Bremer’s home in Sweden in the 1860s.<sup>146</sup> Bremer promoted Howitt to publishers, wrote a preface to a Swedish translation of one of her novels, and introduced her to international acquaintances.<sup>147</sup> Howitt helped Bremer to publish in British journals and connected her to Marcus and Rebecca Spring, Bremer’s major contacts during her American journey. Even if Bremer sometimes had criticisms about the result of Howitt’s translations, she held on to her. The benefits of the collaboration – their good personal

and professional relationship, Howitt's speed and readiness, and her patience with Bremer's complicated proof stages – apparently outweighed the eventual disadvantages.

To sum up, it is clear that Mary Howitt violated her contemporaries' sense of female modesty by using her translator's preface to Fredrika Bremer's *New Sketches of Every-Day Life* as a means to promote not only the author and the literary product, but also herself and her own agenda, a venture that indicates the uncertain and changing function of the translator in the literary arena at that time. Howitt's preface displays a clear wish to both regulate the market for translations and set the record straight when it came to how Fredrika Bremer's works should be handled. In this regard, Howitt's rejection of her American competitors could function as an attempt to counterbalance lower prices by restoring her own supremacy on quality-related grounds. This ambition obviously backfired, and Howitt's behaviour was interpreted as an insistence on exclusive access to Bremer: "She denies the right of Americans to meddle with Miss Bremer at all", stated the *North American Review*,<sup>148</sup> clearly provoked by the translator's comments about "Americanisms" and "Yankee slang" in the Boston editions.

However, Howitt's assault cut deeper than simple remarks on linguistic "errors". Her wish to establish her own interpretations of Fredrika Bremer as the most valid, in opposition to "American pennyworths", was regarded as a questioning of the values, norms, and pursuit of freedom and democracy that already formed such a substantial part of the American self-image. Regardless of intent, Howitt's preface thus became a violation of both American identity and market expectations, with clear colonial implications. From this perspective, the fuss around the preface also illustrates how closely the negotiations of the translator's role and rights were linked to the nineteenth century's ongoing nation-building processes, and how translations, to use Sherry Simon's words, are always "products of the ideological tensions of their time".<sup>149</sup> Without doubt, Mary Howitt's translations were crucial for the introduction of Bremer in the English-speaking world, and her versions to a great extent dominated the market. Still, the tug of war around Bremer's novels hardly passed unnoticed. And as the translation trade was further professionalized, new demands were made on the translator's knowledge of both the source and target language. When subsequent Scandinavian authorships were introduced, new constellations occurred. As will be evident in the following chapter by Yvonne Leffler, in several cases the next step often included a Swedish-speaking translator working together with a native-speaking translator.

## CODA: THE SWEDISH NOVEL “WONDER” AND HISTORICAL DISSONANCE

To read national literatures in a transnational way is thus to suggest the various forms of contingency that have entered into the formation of each naturalized inheritance. (Paul Giles, *Transatlantic Insurrections*, p. 1.)

Nineteenth-century literature is thus to a substantial degree part of current ideological struggles, and it is vital to acknowledge that these are not only local or national, but parts of global processes. At the same time as literature, at least in some cases, was more nationally focused and patriotic than ever, it was also utterly transnational. Writers were active in formulating national identities at the same time as they were exceeding them. During the last two decades, a consensus has emerged that there is nothing self-evident in nationalizing literary history, and that national histories must be written in ways that reflect all their complexity and entanglements.<sup>150</sup> Several debaters have stated that literary history must be examined across borders, as a global phenomenon. Still, as Emily Apter, among others, has argued, post-nationalism has its problems, not least when dealing with small nations and minor languages, whose specificities are at risk of being displaced by generic thoughts of “universal translatability or global applicability”.<sup>151</sup>

In Sweden, literary studies have by tradition primarily focused on domestic literature, or, in some cases, on how influential literature from other language areas (preferably English, German, and French) have been received in or have affected Swedish literature or society. Thus, detaching from the national canon to transnational literary flows requires a considerable amount of ground research. As Johan Svedjedal, professor of sociology of literature at Uppsala University, has stated, “we know substantially more about what from a Swedish perspective could be called literary inflow than we know about the literary outflow”.<sup>152</sup>

In this investigation of the reception of Fredrika Bremer in the United States, the comparative aspect has been crucial, although the focus has been directed primarily towards the receiving American “host culture”. But how should the impact of Bremer’s works be labelled from a global perspective? According to Damrosch’s inclusive description of world literature, primarily as a mode of textual circulation, some of Bremer’s novels might actually be included. Literary works, states Damrosch, “become world literature by being received *into* the space of a foreign culture, a space defined in many ways by the host culture’s national tradition and the present needs of its own writers”.<sup>153</sup> As I have argued, this

was very much the case when Bremer's works were introduced and used in 1840s America. Still, it is probably more accurate to approach Bremer's popularity in the United States as an expression of transnationalism within the national framework, in accordance with Alexander Beecroft's model of literary history in *An Ecology of World Literature* (2015).<sup>154</sup> In the European post-revolutionary and post-Napoleonic period of nation building, different national literatures competed with each other on an international market, and some works manage to communicate quite well outside their own national and linguistic borders. As Beecroft argues, "national literatures are from the beginning constructed as elements of an inter-national system of literatures".<sup>155</sup> Even though they originated from a semi-peripheral part of Europe and were written in a minor language, Bremer's works communicated and competed outside of their own national and linguistic borders. And it is easy to see how the Swedish women novelists became successful in different regions throughout the century, at the same time as these were dealing with their respective nation-building or emancipatory processes.

The American "Bremer-mania" reveals ongoing domestic challenges at a time when the book market was still dominated by British authors. Bremer's works fitted well into the pre-Civil War self-perception. Her depictions of young Scandinavian women and their life choices offered a functioning *transfer identity*, a possibility for (white, middleclass) readers to mirror their own everyday struggles and aspirations for the future, and for the American nation to try out alternative life styles and world views, that differed from the British. As stated earlier, Bremer's appearance on the American literary scene coincided with a domestic "publishing revolution", where novels by popular European writers were reprinted in large-quantity cheap editions, sometimes in periodicals. But as a new book culture was consolidating at mid-century, it was increasingly based on local American, mostly male, writers. By now the need for Swedish "substitutes" was not as evident, and the massive interest began to decline. Even though Bremer's works were published and reissued in the following decades, together with some novels by other Swedish women writers, especially Emilie Flygare-Carlén and Marie Sophie Schwartz, the sense of "discovery" had diminished, and the Swedish "novel wonder" was soon more or less forgotten.

To conclude on a more long-term level of canon formation, several interesting differences come to light when the contemporary American reception of Fredrika Bremer is compared to Swedish literary history. Perhaps the most surprising part is the relatively low interest in the author's gender or national origin in the American material. Even though it is often pointed out that Bremer is a Swedish writer whose stories

take place in Scandinavia, these facts are at the same time played down by several critics. Although they are from a faraway part of the globe, Bremer's characters are displayed as familiar to the New England reader, as "just as home in Boston as in Stockholm".<sup>156</sup> The relatively few exoticisms in the American reception may at least partly be due to how Bremer had been made "universal" through Howitt's translations. As "the Miss Austen of Sweden", Bremer was immediately placed in a Victorian context – the domestic novel writer as a (white) woman. At the same time, she was not British, and this fact is perhaps more important than her being Swedish. Latent here is also the emerging tension in the prevailing American reprinting culture, where a "copy" was no longer just as valuable as the "original". Instead, the concepts of originality and



Fig. 16: Bremer memorabilia. "Fredrika Bremer. Aromas Coloniales", perfume bottle purchased in the old town of Havana, Cuba. Fredrika Bremer visited the island for three months in the Spring of 1851, and reminders of her visit are still visible, through a portrait and a plaque at Calle de los Oficios, the estate where she stayed in old Havana. The parts of her travlogue *The Homes of the New World* (1853) that depict her experiences in Cuba have been edited separately several times, as *Cartas desde Cuba* (1980, 1981, 2002, 2014 and as an e-book in Barcelona in 2017), all from the same translation by Matilde Goulard-Westberg.

exclusiveness were increasingly invoked and became formative to the process of canon formation. Twentieth-century criticism rated massive dissemination in cheap publications and celebrity status as degrading, especially for women. And even though no such clear separation existed in the contemporary literary infrastructure, many writers were gradually dispatched to a “popular circuit”. Prevailing views on originality and innovation from a narrow “aesthetical” perspective have to a very limited extent managed to capture the wider significance of literary impact.

In the American mid-nineteenth century, Bremer was rarely compared to her female Swedish colleagues, but was instead discussed alongside internationally recognized writers such as Walter Scott, Maria Edgeworth, Charles Dickens and George Sand. At the same time, her “Swedishness” appears as a selling argument, in recurrent labels such as “the Miss Austen of Sweden”, “the Edgeworth of Sweden”, or even “the Great Nordic Light”. When, as in some instances, Bremer is mentioned among domestic writers such as Beecher Stowe, Eliza Jane Cate, and Ellen Pickering, it is not in a feminizing way, but rather as a way to once again play down cultural differences. It is obvious that Bremer was considered both more “international” and “American” in the contemporary American context than is the case in Swedish literary history. Here, Bremer is primarily a *female* writer. She is also regarded from a narrow *national* (Swedish) perspective, often compared to her female contemporaries. Her international impact and engagement in global discussions on peace, slavery, and women’s emancipation are seldom mentioned; her importance is instead firmly rooted in the history of the Swedish novel and the women’s movement.

In the American press material Bremer is presented as a cultural personality and as an authority, cited and paraphrased on a number of occasions, on the burning question of slavery, the Crimean War, the situation for unmarried women, American character, etcetera. She is treated as a celebrity and her movements are covered in detail – what places she visits, whom she socializes with, when the next novel is to be published, the number of printed editions, and so on. In terms of critical reception, certain works were highlighted more in the United States than they had been in Sweden. *The Neighbours*, for example, was extremely popular among American readers, while *The H-Family*, which was a sensational debut in Sweden in 1830–1831, did not have any significant impact. *The Neighbours* was the first novel to be translated into English in 1842, only thereafter came translations of the earlier works in close succession, some of them published more or less simultaneously.

*Strife and Peace; or Scenes in Norway*, more or less forgotten in Swedish literary history, attracted much attention when it was published

together with *A Diary in New Sketches of Every-Day Life* in 1844. The depictions of Norway and Old Norse Mythology were treated with interest from several critics, but the major concern was the earlier-discussed battle over copyright and translation quality that arose around the publication. However, the aforementioned *Hertha*, a minor classic in Sweden, did not create much discussion in the United States. Perhaps this is because its feminist tendency, which especially pointed at the outdated Swedish family laws, made it more “national” and thus of less interest to an American audience.

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The American reception of Fredrika Bremer raises questions about gender, politics, aesthetics, and cultural dissemination in the different national contexts and transnational exchanges. But above all, it reveals how little influence contemporary international reception has had on national literary historiography. The fact that Bremer, at least for a few years, was among the most requested authors in the United States has never actually been recognized, neither in Swedish nor in American literary history. As Transcendentalism in the mid-twentieth century was appointed as a primary touchstone for American cultural identity, all other elements were toned down to, as Paul Giles puts it, “reinforce a myth of the United States as an integral and separate country, a nation set apart from the old laws of Europe”.<sup>157</sup> In this process, women writers, writers of colour, and writers from other nations were edged out of the nineteenth-century American literary canon.

These kinds of dissonances may seem inevitable. It is hardly reasonable to assume that international and national receptions should coincide, or for that matter, that contemporary and historical status should do so. Still, as transcultural perspectives become more common, prevailing impressions of certain authorships and works will have to be revised. The outside view affects the inside image. In Swedish literary history, the international boom of female novels in the mid-nineteenth century is not present. What does a blind spot like that entail? Is it worthwhile, or even possible, to reintroduce “forgotten” writers, or writers that have actually never been included in the literary canon? As new facts appear concerning the great international impact of Swedish women novelists, such as Fredrika Bremer, it is fair to ask whether and how this will affect future views on their significance.

In order for this to happen, a further inclusion of media-historical perspectives on the novel is needed. Researchers such as Katherine Bode have insisted on a recalibration of literary studies “beyond the book”.<sup>158</sup>

For many nineteenth-century novelists, not least women, distribution in serials was an important publication form. In Bremer's case, several novels were serialized in dailies or literary journals, in Spain, Italy, and Russia, for example. Although Bremer was not serialized to a large extent in the United States, several of her prime novels were distributed widely in newspaper format. But literary publication outside of traditional book publishing has not fitted modern memory production. Even though the publication of whole works in newspaper formats was a short-lived business, it had a crucial impact on regular book publishing. This clarifies that boundaries between different ways of producing and distributing literature were significantly more flexible, non-specialized and changing in the nineteenth century, and that it is instead the succeeding historiography that has narrowed the scope. In order to reach the full complexity of the transition and dissemination processes of texts and ideas in travel, future research needs to show greater sensitivity to the wide range of publications and impact patterns that offer exciting and important counter-narratives to the established history of the nineteenth-century novel.

#### BIOGRAPHY: FREDRIKA BREMER



Fig. 17: Fredrika Bremer photographed by Mathew B. Brady in 1849, during her American journey.

Fredrika Bremer (1801–1865) was one of the most prominent Swedish cultural personalities of the nineteenth century. As a novel writer, she was the first to become an international bestseller, but she was also a moulder of public opinion for peace and women's rights, and a traveller reporting about society, thoughts, and family life both in the “New” and “Old” Worlds.

Bremer was born on 17 August 1801 at Tourla farm outside of Åbo, Finland. Fearing a Russian takeover (that came in 1809), the family moved to the Swedish capital, Stockholm, in 1804. In her autobiography, Bremer describes an uneventful and often dull childhood, her relationship with her parents was complicated. Bremer had six siblings, two of whom died young.

Her career as a writer began with the first collections of *Sketches of Everyday Life* (*Teckningar utur hvardagslivet*). The second and third collection (1830–31) included a novel, *The H-Family* (*Familjen H\*\*\**), which received a lot of attention, and a medal from the Swedish Academy. Bremer's identity became public, and the domestic novel, already prominent in England, had received its Swedish counterpart. Several of Bremer's subsequent novels, such as *The President's Daughters* (*Presidentens döttrar*, 1834), *Nina* (1835), *The Home* (*Hemmet*, 1839), and *A Diary* (*En Dagbok*, 1843), shared the same basic plot; featuring a family with a number of daughters and describing their life choices within and outside of marriage. In a society with a surplus of women these were essential questions and it is no coincidence that several contemporary reforms concerned women's rights. Bremer herself chose not to marry, and she stated in her letters that married life could not be combined with authorship.

Bremer's first novels were soon translated into Danish and German. The breakthrough westward came with the epistolary novel *The Neighbours* (*Grannarne*, 1837). Mary Howitt's 1842 English translation spread like wildfire in Britain and the United States. American readers, in particular, had an appreciation for Bremer. While the Swedish critics constantly compared her to national contemporary female colleagues like Emilie Flygare-Carlén and Sophie von Knorring, American reviewers placed her in the company of renowned international authors such as Walter Scott, Charles Dickens, George Sand, Maria Edgeworth, and Harriet Beecher Stowe.

During the 1840s Bremer became increasingly engaged in political issues – especially women's emancipation – and Old Norse mythology. She broadened her literary repertoire with a drama set in ancient times, *The Bondmaid* (*Trälinnan*, 1840), and the religious interjection *Morning Watches* (*Morgon-väckter*, 1842). In the revolutionary period of

1848, Bremer published the socialist utopian novel *Brothers and Sisters* (*Syskonlif*), a further example of the author's political radicalization. She turned her interest increasingly towards the United States, which at the time was regarded as the land of future, progress, and freedom (although the question of slavery drove the nation into a civil war). Her journey in North America and Cuba 1849–1851 became a crucial experience. Her letters home were collected and published in *The Homes of the New World: Impressions of America* in 1853, which was translated into several languages, and became an important contemporary source on American life.

After her return to Sweden, Bremer became even more active in the women's movement and started working on a long-planned novel, *Hertha* (1856), in its outer frame another domestic novel, featuring the outspoken heroine Hertha Falk and her struggle for freedom, for herself and for her fellow sisters. The novel was a distinct interjection into the debate on a proposition in the Swedish Parliament with regard to unmarried women's right to legal independence at the age of 25, a reform that was implemented a few years later. Bremer avoided the harsh debate that followed *Hertha* by engaging in a five-year pilgrimage to Switzerland, Italy, Greece, Turkey, and Palestine, which resulted in another travelogue, *Life in the Old World* (1860–62).

Bremer was brought up in a wealthy upper-middle-class family. However, after her father's death in 1830, her younger brother Claes, who was also his sisters' formal guardian, misspent a substantial part of the family fortune, leaving the family in great difficulty. After the death of her brother in 1839, Bremer applied for and was granted majority. In the 1850s, Bremer needed to write for profit and became more anxious to negotiate high fees, which besides living expenses funded travels and philanthropy. She spent her last years at her childhood home Årsta, south of Stockholm, and passed away on the morning of New Year's Eve 1865, at the age of 64.

## NOTES

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- Story of Every-Day Life. By Frederika Bremer. Translated by Mary Howitt*, Vol. I., London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1842 (two un-paged pages).
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  - 5 Lars Lönnroth, "Den svenska litteraturen på världsmarknaden", in Lönnroth, Lars & Hans-Erik Johannesson (eds.), *Den svenska litteraturen 7: Bokmarknad, bibliografier*, Stockholm: Bonniers, 1990, p. 38; Ola Nordenfors, "Frithiofs saga – en framgångssaga", *Svensk litteratur som världslitteratur: En antologi*, Uppsala: Avdelningen för litteratursociologi Uppsala universitet, 2012, p. 93.
  - 6 Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, translated by M.B. DeVBevoise, Cambridge MA & London: Harvard University Press, 2004 [1999], pp. 25, 127; Franco Moretti, "Conjectures on World Literature", in Prendergast, Christopher (ed.), *Debating World Literature*, London & New York: Verso, 2004, p. 148.
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  - 8 Karin Carsten Montén, *Fredrika Bremer in Deutschland: Aufnahme und Kritik*, Skandinavistische Studien, 14, Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1981, pp. 21ff.
  - 9 Montén, *Fredrika Bremer in Deutschland*, pp. 58ff.
  - 10 Eva Borromeo Åhsberg has noticed that Bremer's *Strife and Peace* was serialized in the Italian literary journal *La Rassegna Nazionale* in six parts, from 16 October 1884 to 1 January 1885 (vol. XIX–XXI). The translator was Clementina Coppi. Åhsberg Borromeo, "Le figlie del presidente – Presidentsens döttrar, italienska versioner" (*Newsletter to members of Årstatsällskapet för Fredrika Bremer-studier*, 2017-12-15). An interesting study on the journal is Glauco Licata, *La "Rassegna nazionale": Conservatorie e cattolici liberali italiani attraverso la lororivista (1879–1915)*, Roma: Edizioni di Storia e letteratura, 1968. Bremer's novel was published under the title *Guerra e pace: Scene nordiche*.
  - 11 Henriette Partzsch, "The Complex Routes of Travelling Texts: Fredrika Bremer's Reception in Nineteenth Century Spain and the Transnational Dimension of Literary History", *Comparative Critical Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 2–3, 2014, pp. 281–293.
  - 12 This characterization is used for instance in a short note in *La Ilustracion: Periodico Universal*, March 10 1856, stating that Bremer had received a large, anonymous donation for establishing an orphanage.
  - 13 Ondřej Vímr, "Despised and Popular: Swedish Women Writers in Nineteenth Century Czech National and Gender Emancipation", in Leffler, Yvonne (ed.), *The Triumph of the Swedish Nineteenth-Century Novel in Central and Eastern Europe*, Göteborg: LIR.skrifter 9, 2019, p. 87.
  - 14 Ibid., p. 90.
  - 15 Tanja Badalič, *Reception of European Women Writers in Slovenian Multicultural Territory of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Until the End of the First World War*, Nova Gorica: University of Nova Gorica Graduate School (Diss.), 2014, p. 12.

- 16 Badalič, “Reception of European Women Writers”, p. 77f., 123. In the printed library catalogues of Janez Giontini in Ljubljana 1846–1865, thirteen of Bremer’s works were listed (in German translations). *Ibid.* p. 77. Badalič builds on Urška Perenič, “Poetische Versuche 1843–44” Luize Pesjak – Poskus umestitve dela nemške ustvarjalnosti na slovenskem v okvir slovenske literarne zgodovine”, *Slavistična*, Vol. 54, No. 2, 2006, pp. 233–243.
- 17 Magdalena Wasilewska-Chmura, “Marie Sophie Schwartz in Translation: Exporting Swedish Women’s Literature to Poland, in Leffler, Yvonne (ed.), *The Triumph of the Swedish Nineteenth-Century Novel in Central and Eastern Europe*, Göteborg: LIR.skrifter 9, 2019, p. 154.
- 18 Péter Mádl and Ildikó Annus, “The Significance of Swedish Literature in Nineteenth Century Hungary”, in Leffler, Yvonne (ed.), *The Triumph of the Swedish Nineteenth-Century Novel in Central and Eastern Europe*, Göteborg: LIR.skrifter 9, 2019, p. 143.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 144.
- 20 Signe A. Rooth, *Seeress of the Northland: Fredrika Bremer’s American Journey 1849–1851*, Philadelphia: American Swedish Historical Foundation, 1955; Lars Wendelius, *Fredrika Bremer’s Amerikabild: En studie i Hemmen i den nya verlden*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1985; Anka Ryall, “Domesticating Geographical Exploration: Fredrika Bremer’s American Travel Narrative”, *American Studies in Scandinavia*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (1992), pp. 24–37; Laurel Ann Lofsvold, *Fredrika Bremer and the Writing of America*, Lund: Lund University Press, 1999; Judith Johnston, “Emancipatory Politics. Howitt translates Bremer”, in *Victorian Women and the Economies of Travel, Translation and Culture, 1830–1870*, London & New York: Routledge, 2013, pp. 151–170; Anna Bohlin, “Fredrika Bremer’s Concept of the Nation During Her American Journey”, *Ideas in History: Journal for the Nordic Society for the History of Ideas*, 2013:1–2, pp. 43–70.
- 21 Rooth, *Seeress of the Northland*, p. 14.
- 22 Judith Johnston, *Victorian Women and the Economies of Travel, Translation and Culture*, p. 151.
- 23 Bremer was the most popular author in translation by subscribers at the leading London lending library, Booth’s, in the mid-1800’s; however, this does not automatically prove a dominance of Swedish literature in reading habits since educated readers were expected to read literature from the large European languages in the original. Terry Hale, “Readers and Publishers of Translations in Britain”, in France, Peter & Kenneth Haynes (eds.), *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, Vol 4, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006, p. 39. Among numerous contemporary library catalogues in North America listing works by Bremer I will only mention a few: Library of the New York Free Academy (New York), Franklin Institute (Syracuse, NY), the Mercantile Library in San Francisco, Lenox Library (Massachusetts), and the general library catalogue for public schools in Upper Canada.
- 24 SWED database has been built up within the Swedish Women Writers on Export project and will be made publicly available online.
- 25 “Northern Love and Legends” was published in Sweden as *Lif i Norden: Skizz*, Stockholm: C.A. Bagge, 1849, and had previously been serialized in *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts tidning* (31 July, 1, 6, 7, 15 Aug. 1849).

- Sartain's* version was translated by Mary Howitt and also published in the British *People's and Howitt's Journal* in 1851.
- 26 This investment may have been influenced by Brockhaus's *Gesammelte Schriften*, 1857–1863.
- 27 Search words "Miss Bremer", *Old Fulton New York Post Cards* www.fultonhistory.com/, *Chronicling America* chroniclingamerica.loc.gov [retrieved 21 Jan. 2019].
- 28 For example, mid-century New York had a population of 500,000, and the circulation of dailies was over 153,000. Isabelle Lehuu, *Carnival on the Page: Popular Print Media in Antebellum America*, Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000, p. 16.
- 29 *The Daily Courier*, 21 Feb. 1850, citing from the *Chicago Journal*.
- 30 Nicholas Mason, *Literary Advertising and the Shaping of British Romanticism*, Baltimore MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 2013, p. 2.
- 31 Lehuu, *Carnival on the Page*, pp. 6off.
- 32 Among the federal investments are *Chronicling America*: chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/, sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Library of Congress. The database contains searchable American newspapers from 1789 to 1963. One of the most successful university initiatives is *The Making of America Collection*: <http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/moa/> at the Cornell University Library, offering American historical primary sources, for example, key journals in full text. While most university libraries only give access to registered users, this collection is public. Several newspaper companies have prepared their own historical archives, for example, *New York Times Article Archive*: <http://www.nytimes.com/ref/membercenter/nytarchive.html>, searchable from 1851 onwards. Among corporate global actors are Cengage Learning's *Gale Artemis*, with collections like *19th Century American Newspapers*: <http://www.cengage.co.uk/>. By far the most effective digitizing project, concentrating on local historical press from New York, North Carolina, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and some Canadian provinces, is the non-profit *Old Fulton New York Post Cards*: www.fultonhistory.com/, run by former engineer Tom M. Tryniski from his home in small town Fulton, NY. It contains more than 47 million (and counting) searchable pages from 1726 onwards.
- 33 Elof Ehnmark, "Familien H. Fredrika Bremers första roman", part I, *Samlaren: Tidskrift för svensk litteraturhistorisk forskning* 1939, Vol. 20, pp. 171–213; part II, *Samlaren Samlaren: Tidskrift för svensk litteraturhistorisk forskning* 1940, Vol. 21, pp. 19–69; Birgitta Holm, *Fredrika Bremer och den borgerliga romanens födelse*, Stockholm: Norstedts, 1981. The first national women's organisation, *Fredrika Bremer Förbundet* (The Fredrika Bremer Society), was founded in 1884 by Sophie Adlersparre (Esselde), who also wrote the first biography on Bremer in 1896 (together with Sigrid Leijonhufvud).
- 34 Vineta Colby, *Yesterday's Woman: Domestic Realism in the English Novel*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974; Nicola Diane Thompson, *Reviewing Sex: Gender and the Reception of Victorian Novels*, Hampshire and London: Macmillan, 1996.
- 35 Gaye Tuchman, *Edging Women Out: Victorian Novelists, Publishers, and Social Change*, London: Routledge, 1989, p. 47.

- 36 Greta Wieselgren, *Fredrika Bremer och verkligheten: Romanen Herthas tillblivelse*, Stockholm: Norstedts, 1978.
- 37 Holm, *Fredrika Bremer och den borgerliga romanens födelse*.
- 38 Jane Tompkins, “Sentimental Power: *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* and the Politics of Literary History”, *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790–1860*, New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985, p. 122. The concept of the American Renaissance within American studies was mounted by Matthiessen in his 1941 book with the same name, where five white male authors from the northeast (Emerson, Hawthorne, Melville, Thoreau, and Whitman) were selected to demonstrate the emerging spirit of a separate American literature. F.O. Matthiessen, *American Renaissance: Art and Expression in the Age of Emerson and Whitman*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1941.
- 39 Tompkins, *Sensational Designs*, p. 124.
- 40 Carol Hanbery MacKay, “Lines of Confluence in Fredrika Bremer and Charlotte Brontë”, *NORA: Nordic Journal of Women’s Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1994), pp. 119–129.
- 41 Jane Spencer, *The Rise of the Woman Novelist: From Aphra Behn to Jane Austen*, Oxford & New York: Blackwell, 1986, p. 21.
- 42 Laurie Langbauer, *Novels of Everyday Life: The Series in English Fiction, 1850–1930*, Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1999; Nancy Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel*, New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- 43 Margaret H. McFadden, *Golden Cables of Sympathy: The Transatlantic Sources of Nineteenth-Century Feminism*, Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1999, p. 134. The other “mothers of the matrix” were Anna Doyle Wheeler, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Frances Power Cobbe.
- 44 McFadden, *Golden Cables of Sympathy*, p. 154. Asmundsson labels Bremer “a typical Victorian feminine intellectual”, “Introduction”, *Fredrika Bremer in England*, p. 1.
- 45 Spencer, *The Rise of the Woman Novelist*, p. 21. Spencer studies British seventeenth-century novelists, but her remark is applicable to the following century.
- 46 Thad Logan, *The Victorian Parlor: A Cultural Study*, Cambridge: Cambridge Studies in the Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture 30, 2001.
- 47 Brenda R. Weber, *Women and Literary Celebrity in the Nineteenth Century: The Transatlantic Production of Fame and Gender*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2012, p. 4.
- 48 Weber, *Women and Literary Celebrity in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 3.
- 49 Fredrika Bremer, “Letter II, New York 4 Oct, 1849”, *The Homes of the New World: Impressions of America*, translated by Mary Howitt, Vol. I, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1853, p. 14.
- 50 *Daily Courier*, 2 Feb. 1850, citing from *Providence Journal*.
- 51 Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Brontë to Lessing*, London: Virago, 1982 [1977], p. 73. The same typical gendering characterized the professional critical reception. As Nicola Diane Thompson has stated: “Gender was not only an analytical category used by Victorian reviewers to conceptualize, interpret, and evaluate novels, but in some cases the primary category.” Thompson, *Reviewing Sex*, p. 1.

- 52 The specific British interest in the Scandinavian region was not new, but part of an increased exchange during the Romantic period, when the thought of a common cultural heritage was an important factor in the construction of a distinctive “Englishness”. Cian Duffy, “Introduction: ‘the less known, but equally romantic, regions of the north’, in Duffy, Cian (ed.), *Romantic Norths: Anglo-Nordic Exchanges, 1770–1842*, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, p. 5f.
- 53 Samuel Laing, *A Tour in Sweden in 1838; Comprising Observations on the Moral, Political, and Economical State of the Swedish Nation*, London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1839.
- 54 [–], “The Swedish Romances”, *Fraser’s Magazine for Town and Country*, Vol. 28, No. 167 (Nov. 1843), p. 506.
- 55 Asmundsson, “Introduction”, *Fredrika Bremer in England*, p. 2.
- 56 Kassis, Dimitrios, *American Travellers in Scandinavia*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017, p. 8.
- 57 [–], “Our Library Table”, *The Athenaeum: Journal of Literature, Science and the Fine Arts* 13 July 1844, p. 645.
- 58 Allan Kastrup, *The Swedish Heritage in America: The Swedish Elements in America and American-Swedish Relations in Their Historical Perspective*, Minneapolis: Swedish Council of America, 1975, pp. 89f.
- 59 Transcendentalism was a literary and philosophical movement that emerged in the Boston area in the 1820s and 30s, inspired by English and German Romanticism. Adolph B. Benson, “The Beginning of American Interest in Scandinavian Literature”, *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, Vol. VIII, No. 7 (Aug. 1925), p. 134. The movement was strongly influenced by British and German Romanticism, which had its heyday between 1836 and 1860 in the Boston area (especially the small-town Concord). Among its members were several prominent writers, including Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, Margaret Fuller, Louisa May Alcott, and Walt Whitman.
- 60 Daniel Kilham Dodge, “Longfellow’s Scandinavian Translations”, *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, Vol. 6, No. 7 (1921), p. 196. Citation from Gunilla Anderman, “Swedish”, in France, Peter (ed.), *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 578.
- 61 Adolph B. Benson, “The Essays on Fredrika Bremer in the North American Review”, *PMLA*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (Sept. 1926), p. 749.
- 62 Andrew Wawn, *The Vikings and the Victorians: Inventing the Old North in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2000, p. 32.
- 63 Kassis, *American Travellers in Scandinavia*, p. 1f.
- 64 Kassis, *American Travellers in Scandinavia*, p. 8.
- 65 Kassis, *American Travellers in Scandinavia*, p. 8.
- 66 Oscar J. Falnes, “New England Interest in Scandinavian Culture and the Norsemen”, *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. X, No. 2 (June, 1937), p. 215–216. The concept imagined community is of course derived from Benedict R. O’G Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread on Nationalism*, London: Verso, 1983.
- 67 Wawn, *The Vikings and the Victorians*, p. 371.
- 68 Kassis, *American Travellers in Scandinavia*, 27.
- 69 Fredrika Bremer, *The Homes of the New World: Impressions of America*,

- translated by Mary Howitt, Vol. I, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1853, p. 188.
- 70 [-], "New Translations of the Writings of Miss Bremer", *North American Review*, Vol. 58, No. 123 (April, 1844), p. 491. Benson has attributed this essay to poet and critic James Russell Lowell. Adolph B. Benson, "The Essays on Fredrika Bremer in the *North American Review*", p. 754. The previous year's July issue of the *North American Review* contained a review, probably by the same writer, considering the previous Bremer novels, *The H-Family*, *The President's Daughters*, and *The Home*.
- 71 [-], "The President's Daughters", *The New World: A Weekly Family Journal of Popular Literature, Science, Art and News*, 9 Sept. 1843.
- 72 Rooth, *Seeress of the Northland*, p. 15; Adolph B. Benson, "The Beginning of American Interest in Scandinavian Literature", p. 133; Adolph B. Benson, "Walt Whitman's Interest in Swedish Writers", *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. XXXI, No. 3 (July 1932), p. 333; Madeleine B. Stern, *Louisa May Alcott: A Biography*, Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996, p. 66.
- 73 Edgar Allan Poe, "Review of Ettore Fieramosca", *Broadway Journal*, 9 Aug. 1845, in *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe*. Vol. XII: *Literary Criticism*, edited by J.A. Harrison, New York: Thomas Y. Cromwell & Company, 1902, p. 223.
- 74 Falnes, "New England Interest in Scandinavian Culture and the Norsemen", p. 211.
- 75 Kastrup, *The Swedish Heritage in America*, p. 213.
- 76 G.C. Hebbe, "Fredrika Bremer", *The New World: A Weekly Family Journal of Popular Literature, Science, Art and News*, 23 Dec. 1843; [Gustaf Clemens Hebbel], "German and Swedish Literature", *The New World*, 13 April 1844; "Swedish Literature", *The New World*, 25 May 1844.
- 77 *The New World: A Weekly Family Journal of Popular Literature, Science, Art and News*, 8 June 1844. Once the novel was published, by *The New World*'s publisher J. Winchester, it had another name: *The Smugglers of the Swedish Coast; or The Rose of Thistle Island*.
- 78 Washington Irving, "Memoir of Thomas Campbell", *The Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell*, Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1845, xiv.
- 79 Herman Melville, "Hawthorne and his Mosses, in *Moby-Dick, or, the Whale* (New York: Norton 1967), p. 543.
- 80 Benedict R. O'G Anderson, *Long-Distance Nationalism: World Capitalism and the Rise of Identity Politics*, Amsterdam: Centre for Asian Studies, 1992, p. 4.
- 81 Paul Giles, *Transatlantic Insurrections: British Culture and the Formation of American Literature, 1730–1860*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001, p. 2.
- 82 Edward Watts, *Writing and Postcolonialism in the Early Republic*, Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998, p. 2.
- 83 Patricia Jane Roylance, *Eclipse of Empires: World History in Nineteenth-Century US Literature and Culture*, Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2013, p. 4.
- 84 Roylance, *Eclipse of Empires*, p. 5.

- 85 Alexander Beecroft, *An Ecology of World Literature: From Antiquity to the Present Day*, New York: Verso, 2015, p. 232.
- 86 David Damrosch, *What Is World Literature?* Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003, p. 283.
- 87 According to Venuti, domestication or foreignization are conscious strategies used by the translator. Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, New York: Routledge, 1995. I use the terms in a slightly different way, that rather than the translator's intentions capture the actual effects in the reception of the translation.
- 88 Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, p. 127. Casanova displays the literary circulation around Paris as the major arena for this process, but I would argue that novel production in London had a similar function in the mid-1800s.
- 89 [–], “Reviews of New Books”, *The Literary Gazette: Journal of the Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c.*, 13 Jan. 1844.
- 90 [–], “Des tendances littéraires en Angleterre et en Amerique”, *Revue des deux mondes*, Vol. VII, 15 Aug. 1844, p. 512.
- 91 *Revue des deux mondes*, p. 513.
- 92 Franco Moretti underlines the insularity of the British nineteenth-century literary market in his *Atlas of the European Novel 1800–1900*, London & New York: Verso, 1998, pp. 151ff.
- 93 [Samuel Laing], “Frederika Bremer’s Novels”, *North British Review*, Vol. 1 (May-August 1844), p. 168. Laing’s extensive review includes seven works, all but the first (an American reprint) translated by Mary Howitt: *Life in Sweden; or the H-Family, The Home; or Family Cares and Family Joys, The Neighbours; A Story of Everyday Life, The President’s Daughters and Nina* (in the same volume), *The Diary, and Strife and Peace* (in the same volume).
- 94 Catherine Seville, “Copyright”, in McKitterick, David (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*. Vol. 6: 1830–1914, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp. 214f., p. 220.
- 95 Lehuu, *Carnival on the Page*, p. 4.
- 96 Lehuu, *Carnival on the Page*, p. 7.
- 97 James J. Barnes, *Authors, Publishers and Politicians: The Quest for an Anglo-American Copyright Agreement, 1851–1854*, Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1974.
- 98 Fredrika Bremer, “The Neighbors: A Story of Everyday Life”, *The New World*, Extra series, No. 35, 36 (Nov. 1842); Fredrika Bremer, “The Home; or Family Cares and Family Joys”, *The New World*, Extra series, No. 79, 80 (May 1843); Fredrika Bremer, “The President’s Daughters”, *The New World*, Extra series, No. 94 (Sept. 1843); Fredrika Bremer, “Nina”, *The New World*, Extra series, No. 95, 96 (Sept. 1843). Bremer’s breakthrough novel *The Neighbours* was printed in *The New World*’s “Extra series” only three weeks after its first English publication in London.
- 99 Lehuu, *Carnival on the Page*, p. 32f.
- 100 John Tebbel, *Between Covers: The Rise and Transformation of American Book Publishing*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1987, p. 71.
- 101 Lehuu, *Carnival on the Page*, p. 33f.
- 102 Tebbel, *Between Covers*, p. 71.

- 103 Meredith L. McGill, *American Literature and the Culture of Reprinting, 1834–1853*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003, p. 109.
- 104 McGill, *American Literature and the Culture of Reprinting*, p. 95.
- 105 Seville, “Copyright”, p. 223. As Amanda Claybaugh has shown in an article on Dickens’s travelogue *American Notes for General Circulation* (1842), the question of reprinting was indeed complicated. At the same time as Dickens was pushing for functioning copyright laws for translations, he himself reprinted parts from anti-slavery pamphlets in *American Notes*. Amanda Claybaugh, “Toward a New Transatlanticism: Dickens in the United States”, *Victorian Studies*, 48 (Spring 2006), p. 450.
- 106 Hutchings, Kevin, and Julia M. Wright (eds.), “Introduction”, *Transatlantic Literary Exchanges, 1790–1870: Gender, Race, and Nation*, Farnham & Burlington: Routledge, 2011, p. 7.
- 107 A fuller investigation of this example has been published as “A Writer of One’s Own? Mary Howitt, Fredrika Bremer, Translation, and Literary ‘Piracy’ in the US and Britain in the 1840s”, in Isis Herrero López et. al. (eds.), *Gender and Translation. Understanding Agents in Transnational Reception*, Montréal, Québec: Éditions québécoises de l’oeuvre, 2018, p. 83–106.
- 108 See for instance McFadden, *Golden Cables of Sympathy*, and Sherry Simon, *Gender in Translation: Cultural Identity and the Politics of Transmission*, London & New York: Routledge, 1996. The Dutch publisher Barkhuis has since 2009 published a book series on the topic: “Studies on Cultural Transfer & Transmission”, edited by Petra Broomans.
- 109 William Howitt was also a writer. In addition to translations and fiction, the couple edited a handbook in two volumes on Scandinavian literary history, *The Literature and Romance of Northern Europe: Constituting a Complete History of the Literature of Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Iceland*, Vol. I-II, London: Colburn and Co, 1852. For a short while they also ran a magazine, *Howitt’s Journal of Literature and Popular Progress* (1847–1848).
- 110 Linda H. Peterson, *Becoming a Woman of Letters: Myths of Authorship and Facts of the Victorian Market*, Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009, p. 96.
- 111 Wieselgren, *Fredrika Bremer och verkligheten*, p. 107.
- 112 Howitt, *Mary Howitt: An Autobiography*, p. 23.
- 113 The only work that also displayed William Howitt’s name on the title page was *Life in Dalecarlia: The Parsonage of Mora* in 1845 (*I Dalarna*).
- 114 Sherry Simon, “Gender in Translation”, in France, Peter (ed.), *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 27.
- 115 Lesa Scholl, *Translation, Authorship and the Victorian Professional Woman: Charlotte Brontë, Harriet Martineau and George Eliot*, Aldershot & Burlington: Ashgate, 2011, p. 1.
- 116 Howitt, *Mary Howitt: An Autobiography*, p. 23.
- 117 On 8 October 1843, Mary Howitt wrote to her sister Anna Harrison: “A publisher in London, a low fellow, has brought out the remainder of Mdlle. Bremer’s works for one-and-sixpence each, the very books we are now translating. It is very mortifying, because no one knew of these Swedish novels till we introduced them.” Howitt, *Mary Howitt: An Autobiography*, p. 5.

- 118 Mary Howitt, "Preface by the Translator", in *New Sketches of Every-Day Life: A Diary. Together with Strife and Peace. By Frederika Bremer. Translated by Mary Howitt*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1844, p. v.
- 119 Howitt, "Preface by the Translator", p. viii.
- 120 Some of these novels were translated by E.A. Friedländer, who also translated from the German.
- 121 Howitt, "Preface by the Translator", p. v.
- 122 Howitt, "Preface by the Translator", p. vii.
- 123 [—], "New Sketches of Every-Day Life: A Diary. Together with Strife and Peace. By Frederika Bremer. Translated by Mary Howitt. 2 vols. Longman", *The Athenaeum: Journal of Literature, Science and the Fine Arts* (27 Jan. 1844).
- 124 [—], "Reviews of New Books", *The Literary Gazette and Journal of the Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c.*, 13 Jan. 1844. In the preface of Smith's Standard Library's edition of Bremer's *The H-Family* in 1843, William Smith had used the same argument.
- 125 [—], "The H-Family; By Frederika Bremer, author of The Neighbors. Translated from the Swedish. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1843. pp. 76.; The President's Daughters, a Narrative of a Governess: By Frederika Bremer, author of the Neighbors Translated from the Swedish by a Lady, Boston: James Munroe & Co. pp. 86", *The New World: A Weekly Family Journal of Popular Literature, Science, Art and News*, Vol. 6, 13 May 1843, p. 576.
- 126 [—], "The H-Family; By Frederika Bremer", p. 576. In Swedish the writer's first name is spelled "Fredrika", but in the examined nineteenth century context it is mostly spelled "Frederika".
- 127 [—], "The H-Family; By Frederika Bremer", p. 576.
- 128 "Advertisements", *The New World: A Weekly Family Journal of Popular Literature, Science, Art and News*, 15 June 1844.
- 129 [—], "New Translations of the Writings of Miss Bremer". The attribution to Lowell has been made by literary historian Adolph B. Benson, who also discusses arguments for and against Henry Longfellow as the writer. Benson, "The Essays on Fredrika Bremer in the North American Review", pp. 748f.
- 130 Benson, "The Essays on Fredrika Bremer in the North American Review", p. 754.
- 131 [—], "New Translations of the Writings of Miss Bremer", p. 497.
- 132 [—], "New Translations of the Writings of Miss Bremer", p. 497.
- 133 [—], "New Translations of the Writings of Miss Bremer", p. 504.
- 134 [—], "New Translations of the Writings of Miss Bremer", footnote on p. 508.
- 135 Johnston, *Victorian Women and the Economies of Travel, Translation and Culture*, p. 22.
- 136 Johnston, *Victorian Women and the Economies of Travel, Translation and Culture*, p. 152.
- 137 Bremer's deals with different foreign publishers differed, she normally requested the same fee for original manuscripts as she got from her Swedish publishers: 100 Rdr Banco for each 24-page sheet (which was equal to a little less than 10£ in contemporary monetary value). But there were also other deals; with London publisher Henry Colburn, for instance, Bremer agreed in 1846 on a profit-sharing system split in halves after publishing costs had

- been deducted. Carina Burman, *Mamsellen och förläggarna: Fredrika Bremer's förlagskontakter 1828–1865*, Litteratur och Samhälle 30:1, Uppsala: Avd. för litteratursociologi, Uppsala universitet, 1995, p. 49.
- 138 Howitt, *Mary Howitt: An Autobiography*, p. 23.
- 139 George P. Putnam, “Leaves from a Publisher’s Letter-book”, *Putnam’s Monthly Magazine of American Literature, Science and Art*, Vol. 14, No. 24 (Dec. 1869), p. 676.
- 140 This conflict has also been discussed by Wieselgren, *Fredrika Bremer och verkligheten*, pp. 119ff.
- 141 Fredrika Bremer, “A Card”, *The Times*, 23 Dec. 1853.
- 142 Mary Howitt, “To the Editor of The Times”, *The Times*, 26 Dec. 1853.
- 143 “Pray, pray take away any thing of that sort that may seem unkind, or cause pain, when it is not about public persons and public doings”, Bremer writes in a letter to Howitt 23 Feb. 1853. *Fredrika Bremer. Brev. Ny följd II, 1853–1865*, ed. Carina Burman, Stockholm: Gidlunds, 1996, p. 12
- 144 Laurel Ann Lofsvold, “Blaming the Messenger: Mary Howitt’s translation of Fredrika Bremer’s *Hemmen i den Nya verlden*”, *Scandinavica*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (1996), p. 216.
- 145 Wieselgren, *Fredrika Bremer och verkligheten*, p. 124.
- 146 This stay also resulted in a book: Margaret Howitt, *Twelve Months with Fredrika Bremer in Sweden*, Vol. I-II, London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder, 1866.
- 147 Bremer wrote a preface to the Swedish translation of Howitt’s novel *Love and Money: An Every-Day Tale* (1843, *Kärlek och penningar: En händelse*, in Swedish, 1847). The translation was made by Betty Löwenhjelm.
- 148 [–], “New Translations of the Writings of Miss Bremer”, p. 497f.
- 149 Simon, “Gender in Translation”, p. 33.
- 150 Matthias Middell and Katja Naumann, “A New Challenge to the Writing of History at the End of the Twentieth Century?”, in Middell, Matthias & Lluís Roura (eds.), *Transnational Challenges to National History Writing*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, p. 426.
- 151 Emily Apter, “Untranslatables: A World System”, *New Literary History*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (Summer 2008), p. 581.
- 152 Johan Svedjedal, “Svensk skönlitteratur i världen: Litteratursociologiska problem och perspektiv”, in Svedjedal, Johan (ed.), *Svensk litteratur som världslitteratur: En antologi*, Uppsala: Avdelningen för litteratursociologi, 2012, p. 11 (my translation).
- 153 Damrosch, *What Is World Literature?*, p. 283.
- 154 Beecroft, *An Ecology of World Literature*, p. 35f.
- 155 Beecroft, *An Ecology of World Literature*, p. 199.
- 156 [–], “New Translations of the Writings of Miss Bremer”, p. 491.
- 157 Giles, *Transatlantic Insurrections*, p. 3.
- 158 Katherine Bode, *Reading by Numbers: Recalibrating the Literary Field*, London & New York: Anthem Press, 2014.



Yvonne Leffler

## FROM BESTSELLING NOVELIST TO FORGOTTEN WOMAN WRITER

### The Transcultural Circulation of Emilie Flygare-Carlén's Novels

EMILIE FLYGARE-CARLÉN (1807–1892) was the most transculturally disseminated and top-selling Swedish writer in the nineteenth century measured by the number of published titles, editions and reprints of titles in translation. Her authorship is a worthy example of what Petra Broomans and Ester Jiresch call “a complete and successful transfer”.<sup>1</sup> Her works were translated into at least 17 European languages and read all over Europe and in the United States of America. Still, her novels are more or less unknown and unread today. How could a mid-nineteenth century novelist writing in a minor language – Swedish – challenge the dominance of the most popular novels written in the major European languages, English, French, and German, such as the novels by Charles Dickens, Alexander Dumas, père, and Eugène Sue? And how is it possible that one of the most popular and successful European novelists of the nineteenth century is invisible in today’s history of European literature?

This case study will explore these questions by investigating the transcultural dissemination of Flygare-Carlén’s novels in translation. It begins with a short introduction of Flygare-Carlén’s position in Swedish literary history and a section on methodological problems connected to an investigation of transcultural dissemination of bestselling novels. It will demonstrate how her novels – and Scandinavian literature in general – travelled along particular literary routes and thereby the importance for a writer to be translated into certain languages in order to get a wider distribution in different parts of Europe and across the Atlantic. Thus, this study challenges some earlier assumptions made about the pattern

of literary import and export; it proves, for example, that for some European literatures in the nineteenth century – especially Swedish novels – the hub in Europe was not, as Pascale Casanova, Franco Moretti, and other scholars claim, Paris and London, but Leipzig and Stuttgart.<sup>2</sup> As some Swedish scholars already have observed, much Swedish literature was translated into German.<sup>3</sup> However, it has just recently been possible to show how vital translation into German was for further translation into other European languages by the use of the *SWED Database*, constructed in connection to the research project “Swedish Women Writers on Export in the Nineteenth Century”.<sup>4</sup> Especially the charting of Flygare-Carlén’s novels in translation demonstrates the importance of first being circulated in German in order to be widely disseminated in other European languages in the nineteenth century.

Furthermore, the case of Flygare-Carlén illustrates how domestic novels by women writers were increasingly categorized as gendered – feminized – fiction. The second part of this chapter demonstrates how Flygare-Carlén’s novels were progressively promoted in ways that would attract female readers, through the use of covers, illustrations, and various advertising texts. At the same time, publishers, editors, and translators in promotional texts, such as prefaces and advertisements, gradually emphasized her nationality. The case of Flygare-Carlén is therefore used to demonstrate some of the factors behind the complex interplay of gender and genre, international triumph and national status in the later canonizing process in a way that both confirms and challenges existing theories and research on the European nineteenth-century novel, its transcultural dissemination and reception, and its status as world literature.

#### AN EARLY SWEDISH NOVELIST

In Sweden, Emilie Flygare-Carlén is considered to be a founder of the realist novel.<sup>5</sup> She is mentioned together with two other women writers, Fredrika Bremer and Sophie von Knorring, as one of the first female novelists of importance for the rise of the Swedish novel.<sup>6</sup> While Bremer is primarily recognized for her feminist ideological programme and von Knorring for her sentimental romances, Flygare-Carlén is known for her novels set in the Swedish west-coast archipelago and her depiction of everyday life in the coastal region. Although most of her novels are placed in a geographically unspecified environment, in Swedish handbooks she is distinguished for introducing a new geographical and social environment. Her background as a merchant’s daughter from the province of Bohuslän is stressed to explain her knowledge of the regional lo-

cation described in her stories, although she spent most of her life in the Swedish capital, Stockholm. Still, to Swedish readers today she is mainly known for her two “west-coast novels”, the breakthrough work *Rosen på Tistelön* (1842; *The Rose of Tistelön*) and her last novel, *Ett köpmanshus i skärgården* (1859; *A Merchant House among the Islands*), as both of them have been dramatized and adapted into theatre plays, films, and TV productions.<sup>7</sup> These adaptations have established the image of Flygare-Carlén as a depicter of the colourful and hardworking people in the coastal region of Bohuslän. The regional setting has been used to explain her success as a novelist. In her time, the western coast of Sweden turned out to be a new romantic setting; the archipelago began to attract artists as well as tourists from the upper and middle classes, who frequented the new seaside health resorts.<sup>8</sup>

Unlike most women writers at the time, Flygare-Carlén appeared almost immediately under her own name; she seems not to have experienced an anxiety of authorship nor any anxiety about writing for money.<sup>9</sup> After she became a widow at the age of 30, she started to write to provide for her family. When she had to pick a publisher, she eventually chose Niclas Thomson's *Kabinettsbibliotek* (Cabinet Library) because it included novels that she felt she could “compete with”.<sup>10</sup> Her first work, *Waldemar Klein* (1838), was well received by the critics, and Thomson considered her to be such a valuable asset that he positively monopolized her. A year after her debut, she was set up in an apartment in his house in Stockholm in order to facilitate the collaboration. This was probably arranged by Thomson in order to make sure that his successful competitor, Lars Johan Hierta, would not get his hands on this productive source of income. Until 1851 Flygare-Carlén published at least two novels a year, and during this time she became the female centre of attention in liberal circles of male authors and intellectuals in Stockholm, such as Carl Jonas Love Almqvist, Gustaf Henrik Mellin, and August Blanche. It was also in this group that she met her second husband, Johan Gabriel Carlén, whose assistance with fair copies and proofreading is documented in her memoirs.<sup>11</sup>

Altogether Flygare-Carlén wrote about 25 novels, three biographical works, and a vast number of short stories. She was initially inspired by her two already established female colleagues, Fredrika Bremer and Sophie von Knorring, but she soon developed the bourgeois domestic novel into a more suspenseful form. She often included a mystery or a crime story together with animated portraits of a wide variety of characters representing different strata of society. She also constantly returned to the subject of gender and sexuality and the relationship between men and women in matrimony. One of her recurring messages

is that a determined and capable woman is a man's equal and therefore she is able to influence and change her own life situation.

Around 1850, just as Flygare-Carlén was becoming a literary celebrity, the reading of novels was being sharply condemned by a growing number of male critics in Sweden. The journal *Tidskrift för Litteratur* (Journal of Literature) and the newspaper *Aftonbladet* made an assault upon the vulgar romanticism of the French serial novels and called for the kind of realism and middle-class morality that characterized the English novels.<sup>12</sup> Flygare-Carlén's thrilling crime stories and explicit depictions of erotic passions in relationships between the sexes evoked criticism; she was accused of creating melodramatic plots and immorally passion-saturated descriptions.<sup>13</sup> The criticism, combined with the sudden death of her only son, made Flygare-Carlén withdraw from the public scene for several years. She did not resume her writing until the end of the 1850s in response to entreaties from the editor of *Aftonbladet*, August Sohlman.<sup>14</sup> In 1859, *A Merchant House among the Islands* was published as a serial novel in *Aftonbladet*, and one year later it was distributed as a book by the leading publisher in Stockholm, Adolf Bonnier.

*A Merchant House among the Islands* can be seen as Flygare-Carlén's response to her critics. In the preface, she portrayed herself as a defenceless victim of the unstable literary market. Now she wanted to offer a story to those "looking for other invigoration than that of mere entertainment".<sup>15</sup> By describing the work of self-improvement as opposed to corrupting love, she hoped to meet the liberal critics' demands for noble realism and morality.<sup>16</sup> The heroine, Emilia, is portrayed in accordance with this ideal. Also, in the composition of the novel, there is a tendency towards increased realism and a more detailed description of the characters. Even though the plot is built up around a dark secret, the crime story is of rather secondary importance, distinguishing this novel from her earlier novel *The Rose of Tistelön*. The tendency is sharpened, and the description of Emilia demonstrates how a woman, once she has been emancipated from the passivity-inducing middle-class upbringing of girls, can develop into a competent and active individual on a par with a man.

Flygare-Carlén's comeback proved successful; in 1862 she was awarded the Swedish Academy's Large Gold Medal. After that, the first editions of her collected works were published in Sweden by the publisher P.B. Eklund and then also by Adolf Bonnier. Later on, in the twentieth century, many more editions of her collected works were circulated. According to some records, her breakthrough novel, *The Rose of Tistelön*, was one of the most read novels in Sweden around 1930.<sup>17</sup>

At this time there were also a couple of scholarly works published on her authorship. The earliest study was Alf Kjellén's 1932 dissertation in which he stresses the realistic elements in her writing. Fourteen years later, in 1946, Assar Janzén dedicated his doctoral dissertation to her distinctive technique of writing dialogues.<sup>18</sup>

Despite two scholarly works in the first half of the twentieth century, Flygare-Carlén's novels were given little attention in textbooks and handbooks on Swedish literature. She was, in Gaye Tuchman's words, "edged out" of literary history for the same reasons many other female novelists were.<sup>19</sup> In the twentieth century, her authorship – together with that of her female peers Fredrika Bremer and Sophie von Knorring – was subject to de-canonicalizing in the literary history of Swedish literature for the benefit of contemporary male authors, such as Carl Jonas Love Almqvist and Viktor Rydberg. However, at the turn of the millennium, there was a renewed interest in her writing among female and feminist scholars. The most recent scholarly monograph on Flygare-Carlén's authorship is Maria Löfgren's 2003 dissertation, which investigates the emancipatory tendency in Flygare-Carlén's oeuvre.<sup>20</sup> An extensively researched biography was published by Monica Lauritzen in 2007.<sup>21</sup> Besides these studies, different aspects of Flygare-Carlén's authorship have been included in other studies on Swedish nineteenth-century literature.<sup>22</sup>

Regardless of this renewed interest in her authorship, Flygare-Carlén's writing remains indiscernible or neglected in most works on Swedish literature.<sup>23</sup> However, her authorship has been used by the Swedish scholar Gunnar Hansson in his call for a new kind of literary history based on works that were read by the audience. In *Den möjliga litteraturhistorien* (The possible history of literature, 1995), he claims that if the writing of Swedish literary history was based on literature that had actually had an impact on contemporary audiences, and that continued to be read by Swedish audiences for a long time afterwards, Flygare-Carlén would be considered the most important Swedish novelist in the nineteenth century.<sup>24</sup> Still, in his study on readers and reception history, Hansson studies Flygare-Carlén only as a bestselling writer in Sweden. He does not include her success outside Sweden.

Some published bibliographies include Flygare-Carlén's works in translation. In 1999, the Swedish scholar Håkan Eriksson published a bibliography dedicated exclusively to Flygare-Carlén's works, but it does not include all languages; for example, there are no translations into Spanish, Hungarian, Bulgarian, and Latvian. Neither does it include all translations into some of the most important languages, such as German and Czech. One reason for these inaccuracies might be that

Eriksson, writing in the 1990s, did not have access to digital library resources to the extent that we have today.<sup>25</sup> Flygare-Carlén's works are also included in a couple of language-based bibliographies of Swedish and Scandinavian literature. Nils Afzelius and Robert E. Björck's bibliographies of translations into English from 1938 and 2005 respectively, and Péter Mádl's bibliography of Scandinavian literature in Hungarian translations published in 2016, are all challenging to use as they lack information about the original Swedish titles.<sup>26</sup> It is difficult to provide an overview of other bibliographies since the translated works are not catalogued under the author's name; for example, in Ewa Suchodolska and Zofia Źydanowicz's bibliography of Scandinavian literature translated into Polish, all titles are sorted by year of publication.<sup>27</sup> In some cases, translations into a certain language are excluded because of the place of publication; Dennis Ballu's bibliography of Nordic literature translated into French lists only translations published in France, not those published in, for example, Belgium and Switzerland.<sup>28</sup> Also, otherwise reliable and comprehensive bibliographies, such as Petra Broomans and Ingeborg Kroon's bibliography of translations into Dutch, demonstrate minor shortcomings and a lack of correct information, such as when a certain title is missing or a certain work or author cannot be identified.<sup>29</sup> That is, these previous bibliographies highlight various problems with existing bibliographies. Besides incomplete lists of existing translations and lack of relevant data to facilitate the identification of the original Swedish title of a translation, some language-based bibliographies are trying to use by scholars not familiar with the actual language and its cultural context.

#### BESTSELLING NOVELS IN TRANSLATION AND METHODOLOGICAL DILEMMAS

The distribution of Flygare-Carlén's novels is an illustrative example of the triumph of the novel in Europe in the mid- and late nineteenth century. Studies of Flygare-Carlén and other Swedish women writers reach the same conclusions as Jacqueline Pearson's investigation of British literature, that women novelists were favourites among the readers and more commercially successful than their male contemporaries.<sup>30</sup> Flygare-Carlén was both the top-selling novelist in Sweden and the most translated and disseminated Swedish writer for almost a century. Together with two other female novelists – Fredrika Bremer and Marie Sophie Schwartz – she represented Swedish literature in the international literary marketplace from the mid-nineteenth century until World War I (see Fig. 1).

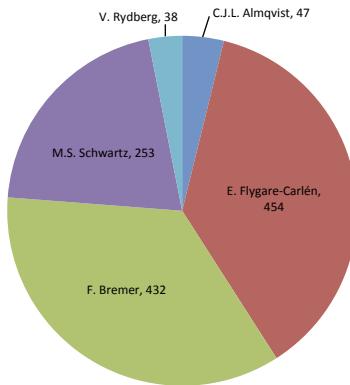


Fig. 1: Total number of published editions of translated titles until WWI by the three bestselling women novelists Emilie Flygare-Carlén, Fredrika Bremer, and Marie Sophie Schwartz compared to the two contemporary male novelists Carl Jonas Love Almqvist and Viktor Rydberg (*SWED* 2018).

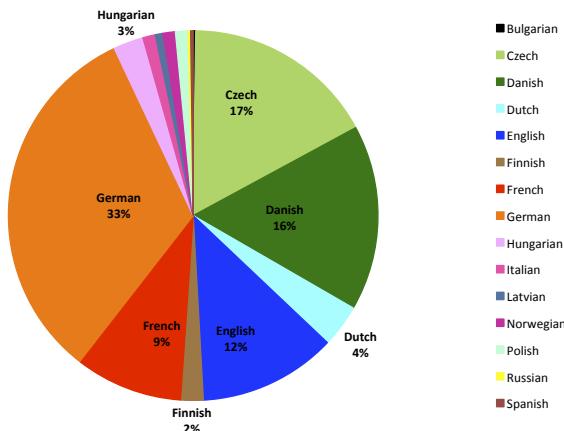


Fig. 2: Distribution of translations of Emilie Flygare-Carlén's novels into different languages based on published editions of translated titles (*SWED* 2018).

The way Flygare-Carlén's novels travelled across borders and were launched in other languages and cultural contexts confirms how fiction became a commercial commodity in the European and American markets in the mid-nineteenth century. Novels travelled well, as Franco Moretti claims, because stories, as opposed to poetry, are relatively independent from language and can be more easily translated.<sup>31</sup> Flygare-Carlén's novels became popular because they were not considered provincial, but were instead what Katherine Bode and Moretti call "metropolitan" novels, the kind of bourgeois and domestic novels that

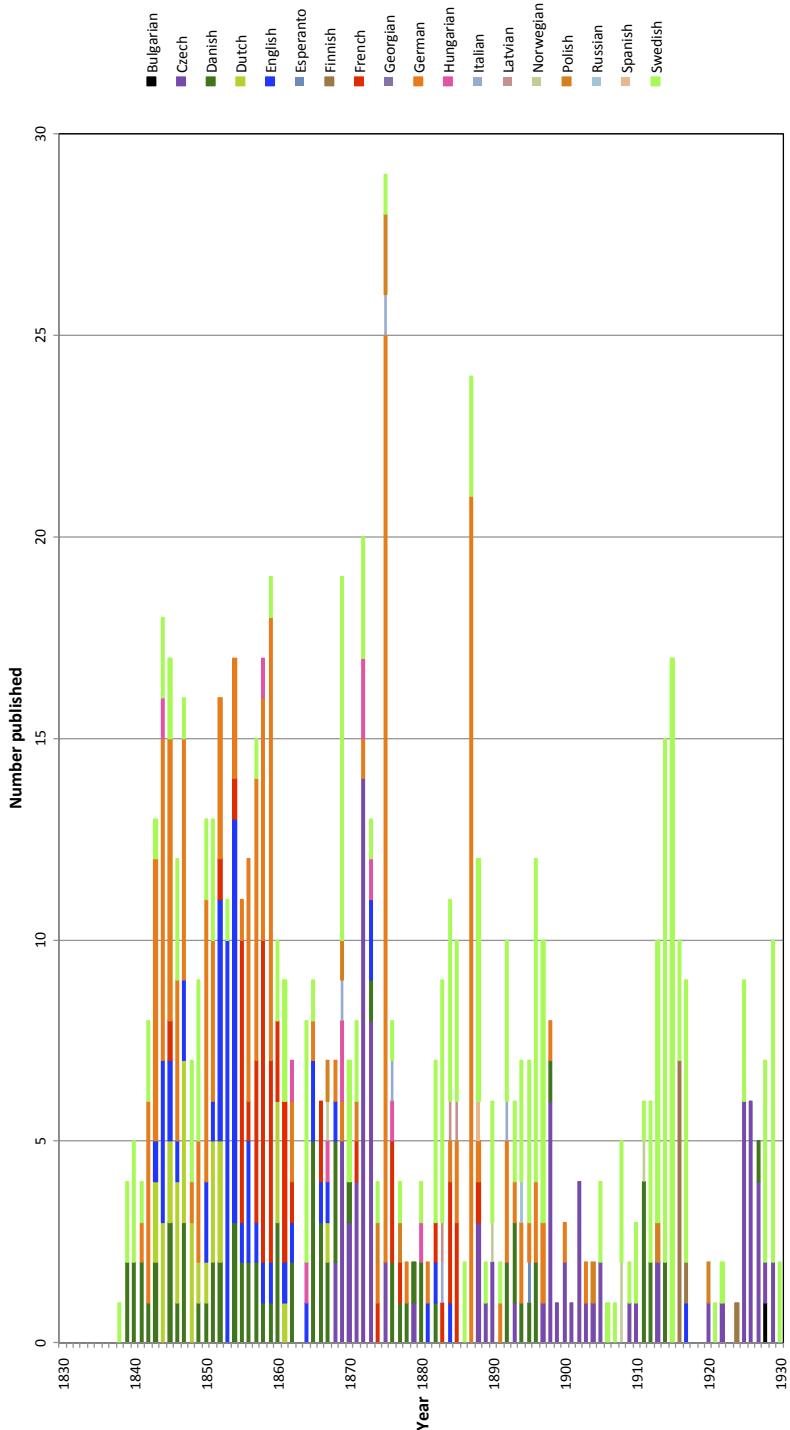


Fig. 3: Number of Emilie Flygare-Carlén's novels published in different languages in the period 1830–1930, (SWED 2018).

the contemporary European audience wanted.<sup>32</sup> Although they were set in Sweden and depicted a regional culture, they dealt with contemporary subjects and universal aspects of everyday life that were of common interest to readers both within and outside of Sweden. Her novels were translated into at least 17 European languages (Fig. 2). As shown below (Fig. 3), her novels were immediately translated into two of the three major languages: German, English, and (slightly later) French. She also had a revival in German at the end of the nineteenth century. From the 1870s until the 1930s, her novels were also extremely popular in other languages, including Czech.

To describe the actual dissemination of an author's works, such as Flygare-Carlén's, raises several methodological questions. In this case, the problem is not that data is hard to find; instead, there is too much information to survey. In order to map the transcultural circulation of Flygare-Carlén's novels, a massive amount of data from a vast number of digitized library sources, databases, and printed bibliographies must be examined in order to compile, curate, and categorize relevant data for the task.<sup>33</sup> Adding to the obstacles, there is no accredited digital source on Swedish literature in translation. Unlike Bode's study *Reading by Numbers: Recalibrating the Literary Field* (2012) on the transnational dissemination of Australian literature, this project cannot use an established digital archive, such as *AustLit*.<sup>34</sup> There is still no comprehensive online bibliographical record of Swedish literature, only Libris, a digitized library catalogue of publications printed in Sweden and some foreign publications by Swedish writers. To be able to aggregate and analyse the collected data on translated and published titles by Flygare-Carlén – and by other Swedish authors mentioned below – SWED Database has been constructed in connection to this research project.<sup>35</sup>

Constructing a reliable bibliographical database on the transcultural dissemination of Swedish writers is a challenging task. Firstly, compiling and evaluating data in national library sources on works translated into other national or local languages raises a number of problems, as the aim of national libraries is to curate and preserve their own national collection of published, written, and digital content. That is, their main purpose does not include collecting and giving access to bibliographic records on foreign literature in translation, such as imported novels translated into the national language(s). Thus, the catalogues do not always provide consistent information on translations; consequently, data on actual publications, reprints, and new editions is often not comprehensive. Because of this situation, recording a specific text's transmission across borders entails some detective work, which consists of comparing catalogues at different national – and other re-

nowned public, private, and academic – libraries, searching in different databases and on the Internet, and asking for assistance from local specialists. The bibliographical data used in this study is based on the catalogues and databases listed in Appendix.

Secondly, there are a number of choices to make regarding how to select and classify different data. For example, how does a scholar deal with novels included in periodicals? Many of Flygare-Carlén's works in translation were first published as serialized novels in newspapers and periodicals in certain regions, for example, in the Czech countries. However, most library sources do not record these kinds of publications, only publications in book format. In cases where data is found on novels published in periodicals, it is more by chance than as a result of systematically constructed sources.

Thirdly, it is difficult to present the precise figures and quantities of translated and published books or copies. In most cases, the scholar has to rely on digitized library catalogues. In some rare cases, there may also be critical bibliographies on specific authors, or on translations made from a specific source language into a specific target language. The only way to accomplish some kind of large-scale analysis of an extensive authorship, such as Flygare-Carlén's, is to rely on registered data in reliable sources, in this case mainly catalogues and databases at national libraries and university libraries, and some critical bibliographies. To examine every publication as a physical object would be a lifetime occupation; it would involve extensive travel to various public and private libraries around the world. In some cases, the actual publication, book, leaflet, or periodical is not available at all. If a rare copy is lost, sometimes all that is left of its existence are records in library catalogues or announcements in newspapers and periodicals. One way to deal with these problems and to outline the dissemination of an author's works – either generally or for specific titles – is, as done in the graphs above, to count published titles of book publications translated into specific languages and printed editions, new editions, translations, and/or reprints of a certain edition or translation. Although not every single title might be found, these types of shortcomings should not influence the statistical trends in a significant way when working with a bestselling writer such as Flygare-Carlén.

Fourthly, registering published titles of book publications translated into other languages also raises doubts about whether a translated title recorded in a library catalogue actually is a translation of a novel by a certain writer. For example, in German there is a novel titled *Emma's Herz* (1851) registered as a novel by Flygare-Carlén according to the data published on the front cover. However, a closer examination

proves that it is not a novel written by Flygare-Carlén but by another Swedish female novelist, Wilhemina Stålberg. Thus, this incorrectly recorded title is not included in SWED. More problematic are those cases where there are less trustworthy, or free, translations of a certain novel. In some rare cases, what is published as a translation of a certain work is actually, when more closely examined, an abbreviated version of the novel; an example is the Italian translation of *Ett år* (1846; *Twelve Months of Matrimony* as *Un anno di matrimonio*, 1869). When it is, as in this case, a condensed version of the complete plot, it is recorded as a translation in the database. However, in those cases when it turns out to be only a translation of a certain part of the novel, it is not recorded, as for example, when the main love story in the novel *The Rose of Tistelön* has been extracted and published in a condensed version as an appetizer in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* (1844).<sup>36</sup>

Fifthly, studying the transcultural reception of Swedish literature entails working with a variety of sources in different languages. This differs from Bode's investigation of Australian literature published in English and disseminated within the British Empire in that Swedish literature, written in a minor European language, has to be translated into other languages – such as English, French, German, and other minor languages – in order to reach readers outside Sweden. Literature in Swedish is only read by some minor Swedish-speaking communities outside the country; in the mid-nineteenth century these were mainly the Swedish-speaking population in Finland and a number of Swedish immigrants in the United States. Other native Scandinavians, such as Danes and Norwegians, might also to some degree read Swedish literature. Accordingly, studying the transcultural circulation of Flygare-Carlén's novels involves working with a multi-language corpus, which also raises methodological problems as digitized sources of non-English material are rather randomly distributed or sometimes non-existent. Working with sources in other languages also requires linguistic skills in these languages in order to be able to interpret the data.

Sixthly, the mapping as such raises certain questions about how to describe the transcultural dissemination of a writer's works. The number of titles translated into different languages might not accurately describe the actual dissemination or reception of an author's works. Being translated does not guarantee that a writer will be read in a specific language or in a certain region, especially not in the nineteenth century, when the cultural élite often did not read fiction in the regional language but in other culturally prestigious languages. For example, in Poland, Hungary, and the Czech countries, literature was often read in German. In Turkey, Italy, and Spain, educated readers preferred to

read foreign literature in French. Still, when there is a massive translation into a certain language and a single novel is retranslated several times and published in new editions and reprints, it does indicate that it was in demand. No publisher would invest very much in translating and publishing several works by a certain writer, or in retranslating or republishing the same work several times, if there were no readers willing to buy.

However, despite all the above-mentioned methodological concerns, it is possible to compile a reliable amount of data on the transcultural dissemination of Swedish nineteenth-century novels translated into other European languages. The recorded number of published translations of a writer's work into different languages does probably tell us something about the actual dissemination of the author's works. Thus, based on the data recorded in SWED, I will map and chart the transcultural dissemination of Flygare-Carlén's works. I will use one form of what Moretti would call methods of distant reading – a large-scale analysis – to demonstrate how her novels travelled in translations along certain routes in Europe and across the Atlantic to the United States. Because of the vast number of translations and because the case of Flygare-Carlén has proven representative of other contemporary Swedish authorships in translations, it can be used to illustrate how nineteenth-century Swedish literature reached an audience outside Scandinavia and how it was translated and distributed in Europe and the United States. It can also illustrate which languages dominated the literary market at the time and the importance of being translated into certain major languages in order to be translated into other languages. It is possible to discern three distinct literary routes into and across Europe, all centred on one of the three major cultural languages at the time: German, English, and French. Therefore, I will start by mapping the transnational dissemination of Flygare-Carlén's novels along these three routes, starting with the most important literary marketplace for Swedish novels in Europe, the German reading audience.

#### TRANSLATIONS INTO GERMAN AND OTHER EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

Emilie Flygare-Carlén's debut novel, *Waldemar Klein* (1838), was translated into Danish in 1839, one year after its first publication in Sweden. Her second and third novels, *Gustav Lindorm* (1839; *Gustavus Lindorm*) and *Professorn och hans skyddslingar* (1840: *The Professor and His Favorites*), were also immediately translated into Danish; thereby they were published in Denmark in the same year as they first

appeared in Sweden, in 1839 and 1840 respectively. There are many later examples of this instant translation of Flygare-Carlén and other Swedish writers into Danish. However, in the mid-nineteenth century, Flygare-Carlén was unquestionably one of the most published and circulated writers in Denmark. According to the investigation by the Danish scholar Erland Munch-Petersen, she was rivalled only by Alexandre Dumas and Charles Dickens.<sup>37</sup> At the top of the list of popular writers, there is one other Swedish female novelist, Marie Sophie Schwartz. Based on all books published in Danish in the nineteenth century, Flygare-Carlén was ranked third and Schwartz was ranked sixth. Considering that this result is based on the number of published volumes throughout the nineteenth century, Flygare-Carlén would probably outrank both Dumas and Dickens if Munch-Petersen had chosen to show the result from certain intervals, such as from the middle to the end of the century. The same might apply for Schwartz had he counted the number of published volumes from the 1850s and onwards.

Flygare-Carlén's position in the German market is even more stunning. In German-speaking regions, she instantly became one of the leading novelists. Several publishers strived to get hold of her novels, preferably before they were published in Sweden. Just a couple of years after her debut in Sweden, her novels were translated and published by F.H. Morin in Berlin, C.B. Rollman in Leipzig, Verlags Comptoir in Grimma, and the prosperous publishing factory Franckh'schen Verlagshandlung in Stuttgart. Some of the German publishers had publishing houses both in Germany and in Austria, such as Karl Prochaska and F. Brody. The publisher A. Hartleben ran his business in three different cities and countries: Leipzig (Germany), Vienna (Austria), and Pest (Hungary). That is, the geographically widespread publishing of Flygare-Carlén's novels in German in Europe – in Germany and the Austrian Empire – contests Moretti's statement that “the novel is *the most centralised of all literary genres*”.<sup>38</sup> Her novels were published in German by almost 20 publishers and distributed from almost 10 different places within the German-dominated parts of Europe.

There are many examples of how different publishers competed to enter into contracts with Flygare-Carlén that would enable them to issue a German edition at the same time as the Swedish version reached its native readers. Many of her novels were published in German in the same year they were available in Swedish. One example of this is her first novel in German, *Kyrkoinvigningen i Hammarby* (1841; *The Magic Goblet*), which was circulated as *Die Kirscheinweihung zu Hammarby* just a few months after it was first printed in Swedish in 1841. This is probably one of many examples of how Flygare-Carlén

cooperated with German commissioners. When she started to work on a new novel, she had an agreement with a publisher. Therefore, she continually – chapter by chapter – sent her manuscript to the editor to facilitate the translation into German. Sometimes her German publishers were so eager to distribute her novels that her first publication was not in Swedish but in German. This is the case with her very last novel, *A Merchant House among the Islands*, which was first published in German in the autumn of 1858 by Phillip Maass in Leipzig. That is, the German translation, titled *Ein Handelshaus in den Scheeren*, appeared several months before the novel was planned to be published as a serial in the Swedish newspaper *Aftonbladet* in the spring of 1859. However, Maass's first German edition was withdrawn due to legal reasons, which were set out in his contract with Flygare-Carlén.<sup>39</sup> The first published book editions were still to be in German, published in the same year as it appeared in serial form in Sweden. In 1859, the novel was translated and published both by Phillip Maass in Leipzig and by Franckh'schen Verlagshandlung in Stuttgart, that is, it was disseminated as a book in two different German translations one year before it was published as a book in Swedish by Adolf Bonnier in 1860–1861. According to Flygare-Carlén's preface to the Maass edition, this German translation and edition was the only one authorized by her.<sup>40</sup>

The translations into German opened up for further translations into other European languages. German was not only a target language but also a transit language; it became the main source language for further translations, especially into minor languages within the Austrian Empire, such as Czech and Hungarian. Also, translations into Dutch, Polish, and Latvian were often made via German or as a collation between the original Swedish text and a German translation of it. A letter to Flygare-Carlén from her Dutch translator, Servaas de Bruin, confirms that translations into Dutch were usually made from German translations. De Bruin claimed that his translation of *En natt vid Bullarsjön* (1846–1847; *A Night at Bullarsjon*) as *Een nacht aan't Bullar-Meer* (1848) was the first translation into Dutch made from the original Swedish text and not via a German translation.<sup>41</sup>

*The Rose of Tistelön* from 1842 was translated into Hungarian in 1844 as *A sziget rózsája*. This translation was most likely made from Gottlob Fink's 1843 German translation and was probably the first Swedish work ever translated into Hungarian.<sup>42</sup> However, because of the Hungarian Revolution in 1848, it was not until 14 years later that there was another Hungarian translation. But then, between 1858 and 1872, six more novels were distributed in Hungarian by three publishers in Pest: M. Rath, Hartleben, and Családi Kör. Three of

Flygare-Carlén's novels were also distributed by J. Stein in Klausenberg (present-day Cluj-Napoca, Romania). All seven of these novels had previously been translated into German, and these translations were probably used for the translation into Hungarian.<sup>43</sup>

One decade after the major distribution in Hungarian, in 1868 and onwards, Flygare-Carlén's novels were translated into Czech and Polish. The first two novels in Czech were *Ett lyckligt parti* (1851; *A Brilliant Marriage*) as *Štastný sňatek* and *Familjen i dalen* (1849; *The Home in the Valley*) as *Rodina v údolí*, both probably printed in 1868 in the periodical *Občan* (The Citizen) in Prague before they were printed as paperbacks. In the following year, the same publisher published four more novels as books.<sup>44</sup> The novels issued by the publishing company Občan indicate that they were first published in serialized form in the periodical, as this was the way Občan normally circulated its texts.<sup>45</sup>

Občan's distribution was certainly successful and established Flygare-Carlén in Bohemia, the former name of the western part of today's Czech Republic. Soon after Občan's publications came out, a new periodical and publishing house, *Pozel z Prahy* (The Prague Messenger) in Prague, started its impressive distribution of novels – 23 altogether. In the first year, 1870, three novels were printed.<sup>46</sup> In 1871, four more were published, and in the top years of 1872 and 1873, 13 more novels were circulated.<sup>47</sup> Občan had already issued many of the titles distributed by *Pozel y Prahy* in 1872–1873 between 1868 and 1872. Some of the titles had also been published before by *Pozel y Prahy* but were now circulated in new editions or as reprints. In the mid-1870s, some more Czech publishers invested in Flygare-Carlén's novels, such as Libuše and Jos. Kolar.<sup>48</sup>

In 1888, F. Šimáček in Prague started his massive distribution of Flygare-Carlén's novels in Czech, and from then until 1930 his publications dominated the Czech book market. In five years, from 1888 to 1893, he published six works, among them for the first time in Czech, *The Magic Goblet*, titled *Zasvěcení chrámu v Hamarbě*, and one of her biographical works, *Skuggspel* (1861; Play of Shadows), as *Stínova hra*.<sup>49</sup> From 1897 until 1930, the same publishing house printed many of Flygare-Carlén's novels in new translations and editions. During this period, several of her novels were published for the first time in Czech, including *Twelve Months of Matrimony* (*Jeden rok*, 1898), *Gustavus Lindorm* (*Gustaf Lindorm*, 1898), and *Enslingen på Johannis-skäret* (1846; *The Hermit as Poustevník na skale Svatojanské*, 1899), as well as, once again, her biographical work *Stínova hra* in 1927. F. Šimáček's publishing house engaged several translators for Flygare-Carlén's novels, such as Václav Petru, Hugo Kosterka, Bohumil Klika, and J. Nový.

Around the same time as the breakthrough in Czech, in the mid-1870s, Flygare-Carlén's novels were launched in Polish. Most educated Polish readers read literature in German, and when her novels were translated into Polish, they were probably already well known to Polish readers. Within 10 years, 1867–1877, five novels were translated. Most of these were published by Gubrynowicz i Schmidt in Lwów and translated by Teofil Szumski. However two of her most popular novels, *Twelve Months of Matrimony* (*Rok zameźcia*) and *En nyckfull qvinna* (1848–1849; *The Whimsical Woman* as *Kapryśna kobieta*), were first translated by Pawła z Czerniatyna and “Paulina F.” respectively.

Ten years after the Polish introduction, three of Flygare-Carlén's novels were translated into Latvian by Lapas Mārtiņš and published by H. Allunans in Jelgava between 1883 and 1885: *The Magic Goblet* (*Baznicas ecswehtitischana Hamabijā*), *The Hermit* (*Jahnu klints weetulis*), and the yet unidentified title *Emkalna bruhē*. It is hard to tell if the translations into Latvian were a result of Flygare-Carlén's success in Czech and Polish or if they were the outcome of the more general acknowledgement of her novels in Europe.

The popularity of Flygare-Carlén's novels in Central and Eastern Europe was certainly a result of her success in German. Although the well-educated élite read fiction in German, there was a growing demand for literature in the local languages, such as Hungarian, Czech, and Polish. Especially in the Czech countries, it is possible to talk about the triumph of Swedish bestsellers or “a Swedish wonder”. From the 1860s onwards, the Swedish novels were extremely popular; most of them were probably first published in periodicals.<sup>50</sup> Flygare-Carlén and Marie Sophie Schwarz, together with Eugenie Marryat, Charlotte Pfeiffer, and Mary Braddon, were among the five top-selling novelists, according to Ursula Stohler's investigation.<sup>51</sup> As Czech scholar Ondřej Vímr claims, the first peak of the reception history of Scandinavian literature into Czech was due to the translation of Flygare-Carlén and to a lesser extent Schwartz.<sup>52</sup> Some statistics indicate that among the above-mentioned five bestselling writers, Flygare-Carlén ranked number one.<sup>53</sup> Her novels were published over and over again in new prints and editions. Many of them were also repeatedly published in new translations. *A Merchant House among the Islands* was translated into Czech as *Obchodní v mořských skaliskách*, via the German version published in Stuttgart 1859. This translation was done by the female translator M. Choršická and printed both by the periodical *Pozel y Praha* and by the publisher as paperbacks in 1872–1873. In 1910, a new translation by the Czech translator Bohumil Klika appeared.<sup>54</sup>

This publication pattern is typical for the circulation of Flygare-

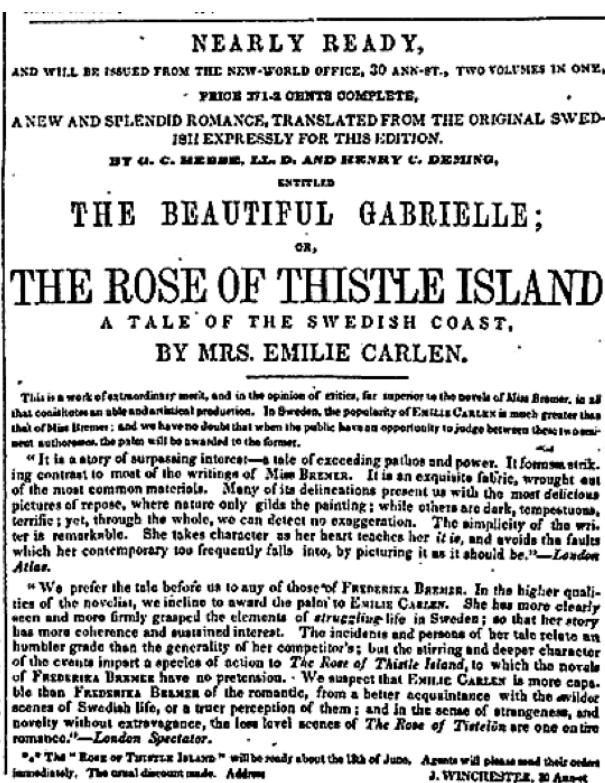
Carlén's novels in Czech. Many of the novels were first translated by M. Choršická or another translator in the 1870s. After a couple of decades, they were retranslated by the well-established translator Bohumil Klika. One example is *Noc na jezeru Bularskem*, which was first translated in 1875 and then again in 1905. Another is Flygare-Carlén's novel *Fideikommisset* (1841; *The Temptation of Wealth* as *Svěřenský statek*), which was translated as many as three times, first by "E.B." in 1873, then in 1905 by Klika, and then 20 years later, in 1925, by Hugo Kosterka. The same goes for *Skjutsgossen* (1841; *Ivar, or the Skjuts-Boy* as *Skjutský hoch*). It was first translated by "PM" in 1875, by Václav Petru in 1889, and then again in 1913, by J. Novíj. It is hard to tell why one and the same novel was translated recurrently within a couple of decades. Was it because a translated version soon became outdated? Or was a new version made because the first one was translated via a German translation and the second was made from the original Swedish text, or as a collation between the German translation and the Swedish original? Perhaps it was because different Czech versions were adapted to different readerships or had to be modernized to better fit the new literary fashions and trends. Or possibly, a new translation was done for economic or legal reasons. Whatever the motive, the multiple translations of individual novels demonstrate the status of Flygare-Carlén as a bestselling novelist in Czech.

#### TRANSLATIONS INTO ENGLISH AND THE SUCCESS IN THE ANGLOPHONE WORLD

The first translations into English were probably made because of Emilia Flygare-Carlén's breakthrough in German and because of Fredrika Bremer's success with *Grannarne* (1837; *The Neighbours*). Sometimes Swedish literature was translated into English via German. It was most certainly the case when Flygare-Carlén's second novel in English, *The Rose of Tistelön*, was first translated by Bremer's translator Mary Howitt in 1844. Neither Mary Howitt nor her husband knew Swedish at the time, and it is documented that they translated Bremer's novels into English via German, something Åsa Arping expands on in her chapter on Bremer (pp. 97–153).<sup>55</sup> Flygare-Carlén's *The Rose of Tistelön* from 1842 was published in German in 1843, that is, one year before Howitt's translation was printed. Thus, Howitt's translation of the novel appeared in the same year as several other translations based on the German version, such as the translations into Dutch and Hungarian. Some of the later translations into English were also made via German. For example, it is stated on the cover of Flygare-Carlén's *A Brilliant*

*Marriage*, printed in London in 1852, that the novel was translated “from the German, by the translator of *The Birthright*”. Thus, *The Birthright*, translated by “the translator of St Roche” and published by Richard Bentley in London in 1851, was also most likely translated from an earlier German translation.<sup>56</sup>

Often the same novel was translated several times by different translators. The very same year as Howitt’s translation of *The Rose of Tistelön* was published in London by two different publishers, one more translation into English was circulated. Unlike Howitt’s version, this translation was made directly from the Swedish text by the Swedish immigrant Gustavus Clemens Hebbe and his American colleague Henry Champion Deming.<sup>57</sup> Hebbe and Deming’s translation was printed in the same year in both London and New York. However, Hebbe and Deming’s first American edition was first titled *The Smugglers of the Swedish Coast, or, The Rose of Thistle Island*, while the first British was published as *The Rose of Thistle Isle* (Fig. 4).<sup>58</sup>



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The public are requested to be on their guard against purchasing an imperfect edition of

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issued from an obscure office in this city, and miserably printed, under the title of "Rose of Thistletown," being a reprint of a London edition.

Mrs. Emilie Carlen is the most popular writer of Sweden, and ranks higher than Miss Bremer; yet in the spurious edition above referred to, the spirit and beauty of the original are almost entirely lost. And we ask the public to avoid the issue of

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by G. C. Hebbe and Henry C. Deming, Esq., soon to appear from the New-World office, for the following reasons:

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This is without question the most beautiful Romance which has ever been rendered from a foreign author into the English tongue—especially, in all that constitutes a great work, any production of Miss Bremer, whose "Neighbors" was so immensely popular in this country and England. We hazard nothing in saying that The Rose of Thistle Island will create as wide a sensation, and attain at earliest a rank in the literary world, as any work written under the present century.

As a novel, it is ingeniously exciting, and is graced with an ability and spirit which will at once establish the reputation of Emilie Carlen, and render her introduction to the public of America an era in Romantic literature.

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Fig. 4: Advertisements for *The Rose of Thistle Island*, translated by Hebbe and Deming, in *The New World* (NY) 8 June, 15 June, and 22 June 1844. As demonstrated above, the novel was first announced as *The Beautiful Gabrielle, or The Rose of Thistle Island*. However, it was first published by Winchester as *The Smugglers of the Swedish Coast, or, The Rose of Thistle Island*.

This rapid transfer of Flygare-Carlén's novels across the Atlantic was probably – as in Bremer's case – due to cooperation between British and American publishers. However, there was sometimes a specific reason behind different translations of the same novel. The most striking example is the different versions of *The Rose of Tistelön*, as Hebbe and Deming claimed that their translation was published as an objection to Howitt's expurgated version. In their preface, Hebbe and Deming firmly announced that they had decided to publish their version despite the already printed translation by Howitt. They claimed that whole pages had been omitted in her translation and therefore “much of the beauty and spirit of the original was lost”.<sup>59</sup> However, there were also commercial motives behind Hebbe and Deming's translation published by Winchester in New York. In order to ensure future profits from the new rising star among the Swedish novelists, their main intention was probably to establish themselves as Flygare-Carlén's translators with special expertise in the Swedish language. Before *The Rose of Tistelön*, Hebbe had anonymously translated another novel by Flygare-Carlén, *The Professor and His Favorites*, published in New York in 1843. Still, the translator team Hebbe and Deming was not able to hold on to Flygare-Carlén as their source of income. There were no more published translations by the two of them. Hebbe translated one more novel by Flygare-Carlén, *The Temptation of Wealth*, printed in New York in 1846 with a new edition printed in London in 1851. Mary Howitt, however, probably did not translate any more novels by Flygare-Carlén. Hebbe and Deming's attacks on her translation of *The Rose of Tistelön* could be one reason. Another explanation for her lost interest in Flygare-Carlén's novels might be related to her cooperation and friendship with Bremer, that is, she was busy translating Bremer's novels.

Besides Howitt, Hebbe, and Deming, it is possible to identify two more American translators: Axel L. Krause and Elbert Perce. Like Hebbe and Deming, they translated a couple of novels together, *Bruden på Omberg* (1845; *The Bride of Omberg*) and *One Year, A Tale of Wedlock*, published in 1853.<sup>60</sup> They also translated some novels individually. Krause translated at least two novels into English, *Ivar, or the Skjuts-Boy* in 1852 and *Vindskuporna* (1845; *Marie Louise, or, The Opposite Neighbours*) in 1853, while Perce translated at least three novels: *Gustavus Lindorm* (1853), *The Whimsical Woman* (1854), and *The Home in the Valley* (1854). While translating *Gustavus Lindorm*, Perce wrote repeatedly to Flygare-Carlén trying to persuade her to write a preface, and he even offered her “a fair percentage” for her efforts.<sup>61</sup> She did not reply to his letters at first. When she eventually answered, it might have

been because he tried to write part of his letter in Swedish.<sup>62</sup> Then, there was an agreement and she submitted a preface titled “To My American Readers” – translated by Perce – for the American translation of *Gustavus Lindorm*.<sup>63</sup>

In contrast to what was first assumed, Flygare-Carlén’s novels translated into English did not travel west from London to New York. The first translation into English, *Professorn och hans skyddslingar* (1840; *The Professor and His Favorites*), was actually first published in New York in 1843, and most of the later translations were published in the same year both in London and in New York. As mentioned above, the two translations of *The Rose of Tistelön* – one done by an English translator and the other as collaboration between a Swedish and an American translator – were issued in the same year in both New York and London. The next novel translated into English, *The Magic Goblet*, was also circulated by one publisher in New York and another in London in 1845. The following work, *The Temptation of Wealth*, was first printed in New York in 1846 and then, one year later, in London. Between 1847 and 1853, seven more English translations were published in London: *Twelve Months of Matrimony*, *The Birthright*, *A Brilliant Marriage*, *The Lover’s Stratagem*, *Woman’s Life*, *The Hermit*, and *The Events of a Year*.<sup>64</sup> One of the stories, *The Birthright*, had already been published in New York in 1846 in Hebbe’s translation as *The Temptation of Wealth*. At the same time, between 1852 and 1854, the translators Krause and Perce started their comprehensive translation of Flygare-Carlén’s novels into American English.

It is obvious that Flygare-Carlén’s works – as well as those by her compatriot Fredrika Bremer – were popular among British and American readers. In English, the novels were printed in large numbers; according to advertisements from the publishing house Winchester, one novel by Flygare-Carlén was printed in 20,000 copies.<sup>65</sup> Whether this was true or generally the case is hard to verify, and it was most certainly in Winchester’s interest to exaggerate the figures in order to promote a new novel. However, Flygare-Carlén and Bremer were two of those foreign novelists that were widely circulated with many copies printed and distributed by both British and American publishers, despite the fact that the British market was well supplied by domestic production of fiction. According to Moretti’s investigation, the anglophone literary world was an extremely insular system; it thrived on exporting its literature but hardly imported any fiction at all.<sup>66</sup> The popularity of Swedish novels by Bremer and Flygare-Carlén is well documented in SWED and contradicts Moretti’s statement based on other, less accurate and comprehensive, sources. The mapping of the dissemination of

Flygare-Carlén and Bremer surely confirms that some foreign writers were imported and became successful in English. The two Swedish novelists were appreciated by a great number of English readers on both sides of the Atlantic, and their works were reviewed in high-culture literary magazines, such as *Athenaeum* and *Edinburgh Review*.<sup>67</sup> Furthermore, they were so popular that translators and publishers approached them to ask favours in order to promote their upcoming works. Unlike Bremer, Flygare-Carlén never travelled abroad nor did much to promote her works outside Sweden. Still, she was frequently asked to write prefaces and send pictures of herself to be published in new editions. The five letters from her American translator Perce in the early 1850s are the earliest ones to be found, but later – in 1860 and 1874 – two separate British publishers, Richard Griffin and E. Adams, repeatedly approached her. They wanted her to send them biographical information about herself, and Adams asked her to send him a portrait to be published in an upcoming book edition.<sup>68</sup> Some of her mediators were also eager to get material from her that had not yet been translated or published, and they offered to pay her for her contribution, as Elbert Perce did when he asked her to write a preface for his translation *Gustavus Lindorm*.

As Flygare-Carlén did not seem to care much about the distribution of her novels in English, she seldom answered the letters she received from English and American translators and publishers. Not until she had been approached repeatedly – including in letters written in Swedish by her most important American mediator, Elbert Perce – did she finally respond. One reason for her inattention may be that she did not read English. But her negligence was probably not due solely to language problems because she was just as careless when the publisher Griffin in London wrote to her in French. She also had several friends and colleagues nearby to ask for assistance with reading correspondence written in other languages. One explanation might be that she favoured other publishers and translators in Europe, such as the flourishing publishing house Franchk'sche Verlagshandlung in Stuttgart. Another reason could be that, from 1850 and onwards, she suffered from personal problems and depression.<sup>69</sup> A further reason might be that there was often no financial benefit in translations; normally she did not receive payment for her novels when they were published in other languages. Despite her taciturn manner, she was frequently honoured in American, German, and French newspapers on her birthdays and on her fiftieth anniversary as a writer.<sup>70</sup> Memorial notices were also published in several papers in America and Europe just one day after her death in 1892.<sup>71</sup>

## TRANSLATIONS INTO FRENCH AND INTRODUCTION INTO THE LATIN REGIONS

Flygare-Carlén's novels were also translated into the third major European language, French, and in French translations they travelled into the Latin world. One year after her novel *The Rose of Tistelön* was published in English, it was translated into French and printed in Paris in 1845, titled *Les smogglers suédois*. This first French translation was not instantly followed by new translations. It was not until seven years later that there was a massive distribution. Several publishers in Paris, Liège, and Brussels printed altogether about 15 novels in 10 years. About 10 of these novels were distributed by different publishers in Paris, such as Michel Lévy and Arthus Bertrand, who, like most French publishers, preferred her domestic novels to her suspenseful Gothic crime stories. Most French publishers favoured novels such as *Twelve Months of Matrimony* (*Un an de mariage*) and *Marie Louise* (*La demoiselle dans la mansard*). The same preferences apply for the other francophone publishing houses outside France. A. Schnée, who had publishing houses in Brussels and Leipzig, published seven of her domestic novels and he started to cooperate with a publisher named Kiessling. Other publishers in Brussels, such as Alphonse Lebègue and J. Desoer, also chose to issue the domestic novels. The Swiss publisher Körber, however, picked her suspenseful coastal novels and published both *The Rose of Tistelön* and *The Hermit* (*La Solitaire du rocher de la vierge*) in Bern in the mid-1870s.

Thus, the novels translated into French were distributed in France as well as in other French-speaking regions, such as Belgium and Switzerland. There was also a distribution of French literature in other European countries. For example, the Belgian publisher Schnée published his editions both in Brussels and Leipzig, so some of Flygare-Carlén's novels in French were also printed in Germany. The demand for novels in French in German-speaking regions is also confirmed by two other examples. In 1860, the publisher Durr in Leipzig translated and distributed Flygare-Carlén's novel *The Guardian* as *Le tuteur*, and about 15 years later, in 1876, Franckh'schen Verlagshandlung in Stuttgart published one of her novels in French, *The Hermit* as *La Solitaire du rocher de la vierge*, which had formerly been published in Switzerland by Körber.

The most circulated novel in French was *Twelve Months of Matrimony*, which was published in nine different editions in the nineteenth century in both Brussels and Paris. It was, for example, reprinted several times between 1866 and 1884 by Michel Lévy in Paris.<sup>72</sup> Some other novels were also issued in different French translations and editions. As mentioned above, *The Rose of Tistelön* was first printed in Paris in

1845 as *Les smoggliers suédois*. One decade later, in 1856, it was issued in Brussels as *Les contrabandiers suédois*. Twenty years later, in 1877, it was published in Bern titled *La rose de Tistelön*. Thus, this novel is an illustrative example of how one novel could be circulated with different titles. It also demonstrates how a novel translated into one language could be published in different countries, in this case France, Belgium, and Switzerland. Flygare-Carlén's status as a prominent Swedish novelist in France was also confirmed when her former translator, Xavier Marmier, published his collection *Nouvelles du nord* in 1882. In this collection of Russian, German, English, Danish, and Swedish literature, the only Swedish text was Flygare-Carlén's narrative "Le douleur d'une femme". According to Marmier, Flygare-Carlén was the only Swedish writer worthy to be included in his collection of contemporary stories from the North, or Northern Europe.

Flygare-Carlén's novels attracted several French translators, and some of them appear more frequently than others, such as Xavier Marmier, Marie Souvestre, O. Squarr, and Rosalie de Puget. As soon as the news spread that Flygare-Carlén intended to resume her writing in the late 1850s, she was addressed by a new French translator, Dr. A. Flobert. He wrote five letters to her between December 1858 and May 1859 in order to persuade her to choose him as a translator and thereby to send him the manuscript of *A Merchant House among the Islands* before it was published as a book in Swedish. Flobert also assured Flygare-Carlén that he was recommended by her former translator, Madame de Puget.<sup>73</sup> However, Flygare-Carlén did not respond to his request; *A Merchant House among the Islands* was never published in French, at least not as a book. Neither does Flobert's name appear on any later translation of her works.

The massive translation into French in the 1850s opened up for translations into other Latin languages. Flygare-Carlén's novels were probably first read in French by both Italian and Spanish readers before some of them were translated into the local languages. Due to these circumstances, the novels translated into Italian were the same as those that had been translated into French. The first novel translated into Italian was *Twelve Months of Matrimony* (*Anno di matrimonio*), which is the most translated and disseminated of her novels in French. The Italian abbreviated translation was published in Milan in 1869, and the translator was Clemente Mapelli, who also wrote an ambitious introduction to the novel. Six years later, another one of the top-selling novels in French was translated into Italian, *The Home in the Valley* titled *La signorina Nanny* (1875), which was followed by *Inom sex veckor* (1853; *The Brother's Bet*) as *Sei settimani* (1876). Soon, two

more narratives were translated, *Splendide Nozze* in 1883 and *Il dolore di unna donna* in 1892.<sup>74</sup> The latter was the same story that had been included in French by Marmier in *Nouvelles du nord* in 1882. All her works in Italian, except the last one, were published by different publishers in Milan, which is the city where most literature translated into Italian was printed. The last one, *Il dolore di unna donna*, was distributed by Luigi Pierro in Naples.

Some novels in French may also have been disseminated and read in Spain. It is probably not a coincidence that one of Flygare-Carlén's most popular novels in French, *A Brilliant Marriage*, was published in serialized form as *Un casamiento vetajoso* in the Spanish magazine *La Illustration* in 1888, edited in Barcelona. However, neither this nor any other novel by her was published in Spanish as books.

The extensive translation of Flygare-Carlén's – as well as Bremer's – novels into French reveals a distribution system in nineteenth-century Europe that Moretti does not touch upon in his study *Atlas of the European Novel 1800–1900*, that is, how one particular translation of a novel into a certain language often was distributed in several European countries. At the time, literature in a certain language was not confined to the same region or nation where the language is spoken today. Literature translated into certain languages, such as French and German, was read by the educated population in many regions of Europe. When Flygare-Carlén's novels were translated into French, they were distributed by French, Belgian, Swiss, and German publishers. They were undoubtedly read in French in other parts of Europe, such as South-Eastern Europe and Turkey, as well as in Russia. The same occurred when her novels were translated into German. Novels in German translation were circulated by publishing houses in the German countries as well as by publishers in the Austrian Empire and were therefore read in most regions in Central and Eastern Europe.<sup>75</sup> They were probably also read in German in those parts of northern Italy dominated by the Austrian Empire, such as the region around Torino. Accordingly, when Flygare-Carlén's novels were translated into German, they were certainly more widely circulated in Europe than they were in French translation, as many of those countries in Central and Eastern Europe that we do not consider German speaking today were dominated and ruled by the German-speaking élite. German was the literary language for native readers in those countries we know today as Hungary, Slovakia, Romania, the Czech Republic, Latvia, and Poland. That is, the hub in literary Europe was not Paris and London, but Stuttgart and Leipzig, at least when it comes to the transcultural reception of Swedish novels written in the mid-century.

## A EUROPEAN NOVELIST

Emilie Flygare-Carlén's international achievements were very much due to the triumph of the novel in Europe during the mid- and late nineteenth century. She wrote the kind of bourgeois domestic novels that attracted a growing number of contemporary readers in Europe and the United States. Thus, the dissemination of her novels in translation is a success story about a particular Swedish novelist and her transcultural reception. It is the story of a writer from the outskirts of Europe, writing in a minor European language, who became an international bestselling writer in the mid-century. Her novels were instantly translated into the dominant cultural language on the European continent, German, and then into two other major languages, French and English. Thus, almost every educated reader in Europe and North America could read her novels. The popularity of her novels drove translators and publishers in Europe and America to compete to get contracts with her. "Emilie Flygare-Carlén" became a label, which triggered unauthorized translations and even piracy of her brand. Sometimes, novels written by other, less successful, writers were published under her name. For example, the German writer Paula Herbst published sequels to four of Flygare-Carlén's bestsellers, including *Der Erbe: Fortsetzung von "Das Fideicommiss" von Emilie Flygare-Carlén*.<sup>76</sup> Actually, Paula Herbst wrote one more sequel, *Edith: Fortsetzung von "Emma's Herz" von Emilie Flygare-Carlén*, a sequel that was later translated into Latvian and published in Riga. As already mentioned, though, *Emma's Herz* was not a novel by Flygare-Carlén but by another lesser-known Swedish female novelist, Wilhelmina Stålbberg. However, according to its cover and front page, it was published in German as a novel by Flygare-Carlén in 1851. This was probably done to promote its reception and to satisfy the German readers' hunger for novels by Flygare-Carlén. This case came to Flygare-Carlén's attention, and in the preface of the authorized edition of *A Merchant House among the Islands* she firmly denies having written the previously published novel *Emma's Herz*.<sup>77</sup> The story about *Emma's Herz* and its sequel, *Edith*, is an illuminating example of how Flygare-Carlén soon became a sort of brand and how her name was used by publishers and translators to promote novels by other writers. Her name on a novel was anticipated to attract readers and hence also to guarantee good sales figures and a favourable reception. Her stories (and characters) became so popular and renowned that it was profitable for other writers, such as Paula Herbst, to continue them.

In some cases Flygare-Carlén's name was also used in other ways to launch works by other writers. One example is when a novel by

her former American translator, Elbert Perce, was marketed in the *New York Tribune* in 1854 as “THE LAST OF HIS NAME – By Elbert Perce, Translator of Emilie Carlen’s Swedish stories”.<sup>78</sup> Another example is when the French dramatist Victorien Sardou’s new play *Les Bourgeois de Pont Arcy* (1878) was launched both in France and England as based on a story by Flygare-Carlén: “It is from a Swedish novel by Mrs Emilie Carlén, *La Jeune fille solitaire* that Sardou has found his point of departure”.<sup>79</sup>

While Flygare-Carlén in Sweden built her national fame on being the first writer to introduce the Swedish western archipelago – a new geographical region with colourful inhabitants – her international success was mainly due to her regionally unspecified bourgeois novels, such as *Twelve Months of Matrimony*, *Marie Louise, or, The Opposite Neighbours*, and *The Whimsical Woman*. In most European prefaces to her translations, she is not primarily presented as a Scandinavian writer. Instead, English and French publishers often placed her in a Germanic tradition, and to the Italian audience she was introduced as a novelist in the English tradition.<sup>80</sup> In both cases, she was recognized as a novelist in the realistic domestic tradition. In the German paper *Iris* she is known for her ability to depict both “bourgeois and peasant life”.<sup>81</sup> In an American review of *The Whimsical Woman*, also titled *Woman’s Life* in 1852, she is compared to Bremer, but to Bremer’s disadvantage because Flygare-Carlén’s novel is considered less melodramatic.

On the whole we prefer it to any of Miss Bremer’s novels. It has not more truthfulness of manner, or a greater abundance of quiet pictures of unexaggerated domestic life, but it has less of that alloy of the convulsive and melodramatic which detracts so much from the best of the tales of Miss Bremer.<sup>82</sup>

In many English and American reviews Flygare-Carlén is acclaimed for having “grasped the elements of *struggling life*” and for giving “more strength, and in one sense more variety, in the persons”.<sup>83</sup> In an English review of *The Rose of Tistelön* in 1844, she is praised because “points in her story are drawn with a strength and firmness rarely found in a female writer”.<sup>84</sup> When she is once again compared to her compatriot Bremer in 1867, it is to emphasize the realistic qualities in her novels because her “best works exceed Miss Bremer’s in vigour and in depicting the passions and the hard realities of life”.<sup>85</sup> It is noteworthy that in the American press, Flygare-Carlén is often related to Bremer and thus she is presented primarily as a Swedish novelist. In the United States,

“Sweden” and “Swedish” seem to have been associated with positive qualities, at least in connection to literature.

Flygare-Carlén herself was probably not fully aware of which of her novels were most widely appreciated outside Sweden, as most of the translations of her novels never came to her attention. Therefore, she possibly presumed that her fame in North America was built on the same qualities that made her predecessor Esaias Tegnér’s romance cycle *Fritiof’s Saga* a success: Vikings and Nordic peculiarities. These characteristics were also to some degree mentioned by American critics in connection to Bremer’s works. It might also have come to Flygare-Carlén’s attention that when one of her first novels was published in America, *The Rose of Tistelön*, the geographical information “Swedish” was brought into the title; it was first marketed as *The Smugglers of the Swedish Coast*. She might also have known that she was initially launched in connection to “Miss Bremer” in the American press (cf. Fig. 4).<sup>86</sup> Two of her American translators – Axel L. Krause and Elbert Perce – also seemed to want to emphasize her Nordic origin. When she at last replied to her American translator Perce’s appeal to write a preface to the American edition of *Gustavus Lindorm* in 1853, she emphasized her Scandinavian heritage and the cultural connections between Sweden and America. In her preface, she points out that she was born and raised on the western archipelago of Sweden, “the former home of the Vikings”, and she claims that she had always imagined her parents to be the kind of people who emigrated to America, “affectionate parents, upright and industrious persons”. Since her early childhood, she had felt close to the American people, as an American seaman, who had died in a shipwreck off the Swedish coast, was buried in a churchyard where she used to play – “in the lands of the Vikings”. Furthermore, she declares that her older brother had introduced her early to American literature and that she admires authors such as Cooper and Irving. She even ends her preface by quoting some American lines about the people’s “zeal for liberty, law, and land”.<sup>87</sup>

Thus, in her preface to *Gustavus Lindorm* addressing American readers, Flygare-Carlén accentuated her Nordic origin. Still, it was not generally her novels referring to Vikings and set on the Swedish western coast that had attracted the American translators and publishers. Nor was it primarily her adventure-packed coastal novels that her publisher Charles Scribner invested in for his American series of Flygare-Carlén’s novels in 1853. Besides *Gustavus Lindorm*, the series included most of her domestic novels, such as *Twelve Months of Matrimony* and *The Whimsical Woman*. However, Flygare-Carlén’s ideas about American readers’ tastes might have been based on an introduction to *Ivar, or,*

*The Skjuts-Boy* written by Axel L. Krause, one of her American translators. That introduction was printed in London in 1853, the same year in which she wrote her preface. Perce might have sent Flygare-Carlén his peer's preface as a tribute. In any case, Flygare-Carlén's preface appears to have been written in response to Krause's recommendation. In it, he promoted Flygare-Carlén's novel as a specimen of the "romantic literature of the Scandinavian nations" by "Northmen". According to him, she is far superior to other Scandinavian writers, even Fredrika Bremer, because of her ability to portray the lower ranks of society. Therefore, she is praised as "the republican *par excellence*, among female authors".<sup>88</sup> Thus, both Krause and Flygare-Carlén made use of the Americans' interest in Vikings and the Norse heritage and at the same time paid tribute to the American republican constitution.

#### THE GENDERED NOVEL AS ROMANCE

At the same time as Emilie Flygare-Carlén was recognized as a European novelist, not specifically a Swedish or Scandinavian writer in Europe, her works were progressively framed in a gendered context. For a start, advertising her as a female novelist was an advantage for the marketing of her novels.<sup>89</sup> German translations of her stories were distributed as domestic novels by a female writer at a time when few other bestselling women novelists were circulated in German. Her predecessors and competitors were mainly male novelists, such as Dumas, Dickens, and Sue, that is, male writers that no longer met the demands of female readers and their yearning for narratives about female protagonists and their everyday struggles. Educational stories were also encouraged by the national movements in Europe, where the modernization of society was linked to a well-run household and the mass education of women in many rising European nations, such as Hungary, the Polish and the Czech lands, and Italy.<sup>90</sup> In a letter to Flygare-Carlén, her Czech publisher Františeka Šimáček in 1882 underlines how her novels taught people to read and write in their native language and thereby also strengthened the Czech national spirit.<sup>91</sup>

The use of covers, illustrations, and titles in different languages offers informative examples of publishing strategies and of how the European novel was progressively launched as a female-authored form targeted at female readerships.<sup>92</sup> The commercial value of novels by female writers addressing women is verified by the example of Flygare-Carlén. In Sweden, her novels were first issued as hardcover books.<sup>93</sup> In cases where her sex was mentioned, it was more to her benefit than to her disadvantage. At first, she was lauded for her gender-neutral or even

masculine qualities. She was acclaimed for middle-class realism, that is, for writing realistic novels about hard-working people and their everyday lives. She was appreciated for her descriptions of male outdoor activities, humorous portrayals, witty dialogue, and believable male characters.<sup>94</sup> Outside Sweden, her novels were also initially admired for their vigorous, almost masculine, descriptions of male-coded environments, especially by anglophone critics in the mid-century.<sup>95</sup>

However, outside Scandinavia, her consumer-oriented publishers gradually placed Flygare-Carlén's novels in a feminine romance tradition. The category "Romance" was sometimes added on the cover after the title, probably both to emphasize the sex of the writer and theme of the novel in order to attract female readers.<sup>96</sup> Her breakthrough novel, *The Rose of Tistelön*, was praised for its exceptional realism by Swedish critics, but two years later it was distributed to English readers as a "romance". Her translators, Hebbe and Deming, together with their publisher J. Winchester in New York, published it as *The Smugglers of the Swedish Coast, or, The Rose of Thistle Island: a Romance by Mrs Emilie Carlen*. Her American publisher, Harper & Brothers, advertised another novel translated by Alex L. Krause as *Ivar, or, the Skjuts-boy; a Romance by Miss Carlen* in 1859, and then again in 1864.<sup>97</sup> In both cases, her sex was indicated by the title "Mrs" or "Miss". The word "romance" in the subtitle was also added in other languages, such as when *Six Weeks* was translated into Italian as *Sei settimani: Romanzo* in 1876 and *The Home in the Valley* as *La signorina Nanny: Romanzo* in 1875.<sup>98</sup> Thus, although many (male) critics admired her novels for their realism, the publishers often emphasized their romantic and melodramatic aspects with the addition of "romance" in a subtitle.

Another obvious example of how Flygare-Carlén's translated novels addressed female readers can be seen in how the female protagonist was brought into the title.<sup>99</sup> One of the two English translations of *The Rose of Tistelön* in 1844 – the translation by Hebbe and Deming – was first launched as *The Beautiful Gabrielle, or the Rose of Thistle Island* in an advertisement in *The New World* printed on 8 June 1844. However, it was later launched and published as *The Smugglers of the Swedish Coast, or The Rose of Thistle Isle* (Fig. 4). In Dutch, *Romanhjeltinnan* (1849; *The Heroine*) was launched as *Blenda van Kulen (de romaneske)* in 1851, while *The Home in the Valley* was marketed in Italian as *La signorina Nanny: Romanzo* in 1875. Especially, English and American publishers put the name of the heroine in the title. A novel that was first published as *Twelve Months of Matrimony* in 1847 was later launched by J. Miller in New York as '*Lavinia*', or, *One Year. A Tale of Wedlock* in 1873, and *The Professor and His Favorites* was circulated by

the American newspaper *The National Era* as *Rosa and Her Suitors* in 1855–1856. The same pattern is noticeable when the Swedish novel *Vindskuporna*, meaning “attic windows”, was published in London and New York in 1858. The translated title includes not the name of the male protagonist, the engineer William, but the first name of the proud and capricious young girl he is in love with, Marie Louise. Thus, the English title is *Marie Louise, or, The Opposite Neighbours*, thereby turning the female object of the protagonist’s love and desire into the title.<sup>100</sup>

The British distribution of Flygare-Carlén’s debut novel, *Waldemar Klein* (1838), is an even more striking example. The Swedish novel is titled after the male protagonist, Waldemar Klein, a young doctor in love with the virtuous Maria. However, his dying father makes him swear to keep a former promise to marry their neighbour’s daughter, the vain and conceited Julia. Fortunately, Waldemar is released from his engagement to be united with his beloved Maria. Still, the title of one English edition is *Julia: or, Love and Duty*, even though Julia is not the protagonist but only – for a very short time – the protagonist’s deceitful fiancée.<sup>101</sup> However, Julia does not completely leave the novel when Waldemar breaks up with her. The reader learns how she is punished for her vanity and how she ends up in an unhappy marriage to a careless nobleman before dying. Thus, the British title explicitly highlights a certain subplot of the novel, making the reader pay more attention to Julia’s story. She is a young woman who makes the wrong decision and who is blinded by superficial glamour and vanity and accordingly ends up in an unhappy marriage before she dies from tuberculosis. Hence, the title directs the reader’s attention to the story about a woman who, because of her flaws, is severely penalized, punished with unhappy love, illness, and death; the title stresses Julia’s function in the novel as a cautionary example of a misled woman who has to pay for her mistakes. Thus, the title also, somewhat misleadingly, labels the novel as a female Bildungsroman, or an educational novel of manners addressing female readers.

The marketing of Flygare-Carlén’s novels by means of their front covers also demonstrates the increasingly commercialized and gendered aspects of the novel by the end of the century. At first, most novels in translation were sold in cheap and accessible paperbacks or booklets. They had no illustrations on the front covers or other markers to indicate the genre or subject of the story. These material packages of the texts indicate how, by the mid-century, books became affordable everyday objects and utility articles for new categories of readers, such as female readers, as well as other new readers from the middle and lower classes. There are, however, some exceptions to this pattern. Translations into Dutch and English were immediately published in beauti-

fully illustrated editions. The covers show pictures referring to certain episodes in the stories, and some books include several illustrations.<sup>102</sup> These kinds of illustrated editions appeared by the turn of the century, when Flygare-Carlén's collected works were brought out by several publishers. The German collection "Selected Novels" (Ausgewählte Romane), published by Franz Bondy in Vienna and Leipzig in 1885, is illustrated by Karl Ohnesorg. The Norwegian and Danish editions, published by Narvesen in Oslo and Universal Forlag in Copenhagen, are both illustrated by the same famous female Swedish artist, Jenny Nyström, who also illustrated the Swedish edition of Flygare-Carlén's collected works published by her Swedish publisher Bonnier between 1905 and 1912.<sup>103</sup>

The German paperback edition of a collection of her novels, illustrated by Karl Ohnesorg and published in "Ausgewählte Romane" in 1896, is an instructive example of gendered marketing (Fig. 5). The front cover

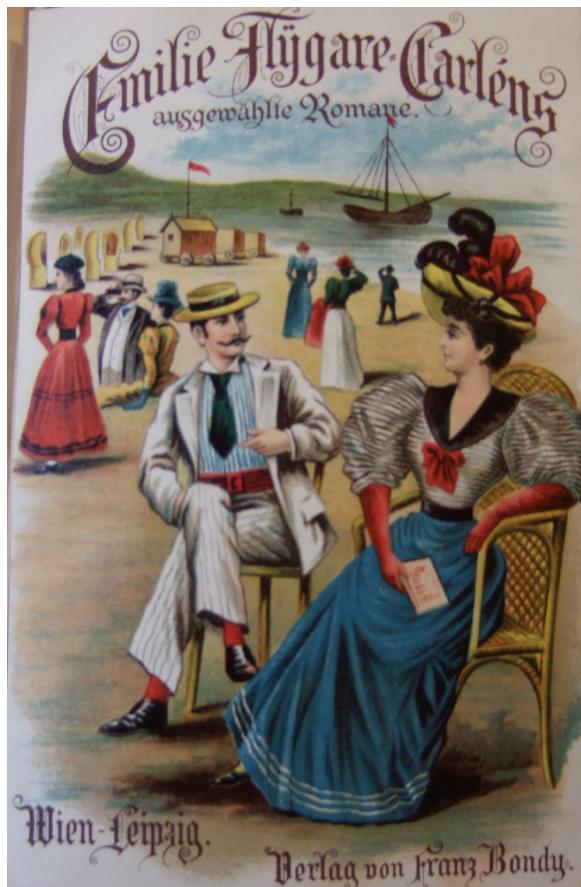
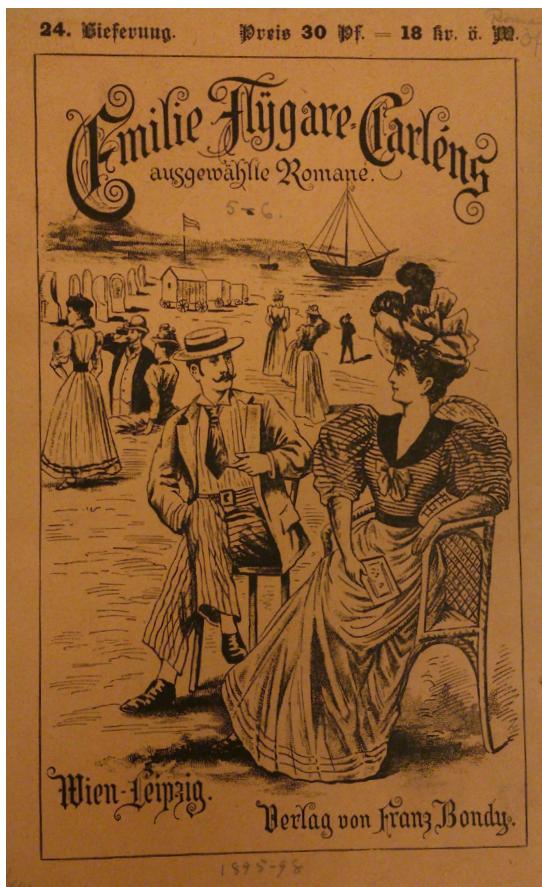
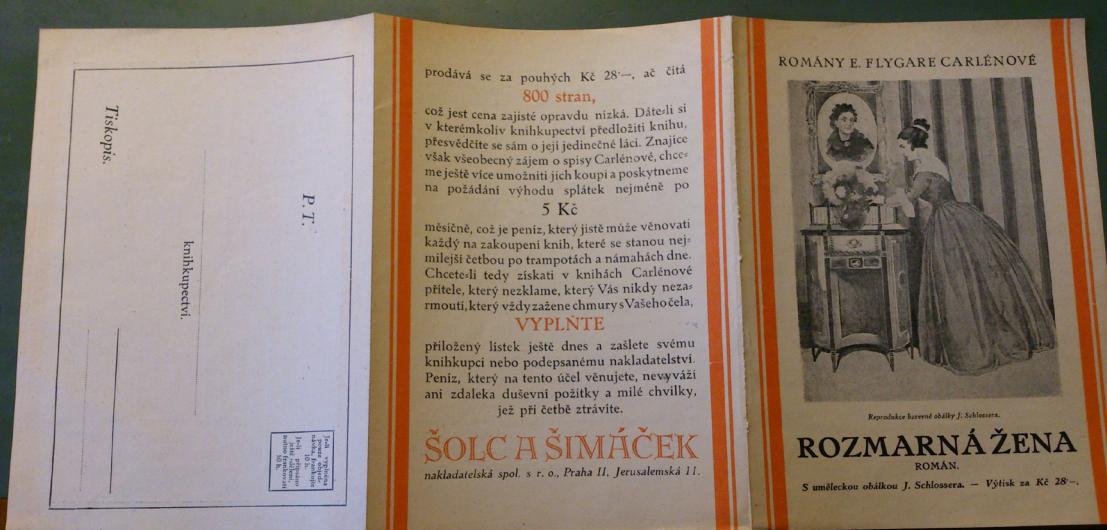


Fig. 5: The paperback cover in and without colour of *Ausgewählte Romane*, published in Vienna and Leipzig by Franz Bondy in 1896.

shows a young woman in a striking pose. She is showing off her stylish outfit while a young male admirer sits behind her. In the background, a seaside resort is outlined. To a reader familiar with the novels included in the collection, the picture does not refer to any recognizable episode of the plots. Instead, the cover resembles an advertisement in a women's fashion magazine with a female model in a fashionable outfit in the centre of the picture, thus probably aiming at female consumers. By having a woman in a conspicuous pose or engaged in some typically feminine occupation, the front covers promote the publications as engaging stories about intriguing female protagonists. The genre and subject of the novels are specified as being of special interest to women readers. At the same time, these exquisitely illustrated editions are illuminating proofs of Flygare-Carlén's prominent status as a female novelist. There was such commercial value in her works that publishers were prepared to invest in new and costly editions of her novels.



One of the most informative covers is shown on a Czech translation of Flygare-Carlén's *The Whimsical Woman* as *Rozmarna zena* published in Prague by F. Šimáček in 1898 (Fig. 6). The cover, in light violet colours, displays the lovely but capricious heroine situated in a womanly setting, a fashionable parlour. The heroine is standing turned slightly towards the wall behind her, facing not a mirror but a framed portrait of a woman, who appears to be the author, Emilie Flygare-Carlén. The picture on the wall is a rejuvenated version of a portrait by Flygare-Carlen made on her eightieth birthday in 1887. Although the young heroine is not looking at the picture, her position directs the spectator's eyes towards the portrait. The position of the framed portrait and the pose of the heroine are such as to be noticed by the onlooker and to create a connection between the author and the female protagonist. As the portrayed Flygare-Carlén is turned towards her protagonist, she seems to watch her while the young woman is eyeing and moving her hands along something placed behind a vase of flowers on the table. The objects behind the vase resemble a collection of books, maybe novels. Whatever has caught the young woman's attention, the cover depicts – in an eye-catching way – both the heroine of the novel and its female writer. By portraying these two women on the cover, the novel was certainly intended to entice females to buy it. Inside the cover, a potential reader would find a folder with information on where and



how to order the book, its price, and the address of the publisher. The buyer simply had to fill in the required information, cut it from the folder, and send it to the publisher. In return, the novel and a bill were sent to the ordering address. Thus, this novel was not just published to be a gem in the buyer's book collection but also as a commercial article, easy to order and consume.

Flygare-Carlén's novels were not only placed in a gendered context by covers, titles and subtitles. Prefaces and introductions were rare in the nineteenth century but when present, they were often written by the translator or publisher. Thus, these paratexts were important parts of the marketing of the novels. They were also an indicator of the expected reception of them in a certain cultural context. In Flygare-Carlén's case, in those rare instances where her novels have an introduction, its aim was often to position the writer and her work within a certain gendered framework. This was done in two ways, either by comparing her only with other female writers, that is, by placing her in a female context, or by stressing the sex of the writer, such as by introducing the Swedish woman Emilie Flygare-Carlén as a virtuous daughter and wife. In the preface of the 1855 Belgian edition of *A Brilliant Marriage* as *Un brillant mariage*, she is compared to Fredrika Bremer, another Swedish female writer already familiar to the local readers. However, the translators P.-J. Stahl and I Hymans are keen to emphasize Flygare-Carlén's



Fig. 6: The hardcover edition of *Rozmarná žena*, published in Prague by F. Šimáček in 1898, including the ordering information folder.

unique literary qualities compared to Bremer's. Therefore, they recommend some more of her novels in French, such as *Waldemar Klein*, *The Lover's Stratagem*, and *Twelve Months of Matrimony*.<sup>104</sup> The preface to a French edition of *The Rose of Tistelön* (*Les smoggliers suédois*, Paris, 1845) also refers to her peer Bremer. Here Flygare-Carlén is foremost presented as the spouse of the poet Carlén.<sup>105</sup> Emphasizing her virtuous feminine qualities, the translator adds that a former visitor to Stockholm found "the rival of Miss Fredrika Bremer" busy cooking for her husband.<sup>106</sup>

In the Italian preface of *Twelve Months of Matrimony*, published in 1869, Flygare-Carlén and her novel are openly placed in a gendered setting by her translator Clemente Mapelli. Exactly as in English, the rather vague Swedish title, *One Year*, is specified as "one year of matrimony", *Un anno di matrimonio*, thereby announcing the novel to be a domestic novel and romance targeted at female readers. In the preface, Mapelli starts by comparing Flygare-Carlén to another female novelist, the now forgotten English writer Dinah Craik, whose best-known work is *John Halifax: Gentleman* (1856). Like Craik's novel, Flygare-Carlén's narrative is praised for its well-structured plot line, animated scenes, domestic realism, and truthful female portrayals. Then, Mapelli focuses on the writer herself and turns her life story into a suitable subject of a romance, or female Bildungsroman; he describes Flygare-Carlén's first marriage in detail as an unhappy one, which she was fortunate to be freed from, and both her husbands are given more romantic professions than they actually had. Her first husband is presented as an officer in the cavalry, the second one as a musician. The truth is that her first husband was a medical practitioner and her second one was a lawyer. When Mapelli stresses Flygare-Carlén's literary talents, he is eager to praise her for her capable female characters and the way she emphasizes the importance of good education for women as, according to Mapelli, it makes women good mothers.<sup>107</sup> That is, women should be educated and trained to improve their maternal qualities and thereby to uphold and endorse family values, all according to the ideal promoted by the national movement. Mapelli was at the time associated with Garibaldi and his national project in Italy.<sup>108</sup>

The progressive feminization of the novel as such, and Flygare-Carlén's works in particular, is also well illustrated by the American prefaces. When *The Professor and His Favorites* was presented to American readers in 1843, her translator Krause compared her to her Swedish predecessor Fredrika Bremer, who had already been introduced to the local readers. However, Krause was ready to position the two Swedish writers in a much wider literary context together with several other Scandi-

navian, English, German, and American male writers, such as Tegnér, Oehlenschläger, H.C. Andersen, Goldsmith, Fielding, Dickens, Tieck, Goethe, Irving, and Cooper. Ten years later, however, Flygare-Carlén herself was turned into an amiable heroine by her American translator Perce in his foreword to *Twelve Months of Matrimony*, now titled *One Year, a Tale of Wedlock* (1853). He claims that she started to write to provide for her parents. Her virtuous personality is emphasized even more as she, according to Perce, was married to a clergyman and not, as in fact, a lawyer.<sup>109</sup> This misrepresentation, which could be due either to misinformation or to a deliberate fabrication by the male translator, may seem incidental; however, it certainly made Flygare-Carlén appear more appealing as a female victim, a damsel in distress, who overcame her hardships by marriage. Depicting her as a virtuous and devoted daughter who started to write in order to support her deprived parents surely turned her into a role model for American women, as a “self-made woman” and prosperous writer.<sup>110</sup> Presenting her as a clergyman’s wife also depicted her as suitably womanly and stressed her qualities as a spouse positioned in a religious Christian setting.

#### BESTSELLING AND GENDERED NOVELS EDGED OUT

The case of Flygare-Carlén illustrates the success of the novel in Europe in the mid-nineteenth century and the changing status of female novelists. Although, Flygare-Carlén and her female colleagues Fredrika Bremer and Marie Sophie Schwartz were the most translated Swedish writers in the mid- and late-nineteenth century, nowadays they are consigned to a marginalized position in the history of Swedish literature. Their popularity among readers, both in Sweden and internationally, was a double-edged sword. They were both too productive and too widely appreciated to be considered authors of high-quality literature by later critics and scholars. The altered status of women novelists and the progressively gendered status of their novels diminished their position as writers.

The literary downgrading process is not least observable from a transcultural perspective, that is, the way in which popular novels by women were launched in different languages by the turn of the nineteenth century. The pattern is even more striking in comparison with contemporary but transculturally less successful male writers who later achieved an acknowledged position in the nation-based literary history. In this case, the transcultural circulation of Flygare-Carlén’s contemporary male colleague Almqvist is a contrasting and illuminating example. As shown below (Fig. 7), he never made an international

breakthrough in the nineteenth century; any translations of his novels then were mainly into Danish. Still, when he was well established and became a canonized author in the national history of Swedish literature in the mid-twentieth century, there was a growing interest in his novels abroad. While the novels of the once-popular Flygare-Carlén faded into the background after World War II, Almqvist's works were discovered and recognized as high-culture literature to be included in the national Swedish canon, and were thereby also destined to be exported as Swedish quality literature aiming at a position as European world literature. Still, his renewed transnational reception has been modest. When there was a minor peak in translations at the turn of the millennium, just a few titles were translated into a few European languages. A couple of his most scholarly renowned works were distributed in translation and then primarily in the three major European languages: German, English, and French. Among those three languages, twice as many works and editions were published in German than in either English or French. Still, only about five titles and altogether about 15 editions/reprints were printed in German (1950–2010).<sup>111</sup> Compared to the number of translated titles and editions/reprints, as well as the number of languages Flygare-Carlén's novels were translated into between 1840 and 2010, Almqvist can hardly be called a transculturally disseminated writer. He might be a renowned writer in Sweden but he is hardly a widely circulated writer in translation outside his native country.

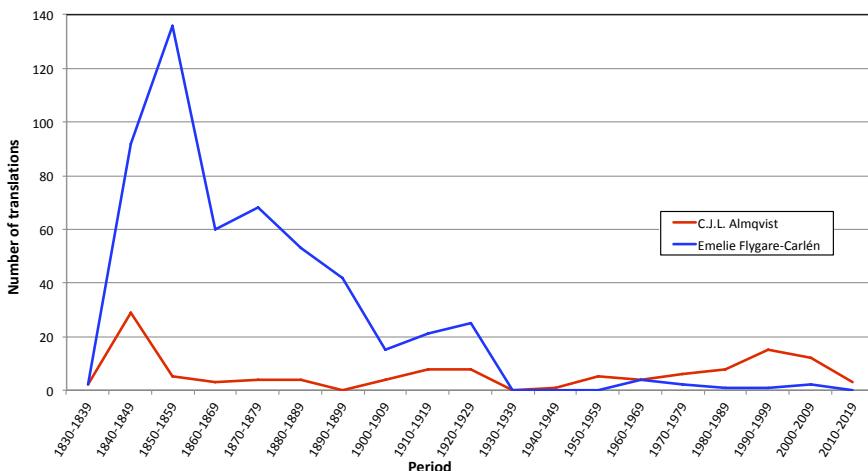


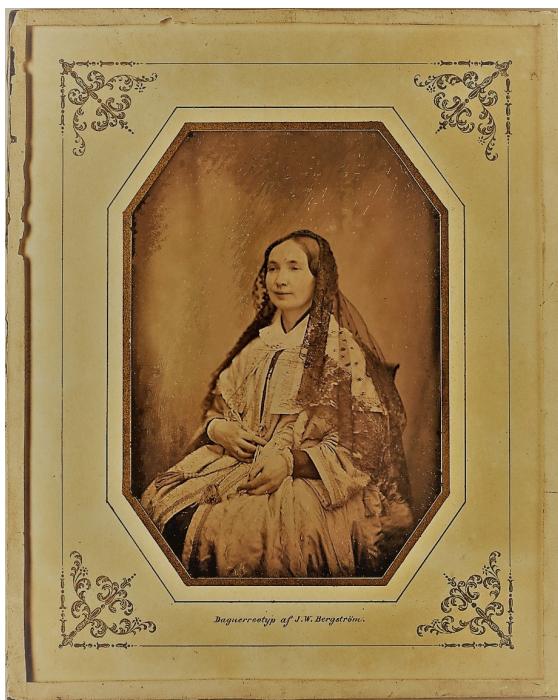
Fig. 7: The total number of translations into European languages of Flygare-Carlén's novels compared to her contemporary male colleague Almqvist, now a canonized Swedish author (SWED 2018).

It is obvious that if the history of Swedish literature were written from a European perspective based on the contemporary audience's choice of literary works and writers, it would look very different from the nation-based Swedish literary history of today. For example, Almqvist and Flygare-Carlén would switch positions in the chapter on Swedish nineteenth-century literature. Especially in the section on the rise of the Swedish novel, Flygare-Carlén and her female colleague Fredrika Bremer would replace Almqvist. Thus, transcultural achievements and national canonization are two different things. Bestselling status at a certain time in history, either for nation-based or transcultural works, does not guarantee a place in future textbooks on literary history. Quite the opposite is often the case. On one hand, the example of Flygare-Carlén's novels demonstrated that she was the most successful and widely read Swedish writer outside Sweden in the mid- and late nineteenth century. Her name became a trademark for bestselling novels in general, and it was used to promote other writers, not only, as mentioned before, her former American translator Elbert Perce and her "fan fiction" author, Paula Herbst. When the Swedish male writer August Strindberg was introduced to the Czech audience, his well-known and very popular fellow writer Flygare-Carlén was used to launch his works.<sup>112</sup> On the other hand, at the same time and in the same cultural context, Flygare-Carlén's renowned name started to be used as a label for bestselling fiction and popular novels.<sup>113</sup> By the end of the century, the same thing happened among Czech critics as had happened in mid-century Sweden – her novels were criticized as popular fiction because too many of them were too widely read by too many devoted readers.

The downgrading of Flygare-Carlén's novels was also due to the way she and her novels were progressively framed in a gendered feminine context. Although, her novels were originally praised for male-gendered qualities – realism, animated and trustworthy depictions, well-drawn male portraits – in Sweden and outside Scandinavia, in translation her novels were increasingly promoted as romances by a female novelist in order to attract romance-craving female readers. In Sweden, her novels were first published as costly hardcover books, whereas outside Sweden, most of her novels were printed as low-cost paperbacks, and if there was a more costly illustration on the cover, it was there to attract female consumers looking for romances featuring a love-seeking heroine. Although the covers or the added genre marker "romance" did not always deliver what they promised, they certainly did contribute to categorizing Flygare-Carlén's novels as "female literature". Thereby, they also helped to edge her out of the history of high-culture literature and to place her in what David Damrosch calls

“the shadow canon”, or among those writers who are increasingly sorted out and whose works are incorporated in the pre-realist sentimental tradition, among what Margaret Cohen names literature “hors d’usage“, or “the great unread”.<sup>114</sup> Accordingly, the literary fate of the once so widely read Swedish novelist Emilie Flygare-Carlén illustrates the discrepancy between contemporary fame and future canonization. Transcultural circulation may guarantee an entry in the library sources and archives but not necessarily a place in literary history and the cultural memory to be transmitted to future generations of readers.

#### BIOGRAPHY: EMILIE FLYGARE-CARLÉN



Emilie Flygare-Carlén (1807–1892). Daguerreotype by J.W. Bergström (re-touched). Nordiska museet, inv. nr. 23133.

Emilie Flygare-Carlén, born Smith (1807–1892), came from a family of merchants in the province of Bohuslän on Sweden’s western coast. At the age of 20, she married a local physician, Axel Flygare, and moved to the province of Småland. When she was widowed in 1833, she returned to her hometown, Strömstad, and decided to devote herself to

literature to support herself and her family. Her first novel, *Waldermar Klein* (1838), was well received, and she started to publish about two bestselling novels a year. On the cover of her first novel, it was printed “af Fru F\* \*” (by Mrs F\* \*), but the identity of the writer was immediately exposed by the critics and her publisher. Two years later, on her fifth novel, her full name was displayed as “Novel by Emilie Flygare”. Because of the success of her novels, her publisher, Niclas Thomson, persuaded her to move to Stockholm in 1841, and one year after her move to the Swedish capital, she published what can be considered her breakthrough novel, *The Rose of Tistelön* (1842).

In Stockholm, Flygare-Carlén was immediately welcomed into the literary circles of writers and intellectuals, where she also met her second husband, the lawyer and publicist Johan Gabriel Carlén (1814–1875). Their home became a meeting place for Stockholm’s liberal men of letters, and for the next 12 years Flygare-Carlén continued to produce about two novels annually, such as *Marie Louise, or, The Opposite Neighbours* (*Vindskupor*, 1845), *One Year of Matrimony* (*Ett år*, 1846), *The Hermit* (*Enslingen på Johanniskäret*, 1846), and *The Whimsical Woman* (*En nyckfull kvinna*, 1848–1849). Two of her later novels, *En natt vid Bullarsjön* (A Night at Bullarsjön, 1847) and *Ett rykte* (A Rumor, 1850), were attacked by some leading liberal critics in Sweden because of her critique of the rising religious movements in Sweden in combination with her explicit descriptions of erotic attraction between men and women. Both novels were translated into German, Dutch, and some other European languages but never into English and French. This critical reception of these two novels in combination with the unexpected death of her only son, Edvard Flygare (1829–1853), was followed by six years of silence. It was not until the end of the 1850s that she acceded to public requests that she resume her writing. *Ett köpmanshus i skärgården* (A Merchant House among the Islands) was published as her first serial novel in the newspaper *Aftonbladet* in 1859 and was well received. Before it was published as a book by Bonniers in Stockholm in 1860–1861, it was launched in German by two different publishers in 1859.

In 1862 Flygare-Carlén was awarded the Swedish Academy’s Large Gold Medal, and between 1864 and 1878 she published three autobiographical works: *Stockholmscener bakom kulisserna* (Pictures from Stockholm behind the Curtains), *Skuggspel* (Shadow Play), and *Minnen af svenska författarlif 1840–1860* (Memories of a Life as a Swedish Writer 1840–1860).

## NOTES

- 1 Petra Broomans and Ester Jiresch, “The Invasion of Books”, in Broomans, Petra and Ester Jiresch (eds.), *The Invasion of Books in Peripheral Literary Fields: Transmitting Preferences and Images in Media, Networks and Translation*, Groningen: Barkhuis, 2011, pp. 10–13.
- 2 Pascal Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters* (1999), translated by M.B. DeBevoise, Cambridge, MA & London, England: Harvard University Press, 2004, pp. 23–34; Franco Moretti, *Distant Reading*, London, New York: Verso, 2013, p. 22. Cf Mariano Siskind, *Cosmopolitan Desires: Global Modernity and World Literature in Latin America*, Northwestern University Press, 2014, pp. 8, 17.
- 3 How Swedish literature travelled via Danish into German has been pointed out by Lars Lönnroth, “Den svenska litteraturen på världsmarknaden”, in Lönnroth, Lars and Hans-Erik Johannesson (eds.), *Den svenska litteraturen: Bokmarknad, bibliografier, samlingsregister*, Stockholm: Bonniers, 1990, p. 38; Johan Svedjedal, “Svensk skönlitteratur i världen”, in Svedjedal, Johan (ed.), *Svensk litteratur som världslitteratur: En antologi*, Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2012, p. 53.
- 4 In order to achieve a more complete picture of translations of Swedish authors, a project database, SWED, has been constructed. The purpose has been to list and sort all publications by the writers studied, both their original works in Swedish and the translations of each work. In addition to the five writers included in the study, the database contains data on the translations of 16 other Swedish writers used as reference writers. The graphs, tables, and charts included in this chapter are based on data compiled from SWED 2018. The bibliographical Database SWED is to be published.
- 5 Alf Kjellén, *Emilie Flygare-Carlén: En litteraturhistorisk studie*, Diss. Göteborg, Stockholm: Alb. Bonniers boktryckeri, 1932, pp. 200–216, 472; Victor Svanberg, *Medelklassrealism*, Skrifter utgivna av Avdelningen för litteratursociologi vid Litteraturvetenskapliga institutionen i Uppsala: Uppsala, 1980; Stephen Arthur Mitchell, *Dialogue in the Early Swedish Novel: Studies in the Presentation of Speech from Cederborgh to Flygare-Carlén*, Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International 1980, pp. 166–172.
- 6 Lars Lönnroth, “Vardagsromanen – en kvinnogenre”, Lönnroth, Lars and Sven Delblanc (eds). *Den svenska litteraturen III: Det liberala genombrottet 1830–1890*, Stockholm: Bonniers, 1988, p. 70.
- 7 The first published English title of the novel is used, while the original Swedish title is given within parenthesis. In those cases where a novel has not been translated into English, the Swedish title is used with a literal translation into English within parenthesis the first time mentioned. Thereafter, the English translation of the title is used. In those cases where the title consists of the name of the protagonist, no translation is given.
- 8 Lars Lönnroth, “Flygare-Carlén och badgästerna”, Lönnroth, Lars and Sven Delblanc (eds), *Den svenska litteraturen: Det liberala genombrottet 1830–1890*, Vol. III, Stockholm: Bonniers, 1988, pp. 68–69.
- 9 Flygare-Carlén’s first novel, in 1838, was published “af Fru F\*\*\*” (by Mrs F\*\*\*), but the identity of the writer was soon exposed to the public. Two

- years later, her full name was spelled out as “Emilie Flygare”. About female writers’ anxiety of authorship, see Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (1979), New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984, pp. 45–92; Gaye Tuchman with Nina E. Fortin, *Edging Women Out: Victorian Novelists, Publishers, and Social Change*, London: Routledge 1989, pp. 3, 25, 51–52.
- 10 Emilie Flygare-Carlén, *Minnen af svenska författarlif 1840–1860*, Upptecknade af Emilie Flygare-Carlén, I, Stockholm: Bonnier, 1878, p. 7.
  - 11 About Flygare-Carlén’s social circles in Stockholm see Monica Lauritzen, *En kvinnas röst: Emilie Flygare-Carléns liv och dikt*, Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 2007, pp. 171–180.
  - 12 Carl Fredrik Bergstedt, “Den usla litteraturen”, *Tidskrift för litteratur* 1851, p. 367; [–], “Om den usla litteraturen”, *Aftonbladet*, 4 Sept. 1851.
  - 13 See [Gunnar Wennerberg], “Review of En natt vid Bullarsjön”, *Frey*, 1847, pp. 183–187; Bernhard Elis Malmström, “Original-Bibliothek i den sköna Litteraturen”, *Frey*, 1846, p. 340; [–], “Review of Ett Rykte”, *Aftonbladet*, 24 Nov. 1853.
  - 14 Yvonne Leffler, “Inledning”, in Emilie Flygare-Carlén, *Ett köpmanshus i skärgården*, Vol. I, Stockholm: Svenska Vitterhetssamfundet, 2007, pp. xi–xii; Lauritzen, *En kvinnas röst*, pp. 407–409.
  - 15 In Swedish: “söka en annan vederqvickelse än blott förströelsens!”, in Emilie Flygare-Carlén, “Hvarföre det blef ‘Ett Köpmanshus’”, in Leffler, Yvonne (ed.) Emilie Flygare-Carlén, *Ett köpmanshus i skärgården*, Vol. I, Stockholm: Svenska Vitterhetssamfundet, 2007, p. 7.
  - 16 Flygare-Carlén, “Hvarföre det blef ‘Ett Köpmanshus’”, pp. 3–7.
  - 17 Lauritzen, *En kvinnas röst*, p. 9.
  - 18 Kjellén, *Emilie Flygare-Carlén*; Assar Janzén, *Emilie Flygare-Carlén: en studie i 1800-talets romandialog*, Göteborg: Wettergren & Kerber, 1946.
  - 19 Tuchman *Edging Women Out*, pp. 1–5, 65–92.
  - 20 Maria Löfgren, *Emancipationens gränser: Emilie Flygare-Carléns 1840-talsromaner och kvinnans ställning*, Stockholm & Stehag: Symposion 2003.
  - 21 Lauritzen, *En kvinnas röst*.
  - 22 Åsa Arping, *Den anspråksfulla blygsamheten: Auktoritet och genus i 1830-talets svenska romandebatt*, Stockholm/Stehag: Symposion 2002; Yvonne Leffler, *I skräckens lustgård: Svensk skräckromantik i svenska 1800-talsromaner*, diss., Göteborg: Skrifter utgivna av litteraturvetenskapliga institutionen vid Göteborgs universitet 1991; Yvonne Leffler, “Ett nytt kapitel i äktenskapshandboken. Emilia brev till modern i Ett köpmanshus i skärgården av Emilie Flygare-Carlén”, in Leffler, Yvonne (ed.), *Kvinnan, kärleken och romanen*, Karlstad: Karlstad universitet 2001, pp. 63–90.
  - 23 The most recent and ambitious entry is Yvonne Leffler and Ebba Witt-Brattström, “Horror and Skerries”, <http://nordicwomensliterature.net/article/horror-and-skerries>.
  - 24 Gunnar Hansson, *Den möjliga litteraturhistorien*, Stockholm: Carlsson, 1995.
  - 25 Håkan Eriksson, *Kronologisk förteckning över Emilie Flygare-Carléns tryckta skrifter: Svenska original samt översättningar till danska, norska,*

- engelska, tyska, franska, finska, italienska nederländska, polska, tjeckiska, esperanto, ryska*, Göteborg 1999.
- 26 Nils Afzelius, *A Bibliographical List of Books in English on Sweden and Literary Works Translated into English from Swedish*, 2nd enlarged edition, Stockholm, 1938; Robert E. Björk, “A Bibliography of Modern Scandinavian Literature (Excluding H.C. Andersen) in English Translation, 1533 to 1900, and Listed by Translator”, *Scandinavian Studies*, Vol. 77, No. 1, 2005, pp. 105–142; Péter Mádl, *SCHB: A Bibliography of Scandinavian Literature in Hungarian Translation and Scandinavian Studies in Hungary*, 2nd extended edition, Budapest, 2016.
- 27 Ewa Suchodolska and Zofia Żydanowicz, *Bibliografia polskich przekładow z literatury pięknej krajów skandynawskich: do roku 1969* włącznie, Poznań, 1971.
- 28 Denis Ballu, *Lettre nordique: une bibliographie*, Vol. 1–2, Nantes, 2014.
- 29 Petra Broomans and Ingeborg Kroon, *Zweedse en Zweedstalige Finse auteurs in Nederlandse vertaling 1491–2007/Svenska och finlandssvenska författare i nederländsk översättning*, Studies in Cultural Transfer and Transmission, Vol. 6, Groningen, Barkhuis, 2013.
- 30 Jacqueline Pearson, *Women’s Reading in Britain 1750–1835: A Dangerous Recreation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 33.
- 31 Franco Moretti, *Distant Reading*, p. 97; Franco Moretti, “Evolution, World-System, Weltliteratur”, in Lindberg-Wada, Gunilla (ed.), *Studying Transcultural Literary History*, Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006, p. 119.
- 32 Katherine Bode, *Reading by Numbers: Recalibrating the Literary Field* (2012), London: Anthem Press, 2014, pp. 39, 105–107; Franco Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel 1800–1900* (1998), London & New York: Verso 1999, p. 169.
- 33 Bergenmar, Jenny and Yvonne Leffler, “The Writing of Transcultural Literary History: Distant Reading and Bibliographies”, in Broomans, Petra and Janke Klokk (eds.), *Travelling Ideas in the Long Nineteenth Century: On the Waves of Cultural Transfer*, Groningen: Barkhuis, 2019, pp. 113–131.
- 34 Bode, *Reading by Numbers*, p. 1 et passim.
- 35 About the bibliographical SWED, see note 4 above.
- 36 “The New Swedish Novel, The Rose of Tistelon”, *Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. 11 (Aug. 1844), pp. 493–510.
- 37 Erland Munch-Petersen, *Romanens århundrede: Studier i den masselæste oversatte roman i Danmark 1800–1870*, Copenhagen: Forum 1978, II, Table 5, p. 982.
- 38 Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel*, pp. 165, 170.
- 39 Leffler (ed.), *Ett köpmanshus i skärgården*, 2007, pp. xi–xv.
- 40 Emilie Flygare-Carlén, “Erklärung”, *Ein Handelhaus in de Sheeren*. Küstenroman, Autorisirte Übersessung, Stockholm, Leipzig: Maass 1859, [unpaginated].
- 41 Letter from Servaas de Bruin to Emilie Flygare-Carlén, dated Haag, 23 April 1850. Nordiska museet Archive, Stockholm. However, de Bruin’s statement was probably not true. The Swedish writer Carl Jonas Love

Almqvist's novel *Det går an*, published in Dutch in 1839, seems to have been translated directly from the Swedish original text.

- 42 According to several advertisements in Hungarian papers, *The Rose of Tistelön* was published in the autumn of 1843, although the printed publishing year is 1844, according to the Hungarian paper *Athenaeum*, 15 Aug. 1843, p. 110 and *Pesti Hírlap*, 17 Dec. 1843, p. 113, see Péter Mádl and Ildikó Annus, "The Significance of Swedish Literature in the Nineteenth Century Hungary", in Leffler, Yvonne (ed.), *The Triumph of the Swedish Nineteenth-Century Novel in Central and Eastern Europe*, Göteborg Universitet: LIR-skrifter 2019, pp. 125–150.
- 43 The seven novels translated into Hungarian are: *Twelve Months of Matrimony* (Egy évi házasság), *The Whimsical Woman* (Szeszély hölgy), *A Brilliant Marriage* (Szerencsés házasság), *Romanhjältinnan* (*The Romance Heroine*, A regény hösnö), *Gustavus Lindorm* (Ne vígy minket a kísér-tésbe), *Opposite Neighbours* (Ket erkély-szobácska), and *The Professor and His Favorites* (Az öreg ur védenczei). Some of them were reprinted and retranslated a couple of times. One of them, *Romanhjältinnan*, was not translated into English.
- 44 *The Whimsical Woman* (Rosmarná žena), *The Maiden Tower* (Panenská věž), *Kamrer Lassman* (Komori Lasman), and *Pál Värning* (Pavel Vernyng). The last two novels were not translated into English.
- 45 See Ondřej Vimr, "Despised and Popular: Swedish Women Writers in Nineteenth Century Czech National and Gender Emancipation", in Leffler, Yvonne (ed.), *The Triumph of the Swedish Nineteenth-Century Novel in Central and Eastern Europe*, Göteborg Universitet: LIR-skrifter 2019, pp. 87–124. The book volumes available today are sometimes bindings of the serialized versions that were first published in newspapers and periodicals.
- 46 *The Hermit* (Poustevník na skale Svatojanské), *Fosterbröderna*, *Foster-brothers*, *Soukojenci*), and *The Guardian* (Poručník).
- 47 In 1871: *The Lover's Strategem* (Zástupce), *The Rose of Thistle Island* (Růže tystelenská), *Valdemar Klein* (Valdemar Klain), and *Opposite Neighbours* (Svetnický arkýrové). In 1872–1873: *A Merchant House* (Obchodní v mořských skaliskách), *A Brilliant Marriage* (Šťastný sňatek), *The Home in the Valley* (Rodina v údolí), *Foster Brothers* (Soukojenci), *Gustavus Lindorm* (Gustav Lindorm), *The Maiden Tower* (Panenská věž), *The Lover's Strategem* (Zástupce), *The Rose of Thistle Island* (Růže tystelenská), *The Bride of Omberg* (Nevesťa s Omské hory), *The Whimsical Woman* (Rosmarná žena), *The Temptation of Wealth* (Svěřenský statek), *The Guardian* (Poručník), *Kamrer Lassman* (Accountant Lassman, Komori Lasman), *Pál Värning* (Pavel Vernyng), and *Opposite Neighbours* (Svetnický arkýrové).
- 48 Libuše published *Ivar, or the Skjuts-Boy* (Skjutsky hoch), and Kolar published *En natt vid Bullarsjön* (A Night at Bullarsjon/ Noc na jezera Bularskem).
- 49 *The Magic Goblet* (Zasvěcení chrámu v Hamarbě), *The Professor and His Favorites* (Professor a jeho chráněnci), "Samlade berättelser" (Romany a novely), "Berättelser" (Pověšt), *Romanhjältinnan* (*The Romance Heroine* Hrdinka románu), *Skuggspel* (Stínova bra), *The Brother's Bet* (Do sesti neděl; Až do smrti).

- 50 Ondřej Vímr, *Historie překladatele: Cesty skandinávských literatur do češtiny* (1890–1950), Pistorius and Olšanská, Příbram 2014, p. 31.
- 51 Ursula Stohler, “The Czech Reception of the German Woman Writer Luise Mühlbach (1814–1873)”, *The New Zealand Slavonic Journal*, Special issue: The Czechs and Their Neighbours, Vol. 46 (2014), pp. 23–24.
- 52 Vímr, *Historie překladatele*, p. 22.
- 53 Vímr, *Historie překladatele*, p. 43, where he refers to a study on the most popular books in a lending library from the 1880s onwards: Křivová, Petra – Pavelková Jindra: “Top 10 rajhradské klášterní knihovny v 19. století” (The top 10 of the Rajhradská monasterial library in the nineteenth century), in: *Problematika historických a vzácných knižních fondů Čech, Moravy a Slezka*. Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci, 2010, pp. 145–151.
- 54 About the boom of Swedish novels in Central and Eastern Europe see Yvonne Leffler (ed.), *The Triumph of the Swedish Nineteenth-Century Novel in Central and Eastern Europe*, Göteborg: LIR.skrifter 9, 2019.
- 55 Mary Howitt’s first translations of Fredrika Bremer’s novels into English were made from the translations into German, see Mary Howitt, *Mary Howitt: An Autobiography. Edited by her daughter Margaret Howitt*, Howitt, Margaret (ed.), Vol. II. London: Wm. Isbister Ltd., 1889, p. 23. Cf. Åsa Arping’s chapter pp. 97–153.
- 56 *The Birthright* was published the year before in London and was most certainly also based on the German translation of her novel *The Temptation of Wealth*, although that novel had already been translated into English by Hebbe and Deming and published in New York and London in 1846 and 1847 respectively.
- 57 Gustavus Clemens Hebbe, born in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1804, moved to the United States in 1839. He translated several Swedish novels into English.
- 58 On the edition published in London in 1844, all possible titles are listed: *The Rose of Thistle Island* (Published in England as *The Rose of Tistelön*, or, the Smugglers of the Swedish Coast: A Romance. By Mrs. Emilie Carlén, translated from the original Swedish by G.C. Hebbe, LLD., and H.C. Deming ESQ., London: Bruce and Wyld, 1844).
- 59 Translators’ Preface to *The Rose of Tistelön, or, the Smugglers of the Swedish Coast. A Romance*. By Mrs. Emilie Carlén, translated from the original Swedish by G.C. Hebbe, LLD., and H.C. Deming ESQ., London: Bruce and Wyld, 1844.
- 60 The last one had already been translated into English and titled *Twelve Months of Matrimony* in 1847 in London.
- 61 Letter from Elbert Perce to Emilie Flygare-Carlén, dated 11 April 1853, The Nordic Museum Archive, Stockholm.
- 62 Letters from Elbert Perce to Emilie Flygare-Carlén dated Buffalo, 10 Sept. 1853, The Nordic Museum Archive, Stockholm.
- 63 See letter written after the translation was published, letter from Elbert Perce to Emilie Flygare-Carlén dated New York, 28 March 1854, The Nordic Museum Archive, Stockholm.
- 64 *A Woman’s Life* is normally referred to as *The Whimsical Woman* and *The Events of a Year as Twelve Months of Matrimony: The Lover’s Stratagem* is a translation of Flygare-Carlén’s *Representanten* (1839).

- 65 See ad for “The Magic Goblet”, New York: The New World, 1844, Search words “Emilie Carlen”, *Old Fulton New York Post Cards* www.fulton-history.com/, *New York: The New World 1844–1845, Grayscale 0739* [retrieved 19 Jan. 2018].
- 66 Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel*, pp. 151–158.
- 67 About the literary status of these two magazines, see Tuchman, *Edging Women Out*, p. 18
- 68 Probably Flygare-Carlén did not care to answer Richard Griffin’s letter written in French and dated London, 20 February 1860, The Nordic Museum Archive, Stockholm. However, E. Adams was rewarded with information as he thanks her “for data sent” in a later letter for receiving photograph negatives from another publisher, dated London, 31 May 1874, The Nordic Museum Archive, Stockholm.
- 69 About her personal difficulties, see Lauritzsen, *En kvinnas röst*, pp. 377–406.
- 70 See “Personal”, *The Evening Post, New York*, 9 Nov. 1888, p. 5; “Theater, Kunst und Literatur”, *Linzer Tages Post*, 21 Aug. 1887, p. 5; “Flygare-Carlén”, *Wiener Zeitung*, 28 Nov. 1888, p. 3; *Pesti Hírlap*, 26 Aug. 1891, No. 233, p. 7; *Fővárosi Lapok*, 23 Nov. 1888, No. 324, p. 2383.
- 71 “Flygare-Carlén”, *Grazer Tagblatt*, 6 Feb. 1892, p. 13; “(Flygare-Carlén)”, *Bregenzer Voralberger Tagblatt*, 9 Feb. 1892, p. 6. Some days later Flygare-Carlén’s death was announced in *Athenaeum*, 13 Feb. 1892, p. 214. However, it took a bit longer before her death was announced to her readers in Hungary, see *Budapesti Hírlap*, 18 May 1894, Vol. 14, No. 136, p. 10, or *Pesti Napló*, 18 May 1894, Vol. 45, No. 136, p. 9.
- 72 Michel Lévy published it with a new title, not with the former title *Un an de mariage* but *Deux Jeunes Femmes*. It was translated by Marie Souvestre and included in *Collection Michel Lévy et Bibliothèque de la librairie nouvelle*, 1863. See Anne-Rachel Hermetet and Frédéric Weinmann, Chapitre VII: “Prose narrative”, in Chevrel, Yves, Lieven D’hulst, and Christine Lombez (eds.), *Histoire des traductions en langue française, XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, Lagrasse: Verdier, 2012, p. 593.
- 73 Letters from Dr. A. Flobert to Emilie Flygare-Carlén, dated Tonneins, Lot et Garonne, 31 Dec. 1858; 1 Feb. 1859; 10 March 1859; 14 March 1859; 11 May 1859, The Nordic Museum Archive, Stockholm.
- 74 It has not been possible to identify the Swedish original of these two translations.
- 75 Circulation in certain regions did not always result in translations into the local languages, About the distribution of Flygare-Carlén’s novels (and to some extent Marie Sophie Schwartz’s novels) in German translation in Slovenia according to library catalogues, see Tanja Baldalič, *Reception of European Women Writers in Slovenian Multicultural Territory of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Until the End of the First World War*, diss, University of Nova Gorica, 2014, pp. 122–128, 183, 204.
- 76 The other works published by Paula Herbst were *Der Silberhut: Fortsetzung von “Der Jungfernthurm” von Emilie Flygare-Carlén*, *Der Sühne: Fortsetzung von “Ein Gerücht” von Emilie Flygare-Carlén*, and *Doch noch!: Fortsetzung von “Die Romanheldin” von Emilie Flygare-Carlén*.

- 77 Emilie Flygare-Carlén, “Erklärung”, *Ein Handelshaus in de Sheeren*. Küstenroman, Autorisirte Übersessung, Stockholm, Leipzig: Maass 1859, [unpaginated].
- 78 New York Tribune, 11 Oct. 1854.
- 79 “C'est dans un roman suedoise de Mme Emilie Carlen, la *Jeune fille solitaire*, que Sardou a trouvé son point de départ”, “Figaro pic-nic”, *Figaro*, 13 March, 1878, p. 1; “En Passant”, *The Theatre*, 20 March, 1898, p. 122.
- 80 Alex L. Krause, “Translator’s Introduction”, in *Ivar, or, the Skjuts-boy; a Romance by Miss Carlén*, trans. A. L. Krause, London: Illustrated London Library, 1852, p. [v]; Clemente Mapelli, “Prefazione”, in Carlén, Emilia. *Un anno di matrimonio*, trans. Clemente Mapelli, Milan: E. Treves, 1869, pp. 3–10. See also Emilie Flygare-Carlén, *Les smoggliers suédois*, trans. F. Coquille, Paris, rue Grange-Bateliere No. 1, 1845, which is published in “La Bibliothèque Britannique”.
- 81 “dem bürgerlichen und bäuerlichen Leben”, in “Die Frauen als Schriftstellerinnen”, *Iris*, 8 Dec. 1860, p. 3.
- 82 “Review of Woman’s Life: or, The Trials of Caprice. By Emilie Carlén”, *Littell’s Living Age*, 4 Sept. 1852; 34, 433 (American Periodicals, p. 479).
- 83 “Emilie Carlen’s Rose of Tistelon”, *The Anglo American, A Journal of Literature, News, Politics, the Drama, Fine Arts, Etc*, 1 June 1844, p. 3.
- 84 “Fiction. The Rose of Tistelön”, *The Critic*, 1 June 1844, p. 208.
- 85 “Sketches in Stockholm”, *Dublin University Magazine*, Aug. 1867; 70, 416, p. 170. Cf. “Modern Writers of Spain”, *Dublin University Magazine*, Jan. 1867; 69, 409, p. 51.
- 86 See also, “German and Swedish Literature”, *The New World*, 13 April 1844. pp. 465–466; “Swedish Literature”, *The New World*, 25 May 1844, pp. 652–853.
- 87 Emilie F. Carlén, “To My American Readers”, in *Gustavus Lindorm*, translated by Elbert Perce, New York: Charles Scribner, 1853, pp. [v]–viii.
- 88 Krause, “Translator’s introduction”, 1852, [v]–viii.
- 89 According to Tuchman, in the heyday of the novel, the mid-century, many male novelists “masqueraded as women” to be published, Tuchman, *Edging Women Out*, p. 53.
- 90 Cecilia Hawkesworth, “Introduction”, in Hawkesworth, Cecilia (ed.), *A History of Central European Women’s Writing*, University of London, Palgrave, in association with School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College, London, 2001, pp. 44–45; Gabriella Romani, “Introduction”, in Arslan, Antonia, and Gabriella Romani, (eds.), *Writing to Delight. Italian Short Stories by Nineteenth-Century Women Writers*, Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2006, pp. 3–11. Baldalič, *Reception of European Women Writers in Slovenian Multicultural Territory of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, pp. 30–40.
- 91 Letter from Františka Šimáček to Emilie Flygare-Carlén dated 21 June 1882, The Nordic Museum Archive, Stockholm.
- 92 About publishers’ profits from literature, see Tuchman, *Edging Women Out*, pp. 27–34
- 93 Only her very last novel, *A Merchant House*, was first published in serial-

- ized form in a paper, *Aftonbladet*, in 1859, before it was published as a book by Bonnier in Stockholm.
- 94 For the Swedish reception, see Lauritzen, *En kvinnas röst*, pp. 245–248, 442.
- 95 See for example “The New Swedish Novel. The Rose of Tistelon”, *Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. 11, Aug. 1844, pp. 493, 510. See also Krause, “Translator’s Introduction”, pp. [v]–vi;
- 96 About romance as gendered feminine, see Pearson, *Women’s Reading in Britain*, p. 199.
- 97 Miss Carlén, *Ivar, or, the Skjuts-boy: A Romance*, translated from the original Swedish by Professor A.L. Krause, Harper & Brothers: New York, 1859, reprinted 1864. See also, for example, the Italian translation Emilie Carlén, *La signorina Nanny: Romanzo*, Milano: Tipographia Edice Laomarda, 1875.
- 98 Emilie Flygare-Carlén, *Sei settimani: Romanzo*, Milano: Tipographic editrice Lombarda, 1876; Emilie Carlén, *La signorina Nanny: Romanzo*, Milano: Tipographic editrice Lomabarda, 1875.
- 99 About names in titles, see Moretti, *Distant Reading*, pp. 194–197.
- 100 Emilie Carlén, *Marie Louise; or, the Opposite Neighbours*, with numerous illustrations, translated by Alex L. Krause, London: Ingram, Cook, 1853, reprinted 1858. The same translation was also published by Appleton & Comp. in New York, 1854.
- 101 Emilie Flygare-Carlén, *Julie: or, Love and Duty*, London: Richard Bentley, 1854.
- 102 See for example E. Flygare-Carlén, *De grillige vrouw*, Amsterdam: J.D. Sijbrandi, 1860; Emilie Flygare Carlén, *Een handelhuis in der scheeren*, Leeuwarden: G.T.N. Suringar, 1860; Emilie Carlen, *Ivar, or, The Skjuts-boy*, translated by A.L. Krause, London: Office of the Illustrated London Library, 1852.
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- 104 P.-J. Stahl and I. Hymans, “Préface des traducteurs”, in Èmilie Carlén, *Un brillant Mariage*, trans. J.-P. Stahl and I. Hymans, Kiessling, Schnée et compie, Éditeurs, Bruxelles, 1855, pp. [5]–7.
- 105 Flygare-Carlén, *Les smoggliers suédois* 1845, p. [1].
- 106 “la rivale de miss Frederica Bremer”, Flygare-Carlén’s *Les smoggliers suédois*, [1]. This presentation may be inspired by an article by the German journalist F.A. Leo which was first published in the Swedish newspaper *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning* in 1852, where Leo admires Flygare-Carlén because she is both a prolific writer and a good housewife. See Monica Lauritzen, *En kvinnas röst*, pp. 271–274.
- 107 Mapelli, “Prefazione”, p. 13.
- 108 [https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clemente\\_Mapelli](https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clemente_Mapelli) [retrieved 2017-02-17].
- 109 Elbert Perce, “Translator’s Preface”, in Emilie Flygare-Carlén, *One Year, a Tale of Wedlock*, New York: Charles Scribner, 1853, p. [iii]
- 110 On how Flygare-Carlén “is a striking example of the struggle of the good

- against the storms”, see also another American preface: G.C. Hebbe and H.C. Deming, “Translators’ Preface” to Mrs. Emilie Carlen, *The Rose of Thistle Island*, translated by G.C. Hebbe and H.C. Deming, London: Bruce and Wyld, 1844, p. 1.
- 111 For a further discussion of the transcultural dissemination of Almqvist see Yvonne Leffler, “Prosaförfattaren Almqvist ur ett transkulturellt perspektiv. Översättning och internationell spridning” and Gunilla Hermansson, “Almqvist, Euphrosyne och problemet med världslitteratur”, both published in Burman, Anders and Jon Viklund (eds.), *Almqvist-variationer. Receptionsstudier och omläsningsar*, Göteborg and Stockholm: Makadam, 2018, pp. 171–190 and pp. 191–214.
- 112 Ondřej Vimr, “En hård kamp”. Strindbergs förste tiår på tsjekkisk”, in Balzamo, Elena, Anna Cavallin, David Gedin, and Per Stam (eds.), *Strindbergiana. Tjugoåttonde samlingen* utgiven av Strindbergssällskapet, Stockholm: Atlantis 2013, p. 60.
- 113 Vimr, “Despised and Popular”, 2019.
- 114 David Damrosch, “World Literature in a Postcolonial, Hypercanonical Age”, in Haun Saussy (ed.), *Comparative Literature in an Age of Globalization*, Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2006, p. 45; Margaret Cohen, *The Sentimental Education of the Novel*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999, pp. 20–25.

Birgitta Johansson Lindh

THE BRITISH, FRENCH,  
AND GERMAN RECEPTION OF  
ANNE CHARLOTTE LEFFLER'S PLAYS  
IN A CHANGING CULTURAL CONTEXT

WE KNOW THAT plays by August Strindberg and Henrik Ibsen were translated and staged in several European countries, but what about the plays by their female contemporary, Anne Charlotte Leffler? She was not far behind Henrik Ibsen in popularity among the Scandinavian playwrights and actually had more plays staged than August Strindberg at the Nordic theatres in the two last decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The changing context around the fin de siècle brought on avant-gardisms, such as social realism and naturalism, which conquered the hegemony of idealistic aesthetics. It resulted in a divided cultural landscape.<sup>2</sup> The process developed differently in different countries. In the field of drama, with playwrights such as Henrik Ibsen and August Strindberg, Scandinavia is considered to have been ahead of its time. The conquering aesthetics of the time cannot be viewed in isolation, though. They carried political implications and were charged with ideas of social preservation and change. Both the aesthetics of idealism and those of social realism, naturalism, and later, modernism, were gender sensitive. Of course, they did not only expose ideas on femininity but also on other issues, among them nationality. Most plays at the time were written to be staged at theatres, which makes the conditions for the reception of a play differ from those of prose fiction and poetry. All of this must be taken into consideration when discussing the transnational reception of a Swedish woman playwright during this period. With regard to these conditions, the reception of Anne Charlotte Leffler (1849–1892) makes a particularly interesting case. This chapter will illuminate the conditions for the European dissemination and recep-

tion of works by a woman playwright from a minor language area in a period when the standards of literary and theatrical evaluation were radically changing, and when a social movement at many levels of society was raising new issues, including issues of gender and womanhood.

By studying the transnational reception of Anne Charlotte Leffler's plays, I also intend to investigate the possibility (or maybe even the necessity) of looking at the reception of an individual authorship and work not only as isolated phenomena but as part of the activities in a social movement, which together with other works or cultural expressions had an impact on the efforts to bring about cultural and social change.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, I will discuss the impact of Leffler's work both as a contribution to a movement and as the reception of an individual writer and her authorship. This involves a discussion of how different forms of reception affect each other. The connection between the interest in translating and staging Leffler's plays and the interest in her as a celebrity and a representative of the "new woman" is exposed in secondary reception, such as reviews, articles on Scandinavian women's literature and on the women's movement, and short news items with biographical angles.<sup>4</sup> This implies the importance of considering the transnational reception of plays in writing or in theatrical productions as part of a wider circulation of cultural artefacts.

The new artistic ideals and criteria for evaluating literature in Scandinavia during the decades around the fin de siècle meant that the relationship between the popularity of the author with the reading audience and the literary value of a work started to change. Authors strived for truthful depictions of society and broke with old formulas of composition and the demand for didactic and beautified depictions of reality. The tug of war between the advocates of idealism and the supporters of anti-idealistic aesthetics shaped the literary field. The former held the hegemonic position in the cultural arena and condemned anything but a morally uplifting realism.<sup>5</sup> Many women writers advocated the new literary programmes. Anne Charlotte Leffler was one of those. Truth to life was the guiding star for her authorship and she strived to create authentic psychological characters and plots. She aspired to create new literature, which exposed a modern radical view on gender and society. What possibilities did she have to get her plays translated, published, and staged abroad? The focus will be on the dissemination and reception of Leffler's plays in France, Germany, and Great Britain.

After an introduction of Anne Charlotte Leffler and a methodological and theoretical section, I will give an overview of the reception of Leffler's literary work in Europe, mainly her plays in France, Germany, and Great Britain, during the period 1883–1920. I will also comment

on the reception of Leffler as an emancipated woman in these three countries. From there, the scope will be narrowed down to the British, French, and German reception of the plays *Sanna kvinnor* (1883) (True Women) and *Hur man gör godt* (1884) (How Good Is Done). A closer look at the documents about these plays will shed light on the dissemination patterns in the three countries. The idea is to contextualize them and also to illuminate the conditions of the modern breakthrough of a female playwright from a minor language area, who wrote gender-radical plays and aspired to become a part of the political and literary avant-garde of her time. In so doing, the importance of ideas on femininity and nationality will be stressed. Finally, I will discuss the reception of Leffler's work in the light of theories on social movements and on transnational transfer and impact.

#### A SUCCESSFUL AUTHOR OF PROSE FICTION AND PLAYS

Anne Charlotte Leffler had her first piece of literature published as early as in 1869, at the age of 20. It was a collection of short stories called *Händelsevis* (By Chance), which was published under the pseudonym Carlot. Her first play, entitled *Skådespelerskan* (The Actress), was successfully staged at the Royal Dramatic Theatre in Stockholm in 1873. It was the first in a series of plays that were popular at the Swedish theatres. Her identity as the author of these pieces was strictly concealed until 1882, when the edition of the first series of the short stories of *Ur lifvet* (From Life) had the author's name by marriage on the cover: Anne Charlotte Edgren. In 1883, the play *Sanna kvinnor* (True Women) was staged together with the one-act play *En räddande engel* (An Angel of Deliverance), and in 1885 her play *Hur man gör godt* (How Good Is Done) was staged at Nordic theatres and was published.<sup>6</sup>

Anne Charlotte Leffler became a successful writer of prose fiction and a popular playwright in the Nordic countries, particularly in the first part of the 1880s. Her plays were staged at prestigious theatres such as the Royal Dramatic Theatre in Stockholm as well as at other theatres in the Swedish provinces. They were also staged in Copenhagen, Oslo, and Helsinki. Her plays and the theatrical productions of them were reviewed and discussed in the daily papers and in literary journals. Her success in Scandinavia seems to have given rise to ideas of an international career. In February 1884, she embarked on a trip through Europe. The first stop was Copenhagen. She then went on to Berlin, Dresden, Brussels, London, and Paris. According to earlier research, Leffler wanted to learn more about the radical movements of Europe and to introduce herself as an author of prose fiction and drama in the countries that she visited.<sup>7</sup>

In 1887, Anne Charlotte Leffler and her friend, the Russian mathematician Sonia Kovalevsky (1850–1891), wrote *Kampen för lyckan/Hur det kunde varit* (The Struggle for Happiness/ How it could have been), which was quite modern in its form, with two parallel plots. It did not appeal to the critics' tastes and mores, however. The play was published but never staged. After divorcing her Swedish husband, Leffler moved to Naples, where she married an Italian Duke. There she wrote three comedies: *Familjelycka* (Family happiness), *Moster Malvina* (Aunt Malvina) and *Den kärleken!* (That Love!), which were published in 1891. They were not as popular at Scandinavian theatres as some of her earlier plays had been, but they were still staged.<sup>8</sup> Leffler also wrote *Sanningens vägar* (Paths of Truth) which was published in 1893, the year after she died.

Anne Charlotte Leffler led a life that in many respects was quite unusual for a bourgeois woman in the late nineteenth century. Both in her time and in contemporary writings, her biography has attracted considerable attention. In histories of literature Leffler is, together with Strindberg, regarded as a leading figure at the forefront of the new naturalistic literature of the Scandinavian modern breakthrough. But she has also been described as a writer of indignation plays, inspired by Ibsen's *A Doll's House*, although artistically inferior.<sup>9</sup>

While earlier research provides a fairly good picture of Leffler's publications and popularity at the theatres of the Nordic capitals during the last part of the nineteenth century, statements about her European career are both contradictory and vague. Leffler's journey through Europe in 1884 is regarded as the beginning of her international introduction, but as a campaign, it was not much of a success. The biographical academic writing shows an ambivalent picture of Leffler's fame in Europe. On the one hand, it depicts her as a writer whose international recognition gradually grew with the impact of the radical ideas of the time and whose prose fiction and plays reached far outside the borders of Sweden. On the other hand, the researchers state that her untimely death in 1892 put an end to a European career that could have been realized had she lived.<sup>10</sup> An investigation of documents in European digital archives might shed light on the so far rather ambiguous picture.

#### PATTERNS OF DISSEMINATION AND HISTORICAL CONTEXTUALIZATION

I have chosen to concentrate on the reception in France, Germany, and Great Britain because they were the countries in which Anne Charlotte Leffler spent time during her seven-month-long journey through Europe.

Leffler wanted to learn more about the new European religious and political ideas and to introduce herself as an author of prose-fiction and drama in the countries that she visited.<sup>11</sup> Accordingly, these seem to be countries, which were of importance for her in connection to a European career. The investigation includes European library catalogues and British, French, and German digitalized archives of periodicals and newspapers. The results from library catalogues have been assembled and structured in *SWED 2018*.<sup>12</sup> I have collected the British articles on Leffler's works from newspapers and periodicals in the British Newspaper Archive, and Proquest Periodicals, the French articles from Gallica, and the German ones from the European Library's historical newspaper archive.<sup>13</sup> The traces of reception events in my study are varied.<sup>14</sup> They consist of translations published in books and as series in newspapers and periodicals, reviews and other longer articles, short news reports, listings in bibliographies, and advertisements. Some of these documents focus specifically on Anne Charlotte Leffler and her literature, whereas others just mention her in connection to another person or a wider subject such as Swedish literature or theatre. Consequently, both short, superficial references and comprehensive accounts of Leffler's authorship or of a specific work of hers make up the empirical body of this study.

The documents have been categorized according to genre, title, country, and year, and from that a pattern of dissemination of Leffler's works has emerged. I present and discuss the result of this analysis in the first part of the chapter.<sup>15</sup> Australian scholar in literature Katherine Bode maintains that quantitative data from archives as well as the patterns and the literary systems they reveal must be regarded as interpretative units in need of historical contextualization in order to make sense and to evolve into meaningful knowledge. She compares the way the scholar ideally should deal with data-rich empirics to the scholarly edition. In this, the importance of material and social dimensions of literature is emphasized in the shaping of meaning of a certain historical text. In the same manner, multiple issues form the meaning of the results of macro-analysis of historical documents. For studies of literary systems that are built on data-rich compilations, she suggests introductions that outline "the complex relationships between the historical context explored and the disciplinary infrastructure employed in understanding that context".<sup>16</sup> I perform the act of analysing and interpreting the result by historical contextualization in the opposite order. I start by presenting the patterns built on the categorization of quantitative data. They will then be interpreted and contextualized through a close reading of reception documents. The picture as a whole

will be interpreted against the backdrop of the hegemony of idealism and the powers that wanted to overthrow it.

Bode's suggested approach is to include the structures that the researcher perceives as most relevant to understanding the literary system and its relationship to the disciplinary infrastructure that evidences it.<sup>17</sup> By so doing, she touches on Mario Valdés' suggestion of getting access to history via certain nodal points. The term "nodal points" refers to making a certain intervention in a certain period of time that leads to changing the hub of the investigation.<sup>18</sup> The tug of war between idealism and anti-idealisms in the field of culture and art is such an important nodal point of fin-de-siècle Europe. The opposition between these two aesthetics is connected to changes at other levels of society, including the challenge of conservative values on morals and gender, which affected how people could live their lives. The challenges that the avant-garde of literature and theatre represented to the advocates of idealism can thus be viewed as part of the European movement. In social movements, art and cultural expressions become arenas for experimenting with new ideas of society and new ways of everyday living for the individual.<sup>19</sup>

The literary scholar Toril Moi maintains that the period of 1880–1914 was a long piecemeal process of warfare against the aesthetics of idealism.<sup>20</sup> Moi applies her model to the domain of art. But both the aesthetics of idealism and the developing anti-idealisms were exponents of ideology and interfered with society. The artistic ideals of idealism included the didactic aim of lifting the audience up to proper moral standards. These, in turn, were the guardians of the prevailing social hierarchies and structures. With their literary writings, Leffler and her radical colleagues took part in a fight over these moral and social values, and not only in literary worlds. Their works interfered with society as they questioned what they considered social evils, criticized the prevailing power structures of society, and aimed at widening the living space of subordinated groups. This literary trend appeared at the same time as new religious groups, socialists, and suffragettes fought the existing hierarchies and values of society.

The warfare model that Toril Moi creates when describing the relationship between the ideology and aesthetics of idealism and the emerging anti-idealisms show similarities with theories of social movement.<sup>21</sup> As earlier mentioned, the term "social movement" should be considered a theoretical concept, a way of looking at the social and cultural changes at the fin de siècle. According to the cultural sociologist Alberto Melucci, social movements are produced by people acting in a social conflict against something considered an evil with the aim

of changing social conditions. Acting together creates a collective identity.<sup>22</sup> It allows heterogeneity, but the idea of fighting together against social evils creates unity among the participants. These theories were developed with the social movements of the 1960s and 70s in mind, but what went on in society and within the cultural field during this much more recent period has a lot in common with the cultural and social changes in Western Europe at the fin de siècle.<sup>23</sup> The agents of socialism, suffragism, and new religious views can be considered participants in a social movement engaged in fighting conservatism and liberalism. The fight aimed at clearing the pathway for new ways of living for individuals, and for new kinds of relationships between people. It had an emancipatory goal. Melucci, among other cultural sociologists, stresses social movements as sites for production and communication of knowledge that interferes with society on many levels. In this process, cultural artefacts such as prose fiction, poetry, theatre, and music play an important part. Cultural artefacts symbolize what the movement stands for, what is seen as virtuous, and what is seen as evil. According to the cultural sociologists Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison, artistic manifestations clarify the movements' views on the evils of society and carry change and utopian visions. They contribute to the ideas that movements offer and create in opposition to the existing social and cultural order by addressing the particular problems of their times. In these experimental and creative arenas of social movements, art, life, and science are mixed in the practising of new forms of social, cognitive, and emotional action. Social movement theory can shed light on the reception of Leffler's plays and of herself as a woman writer. I will touch upon how life, literature, and theatre were conflated in the reception and how gender affected that. Thus, both the aesthetic and social changes will be relevant structures, or in Valdés' words, nodal points, in my interpretation of the pattern of dissemination and reception. Before social movement theories come into the picture in the next part of the chapter, the European reception pattern of Leffler's authorship will be dealt with, in particular the British, French, and German reception of her plays and of Leffler as a new emancipated woman.

#### THE EUROPEAN DISSEMINATION AND RECEPTION OF ANNE CHARLOTTE LEFFLER'S WORKS

Swedish biographies of Anne Charlotte Leffler provide some traces of publications and theatrical productions of her work in France, Germany, and Great Britain, but mostly they give accounts of encounters with prominent persons who she met during her stay in these countries

and who showed an interest in her work. As Monica Lauritzen states in *Sanningens vägar: Anne Charlotte Lefflers liv och dikt*, some of them were probably interested in Scandinavian literature, but others were simply being polite to the foreign lady. However, searches in library catalogues included in SWED result in a little more than a hundred appearances of Leffler's works that were translated and published in Europe and the USA during the period 1880–1925, which is illustrated in the graph below.

The German publications of Leffler's work far outnumber the published translations in other European countries. About 35 percent of all the translated works were published in Germany. Germany was also the most important country for translations and publications of August Strindberg's works during the period. According to the SWED Database, just under 600 works by Strindberg were published in Germany, which far outnumber the publishing of Leffler's literature. As Anne Sofi Ljung Svensson points out, there were far too many German journals and periodicals to allow for a systematic investigation during the years around the fin de siècle. Not only were there many journals, they were also constantly changing.<sup>24</sup> This would mean that more translations of Leffler's works could have been published in Germany. Ljung Svensson mentions *Aus Fremden Zungen*, which specialized in publishing foreign

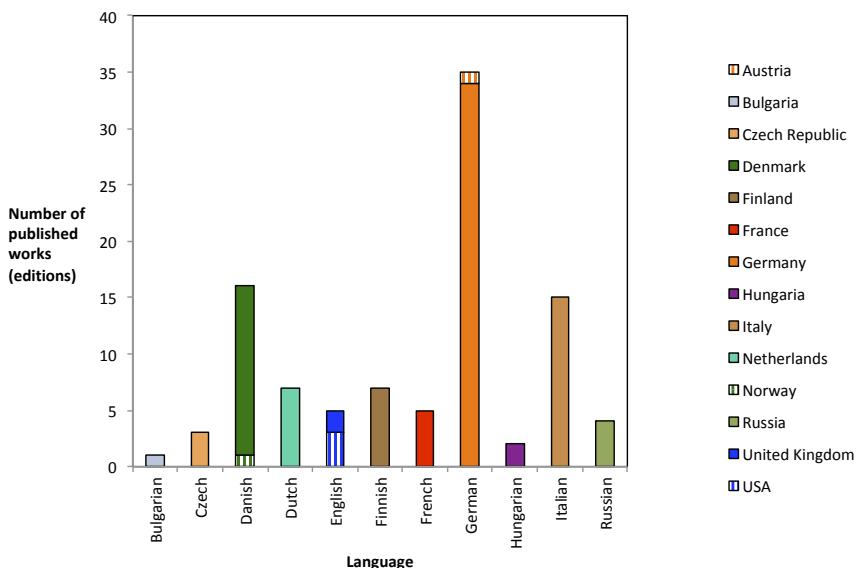


Fig. 1-X: Translations of all of Leffler's work in Europe (and the US), 1883–1925 (SWED 2018).

literature. The periodical included Scandinavian literature in every issue but only by a limited number of authors. During the period 1893–1896, works by Anne Charlotte Leffler, Gustav af Geijerstam, and August Strindberg were published. However, Leffler's works of prose fiction were published as series, which never happened with the works by her two male contemporaries.<sup>25</sup>

The work most widely disseminated in Europe is *Sonia Kovalevsky: hwad jag upplefvat tillsammans med henne och hwad hon berättat mig om sig själf* (1889) (Sonia Kovalevsky: What I have experienced with her and what she has told me about herself). As Leffler's biography about her friend was important to her European fame, I will here digress into a presentation of Sonia Kovalevsky. In her youth, Sophie

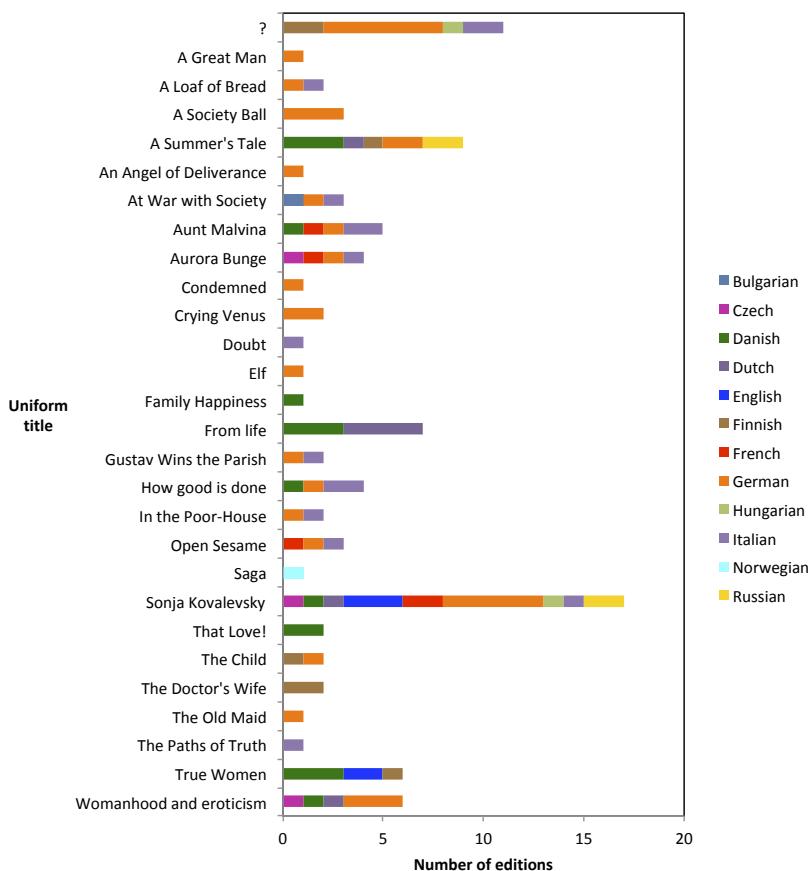


Fig. 1-XX: Translations and editions for which the titles cannot be identified of all of Leffler's work in Europe (and the US), 1883–1925 [including titles] (SWED 2018).

Vasiljevna Kovalevskaia socialized in the same literary circles of St. Petersburg as Fjodor Dostojevskij. She wanted a career as an author and was also engaged in the cause of women's emancipation. Soon her interest and talent in mathematics showed her what path to follow. She married the palaeontologist Vladimir Kovalevsky and moved to Heidelberg to study mathematics and physics. The talented young woman became the first female doctor and professor in mathematics in Europe. She was appointed professor at Stockholm University in 1884, and Anne Charlotte Leffler was introduced to her by her brother Gustaf Mittag Leffler, who also was a mathematician. In her turn, Leffler introduced Kowalevsky to the literary circles of Stockholm. As mentioned earlier, they wrote the play *The Struggle for Happiness* together in 1887. In 1889, Kovalevsky's novel *Ur ryska lifvet: Systrarna Rajelevski* (From Russian Life: The Rajelevski Sisters) was published, which was translated into several languages. Although the Russian mathematician settled down in Stockholm, she was a cosmopolite with European connections among the intellectual and cultural elite, whom she met during her travels.<sup>26</sup> At Kovalevsky's untimely death in 1891, Leffler felt obligated to write the biography of her friend. She regarded it as the testimony that Kovalevsky had laid in her hands. Lauritzen furthermore mentions that Leffler was aware of the financial benefits of such an enterprise. Kovalevsky's friends warned her against depicting the psychological and, according to Leffler herself, "true" story about Kovalevsky in the form of a novel. Finally, she yielded to their demands for a biography but she kept the subjective angle that she would have used had she written her friend's story as a novel.<sup>27</sup>

The records of published translations of Leffler's biography of Kovalevsky indicate a rather extensive dissemination. The Swedish original appeared in 1889, and it was translated into eight languages and published in 14 editions in the period 1883–1920. It was furthermore referred to and discussed in articles, advertisements, and short news items in the British, French, and German press. In the article "Sof'ja Kovalevskaia as a Cultural Mediator", Leon Robel demonstrates the interest this volume attracted by pointing out that, in 1895, it was published in Paris by the well-known publishing house Hachette. A second edition was published the same year, and yet another one in 1907. In 1895, *Sophia Kovalevsky: Biography and Autobiography; I, Memoirs by A. C. Leffler (Edgren); II Reminiscences of Childhood Written by Herself* appeared in Great Britain. It was also published by Macmillans in New York at the same time. The year after, in 1896, a German translation was printed.<sup>28</sup> The autobiography and biography

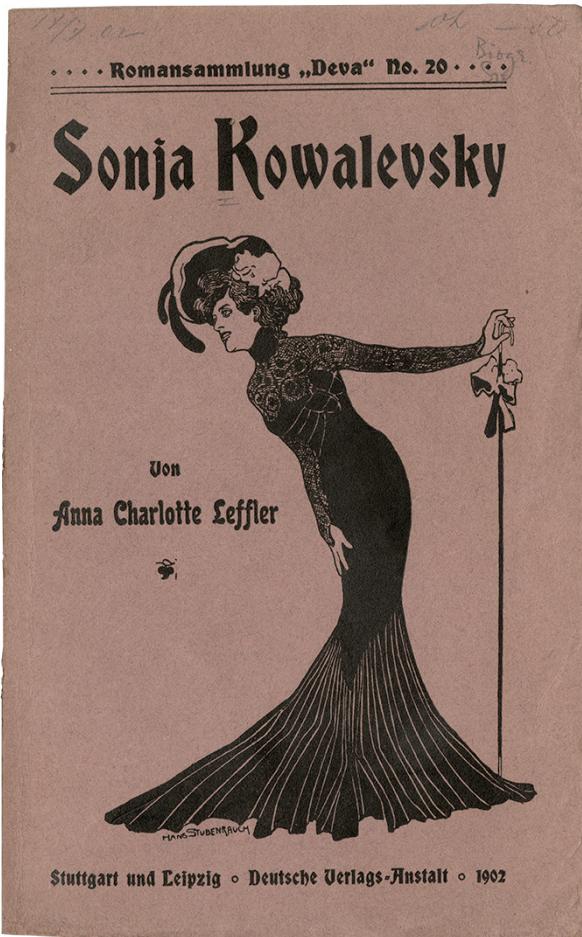


Fig. 2 The elegant ‘new woman’ on the cover of a German edition of Leffler’s biography about her friend Sonia Kovalevsky from 1902.

were also translated into Danish, Norwegian, Russian, Dutch, and Czech, and published in Denmark, Russia, and the Netherlands in 1893, in Norway in 1895, and in Czech in 1900.<sup>29</sup> The many translations of Sonia Kovalevsky’s autobiography and biography show that one of Leffler’s most important roles in a European context was as a cultural mediator.

Besides the success of the Kovalevsky biography and autobiography, the vast majority of translations published in Europe are prose fiction, while Leffler’s plays were disseminated and translated to a lesser extent, which the figures indicate. SWED 2018 shows 17 translated editions of her plays during the period 1883–1925. They amount to approximately

17 percent of all the translations found. Fig. 3, below, gives an overview of the distribution of the plays in European countries, while fig. 4 shows which titles were translated and disseminated.

All in all, the collection in *SWED*, and searches in British, French and German databases of newspapers and periodicals and in bibliographies resulted in a little more than 20 appearances (*SWED*: 16 1883–1925) of Leffler's plays in translation, in print or on the stage.<sup>30</sup> The sum can be compared to the translations of Strindberg's plays in Germany only, more than 350 altogether in the period 1883–1925.<sup>31</sup> As mentioned earlier, it was more common to read plays at home in the nineteenth century than it is today, yet most of them were still primarily written for the stage, and as such they often circulated in a non-print culture. Transla-

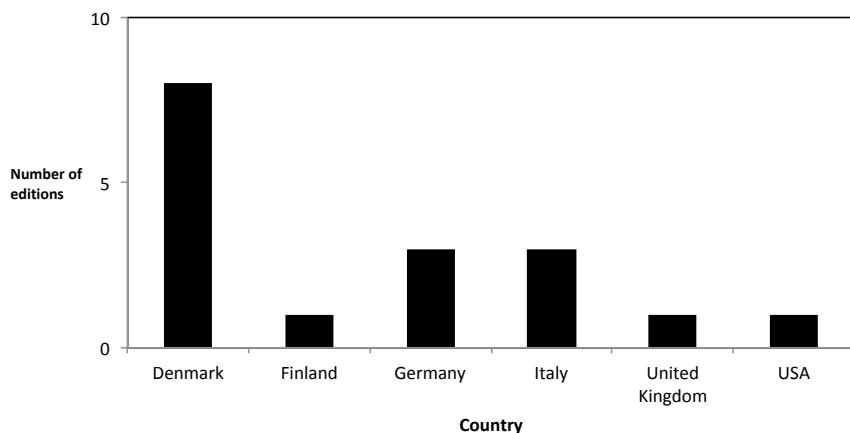


Fig. 3: Published translations of Leffler's plays in Europe (and the U.S.) 1883–1925 (*SWED* 2018).

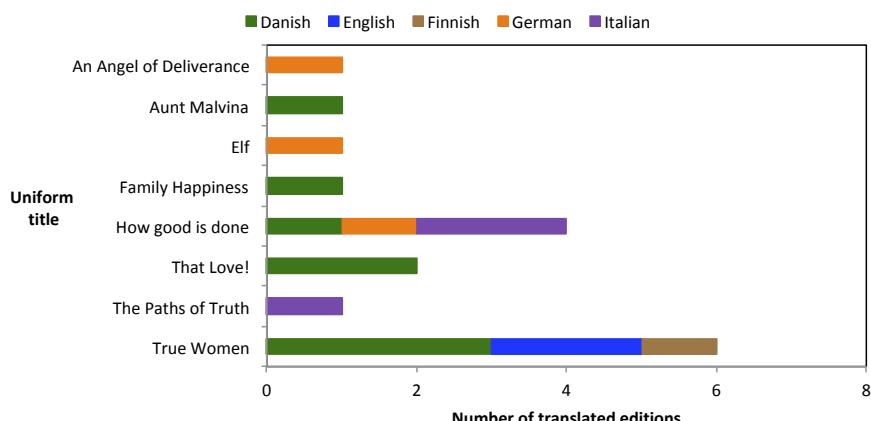


Fig. 4: Titles of published plays in translations (editions) (*SWED* 2018).

tions for productions were made that were never printed and published. This is the case, for example, of the Norwegian translation of *True Women*, which was used in the production at the Christiania Theatre in May 1884.<sup>32</sup> Consequently, just knowing the number of publications of plays, whether by Leffler or Strindberg, does not give us a full picture.

In addition to the translations of all of Leffler's work, I have found just under 100 reception documents of other kinds in German, French, and British journals, periodicals, bibliographies, and books in which Anne Charlotte Leffler is mentioned. 25 percent of these are more extensive reception documents: articles, reviews, and book-chapters. The remaining 75 percent are short references to Leffler in articles, advertisements, bibliography lists, etc. At the time of Leffler's death in 1892 there was an obvious increase in articles on her life and literature in all three countries.

#### THE RECEPTION OF THE PLAYS IN GERMANY, GREAT BRITAIN, AND FRANCE

Although Leffler was primarily regarded as a writer of prose fiction in Germany, a play actually had an important role for her entrance into the German literary area. In his baccalaureate thesis in comparative literature, Marcus Holm finds that the production of *Elf* at the Hamburg Thalia Theatre in 1883 and the manager Franz Bitton's rejection of *True Women* in the same year was the first time Leffler's work entered Germany.<sup>33</sup> He draws the conclusion that the success of *Elf* on the stage caused editors to take notice of her authorship.<sup>34</sup> It premiered at the Hamburg Thalia Theatre on 12 March 1883. The play was also staged at the Residenz Theater in Frankfurt am Main in the same year.<sup>35</sup> According to Maj Sylvan, the Danish critic and playwright Christian K. F. Molbech sent the German translation of *True Women* to the Hamburg Thalia Theatre the same year.<sup>36</sup> Sylvan does not deal with *Elf*, but Molbech probably introduced that play to Bitton as well. The letter of rejection of *True Women* was sent to Molbech only a month after the opening night of *Elf*, and Bitton compares the two plays in his rejection.<sup>37</sup> In 1883, the same year as it appeared at the Hamburg Thalia Theatre, *Elf* was published by a publishing house in Berlin in a "free translation" by the translator Emil Jonas.<sup>38</sup>

In 1885, Leffler's one-act play *An Angel of Deliverance* was published in a German translation by Blach Verlag in Berlin.<sup>39</sup> A note added to the title says that it is the only authorized German translation. It is worth mentioning that the play was never published in Swedish, although the comedy was a great success at Swedish theatres. *An An-*

*gel of Deliverance* is an adaptation of Leffler's short story "En bal i societeten" (A Society Ball), and the short story was released the year before the premiere of the play at the Royal Dramatic Theatre in Stockholm. Emil Jonas translated "A Society Ball" into German and had it published in *Der Bazar – Illustriert Damen-Zeitung* the same year that the German translation of *An Angel of Deliverance* was released. As the short story was published in a German translation as well, its Swedish publication does not sufficiently explain why the dramatized adaptation was published in Germany but never in Sweden. The collection of short stories, *Ur lifvet I* (From Life I), became a huge success in Sweden, though. It was one of the best business deals that Hæggström's publishing house had ever struck. The edition of 15,000 copies was sold out in just over two months. *From Life I* is also considered Leffler's breakthrough with both the Swedish critics and other readers.<sup>40</sup> The fact that the collection of short stories was so well received and disseminated to readers very quickly in Sweden might suggest that the stories in it, among them "A Society Ball", were fairly well known in Swedish cultural circles and that the adaptation into the play *An Angel of Deliverance* was not worth publishing. This was probably not the case in Germany. *From Life I* was never translated and published in Germany during the period 1883–1925; only some of the short stories from the collection in *Deutsche Rundschau* were. In 1891, *Familjelycka* (1890) (Family Happiness) is mentioned in *Berliner Tagesblatt*, and in 1892 there is also a review of the comedy in *Magazin für die Literatur des In- und Auslandes*.<sup>41</sup> Sophie Lewald translated *Hur man gör godt* (How Good Is Done) into German, and it was published by Heinrich Minden's publishing house in Dresden and Leipzig in 1898.

The search for reviews, articles, and advertisements related to performances of Leffler's plays in British, French, and German newspapers and periodicals has revealed a rather limited number of theatrical productions of them in the period 1883–1920. Three of the plays were staged in Germany but none in Great Britain and France. I have not found any information confirming that *An Angel of Deliverance* was staged in Germany in the year of the publication or earlier, although it was quite common for plays to first be translated for the stage and performed before being published.<sup>42</sup> However, reviews in *Berliner Börsen Zeitung* and in *Magazin für die Literatur des In- und Auslandes* give evidence that the play was staged at the Residenz Theater in Berlin in 1893. The opening night was on 7 September.<sup>43</sup>

Although more plays were translated, published, and staged in Germany than in the other two countries, Anne Charlotte Leffler was, as mentioned earlier, mainly profiled as an author of prose fiction. In the

1890s her connection to Sonia Kovalevsky appears in German journals and periodicals. In eight out of 13 biographical references to Leffler, the main subject is Kovalevsky. Laura Marholm's chapter about Leffler in *Das Buch der Frauen* (1894) is referred to in two of the references, and Leffler herself is the main subject in three of them. The first biographical reference appeared in 1891, but most of the references are from the period 1894–1896.

In Great Britain, an English translation of *True Women* by Hans Lien Brækstad came in three editions. It was first published as a series in the theosophist Annie Besant's periodical *Our Corner* in three issues during the autumn of 1884. The translation was turned into a book in 1885, printed in a limited edition, and circulated among reviewers and influential people within the theatre only. The publications did not attract any great further interest in Leffler's work, though, and did not lead to any theatrical productions. However, they did lead to a review in an American magazine, *The Woman's Journal*, and to a short review in the daily paper *The Graphic*.<sup>44</sup> In 1890, *True Women* was published in a new edition by Samuel French in London, which also published the limited edition in 1885. This time, the aim was to reach a larger reading audience, and the book was also released in the USA in 1891. The Independent Theatre Society planned to stage *True Women* in the same year, but although the play was rehearsed, it never reached opening night.<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, in 1891, the play was discussed in an article on the "new drama" by the influential critic William Archer.

In the English press, the biographical interest started in 1889, with reports about Leffler's divorce. It occurs in half the number of a little more than 25 instances. Despite the biographical angle, Leffler is introduced as the author of the plays *True Women* and/or *How Good Is Done*. At Leffler's untimely death in 1892, the signature E. G. writes in an obituary: "She was, however, beyond all else a dramatist, and it was on the stage that her principal triumphs were won."<sup>46</sup> This statement is followed by an account of the plays that were staged at Swedish theatres, while *Ur lifvet*, Leffler's collection of short stories, is mentioned only briefly. E. G. also writes that Leffler was successful not only in Sweden but also in Denmark and Germany.<sup>47</sup> In another obituary, which was printed in two Scottish journals on the same day, Leffler's plays are again listed.<sup>48</sup> In a report on Anne Charlotte Leffler's divorce from her Swedish husband she is described as "one of the most notable figures", "[a]mong the extraordinary group of literary giants just now upspringing from European soil", as a playwright only second in rank to Henrik Ibsen, and as an author of prose fiction not far behind Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson.<sup>49</sup>

Among the extraordinary group of literary giants just now upspringing from Scandinavian soil, one of the most notable figures is that of a giantess, Mrs. Ann Charlotte Edgren-Leffler. Her novels are not far behind those of Björnsen in interest. Her plays are in a demand only second to that for Ibsen's. Mrs. Edgren travels much in Europe. She is a not infrequent and an always welcome visitor in certain literary circles, somewhat vaguely called "advanced." She speaks and writes English almost perfectly, as well as French and German. She is tall; her figure, face, and head are all cast in the classical mould. The real facts of her recent divorce from her husband are simply these: By the Swedish law, either husband or wife can obtain a divorce if the other lives out of Sweden more than twelve months. Mrs. Edgren and her husband—a high official in Stockholm, with official ideas and official prejudices—have availed themselves of this law simply on the ground of mutual incompatibility—of thought.

Fig. 5: This short article was published in Birmingham Daily Post, Hampshire Telegraph, Sussex Chronicle in March 1889. It is representative of the interest taken in Leffler's private life at this point of time.

Leffler is afforded a position as an author of the “new drama”: “To a considerable extent Anne Charlotte Leffler was a follower of Ibsen, and her views on socialism, woman’s rights, & etc, were of a very advanced type,” *The Evening Telegraph* and *The Glasgow Herald* report.<sup>50</sup> In the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Birmingham Daily Post* among other journals, Leffler’s “advanced” thinking is even presented as the cause of her divorce:

Mrs Edgren and her husband held quite opposite views on social and political subjects, and this, no doubt, has led the former, who is a most advanced thinker, to seek a divorce in the manner described.<sup>51</sup>

Mrs Edgren travels much in Europe. She is a not infrequent and always welcome visitor in certain literary circles, somewhat vaguely called “advanced”. /.../ The real facts of her recent divorce from her husband are simply these: By the Swedish law, either husband or wife can obtain a divorce if the other lives out of Sweden more than twelve months. Mrs Edgren and her husband – a high official in Stockholm with official ideas and official prejudices – have availed themselves of this law simply on the ground of mutual incompatibility – of thought.<sup>52</sup>

Leffler is not only presented as a playwright of avant-garde drama but also as an intellectual with advanced radical ideas.

The only play translated into French during the period was Leffler's play *How Good Is Done* (1884). It was published in *La Revue socialiste* in a translation by Albert Savine in 1895.<sup>53</sup> The title can also be found on the back cover of the French translation of Herman Bang's novel *Tine* as one of the works in a series called Cosmopolite. There are no traces of this edition in the library catalogues, however. By the time of the French translation in *La Revue socialiste*, the play had already been translated into Danish (1885) and Italian (1892). The play was never translated into English and there are no traces of any theatrical productions of it, neither in France nor in Germany.

In France, *How Good Is Done* did not attract as much attention in the press as *True Women* did in Britain. In France, the interest in Leffler's literature was clearly connected to people's interest in the female author, as an example of the "new woman" of the fin de siècle. Leffler was mentioned in connection to her biography of Sonia Kovalevsky, but also in relation to Laura Marholm's book *Das Buch der Frauen*, which includes a chapter about her. In about two-thirds of the approximately 40 reception documents from France, the angle is mainly biographical, and just under half of the documents with a biographical angle mention Leffler together with Sonia Kovalevsky in one way or another. In another few instances, Leffler is mentioned in connection with Laura Marholm's book or together with Ellen Key. In one case Leffler is mentioned in a report on Jane Gernandt-Claire's planned book about her, a biography that was published in 1922.<sup>54</sup> There are also a couple of references to Leffler in connection to Louise Cruppi's *L'Écrivaine Feminine*.

A general curiosity about these intellectual women who appeared in public was of importance and seems to have paved the way for the French reception of Leffler's literature. The first publication appeared in 1893, about 10 years later than in Germany and England, and the first piece of reception with a biographical angle appeared two years before that, in 1891. It is the first reference to Leffler altogether, except for a short note on the play *An Angel of Deliverance* and the theatrical production of it at the Royal Dramatic Theatre in Stockholm in 1883. In her introduction, Louise Cruppi presents the following cause for dedicating a book to female authors only:

A little less than twenty years ago, the number of women writers in all civilized countries became considerable. The educated woman, who yesterday still was an isolated phenomenon today belongs to a numerous group, whose artistic, moral and social influence cannot fail to be noted.<sup>55</sup>

She finds it difficult, though, to say anything more substantial about this influence:

The question is extensive and one could claim that it is too early to say anything about it with certainty. The first generation of women writers, however brilliant they have proved to be in various countries, cannot show what women's literary production will be like in its entirety when they have become used to not only the profession of the author but also to all the new activities they have now tried for such a short period of time.<sup>56</sup>

She concludes that women writers have had too little time in the trade for the specific traits of their literature to show. Basically, she suggests that it is for the future to tell how women writers will distinguish themselves as a group. However, Cruppi clearly considers them interesting as new phenomena and important in contributing something special to literature. This contribution to literature by the new intellectual woman is the main force behind Cruppi's work, in which both Leffler's life and literature are treated. It is an example of how Leffler's recognition in France is largely based on the fact that she is a woman with ideas on emancipation within a network of other radical women.

Three different personas of Anne Charlotte Leffler appear in the three countries. In England she is mainly featured as a playwright, in France she is important as an emancipated woman writer, and in Germany she is presented as an author of prose fiction. In the next part of the chapter, I will deal in more detail with *True Women* and *How Good Is Done* to shed light on the pattern of reception of the plays in France, Germany, and Great Britain and on the connection between their reception and that of Leffler as an emancipated woman. In order to do so, each section on the Central European reception of *True Women* and *How Good Is Done* will start with a description of the plot of the play and the reception at the Nordic theatres. I hope that the comparison to the Nordic situation will illuminate the situation for a woman playwright from the peripheries of Europe who aspired to an international career in a period of changing aesthetic and cultural conditions.

#### THE RECEPTION OF *True Women* AT THE NORDIC THEATRES

*True Women* is a drama in three acts. The protagonist Berta is in her late teens and the youngest daughter of Mr and Mrs Bark. Berta's father is a gambler and has dissipated most of the family's fortune. Berta

supports the family with her hard work at a bank. Mr Bark wants to lay his hands on some bonds that his wife has inherited, but Berta has protected the family from her father's ravages by persuading her mother to sign a deed of gift, giving Berta control over the bonds. Her submissive mother cannot resist her husband's persuasiveness, though, and gives him the deed. After having settled his debts, he comes home with Berta's colleague from the bank, Mr Lundberg, to arrange a celebration of wedding anniversaries in the family. The gathering turns into an arrangement in which Mr Bark chastises Berta concerning her arrangement of the deed of gift. She is overwrought by her mother's treachery. She blames Mr Lundberg for participating in the demeaning party, but it turns out that he has come to propose to her, to save her from her distressing situation. Berta declines his proposal on the grounds that her mother needs her more than ever.<sup>57</sup>

In the reviews of the opening night of the theatrical production at the Royal Dramatic Theatre in Stockholm on 15 October 1883, *True Women* was considered an artistic failure to varying degrees among the critics, due to the composition of the story and/or the acting. The reviewers' views were divided, and different ideas on truth and their perception of the world were central to their varying reactions and evaluations.<sup>58</sup> This first performance of *True Women* was certainly provocative, not only to the critics, but also to other members of the audience. The reviews show evidence of a divided reception, with some people trying to shush those who showed their enthusiasm. One of the reviews says that husbands even forbade their wives from seeing the performance because of its gender-radical content.<sup>59</sup> The play was also staged at the Finnish theatre in a Finnish translation in the autumn of 1883, at the Swedish theatre in Helsinki early in 1884, and at the Christiania Theatre in Oslo in the same theatrical season.<sup>60</sup> In 1885, *True Women* was staged again at the New Theatre in Stockholm, with the actor Emil Hillberg in the role of Berta's father. His performance greatly contributed to making it a success. Hillberg, who had played the role of the father at the Swedish Theatre in Helsinki and Oslo, was highly popular, and his creation of the role contributed to positive reactions in the reviews.<sup>61</sup> In 1885, *True Women* also went on a tour to several Swedish cities with Albert Ranft's touring theatre company.<sup>62</sup> In 1887 the play returned to the Swedish Theatre in Helsinki and then again to theatres in Stockholm in 1898 and 1918. On the last occasion, Hillberg chose the play for his last performance as an actor.<sup>63</sup>

Margareta Wirmark estimates the speed with which a play spreads to theatres in the Nordic countries to determine its impact. She takes *True Women* as an example of a play that spread quickly, to three theatres

in different capital cities the same year, and thus had a strong impact. The explanation for this, according to Wirmark, could be that in the 1880s Leffler was a popular playwright and the theatres may have expected *True Women* to be successful with the audience, although it was not a comedy.<sup>64</sup> The productions that followed in the next four years in Stockholm and Helsinki and with Ranft's touring theatre company strengthens Wirmark's hypothesis of the popularity and impact of *True Women* in Sweden and Helsinki. All in all, Leffler's popularity and the speed with which the play spread both to theatres in the Nordic capital cities and theatres in the Swedish provinces – in translations, both print and non-print versions – and in the reports of the play in the daily papers might work as a backdrop. However, the rapid spread of her works in the Nordic region is in contrast to the European transnational reception of the play outside the Nordic countries.

### *True Women* IN A DIVIDED EUROPEAN THEATRICAL LANDSCAPE

One important contextual condition affecting the European transnational exchange of literature was the vast aesthetic and ideological changes that started to develop in the 1870s and 1880s. These decades can be seen as the beginning of the Scandinavian modern breakthrough. Literary scholar Toril Moi describes it as a slow process that occurred over a period of 50 years, in which a variety of different literary and theatrical strategies circulated. She finds that during the period different anti-idealistic expressions questioned views on art and morals, striving to undo the knot that tied them closely together according to artistic norms and conventions of idealism.<sup>65</sup> The morals of idealism were basically the exponent of conservative bourgeois values; in particular, they defended matters of decency, which were connected to sexual behaviour but also to a wider range of conservative bourgeois norms and values. Realism without the idealistic elevation was considered a threat to decency and thus to the core of society by the advocates of idealism.<sup>66</sup> Performances that criticized or clashed with the theatrical norms and conventions supporting decency, which included the prevailing gender norms and ideology of family and marriage, provoked strong emotional reactions in both reviewers and ordinary theatregoers. *True Women* was clearly considered a radical representation of the power relationship between men and women in the reviews of the Swedish premiere, and in the competition between idealism and anti-idealism it certainly caused tensions among the critics and the theatregoers.

The changes within the theatrical landscape, which Moi describes

and which were moving away from idealism, were not only valid for the Scandinavian modern breakthrough specifically, but for Western Europe in general. The development proceeded differently in various European countries, though, due to specific cultural, demographic, and economic causes. In France, Germany, and Great Britain, the morals of idealism and commercial profit to varying degrees held a steady grip on the theatres in the decades around the fin de siècle. In France, naturalism was established in the French novel. Plays by Musset, Augier, and Dumas fils, among others, offered aspects of naturalism, and Zola had written manifestos of naturalism for the theatre. Nevertheless, no commercial theatre in Paris wanted to take the new naturalism on as it would not pay financially, and in Germany a host of playwrights were willing to imitate the commercial successes of the French theatres. Theatres also feared censorship and were adaptable to audiences seeking entertaining performances. Largely, they closed their doors to plays that were not constructed according to accepted formulas and morals. As in France, leading intellectual groups opposed the monopolistic nature of theatre and the lack of originality in the repertoires.<sup>67</sup> Throughout the nineteenth century, the London theatres were the home of the melodrama and offered an abundance of performance and spectacle. From the melodrama emerged domestic realism and social drama, but it was not very ideologically or artistically bold. Ibsen also got onto the English stage by the end of the 1880s, to a large extent due to the enthusiasm and efforts of the influential critics William Archer and Edmund Gosse. The first major production was *A Doll's House*, at the Novelty Theatre on 7 June 1889.<sup>68</sup>

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, in a European context, Scandinavian playwriting, represented by the plays of Henrik Ibsen and August Strindberg, is considered to have been ahead of its time. The birth of independent avant-garde theatres in the metropoles of Europe, which staged naturalistic, symbolistic, and expressionistic plays, was important in bringing Ibsen's and Strindberg's works to the stages of Europe. To promote artistic freedom, these avant-garde theatres were run without commercial interests. They furthermore evaded governmental censorship by letting the audience subscribe for seats, thus claiming that the performances were not public but presented within a private society.<sup>69</sup> The German and British reception documents included in my investigation indicate that this situation within the theatrical field is part of the explanation for why the dissemination and reception of *True Women* did not become very widespread and why the impact was not as impressive in Europe as in the Scandinavian countries. As I will show in this section, it was too progressive to fit

the public theatres' demand for morally uplifting entertainment and commercial success.

The impact of idealism is visible in Franz Bitting's rejection of *True Women*. As much as the manager of the Hamburg Thalia Theatre liked Leffler's play *Elf*, which he staged in 1883, he resented *True Women*. In his letter of rejection, addressed to Christian K. F. Molbech, he finds the play too grey and miserable, inhabited by rough, dreadful people. He regrets the influence which Ibsen's *A Doll's House* and *An Enemy of the People* seem to have had on Leffler, and he compares *True Women* to *Elf*. In the latter, he finds that Leffler confronts the audience ingeniously, graciously, and engagingly. Furthermore, she joins and warms the audience at the theatre, and these qualities show her true femininity. In *True Women*, in contrast, she has gone astray, just like her Scandinavian colleagues. Her "beautiful talent is buried in Nordic hard ice".<sup>70</sup> One of Marcus Holm's conclusions is that gendered norms affected the German reception of Leffler's work.<sup>71</sup> The quotation from Bitting's letter gives evidence of the connection between conservative ideas on femininity and the aesthetics of idealism. It is also interesting that the lack of warmth and redeeming qualities is connected to the North, as is the notion that Scandinavian playwrights as a whole are producing anti-idealistic plays. Bitting clearly attacks what he considers a group of writers or a school of playwriting when he expresses his hope for Leffler to leave that orientation and go back to composing plays like *Elf*. Furthermore, his views show the attitude that the naturalism of the Scandinavian modern breakthrough and true femininity are not compatible.

Interestingly enough, the play, which Bitting immediately rejected in 1883, was part of Hans Lien Brækstad's strategy to introduce Leffler's authorship in Great Britain in the following year.<sup>72</sup> As mentioned earlier, the publication of *True Women* in Annie Besant's periodical and the limited edition from Samuel French's publishing house did not lead to any theatrical productions, nor to much interest otherwise in other works by Leffler. Annie Besant's comment on *True Women* and the quality of British theatre sheds light on the difficulties of having the play produced at a mainstream theatre in England:

The translation by Mr H.L. Brækstad of Mrs Anne C. Edgren's play *True Women*, which appeared in the three last numbers of this magazine is now published separately through Mr. French. It is thus brought directly in the way of the dramatic profession, and rendered easy of circulation, by those who on reading it in

these pages were impressed by its singular truth to nature, its ethical importance, and its superiority to the hackneyed devices and improbable complications of theatrical plot, exemplified in almost all contemporary drama. Our only fear is that it may be found too much above the level of dramatic culture prevailing in this country.<sup>73</sup>

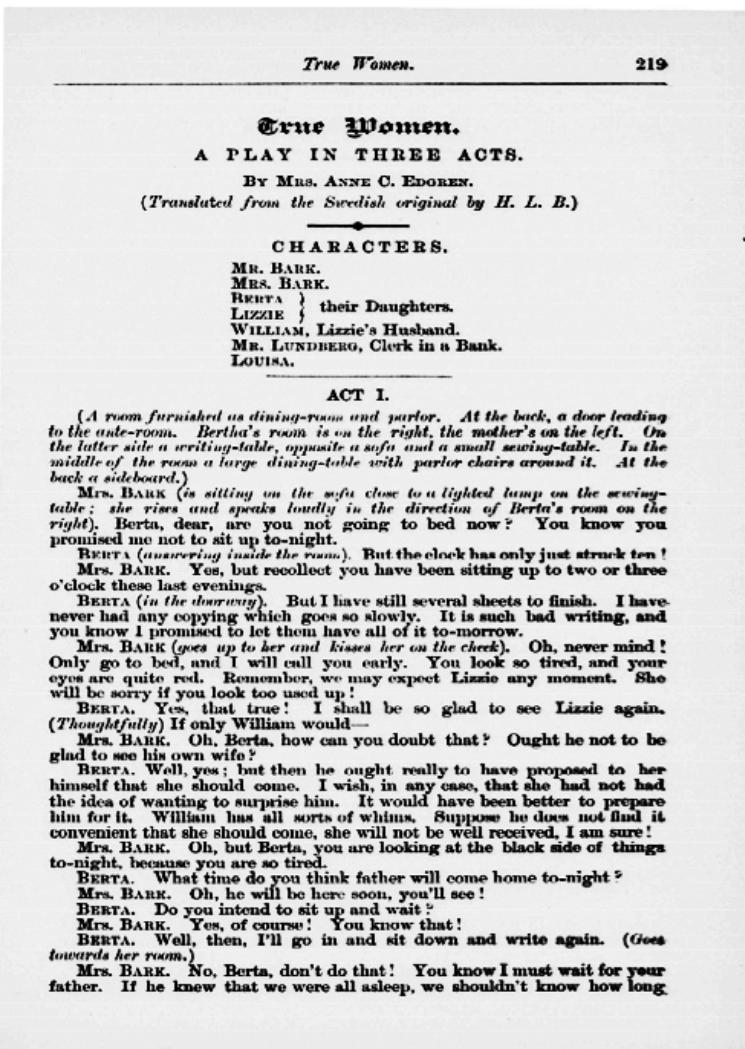


Fig. 6: *True Women* was published as a series in the periodical *Our Corner*, edited by Annie Besant. The first act appeared in the October-volume in 1884. © ProQuest LLC.

The “level of dramatic culture” that Besant refers to is a theatrical landscape dominated by melodramas and other popular genres of theatre. This is supported by a comment in a short review in *The Graphic* on Breakstad’s translation in the limited edition:

A summary of the plot would give but little idea of the originality and power of the play. It deals boldly with some of the most delicate yet fundamental questions of sexual morality; and the fact that such a play could be received with applause night after night in Scandinavian theatres is significant of the very high level of culture of Norwegian and Swedish audiences. In London it could not compete for a week with melodrama and opera bouffe.<sup>74</sup>

The comparison to the idealized Scandinavian audiences indicates the opinion that the British audiences were not sophisticated enough for Leffler’s original and powerful play. Despite the somewhat exaggerated statement of the success of the play with the audiences at Scandinavian theatres, the writer of the article is probably right about the differences in the kinds of plays the English and Scandinavian audiences were used to seeing performed on the theatrical stages. As mentioned earlier, the publication of *True Women* in *Our Corner* also led to a review in the American magazine *The Woman’s Journal*. Annie Besant writes:

[It] gives a long and appreciative review of Mrs Edgren’s drama “True Women” published originally in these columns. It concludes however with the most inartistic suggestion that a ‘happy ending’ should be made to the play instead of the natural one.<sup>75</sup>

Annie Besant’s comment on the suggestions of changes to the play furthermore elucidates the expectations of the composition of a play at the time, which *True Women* did not meet. Damrosch points to the fact that receiving cultures

can use the foreign material in all sorts of ways: as a positive model for the future development of its own tradition; as a negative case of a primitive, or decadent strand that must be avoided or rooted out at home; or, more neutrally, as an image of radical otherness against which the home tradition can more clearly be defined.<sup>76</sup>

In her comment about *True Women*, Besant contrasts Anglo-Saxon taste in theatre to Leffler’s way of composing her play and to the reactions of Swedish audiences. Although not a clear case of using it as a

positive model for future developments or clearly defining the British or American tradition, she manages to criticize this tradition via the comments on the reception of *True Women* in the American women's magazine and her prediction about *True Women* and the English audiences.

Leffler is considered much too advanced a thinker and artistic playwright for the English theatre. The reviewer in *The Graphic* writes:

*True women* translated from the Swedish by HL Brækstad (Samuel French) is a recent work of Mrs Anne Charlotte Edgren, a lady of considerable celebrity in Norway and Sweden as an advanced thinker and clever writer. Her admirers, indeed, speak of her as “the George Eliot of Scandinavia.” “True Women” is a remarkable play. It shows a young girl with high ideals of purity and duty, attempting to live out her own life amidst base surroundings.

When the curtain falls Berta appears to have failed in the unequal struggle. She surrenders her happiness at the call of duty and has to succumb to the tyrannical weakness of her miserable father.

/.../

Mrs. Edgren is a skillful writer, and she has the dramatic faculty. She is an exponent of those ideas we are accustomed vaguely to call “modern;” but her chief characteristics are her enthusiastic feeling for morality, and her deep sense of the momentous consequences flowing from all human acts.<sup>77</sup>

The “George Eliot of Scandinavia” has written a play too modern and remarkable for the London stages and their audiences. Together with Annie Besant’s comment on the suggested change in the American review as “inartistic” it frames *True Women* as a play with artistic qualities and thus one that belongs to the theatrical avant-garde. The place of *True Women* within the theatrical avant-garde of the time is supported in a short article in *The Era* in October 1895. It reports on a proposed “woman’s theatre” in Denmark run exclusively by women. In this context, “Mrs Edgren” is mentioned as one of the ablest followers of Ibsen. She “added to the unsparing realism of the master a pessimism which was all her own”. The reporter asks: “Why has ‘The Independent Theatre’ never given us her gloomy and modern *True Women* – perhaps the fiercest satire of the generation?”<sup>78</sup> The theatre referred to is J. T. Grein’s avant-garde theatre, the Independent Theatre Society in London, which was famous for staging Henrik Ibsen’s plays in the modern naturalistic style. The comment suggests that this is the kind of theatre at which Leffler’s *True Women* belongs.

In 1891, the Independent Theatre Society actually planned to stage

*True Women*. Lynn R. Wilkinson writes that “[t]here was apparently some talk of a performance” of the play, but newspaper columns on theatrical news reveal that there was more than just talk.<sup>79</sup> In *The Era* on 2 May 1891 it is stated that Mr Grein has officially announced that a performance of *True Women* will take place on Friday 22 May at the theatre of the National Sporting Club in Covent Garden. Grein planned a performance of the three-act play by “Mrs Edgren” together with *Judith Shakespeare*, “an original one-act play by Dr. Aveling”.<sup>80</sup> A week later, on 9 May, the readers of this newspaper, and two days later, the readers of *The Morning Post* could see that the staging of *True Women* was postponed and would be replaced by Emile Zola’s *Thérèse Raquin*. The newspapers report that Zola has cordially granted the Independent Theatre Society his permission to perform it and wished them good luck.<sup>81</sup> *True Women* was replaced because Grein had not asked permission to stage it. In *The Daily News* on 25 May, part of a letter from Brækstad is published, which gives further information:

You do not seem to have been informed of the fact that Mr Grein decided upon producing my authorized version of the play and even had the parts copied out and distributed to the actors before he communicated with me. If he had applied to me before taking any steps to produce the piece, I could have informed him that I had other intentions with the play, and that I could not sanction the proposed performance at the Independent Theatre.<sup>82</sup>

The letter confirms that the plans for a production were quite far gone. As copies of the parts had been distributed to the actors and with only one week left until the opening night, it is quite likely that rehearsals had taken place.

The comparison to Emile Zola’s generosity suggests that the writer of the article disapproves of Brækstad’s way of dealing with the business. One might suspect that Brækstad’s plans for Leffler’s play were nothing but an excuse for not letting J. T. Grein stage it. In the excerpt of the letter published in *The Daily News*, Brækstad claims to have the legal rights to *True Women*, and a more viable reason for ruining the enterprise is that he is irritated by the fact that Grein has ignored those rights.<sup>83</sup> The fact that Emile Zola could grant Grein the rights to an English translation of *Thérèse Raquin* and that Anne Charlotte Leffler could not do so with *True Women* can be explained by the fact that Sweden had not signed the Bern Convention, which was set up in 1878. The convention regulated literary copyright and granted that an author of a work should be covered by the copyright laws of the country where it was published.<sup>84</sup>

One might ask why *True Women* attracted interest from an avant-garde theatre in London but not in Paris and Berlin. There are of course many circumstances that can explain this. First of all, it is quite obvious that the English translation of *True Women* came about because there was a Norwegian (Brækstad) among the acquaintances in the radical circles that Leffler visited in London during her four-month stay. The connection between the avant-garde theatres and the radical writers, thinkers, and politicians in Berlin and Paris that Leffler met might also have looked different. One might suspect that Edward Aveling was the person who introduced *True Women* to J. T. Grein, as his own one-act play, *Judith Shakespeare*, which he wrote under his pen name Alec Nelson, was meant to be performed in the same evening programme as *True Women*. Edward Aveling, the founder of the Socialist League and the Independent Labour Party in Great Britain, was the partner of Eleonor Marx, who became good friends with Leffler during her stay in London in 1884. Aveling also arranged for Leffler's short story "The Doctor's Wife" to be published as a series in *Progress*, a radical periodical on politics and religion, which Aveling himself co-edited.<sup>85</sup>

The new anti-idealistic aesthetics and the role of the artist at the independent avant-garde theatres were mainly a male business. There were a few women running independent theatres – for example, Marya Chéliga-Loévy, who in 1897 started Théâtre féministe international in Paris, and Vera Kommissarjevskaia, who ran a successful theatre which gave performances in the symbolistic style, but such enterprises are more exceptions than rules.<sup>86</sup> An explanation of the absence of translations and theatrical productions of Leffler's *True Women* in Germany and France could be that the avant-garde theatres in Berlin and Paris were not interested in plays written by women. The repertoires from Théâtre Libre during the period 1887–1896 do not show a single play written by a woman. The Freie Bühne in Berlin, between 1889–1901, staged only one play composed by a woman writer.<sup>87</sup> The lack of interest in women playwrights and women's liberation is hinted at in an article about the "new drama", written by the influential English critic William Archer. Archer's article is a response to a previous article by a colleague of his who maintains that the "new drama", despite boasting about its realism, has its artifices and stereotypes and tends to run into a mould. It is in danger of substituting one set of conventions with another. Archer sets out to explain these stereotypes from a sociological point of view. He starts by stating that two of the stereotypes, which his colleague mentions, the "pusillanimous husband" and "magnanimous wife", are complementary and inseparable. These stereotypes merely show "that the stage is mirroring a phase in the social movement of

the time” and “[i]t may even be accused of tardiness in recognizing and reproducing the revolt of woman”. He continues by commenting on the inequality at the theatres:

Woman has not got it all her own way even on the stage. The play-wrights of the Théâtre Libre are no woman-worshippers; and August Strindberg, revered of Mr. J. H. McCarthy is a woman-hater of the strictest sect of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche. In Fräulein Julie and The Father we have our revenge for a whole bevy of Francillons, Noras and Karins.<sup>88</sup>

“Francillon” refers to the wife in Dumas fils’ play *Francillon*, and “Karín” to the main character in the English translation of the Swedish author Alfhild Agrell’s play *Räddad*, which was staged at the Vaudeville Theatre in London in 1891. Archer clearly frames Théâtre Libre as a theatre that preferred what he considers playwrights with misogynist views, and Strindberg is highlighted as one of the worst of this kind.

Archer also mentions *True Women* as an example of a play reflecting “the revolt of woman”, which counters the misogynist view of Strindberg: “Mrs. Edgren’s *True Women*” represents a branch of the revolt that claims “equality in sexual rights and duties” in the form of demanding less “latitude” for men. *True Women* is, furthermore, among the plays that ask for “equality in legal, social and intellectual privileges and functions”. The reception of *True Women* in Germany and Great Britain shows that around the fin de siècle there is not only a division between the demands of idealism and commercial culture and anti-idealism promoting an avant-garde aesthetics with new ideas on drama as literature and art, there are also different avant-garde directions. The first seems to stress a division between morality and art in its opposition to idealistic aesthetics and its advocacy of art as an autonomous field against commercial interests and as a vehicle of social change. The second direction seems to prefer drama and theatre to intervene in social change. Consequently, it primarily attacks the concept of decency according the norms of idealism, and asks for a division between drama and conservative bourgeois ideas on society, including gender. What makes *True Women* a modern avant-garde play in this sense is its usefulness within a social movement striving for social change. As will be dealt with later in the chapter, the radical political movement of the late nineteenth century, including women’s liberation, was an important context of the European reception of *True Women* and also of Leffler’s next play, *How Good Is Done*.

THE RECEPTION OF  
*How Good Is Done* AT NORDIC THEATRES

In March 1885, Anne Charlotte Leffler wrote to her Danish friend and translator Otto Borchsenius to tell him that her new play *How Good Is Done* (1884) was to be published in Swedish. By then the play had been rejected by the Royal Dramatic Theatre because of the workers' rights issue. When the play was available in bookstores in the spring of 1885 it had already premiered at theatres in Bergen and Helsinki.<sup>89</sup> The Swedish premiere was in September 1885, at the Grand Theatre in Gothenburg, Sweden's second-largest city.<sup>90</sup> In November 1885, the play was produced at the New Theatre in Stockholm.<sup>91</sup> *How Good Is Done* spread to theatres in Scandinavia at the same speed as *True Women*, with productions at four different theatres in the same year, which, according to Wirmark's reasoning about the speed of dissemination, demonstrates Leffler's popularity at the theatres and the strong impact of the play.<sup>92</sup>

In the first act of *How Good Is Done*, 18-year-old Blanka, the female protagonist, is at a charity fair where upper-class ladies are collecting money for the poor. Young Blanka is courted but also watched and commented on by her acquaintances. Her adoptive parents, the Baron and Baroness, are also there. In the hurry-scurry of the fair, Blanka encounters her biological sister, Svea, and Frithiof, a friend from her life in a poor dysfunctional working-class family before she was adopted. Frithiof is an agitator engaged in the workers' cause. He is also Svea's boyfriend. After the encounter with persons from her old life, Blanka is persuaded by Agnes, her cousin by adoption, who has progressive ideas and is socially involved, to visit her biological mother. The second act takes place in Blanka's childhood home. She meets her harassed mother, her sick, starving siblings, and her drunk father. She struggles with her bad childhood memories but is also torn between loyalties to her biological family and her adoptive parents. At the end of the act, Blanka gives her sister Svea, who she learns is a prostitute, her beautiful warm fur coat as an act of solidarity. In the third act, there is a party at the home of Fabricant Wulf, Blanka's wealthy fiancé. Blanka is upset from meeting her poor family. At Blanka's invitation, Frithiof and some workers burst in to the party to discuss the workers' conditions at Wulf's Mill. Frithiof and Wulf argue, and Frithiof makes an agitated speech in favour of the workers, condemning the double standards of the bourgeoisie. When Blanka learns that her fiancé was the one who seduced her poor sister and turned her into a prostitute, she leaves his house. In the fourth act, we meet Blanka at the home of her adoptive

parents. She is in her room, packing her bags. The Baron and the Baroness are hurt and angry. Blanka's fiancé, her sister, and Agnes arrive. It comes to a showdown, in which Blanka takes the side against social injustice and double standards. She breaks up with her fiancé, rejects the demands of her adoptive mother, and announces that she and her sister will move in with Agnes and join her in her social work. Blanka leaves the house with her sister, after turning around to have a last glance. She cries silently as she slowly closes the door behind her.

The play received mixed reviews in Swedish journals and periodicals. Appreciation of the play was clearly dependent on the reviewer's political opinion. In his critique, one influential reviewer, Karl Warburg, finds the play bravely written, marked by power, which in his view, must be the envy of any male playwright.<sup>93</sup> He and other reviewers express the opinion that Leffler has exaggerated the domination of the upper classes over working-class people.<sup>94</sup> Furthermore, they criticize the sharp colours with which Leffler has painted, and find the exaggerated situations and characters unnecessary and problematic.<sup>95</sup> The writer in the periodical *Dagny* (the main organ of the conservative wing of the Swedish women's movement) is worried about the playwright's aim to dissolve Swedish society, all the more because a play with such intentions was written by a woman. One would have expected more from "the new woman", the anonymous author states.<sup>96</sup>

The first translation of *How Good Is Done* appeared in 1885.<sup>97</sup> The play was then translated into Danish by Otto Borchsenius (1844–1925) and published at Gyldendal's, the oldest and most well-established publishing house.<sup>98</sup> Like *True Women*, it did not travel to countries outside of Scandinavia very easily.

#### THE RECEPTION OF *How Good Is Done* WITHIN SOCIALIST AND FEMINIST CIRCLES

Anne Charlotte Leffler started writing *How Good Is Done* in 1883, before she set off on her European journey. She worked on it during her stay in London in 1884 and described it to her new friends and acquaintances.<sup>99</sup> The influences from meeting socialists, such as Eleanor Marx and Edward Aveling, whom she befriended while in London, is quite evident. Monica Lauritzen gives an account from Leffler's diary of the author's experiences in the London streets, where she met poverty, prostitution, drinking problems, etc.:

When the theatrical performance had finished there were a lot of girls, some of them on their own and some in pairs, lined up on

both sides of the street, many of them cheeky and presumptuous but quite a few were unhappy, exhausted and starving, but with rosy cheeks, tattered, but with laces and plumes – here in the gutter, one of them has toppled over, she has been drinking, she cannot be much older than 15 years.<sup>100</sup>

It is reflected in the second act of Leffler's play, in the portrait of the poor working-class family with the abusive drunken father and the sister who has taken to prostitution. The play directs severe criticism of these conditions and the social power relationships that cause them, especially of their effect on women. The melodramatic features are more evident in this play than in *True Women* or in any of Leffler's previous plays. This cannot with any certainty be attributed to influences from English theatre, which, according to Lauritzen, Leffler did not much admire, but the coincidence with the more abundant melodramatic features and Leffler's encounter with English theatre is worth mentioning.<sup>101</sup> One of the melodrama genres that dominated English theatre into the twentieth century was the domestic melodrama, which dramatized problems within the family and in society, often in working-class environments. They brought up issues such as industrialization, urbanization, drinking problems, and dissolving families as the causes. Upper-class men that seduced innocent working-class maids were common motifs.<sup>102</sup>

The first published translation into a non-Scandinavian European language did not appear until 1892, when *How Good Is Done* was translated into Italian.<sup>103</sup> In an article, Margherita Giordano Lokrantz writes that Anne Charlotte Leffler and Salvatore Di Giacomo cooperated in translating the play. Di Giacomo was an author of prose fiction and a playwright of the naturalistic style.<sup>104</sup> Among other contributions, he helped adapt the play for an Italian audience by excluding every trace of discussion and political tendency, which he claimed would not have been tolerated. Giordano Lokrantz mentions plans to offer the play to a theatre company. These plans were never realized. Nevertheless, Di Giacomo's ambition to muffle certain tendency seems to have been successful. When the translation was published in the late spring or early summer of 1892, the critics did not seem very bothered by the socialist tendency of the play. According to them, Leffler's vivid sense of the human aspects had prevented her from building the story from abstract ideas, and it was her humanitarian leanings that led to her interest in social problems.<sup>105</sup> This aspect of her character was considered her incentive for writing the play.

It is quite probable that the French translation of *How Good Is Done* in 1895 was translated from the Italian, as the translator Albert Savine

translated from another romance language, Spanish.<sup>106</sup> Furthermore, the French translation, like the Italian, has three acts, while the Swedish original has four acts. The translation appeared in *La Revue socialiste*.<sup>107</sup> The founder and editor of the influential periodical was Benoit Malon (1841–1893), who was a French socialist, writer, and political leader. Among others, Malon used to collaborate with Charles Longuet in the Paris Commune in 1871.<sup>108</sup> Longuet moved to London after the Commune was defeated, where he married Karl Marx's first daughter, Jenny.<sup>109</sup> Malon apparently belonged to the same socialist circles as the people Leffler was acquainted with in London. Leffler was also connected, at this personal network level, to Charles-Viktor Jaclard, also a member of the Paris Commune, through her close friendship with Sonia Kovalevsky. Jaclard was married to Sonia's sister, Anna Vasilyevna Korvin-Krukovskaya.<sup>110</sup>

In *La Revue socialiste*, Anne Charlotte Leffler is not introduced as a writer or person.<sup>111</sup> In fact, Savine's translation of the play is not commented on or introduced at all.<sup>112</sup> Leffler's name (misspelled as "Zeffler") is only mentioned in small print after the play. It gives the impression that the play has been published and considered useful for its socialist tendency rather than for its value as a literary piece of work by a foreign playwright. Yet, together with the British reception of *True Women*, the publication of *How Good is Done* in *La Revue socialiste* and the connections between the French and English socialists indicate that Leffler's ambition to learn more about socialism did not, as is suggested in earlier research, compete with her ambition to introduce herself as a writer in Central Europe. Rather, this environment seems to have been productive for having *True Women* and *How Good is Done* translated and published.

*How Good Is Done* appeared in yet another radical context. In *Femme Écrivains d'au jour d'hui*, Louise Cruppi praises the play. She features the excellent dramaturgy of some of the scenes and, contrary to the treatment of Leffler's other plays, she presents an extensive summary of the contents. This is probably because it is the only play that was translated into French and thus the only play that Cruppi could access directly. *True Women* is, in contrast, dealt with only briefly:

The comedy *True Women* also have a very clear feminist significance. In this ironic statement the author depicts women, who, in accordance with the old tradition always fold to other people's wishes, always forgive them, always efface themselves, and by this neglect of their own dignity, by obliterating themselves, only drive men to egoism and hardness.<sup>113</sup>

## COMMENT ON FAIT LE BIEN

*Comédie en trois actes.*

## PERSONNAGES :

LE BARON VON DUHRING, 50 ans ; — Mlle BLANCHE VON DUHRING, 20 ans ; — LA BARONNE VON DUHRING, 45 ans ; — AGNÈS VON DUHRING, 35 ans ; — L'INGÉNIEUR WULF, directeur de fabrique, 30 ans ; — FRITHIOF HELQVIST, 24 ans ; — NYBERG ; ASTROM, ouvriers ; — OSTERBERG, bâdgéronneur ; — Maman OSTERBERG, sa femme ; — ALEXIS ; ALBIN ; MILDA ; OLGA ; JOSÉPHINE ; SVÉA, 21 ans, leurs enfants ; — MADAME CÉCILE ; — LA COMTESSE ; — GURLI, 14 ans ; — LE COMMANDANT ; — LE CAPITAINE LAGERSKILD ; — LE VICOMTE DE BRIZZI ; — DEUX VIEUX MESSIEURS ; — UN JEUNE MONSEUR ; — DEUX VIEILLES DAMES ; — UN DOMESTIQUE DE WULF ; — MESSIEURS ; — DAMES ; — DEMOISELLES ; — GARDES ; — PEUPLE.

## ACTE PREMIER

Une vente de charité.

A droite et à gauche, des comptoirs et des kiosques ornés de draperies, de tentures et de plantes. Au milieu, un kiosque de fleurs. Une grande toile cache le fond de la scène. Dans les autres kiosques, des messieurs, des dames et des demoiselles, les uns aux costumes de fantaisie, les autres en costumes national suédois. Tous ont sur l'épaule une étole d'une couleur avec un insigne attaché des rubans bleus et jaunes. Quelques messieurs ont en sautoir un large ruban aux mêmes couleurs : ce sont les commissaires.

Une foule de visiteurs circule à l'entour des kiosques et marchande les objets. Quelques gens du peuple observent avec curiosité les riches. Deux gardes se promènent dans le public.

Il est nuit, de nombreux candélabres sont allumés sur les tables.

Dans le premier kiosque à gauche, Cécile, en costume géorgien, avec beaucoup de bijoux et la comtesse vêtue d'une élégante toilette de soirée.

## FAIT LE BIEN

## 181

*Un chapeau cabossé et allié en avant la s la porte) Maintenant je m'amuserai : imbécile de Jeanne, Elle qui a fait manteau et qui se croit plus belle ent. — Que veux-tu dire ? nent que personne n'écoute celle qui nd une femme est belle et élégante... ne sortiras pas ! te, Blanche ? me on est maudit, quand on veut mal. manteau. — Et reprends-le alors ! n, un plus beau, mais je vois bien on cœur. donner ton manteau, envoie-le lui ix t'en passer, maintenant. Non, non, je ne le reprends pas. , quand il a été sur les épaules d'une*

*face à face avec Blanche et la regardant er ?*

*Blanche fait un geste involontaire de répugnance.*

**SVÉA.** — Je le savais. Nous avons toutes les deux le même père et la même mère. Mais celle que le père a méconnue, sa belle sœur ne peut la reconnaître. Il vaut mieux que je reste où je suis.

**BLANCHE,** la serrant dans ses bras et lui donnant un baiser. — Non, non, je veux te sauver !

*Elle sort rapidement avec Agnès.*

*Agnes demeure debout au milieu de la pièce. Petit à petit elle enlève le manteau et le met sur une chaise. Puis elle arrache son chapeau et le prie. Elle se jette sur une chaise et, cachant sa tête dans ses genoux, elle éclate en pleurs.*

ANNA CHARLOTTE ZEFFLER,

Duchesse de CAJANÉILLO.

(Traduction d'Albert Savine).

Fig. 7: How Good is Done appeared in a French translation in La revue socialiste in 1895. Leffler as a playwright does not seem to have been of much interest for the editor, as she is only mentioned in small letters at the end of the play and her name is misspelled. gallica.BnF.fr

The feminist ideas in *True Women* are related and even more strongly in *How Good Is Done*. In Cruppi's account, the latter play in comparison becomes a more elaborated feminist work. She notes that Leffler is much too broad-minded not to see that the feminist cause has to do with a wider set of social and moral injustices than women's forgiving love and this has inspired her to write *How Good Is Done*:

But Leffler was far too broad-minded not to see that which Ellen Key expressed so eloquently on so many occasions: there are no pure questions, only social and moral ones; what is needed is better justice for the weak; children, women and those ill-treated by fortune. Furthermore, it is the scourges of misery and injustice and the hardness of the rich people that have inspired Anne Charlotte Leffler to her strongest and most passionate work, called *How Good is Done*.<sup>114</sup>

In line with the Italian reception, Cruppi underlines Leffler's sympathy with the weakest members of society and the passion she has put into her work. Thus, the motivation for writing the play is regarded as emotional, and the image of the author is adapted to traditional ideas on femininity. Just like other cultural mediators with other ideological agendas, she does her best to safeguard Leffler's femininity. Nevertheless, by also referring to the writer Ellen Key, who was one of the foremost figures in Swedish feminist circles at the time, Cruppi clearly puts the play in a feminist context.

A German translation of *How Good Is Done* did not appear until 1898, when it was published by Heinrich Minden (Dresden and Leipzig). It was presented as the "only authorized translation".<sup>115</sup> The translator Sophie Lewald is mentioned in Sophie Pataky's *Lexikon Deutscher Frauen der Feder*, but traces of her are to be found nowhere else in my material. According to the bibliography, the only work that Lewald translated was Leffler's play.<sup>116</sup>

The publishing of the German translation of *How Good Is Done* in 1898 coincided with "Eine Vorleuerin Ibsens", an article by Anna Brunneman about Leffler's plays that was published in the periodical *Aus Fremden Zungen*. By stating that Leffler, in all of her works, demonstrates the incongruence between marriage and a woman's personal development, Brunneman points to the radical emancipatory potential in Leffler's literary pieces. She even presents Leffler as a predecessor of a "revolutionary spirit" that later influenced "educated" circles.<sup>117</sup> Brunneman certainly positions Leffler as part of a radical cultural and political elite and shows a positive attitude to it. She was herself

involved in the women's liberation movement. As an example, she reported from the International Congress for Sexual Reforms and Protection of Mothers in Dresden in 1911 in the Swedish periodical *Dagny*.<sup>118</sup> Brunneman's article on Leffler's authorship shows that Leffler was read as an author of feminist works and as a representative of radical ideas on society as well as on literature at the time when *How Good Is Done* was published in Germany.

Holm remarks on the sharp contrast concerning the attitude towards social questions and intellectual ideas, especially on women's liberation, between Brunneman's article and Franz Bitton's argumentation in his 1883 letter of refusal of *True Women*. Not only Bitton was negative towards *True Women*. In a summary of Leffler's authorship in 1893, Julius Rodenberg, the editor of the periodical *Deutsche Rundschau*, derided both *True Women* and *How Good Is Done* as much too exaggerated and tendentious. Instead, Rodenberg chose to publish the short stories that suited the readers of the politically liberal but aesthetically conservative periodical.<sup>119</sup> The difference can of course be a matter of personal opinions and tastes, but nevertheless, these views indicate two various pictures of Leffler in Germany. It took almost 15 years for the appreciation of Leffler's radicalism to be established, which may explain the late publication of the German translation of *How Good Is Done* compared to Italian and French ones.

The 13-year difference in time between the Swedish original and the Danish translation on the one hand and the German translation on the other suggests that the route of dissemination for *How Good Is Done* looked different compared to the other plays that found their way to Germany. It suggests different circuits of dissemination for the German translations of the less radical of Leffler's works and the more progressive ones. The early translations, which could be interpreted and/or staged in accordance with an idealistic aesthetics, were spread via Denmark. As previously mentioned, in 1883 *Elf* travelled to the Hamburg Thalia Theatre via Denmark with Christian Molbech as the introducer, while *True Women* was much too radical for his theatre in the way it broke with idealism's morals and aesthetics. Two years later there was another circuit of dissemination, starting with the translation of *True Women* in Great Britain in 1885. This reception was a result of the personal encounters Leffler had and the acquaintances she made during her European trip: the direct contacts between Leffler and members of the leftist circles. *True Women* reached an American reading audience, but then the dissemination came to a stop. Except for the published translations into Danish and Finnish, there are no more published translations of the play into other languages. The publication of the

Italian translation of *How Good Is Done* came about due to Leffler's private network as the wife of an Italian duke and living in Naples. The French publication in *La Revue socialiste* is connected to the same circles within the radical political circles that took an interest in *True Women*. When *How Good Is Done* was published in Germany in the second part of the 1898s, the feminist movement seemed to be of importance. The significance of the feminist and socialist environment as a community of reception will be dealt with in relation to theories of social movement in the next section of the chapter.

#### PART OF A EUROPEAN SOCIAL MOVEMENT

When she set off on her trip to Europe, Leffler hoped to be introduced in the radical circles of Europe. The networks of people who translated, published, and promoted *True Women* and *How Good Is Done* indicate that these two plays and the articles about them were incorporated in a social movement's collective struggle over existing hierarchies and values of society, advocating socialism, women's rights, and new religious ideas. The plays were attractive within this context because they were compatible with an ambition to change society, in particular concerning women's social positions and rights. The reception material profiling Leffler as a "new woman" also show that she gradually came to be considered part of a social movement.

The progress of a European social movement looked different in different countries, and intellectuals of the movements showed different approaches to Anne Charlotte Leffler and her authorship. Germany had a more traumatic relationship to the effects of modernity than many other European countries. The rapid development from a feudal rural society with small towns into a modern unified industrial nation did not run in parallel with the people's development of identity. Accordingly, the way to a modern liberal and democratic society took longer in Germany than in many other European countries.<sup>120</sup> While *True Women* was translated and published in Great Britain in 1885, it was never published in Germany at all. The radical Leffler appears rather late in the German documents. *How Good Is Done* was not published until 1898. The reception shows two discourses on the authorship, one more in harmony with the prevailing social and cultural order and one clearly opposing it. Marcus Holm finds that the idea of women's liberation, which marks many of Leffler's works, seems to have been an obstacle to having her prose fiction published in Germany.<sup>121</sup> A fact that points in the same direction is that at the very beginning of Leffler's German career, a theatre manager like Franz Bitton chose to stage *Elf*,

a play more in accordance with the morals and aesthetics of idealism than *True Women*, which was rejected. In Great Britain, Leffler was primarily regarded as a playwright, although *True Women* was the only play that was translated and published, and it was never staged. *True Women* affords Leffler a position as an author of the “new drama” but also as an intellectual with advanced radical ideas. In France, the interest in Leffler’s literature was clearly connected to people’s interest in the female author, as an example of the “new woman” of the fin de siècle. It dominated the French reception and preceded the translations and publication of her literature. The progress of the women’s movement can thereby be considered of great importance for Leffler’s reputation in France, and the publication of *How Good Is Done* in *La Revue socialist* shows that the play was useful for the purposes of French socialists.

David Damrosch maintains that a literary work crossing the national border into another national and cultural area is the locus of a negotiation between two different cultures, in which the receiving culture can use the foreign material in all sorts of ways.<sup>122</sup> The British, French, and German reception of Anne Charlotte Leffler’s work shows that not only the translators’ and reviewers’ interpretations and adaptations of individual works to the target culture’s conditions are involved in this negotiation; the choice of literary works from an author’s production is also part of the negotiation. The matter of which literary works by Leffler were translated and received at what point in time in France, Germany, and Great Britain seems highly dependent on how far the development of arenas for anti-idealistic aesthetics had reached in the respective countries, which of course was due to a complex network of cultural and social structures on the one hand and private networks and cultural agents’ individual actions on the other. The choice of literary works that were received, furthermore, seems to be due to different paths of dissemination, as discussed in the previous section.

As mentioned earlier, according to the cultural sociologists Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison, in social movements, artistic manifestations clarify the movements’ views on the evils of society, carry their utopian visions, and contribute to the ideas that they offer in opposition to the existing orders. The reception of Leffler’s authorship in France and Great Britain indicates that it had such a role in a movement, aiming at social and cultural change. For persons such as the theosophist Annie Besant and the socialist Edward Aveling, the critique of society and the visionary ideas in *True Women* were important for the steps they took as cultural mediators in the British reception. At the Independent Theatre Society, which rehearsed *True Women*, a suffragette, the actress

Elisabeth Robins, was involved as an actress, writer, and translator.<sup>123</sup> The theatre society's connections to the social movement via persons like Robins and Aveling can explain why they planned to stage *True Women* while other avant-garde theatres in Paris and Berlin did not.

As has been hinted at earlier, the fact that the French translation of *How Good Is Done* appeared in a socialist periodical without any presentation of the author or her authorship also points to the importance of the ideas of the work in determining whether or not the reception takes place. Thus, the interest in *True Women* and *How Good is Done* can be ascribed to their compatibility with the periodical's view on the evils of society and the ideas about the future of a Central European social movement at the fin de siècle. The interest in the plays can be explained by their function as truth-bearing and knowledge-producing practice within the movement, but also as instruments for symbolizing the movement's standpoints. As the published translations and other kinds of reception of *True Women* and *How Good Is Done* seem to have filled a purpose within a social movement, such an environment can be said to have opened a European space of reception for Leffler's literature.

The articles and chapters in books about Leffler's life can also be looked upon as parts of the cognitive and symbolic action within the creative space of a social movement. The reception shows an interest in Leffler and the other women as representatives of "the new woman". Looked at through the lens of social movement theory, Leffler's way of living and her being an author and a playwright that networked in a cosmopolitan European space among other radical intellectuals and artists made her useful for the movement's symbolic manifestation. She embodied a new way of living in accordance with the emancipatory utopian visions of the movement. The reception material shows that a radical woman writer's life and her literature at this period of time are clearly tied up with each other and cannot be regarded as belonging to different fields. By provoking prevailing gender norms – by the way they lived their private lives, appeared in public, claimed to be artistic and intellectual writers, and wrote literature that depicted women in a way that defied tradition – these women became political. They interfered with the existing normative view on women's social positions whether they wished to or not.

The reception of Leffler as a "new woman" is clearly connected to her friendship with Sonia Kovalevsky. Anne Charlotte Leffler is associated with Sonia Kovalevsky, largely due to her biography of her friend, and to other radical women who were involved in writing or who in other ways took part in the public discussion on literature and society. In so doing, Leffler and her female radical colleagues blew past the limits for

normative femininity and became interesting as phenomena and people. The interest in the kind of life that Leffler led and her appearance as a radical “new woman” is connected to her authorship, of which the two plays *True Women* and *How Good Is Done* belong to her most radically advanced works regarding the feminist and socialist ideas they are based on. The relationship between the reception of works and the fascination with the author’s life is therefore of interest in the study of the reception and the impact of Leffler’s literature. Life and authorship are woven together in the reception patterns of her plays. This tendency is most apparent in the British and French reception documents.



Fig. 8: Friends, “new women” and cosmopolites: The Russian mathematician Sonia Kovalevsky and the Swedish playwright Anne Charlotte Leffler (Litteraturbanken.se).

In the first part of the 1880s, the British and German reports on and references to Leffler concentrate on her reception in Sweden. She is featured as an interesting and talented Swedish writer of plays and prose fiction with Sweden as her field of action. Over time, she is more often presented as a Swedish or Scandinavian author and a “new woman” of European interest. The making of Leffler into a European celebrity in radical artistic and political circles developed in parallel with the growth of the social movement, which crossed national borders. It is also connected to her travels and events of her private life, in particular, her divorce from her Swedish husband and her marriage to the Italian Duke of Cajanello, which led her to leave Sweden to live in Naples. Furthermore, Leffler’s affiliations with other radical women living in exile or travelling in Europe, such as Sonia Kovalevsky and Laura Marholm, have a part in this. Leffler’s biography of Kovalevsky and the chapter on Leffler in Marholm’s book can be seen as important showcases for the European fin de siècle new woman.

The cosmopolitan approach rested on Leffler’s reputation and associations in political, intellectual, and artistic circles, not on her literature being translated and spread. Her stay in London and her associations within the socialistic circles seem particularly important for Leffler’s recognition in Great Britain. As earlier research has suggested, her international recognition gradually grew with the impact of the radical political ideas during the period of which she is considered a part. Without the connections to the intellectual and political circles of a social movement, Leffler’s authorship would probably have travelled along the traditional path, via literary contacts in the neighbouring countries, and then her work would have had an impact in Germany but not in the other two countries in my study.

The news of Leffler’s private life, especially news about her divorce and the many obituaries that paid tribute to her when she died, indicate that she became somewhat of a celebrity. In the nineteenth century, the media cult of the author as a person increased. The author was often better known as a public person than for her/his literary work. They were not only celebrities in the public arena of their period of time but also celebrated after their death.<sup>124</sup> The interest in Leffler as a public person can therefore be considered part of a general tendency, connected to mass and consumer cultures, industrialized newspaper production, and the establishment of scandal sheets and gossip columns.<sup>125</sup> It is in exactly this kind of journalism, often under headlines like “Theatrical Gossip”, that news about Leffler’s life can be found in the British press. Carolyn Eastman has found that social structures, networks of

friends, and reputation were important in the creation of a celebrity in the early nineteenth century. The case of Leffler demonstrates that they were still important by the end of the century. *True Women* and the short story “The Doctor’s Wife” (published in *Progress* in 1884) were the only pieces of literature that were published in Great Britain in the 1880s, and they seem to have been of interest only to a limited group of people. Leffler’s social calls and the acquaintances she made within the intellectual, cultural, and social elite of London thus stand out as fundamental for the interest in her life and literature in the gossip columns of the papers. In research about the women’s movement in the 1970s, the way the press reported on the movement’s manifestations has been described as sensational. In order to attract readers, the press distributed an image of the emancipated woman that was the opposite of the intentions of the movement.<sup>126</sup> Nevertheless, mass media created a public arena for the symbolic actions of the movement, although it was not intended by the participants and not interpreted nor presented in an ideal way from their point of view. The gossip about Leffler’s personal life in the newspaper columns on theatre can be regarded as creating this kind of incidental symbolic value for a social movement.

Despite the European framing, Anne Charlotte Leffler is mentioned in articles about Swedish literature, by both Swedish and foreign publicists, throughout the period. Her belonging to the Scandinavian school of naturalism and her plays’ similarities with the plays by Ibsen were still obvious reasons for writing about her. Paradoxically, her origin as a Scandinavian woman played an important part in her creation as a cosmopolitan author and intellectual within the social movement. In a number of articles, she is compared to Henrik Ibsen. In the earlier-mentioned letter of refusal of *True Women*, Franz Bitting positions Leffler in a group of Scandinavian playwrights of anti-idealistic plays. Anne Sofie Ljung Svensson writes that, in the German literary market, the reputation of Scandinavian literature was connected to Georg Brandes’s series of lectures about the literary trends of the nineteenth century. They were widely disseminated in Germany from 1871 onwards, and the Scandinavians were viewed as pioneers of a tendentious literature, oriented towards social issues, with Ibsen as their leader.<sup>127</sup> This view of Scandinavian literature evidently influenced the reception of Leffler’s literature not only in Germany but also in Great Britain and France. Leffler’s belonging to the Scandinavian school of drama made her useful for a social movement.

## EDGED OUT AS A WOMAN WRITER?

In Swedish reviews, *True Women* was criticized for not being entertaining enough, a characteristic that clashed with the commercial interests of British, French, and German public theatres at the time. However, the avant-garde theatres in Paris and Berlin, which staged plays by Ibsen and Strindberg, did not stage Leffler's work either. As I have shown, they were mainly interested in works by male playwrights. The avant-garde theatre the Independent Theatre Society in London actually wanted to stage *True Women* but, as mentioned earlier, the translator of the play prevented it. In Great Britain, the writer behind the signature E. G. in the *Athenaeum* is apologetic about Leffler's political standpoints but assures the readers that they did not interfere with her personality:

She was, though no one would have guessed it from her gentle aspect, a violent supporter of almost all extreme views, an apostle of socialism, of female emancipation, of every variety of reform. Her dramas reflect her convictions, and are, indeed, lighted up by the somewhat lurid flame of them, while she errs not infrequently in taste and in reserve. Hers was, however, and exceedingly strenuous, curious, and agitating talent and Sweden can ill afford to spare so interesting a figure from its living literature.<sup>128</sup>

This obituary indicates that its writer views socialism and female emancipation as extreme positions. On top of the comment on Leffler's bad taste he also remarks upon exaggeration. Leffler is too radical for his taste and it is the signs of her partaking in a social movement that he resents. Nevertheless, he considers her to have been an important contributor of Swedish literature. His efforts to assure the reader that her "extreme views" did not interfere with her "gentle aspect" could be understood as an attempt to avoid compromising her femininity. Thus, gender influenced this reviewer's expectations just as it did Franz Bittong's ideas of how a female playwright should write. The remark also signals that the reviewer's personal encounter with Leffler had influenced him. The position as an avant-garde playwright was difficult for a woman because discussions on art between idealists and anti-idealists were invested with ideas on morals. Consequently, the way a man and a woman could act in relation to these ideas differed. Whether an advocate of idealism or not, the reception by these men shows expectations of a soft hand of the female playwright. Of course, this made it especially difficult for a female playwright to deliver social

criticism, including protests against female subordination to men. They risked having both their morals and their womanliness attacked.

Theatre scholar Tracy C. Davis reminds us of the structural inequality that allows women into certain domains at one point in history and not at another. She demonstrates the exclusionary practices by referring to the field of literature: women were allowed to enter the socially and culturally devalued realm of novel writing from around 1840 to 1879. But during the late nineteenth-century-period of redefinition, and especially during the institutionalization of the novel into a high cultural product in the first decade of the twentieth century, women were edged out.<sup>129</sup> The same kind of exclusion is described in the 1880s in Swedish theatre and literature histories. Swedish women playwrights who were highly successful at the Scandinavian theatres at the first part of the 1880s were discarded and considered outdated as authors of literature by the second part of the 1880s. In the 1890s they were mainly in demand as writers of comedy and children's theatre. The tendency is obvious, although the description is exaggerated.<sup>130</sup> The exclusion or the deportation to more lightweight genres was parallel with the development of the avant-garde view of theatre as art with intrinsic artistic qualities, which could only be evaluated by an expert. This view meant that an autonomous field of literature developed and replaced the didactic intentions of idealism and commercial aims, which measured a play's value by its popularity with the audience and its consequent profitability.<sup>131</sup> The lack of interest shown by the avant-garde theatres in Paris and Berlin in staging works by women playwrights indicates that the changing artistic ideals had the effect of edging women out. The reception documents in my study show a tendency to delimit women writers as a group of their own, as a special case of Scandinavian or Swedish literature. There are also examples of how Leffler is looked upon as a representative of Scandinavian socio-critical playwriting and how this is a reason for rejecting her plays, as Franz Bittong does in the case of *True Women*. It is also important to bear in mind that the view of women writers as a discrete group does not necessarily mean edging women out. In Louise Cruppi's chapter on Scandinavian literature, women writers are looked upon as contributors of special and valuable literary qualities. Then again, Cruppi acts within the frames of the women's movement rather late in the period that I am investigating.

Gay Gibson Cima points to the symbiosis between the critic and the playwright. Playwrights thrive in the public sphere when critics provide a supportive framework for their plays, and critics flourish when playwrights provide interesting plays to review. Women playwrights of the time seldom moved in the same social circles nor spoke from the

same situated discourse as their male reviewers. Within the mainstream press, young male critics could show unfavourable attitudes towards female playwrights and were anxious about the inroads that had been created for women. Critics started to represent playwriting as a gendered, manly activity. Cima points to the social movement of the late nineteenth century as an arena in which this slope-sided sociability started to change: “Only within the suffrage, socialist and socialite press could women critics and playwrights more easily develop a symbiotic network”.<sup>132</sup> The results of my study point in the same direction. The networks within the social movement were important for the dissemination and reception of Leffler’s work in France and Great Britain. In Germany these networks seem to have been of importance for the reception of her gender-radical short stories and for the view of her as a modern playwright at the second part of the 1890s.

Tracy C. Davis refers to the phenomenon of the empty field. She is critical of the idea that women were omitted from histories simply because there were no women playwrights good enough to be included. What has wiped women playwrights from the historical records of certain periods is structural inequality resulting in exclusionary practices. Nevertheless, the idea of the empty field corresponds well with Damrosch’s idea of receiving cultures using foreign material according to their needs. Both Annie Besant and Louise Cruppi indicate that the fields of literature and theatre in Scandinavia are more progressive than in their own countries. *True Women* and *How Good Is Done* can thus be understood as having contributed something that had been missing in the target cultures. Annie Besant’s comments on *True Women* indicate that Leffler’s plays fulfilled the wants of the social movement as they addressed the social problems that the movement was fighting. Due to differences between the countries in the structures of their literary and theatrical systems and in the progress of the democratization of society in general, and differences within the cultural field more specifically, Leffler’s plays could contribute to the movement in a way that British and French plays did not. Leffler herself, as a progressive woman and writer, was also useful for the movement as she embodied the idea of the new independent intellectual woman.

#### BREAKTHROUGH AND IMPACT

So, what do the reception documents tell us about Anne Charlotte Leffler’s breakthrough and the impact of her works in France, Germany, and Great Britain? As mentioned earlier, past research gives a rather vague and ambivalent picture in that respect. The answer to the ques-

tion differs depending on the method of evaluation. Leffler's greatest success was the biography of Sonia Kovalevsky. As Kovalevsky was a European intellectual, involved in radical cultural and political circles and the first female professor in mathematics, her actions can be seen as part of a social movement that was important for women's emancipation. Leffler's Kovalevsky biography was translated into English, French, and German and published in several editions in each language, thus the role of cultural mediator in the context of the social movement is one of Leffler's most important in a transcultural context. Except for the success of the Kovalevsky biography, a quantitative method would give the result that Leffler's breakthrough in each of the separate countries was quite poor, and that the only country in which she can accurately be said to have had a breakthrough is Germany, based mainly on the reception of her prose fiction. It is quite obvious that in the case of playwrights, theatrical productions of their plays must be considered an important kind of reception when evaluating the breakthrough in a certain language area or geographical space. By quantitative measures, the reception of Leffler's plays including theatrical productions in the three countries lead to the conclusion that Leffler never had much of an international career as a playwright.

The literary scholars Petra Broomans and Ester Jiresch at Groningen University regard the breakthrough of an author or a literary work in a new cultural area as a process. They delineate six phases of the process of a successful cultural transfer of a work of literature into a new cultural environment. The first phase is the discovery and introduction of a writer or a text by a cultural transmitter or a group of cultural transmitters. In the second phase, the author in question is in a period of quarantine while the cultural transmitter attempts to find a way to publish the work in translation or the original. The third phase is translation, which Broomans and Jiresch describe as the point of no return and an important part of the process. In the fourth phase, the translation or the original is published, and in the fifth phase, the publication is received by reviewers and other readers. Reaching readers involves a struggle. Broomans and Jiresch call the sixth phase post-publication reception, in which the cultural position of the work in question is enhanced. The result of this additional interest completes the mission and shows that the cultural transmission has been successful. It is also the ground for canonization.<sup>133</sup>

In the light of Broomans and Jiresch's principles of evaluating breakthrough, the records found on Leffler's *Elf* and *An Angel of Deliverance* in Germany show that they at least reached the fifth phase: they were published and read (at least by critics) and they were met by audiences

in theatres. Although I have not been able to find any traces of a theatrical production of *An Angel of Deliverance* as early as 1885 or reviews of *Elf* in the German documents, it is probable that they exist. Also, *True Women* can be said to have had some kind of breakthrough in Great Britain even though it was never staged there. It was published and reviewed, and it also had a post-publication reception by being mentioned in articles on Leffler's life and literature long after its publication and reviews. As mentioned earlier, the Independent Theatre Society also rehearsed the play, although it never reached the opening night.

Like Broomans and Jiresch, Pascale Casanova underlines the consecration of a literary work by mediators and critics. The transformation of "litérisation" in the context of world literature (or the "world republic of letters", to use Casanova's term) takes place when works from one country cross borders and they become recognized by autonomous critics. Casanova calls such critics "the guardians, guarantors, and creators of value" of the world literary space. Consecration in the form of recognition by autonomous critics carries works across borders from disinherit ed countries and brings them into existence in the world republic of letters. The works are thus transformed from a condition of invisibility to become literature. Casanova defines "the world of letters" as a "relatively unified space characterized by the opposition between the great national literary spaces, which are also the oldest – and, accordingly, the best endowed – and those literary spaces that have more recently appeared and that are poor by comparison".<sup>134</sup> It would be a huge exaggeration to claim that the reception in German, British, and French journals, periodicals, and theatres turned Leffler's plays into world literature, yet they were consecrated by literary agents in France, Germany, and Great Britain and were thereby disseminated and recognized transnationally.

The model for evaluating and discussing a successful cultural transfer by Broomans and Jiresch is dependent on actual literary works being translated, published, and reviewed. The breakthrough of an author or a literary work in a new cultural area is regarded as a process which involves translators, publishers, and critics.<sup>135</sup> Casanova's litérisation is also concerned with literary works being recognized by critics. The stress on consecration by translators, publishers, and critics offers an alternative to quantitative methods for evaluating and discussing an international breakthrough. The case of Anne Charlotte Leffler underscores Broomans and Jiresch's idea that cultural transfer is a process that takes place over time. In line with the biographical research on Leffler, it could be argued that her untimely death prevents us from knowing whether the writings about her in the gossip columns could have resulted in greater interest in her literary work.

Nevertheless, my investigation of the reception of Leffler's authorship shows that factors in addition to those focusing on the translation and reception of a work are fundamental in the discussion of transnational breakthrough. As the media cult and the forming of celebrities had become established phenomena by the end of the nineteenth century, the interest in the author as a person and the author's networking leading to publicity can be seen as part of the breakthrough process. The French reception shows that, by the fin de siècle, the breakthrough process for a radical woman writer did not necessarily start with the introduction and translation of a work. It could just as easily start with her reception as a woman and a person with a lifestyle that challenged gender norms and bourgeois conventions. Even though being an author is part of it, Leffler's works are of minor importance in this biographical reception. The analysis of the reception of her plays in France, Germany, and Great Britain shows the importance of including traces of reception events other than translations, reviews, and articles on literature in order to find out about the way a playwright is received, the scope of the breakthrough, and the context in which it is relevant to use words like "impact" or "breakthrough". The combination of publications of plays, articles on Leffler's authorship, and short gossip-like reports on theatre and celebrities, etcetera, have proven to be crucial for understanding the role the plays had for Leffler's recognition in Central European political and intellectual circles and her role as a writer and intellectual in a social movement.

How should we treat such irregularities between the cultural transfer of an author as symbolic capital in a movement and the transfer or "litérisation" of her/his works as the pattern of the reception of Leffler's authorship and works show? The two plays *True Women* and *How Good Is Done* and Leffler herself as a representative of the "new woman" were useful for mobilizing political action within a social movement. That kind of impact cannot be captured with quantitative measures or by focusing on published translations. For that we need instruments of evaluation in qualitative terms that do not focus only on the individual author and the transcultural consecration of her works as literature in a literary field. The function of a piece of work or the author as a representative of visionary ideals in a social context, such as the collective struggle for political change, must be recognized. Furthermore, as communities of reception, social movements cross national borders. For an author like Anne Charlotte Leffler, limiting the research area according to the borders of certain nations or language areas does not fairly measure the transnational impact of her work nor of her personally as an intellectual and cultural transmitter. Further research on the networks

of a European social movement across nations would be a fruitful task. As I have argued in this chapter, the people taking part were important as transmitters and formed a transnational reception environment with new conditions for women's literature at the fin de siècle.

#### BIOGRAPHY: ANNE CHARLOTTE LEFFLER



Fig. 9: Anne Charlotte Leffler (1849–1892) (Riksarkivet.se)

Anne Charlotte Leffler was the youngest child in an intellectual bourgeois family and got a fairly good education. At first, her brother, mathematician Gustav Mittag-Leffler, taught her privately, but when she reached the age of 13, she had the opportunity to attend a school that was open to girls, which at the time was considered quite progressive. At first her family encouraged her literary writing, but when she reached the age that was considered appropriate for a girl to get married, her penchant for writing became more complicated. Her growing fame and the public appearance it entailed added to the complication. In 1872, she married chief district judge Gustav Edgren, who had little understanding of her ambitions as an author, her intellectual interests, and her political standpoints. In 1889, she divorced him, and a year later she married the Italian mathematician Pasquale del Pezzo, Duke of Cajanello, who was 10 years younger than her. She moved to Naples and gave birth to a son, Gaetano, in 1892. The same year, she died from complications of appendicitis.

As early as in 1869, at the age of 20, Anne Charlotte Leffler had her

first piece of literature published. It was a collection of short stories called *Händelsevis* (By Chance), which was published under the pseudonym Carlot. Four years later, in 1873, her first play was staged at the Royal Dramatic Theatre in Stockholm. The play, entitled *Skådespelerskan* (The Actress), was succeeded by the comedies *Under toffeln* (Under the Slipper) and *Pastorsadjunkten* (The Curate), both staged at the Royal Dramatic Theatre in Stockholm. At the New Theatre in Stockholm, her drama *Elvan* (Elf) premiered in 1880. To her contemporary audience, Leffler was known by her name by marriage: Anne Charlotte Edgren and later as the Duchess of Cajanello. She also used several pen names besides Carlot, including Alrun Leifsson and Valfrid Ek.

The collection of short stories *Ur lifvet I* (From Life I) is considered Leffler's breakthrough as an author. Her stories, especially those in the second volume of *Ur lifvet*, generated a great deal of heated discussion. With the collection, Leffler was placed at the forefront of a group of writers that has been called "Young Sweden" and that endeavoured to bring about a renewal of Swedish literature. In 1883, *Sanna kvinnor* (True Women) and *En räddande engel* (An Angel of Deliverance) were produced. The latter one-act play was especially successful in the long run and was staged at many Scandinavian theatres as the opening play in evening programmes. In 1884, Leffler finished the four-act play *Hur man gör godt* (How Good Is Done), and in 1885 it was staged in several Nordic theatres. In 1887 she wrote *Kampen för lyckan* (The Struggle for Happiness) together with her friend Sonia Kovalevsky, the Russian intellectual and mathematician. It was published but never staged. In 1891, Anne Charlotte Leffler achieved great success with *Familjelycka* (Domestic Happiness), which was published in a volume with two other comedies, *Den kärleken!* (That Love!) and *Moster Malvina* (Aunt Malvina). *Sanningens vägar* (The Paths of Truth) was in the form of a fairy tale and resembles August Strindberg's *A Dreamplay*. Anne Charlotte Leffler wrote it in 1892, the year she died.

## NOTES

- 1 Margareta Wirmark, *Noras systrar: Nordisk dramatik och teater 1879–1899*, Stockholm: Carlssons 2000, p. 216.
- 2 Toril Moi, *Henrik Ibsen and the Birth of Modernism: Art, Theatre, Philosophy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006, p 67–68. In line with Moi, the term "aesthetic idealism" refers to an aesthetic ideal in which ethics and aesthetics are closely linked, which permeated theatre and literature as well as other arts during the whole nineteenth century (Moi, p. 68).
- 3 I use the term "social movement" as a theoretical concept which focuses on

- the struggles of collectives of agents aiming at social and cultural change. A further explanation of the concept is found in pp. 6–7.
- 4 ‘The new woman’ was a fin-de-siècle phenomenon. She was contemporary with the new socialism, the new fiction and journalism among other issues. Hence, she was part of the cultural novelties, which manifested themselves in the 1880’s and 1890’s. Sally Ledger emphasizes the many heterogenous discourses on ‘the new woman’ around the fin de siècle, Sally Ledger, *The New Woman. Fiction and Feminism at the Fin-de-Siècle*, Manchester: Manchester University Press 1997, pp. 1–3.
  - 5 Moi, pp. 67–70.
  - 6 Monica Lauritzen, *Sanningens vägar: Anne Charlotte Lefflers liv och dikt*, Stockholm: Bonnier, 2012, pp. 324–325.
  - 7 Lauritzen, pp. 278, 302.
  - 8 *Familjelycka* premiered at Kungliga Dramatiska Teatern in March 1891, and *Den kärleken!* toured Sweden with Lindbergska sällskapet (Lindberg’s theatre company) in the autumn of 1890. *Moster Malvina* was staged at Dagmarteatret in Copenhagen in the 1891–1892 season, Margareta Wirmark, *Noras systrar: nordisk dramatik och teater 1879–99*. Stockholm: Carlsson, 2000, pp. 384, 393.
  - 9 Mona Lagerström, *Dramatisk teknik och könsideologi: Anne Charlotte Lefflers tidiga kärleks- och äktenskapsdramatik*, Göteborg: Litteraturvetenskapliga institutionen, Göteborgs Universitet 1999, pp. 13–15.
  - 10 Maj Sylvan, *Anne Charlotte Leffler: En kvinna finner sin väg*, Stockholm: Biblioteksförlaget, 1984, p. 210; Lauritzen, pp. 310–311.
  - 11 Lauritzen, p. 302.
  - 12 The study is furthermore based on reception documents generated by search terms composed from different combinations of the names Anne Charlotte, Leffler, Edgren, and Cajanello and the titles Mrs and Duchess (the last two in different languages) from the period 1883–1925 in these sources. The many combinations show one of the complications in searching for female agents in archives of historical journals and periodicals. Their names changed during their lifetime, and most often a woman was mentioned as the wife of man, in Leffler’s case, as Mrs Edgren and Duchess of Cajanello.
  - 13 As access to German newspaper and periodical archives proved to be more limited than access to their British and French counterparts, I have added searches in analogue bibliographies on Swedish literature to find as much material on German reception events as possible from the other two countries. One complication concerning access to German documents via digital databases was caused by search engines that did not allow searches on titles of works or names of authors, which means that you must know what journal or periodical to search in and, on top of that, browse through an enormous number of issues to cover the period of my research scope. Another obstacle was that special access was required to enter certain databases. Yet another impediment was that only a certain and limited variety of newspapers and periodicals appeared in the searches, from which the conclusion could be drawn that only a limited number of journals had been digitalized.
  - 14 The term “reception event” is used in line with Mario Valdés’ view on a work of literature as a historical event, comprising human action of produc-

tion and reception (See introduction, Mario J. Valdés, “Rethinking the History of Literary History”, in Hutcheon, Linda and Mario J. Valdés (eds.), *Rethinking Literary History: A Dialogue on Theory*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 66.) By using the term “reception event”, the side of circulation, reading, interpretation etc. is stressed, bearing in mind that traces of the production and, furthermore, of the systems of literature of the period of time are still present in the event.

- 15 Australian scholar in literature Katherine Bode objects to views within digital humanities of data-rich compilations such as digital archives and analogue bibliographies as built on objective base units. She points to the fact that they have been chosen by interpretative decisions, Katherine Bode, “The Equivalence of ‘Close’ and ‘Distant’ Reading or, Toward a New Object for Data-Rich Literary History”, in *Modern Language Quarterly*, Vol. 78, No. 1 (March 2017), pp. 78, 82. More than interpretative selection processes affect the results of data-rich transcultural studies of literature. In my investigation, impediments such as difficulties in accessing certain databases and variations in progress of different countries in establishing digital databases have affected the choice and compilation of empirical data and consequently the results of the study. Furthermore, the very many documents of different sorts of reception in three countries makes the scope of the research area rather large, which means that there will be some loose ends and uncertainties in my analyses and interpretations. Sometimes the investigations came to a stop because a certain translator, manager of a publishing house, or editor has disappeared from the historical records. Another reason for this is that a partial aim of the study is to disclose patterns and explain them, and therefore further investigations on a detailed level into the special circumstances of the important persons and connections that Leffler made would not have been worthwhile.
- 16 Bode, pp. 87, 94, 98.
- 17 Bode, p. 100.
- 18 Valdés, pp. 65–70.
- 19 Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison, *Music and Social Movement. Traditions in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1998, p. 21.
- 20 Moi, pp. 67–68.
- 21 According to Encyclopedia Britannica, a social movement is a loosely organized but sustained campaign in support of a social goal, typically either the implementation or the prevention of a change in society’s structure or values. Although social movements differ in size, they are all essentially collective. That is, they result from the more or less spontaneous coming together of people whose relationships are not defined by rules and procedures but who merely share a common outlook on society. All definitions of social movement reflect the notion that social movements are intrinsically related to social change. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/social-movement> [retrieved 27 Jan 2018].
- 22 Alberto Melucci, *Nomads of the Present: Social Movements and Individual Needs in Contemporary Society* (1989), edited by John Keane and Paul Mier, London: Hutchinson Radius, 1989, p. 29.
- 23 The Swedish cultural sociologist Håkan Thörn, who has studied European

social movements from 1789 to 1889, has found that when comparing contemporary social movements with older ones, including the socialist movement of the late nineteenth century, both continuities and differences can be found (pp. 20–21). Among the common characteristics, he mentions an envisioned community and collective identity, which can be seen as both a result of and a prerequisite for collective struggle (pp. 29–30). Furthermore, he mentions utopian forms of action, connected to a concept of linear time and a belief in progress, which will be achieved through human action. The utopian vision is included in an emancipatory discourse, and it is connected to ideology (pp. 27, 375). The action always starts in the identification of social problems and evils of society in the current period of time (p. 378). The politics of social movements are often articulated in opposition to the prevailing hegemonic ideology and politics in a certain space (p. 380). Thörn also stresses the importance of narratives expressing the fundamentals of the movement (p. 34, in Håkan Thörn, *Rörelser i det moderna: politik, modernitet och kollektiv identitet i Europa 1789–1989*, Stockholm: Rabén Prisma, 1997).

- 24 Ann-Sofi Ljung Svensson, *Jordens dotter: Selma Lagerlöf och den tyska hembygdslitteraturen*, Göteborg and Stockholm: Makadam, 2011, pp. 17, 71.
- 25 Ljung Svensson, p. 71.
- 26 Sonia Kovalevsky, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/11736>, Svenskt biografiskt lexikon (art av Tord Hall), [retreived 2018-03-13].
- 27 Lauritzen, pp. 507–509.
- 28 Leon Robel, “Sof’ja Kovalevskaja as a Cultural Mediator”, in Bjørnager, Kjeld, Lene Tybjærg Schacek, and Egil Steffensen (eds.), *The Slavic World and Scandinavia: Cultural Relations*, Århus: Aarhus University Press, 1988, pp. 153–159.
- 29 SWED 2018.
- 30 Lynn R. Wilkinson mentions that The second version of the play *The struggle for happiness/ How it could have been* was staged once in Moscow in a Russian translation in 1895, Lynn R Wilkinson, *Anne Charlotte Leffler and Modernist Drama: True Women and New Women on the Fin-de-Siècle Scandinavian Stage*, Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press, 2011, p. 93.
- 31 SWED 2018. There are 28 publications of plays in Great Britain and 14 in France by August Strindberg between 1880 and 1925. In the three countries, most of the publications appear in the period 1912–1920, that is, the years after Strindberg’s death, and there are more publications of prose fiction (465 1880–1925) than plays (359 1880–1925).
- 32 [sign. S.n.], “Litteratur och konst”, *Nya Pressen* 19/3 1884; I.H. “Literatur-Tidene”, *Dagbladet* 15/6 1884.
- 33 The German title of “Elf” is *Elfe*. “True Women” is ““Echt Weiblich”, but the variation “Wahre Weiblich” also appears in the German reception.
- 34 Marcus Holm, “Receptionen av Anne Charlotte Lefflers författarskap i den tyska tidskriften *Deutsche Rundschau* 1884–1894 – En undersökning av förutsättningarna för en ny effektiv litteraturhistorieskrivning”, Essay in Comparative Literature at baccalaureate level, Department of Literature, History of Ideas and Religion, University of Gothenburg, 2013, p. 10.
- 35 *Svenskt pressregister: förteckning över recensioner (konst, litteratur, musik,*

*teater), skönlitterära bidrag, signerade artiklar, 1 1880–1885*, Lund: avd. för pressforskning, Litteraturvetenskapliga institutionen, Lunds universitet 1967, p. 389.

- 36 Sylvan, p. 221.
- 37 Christian Molbech also introduced Anne Charlotte Leffler's authorship in Denmark. According to Maj Sylvan he arranged for her to have Gyldendal's as her publisher and also got her a translator. The Danish priest and author Jens Christian Hostrup translated *Sanna kvinnor* into Danish (Sylvan p. 221). According to SWED 2018, the Danish author Otto Borchsenius translated other works by Leffler into Danish.
- 38 "Frei übersetzung", SWED 2018. Emil Jonas (1824–1912) was born in Germany but spent a long period of his life in Denmark. He became a Danish citizen and was employed at the Danish ministry by the middle of the nineteenth century. He returned to Germany and devoted his life to literary activity. He translated works by H. C. Andersen, Henrik Ibsen, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, and Victor Rydberg, among others, and his travelogues from journeys in Sweden and Denmark had many readers in the late 1860s, Harald Jørgensen: Emil Jonas i *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, 3. udg., Gyldendal, 1979–84. <http://denstoredanske.dk/index.php?sidId=292258> [retrieved 21 March 2018].
- 39 The one-act play premiered in an evening programme together with *True Women* at the Royal Dramatic Theatre in Stockholm on 15 Oct. 1883. The German title is *Ein Rettender Engel*.
- 40 Lauritzen, pp. 198, 222. Lauritzen furthermore finds that Leffler had contracts for translations of *From Life I* into five different languages, including Russian (p. 224).
- 41 The German title is *Familieglück*.
- 42 The German title is *Ein rettender Angel*.
- 43 *Magazin für die litteratur des In- und Auslandes* 1893, p. 596. The review was written by the German-Jewish critic Alfred Kerr (1867–1948). In the early twentieth century, Kerr published the periodical *Pan* on art and literature, and also writings focusing on theatre and drama.
- 44 Annie Besant, "Publisher's Corner", *Our Corner*, Sept. 1885, pp. 184–185.
- 45 *The Era*, 9 May 1891; "The theatres", *Daily News*, 25 May 1891.
- 46 E.G., "The Duchess of Cajanello" *The Athenaeum* Nov 5 1892, p. 630.
- 47 E.G. maintains that *Sanna kvinnor* "has made its way through many of the theatres in Europe." My investigation cannot verify this statement, and E.G. himself does not give any examples of where the play was staged. Yet his words underline the importance of *True Women* for Leffler's reputation as a dramatist in Great Britain.
- 48 "A Remarkable Female Writer", *The Evening Telegraph*, 10 Nov. 1892; "Our London Correspondence", *Glasgow Herald*, 10 Nov. 1892.
- 49 "Slaves of the Quill" *Hampshire Telegraph*, 16 March 1889, "Slaves of the Quill", *Sussex Chronicles*, 16 March 1889.
- 50 "A Remarkable Female Writer", *The Evening Telegraph*, 10 Nov. 1892; "Our London Correspondence", *Glasgow Herald*, 10 Nov. 1892.
- 51 *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 19 Feb. 1889.
- 52 *Birmingham Daily Post*, 4 March 1889.

- 53 The French title is *Comment on fait le bien*.
- 54 Anne Charlotte Leffler, *En självbiografi, grundad på dagböcker och brev*, edited by Jane Gernandt Claine and Ingeborg Essén, Stockholm: Bonnier, 1922.
- 55 Louise Cruppi, *Femmes écrivains d'aujourd'hui. I. Suède*, Paris: Athème Fayard, 1912, p. 5. “Il y a à peine vingt ans que le nombre des femmes écrivains, en tous pays civilisés, est devenu considérable. La femme de lettres, hier encore phénomène isolé, fait partie au jour d' hui d'un nombreux groupe dont l'influence artistique, morale et sociale ne peut manquer de se faire sentir.”
- 56 Cruppi, p. 6. “La question est vaste, et on pourrait dire qu'il est hâtif de la trancher aujourd'hui. La première génération de femmes écrivains, si brillante qu'elle se soit montrée en divers pays, ne peut révéler ce que sera l'ensemble de, la production littéraire des femmes quand celles-ci se seront habituées, non seulement au métier d'écrivain, mais à toutes les activités nouvelles dans lesquelles l'elles se sont essayées depuis si peu de temps.”
- 57 Anne Charlotte Edgren Leffler, 1883. *Sanna kvinnor. Skådespel i tre akter*. Stockholm; Z Hæggströms förlagsexpedition, 1883.
- 58 Birgitta Johansson Lindh, “Affective Economies in the Tug of War between Idealism and Naturalism: Reviewers' Reactions on Anne Charlotte Leffler's *Sanna kvinnor* (True Women)”, *Nordic Theatre Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (2018), pp. 25–43
- 59 *Tidskrift för hemmet, tillegnad Nordens kvinnor*, 1886:61, pp. 332–338.
- 60 Wirmark, p. 384.
- 61 Sylvan, p. 66.
- 62 Birgitta Johansson Lindh, “Sanna kvinnor, Emil Hillbergs Pontus Bark och recensenterna. Receptionen av Anne-Charlotte Lefflers pjäs *Sanna kvinnor* (1883) i några nordiska uppsättningar via dagstidningarnas recensioner”, *I Avantgardets skugga: Brytpunkter och kontinuitet i svensk teater kring 1900*, ed. Rikard Hoogland, Gothenburg: LIR.skrifter 2019, pp. 143–167.
- 63 Sylvan, pp. 65–66.
- 64 Wirmark, pp. 271–273.
- 65 Moi, pp. 67–68. 105–106.
- 66 David Gedin, *Fältets Herrar; Framväxten av en modern författarroll: Artonhundraåttitallet*, Eslöv: B. Östlings bokförlag Symposion, 2004, pp. 378, 387–391.
- 67 Anna Irene Miller, *The Independent Theatre in Europe 1887 to the Present*, New York: Benjamin Blom Inc. 1931, p. 101; J.L. Styan, *Modern Drama in Theory and Practice Volume I: Realism and Naturalism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, pp. 11–13; Claude Schumacher, *Naturalism and Symbolism in European Theatre 1850–1918*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 323.
- 68 Oscar G. Brockett and Robert Findlay, *Century of Innovation. A History of European and American Theatre and Drama Since 1870*, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973, p. 110
- 69 Brocket and Findlay, p. 89.
- 70 Holm, pp. 23–24; Sylvan p. 222. The German original of the quotation is “jetzt ihr schönen talent im starren Nordlandseise vergrub” (Sylvan, p. 222).
- 71 Holm, p. 2.

- 72 Lauritzen p. 300.
- 73 Annie Besant, *Our Corner*, Jan. 1885, p. 55.
- 74 "The Reader", *The Graphic*, 18 April 1885, p. 393–394.
- 75 Besant, *Our Corner*, Sept. 1885, pp. 184–185.
- 76 David Damrosch, *What Is World Literature?*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 2003, p. 283.
- 77 "The Reader", *The Graphic*, 18 April 1885, p. 393–394.
- 78 "Theatrical Gossip", *The Era*, October 1895.
- 79 Wilkinson, p. 24.
- 80 "Theatrical Gossip", *The Era*, 2 May 1891.
- 81 "Theatrical Gossip", *The Era*, 9 May 1891; "Theatrical and Musical Intelligence", *The Morning Post*, 11 May 1891.
- 82 "The Theatres", *The Daily News*, 25 May 1891.
- 83 In the publication of the English translation of 1890 it says that permission to perform the piece must be obtained from Mr. Samuel French. (Anne C. Edgren, *True Women –A Play in Three Acts*, translated by H. L. Brækstad, London/ New York: Samuel French & Son 1890.) Yet Brækstad, according to the article, claims that he has the rights to *True Women*. Different information makes the facts about who held the legal rights to the authorized translation obscure.
- 84 Ljung Svensson, p. 65.
- 85 Anne-Charlotte Leffler, "The Doctor's Wife", translated by Edward Aveling, *Progress* (July 1884), pp. 41–46.
- 86 Per Arne Tjäder, *Uppfostran, underhållning, uppror: En västerländsk teaterhistoria*, Lund: Studentlitteratur 2008, p. 347.
- 87 Lee Baxandall, "The Naturalist Innovation on the German Stage: The Freie Bühne and Its Influence", *Modern Drama* 5 (Feb 1963), pp. 454–476; Samuel Montefiore Waxman, *Antoine and the Théâtre Libre*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926, Appendix A. The woman playwright whose play "Ohne Liebe" was staged at the Freie Bühne was Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach (1830–1898).
- 88 William Archer, "The Drama" in *The New Review*, Aug 1892, pp. 249–256.
- 89 Sylvan, p. 114.
- 90 Dramawebben, <http://www.dramawebben.se/pjas/hur-man-gor-godt> [retrieved 27 Jan. 2018].
- 91 Sylvan, p. 114.
- 92 Wirmark, pp. 271–273.
- 93 Karl Warburg, *Göteborgs Handels och Sjöfartstidning*, 6 June 1885.
- 94 Warburg; Hellen Lindqvist, *Ny Illustrerad Tidskrift*, 21 Nov. 1885; [osign.] *Dagens Nyheter*, 12 Nov. 1885.
- 95 [sign. S] *Aftonbladet*, 30 July 1885; [osign.] *Stockholms Dagblad* 18 Nov. 1885.
- 96 [ sign. Teatervän] "Från Scenen", *Dagny* No. 3 (March 1886), pp. 89–90.
- 97 Lauritzen, p 309.
- 98 Otto Borchsenius was a writer and scholar of literature. A follower of Georg Brandes, he belonged to the left wing of Danish literary circles. *Nationalencyklopedin*, "Otto Borchsenius". <http://www.ne.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/lång/otto-borchsenius> [retrieved 23 Aug. 2018].

- 99 Lauritzen, p. 309.
- 100 Lauritzen p. 297. The Swedish original of the quotation is: “På ömse sidor om gatan stodo alltid efter teatertidens slut uppradade en hel mängd flickor, somliga ensamma, andra två och två, många fräcka och öfvermodiga, men många också olyckliga och dödströtta, hemlösa och uthungrade men med rosor på kinderna, trasiga men med spetsar och plymer – här i rännstenen har en fallit omkull, hon har druckit, hon kan inte vara mer än 15 år”.
- 101 Lauritzen, pp. 296–297.
- 102 Juliet John, *Dicken's Villains: Melodrama, Character, Popular Culture*, Oxford; Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 61.
- 103 Anne Charlotte Leffler, *Come si fa il bene: commedia in tre atti*, Neapel; Luigi Pierri 1892.
- 104 *Nordisk familjeordbok*, 1908, <http://runeberg.org/nfbi/0578.html> [retrieved 2017-08-31]; Margherita Giordano Lokrantz, *Italien och Norden: Kulturförbindelser under ett sekel*, Stockholm: Carlsson Bokförlag, 2001, p. 144.
- 105 Lokrantz, p. 136.
- 106 Jean-Didier Wagneur and Françoise Cestor, “Savine, Albert” in Fouché, Pascale et al. (eds.), *Dictionnaire encyclopédique du Livre*, Paris: Cercle de la Librairie, 2002, pp. 667–668.
- 107 The title of the French translation is *Comment ont fait le bien*.
- 108 Vincent, K. Steven, *Between Marxism and Anarchism: Benoit Malon and French Reformist Socialism*. Berkeley: University of California Press 1992, pp. 2, 33.
- 109 Frances Wheen, *Karl Marx: A Life*, London: WW Norton & Company, 1999, p. 350.
- 110 Robel, p. 156.
- 111 Benedetto Croce was an influential Italian critic of literature and philosophy and a theatre historian.
- 112 Anna Charlotte Zeffler [sic!], *Comment on fait le bien: Comédie en trois actes*, translated by Albert Savine, *La Revue socialiste*, Jan. 1895.
- 113 Louise Cruppi, *Femmes Écrivains d'aujourd'hui 1. Suède*, Paris; Arthème Fayard Éditeur, 1912, p. 90. The French original of the quotation is: “La comédie; Les Vraies Femmes, est aussi d'une signification féministe très nette. L'auteur, sous ce vocable ironique, désigne celles qui, suivant l'ancienne tradition, toujours cèdent, toujours pardonnent, toujours s'effacent, et par cet oubli de leur dignité, par cette annulation d'elles-mêmes, ne font que pousser les hommes à l'égoïsme et à la dureté.” Agneta Rehal Johansson has translated the quotations from Cruppi's work from French into Swedish. These translations have then been translated into English.
- 114 Cruppi, p. 90. “Mais Anne-Charlotte Leffler avait l'esprit trop large pour ne pas voir ce qu'Ellen Key a maintes fois éloquement exprimé: “qu'il n'y a pas des question pure, qu'il n'y a que de questions sociales et morales; que ce qu'il faut c'est plus de justice pour tous les faibles: l'enfant, la femme, l'deshérité.” Aussi est-ce la plaie de la misère, les injustices et les duretés des riches qui on inspiré à Anne Charlotte son oeuvre la plus forte et la plus passionnée un drame institué: *Comment on fait le bien*.”
- 115 The original of the quotation is: “Einzig berechligte übersetzung”. (Anne

- Charlotte Leffler, Herzogin von Cajanello, *Wie man Gutes thut: Shauspiel in drei Akten*, transl. Sophie Lewald, Dresden/Leipzig: Heinrich Minden, 1898.) The publisher Heinrich Minden had a special interest in Finnish literature and published Aleksis Kivi's *The Seven Brothers* in the 1920s (Pekka Kujamäki, "Openness to Finnish Literature in Germany in the 1920s and 1930s", in Pym, Anthony et al. (eds.), *Sociocultural Aspects of Translating and Interpreting*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamin's Publishing, 2006, pp. 53–64).
- 116 Sophie Pataky and Michael Holzinger, *Lexikon deutcher Frauen der Feder*, Berlin, 2014.
- 117 Anna Brunneman, "Eine Vorläuferin Ibsens", *Aus Fremden Zungen*, 8:2 1898.
- 118 Anna Brunneman, "Internationella kongressen för moderskydd och sexualreformer", *Dagny* 1911(4):41, pp. 470–71. *Dagny* was called *Tidskrift för hemmet* earlier and was an organ for the Swedish women's movement. Anna Brunneman seems to have taken a special interest in Swedish literature and had several articles about Selma Lagerlöf's works published in the German periodical *Aus Fremden Zungen*, Ljung Svensson, p. 289).
- 119 Holm, p. 13.
- 120 Ljung Svensson, pp. 15, 44.
- 121 Holm, pp. 34–35.
- 122 Damrosch, p. 283.
- 123 Catherine Wiley, "Staging Infanticide: The Refusal of Representation in Elisabeth Robins's 'Alan's Wife'", *Theatre Journal*, Vol. 42, No. 4 (Dec. 1990), p. 437.
- 124 Gunnar Furuland, *Från Banditen till Rosa och Blenda: Den gemensamma litterära marknaden och fem översatta författare i 1800-talets Sverige*, Uppsala, Litteratur och samhälle. Meddelande från Avdelningen vid Litteraturvetenskapliga institutionen, Uppsala universitet, Vol. 40, No. 1/2, p. 187.
- 125 Eastman, p. 8.
- 126 Drude Dahlerup, *Rødstrømperne: Den danske Rødstrømpebevægelses udvikling, nytaenkning og gennemslag 1970–1985*, band 1, Köpenhamn; Gyldendal 1998, p 186; Birgitta Johansson, *Befrielsen är nära: Feminism och teaterpraktik i Margareta Garpes och Suzanne Ostens 1970-talsteater*, Stockholm/ Stehag; Brutus Östlings bokförlag Symposion 2006, p 148.
- 127 Ljung Svensson, p. 54.
- 128 E.G., "The Duchess of Cajanello", *The Athenaeum* Nov 5 1892
- 129 Tracy C. Davis, "The Sociable Playwright and Representative Citizen", in Tracy C. Davis and Ellen Donkin (eds.), *Women and Playwriting in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 18, 20–22.
- 130 Johansson Lindh, "Som en vildfågel i en bur: Identitet, kärlek, frihet och melodramatiska inslag i Alfhild Agrells, Victoria Benedictssons och Anne Charlotte Lefflers 1880-talsdramatik", monograph to be published by Makadam in 2019, pp. 69–70; Johansson Lindh, "Sanna kvinnor, Emil Hillbergs Pontus Bark och recensenterna.
- 131 Gedlin, pp. 377–378.
- 132 Gay Gibson Cima, "'To Be Public as a Genius and Private as a Woman': The Critical Framing of Nineteenth-Century British Women Playwrights", in Tracy

C. Davis and Ellen Donkin (eds.), *Women and Playwriting in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 35.

<sup>133</sup> Petra Broomans and Ester Jiresch (eds.), *The Invasion of Books in Peripheral Literary Fields. Transmitting Preferences and Images in Media, Networks and Translations*, Groningen: Barkhuis, 2011, pp. 12–13.

<sup>134</sup> Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, translated by M.B. De Bevoise, Cambridge: MA: Harvard University Press, 2004, pp. 83, 126–128

<sup>135</sup> Casanova, pp. 83, 126–128.

Jenny Bergenmar

## BETWEEN VÄRMLAND AND THE WORLD

A comparative reception history of Selma Lagerlöf

### INTRODUCTION

IS SELMA LAGERLÖF (1858–1940) the first Swedish author who can be considered a writer of world literature? This of course depends on how you define that concept. If we accept David Damrosch's statement that “works become world literature by being received *into* the space of a foreign culture, a space defined in many ways by the host culture's national tradition and the present needs of its own writers”, this is more or less true for all authors translated and read in foreign languages.<sup>1</sup> Damrosch also argues that “world literature is writing that gains in translation”, thereby underlining an optimistic view on translations.<sup>2</sup> What the source text loses in translation (the untranslatable dimensions of the text) it may gain in the creative solutions of the translation, bringing new meanings to the text. Applied in this sense, world literature is still a quite general category. However, according to Mariano Siskind and Rebecca Walkowitz, world literature may also be seen through the lens of modern multilingualism and cosmopolitanism as texts, or literary products, explicitly written for a global market.<sup>3</sup> In that case, Lagerlöf's texts would not qualify. Her texts travelled and she herself also travelled, even beyond Europe. In the reception of her texts in Europe, however, her literature is inextricably linked to ideas about her Swedish or Nordic origin and is clearly attached to a national project.

In the context of this investigation, it would be tempting to cast Lagerlöf as the successful beginning of a new era for women authors: she was a bestselling writer like Emilie Flygare-Carlén and a celebrity like Fredrika Bremer, and although she may not always have been

regarded in that way, she was indeed a new woman – unmarried, independent, and subsequently in a position of power in the literary system, by virtue of her 1909 Nobel Prize and her 1914 appointment as a member of the Swedish Academy. She was at the height of her career when the struggle for women's right to vote intensified in different parts of Europe, and she spoke at the sixth conference of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Stockholm in 1911. She was a pioneer; still, the reception of Lagerlöf's works, both in Sweden and abroad, shows that the key to success in her case was the association of her aesthetics and author persona with tradition, a non-threatening femininity, and an idea of a national home. In historiography, Henrik Ibsen, August Strindberg, and Knut Hamsun have become the Nordic representatives of a beginning modernist current, and Ellen Key gained repute as a European intellectual. Lagerlöf, however, is disconnected from the new directions in aesthetics and philosophy, and even in the literary history of today can be described as someone who "turned her back" on literary modernism.<sup>4</sup> Although Lagerlöf, like Strindberg and Hamsun, also detached herself aesthetically from realism, she is typically not included when Scandinavian modernism is discussed.<sup>5</sup>

There are multiple receptions of Lagerlöf in Europe, depending on time and place as analytical parameters. But even within individual countries and particular moments in history, there are different strata. Today, feminist scholars have done much to uncover Lagerlöf's place in the international women's movement. No doubt she was received in a feminist context at the beginning of the twentieth century. However, looking at the broader picture, the image of Lagerlöf as an anti-modern author cannot be overlooked. The casting of Lagerlöf in the gendered role of the traditional, idealistic, storyteller stands in contrast to the modernist's self-conscious break with literary traditions and aesthetic experimentation. This author identity was both a product of the Swedish reception, subsequently transferred to the reception abroad, and a position actively adopted by Lagerlöf herself. Even though it was opposed to urban modernism, tradition was also trendy, at least in some parts of Europe and in some circles. One example of the appeal of the nostalgic, authentic, and rural was the success of Lagerlöf's contemporary, the painter Carl Larsson. The success of his book *Das Haus in der Sonne*, published in Germany in 1909, was so great that even Lagerlöf couldn't compete with it.<sup>6</sup> The book is a richly illustrated celebration of family life and the home, more precisely, Carl Larsson's home Sundborn in Dalarna. Both Lagerlöf and Larsson were associated with "hembygd", a concept not entirely easy to translate to English, like the German "Heimat", denoting both a space and a relation between

the inhabitants and the space. The images of homes and homeland in Lagerlöf's works may have played a part in launching her as a successful writer in a Europe intensely occupied by nation building and experiencing a surge of nationalist movements.

When Lagerlöf became a Nobel laureate in 1909 she was already published in translation in many European languages and an established author in some parts of Europe. The Nobel Prize for Literature signified a consecration, to use Pascale Casanova's term, securing her a place in a transnational canon.<sup>7</sup> In this chapter, I will first survey the export of Lagerlöf's work by way of translation, reading bibliographical data on translation to discover patterns. I will then attempt to discuss the critical reception of her works in a comparative perspective. Lagerlöf had great success in Denmark and Germany, two nations that are geographically close to Sweden and also culturally and linguistically similar. In contrast to this, the main focus here will be on the French and Spanish reception, where Lagerlöf's foreignness is accentuated. In order to be able to discover common patterns in the reception, I will compare the French and Spanish reception with the conclusions drawn in previous research about Lagerlöf's reception in Germany.<sup>8</sup> While Lagerlöf had an early and enthusiastic reception in Germany, she was hardly known in France before she was awarded the Nobel Prize, despite translations of *Jerusalem* (1903) and *Gösta Berling's Saga* (1904).<sup>9</sup> In Spain, no translations were published until after she received the Nobel Prize, and Lagerlöf was unknown to the Spanish audience.

Recognizing the “imperial difference” consolidating England, Germany, and France as the main cultural (and political) powers, a discussion about the reception of a Swedish writer in the European South can be viewed as an attempt to circumscribe the traditional comparative paradigms.<sup>10</sup> The relation between Swedish and Spanish literature cannot strictly be viewed as “minor-to-minor” in the sense Shu-mei Shih and Françoise Lionnet outline in *Minor Transnationalism*, with both Spain and Sweden being colonial powers in history. However, at the beginning of the twentieth century, Spanish literature and Swedish literature cannot be described as “major” in the same sense as the French or British.<sup>11</sup> Although this study shares with Lionnet and Shi the ambition to critically rethink the relations between centre and periphery, the relations between major and minor in the case of Swedish and Spanish language and literature is complicated by the fact that these had indeed been major – Sweden within Northern Europe and Spain globally. The purpose of the inclusion of both France and Spain in this study is to follow a transnational trajectory from the fringes of Europe to the centre (Sweden-France), and between the (geographical) fringes

(Sweden-Spain). In both cases there is also a relation between a small language (Swedish) and a large one (French and Spanish). The German context is used as a backdrop to the analysis, being an important relay station for the Swedish reception. What differences and similarities between the three cultural and national contexts (Germany, France, Spain) does the critical reception display, and how does it relate to previous characterizations by Swedish critics? In what way are Lagerlöf's gender and nationality made significant? A particularly important question is whether the topic of the homeland (or in German, "*Heimat*"), central in the Swedish and German reception, is acknowledged in the French and the Spanish reception, and if so, how it is contextualized and evaluated.

It is not possible to delimit this investigation to a precise period, since the German critical reception began earlier than the French, which in turn preceded the Spanish. The different "reception events" I will study are chosen because they highlight different mechanisms of transnational literary reception of a Scandinavian woman author at this time.<sup>12</sup> The activation of certain ideas of femininity and provinciality is partly a product of a recycling of literary criticism and partly a strategy of edging women out from an emerging (male) literary modernity, observable across countries. As Valdés has remarked, there are "numerous ways of narrating the same set of historical markers that have been taken as an event since each historian has to select and sort out the evidence, organize it into a narrative sequence, and give it a sense of purpose".<sup>13</sup> The selection of evidence, in this case, is made in order to show how Lagerlöf in Europe was a national product in a double sense: both in terms of the impact of the Swedish critical reception and in terms of Lagerlöf being interpreted not as a European author but as a distinctly regional (Scandinavian), national (Swedish), or provincial author (from Värmland).

## LAGERLÖF'S RECEPTION AND POSITION IN SWEDEN

Lagerlöf's debut as a novelist in 1891 with *Gösta Berling's Saga* was met with mixed responses. The critics who were sympathetic with the realist aesthetics of the 1880s, most notably Karl Warburg, found the psychology of her characters flawed and the plot too episodic and lacking logical coherence. More traditional critics, such as Carl David af Wirsén, criticized Lagerlöf for a "false romanticism" which was not in any way comparable to works of the true and original romantic writers. However, the critic who was most influential in shaping the image of Lagerlöf was Oscar Levertin. Together with Verner von Heidenstam he launched a new aesthetics in the 1890s, oppositional to the political

and quotidian problem-debating prose of the 1880s. The main target of their critique was what they regarded as a petty naturalism concerning itself with social conditions reflected in everyday life, which was in effect a literary current that had made many of the women writers of the 1880s successful. When the first chapters of *Gösta Berling's Saga* were published in the journal *Idun*, Levertin wrote a letter to Heidenstam, who was abroad at the time, fascinated to have found "a little school mistress", as he put it, who all the same had managed to realize what they wanted to achieve aesthetically.<sup>14</sup> Lagerlöf's position was thus ambiguous in the 1890s: she was criticized but also acknowledged; she was read as a part of a new idealist and romantic aesthetic but also as a failed realist; she was almost exclusively compared to male authors but also feminized. In an essay published in 1903, Levertin portrayed Lagerlöf as an author, simultaneously diminishing and celebrating her. Selma Lagerlöf "has the eyes of a child and the heart of a child", Levertin wrote, making a childlike or feminine naivety her foremost literary quality. Bjarne Thorup Thomsen has effectively summarized the Swedish reception of Lagerlöf, which "tended to tie Lagerlöf's literary activity to her home region of rural Värmland in western Sweden, and to remove artistic agency from the author by constructing her as the voice of a tradition of oral storytelling, as a mouthpiece for the Swedish soil itself, or as an embodiment of moral values".<sup>15</sup>

At the time of her debut in 1891, Lagerlöf worked as a schoolteacher. She maintained this position until 1895, when she started her career as a professional writer. Unlike Julia Nyberg (see chapter 2), who had to rely on male networks, Lagerlöf was supported by women, among them Sophie Adlersparre, editor of the journal *Dagny*, where Lagerlöf published several poems before her breakthrough as an author with *Gösta Berling's Saga*. She also published one collection of short stories and two novels in the 1890s, but she had her greatest successes with the novel *Jerusalem*, which was published in two parts in 1901 and 1902, and *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils*, an innovative combination of fantastic tale and geography schoolbook, published in two parts in 1906 and 1907. Thanks to her prospering literary career, by 1907 she was able to repurchase the family estate, Mårbacka in Värmland. In 1909 she became a Nobel laureate, and in 1914, a member of the Swedish Academy. In terms of her success and fame she can only be compared to one other woman writer in Sweden during this period: Ellen Key. However, Key was not a writer of fiction and she was much more controversial. She was a notable intellectual but was not read by the public to the same extent as Lagerlöf. The literary climate shifted during Lagerlöf's career, but the generation of the 1890s, for example, Verner von Heidenstam

and Erik Axel Karlfeldt, kept their influential positions: both were members of the Swedish Academy and were also awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature, Heidenstam in 1916 and Karlfeldt posthumously in 1931. Like Lagerlöf, they are part of the national-romantic movement in Swedish literature and art, succeeding the neo-romanticism of the 1890s. All three were in different ways involved in the writing of a national story: Lagerlöf most tangibly in her narration of the nation in *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils*, and Heidenstam, for example, in the historical novel *The Charles Men* (1897) and *The Swedes and Their Chieftains*, which was part of the same schoolbook project as *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils*, and Karlfeldt in his rural poetry, which nostalgically celebrated the free farmers of Dalarna.<sup>16</sup>

As is clear from this description of Lagerlöf's Swedish reception, she was not read as a representative of modern Scandinavia, in which Georg Brandes, August Strindberg, and Henrik Ibsen are usually given the leading parts. Unlike Strindberg, who went to Paris to experiment aesthetically and to become a European writer, and other modern Scandinavian writers who sought artistic freedom in Paris, Lagerlöf was not cosmopolitan and could not claim access to the Parisian universality Casanova ascribes to this cultural meridian of the literary world.<sup>17</sup> However, scholars have argued that Lagerlöf might be read as modern and modernist to some extent (i.e. addressing the challenges of modernity in her texts and applying aesthetic techniques that can be connected to modernist aesthetics). This is especially true for feminist scholars, who, taking their cue from Rita's *The Gender of Modernity* (1995) and other studies on gender and canonization, have criticized how strictly delimited literary genres and epochs tend to edge women out, but also for scholars emphasizing hybridity and transnationality.<sup>18</sup> However, though Lagerlöf indeed can and perhaps should be read both as feminist and (proto)modernist today, in the contemporary reception of her work she was, albeit a pioneering female author, understood as a part of a literary movement that took as its departure point a critique of modernity and a nostalgic longing for the past and for nature. Lagerlöf epitomized the anti-cosmopolitan. She was not, like "Ibsen, Georg Brandes, Strindberg, Munch – descending on Berlin to find a culture missing in the bigoted countryside", as Frederic Jameson expresses it, neither did she write about the "ambitious provincial's quest for success in the capital [...] one of the most typical motifs of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century novels" according to Jon Helt Haarder.<sup>19</sup> The notion of cosmopolitan modernism is problematic in relation to women writers, whose ability to travel freely and to get access to the same literary circles as their male colleagues was more restricted. Both

Felski in *The Gender of Modernity* and Isobel Armstrong in *The Radical Aesthetic* (2000) challenge the definition of modernism and aim to display the strategies literary historians have used to marginalize women writers, such as identifying them with mass culture and focusing on the male genius. A question that arises is whether the provincial must always be understood as backwards and opposed to modernism? However, the reception of Selma Lagerlöf gives no clues to the answer. Generally, it establishes the images of Lagerlöf as an author separated both from modernism and modernity, even though her break with realism and naturalism is a recurring theme in the reception material.

### LAGERLÖF IN TRANSLATION: AN OVERVIEW

“There can be no question of Selma Lagerlöf’s popularity in France”, Anna Theodora Nelson writes in her study of Lagerlöf’s critical reception in France, but “it is possible for an author’s work to be enthusiastically received by the general public, and yet be disdained by the critics”.<sup>20</sup> This statement is important to bear in mind. Investigating the reception of the reading public is a challenge since the source material is generally less available than the professional, printed statements of literary critics. The number of translated editions printed in different countries can give an idea, but then there are also texts published in journals, an important form of publication in terms of reaching new readers, and these are seldom included in national databases. In this section, the purpose is to discern translation patterns from bibliographical data. A crucial factor for the understanding of an author’s destiny abroad is of course also the quality and character of the translations. However, I will limit myself here to a survey, not going into how the translations represent the original Swedish editions but bearing in mind that in many cases the texts were significantly transformed in many of the translations, both in terms of exclusions and additions, and in terms of stylistic choices.<sup>21</sup>

An invaluable resource for the understanding of the international circulation of Lagerlöf’s works is Nils Afzelius’ 1938 bibliography of translations. Its title, *The World Reputation of Selma Lagerlöf (Selma Lagerlöf’s världsrykte)* testifies that already in 1938 it made sense to put Lagerlöf in a global perspective. Since then, more bibliographies covering different languages have been published: Sibylle Schweitzer provided a bibliography of German editions of Lagerlöf’s work in 1990, and recently, Denis Ballu’s comprehensive bibliography of Nordic literature in French translations 1720–2013 was published (2016), to mention two substantial contributions.<sup>22</sup>

Lagerlöf's debut novel, *Gösta Berling's Saga*, was not immediately successful for her publisher, a fact indicated by the four years between the first Swedish edition in 1891 and the second in 1895. Afzelius, who was head librarian at the National Library of Sweden, points out that it was not until the translation to Danish in 1892 and Georg Brande's positive review in 1893 that Lagerlöf's publisher felt secure enough to publish a second edition.<sup>23</sup> Denmark kept its position as a key market for Lagerlöf: Danish was the third-largest language in translation before the Nobel Prize; only Russian and German had a larger share of the translations. This pattern of translations to Danish and German Lagerlöf shared with many other Swedish authors, among them Fredrika Bremer and Emilie Flygare Carlén. Lagerlöf's success in Russia, however, was dependent on Russia's exceptional interest in Scandinavian literature, which developed at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>24</sup>

After the Nobel Prize, Lagerlöf was most translated into German and Polish, followed by English and Danish. In Finland, an eastern province of Sweden until 1809, it was possible for the public to read Lagerlöf's works in Swedish, and the Swedish editions were reviewed in the Finnish press.<sup>25</sup> The first translation to Finnish appeared in 1900, and around this time Lagerlöf's books began to be translated more quickly. This, and the early reception of Lagerlöf's works in Finland, "reflects the rapid development of Finland's literary institutions around the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century", argues Viola Parente-Čapková and Päivi Lappalainen, who have studied the reception of Nordic women writers in fin du siècle Finland.<sup>26</sup> Norway is a case similar to the Finnish. Norway was part of a union with Sweden until 1905, when the country gained its full independence. The first translation of Lagerlöf's texts appeared in 1903 in Norwegian.<sup>27</sup> This, like the translations to Finnish, must be regarded against the backdrop of the struggle for national independence.

The circulation of Lagerlöf's work outside of the Nordic countries proceeded in different stages. Apart from Denmark, which was a very important gateway not only to the Swedish but also to the European market, the Netherlands, where the first translation was published in 1898 (*Gösta Berling's Saga*), and Germany, of course, stand out.<sup>28</sup> The first book published in Germany was *Gösta Berling's Saga* in 1896, but many German journals published her short stories in the late 1890s.<sup>29</sup> From 1902 and the translation of *Jerusalem*, Albert Langen, a publisher with a Scandinavian profile, became Lagerlöf's publisher in Germany, but unauthorized translations also appeared.<sup>30</sup> Afzelius also claims that, in 1938, there existed several shorter texts that had not been published in Swedish but were translated and published in German. "It is not an

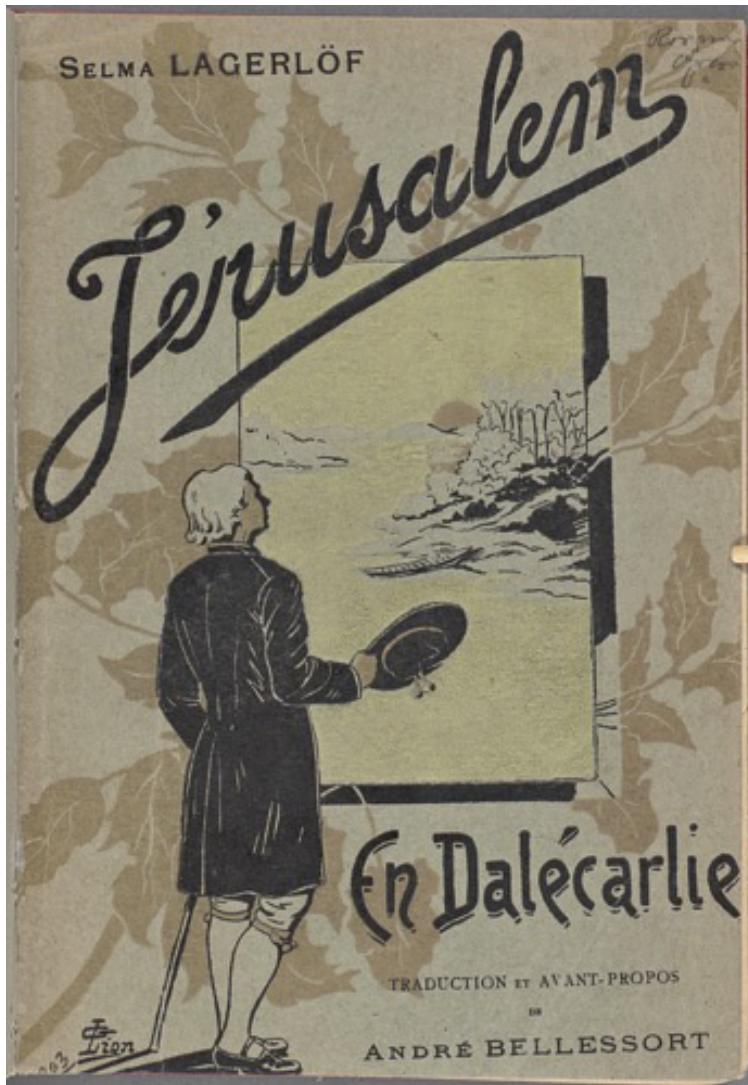
exaggeration to say that Selma Lagerlöf has been at least as famous and maybe more appreciated in Germany than in her own country,” Afzelius writes.<sup>31</sup> Especially after 1909, the German translations are in the clear majority with over 200 translations in comparison to the second-largest language, Polish, with 120.<sup>32</sup>

The first French translation was *Jérusalem* (1903), and shortly after, *La légend de Gösta Berling* (1904), both translated by the Swedish linguist Thekla Hammar, although André Bellessort is named as translator.<sup>33</sup> Anna Smedberg Bondesson states that the Italian translation of *Gösta Berling’s Saga* was made from the French, and she also lists the chapters excluded by Bellessort and Hammar, in total nine chapters.<sup>34</sup> In addition to the titles (usually of book length) available in national catalogues and included in the SWED database, Nelson provides a bibliography of translations in her study of the French reception. According to it, 15 translated short stories were published in newspapers and periodicals before the Nobel Prize, and another 13 after the Nobel Prize was announced in December 1909.<sup>35</sup> This certainly testifies that Lagerlöf’s shorter texts were important sources in the transfer process. However, when it comes to reception, i.e. articles about authors or their works, Ballu shows that Lagerlöf falls behind the male authors of the modern breakthrough (Ibsen, Strindberg, Brandes, Bjørnson and Hamsun), at least if more recent receptions than those included in this study is counted.<sup>36</sup>

Lagerlöf was translated into several other languages before becoming a Nobel laureate in 1909. The first work translated into English was *Gösta Berling’s Saga* (1898); to Dutch and Estonian, *Gösta Berling’s Saga* (1898 and 1904); to Italian, *Queens of Kungahälla* (1903); and to Polish an short story “The Brothers” 1901, which was followed by three other short stories and by *Gösta Berling’s Saga* (1905).<sup>37</sup> The first translations into Portuguese was remarkably early: *A Tale of a Manor* (1904).<sup>38</sup> A short story by Lagerlöf was published in Russia already 1895 and it was followed by two translations in 1902: *Jerusalem* and *The Miracles of Anti-Christ*.<sup>39</sup> The first Czech translation was also *The Miracles of Anti-Christ* (1901) and in Hungarian *A Tale of a Manor* (1902) was the first work to be published.<sup>40</sup>

It might seem that Lagerlöf had a solid European reputation at the time she was awarded the Nobel Prize, but in some of these cases (for example, the Italian and Portuguese), the first instance of translation did not mean that she became known to any broader audiences, and it took some years for the next translation to be published. In her monograph about the Italian reception, Margherita Giordano Lokrantz states that Lagerlöf was unknown in Italy before the Nobel

Prize, despite the previous translations, and that the most successful translations were Gösta Berling's *Saga* and *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils*, due to an Italian fascination for the exotic North.<sup>41</sup> In Russia, however, all of Lagerlöf's works were published before 1909, and in the Netherlands, all except *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils*.<sup>42</sup> That the above-mentioned titles are the first translated books by Lagerlöf does not mean that it was the first time her texts were introduced in



*Jerusalem. In Dalarna* (part 1), translated and with a preface by André Bellessort. Paris: P. Lamm, 1903.

the different languages. As mentioned earlier, a strategy often used by translators was to translate shorter texts and to publish them in the periodicals as a way to introduce the author to the audience and to persuade publishers to invest in further translations. SWED covers some of these but is not complete.

Before we move on to the post-Nobel Prize translations, the fate of Lagerlöf's work in Russia needs to be commented upon. As already mentioned, German was the language Lagerlöf was most translated into, both before and after the Nobel Prize, while Russian was the second-largest before. "Practically everything Lagerlöf wrote during the years 1900–1910 was also published in Russian, moreover in different versions", writes Maria Nikolajeva in her study of Lagerlöf in Russia.<sup>43</sup> After 1917, translations of foreign literature to Russian practically ceased.<sup>44</sup> This explains why the second-largest target language after the period 1910–1940 is Polish and not Russian. However, there was a similar Scandinavian boom around the turn of the century in Russia as in, for example, Germany.<sup>45</sup> It is of course no coincidence that Germany and Russia, two countries with close historical connections to Sweden, were Lagerlöf's two most important literary markets besides Denmark. Nikolajeva points out that Lagerlöf's work was both published in cheap editions and in more stylish and expensive editions with illustrations. By 1911 her collected works had already been published in Russian.<sup>46</sup>

The second wave of translations occurred in connection to Lagerlöf's Nobel Prize in December 1909 (see fig. 1). In some languages there had already been translations between 1891 and 1910, but there was a clear increase after 1909. SWED 2018 identifies three novels translated into Hungarian by 1909 (*Christ Legends*, 1904; *A Tale of a Manor*, 1906; *The Miracles of Anti-Christ* 1908), and twelve translations from 1910 to 1914, including some re-translations of the previously mentioned titles.<sup>47</sup> In Hungarian, Lagerlöf's texts continued to be published during the late 1910s, 1920s, and 1930s. In a letter, Nils Herman Lindberg, who was a university teacher in Hungary also states that *Gösta Berling's saga* and *Dunungen* (Baby Bird) were adapted to radio and broadcasted as radio plays in 1937.<sup>48</sup> In Bulgarian there was only one translation, a short story, before 1909, but from 1910 to 1912 five novels in Bulgarian were published (six if two different translations of *Gösta Berling's Saga* are counted).<sup>49</sup> By comparison, a few languages remain practically on the same level before and after 1909: there were at least 18 Polish translations before the prize at the end of 1909, mostly individual short stories but also complete works such as *Christ Legends*, *The Miracles of Anti-Christ*, and *Gösta Berling's Saga*.<sup>50</sup> The pattern between 1910 and 1914

displays a similar combination of translations of short stories published in periodicals and translations of novels; however, there is a clear peak in the number of published translations in 1910. The number of new translations between 1910 and 1914 is about the same (approximately 15, but it is sometimes hard to tell whether collections of short stories contain new translations or just new editions of old ones).<sup>51</sup> In other cases there is a decrease during the years 1910–1914 compared to the period before the prize, usually those languages in which Lagerlöf was already represented in many translations: Danish, French, English, and Dutch are examples. Most interesting is perhaps which new languages were added to the list in the period after the prize. The new translations included Armenian (the first volume of *Jerusalem*, 1914), Japanese (an abridged version of *Gösta Berling's Saga*, 1910), Lithuanian (*Christ Legends*, 1914), Romanian (*Christ Legends*, 1911/1914), Serbian (*Christ Legends*, 1910), and Spanish (*Gösta Berling's Saga* and the first volume of *Jerusalem*, 1910).<sup>52</sup>

Apart from Spanish, it is clear that during the period 1910–1914 Lagerlöf reached larger audiences in the east – in the Baltic and the Balkan countries. The first translation into Croatian appeared in 1909, but it is unclear whether it was presented as a consequence of the award in December 1909 or if Lagerlöf had already been spotted as an interesting foreign author in Croatia before the consecrating effect of the prize. It is notable that, with the exception of *Gösta Berling's Saga*, often published in abridged versions, the titles chosen for translations are not her voluminous novels but collections of shorter stories (*Christ Legends*) and a novelette (*A Tale of a Manor*). This is probably because these were convenient formats at a time when it was important to publish quickly. *Christ Legends* is one of the most popular source texts,

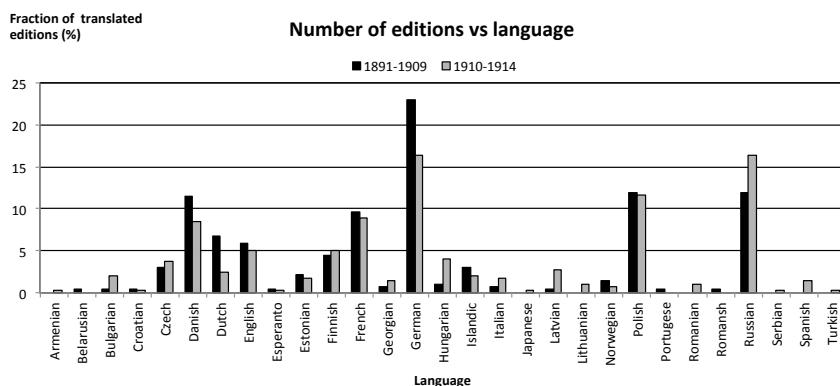
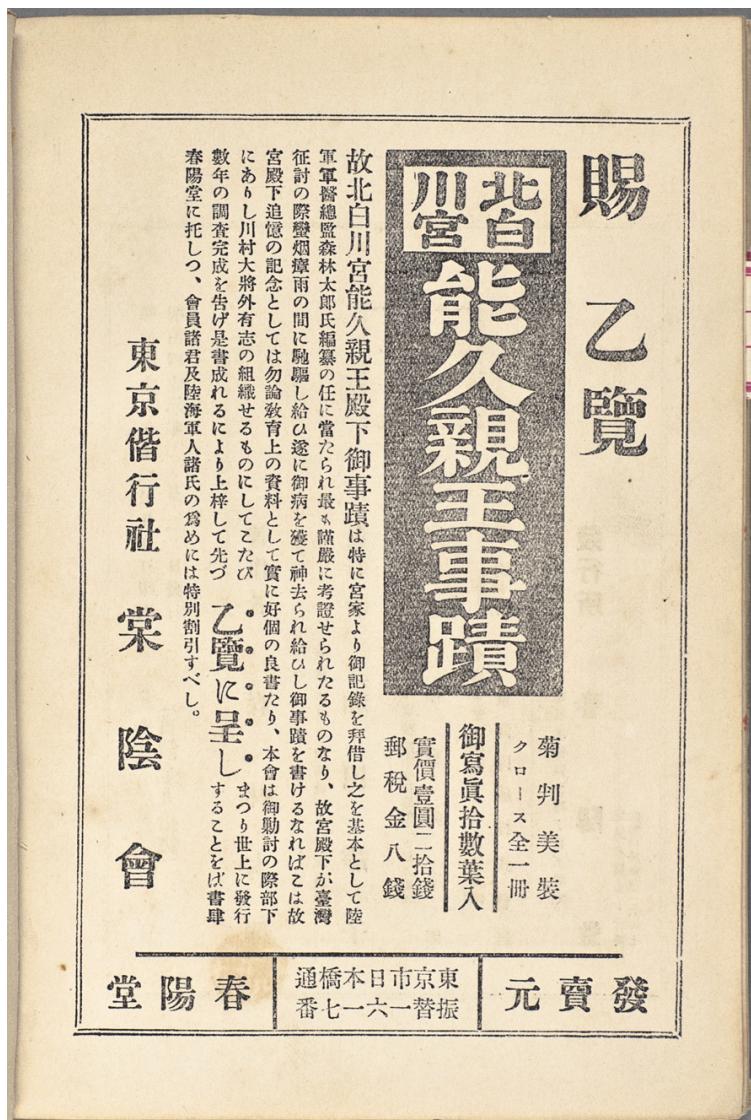


Fig. 1: Data from SWED 2018.

perhaps because it makes use of a Christian heritage familiar in most parts of Europe. Naturally, in 1910 and thereafter, new translations into many of the languages to which Lagerlöf was already translated also appeared. Among the most translated books from 1891 to 1940 were Gösta Berling's Saga, *A Tale of a Manor*, *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils*, *Christ Legends*, and *Jerusalem*, in the order mentioned.



*Bokushi*, an abridged translation of Gösta Berling's Saga, translated by Mori Ogai, Tokyo, 1910.

As Noriko Thunman has pointed out, Lagerlöf was introduced in Japan extremely early. In 1905 the first short story was published, and during 1908 several chapters of *Gösta Berling's Saga* were published and translated in journals.<sup>53</sup> However, this is an exception. Not even the Nobel Prize award immediately launched Lagerlöf's work into global circulation. Most translations into non-European languages came later: Ukrainian in 1920, Hebrew in 1921, Afrikaans in 1931, Uighur in 1931, Turkish in 1932, and Chinese in 1934.<sup>54</sup> There is also one translation of *The Phantom Carriage* to Oriya published in 1952.<sup>55</sup> The question of how this novel came to be translated into Oriya (the language spoken in Orissa in India) tickles the imagination. Spanish, Portuguese, and French are of course also world literature languages, and judging from the localization of the publishing houses, Lagerlöf was first published in Argentina in 1918, Colombia in 1919, and Chile in 1933. There are also several translations published in Rio de Janeiro, but the publication dates are uncertain. From this data it is possible to draw the conclusion that the circulation of Lagerlöf's work outside of Europe took place during the 1920s and 1930s – with the exception of Japan. Compared to her predecessors Fredrika Bremer and Emilie Flygare Carlén, Lagerlöf was certainly translated into more languages. However, this does not necessarily mean that she was more translated if that is assessed in terms of the number of editions in foreign languages.

#### COMPARATIVE RECEPTION HISTORY

Previous research on the international circulation and reception of Selma Lagerlöf's work is relatively well developed, no doubt due to her status as a Nobel laureate. However, what is known about her impact abroad varies from country to country. We know something of Lagerlöf's reception in Germany and France, for example, but no comparison has been made with respect to how the conditions for her reception differed between these countries. This attempt to present a comparative reception history of Selma Lagerlöf's work around the time of her Nobel Prize entails certain delimitations. The first is to focus on the reception in France and Spain and to compare this to the results of previous research on the German reception. Two previous investigations are of decisive importance for this study: Ann-Sofi Ljung Svensson's dissertation about Lagerlöf's early reception in Germany (2011) and Anne Theodora Nelson's dissertation focusing on Lagerlöf's critical reception in France (1962).<sup>56</sup> I will not conduct any original research on the German reception, which is fairly well documented and analysed, but will instead rely on conclusions drawn in previous studies, especially Ljung Svensson's

discussion of Lagerlöf's association with Heimatkunst in Germany.<sup>57</sup> Nelson discusses Lagerlöf's reception in its entirety and provides a very useful bibliography of articles in the press about Lagerlöf until the time of her death in 1940, in addition to the list of translations printed in the press. This is a significant effort, long before the time of digital archives. I will supplement the corpus of French press articles with a couple of longer essays on Sweden and Swedish women writers: Marie Léra's *À travers le féminisme suédoise* (published under the pseudonym Marc Hélys) (1906), *Pages suédoises* by Léonie Bernardini-Sjöstedt (1908), *La Suède* by André Bellessort (1911), and *Femmes écrivains d'aujourd'hui* (1912), a series by Louise Cruppi, one part of which is dedicated to Swedish women writers.<sup>58</sup> There seems to be a complete lack of research on Lagerlöf's reception in Spain; however, Peter Stadius' dissertation on Spanish travellers to Scandinavia and Elena Lindholm Narváez's research on the image of Scandinavia in Spain have provided a necessary context.<sup>59</sup> I will use reception documents (reviews, and introductory articles about Selma Lagerlöf) collected from the digital library of Biblioteca Nacional de España.<sup>60</sup>

It is of course impossible to discuss the material in its entirety. The second delimitation of this investigation therefore relates to time span. I will concentrate on the reception around the time of Lagerlöf's Nobel Prize and her public breakthrough in France and Spain. In France, the first introduction of Lagerlöf takes place in connection to the first translations of entire works produced in 1903 and 1904, but in Spain she was hardly known before the Nobel Prize, and I have not found any translations before 1910.<sup>61</sup> Both France and Spain were at a cultural and linguistic distance from Sweden, and the cultural transfer process was more fraught with linguistic and cultural obstacles than in the case of the other Germanic languages and cultures (Danish, Dutch, English, and German).<sup>62</sup> How this distance is negotiated in the reception is interesting, especially in relation to the German reception, where the similarities between German literature and Lagerlöf's works are underlined. The proximity between the Swedish cultural sphere and the German is crucial for Lagerlöf's early success in Germany. The transfer from Sweden to France was more dependent on individual cultural mediators and institutional factors such as the Nobel Prize. The transfer from Sweden to Spain is partly mediated through France.

Since the aim here is not to study the transfer process of one specific text by one specific author, we must take into account several sources and targets: Selma Lagerlöf's writing is one obvious source, but so are the critical texts about her work, which make up part of the literary transfer process, sometimes through direct translation and in other

cases through a transfer of attitudes towards her authorship. The targets involve three different language communities and three different cultural spheres, although to some extent there is an overlap between France and Spain, both culturally and linguistically.<sup>63</sup> A third limitation is that the translations will not be discussed in detail. However, it is important to bear in mind that how Lagerlöf's works were received was dependent on the quality of the translations; according to some critics, the French and probably also the Spanish translations did not always do the original justice.<sup>64</sup>

Petra Broomans has provided a useful definition of the role of cultural transmitters, and emphasized their importance in the circulation of literature.<sup>65</sup> Although Lagerlöf's reception in France would make a good example of what Broomans argues for, the importance of cultural transmitters, and in particular the often overlooked women who functioned in this role, this will not be my focus here. Instead, I will read the reception documents as a discourse on Lagerlöf and her works, and on Sweden and Swedish literature. The tangible parts of the literary transfer are the published texts: translations and critical texts about the translations or biographical texts about the author (and in many cases a combination of the two). The less tangible part has to do with the transfer of an idea or ideology connected to Lagerlöf's work, both about Sweden as a nation and a specific form of "Swedishness" connected to the rural, the provincial, and nature. This, of course, is also a product of the transfer process; it is both a worldview that some critics believe that Lagerlöf expresses and an attitude towards Lagerlöf's texts held by her professional readers. One could perhaps say that the effect of the transfer of Lagerlöf's literary texts and the critical statements circulated about them is that a certain image of Sweden is also transferred and circulated. The process by which national literatures become world literatures is described by Damrosch as an "elliptical refraction" in which a negotiation between the origination culture's image of authors and works and the receiving culture's own tradition and current aesthetic and ideological directions takes place.<sup>66</sup> Possibly the interpretation of Lagerlöf's texts in different ideological contexts (progressive as well as nationalist and conservative) can be described as such refractions, using, as it were, the works to meet certain topical needs in the receiving cultures. The cultural mediators (translators, critics, historians) manipulate the original text, or the understanding of it, in different ways. I will not study the translations *per se* here, or how the source text is changed through translation, but how cultural mediators influence the understanding of the text through different public epitexts.<sup>67</sup> These are of course based on translations in themselves con-

stituting a reception, in different ways changing the text, not only linguistically but also ideologically. These can be substantial changes, as in the case of the two translations of *Gösta Berling's Saga* into French and Spanish, which are considerably shorter than the original novel, or more subtle manipulations in style and content.

### WRITING HEIMAT IN SWEDEN AND GERMANY

As already mentioned, the critic Oscar Levertin published an influential essay about Lagerlöf in 1903. He described Lagerlöf as almost entirely separated from the current tendencies, an attitude expressed in the frequently quoted characterization: “Selma Lagerlöf is the most wonderful literary anomaly I know.”<sup>68</sup> He sees her as an author giving life to the past. He contrasts the intellectual, self-reflexive, and overly conscious style and psychology of modern literature with the naivety, directness, and originality of Lagerlöf’s prose. This text came to be important for Lagerlöf’s reception in Sweden, and Levertin’s characterization of Lagerlöf has been reiterated in literary history both as a target of critique and as a valid description. However, as Ljung Svensson has shown, his text also had an effect on the German reception of Lagerlöf. In fact, it became central in the transfer process, and Levertin himself was an influential agent. Levertin’s text was almost immediately translated into German by Marie Franzos, who also translated Selma Lagerlöf’s works into German under the pseudonym Francis Maro. The essay on Lagerlöf was published in 1904 as part of Georg Brandes’ series *Die Literature*. According to Ljung Svensson, seven of the thirty articles written about Selma Lagerlöf in German magazines in 1904 and 1905 directly refer to Oscar Levertin and reuse or quote his aesthetic judgement.<sup>69</sup> Ljung Svensson argues that the reason Levertin’s text was so widely acknowledged by German critics was that it harmonized with the language and values of the German critics and the translation accentuated the commonalities in aesthetic judgement and style. The polarization between a naturalistic current focusing on societal problems and the neo-romanticism he highlights in his portrait of Lagerlöf “is not only similar to the anti-naturalistic, neoromantic current in Germany around 1900, it is identical to it”, Ljung Svensson writes.<sup>70</sup> Selma Lagerlöf is presented, both in Levertin’s text and in the German reception, as a child of nature and the people rather than a product of modern society and the intellectual classes.

There are only a few explicit claims that Selma Lagerlöf should be regarded as representative of Heimatkunst among the German reviews Ljung Svensson investigates.<sup>71</sup> However, Ljung Svensson underlines

that the traits Levertin valued in Lagerlöf were to a large extent the same qualities commended within the German Heimatkunst. Jennifer Madler has previously stressed that “it was the Heimatkunstbewegung that allowed Lagerlöf to remain so popular” in Germany.<sup>72</sup> Heimat “set country against city, province against metropolis, traditional against modernity, nature against artificiality, organic culture against civilization, fixed, familiar, rooted identity against cosmopolitanism, hybridity, alien otherness or the faceless mass”, Elizabeth Boa and Rachel Palfreyman summarize.<sup>73</sup> At the turn of the century, Heimat entailed a tension between the regional and national, but in the 1920s and onward, Heimat came to be identified with the German people and the nation. In this process German identity was increasingly contrasted to the image of the rootless Jew, as the non-German other.<sup>74</sup>

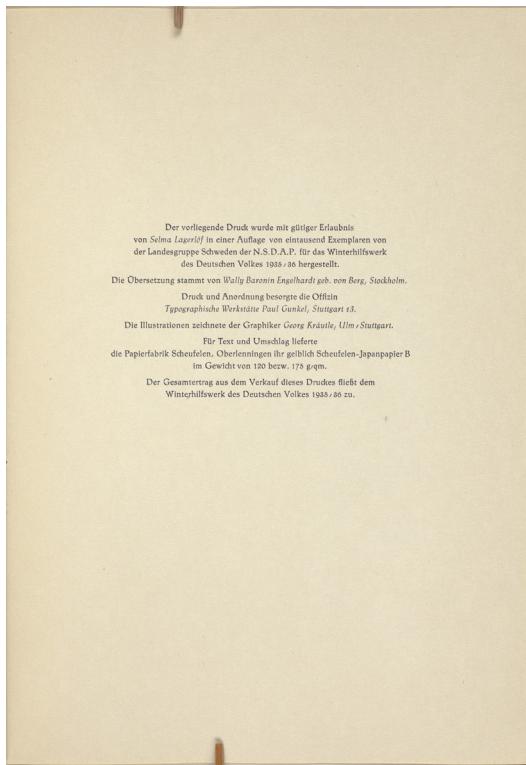
The question of what brought about the incorporation of Lagerlöf’s literature into the German Heimatkunst in the early German reception is an interesting and difficult one. Was it due to the proximity of the aesthetics of the Swedish neo-romanticism, symbolism, and idealism in the 1890s and the subsequent national romanticism in the beginning of the twentieth century? Or was her texts actively appropriated and adapted to the ideals of the Heimatkunst by German critics? Is the national romantic movement in Sweden to be interpreted as more or less parallel to the German Heimatkunst? As Ljung Svensson and Madler argue, there are clearly many striking similarities. The translation of Levertin’s text helped to adapt Lagerlöf’s Swedish neo-romanticism to the German Heimatkunst. Still, even without his mediation, a German audience would have found several examples of the ideals of the Heimatkunst. The first part of the novel *Jerusalem*, for example, published in German translation in 1902, the same year as the second part was published in Sweden, explicitly deals with modern threats to the inherited connectedness between a people and its home and soil. In this case, it is not industrialization and urbanization that cause the disruption of the steady farmers in a small village in Dalarna, but a revivalist preacher, urging the farmers to migrate to the Holy City.

The novel is based on a true story. Even so, it is ideologically significant that the farmers are from Dalarna, an area that together with Värmland came to represent the essence of the old-fashioned rural Sweden. In the *Swedish Touring Clubs Annual Review* (*Svenska turistföreningens årsskrift*), a publication in which Lagerlöf also published, the farmers from Dalarna were depicted as the noblest type of Swedes, born of generations of farmers.<sup>75</sup> Dalarna came to represent an unchanging culture, and the farmers, the cornerstones of tradition with an ideal moral decency.<sup>76</sup> The same stereotype was used by other authors such as Karlfeldt, as

well as in art, the most notable example being Anders Zorn's paintings of women from Dalarna ("dalkullor"). Zorn was seen as depicting Nordic health, strength and boldness in his art, exemplifying similar kinds of folkloristic values that Lagerlöf represented in literature.<sup>77</sup>

Clearly there are elements of Lagerlöf's prose that German critics must have found very familiar: the idea of the farmer as a bearer of an authentic but threatened tradition, as well identity as located in a specific place of origin. In that sense, the interpretation of her texts as an expression of the aesthetic and ideological ideals of the Heimatkunst did not require any appropriation or adaptation. On the other hand, as Jennifer Madler has pointed out in her investigation of German literary responses to Lagerlöf's work, Lagerlöf's texts were used in quite different aesthetic and ideological contexts: Gustav Frenssen, one of the more prominent names of the Heimatkunst movement, used *Gösta Berling's Saga* as a model for his influential novel *Jörn Uhl* (1901), and Ina Seidel adapted the novel into a drama (*Gösta Berling*, 1913).<sup>78</sup> Both authors later came to support the Nazi regime. However, Gerhart Hauptmann and Berthold Brecht were also attracted by Lagerlöf's prose, and both wrote dramatic adaptations, Brecht of *Gösta Berling's Saga* and Hauptmann of *Lord Arne's Silver* (published as *Winterballade*, 1917). Brecht's adaptation, begun in 1922, was never finished.<sup>79</sup> Hauptmann and Brecht were associated with quite different aesthetic movements: the early Hauptmann was a naturalist and, contrary to the anti-naturalistic Heimatkunst movement, he sought to shed light on society through the individual's psychology. Although he stayed in Germany during World War II and did not condemn the Nazis, he did not actively use his writing to promote the Nazi ideology, like Siedel and Frenssen did. Brecht was forced to flee from Germany in 1933, and his books were banned.<sup>80</sup> These cases exemplify the complexity of Lagerlöf's reception in Germany: she inspired writers on different ends of the ideological and aesthetic spectrum.

One curious finding appeared through the thorough search in the bibliographical records: a previously unknown edition of a poem by Lagerlöf in the popular style of Tagore, published by the N.S.D.A.P Landesgrupp in Sweden, which is the Swedish country organization of the German Nazi Party. In the Swedish libraries search service, Libris, the edition is listed as a German translation of a text by Lagerlöf, published in Stuttgart in 1935. However, the catalogue of the German national library states that the text was published in Stockholm by the Swedish country organization N.S.D.A.P, which also corresponds to the details printed in the book.<sup>81</sup> This shows that seemingly neutral bibliographical records can also have political significance.



Der vorliegende Druck wurde als zitiertes Exemplar  
von Selma Lagerlöf in einer Auflage von einemhund Exemplaren von  
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*Zur Jahreswende. Ein kleiner Versuch im Stil Tagores*, translated by Wally Baronin Engelhardt, illustrated by Georg von Kräutle. Published by Landesgr. Schweden d. N.S.D.A.P. f. d. Winterhilfwerk d. Dt. Volkes, Stockholm, 1935/36.

#### THE WOMAN AUTHOR AS TEACHER

The reception of Lagerlöf in an ideologically and aesthetically conservative culture in Germany forms a critical context to her reception in France and Spain. As we shall see, the underlining of tradition, and the connectedness between a people and its rural home was not unique for Germany. Three converging aspects of Lagerlöf's author identity recur in the French and Spanish reception: the author as a schoolmistress, the author as a traditional storyteller, and the author as a feminist or female role model.<sup>82</sup> In the following, each of them will be discussed. The first article about Lagerlöf I have found in the French press is published in connection to a translation by Ellen Wester of "Legenden om fågelboet" ("Le nid de bergeronettes") in 1896. According to Nelson, this is also the first translation of Lagerlöf to appear in France.<sup>83</sup> In the article, Lagerlöf's biography is summarized, including her employment

as a schoolteacher. Her style is described as a reaction to the naturalist prose, but she avoids an overly exalted mysticism: “she stays simple, naive, and smiling” as is proper for a work made to “cradle the spirits of childhood”.<sup>84</sup> That Lagerlöf is a teacher is, in other words, connected to a certain didactic or moral aesthetics.

Another early introduction of Lagerlöf is in an article about Swedish literature in the *Revue Encyclopédique* in 1898. It only briefly mentions her, although it dedicates longer sections to her male contemporaries: Viktor Rydberg, Carl Snoilsky, Carl David af Wirsén, August Strindberg, Verner von Heidenstam, Oscar Levertin, Gustaf af Geijerstam, Hedberg, Gustaf Fröding, and Per Hallström. The writer describes Lagerlöf as “first and foremost a schoolteacher,” although the article also mentions that she became famous after the publication of *Gösta Berling’s Saga*, which is described as an interesting attempt to reprise old tales and adapt them to the modern world.<sup>85</sup> This introduction bears a striking resemblance to the Swedish reception of Lagerlöf’s work, in which the same two elements were commonly present. Lagerlöf was gendered (“a schoolmistress”) and presented as a narrator of the tales from her childhood rather than as a modern literary author.<sup>86</sup> The writer, Gaston Lévy Ullmann, who was employed by Uppsala University, clearly transfers opinions of the Swedish literary critique and uses articles from Swedish journals as sources.

Barbe de Quirielle, who wrote under the pseudonym Jacques de Coussange, was a female critic who wrote extensively on Scandinavian literature, travelled in Sweden, and translated Swedish literature.<sup>87</sup> She presented Lagerlöf in an article in *Journal des débats* in 1899. She begins her article as a story: “In a small village in Sweden there lived a schoolteacher.”<sup>88</sup> In addition to echoing the schoolmistress stereotype, in her short description of *Gösta Berling’s Saga* de Coussange stresses that Lagerlöf belongs to a particular landscape and that she imitates the archaic and naive language of the people. These examples show that the description of Lagerlöf as a schoolteacher in the Swedish press at the beginning of her literary career was quickly established in the French reception. When describing Lagerlöf in a few lines, the role of the schoolmistress seems to be a shortcut to her author persona, thereby to characterizing her. Being a schoolteacher could be viewed as progressive at this time, since it provided a way for women to have a profession and be economically independent, in Sweden as well as in France and Spain.<sup>89</sup> However, compared to the opportunities male authors had to act on the literary field as intellectuals and to promote their writing through public lectures or essays, as, for example, Knut Hamsun and Ola Hansson did in Germany, this role placed Lagerlöf

in a gendered compartment associated with didactics and children. As schoolteachers, women could indeed be part of an intellectual dialogue, but first and foremost within the context of the women's movement and with regard to educational issues.

The first mention of Lagerlöf in the Spanish press I have been able to detect is in a travelogue from Scandinavia in the form of a letter to the editor published in *España* in 1898.<sup>90</sup> After telling Swedish literary history in the form of name-dropping, the writer mentions the contemporary writers Heidenstam, followed by "Snoilsky, Livertin, Wennerbeg, Strinberg [sic]" and the noteworthy women writers "Fredrika Bremer, Emilia Flygare Karlén, Selma Lagerlöf, Matilde Malling and Elena Key".<sup>91</sup> The women writers are placed in a female tradition and separated from the male writers, but they are given as much space as their male contemporaries.

Besides some reports from the French press, for example, about Bellessort's writings about Lagerlöf, the Spanish critical introduction occurred after the Nobel Prize. In 1909, *La ilustración artística* provided a short biography of the author: she was born on the estate of Mårbacka, and raised and schooled there until she was admitted to the Royal Advanced Teacher's Seminary in Stockholm at the age of 24. The article mistakenly also states that she was not only a teacher at an elementary school in Landskrona from 1885 to 1895, but the head of the school.<sup>92</sup> An article in *Por esos mundos* in January 1910 also mentions her "modest teaching position in a primary school" and notes that she had to finish *Gösta Berling's Saga* in her spare time.<sup>93</sup> In two articles, the grammar school in which Lagerlöf taught was thus transformed into a primary or elementary school.

Even though the cultural transmitters will not be the primary focus in this investigation, a few words about the two most important introducers of Lagerlöf to Spanish audiences are in place. The critic Julián Juderías, who wrote one of the longer articles about Selma Lagerlöf, was a translator from Russian who had studied in Germany, and had knowledge of numerous language (among them Slavic and Nordic languages). 1909 he became the editor of *La Lectura*, where his long essay on Lagerlöf was published.<sup>94</sup> José Betancourt Cabrera, writing under the pen name Ángel Guerra, wrote two longer articles about Lagerlöf. He was a translator, publicist and editor of various journals, for example *La Época*. Between 1908 and 1910 he lived in Paris. Though published in Spain, his articles about Lagerlöf were consequently written in Paris.<sup>95</sup> While Juderías to some extent might have been able to read Lagerlöf in other languages than French, Ángel Guerra exemplifies the close cultural connections between France and Spain.

In his article, Juderías outlines Lagerlöf's author identity in relation to her contemporaries as following:

At the same time as Strindberg studied history, botany, alchemy, and other unusual things, Oscar Levertin scrutinized and thought about his contemporaries in his *Critical Essays*, Ellen Key posed and solved a whole series of moral problems, and Per Hallstrom and Verner von Heidenstam devoted themselves to the novel, Selma Lagerlöf taught children in a corner of Sweden [---] and composed for the solace of big and small those admirable legends, full of life and color.<sup>96</sup>

It might seem like this description diminishes the author, but as will be discussed later, Juderías also underlines Lagerlöf as a feminist pioneer. The quotation serves to put Lagerlöf's œuvre in perspective, much like Elin Wägner does in her biography of Lagerlöf: "At the same age as Heidenstam departed for his first honeymoon, and Nansen made his first polar expedition and Strindberg wrote *Mäster Olof*, Selma Lagerlöf entered the seminary."<sup>97</sup> The seminary in question was the first institution for higher education of women in Sweden, (Högre lärarinneseminariet in Stockholm), opened in 1861. Lagerlöf was a student there from 1882 to 1885.

In the quote above, Juderías also touches on an aspect of Lagerlöf's work connected to the role of schoolmistress, namely, the writing of children's literature, or the "admirable legends" she composed for adults and children. Lagerlöf was introduced quite early in France as an author of children's literature, a role with apparent connections to that of the teacher. As we have seen, this was already implied in the presentation of the translated legend "The Legend of the Bird's Nest" in 1896. An introduction of the author at the publication of a short excerpt from *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils* in 1910 captures this tendency:

This story is by Mrs Selma Lagerlöf, the Swedish romance writer who received the Nobel Prize in 1909 [---]. Before she gained literary success she was a humble schoolmistress. It is her sincerity and tenderness that have gained general admiration.<sup>98</sup>

Formulaic descriptions like this are common when introducing the author after she received the Nobel Prize. In the words of another writer, "it is difficult to find something new to say about this Swedish author about whom so much has been said for some months".<sup>99</sup> This article in *Journal de la jeune fille*, a journal specifically aimed at young

women readers, presents Lagerlöf's life – from her childhood on the family estate Mårbacka, through her studies and then to her work as a schoolmistress and author – as an exemplary story. She is not only presented as a brilliant storyteller but also a fine character, inspiring others to become better. It is also underlined that she carried out her duties as a teacher faithfully, even while trying to fulfil her dream of becoming an author.<sup>100</sup> It is clear that in the reception after the Nobel Prize, Lagerlöf's past as a schoolteacher was integrated into her writer's persona, just as in the Swedish reception. Moreover, this aspect of the author was also imported to the Spanish reception.<sup>101</sup>

### THE WOMAN AUTHOR AS STORYTELLER

If one part of Lagerlöf's role as an author, as it presents itself in the reception, is the humble schoolmistress, another product of the transfer process was the gendered role of the traditional oral storyteller. Both these are also present in the Swedish reception. She "views the world as a book of fairy tales opened for the first time and has the ability to tell us what she sees", so that everyone can "become like children and listen to the words from her mouth", Levertin writes.<sup>102</sup> At the same time, her narrative is rooted in the soil with "all its living juices".<sup>103</sup> The role as a storyteller was thus distinctly connected to oral storytelling and deeply connected to the soil of her native home. French critics also stressed this. In his article about Lagerlöf in 1909, Bellessort celebrates her genius but also underlines her simplicity: reading Lagerlöf is like listening to stories told by the people. He confirms the disconnection of Lagerlöf from modernity that Levertin and other critics in Sweden had established. Far from the jaded gaze of the decadent writer, she cherishes the world like children or the good and simple women of the people do, he writes.<sup>104</sup> In 1909, Maurice Muret wrote that Lagerlöf as an author "is one of these primitive natures, of these richly gifted writers" with a God-given talent.<sup>105</sup> The idea that Lagerlöf was more an original talent than an elaborate and hard-working artist is also reflected in Sébastien Voirol's presentation of the author after she received the Nobel Prize. "Selma Lagerlöf is an interesting literary personality with a surprising spontaneity and inspiration" he writes, and he goes on to describe how she began to collect and write down stories from her childhood as a diversion when working as a schoolmistress.<sup>106</sup> In *Le Gaulois*, Lagerlöf was introduced as a humble schoolmistress with a sincere heart, who, when collecting the legends of her homeland, did not think that she was doing the work of a writer.<sup>107</sup>

The same tendency is present in the Spanish press. In *La ilustración*

*artística* Guerra reports that Lagerlöf retells the stories she has heard as a child in a more literary form, but still preserving a taste of the primitive.<sup>108</sup> In the journal *Por esos mundos*, an anonymous writer leans on previous critics who have described the Nobel laureate as much more than a novel writer. Lagerlöf is “una imaginativa” who has been inspired by popular traditions and brings the legends of her people back to life.<sup>109</sup> Juderías writes in his article about Lagerlöf that she has an admirable ability to exploit the treasures hidden in the spirit

LOS PREMIOS NOBEL		
		
Gustavo Ostwald, de Leipzig (Química)	Dr. T. Kocher, de Berna (Medicina)	Guillermo Marconi (Física)
		
M. d'Estournelles, de Constant (Premio de la Paz)		
		
Augusto Beernaert (Premio de la Paz)	Selma Lagerlöf y su madre (Literatura)	

Selma Lagerlöf depicted with her mother in the gendered role she was assigned in the reception in Spain. *Hormiga de Oro*, No. 1, 1910.

of the people (“el alma popular”).<sup>110</sup> That Lagerlöf based her works on a trove of stories from her childhood is an idea made even more explicit in Guerra’s articles about Lagerlöf. In his 1910 article Guerra states that Lagerlöf has the amiable effect of a grandmother telling fantastic stories during the long winter nights. She is not to be read for her learnedness or aesthetic technique but for the force and charm of her innocent spirit.<sup>111</sup> In *La España moderna*, in 1911, he takes as his departure point Lagerlöf’s own narration of how her grandmother told her stories as a child and asks, “Is it not from this well, in these old tales of her grandmother, in the legends, songs and *sagas* of the Scandinavian countries, where the soul of Selma Lagerlöf has since childhood imbibed its inspiration?”<sup>112</sup>

In this chapter there is only room for a few examples, but due to a combination of factors this idea of the author permeates the French and Spanish critical reception almost in its entirety. Lagerlöf’s break with naturalism is one contributing factor. Her style could only be explained in relation to the realist/naturalist paradigm, more precisely as a deviation from it. Naturalism was an aesthetic encoded as modern, and in the context of Scandinavian literature associated with the modern breakthrough. Lagerlöf was not seen as an author stuck in an older aesthetic paradigm, but rather as an exponent of a “new” return to the past. An article in *Alrededor del mundo* in 1913 claims that instead of joining the strong realistic current in European literature, she adapted a new method: she wrote about the vices of vulnerabilities of men and described them as something grand and beautiful.<sup>113</sup> The expression “triumph of imagination” with which Juderías chooses to capture Lagerlöf’s work also designates an active choice not to join the naturalist current.<sup>114</sup> The same can be said for some of the French critics. In a review of Bellessort’s translation of *Jerusalem*, Jules Bertaut argued that Lagerlöf’s work provided a more accurate impression of real life than the French realists had recently produced.<sup>115</sup> Like Bertaut, Voirol appreciated Lagerlöf’s detachment from naturalism and described her not as a writer (“écrivain”) but as a “storyteller (“conteur”).<sup>116</sup> Léon Pineau saw *Gösta Berling’s Saga* as an example of a new kind of romanticism, taking certain cues from naturalism, for example, how to portray credible characters.<sup>117</sup> That is to say, Lagerlöf as a storyteller was not modern in the way the naturalists were, but aesthetically innovative in her return to the past. Unlike the role of the schoolmistress, the role of the storyteller entailed literary prestige.

There is thus an aesthetic background to the strong emphasis on Lagerlöf as storyteller. Moreover, there is also a biographical background having to do with the myth of herself as an author that Lagerlöf pro-

duced in her own texts. Several articles use as a source texts by Lagerlöf where she stages storytelling situations, some of them presented as autobiographical. Some scholars have argued that in the reception of Lagerlöf in Sweden, female critics, at least in some cases, read her differently and refrained from presenting her as an instinctive and authentic storyteller, stressing her deliberate artistic choices.<sup>118</sup> Among French critics, this is not a clear tendency. In her book *Pages suédoises* (1908) Léonie Bernardini-Sjöstedt describes Gösta Berling's Saga as a retelling of the stories Lagerlöf had heard as a child in the nursery from old servants and nursemaids.<sup>119</sup> Bernardini-Sjöstedt thus also repeats Levertin's and Bellessort's association of her aesthetics with the child's way of experiencing the world. In her book from 1912, Louise Cruppi also evoked the image of a timeless or traditional storyteller. According to her, Lagerlöf's audience sat at her feet, listening to her stories.<sup>120</sup> Cruppi's image of Lagerlöf is thus not unlike Levertin's. She idealizes the author, but simultaneously detaches her from the modern world and presents her as timeless. She implicitly assigns Lagerlöf the role of a grandmother, telling her grandchildren fantastic tales, or that of a schoolmistress before her fascinated pupils. Levertin died six years before Cruppi's book was published, but Cruppi thanks his sister Anna Levertin in an afterword, thereby establishing a direct connection to his criticism.

The gendering of the author as a maternal storyteller, as well as the author's connection to the role of schoolmistress, is also evident in Bernardini-Sjöstedt's wording when she discusses *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils* as a schoolbook: Lagerlöf possesses a feminine geniality, and feminine geniality is always the geniality of a mother, no matter whether the person in question is actually a mother or not. Lagerlöf has a motherly love for the people as well as for children.<sup>121</sup> This phrasing seems to have been inspired by Ellen Key's ideas about motherhood as the core of femininity. It also combines the two established images of Lagerlöf as a storyteller and a schoolmistress. There are also some examples in the Spanish press where autobiographical sources are used even more literally. The article about Lagerlöf in *Por esos mundos* 1909 refers to a biographical text by Lagerlöf describing the combination of practical work and artistic enjoyment she was brought up in: "Wheat was grown, but also jasmine. Linen was spun, but in the meantime folk songs were sung. We studied history and grammar, but we also played comedies and learned verses".<sup>122</sup> In 1911, Guerra quotes the exact same passage in *La España moderna*. In his opinion, this environment is a determining factor for the development of Lagerlöf's imagination.<sup>123</sup>

Besides the aesthetic and (auto)biographical factors (both evidently

gendered) contributing to the construction of the role as storyteller, an additional factor is evident in Cruppi's and Bernardini-Sjöstedt's characterizations of Lagerlöf: they both echo the judgements made in the Swedish critical reception. This is also true for Bellessort. While the French reception was influenced by a direct contact with Sweden to a relatively high degree, since many of those who wrote about her had travelled to Sweden (Jacques de Coussange, Léonie Bernardini-Sjöstedt, André Bellessort, Marc Hélys), the Spanish reception is mediated through previous receptions, not only in France, but also in Germany.<sup>124</sup> This mechanism may be one explanation as to why the French reception – and by extension the Spanish reception – in a sense is so similar to the Swedish: the national image of Selma Lagerlöf produced by Swedish critics was recirculated, as was the image of her origin and her author identity that she promoted herself.

#### THE AUTHOR AS FEMINIST AND ANTI-FEMINIST

Nelson remarks that from the many articles about Lagerlöf presenting her to French audiences after the Nobel Prize it is evident that few had read her before the autumn of 1909, and even fewer had read her works in Swedish.<sup>125</sup> As she points out, the fact that it was a small group of women who had followed her literary career for some years and had most extensive knowledge of it – Jacques de Coussange (Barbe de Quirielle), Marc Hélys (Marie Léra), Louise Cruppi (who also used the pseudonym Louise Dartigue), and Léonie Bernardini-Sjöstedt – no doubt had to do with the women's movement as a transnational phenomenon.<sup>126</sup> Besides the articles about her that these writers published, Lagerlöf was presented in Marc Hélys' *À travers le féminisme suédois* (1906) and in Louise Cruppi's *Femmes écrivains d'aujourd'hui*, two essays explicitly studying women's emancipation, in which women writers of course played an important part. Lagerlöf is given proper space in these but is presented more as a successful, and after the Nobel Prize, pioneering woman writer than as a feminist. In Hélys' book, one of four chapters is devoted to "Les femmes des lettres Suédoises contemporaines", the others to the development and character of women's emancipation in Sweden, women's social action, and the modern Swedish woman. Along with Ellen Key, Lagerlöf plays a key part in the chapter on women writers. Hélys describes Lagerlöf as a national author and her author identity as that of the storyteller. She is described as expressing an individual character, but also the "soul of a region" and the "physiognomy of rural life, with its prevailing ancient traditions".<sup>127</sup> Hélys had personally met with Lagerlöf, and a

large part of her section about Lagerlöf originates from this meeting. There is not much in the text to indicate that Lagerlöf had an interest in the women's movement, but there is a reminder of the importance of her female network. Sophie Adlersparre, who supported Lagerlöf both financially and as an editor of the journal *Dagny* in her early career, is mentioned as her "bonne fée".<sup>128</sup>

As mentioned before, Louise Cruppi also returns to the idea of Lagerlöf as a feminized storyteller. Lagerlöf's fantastic tales are a change from the period of "social literature" in which women writers have been prominent, writes Cruppi.<sup>129</sup> As discussed previously by Nelson, this author identity was seen as an ideal identity for a woman writer by some French critics. Jules Bertaut suggested that French women writers should learn from Lagerlöf, a true woman capable of feeling and who can speak to our hearts, in contrast to "modern" realist women writers.<sup>130</sup> Marcel Prévost lauded Lagerlöf as a magnificent example of a woman writer, and behind this praise was the image of the storyteller, the humble and naïve conveyer of her people's stories. "Echoing the admonitions of Jules Bertaut and Jacques de Coussange, he recommended that French women writers stop attempting to compete with men on their own ground and instead use their feminine talents by writing on subjects which they could address more successfully than men: women's conception of love; home life; the legends, traditions, and customs which express the deeply rooted character traits of the race."<sup>131</sup> Following this statement by Nelson, despite being a part of the women's movement in Sweden, Lagerlöf was referred to as an example of a proper woman writer and in this way made part of a backlash against the realist women writers who used literature to discuss women's rights in society.

As we have seen, the majority of the articles in the Spanish press also express a view of Lagerlöf as a traditional storyteller expressing traditional values. However, Julián Juderías is an exception. He explicitly describes Lagerlöf and Ellen Key as two representatives of the feminist advances, with the aim of conquering more important positions and more influence in society for women. For those who feel threatened by such advances by women, Juderías points to Lagerlöf and Key as two examples of how women need not lose their femininity or the virtues of their sex when they reach the position they aspire to.<sup>132</sup> That Juderías in this way promotes the image of Lagerlöf as a modern woman writer, engaged in feminist issues, may have to do with his access to texts about Lagerlöf written in different languages, not only French.

The fact that a woman author became a Nobel laureate and later also a member of the Swedish Academy had some importance in

Spain. The example of Lagerlöf was raised in the ongoing debate in Spain about allowing women to be representatives of the Royal Spanish Academy.<sup>133</sup> In *La Esfera*, Lagerlöf's appointment as a member of the Swedish Academy alongside the French scholar Léontine Zanta's doctoral degree at Sorbonne were hailed as "Two feminist victories", as the headline reads. The article focuses on the patriarchal societal conditions in which these achievements were made: that Lagerlöf was the first woman to be appointed a member of the Swedish Academy (which was not yet possible in the Spanish Academy nor in the French Academy), and that Zanta defended her thesis in front of a room filled with Paris's most eminent men. In admitting women to high positions in cultural and academic life, Sweden is here put forward as a positive example, and Lagerlöf as a pioneer in the progressive country of Sweden.<sup>134</sup>

### A NATIONAL(IST) AUTHOR

In the wake of what is described by Gunilla Hermansson as the "Herderian idea of poetry as the quintessential expression of a nation (*Volk*), and the interest in 'primitive', vernacular, and popular poetry and epics", epic poetry became the national genre above others in the early nineteenth century.<sup>135</sup> While the novel became a highly transnational genre, epic poetry was supposed to affirm the national character and to narrate the heroic past of a people. However, the novel also functioned as an important vehicle for the articulation of the national just as the epic had done before, especially in the late nineteenth century.<sup>136</sup> In fact, the similarity between Lagerlöf's prose and the national epic is sometimes explicit in the reception.<sup>137</sup> Simultaneously with the pull towards an urban cosmopolitanism that Casanova describes in *The World Republic of Letters*, concentrating the literary capital in a few European cities, there was a connection between literary capital and the national.<sup>138</sup> Casanova argues that each nation creates its own national literary capital. "The effects of the Herderian revolution were so powerful and so durable that appeal to the spirit of the people has remained an effective method, despite changes in political context, of achieving access to literary space", she writes.<sup>139</sup> This method seems indeed to be one that Selma Lagerlöf applied, and it resounded in the critical reception. As evident from the examples of Lagerlöf as a storyteller, she was seen as an author tapping into the depth of her people. In the French reception, not only national but also nationalist interpretations of her works are not uncommon. Lagerlöf was described as an author venerated by her own country, admired in German-speaking countries, but

hard to understand for the Latin reader because of extremely “nationalist talent”.<sup>140</sup> According to Nelson, the critic Ernest Tissot, although not at all satisfied with the choice of Nobel laureate, saw in Lagerlöf at least one merit: she was a nationalist writer.<sup>141</sup> For Voirol, Lagerlöf represented a return to the national origins after a period of naturalism, and he reads *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils Holgersson* as a book teaching a love of the homeland.<sup>142</sup> The same “national turn” is described in Pierre de Quirielle’s article about the recent Nobel laureate. He places her in the company of other representatives of the nationalist current, Sven Hedin, Harald Hjärne, and Heidenstam, and exclaims: “Above all, the work of Selma Lagerloef is Swedish, it is national!”<sup>143</sup>

While the reception of Lagerlöf in Germany to a large extent relied on the cultural, linguistic, and geographical proximity between Sweden and Germany, distance and foreignness are repeatedly underlined in the French and Spanish reception. Reading Bernardini-Sjöstedt’s *Pages suédois* or Bellessort’s *La Suède* is a bit like encountering the touristic gaze on popular destinations in other parts of the world today: the Swedes are less cultivated, but exotic and friendly. Hélys describes how the cultivated French traveller is exposed to a barbaric sounding language, strange customs, and primitive culture.<sup>144</sup> The Swedish journalist Ellen Kleen ironically summarizes the prevalent and stereotypical difference between French and Germanic (in which Swedish is included) cultures in a short article about Bernardini-Sjöstedt: “As an intellectualist, she is typically French – but one of these educated and broad-minded French ladies who understand and estimate our Germanic mist-shrouded thoughts and the heavy weight of our duties.”<sup>145</sup> The contrast between North and South, the Latin and Germanic, the cosmopolitan and the rural is present in all the texts that explicitly discuss Lagerlöf’s work in the context of introducing Sweden, and often also in the reviews. When summarizing Lagerlöf’s reception in France, Nelson claims that almost all critics “remarked upon the characteristically Swedish traits in her work”.<sup>146</sup> Marc Hélys writes that there is a deep abyss separating the Latin people from the people of the North. The difference is so great that mutual comprehension is almost impossible.<sup>147</sup>

In his texts about Lagerlöf, Bellessort repeated familiar themes from the Swedish reception of her work, describing her characters as typically Swedish and noting that her writing had a deep connection with nature and with the people. In his preface to *La légende de Gösta Berling* (1904), he wrote that no translation or adaptation could capture its profoundly national character and that it was a real saga of the Vikings.<sup>148</sup> The author of *Gösta Berling’s Saga* is truly the voice of the soil, André Bellessort writes in *La Suède*. “Never has the theory

of Taine been better confirmed than in the little Scandinavian region where *Gösta Berling's Saga* was written," he comments, clearly showing the theoretical underpinnings of the French critics' treatment of Lagerlöf's authorial origin.<sup>149</sup>

Bellessort and Hammar's translation of Lagerlöf's novel *Jerusalem* (1903) was reviewed under the headline "A novel of a small country", a title that underlined both the provincial and the foreign aspects of Lagerlöf's work. The "small country" (*petit pays*) mentioned in the headline does not refer to Sweden but to the region of Dalarna, where the novel is set. As critic Jacques des Gachons commented, all literary traditions contain works that serve as an excellent contribution to geography, and he gives this aspect of Lagerlöf's novel a considerable amount of space in his review. The reviewer presents geographical facts that are necessary for understanding the novel, and he quotes passages about the landscape.<sup>150</sup> When de Coussange discusses *The Miracles of Anti-Christ* (1897), a novel set in Italy and not yet translated into French, she makes a point of comparing it with the Swedish setting of *Gösta Berling's Saga*. Lagerlöf is too rooted in the Swedish landscape to be able to successfully write about Italy; de Coussange prefers "the Swedish giants" to the Italian characters.<sup>151</sup> Anna Smedberg Bondesson points to the same reaction in the Italian reception, where, for example, the well-known critic Giuseppe Antonio Borghese describes her as "too rooted in the forests of her homeland to become European".<sup>152</sup>

An emphasis on cultural, climatic, and racial differences is the most prominent feature in the Spanish reception also. For Ángel Guerra, Taine's idea about "la race, le milieu et le moment" is the natural starting point for the analysis of any author. In his article from 1911 he refers to the French critics Jacques de Coussange and Jane Michaux.<sup>153</sup> Through de Coussange he repeats the romantic stereotypes about the dark and snowy winters and the long nights of summer. Michaux represents the North in more negative terms. In her view, the landscape and the climate contribute to the serious nature and withdrawal of Swedes, and even to suicide.<sup>154</sup> Furthermore, the climate is used as an explanation for the Scandinavian love of the tragic and the heroic. Juderías sees Sweden as a poetic country, with its blue lakes and centennial pines and its climate of contrasts. He also reuses French criticism, in this case André Bellessort's, and repeats his words that the Swedes want their authors to tell fantastic and entertaining stories to help them endure the monotony of the winters and the sleeplessness of the summers.<sup>155</sup> The aesthetics of Swedish literature are thus connected to climate, not only to geography and topography.

Taine was major inspiration for Bellessort also.<sup>156</sup> In Taine's theory, the climatic aspect of "le milieu" was central.<sup>157</sup> This seems to be reflected in both Guerra's and Juderías' texts, and in the Spanish reception more generally. Lagerlöf conveys "[t]he whole soul of a nation and a race, with its deepest roots in the native land, hard and permanent in its unmistakable spiritual character through time", Guerra argues.<sup>158</sup> Lagerlöf's author identity as a storyteller is here combined with an idea of the North as a non-urbanized and traditional cultural sphere, so to speak, beyond modernity. Guerra is clearly employing both a widespread idea about the authenticity of the North and an understanding of culture based on racial differences, possibly connected to the pan-Latinist distinction between Latin and Germanic.<sup>159</sup> Juderías, for his part, refers to a "german critic" contending that Lagerlöf's timelessness and rootedness in her people proves that, despite the change of times and the transformation undergone by societies, the people continue to have the same character.<sup>160</sup> The repeated references in the Spanish press to Lagerlöf's "native region", "birthplace" or "native soil" is in fact similar to the Heimat discourse in the German reception identified by Ljung Svensson.<sup>161</sup> In Guerra's and Juderías' texts, Lagerlöf is portrayed as a national author, but in order to truly be a national author, it is necessary to be anchored in one's native soil. The provincial, in this case, epitomizes the national, and the discourse of inheritance of a literary tradition is implicitly connected to a cultural and biological inheritance (race).

On a larger scale, the discourse of the national is no doubt a product of the Herderian heritage. However, the critical reception of Lagerlöf in France and Spain is also stamped by more recent developments in literary criticism. What the romantic Herder and the rationalist Taine had in common was a strong emphasis on the national character (in Herder's case, based on an idea of a mythical "people", in Taine's case based on scientific ideas) as a determining factor in understanding literature. Taine sees literature as a product of converging factors: the author's origin (race), the author's social conditions (*milieu*), and the historical moment (moment). As we have seen, there is an explicit reference to Taine in Bellessort's discussion about Lagerlöf, but critics in general, whether inspired by Taine or not, are occupied with an explanation of Lagerlöf's works from the point of view of origin.

In Germany, France, and Spain, this place of origin, described in terms of "native soil", "birthplace", or "race", had evidently different perimeters. In Germany, it was seen as a part of the Germanic and not primarily defined in terms of difference. In France, critics used national

character and race to explain why Lagerlöf was interesting or not. This was a question of how one valued the difference. For some, Lagerlöf was deemed incomprehensible to the Latin mind, for others, her literature provided a way to gain insight into a foreign and exotic culture. This exoticism can be described as an expression of ethnocentrism, defining the exotic in terms of otherness in relation to the French cultural centrality.<sup>162</sup> To a large extent the same is true for the Spanish critical reception. But the difference between Spain and Sweden is defined by the circumstance that neither of these nations had the cultural centrality of France (or Germany). Both were at the fringes of Europe, but the fact that Scandinavian literature was mainly known in Spain as the literature of modern breakthrough, and the Nordic woman as a modern, emancipated woman, may have contributed to the fact that the image of Lagerlöf as a pioneering woman author appears more clearly in Spain than in France.

Spain is an interesting case due to the historical changes shaping the last years of the nineteenth century. The defeat in the Spanish-American war 1898 and the subsequent loss of Cuba, Puerto Rico and other colonies gave rise to major changes in Spanish literature and intellectual life. An emphasis on traditions, regionalism and an ambivalent stance toward modernity is also present in the intellectual circles of Spain at the time, linked to what literary and intellectual history has called the generation of '98. Miguel de Unamuno was a front figure in the generation of '98. He "introduced the concept of 'intrahistory': while history, in the conventional sense of the term, deals with the great events of a nation's past, 'intrahistory' is concerned with habitual actions, popular tradition and one's own experience of the landscape of one's home."<sup>163</sup> Albeit in a separate ideological strand than the *Heimatkunst*, this aesthetics resonated with the same traits in Lagerlöf's works. The aesthetics of the generation of '98 meant a turn from naturalism, towards an impressionist mode of writing trying to capture intense moments experienced by the subject. This generation was also occupied with Spanish identity, or to capture "the spirit of the race".<sup>164</sup> This is evidently an important context for the many references to race in the reception of Lagerlöf.

#### EUROPEAN CANON AND WORLD LITERATURE

While the national or nationalist is strongly emphasized in the critical reception in Germany, France, and Spain, Lagerlöf is also measured against a group of internationally acclaimed authors. Comparing Lagerlöf's work to that of well-known European authors was a way to explain this unknown national author, to situate her in relation to

literary predecessors, and to incorporate her into the European canon. To begin with the literary tradition, Tolstoy is a name that appears as a common point of reference, in particular in relation to *Gösta Berling's Saga* and its tragic-heroic characters.<sup>165</sup> In one article the writer states that the Nobel Prize was necessary for Lagerlöf to find her place in European literature, next to Tolstoy.<sup>166</sup> Other established author names mentioned are Victor Hugo and Walter Scott, two bestselling authors who were popular in most parts of Europe.<sup>167</sup>

It is notable that the references span from an older literary tradition – literary classics – to the modern authors. *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils Holgersson* evokes references to La Fontaine and Perrault, as well as Kipling. Jacques de Coussange provides a good example of this: the books make her think of Lagerlöf's contemporaries Kipling, Maeterlinck, and Anatole France, as well as La Fontaine and Taine.<sup>168</sup> Maeterlinck, France, and Kipling are also mentioned by Guerra in his article from 1911.<sup>169</sup> In his article the previous year he mentions a couple of women authors, Ada Negri and George Eliot, along with some Scandinavian names, Andersen, Ibsen, and Strindberg.<sup>170</sup> Even if some realists are mentioned, the general tendency is to connect Lagerlöf with a literary tradition of fables and tales with its roots in La Fontaine and Perrault and revived by Kipling and his *Jungle Book* (1894), and by Anatole France in *Nos enfants: scènes de la ville et des champs* (1887) and the symbolist fairy tales of Maeterlinck. It is interesting to note that many of the names mentioned were either nominees for the Nobel Prize (Tolstoy), had received it (Kipling), or would eventually become Nobel laureates (Maeterlinck 1911 and France 1921). For some of the critics, Frédéric Mistral seemed like a natural name to mention.<sup>171</sup> Mistral shared the Nobel Prize in 1904 with the Spanish playwright José Echegaray and was selected on grounds of his faithful representation of the “natural scenery and native spirit of his people, and, in addition, his significant work as a Provençal philologist”.<sup>172</sup> Apparently, their provincialism, and a connection to nature and to the people were seen as aspects motivating the comparison.

Although Lagerlöf was clearly gendered as an author in the Spanish and French reception, in general she was not compartmentalized as a writer of women's literature. The frame of reference was what we today include in the European canon, the “hypercanon” in Damrosch's words, not what he has called the “shadow canon”, meaning the “the old ‘minor’ authors who fade increasingly into the background”.<sup>173</sup> Perhaps Ada Negri would be regarded as a part of that shadow canon today, but hardly George Eliot and George Sand, two of the women writers Lagerlöf was most commonly compared to.

Besides the frequently repeated names of the European canon, Lagerlöf definitely made an impression as a writer of world literature. The Nobel Prize for literature can be seen as an important part of the establishment of a world literature canon, imbuing a sense of quality and general significance to the works of the awarded authors, and bringing about new translations.<sup>174</sup> As already mentioned, Lagerlöf was published in several countries outside of Europe even during her lifetime. In general, she had a greater effect on Latin America than on Spain. One example is the Chilean author Gabriela Mistral, who became a Nobel laureate in 1945, the first from Latin America. On her visit to Sweden in 1945 Mistral visited Mårbacka and Lagerlöf's grave, and she later retranslated *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils*.<sup>175</sup> Another example is Rigoberto Cordero y Leon, a writer and poet from Ecuador. In 1959 he published a text about Selma Lagerlöf for the first centenary of Lagerlöf's birth. In a poetic form of prose, he portrays her as profound and mysterious and, in line with the image of the author that has been described previously, as someone deeply connected with the landscape and the people. In addition to this, the mystery of Lagerlöf's storytelling is summarized in this question: "How did Selma succeed in joining so intimately the dream with the reality, the supernatural with the natural, the visible and the invisible, the current with the eternal?"<sup>176</sup>

The Nobel Prize not only brought Lagerlöf and her works to worldwide attention, it also made possible contacts with authors from other continents. Pablo Neruda, the Chilean author awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1971, mentions Lagerlöf in his memoirs among the writers who actively supported the fight against the fascists in Spain. When he was arranging a congress in support of the Republic in Madrid in 1937, he stated that he had received a reply from Lagerlöf to his invitation: "One was from Yeats, Ireland's national poet; another from Selma Lagerlöf, the notable Swedish writer. They were both too old to travel to a beleaguered city like Madrid, which was steadily being pounded by bombs, but they rallied to the defence of the Spanish Republic."<sup>177</sup>

Perhaps the most convincing proof of the fact that Lagerlöf's works became world literature is Tagore's story *Buro Angla*. According to Satadru Sen:

*Buro Angla* is about a slightly sadistic boy named Ridoy who is magically shrunk to the size of a thumb (*buro angul*), flies across Bengal with a flock of migrating geese (riding on a lame and domesticated duck), and learns to relate to animals with sympathy and humility. The novel first appeared in serialized form

in [the periodical] *Mouchak*, shortly after the Great War. It has since acquired a secure position in the Bengali children's literature canon [...].<sup>178</sup>

Tagore apparently learned about Nils Holgersson through a French friend, who sent him a Nils Holgersson doll. In this example, as Sen underlines, a piece of folkloristic merchandise is the vehicle by which a didactic tale about the Swedish nation is transformed into a chart of a different territory, from "Assam to the east, and Bihar to the west, Tibet to the North, and the sea to the South".<sup>179</sup> The first editions were published with the information that the novel was inspired by Selma Lagerlöf, but the subsequent editions excluded it, and its transcultural origin was forgotten.<sup>180</sup> In her biography of Lagerlöf Elin Wägner writes that once an aristocratic couple from Ceylon was brought to Mårbacka by the local author Linus Brodin, who helped to arrange meetings with Lagerlöf. Through Tagore, they had been so captivated by Lagerlöf that they travelled to Sweden to meet her for ten minutes.<sup>181</sup>

## CONCLUSION

As with all writers whose works have been translated into different languages over a long period of time, Lagerlöf's works were used for different purposes and in different ideological contexts. Considering the development of events in Germany, turning Heimatkunst to Blut-und-Boden, Germany might seem like a completely separate case, different from the rest of Europe. However, as both Ljung Svensson and Madler underline, there are many similarities between the aesthetic development in Sweden and Germany around 1900. Moreover, when it comes to the understanding of literature in terms of race and ethnicity, this is clearly a transcultural phenomenon, visible also in the Spanish and French criticism around the time of Lagerlöf's Nobel Prize.

Both in France and Spain, Lagerlöf was explicitly understood as a national or nationalist writer. She represented a literary aesthetic opposed to the naturalism of the previous decades, and her author persona was constructed in opposition to the modern, cosmopolitan, intellectual, and politically radical authors, in a Scandinavian context represented, for example, by Ibsen and Strindberg. The most interesting author to compare her with would perhaps be Hamsun, a parallel yet different case. Like Lagerlöf, he wrote the national through the provincial. He was the most translated and bestselling author in Norway in 1925.<sup>182</sup> He had pattern of reception similar to Lagerlöf's, with a considerable reputation in Russia and Germany already in the 1890s.<sup>183</sup> Like Lager-

löf, he had a cool reception in Britain, and did not reach a popular readership in France, where the reception was mostly confined to a literary elite.<sup>184</sup> However, as a male author, Hamsun could both be a modern intellectual and a writer of the authentic life in the province, while Lagerlöf was gendered as a schoolmistress or (grand)motherly figure. Like Hamsun's work, Lagerlöf's writing had a strong appeal for German audiences, but while Hamsun actively supported the Nazi regime, Lagerlöf actively opposed it through a publication in support of Jewish refugees printed in 1933.<sup>185</sup> "The Nazis supported Hamsun's writings; Hamsun's writing supported the Nazis", Peter Sjølyst-Jackson writes.<sup>186</sup> Of Lagerlöf, the first is true, but not the latter. As Watson has pointed out, Lagerlöf's texts continued to be published in Nazi Germany, despite the censorship that also included translations. Her texts were not only tolerated but actively used by the Nazi regime: *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils* was used as a schoolbook, and *Lord Arne's Silver* and *Gösta Berling's Saga* were published as Frontbuch editions for German soldiers.<sup>187</sup>

It is no coincidence that some of Lagerlöf's most important cultural intermediaries in France were not radical intellectuals but conservative nationalists. André Bellessort actively supported Action Française, a far-right authoritarian political organization founded in 1899 with the aim of reinstating the monarchy and supporting the Catholic Church. When Bernardini-Sjöstedt was introduced to a Swedish audience in the journal *Idun* in 1911, she was described as conservative and nationalist.<sup>188</sup> Jacques de Coussange, one of the critics who wrote most extensively about Lagerlöf, was also drawn to nationalism and published the book *Le nationalisme scandinave* in 1914 and, like Bernardini-Sjöstedt, supported Barrès, an anti-Dreyfusard and leading nationalist ideologist. According to Fournier, nationalism is latent in Bellessort's writings on Lagerlöf but explicit in the writing of Bernardini-Sjöstedt and Jacques de Coussange.<sup>189</sup> Thus, three of Lagerlöf's most influential cultural mediators in France were nationalists and appreciated the nationalism they perceived in Lagerlöf's texts. As far as I can tell, Louise Cruppi, a musician and author, and Marc Hélys (Marie Léra), an author and journalist, were not politically allied with nationalism, despite the fact that their texts about Lagerlöf are also embedded in a discourse on origin and identity.

Damrosch's idea of the process of literary transfer as a refraction means that literary works bear traces of the national, "yet these traces are increasingly diffused and become ever more sharply refracted as a work travels farther from home".<sup>190</sup> Just as "refraction" in physics refers to the deflection of light when it passes through the interface

between one medium and another, something similar happens when a literary work passes through one language to another. Literature can thus veer or curve in another direction when translated into another language and introduced into another culture. This seems indeed to be the case in the example of *Buro Angla*, where the Swedish national tale gained a reputation as a part of a Bengali storytelling tradition.

The refraction is less evident in the European contexts investigated here. The traces of the Swedish understanding of Lagerlöf's work are very present in the German, French, and Spanish contexts. In Germany this was due both to the concordance between the German Heimat-kunst movement and the Swedish national romanticism, and to the translation of Oscar Levertin's essay on Lagerlöf, summarizing his critical judgement. In France, the introduction of the author and her works was to a large extent also dependent on direct contact with Swedish literary criticism, either through critics with a background in Sweden (Ullman, Voirol, Bellessort) or through travel to Sweden (Hélys, Bernardini-Sjöstedt, de Coussange, Cruppi), making Swedish critical statements about Lagerlöf (above all Levertin's) important products in the transfer process. In Spain, the critical reception was highly influenced by the French reception and includes examples of direct references to it. There are clearly many cases of "secondary reception" (see Hermansson's chapter in this volume) in the Spanish press, recycling an established image of the author and ideas about the North that are also present in the French critical reception.

Although the description of the author and the critics' readings of Lagerlöf's works in France and Spain were largely consistent with the Swedish reception, there is of course also an element of refraction in which the author and her works are used to meet the present needs of the national writers in France and Spain. In France it seems that Lagerlöf was most attractive to those critics who had an interest in a conservative and nationalist ideology, and to those who were supporters of the women's movement. Lagerlöf paradoxically came to serve both as a pioneer for the emancipation of women and as an example of traditional femininity. In Spain, Lagerlöf was not similarly presented in a nationalist context, but she was understood in terms of race and nationality. However, she was also employed as an example of feminist advances. The conclusion must nevertheless be that reception of Lagerlöf in France and Spain is generally not strongly characterized by a difference, but in many ways by similarity to the Swedish image of Lagerlöf and the national understanding of her texts. The refraction occurring is more difficult to spot. In Spain it was no doubt connected to the cultural reorientation characterising the end of Spain as an empire.

Through this change, Spain became more on par with Scandinavia as outskirts of Europe in the South and North respectively. According to Theo D'Haen, Swedish and Spanish literature inhabited a similar semi-peripheral space among the literatures of Europe.<sup>191</sup> Knowing many languages, not least German and Scandinavian languages, Juderías did not have to lean exclusively on what was written in French. Juderías' contribution to the reception of Lagerlöf in Spain thus shows that the literary transfer between these semi-peripheries did not always travel by way of Paris.

Since all the critical texts about Lagerlöf in the contexts discussed here engage with an understanding of Sweden or Scandinavia, it might also be useful to distinguish between a national auto-image present in Lagerlöf's texts and a hetero-image expressed in the critical texts about Lagerlöf, the essays about Sweden, and possibly also in the translations (although they lie outside of the scope of this investigation). The auto-image signifies the image of national identity presented in Lagerlöf's works, or the works of other Swedish writers, while a hetero-image (or hetero-images) is expressed, for example, in Bellessort's *La Suède*.<sup>192</sup> The hetero-images of Sweden in Spain and France highly influence the reception of Lagerlöf, and though they cannot be said to be consistent with the auto-image expressed in Swedish literature at this time more generally, the images of wild nature and the idealized farmers in Lagerlöf's texts support the romanticized and exotic image of Sweden commonly conveyed in the hetero-images. As Smedberg Bondesson has pointed out in her study of Lagerlöf's reception in Italy, Lagerlöf exploited a rural capital that proved to be a valuable asset for women writers during this time – a parallel case being the Italian literature laureate Grazia Deledda.<sup>193</sup> No doubt Lagerlöf's works had a great influence on the hetero-image of Sweden due to the large numbers of translations and the fact that they were produced during a period when Europe in general was engaged in a “nationalization of culture”.<sup>194</sup>

In terms of cultural memory, Lagerlöf is not usually remembered as an author who is popular among nationalists and Nazis. Applying Aleida Assman's distinction between “canon”, which is actively circulated memory keeping the past present, and “archive”, signifying a “reference memory” and not actively used except by scholars who may retrieve it to bring forgotten texts or authorships to light, it is clear that the image of Lagerlöf that is actively remembered excludes certain aspects of her reception: that is to say, the canonized images are based on her literature and not on her reception abroad, which remains in the archive.<sup>195</sup> In the canon, Lagerlöf is remembered as a storyteller,

usually connected to the didactic or morally good. The use of her texts by Nazis and nationalists, however, is only passively remembered, as a part of the reference memory (archive), visible when old editions and reception documents are brought to light. That this aspect of Lagerlöf's reception is placed in the archive is most likely due to the fact that reception abroad is usually not included in the formation of the canonical image of authors.

Considering the successful launching of the Swedish novel as a literary export product in the mid-nineteenth century, the question arises as to whether Lagerlöf is to be seen as a successor to Emilie Flygare-Carlén and Fredrika Bremer. Is she a part of the "Swedish novel wonder" of the nineteenth century? There are certainly aspects connecting these three authors, besides the fact that they were women novel writers. Flygare-Carlén wrote about the province, and a number of her texts are firmly rooted in her birthplace, just like Lagerlöf's. Like Bremer, Lagerlöf was a travelling author, and they were both celebrities and their celebrity helped to promote their works. However, while Flygare-Carlén and Bremer often used the domestic, realist novel as a productive frame for writing about emancipation, Lagerlöf connected to an older romantic tradition: the national epic. She often built on folklore and traditional legends, and her characters are seldom placed within a realist, domestic novel paradigm. The chevaliers of *Gösta Berling's Saga* and even the farmers in *Jerusalem*, a novel that builds on actual events, are larger-than-life heroes, and the author herself said that she was inspired by Carlyle's *On Heroes and Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History*.<sup>196</sup> While Bremer and Flygare-Carlén used the female-coded novel genre to experiment with feminist critique, Lagerlöf instead made the male-encoded epic literature her own. Interestingly, however, when telling the story of her discovery of Carlyle in the library of the Royal Advanced Female Teachers' Seminary, Lagerlöf emphasizes that it was in reading Bremer's own copy of the book, which she had given to the school, that she first learned about Carlyle. In this way, she conveys that she is not only following in the male-heroic tradition of Carlyle, but also in the female novel tradition of Bremer.

## BIOGRAPHY: SELMA LAGERLÖF



Selma Lagerlöf, 1906. Photo by Anton Blomberg. Wikimedia commons.

Selma Lagerlöf was born on 20 November 1858 and raised in her family home, Mårbacka, in Värmland in western Sweden. In her twenties she studied at the Royal Advanced Female Teachers' Seminary in Stockholm. After the death of her father in 1888, Mårbacka was sold at auction. In 1907, when Lagerlöf had become an established author, she bought back the estate, rebuilt it in the 1920s, and once again made it her home. In *Mårbacka* (1922), *Memories of My Childhood* (1930), and *Diary of Selma Ottilia Lovisa Lagerlöf* (1932), she described her childhood experiences from infancy to adolescence.

Lagerlöf began her professional career as a teacher in Landskrona, where she was employed when she wrote her first literary works. In 1888 she published her first texts, some poems in the women's journal *Dagny*. After winning a novel-writing competition in the journal *Idun* with five chapters from *Gösta Berling's Saga* in 1890, the whole novel was published in 1891. It was met with mixed responses. Her neo-romantic, epic style was far from the literary realism that had been the dominant literary current. In the following years Lagerlöf published two short prose collections and also the novel *The Miracles of Anti-*

*Christ* (1897), which was inspired by Lagerlöf's journey in Italy with her friend and partner Sophie Elkan, a writer of historical fiction. They also travelled to Jerusalem, which was essential for the writing of Lagerlöf's novel *Jerusalem*.

From 1895 onwards, Lagerlöf was able to support herself as a professional writer and she was awarded the Swedish Academy gold medal in 1904. During this period she was very productive, her major accomplishment being the two-part novel *Jerusalem* (1901–1902). She was commissioned to write a textbook for schools, and in 1906 and 1907, the two parts of *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils* were published. In 1907 she was awarded an honorary doctorate at Uppsala University, and two years later she became the first woman to be awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature.

Lagerlöf was a popular and public author. She received thousands of letters from the public, she appeared in journals and on radio, and her texts were adapted to film, theatre, and opera. At the same time, she had a position of power as the first woman to become a member of the Swedish Academy in 1914. Lagerlöf was engaged in the suffrage movement, and her speech at the sixth conference of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Stockholm 1911, "Home and State", was widely circulated and translated. She was also engaged in the peace movement, and during World War I, she wrote the novel *Outcast* (1918) as a response to the violence of the war, as well as several short stories on the subject. In the 1930s, she published a legend in support of Jewish refugees, and she received many letters from people trying to escape from Germany. Of those she helped, the author Nelly Sachs is the most well known. Her last book, a collection of speeches and stories, was published in 1933. She died at Mårbacka in 1940.

## NOTES

- 1 David Damrosch, *What Is World Literature?*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003 p. 283.
- 2 Damrosch, *What Is World Literature?*, p. 281.
- 3 Mariano Siskind, *Cosmopolitan Desires: Global Modernity and World Literature in Latin America*, Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2014, pp. 25–44, and Rebecca L. Walkowitz, *Born Translated: The Contemporary Novel in an Age of World Literature*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2015, p. 174.
- 4 Ulla Torpe, "One long variation on the word 'will'", *Nordic Women's Literature Online*, <http://nordicwomensliterature.net/article/one-long-variation-word-will> [retrieved 27 jan. 2019].

- 5 See for example Anker Gemzøe, “Nordic Modernism”, in Brooker, Peter, Andrzej Gąsiorek, Deborah Longworth, and Andrew Thacker (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modernisms*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015, pp. 860–862, and Anna Stenport Westerståhl, “Scandinavian Modernism. Stories of the Transnational and the Discontinuous”, in Wollaeger, Mark and Matt Eatough (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Global Modernism*, New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 481. See also Jens Bjerring-Hansen, Torben Jelsbak, and Monica Wenusch’s volume *Die skandinavische Moderne und Europa*, in which Henrik Ibsen, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, Jonas Lie, Georg Brandes, J.P. Jacobsen, Herman Bang, and Knut Hamsun are mentioned as the authors who are giving Scandinavian literature an almost unimaginable status and distribution in the European public sphere, thereby once more consolidating the Scandinavian Modern Breakthrough as a breakthrough for male authors. Bjerring-Hansen, Jens, Torben Jelsbak, and Monica Wenusch (eds.), *Die skandinavische Moderne und Europa. Eine Rundshau*”, *Die skandinavische Moderne und Europa: Transmission – Exil – Soziologie*, Wiener Studien zur Skandinavistik, Vol 25, Wien: Presens Verlag, 2016, p. 9.
- 6 According to Cecilia Lengefeld, it sold 200 000 copies, and Lagerlöf’s *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils* sold 12 000. Cecilia Lengefeld, *Der Maler des glücklichen Heims: Zur Rezeption Carl Larssons im wilhelminischen Deutschland*, Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1993, pp. 4f. The Swedish title of Larsson’s book was *Åt solsidan*. Larsson also painted Lagerlöf’s portrait in 1902 and 1908.
- 7 Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, translated by M.B DeBevoise, Cambridge, MA & London: Harvard University Press, 2004, pp. 146–153.
- 8 I have previously discussed the French reception in “Gender and Nationality in the French Reception of Selma Lagerlöf 1899–1912, in Herrero López, Isis, Cecilia Alvstad, Johanna Akujärvi and Synnøve Skarsbø Lindtner (eds.), *Gender and translation: understanding agents in transnational reception*, Quebec: Éditions québécoises de l’oeuvre, pp. 127–149; and the Spanish in “The North Seen From the South in the Spanish Reception of Selma Lagerlöf”, *European Journal of Scandinavian Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 2, pp. 170–188.
- 9 Anne Theodora Nelson, *The Critical Reception of Selma Lagerlöf in France*. Unpublished dissertation, Ann Arbor: Northwestern University, 1962, p. 10.
- 10 For the concept of “imperial difference”, see Walter D. Mignolo, “Rethinking the Colonial Model”, in Hutton, Linda and Mario J. Valdés (eds.), *Rethinking Literary History: A Dialogue on Theory*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 155–193.
- 11 Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih, “Introduction. Thinking Through the Minor, Transnationally”, in Lionnet and Shi (eds.), *Minor Transnationalism*, Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2005, p. 8.
- 12 For the concept “reception events”, see “Introduction”, p. 19.
- 13 Mario Valdés, “From Geography to Poetry. A Braudelian Comparative Literary History of Latin America”, *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature*, Vol. 23. No. 1 (March 1996), pp. 202–203.

- 14 The letter is cited in Anna Nordlund, *Selma Lagerlöfs underbara resa genom den svenska litteraturhistorien 1891–1996*, Eslöv: Symposion, 2005, p. 33. Nordlund also provides a thorough analysis of the Swedish critical reception.
- 15 Bjarne Thorup Thomsen, “Re-Mapping Lagerlöf. This Volume and Its Parameters”, in Forsås-Scott, Helena, Lisbeth Stenberg, Bjarne Thorup Thomsen (eds.), *Re-Mapping Lagerlöf: Performance, Intermediality, and European Transmissions*, Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2014, p. 13.
- 16 Verner von Heidenstam, *The Charles Men*, transl. from Swedish by Charles Wharton Stork, with an introduction by Fredrik Böök. *Scandinavian Classics 15–16*, New York, 1920; *Svenskarna och deras hövdingar* (The Swedes and Their Chieftains), Stockholm: Bonnier, 1908–1910. (no English translation).
- 17 I agree with the critique from the point of view of Scandinavia articulated by Sylvain Briens that Casanova, in making Paris the independent centre of literary Europe, neglects the fact that Paris was a transnational (but not an un-nationalized, cosmopolitan) space, depending on the logics of different nationalities. See Sylvain Briens, *Paris: Laboratoire de la Littérature Scandinave Moderne 1880–1905*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 2010, p. 80.
- 18 Some examples are Maria Karlsson, *Känslans röst. Det melodramatiska i Selma Lagerlöfs romankonst*, Stockholm/Stehag: Symposion, 2002; Jenny Bergenmar, *Förvildade hjärtan: Livets estetik och berättandets etik i Selma Lagerlöfs Gösta Berlings saga*, Stockholm and Stehag: Symposion, 2003; Anna Bohlin, *Röstens anatomi: Läsningar av politik i Elin Wagners Silverforsen, Selma Lagerlöfs Löwensköldstrilogi och Klara Johanssons Tidevarvsstäder*, Umeå: H:ström, 2008; Annegret Heitmann, “The Moving Statue: Art and Femininity in Texts by Women Authors Around 1900”, in Witt-Brattström, Ebba (ed.), *The New Woman and the Aesthetic Opening: Unlocking Gender in Twentieth-Century Texts*, Södertörn Academic Studies 20, Huddinge: Södertörns högskola, 2004; Inger-Lise Hjordt-Vetlesen, “Världen växer – jaget expanderar”. Sekelskiftets nya formspråk”, i Møller Jensen, Elisabeth (ed.), *Nordisk kvinnolitteraturhistoria. Band 3: Vida världen*, Höganäs: Bra böcker, 1996, pp. 36–47. Bjarne Thorup Thomsen has discussed modernity and modernism in Lagerlöf’s work in terms of hybridity and transnationality, see *Lagerlöf’s Litterære Landvinding: Nation og Mobilitet i Nils Holgersson og tilgrænsende tekster*, Amsterdam contributions to Scandinavian studies, Vol. 3, Scandinavisch Instituut, 2007.
- 19 Jon Helt Haarder, “Towards a New World. Johannes V. Jensen and Henrik Pontoppidan”, in Ringgaard, Dan and Mads Rosendahl Thomsen (eds.), *Danish Literature as World Literature*, London: Bloomsbury, 2017, p. 170. The quotation from Jameson is from the article “Cosmic Neutrality”, *London Review of Books*, Vol. 33, No. 20, p. 17, here quoted from Haarder, p. 170.
- 20 Nelson, *The Critical Reception of Selma Lagerlöf*, p. 3
- 21 Examples of previous research analysing the translations as texts are: Kerstin Weniger, *Gösta Berling in deutscher Übersetzung: Studien zur übersetzerischen Rezeption Selma Lagerlöfs*, Leipzig: Leipzig University, 1992; Margherita Giordano Lokrantz, *Selma Lagerlöf i Italienskt perspektiv*, Lagerlöfstudier 1990, Sunne: Selma Lagerlöfsällskapet, 1990; Isabell Desmidt, *En underbar färd på språkets vingar: Selma Lagerlöf's Nils Holgersson i tysk*

- och nederländsk bearbetning*, Ghent: Ghent University, 2001; Björn Sundmark, “But the Story Itself Is Intact (Or Is It?). The Case of the English Translations of the Adventures of Nils”, in Epstein, B. J. (ed.), *Northern Lights: Translation in the Nordic Countries*, Bern: Peter Lang, 2009, pp. 167–180; Anna Smedberg Bondesson, “Italy Seen from Sweden and Sweden Seen from Italy. Selma Lagerlöf’s Sicilian Novel and Italian Translations”, *Scandinavian Studies*, Vol. 83, No. 2, 2011, pp. 233–246, and *Gösta Berling på La Scala. Selma Lagerlöf och Italien*, Makadam: Göteborg & Stockholm, 2018.
- 22 Nils Afzelius, “Selma Lagerlöfs världsrykte. En bibliografisk översikt över hennes översatta verk”, särtryck ur *Nordisk familjeboks månadskrönika*, Stockholm: 1938; Sibylle Schweitzer, *Selma Lagerlöf: Eine Bibliographie*. Marburg: Schriften der Universitätsbibliothek Marburg 51, 1990; Denis Ballu, *Lettres Nordiques. Une bibliographie 1720–2013 vol. 1–2*, Stockholm: Kungliga biblioteket, 2016. The following overview builds on the data in SWED 2018, in which the data from Afzelius and Ballu are integrated.
- 23 Afzelius, “Selma Lagerlöfs världsrykte”, p. 720. The first translation was *Gösta Berlings Saga: Fortællinger fra det gamle Vermland, øvers. af Ida Falbe-Hansen [med Udeladelser efter Forf:s Anvidning]*, Köpenhamn: Gyldendal, 1892.
- 24 Olga Campbell-Thomson, “The Soviet Reception of Selma Lagerlöf”, *Nora: Nordic Journal for Feminist and Gender Research*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (2017), p. 297.
- 25 Viola Parente-Čapková and Päivi Lappalainen, “Transnational Reception: Nordic Women Writers in Fin de Siècle Finland”, *Nora – Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (2017), pp. 269–270.
- 26 Parente-Čapková and Lappalainen, “Transnational Reception: Nordic Women Writers in Fin de Siècle Finland”, p. 270. In this article, the first translation to Finnish is dated to 1902. However, in SWED 2018, the first translation to Finnish registered is *Herraskartano ja Legendoja (A Tale of a Manor)*, translated by Maija Halonen, Porvoo: W. Söderström, 1900. A *Tale of a Manor* was published in Swedish 1899. For more details about the translations to Finnish, see Parente-Čapková and Lappalainen, p. 270.
- 27 The first translation to Norwegian was *Lord Arne’s Silver*, translated by O. Thommessen and published as a series in the newspaper *Verdens gang* from 1 December 1903.
- 28 *Gösta Berling*. Translated from Swedish by Margaretha Meijboom, Amsterdam: H. J. W. Becht, 1898.
- 29 Gunilla Rising Hintz has counted seven short stories published in German journals in 1897, and she quotes a letter from Lagerlöf to Sophie Elkan where she states that her short stories are popular in Germany and financially lucrative for her. Gunilla Rising Hintz, “Selma Lagerlöfs tyska översättare kring sekelskiftet 1900”, in Karlsson, Maria and Louise Vinge (eds.), *Spår och speglingar*, Möklinta: Gidlunds, 2011, pp. 88–89. About the first translation of *Gösta Berling’s saga*, see pp. 102–108. The first translation of *Gösta Berling’s saga* was made by Margrethe Langfeldt, *Gösta Berling: eine Sammlung Erzählungen aus dem alten Wermland*, Leipzig: H. Haessel, 1896.

- 30 *Jerusalem. Erzählung. Autor. Uebers. aus dem Schwedischen von Pauline Klaiber*, translated by Pauline Klaiber, München: Albert Langen, 1902.
- 31 Afzelius, “Selma Lagerlöf’s världsrykte”, p. 721. My translation.
- 32 The numbers here, like those in SWED 2018 more generally, are primarily based on book editions, since other publication forms are less represented in bibliographical databases.
- 33 According to Nelson, Hammar was the main translator of *Jérusalem* and *La légende de Gösta Berling*, and Bellesort acknowledges this in the dedication of the translation of *Jérusalem* (but not in the case of *La légende de Gösta Berling*). See Nelson, *The Critical Reception of Selma Lagerlöf*, pp. 17–18 and 46. By her own statement, Hammar was also behind the translation of *Le vieux manoir* (1911), accredited to Marc Hélys (pseudonym for Marie Léra), see Nelson, *The Critical Reception of Selma Lagerlöf*, p. 28. *Jérusalem. En Dalécarlie. Traduction et avant-propos de André Bellessort*, Paris: P. Lamm, 1903. *La légende de Gösta Berling. Traduit et adapté par André Bellessort. Illustrations de Georg Pauli*, Paris: Editions Nilsson, 1904.
- 34 Smedberg Bondesson, *Gösta Berling på La Scala*, pp. 165f.
- 35 See Nelson’s bibliography of translations, *The Critical Reception of Selma Lagerlöf*, pp. 562–563.
- 36 Ballu, *Lettres Nordiques*, p. 913. He also explains the high amount of translations of Lagerlöf’s whole works (amounting to 76 in total, according to Ballu) with numerous editions of *The Wonderful Adventure of Nils*. This contradicts Andreas Hedberg’s statement that the publication of the translation of *Gösta Berling’s Saga* “marked the beginning of a half-century-long heyday for Lagerlöf in France”. Andreas Hedberg, “Swedes in French: Cultural Transfer from Periphery to Literary Metropolis”, in Helgesson, Stefan, Annika Mörte Alling, Yvonne Lindqvist, and Helena Wulff (eds.), *World Literatures: Exploring the Cosmopolitan- Vernacular Exchange*, Stockholm: Stockholm University Press, 2018, p. 355.
- 37 In English, *Gösta Berling’s Saga* was published in two different translations 1898, one by Lillie Tudeer, and one by Pauline Bancroft Flach. The latter was published both in London and Boston. *Gösta Berling’s Saga, authorized translation from the Swedish by Lillie Tudeer*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1898; *The Story of Gösta Berling, transl. by Pauline Bancroft Flach*, London: Gat and Bird, 1898 and Boston: Little, Brown & Co, 1898. The first translation to Dutch has already been mentioned: *Gösta Berling*. Translated from Swedish by Margaretha Meijboom, Amsterdam: H. J. W. Becht, 1898. In Estonia the novel was published under the title *Gösta Berling: Roman* as a serial in the journal *Linda*, No. 16, 1904 (translator unknown). In Italy, *The Queens of Kungahälla* was published in translation by A. Borsi as *Le regine di Kungahella, versione dallo svedese von note di A. Borsz*, Palermo: Salvatore Biondo, 1903. “The Brothers”, *Bracia*, translated by M. Posner-Garfeinowa and published in *Głos*, No. 21, 1901, p. 315–317 seems to be the first Polish translation, followed by other short stories or short extracts in the press during 1902 and 1904. The first book translation was *Gösta Berling*, translated by Józefa Klemensiewiczowa, Warszawa: Józef Sikorski, 1905. The same year a selection of chapters from *Gösta Berling* was also published, in translation by Maria Markowska

- and published under the title *Wyzwalajaca smierc, in Ogniwo* No. 8, 1905 pp. 158–159 and No. 9, p. 179–180. *Christ Legends* was published in Polish the same year: *Legendy o Chrystusie*, translated by Maria Markowska, Warszawa: M. Arcta.
- 38 *Cura de um louco, tradução de Manuel de Macedo*, Lisbon: A Editora, 1904.
- 39 Чудеса антихриста: Роман (*Čudesna Antichrista: Roman*), translated by Maria Pavlovna Blagoveshchenskaya, St. Petersburg: O. N. Popova, 1902; Иерусалим (*Iyerusalim*), translated by EA Eichwald, St. Petersburg: V.V. Komarova, 1902. According to Campbell-Thomson, the first Russian publication was Lagerlöf's short story “The Fallen King” (“En fallen kung”) in the journal *Severnyj Vestnik* in St Petersburg in 1895.
- 40 In Czech: *Antikristovy zázraky: roman*, translated by O.S. Vetti, Prague: J. Otto, 1901. In Hungarian the first translation according to Afzelius was *A Tale of a Manor*, translated by Gyuláné Zempléni, see *Selma Lagerlöfs världsrykte*, p. 731. I have not been able to confirm the title in Hungarian or the publishing house. In 1904, *Christ legends* was translated: *A nagy legenda: regény*, translated by Dániel Jób, Budapest: M. Hírlap, 1906. According to Tanja Baldalič, there are also two translations in Slovenian before the Nobel Prize, the short story “The emperor’s vision” (“Kejsarens syn”), published by a periodical in 1904, followed by *Christ Legends* 1906. Tanja Baldalič, *Reception of European Women Writers in Slovenian Multicultural Territory of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Until the End of the First World War*, Nova Gorica: University of Nova Gorica Graduate School (Diss.), 2014, pp. 143 and 139. However, they are not included in SWED 2018, since the edition of *Christ Legends* lacks the name of the author, and Baldalič does not provide the issue of date for the publication of “The emperor’s vision” in the journal *Slovenec*.
- 41 Giordano Lokrantz, *Selma Lagerlöf i italienskt perspektiv*, pp. 7 and 27–28. Giordano Lokrantz also provides a bibliography of translations (including publications in periodical press), see pp. 29–36. Lagerlöf’s popularity in Italy was at its peak between 1930 and 1945, which, according to Giordano Locrantz, shows that Italy reacted less violently against the author’s anti-fascism than did Nazi Germany, where she was criticized, see p. 6. See also Smedberg Bondesson, *Gösta Berling på La Scala*, p. 122.
- 42 Afzelius, “Selma Lagerlöfs världsrykte”, p. 722.
- 43 Maria Nikolajeva, *Selma Lagerlöf ur ryskt perspektiv. Lagerlöfstudier 1991*, Sunne: Selma Lagerlöfsällskapet, 1991, p. 38. My translation.
- 44 The reasons for this change are examined in Campbell-Thomson, “The Soviet Reception of Selma Lagerlöf”, for example, the banning of pre-revolutionary editions of *Christ Legends* in the 1930s, and the description of Lagerlöf in the literary encyclopedia published in 1932 as “one of the most reactionary women writers of the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries”, see pp. 307–308.
- 45 Nikolajeva, *Selma Lagerlöf ur ryskt perspektiv*, pp. 12–17.
- 46 Nikolajeva, *Selma Lagerlöf ur ryskt perspektiv*, pp. 38–40.
- 47 For the 1904 and 1906 translations, see footnote 40. *The Miracles of Anti-Christ* was translated by Ernő Körmöczy and published as *Az Antikrisztus csodája*, Szabadka: Bácskai Napló, 1908.

- 48 Letter to Selma Lagerlöf from Nils Herman Lindberg 7 December 1937. The letter is part of the Selma Lagerlöf-collection at the National Library of Sweden.
- 49 *Momčeto ot torfenoto blato* (*The Girl from Marsh Croft*), translated by D. Chr. Bružicov, Sofia, 1910; *Paritě na gospodina Arne* (*Lord Arne's Silver*), translated by Maria Pavlovna Blagoveščenska and Prodrun Dimov, Šumen, 1911; *Legendi za Christa* (*Christ Legends*), translated by A. Rafaelov, Iv. Danov and V. Čalukov, Sofia: Буревестник (Burevestnik), 1911; *G'osta Berling*, translated by P. K. Činkov, Sofia, 1912; *Priklučenijata na G'osta Berling: roman*, translated by N. Dazarov, Sofia, 1912; *Čudesnoto pătuwane na malkija Nils Cholgerson s divitě găski* (*The Wonderful Adventures of Nils*), translated by A.G.V., Tsvjet: Sofia, 1912.
- 50 For the translations of *Gösta Berling's Saga* and *Christ Legends* to Polish, see note 37. *The Miracles of Anti-Christ was translated* by Jana Błeszyński as *Dziwy Antychrysta*, Warszawa, 1909.
- 51 I only included 1910–1914 in this estimation since it is hard to know whether the translations 1909 was published before or after the Nobel Prize. I have counted seven translations during 1907, and two of them had appeared in translation before. In many cases the same translation is published several times, or there are different translations of the same title.
- 52 The first part of *Jerusalem* was published in Armenian in the U.S. under the title *Erusaghēm. Talk'arlii mēj*, translated by Rubén Zardarean, Boston (Mass): Hrat. "Hayrenik", 1914. In Japan an abridged version of *Gösta Berling's Saga* was published under the title *Bokushi*, translated by Ogai Mori, Tokyo, 1910. In Lithuanian *Liliecrona's Home* (*Liljechronas hem*, 1911) was published under the title *Liljekronas dsimtene: romans*, translator anonymous, signed A., Riga: A. Jessens, 1914. In Romanian *Christ Legends* was translated by Victoria Mirea-Persson under the title *Legende despre Christos*, Bucharest, 1914. However, there seems to have been an earlier publication of the same work in Romanian in 1911. Unfortunatley, I have not been able to find a full bibliographical reference, and both the publishing house and the translator is unknown. In Serbian *Christ Legends* was published as *Legende o Hristu*, translated by Dar. G. Brajković, Belgrade: S. B. Cvijanović, 1910. In Spanish *La leyenda de Gustavo Berling*, translated by Circo Bayo, Madrid: Vda. de Rodriguez Serra was published 1910.
- 53 Noriko Thunman, "Selma Lagerlöf i Japan", in Vinge, Louise (ed.), *Selma Lagerlöf Seen from Abroad/Selma Lagerlöf i utlandsperspektiv*, Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitetsakademien, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1997, pp. 43 and 46.
- 54 According to the National Library of Canada, a short story, possibly "In the Temple" ("I templet") from *Christ Legends*, was published in translation by Z. Drukarni in *Pershy horal'nyk: fantastichna kartyna v trokh did i8akh*, Winnipeg, 1920. In Hebrew *Jerusalem* was published as *Jerūšālājim*, translated by Ja'akōb Rabbinovitz, Jaffa: Tel-Ābib, 1921. In Afrikaans the short story "Gravskriften" (published in Swedish as a part of the collection *Invisible Links*) was published as "Die grafopskrif", translated by C.G.S. de Villiers, Pretoria: J.H. de Bussy, 1931. In Uhigur, "In the Temple" was

- published as *Kissa: uršalimning mukaddäs beytidä*. It was translated by the missionary Oskar Hermansson, Kaşgar: Sv. Missionsförbundet (The Swedish Missionary Foundation), 1931. In Turkish *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils* was published as *Nils Holgersson un akillara siğmaz isveç seyahati*, translated by Behiç Enver, Edirne, 1932. In Chinese *The Tale of a Manor* was published as *Kuangren yu sinü*, translation by Dajie Liu, Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1934.
- 55 *Mrtyu ḫaka (Mrutyu-daka)*, translated by Praphulla Candra Dāsa, Kaṭaka (Cuttak): Manamohan, 1952.
- 56 Ann-Sofi Ljung Svensson, *Jordens dotter: Selma Lagerlöf och den tyska hembygdslitteraturen*, Göteborg and Stockholm: Makadam, 2011. Nelson, *The Critical Reception of Selma Lagerlöf in France*.
- 57 See Fallenstein, R. & Hennig, C., *Rezeption Skandinavischer Literatur im Deutschland 1870–1914, Quellenbibliographie*, Neumünster, Wachholtz, 1977; Schweitzer, *Selma Lagerlöf. Eine Bibliographie*; Jennifer Lynn Madler Watson, *The Literary Response of German-Language Authors to Selma Lagerlöf*, University of Illinois, 1998; Ljung Svensson, *Jordens dotter*.
- 58 For articles in the French press I have used the database *Gallica*, a digital library provided by Bibliothèque Nationale de France, <http://gallica.bnf.fr> and the bibliographies of Nelson and Ballu.
- 59 Peter Stadius, *Resan till norr: Spanska Nordenbilder kring sekelskiftet 1900*, Helsingfors: Finska Vetenskaps-Societeten, 2005, Elena Lindholm Narváez, “The Valkyrie in a Bikini: The Nordic Woman as a Progressive Media Icon”, in Harvard, Jonas and Peter Stadius (eds.), *Communicating the North: Media Structures and Images in the Making of the Nordic Region*, Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 197–218. Special thanks to Elena Lindholm, who generously shared her knowledge about the Spanish press around 1900, and to Anna Svensson, librarian at the Ibero-American collection at the Gothenburg University Library, who helped with investigations of pseudonyms and gave valuable information on Lagerlöf’s reception in Chile.
- 60 I have worked with a corpus of slightly more than 30 articles in Spanish, published translations of her texts not included, collected from Hemeroteca digital, <http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es>. This is not to say there are only about 30 articles mentioning Lagerlöf until 1914. Quantifications are very uncertain since the quality of the scanned newspapers and journals differs. Optical character recognition (OCR) makes the material searchable, but in many cases the quality is bad and characters are misinterpreted. Another source of error is that names of Swedish authors were frequently misspelled. Lagerlöf is usually spelled “Lagerlof” or “Lagerloef”. See Rideout for a methodological discussion about using the BNE Hemeroteca digital. Judith Rideout, *Women’s Writing Networks in Spanish Magazines around 1900*, Glasgow: Glasgow thesis service, 2017, pp. 19–21. One encounters the same methodological problems in Gallica.
- 61 According to a bibliography of Spanish translations, the first translations appeared in 1910, *La leyenda de Gustavo Berling* (1910), *Jérusalem. En Dalécarlia*, 1910, and *El Esclavo de su finca* (The Tale of a Manor), 1910. Lafarga, Francisco and Luis Pegenaute, (eds.), *Diccionario histórico de la traducción en España*. Madrid: Gredos, 2009, pp. 659.

- 62 Andreas Hedberg argues that there were strong institutional factors facilitating the publication of Swedish literature in French, for example publishing houses specialised in Scandinavian literature. However, many of the institutional factors he mentions pertain to a later period, e.g. governmental grants for translations. Andreas Hedberg, "Ett unikt kulturlöde. Den svenska skönlitteraturens väg till Frankrike", in Cedergren, Mickaëlle and Sylvain Briens (eds.), *Médiations interculturelles entre la France et la Suède: Trajectoires et circulations de 1945 à nos jours*, Stockholm: Stockholm University Press, p. 115.
- 63 French was the second language in both teaching and reading in Spain, although German began to play a more important part in the last decades of the nineteenth century. See Alicia Piquer Desvaux, "La société espagnole à l'écoute des grandes langues européennes. Le français et l'allemand en Espagne entre 1880 et 1930", *Documents pour l'histoire du français langue étrangère ou seconde*, Vol. 53 (2014), pp. 109–124.
- 64 Nelson, *The Critical Reception of Selma Lagerlöf*, p. 74.
- 65 "Transmitting another national literature and its cultural context to one's own national literature and cultural context is the central issue in the work of a cultural transmitter." See "Introduction: Women as Transmitters of Ideas", in Broomans, Petra (ed.), *From Darwin to Weil. Women as Transmitters of Ideas*, Groningen: Barkhuis, 2009, p. 2.
- 66 David Damrosch, *What Is World Literature?*, p. 283.
- 67 Gérard Genette, Paratexts. *Thresholds of Interpretation*, translated by Jane E. Lewin, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 345.
- 68 My translation. Citation in original: "Selma Lagerlöf är den mest underbara litterära anomali jag vet", Oscar Levertin, *Svenska gestalter*, Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1903, p. 267.
- 69 Ljung Svensson, *Jordens dotter*, p. 146
- 70 Ljung Svensson, *Jordens dotter*, p. 147–148. My translation.
- 71 Ljung Svensson, *Jordens dotter*, p. 159.
- 72 Madler, *The Literary Response of German-Language Authors to Selma Lagerlöf*, p. 23.
- 73 Elizabeth Boa and Rachel Palfreyman, *Heimat: A German Dream. Regional Loyalties and National Identity in German Culture 1890–1990*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 2.
- 74 Boa and Palfreyman, *Heimat. A German Dream*, pp. 5 and 7.
- 75 Erik Erlandsson-Hammargren, *Från alpromantik till hembygdsromantik: Natursynen i Sverige från 1885 till 1915 speglad i Svenska Turistföreningens årsskrifter och Nils Holgerssons underbara resa genom Sverige*, Stockholm: Gidlunds, 2006, pp. 448–449.
- 76 Jeff Werner, "A Blue and Yellow Landscape," *Blond and Blue-Eyed: Whiteness, Swedishness, and Visual Culture*, Werner, Jeff and Thomas Björk (eds.), Göteborg: Sciascope, Göteborgs konstmuseums skriftserie No 6, 2014, p. 107.
- 77 Cecilia Lengefeld, *Zorn. Resor, konst och kommers i Tyskland*, Stockholm: Carlssons, 2000, p. 160.
- 78 Madler, *The Literary Response of German-Language Authors*, p. 5.
- 79 Madler, *The Literary Response of German-Language Authors*, pp. 54.

- 80 Ronald Gray, *Brecht: The Dramatist*. London & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976, p. 91.
- 81 In Libris: Lagerlöf, Selma, *Zur Jahreswende: Ein kleiner Versuch im Stil Tagores*, übersetzt von Wally Engelhardt, Stuttgart 1935. In Katalog der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek: Lagerlöf, Selma, *Zur Jahreswende. Ein kleiner Versuch im Stil Tagores*, Übers. von Wally Baronin Engelhardt. Hergest. von d. Landesgr. Schweden d. N.S.D.A.P. f. d. Winterhilfswerk d. Dt. Volkes 1935/36, Stockholm: N.S.D.A.P., Landesgr. Schweden. The text was originally published in *Julstämning* in 1917 under the title “*Vid årsskiftet. Ett litet försök i Tagores stil*”.
- 82 Since the previous research on Lagerlöf's reception in Germany does not include comments about her specific roles as an author, it is unclear if the roles of the schoolmistress, storyteller, and feminist role model are a recurring pattern in this context as well. However, Ljung Svensson underlines that the words “Märchen”, “Sagen”, and “Helden” (tale, legend, heroic) are frequently used to describe Lagerlöf's prose. Ljung Svensson, *Jordens dotter*, p. 154.
- 83 Nelson, *The Critical Reception of Selma Lagerlöf*, p. 18. The story was published in *Le Correspondant* 3 October, 1896, pp. 971–978.
- 84 Unsigned introduction to “Le nid de bergeronettes. Légend”, translated by Ellen Wester, *Le correspondant* 1896, pp. 971–972. My translation.
- 85 “tout d'abord, une institutrice à Landskrona, qui, du jour au lendemain, s'est trouvée célèbre après la publication de sa *Saga de Gœsta* (Gustave) Berling (1891); c'est une tentative intéressant où l'auteur a repris le style pittoresque et énergique des vieux contes pour l'approprier heureusement à l'expression des sentiments modernes,” Gaston Lévy-Ullman, “La littérature suédoise,” *Revue Encyclopédique* 8 Jan. 1898, p. 48.
- 86 See Nordlund, *Selma Lagerlöfs underbara resa genom litteraturhistorien*, who discusses these elements in chapters 1 and 2, pp. 29–69 and 70–125.
- 87 de Coussange translated Verner von Heidenstam's *L'épouée du roi* (*Karolinerna*), Paris: Éd. de “la Revue”, 1901. Kajsa Andersson also points out that de Coussange was one of Lagerlöf's most important introducers in France and that she wrote about Lagerlöf over a long period. Lagerlöf also mentions her several times in her correspondence. See Kajsa Andersson, “Selma Lagerlöf en France”, *Le Nord a la lumière de Sud: Mélanges offerts à Jean François Bataille*, Brien, Sylvain and Martin Kylhammar (eds.), Strasbourg: Département d'études néerlandaise et scandinave, 2013, pp. 164–165.
- 88 de Coussange, “Un romancier suédois”, *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 31 March, 1899, p. 3. My translation.
- 89 Linda L. Clark, *Women and Achievement in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp. 177–178 and 180.
- 90 J de L [Julio de Lazúrtegui], “Una excursión minera a la península Escandinava. De Bilbao a Gellivara”, *España*, 1898:21, pp. 3–4.
- 91 Julio de Lazúrtegui, 1898, p. 3.
- 92 – P., “Los agraciados con los premios nobel en 1909.” *La ilustración artística*, 27 Dec. 1909, 1.461, p. 847.

- 93 Unsigned article [Eduardo Zamacois], “La literatura extranjera. El premio Nobel de la Literatura”, *Por esos mundos*, 1 Jan. 1910, p. 31.
- 94 Luis Español Bouché, “Julián Juderías Loyot”, *Diccionario Biográfico Español*, <http://dbe.rah.es/biografias/11408/julian-juderias-loyot> [retrieved 1 June 2019].
- 95 Eduardo Hernández Cano, “José Betancourt Cabrera”, *Diccionario Biográfico Español* <http://dbe.rah.es/biografias/72619/jose-betancort-cabrera> [retrieved 1 June 2019].
- 96 “A mismo tiempo que Strindberg estudiaba la Historia, la Botánica, la Alquimia y otras muchas cosas raras, y Oscar Levertin escrudiñaba y pensamiento de sus compatriotas en sus Ensayos críticos, y Ellen Key planteaba y resolvía toda una serie de problemas morales, y Per Hallström [sic] y Verner von Heidenstam se dedicaban á la novela, Selma Lagerlöf, en un rincón de Suecia, enseñando á los niños [...] componía para solaz de grandes y pequeños esas leyendas admirables”. Julián Juderías, “El triunfo de la imaginación. Selma Lagerlöf.” *La Lectura* 1910, 10.1. pp. 44–45.
- 97 Elin Wägner, *Selma Lagerlöf 1. Från Mårbacka till Jerusalem*. Stockholm: Bonnier, 1946, p. 77. My translation.
- 98 “Ce conte est de Mme Selma Lagerlöf, la romancière suédois qui reçut, en 1909, le prix Nobel [...]. Avant de connaître les succès littéraire, Mme Selma Lagerlöf fut une modeste institutrice. C'est par sa sincérité et sa tendresse qu'elle a su s'imposer à l'admiration universelle.” “Karr. Histoire d'un chien”, traduit par Mme Marguerite Gay, *Le Figaro de la jeunesse* (27 Jan. 1910).
- 99 “il est assez difficile du trouver du nouveau à dire sur cette écrivain Suédois dont on a tant parlé depuis quelque mois”, H.S., “Selma Lagerlöf”, *Journal de la jeune fille: organ des unions chrétienne de jeunes filles* 1910: 4, p. 92.
- 100 H.S., “Selma Lagerlöf”, p. 92.
- 101 Smedberg Bondesson gives examples of the same tendency in the Italian reception, where the description of Lagerlöf as a schoolteacher was recurring. See *Gösta Berling på La Scala*, pp. 105–106, 108.
- 102 Levertin, *Svenska gestalter*, p. 267. My translation. “betraktar hon världen som en första gången öppnad sagobok och förmår berätta hvad hon ser, så att alla de gamla och öfverkloka rundt i kring också blifva såsom barn och hänga vid hennes mun”
- 103 Levertin, *Svenska gestalter*, p. 277. My translation. “alla dess lefvande safter”.
- 104 “Quand je lis Selma Lagerlöf, les légendes mes ont racontées de la même façon que les gens du peuple me les raconteraint, s'ils avait *le don*.” “Selma Lagerlöf adore les légendes, non comme nos artistes littéraires [...]. Elle les adore comme les enfants, comme les bonne femmes, comme les plus simples entre nous [–]”. André Bellessort, “La fantaisie suédoise”, *Revue des deux mondes*, 1910, p. 773.
- 105 “Cet auteur est de ces natures primitives, de ces écrivains richement doués”, Maurice Muret, “Au jour le jour. Mlle Selma Lagerlöf”, *Journal des débats*, 10 Dec. 1909, p. 1.
- 106 Sébastien Voirol, “Livres et idées: LŒuvre de Selma Lagerlöf, lauréat du prix Nobel”, *La Revue diplomatique*, 1909-12-19, p. 10. Sébastien Voirol was

- the pseudonym of Gustaf Henrik Lundquist, who was born in Sweden in 1865 and had been living in Paris for many years.
- 107 L. Saint-Raymond, “Vision littéraire: Mlle Selma Lagerlöf”, *Le Gaulois*, 11 Dec. 1909, p. 1.
- 108 Ángel Guerra, “Grandes escritoras modernas. Selma Lagerlöf”, *La ilustración artística*, 7 Feb. 1910, p. 91.
- 109 Unsigned article [Eduardo Zamacois], “Literatura extranjera”, p. 29.
- 110 Juderías, “El triunfo de la imaginación”, p. 44.
- 111 Guerra, “Las grandes escritoras modernas”, p. 91. This statement is interesting to compare to a similar characterization by Giuseppe Antonio Borghese, one of the most influential critics in Italy: “la maestra svedese [...] quest’umile donnicciuola, famosa nella sua piccola terra, come in una casa patriarcale è cara ed amata la nonna che narra alla nuove generazione avventure fiabesche.” In my translation: “This little Swedish schoolmistress [...] this inconspicuous little woman, famous in her little country, like a grandmother is dear and loved in a patriarchal home, where she tells the new generation fantastic stories.” The passage is commented on in Giordano Lokrantz and cited from *Selma Lagerlöf i italienskt perspektiv*, pp. 42–43.
- 112 “¿No es en esa fuente, en los viejos cuentos de la abuela, en las leyendas y en las canciones, el las sagas del país escandinavo, donde bebió desde la niñez su inspiración el alma de Selma Lagerlöf?” Guerra, “Literatura contemporánea. Selma Lagerlöf (Suecia)”, *La España Moderna*, Vol. 23, No. 265, p. 117.
- 113 Unsigned article, “La Literata que ha Entusiasmado á un pueblo. Selma Lagerlof y su Obras.” *Alrededor del Mundo*, 26 Feb. 1913.
- 114 Juderías, El triunfo de la imaginación, p. 44.
- 115 Jules Bertaut, “Madame Selma Lagerlöf”, *La Revue hebdomadaire* 4 July 1903, pp. 64–65.
- 116 Voirol, “Livres et idées: LŒuvre de Selma Lagerlöf”, p. 11. See also Nelson, *The Critical Reception of Selma Lagerlöf*, p. 116.
- 117 Léon Pineau, “Selma Lagerlöf”, *Revue du mois*, 10 Aug. 1910, p. 193. See also Nelson, *The Critical Reception of Selma Lagerlöf*, p. 176.
- 118 Lisbeth Stenberg, *En genialisk lek*, pp. 244–249; Nordlund, *Selma Lagerlöfs underbara resa*, pp. 68 and 89–91.
- 119 “Ces belles histoires, Selma Lagerlöf les entendit conter, tout petite, dans la chambre des enfants, de la bouche des vieilles servantes et des nourrices.” Bernardini-Sjöstedt, *Pages suédois: Essais sur la psychologie d'un peuple et d'une terre*, Paris: Plon, 1908, p. 337.
- 120 “nous reviendrons nous asseoir aux pieds de Selma Lagerlöf, et la prierons de nous conter quelques-uns de ces beaux contes qui, pendant les hivers obscurs, peuplent les pleines de neige de personnages merveilleux.” Louise Cruppi, *Femmes écrivains d'aujourd’hui. I. Suède*, (Paris: Athème Fayard, 1912), p. 29. Two chapters in the book are about Lagerlöf, pp. 352–467, and she is also discussed in the preface.
- 121 Bernardini-Sjöstedt, *Pages suédois*, p. 317.
- 122 “Se cultivaba el trigo, pero también el jazmín. Se hilaba lino, pero entre tanto se cantaban canciones populares. Se estudiaban la historia y la gramática, pero se representaban comedias y se aprendían versos.” [Zamacois],

- “Literatura extranjera. El Premio Nobel de la Literatura”, *Por esos mundos*, 1 Jan. 1910, p. 29.
- 123 Guerra, “Literatura contemporánea”, p. 120.
- 124 In *L'utopie Ambiguë: La Suède et la Norvège chez les Voyageurs et Essayistes Français (1882–1914)*, Clermont-Ferrand: Adosa, 1998, Vincent Fournier investigates the writings of French travellers to Sweden during this period more in detail.
- 125 Nelson, *The Critical Reception of Selma Lagerlöf*, pp. 122f.
- 126 Nelson, *The Critical Reception of Selma Lagerlöf*, p. 123.
- 127 Marc Hélys [Marie Léra], *À travers le féminisme suédois. Suède*. Paris: Plon, 1906, p. 163.
- 128 Hélys, *À travers le féminisme suédois*, p. 170.
- 129 Cruppi, *Femmes écrivains d'aujourd'hui*, p. 29.
- 130 Bertaut, “Madame Selma Lagerloef”, *La Revue hébdomadaire* 1903-07-04, p. 62.
- 131 Nelson, *The Critical Reception of Selma Lagerlöf*, p. 81.
- 132 Juderías, El triunfo de la imaginación”, p. 43.
- 133 See for example *La Época*, 21 Jun. 1914, p. 3.
- 134 A. Reader, “Dos Victorias Feministas”, *La Esfera*, Vol. 1, No. 27, p. 7.
- 135 See the chapter “Julia Nyberg / Euphrosyne. Romantic poetry, world literature and superficial reception”, p 38.
- 136 Benedict Anderson places the novel and the newspaper as the most important vehicles for the national imagination. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition, London: Verso, 2006, p. 25.
- 137 Maurice Muret, *Les Contemporains étrangers*, Paris: Fontemoing & Cie, 1911, p. 166. See also Nelson, *The Critical Reception of Selma Lagerlöf*, p. 207 for examples of references to the epic.
- 138 Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters* p. 23
- 139 Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, p. 224.
- 140 Saint-Raymond, “Vision littéraire”, p. 1. See also Nelson, *The Critical Reception of Selma Lagerlöf*, pp. 9, 58–59.
- 141 Nelson, *The Critical Reception of Selma Lagerlöf*, p. 77.
- 142 Sébastien Voirol, “Livres et idées: L’Œuvre de Selma Lagerlof”, p. 11. See also Nelson, *The Critical Reception of Selma Lagerlöf*, p. 116.
- 143 Nelson, *The Critical Reception of Selma Lagerlöf*, pp. 154–156. In Italy, Lagerlöf was also read as a nationalist, Giordano Lokrantz points out. See Giordano Lokrantz, *Selma Lagerlöf i italienskt perspektiv*, p. 38. Smedberg Bondesson points to a preface to the translation of the second part of *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils*, published in Trieste in 1927, clearly expressing a rhetoric harmonizing with Mussolini fascism. See Gösta Berling på La Scala, 145–146.
- 144 Marc Hélys, “L’heureuse Suède”, *La Revue de Paris*, July–August 1904, p. 143.
- 145 Ellen Kleen (signed Gwen), “Hon är som intellektualist typisk fransyska – men af dessa bildade och vidsynta moderna fransyskor som förstå att uppskatta och bedöma vårt germaniska tanketöcken och vår ansvarstyndhet”, *Ord och bild* 1912, Vol. 21, No. 5, p. 276.

- 146 Nelson, *The Critical Reception of Selma Lagerlöf*, p. 509.
- 147 Marc Hélys, “L’heureuse Suède”, *La Revue de Paris*, July–August 1904, p. 136.
- 148 André Bellessort, “Note du traducteur” in *La légende de Gösta Berling*, pp. 10, 7.
- 149 “Jamais la théorie de Taine ne s’est mieux confirmée que dans le petit canton Scandinave où fut écrite la *Saga de Gösta Berling*. Son auteur a été vraiment la voix de la terre et la bouche du vent.” André Bellessort, *La Suède*, p. 269.
- 150 Jacques des Gachons, “Le roman d’un petit pays”, *La chronique des livres revue bi-mensuelle de bibliographie et d’histoire*, 26 July 1903, p. 193.
- 151 de Coussange, “Un romancier suédois”, p. 3.
- 152 Smedberg Bondesson, *Gösta Berling på La Scala*, p. 107.
- 153 Guerra is referring to Jane Michaux, “L’Heureuse Suede,” *Revue de Paris*, 1 July 1901, pp. 129–53.
- 154 Guerra, “Literatura contemporánea. Selma Lagerlof (Suecia)”, p. 123.
- 155 Juderías, “El triunfo de la imaginación. Selma Lagerloef”, p. 44.
- 156 Fournier, *L’utopie ambiguë*, p. 76.
- 157 Joep Leersen, “Imagology. History and Method”, in Beller, Manfred & Joep Leersen (eds.), *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters*, Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007, p. 19.
- 158 “Toda el alma de una nación y de una raza, con sus más hondas raíces en la tierra nativa, dura y permanente in su inconfundible cuño espiritual á traves del tiempo”, Guerra, “Las escritoras modernas. Selma Lagerlöf.” *La ilustración artística*, 7 Feb. 1910, p. 91.
- 159 Stadius, *Resan till norr*, pp. 55–55 and 93.
- 160 Julián Juderías, “El triunfo de la imaginación”, p. 46.
- 161 “terruño natal”, “rincón nativo”, “tierra nativa”. Guerra, “Las escritoras modernas”, pp. 91–92.
- 162 Leerssen, Joep and Manfred Beller (eds.), *Imagology. The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Character: A Critical Survey*, Amsterdam & New York: Rodopi, 2007, p. 325.
- 163 Manuel Barbeito Varela, “Spanish and Spanish-American poetics and criticism”, in Knellwolf, Christa and Christopher Norris (eds.), *Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, Vol. 9 Twentieth-Century Historical, Philosophical and Psychological Perspectives, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, p. 350.
- 164 Varela, “Spanish and Spanish-American poetics and criticism”, p. 351.
- 165 Bellessort, *La Suède*, p. 302, Juderías, “Il triunfo de la imaginación”, p. 47.
- 166 Eugen Holland, “Les liens invisible par Selma Lagerlöf. Prix Noble 1909”, *Le Rappel*, 3 March 1910, p. 3.
- 167 Scott is mentioned by Guerra 1911, de Coussange, “Selma Lagerlöf”, *Revue Hebdomadaire*, 11 December 1909, p. 194, Hugo by Holland, “Les liens invisible par Selma Lagerlöf”, p. 3.
- 168 de Coussange, “Selma Lagerlöf”, p. 207. See also Nelson, *The Critical Reception of Selma Lagerlöf*, p. 66.
- 169 Guerra, “Literatura contemporánea”, pp. 132–133.
- 170 Guerra, “Las grandes escritoras modernas”, p. 91.
- 171 Guerra, “Las grandes escritoras modernas”, p. 91; Bernardini-Sjöstedt,

*Pages suédois*, p. 333; Voirol, “L’Œuvre nationale de Selma Lagerlöf”, p. 766. However, Voirol mentions that he does not understand the alleged kinship between Mistral and Lagerlöf and argues that she is not comparable to any French writer. See Nelson, *The Critical Reception of Selma Lagerlöf*, p. 117. Nelson also discusses several instances of comparison with Mistral in later reception, see pp. 125, 352, 366–367, 373. Giordano Lokrantz mentions that an Italian critic describes Lagerlöf as writing about Sweden in the same way as Mistral wrote about Provence. See Lokrantz, *Selma Lagerlöf i italienskt perspektiv*, p. 40.

172 [https://www.nobelprize.org/nobel\\_prizes/literature/laureates/1904/](https://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1904/) [retrieved 25 March 2019].

173 Damrosch, “World Literature in a Postcolonial, Hypercanonical Age”. In *Comparative Literature in an Age of Globalization*, Saussy, Haun (ed.), Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, p. 45.

174 Anna Gunder, “In the Wake of a Nobel Prize. On Modern Icelandic Literature in Swedish 1940–1969,” *The Invasion of Books in Peripheral Literary Fields: Transmitting preferences and images in media, networks and translations*, translations, in Broomans, Petra and Esther Jiresch (eds.), Groningen: Barkhuis, 2011, p. 105–106.

175 In her article “Selma Lagerlöf och Gabriela Mistral”, Jenny Wahlman reports from a meeting with Mistral in Paris and mentions Mistral’s visit to Mårbacka, *Svensk lärtartidning* No, 3, 1946, p. 76. About Mistral’s visit to Mårbacka and her translation, see Anna Svensson, “Mistral och femton böcker. Om Gabriela Mistral, Matilde Goulard, Nils Hedberg och Iberoamerikanska institutets första år”, in Castro, Andrea, Eduardo Jiménez Tornatore and Ingmar Söhrman (eds.), *Desde Chile a Suecia. Caminos culturales por Latinoamérica y Europa/Från Chile till Sverige. Kulturella vägar i Latinamerika och Europa*. Opuscula romanica 8. Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, Institutionen för språk och litteraturer, 2018, pp. 101–102.

176 “Cómo logró Selma a confundir y fundir tan íntimamente lo soñado con la real, lo sobrenatural con lo natural, lo visible con lo invisible, lo actual con lo eterno?” Rigoberto Cordero y Leon, *Selma Lagerlöf*, Cuenca-Ecuador: Publicación de la Universidad de Cuenca, 1959, p. 29.

177 English translation from Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, London: Vintage, 1994, p. 181. Quotation in original, “Una de Yeats, poeta nacional de Irlanda. Otra de Selma Lagerlof, la gran escritora sueca. Los dos eran demasiado ancianos para viajar a una ciudad asediada y bombardeada como Madrid, pero ambos se adherían a la defensa de la República española”, Pablo Neruda, *Confieso que he vivido. Memorias*, Barcelona: Biblioteca Breve. Editorial Seix barral, S.A., 1974, p. 181.

178 Satadru Sen, *Disciplined Natives: Race, Freedom and Confinement in Colonial India*, Dehli: Primus Books, 2012, p. 55.

179 Sen, *Disciplined Natives*, p. 58.

180 Chandra Chakraborty, “Buro Angla and Nils. A Tale of transmigration of Stories”, *Parabaas*, 2011, <https://www.parabaas.com/translation/database/translations/essays/pChhanda.html> [retrieved 2 March 2018].

181 Elin Wägner, *Selma Lagerlöf 2. Från Jerusalem till Mårbacka*, Stockholm: Bonnier, 1946, pp. 197–198.

- 182 Sjølyst-Jackson, *Troubling Legacies: Migration, Modernism and Fascism in the Case of Knut Hamsun*, London: Continuum, 2010, p. 7.
- 183 Henning Gujord, “Knut Hamsun in Germany. A Map of Misreadings?” and Erik Egeberg, “A Colossal Figure. Knut Hamsun in Russia” in Peter Fjågesund (ed.), *Knut Hamsun Abroad: International Reception*, London: Norvik Press, pp. 37–63 and pp. 131–144.
- 184 Peter Fjågesund, “Introduction”, *Knut Hamsun Abroad*, p. 15.
- 185 Jennifer Watson, “Selma Lagerlöf in Nazi Germany: Not Banned, Not Forgotten,” in Forsås-Scott, Helena, Lisbeth Stenberg, and Bjarne Thorup Thomsen (eds.), *Re-Mapping Lagerlöf. Performance, Intermediality, and European Transmissions*, Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2014, p. 302.
- 186 Sjølyst-Jackson, *Troubling Legacies*, pp. 116–117.
- 187 Watson, “Selma Lagerlöf in Nazi Germany: Not Banned, Not Forgotten,” p. 302.
- 188 “Madame Bernadini Sjoestedt”, unsigned article in *Idun* 1911:32, p. 1.
- 189 Fournier, *L'utopie ambiguë*, p. 304.
- 190 Damrosch, *What Is World Literature?*, p. 283.
- 191 D’Haen, Theo, *The Routledge Concise History of World Literature*, London and New York, 2012, p. 152.
- 192 Leersen, “Image” in *Imagology*, pp. 342–344.
- 193 Smedberg Bondesson, Gösta Berling på *La Scala*, p. 116.
- 194 Leersen, *National Thought in Europe*, pp. 186–203.
- 195 Aleida Assman, “Canon and Archive”, in Erll, Astrid and Ansgar Nünning (eds.), *Cultural Memory Studies, an International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, p. 98.
- 196 Selma Lagerlöf, “I jättens fotspår”, *Höst. Berättelser och tal*, Stockholm: Bonniers, 1933, pp. 54–61.





## APPENDIX

### SWED Database

Listed sources, libraries and bibliographies for SWED 2018:

#### LIBRARIES BY COUNTRY

- Albania:* Biblioteka Kombëtare e Shqipërisë (National Library of Albania)
- Algeria:* Bibliothèque nationale d'Algérie (المكتبة الوطنية الجزائرية) (National Library of Algeria)
- Andorra:* Biblioteca Nacional d'Andorra
- Argentina:* Biblioteca Nacional Mariano Moreno de la República Argentina
- Armenia:* ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ ԱԳԻՈՒՅՆԻ ԳՐԱԴԱՐԱՆ (National Library of Armenia)
- Australia:* National Library of Australia
- Austria:* Österreichische Nationalbibliothek  
Österreichische Bibliothekenverbundes
- Azerbaijan:* Axundov adına Azərbaycan Milli Kitabxanası (National Library of Azerbaijan)
- Bahrain:* Shaikh Isa bin Salman Al Khalifa National Library (المكتبة الشیخ عیسیٰ بن سلمان الخلیفة الوطنية)
- Belgium:* Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België/Bibliothèque royale de Belgique (National Library of Belgium)
- Belize:* National Library Service of Belize
- Belarus:* Нацыянальная бібліятэка Беларусі (National Library of Belarus)
- Bhutan:* National Library and Archives of Bhutan
- Bosnia-Herzegovina:* Univerzitetska Biblioteka Bosne i Hercegovine (National Library of Bosnia-Herzegovina)
- Brasilia:* Fundação Biblioteca Nacional
- Bulgaria:* Националната библиотека „Св. Св. Кирил и Методий“ (SS. Cyril and Methodius National Library)
- Burma (Myanmar):* National Library of Myanmar

*Canada*: Library and Archives Canada (National Library of Canada)  
*Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec*  
*Chile*: Biblioteca nacional de Chile  
*China*: Hongkong: 香港中央圖書館 (Hong Kong Central Library)  
*Colombia*: Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia  
*Croatia*: Nacionalna i Sveučilišna Knjižnica u Zagrebu (National Library of Croatia)  
*Cuba*: Biblioteca Nacional de Cuba José Martí  
*Cyprus*: Κυπριακή Βιβλιοθήκη (Library of Cyprus)  
*Czech Republic*: Národní knihovna České republiky (National Library of the Czech Republic)  
*Denmark*: Det konglige bibliotek (National Library of Denmark)  
    Statsbiblioteket (Denmark's Public Library)  
*El Salvador*: Biblioteca Nacional de EL Salvador Francisco Gavida  
*Ecuador*: Biblioteca Nacional del Ecuador "Eugenio Espejo"  
*Estonia*: Eesti Rahvusraamatukogu (National Library of Estonia)  
*Faroe Islands*: Føroya landsbókasavn (National Library of Faroe Islands)  
*Finland*: Kansalliskirjasto/Nationalbiblioteket (National Library of Finland)  
*France*: Bibliothèque nationale de France  
*Georgia*: National Parliamentary Library of Georgia  
*Germany*: Deutsche Nationalbibliothek  
    BSB = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek  
    BVB = Bibliotheksverbund Bayern  
    GBV = Gemeinsame Bibliotheksverbund  
    HBZ = Hochschulbibliothekszentrum des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen  
    HeBIS = Verbundskatalog HeBIS, Hessen  
    KOBV = Kooperativer Bibliotheksverbund Berlin Brandenburg  
    Karlsruher Virtueller Katalog  
    SBB = Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin  
    SWB = Südwestdeutscher Bibliotheksverbund: Baden-Württemberg, Sachsen, Saarland  
    VÖE = Verbundskatalog östliches Europa  
*Great Britain*: British Library (National Library of Great Britain)  
    National Library of Scotland  
    Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru (National Library of Wales)  
*Greece*: Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη της Ελλάδος (National Library of Greece)  
*Greenland*: Nunatta Atuagaateqarfia/Grønlands Landsbibliotek (National Library of Greenland)  
*Guatemala*: Universidad del Valle de Guatemala (National Library of Guatemala)  
*Haiti*: Bibliothèque Nationale d'Haiti  
*Honduras*: Juan Ramón Molina National Library  
*Hungary*: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (National Library of Hungary)  
*Iceland*: Landsbókasafn Íslands (National Library of Iceland)  
*Indonesia*: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia  
*India*: National Library of India  
*Ireland*: National Library of Ireland (Leabharlann Náisiúnta na hÉireann)  
*Israel*: (National Library of Israel) הספרייה הלאומית

- Italy*: Biblioteca Nazionale (Catalogo collettivo del Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale)
- Ivory Coast/Côte d'Ivoire*: Bibliothèque nationale de Côte d'Ivoire
- Jamaica*: National Library of Jamaica
- Japan*: National Diet Library (国立国会図書館)
- Kenya*: Kenya National Library Service
- Kuwait*: National Library of Kuwait
- Latvia*: Latvijas Nacionālā bibliotēka (National Library of Latvia)
- Liechtenstein*: Liechtensteinische Landesbibliothek (National Library of Liechtenstein)
- Lithuania*: Lietuvos Nacionalinė Martyno Mažvydo biblioteka
- Luxemburg*: Bibliothèque nationale de Luxembourg /Lëtzebuerger Nationalbibliothéik / Nationalbibliothek Luxemburg
- Malaysia*: Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia (National Library of Malaysia)
- Malta*: National Library of Malta
- Mauritius*: National Library Republic of Mauritius
- Mexico*: Biblioteca Nacional de México
- Moldavia*: Biblioteca Națională a Republicii Moldova
- Monaco*: Bibliothèque Louis Notari (National Library of Monaco)
- Mongolia*: Монгол Улсын Үндэсний Номын Сан (National Library of Mongolia)
- Montenegro*: Национална библиотека Црне Горе “Ђурђе Црнојевић” (Nationella Biblioteket i Montenegro “Đurđe Crnojević”)
- Morocco*: Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc (المكتبة الوطنية للمملكة /) (المغربية)
- Nepal*: National Library of Nepal (नेपाल राष्ट्रिय पुस्तकालयको)
- The Netherlands*: Koninklijke Bibliotheek (National Library of the Netherlands)
- New Zealand*: National Library of New Zealand
- North Macedonia*: Национална и универзитетска библиотека „Св. Климент Охридски“ (National and University Library “St. Kliment of Ohrid”)
- Norway*: Nasjonalbiblioteket (National Library of Norway)
- Oman*: yrarbiL ytisrevinU soobaQ natluS (معة السلطان قابوس)
- Panama*: Biblioteca Nacional Ernesto R. J. Castillero
- Peru*: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú
- Philippines*: Pambansang Aklatan ng Pilipinas (National Library of Philippines)
- Poland*: Biblioteka Narodowa (National Library of Poland)
- Biblioteka Jagiellońska
- Portugal*: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal
- Qatar*: National Library of Quatar
- The Republic of Maldives*: Qaumee Kuthubukhaanaa (National Library of the Republic of Maldives)
- Romania*: Biblioteca Națională a României
- Russia*: Российская Национальная Библиотека/Российская Государственная Библиотека (National and Public Library of Russia)
- Российская Государственная Библиотека (State Library of Russia)
- Saudiarabia*: مكتبة الملك فهد الوطنية (King Fahd National Library)
- Serbia*: Народна библиотека Србије (National Library of Serbia)
- Singapore*: National Library Board Singapore

*Slovakia*: Slovenská národná knižnica (National Library of Slovakia)  
*Slovenia*: Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica (National Library of Slovenia)  
*South Africa*: National Library of South Africa  
*South Korea*: 국립중앙도서관 (National Library of South Corea)  
*Spain*: Biblioteca Nacional de España  
    Biblioteca de Catalunya  
*Sudan*: University of Khartoum Library  
*Sweden*: Kungliga Biblioteket (National Library of Sweden)  
    Music and Theatre Library  
*Switzerland*: Schweizerische Nationalbibliothek / Bibliothèque nationale suisse /  
    Biblioteca nazionale svizzera / Biblioteca naziunala svizra  
    Netzwerk von Bibliotheken und Informationsstellen  
*Thailand*: หอสมุดแห่งชาติ (National Library of Thailand)  
*Trinidad*: National Library and Information System Authority  
*Turkey*: Milli Kütüphane (National Library of Turkey)  
*Ukrania*: Національна бібліотека України імені В.І. Вернадського (Na-  
tional Library of Ukrania)  
*Uruguay*: Biblioteca Nacional de Uruguay  
*Uzbekistan*: ўзбекистон миллий кутубхонаси (National Library of  
    Uzbekistan)  
*Vatican City State*: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana  
*Venezuela*: Biblioteca nacional de Venezuela

## OTHER LIBRARY SOURCES

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Nagykanizsai Kistérségi Adatkezelő Rendszer. [www.nagykar.hu](http://www.nagykar.hu) Működteti a  
    Halis István Városi Könyvtár) Catalogue: <http://katalogus.hivk.hu>  
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