

The reception of Swedish nineteenth-century novels by women writers is a success story. Two Swedish top-selling novelists in Central and Eastern Europe were Emilie Flygare-Carlén (1807–1892) and Marie Sophie Schwartz (1819–1894). In the mid- and late nineteenth century, their novels were widely circulated in German translations but also translated into other local languages within the Austrian Empire, such as Hungarian, Czech, and Polish. In this pioneering volume, six scholars with expertise in Scandinavian literature and the local Central and Eastern European languages and cultures, explore the remarkable reception of Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz in German, Hungarian, Czech and Polish culture. These studies offer a thorough mapping of the transcultural transmission of Flygare-Carlén's and Schwartz' works in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as an expanded discussion on their introduction, reception and literary status in the Czech, Hungarian and Polish literary systems.

Contributors: Yvonne Leffler (ed.), Ildikó Annus, Péter Mádl, Ondřej Vimr, Ursula Stohler, and Magdalena Wasilewska-Chumura.



DEPARTMENT OF LITERATURE,
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The Triumph of the Swedish Nineteenth-Century Novel in Central and Eastern Europe

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Yvonne Leffler (ed.)

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THE TRIUMPH
OF THE SWEDISH
NINETEENTH-CENTURY
NOVEL IN CENTRAL
AND EASTERN
EUROPE

Yvonne Leffler (ed.)
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Yvonne Leffler

TRANSCULTURAL TRANSMISSION

Emilie Flygare-Carlén and Marie Sophie Schwartz in Central and Eastern Europe

THE DISSEMINATION and reception of Swedish novels by female writers in the late nineteenth century can be described as an international success story. While Swedish male novelists, such as Carl Jonas Love Almqvist (1793–1866) and Viktor Rydberg (1828–1895), were only randomly translated and circulated outside their country, the most transmitted Swedish novelists in translation were Emilie Flygare-Carlén (1807–1892), Fredrika Bremer (1801–1865), and Marie Sophie Schwartz (1819–1894). While bestselling writer Flygare-Carlén’s works were extensively disseminated all over Europe (fig. 1), the circulation of Bremer’s and Schwartz’s works exemplifies more directed distribution strategies. Most of Schwartz’s novels were translated into German and became popular in Central and Eastern Europe (fig. 2). They were thereby also translated into several vernacular languages within the German-dominated Austrian Empire, such as Polish, Hungarian, and Czech. Bremer’s works, however, were largely translated into three major European languages: German, French, and English (fig. 3). Unlike what happened with Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz, the translation of her works into German did not result in much further translation into other local languages within the German-speaking empire. Thus, Bremer’s works were mainly circulated in Western Europe. Her popularity in English translation also made her extremely popular in the United States. Her later travels in America established her even further as a literary celebrity across the Atlantic.

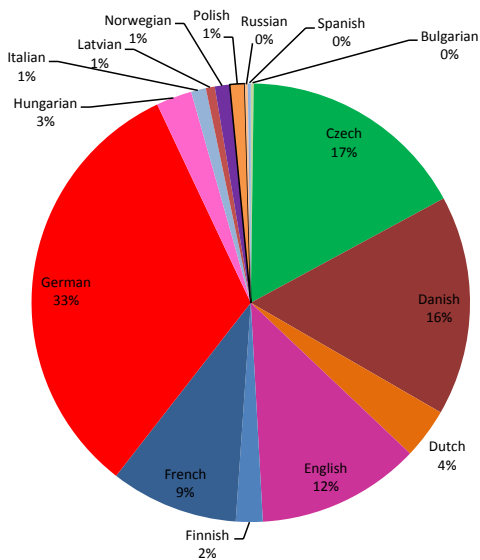


Figure 1. Emilie Flygare-Carlén. Distribution of the most frequent non-Swedish publication languages until 2017.

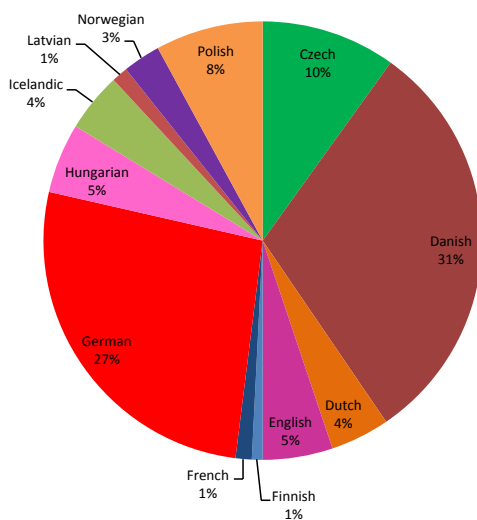


Figure 2. Marie Sophie Schwartz. Distribution of the most frequent non-Swedish publication languages until 2017.

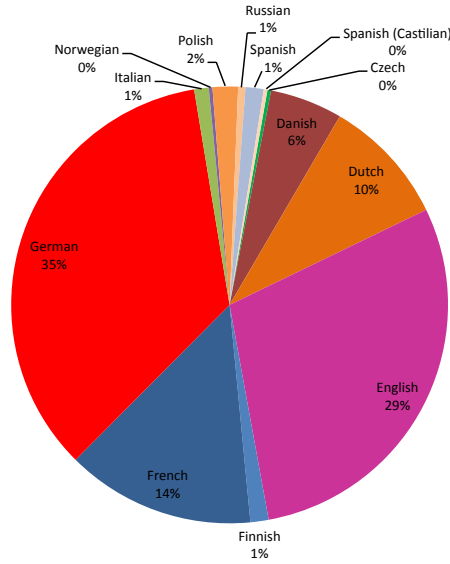


Figure 3. Fredrika Bremer. Distribution of the most frequent non-Swedish publication languages until 2017.

The swift and successful distribution of Bremer’s and Flygare-Carlén’s works from the late 1830s and onwards in Europe probably promoted the dissemination and reception of other Swedish writers, such as their younger colleague Schwartz. However, Schwartz did not have the same early and instant breakthrough as her predecessors. Her tentative debut in Sweden in 1851 did not – as was the case for Bremer and Flygare-Carlén – result in immediate recognition in Sweden. Nor did it result in as speedy translations into Danish and German and then into other European languages, such as English, Dutch, and French. It was not until 10 years after her Swedish debut, in the 1860s, that Schwartz was marketed in Danish and German. However, when it eventually happened, it was on a large scale. Together with Flygare-Carlén, she became one of the most popular European novelists.

Although Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz were two of the most popular novelists in Central and Eastern Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century, there are some interesting similarities and differences in how their works were circulated. It is hard to prove whether these resemblances and variations were caused by random coincidences or if they illustrate more general trends related to certain contextual factors. Today, it is difficult to examine the actual reception of certain authorships in the past, that is, how specific novels were read and received by readers in general, as well as the status of their mediators and the networks

behind their reception, the distribution strategies at certain publishing houses, and the importance of the precise moment at which a work or an authorship was introduced in a certain language. However, certain similarities and differences between the two Swedish writers and how their works were circulated in different languages demonstrate not only the triumph of the Swedish novels in the European market in the mid- and late nineteenth century but also how these novels written in a minor European language were used to encourage readers in other countries to ask for and read fiction in their own native tongue. As David Damrosch points out, an interest in foreign literature is just as much caused by the current needs and interests of the host culture as by an interest in the actual authorship and its source culture.¹ At the time, Swedish novels were not only widely read but also launched to inspire writers in other small countries and linguistic areas to write in their own local languages. According to certain documents, Flygare-Carlén's and Schwartz's novels were sometimes used by publishers, translators, and critics to encourage their fellow countrymen in their nationalistic endeavours. Sometimes, their novels became so popular and sold so widely that they were used by literary critics and scholars as labels for and examples of popular fiction. In some cases their popularity resulted in changes, allowing their translators and publishers to adapt and "domesticate" their novels in order to fit the assumed taste of the local readers. In certain circumstances, this adaptation probably diminished their literary qualities, moderated the original political dimensions of the texts, and trivialized the content.

Before returning to these questions in the following four chapters on the local dissemination and reception of the novels by Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz in Central and Eastern Europe in Czech, Hungarian, and Polish, the two Swedish novelists and their works will be introduced. How their novels travelled from Sweden into the European continent will be demonstrated by mapping the transcultural dissemination of their novels via German into other languages in Europe. Figures on Swedish literature in translation that are presented in this introduction are based on data from the bibliographical digitalized SWED Database on the above-mentioned Swedish writers and on other Swedish nineteenth-century writers.²

THE BESTSELLING AUTHOR EMILIE FLYGARE-CARLÉN IN DANISH AND GERMAN

Emilie Flygare-Carlén was the most popular, prolific, and best-paid Swedish writer of her day. She came from a merchant family from the west coast of Sweden and started to write after she was widowed

in order to support her family. After her successful debut in 1838, her Swedish publisher Niklas Hans Thomson persuaded her to move to Stockholm, where she became a central figure in liberal literary circles. She published almost 30 novels, several short stories, and three biographical works. Most of her works were immediately translated into other languages, first into Danish and German and then via German into other European languages. Once her novels were introduced and well received in one language, they were often translated directly from the Swedish into the very same language. In that way Flygare-Carlén's case demonstrates how Swedish literature reached readers outside Sweden. In the nineteenth century, the literary route for Swedish literature to the European market went via Denmark into the large German-speaking and German-reading part of Europe, that is, most of Central and Eastern Europe. The way her novels travelled across borders and were launched in other languages and cultural contexts confirms how literary stories – especially novels – became commercial articles in the European market. Their dissemination throughout Europe and to the United States confirms Franco Moretti's statement that novels travelled well because stories are rather independent of language and can be translated.³

In Sweden, Flygare-Carlén is mainly recognized for introducing a new geographical and social environment into Swedish literature, that is, the northern west coast and its regional population of customs officers, fishermen, sea captains, sailors, and their families. Her best-known novels today are *Rosen på Tistelön* (1842; *The Rose of Tistelön*) and *Ett köpmanhus I skärgården* (1859; *A Merchant House among the Islands*), both set in the province of Bohuslän. However, outside Sweden, it was not her provincial novels depicting the hard life on the Swedish west coast that most attracted the European audiences. Instead, her domestic novels set in an unspecified bourgeois environment and dealing with love and family matters became her most popular works outside Sweden. Some of her most translated novels were *Vindskuporna* (1845; *Marie Louise: or, the Opposite Neighbours*), *Ett år* (1846; *Twelve Months of Matrimony*), and *En nyckfull qvinna* (1849; *Woman's Life: or, The Trials of Caprice*), all of them rather unknown to the domestic Swedish audience today. These more “cosmopolitan” novels dealing with universal subjects, such as the balance between the sexes in matrimony and domestic problems, instantaneously made her a transcultural writer rivalled only by English, French, and German novelists such as Charles Dickens, Eugène Sue, and E. Marlitt (pseudonym of Eugénie John) outside Sweden.

The extensive dissemination of Flygare-Carlén's novels was to some extent more a result of sameness than difference, that is, she was not

recognized primarily as an exotic Swedish writer but as a transnational European novelist. She wrote the sort of European novels that were in demand and she did it well and just as proficiently as other bestselling contemporary novelists. Her transcultural triumph and the fact that her most disseminated novels in translation were her domestic novels exploring matrimonial difficulties also indicate the significance of the growing number of female readers and their impact on the development of the novel as a genre.

One reason behind Flygare-Carlén's instant distribution outside Sweden might be that her first novel, *Waldemar Klein* (1838), was immediately recognized as a cosmopolitan domestic novel set in an unspecified bourgeois environment. It was also directly translated into Danish in 1839, one year after its Swedish publication. Her second and third novels, *Gustav Lindorm* (1839; *Gustavus Lindorm*) and *Professorn och hans skyddslingar* (1840; *The Professor and His Favourites*) are also the kind of bourgeois novels dealing with women's situation with regard to engagement and marriage. They were instantly translated into Danish – both were published in Danish in the same year they first appeared in Swedish, in 1839 and 1840 respectively. This speedy translation into Danish set the norm and there were many later examples of this prompt translation into Danish. *Marie Louise; or, The Opposite Neighbours* was published in both Swedish and Danish in 1845; her very last novel, *A Merchant House among the Islands*, was published as a serial in both Sweden and Denmark in 1859, one year before the first book edition was printed in Swedish.

In the mid-nineteenth century, Flygare-Carlén was unquestionably one of the most published, disseminated, and read writers in Denmark. According to the Danish scholar Erland Munch-Petersen's investigation, she was at the top of the list of popular writers together with Alexander Dumas, Charles Dickens, Walter Scott, and Eugene Sue.⁴ Based on all books published in Danish in the nineteenth century, Flygare-Carlén was ranked at number three and Schwartz was number six, while their female compatriot Bremer is far down the list, at number 63. Considering that Munch-Pedersen's result is based on the number of published volumes throughout the whole nineteenth century, Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz would probably outnumber their male competitors if he had chosen to show the figures from certain intervals, for example, from the middle to the end of the century.

Flygare-Carlén's position in the German market is even more stunning. In German as in Danish, Flygare-Carlén rapidly became one of the most popular novelists, and several publishing houses and editors strove to get hold of her novels, preferably before they were published

in Sweden. Just a couple of years after her debut in her native country, her novels were translated and published by, for example, F.H. Morin in Berlin, C.B. Rollman in Leipzig, Verlag Comptoirs in Grimma, and Franckh'schen Verlagshandlung in Stuttgart. While Morin published her first novel in German, *Kyrkoinvigningen i Hammarby* (1840–41; *The Magic Goblet*) in 1841, four more novels were printed the next year by other publishers, such as Rollman. In 1843, nine more book editions were printed by several other publishers, among them the dominant publishing factory Franckh'schen Verlagshandlung. Some of her German commissioners also ran publishing houses both in Germany and Austria, such as Karl Prochaska and F. Brody. The German publisher A. Hartleben, for example, distributed books in three different cities and countries: Leipzig (Germany), Vienna (Austria), and Pest (Hungary).

There are many examples of how different publishers competed to enter into contracts with Flygare-Carlén in order to ensure they would have a German version in print at the same time as the Swedish original reached its domestic readers. Many of her novels were published in German in the same year they were first available in Swedish. One example is her first novel in German, *The Magic Goblet*, which was circulated in German 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 was encouraged to work in a particular way. When she started to work on a new novel, she already had an agreement with a German commissioner. Therefore, she continually – chapter by chapter – sent her manuscript to her translator to facilitate the translation and distribution in German. Sometimes her German translators and publishers were so eager to publish her novels in translation that her first publication was not in Swedish but in German. This was the case with her last novel, *A Merchant House among the Islands*, which was first published in German titled *Ein Handelshaus in den Scheeren* in autumn 1858 by Phillip Maass in Leipzig. That is, it appeared in German translation several months before it was planned to be published as a serial in the Swedish newspaper *Aftonbladet* in spring 1859.⁵ However, for legal reasons Maass was persuaded to withdraw the first German edition, but the first published book editions were still to be in German and Danish; it was published in these languages in the same year it first appeared as a serial in Sweden. In German it was even published in two different translations and circulated by two different publishing houses. In 1859 it was published in German translation by Phillip Maass in Leipzig and also by the leading publisher of novels in translation, Franckh'schen Verlagshandlung in Stuttgart. Thus, it was circulated as a book in Danish and German

one year before it was published as a hardcover book in Swedish by Adolf Bonnier in 1860–1861.

The edition published by the translation factory Franckh'schen might have been a surprise to Flygare-Carlén as, in the preface to the Maass edition, she claims that this is the only German-language edition of the novel that she has authorized.⁶ Still, since 1843 Franckh'schen had published many of her novels translated into German, and it is hard to believe that Flygare-Carlén was not aware of their interest in her novels. Later, between 1860 and 1862, there also was an extensive correspondence between Flygare-Carlén and Franckh'schen Verlagshandlung, which confirms her cooperation with this prospering publishing house.⁷

Despite her achievements abroad, Flygare-Carlén seldom did much herself to launch her works in other countries. There are many examples of how she was approached by zealous translators, editors, and publishers. The first translation into Dutch from the original Swedish text is an illuminating example of her recognition. In a letter to Flygare-Carlén, the Dutch translator Servaas de Bruin claimed that his translation of her novel *En natt vid Bullar-sjön* (1847; *A Night at the Bullar Lake*) was the first translation into Dutch ever made from the original Swedish text.⁸ It was published as *Een nacht aan't Bullar-Meer* in 1848 at J.M.E. Meijer's publishing house in Amsterdam, translated under the pseudonym Brendius. The reason that de Bruin wrote to Flygare-Carlén – and did so in Swedish – was because he wanted to persuade her to send him her future manuscripts in Swedish for speedy translation into Dutch. Obviously, he was convincing enough to persuade her to send him the manuscript of her novel *The Guardian* (1851). In a letter from 1851, he stated that his translation of her novel was in print and that he had received a remarkably high fee for it, “340 riksdaler banko (335 florins)”.⁹ He also told her that to honour his wife, who admired Flygare-Carlén immensely, it was circulated as a translation by her, Clarisse Sophie Meyer. The true reason behind this decision might have been different. It was probably more favourable to launch it to the Dutch readers as translated by a female translator, at least if the publisher wanted to attract female readers.¹⁰

MARIE SOPHIE SCHWARTZ'S CONQUEST OF THE GERMAN MARKET

The reputation of Emilie Flygare-Carlén's novels in German translation undoubtedly encouraged an interest in Swedish literature. Although her triumph outside Scandinavia did not primarily rely on her Swedish or Nordic identity and background, her success made way for the trans-

lation of other Swedish novelists and writers. For example, her younger colleague Marie Sophie Schwartz was probably to some extent launched in German because of Flygare-Carlén's popularity. Some of the more influential German publishers that distributed Flygare-Carlén's works later also invested in translating and printing Schwartz's novels.

While Schwartz was very popular as a novelist in her time, she and her novels are forgotten today. Like Flygare-Carlén, she had a middle-class background, but unlike her predecessor she did not grow up in a little known province of Sweden but was a foster child living with relatives outside the Swedish capital Stockholm. From 1843 she lived with the prominent professor of physics Gustaf Magnus Schwartz but was prohibited by him from publishing anything until 1851. Still, she could not use her own name as a writer until after his death in 1858, which explains her rather tentative start and impressive productivity as a widow. She published almost 40 novels and numerous short stories with a strong social angle, as well as various articles dealing with political issues, especially the emancipation of women and their right to education, professional training, and paid work.

Despite the path potentially opened up by her two widely translated and disseminated predecessors, Bremer and Flygare-Carlén, Schwartz had to fight hard to enter into contracts with foreign publishers. She published her first prose work in Swedish in 1851, *Förtalet* ("The Slander"). Over the next four years, she published four more novels, one each year. Although some of her short stories were translated into German and compiled under the title *Schwedische Skizzen* as early as in 1852, that is, the year after her debut in Sweden, this was a random publication. There were no more translations in German until nine years later, in 1861. Before that, there were a couple of translations into Danish. The first one appeared four years after her debut in Sweden. In 1855, one of her novels, *Egennyttan* (1854; *Egoism*), was translated into Danish, but it was not until six years later, in 1860, that her next novel was printed in Danish, *Arbetet adlar mannen* (1859; *Labour Raises the Man*). With these two novels – and probably also some serialized works in newspapers – she was established in the Danish book market; between 1862 and 1866, five or six of her novels were translated into Danish each year. After that, one or two novels were published annually. By then, earlier novels were also regularly republished in new prints or editions.

Schwartz's breakthrough in Danish in 1860, 10 years after her debut in Sweden, was also her breakthrough in German. At this time, her forerunners Bremer and Flygare-Carlén were well established in the German market, and especially the latter had become a literary

celebrity and icon. Maybe it was because of Flygare-Carlén's triumph that Schwartz was eager to get in touch with German publishers. As a widow, Schwartz had to find a way to support her family, and at the time it was well known how much Flygare-Carlén earned from her writing. It was probably also recognized how much German publishers were prepared to pay for publishing a novel by Flygare-Carlén, because of the succès de scandale of the German publication of *A Merchant's House among the Islands* in late 1858; the story had been headline news in many Swedish papers for several weeks.¹¹

In 1861, Schwartz approached a number of German publishers to persuade them to publish her novels in German translation as well as to pay her well for her manuscripts. She was so anxious that she offered to translate the text into German herself.¹² According to her extensive correspondence with publishers, such as Carl Flemming in Globau, August Kretzschmar in Leipzig, Alb. Sacco in Berlin, and F.A. Brockhaus in Leipzig, she asked for an incredibly high remuneration, many times more than any other writer got in Germany, at least according to the publishers who had been approached.¹³ Eventually, her negotiations reached some kind of agreement, although she was not paid as much as she had first asked for. In 1861, her first novel, *Mannen av börd och kvinnan av folket* (1861; *The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People*), was translated by August Kretzschmar and published by Brockhaus in Leipzig as *Der Mann von Geburt und das Weib aus dem Volke*. Over the following decades, August Kretzschmar, Gottlob Fink, and Carl Otto were busy translating her novels for publishing houses such as Brockhaus in Leipzig and Franckh'sche Verlagshandlung in Stuttgart. At the same time, her novels were also published in German by some other publishers, such as Otto Janke in Berlin and Gerhard in Leipzig. Between 1862 and 1865, more than 20 titles were published in German translation. Among them, two of her most popular novels were circulated in German translation by the publishing factory Franckh'sche Verlagshandlung in Stuttgart: *Labour Ennobles the Man* (1862; *Die Arbeit adelt den Mann*) and a second edition of *The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People* (1864; *Der Mann von Geburt und das Weib aus dem Volke*).¹⁴

Many of Schwartz's novels translated into German were also published by several publishers and in different translations in the same year. Often, the same title was published by both Brockhaus and Franckh'sche Verlagshandlung. For example, in 1864, *Mathilda* (1860) was translated by Carl Otto as well as by August Kretzschmar and published by Franckh'sche and Brockhaus respectively. Some titles were published by the most dominant publisher Franckh'sche, and also by Janke in Berlin the same year, in 1864; one example is *Ungdomsminnen*

(1864; *Memories from Youth*). Between 1866 and 1876, a couple of titles were printed every year by different publishers, as well as several titles distributed as new editions or as reprints. In the 1880s and 1890s, Schwartz's novels, as well as Flygare-Carlén's works, were published in series of collected works by Franckh'sche Verlagshandlung, for example, *Sämmtliche Werke von Marie Sophie Schwartz* and *Gesammelte Romane von Emilie Flygare-Carlén*.

Although Schwartz managed to persuade German publishers to translate and circulate her novels in German, the export of her novels was neither as instant nor as extensive as that of Flygare-Carlén's works; the dissemination of Schwartz's works in German was concentrated to a short period, the 1860s and 1870s. Nor did her works get the same attention in other Western and Southern European languages, such as Dutch, English, French, and Italian (compare fig. 1 and 2). That is to say, Schwartz did not have the same far-reaching distribution and reception in Europe as her predecessor. However, just as for Flygare-Carlén, her translations in German opened up for translations into other languages, often via German. Accordingly, novelists such as Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz were particularly fortunate to be published in certain German-speaking regions because of their liberal censorship. While publishing houses in, for example, Austria had to obey rather stringent censorship rules, publishing houses in today's central Germany – in particular the region around Leipzig – flourished because of the more liberal political climate in this region, as Ursula Stohler will elaborate on later in this volume, in the next chapter. That is to say, to be published by German publishers was vital for bestselling novelists if they were to be widely disseminated in Europe. German was not only a target language for the dissemination of Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz but also a transit language for further translation into other languages.

GERMAN AS TRANSIT LANGUAGE AND HUNGARIAN TRANSLATIONS

As mentioned above, the translation of Emilie Flygare-Carlén's and Marie Sophie Schwartz's novels into German opened up for their introduction into various areas within the Austrian Empire and therefore also for translation into other regional and national languages within the empire, such as Hungarian, Czech, and Polish. Most of the translations into these languages were, in the beginning, most certainly made via German, or as a collation between the Swedish text and a German translation of it. Many of the readers in these parts of Europe were probably also already familiar with Flygare-Carlén's and Schwartz's

novels in German translations when they were first translated into the local languages. In most local languages, their novels were initially introduced to their readers in serial form in periodicals, newspapers, and literary magazines. Sometimes – and in some languages – the early book publications were actually compilations of earlier serialized newspaper or magazine supplements. This was often the case, for example, with Czech editions published in certain periodicals, such as *Posel z Prahy*. Some of the novels in Polish were also published in serial form or as supplements in the newspaper *Gazeta Polska* and magazines such as *Bluszcz*. Readers who liked the novel could collect the supplements and have them made into a book. In this way, a publisher of newspapers and periodicals could start circulating books without too much effort and financial investment.

Among the above-mentioned languages, Flygare-Carlén was first introduced in Hungarian. Her novel *The Rose of Tistelön* (1842) was translated into Hungarian two years after the first Swedish edition, in 1844, as *A sziget rózsája*. There might even have been an earlier publication in 1843, according to Péter Mádl and Ildikó Annu's study described later, in the fourth chapter. This 1844 (or 1843) translation was probably the first Hungarian translation ever made of a Swedish literary text, and it was most likely made from Gottlob Fink's 1843 German translation. Due to the political situation and the failed revolution in Hungary in 1848 and the following defeat in the struggle against the Austrian Empire, it was not until 14 years later that another Hungarian translation appeared. By then, there was a major investment made by Hungarian publishers; between 1858 and 1872, seven more novels were distributed in Hungarian as books by three publishers, M. Rath, Hartleben, and Családi Kör, all of whom were located in Pest (i.e., the eastern side of present-day Budapest). The novels were *Twelve Months of Matrimony* (1858), *Woman's Life: or, The Trials of Caprice* (1862), *A Romance Heroine* (1867), *Gustavus Lindorm* (1869), *A Woman's Life* (1872), *Marie Louise; or, The Opposite Neighbours* (1872), and *The Professor and His Favourites* (1876). Two of these novels were also republished in new editions: *Marie Louise (Ket erkély-szobácska)* and *A Woman's Life (Szeszély hölgy)*. Furthermore, three of Flygare-Carlén's novels were distributed by J. Stein in Klausenburg or Kolozsvár (present-day Cluj-Napoca, Romania). These three novels, *The Professor and His Favourites*, *Marie Louise*, and *A Woman's Life*, had previously been circulated in German, often in several translations and/or editions. Thereby, it is likely that the Hungarian translations were based on the former German versions.

The names of the Hungarian translators are seldom on the book

covers, but it seems that there were a number of different translators working with Flygare-Carlén's novels. Two translators reappear several times; first, "Vitéz Bús" (who is actually the author Pál Matkovich), who translated at least three novels printed in Pest; and second, the signature "Julia", whose real name was Juliánna Szágz and who translated at least two novels circulated by J. Stein in Klausenburg/Kolozsvár. Besides Pest, the other publishing town that occurs frequently is Klausenburg or Kolozsvár.

Like Flygare-Carlén, Schwartz was first introduced in Central and Eastern Europe by Hungarian publishers. Hungary appears to have been the first country in this part of Europe to discover new Swedish writers; translations into Hungarian were often early in general. One decade after the large-scale distribution of Flygare-Carlén's works in Hungarian, Schwartz's novels were translated into the same language. Between 1867 and 1908, 13 of her novels were circulated, among them, *En fåfång mans hustru* (1861; *The Wife of a Vain Man*), *Guld och namn* (1863; *Gold and Name*), and *Arbetets barn* (1864; *Gerda, or the Children of Work*). However, compared to Flygare-Carlén, Schwartz's distribution was later and more random; it stretched over the turn of the century (1900), and no Hungarian translator or publisher seemed to invest much in her works. Most of her novels were translated by different translators and printed by just as many publishing houses. This was also the case when a couple of her novels were retranslated. For example, *De gifta* (1869; *The Married*) was first translated by fru Mór Szegfi as *A házas élet/ Házasélet* and published by Khór-Wein Ny in Pest in 1867. Four years later, in 1871, it was published again, but now it was translated by Tasnádi and printed by Hollósy in Nagyvárad. *Börd och bildning* (1861; *Birth and Education*) titled *Születés és műveltség/ Születés és képzettség* in Hungarian was also translated twice, first in 1873–1874 by Ferencz Bacsó, and then again one year later, in 1874, by A. Farkas. The first time, it was published by Telegdi in Debreczen, the second time, by Tettey N. in Budapest.

During the period when Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz were widely disseminated in Hungarian, there was a notable interest in Swedish literature in Hungary, as will be further discussed by Péter Mädl and Ildikó Annu in the fourth chapter of this anthology. However, not a single novel by Bremer was ever translated into Hungarian. As already mentioned, there are also interesting differences in how the works by Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz were distributed in Hungarian. Those who translated and distributed Flygare-Carlén's works did not take an interest in Schwartz's. However, several new translators and publishing houses appeared when Schwartz's novels were circulated in Hungarian.

Her works were distributed by publishers such as Teledgi in Debreczen, Tettey N., Eisler G., both in Budapest, and several other publishers in Pest, such as Nagyvárad, Vršac, and Szeged. The only publisher Schwartz shared with Flygare-Carlén was Családi Kör, which published her novel *Gold and Name* in 1869.

SCHWARTZ SURPASSING FLYGARE-CARLÉN IN POLISH

In Polish, Swedish novels were represented not only by Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz but also by Fredrika Bremer. Between 1852 and 1893, 10 works by Bremer were translated into Polish by different translators. She was first introduced as a novelist with four novels in three years 1852–1855: *Grannarne*, (1837; *The Neighbours*), *Presidentens döttrar* (1834; *The President's Daughters*), *Familjen H**** (1822; *The H-family*), and *Nina* (1835). After that, her travelogue from her journey in the United States, *Hemmen från nya världen* (1854; *The Homes of the New World*) was published in 1856, and two collections of essays, *Strid och frid eller några scener i Norge* (1840; *Strife and Peace: or Scenes in Norway*) and *I Darlarna* (1845; *Life in Dalecarlia*) were published in 1857 and 1858 respectively. Between 1860 and 1893, three more works were published: *Hemmet, eller familjesorger och fröjder* (1839; *The Home: or, Family Cares and Family Joys*) *Hertha* (1856), and the extract “Örninnan” (1868; “The Eagless”). Although there seem to have been several translators involved, such as Felicja Wasilewska, Konstanty Bończa-Bukowski, and S. Prądyńska, the distribution of Bremer in Polish was very much due to one publisher, Henryk Natanson in Warsaw. Although Bremer’s novels probably only appeared in book editions, that is, not in serial form, a memorial article was published after her death in the women’s magazine *Bluszcz* in 1866.¹⁵ This distribution of Bremer in Polish is the only example of an actual interest in translating her works into the local languages in Central and Eastern Europe.

The circulation of Flygare-Carlén’s and Schwartz’s works in Polish also differs from the recognized pattern in other European regions. In Polish, Schwartz was introduced some years before her predecessor Flygare-Carlén; her works were also more distributed in Polish than her colleague’s novels were. While Schwartz’s novels became popular from 1864 and onwards, it was not until three years later, in 1867, that Flygare-Carlén’s novels were first introduced in Polish. Four novels were then translated within 10 years, from 1867 to 1877. The first novel was *Twelve Months of Matrimony* as *Rok małżeństwa* in 1867. Some years later, four more novels were launched: *A Brilliant Marriage*

(*Świetny związek*, 1869), *Woman's Life* (*Kapryśna kobieta*, 1871), *The Foster Brothers* (*Bracia mleczni*, 1875), and *The Rose of Tistelön* (*Róża z Tistelenu*, 1877). Among these novels, *Woman's Life* was reprinted once more, in 1875, while *Twelve Months of Matrimony* was published at least four times in Polish between 1867 and 1920. In 1913, one more novel was published in Polish, her last novel, *A Merchant's House among the Islands* (*Przemytnicy*). Most of her novels were translated by Teofil Szumski, but one of her most popular works, *Woman's Life*, was translated by "Paulina F."

In contrast to Flygare-Carlén's works, Schwartz's novels were immediately circulated on a large scale for several decades in Polish, that is, from 1863 until the late 1920s. Still, there is no evidence that her only novel set in Poland, *En Polens dotter* (*A Daughter of Poland*) from 1863, was ever translated into Polish.¹⁶ Schwartz wrote it in the same year that the Polish uprising against Russia took place, and in it she clearly showed her sympathies for the Polish people against the Russian oppressors. Instead of a translation of this novel, she was introduced to the Polish readers a year later, in 1864, with two novels, *Labour Ennobles the Man* as *Praca uszlachetnia* and *The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People* as *Rodzina Romarhierta*, both published as serials in the Polish newspaper *Gazeta Polska*. From then on, one or two novels were published every year in Polish until 1883. Besides some 20 novels, some collections of stories and one biographical work were also translated. Several of her novels were also published several times in new editions or as reprints, including *The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People*, *Emanipationsvurmen* (1860; *Emancipation Frenzy*) and *Gertruds framtidsdrömmar* (1877; *Gertrude's Dreams of the Future*). Five of her works were also reprinted between 1902 and 1928 by Polish publishers, such as J. Czajnski in Grodek, and among them are some of her most republished novels in Polish: *The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People*, *Work Ennobles the Man*, and *Sonsonen* (1872; *The Grandson*).

So, in Polish, Schwartz's works were both disseminated earlier and more often than Flygare-Carlén's. More translators were also involved in turning Schwartz's texts into Polish; several names and signatures appear recurrently on the Polish covers, such as B. Sz., C.P., and P.W., as well as E.S. (who is Edmund Sulicki), and Teofil Szumski. Szumski also translated several novels by Flygare-Carlén. The novels by Flygare-Carlén that he translated were also published by the same publisher that published Schwartz's novels in Szumski's translation, Gubrynowicz i Schmidt in Lwów (present-day Lviv in the western part of Ukraine). The reason Schwartz's novels became so popular in Po-

land might be that they corresponded well with the ideals of the Polish positivist movement in literature; they were realistic and presented the life of the new middle class and the simple people at the same time as they depicted events that responded to the liberal ideology of the Polish Positivists and their belief in free enterprise and a capitalistic society.¹⁷ A very appreciative introduction of Schwartz in the Polish magazine *Bluszcz* in 1868 notes that she is influenced by Bremer but in many ways surpasses her forerunner as a radical and literary skilled promoter of women's rights.¹⁸ However, as will be demonstrated later by Magdalena Wasilewska-Chmura in the last chapter, some of her more radical passages were often softened and domesticated in Polish translation.

THE SWEDISH WONDER IN CZECH

In the Czech lands, it is possible to talk about “the Swedish case” or “the Swedish wonder” in the second half of the nineteenth century. From the late 1860s, Swedish novels were extremely popular. Most novels were first published in periodicals, as Ondřej Vimr states and expands on in the third chapter of this book.¹⁹ The five top-selling female novelists of popular literature in the Czech culture were the two Swedish novelists Emilie Flygare-Carlén and Marie Sophie Schwartz, the German writer E. Marlitt, the dramatist Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer, and the English novelist Mary Braddon, according to Ursula Stohler's investigation.²⁰ Some statistics from monasterial lending libraries indicate that among these five bestselling writers, Flygare-Carlén was number one.²¹ Therefore, she probably promoted an interest in other Swedish writers who came along later. As Vimr writes, 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.²² Flygare-Carlén's name and fame were, as he demonstrates, used to promote works by August Strindberg in the 1890s.²³

In Czech, Schwartz was introduced just as early as Flygare-Carlén, in the late 1860s. Beforehand, one story by Fredrika Bremer, “The Lonely” (*Z deníku osamotnělé*), was published in an almanac in 1843. Nothing else was published by Bremer until much later, in 1875, when one of her novels, *The Home*, was translated into Czech as *Rodina*. These were the only works by Bremer that were translated into Czech. Instead, her two compatriots, Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz, dominated the Czech book market in the late nineteenth century. The publishing house Gustav Schalek in Prague introduced Schwartz in Czech in 1867 with *The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People* as *Urozený pán a žena z lidu*. In the following decades Schalek's publishing house changed

names and owners a couple of times, but the company was still behind several new translations of Schwartz's novels, such as *Labour Ennobles the Man* (1868) and *The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People* (1884). During the same period several novels were published by other publishers, such as *Tvenne familjemödrar* (1859; *Two Family Mothers*) by Libuše in 1872; *Labour Ennobles the Man*, by Mikuláš and Knapp in 1873; and *De Värnlösa* (*The Defenceless*, 1852) by Kolár in 1875.

One year after Schwartz's first novel was published as a book, the first two novels by Flygare-Carlén were distributed in the political newspaper *Občan* in Prague in 1868: *A Brilliant Marriage* and *Familjen i dalen* (1859; *The Home in the Valley*) titled *Šťastný sňatek* and *Rodina v údolí*. The following year, four more novels were published in the same periodical: *Woman's Life*, *Jungfrutornet* (1848; *The Maiden Tower*) *Kamrer Lassman* (1842; *Clerk Lassman*) and *Pål Värning* (1844; *Pal Varning*). The publications by *Občan* are now often recorded as published books in library catalogues, but most of these were previously published as serialized novels in the newspaper *Občan*.²⁴ As mentioned above, many publishers of periodicals published novels in serial form as supplements to their newspapers and periodicals in order to attract readers and subscribers. This approach might have been especially favourable for Czech publishers of periodicals, such as *Občan*. The Czech publishers competed with German publishers and their publications – in German periodicals or as books – as most readers of the Czech literary elite were used to reading fiction in German. Thus, and as Vimr notes, the educated readers were often familiar with the novels in German translation before they were translated into their own local language.²⁵ Therefore some Czech publishers probably preferred to start publishing translated novels in a less costly way in periodicals and newspapers before they decided on traditional book publication.

Many of the novels and stories by Flygare-Carlén published in Czech periodicals were continually republished in new prints and editions. They were also repeatedly published in new translations. If they were first translated by the Czech female translator M. Chorušická, or some other translator in the 1870s, they were later retranslated by, for example, Bohumil Klika. Flygare-Carlén's novel *Fideikommisset* (1844; *The Temptation of Wealth*), titled *Svěřenský statek*, was translated as many as three times, first by "E.B.," in 1873, then again 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*) titled *Skjutský hoch*. It was first published as a translation by "PM" (probably Chorušická) in 1875, then in 1889 by Václav Petřů, and then once again in 1913 by J. Nový. Flygare-Carlén's last novel, *A Merchant's House*

among the Islands, was translated into Czech as *Obchodní dům v mořských skaliskách* by M. Chorušická and printed by Posel z Prahy in 1872–1873. It reappeared later, in 1910, in a new translation by Klika.

The distribution of Flygare-Carlén's novels in the periodical *Občan* certainly established her in the Czech market and went on when the newspaper, after a few years, resumed publication under its original name, *Posel z Prahy*. Then it started its impressive distribution of 23 novels. In 1870, three novels were distributed: *Enslingen på Johannes-skäret* (1846; *The Hermit*), *The Foster Brothers*, and *The Guardian*. In 1871, four other novels appeared: *Representanten* (1839; *The Lover's Stratagem*), *The Rose of Tistelön*, *Waldemar Klein*, and *Marie Louise*. In the top years of 1872 and 1873, no fewer than eight novels were published each year, that is, a total of 16 novels in two years. Among them were novels such as *A Merchant House*, *Gustavus Lindorm*, and *Woman's Life*.

Flygare-Carlén's works were promoted even more intensively when the publishing house F. Šimáček started its mass distribution of her novels in Czech in 1888. Thereafter, these publications were a significant part of the Czech book market until 1930. Between 1888 and 1893, Šimáček published *The Magic Goblet*, *The Professor and His Favourites*, *Ryktet* (1850; *The Rumour*), *Roman-hjeltinnan* (1849; *The Romance Heroine*), *Minnen af svenskt författarlif* (1878; *Memories*), and *Inom sex veckor* (1853; *The Brothers Bet: or, Within Six Weeks*). From 1897 until 1930, it printed many of Flygare-Carlén's novels in new translations and more or less costly editions. To promote this publication boom, several novels by Flygare-Carlén were also published for the first time in Czech, including *Twelve Months of Matrimony* (1898) and *The Hermit* (1899), and her autobiographical work *Memories* (*Stínova bra*, 1927). The energy put into the project by F. Šimáček's publishing house is also confirmed by the number of translators employed, including Václav Petřů, Hugo Kosterka, Bohumil Klika, and J. Nový.

As Ondřej Vimr will expand on in the third chapter, by the end of the century there were a growing number of Czech critics who labelled Schwartz's and Flygare-Carlén's novels as bestselling lowbrow fiction. At the same time, their novels were popular with Czech readers. While Šimáček continued to publish novels by Flygare-Carlén in the early twentieth century, the most far-reaching distribution of Flygare-Carlén's younger colleague Schwartz's novels in Czech was done by the publisher Antonín Dědourek. After World War I, between 1918 and 1927, he published *Gerda, or the Children of Work*, *The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People*, *Labour Ennobles the Man*, *Little Karin*, *Two Family Mothers*, *One Year*, *The Slander*, and *Birth and Educa-*

tion. Some of the most frequent translators of Schwartz's works were Jaromír Turnovský, Eliška Pilná, and Nora Grimsová. Still, there was only one novel by Schwartz that was reprinted and retranslated several times, her most popular novel, *The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People*. It was first translated by Vojtěch Vrána and published in Prague by Gustav Schalek in 1867, and then reprinted by the same publisher in 1884. Half a century later, in 1918, it was translated once more, this time by Nora Grimsová, and published by Antonín Dědourek, and it was reprinted three times, in 1919, 1920, and 1926. In the next chapter, Ursula Stohler will demonstrate how this novel was translated into Czech via German and was revised by its translators.

Thus, while it was F. Šimáček that launched Flygare-Carlén's novels, it was first Gustav Schalek and later Antonín Dědourek who published Schwartz's works; Šimáček in Prague did not print a single novel by Schwartz, nor did Schwartz's publishers Schalek and Dědourek in Třebchovice print anything by Flygare-Carlén. Furthermore, Flygare-Carlén's more frequent translators did not take any interest in Schwartz's work, nor the other way round. That is, the works of two Swedish novelists seem partly to have been circulated in parallel, although their reception by the critics suggests that they were perceived as two of a kind. Nevertheless, one thing is certain: Flygare-Carlén's novels were promoted by her Czech publisher František Šimáček as novels written in a minor language by an author from another small nation. Her Swedish novels were thus regarded as good examples of non-German literature, that is, something different from the German literature that was read by the Czech literary elite and that dominated the literary scene in the Czech countries. At a time when the German-speaking Austrian Empire was looked upon as a cultural colonial power in Europe, Flygare-Carlén's novels were used as examples of what a minor nation could produce if it were liberated from cultural oppression. Flygare-Carlén and her novels were commercialized in the context of the emerging national consciousness; her works were introduced to the Czech people – according to various advertisements and promotional texts by her publishers – to represent the Czech spirit, and to achieve in the Czech translation the same popularity “*as the works by the best male and female Czech authors*”, to cite a frequently reprinted promotional text.²⁶ This opinion is also confirmed by the publisher František Šimáček in a letter written in Swedish in 1882, which also enclosed “a gift of honour” to Flygare-Carlén from the Bohemian people. What makes this letter of special interest is that Šimáček considered himself to be speaking for the “Bohemian people” in his protests against German as the major cultural language in the

Czech lands. As part of his mission, he stressed the importance of literature in Czech in order to teach people to read and write in their own native tongue. Therefore, he emphasized the impact of Flygare-Carlén's novels in Czech translation and how they strengthened the Czech national spirit.²⁷ Also, according to the Czech scholar Gustav Pallas, her novels had a noteworthy impact on an entire generation in the Czech-speaking regions as they were morally superior to what he calls the inferior salon or conversation literature of the time. He actually refers to Flygare-Carlén's novels as educational works.²⁸

MOTIVES BEHIND TRANSMISSION ACROSS BORDERS

Among the three leading Swedish novelists in the mid-nineteenth century, Emilie Flygare-Carlén, Fredrika Bremer, and Marie Sophie Schwartz, the works of only two of them were widely circulated in Central and Eastern Europe. Although some works by Bremer were translated into Polish and two were translated into Czech, these were minor achievements compared to the success of her two compatriots, Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz. Of these two writers, Schwartz's success is the more remarkable. In contrast to both Flygare-Carlén and Bremer, she had to initiate the translations into German herself. However, when she accomplished this, the dissemination of her works across regional borders in the German-speaking parts of Europe was instant and resulted in translations into other local languages in the Austrian Empire, such as Hungarian and Czech.

Why Schwartz had to repeatedly approach German publishers herself to get her novels translated into German is an interesting question. Was the German book market saturated with novels in the early 1860s? Did the number of circulated novels by popular writers already meet the demands of the readers? These possible reasons might explain why German publishers hesitated to invest in translating Schwartz's novels, a rather costly business. Or did Schwartz approach the publishers herself because her Swedish publisher, Adolf Bonnier, did not put much effort into the project at the time? Maybe Adolf Bonnier was not as active in making Schwartz known to German colleagues as Flygare-Carlén's first publisher, Niklas Thomson, had been at the time of Flygare-Carlén's debut in Sweden. There are several letters that prove that Adolf Bonnier, at the same time as Schwartz was starting her literary career, was introducing Flygare-Carlén's novels to German publishers and mediating the contacts between them and Flygare-Carlén.²⁹ One reason why he did so might be because Flygare-Carlén was already well established as a literary celebrity and bestselling author. Whatever the reason, it

is hard to find clear answers to these questions because of the lack of testifying documents.

There might also be another explanation for Flygare-Carlén's instant and extensive translation into German and several other languages. Flygare-Carlén's blend of intriguing romances, suspenseful crime stories, and domestic middle-class realism pointed to a successful reception right from the start, while the expected response to Schwartz's novel some decades later might have been harder to predict. Schwartz's novels dealt more explicitly with class issues and communicated a Swedish view on the importance of employment, manual labour, and diligence. Her explicit encouragement of women's right to professional training and paid work might also have been less appealing to some European publishers. These differences in ideological focus might – on the other hand – explain why Schwartz was more popular in Polish than her older colleague; maybe her novels better corresponded to the literary taste and ideals in Poland at the time. Just as Flygare-Carlén's novels were used by her Czech publisher, František Šimáček, to encourage readers to read novels in their native tongue to promote the nationalistic endeavours in the Czech lands at the time, the same reasons might have caused Schwartz's triumph in Polish. To her Polish agents, Schwartz's novels might have responded to the approved and recommended mentality of the time. Also, in Poland, it might have been felt that encouraging people to read virtuous novels written in another minor and local language might inspire writers to write in their own language and thereby give rise to Polish novels by native writers. Although, no documents have been found to prove these factors behind Schwartz's popularity in Polish, this might still be one reason why her novels were more widely circulated in Polish than Flygare-Carlén's works. At the time, they might have been in harmony with the local nationalistic programme. Thus, the nationalistic movement in Poland perhaps supported somewhat different ideals than the nationalistic supporters in the Czech lands.

Although, the dissemination and distribution of Flygare-Carlén's and Schwartz's novels varied in different regions of Europe, both writers were extremely successful in vast parts of the Austrian Empire and in the Baltic countries. They were not only translated into Polish but also, for example, into Latvian; at least three novels by each were translated into Latvian in the 1880s, perhaps as a result of their former success in Polish and Czech. A study of the dissemination of Swedish novels in Europe in the nineteenth century proves that literature at the time travelled along different literary routes than today and that the major literary language in Europe was German and not English as it is today. One explanation for the Swedish writers' achievements might be that Swedish as a Ger-

manic language was rather easy to translate into German and that many Swedish publishers at the time cooperated with German colleagues. However, this is certainly just a minor reason why Swedish novels by certain women writers became so popular that it is possible to talk about their novels as market leaders. The main reason was probably that they wrote the kind of novels that were in demand and satisfied the readers' tastes; they wrote about the everyday lives and struggles of middle-class working people at a time when reading novels became a mass entertainment in Europe, in the late nineteenth century. Their novels were also introduced in those parts of Europe dominated by the Austrian Empire and German culture, where different national movements were promoting access to world literature. Emilie Flygare-Carlén's and Marie Sophie Schwartz's novels, written and set in a small country at the outskirts of Europe, certainly answered the demand for something new and different. At the same time, their novels proved the power of small nations and regional cultures at a time when other regions in Europe were fighting for independence and a nation of their own.

THE FOLLOWING CHAPTERS

Although it is not possible to find answers to all of the above questions, some of them will be further explored in the following four chapters. The next two chapters are dedicated to the Czech reception of Swedish nineteenth-century literature. In "The Best-Selling Woman Question: German and Czech Transcultural Translations of Marie Sophie Schwartz", Ursula Stohler starts by charting the German book market, that is, the emergence and importance of publishers and translation factories. She outlines the prerequisites for the dissemination of domestic novels by Swedish women writers. By comparing the German and Czech translations of two novels by Schwartz, *The Emancipation Frenzy* and *The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People*, she verifies how Schwartz's novels travelled into Czech via German translations and how the gender issues were treated by different Czech translators.

Stohler's investigation is contextualized by Ondřej Vimr in the third chapter of this book, "Despised and Popular: Swedish Women Writers in Nineteenth Century Czech National and Gender Emancipation". Here, Vimr examines the introduction of Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz into Czech and how their status in the Czech literary system changed by the end of the nineteenth century. He explores the mechanism behind their triumph and looks at how their novels were framed by publishers and critics as well as revivalists in the national movement to trigger certain expectations and reactions. He also expands on the change in

reception at the turn of the century and how the novels by Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz were looked down upon by the leading critics.

In the fourth chapter, the introduction and achievements of Swedish writers in Hungary are surveyed by Péter Mádl and Ildikó Annu in “The Significance of Swedish Literature in Nineteenth Century Hungary”. Based on the Hungarian reception, Mádl and Annu examine how Swedish literature was first discovered by Hungarian critics. As is demonstrated, Emelie Flygare-Carlén was not only the first Swedish writer ever translated into Hungarian but also the writer who paved the way for other Swedish writers, not only novelists, such as Marie Sophie Schwartz, but also earlier high-brow Romantics, such as Esaias Tegnér.

In the last chapter, “Marie Sophie Schwartz in Translation: Exporting Swedish Women Writers’s Literature to Poland”, Magdalena Wasilewska-Chmura explores the prerequisites of the popularity of Swedish novels and how Marie Sophie Schwartz’s novels were launched to the Polish audience. She also examines how two novels by Schwartz, *Gertrude’s Dreams of the Future* and *The Emancipation Frenzy*, were translated and adapted for the Polish readers. She investigates how the Polish translations deviate from the Swedish texts – as well as from their German translations – and how Schwartz’s feminist message was adapted to Polish gender norms.

To facilitate the reading of the chapters in English, the first time a literary work is mentioned the title is given in the original language, in parenthesis followed by the first year of publication in the source language and then the title in English, or a translation into English of the original title. Thereafter the English title is used.

NOTES

- 1 David Damrosh, *What Is World Literature?*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003, p. 3.
- 2 The SWED Database has been established in connection with the project “Swedish Women Writers on Export in the Nineteenth Century” at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden. The aim of the database is to list all fictional publications, all Swedish publications (editions and reprints), and all found translations (translated titles and new editions and reprints of them) by 20 nineteenth-century writers, including Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, and Schwartz, as well as Selma Lagerlöf, Carl Fredrik Ridderstad, Carl Jonas Love Almqvist, and Zacharias Topelius. The SWED Database will be published online in 2018.
- 3 Franco Moretti, *Distant Reading*, London and New York: Verso, 2013, p. 97.
- 4 Erland Munch-Petersen, *Romanens århundrede. Studier i den masselæste*

- oversatte roman i Danmark 1800–1870, Köpenhamn: Forum, 1978, II, Table 5, p. 982.
- 5 For information about the publication of this novel, see Yvonne Leffler, “Inledning”, in Emilie Flygare-Carlén, *Ett köpmanshus i skärgården*. Förra delen, ed. Yvonne Leffler, Stockholm: Svenska Vitterhetssamfundet, 2007, pp. xi–xv.
 - 6 Emilie Flygare-Carlén, “Erklaring”, in Emilie Flygare-Carlén, *Ein Handlungshaus in den Scheeren; Kusten-Roman*, autoriserde bersetzung Bd 1-2, Leipzig: Ph. Maass, 1859, p. [3].
 - 7 Letters from Franckh’schen Verlagshandlung to Flygare-Carlén, 1860–1862, Nordiska Museets arkiv, Stockholm.
 - 8 Letter from Servaas de Bruin to Emilie Flygare-Carlén, Haag 23 April, 1850. Nordiska museets arkiv, Stockholm.
 - 9 Letter from Servaas de Bruin to Emilie Flygare-Carlén, Haag 29 November, 1851. Nordiska museets arkiv, Stockholm.
 - 10 Most of the translations of Flygare-Carlén’s novels into French and English were probably made from the original Swedish texts. Several prefaces by and letters from English and American translators and editors confirm that. There are also letters asserting that the translation of Schwartz’s works into American English was done by the American translator from Letter from M.S. Schwartz to Selma Borg, Letter from M. S. Schwartz, to Selma Borg 28 April, 1871 and 8 May, 1871; Letter from Selma Borg to M. S. Schwartz 10 August 1874, The National Library, Stockholm.
 - 11 Yvonne Leffler, “Inledning”, in Emilie Flygare-Carlén, *Ett kopmanshus i skargarden*, I, Utg. i tre delar med inledning och kommentar av Yvonne Leffler, Stockholm: Svenska Vitterhetssamfundet 2007, pp. xiii–xiv.
 - 12 Letter from Carl Flemming to Marie Sophie Schwartz, 27 September, 1861. National Library, Stockholm.
 - 13 Letter from A. Kretzschmar to M. S. Schwartz, 26 September, 1861; Letter from C. Flemming to M. S. Schwartz, 27 September, 1861; Letter from A. Sacco to M. S. Schwartz, 3 October, 1861; Letter from F. A. Brockhaus to M. S. Schwartz 4 October, 1861; Letter from C. Flemming to M. S. Schwartz, 25 October, 1861; Letter from A. Kretzschmar to M. S. Schwartz, 8 December, 1861, The National Library, Stockholm.
 - 14 The following works by Schwartz were published in German between 1862 and 1865: *Work Raises the Man (Die Arbeit adelt den Mann)*, *The Wife of a Vain Man (Eines eiteln Mannes Frau)*, and *Guilt and Innocence (Schuld und Unschuld)* in 1862; *Letters about a Woman’s Life (Blatter aus dem Frauenleben)*, *Birth and Education (Geburt und Bildung)*, *Two Family Mothers (Zwei Familienmutter)*, *A Nobleman’s Daughter (Die Tochter des Edelmanns)*, *Wilhelm Stjernkrona (Wilhelm Stjernkrona, oder, Ist des Menschen Charakter sein Schicksal?)* in 1863; *Gerda, or the Children of Work (Die Kinder der Arbeit)*, *The Defenceless (Die Schutzlosen)*, *The Right One (Der Rechte)*, *The Emancipation Mania (Die Emancipations-Manie)*, *The Widow and Her Children (Die Witwe und ihre Kinder)*, *A Sacrifice (Ein Opfer der Rache)*, *Gold and Name (Gold und Name)*, *The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People (Der Mann von Geburt und das Weib aus dem Volke)*, *Mathilda (Mathilde oder Ein gefallsuchtiges Weib)*, and

- Memories from Youth (Jugenderinnerungen)* in 1864; *The Passions (Die Leidenschaften)*, *The Sons of the Organ Grinder (Die Söhne des Drehorgelmannes)*, *The Daughter of the Forest (Die Tochter des Waldes)*, *A Gaze Back (Ein Blick zurück)* in 1865.
- 15 *Bluszcz*, number 20, 13 February, 1866.
 - 16 Andrzej Nils Ugglar, *Från politik till litteratur. Sveriges väg till den polska nationella diktningen under 1800-talet i sju studier*, Uppsala: Uppsala Slavic Papers 15, 1989, pp. 127, 129.
 - 17 Czesław Miłosz, *The history of Polish literature*, London: The Macmillan Company 1869, pp. 283–285.
 - 18 *Bluszcz* number 11, 17 March, 1868.
 - 19 Ondřej Vimr, *Historie překladatele: Cesty skandinávských literatur do češtiny (1890-1950)*, Pistorius and Olšanská, Příbram 2014, p. 31.
 - 20 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.
 - 21 Ondřej Vimr, *Historie překladatele*, p. 43, where he refers to a study on the most popular books in a lending library from the 1880s onwards: Petra Křivová – Pavelková Jindra: “Top 10 rajhradské klášterní knihovny v 19. století” (The top 10 of the Rajhradská monasterial library in the 19th century), in *Problematika historických a významných knižních fondů Čech, Moravy a Slezka*. Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci, 2010, p. 145–151.
 - 22 Vimr, *Historie překladatele*, 2014, p. 22.
 - 23 Ondřej Vimr, “En hård kamp’Strindbergs første tie år på tsjekkisk”, *Strindbergiana*, Tjugoåttonde samlingen, ed. Elena Balzamo etc., 2013, p. 60.
 - 24 Občan was actually a temporary name for the newspaper “Posel z Prahy” during a couple of years when their publisher, Šimáček, was in prison.
 - 25 Vimr, *Historie překladatele*, 2014, p. 31.
 - 26 My English translation of the promotional text quoted by Vimr in *Historie překladatele*, 2014, p. 41, where he refers to the following bibliographical information, indicating that the italics were in the original: “Emilie Flygare-Carlénová a její spisy”, *Posel z Prahy*, roč. 13, 1875, č. 251, p. 1. He adds that this text was reprinted several times and with some changes in later issues and that it was obviously a promotional text.
 - 27 Letter from František Šimáček to Emilie Flygare-Carlén, 21 June, 1882, Nordiska museets arkiv, Stockholm. It has not been possible to trace the gift of honour. It is not included in the collection at the Nordiska museet, Stockholm.
 - 28 Gustav Pallas, *Hvězdy severu: Kapitoly z kulturních dějin severských*, Jiří Chvojka: Havlíčkův Brod, 1948, p. 196.
 - 29 See, for example, Letters from F.H. Morin to Emilie Flygare-Carlén, 29 November, 1841, and Františka Šimáček to Emilie Flygare-Carlén, 21 June, 1882, Nordiska museets arkiv, Stockholm.

Ursula Stohler

THE BEST-SELLING WOMAN QUESTION

German and Czech Transcultural Translations of
Marie Sophie Schwartz

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY was a period when women became more and more visible in the public. In the field of culture, women increasingly entered the literary field as readers, authors, and translators. In the field of politics, calls for the abolishment of social inequality led to criticism of the subordinate position of women. How did these two fields intersect? What role did internationally successful works of fiction by women play in this process, especially the various translations of bestsellers? Whereas the prominent role of bestselling fiction from major literary cultures, such as the English and French, in Europe's cultural landscape is quite thoroughly researched, the impact of works from minor countries such as Sweden is less well known. This chapter intends to close this gap by focusing on two works of fiction by Marie Sophie Schwartz (1819–1894), a highly popular Swedish bestselling author whose works were translated into various languages.

Schwartz, whose adoptive family provided her with a thorough education, was a prolific novelist. She was also a regular contributor of articles and reports to Swedish newspapers. During her relationship with Gustav Magnus Schwartz she published her novels under pseudonyms. After his death she supported her family with her writing, releasing a high number of novels that addressed social inequality and gender issues. Among her most famous novels are *Emancipationsvurmen* (1860; *Emancipation Frenzy*) and *Mannen av börd och kvinnan af folket* (1858; *The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People*), which include surprisingly explicit calls for the emancipation of women. How were these statements translated into German and Czech? Were their

“feminist” messages translated without major changes in the meaning, or did the translators soften, or even sharpen, them according to the expectations of their readers? This chapter also looks at the pivotal role the German book market, with its comparatively liberal translation policies, played in the emergence of translation factories and the opportunities it offered to female authors and translators for the dissemination of emancipatory ideas across Europe.

THE ROLE OF TRANSLATIONS IN SOCIAL AND EMANCIPATORY MOVEMENTS

The cultural turn in literature studies has opened new approaches to the study of translations. It enabled the emergence of descriptive translation studies, which looks at translations as cultural products within social contexts and focuses on the goals and effects of the translations in the target cultures, as outlined in Gideon Toury’s *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (1995).¹ Feminist scholars in translation studies, such as Sherry Simon, highlight the role translations by women played in the emergence of social and emancipatory movements, for instance in the anti-slavery movement in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.² Women linked calls for social equality with appeals for the equality between the sexes. Translations of key texts contributed to the transcultural dissemination of feminist ideas. Scholars in the field of transcultural and transmedial women’s studies, such as Susan van Dijk, Gillan Dow, or Petra Broomans, have explored the role of women as public agents and cultural mediators and they have investigated women writers’ networks.³

In the nineteenth century, calls for the emancipation of women appeared not only in political manifestoes, but often in literary works. The genre of popular fiction played an important part in this development by combining entertaining plots with political messages. When analysing translations of bestselling fiction, the question arises how the translators chose to address these works’ political, feminist or misogynist content.⁴ Which decisions did they take regarding misogynist sentences produced by some literary figures? Did the translators reinforce them with the goal of eliciting feminist activism in the readers, or were they careful not to outrage the readers and chose to focus on the creation of authoritative feminine role models instead?⁵ The concept of agency is pivotal to feminist thought. Lois McNay defines it as follows:

Agency is commonly understood as the capacity of a person (or other living and material entities) to intervene in the world in a

manner that is deemed, according to some criterion or another, to be independent or relatively autonomous.⁶

The Swedish bestselling novels that are at the centre of this chapter feature female protagonists that strive to make autonomous choices on their destinies. The analyses of the translations into German and Czech reveal to what extent this feature was preserved in the target cultures.

THE EXPANSION AND COMMERCIALIZATION OF THE GERMAN BOOK MARKET

During the first half of the nineteenth century the German book market expanded extensively. A great number of competing publishers and book trading companies emerged.⁷ This development was to a large extent due to technological innovations in the printing industry, which reduced the costs of producing paper and books.⁸ These achievements led to commercialization of the book market and drove publishers to develop new marketing and distribution strategies. The publishers also focused increasingly on the topicality of literary works.

The German publishers began to address new types of readers, who regarded reading less as a means of cultural education than as a form of entertainment.⁹ Consumers of popular fiction found new reading material in German lending libraries, which replaced literary salons as platforms for cultural exchange.¹⁰ Later, popular novels began to be serialized in periodicals, and cheap editions of works of popular fiction appeared on the market.¹¹ Women increasingly began to enter the literary market, not just as consumers, but also as producers and translators of literature, a development that was also due to the emergence of the women's movement at that time.¹² Novels by female authors became an important offering for the new type of readers that the editors targeted.¹³

As authors began to orientate themselves on the market, many of them managed to make a living from their writing. The elevated demand for new reading material could not be covered by domestic production alone. German publishers therefore produced translations of popular foreign novels. By the mid-nineteenth century, the number of translated novels on the book market had increased significantly. While in the 1820s only one out of 10 novels on the book market was a translation, by 1850 this number reached one out of two novels.¹⁴ Many translations were from the French or the English, among them novels by Charles Dickens, Eugène Sue, and George Sand.¹⁵ The popularity of translations of the novels by Walter Scott in the 1820s had initiated this

movement. In addition, a significant number of translations by female authors were from the Swedish, in particular the novels by Fredrika Bremer (1801–1865), Emilie Flygare-Carlén (1807–1892), and Marie Sophie Schwartz.

Some businesses were so prolific in the production of literary translations that they were designated as “translation factories”, as Norbert Bachleitner outlines in his study on this phenomenon.¹⁶ Translations into German were often done in a hurry, and given the high number of competing translations on the market, the translators sometimes used an existing translation as a basis, made a few changes and thus produced a “new” translation.¹⁷ The high number of competing translations was also due to the prohibition of reprints.¹⁸ As editors were not allowed to reprint books, they produced several translations of the same work. It seems that the places where the most reprints were published, such as Vienna, Pest, and Stuttgart, were also the places where “translation factories” emerged.¹⁹

In the 1830s and 1840s, works of fiction often included social criticism. The mass production of books thus alarmed the authorities, who sensed the revolutionary potential expressed and disseminated in domestic and translated novels.²⁰ This development led to intensified censorship measures, particularly in Austria, but also, to a lesser extent, in other parts of the empire, such as Hungary.²¹ The German lands were not as strict regarding censorship as their neighbouring countries, and they served as a hub for translations into other languages. Translations into Czech, for instance, were often based on German translations and were sometimes done without knowledge of the source text. Editors frequently produced such indirect translations to introduce works from smaller literary cultures into the target culture. This was an efficient procedure to apply to source texts for which it might have been difficult to find a translator familiar with the source language.²² The translations of some Swedish bestselling novels by female authors are a case in point.

The business of the Franckh brothers, booksellers and publishers in the southern German lands, illustrates the commercialization of the German book market during the first half of the nineteenth century.²³ Their unconventional business methods alienated more conservative booksellers and traders, mainly from the Protestant north of the German territories, who traditionally conceived of themselves as mediators of culture rather than as business people. Johann Friedrich Franckh (1795–1865) and Friedrich Gottlob Franckh (1802–1845) entered the business of the book trade with a sense for its commercial potential. In 1822 they founded their first company. Apart from a bookstore, they also opened

a lending library. They used spectacular advertising campaigns and efficient distribution systems, and they offered inexpensive book series. By 1829 the company was prospering, and the Franckh brothers had business partners in several German cities. They often competed with established, thriving publishers, such as Cotta, by publishing books with similar titles and opening business branches in the same cities. In the 1840s they began to produce translations of foreign bestsellers, starting with those by Walter Scott. Based on their success in this endeavour, they founded the series *Belletristisches Ausland* (*Works of Fiction from Abroad*), which existed from 1843 to 1865. With this series they also established one of the main “translation factories” in the southern German lands, employing many translators. Later on, they also reprinted popular works, including those by Marie Sophie Schwartz.

It seems that several translation factories were operating in the German lands during the first half of the nineteenth century. Critics attacked the “factory owners” for their practice of producing translations as if they were consumer goods.²⁴ Sometimes the translators themselves were referred to as translation machines, reflecting the extent to which metaphors related to industrialization and consumer goods were being applied to the literary field. In his 1839 polemics against the translation vogue, which swept the German culture during the first half of the nineteenth century, Karl Gutzkow (1811–1878) called several translators “translation machines” (Übersetzungs-Maschinen).²⁵

GENDER ISSUES IN MARIE SOPHIE SCHWARTZ’S *Emancipation Frenzy*

One reason why the Swedish novelist Marie Sophie Schwartz became so popular was probably that she addressed the topic of the emancipation of women. Thereby her novels attracted many female readers. She elaborated on the topic most explicitly in two of her works. Her novel *Emancipation Frenzy* (1860) looks at the various ways in which women and men could respond to the problem of gender inequality, which was a prominent topic at that time, when the women’s movement began to gain ground.²⁶ Another novel by Schwartz, *The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People* (1858), which appeared two years prior to *Emancipation Frenzy*, also includes statements on the woman question, even if this work’s main focus is on the differences between social classes, in particular, on the privileges of the nobility as contrasted to the budding, economically successful, middle class.²⁷

Of these two novels, *Emancipation Frenzy* addresses the topic of women’s social position most explicitly and comprehensively, and it en-

joyed great international popularity. The novel describes the struggles of three female characters that have made unconventional life choices, which twenty-first century readers might call “feminist” choices, as well as the reactions of the men and women in their environment. The novel features comic elements in its accounts of some of the characters’ failed attempts to adopt new gender roles. However, under the surface of these entertaining sequences, the reader encounters distinct calls for changes to the patriarchal social system. The role of the comic elements is likely to soften these messages by cladding them in the exaggerated requests of the three female protagonists.

The first character is Urda, the 17-year-old daughter of the sea captain Werner. She lives on her father’s estate in the south of Sweden, the region where most of the novel’s plot unfolds. Urda is a headstrong young woman who has rejected traditional gender roles. This conviction manifests itself graphically, and it seems in part that she is imitating the example of George Sand, in her decision to wear men’s clothes, smoke cigars, go hunting, adopt the seafaring profession, and build up and try to run her own estate. The second character is Calla, the lively, charming daughter of a rich merchant from a neighbouring estate. As an author, she is determined to disseminate ideas about the emancipation of women in her writings, among them a novel that she has published anonymously. Her intention is to hide her writing ambitions from her family and friends until she has risen to fame for her leading role in the liberation of women. She expects that women’s oppressed social position will come to an end once her novel becomes widely read and its emancipatory ideas endorsed. The third female protagonist is Elise, Calla’s seemingly unimposing and industrious sister, who nourishes artistic ambitions. These go unnoticed by most of her relatives and acquaintances until one day she reveals to them her desire to pursue a career as an opera singer, a profession that is considered outrageous for decent young women. Undaunted, Elise follows her dreams about acquiring fame and she ends up in the capital, where she intends to train as an opera singer.

None of the three female protagonists’ families and friends approve of their unconventional choices. Urda’s cousin Harald, who lives on the same estate as she does, disapproves of her decision to dress like a man. He ridicules her and succeeds in convincing her devoted father and his female housekeeper to force her to wear women’s clothes, especially on social occasions when she can be seen by the public. Harald’s conceptions about femininity are further challenged when Calla, with whom he is secretly in love and who epitomizes for him the ideal of a domestic angel, reveals to him that she wants to be a writer and a leader in

the emancipation of women. His brother Erland, a spiritualistic, pig-headed, and jealous would-be clergyman, shares Harald's admiration and love for Calla as well as his disgust when he learns of her professional ambitions, the image of a bluestocking painfully colliding with his idealized image of her. As for Elise, her father is so outraged about his daughter's plans to train as an opera singer that he forbids her ever to set foot in his house again should she seriously attempt to put her career plans into action.

The other female characters do not support the female protagonists' decisions, either; rather, they serve as foils to them. The main goal in the life of Barbro, the housekeeper on the estate of Urda's father, is to become his wife. Charlotte, the mother of Calla and Elise, has never had any other ambition than to be the best housewife in her narrow social circle, and therefore she is mostly busy with cooking, house-keeping, and supervising the household staff. Urda's mother, as well as Harald and Erland's, died many years ago. The only female figure that has nurtured feminist ideas in the female protagonists is a female teacher at the boarding school that Calla and Elise attended in Stockholm. Both sisters have familiarized Urda with these ideas.

Models of successful female writers, artists, and champions of women's rights replace the guidance that a thoughtful and educated mother figure, familiar with the emancipatory ideas of the day, could have offered. Among these models, the novel mentions Sand,²⁸ the scandalous French woman author notorious for dressing like a man and smoking cigars; Mme de Stael,²⁹ the French woman author whose brainpower some men thought undermined her femininity; the two successful Swedish women authors, Bremer and Flygare-Carlén;³⁰ the internationally renowned nineteenth-century opera singer Jenny Lind (1820–1887);³¹ and Anna Maria Lenngren (1754–1817),³² a Swedish poet and feminist.

The three female protagonists Urda, Calla, and Elise all strive to achieve the level of fame that had been reached by these remarkably gifted and internationally successful stars, yet they fail to see the hard work that brought these celebrities to such heights and the exceptional nature of their success. This short-sighted view combines unfavourably with the male characters' refusal to support the budding talent of the three young women. The consequences of the women's short-sightedness and the men's lack of assistance turn out to be disastrous.

In Urda's case, the comic element inherent in her characterization makes the description of her failure entertaining for readers: the men's clothes she wears make her look far less vigorous than she had hoped. Instead of proving to her cousin how successful a hunter she is, she

accidentally shoots her beloved cat, mistaking it for a rabbit. She has to give up her dream of becoming a seaman when she discovers that she suffers from seasickness. Still undismayed, she sets up a farm on which only women are allowed to work, thereby intending to prove that women are by no means less suited to physically hard work – another attempt at reversing gender roles that is doomed to failure.

Like Urda, the other two female protagonists face obstacles in their quest to lead a self-determined life. Even though Calla's novel on the emancipation of women does get printed, it fails to spark the revolution in the social position of women she had expected it to, and her publisher welcomes her ensuing writings less warmly. The consequences of Elise's father's lack of support turn out to be particularly tragic for Elise, who sees her reputation as an honourable woman lost when false rumours are spread about her. She falls seriously ill, and only the secret care she receives from a physician and the two other female protagonists eventually rescue her.

The novel concludes with the three women adopting moderated positions in the gender conflicts they had initiated. Urda decides to wear women's clothes again and opens a school for impoverished girls. There, the girls can learn a craft that will help them make a living on their own instead of conceiving of marriage as the only way to acquire material and financial stability. Harald, who had learned about such schools through his travels in England, encourages and supports her in this endeavour. Urda eventually marries Erland, whose spiritualistic and somewhat fragile mental disposition she successfully counterbalances with her common sense. When she becomes a mother, Urda's transformation from a rebellious defender of women's emancipation to a domestic female existence is complete.

The other two women also end up married. Elise marries the physician who had helped her to convalesce. Calla gives up her ambitions to be a writer and marries Harald, dedicating herself fully to her duty as a wife and housekeeper. As a token of her devotion to Harald she is ready to destroy the manuscript of a promising novel for which she has been offered a publishing contract. Towards the end of the novel the reader encounters her in several scenes where she is busy with household chores, such as supervising laundry or baking, chores that she used to profoundly despise. Harald secretly observes her performing these duties, thus convincing himself of her suitability for the role of housewife. One other woman who is married by the end of the novel is Barbro, who has finally convinced Urda's father of her suitability to be his wife.

TRANSLATIONS OF SCHWARTZ'S *Emancipation Frenzy*
INTO GERMAN AND CZECH

Schwartz's novel on the emancipation of women was translated into German in 1864, just four years after the publication of the source text, at a time when translations of foreign bestsellers were flooding the German book market. Two German translations of the same novel appeared. One of them is entitled *Die Emancipations-Manie* (Emancipation Mania).³³ It is edited by the notoriously successful Franckh publishing house in Stuttgart and translated by Carl Otto Reventlow, pseudonym of Carl Christian Otto (1817–1873), a German-Danish journalist and author of studies on mnemonic techniques. He translated several works by Schwartz.

The other is entitled *Die Emancipationswuth* (Emancipation Rage) and is edited by the Brockhaus publishing house in Leipzig, translated by August Kretzschmar.³⁴ He was an author and most of all a highly prolific translator of popular novels from the English, French, and Swedish. An obituary refers to him as “one of the most precise adepts of Scandinavian languages” and states that the number of translations by him amounted to one thousand.³⁵

Both German translations appeared simultaneously in 1864. It was common practice for publishing houses to compete over novels that were considered to produce promising sales figures. Schwartz was already known to the German readers, as a number of her novels had appeared in German from the early 1860s, and in 1864, several new German titles appeared in Stuttgart.

A Czech translation appeared 13 years later, in 1876, under the title *Emancipační horečka* (Emancipation Frenzy).³⁶ The subtitle conveys that it was a woman who translated the novel, as the past tense of the verb “translated” (přeložila) has a feminine ending (-la). However, the subtitle reveals only the translator's initials, not her full name. The initials might be a pseudonym, and it is likely that they refer to P. M. Chorušická, who is listed as the author of several Czech translations of novels by Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz (in addition to her Czech translations of Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* and Mary Braddon's *Lady Audley's Secret*).³⁷ The Czech translation of *Emancipation Frenzy* was published by Libuše, the same editing house that published Chorušická's other translations of novels by Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz, which might be interpreted as further evidence that Chorušická was the translator in this case as well. Because of the novel's highly controversial topic, Chorušická might not have wanted

it to appear under her real name. The ensuing analysis refers to this translation as the Chorušická translation or as *Emancipation Frenzy*.

It has to be added that Chorušická is the pseudonym for Pavlína Křížková (1850–1923), whose maiden name was Filipová and who was the daughter of a physician.³⁸ She was an active member of the American Ladies' Club (Americký klub dam), which was the first Czech women's association and one of the first Czech associations of any type. It was founded by Vojta Náprstek (1826–1894) in 1865 and lasted until 1948. It had educational goals, among them the creation of a Czech national awareness and support for the emancipation of women. The American Ladies' Club restarted in 1996 with a slightly different agenda: Its members now mainly organize events on the Czech history and culture.

The title of the Swedish source text is *Emancipationsvurmen*, which can be translated into English as *Emancipation Passion* or *Emancipation Frenzy*. The German translation by the Franckh brothers from Stuttgart is *Emancipations-Manie* (Emancipation Mania). This German translation of the title includes the notion of insanity when referring to women's difficulties in leading self-determined lives. The title's German translation by Brockhaus from Leipzig, on the other hand, is *Emancipatonswuth*, (Emancipation Rage), a title that refers to strong emotional reactions to perceived injustice rather than to insanity. The Czech title is *Emancipační horečka* (Emancipation Frenzy), taking up the meaning of the Swedish source text.

Regarding the quality of the German translations, it has to be noted that the Brockhaus translation from Leipzig (Emancipation Rage) at times chooses stylistically awkward expressions and is therefore of slightly lower quality than the one from Stuttgart (Emancipation Mania). For instance, we find “den Text lesen lassen” (to have the text read) in *Emancipation Rage*, an expression that sounds strange to German ears, whereas *Emancipation Mania* chooses “Lektionen geben lassen” (to lecture).³⁹

The Czech translation might have had the Franckh brothers' German translation (Emancipation Mania) as a model, as there are many similarities between these two translations. The Brockhaus translation from Leipzig (Emancipation Rage), by contrast, at times differs from the other two translations. For instance, the German translation from Stuttgart (Emancipation Mania) and the Czech translation by Chorušická (Emancipation Frenzy) often have the same divisions into paragraphs.

Emancipation Rage, the Brockhaus edition from Leipzig, includes words that do not appear in the two other translations. For instance, in one sentence the word “wollen” (to want) appears in *Emancipation Rage*, but not in *Emancipation Mania*, *Emancipation Frenzy*, or the

Swedish source text.⁴⁰ Another example is that the Swedish source text, the Czech translation (*Emancipation Frenzy*), and the German translation from Stuttgart (*Emancipation Mania*) all include the expression “masked ball”. In the German translation from Leipzig (*Emancipation Rage*), on the other hand, this term cannot be found. This suggests that the Czech translation might indeed have been inspired by *Emancipation Mania*.⁴¹

GENDER-SPECIFIC DIFFERENCES IN THE TRANSLATIONS

Some of the differences between *Emancipation Mania* and the Czech translation, *Emancipation Frenzy*, on the one hand, and *Emancipation Rage* on the other have gender implications. In the Swedish source text Urda’s father uses two adjectives to characterize his deceased wife: “fromma, milda”.⁴² In *Emancipation Mania* he likewise refers to her as “fromme, milde” (pious, meek).⁴³ So does the Czech edition, where she is described as “zbožná, jemnocitná” (pious, delicate of feeling).⁴⁴ *Emancipation Rage*, however, chooses three adjectives: “gute, fromme, sanfte” (good, pious, meek).⁴⁵ This additional adjective intensifies the image of a woman that corresponds to traditional conceptions about femininity.

Another example of the gender significance when comparing the German translation *Emancipation Rage* with the other two translations (the German *Emancipation Mania* and the Czech *Emancipation Frenzy*) is the following. When Erland refers to Urda’s behaviour as incompatible with common gender conceptions, the Swedish source text uses the expression “god qvinna och en ung, blygsam flicka” (good woman and a young, modest girl).⁴⁶ *Emancipation Mania* chooses the words “gutes Weib und züchtiges Mädchen” (good wife and mannerly girl).⁴⁷ The Czech translation (*Emancipation Frenzy*) similarly chooses “dobrá žena, cudná dívka” (good wife, virtuous girl).⁴⁸ The Leipzig translation (*Emancipation Rage*), on the other hand, infantilizes Urda by reducing her to a “junges, bescheidenes Mädchen” (young, modest girl), omitting the first part of the expression and thus depriving the reader of the image of Urda as a grown-up woman.⁴⁹ It should be noted that the German translation from Stuttgart (*Emancipation Mania*) and the Czech translation (*Emancipation Frenzy*) deviate from the Swedish source text in that neither of them includes the term “young”. In this way, they infantilize Urda less than the source text and *Emancipation Rage* do.

The German translation from Leipzig (*Emancipation Rage*) omits two terms in connection with an ideal woman that the Swedish source text and both the German translation from Stuttgart (*Emancipation*

Mania) and the Czech translation (Emancipation Frenzy) feature: “benevolence” (god; Güte; dobrotu) and “an educated mind” (odladt förstånd; gebildeten Verstand; vzdělaný rozum).⁵⁰ These two attributes would have contributed to a positive image of a woman and mother. By omitting them, *Emancipation Rage* deprives the reader of the image of a woman whose heart complements her intelligence.

Gender significance can also be found in the differences in how the following paragraph is translated. The novel includes a scene that demonstrates Calla’s renunciation of her ambition to write about the liberation of women and in which she dedicates herself to domestic chores instead. This happens towards the end of the novel, when Harald spots Calla in the bake house, where she is making bread. The Swedish source text details how embarrassed she is when he sees her in flour-covered clothes, which seem to her far from flattering, even if they bolster Harald’s hope that his beloved Calla has finally begun to appreciate the duties of a housewife:

Calla var synbarligen förlägen; hennes med en liten mössa betäckta hufvud var nedmjöladt; den rena, bomullsklädningen urtvättad, och händerna degiga, allt detta var just icke egnadt att ingifva en fåfång flicka, sådan som hon, någon glädje öfver ett besök af en person, i hvars ögon hon så gerna hade velat vara vacker.⁵¹

The scene appears similarly in the Leipzig translation (Emancipation Rage):

Calla war sichtlich verlegen. Ihr mit einer kleinen Haube bedeckter Kopf war voll Mehlstaub, das baumwollende Kleid durchnässt und die Hände teigig. Alles dies war eben nicht geeignet, einem eitlen Mädchen wie Calla Freude über den Besuch einer Person einzufliessen, in deren Augen sie gern so schön als möglich hätte erscheinen mögen.⁵²

Calla was visibly embarrassed. Her hair, covered with a small bonnet, was dusted with flour, her cotton dress was drenched and her hands were sticky with dough. None of this was likely to make a girl happy about the visit of a person in whose eyes she would have liked to appear as beautiful as possible.

The Stuttgart translation (Emancipation Mania) omits the details of this scene, thus attenuating Calla’s conversion from ambitious author to conventional housewife:

Calla war furchtbar verlegen; all dieses war gerade nicht geeignet, einem eitlen Mädchen, wie sie, irgendeine Freude über den Besuch einer Person zu verursachen, in deren Augen sie gern hätte hübsch erscheinen mögen.⁵³

Calla was terribly embarrassed; none of this would cause joy in a vain girl like her about the visit of a person in whose eyes she would have liked to appear pretty.

The Czech translation (*Emancipation Frenzy*), which probably had the Stuttgart translation (*Emancipation Mania*) as a model, does not include these details either:

Kalla byla patrně v rozpacích ; neboť okolnost, že ji přítel zastihl při zaměstnání všedním, nemohla způsobiti potěšení děvčeti marnivému, před nímž byla by ráda vždy objevila se v pěkném zevnějšku.⁵⁴

Calla was visibly embarrassed; for the fact that her friend had caught her in a working-day occupation could not cause joy to a vain girl, who has always been keen to appear pretty in front of him.

It is impossible to know if the sentences explicitly describing Calla's transformation into a perfect housewife were omitted consciously or by accident – if any such differentiation exists at all.

Even though the German *Emancipation Mania* and the Czech *Emancipation Frenzy* share many features, there are also some instances where the Czech translation differs from the two German ones, and these differences carry gender-specific and other connotations that point to different cultural and political discourses. In the Swedish source text, the expression “bluestocking” (blåstrumpa) appears up to 11 times in one form or another.⁵⁵ Both German translations choose “Blaustrumpf” (bluestocking) or a similar word at these places in the novel.⁵⁶ The Czech translation, on the other hand, does not feature “modrá punčocha”, which would be the Czech translation of “bluestocking”, anywhere. Maybe this term was not in use in the Czech language at that time.⁵⁷ Instead, the translator chose a number of substitutions for “bluestocking”. All of them have negative connotations and designate a quick, extensive, incessant, or even stubborn type of text production.⁵⁸ Among them is “the book thrower” (knihometa), referring to a person who produces books quickly or in large numbers;⁵⁹ “the one who rustles with a pen across paper” (šustiper), which is a person who writes all the time;⁶⁰ “a pen destroyer” (kaziperka, perokazek), mean-

ing a person who uses a pen excessively;⁶¹ as well as “the scribbler” (čmáral)⁶² and “caprice” (vrtoch).⁶³

Twice the translator paraphrases the term. Instead of speaking of a “bluestocking”, her translation says that “she only concerns herself with writing” (ona zabývá se jen spisováním),⁶⁴ and instead of saying “in your thoughts you called me a *bluestocking*”, she chose “in my leisure time *I dedicated myself to writing*”.⁶⁵ When in the Swedish source text Calla’s frightened father asks his daughter, whom he has discovered spending her time with writing, if she is turning into a “bluestocking”, she assures him, “you will not see me in blue stockings”. Both German translations here reproduce the meaning of the Swedish source text.⁶⁶ In the Czech translation, on the other hand, the term “bluestocking” is translated as “book thrower” (knihomet), as mentioned above, and in the ensuing answer Calla does not make the joke about her never wearing blue stockings, but simply says that “this will not happen” (to se nestane).⁶⁷ In this way, the Czech translator found ways to paraphrase an expression that had not yet found its way into Czech culture.

In the Czech translation, these terms and expressions chosen to translate “bluestocking” are mainly connected to the concept of writing and not to the liberation of women from social inequalities; there is no political undertone in them. In the West, on the other hand, the term “bluestocking” refers not only to female intellectuals and authors, but also to women’s rights activists. The Czech substitutions of “bluestocking” with other terms and expressions suggest that such a label for, and maybe also the concept of, an emancipated woman in the sense in which it was understood in the West was not well known in the Czech culture.

The term “emancipation”, on the other hand, which appears up to 35 times in the Swedish source text and in both German translations, features just as often in the Czech translation, which also reproduces it in the novel’s title. The Czech readers were obviously familiar with this term, even if in the Czech culture of the nineteenth century it mostly referred to the liberation of the Czechs from the influence of the Germans and the calls for the emergence of an independent nation state. The editor might have hoped for the novel’s title to be commercially successful when the readers associated it with the topic of the emancipation of the Czechs from the Germans, a hot political topic at that time and one that was widely discussed in all social classes.

In some instances the Czech translation has omitted words that the Swedish source text and German translations include. The Czech translation thus produces a slightly different tonality. The Swedish source text and the two German translations speak of “true female virtues” in connection with an ideal mother figure for Calla (my italics):

Emancipationsvurmen:

Hade Calla haft en mor, som förstått dottrens själsanlag, som från barndomen hade framstått för hennes blick i *sanmt qvinliga* dygd god med odladt förstånd, så ...⁶⁸

Emancipation Mania:

Hätte Calla eine Mutter gehabt, welche die Geistesanlagen der Tochter zu würdigen gewusst, welche von Kindheit an sich in ihren Augen durch *wahre weibliche* Tugenden, Güte und gebildeten Verstand ausgezeichnet, so ...⁶⁹

Had Calla had a mother who was able to value her daughter's intellectual predispositions, who would have distinguished herself in Calla's eyes from childhood, through real female virtues, benevolence and an educated mind, then ...

Emancipation Rage:

Hätte Calla eine Mutter gehabt, welche die geistigen Anlagen der Tochter verstanden hätte, die ihr von Kindheit an in *wahrhaft weiblichen* Tugenden mit ihrem Beispiel vorangegangen wäre, so ...⁷⁰

Had Calla had a mother who would have understood her daughter's intellectual predispositions, who from Calla's childhood would have set her own example of real female virtues, then ...

The Czech translation, on the other hand, does not feature these attributes, but only speaks of “*her virtues*” (my italics):

Emancipation Frenzy:

Kdyby Kalla byla měla matku takovou, která by dovedla oceniti duševní nadání dceřino, a této již od dětství bývala pro *své* cnosti, dobrotu a vzdělaný rozum příkladem a vzorem, bylo ...⁷¹

Had Calla had such a mother, who would have known how to value her daughter's intellectual predispositions, and who from childhood would have been an example for her of her virtues, benevolence, and educated mind, it would have ...

By omitting the attributes “real female”, the Czech translation dampens the reproduction of a gender stereotype, that is, the idea that some types of virtues are inherent to women, and that there exist *real* female virtues and others that are not “real”, not typical for women. In such stereotypical conceptions, Calla has the “wrong” virtues, in that she has ambitions to be an author. Such ambitions collide with the common conception of a woman.

The Czech translation further varies from both German translations in the following instance. When Elise writes a letter to a friend detailing the misfortunes that she has suffered, the German translations say that this effort has caused a relapse in the young woman, such that she has “fever” and is “fantasizing” (Fieber mit Phantasieren; Fiebers mit Irreden).⁷² By contrast, the Czech translation says that writing the letter has “almost thrown her on the bed again”, a figurative way of saying that she has fallen ill, yet it does not mention fever nor fantasizing.⁷³ The Swedish source text says of Elise that she has “fever with dizziness”, the term “yrsel” referring to “dizziness” or “delirium”.⁷⁴ The Czech translation, and maybe the Swedish source text (depending on the meaning of “yrsel”), thus reduces the image of insanity in connection with a woman, whereas both German translations intensify it.

When Calla wants to demonstrate to Harald her transformation from ambitious author to common housewife, she throws her book manuscript, for which she had received a promising publication offer, into the river. In the Swedish source text and in both German translations Calla here speaks of destroying her “best work” to prove her love to Harald.⁷⁵ The Czech translation, on the other hand, only speaks of her “work” and thus reduces the intensity of the sacrifice she is about to commit.⁷⁶ For a reader supporting the feminist cause, this dampened version is easier to bear than the more explicit demonstration of Calla’s decision to conform to socially accepted conceptions about women as unambitious housewives.

Harald verbalizes Calla’s transformation when he thereafter calls her an “angel”, an endearment that appears in the Swedish source text and that both German translations adopt. When Harald sees that Calla has destroyed her manuscript, he exclaims “Angel! What have you done?”⁷⁷ The Czech translation differs from the others here as well by omitting this form of address, which emphasizes Calla’s sacrifice and Harald’s wish for her to be a soft-hearted, unambitious woman: Harald simply asks Calla, “What have you done?”⁷⁸

There is one example where the female Czech translator picks a more emotional style than the two male German translators. When

Urda shoots her beloved white cat, mistaking it for a rabbit, the female Czech translator ends the sentence with an exclamation mark:

Zděšeně vykřiknouc pospíšila Urda ke stromu, kde našla svého miláčka v kaluži krve, mrtvého!⁷⁹

Urda cried out and, horrified, hurried to the tree, where she found her darling in a pool of blood, dead!

The Swedish source text does not feature any exclamation mark in this sentence, but concludes the sentence with a full stop:

Med ett utrop af fasa sprang Urda fram, och fann vid sina fötter sin gunstling ligga död, badande i sitt blod.⁸⁰

The two German translations reproduce the tonality of the Swedish source text by not adding any exclamation mark either:

Emancipation Mania:

Mit einem Schreckensruf sprang Urda hin zum Baume und fand ihren Liebling todt und in seinem Blute gebadet zu ihren Füßen liegen.⁸¹

With a cry of terror Urda rushed over to the tree and found her darling dead and bathed in its own blood at her feet.

Emancipation Rage:

Mit einem Ausruf des Entsetzens eilte Urda hin und sah ihren Liebling todt, in seinem Blute schwimmend, zu ihren Füßen liegen.⁸²

With a cry of terror Urda hurried there and saw her darling dead, swimming in its own blood, at her feet.

The full stop creates a different tonality than the exclamation mark. In the Czech version by a female translator, the exclamation mark implies the narrator's sympathy with Urda, or it might express Urda's own thoughts on viewing the results of her unfortunate deed. The exclamation mark thus indicates empathy with the incident of an accidentally shot pet cat. In the translation of Flygare-Carlén's novel *Ett köpmanshus i skärgården* (1860–61; *The Merchant House on the Cliffs*), the

translator Chorušická often chooses a type of translation that has a more emotional tonality than the German translators.⁸³ This can be interpreted as further evidence that Chorušická might indeed be the Czech translator of *Emancipation Frenzy*.

FEMINIST MANIFESTOS IN THE SOURCE TEXT AND IN THE TRANSLATIONS

Even though the novel ends on a conservative note, this work should not be interpreted as anti-feminist. Rather, the opposite is true. The author may have decided to end the novel on a conservative note as a strategy to possibly make readers more open to the topic of women's emancipation throughout the rest of the plot. The novel includes many explicit statements on women's social position that can be regarded as manifestos on the emancipation of women. Urda, for example, declares to her father at the beginning of the novel that she has no intention of ever getting married, as spending her life cooking and looking after children does not correspond to the mission she has set for herself. Her intention is to demonstrate to future generations that women are just as free as men to choose the type of life they like. She also announces that a revolution is in the offing, which will liberate women from the state of oppression in which they are trapped.⁸⁴

Another passage that resembles a manifesto on the emancipation of women can be found in a dispute between Calla and Harald, which was initiated by their different views on Mme de Staël. Calla supports the idea that women should choose professions that go beyond the narrow domestic circle, especially when nature has endowed them with talents that they might use to contribute to the development of society in various fields. Harald, on the other hand, insists on women's primary duty of creating an agreeable home for their husbands and for the children that nature has ordered them to bear. Bluestockings and women authors, Harald further declares, are particularly abominable to him, as they, he imagines, could not be physically attractive and they certainly neglect their duties as wives and mothers, duties that the husbands must therefore fulfil. At this stage in the novel, he is still unaware that Calla, the charming young woman he is in love with, is an author, and that her writings address the topic of women's emancipation.⁸⁵ Like Urda, Calla wishes to remain unmarried so she can fulfil her mission of liberating the oppressed female sex from its state of slavery.⁸⁶ At some stages Calla does not exclude the idea of marriage as such but would agree to such an arrangement only if it allowed her to continue disseminating ideas about women's emancipation through her writing.⁸⁷

Elise, too, considers domestic duties to be a burden that denies women the freedom that a profession, suited to their predisposition, would offer them. In her eyes, domestic duties are fetters that are imposed on women and turn them into slaves, serfs, and prisoners of trivial everyday chores. She considers the burden of domestic work to be particularly restrictive for women who are endowed with spirits and gifts and who strive for recognition beyond the private sphere.⁸⁸ When her father tries to marry her off to what he considers to be a decent man, she refuses, declaring that she has no interest in adopting the role of the first servant in the house, spending her time looking after the family's material needs, which she views as contrary to the aspirations of a free human being. She further informs her father that the time has long past when young women were considered to be goods to be traded on the marriage market. For her, marriage would turn her into her husband's slave. Only when men and women have an equal standing and are offered the same rights and freedoms will she agree to get married.⁸⁹

All three translations reproduce the source text's "feminist manifestos" without major changes or cuts. There are only two instances where *Emancipation Rage* includes minor deviations from the Swedish source text and from the other two translations, German and Czech. One of them is in Urda's declaration that she is driven by her mission to show the world that women are destined to adopt roles beyond the kitchen and raising children. *Emancipation Rage* is here very concrete by having Urda say that she has a better and nobler goal than cooking *soup* and rocking children to sleep.⁹⁰ The other translations and the Swedish source text here only speak about "cooking".⁹¹ Thus, *Emancipation Rage* evokes a more conventional image of a housewife, whereas the criticism in the other works in this instance remains more on the level of abstraction.

The other instance where *Emancipation Rage* differs slightly from the other editions in its reproduction of the "feminist manifestos" is when Elise tries to disabuse her music teacher of his notions about the supposedly idyllic domestic life of women. Two details distinguish *Emancipation Rage* here from the other editions. The first is that it is the only translation of the three to reproduce the expression "usla och lumpna hvardagsbestyr" (poor and vile everyday chores): *Emancipation Rage* chooses "detestable, pettifogging everyday chores" (widerwärtige, kleinliche Alltagsgeschäfte),⁹² whereas *Emancipation Mania* and *Emancipation Frenzy* refer only to "miserable everyday chores" (elenden Alltagsgeschäfte; bídná všední zaměstnání), without including the other adjective from the source text, and thus they dampen the source text's intensity of this expression.⁹³

In another instance, it is *Emancipation Rage* that dampens the source text's intensity when omitting half of a sentence in which Elise even more criticizes the social position of women. The Swedish source text is like this:

..., som fjettrar oss vid usla och lumpna hvardagsbetyr, som gör oss till huslighetens slafvinnor, trälinnor för uppfyllande af de trivialaste värf.⁹⁴

...,... *which ties us to detestable, pettyfogging everyday chores, which turn us into slaves of domesticity, serfs to fulfil the most trivial work.*

Emancipation Rage does not include this last criticism, but features only the first half of the source text's sentence:

... die uns an widerwärtige, kleinliche Alltagsgeschäfte fesselt, die uns zu Sklavinnen der Häuslichkeit macht.⁹⁵

... *which ties us to detestable, pettyfogging everyday chores, which turn us into slaves of domesticity.*

Emancipation Mania reproduces both parts of this sentence (my italics):

..., die uns an die elenden Alltagsgeschäfte fesselt, die uns zu Sklavinnen der Häuslichkeit *und zu Leibeigenen in der Erfüllung des trivialen Berufes macht.*⁹⁶

..., *which ties us to detestable everyday chores, which turn us into slaves of domesticity and into serfs engaged in the most trivial of professions.*

The Czech *Emancipation Frenzy* also reproduces both parts of the sentence:

..., které nás poutají na bídná všední zaměstnání, jež činí z nás otrokyně domácnosti *a nevolnice v plnění nejvšednějšího povolání.*⁹⁷

..., *which tie us to miserable everyday chores, which turn us into female slaves of domesticity and serfs engaged in the most trivial of professions.*

Thus, *Emancipation Rage* is the only translation that weakens this criticism of women's role at that time, whereas the other two translations feature it in the source text's sharp words.

Despite these minor differences, the three translations quite comprehensively reproduce the passages that can be qualified as "feminist manifestos". This means that such very explicit calls for the emancipation of women became widely known in various European countries at that time, among them in the German and Czech lands. They were exported from the Swedish source culture, remained quite intact in various translations, and were thus disseminated across Europe in the form of an entertaining novel.

TRANSLATION OF KEY TERMS: OPPRESSION AND INSANITY

The novel uses specific vocabulary to refer to the subordinate position of women in society. The translations reproduce these expressions. Among them are terms such as *bondage*,⁹⁸ *slavery*,⁹⁹ *slaves* and *serfs*,¹⁰⁰ *fetters*,¹⁰¹ *oppression*,¹⁰² *to oppress*,¹⁰³ *prison*,¹⁰⁴ and *imprisoned*.¹⁰⁵ Similar terms referring to the oppression of women can be found in the works of other women authors at that time, such as Bremer. Schwartz is known to have read Bremer, so it is possible that these works inspired her to include them in her novels. The use of such terms to refer to the oppression of women must have been widespread at that time. We find them also in the works of provincial Russian women poets, who effectively used their poetry to criticize a patriarchal social system.¹⁰⁶

Another semantic field that the novel features frequently are references to insanity. These notions mostly point to the incomprehension that women encounter as they endeavour to liberate themselves from traditional gender concepts; women who decide to leave traditionally accepted paths are labelled insane. References to insanity appear over 100 times over the novel's 254 pages. The following presents a representative selection of these references, all of which are reproduced in the translations.

When Harald sees Urda dressed up in men's clothes, he laughs at her and says that she looks like she has just come from a "madhouse".¹⁰⁷ Harald declares that a society where women would adopt the same types of professions as men would resemble a "madhouse".¹⁰⁸ He wonders how anybody could be so "crazy" as to envision such a situation, especially if it would force men to raise children and look after the household.¹⁰⁹ Women calling for the emancipation of the female sex are, in his opinion, "insane" and should be locked up in

a “madhouse”.¹¹⁰ Anyone advocating the emancipation of women must be “crazy”.¹¹¹ Calla’s father shudders at the thought of his lovely daughter turning into a “writing machine” – the term “machine” pointing to the opposite of women’s alleged naturalness – that would make her look “half crazy” and cause her to end up “crazy”.¹¹² The emancipated female protagonists in Calla’s novel are considered to be “crazy” and “unpleasant”.¹¹³ Urda’s father labels his daughter “not right in her mind” because of her decision to build her own estate and work the land with the help of women only – a plan that is also assessed as “maddening”.¹¹⁴ Harald regards the activity of writing novels as a “disease” if performed by women.¹¹⁵

Most of the novel’s expressions from the semantic field of insanity and madness relate to ambitious women wishing to escape from conventional gender roles by wearing men’s clothes, performing activities or making career choices that are untypical for their sex, building new institutions, or pursuing ambitious careers. However, some of the expressions relating to insanity and madness appear in the context of Erland’s fragile mental disposition. The reader finds him fantasizing after he has fallen into a feverish state produced by a fit of jealousy when he believes that Calla is betraying him. The novel includes similar terms in connection to Erland, for instance, that he is “fantasizing”,¹¹⁶ that he is whispering with a “fantasizing” voice and that he is talking in a confused way while “fantasizing”.¹¹⁷ Further in the novel he is reminded of the “fever fantasies” that befell him when he was sick.¹¹⁸ The second part of the novel mentions that Erland regained the use of his “mind” when he recovered from his illness, the expression implying that he had lost his mind while sick. This is another way of saying that he had been insane then.¹¹⁹

Several times, the novel illustrates Erland’s inclination to transgress the boundaries of reasonable thinking. This happens, for instance, when Calla reminds him of the Christian values of forgiveness, which he seems to have exchanged for arrogance. She asks him if he has “fanaticized his mind” to arrive at such ideas.¹²⁰ After having recovered from his illness, his looks have changed, and he is said to have lost his previous “fanatic enthusiasm”.¹²¹ Other terms that appear in connection with Erland’s fragile mental disposition are his “fantasy”, his “furiousness”, his “insanity”, and his “enthusiastic fantasy”.¹²² Further, the novel says about him that “fantasy was dominating him” and that he has an “enthusiastic soul” and that he is an “enthusiast”.¹²³ His “fantasies” are mentioned as well as his “fantasy images”.¹²⁴ A “dream image” is said to temporarily fill his soul, and he is also described as “crazy”.¹²⁵

All three translations reproduce the terms relating to Erland's unbalanced mental state almost without changes in meaning. Erland's strong passions and his inclination to overreact bring him to the brink of madness and crime. He attempts to murder Calla, convinced that she has been playing with his feelings for her. Only Urda's courageous intervention prevents this act. If on the surface the novel seems to imply that it is the ambitious, emancipated women who are irrational and infected with madness, on a deeper level it turns out that uncontrolled, jealous, and mentally unbalanced men such as Erland are far more dangerous for society and deserve the label of madness. The translations transferred this subliminal message unchanged to several European cultures.

The novel also associates mental instability with Elise after she is betrayed by a man she loved. Combined with her failure to become a professional singer, this blow casts her into a temporary state of insanity. The source text mentions several corresponding expressions, which all translations reproduce. The shock about her betrayal causes a "fever with dizziness" in her and she suffers from "insanity".¹²⁶ A doctor diagnoses her as "insane" and promises to cure her.¹²⁷ The novel seems to suggest that women like Elise, whom conventional gender stereotypes prevent from fulfilling their professional ambitions and who are left to pursue their endeavours without parental support, are driven to the brink of insanity.

SUMMARY ON THE TRANSLATIONS OF *Emancipation Frenzy*

The two German translations and the Czech translation preserve the feminist potential of Schwartz's bestselling novel *Emancipation Frenzy*. However, the German translation edited by the Franckh brothers (*Emancipation Mania*), and the Czech translation (*Emancipation Frenzy*), which probably had the former as a model, occasionally feature slightly less conventional presentations of the female figures than *Emancipation Rage*, the German translation edited by Brockhaus. There are only details in the first two translations that eventually produce an image of women that is just a tiny bit less conservative than in *Emancipation Rage*, yet taken together, these slight differences might have an impact on the readers.

The Czech translation differs from the others, and from the Swedish source text, by finding alternative negative expressions for the term "bluestocking", which did not exist in the Czech literary culture at that time. However, it reproduces the frequent use of the source text's term "emancipation", which did exist in the Czech literary culture of that

period, to refer to the political independence many Czechs wanted to achieve. In some instances, the Czech translation produces a slightly less conservative image of women. This might be due to the female sex of the translator or to the period when the translation appeared, which is about a decade after the German translations. For the same reason, the Czech translation includes an instance that uses a more emotional style than the two German translations.

All three translations reproduce the source text's feminist manifestos without any major alterations. Finally, all three translations reproduce the source text's frequent use of terms relating to oppression and insanity. These terms point to the transgression that emancipatory women commit when refusing to conform to conventional gender conventions.

THE FEMINIST POTENTIAL IN MARIE SOPHIE
SCHWARTZ'S *The Man of Birth and the
Woman of the People*

The main topic of the novel *The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People* is criticism of the prevailing social inequality and of the privileged position of the nobility in nineteenth-century Sweden.¹²⁸ The novel's two protagonists each represent one of the two social classes the novel discusses. The male protagonist is of noble origin ("the man of birth"), yet he is impoverished; the female protagonist is of non-noble, middle-class origin ("the woman of the people"), yet she has become wealthy. Some parts of the novel explicitly address the social position of women at that time. In particular, the novel questions traditions regarding arranged marriages, and it discusses women's educational and vocational options. The following analysis focuses on references to these latter topics.

The figures expressing criticism are the mysterious wealthy young widow Stephana Stephensen and her friend Jacobo Lange, who have moved to Sweden from the United States of America. Both praise the freedom of choice people in the United States have to pursue a professional career, detached from the obstacles that traditional social structures in Europe present to ambitious and industrious individuals. Their democratic views collide with those expressed by the novel's three representatives of the nobility. These are the Count Hermann Romarhjerta, a young nobleman who was forced to marry the unspectacular young middle-class girl Elin Martenson because he was suspected of having an affair with her. Further representatives of the nobility are Count Hermann's mother, Countess Romarhjerta, and his sister, Helfrid Romarhjerta. All three believe that the nobles are

Der Mann von Geburt
und
das Weib aus dem Volke.

Ein Bild aus der Wirklichkeit
von
Marie Sophie Schwarz.

Aus dem Schwedischen
von
August Kerschmar.



Leipzig:
B. H. Brockhaus.
1861.

Der Mann von Geburt
und
das Weib aus dem Volke.

Ein Bild aus der Wirklichkeit
von
Marie Sophie Schwarz.

Aus dem Schwedischen
von
Dr. C. Büchel.

Erster Band.

Stuttgart.
Französische Verlagsbuchhandlung.
1864.

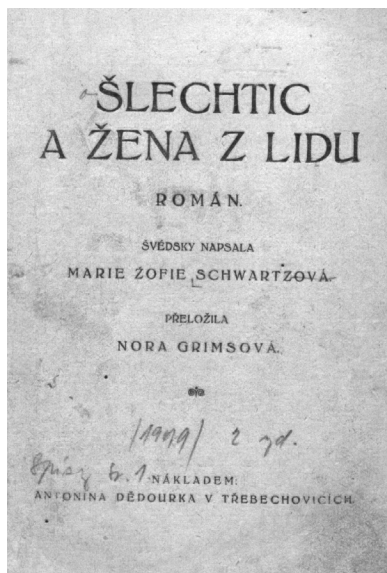
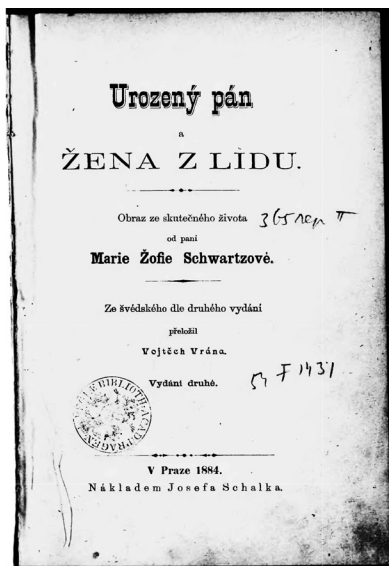


Fig. 1 Title pages of the four translations.

more distinguished people than members of other social classes, a view they start revising in the course of the novel thanks to Stephana's and Jacobo's statements and personalities.

The novel, which appeared in Swedish in 1858, was translated into a number of languages. One German translation published by Brock-

haus appeared in Leipzig in 1861 under the title *Der Mann von Geburt und das Weib aus dem Volke: Ein Bild aus der Wirklichkeit von Marie Sophie Schwartz* (The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People: A Picture from Reality by Marie Sophie Schwartz).¹²⁹ The title page names the translator August Kretzschmar (fig. 1). The preface outlines Schwartz's life and literary career, so the German readers can familiarize themselves with this Swedish bestselling woman author. More German translations of her works are said to follow.

Another German translation came out in Stuttgart in 1864.¹³⁰ The publishers were the Franckh brothers, who were famous for disseminating commercially promising reading material (see earlier in this chapter). This translation, which appeared in two volumes, does not include any biographical outline on Schwartz. This might be because she was already known to German readers because of the other translation that appeared prior to this one. Also, the publishers, the two Franckh brothers, might have been more interested in making a commercial success by selling an intriguing story than in familiarizing readers with unknown literary cultures. The title page names Dr. C. Büchele as the translator (fig. 1). We can assume that this translator was male, as women were not allowed to have academic degrees, such as doctorates, at that time. The book opens with information for readers interested in borrowing this work from a lending library. Bestsellers, especially those edited by the Franckh brothers, were often offered in lending libraries, and thus were available to a broad readership (fig. 2).

This chapter further looks at a Czech translation, a re-edition that appeared in Prague in 1884.¹³¹ The publisher was Josef Schalek, the translator Vojtěch Vrána. The work states that it was translated from the second Swedish edition, that is, without the intermediary of a German translation (fig. 3).

Another Czech translation analysed in this chapter is translated by a woman, Nora Grimsová.¹³² It was published in Třebechovice, a town about 130 kilometres east of Prague, and it probably appeared around 1919. (The year of publication is a guess by the library staff, as this information is missing from the book cover.) The title does not include the reference to real life that the other translations do. Instead, it simply states that this is a novel (román) and that it was originally written in Swedish by Marie Sophie Schwartz (švédsky napsala Marie Žofie Schwartzová) (fig. 1). At that time, which was several decades after the source text and the other translations were published, this bestseller was obviously no longer viewed mainly as a social documentation, but more as entertaining reading material.

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Fig. 2. Information on the conditions for borrow-
ing this book from a lending library (Schwartz
1864, vol. 1, inside of the book cover).

v auktorovaném překladu Jos. Konérzy. Cena úsila 10 kr. Na-
kladatel Alois H. Lauermaun v Praze.

Tajemství staré panny. Román E. Marlitta v překladu
Fr. L. Čizka. Vydání druhé. Sešit 1. Cena 20 kr. **Urozený
pán a žena z lidu.** Obraz ze skutečného života od Marie
Žofie Schwartzové. Přeložil Vojtěch Vrána. Druhé vydání.
Sešit 1. Cena 20 kr. Nákladem Josefa Schalka v Praze.

Dědic ducha. Drama novověké ve třech jednáních. Se-
psala Eliška Krásnohorská. Ve prospěch základního fondu

Fig. 3 Information about the second edition of the Czech translation by
Vrána in the Czech newspaper Příloha k Opavskému Týdenníku, nr. 19, vol.
15, 8 March 1884.

CRITICISM OF WOMEN'S SOCIAL POSITION

All four translations maintain the portrayals of Stephana as an educated woman who has travelled a lot and therefore has considerable experience of life and the ability to reflect deeply about reality.¹³³ These features give her an advantage in discussions with female and male representatives of the nobility, who lack this kind of comprehensive wisdom. Given that this novel turned into a bestseller that crossed a number of linguistic and cultural borders, the dissemination of such a positive image of an educated woman is remarkable from a feminist point of view. It counters literary presentations of female protagonists as shallow, passive, or ignorant beings.

Female financial autonomy and education are the topics of a discussion between Jacobo, who is of non-noble origin, and Helfrid, Count Hermann's sister, who at this point in the novel still clings to conservative views about the moral superiority of the nobility. Jacobo praises American women for their early financial and vocational independence from men. Their education is contrasted sharply with that of a Swedish noblewoman's, which mainly prepared the future bride for a life of vain pursuits, including mindless handicraft, such as embroidery. Jacobo attacks Helfrid in the following way:

...; but your entire education is merely aimed at you getting married, and then you realize that you vegetate on a couch or behind an embroidery. An American is brought up from childhood to become an independent being, which does not need any man to go out into the world, but who is able to blaze a trail by her very own labour. [...] She feels that she has a soul and that it needs to be cultured, and when she acquires wealth, she uses her time to add to her knowledge and thus she has also gained a higher value in the eyes of the man than she has here..¹³⁴

This powerful statement about American women's material independence and development of the mind is reproduced without major changes to the central meaning in all four translations.¹³⁵ This part of the novel can be regarded as a kind of manifesto, a call for women to earn their own living and thus be economically independent from men. The person uttering these words is male; the author might have chosen a man as a spokesperson for these views to make them easier to accept for both male and female readers. Had Schwartz chosen a woman to express such explicit opinions, she might have met with resistance, as such a choice might have been considered too radical and improper for

the conventions about women's behaviour at that time. This paragraph also counters opinions that educated and financially independent women might appear less attractive to men; instead, this statement claims that these features make her more appealing to the other sex.

The novel also debates the institution of marriage. It often compares it to a kind of slavery. The beginning of the novel relates how a friend of an elderly man who has married a young governess criticizes the man for his jealousy, reproaching him for being a "jailor" who believed he had acquired "a slave, whom he could lock up and deprive of all freedom".¹³⁶ Jacobo, too, the novel's representative of the bourgeois class, criticizes men for wanting to regard women as akin to slaves, behaviour that he considers unbefitting for a civilized society, and more typical of the Orient. These references to marriage as a kind of slavery appear in all four translations in a similar way.¹³⁷

Further, the novel criticizes arranged marriages and suggests that both women and men should marry for love. The catalyst for this exchange of views is a discussion on the novel *Jane Eyre*. For Count Hermann, this novel's female protagonist presents herself in an unfavourable light when she confesses her feelings to the man she loves. He considers such female behaviour to be immoral and contrary to social conventions about female modesty. Jacobo, on the other hand, calls for equality between the sexes in matters of the heart. He thinks that women, like men, should be allowed to express their feelings. For him, when a woman reveals her feelings it makes her more attractive, as the man then knows that he is really loved. Schwartz's spokesperson Jacobo thus lends a voice to women, who have been silenced by prevailing cultural conventions. All four translations reproduce these "proto-feminist" views in a comparable way, thus disseminating conceptions about women as agents of their own destinies across cultural and linguistic borders.¹³⁸

Jacobó criticizes arranged marriages very explicitly and he attacks all parties involved in them. A man who is looking for a wife without paying attention to his own or the bride's feelings is compared to a purchaser of a slave.¹³⁹ In Jacobó's eyes, the bride's mother, who consigns her daughter to a man regardless of any emotional inclinations between the two, is perverted. Further, Jacobó compares the bride, who allows herself to be sold in this way to the highest-bidding future husband, to a prostitute.¹⁴⁰ For him, the woman who marries someone while only keeping financial benefits in her mind degrades herself to nothing more than trading goods.¹⁴¹ This very harsh criticism of arranged marriages appears in all four translations in a similar way; none of the translators tried to soften the message or omit this part.

GENDER-RELATED DIFFERENCES IN GRIMSOVÁ'S TRANSLATION

There are some differences between the translations. The German translations include up to 12 expressions meaning “a child of the people” or “a child of the Republic”.¹⁴² They usually refer to the female protagonist. Sometimes she refers to herself with these words, sometimes other figures refer to her like this, or the expressions more generally denote people who are of non-noble origin.

The Czech translations, especially Grimsová's, include similar words less often. Whereas the German translations use such expressions up to 12 times, Grimsová reproduces the expression “a child of the people” only four times.¹⁴³ The other times she chooses a different translation, for instance (my italics here and below): “Me too, I have a civil family background” (German: “I am a *child* of the people like she is”), “we Americans” (German: “we, *children* of the American Republic”), “to socialize with the people” (German: “to socialize with *children* of the people”), “I descend from the people” (German: “a *child* of the people”), “against us” (German: “against us, the *children* of the people”).¹⁴⁴

Especially intriguing are the instances where Grimsová deviates from the German translations by choosing “a *daughter* of the people”, while the German translations say “a *child* of the people”. This happens up to three times: “dceru americké republiky” (a daughter of the American Republic), “dcera lidu” (a daughter of the people), “jsem dcerou lidu” (I am a daughter of the people).¹⁴⁵ Vrána's Czech translation, which appeared about four decades prior to Grimsová's, also opts for the expression “a daughter of the people” instead of “a child of the people”. He chooses it four times.¹⁴⁶ The other eight times, he reproduces the expression “a child of the people” in one way or another.¹⁴⁷

We do not know to what extent Grimsová might have consulted Vrána's translation when producing her own, or whether she translated directly from the Swedish source text or used the German translations as an intermediary. In any case, the analysis suggests that she preferred expressions other than “a child of the people”, either by choosing “a daughter of the people” or by opting for different collocations, as detailed further above. The expression “a child of the people” infantilizes the female protagonist; it evokes the image of an underage person, not capable of producing mature judgements and reflections.

The term “daughter”, on the other hand, not only stresses the protagonist's gender but also leaves to the reader the option of associating her with an adult, as it applies to underage people as well as to adults. There is a ring of pride in the expression “a daughter of the people”,

whereas it is difficult to push aside the tendency towards infantilization of the protagonist in the collocation “a child of the people”.

Another observation confirms this impression. There is only one instance where all four translations use the expression “a son of the people”, and this is when the novel mentions Elin’s father.¹⁴⁸ He talks about himself in this part of the novel, saying about himself that he is “a son of the people” and is therefore too proud to let people suspect that his daughter married a nobleman so she could climb up the social ladder. For this reason he forbids his 17-year-old daughter from ever entering his house again. Clearly, a collocation such as “I am a child of the people” would have clashed with the air of authority that surrounds Elin’s father here. For this reason, the novel reserves the expression “a child of the people” for a woman, the female protagonist.

Grimsová is the only woman among the four translators, and her translation appeared 60 years after the first German translation and 35 years after the first Czech translation. These facts might explain some of the differences between Grimsová’s translation and the others. Her translation produces a more positive and more authoritative image of the female protagonist than the other three translations feature.

There is one place in the novel where Grimsová’s translation is the only one not to include the adjective “childlike” in an enumeration of features concerning an ideal woman. Count Hermann claims that a woman would lose “everything that is chaste, tender, *childlike* and innocent about her” once she starts revealing her feelings to the man she loves and turns into an “Amazon” instead.¹⁴⁹ All three other translations include the adjective “childlike”.¹⁵⁰ Grimsová’s, on the other hand, omits this infantilizing label and contents itself with the expression “the magic of attraction and innocence”:

“...otherwise a woman would not have *the magic of attraction and innocence* of which she boasts.”¹⁵¹

The other three translators here reproduce a traditional image of women, stressing chastity, tenderness, comeliness, and bashfulness along with childlike innocence. The Czech translator picks the terms “nobility”, “chasteness”, and “childlike innocence”. The term “nobility” gives the woman slightly more authority than “tenderness” and “bashfulness”; the latter in particular creates the image of a timid woman in the mind of the reader. The choice of words that appears in Grimsová’s translation is the most empowering for women. It features “magic”, a term that allows the woman to appear as someone who has authority over other people, even if this term is followed by “innocence”.

Grimsová's translation is the only one to omit a reference to stupidity in connection with the female protagonist. The first part of the novel includes a scene where Count Hermann is on his way to Stephana. He has not yet seen her, and he is upset because she has returned some paintings to him which in her opinion did not belong to the estate she was living in and which used to be the property of Count Hermann's family. He silently insults her:

Can there be anything more unpleasant than having to deal with women? If this was a man, he would not have behaved so rudely and stupidly as to return the paintings ...¹⁵²

All three other translations of this part include expressions meaning "rude" and "stupid": Kretzschmar's translation blames Stephana for being "brusque" and "silly" (schroff und albern), Büchele's for being "rude" and "stupid" (grob und dumm), and Vrána's also for being "rude" and "stupid" (hrubě a hloupě).¹⁵³ Only Grimsová's omits a word meaning "stupid": In her translation, Count Hermann only says that a man would not have allowed such "coarseness":

Is there anything more unpleasant than having to deal with women? If this was a man, he would not have allowed such coarseness, he would not have sent the paintings back.¹⁵⁴

By omitting a word that refers to stupidity in connection with women, this translation evokes a less negative picture in the mind of the reader than the other translations do. It has to be added that the negative image of Stephana that Count Hermann creates in his mind at this place in the novel has the function of producing a contrast between his imagination and reality. On his first encounter with Stephana, he finds her to be a charming, intelligent young woman with refined manners, just the opposite of what he had imagined. When Grimsová softens this negative image, she in a way also makes the contrast between Count Hermann's prejudice and reality less sharp. This might have been the price to pay to avoid negative denotations of the female protagonist.

Further, Grimsová's translation is the only one of the four translations to leave out a sentence that praises the female protagonist for her "real Christian virtues", which are said to have "ennobled" her. This characterization, which appears at the end of the novel, paints a traditional, conservative image of Stephana:

”We have now seen that a man of birth can be proud and happy when he may call a daughter of the people his wife, when she, as Stephana, has ennobled herself with real Christian virtues.”¹⁵⁵

All three male translators reproduce this image.¹⁵⁶ The Czech translation by Vrána reproduces it too; nevertheless, there are some deviations from the German translators. Vrána does not place these words in Helfrid’s mouth as the German translators do, but instead has a third-person objective narrator saying them. This can be seen from the fact that he omits the quotation marks, which were used to designate Helfrid as the person uttering the preceding sentence.¹⁵⁷ Vrána thus deprives a female literary figure, Helfrid, of speaking with authority as she solemnly utters the novel’s final sentences.

Whereas the German translators both say that Stephana had “ennobled” herself with her “real Christian virtues”, Vrána says that she had “gained nobility through virtues and sublime mentality”.¹⁵⁸ He does not include any reference to Christianity.

Most striking, however, Grimsová cuts out this conservative characterization of Stephana. These sentences do not appear in her translation. There, Helfrid utters the solemn final words of the novel without them when confirming to Jacobo that his plan of finding the purpose of life in work is worthy of him:

[Jacobo:] ”... And I want to live by my work and remember you. In my work I want to find the purpose of my life.”

[Helfrid:] ”Such a goal is worthy of you,” she replied solemnly.

”Work ennobles!”¹⁵⁹

Not only is the characterization of Stephana as a virtuous (Christian) woman missing, but so is the expression “a *daughter* of the people”. Grimsová does not reproduce the idea of marriage between a nobleman and a bourgeois woman on the condition of the woman’s impeccable virtues. In the other translations, these sentences are suggestive of a barter trade: the bourgeois woman’s impeccable virtues ennoble her and thus match the man’s noble origins, so the nobleman does not degrade himself by marrying a bourgeois woman. The expression “a daughter of the people” in the context of marriage evokes the image of Stephana as a young bride. This image is contrary to the impression readers might have gained in the course of the novel, which stresses her educated mind and her experience of the world. Grimsová avoids this reduction of the female protagonist to her virtues and qualities for

marriage and instead sticks with Helfrid's brief and concise concluding words.

Among the four translators, Grimsová is the only one not to include a part of the novel that hints at sexual intimacy. This happens at the moment when Stephana reveals to Hermann that she is Elin. All three male translators describe this scene similarly:

Hermann rushes up to her.

The spouses, who have been separated for twelve years, are now for the first time reposing in one another's arms!

.....
.....

It was a long hug, which included an entire heaven. The earth with its fleeting pleasures, its bitter pains was forgotten for these two human beings, absorbed in the joy of the moment.¹⁶⁰

The only small difference between the two German translations is that Kretzschmar uses two lines of dots to hint at further intimacies between the two spouses, whereas Büchele uses just one.¹⁶¹ Vrána's translation does not include the line of dots.¹⁶² His description of the spouses' reunion is structured differently. Whereas in the German translations these sentences more or less form one paragraph, the Czech translation presents them in a row of sentences of one line each. Vrána's structure and the missing suggestive lines of dots highlight this part of the novel less than the German translations do. The scene becomes a part of the narrative, without special graphical attention. Grimsová reduces the erotic potential of this scene even further (fig. 4). She conflates the entire description into two lines, without any suggestive lines of dots:

He rushed towards her.

The spouses, who had not been living together for twelve years, for the first time fell into one another's arms.¹⁶³

Grimsová's translation does not mention terms such as "heaven", "pleasures", "bitter pains", or "joy". The only hint at sensual pleasure that Grimsová permits can be found a few lines further down, after another person has addressed the couple (my italics):

These words brought the two back to awakening from the *delightful dizziness*.¹⁶⁴

The expression “delightful dizziness” is probably meant to make up for the missing description of the erotic scene, which the other translators have included. The other three translators at this place in the novel only say that the words the other person uttered brought the spouses back to reality.¹⁶⁵ The erotic potential was already exhausted in the preceding paragraph; this is probably why the three translators do not allude to it here.

SUMMARY ON THE TRANSLATIONS OF
The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People

The novel includes several statements that can be labelled as “feminist” from the perspective of a twenty-first-century reader. Among them is the call for women to earn their own living, the ideal of female education, and the advocated right for women to express their feelings. The suggested role of women that this novel draws includes concepts that are at the core of twentieth- and twenty-first-century feminist theories, such as the concept of “agency”. Women, the novel suggests, should have their say in decisions that concern their private and public lives, and they should be agents of their own destiny.

All four translations retain this feminist potential of the Swedish source text and transfer it into their target language and culture without significant alterations. Given that this novel was a highly successful bestseller in a number of European cultures, its calls for women’s liberation from a conservative social system were thus widely disseminated and crossed linguistic and cultural boundaries. The translations might have contributed to the shaping of feminist thought in Europe.

The analysis suggests that the translator’s gender or the distance in time between the publications might have had an impact on the portrayal of the female protagonist in the target language. Grimsová, the only female translator among the four, whose translation appeared several decades after the other translations, produced a Czech version of the novel that paints a slightly more positive portrayal of women than the other translations did. She did so by omitting negative attributes, such as “stupid”, in a characterization of women, and by avoiding collocations that undermine female authority, for instance when replacing “a child of the people” with other expressions. These word choices are subtle, yet they create a different, more authoritative and positive image of women in the readers’ minds than the other translations did.

wieder gut zu machen.“

„Du irrst dich, Hermann“, flüsterte Stephana und streckte ihm die Arme entgegen. „Sie ist noch da — ich bin Elina!“

„Du!“

Hermann stürzte auf sie zu.

Die zwölf Jahre lang getrennten Gatten ruhten jetzt zum ersten male eins in des andern Armen!

Es war eine lange Umarmung, die einen ganzen Himmel in sich schloß. Die Erde mit ihren flüchtigen Freuden, ihren bitteren Schmerzen war vergessen für diese beiden in das Glück des Augenblicks versunkenen Menschen.

„Ha! nun athme ich wieder auf!“ rief eine frohe Stimme von der Thür her. „Meine Rolle ist nun

ausgespielt und ich kann sogar einen Theil von eurer Freude bekommen.“

Diese Worte riefen die beiden Gatten wieder zur Wirklichkeit zurück. Stephana wendete ihr von Thränen

„Mylíš se Hermáne!“ — šeptala Štěpána, roze-
pnouc ramena k němu.

„Jest posud zde, — já jsem tvá Elína!“

„Ty — ty že jsi má Elína?“

Herman se uvrhl v náruč její.

Takž po dvanácte let rozloučení manželé zase
ponejprv na prsou si spočívali.

Bvlo to dlouhé, dlouhé obejmutí.

Celé nebe s blaženostmi svými se v něm cho-
valo Zapomenuta byla země i pomíjející radosti její,
zapomenuty byly i trpké hoře.

V blahu okamžiku toho utonuli oba přešastní
manželé, spojeni jsouce opět a na věky.

„Oh, nyní mi teprv možná zase dýchati!“ ozval
se jasný hlas u dvěří.

„Dohrála jsem konečně úlohu svou, a lze mi jest
se radosti vaší účastniti.“

Slova tato uvedla Hermana a choť jeho zase
k skutečnosti.

„Du irrst Dich, Hermann,“ flüsterte Stephana und streckte die Arme gegen ihn aus; „sie ist noch da — ich bin Elin!“

„Du!“

Hermann stürzte auf sie zu.

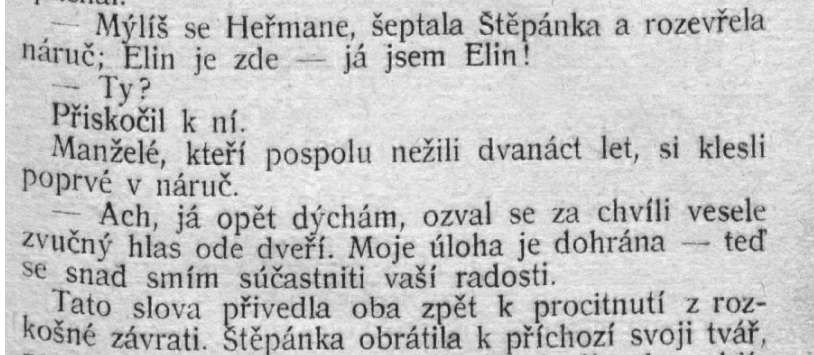
300

Die zwölf Jahre lang getrennten Gatten ruhten nun zum ersten Mal einander an der Brust.

Es war eine lange Umarmung, die einen ganzen Himmel in sich schloß. Die Erde mit ihren flüchtigen Freuden, ihren bitteren Schmerzen war vergessen für diese beiden in das Glück des Augenblicks versunkenen Menschen.

„Ah, ich athme wieder auf!“ rief eine frohe Stimme von der Thüre her. „Meine Rolle ist nun ausgespielt, und ich kann auch Theil an eurer Freude nehmen.“

Diese Worte riefen die beiden in die Wirklichkeit zurück. Stephana wandte ihr von Thränen der



— Mýlíš se Heřmane, šeptala Štěpánka a rozevřela náruč; Elin je zde — já jsem Elin!

— Ty?

Priskočil k ní.

Manželé, kteří pospolu nežili dvanáct let, si klesli poprvé v náruč.

— Ach, já opět dýchám, ozval se za chvíli vesele zvučný hlas ode dveří. Moje úloha je dohrána — teď se snad smím účastniti vaší radosti.

Tato slova přivedla oba zpět k procitnutí z rozkošné závratí. Štěpánka obrátila k příchozí svoji tvář,

Fig. 4 Four different ways of presenting the intimate scene that follows Stephana's communication to Hermann revealing that she is Elin: Two lines of dots (Schwartz 1861, vol. 2, pp. 526–527, top left), one line of dots (Schwartz 1864, vol. 2, pp. 299–300, top right), no line of dots, but a sequence of sentences (Schwartzová 1884, p. 570, bottom left), omission of the suggestive paragraph (Schwartzová [1919], p. 397, bottom right).

CONCLUSION: ENTERTAINING NOVELS AS CARRIERS OF FEMINIST MESSAGES ACROSS EUROPE

The commercialization of the German book market opened many opportunities for women as authors and translators. It played a crucial part in the dissemination of European bestsellers, among them many popular novels by Swedish women authors. The publishing business of the Franckh brothers illustrates the competition of the German book market during the first half of the nineteenth century. The Franckh brothers often produced their own translations of internationally successful bestselling novels at the same time as other editing houses did. This development contributed to the flooding of the German book market with different translations of identical source texts, leading to the emergence of translation factories. As censorship was less rigid in the German lands than in surrounding countries, many European authors tried to publish translations of their novels there. Czech translations of European bestselling novels, for instance those by the successful Swedish novelist Schwartz, were often done with a German translation as a model. Bestselling novels sometimes included criticism of the social inequality in Europe at that time. They also addressed the topic of the subordinate position of women.

Schwartz's novel *Emancipation Frenzy* exemplifies the different ways in which women tried to escape from traditional gender roles and from the obstacles they met in this endeavour. This Swedish novel appeared simultaneously in one German translation produced by the Franckh brothers and in another by Brockhaus. The Czech translation was done by a female translator, whereas the German translators were male. The comparison of these translations with one another and with the Swedish source text revealed that the Czech translation probably had the translation produced by the Franckh brothers as a model. The analysis further suggested that the female gender of the Czech translator had an impact on this translation's slightly less conservative image of women when compared to that produced by the two male translators. The source text's numerous explicit feminist messages appear without major alterations in all three translations and were thus disseminated across Europe. These feminist manifestos include calls for women to find a vocation beyond the narrow circle of domestic duties, and for men to accept women's unconventional career choices. The analysis revealed that the source text's frequent references to the semantic fields concerned with oppression and insanity in relation to women were reproduced in all three translations. The way in which these semantic fields travelled across European cultures via translations suggests that

women's transgression of traditional gender roles alienated readers in nineteenth-century Europe as much as it might have outraged critics of women's social inequality.

Another novel by Schwartz, *The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People*, also includes criticism of traditional female gender roles when attacking noblewomen for their lack of industriousness and the nobility in general for clinging to arranged marriages that conform to social conventions yet neglect the spouses' emotional inclinations. Both German translations and the Czech translation reproduce these kinds of feminist messages, and just as suggested in the comparison of different translations of *Emancipation Frenzy*, here, too, the female gender of one of the translators seems to have contributed to a slightly less negative image of female figures.

Concluding from the comparison of seven translations of two novels by Schwartz, which had female emancipation as a topic (even if camouflaged to a certain extent in comic scenes in *Emancipation Frenzy*), the criticism of women's subordinate social position must have reached a wide range of readers across Europe and in various social classes. Feminist books written in a political genre, such as Mary Wollstonecraft's (1759–1797) *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), were thus not the only way in which feminist thought was disseminated during the nineteenth century.¹⁶⁶ Popular literature, including bestselling Swedish novels by female authors, such as the ones by Schwartz, might have contributed to a substantial part to this development. Embedded in entertaining, thrilling, and commercially successful novels, feminist thought was thus transported to various cultures in nineteenth-century Europe and contributed to the emergence of wider calls for the liberation of women from their social inequality.

NOTES

- 1 Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995.
- 2 Sherry Simon, "Women and Anti-Slavery Writings", in *Gender in Translation: Cultural Identity and the Politics of Transmission*, London: Routledge, 1996, pp. 58–61. In this chapter Simon refers to Angeline Goreau's and to Doris Y. Kadish's and Françoise Massardier-Kenney's studies on this topic: Angeline Goreau, *Reconstructing Aphra: A Social Biography of Aphra Behn*, New York: Dial Press, 1980. Doris Y. Kadish and Françoise Massardier-Kenney (eds.), *Translating Slavery: Gender and Race in French Women's Writing, 1783–1823*, Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1994.

- 3 Gillian Dow (ed.), *Translators, Interpreters, Mediators: Women Writers 1700–1900*, Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007. Petra Broomans and Marta Ronne (eds.), *In the Vanguard of Cultural Transfer*, Groningen: Barkhuis, 2010. Dijk, Suzan van, Lia van Gemert, and Sheila Ottway (eds.), *Writing the History of Women's Writing: Toward an International Approach*, Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2001.
- 4 In the 20th and 21st centuries, the feminist scholar in translation studies, Luise von Flotow, suggests the following three options for feminist translators to produce translations that respond to a feminist agenda: supplementing, prefacing and footnoting, and hijacking. Luise von Flotow, "Feminist Translation: Contexts, Practices and Theories", *Traduire la théorie*, vol. 4, No. 2 (1991), pp. 69–84. Luise von Flotow, *Translation and Gender. Translating in the 'Era of Feminism'*, Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 1997. Luise von Flotow (ed.), *Translating Women*, Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2011.
- 5 In the 20th century, similar questions arose among feminists with regard to new Bible translations: While some advocated a choice of words that was inclusive, and thus less patriarchal, others recommended to emphasize the Bible's misogynist features with the goal of producing opposition against cultural and social inequality. See Simon 1996, "Corrective Measures: The Bible in Feminist Frame", pp. 111–133.
- 6 Lois McNay, "Agency", in Disch, Lisa, and Mary Hawkesworth (eds.), *Feminist Theory*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, pp. 39–60.
- 7 Robert Darnton, "The History of Books and the Digital Future", in Bachleitner, Norbert, and Hall, Murray G. (eds.), *Die Bienen fremder Literaturen": Der literarische Transfer zwischen Grossbritannien, Frankreich und dem deutschsprachigen Raum im Zeitalter der Weltliteratur (1770–1850)*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012, pp. 15–21.
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- 40 “Ist es Deine Absicht, mich zu bewegen, meinen Kurs zu ändern?” (Is it your intention to move me to change my course?): Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie* 1864, vol. 1, p. 6. “Máš v úmyslu přiměti mne, abych změnil směr lodi?” (Do you intend to move me to change the course of the ship?), Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, p. 4. “Hast du vielleicht die Absicht, mich bewegen zu wollen, den Kurs zu ändern?” (Do you intend to want to move me to change course?), Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth* 1864, vol. 1, p. 2, my italics. “Är din afsigt att förmå mig ändra kurs?”, Schwartz 1860, p. 4.
- 41 “Sei doch einmal Mann, und sage ihr, dass Onkel solche Tollheiten nicht duldet, wie z. B. sich so lächerlich anziehen, wie zu einer *Maskerade*, in der Gegend in Mannskleidern herumspringen, Cigarren rauchen und dergleichen.” (Just be a man and tell her that uncle did not tolerate such follies, such as, for instance, dressing so ridiculously as if for a *masked ball*, gadding about in men’s clothes, smoking cigars and so on.) Schwartz, *Emancipation Mania* 1864, vol. 1, p. 7, my italics. “Zmuž se přece jednou a řekni jí, že takové třeštění nebudeš dale trpěti, na př. aby se tak směšně odívala jako k *maškarnímu plesu*, po okolí proháněla se v oděvu mužském, kouřila doutníky a podobné.” (Just be a man and tell her that you will not further tolerate such follies, such as, for instance, dressing so ridiculously as if for a *masked ball*, gadding about in men’s clothes, smoking cigars and so on.) Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, pp. 4–5, my italics. “Var då en gång karl, och säg henne, att morbror icke tål sådana galenskap, som att spöka ut sig lik-som till maskerad och springa omkring i orten i karlkläder, rökande cigarr, med mera dylikt.” Schwartz 1860, pp. 4–5. “Sei doch einmal Mann und sag’ ihr, dass du solche Thorheiten, wie in Mannskleidern umherzulaufen, Cigarren zu rauchen und dergleichen mehr, nicht duldest.” (Just be a man and tell her that you do not tolerate such follies, such as walking around in men’s cloths, smoking cigars and other such things.) Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth* 1864, vol. 1, p. 3.
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- 46 Schwartz 1860, p. 24.
- 47 Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 35.
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- 51 Schwartz 1860, p. 244.
- 52 Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 2, pp. 153–154.
- 53 Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 169.
- 54 Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, p. 129.
- 55 Schwartz 1860, p. 29 (blåstrumpa), p. 29 (blåa strumpor), p. 77 (blåstrumpa), p. 78 (blåstrumpa), p. 79 (blåstrumpa), p. 103 (blåbenta damen), p. 125 (blåstrumpa), p. 148 (sin blåstrumsnatur), p. 149 (syster Blåben), p. 243 (blåstrumpa), p. 245 (blåstrumpa).
- 56 Schwartz *Emancipationsmanie*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 42 (Blaustrumpf), p. 42 (in blauen Strümpfen), p. 111 (Blaustrumpf), p. 112 (Blaustrumpf), p. 113 (Blaustrumpf), p. 147 (blaustrumpfig), p. 179 (Blaustrumpf); vol. 2, p. 32 (blaue Strümpfe), p. 33 (Schwester Blaubein), p. 167 (Blaustrumpf), p. 170 (Blaustrumpf). Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 36 (Blaustrumpf), p. 36 (in blauen Strümpfen), p. 100 (Blaustrumpf), p. 101 (Blaustrumpf), p. 102 (Blaustrumpf), p. 135 (blaufüssig), p. 164 (Blaustrumpf); vol. 2, p. 28 (Blaustrumpfsnatur), p. 28 (Schwester Blaustrumpf), p. 152 (Blaustrumpf), p. 155 (Blaustrumpf).
- 57 Research at the Institute of the Czech National Corpus suggests that the term was not in use in the Czech language in the nineteenth century, as the analysis has revealed fewer than 30 matches for “modrá punčocha”. Out of these, there is only one match with the figurative meaning of the expression, and this match is from a dictionary, not from an authentic text. For the analysis, the internal, uncorrected, lemmatized corpus of nineteenth-century texts (archiv_19_stol) has been used. I am indebted to Klára Kopřivová and Michal Škrabal for providing me with this information, and to Ondřej Vimr for drawing my attention to this corpus. <https://www.korpus.cz> (Accessed January 23, 2018).
- 58 I am indebted to Ondřej Vimr for his suggestions for the translations of the following terms.
- 59 Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, p. 32.
- 60 Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, pp. 86, 87, 88.
- 61 Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, p. 114; Švarcová 1876, vol. 2, p. 24.
- 62 Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, p. 139.
- 63 Švarcová 1876, vol. 2, p. 23.
- 64 Švarcová 1876, vol. 2, p. 128.
- 65 Švarcová 1876, vol. 2, p. 130, my italics.
- 66 Schwartz 1860, p. 29. Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, p. 42.
- 67 Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, p. 32.
- 68 Schwartz 1860, p. 85.
- 69 Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 122.
- 70 Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 1, pp. 109–110.

- 71 Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, p. 94.
- 72 “Fieber mit Phantasieren”: Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 148. “Fiebers mit Irreden”: Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 134.
- 73 “bezmála byly by ji opět uvrhly na lože”: Švarcová 1876, vol. 2, p. 112. I am indebted to Ondřej Vimr for his assistance with the translation of this expression.
- 74 “feber med yrsel”: Schwartz 1860, p. 229.
- 75 “mitt bästa arbete”: Schwartz 1860, p. 250. “mit meiner besten Arbeit”: Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 177. “mit meinem besten Werke”: Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 160.
- 76 “s prací svou”: Švarcová 1876, vol. 2, p. 136.
- 77 “Engel! Hvad har du gjort?”: Schwartz 1860, p. 250. “Engel, was hast du getan?”: Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 177. “Engel, was hast du gethan!”: Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 160.
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- 79 Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, p. 25.
- 80 Schwartz 1860, p. 23.
- 81 Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 32.
- 82 Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 28.
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- 85 Schwartz 1860, pp. 74–75. Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 1, pp. 106–107. Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 1, pp. 96–97.
- 86 Schwartz 1860, pp. 84–85. Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 1, pp. 120–121. Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 1, pp. 108–109.
- 87 Schwartz 1860, p. 127. Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 181. Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 166; vol. 2, p. 12.
- 88 Schwartz 1860, pp. 108–109. Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 155. Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 1, pp. 141–142.
- 89 Schwartz 1860, p. 123. Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 176. Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 162.
- 90 “... Suppe zu kochen und Kinder zu wiegen”: Schwartz, *Emancipation-swuth*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 10.
- 91 “... zu kochen und Kinder zu wiegen”: Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 14. “...vařila a děti kolébala...”: Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, p. 10. “...laga mat och vagga barn...”: Schwartz 1860, p. 10.
- 92 Schwartz 1860, p. 108.
- 93 Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 155. Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, p. 120.

- 94 Schwartz 1860, p. 108.
- 95 Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 1, pp. 141–142.
- 96 Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 155.
- 97 Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, p. 120.
- 98 Schwartz 1860, p. 84 (fångenskap). Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 120 (Gefangenschaft). Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 109 (Gefangenschaft). Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, p. 94 (z podruží).
- 99 Schwartz 1860, p. 84, (slafveri). Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 121 (Sklaverei). Schwartz, *Emancipatonswuth*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 109 (Sklaverei). Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, p. 109 (otroctví).
- 100 Schwartz 1860, p. 108 (slafvinnor, trälinnor). Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 155 (Sklavinnen. Leibeigenen). Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 142 (Sklavinnen). As pointed out above, this translation does not reproduce the term “serfs”. Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, p. 120 (otrokyně, nevolnice).
- 101 Schwartz 1860, p. 109 (band). Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 155 (Fesseln). Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 142 (Fesseln). Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, p. 121 (okovy).
- 102 Schwartz 1860, p. 10 (förtryck). Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 15 (Unterdrückung). Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 10 (Druck). Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, p. 11 (útisku).
- 103 Schwartz 1860, p. 75 (förtrycka). Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 107 (unterdrücke). Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 97 (unterdrücke). Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, p. 83 (utiskovala).
- 104 Schwartz 1860, p. 109 (fångelse). Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 155 (Gefangenleben). Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 142 (Kerker). Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, p. 121 (vězení).
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- 108 Schwartz 1860, p. 77 (dårhus). Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 110 (Irrenhause). Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 99 (Irrenhaus). Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, p. 85 (bláznicem).
- 109 Schwartz 1860, p. 102 (galen). Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 145 (toll). Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 132 (thoricht). Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, p. 114 (pošetilé).
- 110 Schwartz 1860, p. 102 (vanvetting, dårhus). Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, p. 146 (Wahnsinnige, Irrenhaus). Schwartz, *Emancipation-*

- swuth*, 1864, p. 133 (Wahnwitzige, Irrenhaus). Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, p. 114 (ztreštěné ženy, blázince).
- 111 Schwartz 1860, p. 103 (galen). Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, p. 147 (verrückt). Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, p. 135 (verrückt). Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, p. 114 (blázen).
- 112 Schwartz 1860, p. 126 (författare-maskin, halfgalen, helgalen). Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, p. 181 (schriftstellernde Maschine, halbverrückt, ganz verrückt). Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, p. 166 (Schreibmaschine, halb-närrisch, ganz närrisch). Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, p. 141 (spisovatelským strojem, napolo pomatenému, nepozbyla-li by snad naprosto všeho rozumu).
- 113 Schwartz 1860, p. 154 (galna, otrefliga). Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 41 (verrückt, ungemüthlich). Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 36 (unsinnig; ungemüthlich). Švarcová 1876, vol. 2, p. 31 (tyto rekyňe jeví jakous pomatenost na myslí a vzbuzují odpor).
- 114 Schwartz 1860, vol. 2, p. 159 (att nu är det riktig på tok med förståndet), p. 162 (galet). Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 48 (dass es mit dem Verstande erst recht närrisch aussieht); p. 53 (toll). Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 42 (mit ihrem Verstande ist es nicht ganz richtig), p. 47 (drunter und drüber). Švarcová 1876, vol. 2, p. 35 (s tím rozumem posud není to v pořádku), p. 39 (k zbláznění).
- 115 Schwartz 1860, p. 78 (skrifsjukan). Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 112 (Schreibkrankheit). Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 101 (Schreibwuth). Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, p. 87 (známkou této choroby).
- 116 Schwartz 1860, p. 114 (yrsel). Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 162 (heftiges Phantasiren). Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 150 (heftiges Phantasiren). Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, p. 126 (blouzniti).
- 117 Schwartz 1860, p. 114 (yrande stämma), p. 115 (under yrseln). Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 163 (Stimme eines Phantasirenden), p. 163 (Phantasiren). Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 150 (Tone eines Fieberkranken), p. 151 (in seinem Fieberwahnsinn). Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, p. 127 (ve svém blouznění), p. 127 (blouzniti).
- 118 Schwartz 1860, p. 130 (under yrseln). Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 7 (in Deinen Fieberphantasieen). Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 3 (während deines Fieberwahnsinns). Švarcová 1876, vol. 2, p. 4 (ve své zimničné blouznivosti).
- 119 Schwartz 1860, p. 129 (förstånd). Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 5 (Verstandes). Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 1 (Verstandes). Švarcová 1876, vol. 2, p. 3 (rozumu).
- 120 Schwartz 1860, p. 64 (fanatisera ... förstånd). Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 92 (deinen Verstand ... zu fanatisiren). Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 1, p. 83 (Verstand ... fanatisieren). Švarcová 1876, vol. 1, p. 92 (rozum ... zfanatizoval).
- 121 Schwartz 1860, p. 146 (fanatiska svärmeri). Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 30 (fanatische Schwärmerie). Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 25 (phantastische Schwärmerie). Švarcová 1876, vol. 2, p. 21 (blouznivá obrazivost).

- 122 Schwartz 1860, p. 161 (fantasiens), p. 213 (raseri), p. 214 (vansinne), p. 239 (svärmande inbillning). Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 51 (Phantasie), p. 125 (Raserei), p. 126 (Wahnsinn), p. 162 (schwärmerische Einbildung). Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 44 (Phantasie), p. 113 (Raserei), p. 114 (Wahnsinn), p. 147 (schwärmerischen Phantasie). Švarcová 1876, vol. 2, p. 38 (obraznosti), p. 95 (zběsilou divokostí), p. 95 (šílenosti), p. 124 (blouznivé obraznosti).
- 123 Schwartz, *Emancipationswurmen*, 1864, p. 245 (fantasien styr Erland), p. 248 (svärmisk själ), p. 248 (svärmarens). Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 170 (die Phantasie Erland regiert), p. 175 (schwärmerische Seele), p. 175 (Schwärmers). Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 155 (Erland von der Phantasie beherrscht wird), p. 159 (schwärmerisches Gemüth), p. 159 (Schwärmers). Švarcová 1876, vol. 2, p. 130 (že ovládá li Erlandem obrazivost), p. 134 (člověk jeh o rázu): Here, the Czech translation uses a less explicit term by choosing “a man of his type” instead of “enthusiastic soul”, p. 134 (takového blouznílka).
- 124 Schwartz 1860, p. 249 (fantasier), p. 249 (fantasibilder). Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 175 (Phantasien), p. 175 (Phantasiebilder). Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 159 (Phantasien). Švarcová 1876, vol. 2, p. 134 (obrazivost), p. 134 (výtvory obraznosti).
- 125 Schwartz 1860, p. 249 (drömbild), p. 53 (galna). Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 175 (Traumbild), p. 181 (toll). Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 159 (Traumbild), p. 164 (überspannten). Švarcová 1876, vol. 2, p. 134 (fantasii), p. 138 (ztrěštěného).
- 126 Schwartz 1860, p. 229 (feber med yrsel), p. 230 (sinnessjukdom). Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 148 (Fieber mit Phantasieren), (Gemüthskrankheit). Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 134 (Fiebers mit Irrereden), p. 135 (Gemüthskrankheit). Švarcová 1876, vol. 2, p. 112 (bezmála byly by ji opět uvrhly na lože), p. 113 (počiná chořiti na myslí).
- 127 Schwartz 1860, p. 230 (svagsint). Schwartz, *Emancipations-Manie*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 149 (irrsinnig). Schwartz, *Emancipationswuth*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 135 (geisteskrank). Švarcová 1876, vol. 2, p. 113 (choromyslná).
- 128 Marie Sophie Schwartz, *Mannen af börd och quinnan af folket: en teckning ur verkligheten*, Göteborg: Arwidsson, 1858.
- 129 Marie Sophie Schwartz, *Der Mann von Geburt und das Weib aus dem Volke: Ein Bild aus der Wirklichkeit*, translated by August Kretzschmar, Leipzig: F. N. Brockhaus, 1861.
- 130 Marie Sophie Schwartz, *Der Mann von Geburt und das Weib aus dem Volke. Ein Bild aus der Wirklichkeit*, translated by Dr. C. Büchele, Stuttgart: Franckhsche Verlagshandlung, 1864.
- 131 Marie Žofie Schwartzová, *Urozený pán a žena z lidu. Obraz ze skutečného života. Ze švédského dle druhého vydání*, translated by Vojtěch Vrána, Prague: Josef Schalek, 1884. Vraná's first translations of this novel appeared in 1867 and in 1868.
- 132 Marie Žofie Schwartzová, *Šlechtic a žena z lidu: Román*, translated by Nora Grimsová, Třebchovice: Antonín Dědourek, [1919].
- 133 Schwartz 1861, p. 137: “Stephana ... besass eine reiche und vielseitige Welt-

- bildung” (Stephana had a rich and varied world education); p. 138: “ihre überlegene Bildung und ihr ausgezeichnet guter Kopf” (her superior education and her excellently good mind”); p. 142: “gebildete Frau” (educated woman). Schwartz 1864, vol. 1, p. 158: “reiche und mannifaltige Welterfahrung” (rich and varied world experience); p. 159: “ihre überlegene Bildung und ihr ausgezeichnete Kopf” (her superior education and her excellent mind); p. 62: “gebildeten Frau” (educated woman). Schwartzová 1884, p. 141: “měla hojně a rozmanitě zkušenosti světa” (she had rich and varied experiences of the world); p. 142: “její převládající vzdělanost a výtečná dobrá hlava (her superior education and excellent mind); p. 145: se vzdělanou paní (with an educated woman). Schwartzová [1919], p. 98: “měla značný rozhled po světě” (she had a considerable outlook on the world); p. 99: “rozsahle její vzdělání a výborná hlava” (her extensive education and excellent mind); p. 101: se vzdělanou ženou (with an educated woman).
- 134 Schwartz 1858, pp. 126–127: Swedish original: “...; men hela er uppfos-tran är sälld endast på att ni skola blifva gifta, och sedan ni blifbit det, att in e soffra eller vid ett broderi vegetera bort ert lif. Då deremot amerksanskan ifrån barndomen uppföstras till ett sjelfständigt väsende, som icke behöfver en man för att taga sig ut i verleden, utan genom eget arbete kan bryta sig en väg. [...] Hon känner att hon fått en själ och att den behöfver odlas, och då hon eger förmögenhet, använder hon sin tid att utbilda sina kunskaper, och derigenom har hon äfven erhållit ett högre värde i mannens ögon, än hon har här.”
- 135 Schwartz 1861, pp. 239–240: “... Ihre ganze Erziehung ist bloss darauf berechnet, dass Sie einmal heirathen (sic) und, wenn dies geschehen ist, auf dem Sofa oder hinter dem Stickrahmen weiter vegetiren (sic). Die Amerikanerin dagegen wird gleich von ihrer Kindheit an zu einem selbständigen Wesen erzogen, welches keinen Mann braucht, um sich in der Welt zu bewegen, sondern sich durch eigene Arbeit einen Weg bahnen kann. [...] Sie fühlt, dass sie eine Seele hat und diese der Veredlung bedarf, und wenn sie Vermögen besitzt, so verwendet sie ihre Zeit zur Vermehrung ihrer Kenntnisse und erhält dadurch auch in den Augen des Mannes einen höheren Werth (sic), als sie hier besitzt.” Schwartz 1864, vol. 1, p. 271: “... aber Ihre ganze Erziehung ist nur darauf berechnet, dass Sie einmal sich verheirathen (sic) und, ist das geschehen, auf dem Sopha (sic) oder an einer Stickerei dahinvegetieren; dagegen wird die Amerikanerin von ihrer Kindheit an zu einem selbständigen Wesen erzogen, das keines Mannes bedarf, um sich in der Welt zu behaupten, sondern durch eigene Arbeit sich einen Weg zu bahnen vermag. ... Sie fühlt, dass sie eine Seele empfangen hat, und dass diese der Veredelung bedarf, und wenn sie Vermögen besitzt, so wendet sie ihre Zeit zur Erweiterung ihrer Kenntnisse an und erhält dadurch selbst in den Augen des Mannes einen höhern Werth, als sie hier besitzt.” Schwartzová 1884, pp. 244–255: “... ale veškeré vychování zdejších ženských čelí jen na to, aby se vdaly, a když se takto stalo, – aby pak na pohovce nebo při vyšívání živořily. Naproti tomu heldí se při vychování dcer amerických k tomu, aby již prvním dětstvím se vyvínovaly k samostatnosti, aniž by k tomu bylo muže potřebi, aby se na světě udržely, nýbrž aby vlastní prací si prokrestily cestu do života. ... Ona pocítí uje, že obdařena jest duchem

- a že tomuto jest ušlechtění potřeba a má-li ona jmění, tak používá svého času k rozmnožení svých vědomostí a nabývá tím v očích muže vyšší ceny než-li zde se stává.” Schwartzová [1919], p. 172: “... ale vychování vaše vás vede jen k tomu, abyste se jednou provdaly a potom, když se tak stane, abyste mařily život na pohovce s háčkováním v rukou. Američanka je však od malička vychována v samostatnou bytost, jež nepotřebuje muže, aby se ve světě uplatnila; dovede si klestiti cestu svou prací. ... Ta pocít'uje, že potřebuje duševního zušlechtění. Má-li jmění, použije svého času k rozšíření svých vědomostí a nabude tak v očích muže větší ceny nežli žena zdejší.”
- 136 My English translation from Schwartz 1861, pp. 21 and 19: “Kerkermeister”; “... du dir deswegen doch keine Sklavin kaufst, welche du einsperren und aller Freiheit berauben kannst...”. Translated similarly in the other three translations: Schwartz 1864, vol. 1, p. 28, p. 27: “Kerkermeister”; “... Du Dir darum keine Sclavin kaufst, die Du nun einsperren und aller Freiheit berauben kannst...”. Schwartzová 1884, p. 24, p. 23: “... žalárníka”; “... tím jsi proto přece sobě otrokyni nekoupil, kterou by uzavřítí a o veškerou svobodu oloupiti mohl...”. Schwartzová [1919], p. 17, p. 16: “žalárníkem”; “sis nekoupil otrokyni, kterou můžeš zavřítí a zbaviti svobody?”
- 137 Schwartz 1861, p. 244: “Wir Männer dagegen lieben im allgemeinen, in dem Weibe eine Sklavin zu sehen, und es liegt ganz in diesem selbst genommenen Vorrecht des Mannes etwas von orientalischer Sitte.” Schwartz 1864, vol. 1, p. 276: “Aber wir Männer haben es im Allgemeinen gern, in der Frau eine Sklavin zu sehen, und es liegt im Ganzen in diesem usurpirten Privilegium bei dem Mann Etwas von orientalischem Brauch.” Schwartzová 1884, p. 250: “Ale my mužští vůbec rádi vidíme v ženě otrokyni a celkem v tomu právu, kteréž jsme si sami přivlastnili leží něco orientálního.” Schwartzová [1919], p. 176: “Ale my rádi vidíme v ženě otrokyni; tato výsada mužů čpi Orientem.”
- 138 Schwartz 1861, pp. 242–244; Schwartz 1864, vol. 1, pp. 274–276; Schwartz 1884, pp. 248–250; Schwartzová [1919], pp. 174–176.
- 139 Schwartz 1861, pp. 363–364: “Gestehen Sie, dass dies, unparteiisch gesprochen, eine frappante Aehnlichkeit mit dem orientalischen Gebrauch hat, sich eine Sklavin zu kaufen.” Schwartz 1864, vol. 2, p. 115: “Gestehen Sie, dass dieses Thun, unparteiisch gesprochen, dem orientalischen Gebrauche, sich eine Sclavin zu kaufen, auffallend gleich sieht.” Schwartzová 1884, p. 377: “Doznejte, že takovéto činění, nestranně řečeno, nápadně se podobá způsobu orientálův, koupiti si otrokyni.” Schwartzová [1919], p. 267: “Připustíte snad, že se toto počínání nápadně podobá orientálnímu zvyku kupovati si otrokyni.”
- 140 Schwartz 1861, p. 364: “Und das junge Mädchen”, setzte Jacobo hinzu, “welches so ohne Liebe, mit kaltem Blute und aus Berechnung die Frau eines Mannes wird, hat von ihrer weiblichen Würde durchaus keinen höhern Begriff als die junge Circassierin, welche sich an den Meistbietenden verkaufen lässt.” Schwartz 1864, vol. 2: “Und das junge Mädchen, welches so ohne Liebe mit kaltem Blut und mit kalter Berechnung die Frau eines Mannes wird, hat von ihrer weiblichen Würde durchaus keinen höhern Beg-

riff, als die junge Circassierin, welche an den Meistbietenden sich verkaufen lässt.“ Schwartzová 1884, p. 377: “A mladá dívka, jež takto s chladnou krví a studeným výpočtem se stane ženou kteréhos muže, nemá o ženské své důstojnosti nijakého vyššího poněti, nežli mladá Čerkeska, jež se prodati dá tomu, který nejvíce podal.” Schwartzová [1919], p. 267: “A děvče, které bez lásky chladnokrevně a vypočítavě se stane manželkou, nemá o své ženské důstojnosti lepších názorů nežli mladí Kirgizka, jež se dá prodati tomu, kdo nabídne nejvíce.”

- 141 Schwartz 1861, p. 365: “... Sie stehen im Begriff, sich wie eine Handelswaare (sic) einem Manne zu überlassen, den Sie, wie Sie in der Tiefe ihres Herzens wissen, niemals lieben werden....”. Schwartz 1864, vol. 2, p. 116: “... Sie stehen jetzt im Begriff, als Handelswaare (sic) sich einem Mann zu überlassen, den Sie nicht lieben...”. Schwartzová 1884, p. 379: “... vy právě v úmyslu máte, co obchodní zboží se podati muži, ježž nemilujete...”. Schwartzová [1919], p. 268: “...Ted’ téměř již se vzdáváte jako zboží mužů, jehož nemilujete a nikdy milovati nebudete...”.
- 142 Schwartz 1858, p. 46, “ett barn af folket”; p. 52, “ett barn af den amerikanska republiken”; p. 79, “ett republikens barn”; Schwartz 1858, p. 123, “ett barn af folket”; Schwartz 1858, p. 146, “Vi, barn ifrån amerikanska republiken”; p. 157, “ett barn af folket”; p. 160, “ett barn af folket”; p. 187, “ett barn utgånet från folket”; p. 187, “barn af folket”; p. 195, “Vi, republikens barn”. Schwartz 1861, p. 84, “ein Kind aus dem Volke”; p. 97, “ein Kind der amerikanischen Republik”; p. 148, “das Kind einer Republik”; p. 167, “die Kinder zweier Republiken”; p. 233, “ein Kind aus dem Volke”; p. 276, “Wir Kinder der amerikanischen Republik”; p. 293: “mit Kindern aus dem Volke”; p. 328: “ein Kind aus dem Volke”; p. 354: “ein Kind des Volkes”; p. 354: “gegen uns, die Kinder des Volkes”; p. 369: “Wir, die Kinder der Republik”; p. 517: “Sie sind ein Kind aus dem Volke”. Schwartz 1864, vol. 1, p. 99, “einem Kind aus dem Volke”; vol. 1, p. 112, “ein Kind der amerikanischen Republik”; vol. 1, p. 169: “ich, das Kind einer Republik”; vol. 1, p. 190, “zwei Kinder einer Republik”; vol. 1, p. 264, “ein Kind aus dem Volke”; vol. 2, p. 16: “Wir Kinder der amerikanischen Republik”; vol. 2, pp. 34–35: “mit Kindern aus dem Volke”; vol. 2, p. 75: “ein Kind des Volkes”; vol. 2, p. 104, “ein Kind aus dem Volke”; vol. 2, p. 104: “gegen uns, die Kinder des Volkes”; vol. 2, p. 12: “Wir Kinder einer Republik”; vol. 2, p. 290: “Sie sind ein Kind aus dem Volke”.
- 143 Schwartzová [1919], p. 106: “jsem dítětem republiky” / p. 118: “dvě děti republiky” / p. 272: “Děti republikánské” / p. 390: “jste dítětem lidu”.
- 144 Schwartzová [1919], p. 61: “jsem rovněž občanského původu” / p. 201: “My Američané” / p. 213: “se stýká s lidem” / p. 231: “pocházím z lidu” / p. 260 “proti nám”.
- 145 Schwartzová [1919], pp. 70, 168, 259.
- 146 Schwartzová 1884, pp. 339, 367, 554, 623.
- 147 Schwartzová 1884, pp. 88, 100, 151, 169, 239, 284, 276, 384.
- 148 Schwartz 1861, p. 481; Schwartz 1864, vol. 2, p. 248; Schwartzová 1884, p. 511; Schwartzová [1919], p. 326.
- 149 My English translation from Schwartz 1861, p. 243: “... sie würde sonst

- all jenes Keusche, Zarte und *kindlich* Unschuldige verlieren, was sie jetzt auszeichnet. “ (my italics).
- 150 For Schwartz 1861 see above; Schwartz 1864, vol. 1, p. 276: “... sie würde sonst all jenes Holde, Schüchterne und *kindlich* Unschuldsvolle verlieren, was sie jetzt auszeichnet.”; Schwartzová 1884, p. 249: “... jinak pozbyla oné ušlechtilosti, zdrženlivosti a rázu *dětské* nevinny, který ji nyní tak krásně zdobuje.” (my italics).
- 151 Schwartzová [1919], p. 176: “... jinak by žena neměla kouzla přitáživosti a nevinnosti, jímž se honosí.”
- 152 My English translation from Schwartz 1864, vol. 1, p. 129: “Gibt es etwas Unangenehmers, als mit Frauen zu thun (sic) zu haben? Wäre es jetzt ein Mann, so hätte er sich nicht so grob und dumm benommen mir die Gemälde zurückzuschicken...”
- 153 Schwartz 1861, p. 113: “Kann es wohl etwas Unangenehmeres geben als mit Weibern zu thun zu haben? Wäre es ein Mann, so hätte dieser sich nicht so schroff und albern benommen, mir die Gemälde zurückzuschicken...” / Schwartz 1864, vol. 1, p. 129 (see footnote above) / Schwartzová 1884, p. 116: “Nic nené věru nepřijemnější, nežli jednání s ženštinami. Kdyby to byl nyní muž, nebyl by se choval tak hrubě a hloupě, aby mi poslal obrazy zpět...”.
- 154 Schwartzová [1919], p. 80: “Což je to snad nepřijemným jednati se ženami? Kdyby to byl muž, nedopustil by se té hrubosti, neposlal by snad obrazů zpět...”.
- 155 Schwartz 1858, p. 286: “Vi hafva nu sett att mannen af börd kann känna sig både stolt och lycklig af att få kalla en dotter af folket för sin maka, då hon, I likhet med Stephana, odlat sig enom sannt kristliga dygder.”
- 156 Schwartz 1861, p. 541: “Wir haben nun gesehen, dass auch ein Mann von Geburt sich stolz und glücklich fühlen kann, eine Tochter des Volkes seine Gattin nennen zu dürfen, wenn sie sich, wie Stephana, durch wahre christliche Tugenden geadelt hat.” Schwartz 1864, vol. 2, p. 317: “Wir haben nun gesehen, dass der Mann von Geburt sich stolz und glücklich fühlen darf, eine Tochter aus dem Volk seine Gattin zu nennen, wenn sie, gleich Stephana, sich durch wahrhaft christliche Tugenden geadelt hat.”
- 157 Schwartz 1861, p. 541: “Ja, dies ist ein Ziel, welches Ihrer würdig ist”, sagte Helfrid mit tiefem Ernst “Wir haben nun gesehen, dass...””. Schwartzová 1884, p. 623: “Ano, totě cíl, jenž hoden jest ducha, vědomosti a povahy vaší,” “odvece Helfrid vážně. Poznali jsme nyní že...”.
- 158 Schwartzová 1884, p. 623: “... si šlechtictví vydobyla cnostmi a vznešeným smýšlením.”
- 159 Schwartzová [1919], p. 408: “-A já chci žítí své práci a vzpomínati na vás. V práci chci naléztí životní cíl. -Takový cíl vás je hoden, podpověděla vážně. Práce šlechtí!”
- 160 My translation from Schwartz 1861, p. 526: “Hermann stürzte auf sie zu. Die zwölf Jahre lang getrennten Gatten ruhten jetzt zum ersten male ein in des andern Armen!

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 Es war eine lange Umarmung, die einen ganzen Himmel in sich schloss. Die Erde mit ihren flüchtigen Freuden, ihren bitteren Schmerzen war vergessen für diese beiden in das Glück des Augenblicks versunkenen Menschen.”
- 161 Schwartz 1864, vol. 2, pp. 299–300:
 “Hermann stürzte auf sie zu.
 Die zwölf Jahre lang getrennten Gatten ruhten nun zum ersten Mal einander an der Brust.

- Es war eine lange Umarmung, die einen ganzen Himmel in sich schloss. Die Erde mit ihren flüchtigen Freuden, ihren bitteren Schmerzen war vergessen für diese beiden in das Glück des Augenblicks versunkenen Menschen.”
- 162 Schwartzová 1884, p. 570: “Herman se uvrhl v náruč její.
 Takž po dvanácté let rozloučení manželé zase ponejprv a prsou si spočívali. Bylo to dlouhé, dlouhé objemutí.
 Celé nebe s blaženostmi svými se v něm chovalo. Zapomenuta byla země i pomíjející radosti její, zapomenuty byly i trpké hoře.
 V blahu okamžiku toho utonuli oba přešť astní manželé, spojeni jsouce opět a na věky.”
- 163 My English translation from Schwartzová [1919], p. 397:
 “Přiskočil k ní.
 Manželé, kteří pospolu nežili dvanáct let, si klesli poprvé v náruč.”
- 164 Schwartzová [1919], p. 397: “Tato slova přivedla oba zpět k procitnutí z rozkošné závratí.”
- 165 Schwartz 1861, p. 227: “Diese Worte riefen die beiden Gatten wieder zur Wirklichkeit zurück.”; Schwartz 1864, vol. 2, p. 300: “Diese Worte riefen die beiden in die Wirklichkeit zurück.” Schwartzová 1884, p. 570: “Slova tato uvedla Hermana a choť jeho zase k skutečnosti.”
- 166 Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, London: Scott, 1892.

Ondřej Vimr

DESPISED AND POPULAR

Swedish Women Writers in Nineteenth-Century Czech National and Gender Emancipation

The Czech translation, publishing, dissemination, reading and reception of popular Swedish female authors in the nineteenth century were strongly linked to the Czech national movement and gender emancipation. Marie Sophie Schwartz and Emilie Flygare-Carlén were among the most popular authors translated into Czech in the second half of the century, while Fredrika Bremer was less translated but considerably well known among readers in the Czech lands already by the 1840s. However, their paths in the Czech literary, cultural and social landscape are lined with paradoxes. Generally speaking, the debates on even some of the most obscure writers of the time were often rather heated in the Czech press in the latter half of the nineteenth century, but the literary and aesthetic qualities of the novels by these Swedish female authors were never thoroughly analysed in the same magazines and newspapers. Their popular novels became part of the Czech national movement discourse and the fictional characters were used as female models by some in the female emancipation discussions. Yet, at the same time, the names of Schwartz and Flygare-Carlén were progressively reduced to labels for bad taste and useless literature authors. This fact alone suggests that these authors and their works were well established in the Czech lands – either from Czech translations or from sources in languages other than Czech – and did not require any deeper introduction or analysis. What became more important in the discussions was the fact and purpose of translation of these authors into Czech. Did the Czech literature, culture, society and (female) readership need a Czech translation of these authors while they were readily available

in German? How did the translations contribute to the Czech language and literature, the emancipation of the Czech nation, the enlightenment of the Czech society, or education of Czech women? Used by numerous publishers for a variety of purposes, despised by many critics for sentimentality and arguably popular among readers, these authors and the translations of their works happened to follow the winding roads of the Czech history for over 100 years, from the 1840s until the 1950s.

Here, I will mostly focus on the developments in the second half of the nineteenth century. Against the backdrop of historical events, I will focus on the publishing initiatives that translated Bremer, Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz into Czech. As far as data allow, I will analyse the context of the publishing projects, their goals, outcomes and critical reception. Firstly, I will briefly describe the key issues of the Czech National Revival and the importance of translated literature for the national movement. Secondly, I will concentrate on the first attempts to popularise Scandinavian literature, especially that written by women, among Czech readers. Thirdly, I will describe three major publishing projects that involved Bremer, Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz. I will analyse these authors' position in the book market and in the Czech literary system, the projects' intended aims and successes. I will emphasise the topic of education and emancipation of women, as two of the projects were closely linked to the discussions on social enlightenment and the role of women. Fourthly, I will discuss the critical reception of the authors, especially in the last third of the nineteenth century, as well as the grounds for their popularity in the same period. Finally, I will briefly describe the fates of these authors in Czech publishing, social and political environment in the twentieth century.

1840S: FREDRIKA BREMER MEETS THE CZECH NATIONAL REVIVAL

The first Swedish (and Scandinavian) female writer translated into Czech was Fredrika Bremer. In 1843, her story *Den ensamman* (1830; *The Lonely*) appeared in an almanac, or a collection of short literary pieces in Czech, called *Horník* (The Miner) published in Kutná Hora, a former silver-mining town.¹ The almanac was an endeavour of a local patriot who returned to Kutná Hora after several years as a teacher in Prague. When he arrived in the town in 1841, he felt that the Czech-language literary scene there had a sound potential and decided to make use of his numerous contacts with Prague-based writers and publish a series of charitable almanacs. Despite his social capital, finding contributors proved challenging. In the end, it was only local writers

who sent him their contributions, either in prose or in verse. It is not known why he chose to include a story by Bremer, as it was the only translation in the three almanacs he published. The suggestion might have come from Jan Erazim Vocel (1803-1871), a renowned poet, archaeologist and historian native to Kutná Hora, who would go so far as to learn Danish just to translate the medieval Danish folk song on Dagmar of Bohemia, the Czech-born Danish queen.² The idea might also have come from Vocel's wife, Jaroslava Litněnská,³ who allegedly translated the story into Czech, although she was not active as a translator or writer elsewhere.

The fact that Bremer appeared in Czech translation in the almanac, a collection of local literature and poetry in Czech, shows that she was a known author in the Czech lands in the first half of the nineteenth century. As I will show below, she was a popular and relatively recognised female author throughout the century, although her work was not largely available in Czech. She was never published in any influential Czech periodical, and only one volume of her oeuvre was ever published in Czech. In the 1840s, however, the important – usually Prague-based – periodicals and their publishers were still busy establishing the Czech language as a viable all-purpose alternative to German and they strove to avoid translations from German, which also included all Scandinavian literature, which had regularly been translated via German until around 1890.

Following the Battle of White Mountain, an early stage of the Thirty Years' War in 1620, the Czech lands underwent a process of Germanisation due to the policies of the Habsburg emperors. The Czech language was abolished from state administration, journalism, schools and literature and was reduced to the language of the peasantry, domestic servants and stable hands. During the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Czechs underwent a National Revival, a cultural movement to revive the Czech language, culture, literature, society and national identity. While in the early decades of the National Revival the Czech-language periodicals typically featured translations of German popular literature, the 1820s saw a radical programmatic shift towards original Czech production and translations from Slavic literatures, notably Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian.⁴ This translation strategy was supposed to enrich the Czech language with natural Slavic vocabulary and phraseology as well as curtail the influence of German. Although some editors in chief would include more German and French literature at times, the overall trend of the period from the 1820s to the 1850s is apparent.⁵ In fact, it was the intricate Czech relationship to the German-language culture and society that deeply influenced the Czech

culture, literature and society, including the translation and reception of popular Swedish female writers. The establishment and development of the Czech-language cultural and social identity in the course of the National Revival was to a certain extent based on breaking up with the German culture and literature that was so deeply entrenched in the Czech lands. Czech intellectuals were aiming to establish an independent Czech literary system in the first stage – the first half of the nineteenth century – and bring it on par with other European literatures in the second half of the nineteenth century. While revivalists struggled to bring ideas and concepts from non-German cultures, in fact programmatically constructing the Czech society, culture and literature as non-German, it was not possible to avoid the German social, cultural and literary system as a natural source of information.

LATE 1850S AND EARLY 1860S: SCANDINAVIAN LITERATURES IN CZECH ARE TAKING OFF

From the 1850s until the 1880s, Scandinavian literature gradually gained ground in Czech magazines, on the stage and in terms of book-length translations. Yet, the translations and news were unsystematic, and numbers were rather low in comparison to other source literatures, such as French, Polish and Russian. The only Scandinavian author to get published repeatedly until the 1860s was the Danish writer Hans Christian Andersen, a frequent visitor to Prague. The case of Fredrika Bremer, however, shows that there was a wider and livelier Czech reception of Scandinavian literature in German translation. The Czech intellectuals were perfectly bilingual – many spoke German better than Czech – in the first half of the nineteenth century and had a good grasp of what was happening in the literature outside the extremely limited Czech-language book and press industry. Therefore, Jan Neruda (1834–1891), an influential Czech journalist and author, wrote enthusiastically and knowledgeably about the general developments in the Scandinavian literatures when discussing the recent theatre pieces by two prominent Norwegian authors in 1878:

In the Nordic literature, exemplarily and fascinatingly productive, peculiar tectonic movements have been taking place: the whirl of activity was first led by Danes, then by Swedes, and now by Norwegians; Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson and Henrik Ibsen are currently the leading Norwegian names, and the dispute over “who is greater” in their homeland is both interesting and nonsensical.⁶

The shift towards more foreign literature, including Scandinavian, in Czech-language periodicals and on the stages in the late 1850s and in the 1860s coincided with a generational shift. Younger authors felt that the Czech language and literature had a strong enough foothold and that, in order to flourish and attract readership, it was necessary to open the literature to foreign influences not merely based on linguistic affinity but also on the quality and novelty of the translated production. In 1858, a brief analysis of the Scandinavian literature (Danish and Swedish) appeared as part of an extensive study on the contemporary European novel written by Karel Sabina (1813–1877), author, dramatist and critic.⁷ The article was published in *Lumír* (1851–1904), an influential weekly focusing on contemporary literature, both Czech and international, featuring translations from a number of literatures. While Sabina mentions many authors in passing and most extensively discusses the Swedish writer Carl Jonas Love Almquist (translated into Czech as late as 1965), he devotes two and a half paragraphs to Swedish female writers: Fredrika Bremer, Emilie Flygare-Carlén and Sophie von Knorring. He notes that Bremer is an internationally popular writer, known for her *Teckningar ut ur hvardagslifvet* (1828–1840; *Sketches of Every-Day Life*), stating that: “Bremer writes very well and amusingly, and she has a poetic spirit, too; yet, the circle that her spirit is joyfully moving inside is somewhat limited and does not surpass the ordinary. There is no height or depth in her writing, yet she depicts everyday life faithfully and vividly.”⁸ Flygare-Carlén was actually held in greater esteem as she was deemed “much richer, both in terms of inventiveness and imagery.”⁹ Also, she was very prolific – “as prolific as she is gifted” – and the high number of works produced did not come at the expense of quality since in each and every novel “her genius appears in a new and fresh light.”¹⁰ Knorring was described as “prolific, gifted and popular”; moreover, she exposed “her deep opinion on the social conditions.”¹¹

However, Sabina’s analysis is not extensive; the Scandinavian literatures do not attract much attention in comparison to other larger European literatures, and they are on par with the Dutch literature. It is hard to tell what his opinions were based on, yet the inclusion of these authors proves an interest in this particular section of literature, and that it was understood that Bremer and Flygare-Carlén could not be excluded from any comprehensive overview of the contemporary literature.¹² The periodical that published Sabina’s article had three pillars: original prose and poetry, translated prose and poetry, and news and essays on culture and literature. Most of the translations in the 1850s were from Slavic languages, English and French. It published several tales by Hans Christian Andersen, the only Scandinavian author to be represented.

In the 1860s, the most prominent publication to feature news about and excerpts from the Scandinavian literatures was *Česká včela* (The Czech Bee), the cultural supplement of the popular and influential *Květy* (Flowers) periodical. It brought several short translations, namely Norwegian Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson's poetry and prose as well as over a dozen Danish folk songs. For the most part, however, Scandinavian literature was mentioned in shorter descriptive and informative contributions. That is the case of an article on Fredrika Bremer, actually her obituary, published in 1866, which stated among other things:

Besides Esaias Tegnér and the Danish writer Andersen, Fredrika Bremer holds a prominent place in the Scandinavian literature. With her extraordinary poetic excellence and a great understanding of the human heart – especially the hearts of women – she managed to surpass such famous authors and Henriette Hanke and Fanny Tarnow.¹³

The author (probably Jan Neruda) details a rather long list of popular novels by Bremer “translated into a number of European languages”¹⁴ – *Grannarne* (1837; *The Neighbours*), *Strid och frid eller några scener i Norge* (1840; *Strife and Peace*), *Presidentens döttrar* (1834; *The President's Daughters*), *Nina* (1953) and *Axel och Anna* (1838; *Axel and Anna*) – but fails to mention the only existing Czech translation, suggesting that he did not know about it, which in turn means that the almanac did not have much of an impact. This and the fact that he made a comparison to two German writers who were popular at the time also suggest a continued dependence on the German sources of information on current literary issues.

Generally, Scandinavian literature gained ground only very slowly in Czech. This slow onset – driven by the revivalists with cultural aspirations in terms of enriching the Czech literary system with quality and novelty from abroad – strongly contrasts with the sudden influx of two popular Swedish female writers: Marie Sophie Schwartz and Emilie Flygare-Carlén. Their comparably strong presence in book translations from the Scandinavian languages is self-evident from 1867 to 1875, while the rest of the Scandinavian literature only started to bloom towards the end of the 1880s (fig. 1). Although Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz continued to appear in new translations and re-editions until 1929 in remarkably high numbers, their share in the overall numbers of translations from the Scandinavian languages into Czech continued to diminish as the rest of the production kept rising strongly until the peak in the early 1920s.

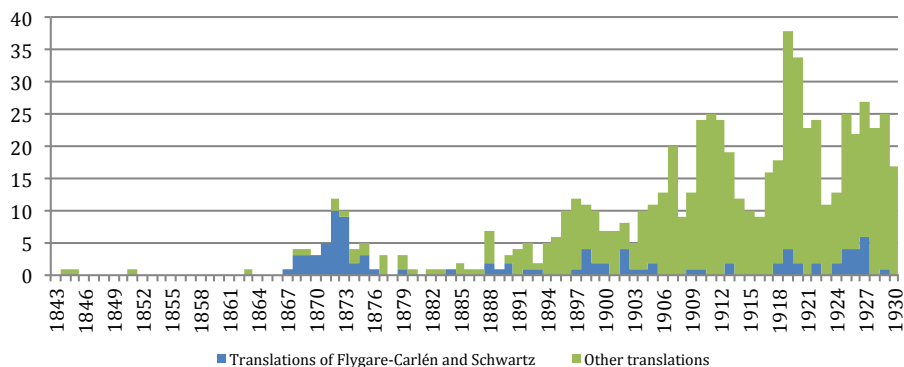


Figure 1: Book-length translations from the Scandinavian languages into Czech from 1843 until 1930; highlighted translations (including re-editions and retranslations) of novels by Emilie Flygare-Carlén and Marie Sophie Schwartz.

Three phases can be identified during which the novels by Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz were published in Czech. The first and strongest started in 1867 and lasted about 10 years. The second phase, with a number of re-editions and retranslations, stretched across almost two decades from the mid-1880s until the beginning of the twentieth century. The third phase started right after World War I and the establishment of Czechoslovakia and ran for another 10 years. Here, I will focus mainly on the first and foundational phase, but I will come back to the other two phases towards the end of the chapter.

The manner and purpose of publication of Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz in Czech were rather particular and differed from how and why other Scandinavian authors became available and influential in the 1880s and 1890s. The logic is more evident with Flygare-Carlén as she was published almost entirely by the same publishing entity from the first translations (1868–1875) until the last one (1929), whereas Schwartz had as many as five different publishers in the initial period alone (1867–1876).

LATE 1860S: SCHALEK RETURNS FROM FRANCE AND PUBLISHES SCHWARTZ

At around the same time as the obituary of Fredrika Bremer appeared (1866), the first translations of Marie Sophie Schwartz started to be published in Czech by Gustav Schalek (1836–1889), the son of Joseph Schalek (1811–?), the German-speaking Jewish owner of a mid-sized bookstore based in Prague. Joseph Schalek opened his bookshop in

central Prague in the 1830s or 1840s, and besides selling books he ran a private lending library (*Leihbibliothek*), offering around 26 000 volumes of international literature in German, French, English and Hebrew as well as in Czech in 1855; by 1858, the library had 32 000 books and 20 000 items of music.¹⁵ The vast majority of the books were in German and only a small fraction in Czech, reflecting not national but rather commercial considerations.¹⁶ The advertisements Schalek commissioned in the German-language newspaper *Bohemia* and the Czech-language newspaper *Národní listy* (National Papers) from the 1850s to the 1870s reveal his pragmatic approach, as they are in German, Czech or Hebrew, depending on the items advertised and the readership targeted.

Joseph Schalek's first publishing endeavour took place in 1857–1858, when he published two volumes of Slovak folk tales collected by the influential Czech author and revivalist Božena Němcová (1820–1862). Until the mid-1860s, his further publishing activity focused almost exclusively on music. Yet, the pragmatic approach to business and an ability to reach the Czech-speaking audience paved the way for the later publishing business of his son Gustav Schalek, who returned to Prague from his studies in France in 1865.¹⁷ Gustav Schalek was a connoisseur of the contemporary French literature and decided to make himself visible on the Czech scene. He held a series of public lectures on the French literature, subsequently published in *Národní listy*.¹⁸ The reception of his publishing programme, however, was mixed. While the translation of a novel by Russian V. Krestovsky (pseudonym for Nadezhda Khvoshchinskaya, 1824–1889) published in 1868 was received relatively well, the novels by Marie Sophie Schwartz, the cornerstone of Schalek's publishing endeavours (fig. 2), were labelled as trash literature from the very outset.¹⁹ In 1870, Gustav Schalek was already branded as a foreign (non-Czech) publisher who originally had good intentions “to extensively disseminate decent novels and extricate our people from the hands of Mr. Bensinger [another non-Czech trash literature publisher], but unfortunately made a wrong choice and landed in the very same footsteps as Messrs Bensinger, Steinhauser, Karafiat [and many more trash literature publishers].”²⁰

There is no evidence as to why Schalek chose Schwartz as his key author. He might have thoroughly researched the contemporary book market matching the data from his bookstore and lending library in German with the authors already available in Czech. It is hard to tell whether he made a good pick market-wise, as there are no sales figures available. The fact is that he had stopped publishing Schwartz by 1872, and his later publishing activity was unsubstantial, proving the pro-

Year of publication	Author	Title	Translator	Publisher on the title page
1867	Marie Sophie Schwartz	Urozený pán a žena z lidu [=Mannen av börd och kvinnan av folket]	Vojtěch Vrána	Gustav Schalek
1868	Marie Sophie Schwartz	Práce šlechtí [=Arbetet adlar mannen]	Vojtěch Vrána	Gustav Schalek
1868	V. Krestovský	Petrohradské peleše [=Peterburgskie trushchoby]	n/a	Gustav Schalek
1869	E. Marlitt	Tajemství staré panny [=Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsell]	Fr. L. Čížek	Jos. Schalek
1870-71	Marie Sophie Schwartz	Dcera šlechticova [=Ädlingens dotter]	Fr. L. Čížek	Nákladem Schalkova kněhkupectví [=Published by Schalek's Bookstore]
1871-72	Marie Sophie Schwartz	Urozenost a vzdělanost [=Börd och bildning]	Fr. L. Čížek	Nákladem Schalkova kněhkupectví
1877	Xavier de Montépin	Krvavé truchlohry aneb oběti zločincův [=Les tragédies de Paris]	n/a	Jos. Schalek
1884	Marie Sophie Schwartz	Urozený pán a žena z lidu	Vojtěch Vrána	Gustav Schalek

Figure 2: Fiction books published by Joseph and Gustav Schalek from 1867.

phetic words of the above-cited 1870 critic: “Soon, he will find out that like other publishers of trash literature, he will become useless to us.”²¹ Schalek probably found out that publishing and selling books in Czech was far more difficult and less lucrative than he might have expected. Print runs were generally much smaller than in the German market, and distribution was difficult. Moreover, in order to break through and reach the relatively poor Czech audiences, the prices of books in Czech were lower than those of exactly the same books in German. Unlike in the first half of the nineteenth century, however, the demand for books in Czech was growing rapidly as the Czech-speaking population benefited from the Czech social emancipation and a better Czech-language

education. The proportion of Czech readership was also growing, as Czech was a majority language of those social strata from which most new regular readers would come as of the 1860s. Finally, the bilingualism of the Czech intelligentsia was gradually shrinking and – especially in Prague – the importance of the German book market was in decline.²² The negative reception of his publishing activities, the decline of interest in his key bookselling business and the growing competition in the Czech book market were probably some of the reasons why Schalek stopped publishing the Czech translations of Schwartz, the sales figures of which we know nothing. The German profile of Schalek’s business may have contributed to the lack of success in publishing books in Czech as Schwartz was soon taken over by František Šimáček. Schalek – equally soon – merged with another German-language bookseller with the new label Schalek & Wetzler, and his visibility and importance soon waned.

LATE 1860S AND EARLY 1870S: ŠIMÁČEK SERIALISES FLYGARE-CARLÉN FOR A PURPOSE

In 1868, one year after Schwartz’s first novel was translated into Czech, novels of her compatriot Emilie Flygare-Carlén started to appear as a series in *Posel z Prahy* (The Prague Messenger, 1857–1883), a Czech newspaper.²³ Owned by František Šimáček (1834–1885), the periodical was regarded as “a special newspaper for the general public, a newspaper that on the one hand would use popular fiction to attract the widest reading circles, and on the other hand would pursue a more profound programme of its own, that is, to arouse people’s interest and eagerness to improve business and education.”²⁴ Unlike Schwartz, Flygare-Carlén was included in a distinctively Czech publishing project with a non-literary aspiration to enlighten the Czech society. This did not secure a warmer reception, however.

An advertisement for the *Prague Messenger* published in the *Světozor* journal in 1869 described the main task of the newspaper, the subscription system and the nature of its supplements.²⁵ The newspaper was targeted at “citizens [interested in] politics, public administration, arable farming, household and national economy”²⁶ as well as credit unions and elected local bodies. The publishing frequency was three times a week (later daily). It featured two kinds of free supplements for subscribers. Once a week, it included a four-page supplement called *Národní hospodář* (National Business-Keeper), and every issue of the newspaper included one half-quire of a novel (two unbound sheets making eight pages). Readers could collect the unbound supplements to

eventually form a stand-alone volume. If the reader lacked some of the half-quires, it was possible to order these separately for a modest fee. It was also possible to buy a complete volume as soon as the series had been published in its entirety. The pace of publishing was swift: The project started in 1868 and by the time the advertisement appeared in 1869, three novels had been published and the third part of the fourth novel was on the way. Interestingly, as many as three of the four novels were by Flygare-Carlén, and the fourth was a translation from French of a short novel by Eugène Ducom.²⁷

In fact, the serialised novels were given away for free to subscribers of the newspaper. The supplement was merely supposed to attract readers that otherwise might have been reluctant to subscribe to a newspaper with a distinctly economic and practical agenda. Such a practice was not exceptional. By that time fiction – and especially the novels – had become the driving force behind the sales of newspapers and magazines for the Czech-speaking masses.²⁸

To immediately attract and retain subscribers, Šimáček needed to make a safe bet when choosing the content of the literary supplement. The last thing he would do was experiment with finding new literary forms and new authors like more established publishers and editors could do. Although he had no direct access to the sales figures for books in German on the Czech market on par with Schalek, his choice of a similarly positioned author may suggest that the good reception of both Schwartz and Flygare-Carlén among the German-speaking readership in the Czech lands was common knowledge, and the choices of both publishers were very pragmatic. To support their choices, both publishers might have considered the success of Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz in neighbouring Germany, where they were published in large print runs by several different publishers as well as a translation factory, Franchk'sche Verlagshandlung.

Šimáček seems to have been fascinated by the potential of Flygare-Carlén as an author from another small nation, thinking that Czechs might have a more genuine interest in her work than in the work of German or English authors he might publish. He made attempts to arouse curiosity in her work by arguing that her writing had a Czech spirit and comparing her to the best Czech authors. Paradoxically, this made the translation project redundant from a systemic point of view: Why should one import a piece of literature that does not bring anything special and new to the receiving system? In two consecutive issues of the *Prague Messenger* from October 1875, a long article appeared on the work and life of Emilie Flygare-Carlén praising her novels:

[...] no other nation can take pride in their rich and wonderful literature for the family circle as much as the Swedes can. The works by [Emilie] Flygare-Carlén, [Fredrika] Bremer and [Marie Sophie] Schwartz, their leading female novelists, have been translated into nearly all European languages. [...] The Swedish are actually very much like us, especially with regard to family literature. The writings by Flygare-Carlén in particular appear to stem from the Czech spirit and are as popular in the Czech translation as the work of the best Czech male and female authors. In every respect, they are better than the products of the French and German literatures which the speculation [of publishers] has all too overwhelmingly flooded us with – unfortunately – offering a poor selection.²⁹

Šimáček made it very clear that making Flygare-Carlén available in Czech was not a matter of speculation and poor selection, practised by other publishers. This was an obvious attempt to show he did not offer trash literature and was not supposed to be labelled as a trash literature publisher – which was the case of Schalek, for instance. In the 1870s, the issue of low-brow literature flooding the Czech book market became a heated topic. In the wake of the Panic of 1873, a major financial crisis triggering a depression in Europe, the financial situation in the Czech lands deteriorated, driving people away from expensive books. Publishers tried to compensate for the loss and started to publish more and more cheap, low-brow entertaining literature. This practice was met with fury by Czech intellectuals and critics as it undermined the general enlightenment project that the Czech-language literature was a part of, resulting in a pamphlet titled “In favour of the Czech reading” signed by 132 Czech politicians, scientists, journalists and writers in 1885.³⁰ Šimáček obviously did not consider Flygare-Carlén trash literature. Or at least he kept a poker face in the promotion article so as not to jeopardise his business plan.

In fact, the two-part praise of the author was followed by an advertisement in the subsequent issue of the newspaper.³¹ It offered a 50 percent discount on novels by Flygare-Carlén that had been previously published as a series in *The Prague Messenger* as well as new (non-serialised) translation of Flygare-Carlén from the same year. All the advertised books were supposedly published by the printer of Šimáček’s newspaper and journal, not by Šimáček himself. The praise, published over a year after Šimáček stopped publishing Flygare-Carlén in his newspaper, thus served as an introduction to a rather complex and well-designed advertising campaign with the purpose of selling out the stock and a new (non-serialised) translation.

In the course of six years (1868–1873), Šimáček published 22 novels by Flygare-Carlén (16 first editions, 6 re-editions). During these years, he published only one novel by a different author. In 1874, however, he stopped publishing Flygare-Carlén and published four novels, by E. M. Braddon, Ruppian Ot, Marie Sophie Schwartz, and Wilkie Collins. Two of the novels were written by and for women: one by E. M. Braddon, published by several publishers of the time, and one by Schwartz, already abandoned by Schalek. But he also published two suspension and sensational novels, a genre that was getting highly popular at the time, much to the critics' displeasure. Afterwards, he quickly ceased publishing literature altogether in the *Prague Messenger*, perhaps to avoid cannibalising another publishing project of his with distinctive social ambitions, another project that also featured both Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz.

1870S: THE EDITION OF ENTERTAINMENT AND KNOWLEDGE

As of 1872, František Šimáček supported a new book series named *Libuše: Matice zábavy a vědění* (1872–1918, 1922–1935; *Libuše: The Edition of Entertainment and Knowledge*) targeted at female readers. The project, under the auspices of the homonymous Libuše Charity, was initiated and originally run by his wife, Ludmila Šimáčková (1844–1879), but was eventually fully incorporated into Šimáček's publishing business after about two decades.³² The goal of the Charity was to “publish books in the Czech languages of noble content for the family circle and to curb the publication and dissemination of books of defective content that are being brought to us from devious foreign sources.”³³ Such a programme was in line with the above-mentioned criticism of Schalek's publishing, with Šimáček's later argumentation that was supposed to place Flygare-Carlén well above the despised trash literature, and also in line with the contemporary critical attitudes in the Czech society.

Ludmila Šimáčková was an industrious woman interested in promoting the economic emancipation of women. Her approach to the enlightening of the Czech society was similar to her husband's, yet while Šimáček focused on providing general information on business and finance, Šimáčková targeted the position of women in the society. She regarded women as full members of the society and wanted them to play an active role in the emancipation of the Czech nation. For example, she ran the first shop with sewing machines in Bohemia, as sewing was regarded as one of the easier ways that unfavourably

situated women lacking education and family support might have to make their living. Notably, the first volume published at *Libuše* was a programmatic collection of essays written by Šimáčková herself.³⁴

In the book, Šimáčková gathered biographical profiles of women of outstanding achievements beyond the family circle. In an introductory note, she opened with the popular opinion that the natural centre of gravity for a woman is her family. Yet, she quickly added that “not every one of our gender is so lucky as to find her place in a family” and for a variety of reasons some women “wish to have an independent position in the society.”³⁵ The biographies were supposed to, on the one hand, provide evidence that women can do the same work as men and, on the other hand, “encourage their peers to similar activity and also make everyone aware that our talent, capacity and determination can bring us, women, further than we have been so far.”³⁶ While a great majority of examples were taken from Anglo-American contexts, about half of the articles were about women associated with healthcare: Florence Nightingale, Clemence Lozier, Harriot Hunt and Emily Blackwell. The other half included women active in a variety of fields, such as women’s rights activist and educationalist Emma Willard, translator and linguist Elizabeth Smith, historian Catharine Macaulay, painter Fanny Corbaux and sculptor Harriet Hosmer. A decent amount of space was dedicated to Emily Faithfull, an English women’s rights activist and – importantly for Šimáčková – publisher and founder of a printing establishment that employed women exclusively. Devoted to the publishing of “popular, cheap books that would help attract the public’s attention to the far-reaching social changes”³⁷ that were taking place and a monthly “dedicated to women’s issues”,³⁸ she might have been an obvious source of inspiration for Šimáčková. It should not go unnoticed that Šimáčková’s programmatic volume closes with a one-page advertisement for novels by “the famous Swedish author Emilie Flygare-Carlén” that were available in stock at the printer of the *Libuše* series;³⁹ these were the same novels originally available quire by quire in Šimáček’s newspaper, printed by the very same printer. The advertisement only reinforces the evidence of a strong economic bond between Šimáček’s newspaper and the *Libuše* publishing project that was long presented as an enlightenment endeavour of the independent *Libuše* Charity.

The early profile of the *Libuše* Edition shows a heavy reliance on the traditional and established female authors for women (fig. 3). Out of 15 novels published between 1872 and 1876, nearly two-thirds are by authors already available in Czech. With one exception, all novels are translations, with almost half written by Swedish authors Fredrika Bremer (one novel, the only dedicated volume by Bremer in Czech),

Year of Publication	Original Language	Author	Title
1872	Czech	Františka Šimáčková	Vynikající ženy mimo rodinný kruh (=Outstanding Women beyond the Family Circle)
1872	Swedish	Marie Sophie Schwartz	Dvě matky (=Tvenne familjemödrar)
1872	English	Maria Susanna Cummins	Lampářova schovanka (=The Lamplighter)
1872	Czech	Věnceslava Lužická	Johana z Rožmitála (=Johana of Rožmitál)
1872	Swedish	Fredrika Bremer	Rodina a její starosti (=Hemmet, eller familjesorger och fröjder)
1873	German	Otilie Wildermuth	Ze života ženského (=Aus dem Frauenleben)
1873	Swedish	Marie Sophie Schwartz	Vdova a její děti (=Änkan och hennes barn)
1873	Swedish	Emilie Flygare-Carlén	Svěřenský statek (=Fidiekommisset)
1874	Swedish	Marie Sophie Schwartz	Ten pravý (=Den rätta)
1874	French	Fanny Reybaud	Slečna z Malpeiru (=Mademoiselle de Malepeire)
1874	English	M. E. Braddon	Jindřich Dunbar (=Henry Dunbar)
1875	English	Mary Mallock (?)	Šlechtný život (=?)
1875	Swedish	Emilie Flygare-Carlén	Skjutský hoch (=Skjutsossen)
1875	English	Charlotte Brontë	Jane Eyre
1876	English	Wilkie Collins	Hrobové tajemství (=The Dead Secret)
1876	Swedish	Marie Sophie Schwartz	Emancipační horečka (=Emancipationsswurnen)

Figure 3: Books published at Libuše Edition from 1872 until 1876.

Emilie Flygare-Carlén (2 novels) and Marie Sophie Schwartz (4 novels; see fig. 4).

When the Edition was announced in January 1872, including the initial target number of subscribers (20 000) and the first novel (a novel by Schwartz), it was met with tough criticism.⁴⁰ Josef Durdík, a renowned contemporary author, wrote an extensive essay discussing the relevance of aims of the edition for the Czech readership. He strongly opposed translating Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz into Czech: “What will it help if 20 000 copies of [a novel by Schwartz] will be

distributed across Bohemia?”⁴¹ Both authors were already available in German in lending libraries, their books did not meet the “respectable” enlightenment goals of the Edition and, moreover, publishing these authors would paralyse the Edition leaving little place for better works (such as works by Walter Scott, Charles Dickens and George Sand).⁴² He warned that if Libuše did not keep its promise of quality enlightenment literature and published the same authors as “foreign companies” (meaning German-run companies such as Schalek’s), it would attract the attention of the same readership, but it would lose the readers again as soon as they found out that there was no added value.⁴³ Durdík’s judgements were prophetic, yet he obviously did not make much of an impact on the Edition’s actual profile in the coming years.

Thematically, a vast proportion of the novels focused on women making their way through life. The issue of industrious women active beyond the traditional family scheme – highlighted in Šimáčková’s own pamphlet – is strikingly absent in most of the publications. With some exceptions, the novels tend to focus on a narrative that depicted women suffering and struggling through their life while young and/or unmarried, either by a twist of fate or by their own choice. Although a good deal of social criticism – such as the privileges of the nobility and lack of choice and social mobility for women – is often included in the novels, the overall message is often that of reconciliation as soon as a woman gets happily married. Actually, the last novel by Schwartz published in the Libuše Edition had women’s emancipation as the key topic, as also suggested in the title: *Emancipationsvurmen* (1860; *Emancipation Frenzy*). It follows three women, each of whom in her own way transgresses the traditional feminine role. Yet, the Czech translator probably thought some of the key utterances on women’s emancipation were far too cautious and blurred and made them deliberately more overt and explicit.⁴⁴ These changes, however, could not undo the overall paradigm showing that all three bold and subversive female behaviours lead into blind alleys and revealing the underlying irony of the novel reflected in the title. As every frenzy is an emotional exaggeration, a momentary outburst of irrationality, so are the depicted ways of emancipation far from bold or brave; they are just hyperbolic and ridiculous and lead nowhere. By making the ideas more overt, the translator suggested that the novel did not make a strong enough case for the emancipation of women and was perhaps not fulfilling the expectations of the contemporary Czech society, and especially of the intended readership of the Edition.

The contemporary reception of the Libuše Edition, and Flygare-Carlén in particular, only confirms that some notable critics perceived

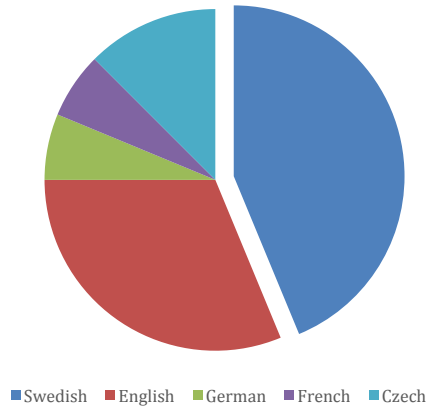


Figure 4: The distribution of the source languages (including Czech originals) of books published at Libuše from 1872 until 1876. Swedish originals highlighted.

the novels as outdated for the contemporary Czech female readership and not in line with the original intentions of the Edition. The critical reception differs greatly from the informative and persuasive articles published both in Šimáček’s newspaper and the advertisement in Šimáčková’s book. In 1877, the Libuše Edition stopped publishing translations and focused solely on original Czech production. On this occasion, Eliška Krásnohorská (1847–1926), an influential female poet, writer, translator and promoter of women’s rights, published a short essay in *Ženské listy* (1873–1926; Female Papers), perhaps the most influential critical magazine for female readers of the time. She discussed the profile of the Edition, which was originally supposed to exercise its influence as a provider of affordable books in “the cities where the Czech language has been pushed aside as a family language due to the Germanising fashions.”⁴⁵

She began by condemning the very idea of the Czech translation of Flygare-Carlén and novels by similar authors included in the Edition:

Let us have a look at those translations. Flygare-Carlén and the other ones – surely famous names and their writings still attract much attention. But how do these translations help to fulfil the aims of Libuše? [...] Those Germanising families have already borrowed them from libraries and read them in German translation a long time ago, and the Czech female readers do not get any added value if they read this par excellence library book in German translation or in such a wrong and poor Czech rendering.⁴⁶

The national emancipation and enlightenment was a major argument for Krásnohorská. She pointed out that even “Germans, who have no worries about the national existence, have long labelled these spoilt novels as ‘Theetischromane’ [tea table novels].”⁴⁷ Any Czech book edition targeted at the young and poor must bring “the purest, truest and most inherent [books] that can immediately provide them with intellectual benefit and enlightenment.”⁴⁸ She went on by focusing on the ideological profile of the novels, and she strictly opposed the idea (put forward by Šimáček) that the Swedish and Czech societies and peoples (“spirit” in Šimáček’s language) have much in common and that the novels portray situations, people and issues familiar and important to the contemporary Czech reader:

Our nation needs something other than a depiction of comfortable family life of more fortunate nations, a life that only in spiritually stagnant and materially well off circles has retained such patriarchy that was generally valid in the times of Flygare-Carlén’s writing, but has taken so many different and new directions since then; we need a different attitude than to sit in the warmth of the hearth and home, swiftly and smartly discussing the ups and downs of life, or to show silent and timidly one-sided virtues of family life like in a polished shop window, a painful fallacy that would break into pieces under the pressure or more powerful mysteries of our national struggle, our civic responsibilities, our materially convoluted social conditions, our needs for progress in the families and – finally – the transformed and expanded responsibilities that women of our times take upon themselves while making their own living, a girl struggling all alone for her life-long needs, fighting for her life without any family support, fighting for her good name, for her decency as a worker, as a clerk, as any man does in a similar position.⁴⁹

In Krásnohorská’s view, not only were the ideas in the works by Flygare-Carlén outdated, they were also rooted in a radically different social and national situation: Swedes had their own country while the Czechs had to strive for their national emancipation, and the Czech-language literature was part of that endeavour. Life, as depicted in the Swedish novels, had little to do with the Czech reality. Moreover, the novels – as the author interpreted them for her purpose – failed to address any issues relevant to the contemporary emancipated single Czech woman struggling to stand on her feet without any family support. Arguably, some novels by Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz target these issues, but the author did not take this into account, either be-

cause these were not the most translated and popular ones, or because the author did not see the case put strongly enough, or she was not familiar with them. Anyway, the message of the article – published in 1877 – was clear: It hailed a new era of the *Libuše* Edition that promised to stop publishing translations and start a distinctly Czech national programme, making a strong case for the Czech language, women and the poor.

The initial print run of the Edition was about 20 000 copies, or the target was 20 000 subscribers, while about a half of the print run was eventually sold.⁵⁰ The number of subscribers, however, fell to roughly 3000 by 1876. The consistent decline in sales in the initial years can be attributed to several factors. One of them was the Panic of 1873 that hit all sales of literature. Most importantly, however, there was harsh competition in the field of the cheap genre literature that the *Libuše* Edition published despite its original aspirations, as Durdík had warned, which made it difficult for the Edition to target its audience. In 1876, the decision was taken to stop publishing translations and to start afresh, focusing on original Czech literature. New editors were hired, and the *Libuše* Edition became one of the most respected endeavours of its kind, with a distinctly Czech profile and without Swedish female authors. The new strategy – welcomed heartily by Krásnohorská in her 1877 article – proved right as the number of subscribers climbed to over 9000 by 1885.

1870S: FLYGARE-CARLÉN FACES THE EMANCIPATION OF CZECH WOMEN

The overall rejection of Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz by Czech critics was, among other things, a matter of timing, framing and presentation. In the 1870s, the discourse of national and especially gender emancipation was far too advanced to accept the worldview depicted in the novels that might have been met with curiosity some three decades earlier when such translations could have been regarded as yet another contribution to the practical usage of the Czech language. The language-oriented national movement of the first half of the nineteenth century, however, quickly turned into a political struggle for extended national freedoms and eventually suffered two major setbacks. Firstly, there was the defeat of the revolution of 1848 and the establishment of a neo-absolutist regime in Austria that lasted for a decade and involved severe anti-Czech policies, such as Germanisation of schools, censorship and a large number of political imprisonments. Secondly, in the wake of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 – establishing the

dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary – the Czechs hoped for a similar compromise leading to greater Czech independence within the monarchy, but their claims were eventually turned down. Flygare-Carlén's Czech publisher, František Šimáček, was imprisoned twice for printing offences in the *Prague Messenger*, in 1862 and 1868. The link between historical events and cultural production was strong in the Habsburg Monarchy as a whole, yet it is especially evident in the growth of publications in Slavic languages and in Czech in particular.⁵¹

While the Czechs found it difficult to formulate a coherent national political agenda, they stood united with regard to the Czech cultural emancipation and social enlightenment, and women were there to help with the national project. Unlike in other European countries, such as France and the UK, the Czech national and gender emancipation went hand in hand.⁵² Czech women perceived the Czech national emancipation within the Austrian – later Austro-Hungarian – Empire as an important stepping stone on their path to gender emancipation.⁵³ Women's emancipation was not a radical project in the Czech lands, and it did not involve a radical separation from men. Rather, throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, Czech women's emancipation had two distinctive features: the promotion of education and cooperation with men, both for the sake of the Czech nation.⁵⁴

To organise and promote their activities, women started their associations. While some date back to the pre-1848 era, it was not until the 1860s and 1870s that their activities became visible and had a lasting impact. It happened after the neo-absolutist regime was abandoned, and especially after a law was adopted in Austria in 1867 permitting women to establish such associations officially (no political goals were allowed, though).⁵⁵ In the 1860s, the American Ladies Club (Americký klub dam) was founded by Vojta Náprstek (actually a man), a philanthropist who spent over a decade in exile in the US and was strongly influenced by the US tradition of associations and charitable organisations.⁵⁶ Although the Club was rather exclusive and one had to be invited to join, it gradually included thousands of women from the higher social rank in Prague and beyond, who could afford to spend time and money on its intellectual, philanthropic and social events. In 1871, the Czech Female Production Association was founded. While the Club helped to inform the discussion and to establish the key topic of the Czech female emancipation, i.e. education, the Production Association was there to put ideas into practice.

The kind of education the Czech Female Production Association had in mind was to make it possible for women to make their own living. It was a response to two major issues of the time. One was related to

the longstanding existential problems widows and unmarried women had to face. The other concerned the vast social changes that had taken place. The 1850s, 1860s and until the 1873 Vienna stock market crash, or the *Gründerzeit* years, saw massive industrialisation and an economic boom in Central Europe, bringing tectonic social changes, including a change in the status of women, who gained far wider possibilities to find employment beyond the traditional rural and family settings. In line with these changes, the Production Association and the core activities for the promotion of female education focused on practical skills, such as sewing and other handicrafts, as well as healthcare and teaching.

It was this practical approach to education and to the role of a woman in the changing social and economic environment that Krásnohorská had in mind when she argued that novels by Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz were of no use for the readership of the Libuše Edition. While Šimáčková outlined a similar approach in her programmatic introductory volume of biographies, the actual publishing profile was a betrayal of ideals. The characters, stories and settings in the novels did not match the Czech situation and practice and had little potential to show a positive example. The critics of the Libuše Edition – both Durdík and Krásnohorská – expected a rather utilitarian approach from the editor of the series: the literature was supposed to educate both in terms of language and social pattern, while the overall aesthetic qualities were secondary. They took into account the intended poor rural and small-town female readership of the Edition as promoted by Šimáčková, and it was this particular framing of Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz that made critics dissatisfied. They would have preferred a more trendsetting and problem-solving fiction and non-fiction for such a progressive series. Krásnohorská herself was actually a translator too, and her projects included some of the most ambitious endeavours of the time; she translated some of the greatest national poets, such as Adam Mickiewicz, Alexander Pushkin and George Gordon Byron, to prove the possibilities of the Czech language and the greatness of the Czech culture.⁵⁷ But she was not an elitist and did not oppose literature that was not high-brow. Besides poetry, ambitious translation projects or opera librettos, she wrote a popular series of novels for young female readers. In her view, there was no need to translate easy reading as Czechs could write better using mother tongue (the linguistic quality of the novel translations was often criticised as poor) and closer to the expectations and supposed needs of the Czech female reader.

The conflicting ideas about the intentions and practice of the Libuše Edition – and the necessity and purpose of translating Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz into Czech – reflected a growing disagreement within the

women's movement concerning women's role in the society. The prevailing model throughout the nineteenth century in the Czech lands was that of a good housewife and mother.⁵⁸ Such a model, however, was impossible to achieve for about 80 percent (the share of the lower strata of the society) of the Czech female population. It was feasible for less than 20 percent of women (the middle class), and the share actually diminished due to the process of industrialisation in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁵⁹ Yet, this model was promoted by many leading figures of the women's associations, such as Věnceslava Lužická (1832-1920), author of a large number of novels for girls and young women and a member of the American Ladies Club, alongside Šimáčková and Krásnohorská, and of the Production Association (chaired by Krásnohorská since 1873).⁶⁰ One of Lužická's novels also appeared in the Libuše Edition, the inclusion of which was criticised by Krásnohorská. Even though rivalries between the associations and their members were significantly mitigated due to the mutual interdependence of the association (women were usually members of multiple associations at the same time) and the general attitude of demonstrating the unity of the Czech national struggle, the antipathy between Lužická and Krásnohorská was an open secret.⁶¹ For a conservative Catholic such as Lužická, practical female education was the last resort for the widowed and unmarried.

Krásnohorská, on the other hand, was more progressive, perhaps with her finger more accurately on the pulse of the time. She saw practical education as a stepping stone in a struggle for greater independence of women, and she pushed through the establishment of a girls' grammar school in Prague in 1890 (the first of its kind in Austria), paving the way for university education for women. Yet, surprisingly, on the occasion of Lužická's 65th birthday in 1897, Krásnohorská wrote an article about her work. She praised her novels for their "accessible and distinctive tone of narration, and their capacity to adapt to female readers who enjoy the novels, and playfully convey opinions that are morally correct, pure and noble."⁶² Moreover, Krásnohorská compared Lužická's literary style to that of an internationally acclaimed author, "the famous Frederika Bremer." She did not compare her to Flygare-Carlén, Schwartz or E. Marlitt (Lužická's actual source of inspiration). Fredrika Bremer had obviously gained a special status, although not articulated, and was not lumped together in the clique of the critically disdained female authors. The conciliatory tone shows respect to a famous person whose views might have proved wrong in the long run, while at the same time Krásnohorská's own efforts bore fruit. Also, this defence was published at a time when a new generation of fierce critics and authors was ready to show their wit.

1890S: SCHWARTZ AND FLYGARE-CARLÉN DESPISED

The 1890s saw an upsurge of interest in literature of all flavours ranging from symbolist and decadent to socially critical, especially among the young generation. The Scandinavian literatures in particular were highly popular among students, with authors such as Arne Garborg, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson (his socially critical theatre plays), Henrik Ibsen and August Strindberg.⁶³ The young generation endorsed all new and ground-breaking ideas and works, and with similar ardour they also despised anything they perceived as mediocre or outdated. Hence a severe criticism of Schwartz and Flygare-Carlén from one of the most influential critics and translators, the key publisher of *Moderní revue*, a literary journal with a distinctive fin-de-siècle profile:

And I will go further. To the last chapter of our female literary production. To the foreign one. To translations. These go hand in hand with the domestic writings. The choice goes for the worst, lowest, sentimental and sensational garbage. Lewald, Marlitt, Braddon, Mancini, Schwartz, Flygare-Carlén with complete works. Nothing else (maybe two or three exceptions). Other women have never been born. They are not allowed here. When international production by women is introduced here, it seems no one knows about Emilia Pardo Bazán, Héléne Swarth, Anne Charlotte Leffler [another Swedish female writer, 1849–1892], or Rachilde, for instance, however strange it might sound. These are neglected, disregarded, avoided, ignored, and yet, if a translation should do something for the literature that it is being brought, added, embedded into, it needs to boil with fresh, pure, lively, healthy blood, to reveal new, distinctive, strong work, as well as unknown, unseen endeavours, irritations, ideas, goals. The existing translations can never achieve this. It is mediocre, ordinary, common, international literature for old spinsters and spiritual consumptives.⁶⁴

The emotive analysis was a part of a scathing criticism of a collection of short stories by Věnceslava Lužická published in the Libuše Edition in 1892. Procházka began his criticism with one particular book, condemned the literary work of Lužická in its entirety and went on to criticise all women's production of Lužická's generation, claiming that the whole truth needed to be said out loud about this "great, hopeless, pitiful nothing." The analysis of the women's literature translated into Czech merely wrapped up the whole context of literature by women available in the Czech book market. Procházka quickly added that he

was aware that his criticism would go unnoticed because “friendly benevolence and publishing advertising – in some of the big journals they call it ‘criticism’ – will laud the books shovelled to the market calmly and persistently, and the audience will buy, read and keep quiet.”⁶⁵ In a slightly less emotive manner, a similar remark was made by another critic and author, Hubert Gordon Schauer (1862–1892):

In modern literature, or more precisely in the modern book market, one particular category of the literary industry has gained broad civil rights – women’s novels. That is not to say that a woman cannot be a true artist, that she cannot outperform a hundred men; let us only mention the names of George Sand and George Elliot. Yet, there are very few such real female novel artists; as a matter of rule, women are novel manufacturers. I think I will not find much opposition if I put ever so popular Marlitt in the very same basket, including Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz, that our publishing circles have decided to embed into our literature.⁶⁶

The articles reveal that a growing number of critics had their ideas about what kind of literature should and should not have been translated into Czech, and that these ideas were not compatible with the production of a large number of publishers. They also demonstrate a growing awareness among the authors that the Czech book market was driven by rules other than those derived from noble ideas, either aesthetic or educational, linguistic or patriotic.

In the 1890s, Emilie Flygare-Carlén was not received well as a representative of Scandinavian and Swedish literature either. In a review of August Strindberg’s *Giftas* (1884–86; *Getting Married*), published in Czech in 1894, the anonymous author portrays the outdatedness of the female novelist in a rich manner:

As far as the Swedish authors are concerned, the sighing Flygare-Carlén has been reigning supreme here for so long, with her “The Hermit”. And she had many readers in Bohemia! [...] But times have changed. [...] Mrs. Flygare-Carlén has lost her admirers and her significance not only here, but also in Sweden, her fatherland. We can see that from the literature by August Strindberg. Wherever you can write and publish works such as Strindberg’s, the tearful literature of the Flygare-Carlén cannot rule anymore. In such places, there must be a different kind of air than what we have got used to in Flygare-Carlén’s novels, the suffocating mustiness of old castles or thick odours of mysterious caves.⁶⁷

The critic could hardly have chosen a more ironic comparison: Flygare-Carlén's *Enslingen på Johannisskären* (1846; *The Hermit*) and August Strindberg's *Getting Married*. A female novelist of domestic romances from the first half of the nineteenth century compared to perhaps the most controversial Swedish author and a piece of fiction of the second half of the same century. Apart from the obvious and fascinating literary breakthrough, the author actually conceded that Flygare-Carlén was highly popular among Czech readers. Moreover, the critique appeared in a newspaper published in the provincial town of Pilsen, revealing that Flygare-Carlén (as well as Strindberg) was popular and read beyond the capital city of Prague.

1860S–1890S: SCHWARTZ AND FLYGARE-CARLÉN POPULAR

There lies the paradox of Flygare-Carlén and to a lesser extent Schwartz concerning their diffusion and reception in the Czech lands: All critics who despised them admitted at the same time that they were popular and widely read, initially often in German, but more and more also in Czech, especially in the 1880s and 1890s. Was the popularity of the Czech translations a natural consequence of the long-lasting availability and popularity of the German renderings? Schalek's model for the translations of Schwartz was based on such an assumption. Or was their success based on publishers' advertising, marketing campaigns and the lack of rigorous criticism? Procházka's scepticism concerning the "friendly benevolence" of critics suggests such an option, and so does Šimáček's aggressive model of giving away Flygare-Carlén's fiction as a free supplement and using quasi-informative promotion articles in his own newspapers. Or were the critics only out of touch while the publishers had a better idea of what readers were actually interested in, and the presence of the German translations and publishers' marketing simply facilitated a diffusion of the Czech translations that would have happened anyhow?

In 1882, František Šimáček wrote a letter to Flygare-Carlén and sent her a collection of her novels in Czech, as required by her Swedish publisher.⁶⁸ Not only did he express his great admiration in the letter, but he also revealed his ideas about her work, why it was important for the Czech audience and his overall publishing strategy. Importantly, he presented his publishing project as a part of a narrative on the Czech national movement, he stressed the importance of literature for the enlightenment of the masses and placed the works of Flygare-Carlén in the picture: "I am happy to say also that your works in Czech

translation have contributed to strengthening our people's national awareness and to disseminating noble ideas and all virtues, especially among women."⁶⁹ In his view, the translations were important in terms of language and gender. The Swedish – that is non-Czech – origin of the works was not as important for the national movements as the actual target language of Czech as opposed to German. Also, the books depicted women and their manners in a favourable way. Moreover, he emphasised that he strove to disseminate the works as much as possible and even chose cheap paper to make the books affordable for as many as possible. Interestingly, he stressed her popularity among readers, yet he did not mention the negative reactions of female critics and promoters of women's emancipation. Generally, the letter reveals that Šimáček saw the publishing of *Flygare-Carlén* in Czech as a national enlightenment project; he was comfortable with the ideas on the role of the women promoted by the novels and was perhaps somewhat indifferent to the negative reception. In his eyes, the project was a success.

František Šimáček assessed the popularity of *Flygare-Carlén* in Czech correctly. In 1888, the František Šimáček publishing house – no longer run by František Šimáček, as he had died in 1885 – started to publish re-editions and retranslations of *Flygare-Carlén*; retranslations were not made via German anymore, but from the Swedish originals, especially towards the end of the century when Hugo Kosterka agreed to do the translations. The works were not published as swiftly as in the first phase (see fig. 2 above; note that in the second phase there were only a few translations of *Schwartz*). Yet, the second phase of *Flygare-Carlén* stretched over two decades, thus confirming considerable popularity and a sustained interest in the author, as no publisher would be likely to continue to bring to market books that nobody bought.

At least initially, the second phase of editions and retranslations was perhaps targeted at the very same readers who were already acquainted with *Flygare-Carlén*. Less than a year before the first re-edition appeared, an article on *Flygare-Carlén* was published in a popular magazine owned by the František Šimáček publishing house. It was published on the occasion of her 80th birthday and described her in glowing terms. The sentimental and nostalgic lines are especially strong:

One can hardly find any reader of ours who does not know at least one novel or a story she wrote. [...] reading some of her key novels, you delve into dear memories and the images of familiar characters come into life, with their stories and fates that you once followed with compassion and excitement, you see all of these once again and suddenly find yourself in the times long gone, feeling sheer

bliss. [...] There are greater writers than Emilie Flygare-Carlén, but who enjoys such popularity, who can demonstrate such a large readership?⁷⁰

The article bears some traits of the earlier promotional articles published in Šimáček's periodicals and it echoes Šimáček's letter to Flygare-Carlén. It is an informative and overtly flattering article. It was soon followed by the actual publication of her novels and therefore played the role of an advertisement. Although there is no proof of a direct correlation between the article and the books, it seems that already the second phase of Flygare-Carlén's translations into Czech was linked to nostalgia. The pragmatism of the editors might have been inspired by the claims of popularity and large readership and aimed at the very same readers. Likewise, they might have known the readership well enough on their own. In any case, some library records reveal that both Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz were the most popular writers among Czech readers in certain areas in the 1880s and 1890s, but their popularity dropped substantially after the turn of the century.⁷¹ This also correlates with the end of the second phase of Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz in Czech.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY POPULAR WRITERS ENTER THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In the wake of the establishment of the independent Czechoslovakia in 1918, Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz started to appear in Czech for the third time. Flygare-Carlén was once again published by Šimáček, now merged into the Šolc & Šimáček publishing house, while Schwartz was published by a newly opened small publishing house owned by Antonín Dědourek. There is no data available on the books other than the books themselves. Generally, the publishing industry and the book market in the new country and after the war austerity years were experiencing a boom. Old and new publishing houses published large numbers of titles in order to make themselves visible and gain a market share, and the actors in the book market each sought their own particular way to survive. The fierce competition drove many publishers out of business or made them reconsider their publishing lists, and so did the Great Depression after 1929. This third and last phase of Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz in Czech took place in this turbulent decade of 1918–1929. While neither Šolc & Šimáček nor Dědourek went bankrupt, they both perhaps found out there was no longer much interest in the nineteenth-century popular Swedish female writers and that they

could not survive on nostalgia. While Dědourek shifted focus to textbooks and other educational literature, the extensive publishing list of Šolc & Šimáček included – quite ironically with regard to the earlier criticism of Flygare-Carlén – such authors as Eliška Krásnohorská and George Sand.

The Czech story of Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz, however, ended only after World War II. In the wake of the Communist takeover in Czechoslovakia in 1948, all public libraries were censored and large numbers of books were removed from circulation for ideological reasons and in order to make space for the new and ideologically more suitable titles.⁷² The lists of banned books included those by Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz. These lists feature short explanations for the removal of particular authors and books. Interestingly, the reasons for removing the Swedish popular authors were almost identical to those explaining why Krásnohorská, Durdík, Schauer or Procházka despised them: Flygare-Carlén was “outdated sentimental literature” while Schwartz was simply “outdated literature”.⁷³

BY WAY OF CONCLUSION

For the Czech reception of Bremer, Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz in the second half of the nineteenth century, the actual framing of the publishing event seems to be of outstanding importance. The personality of the publisher, the publishing list and the promoted intentions of the publishing event framed the individual novel in a particular way, raising particular expectations and triggering particular critical reactions.

The criticism often grouped authors into categories, and once an author was labelled as a writer of trash literature, that author’s inclusion on a publishing list could easily destroy the reputation of the publisher, relegating it to the disrespected group of trash literature publishers. Based on the critics cited here, the translated trash literature list included Emilie Flygare-Carlén, Marie Sophie Schwartz, E. Marlitt, Fanny Lewald, Mary Elizabeth Braddon and Grazia Pierantoni Mancini.

Both Schalek’s publishing house and the Libuše Edition suffered from the dissemination of Schwartz and Flygare-Carlén. Initially, Schalek strived to position himself as a literary connoisseur and publisher of quality literature. Nonetheless, as soon as he published Schwartz, he was labelled a trash literature publisher on par with others who brought a range of entertaining literature – including sensational novels or novels for women – to the Czech book market. This contributed to his decline as a publisher. The Libuše Edition had to dramatically change the list of authors published, exclude all authors labelled as

writers of trash literature, and eventually exclude all translated literature in order to shake off the negative criticism and regain a favourable position in the literary system.

Based on their inclusion in the *Libuše Edition* – intended for female readership – Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz were also categorised as authors of trash-literature-for-women, a more specific trash literature category. This reinforced their rejection, closely related to the Czech national project. Trash literature in general was supposedly no good for the Czech literary system. Trash literature by and for women was considered disastrous for the enlightenment of the Czech woman and for the emancipation project, including both the emancipation of women and the nation. The non-Czech, translated nature of the novels only made things worse.

Fredrika Bremer was not on the trash literature list. Except for one early article in Czech where Flygare-Carlén was deemed superior to Bremer, she enjoyed a good reputation. Still, Bremer never appeared on a list of top international female writers either (a list that included George Sand, George Eliot, Emilia Pardo Bazán, Hélène Swarth, Anne Charlotte Leffler, Rachilde), yet her name bore positive connotations. It is hard to say whether such an attitude was based on the literary qualities of Bremer vis-à-vis Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz or instead on the fact that the two more popular writers might have been downgraded by the utilitarian and feverish publishing and marketing processes. In any case, no Czech publisher ever used Bremer in order to attract a large readership or make money despite the fact that she was a well-known writer: only two of her works were translated into Czech, one of them well hidden in a forgotten almanac.

The popularity of Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz in Czech is most visible due to the multiple translations, re-editions and retranslations that reach across several decades – although the twentieth-century editions attracted no attention and did not enter the critical discourse. It is also reflected in the library records and in disapproving critiques that admit – directly or indirectly – their popularity. The actual experience of the readers, their ephemeral enjoyment and personal reception of the novels remains – regrettably – unknown. Yet, a tiny remark written by a shaking hand on the last page of a novel may reveal that the book was “very nice” (fig. 5).

One thing is certain: While the confrontation of critics and publishers over the importance of the female authors for the language, women, nation and humankind is well preserved for our study due to their eloquence as well as their will and power to make their message and opinion visible, the actual readers remain invisible to us. Yet, we tend

Hrabě se ubytoval opět na Dagby, a od té chvíle byl považován za člena rodiny.

O rok později.

Dopis Edithy strýci Janu.

„Velké noviny, milý strýčku!

„Než-li však o nich psáti budu, dovol, abych tě na dnešní den upamatovala, abychom jak náleží uvážiti mohli, jak podivuhodné jsou osudy naše.

„Dnes jest třicátého května. Na to však dnes nikdo nemyslí — a já chci též o tom pomlčeti. Pamatuješ se zajisté, milý můj strýčku, že jsme brzy po příchodu našeho Heřmana seděli jednoho dne u snědaně, když přišel poštovní posel — ach, ten list ze Stockholmu, nezapomenu na něj nikdy. Dověděli jsme se, že se Lind těžce roznemohl a že již zemřel. Bůh sám ví, co bylo příčinou tohoto zánětu mozku. Byla jsem tomu vždy velmi povděčua, že to byl náš dobrý doktor, který jej léčil, a že konečně byl ještě tak dalece při vědomí, aby mohl napsati laskavé tři řádky pro ubohou Olgu. To bylo alespoň dobré svědectví pro manžela jejího.

„Nyní odpočívá klidně pod velkým nádherným náhrobkem z mramoru.

„Co pak ale myslíš, že dnes dělá mladá jeho vdova? To nikdy neuhádneš, neb jsi byl sám svědkem oné veliké těžkomyslnosti, která přišla po osvobození jejím. Nuže, slyš tedy! V této tiché hodině večerní zkouší Olga svůj nový — prstýnek snubní.

Velmi pěkně!

Figure 5. Reader's handwritten comment ("Very nice!") in Emilie Flygare-Carlén: *Rozmarná žena*. [*En nyckfull kvinna*], Posel z Prahy, Praha 1873. (This copy in author's possession).

to interpret the importance of the authors and their books through the magnifying glass of the articles and utterances scattered across books, newspapers, journals and archives. Very often, both of Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz appear as tools of the trade used both by publishers, literary critics, revivalists and many more to attract attention, make money, fight for one's cause. Very little were they treated as people of letters, authors of works of art – books to be enjoyed by the widest public. The way their novels are referred to suggest limited interest in or knowledge of the actual stories the Swedish authors had to tell. Although the statistical evidence based on publishing lists and library loans may give us an idea of how popular the novels were, we know extremely little about the readers' individual backgrounds nor of the immersive feelings, reminders, perceptions or ideas they entertained while reading the books in the late nineteenth century, as they have gone unnoticed and remain silent.

NOTES

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- 1 Fredrika Bremer, *Z denníku osamotnělé. Dle Švédkyně Bedřišky Brémové od Jaroslavy Litněnské* [From the Diary of the Lonely. After the Swedish Fredrika Bremer from Jaroslava Litněnská], in Petr Miloslav Veselský, *Horník. Almanach na rok 1844*. Published by Petr Miloslav Veselský, Kutná Hora, 1843, pp. 73–114. On Czech almanacs in the former half of the nineteenth century see František Bačovský, “O českých almanaších doby předbřeznové” [On Czech Almanacs of the pre-March era], in *Zlatá Praha*, no. 41, 1884, p. 491.
- 2 Jan Erazim Vocel, “Královna Dagmar” [Queen Dagmar], in *Časopis českého Museum*, No. 4, 1846, pp. 484–500; Jan Erazim Vocel, “Dánské národní písně o královně Markétě, Dagmar nazvané” [Danish Folk Songs on Queen Markéta, Called Dagmar], in *Časopis českého Museum*, No. 6, 1846, pp. 769–785.
- 3 Barbora Štětková-Vocelová by her own name, deceased 1846.
- 4 Lenka Kusáková, “Celkový přehled situace beletristiky v českých časopisech 30. a 40. let 19. století” [A General Overview of the Fiction in Czech Periodicals in 1830s and 1840s], in Michal Jareš et al. (eds.), *Povídka, román a periodický tisk v 19. a 20. století* [Short Story, Novel and Periodical Press in 19th and 20th Centuries], ÚČL AV ČR, Praha, 2005, pp. 25–32.
- 5 Klára Kopřivová, “Beletrie v České včele v letech 1835-1846” [Fiction in Česká včela in 1835-1846], in Michal Jareš et al. (eds.), *Povídka, román a*

- periodický tisk v 19. a 20. století* [Short Story, Novel and Periodical Press in 19th and 20th Centuries], ÚČL AV ČR, Praha, 2005, pp. 33–41.
- 6 Jan Neruda, “Feuilleton. Dvě nové divadelní hry” [Feuilleton. Two New Theatre Plays], in *Národní listy*, Praha, 8 February 1878, p. 2. All translations into English are mine. Czech original: “V nordické literatuře, vzorně a výtečně produktivní, děje se co do produkce zvláštní přesunování: nejprv vedli rej Dánové, později Švédové, nyní Norové, Björnstjerne Björnson a Henrik Ibsen jsou nyní čelná jména norská a rovněž zajímavý jak zbytečný je také ve vlasti jejich spor, ‘kdo z nich je větší.’”
 - 7 Karel Sabina, “Slovo o románu vůbec a českém zvláště. Článek druhý. Dokončení.” [A Word about the Novel in General and Especially about the Czech Novel. Part Two. Ending.] in *Lumír*, No. 26, 1 July 1858, pp. 613–620, section on the Scandinavian novel, pp. 615–618. The analysis was published in the periodical throughout the first half of 1858.
 - 8 Sabina, 1858, p. 617. Czech original: “Bremerová píše velmi hezky, zábavně a má i básnického ducha; leč kruh, v němž se duch její šťastně pohybuje, předce je obmezen jest a nad povšednost nevyniká. Není v ní ani výše ani hloubky, ale všední život pojímá dosti věrně a živě ho líčiti umí.”
 - 9 Sabina, 1858. Czech original: “mnohem bohatší, i vynálezy i obrazností”.
 - 10 Sabina, 1858. Czech original: “jejíž plodnost nemenší je, nežli její nadání”; “talentu svého, který se vždy v novém, svěžím světle objevil”.
 - 11 Sabina, 1858, p. 618. Czech original: “neméně plodnou, nadanou a oblíbenou”; “hluboký názor v společenské poměry”.
 - 12 Yet, Schwartz is not mentioned at all, perhaps because she had not had her breakthrough in German yet.
 - 13 Anonymous [Jan Neruda], “Literární hlídka. Fridrika Bremerová” [Literary Watch. Fridrika Bremer] in *Česká včela. Příloha ku časopisu Květy*, 15 February 1866, No. 1, p. 1. Czech original: “Vedle Esaiáše Tegnéra a dánského spisovatele Andersena zaujímá jistě přední místo v literatuře skandinávské Friderika Bremerova. Nadobyčejným básnickým vzletem a velikou známostí srdce lidského, zejména ale srdce ženského předčila i věhlasné spisovatelky Jindřišku Hankovou a Františku Tarnowovu.”
 - 14 Anonymous [Jan Neruda], 1866. Czech original: “Spisy její přeloženy byly do několika řečí evropských.”
 - 15 The numbers rely on the advertisements commissioned by Joseph Schalek himself, and an impressionistic exaggeration cannot be ruled out. See Schalek’s advertisements in *Beilage zu Nr. 282 der Bohemia*, 28 November 1855, p. 703, and *Bohemia*, 12 January 1858, p. 88.
 - 16 While the breakdown of the languages at Schalek’s lending library is unknown, it is supposed that the representation of languages did not differ vastly from that in other comparable institutions in Prague. Cf. Zdeněk Šimáček and Jiří Trávníček: *Knihy kupovati... Dějiny knižního trhu v českých zemích* [Buying Books... The History of the Book Market in the Czech Lands], Academia, Praha, 2014, p. 161.
 - 17 Note that both Joseph and Gustav Schalek logically used a phonetic transcription of their surname in Czech contexts, resulting in Josef and Gustav Šálek. This was an obvious answer to the practice of numerous

- Czech revivalists who would change their originally German names, either finding a new and more suitable Czech name or translating the name literally, as in the case of a philanthropist born Adalbert Fingerhut, known as Vojta Náprstek – see below.
- 18 Gustav Šálek [=Schalek]: “Přednášky Gustava Šálka o literatuře francouzské” [Lectures by Gustav Schalek on the French literature], serialised for six months in the Literary Supplement of *Národní listy*, from 5 January 1865.
 - 19 František Augustin Urbánek: “Literární dryáčnictví. III. Literatura pp. Bensingera, Steinhausera a Schalka” [Trash literature. III. Literature from Messrs Bensinger, Steinhauser and Schalek], in *Věstník bibliografický. Časopis pro literaturu, hudbu a umění*, Praha, 1870, no. 2 (March), pp. 20–22.
 - 20 Urbánek, 1870, p. 21. (Czech original: “Pan Gustav Šálek měl původně velmi krásný úmysl [...] vyprostiti dalekosáhlým a solidným rozšiřováním románův svých lid náš z rukou p. Bensingerových, leč bohužel nevolil předmět vhodný a tím právě upadl do týchž šlépějí, jako pp. Bensinger, Steinhauser, Karafiat [...].”) See also the memoirs of Leoš Karel Žižka, commenting Schalek’s efforts to publish Schwartz and connecting Urbánek’s negative attitude towards Schalek’s Jewish origins: “Urbánek – out of his aversion to a Jewish bookseller disseminating serialised trash literature – labelled the entire collection of the [Schwartz] novels as trash literature.” (Czech original: “Urbánek celou sbírku těch románů z nechuti k židovským antikvářům, kteří rozšiřovali sešitový brak, ve svém Věstníku bibliografickém prohlásil za krvavou literaturu.”) Leoš Karel Žižka: *Paměti a osudy: kníhkupecké vzpomínky na léta 1871–1884* [Memoirs and Fates: A bookseller’s recollections of 1871–1884], Jan Kanzelsberger, Praha, 1999, p. 391.
 - 21 Urbánek, 1870, p. 22. Czech original: “[...] za krátký čas přesvědčí se, že jako ostatní pěstovatelé dryáčnické literatury stane se nám – zbytečným.”
 - 22 Šimáček and Trávníček, 2014, p. 208.
 - 23 The newspaper was briefly rebranded as *Občan* (*The Citizen*) in the late 1860s, due to the owner’s imprisonment for a printing offence. After the owner was released from prison the title changed back to *Posel z Prahy* (*The Prague Messenger*). For the sake of clarity, I only refer to the newspaper as the *Prague Messenger* in this essay.
 - 24 Josef Durdík, “Vzpomínka Na Fr. Šimáčka” [In memory of Fr. Šimáček], *Světozor*, 1885, p. 338. Czech original. “[...] zvláštní časopis pro lid, časopis, který by jednak poutal nejširší kruhy čtením zábavným, jednak sledoval hlubší vlastní svůj program, totiž probouzení učastenství a horlivost ku zvelebení živnosti a školství.”
 - 25 Anon.: “Pozvání ku předplacení na Občana” [Invitation to Subscribe to Občan], *Světozor*, 9 April 1869, p. 128.
 - 26 Czech original: “[...] pro občany, kteří chtějí sledovat politiku, samosprávné záležitosti, polní, domácí a národní hospodářství.”
 - 27 Emilie Flygare-Carlén, *Šťastný sňatek* (*Ett lyckligt parti*), 1868; Emilie Flygare-Carlén, *Rodina v údolí* (*Familjen i dalen*), 1868; Eugène Ducom,

- Zápasník s býky* (*La Cicoulane, scènes de la vie des landes*), 1869; Emilie Flygare-Carlén, *Panenská věž* (*Jungfrutårnet*), 1869.
- 28 Pavel Janáček, “Beletrie v periodickém tisku: k specifické situaci zveřejnění,” [Fiction in Periodicals: On the Specific Publication Situation] in Michal Jareš et al. (eds.), *Povídka, román a periodický tisk v 19. a 20. století* [Short Story, Novel and Periodical Press in 19th and 20th Centuries], ÚČL AV ČR, Praha, 2005, p. 16f.
- 29 Anon., “Emilie Flygaré-Karlénová a její spisy,” [Emilie Flygare-Carlén and Her Writing], *Posel z Prahy*, no. 251 (22 October 1875), p. 1. Czech original: “[...] žádný národ nemůže se honositi tak bohatou, tak rozkošnou literaturou pro kruh rodinný, jako Švédové. Spisy jejich předních beletristických spisovatelek: Karlénové, Brémové a Švarcové přeloženy téměř do všech jazyků evropských. [...] Jak nám Švédové v snahách svých vůbec jsou velmi příbuzní, tak zvláště v rodinné své literatuře. Zejména spisy Emilie Karlénové jeví se nám tak, jako by byly pošly z ducha českého a docházejí v překladu českém stejné obliby jako spisy nejlepších spisovatelů a spisovatelek českých.”
- 30 Cf. Šimáček and Trávníček, 2014, pp. 206–211.
- 31 Anon., “Poklad rodinného kruhu za dlouhých večerů,” [The Treasure of the Family Circle for the Long Evenings] in *Posel z Prahy*, No. 253, 24 October 1875, p. 6.
- 32 Aleš Zach, “Libuše,” in *Lexikon české literatury: osobnosti, díla, instituce* [A Lexicon of Czech Literature: Individuals, Works, Institutions], Part 2, Volume 2, Academia, Praha 1993, pp. 1177–1179.
- 33 Cited in Zach, 1993, p. 1177.
- 34 Libuše Šimáčková, *Vynikající ženy mimo rodinný kruh* [Outstanding Women beyond the Family Circle], Libuše, Praha, 1872.
- 35 Šimáčková, 1872, p. 3. Czech original: “není každé z pohlaví našeho přáno, zakotviti život svůj v rodině”; “přejí si samostatného postavení ve společnosti”.
- 36 Šimáčková, 1872, p. 7. Czech original: “že obrazy tyto budou mnohým pobudkou k činnosti podobné, všem však k poznání, že i vlohy, schopnosti a vůle naše mohou nás dovésti výše, než jsme posud stály”.
- 37 Šimáčková, 1872, p. 115. Czech original: “prostonárodní laciné knížky, v nichž mělo by se působiti k tomu, aby upoutala se pozornost obecnstva k velkým společenským opravám”.
- 38 Šimáčková, 1872, p. 116f. Czech original: “věnovaný zájmům ženským”.
- 39 Šimáčková, 1872, p. 160. Czech original: “proslulé švédské spisovatelky Emilie Flygare-Carlénové”.
- 40 Josef Durdík, “Slovo o ‘Maticích’ a ‘Libuši’ zvlášť” [A Word about “Book Editions” and “Libuše” in Particular] in *Kritika. Výbor úvah J. Durdíka o zjevech literárních a uměleckých* [Criticism. Selected Essays by J. Durdík on Literary and Artistic Issues], Fr. Urbánek, Praha, 1874, pp. 166–179.
- 41 Durdík, 1874, p. 177.
- 42 Durdík, 1874, p. 170.
- 43 Durdík, 1874, p. 170.
- 44 Cf. Ursula Stohler’s contribution in this volume.
- 45 Eliška Krásnohorská, “Literatura a umění” [Literature and Art], in *Ženské*

- Listy (redakcí Elišky Pechové-Krásnohorské)*, no. 3 (1877), p. 40. Czech original: “v oněch městech, kde mluva česká vytištěna jest z rodin modou němčení”.
- 46 Krásnohorská, 1877, p. 40. Czech original: “Pohlédněme na překlady ty. Carlénová i jiné – ovšem jména to dosti zvučná, a spisy jejich nacházejí vždy ještě dosti oblíbeny. Avšak čím jsou spisy ty české ‘Libuši’ a účelu jejím? [...] Ony němčící rodiny dávno je čtly z půjčoven v překladech německých a čtenářky české nezískají více ani méně, čtou-li tutéž par excellence zápůjční knihu v překladě německém aneb v češtině tak chybně a málo cenné, jakouž pěstovala ‘Libuše’.”
- 47 Krásnohorská, 1877, p. 40. Czech original: “[...] jsou dávno i u Němců, nemajících nižádné starosti o samu svou existenci národní, znamenány charakteristickým jmenem rozmazleného svého směru: ‘Theetischromane’ [...]”.
- 48 Krásnohorská, 1877, p. 40. Czech original: “[...] tím nejryzejším, nejpravějším, nejvlastnějším, co jí [mládeži a chudině] k bezprostřednímu jest duševnímu prospěchu”.
- 49 Krásnohorská, 1877, p. 40f. Czech original: “Našemu lidu jest třeba něčeho jiného nežli líčení pohodlného rodinného života šťastnějších národů, kterýž je v kruzích duševně nehybných a hmotně bezstarostných udržel se v oné patriarchálnosti své, kteráž tenkrát byla obecně pravdivou, když Carlénová psala, ale od té doby již v nesčíslné jiné a nové směry se uchyluje; nám třeba jiné morálky než oné, jakáž v teple domácího krbu tak hladce přemudruje veškeré svízele a veškerá úskalí života a která rodinné, tiché, bázlivě jednostranné ctnosti v rámci románu předvádí jako ve vyšperkované výkladní skříni, která však jako smutný klam by se roztránila o mocnější záhady našeho národního boje, našich občanských povinností, našich hmotně zapletených společenských poměrů, našich potřeb pokroku v rodinách a konečně i změněných a rozšířených těch povinností, v jaké za našich dob vstupuje žena dobývající sobě vlastní rukou chleba, dívka zápasící osaměle o svou životní potřebu a hájící uprostřed boje o bytí samostatně bez ochrany rodinné svůj život, své dobré jméno a svou čest co pracovnice, co úřednice, tak jako muž v postavení podobném.”
- 50 The sales figures are from Zach, 1993, p. 1177.
- 51 Michaela Wolf, *The Habsburg Monarchy's Many-Languaged Soul: Translating and Interpreting, 1848-1918*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam, 2015, p. 45 and table on p. 47.
- 52 Marie Bahenská, *Počátky emancipace žen v Čechách. Dívčí vzdělávání a ženské spolky v Praze v 19. století* [The Beginnings of Women's Emancipation in Bohemia. Female Education and Women's Associations in the 19th Century Prague], Libri, Praha, 2005, p. 10.
- 53 Cf. Jana Malínská, *Do politiky prý žena nesmí – proč? Vzdělání a postavení žen v české společnosti v 19. a na počátku 20. století* [There Is No Place for Women in Politics – Why? Education and the Position of Women in the Czech Society in the 19th and the Beginning of the 20th Centuries], Libri, Praha, 2005, p. 23.
- 54 Marie Bahenská, 2005.
- 55 Marie Bahenská, 2005.

- 56 While the Czech female associations competed with similar German associations in Bohemia, they made every effort to show that they took their inspiration from non-German sources, such as the US, the UK and France, even though most women in the associations in the mid-1800s had at least been brought up in German-speaking families. See Marie Bahenská, 2005, p. 14.
- 57 Cf. Libuše Heczková, *Čtení o Elišce Krásnohorské* [Reading on Eliška Krásnohorská], Institut pro studium literatury, Praha 2015, p. 11.
- 58 Bahenská: 2005, p. 16.
- 59 Jana Macháčová, “Žena v 19. století jako ‘přívěšek?’” [A woman as an ‘Appendage’ in the 19th Century], in Kateřina Čadková, Milena Lenderová and Jana Stráníková (eds.): *Dějiny žen aneb evropská žena od středověku do poloviny 20. století v zajetí historiografie* [The History of Women, or the European Woman from the Middle Ages to the Mid-1900s in the Light of Historiography], Univerzita Pardubice, Pardubice, 2006, pp. 209–214.
- 60 On Lužická’s novels see Dagmar Mocná, *Červená knihovna* [Romance Novels], Paseka, Litomyšl-Praha, 1996, pp. 22–27.
- 61 Marie Bahenská, “Spolupráce, nebo rivalita? Vztahy mezi ženskými spolky a jejich představitelkami v 40.-70. letech 19. století” [Collaboration or Rivalry? Relationships between Women’s Associations and Their Representatives in the 1840s–70s], in Milan Vojáček (ed.), *Reflexe a sebereflexe ženy v české národní elitě 2. poloviny 19. století* [Reflection and Self-reflection of Women of the Czech National Elite in the Latter Half of 1800s], Scriptorium, Praha 2007, pp. 29–50.
- 62 Eliška Krásnohorská. “Věnceslava Lužická-Srbová. První redaktorka Ženských listů” [Věnceslava Lužická-Srbová. The First Editor-in-Chief of the Women’s Papers], in *Ženské listy*, 1897, Year 25, No. 7, pp. 142–144.
- 63 For the Czech reception of the Scandinavian literature in late 1800s see Ondřej Vimr, *Historie překladatele* [A Translator’s History], Pistorius & Olšanská, Příbram, 2014, pp. 45–76; Helena Kadečková, “Skandinávský fin de siècle z českého pohledu” [The Scandinavian Fin-de-Siècle through Czech Eyes], in Otto M. Urban and Luboš Merhaut: *Moderní revue 1894-1925*, Torst, Praha 1995, pp. 112–129.
- 64 Arnošt Procházka, “V. Lužická: Květy a ženy. Povídky a črty. (Recenze)” [V. Lužická: Flowers and Women. Short Stories and Sketches. (A Review)], in *Literární listy*, Vol. 14, No. 10, 1 May 1893, p. 176. Czech original: “A půjdu dále. K poslední kapitole ženské tvorby u nás. K cizí. K překladům. Jdou ruku v ruce s domácími spisy. Vybírají se ty nejhorší, nejnižší, sentimentální, senační odpadky. Lewald, Marlitt, Braddon, Mancini, Schwartz, Flygare-Carlén s celým dílem. Jiného nic (leda s dvěma třemi výjimkami). Ostatní se nenarodily. Ty sem nesmějí. Když se uvádí ženská produkce zahraniční, jakoby se u nás ani nevědělo, že existuje Emilia Pardo Bazán, Helène Swarth, Anne Leffler, a třeba Rachilde, ať to zní jakkoliv podivně. Ty se opomíjejí, zanedbávají, vynechávají, ignorují, a přece, má-li překlad míti význam pro literaturu, do níž se vnáší, přidává, vtěluje, musí kypěti krví, čerstvou, čistou, živou, zdravou, odkrývati novou, svéráznou, silnou práci, neznámé, nepoznané snahy, vzněty, ideje, cíle.

- A toliko dosavadní tradukce nemohou. Jsou průměrná běžná, společná, internacionální literatura pro staré panny a duševní souchotináře.”
- 65 Procházka, 1893. Czech original: “Přátelská benevolence a nakladatelská reklama – v některých velkých žurnálech nadává si ‚kritika‘ – bude na trh házené svazky klidně a vytrvale velebiti, a obecnstvo kupovat, číst a mlčet.”
- 66 Hubert Gordon Schauer, “Humbug v literatuře” [Humbug in Literature], in *Literární listy*, Vol. 12, No. 12 and 13, June 1891, pp. 203–204 and 219–220. Czech original: “V moderní literatuře, či abychom věc případněji označili, na moderním knihkupeckém trhu nabyla širokého občanského práva zejména jedna kategorie literárního průmyslu – myslíme t. zv. ženské romány. Nemá tím býti řečeno, že by žena nedovedla býti pravou umělkyní, že by nedovedla vyniknouti nad sta mužů; stačí jméno George Sandové a George Elliotové. Než těchto opravdových ženských umělců romanopiseckých je jen pramálo; za to žena z pravidla je romancierskou průmyslnicí. Snad nenarazím ani na přílišný odpor, když tak oblíbenou Marlittovou beze všeho do koše toho shrnu, rovněž Flygare Carlenovou a Schwartzovou, které naše nakladatelské kruhy uznaly nutno vtěliti našemu písemnictví.”
- 67 Anonymous [abbreviation (–š)], 1894, “Ze světa literárního. August Strindberg: Manželství” [From the World of Literature. August Strindberg: Getting Married], in *Plzeňské listy*, 25 September 1894, p. 1. Czech original: “Dosud ze švédských spisovatelů kralovala u nás vzdychavá paní Carlénová se svými ‘Poustevníky na skále svatojánské’. A měla v Čechách čtenářů! [...] Než časy se již změnily. [...] Moderní literatura i zde koná očišťovací svou práci. Paní Carlénová však nejen u nás, ale i ve Švédsku, ve svém vlastní domovu, ztratila patrně již na své oblíbě a na svém významu. Poučují nás o tom díla spisovatele Augusta Strindberga, kde možno psáti a vydávati takové věci, jako jsou Strindbergovy práce, tam nemůže plačtivá literatura paní Carlénové více panovati. Tam musí váti již jiný vzduch, než na jaký jsme zvykli v románech Carlénové, v nichž dusila nás stuchlina starých zámků a zápachy tajemných jeskyň.”
- 68 Letter from František Šimáček to Emilie Flygare-Carlén dated 21 June 1882, Nordiska museets arkiv, Stockholm.
- 69 My translation of “[...] jag kan med uppriktig glädje säga att också Edra skrifter i böhmiska kläde hafva hjälpt att stärka vår folkets national känning och att utsprida ädel tänkesätt och alla dygder i synnerhet emellan qvinnkönet.”
- 70 Anonymous, “Emilie Flygare-Karlénová” in *Světozor*, 12 July 1887, p. 606. Czech original: “Není snad nikoho ze čtenářů našich, kdo by aspoň jednoho románu, jedné povídky její neznal. [...] čtouce je [tituly hlavních jejích děl], pohřížíte se při některém v milé vzpomínky, že zjeví se vám známé představy osob, že rozmanité příběhy a osudy, jež sledovali jste kdys s účastí a napjetím, zase zatanou vám na mysli a rázem přenesete se do let minulých, pocítíte zvláštní sladkou blaženost. [...] Jsou větší spisovatelé než Flygare-Karlénová, ale kdož z nich se té oblíbě těší, kdož z nich takovým kruhem čtenářstva vykázati se může?”

- 71 Petra Křivová and Jindra Pavelková, “Top 10 rajhardské klášterní knihovny v 19. století” [Top 10 of the Rajhard Monastery Library in the 19th Century], in *Problematika historických a vzácných knižních fondů Čech, Moravy a Slezska* [The Issues of Historical and Rare Book Collections in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia], Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci, Olomouc 2010, pp. 145–151.
- 72 Petr Šámal: *Soustružníci lidských duší. Lidové knihovny a jejich cenzura na počátku padesátých let 20. století (s edicí seznamů zakázaných knih)* [Turners of Human Souls. Folk Libraries and Their Censorship in the Early 1950s (including an edition of the lists of banned books)], Academia, Praha, 2009.
- 73 Šámal, 2009, pp. 248–250, 417–418. Czech original labels: “zastaralá líbivá literatura”, “zastaralá literatura”.

Péter Mádl & Ildikó Annus

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SWEDISH
LITERATURE IN NINETENTH CENTURY
HUNGARY

In Hungary, Swedish literature is in fashion. Today, people read crime novels from Northern Europe, and everyone seems to agree that heaven is a place on earth and it is called Sweden. Numerous Swedish authors are published every year, and interest from readers is immense; they want to know new authors and read novels by them. This interest, however, is not a modern phenomenon. Although it seems to be a newly emerged literary trend, closely connected with crime novels, it is in fact as much as 200 years old.

To better understand how a relatively small culture like Sweden's was able to enter into Hungary and gain attention, we have to take a closer look into a certain part of Hungarian history. Being at the meeting point of east and west, Hungary gained some rather unpleasant experiences in the first centuries of the Modern period. As a result of this, the land was under the influence of the Ottoman Empire and later, particularly from 1711, the Habsburg Monarchy. It was this German-speaking culture that exerted an enormous impact on Hungarian culture – for many years to come. At the end of the eighteenth century, however, Hungarian nobility had grown to dislike the conservative politics of the Habsburgs, which made them turn in another direction. Having been spared from the more severe consequences of the Napoleonic wars, Hungarian nobility was ready to embrace French ideas instead of German ones, which led to a short period of French influence. It was during this period that the first Swedish author entered Hungarian cultural life.

This author was Johan Thuresson Oxenstierna, whose *Pensées et*

reflexions morales was first published in 1788, translated from the French into Hungarian as *Külömbféle válogatott elmefuttatások*. Little is known about its reception, but the Hungarian readers seemed to like Thuresson Oxenstierna's aphorisms¹ – the 1788 edition was followed by a new one in 1790. An even newer translation (made from the German translation of the original text) came in 1816, providing evidence of the new political shift in Hungary. Due to a new change of political views of the nobility (that is to say that the German culture regained its former influence by replacing the French one), a new translation seemed to be necessary. German was again dominant.

As regards literary life, this dominance was in fact absolute. King Francis imposed strict censorship on the press. Even if Hungarian-language newspapers, periodicals and books were published under this period, they were of little consequence. Furthermore, the majority of the bookshops and printing houses in Pest was run by Austrians (Joseph Eggenberger) or Germans (Conrad Adolf Hartleben, Otto Wigand) or Hungarians of German descent (Gustav Heckenast, the Landerer family etc.), which again benefited the German-speaking culture. It was not until the Hungarian Reform Era (1825–1848) that Hungarian acquired greater significance in cultural life.

As Swedish literature had not yet begun its expansion and as Hungarian intellectuals did not speak such an exotic language, Swedish authors had not yet been noticed. Occasionally, however, Swedish authors did find their way into Hungary. German-speaking culture served as a filter for authors from the smaller cultures, and as Hungarian intellectuals spoke German and read periodicals and journals in German, they could discover new cultures. In 1828, the Hungarian journal *Tudománytár* published an article about Erik Johan Stagnelius' collected works.² The article was a translation from the German journal *Das Ausland*, but the fact that a Hungarian journal picked up an article about a Swedish poet is interesting enough. Unfortunately, this article did not give rise to further interest in the poet, and Stagnelius, as well as Swedish literature in general, remained rather unknown. Another Romantic poet shared Stagnelius's fate. A Hungarian writer and translator, Gábor Fábíán, translated some verses from Esaias Tegnér's *Frithiof's Saga* in 1828. The translation was not made from the Swedish original, as Fábíán did not speak Swedish and refused to learn it for Frithiof's sake.³

Although Swedish was not exactly a language Hungarian translators wanted to learn, an incipient interest in Sweden is evident. In 1835, an article was published about the North of Europe, its people, morals and society.⁴ The most striking thing about this article is its remark-

able partiality for the Nordic countries in general and for Sweden in particular. This part of Europe is highly praised for its civilised society and its welfare, which is supposed to be rooted in the exquisite morals of the people living there. In Sweden, notes the author of the article, “faith, confidence and hospitality are still to be found. The people are cultivated without being deprived.”⁵ We may think that contemporary admiration for Sweden and the Swedes is based on the country’s wealth and prosperity, but this admiration is neither new-found nor related to pecuniary means. It dates back to the first half of the nineteenth century, when Sweden, though a peaceful and developing country, was far from being a Promised Land.

This article from 1835 can be considered as a key moment in the reception of Swedish literature in Hungary. If a journalist gives expression to such an enthusiasm about a country that indicates that it is an expression of a common opinion. This in its turn means that everything that comes from Sweden will be warmly welcomed, people as well as their literature. This sympathy is, however, a bit surprising from a political point of view. The union between Sweden and Norway, established in 1814, was a union between more or less equals, although Sweden had the leading role in it. Norway was often displeased about not being allowed to be wholly independent. Hungary, on the other hand, had been part of the Habsburg Monarchy for more than a century, without any hope of independence or equality between Austria and Hungary. Therefore, nothing could have been more natural than a strong sympathy for another country in need of independence, i.e. Norway – but Hungarians preferred Sweden instead. Norway is also mentioned in this 1835 article, its natural beauty is described in three pages, but that is nothing compared to the 15-page glowing description of life, nature, morals and society in Sweden. Although Sweden seemed to be an attractive country, its culture was still very much unknown to most Hungarians, and there were none who could claim to be ready to translate directly from Swedish. German was still a source culture for intellectuals, so it is hardly surprising that the first outline of Swedish literary history in a Hungarian journal called *Tudománytár*, from 1842, is an article translated from German.⁶

EMILIE FLYGARE-CARLÉN:
A HUNGARIAN SUCCESS STORY

Although not among those nearly forty authors mentioned in the article in the Hungarian journal *Tudománytár* from 1842, the Swedish novelist Emilie Flygare-Carlén soon became famous, marking a new

era for Swedish literature in Hungary. As people's interest in fiction increased, more and more novels were read, especially translations and not Hungarian originals, as the Hungarian novel was still in its infancy. Many of the popular works of that time were read in German, presumably including Flygare-Carlén's *Rosen på Tistelön* (1842; *The Rose of Thistle Isle*). This novel apparently became a favourite with readers, for almost immediately after the German translation was published in 1843, it was translated into Hungarian – at the very latest in 1844, but possibly as early as 1843, as at least two advertisements from 1843 show.⁷ There is no explanation, however, for why every bibliography offers us 1844 as a first publication year of the novel. One reason could be that the publisher did not believe *The Rose of Thistle Isle* would be successful, and therefore the size of the first edition, from August 1843, was not large. Despite the presumed doubts and fears of the publisher, the novel proved to be popular – the first edition was sold out by the end of the year and the question of a second one arose. This new edition, from December 1843, could have appeared with the publication year 1844 and was much larger, misleading future bibliographers. If the original year of publication really was 1843 – and it must be, otherwise it would not have appeared among the new books in August 1843 – it means that *The Rose of Thistle Isle* was read in German by Hungarians who liked it so much that they could not do without a Hungarian translation. Therefore they translated it into Hungarian immediately after having read the German translation.

Flygare-Carlén's *The Rose of Thistle Isle* became probably a sort of trendsetter in Hungary. As was evident in the 1835 article, mentioned above, Hungarians were favourably disposed towards Sweden and the Swedes. When Flygare-Carlén's novel made its way into Hungarian homes, Swedish literature became established as highly readable literature. The result of this was that Swedish writers became models for Hungarian intellectuals, no matter what they wrote. Almost immediately after the success of *The Rose of Thistle Isle*, another Swedish author made an impact on Hungarian cultural life, although in a slightly different way. In 1839, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences established a group to compile a monolingual dictionary. Very soon, however, they realised that this concept would not suit their expectations, as every academician had approached the task in his own way, preferring his own usage, which led to an unwanted diversity of style. This necessarily entailed the restructuring of the whole concept – only they did not know how to do it.⁸ Such was the state of affairs in 1844, when a review of C. J. L. Almqvist's *Ordbok öfver svenska språket i dess närvarande skick* (*Dictionary of the Swedish Language in Its*

Present State) was published.⁹ The author of the review was fascinated by this dictionary as well as by Almqvist's language skills and made his point of view very clear: a dictionary of a modern language should be written by only one person and not by an institution. In the same year, it was decided that the Hungarian dictionary should be compiled by two members of the academy instead of a whole group. It is uncertain whether this review of Almqvist's dictionary played a part in the academy's decision. One thing is certain, however: Almqvist must have made an impression on the author of the article, and it is not improbable that it was the huge success of Flygare-Carlén that drew public attention to him as a Swedish author.

The Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence in 1848–49 was a blow for the book market. Censorship hardened, and newspapers and journals ceased to be published. It took some years to re-establish the cultural life.¹⁰ When the book market revived, most of its works were German originals and translations, rather than Hungarian ones. The situation was precarious. After the revolution, Austrians suspected that Hungarians would like to continue to fight. They were quite right; Hungarians were displeased with the Austrian emperor in general and his politics in particular. A hard censorship was to stem the revolutionary fervour. There was but one problem. As a rule, Austrian censors did not speak Hungarian, so they were not able to control what the Hungarian people read. Hungarian originals and translations were therefore not likely to be welcomed by Austrians.

To address this problem, the German-speaking censors began to encourage the reading of German translations, books that they themselves were able to pre-read. As Swedish authors were quite successful at that time in Germany, that is to say in the 1850s, many Swedish novels in German translation were published or disseminated in Hungary. These novels were not about revolutions or dangerous political ideas that could have turned the readers' minds in unwanted directions. Instead, they were about love and friendship, Swedish historical events and adventures. They were, in short, harmless novels – something that the Austrian censors could approve. In the 1850s and 1860s, a succession of Swedish fiction was therefore published in Hungary, partly in Hungarian, partly in German, written by Flygare-Carlén, Pehr Sparre, Carl Fredrik Ridderstad and Carl Anton Wetterbergh (penname Onkel Adam), among others, and possibly also Marie Sophie Schwartz. Most of these books were published by the German publisher Hartleben, which means that they were in German and disseminated in several countries besides Hungary.

The German connection was, as we can see, enormously important.

The Hungarian book market and the bookshops were run by Germans and Austrians – and it is obvious that the Hungarians read books in German. Several German books are registered in Hungarian bibliographies and library catalogues.¹¹ Many Austrians lived in Hungarian cities and, naturally, they wanted to read books in their own language. On the other hand, many Hungarians spoke German – in fact, many of them spoke nothing else, not even Hungarian. However, Swedish works began to be translated into Hungarian as well. Translating books into Hungarian, even harmless ones, was a political step. Culture was the only weapon left to Hungarians prior to the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, when Hungarians were again allowed to take a greater part in political life.

None of the authors published under this period were as successful as Flygare-Carlén. Although no critical review of her works can be found, the number of translations indicates that she was a favourite

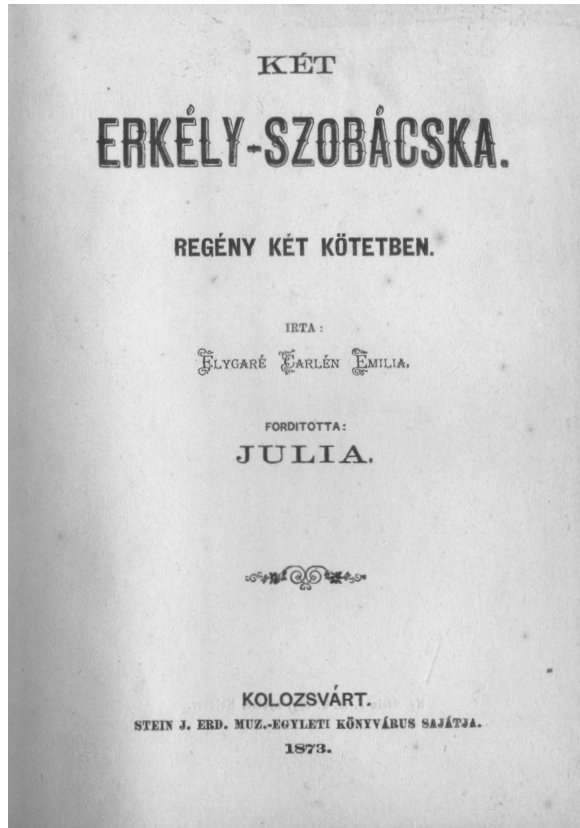


Figure 1. Emilie Flygare-Carlén's novel *Vindskuporna* (1845; *Marie Louise: or, The Opposite Neighbours*) in Hungarian published in 1873.

with the reading public. Her works appeared both as books and as serials in newspapers, and the readers seemed to love reading them. Her work was sometimes mentioned in a newspaper's "Messages from the Editor" column. The most interesting occasion was probably the one when the literary journal *Fővárosi Lapok* published Flygare-Carlén's *Ett lyckligt parti* (1857; *A Brilliant Marriage*) as a serial and the editor replied to a (probably very grateful) reader.

To. K.J. The fact that you read Emilia Flygare Carlén's story in our journal with pleasure bears witness to your good taste. We believe that many of our readers share in your joy, as everything that this Swedish authoress writes is so simple, so true and so moving, that it is impossible not to take delight in her pictures. We will endeavour to publish another translation of her works soon, provided that we can get a shorter one.¹²

Some weeks later, her name was mentioned again when the editor replied to another reader, who most likely criticised the journal for its lack of articles of high value.

[...] You are mistaken if you think that we do not attach great importance to psychology. It is just that we only like convincing and effective psychology as found, for instance, in Flygare's story.¹³

Flygare-Carlén was, in short, an author who was widely read and loved for her ability to understand and depict the ways of the human heart. The editors were ready to publish her works as they knew that anything from her would be warmly welcomed by the reading public.

Towards the end of the century, when the electric telegraph provided an effective instrument for communication, Flygare-Carlén began to appear more frequently in the newspapers. There were reports about her well-being,¹⁴ about her 50 years as an author,¹⁵ about her almost going blind due to an eye disease but getting better after having an operation,¹⁶ and about her birthdays, including one in 1891, which stated that she "was a Marlitt for our grandmothers but our grandchildren can read her novels, too."¹⁷ It is not quite clear what is meant by that. Are her novels uncomplicated stories and thereby readable by everyone, or are they long-lived works in which many generations to come can find pleasure? The mere fact, however, that the editors thought that these small pieces of news about her would be appreciated by the reading public proves that she was some kind of a celebrity in Hungary. The journalists must have felt immense interest from the readers and

thus wanted to oblige them. When Flygare-Carlén died in 1892, the news was in the papers the very next day.

The authoress Flygare Carlen [sic], as a telegram from Stockholm reports, died tonight. Some of her works are published in Hungarian as well, of which the best known is the one entitled “The History of Edith”.¹⁸

It is unclear why the journalist thought that this “History of Edith” was in any way known. No novel with such a title was published by her in Hungary.¹⁹ The question is whether the journalist was too familiar with Flygare-Carlén’s works, or not at all. The history of the capricious Edith Sternfelt in the Swedish novel *En nyckfull kvinna* (1848–49; *Woman’s Life: or, The Trials of Caprice*) was probably very well known in Hungary, but it was not published under the title “The History of Edith”, but under *Egy szeszélyes hölgy* in Hungarian. Another possibility is that the journalist did not refer to *Woman’s Life* but to a novel actually named *The History of Edith*, written by someone else. In any case, the journalists must have been in a hurry with the publication in order to have it in the newspaper the next day and consequently had no time to check the facts.

Three weeks later, the same newspaper reported about Flygare-Carlén’s last will and testament. This time they were more loquacious. The readers learned that her last will was an act of charity: Uppsala University and the poor, among others, inherited her money. It is the last time the readers had the opportunity to read about Flygare-Carlén, and their impression must have been that she was a charitable woman, well worth their appreciation and respect.

There is, however, nothing in this short piece of news about her writings, about her success or her possible importance with regard to Hungarian literature, nothing about how many of her works had been published in Hungarian, only a reference to “some of her works”. Compared to the total number of Flygare-Carlén’s works in Swedish, the number of works translated into Hungarian is modest, but there were about 15 translated novels, and the impact she made must have been great indeed. The fact that she was read mostly by women could have made her less interesting or less important; she was then regarded the author of works “only” for female readers.

Then again, it is notable that most of the translations were published before the political compromise of 1867. It is not easy to guess why this is so. Sweden had already been pointed out as a nice country that could easily be transformed into a place of imagination, an exotic land of ro-

mantic adventures, beauty and peace. Flygare-Carlén's works could have served as a welcome escape from the bitter Hungarian reality. In Flygare-Carlén's novels there are no villains, or at least no villains of prodigious dimensions. For Hungarian readers, her novels depicted places where one did not have to be afraid, a place that the cruel Austrians could not reach. Exotic but peaceful, that was Flygare-Carlén's Sweden for them.

CONTINUING THE TREND:
MARIE SOPHIE SCHWARTZ

The year 1867 brought many changes of vital importance for Hungary and the Hungarians, and also for Swedish literature. Until this year, Hungarians had had a limited scope for actions in politics, which also meant restrictions in other areas, including cultural life. The political compromise of 1867 between Austria and Hungary, however, established a dual monarchy in which Hungarians were able to play a more equal part. This year marked a new era for Swedish literature in Hungary as well. It was, for example, in this year that Marie Sophie Schwartz was first published in Hungary. Although she had not been published in Hungarian earlier, it is quite certain that she had been read in German in Hungary in previous years. One of her novels might have been published in 1865 as a serial in one of the newspapers as the editor was very keen on publishing *En fåfång mans hustru* (1857; *The Wife of a Vain Man*). The editor wrote to the translator Mária Dominkovich: "We would gladly publish this novel, especially if it is by the Swedish authoress Marie Schwartz, for she depicts real life exceedingly well."²⁰ Note that the editor expresses himself about Schwartz's works in general, which must mean that he was familiar with the German translations. This Hungarian translation was not published until 1867, however, due to the poor quality of the layout – Dominkovich simply did not mark any paragraphs.²¹

Once she was published, Schwartz won the readers' hearts. According to bibliographies, she was probably published more than Flygare-Carlén, which means that Schwartz was even more popular in Hungary. Most of the translated works bear witness to Schwartz's social sensibility; she felt for the poor and the outcast, she sympathised with the lower social classes. This was probably just what Hungarians wanted in the middle of the nineteenth century; being in the shadow of Austria and German-speaking culture, they really felt themselves to be poor and outcast. In 1865, when the editor of the paper praised Schwartz's ability to depict real life, he was probably thinking only about the social aspects of her works. Schwartz felt for her characters and, with them, probably also for her Hungarian readers. Hungarians simply felt that they were

getting the sympathy they needed. Schwartz could have been, in that respect, one of the more important figures of socially sensitive literature in Hungary. However, not everyone was convinced of her as a high-brow author; later on she was criticised and considered to be an author of uncomplicated romantic fiction, read mostly by governesses and other less sophisticated ladies, as we also will see below.

Despite being an at-times scorned author, Marie Sophie Schwartz was remembered with respect when the news about her death reached Hungary. At the time she passed away she had been retired for some years, so the news moved more slowly out of Sweden than it had in the case of Flygare-Carlén's death: it took eleven days for Hungarian newspapers to publish news about her death in 1894.²² One of the newspapers, *Pesti Napló*, revealed a good deal about how people in Hungary valued Schwartz and her writings.

Maria Sofia Schwarcz [sic]. One of the founders of the Swedish family novel, Maria Sofia Schwarcz, died suddenly at the age of seventy-five, as we hear from Stockholm. The Swedish authoress won great fame by her novels and, two decades ago, the readeresses of Europe cried their sentimental tears when reading about the fate of her heroes and heroines. But these novels are delightful for other reasons as well. In them, there is a tendency to common sense, characteristic strength and a very good plot. In *The Gentleman and Middle-Class Woman* and *Labour Enobles the Man*, she comes out in support of the emancipation of the working class and the respect for and the appreciation of work. These novels were translated into Hungarian as well. Among her works the more interesting ones are these: *Mathilda*, *Existence and Non-existence*, and *A Nobleman's Daughter*. Her genre was cultivated in Germany by Mrs. Marlitt.²³

This piece of news brings the Hungarian reception of Marie Sophie Schwartz and her works a little closer. We can see that she really was appreciated and that Hungarians were well aware of the political nature of her works – and that they loved her for that. Besides being a supporter of the emancipation of the working class, Schwartz also made her readers cry sentimental tears, claims the journalist, thus degrading her writings to a less becoming “female literature”. Schwartz's position as an author of high literature was here called into question by her gender – a female author was not supposed to be serious.

This piece of news gives us something to think about as well. As the author of this note translates the titles of Schwartz's works, it is sometimes a bit difficult to know which work he actually means. The

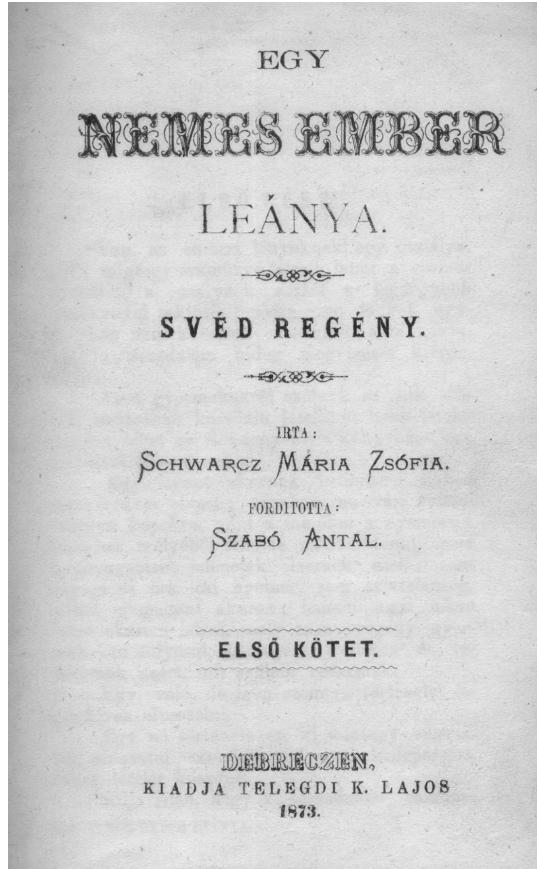


Figure 2. Marie Sophie Schwartz's novel *Ädlingens dotter* (1860; *The Nobleman's Daughter*), published in Hungarian in 1873.

greatest of mysteries is the novel with the translated title “The Gentleman and Middle-Class Woman”. It is most probably the novel entitled *Mannen av börd och kvinnan av folket* (1858; *The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People*). The only problem is that this novel was not translated into Hungarian – although the author of this note claims that it has been. There are three possible explanations:

1. the title refers to another novel by Schwartz;
2. the title refers to *The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People* in Hungarian translation, which existed but disappeared (or remained unknown or hidden from present-day bibliographers);
3. the title refers to *The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People* in German translation (which was published in Hungary by Ruzicska [year unknown]) instead of a (non-existent) Hungarian one.

Apart from this mystery, this note bears witness to Schwartz's importance in Hungarian culture, no matter how sentimental she was considered to be.

Schwartz's popularity most likely needs an explanation. She was, as we saw, read in German translation, but it took some years before she was able to enter the Hungarian-speaking book market. Here we must remember that Schwartz's works were published after the political compromise between Austria and Hungary. Coincidence or not, the more social (and with that, political) author made her debut at the same time as political activity increased and Hungarians could leave the social depression behind. At the same time, Flygare-Carlén was published less during this period. Flygare-Carlén was still very popular, but most of her works were published in Hungary before 1867. Thus, it is possible that those significant political events changed reading habits, and that after 1867 the Hungarian readers took more pleasure in reading works of a more political nature than romances. Flygare-Carlén's novels set imagination in motion, whereas Schwartz's works were the perfect stories for the post-1867, more political, Hungarian minds.

Also, Schwartz was forgotten more slowly than Flygare-Carlén. When Flygare-Carlén died, her fame died with her. According to bibliographies, none of her works were published in Hungarian after her death. Schwartz, on the other hand, was more fortunate in that respect; her works were read and sought-after many years after her death.²⁴ Moreover, some months after her death, her novel *De gifta* (1869; *The Married*) was published, and with that, a most favourable reviewing advertisement was published in a journal:

[The publisher] Eisler renders the Hungarian reading public a great service by publishing the works of Schvarcz [sic] in Hungarian. Especially the now published *The Married* and *The Widow and Her Children*, published some months ago, are great examples of family novels, which are not to be found in our literature. [...] Nowadays, when there are a plenty of affected novels, fresh unaffectedness streams from Schvarcz's novels, that freshens up the bored spirits as well. [...] This decorative book of 18 printed sheets can be bought either as a paperback for a price of 1 forint or in a deluxe binding for a price of 1 forint 80 korona.²⁵

Although it is an advertisement and the advertiser is more or less bound to praise the novel, the fact that the book was published in two types of binding is certain proof of Schwartz's importance as an author, well worth a deluxe binding, and with that, a deluxe review.

One thing must be remembered when judging Schwartz's Hungarian reception. The Hungarian custom of translation in the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century was to translate everything, including the author's name. This meant not only translating the author's first name, so that Marie became Mária, but changing the order as well, as Hungarians put the family name first. Marie Sophie Schwartz's name thus became *Schwartz Mária Zsófia*. Unfortunately, Schwartz happened to be a quite common Hungarian surname with many variations, which affected the Hungarian use of her name when translating it: Schwartz could become Schwarz, Swarz or Schwarcz, or, as seen above, Schvarcz. The publishers often omitted one of her two first names, too. This makes it difficult to map out Schwartz's Hungarian reception, as she may easily be hiding behind some more serious misspelling.

Interestingly, none of Schwartz's gender-specific works were translated into Hungarian. Although Schwartz was not a radical feminist, none of the works that discuss gender questions in any more specific way were regarded as interesting to the Hungarian reading public. Women were not supposed to participate in social discussion, in politics or in literary life, so no one considered her gender-conscious works to be useful to female readers. That is probably why none of them were allowed into women's hands, that is, why none of them were published in Hungarian.

MAKING SWEDISH LITERATURE HIGH-BROW: ENTER FRITHIOF

Schwartz made her Hungarian debut, as mentioned before, in 1867. In the same year, the Kisfaludy Literary Society announced a translation competition and a winner was crowned in January 1868. He was Vilmos Győry, who had translated Tegnér's *Frithiof's Saga* directly from the Swedish original.²⁶ Until then, translations of Swedish works had been made from German into Hungarian, as the translators chiefly spoke major languages, such as German, English or French, but not exotic ones, even if there was a real interest in Swedish fiction. Unlike Gábor Fábrián some forty years earlier, Győry was not unwilling to learn Swedish for Frithiof's sake, and his translation was spoken of in superlatives.²⁷ As the judges wrote about Győry's translation: "Both choice of work and translation are excellent, a gain for our literature."²⁸ Later on in the same year, the translation was published as a book. Győry became a member of the Kisfaludy Literary Society and he not only translated Tegnér and other Swedish poets but also gave presentations on Swed-

ish literature.²⁹ Győry possessed an outstanding talent for translating poetry. Therefore, he must have been an inspiration for both readers and translators, and we can assume that he established the position of Swedish literature in Hungary as a literature well worth reading.

The success of Tegnér and *Frithiof's Saga* in Hungary was as surprising and unexpected as it was inexplicable. These were the years when more and more people wanted to read novels, and although Hungarian people were quite keen on national romanticism, and every decent Hungarian author had a rage for writing The Great Hungarian National Epic,³⁰ *Frithiof's Saga* could not possibly be the Romantic epic every Hungarian searched for. Yet not only did it become a very popular piece of work reviewed in newspapers,³¹ it also brought its translator a great deal of success. Maybe the mere fact that a Swedish writer *did* succeed in writing a national epic was enough for the Hungarians to look up to Esaias Tegnér and his genius. Moreover, it is by no means unlikely that the previous success of Flygare-Carlén and the developing popularity of Schwartz drew the intellectuals' attention to *Frithiof's Saga*. At this point of history, bookshops and printing houses were run to a greater extent by Hungarians instead of Germans and Austrians, which also meant that the primary focus in publishing could shift towards the Hungarian language. The main reason for the success of the Hungarian translation of *Frithiof's Saga* was probably not only the exceptional quality of Győry's translation; the judges of the Kisfaludy Literary Society were also aware that a Swedish literary work had the potential of being well received by the reading public, and this in turn would strengthen the status of the Hungarian language. *Frithiof's Saga* was, as aforementioned, considered to be a fine piece of work already some decades earlier. The judges of the Society understood that a first-rate translation of a first-rate literary work meant that Hungarian, in so many years inferior to German and Latin, could be at last regarded as a high-status language.

This translation became a turning point for Swedish literature in Hungary. Győry was the first who was able to translate directly from the Swedish original – of course, we cannot rule out the possibility that other translators had access to the Swedish originals when translating, but it was the German translation they actually translated from, as it was the language they mastered. Shortly after Győry's success with *Frithiof's Saga*, the reading public began to take an interest in Swedish literary history – that is to say, not only in the epic works written by Swedish authors but also in the authors themselves and in the literary history behind them. In March 1868, a journalist wrote an article titled “About Newer Swedish Literature”, emphasising that it was the success

of *Frithiof's Saga* that prompted her to do some research on Swedish literary history:

It may not be uninteresting, after having read a review of *Frithiof's Saga*, to take a quick glance at the more interesting moments in the newer Swedish national literature and at the same time become acquainted with its first creator and its most eminent champions.³²

Unlike previous outlines of Swedish literary history in Hungarian journals and newspapers, this one seems to be an original and not a translation of an already existing one. The author of the article enumerates a great number of important Swedish writers, among whom there is a place for women writers as well (probably owing partly to the fact that the author of the article is a woman): Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, Charlotta Berger and Sophie von Knorring. This reference did not, however, result in any further interest in Bremer, Berger or von Knorring, let alone in Hungarian translations.

Just like Flygare-Carlén, Tegnér also became a celebrity. His poems appeared in the newspapers, translated, for the most part, by Győry. Tegnér was also remembered on the 100th anniversary of his birth. This enthusiasm was induced by Győry himself, who wrote an article in *Fővárosi Lapok* one day before the anniversary.³³ Győry, however, was far from the only one who thought that a commemoration would be welcomed by the readers. A few days later, an article entitled "Letter from Vienna" began with these words: "The 100th anniversary of Tegnér's birth was celebrated by the friends of literature in Vienna as well. The newspapers published articles and the displays of the bookshops are full of translations of Tegnér."³⁴ At the end of the month, the same newspaper reported once again about a celebration of the anniversary, this time about the Swedish one.³⁵ Considering that by then he had been dead for more than two decades, this Hungarian enthusiasm for him and his works seems remarkable. We must attribute it to an already existing interest in and respect for Swedish culture.

A DIFFERENT KIND OF RECEPTION

Flygare-Carlén, Schwartz and Tegnér became the most important Swedish authors in Hungary in the nineteenth century. Their popularity and importance is emphasised by the fact that apart from being widely read and highly respected authors in Hungarian translation, their characters, or they themselves, appeared in Hungarian literary works as well. One of the first Swedish appearances in a literary work

was probably in Zsigmond Kemény's (1814–1875) novel *Paul Gyulai* from 1847, where we can read the following lines:

Our highly praised education, by the way, has greatly resembled for ages Flygare-Carlén's Isabella, that enchanting female, who had a fairy-like figure, the most beautiful chestnut curls and soft blue eyes, but on her face there lived a paleness, on her marble forehead an anxiety, between her cheerful caprices a pondering, and on her silk eyelashes there burned some secret tears sometimes. – Isabella could never have accepted and returned the ardent love of a keen youth, for in her bosom there spread that dreadful malady, the cancer-disease, suspected only by a few. And why should she add the disgusting smell of a painful atrophy to the outpourings of the heart-eden?³⁶

The reference is to Flygare-Carlén's novel *Fideikommisset* (1844; *The Temptation of Wealth*, 1844), which was never published in Hungarian. Kemény must have read it in German. The fact that Kemény (who later became one of the leading novelists in Hungary in the nineteenth century) takes one of Flygare-Carlén's characters, that he uses her name, indicates that Flygare-Carlén was, or could be, regarded as an authority, both for the young and aspiring novelist Kemény and for his readers.

A different kind of appearance of the same Flygare-Carlén is made in László Beöthy's (1826–1857) novel "*To the Blue Cat*": *Goldbach & Co.'s Grocery*, first published in 1858. In the seventh chapter, a character named Baron de Manx appears. After claiming he knows quite a few famous authors personally (Balzac, Bulwer-Lytton, Walter Scott and George Sand, among others), he continues by saying:

"Or do you know Flygare Carlén? She is a meek woman. Last year she made me a dozen pair of stockings – as a surprise. She is a bit sentimental, – but she keeps a good table. Her novels are boring. As a rule, I do not like to read novels – I much prefer playing them to reading them!"³⁷

It is not what this fictive Baron de Manx (who turns out to be a swindler, of course) says about Flygare-Carlén, but the fact that Beöthy is of the opinion that she is among the great ones that shows how popular she was in Hungary in the middle of the nineteenth century. Beöthy himself was not as popular as Kemény came to be later in his life – an early death put an end to a promising career as a writer. But he is

still remembered in Hungarian literary histories. However, Kemény and Beöthy were far from the only ones who used a Swedish author in their works. *Dream*, a short story by Ferenc Herczeg (1863–1954) from 1891, takes place in Trondheim, where two young people, a princess and a doctor, meet and begin to talk to each other.

”Princess, are you in the habit of reading?”

”I read every now and then, yes.”

”Do you know by any chance Frithiof’s Saga by Esaias Tegnér?”

”What did you say? Esaias? What a dreadful name!”

”But the book isn’t bad; *here* you can read it. One cannot eat beefsteak every day, sometimes one wishes to eat barley bread just like the Norwegian peasant. If you read it, you shall be able to understand the character of this mysterious country.”³⁸

The princess and the doctor then read and discuss the epos together, and the princess likes it very much. This short story seems to be a tribute to Tegnér, his *Frithiof’s Saga* being a sublime piece of work, something that an educated man, a doctor and a sophisticated princess, would talk about.

Both Flygare-Carlén and Tegnér can boast of appearances in Hungarian literary works that were highly in their favour. Marie Sophie Schwartz, however, was not so fortunate. It must be remembered, though, that her name is not a rare one, especially as the Hungarians at that time were in the habit of translating the authors’ names. Therefore, we cannot be sure that it is about our Marie Sophie Schwartz when her last name appears in a text. Judged by the number of translations published in Hungary, she must have been an important and widely read author who was well worthy of deluxe bindings. Things got worse for her reputation in 1898, however, when the Kisfaludy Literary Society discussed the possibility of including women in their meetings. The question of whether it was good to allow women to become writers was an often debated subject in nineteenth-century Hungary.³⁹ The fact is that no female author of real significance was to be found in Hungarian literary canon, only males.⁴⁰ This implies that only men were capable of writing canonical works. At the end of the nineteenth century, however, women gradually obtain recognition in that discussion in the Kisfaludy Literary Society. However, the members decided against women’s inclusion; the mere idea must have been repellent to some people. A journalist went so far as to write a very short play in a magazine,⁴¹ in which there were three characters, named “the Hungarian George Sand”, “the Hungarian Gyp” (i.e. the Hungarian version

of the French author Sibylle Riqueti de Mirabeau) and “the Hungarian Marie Schwarz” [sic]. The one-act play begins with George Sand and Gyp discussing hats, when Schwartz turns up at their literary meeting. The three women do not seem to know (or care) much about literature, they prefer to gossip instead. They are interrupted twice: first, when the (male) chairman of the Society invites Schwartz to give a lecture, and second, when Schwartz’s maidservant rushes into the room and asks her to come home “for little Georgie cries so much and he must be fed”. Schwartz runs home at once and the two other authors faint, but they revive immediately when the chairman promises them new hats. There is nothing literary, then, about women’s literary meetings in the eyes of a man. The author of this play emphasises in a postscript that he has nothing against women writers, for in his opinion women are as capable of writing good literature as men are; as he says, “talent has no gender.”⁴² Even if he doesn’t approve of the idea of having women at the meetings, he bears no ill-will against them and their writing. Still, his opinion expressed in this short play is not in the least flattering to women writers.

Another example is in Lujza Harmath’s short story *Torn Clouds*, from 1901. There it is said about a German governess that she “day-dreamed on the bank of the river Maros, or read some sentimental work by Marie Schwartz.”⁴³ The opinion seems to be unanimous only a few years after Schwartz’s death and it states that she was a popular author of sentimental works, nothing more.

THE BREMER MYSTERY

The remaining part of the century witnessed an increasing number of translations of Swedish fiction, with some works published as books and others as serials in newspapers. When the Modern Breakthrough came and made Scandinavian literature more known all over the world, Swedish literature already had a reading public of considerable size in Hungary. There is but one author conspicuous by her absence: Fredrika Bremer. After they were published in German, both Flygare-Carlén’s and Marie Sophie Schwartz’s works were translated into Hungarian, and both authors were read and appreciated. The third famous Swedish woman writer, however, failed to make it to the Hungarian book market. German translations of Fredrika Bremer’s works were most probably read in Hungary to some extent and her popularity in Germany and Western Europe more generally did not escape the Hungarians’ notice, as they were quite up to date as regards German-speaking culture. Bremer is, for example, mentioned as early as 1841 in a short article.

The lack of novels is more and more felt in Germany. Seldom are novels published nowadays that are fairly readable. [...] Now that the Palzows's star has declined, the German readers content themselves with Fredrika Bremer, the good Swedish governess.⁴⁴

This little remark can hardly be regarded as a favourable one. In the journalist's eyes, Bremer was only a governess (even if she could be regarded as a good one in this respect) and not a writer. We must of course bear in mind that this article was published before the huge Hungarian success of *The Rose of Thistle Isle*, but the fact that Bremer was not translated into Hungarian at all, not even after the enormous success of Flygare-Carlén, Schwartz and Tegnér, indicates that this opinion, expressed by one journalist, was a common one shared by many in Hungary.

Now the question arises: why were Hungarians not as keen to translate the third famous Swedish woman writer as they had been for the first two? Especially when we consider that Bremer did appear in Hungarian newspapers and journals, even if not frequently. The editors published small pieces of news about her, for example, when she met Pope Pius IX and had a discussion with him about being Roman Catholic and a Protestant respectively.⁴⁵ Moreover, a journal dedicated a whole-page article to her in 1916,⁴⁶ in which the author expressed himself in such enthusiastic terms that the reader could hardly believe that this was the same Bremer who had never been translated into Hungarian.

Bremer seemed to be an author that everyone respected and was ready to speak well of, yet nobody really loved in Hungary – she was admired from a distance. Her social status was most probably to blame for this treatment. Flygare-Carlén had a partiality for adventures and emotions and Schwartz for social questions, whereas Bremer mostly wrote about the sorrows and pleasures of a middle class that was almost completely missing in Hungary. Bremer's social reach was different from that of the Hungarians, and so she simply was not interesting, or credible, to Hungarian readers. She paled into insignificance beside the two other women writers, or, rather, her significance was a theoretic one, based probably only upon her being Swedish. The only book published by Bremer in connection with Hungary was published by the multinational Hartleben (who ran bookshops in Pest and in several other European cities during his long career) and the book *England im Herbst. Skizzen auf einer Reise entworfen* (1852) was consequently only in German.⁴⁷

Another reason for Bremer being less interesting for Hungarian publishers could be her feminist point of view. As said above, women

were not supposed to participate in social discussion; they were not supposed to be the equals of men. Therefore the more gender-conscious works of the otherwise popular Schwartz never appeared in Hungarian translation. Of these three woman writers, it was without question Bremer who expressed the strongest opinions on a number of issues on women's rights – such radical thoughts were definitely not considered to be desirable companions for a young female Hungarian reader. This and the middle-class sceneries made Bremer unsuitable for the Hungarian book market.

The lack of success in Bremer's case emphasises the genuineness of the success of the two other Swedish women writers. It proves that Hungarians could pick and choose and not simply follow German trends. Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz were not forced upon Hungary but chosen by Hungarian publishers to be translated and to reach the readers in their native language.

DISCUSSING WOMEN WRITERS

Having discussed the main Swedish writers in nineteenth-century Hungary, we can see that the most successful ones were women writers. Now the question arises: is fiction written by women high-brow, middle-brow or low-brow? Unlike Tegnér, the women writers and their works were most probably not discussed at the meetings of the Kisfaludy Literary Society. Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz were below Tegnér as regards canonical status, but then again, women at that time were not supposed to attain any canonical status. Although not high-brow authors, they were praised for their ability to depict real life and human feelings, and they were widely read. Thoughts and ideas expressed in their novels influenced the broad mass of the people. Then a more accurate question would probably be: what part did Swedish writers and Swedish fiction, ideas and thoughts play in nineteenth-century Hungary?

First of all, we must remember that Sweden held a unique position in Hungary. Swedish culture, mediated by German journals and newspapers, had been regarded as interesting for a long time and could serve as an example for Hungarians; it was a peripheral culture on its way to becoming one of the great, influential cultures. That was very likely the reason why Hungarians paid marked attention to Swedish culture during the course of the nineteenth century. The expectations for Swedish literary works, in short, must have been high. The first to fulfil those expectations was *The Rose of Thistle Isle*. Of all Flygare-Carlén's novels, it is probably the one that was most capable of attracting both male and

female readers. It is a crime novel, a love story and a Bildungsroman in one, and the wild beauty of the west coast archipelago was most likely a perfect place to capture the imagination. The timing of the publication could not have been better, either. Just like Germans, Hungarian readers were in want of good novels at the beginning of the 1840s. *The Rose of Thistle Isle* seemed able to fill the gap. Its success was most probably a catalyst that directed attention to a greater extent to other Swedish texts, for example, to Almqvist's dictionary in 1844. Taking these facts into consideration, we can assume that Flygare-Carlén must have been among the esteemed and valued authors in the years before 1848. The Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence, however, put a stop to certain cultural activities in Hungary; it was not possible to publish newspapers or novels, or simply to cultivate one's mind. Flygare-Carlén's promising Hungarian career had to take a break as well. After the revolution had been put down, Hungarians had neither the means nor the inclination to think too much about foreign and exotic cultures – however, they soon found their way back to her novels.

After 1848–1849, the Austrian censors wanted to make sure that Hungarians were not reading anything that could lead them to revolutionary thoughts again. It was now Swedish culture could gain ground again. Flygare-Carlén's works could be ideal reading for everyone, for they were scarcely of a political nature. The hard censorship opened up the book market for other Swedish writers as well. Some of them were probably not exciting enough to be translated into Hungarian. The lack of translations indicates this; Pehr Sparre, Carl Fredrik Ridderstad, Wilhelmina Stålberg and Fredrika Bremer were only published in German (by Hartleben). In 1852 the Hungarian-speaking part of the Hungarian book market began to revive and Swedish literature was again published in Hungarian translation. For example, Carl Anton Wetterbergh's *The Two Rings* was regarded as worthy of a Hungarian translation.⁴⁸ The large quantity of Swedish novels in German translation on the Hungarian book market proves that these novels were approved of by the censors. However, the fact that some of these authors were translated into Hungarian also demonstrates that the Hungarian readers were, in this respect, ready to agree with the Austrians. Swedish novelists seemed simply to be excellent instruments for reviving the Hungarian book market and the post-1849 depressed Hungarian souls. People needed diversion, something that made them think of something other than unsuccessful revolutions.

The second major turning point came in 1867 along with the political changes. Marie Sophie Schwartz became the second Swedish favourite, and her Hungarian career was in many ways different from

Flygare-Carlén's. She had been read in German translation in Hungary long before she could be published in Hungarian translation. Owing possibly to the fact that her works were far more social-political than Flygare-Carlén's, the Hungarian translation of her works came rather slowly. They were not so political as to warrant objections by Austrian censors, but they were political enough to be a delicate subject. This can also explain why her Hungarian debut took place in the same year as the political climate became more favourable.

Marie Sophie Schwartz was an author of romantic fiction but an author who could claim a higher literary position because of the social nature of her novels. Hungarians were, as mentioned above, not accustomed to having women in leading roles, which also meant that Schwartz's serious approach to reality confused some Hungarian critics. They did not expect a woman to be interested in addressing, or brave enough to raise, serious social issues in fiction. Women were, at least according to them, far from being the equals of men. Flygare-Carlén's works could be more easily comprehended; she was a female writer on female topics, whereas Schwartz wished to discuss social injustice in order to transform the world into a better place. Both authors were compared to the German writer E. Marlitt; it was, however, only Schwartz who was accused of being unserious.

Up to now, little has been said about the translators of Flygare-Carlén's and Schwartz's novels, although the importance of translators is always indisputable. It is, however, only Tegnér, the third main Swedish writer, who must be remembered together with his Hungarian translator Vilmos Győry. Győry was not only a translator of literary works but also a culture mediator who gave lectures on Swedish poetry, and he did everything in his power to foster the Hungarian readers' interest in Swedish literature. Without his willingness to learn Swedish, without the assistance of his poetic gift, Tegnér's *Frithiof's Saga* could never have been regarded as the masterpiece Hungarians so admired. As a result of the success of this translation, Swedish became a high-culture language, well worth learning. Thanks to Győry's enthusiasm, more and more translators endeavoured to learn Swedish in order to be able to translate Swedish novels and poems from the original, bringing the two cultures closer together.

By 1868, the adjective "Swedish" had already become something of a quality stamp, its culture an example to follow. The international success of Scandinavian literature, the Modern Breakthrough, still lay some years ahead, but the way was already paved for its authors by three Swedish writers who were widely read and loved by Hungarian readers. Within 25 years, a series of crucial events led to a Swedish

breakthrough in Hungary, establishing the high position of Swedish culture. Emilie Flygare-Carlén's Hungarian debut in 1843 was the breakthrough of Swedish landscapes and adventures, Marie Sophie Schwartz's in 1867 was the breakthrough of the Swedish solidarity, and Esaias Tegnér's in 1868 was the breakthrough of the Swedish language. Their careers lasted for several decades, and after that, they were forgotten. Their values and ideas, however, lived on even after their fame had faded and they themselves had ceased to be celebrated writers in Hungary. Nor did the readers forget the impression Swedish literature made on them: they continued to admire this remote Nordic country. More and more new writers came and found themselves devoted translators, thus making their way into the Hungarian readers' homes.

NOTES

- 1 Cf. Bényei Miklós, "Eötvös József jogi és államtudományi műveltségének forrása", *Gazdaság- és Jogtudomány – A MTA Gazdaság- és Jogtudományi Osztályának Közleményei*, vol. 5, 1971, nr. 3–4, p. 355.
- 2 V., "Stagnelius svéd költő munkái...", Vörösmarty Mihály (ed.): *Tudományos Gyűjtemény*, vol. 12, 1828., nr. 11, pp. 113–120.
- 3 Kozocsa Sándor, "A svéd irodalom magyar fogadtatásának kezdetei", *Filológiai Közlöny*, 1974, vol. 20, nr. 3–4, pp. 433–436.
- 4 Jakab István, "Az európai éjszak, erkölcsi és társasági viszonyaival", Schedel Ferenc (ed.): *Tudománytár*. 1835, vol. 5, pp. 60–83.
- 5 Ibid., p. 64. [Translations from the Hungarian in this article are made by PM & IA.] Hungarian original: "Itt még hitet, bizodalmat, vendégszeretést találhatni. A' nép mivelődött, a' nélkül, hogy elromlott volna."
- 6 Fekete Soma, "Svéd irodalom", [Part 1.], Luczenbacher János (ed.): *Tudománytár / Értekezések*. 1842, vol. 11, nr. 3, pp. 179–190, and Fekete Soma, "Svéd irodalom", [Part 2.], Luczenbacher János (ed.): *Tudománytár / Értekezések*. 1842, vol. 11, nr. 4, pp. 235–244, originally in: *Das Ausland: Ein Tagblatt für Kunde des geistigen und sittlichen Lebens der Völker. Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf verwandte Erscheinungen in Deutschland. Dreizehnter Jahrgang*. Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta, 1840, nr. 356, 358, 360, 363, 364, 365. (<http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/resolve/display/bsb10530680.html>, accessed 2016-08-06).
- 7 Cf. "Literaturai mozgalmak", *Athenaeum*, 1843-08-15, nr. 3, p. 130, and *Pesti Hírlap*, 1843-12-17, nr. 309, p. 867.
- 8 Cf. Czuczor Gergely and Fogarasi János, *A magyar nyelv szótára. / Előbeszéd. Ezen szótár keletkezése; akadémiai utasítás és a szerzők vezérelvei annak készítésében. Első kötet*. Pest: Emich, 1862, p. 1.
- 9 "Bibliographia" [by Almási Balogh Pál], Almási Balogh Pál (ed.): *Tudománytár / Literatúra*, 1844, vol. 8, nr. 12, pp. 473–475.

- 10 Szinnyei Ferenc, *Novella- és regényirodalmunk az abszolútizmus korának elején*. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1929, pp. 3–4, 7.
- 11 As, for instance, in the catalogue of the library in Baja from 1870: half the list (p. 18–35) is of books in German.
- 12 *Fővárosi Lapok*, 1865-07-11, nr. 156, p. 594. Hungarian original: “K. J.-nek. Hogy Flygare Carlén Emiliának lapunkban most folyó beszélyét örömmel olvassa ön, az mindenesetre jó izléséről tanúskodik. Úgy hisszük, hogy ez örömeben sokan osztoznak olvasóink közül, mert mindaz, mit e svéd író ír, oly egyszerű, igaz és megható, hogy lehetlen nem gyönyörködni rajzain. Igyekezni fogunk más fordítást is adni tőle nem sokára, föltéve, hogy kaphatunk valami rövidebbet — munkái közül.”
- 13 *Fővárosi Lapok*, 1865-07-23, nr. 167, p. 638. Hungarian original: “Hogy mi a lélektanra nem sok súlyt fektetünk, nem áll egészen; hanem természetesen az oly meggyőző és hatásos lélektant szeretjük, minőt például most Flygare elbeszéléséből élvezhettek olvasóink.”
- 14 *Fővárosi Lapok*, 1884-08-24, nr. 198, p. 1289.
- 15 *Fővárosi Lapok*, 1888-11-23, nr. 324, p. 2383.
- 16 *Fővárosi Lapok*, 1890-09-25, nr. 264, p. 7.
- 17 *Pesti Hírlap*, 1891-08-26, nr. 233, p. 7. Hungarian original: “Marlittja volt ő nagyanyáinknak, de az unokák is elolvashatják műveit.”
- 18 *Pesti Hírlap*, 1892-02-06, nr. 37, p. 6. Hungarian original: “*Flygare Carlen* író, mint egy stockholmi távirat jelenti, ma éjjel meghalt. Művei közül néhány magyar nyelven is megjelent. Legismertebb ezek közül »Edith története« című.”
- 19 A Hungarian original with this title was published in 1876 by the author József Prém, but the editor of the newspaper could hardly have mistaken her work for his.
- 20 *Fővárosi Lapok*, 1865-11-03, nr. 252, p. 1000. Hungarian original: “»Az egy hiú ember neje« című elbeszélést, kivált ha Schvarcz M. svéd író műve, szívesen vesszük, miután az ő tolla mindig igen érdekesen rajzolja a való életet.”
- 21 *Fővárosi Lapok*, 1865-11-21, nr. 267., p. 1060.
- 22 *Budapesti Hírlap*, 1894-05-18, vol. 14, nr. 136, p. 10, or *Pesti Napló*, 1894-05-18, vol. 45, nr. 136, p. 9.
- 23 *Pesti Napló*, 1894-05-18, vol. 45., nr. 136., p. 9. Hungarian original: “Schwarcz Mária Zsófia. A svéd családi regény egyik megalapítója, Schwarcz Mária Zsófia, mint *Stockholmból* írják, hetvenötéztendőskorában hirtelen meghalt. A svéd író regényei révén nagy népszerűsége tett szert és két évtizeddel ezelőtt Európa olvasónői a Schwarcz Mária hőseinek és hősnőinek sorsán sirták el szentimentális könyveiket. De ezek a regények nemcsak ezért a hatásukért nevezetesek, mert van azokban józan tendencia, jellemző erő és elég ügyes mesészővés. *A nemes ember és polgárasszony*, valamint *A munka nemesíti a férfit* című regényeiben a munkásosztályok egyenjogosítása és a munka tisztelete és becsülete érdekében száll sikra. Ezeket a regényeket magyarra is lefordították. Munkái között az érdekesebbek ezek: *A kacér asszony*. A lét és nemlét, *A nemes ember leánya*, Schwarcz Mária zsánerét Németországban, *Marlitt* asszony művelte *sikerrel*.”
- 24 Cf. the advertisements in e.g. *Corvina*: 1908-05-10, nr. 13, p. 76.; 1911-

- 11-20, nr. 32, p. 206.; 1912-04-10, nr. 10, p. 68. In 1903, her novel *Love Always Wins* is published by Rózsa.
- 25 *Debreczen-Nagyváradai Értesítő*, 1894, nr. 52, p. 3. Hungarian original: “Eisler a magyar olvasóközönségnek nagy szolgálatot tesz Schvarcz regényeinek magyar nyelven való kiadása által s különösen úgy e most kiadott Sógornők, mint a néhány hó előtt megjelent Özvegy és gyermekei a családi regények oly remek példányai, a minőket irodalmunkban hiába keresünk. [...] A mai mindenféle ismással telt’ az érzékiségben tüntetőleg gyönyörködő s a mistikált affektáló regényírás tavában Schvarcz regényeiből a hamisítatlan természetesség üde szellője száll felénk, mely felfrissíti az unott kedélyt is. [...] A 18 ivre terjedő díszes műnek ára csak füzve 1 frt, vagy diszkötésben 1 frt 80 kr.”
- 26 *Budapesti Közlöny*, vol. 2, 1868-01-31, nr. 25, p. 290.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 *Budapesti Közlöny*, vol. 2, 1868-02-06, nr. 30, p. 351. Hungarian original: “nem csak választásánál, hanem kitűnő áttételénél fogva is irodalmunkra nézve valódi nyeresémeny”
- 29 *Budapesti Közlöny*, vol. 2, 1868-10-02, nr. 226, p. 2901.
- 30 Cf. Gergye László, ”János Arany og de gamle danske ballader”, Masát András and Mádl Péter (eds.): *Skandinavisztikai Füzetek* 9. Budapest: ELTE Germanisztikai Intézet, 2012, pp. 93–98. (Budapester Beiträge zur Germanistik, Band 63.)
- 31 Cf. a 2-part-review in *Budapesti Közlöny*, 1868-10-10, vol. 2, nr. 233, pp. 3013–3014. and 1868-10-15, vol. 2, nr. 237, pp. 3061–3062.; or Győry’s own review (in five parts) in *Fővárosi Lapok*, between 1868-02-18 and 1868-02-22, nr. 40–44.
- 32 R. Ilona, “Az újabbkori svéd irodalomról”, *Fővárosi Lapok*, 1868-03-21, nr. 68, p. 271. Hungarian original: “Nem lesz tán érdektelen, a nem régiben ismertetett Frithiof-monda leírása után, mintegy eszméláncolatnál fogva, egy futó pillantást vetni az újabbkori svéd nemzeti irodalom érdekesb mozzanataira, megismervén egyszersmind annak legelső teremtmőjét s jelesebb bajnokait.”
- 33 *Fővárosi Lapok*, 1882-11-12, nr. 260, pp. 1618–1619.
- 34 S-d, J, “Letter from Vienna”, *Fővárosi Lapok*, nr. 265, 1882-11-18, p. 1651. Hungarian original: “Tegnér születése napjának századik évfordulóját Bécsben is megülték az irodalom barátai. A lapok cikkeztek róla s a könyvkereskedések kirakatai Tegnér-fordításokkal vannak telve.”
- 35 *Fővárosi Lapok*, nr. 274, 1882-11-29, p. 1712.
- 36 Kemény Zsigmond, *Gyulai Pál*. Vol. I. Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1967, p. 142. (Chapter 3.) Hungarian original: “Egyébiránt fölmagasztalt műveltségünk régóta hasonlít Flygare-Carlén Izabellájához, ahhoz a bűbajos néemberhez, kinek tündéri termete, legszebb gesztenye fürtjei és olvadékony kék szemei voltak, de arcán sápadtság, márványhomlokán aggály, vidor szeszélyei közt melázát élt, és selyempilláin néha titkos könnyek égtek. – Izabella soha el nem fogadhatta és viszonzozhatta volna egy lelkes ifjú hő szerelmét; mert keblén terjedett az iszonyú s kevesektől sejtett nyavalya, a rák-kór. S miért is vegyítené ő a szív-éden ömledéseisehez egy kínos sorvadás undorító szagát?”

- 37 Beöthy László, *Goldbach & Comp. fűszerkereskedése "A kék macskához"*. Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1908, p. 145. (Chapter VII: Báró de Manx). Hungarian original: "Avagy ismerik önök Flygare Carlént? Szende nő. Taval egy tuczat harisnyát készített nekem – meglepetésül. Szentimentális kissé, – hanem jó asztalt tart. Regényei unalmasak. – Általában én nem igen szeretem a regényeket olvasni – – inkább magam játszom el, semhogy olvassam!"
- 38 Herczeg Ferenc, "Álom", Kiss József (ed.): *A Hét. Társadalmi, irodalmi és művészeti közlöny*. 1891. Vol. 2, nr. 20, p. 311. Hungarian original: "– Herczegnő, szokott olvasni? – Hébe-korba. – Ismerné véletlenül Tegnér Ézsaiás Frithiof-mondáját? – Hogy mondta? Ézsaiás? Borzasztó név! – Pedig nem rossz könyv, itt el lehet olvasni. Az ember nem élhet örökké véres rostbeaffel, néha megkívánja a norvég paraszt árpakenyerét is. Ha elolvassa, megérti e titokzatos vidék jellemét,"
- 39 Most notably in one article that was favourably disposed towards women writers and used Flygare-Carlén's and Bremer's works as an argument. In: *Fővárosi Lapok*, 1869-10-05, nr. 227, p. 897.
- 40 That is to say, when Hungarian literary historians are about to write an outline, they tend to look only at the writings of the male writers. So did Ferenc Toldy, the author of the first modern Hungarian literary history (1st ed.: 1865, 2nd ed.: 1867, 3rd ed.: 1872), in which there are only three female writers mentioned and about 800 male writers.
- 41 [n.n.], "Nők a Kisfaludy Társaságban", Kiss József (ed.): *A Hét. Politikai és irodalmi szemle*. 1898, vol. 9, nr. 44, pp. 703-704.
- 42 Ibid, p. 704. Hungarian original: "a Gyurika nagyon sir. Itt a szoptatás ideje!" and "A talentumnak nincsen neme".
- 43 Harmath Lujza, "Széttépett felhők", *Fővárosi Lapok*, 1901-03-03, nr. 9, p. 132. Hungarian original: "A német nevelőnő ezalatt a Maros partján álmodozott, vagy olvasta Schwartz Máriának valamely szentimentális munkáját."
- 44 [n.n.]: "Regényekbeni hiány", *Athenaeum*, 1841-09-28, nr. 39, p. 622. Hungarian original: "Ez Németországban mindinkább érezhetővé leszen. Ritkán jelenik meg napjainkban csak valamennyire is éldelhető regény. [...] Miután a 'Palzowok' csillaga letűnt, beérik Bremer Friderikával, a' jó svéd nevelőnével."
- 45 [n.n.]: "IX. Pius és egy protestans ironő", Pollák János (ed.): *Religio*, 1861, 2nd half-year, nr. 7, p. 51. after the writer with the pseudonym "Irishman" in W.K.Z.
- 46 *Tolnai Világlapja*, 1916-05-11, nr. 19, p. 20
- 47 Bremer, Friderike, *England im Herbste 1851 : Skizzen auf einer Reise entworfen*. Pest, Wien, Leipzig: Hartleben, 1852.
- 48 Wetterbergh, *Két gyűrű : svéd beszély*. [De begge ringarne] Miskolcz: Deutsch ny., 1852.

Magdalena Wasilewska-Chmura

MARIE SOPHIE SCHWARTZ
IN TRANSLATION

Exporting Swedish Women's Literature to Poland

This chapter addresses the great popularity of Swedish women's literature in the Polish culture during the second half of the nineteenth century, which manifested itself by numerous translations of Swedish women's novels into Polish. As intriguing as it seems, the phenomenon has not yet been explored either by Swedish or Polish literary studies. The only reference with regard to this issue is a bibliography of Polish translations of Swedish literature up to 1969, with some of the data incomplete or even incorrect, especially concerning the original titles.¹ Consequently, the primary aim of the present text is to sort the material available and to complete data, which will enable further research into the problem. Meanwhile, the analyses of translations provide an opportunity to consider possible reasons for the popularity of Swedish novels among Polish readers.

In my research I apply a culture-oriented perspective which views literature as a phenomenon immersed in a broader social context, the universe of culture, consisting of a number of educational and cultural institutions as well as discourses. The focus of this approach is thus on ideological preconditions of literature, its social impact as well as its distribution and comprehension paradigms. Moreover, this perspective embraces even non canonical literature, which is highly relevant for the source material in question, as many imported novels of that time were categorized as popular literature.

Cultural criticism is a cross-disciplinary field based on methodological pluralism due to the research material and research objectives. My point of departure is a comparative approach highlighting a crucial

period in the development of the novel and its rise in popularity in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, I focus on the comparison of Polish translations with the Swedish originals. As the process of translation assumes comprehension and interpretation, a comparative analysis enables the understanding of rules governing the then intercultural communication. Those principles are encoded in the choice of texts and translation strategies. I examine these factors in the context of Translation Studies which put the stress on the target culture, whose standards are inscribed in the text translated.²

The choice of literary texts indicates a growing interest in the emancipation of women as well as social justice and equity; the issues which are often discussed in Marie Sophie Schwarz's novels. In Polish translations, however, domestication seems to be a predominant tendency in rendering the realities of everyday life, particularly with reference to gender norms. So the analyses of translation details offer an opportunity to identify values and norms which are hidden within the culture as well as the conditions for communication. On the other hand, the adopted method has its limitations as it ignores important social factors, which influence the structure of the book market and reading practices. Yet, the conclusions drawn from the basic research can serve as a point of departure for more reception oriented inquiry, based on a wide range of sources.

The chapter begins with outlining Poland's state of affairs during the nineteenth century and its effects on the culture. Next, the expansion of the Swedish women's literature in Polish translations is described with a focus on Marie Sophie Schwartz's novels. Their popularity among Polish readers is discussed in the light of the emancipation debate, but also with regard to marketing strategies reflected by translators' choices in translating titles. Consequently, the analyses of translations focus on gender related issues. The last part of the article discusses one of Schwartz's novellas which is dedicated to Poland's fight for independence. This case confirms the mutual nature of the dialogue between the Swedish and the Polish culture.

POLAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY – POLITICS AND CULTURE

In the nineteenth century, the cultural policy situation in Poland was very specific; the country had been partitioned among the major European powers, Russia, Prussia and Austria-Hungary, and thus did not exist as an independent state. The Polish national identity was kept alive through patriotic engagement manifested in the resistance to the

cultural and linguistic hegemony of the empires and the struggle for liberation through heroic uprisings that ended in defeat. The central factor of identity was the culture, which fed on romantic national myths of liberation at any price, and of Poland's messianic mission in Europe.³

It is noteworthy that the nature of social policy varied in different parts of Poland depending upon the major power to which the region belonged. Central and eastern Poland, including Warsaw, which belonged to Russia, was the most severely oppressed parts through Russification processes, deportation of political prisoners to Siberia, and censorship aimed at eradicating all national thinking. Western Poland suffered under Prussian power through Germanification and anti-Polish legislation, but this was compensated for through Polish people's efforts to develop education and modern business in the region.⁴ Southern and south-eastern Poland (Galicia) enjoyed the most freedom under Austria-Hungary, whose rule was comparatively benign and allowed relatively wide scope for expressions of the national culture.

The November Uprising in 1830 and the January Uprising in 1863 were two major patriotic manifestations by the Polish people against Russian domination. Both ended in bloody defeat, increasing reprisals and the emigration of many artists and intellectuals, mainly to France. The failure of the January Uprising in 1864 brought a definitive re-orientation from Romantic ideology to positivist philosophy, which prioritised pragmatic objectives over the idealistic, such as popular education, business development and social solidarity. The effort was consequently elevated to the nation's survival strategy. In accordance with Herbert Spencer's view on society as an organism, it was understood that modernisation must apply to all arenas of life and include all social strata. The roots of these ideas went back to the Romantic conservative ideology in which national unity was the primary objective. It was propounded by the enlightened social strata, that is the aristocracy and the wealthy middle class, which were to lead popular education and in so doing prevent the spread of revolutionary currents.⁵

The new phase, called positivism in Polish literary history, entailed a radical turn towards realistic prose with social overtones, as well as an upturn for the press, which introduced modern ideas, social phenomena and, not least importantly, writers. Specifically, it was understood that fiction could be regarded as an instrument of enlightenment, and the masses were given access to edifying treatises and popular literature. Fiction and the increasing popularity of reading novels for pleasure was looked upon with suspicion in Europe around the mid-nineteenth century and was considered especially harmful to women, who were the novel's primary target group.⁶ As late as 1876, the following was

printed in the Polish progressive cultural journal *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* (Illustrated weekly):

Serious objections have already been made against the novel several times, but the fact is that it is the most cherished form of popular reading. From whence does it derive its strength?... Is it a matter of the cravings of the masses, who prefer easily digestible intellectual nourishment over the scientific, or could it be its inner resources, replete with pleasures that the masses cannot resist? (...) The novel reigns supreme and nothing can strip it of its status.⁷

The diagnosis emphasises the effectiveness of the novel, albeit coupled with doubts about its literary qualities. However, the novel was soon acknowledged as the primary instrument of critical realism for identifying problems and changes in society. The novel genre thus follows two parallel lines through the nineteenth century: that of the entertainment genre (intended for the less educated, including women) and that of engaged literature – at first, mainly tendency novels (*tendenzroman*) with a didactic and pedagogical message that could, by means of a simple, melodramatic plot, reach many readers. The genre was further developed into multifaceted, realistic frescoes of society in transformation, with Polish writers like Bolesław Prus and Eliza Orzeszkowa, who came to be the leading figures of critical realism in Polish literature. But before that came to pass, the novel – especially imported novels by female writers – had expanded as popular literature that gained wide distribution through publication in serial form in newspapers and magazines.

SWEDISH WOMEN'S LITERATURE IN POLAND:
MARIE SOPHIE SCHWARTZ'S WINDING ROAD
TO POLISH READERS

Starting in the mid-nineteenth century, a wave of translations of Swedish novels written by women came to Poland. It began with the introduction of Fredrika Bremer with eight novels published during the period of 1852–1860, which covers the height of interest in Bremer in Poland and its abrupt end. This was followed later by Bremer's *Hertha* (1856) in 1869 and the sketch "Örninnan" (1868; "The Eagless"), which was printed twice in magazines (1893 and 1900). All of her books, except *Hemmen i den nya världen* (1853; *The Homes of the New World*),⁸ were released by the same publisher: Henryk Natanson in Warsaw. Bremer paved the way for Emilie Flygare-Carlén and Ma-

rie Sophie Schwartz, who showed up in the Polish book market in the 1860s, Flygare-Carlén with six novels in 1867–1913, Schwartz with 24 works in 1864–1928, some of which were published in several editions or/and both as magazine serials and in book form. Schwartz's prominence in Poland is significant and unparalleled in other countries.⁹

The major wave of Polish translations of Schwartz's novels took place during the period of 1864–1883. Of the 24 works of that period, seven were magazine serials, five of which were later published in book form. Two novels were printed in three editions: *Mannen af börd och quinnan af folket* (1858; *Man of Birth and Woman of the People*) in 1867, 1877, and 1878 and *Arbetet adlar mannen* (1859; *Labour Ennobles the Man*) in 1869, 1881, and 1882. Two were printed in two editions: *Sonsonen* (1872; *The Grandson*) in 1870 and 1871, and *Gertruds framtidsdrömmar* (1877; *Gertrude's Dreams of the Future*) in 1876 and 1877. The tremendous popularity of the novels is striking. Most translations, 16 titles (one in two editions) were published in Lwów, eight in Warsaw (one in two editions).

The second wave, albeit much smaller, occurred during the first decades of the twentieth century (1902–1928), when five of the previously published novels were released in new editions: *Skuld och oskuld* (1861; *Guilt and Innocence*) in 1902, *Tvenne familjemödrar* (1859; *Two Family Mothers*) in 1905, *Man of Birth and Woman of the People* in 1911, *Work Ennobles the Man* in 1911, *The Grandson* in 1907 and 1912, and *Mor och dotter* (1870; *Mother and Daughter*) in 1911 and 1928. This indicates that *Man of Birth and Woman of the People*, *Work Ennobles the Man* (each published in five editions), and *The Grandson* (three editions) were by far the most popular of the novels.

There are a number of difficulties involved in identifying translations; information provided about translators and the language from which the Polish translations were made is incomplete. The language was specified in 19 books, where “from Swedish” [*ze szwedzkiego*] is stated, which can be interpreted as that the novel was translated from Swedish. Where “Swedish novel” [*powieść szwedzka*] is stated instead, I make no assumptions about the source language of the translation. No language was specified for five novels (*The Grandson*, *Mother and Daughter*, *Mathilda*, *Tvenne levnadsmål* (1855; *Two Goals for Life*) and *En episod ur en läkares lif* (1859; *Episodes from the Life of a Doctor*). However, the translation analysis below shows that it cannot be presumed that the notation “from Swedish” means that the translation was actually done using the Swedish original as the source.

In a few cases, one can surmise that the works were translated from German, which is evident by the years of publication and sometimes by

the titles, which follow the German and not the Swedish version. This applies to *The Grandson*, published in Swedish in 1872 and in Polish in 1870, and which was first published in Germany in 1867; the Polish title *Być albo nie być* (1872), is a literal translation of the German *Sein oder Nichtsein* (1867; *To Be or Not to Be*). There is also strong reason to believe that *Mother and Daughter* was translated from German, not from Swedish, partly because the year of publication is the same (1870), and partly because the Polish title, *Pasierbica*, is a literal translation of the German *Stieftochter* (Stepdaughter). Teofil Szumski's (T.S.) translations raise doubts for the same reason; *Gertrude's Dreams of the Future* is stated to have been translated from Swedish, but has many elements in common with the German translation. *De gifter* (1869; *The Married*) translated by the same translator with the Polish title *Bratowe*, is also a literal translation of the German title *Schwägerinnen* (Sisters in Law). Further details about the relationships between Swedish originals and Polish and German translations will be discussed below.

In total, nine sets of initials and names occur for various translators. One appears in the newspaper *Gazeta Polska* and two appear in connection to the same novel on only one occasion: C.P., P.W. for *Dwie matki* (*Two Family Mothers*). Five of the initials have translated one novel each: B.R. (Barbara Rafałowska) *Wdowa i jej dzieci* (*The Widow and Her Children*); E.S. *Rodzina Romarbierta* (*Man of Birth and Woman of the People*); J.K.S. *Marzenia Gertrudy* (*Gertrude's Dreams of the Future*); Jan M. (*Alma* in the magazine *Bluszcz* 1868). Sulicki (with no first name stated) is given as the translator of *Praca uszlachetnia* (*Labour Ennobles the Man*) for the first two editions (1969, 1881); one can therefore presume that the third edition (1883) was also published in his translation. There is also strong reason to believe that Sulicki is the same person as E.S., because he is mentioned in a contemporary article as Schwartz's translator, Ed. Sulicki (Edward), in *Bluszcz* (1868). It is also likely that one person translated two novels in the same series and that the translation published in a magazine was later published in book form; both the serial in *Gazeta Polska* and the first two editions of *Man of Birth and Woman of the People* were published in Warsaw. The second book edition (1877) is also consistent with the serial in *Gazeta Polska* (1864) as the work of the same translator.

No translator is identified for twelve novels, where *The Grandson* as a serial and in book form is counted as one, and *Two Goals for Life* and *Episodes from the Life of a Doctor* are counted as two, even though they were published in a single volume. The translator is identified for only one of seven novels first published as magazine serials, *Alma*, although only by first name and initial: Jan M. The translator identified by the

initials S.M. translated two novels, as did T.S., whose name proved to be Teofil Szumski. B.Sz. translated three novels, but no further information about the translator is found. No translators are identified for the twentieth century editions. Based on the scanty information about translators, one can presume that translation was hardly regarded as a profession or an artistic activity. The linguists who took on literary translation might not have wanted to reveal their names, and particularly not in connection with literature that had a reputation of being trivial.

SCHWARTZ AND THE FEMALE TARGET GROUP

Marie Sophie Schwartz was first introduced in Poland in magazines and newspapers before her novels were published in book form. Four of her novels were published as serials in *Gazeta Polska* in 1864–1865: *Man of Birth and Woman of the People* (*Rodzina Romarhierta*, 1864), *Labour Ennobles the Man* (*Praca uszlachetnia*, 1864), *Ett hämndens offer* (1859; *A Victim of Revenge*) (*Gabryella*, 1865), and *Emancipationsvurmen* (1860; *The Emancipation Frenzy*) (*Marzenia i rzeczywistość*, 1865).

Thereafter, the magazine *Bluszcz* published the novel *Alma* in 1868. In this case, the readers are defined as primarily female, as the magazine was an “illustrated weekly for women.”¹⁰ The magazine published a presentation of the authoress written by the editor-in-chief Maria Ilnicka in two parts, in successive issues.¹¹ Schwartz is depicted as a successor to Fredrika Bremer, who was evidently already known to Polish readers. An article was devoted to Bremer in *Bluszcz* in 1866, which praised her womanly ethics for connecting education with femininity.¹²

Ilnicka designates Bremer’s and Schwartz’s literary works as a specific genre, that of the “novel about the woman”, which meant something more than a novel with female characters: a novel in the “so-called emancipation debate” against the traditional patterns.¹³ Their works thus stand out as tendency writing and are treated as a pioneering social project. The article is about the feminist work of both Swedish authoresses, although emancipation seems to have been a controversial term in Poland at the time, but nonetheless important to discuss.

What was new about Bremer’s “novel about the woman” was, according to Ilnicka, that the genre placed women in modern social contexts and put yearning for education, intellectual development and personal goals in confrontation with their limited choices. The latter was talked about as the “narrow path, trodden for centuries” as opposed to the myriad variety of the modern world.¹⁴ Ilnicka asked rhetorically why these human needs should be considered, only in the case of women, as conflicting with duty and morality. Bremer’s feminine

ideal, an intelligent and thus free woman who remains feminine, dutiful and happy in the family, is entirely accepted by other authoresses. Schwartz's contribution to the debate on women's rights was therefore, according to the writer, more modern. She does not discuss the woman's adult status, independence and responsibility, instead analysing in her novels how women use their capacities – reason, knowledge and emotion – to refine their love relationships and their family lives. It is, according to Ilnicka, the breadth of the perspective that makes Schwartz a writer of European stature, although her works can be inconsistent in terms of artistic quality. Her greatness is based on how she weaves real-life problems into the fictional events and does not give way to fantasy.¹⁵ This assessment of Schwartz's novels emphasises the element of realism; they give shape to emancipatory attitudes as central elements of the plot instead of theorising about them.

However, both Ilnicka's and Schwartz's thinking on female emancipation remains within the framework of the complementary gender-role ideology, according to which the woman's primary task was to be a wife and mother, rear the children and manage the household.¹⁶ The new element of this rather conservative view on women is that womanhood is not incompatible with qualities such as knowledge and good judgement. The traditional gender order thus remains intact, because intellectual skills are declared harmless to the essence of the woman – emotions, caring and morality. Male gender norms, however, remain exemplary and are never questioned; Ilnicka praises Schwartz for seeking truth "like the most conscientious man", while observing her feminine "impatience", which gives expression to emotions and engagement.¹⁷

These ideas are consistent with Maria Ilnicka's opinions on moderate emancipation and the need for organic work.¹⁸ Over her thirty years at the helm of *Bluszcz*, she addressed a wide variety of topics related to women's education, work for pay and new career opportunities. She reported from abroad on women's discoveries, but when she explicitly addressed the issue of female emancipation, it was to dispute the radical ideas in the spirit of George Sand. Instead, she argued that women's education should be blended with happy family life and referred to English and American examples.¹⁹

In the article about Schwartz, Ilnicka discusses her huge popularity in Europe as well as several translations, especially to German, English, French and Polish. She must have read some novels in other languages, because she remarks on books that were not yet available in Polish.²⁰ Only four of Schwartz's novels had been published in Poland, of which *The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People* and *Two Family Mothers* were her most prominent works. In her analysis of the works of

Schwartz, Ilnicka puts particular emphasis on feminine characteristics she believes are found there, such as the shift of focus from outer beauty to inner peace based on determination and responsibility. As well, she extols simplicity, honesty, common sense and humility.²¹ The last raises questions; it seems to be an over-interpretation of the consistency and dutifulness that distinguish Schwartz's female characters, perhaps inspired by Catholic ethics. As shown in the analyses of the Polish translations of Schwartz's novels, women were ascribed characteristics that partly conflicted with the message of the original.

TITLES IN TRANSLATION AND MARKETING STRATEGIES

The review of translations of Marie Sophie Schwartz's novels to Polish displays the development of the novel genre in the nineteenth century, as light reading and tendency writing. Both variations meet women's needs for pleasure and usefulness.²² The novel *The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People* follows the patterns of tendency writing and is based on antagonisms with an obviously moralistic message. Its Polish translation *Rodzina Romarhierta* (The Romarhierta family) was launched more as a family saga taken from the lives of the upper classes than as a socially indignant novel. Schwartz's status as a tendency writer on class and women's issues was downplayed. This in turn aligned with the striving of Polish culture at the time to focus on national unity and avoid social conflicts while under the occupation of the major powers. On the other hand, the original title smacks somewhat of the melodramatic; one of the clichés of popular literature was star-crossed love made impossible by differences in class or status.²³ In such case, the change of title may be interpreted as an attempt to launch the novel as quality literature with some educational potential. The foreign surname in the title probably worked as bait for readers looking to escape domestic problems. This was particularly important for serial novels, whose purpose was to increase the magazine's sales.

Labour Ennobles the Man has consistently been translated as *Praca uszlachetnia*, which aligns with the German translation (*Die Arbeit adelt*). This suggests a moral message, but is not connected to gender. Unlike other Schwarz's novels whose protagonists are capable, self-supporting young women, *Labour Ennobles the Man* is about an orphaned boy who, despite setbacks, works his way up in society. The title of the novel in translation sounded like a positivist catchphrase for work and the sense of duty, something that became a patriotic strategy in Poland when the struggle for liberation had proven fruitless.

The Grandson was first published in Polish translation in *Tygodnik romansów i powieści* (Weekly magazine for romances and novels, 1869), which indicates the light reading nature of the novel. In this case, its Polish title *Być albo nie być* follows the German edition (*Sein oder Nichtsein*, 1867) and seems to be aimed at creating tension, while *The Grandson* does not suggest a dilemma, but rather family relationships of a realistic kind.

The Polish translation of the novel *A Victim of Revenge*, on the other hand, takes an opposite approach. The title, *Gabrjella*,²⁴ the name of one of the female characters, neutralises the aspect of tension; the fate of a woman, perhaps with melodramatic complications, is suggested as the subject. Titles in the form of women's names appealed primarily to women readers who turned to literature for entertainment and to learn about women's new social roles in relation to their own lives.²⁵ The didactic element of the titles is reinforced; *Mathilda*, published in

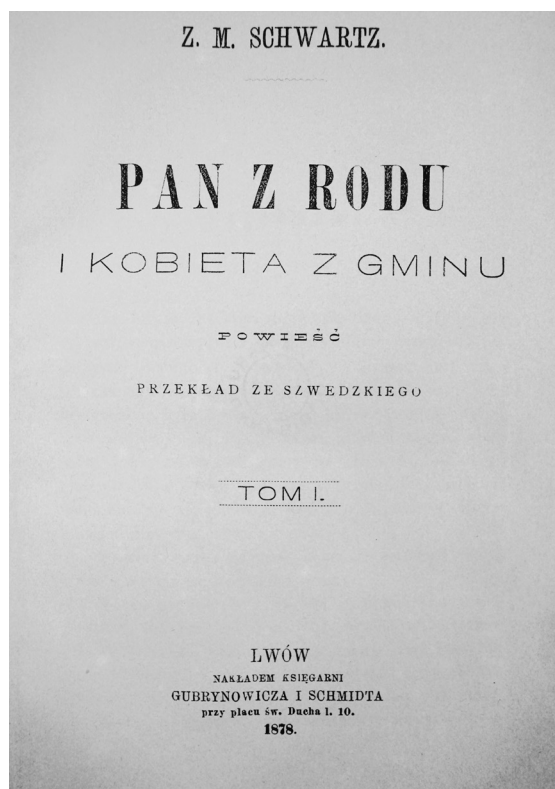
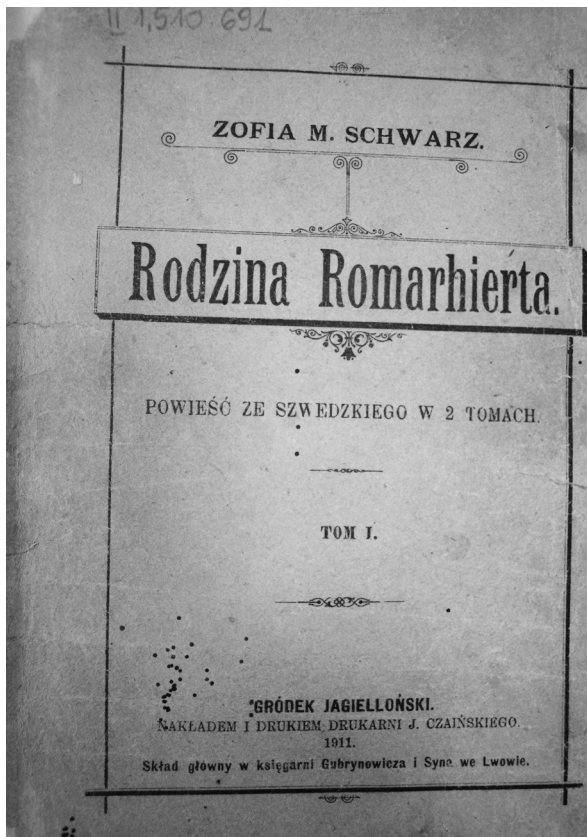


Figure 1 and 2 (to the right). Title pages of two Polish translations of Marie Sophie Schwartz's *Man of Birth and Woman of the People* published in 1878 and 1911.

Svenska tidningen (Swedish magazine) in Stockholm in 1854, was titled *A Coquettish Woman* when published in book form in 1860. The Polish translation followed the latter title (*Kobieta starająca się podobać*, 1876). The didactic aspect was also emphasised when the novel *Den rätta* (1863/1864; *The Right One*)²⁶ was translated to Polish as *Majątek i sumienie* (1882; *Wealth and conscience*), whereby an intended love story became a moral dilemma. In this case, the Polish version does not follow the German (*Der Rechte*, 1864).²⁷

An opposite pattern is observed in *Alma, or Modern Marriages* in Swedish in 1858 and 1860 whose Polish translation (published only as a serial in 1865) kept only the first name, thus weakening its character as tendency writing. The structure of titles thus varies not only in the translations, but also in the Swedish editions; the 1914 edition of *Enkan och hennes barn* (1858; *The Widow and Her Children*) was



titled *Young Love: the Widow and Her Children*, which accentuates its fundamental melodramatic structure.

German translations seem to have played a significant part in Schwartz's distribution in Poland, partly due to her popularity in the German-speaking countries and partly because German was the official language in the parts of Poland annexed by Prussia and Austria-Hungary (western, southern and south-eastern Poland). According to Schwartz's contract with the German publisher Otto Janke, her works were, from 1863 on, to be published in German first, before they were published in Sweden.²⁸ As a result, some of them could also immediately reach Polish readers.²⁹

The novel *Gertrude's Dreams of the Future* was published in two different translations to Polish, *Marzenia Gertrudy* (1876; Gertrude's dreams) and *Przyszłość Gertrudy* (1877; Gertrude's future). Both were published after the German edition (*Gertrud's Zukunftsraum*, 1875); the former was published before and the latter simultaneously with the Swedish edition (1877).³⁰ This indicates that it was translated from German or supported by the German translation. The two titles, however, communicate different notions about the content. The former, published as a serial,³¹ points to a melodramatic story that emphasises the woman's escapism, typical of romances.³² The latter, published in book form, indicates a grounding in reality and that the woman is, to a certain extent, in charge of her own life. The latter was thus a better match to the message of the novel and appealed to women readers who were seeking knowledge and role models.³³ That both parts (future and dreams) were not translated seems to be due to the structure of Polish, where a genitive followed by a genitive is an unfortunate stylistic solution, while a genitive combined with a prepositional phrase makes the reference ambiguous.

It is difficult to interpret Schwartz's attitude towards female emancipation based on her works. On the one hand, she argued for women's adult status, freedom to engage in trade and economic independence, but on the other hand presented endeavours to achieve emancipation in a satirical form in the novel *The Emancipation Frenzy*, which therefore became "a misunderstood tendency novel".³⁴ The novel was published in Poland in two different translations, about ten years apart. The first translation was titled *Marzenia i rzeczywistość* (1865; Dreams and reality),³⁵ which has a conventional melodramatic flavour that suggests a woman's destiny, in accordance with prevailing conditions.³⁶ Thus, the code of popular literature was chosen instead of a modern and controversial term like emancipation, which is understandable considering the serial's aim of attracting readers with wish fulfilment and predictable clichés.³⁷ The title of the later translation, *Gorączka emancypacji*, corresponds to the

Swedish, and the ideas about emancipation are more clearly articulated, which can be explained by that the term was current in public debate when the translation was published in book form in 1877.³⁸

POLISH TRANSLATIONS FROM A CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

Schwartz's tremendous popularity in Poland, compared to other contemporary Swedish writers, raises questions. Was her success due to certain specific qualities in the novels and were these particularly suited to the Polish public, in the eyes of the publishers at least?

Schwartz's novels stand out as cosmopolitan, with no accentuation of particular provincial or cultural details. Other than the choice of names, especially surnames and some place names, there are few references to Swedish reality. Forenames are given a Polish ring (such as Geran or Goran instead of Göran) or changed to Polish forenames (Gertrud to Gertruda, Per Anders to Andrzej, Anne Louise to Ludwika, etc.).³⁹ Aristocratic families live in inherited palaces in the country and travel to the capital city or abroad for pleasure. The details in the interiors are described only if they are relevant to the plot, a portrait of an ancestor, for example, whose story parallels that of the protagonist,⁴⁰ or when the simple furnishings of the lieutenant's home are contrasted with his ailing wife's luxurious apartment.⁴¹ The living conditions of common people are described in somewhat greater detail in *Labour Ennobles the Man*, but here as well, the didactically simplified contrasts are the main point. The author depicts the unassuming simplicity that suffices for a happy life and that can be achieved by hard work, exemplified by Ivar. Despite all of his misfortunes, he becomes an engineer and a respected man. He builds a house where he lives with his aristocratic wife, having won her heart thanks to his tireless effort.⁴²

The landscape is also drawn with broad strokes; it is merely a backdrop for the events and, at its zenith, the symbolism is simple.⁴³ Schwartz is thus not particularly wont to describe settings, and yet an effort to bypass or obscure culturally specific details is apparent in the translations. The tendency is noticeable in *Gertrude's Dreams of the Future* (GDF), whose publication history was provided above; two Polish translations were made by different translators and published in different parts of Poland. *Marzenia Gertrudy* (MG) was published in Warsaw in 1876 in a translation by J.K.S.; *Przyszłość Gertrudy* (PG) was published in Lwów in 1877, translated by T.S. (Teofil Szumski). The Polish translations align to a great extent with the German *Gertrud's Zukunftsraum*⁴⁴ (GZT) and can be presumed to have been done

with the German as the source or supporting text. A number of details that align with the German edition but have been changed in the Swedish indicate translation from German. This applies to personal names (the Swedish Mrs Ringborg has become Mrs Ringberg) and adverbs of time: “it has been a year since he became a locum doctor; (...) Eleven months...” have been changed to “half a year (...) eight months” in all three translations. Gertrud’s trip to Stockholm in January has also been moved to March. In a few cases, the Swedish version is extended with additional information that was probably not found in the manuscript and thus in the translations,⁴⁵ or vice versa. The additional information found in the translations (where the Polish aligns with the German) is not found in the Swedish version.

Even if one presumes that the Polish translations were made from German, there are still some changes made to the text by the translator which evidently derived from the Polish cultural context. Certain typically Swedish phenomena have been adapted or wrongly interpreted. When answering her aunt’s question about what Gertrud’s family eats for breakfast, the girl answers:

Välling, kära faster. ”Det styrker kroppen”, men lifvar själen gör det icke. Stackars pappa, han har fått passionen för mjölmät. Välling till frukost, mjölklimp till middagen och mjölgröt till kvällen. (GDF, 10)

[Gruel, dear Aunt. “It fortifies the body”, but invigorate the mind it does not. Poor daddy, he has developed a passion for starchy foods. Gruel for breakfast, dumplings for dinner and pap in the evening.]

Milchbrei, liebe Tante, das stärkt den Körper aber die Seele vermag es nicht zu beleben. Armer Papa, er hat für Milchgerichte eine grosse Passion, Milchbrei zum Frühstück, Milchklösse zu Mittag und Milchgrübe zu Abend. (GZT, 11–12)

Papkę z mleka, kochana stryjenciu, to wzmacnia ciało, ale nie ożywia wcale ducha ... Biedny ojciec niezmiernie lubi wszelkie mleczne pokarmy. Papka z mleka na śniadanie, na obiad zacierki na mleku, na kolację kaszka na mleku (MG, 11)

Mleczko, kochana ciociu, to pożywne dla ciała, ale co duszy, to nie potrafi ożywić. Biedny tato ma osobliwy apetyt do wszelkich potrawa mlecznych. Toteż mamy rano mleko, na obiad kluseczki na mleku, a wieczór kaszka na mleczku. (PG, 11)

Välling [gruel] has been translated as “milk soup” so that all the variations of starchy foods made with flour (“mjölmat”) have become dishes made with milk. Swedish gruel does not have to be cooked with milk. As shown above, this interpretation springs from the German translation: *papka z mleka* (MG) is a literal translation of *Milchbrei*, but does not describe a Polish dish. It is rather considered poor food: *mleko* (MG, PG) and *mleczko* (PG) is only milk. This shows that *välling* was a problematic detail taken from Swedish culinary culture. References to milk can be interpreted either as a translation error (possibly a confusion of *mjöl* [flour] and *mjölk* [milk]) or, more likely, a domestication that brings the Swedish breakfast dish closer to the German and the Polish milk soup. Another example, referring to weather conditions, supports the thesis that the German text was the source:

Det var i Mars månad. En ovanlig köld herskade. (GDF, 19)

[It was March. The weather was unusually cold.]

Obgleich der Frühling im Anmarsch war, herrschte doch eine ungewöhnliche Kälte (GZT, 25–26)

Chociaż wiosna była już na schyłku, dawało się czuć jeszcze dotkliwie zimno. (MG, 24)

Pomimo że to było w porze zbliżającej się wiosny, panowały jednak zimna dokuczliwe. (PG, 19)

In central Europe, where March is considered early spring, the translator felt the need to explain the odd weather conditions and the translations thus state: “Even though springtime was on the way, it was unusually cold.” There are also changes in the section on coastal living conditions. Against the backdrop of a storm during a fishing trip, the fisher says to Gertrud, whom he has rowed ashore:

Inte hade någon annan än jag kommit i hamn med båt och last, det är då säkert, för det var en svårare storm, och God bevara alla, som äro ute. (GDF, 46)

[No one but me would have made it into port with boat and cargo, that is for sure, for it was a severe storm, and God preserve all who are out there.]

“Kein anderer würde mit dem Boote und der Last das Land erreicht haben, denn ein schwererer Sturm habe an der Küste nicht gewüthet, *so lange er denken könne.*” (GZT, 70)

“Kto inny na mojem miejscu byłby się z pewnością nie dostał *do brzegu* (- - -), bo takiej (- - -) burzy, *dalibóg, nie pamiętam.*” (PG, 44)

In the Polish translation (PG), the phrase “made it into port with boat and cargo” was reduced to “made it ashore.” That this involved securing both the boat, which is the fisher’s main work equipment, and the catch, upon which his living depends, seems foreign to the Polish translator. Likewise with the phrase “God preserve all who are out there”, which expresses concern and solidarity with other fishers out at sea. The emotional and culture-related meaning disappears from the translation and is replaced with a conventional wrap-up that focuses on the individual memory rather than the fellowship of mariners, which aligns with the German translation (see italics).

GENDER ORDER AS CULTURAL CONTEXT

The above mentioned examples indicate that some details of the Swedish culture were not of particular interest to Polish (and even German) translators, who preferred domestication strategies in rendering the realities of everyday life. This tendency is particularly noticeable as far as the gender order is concerned. Considering the feminist message in Schwartz’s novels, gender-related elements in the translation should be analysed. It was certainly the ideological content that made Schwartz interesting to Polish readers, including the idea of female emancipation, but some ideas were downplayed in the Polish, rather conservative cultural context, as observed in Maria Ilnicka’s introduction of Schwartz. The translations of *Gertrude’s Dreams of the Future* and *The Emancipation Frenzy* therefore provide a wealth of comparative material due to the novels’ progressive stance on women’s rights. The protagonist of the former is the 16-year-old daughter of a destitute lieutenant and she becomes embroiled in a sort of contest to inherit from her wealthy paternal aunt. She does everything she can to avoid being a suitable heiress because she wants to get an education and work to earn her living. She succeeds in this, but the aunt still leaves her a large portion of her property and makes her the stewardess of her country estate. Gertrud does not want to marry, especially because she believes the husband’s right to his wife’s fortune is unjust. But she is confronted by her sister’s husband, who married for money and has wasted his wife’s fortune. He

demands that Gertrud pay his debts. His machinations put Gertrud at odds with her loved ones and make her doubt her generosity. However, she is helped by her brother-in-law's brother, Doctor Hartling, who loves her and eventually proves that he is financially independent and that his love is genuine. They marry and work together.

Like many other works by Schwartz, the novel is based upon stark contrasts:⁴⁶ between the self-aware Gertrud and her beautiful but naive sister, between the scrupulous Doctor Hartling and his cynical brother. Two female characters (Aunt Anne Louise and Isabella) fall victim to fortune-hunters who turn their lives into a nightmare. As is the case in tendency writing, the message is not only exemplified by the didactically constructed story; the problems are also explicitly discussed by the characters, who make concrete suggestions for increasing equality: legal protection for the wife's fortune and the option for the wife to contribute to the shared household with her wealth and work of her own. In other words, neither the man nor the woman should be turned into merchandise on the marriage market.⁴⁷

Gertrude's Dreams of the Future is a coming-of-age story; while the protagonist certainly has decided opinions from the outset, she nevertheless develops, is tested and achieves a deeper understanding of life. Let us see how the young Gertrud and her maturation process are portrayed in the translations. The quotation below describes 16-year-old Gertrud, who is watching a storm.

Tusentals nya tankar väcktes till lif. Hon kände sig i denna stund så liten, och hon erfor en med häpnad blandad vördnad för den makts storhet, som framkallade stormen. All hennes ungdomliga självklokhed och tillförsigt var i denna stund nedtystad. Hon tryckte de knäppta händerna mot bröstet och hennes läppar rördes till en tyst bön för dem, som på det vilda hafvet kämpade med de upprörda elementen. (GDF, 47)

[Thousands of new thoughts were brought to life. She felt so small in this moment, and she felt reverence mixed with awe for the greatness of the power that called forth the storm. All of her youthful self-regard and confidence were hushed in this moment. She pressed her clasped hands against her chest and her lips moved in silent prayer for those battling with the raging elements on the wild sea.]

Tausend früher nicht gedachte und geahnte Gedanken wurden von ihrem Innern zu Leben geweckt; sie dächte sich in dieser Stunde

so klein, und sie fühlte eine mit Schrecken gemischte Ehrfurcht von der Grösse der Macht, welche dem Sturm gebot. Ihre Ganze jugendliche Selbstklugheit und Zuversicht war in dieser Stunde bedeutend herabgedrückt. Sie presste die zusammengehaltenen Hände an ihre Brust und ihre Lippen bewegten sich zu einem stillen Gebet zu dem Herren der Welt. (GZT 70–71)

Tysiące myśli nieznanych dawniej budziło się w jej duszy; uznawała w tej chwili nicość własną i doznawała uczucia grozy i pokory zarazem wobec olbrzymiej siły, jaką rozwijała burza w jej oczach. Ufność w siebie, nieopatrność młodości zmalowały w tej chwili w duszy żywego dziewczęcia. Przycisnęła oburącz piersi i z głową pochyloną, poczęła szeptać cichą modlitwę do Pana zastępów. (PG 45)

[Thousands of new thoughts were ~~brought to life~~ awakened in her soul. She felt ~~so small~~ in her emptiness in this moment, and she felt ~~reverence mixed with awe~~ a sense of dread and humility before the greatness of the power that called forth the storm. All of her youthful self-regard and confidence were hushed *in the soul of the young lass* in this moment. She pressed her clasped hands against her chest and her lips moved in silent prayer ~~for those battling with the raging elements on the wild sea~~ to the Lord of Sabaoth.]⁴⁸

The German translation is fairly faithful to the Swedish original, other than the detail about the nature of the prayer, which in Swedish is a prayer for mariners in peril. In German and Polish, it is a prayer to almighty God, which instead suggests Gertrud's own fear of the elements. The emphasis is on the soul, which here represents emotions, not intellect, in Gertrud's reaction to the storm – the new thoughts are awakened in her soul, not in her head. While emotions are mentioned in the original, they have been changed from active, uplifting experiences (reverence, awe) into religiously tinged passivity (humility).⁴⁹ The Polish translation thus develops the strategy of portraying the young girl as fearful and uncertain. Humility is also attributed to another woman protagonist, the young Anne Louise: “Nu återstod henne endast att utan knot fördraga följderna af sin ohörsamhet” (GFD, 18) [Now all that remained was for her to endure the consequences of her disobedience without complaint]; “Nie pozostawało jej, jak bez szemrania, *w pokorze*⁵⁰ znosić skutki swego nieposłuszeństwa” (PG, 19). In the Polish translation “with humility” is added.

Schwartz's message is focused on the education of women that leads

to growing engagement and social responsibility. A description of Gertrud when she arrives home after three years in the capital, where she got an education and occupation, is presented below:

Hennes sätt hade likväl blifvit mera sansadt. Hon hade fått en viss värdighet, som, i förening med det kloka och förståndiga ansigtsuttrycket gav henne utseende af att vara betydligt äldre än hon verkligen var. (GDF, 56)

[Her demeanour had become more sober. She had acquired a certain dignity which, combined with her sensible and intelligent expression, made her look considerably older than she really was.]

The German translation aligns well with the Swedish original (see the underlined characteristics) except in one detail, her age, which was probably stated in the manuscript but omitted in the Swedish edition:⁵¹

...und dennoch war ihre Art und Weise eine mehr gesetzte geworden. Sie war jetzt im Besitze einer gewissen Würde, die in der Vereinigung mit dem klugen und verständigen Ausdruck im Gesicht ihr das Aussehen gab, als wäre sie weit älter *als neunzehn Jahre*. (GZT, 87)

The Polish translations deviate strikingly from both the Swedish and the German texts by changing and omitting the stated characteristics (see the italics in the examples below, back-translated here to Swedish):

...z tem wszystkim *nie* wydawała się jednak *lekkomyślną, roztrzepaną dziewczyną*. Obok bowiem tej wesołości *powaga* przebijająca się w całej jej postaci, wraz z *rozzumnem* wyrazem oczu czyniły ją o wiele starszą, niż była w istocie” (MG, 83).

[...yet she did *not* seem to be a *silly, scatter-brained girl*. In spite of the joy, she radiated *seriousness* with her entire being, which along with the *intelligent* gaze made her much older than she really was.]

A jednak Gertruda mimo wesołości była i *poważną, wyraz głębokiego zamyślenia* nie ustępował z jej twarzy i czynił ją wiele starszą niż była w istocie jako panienka w dziewiętnastym roku życia” (PG, 53).

[And yet, Gertrud was also *serious*, in spite of the joy. The expression of being *lost in deep thoughts* did not fade from her face and made her so much older than she, as a nineteen-year-old lass, really was.]

Swedish original GDF, 1877	English	German translation GZT, 1875	Polish translation MG, 1876	Polish translation PG, 1877
sansad	sober	gesetzt	nie ... lekkomyślna "inte lättsinnig" [not silly]	poważna "allvarlig" [serious]
värdighet	dignity	Würde	nie ... roztrzepana "inte tankspridd" [not scatter-brained]	wyraz głębokiego zamyślenia "försjunken i djupa tankar" [lost in deep thoughts]
klok	wise	klug	powaga "allvar" [seriousnes]	- - -
förståndig	intelligent, prudent	verständig	rozumny "förståndig" [intelligent]	- - -
- - -		...als neunzeht Jahre	- - -	w dziewiętnastym roku życia
- - -		- - -	dziewczyną "flicka" [girl]	panienka "fröken" [lass]

The table above indicates that the positive traits (sober, dignified, wise, intelligent) linked with intellect and self-control have been weakened in the Polish translations both quantitatively (only two of four in PG) and qualitatively. "Lost in deep thoughts" is more likely to be associated with introversion than reason; "not seem to be silly and scatter-brained" introduces stereotypical characteristics of femininity (opposites to rationality), albeit negated. The reductionist view on women is based on emphasising her lack of adult status through the designations "girl" and "lass", which are not found in the original. The attribute "nineteen-year-old" further weakens the recently acquired maturity communicated by the original text. In the Polish translations, the woman has been ascribed more traditional gender characteristics;

she scarcely develops any new qualities that reshape her identity on equal terms with the man's.

The strategy also applies to the woman's appearance; Schwartz's female characters who want something out of life are not usually stunningly beautiful, instead distinguishing themselves through the content of their character. The true beauties, such as Isabella in *Gertrude's Dreams of the Future*, on the other hand, are characterised by passivity and helplessness, and often of sickness. There is a tendency in the translations to tone down the non-feminine features in the woman's appearance and make them more pleasing. The young Anne Louise is described:

Hon höll i längd *tre alnar*, var starkt byggd och manhaftig i hela sitt väsen. Ansigtet var mera fult än vackert, uttryckte mycken fasthet och mycket förstånd, men föga känsla. (GDF, 16)

[She was *three ells* in height, powerfully built, her being entirely masculine. The face was more ugly than beautiful, expressed much firmness and intelligence, but little emotion.]

... sie war *drei Ellen hoch*, als sie erwachsen war, stark gebaut und hatte die Gestalt des Jünglings. Das Gesicht, zwar kraftvoll, war eher hässlich als schön. Der Ausdruck zeigte Energie und viel Verstand, aber wenig Gefühl. (GZT, 21)

... Ludwika (...) była niezmiernie wysoka, jak na kobietę, silnie zbudowana, o kształtach młodzieńca raczej, aniżeli dziewczycy. Twarz jej, znamionująca wielką siłę ducha była więcej brzydka, niż piękna. Malowało się, prawda, na niej wiele energii i rozumu, ale za to mało uczucia. (MG, 19)

[(She) was unusually tall for a woman, powerfully built, with the shape of a youth, rather than a maiden. Her face, characterised by great strength of mind, was more ugly than beautiful. It assuredly radiated a great deal of energy and intelligence, but hardly any emotion.]

Gdy wyrosła, podobniejszą była do młodzieńca niż poetycznej panny, słuszna, tęga i silnie zbudowana, wyrazu twarzy energicznego, była raczej brzydką niż piękną. Oblicze jej zdradzało wielką siłę woli, ale nie uczucie. (PG, 17)

[When she grew up, she looked more like a youth than a poetic lass, strongly built, heavy and solid, with an energetic expression on her face, she was ugly rather than beautiful. The face expressed much resolution, but no emotion.]

The girl's height, which seems considerable even in modern circumstances, is not mentioned in the Polish translations, although it is found in the German. MG mentions the girl's height only in relation to the female norm; PG omits the height as a striking characteristic and makes it implicit through a comparison with a young man and the adjective "sluszna" [stately], which has a relative meaning. The masculine impression is downplayed in both cases and balanced by the express mention of the feminine opposite (lass, maiden) and communicates a desirable feminine image with gender-related characteristics ("poetic" in PG). The inner characteristics are far more important, however. The intelligence is omitted in PG but retained in MG, where it is weakened by changing the lack of emotion to "hardly any emotion", which once again introduces a feminine gender norm.

Swedish original GDF, 1877	English	German translation GZT, 1875	Polish translation MG, 1876	Polish translation PG, 1877
... i längd tre alnar	...three ells in height	drei Ellen hoch	niezmiernie wysoka jak na kobietę "ovanlig lång för en kvinna" [unusually tall for a woman]	sluszna "reslig" [stately]
starkt byggd	powerfully built	stark gebaut	silnie zbudowana "starkt byggd" [powerfully built]	tęga, silnie zbudowana "kraftig, starkt byggd" [heavy, powerfully built]
var ...manhaftig i hela sitt väsen - - -	her being entirely masculine	hatte <i>die Gestalt des Jünglings</i> - - -	<i>o kształtach młodzieńca raczej niż dziewicy</i> "med en ynglings snarare än en ungmös gestalt" [with the shape of a youth, rather than a maiden]	podobniejszą była do młodzieńca niż poetycznej panny "liknade snarare en yngling än en poetisk fröken" [looked more like a youth than a poetic lass]

mycken fasthet och förstånd	much firmness and intelligence	<i>Energie</i> und viel Verstand	wiele <i>energii</i> i rozumu ”mycket energi och förstånd” [great deal of energy and intelligence]	- - - wielką siłę woli ”stor viljestyrka” [much resolution]
föga känsla	little emotion	wenig Gefühl	mało uczucia ”knappast någon känsla” [hardly any emotion]	nie uczucie ”ingen känsla” [no emotion]

Schwartz also works with gender-related opposites (ugly – beautiful, intelligence – emotion), but in the Polish translations, the feminine norms that communicate a valuation of the woman through her exterior and her character traits are in the majority. The Polish Anne Louise is not entirely a lost cause as a woman; certain vestiges are presented as possible to develop. Energy (GZT and MG) can also be considered a weaker description than firmness, as energy need not have a definite direction and can even be destructive, while firmness entails decisiveness and constancy: characteristics associated with male gender.

Another culturally conditioned change in the Polish translation emerges when Gertrud talks to Doctor Hartling about her sister Isabella’s unfamiliarity with flirtation: “Hon är vid tjugu år mera obekant med dylika saker, än andra flickor vid tolf” (GDF, 67) [At twenty, she is more ignorant of such things than other girls at twelve]. In the Polish translation, “twelve” has been changed to “thirteen” (PG, 64), clearly with a culturally established age limit for girls’ entry into society in mind,⁵² while the German is faithful to the original (GZT, 105).

Although Schwartz uses both the templates of popular culture and the tendency novel’s direct expounding of ideas in the dialogues, her style is concise, even bold, which corresponds with her female characters. In Polish translation, the effort to soften images and modes of expression too bold for the epoch is also apparent in this regard. Gertrud’s spontaneous reaction to her aunt, “Är du rysk, faster lilla?” (GDF, 40) [Are you Russian, my dear aunt?], which means “are you crazy?”, is close to the original in the German translation: “Das wäre doch thöricht, liebe Tante.” (GZT, 57). In the Polish, it sounds much more polite: “*Ja, przeciwnie, kochana ciociu, nie widzę najmniejszej tego potrzeby*” (MG, 56) [As for me, on the other hand, I do not consider it at all necessary, my dear aunt], and “*A to kochana ciociu byłaby dopiero niedorzeczność!*” (PG, 38) [And how unreasonable would that not be, my dear aunt!].

As regards male gender, stereotypical character traits are not questioned in the translation. Doctor Hartling “var en person med mycket energi och intelligens, men också stor självtillit” (GDF, 59) [was a person of much energy and intelligence, but also great self-confidence], and in German “ein Mann von grosser Energi, Intelligenz und grossem Selbstvertrauen” (GZT, 92). All of these characteristics are not only found in the Polish translations but also slightly magnified; “great self-confidence” has, for example, become “niezwykły hart ducha” (MG, 87) [uncommon strength of mind]. Things are different when certain male gender norms degenerate, as when strength becomes violence, as in the following example: “och det gick så långt, att den uppretade mannen misshandlade Anne Louise” (GDF, 19) [and it went so far that the enraged man assaulted Anne Louise]; “es ging so weit, dass der erzürnte Mann seine Frau misshandelte” (GZT, 25). Both the Swedish text and the German translation mention the occurrence with no equivocation: the husband’s rage and violence towards the wife. The Polish, however, tones down the circumstances. The 1876 translation (MG), mentions striking the wife, but not the husband’s rage: “i Emil do tego stopnia się zapomniał, że uderzył żonę” (MG, 24) [and Emil forgot himself to the extent that he struck his wife]; the construction “to forget oneself” seems to relieve the perpetrator of part of the responsibility. The 1877 translation (PG) is vaguer: “i przyszło do tego, że mąż w uniesieniu dopuścił się nadużycia nad słabą kobietą” (PG, 19) [and so it happened that the indignant man committed an abuse against the weak woman]. Indignation seems to be a nobler emotion than rage, and abuse does not necessarily have to involve physical violence. In this way, the dispute between the spouses seems to be a marital argument, and not a crime.

Schwartz is at times bold in her imagery, and the translator intervenes to soften the admittedly strong images, particularly when it comes to women’s emotional reactions that were not permitted to be uncontrolled: “Kammarrådinnan såg ut som en retad kalkon. Hon var blodröd” (GDF, 33) [The privy councilress looked like an angry turkey. She was blood red]. This has been translated to German without the incisive simile, but with its explicitation (italics): “Die Kam-marräthin sah aus, *als sollte sie vor Zorn vergehen*: sie war blutroth” (GZT, 47). In this regard, the Polish translation (PG) aligns with the German, but introduces a moderating simile about her appearance: “Radczyni omal nie pękła ze złości, *poczerwieniła jak piwonia*” (PG, 34) [...was about to burst from rage, *she turned as red as a peony*]. The woman, even when harbouring strong negative emotions, thus does not cease to be an appealing being associated with a flower or some other pleasant thing.

The examples analysed above demonstrate a gender-related strategy. In the translations, the female characters striving for self-sufficiency and independence appear as more adapted to the prevailing gender norms; they are more girlish and well brought-up, as well as deprived, to a certain extent, of their intellectual and moral judgement, while male characters do not lose their gender-determined integrity. This may also be due to the translators' gender, male in two cases and impossible to determine in one.⁵³ It then became the translator's view on women, informed by the Polish culture that determined the constructed femininity in the translated novels. The analyses also show that the new, pedagogically incisive characteristics of the modern woman advocated by Schwartz were toned down. The Polish debate on emancipation had not developed until the 1870s and there were hardly any literary depictions of emancipated women until the 1890s. On the other hand, strong, working women were very welcome role models in Poland after the national struggle ended in defeat, for when family fathers were killed or deported to Siberia, it was often the women who held the families together, preserved the national culture and became everyday heroes. Schwartz's novels brought modern, but not too radical, patterns for women's new social responsibility and engagement.

FOR OR AGAINST EMANCIPATION? STRATEGIES OF CONVEYING IDEOLOGY

Not only were Polish translators ambivalent to women's position in the gender order. The authoress herself made some of her female characters oscillate between a social revolt and conformation to gender norms. This has to do with the fact that Marie Sophie Schwartz often employed patterns known from popular literature to convey more convoluted social messages. Compared to *Gertrude's Dreams of the Future*, *The Emancipation Frenzy*⁵⁴ (henceforth EF) was a more radical voice in the emancipation debate, albeit not easily interpreted. All of the female characters are supporters of women's rights to education and work. The Misses Milner, Calla and Elise, devote themselves to writing and theatrical singing, respectively.⁵⁵ Urda rejects female gender norms with regard to clothing as well as occupation and becomes a laughing-stock to others. They are balanced by the virtuous housewives, Mrs Milner and Aunt Barbro, who are both depicted as something of a caricature. The contrast is established, however, between Calla, who writes in secret and does not provoke others with her opinions, and Urda, who never wants to compromise her convictions and openly opposes prevailing feminine norms. The brothers Harald and Erland are also

created according to the rule of contrast, but they both seek beauty in women and in the end both find their liberated wives, whom they have learned to appreciate.

The novel was first published in Poland in 1865 as a magazine serial, *Marzenia i rzeczywistość* (MiR), thus, a year after the German translations,⁵⁶ with no mention of the translator or source language. It was published for the second time in book form in 1876, when the title was changed to *Gorączka emancypacji* (GE),⁵⁷ translated by S.M., whose identity could not be determined. It was not possible to compare the Polish to any of the German translations. The focus of the following analysis will be on the relationship of the Polish translations to the Swedish original, in order to identify what changed in the Polish view on emancipation over the eleven years that elapsed between the two translations.

As previously mentioned, women were the intended readership of novels, especially in serial form. This is apparent in the narrator's commentary on the narration: "Vi vilja på ett ögonblick lemna sällskapet (...) för att upplysa läsaren om, huru Barbro vann sin seger" (EF, 29) [In a moment, we wish to leave the company (...) to enlighten the reader as to how Barbro won her victory], where in the Polish serial "the reader" is put in the feminine plural ("...objaśnimy czytelniczki...", MiR, 237/2),⁵⁸ which does not occur in the book (GE), which uses the masculine form. The idea of equality is presented in a more serious form in Calla's conversation with Harald (EF, 69–76), which is based on her reading of Madame de Staël's *Corinne* and evolves into a discussion of women's constricted freedom compared with men's opportunities for self-realisation. Calla turns the conversation towards women's writing and other arenas in life where talented women should have the right to develop and become established. She presents some arguments against the complementary view on gender advocated by Harald.

Both translations reproduce the conversation relatively faithfully, but differences that are significant to the whole can still be traced. The 1876 translation has a more pronounced rhetorical nature that emphasises women's rights, while the serial edition employs a somewhat milder form of expression.⁵⁹ Calla is disappointed in Harald and asks rhetorically whether it is possible: "att Han, som skapat människoslägtet, gaf åt den ena hälften frihet och makt, för att dermed förtrycka den andra" (EF, 70) [that He, who created the human family, gave freedom and power to one half, in order to oppress the other]. In this Polish serial, this is formulated as: "czyż wszystkie swe dary złał tylko na jedną połowę?" (MiR, 242/1) [gave all his gifts to only one half], while GE retains the trenchant phrasing: "połowie onego dał swobodę i władzę

by drugą połowę uciskała” (GE, 97) [gave to one half freedom and power to oppress the other]. As Harald advises ingenious women to be saints and let their genius ornament the home, Calla exclaims: “Hvilka vackra ord för att bemantla er egoism!” (EF, 72) [What beautiful words in which to cloak your egotism!]. MiR uses the phrase “pokryć wasze samolubstwo” (MiR, 242/3) [cover your selfishness], while GE uses the more direct and accusatory “zamaskować wasz egoizm” (GE, 102) [camouflage your egotism]. The latter thus more clearly foregrounds a deliberate act to maintain the prevailing power structure.

In this conversation, Calla is the rational and enlightened party, who does not allow herself to be misled by the complementarity ideology, while Harald’s views are conservative, based on biases about emancipation and clearly rooted in the traditional gender order. His lines reveal the gender stereotypes of the time: a frightful mess in an emancipated woman’s home, confusion in the public institutions if women are allowed in as employees, the suffering of their abandoned children and families. A positive contrast to this chaos is presented in how nature and the Creator have arranged that world and set motherhood as the woman’s highest calling.

Here, Schwartz uses an approach which makes the long scene plausible – that of allowing the conversation to take on the shape of a flirtation, where Harald’s jabs can be regarded as a way of teasing the woman he is falling in love with. This gives Calla the opportunity to develop her thoughts and communicate them without exaggeration or using the rhetoric of struggle. This is a method to get the feminist ideas formulated and communicated to women readers. Although the novel ends with an ostensible retreat from the ideas of emancipation, it brought attention to women’s rights to self-actualisation and choice of life model.

The novel communicates yet another progressive idea: that of the loving fathers who allow their daughters to seek their own paths in life. Mr Milner gives his daughters a fine education at a boarding school in the capital city and does not restrict their plans to engage in artistic pursuits, although he is worried about the social consequences. Even the stern captain gives way to Urda’s stubborn attempts to try various occupations, which have negligible results at first, but which lead to skills in farm management and to a training school for young women in the district. Certainly, Calla gives up writing once she has found marital happiness, which can be regarded as a repudiation of the emancipation ideal, but she does not do so until Harald has acknowledged her talent. Her theatrical gesture of throwing her literary work in the sea, and Harald’s equally dramatic rescue of the same, follows this

melodramatic pattern. Calla has performed her didactical role in the novel as the communicator of modern ideas. Urda, on the other hand, who, with her inadequate education, is at first unable to communicate a rational message about women's needs for freedom, remains true to her convictions and realises them in her life, without compromising. The ambivalence regarding Schwartz's attitudes towards emancipation thus remain and reflect the two ambitions mentioned in the introduction: tendency writing and entertainment. Certain melodramatic concessions⁶⁰ serve the purpose of carrying the didactic message, which explains the tremendous popularity Marie Sophie Schwartz acquired in Poland. Although both Polish translations touch on the issues of emancipation, they seem to differ in ideological intensity. The earlier one (1865) is rather ideologically subdued, whereas the text of 1876 is richer in explicit references, including the title. This reflects a growing awareness of emancipation among Polish readers as well as their apparent readiness to acquire books on this subject.

MARIE SOPHIE SCHWARTZ AND THE POLISH QUESTION

It is difficult to say how aware Marie Sophie Schwartz was of her success in Poland. Although she knew that her novels were translated into Polish, she most likely did not know what happened to her texts in Polish translation, how they were launched and introduced or what it was that appealed to Polish readers. However, the dialogue between the Swedish and the Polish culture was not one-sided. Poland's oppression was an important political issue in Europe at that time, which Marie Sophie Schwartz found worth taking a stance on. Her personal commitment to the freedom fight of the Polish people is obvious, in that she wrote *En Polens dotter* (1863; *A Daughter of Poland*). Even though the story did not reach Poland, it was an important and impassioned voice in the "Polish Question". Interest in Poland burgeoned in Sweden through the nineteenth century. The country's difficult political position after the partitions of Poland received increasing attention in connection with the national uprisings of the Poles, crushed bloodily by Russia. In liberal circles, the November Uprising of 1830 was regarded as a struggle for the European cause and, not least importantly, the cause of Sweden, where there was a revival of nationalist spirit and romantic ideals of freedom after the loss of Finland, in spite of the officially pro-Russian policy.⁶¹ The direction of policy was changed during the reign of Charles XV, which made it possible to bring up the Polish question

in parliamentary debate and take action to support the January Uprising in 1863. Sympathies were on Poland's side against Sweden's arch-enemy, Russia; there were many declarations of support, but not much real support was provided. Sweden refused to help with the transport of troops and cargo or to attack Russia militarily. This pandering was sharply criticised by contemporary Swedish intellectuals (such as Fredrika Bremer), who maintained contact with Polish emigres, arranged Polish relief missions and published information and articles about Poland's precarious position in the newspapers.⁶² The engagement also resulted in a number of historic and literary works, both written in Swedish and translated, which solidified the national romantic image of the oppressed people, "the stepchildren of the world" according to the Swedish writer August Blanche.⁶³ In the struggle against the ruthless enemy, Polish women especially were ascribed an important role for their courage and patriotic sacrifice.

That subject was addressed by Marie Sophie Schwartz who published her novella *A Daughter of Poland* in 1863, dedicated to Poland and with a female protagonist. She therefore used her medium, the melodramatic novel, to demonstrate her solidarity with and admiration for the Polish people. At the same time, she gave expression to the public antipathy for Russia as country of despotism and inequality that was alien to the European ideal of freedom. The story covers the time between the November Uprising in 1830 and the January Uprising in 1863 and illustrates both events as aspects of the Polish people's unceasing dreams of freedom. The prologue depicts freedom fighter Sebastian Paziwiski and his wife, who was, "såsom de flesta polska qvinnor den tiden, fanatiskt tillgifven frihetsstriden" [like most Polish women of the time, fanatically devoted to the struggle for freedom],⁶⁴ at the fall of the uprising. They are deported to Siberia, where they soon die. Their young daughter Olga, unaware of her origins, grows up in Russian family and becomes the governess of the Princess Tolstoy's daughter. The egotistical and arrogant princess embodies the negative image of the Russian aristocracy, especially in how she treats her inferiors like slaves. When the family travels to Paris, Olga meets the princess's son, Nikolai. Disliking her subservience, he encourages Olga to educate and respect herself. Olga reads Rousseau, regains her self-esteem and learns about her Polish roots. The princess, who suspects an infatuation between Olga and her son, takes the girl back to Russia, where she is imprisoned for treason and deported to Siberia. When this occurs, Nikolai cuts all ties with the princess. After a while, the princess seeks out her son, but finds a stranger with whom Nikolai has

switched identities. She travels to Siberia, where she encounters her son and Olga, living together in humble circumstances. But her pride will not permit her to acknowledge her son, who is now a serf.

The epilogue describes a battlefield of the January Uprising, strewn with the dead and wounded, where two women, Olga and the princess, are searching for Nikolai. He is found and reconciled with his mother before the Cossacks return and kill him. The princess dies of grief and Olga, as “a daughter of Poland” continues to aid the wounded:

Hvar en strid står mellan ryssar och polackar finner man Olga, för att med sin hjälpsande hand söka mildra plågorna. Hon skyr icke någon fara, icke någon möda, och underkastande sig alla möjliga försakelser och lidanden blott för att uppfylla den mission, hon iklädt sig, sköter och vårdar om dem, som våga lif och blod för frihetens heliga sak.⁶⁵

[Wherever there is a battle between Russians and Poles, Olga will be found, trying with her helping hands to ease the torment. She shrinks not from any danger, nor from any hardship, and, submitting to all manner of privation and suffering to fulfil the mission she had taken on, she nurses and tends to those who put their lives and blood at stake in the sacred cause of freedom.]

Olga thus becomes a near-mythical figure who, like Antigone, is following a moral mission. She guarantees that the Polish identity will be preserved and that all freedom fighters, across time, will be united.

The story does not convey much knowledge about either Polish or Russian culture. Not even the Polish surname sounds really Polish (Paziewski might have worked). The narrative aligns with the stereotypical black-and-white characterisation that is connected to the old class hierarchy, which had been one of Schwartz’s favourite themes, as well as the romantic mythology of freedom, with its pathos and rhetorical embellishment. The princess is consigned to representing all repugnant traits: arrogance, contempt for the lower orders, double standards, cunning and mendacity and lack of maternal feeling. Olga, on the other hand, represents the oppressed and marginalised, while upholding her morals and dignity, regardless of the circumstances. The story has a clear political tendency that is expressed in the historical background, which is drawn in broad strokes, but with an obviously critical edge directed at the politics of the great powers of Europe:

Åter hade tiden fört människorna framåt och år flyttat.

Man skref 1863.

Polen stod i fullt uppror.

Det kämpade en förtvivlad kamp för sin frihet mot förtrycket.

Hela Europas uppmärksamhet var fästad vid den olika striden mellan Polens olyckliga folk och Rysslands vilda skaror.

Ifrån hela den civiliserade världen gjordes insamlingar, för att bistå de käcka, som våga allt, för att bryta sina bojar.

Alla tidningar voro uppfyllda af uppmaningar om bistånd; men de europeiska kabinetten sökte på diplomatisk väg lösa den blodiga frågan om ett förtryckt folks befrielse, under det allmänheten

själfdde af fasa över de gräsligheter, som förövades i Polen. Hvarje människa med känsla och samvete hade blott en åstundan, den att kunna skynda till detta hjeltemodiga folks bistånd och befrielse.

Skaror af frivilliga hastade från alla kanter, för att skänka undsättning; men stormakterna läto tiden gå och blod flyta i strömmar under ett fortsatt parlamentering.

Once again, time had taken people forward and years had moved.

One wrote 1863.

Poland was in full uprising

It found a desperate battle for its freedom against the oppression.

The attention of all Europe was fixed on the various battles between the ill-fated people of Poland and the wild hordes of Russia.

Collections were made from the entire civilised world to aid the plucky, who risked everything, to break their bonds.

All of the newspapers were filled with exhortations to give aid; but the European cabinets sought by diplomatic means to resolve the bloody question of an oppressed people's liberation while the public quaked in horror at the atrocities perpetrated in Poland. All persons of sensibility and conscience had but one desire, to hasten the aid and liberation of this heroic people. Hosts of volunteers hied from all directions to provide succour; but the great powers allowed time to pass and blood to flow in rivers as the parleys continued.

The noteworthy aspect is that Schwartz indeed understood the core of Polish patriotism, which was based on dying for freedom while the women took care of living. The writer thus expresses her ideas about the importance of women's independence by teaching another message: those women are the great wellspring of society, who guarantee the preservation and survival of the nation. This progressive view on

women corresponds to contemporary criticism of the class society and the need for its modernisation through popular education and work. This picture of social change that does not refer to struggle became a very appealing alternative in Poland during the second half of the nineteenth century.

In conclusion, Marie Sophie Schwartz was introduced to the Polish readership in the time of radical social changes in Europe. Poland's political oppression hampered these processes, as the priority was given to the fight for independence and the preservation of the national culture. However, the social impact of Schwartz's novels, focusing on education, work for society and social justice, was consistent with the Polish patriotic message, based on the positivist ideology of that time. The characters in her novels are constructed according to a particular social tendency, which is not only manifested by their behaviour but is also explicitly discussed in dialogues. Therefore, the didactic aspect of Schwartz's writings seems to be predominant. This may be the reason for downplaying other attributes or cultural details in translation, once they were found irrelevant or obscuring the main message. The domestication strategies adopted by translators aimed at making the new ideas more adjusted to the norms Polish readers were familiar with, which, in the long run, protected books from being rejected or misunderstood. Especially female characters' behaviour was rendered in a slightly softened stereotypical way, which, I assume, made them more likely to fit in a rather conservative Polish gender order of that time and the idea of national unity. A similar method was used by Marie Sophie Schwartz who served her social concepts in the company of melodramatic clichés to make them more palatable. For example, this was the case in her politically engaged work, *A Daughter of Poland*, commenting on Poland's vulnerable situation.

Schwartz's exceptional popularity in Poland requires further research on sociological aspects and reader response. However, on the intercultural level, the dialogue seems to have enriched both cultures: Polish readers were inspired by her works to modernise their society by education, work and equality while her novella *A Daughter of Poland* made Swedish recipients gain greater awareness of the international engagement and persistence in the struggle for independence. Once more literature turned out to be a very effective means of communication.

Translated from Swedish into English by Rosemary Nordström.

NOTES

- 1 Ewa Suchodolska and Zofia Żydanowicz, *Bibliografia polskich przekładów z literatury pięknej krajów skandynawskich: do roku 1969 włącznie* (*Bibliography of Polish translations from the literatures of Scandinavian countries: up to and including 1969*), Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1971.
- 2 Lawrence Venuti, 'Translation, Community, Utopia', in Venuti, Lawrence (ed.), *The Translation Studies Reader*, 2nd edition, New York: Routledge, 2004, pp. 483–485.
- 3 Czesław Miłosz, *Historia literatury polskiej*, translated by Maria Tarnowska, Kraków: Znak, 1993, pp. 230–236.
- 4 Barbara Skarga, *Narodziny pozytywizmu polskiego 1831–1864*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2013, p. 141.
- 5 Skarga 2013, p. 146.
- 6 Lisbeth Larsson, 'Den farliga romanen. Läsaren, romanförfattaren och genren', in Møller Jensen, Elisabeth (ed.), *Nordisk kvinnolitteraturhistoria, II Fadershuset: 1800-talet*, Höganäs: Viken, 1993, pp. 320–323.
- 7 'Eliza Orzeszkowa', *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, No. 13 (1876), p. 193 (my translation). Polish original: "Przeciwko powieści nieraz już poważne odzywały się głosy, a przecież fakt pozostał faktem: jest ona najlubiejszą formą popularnego czytania. W czém tedy leży jój potęga? ... Czy w pragnieniu mas, które przekładają lekką strawę umysłową nad naukową, czy też w jój wewnętrznych zaletach, pełnych powabu i ponety, którym się masy oprzeć nie potrafią? (...) Powieść jest wszechwładną i nic jój raz zdobytego stanowiska wyprzeć nadługo nie zdoła."
- 8 *The Homes of the New World* (*Hemmen i den nya världen*) was first published as a serial.
- 9 Gunlög Kolbe, *Strategier för framgång. Marie Sophie Schwartz som föregångskvinna*, eds. Hanner, Hans & Eva Lilja, Göteborg: University of Gothenburg, 2014, p. 13.
- 10 See also Larsson 1993, pp. 320–322.
- 11 Maria Ilnicka, 'Zofia Schwartz', *Bluszcz*, No. 11 (1868), p. 62, No. 12 (1868), pp. 69–71.
- 12 Maria Ilnicka, 'Fryderyka Bremer. Życiorys', *Bluszcz*, No. 20 (1866), pp. 81–82, No. 21, pp. 85–86. The article was published as a summary of Bremer's works in response to the author's death.
- 13 Ilnicka 1868, p. 62.
- 14 Ilnicka 1866, p. 62. Polish original: "z wążką, przed wiekami ubitą ścieżynką pośrodku".
- 15 Ilnicka 1868, p. 62.
- 16 This is evident both in Schwartz's novels and her three advisory texts for women, e.g., Marie Sophie Schwartz, 'Om qvinnans uppfostran', *Några ord till qvinnan*, Stockholm: J.J. Flodin, 1863, p. 21. She also uses advisory rhetoric in her novels. See Gunlög Kolbe, *Om konsten att konstruera kvinna. Retoriska strategier i 1800-talets rådgivare och i Marie Sophie Schwartz' romaner*, Göteborg: University of Gothenburg, 2001, p. 14 and passim.

- 17 Ilnicka 1868, p. 62. Polish original: “jakby to robił najsumienniejszy mężczyzna”, “jest niecierpliwą – jak kobiéta”.
- 18 Stanisław Fita, ‘Ilnicka Maria’, in Krzyżanowski, Julian & Czesław Hernas (eds.), *Literatura polska. Przewodnik encyklopedyczny*, Vol. I, A–M, Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1984, p. 371.
- 19 Maria Ilnicka, ‘Słówko o emancypacji kobiet’, *Bluszcz*, No. 10 (1867), pp. 36–37.
- 20 *The Wife of a Vain Man* was translated to Polish for the first time in 1871 and *Two Family Mothers* in 1875. *A Nobleman’s daughter* was never translated to Polish, but all three were available in German in 1863, thus before Ilnicka’s introductory article.
- 21 Ilnicka 1868, p. 69.
- 22 Larsson 1993, p. 320. See also Radway, Janice A., *Reading the Romance. Women Patriarchy, and Popular Culture*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984, p. 61.
- 23 Radway 1984, pp. 123, 134. See also Anders Öhman, *Populärlitteratur. De populära genrernas estetik och historia*, Lund: Studentlitteratur 2002, p. 50.
- 24 Marja Zofja z Birathów Schwartz, *Gabryella. Powieść szwedzka*, *Gazeta Polska*, No. 1–7, 9–32 (1865).
- 25 Fredrika Bremer expressed it in her autobiography in these words: ‘begäret att veta och begäret att njuta’ [the desire to know and the desire to enjoy]. See Birgitta Holm, ‘Ett världsomspännande befrielseföretag. Om Fredrika Bremer’, in Møller Jensen, Elisabeth (ed.), *Nordisk kvinnohistoria. II Fadershuset: 1800-talet*, Höganäs: Viken, 1993, p. 248.
- 26 The years refer to the serial and book editions, respectively.
- 27 Two different German translations were published in the same year and with the same title, by August Kretschmar (Leipzig) and by C. Büchele (Stuttgart).
- 28 Kolbe 2014, pp. 29–30.
- 29 See Ilnicka’s article above, which mentions novels that had not been translated to Polish at the time.
- 30 In this case, the contract with Otto Janke was followed to the letter, in that the Swedish version was published two years after the German translation and under a pseudonym: Author of ‘Positivspelarens son’. See Kolbe 2014, pp. 29–30.
- 31 Marya Zofia Schwartz, *Marzenia Gertrudy. Powieść*, translated by J.K.S., Warszawa: J. Kaufmann 1876; Z.M. Schwartz, *Przyszłość Gertrudy. Powieść*, translated from Swedish by T.S., Lwów: Gubrynowicz & Schmidt 1877.
- 32 Radway 1984, p. 87–89.
- 33 Larsson 1993, p. 320.
- 34 Birger Stolpe, ‘Emancipationsvurmen – en missförstådd tendensroman’, *Hertha*, vol. 52, No. 2 (1965), p. 9.
- 35 Zofja z Birathów Schwartz, *Marzenia i rzeczywistość. Powieść szwedzka*, *Gazeta Polska*, No. 236–254 (1865).
- 36 See *Gertruds framtidsdrömmar* and its translation with focus on dreams above.

- 37 See Radway 1984, pp. 62–63 (on “the repetitious or formulaic quality”), 112–114 (on “compensatory” fiction).
- 38 Marya Zofia Schwartz, *Gorączka emancypacji. Opowiadanie*, translated from Swedish by S.M., Warszawa: J. Kaufmann, 1877.
- 39 Examples taken from *Marzenia i rzeczywistość* (Schwartz 1865) and *Przyszłość Gertrudy* (Schwartz 1877).
- 40 Marie Sophie Schwartz, *Mannen af Börd och Qvinnan af Folket. En teckning ur verkligheten*, Göteborg: C.F. Arvidssons Förlag, 1858, pp. 44–45.
- 41 Marie Sophie Schwartz, *Gertruds framtidsdrömmar. Roman*, Stockholm: J. Flodin, 1877, p. 6.
- 42 Marie Sophie Schwartz, *Arbetet adlar mannen. Teckning ur verkligheten*, Göteborg: C. F. Arvidssons Förlag, 1859.
- 43 Maivor Lindholm, ‘Marie Sophie Schwartz’ produktion under 1850-talet. En studie av centrala teman och motiv, berättarteknik och stil’, undergraduate thesis, Stockholm: Stockholm University, 1987, p. 44.
- 44 Marie Sophie Schwartz, *Gertrud’s Zukunftsstraum*, in: *Novellen*, translated from Swedish by Emil J. Jonas, Vol. 3, Leipzig: Ernst Julius Günther, 1875.
- 45 See e.g., Schwartz 1877, pp. 106–107 about Mistress Marianne’s weakness for Isabella’s husband, August.
- 46 Concerning this principle in *The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People*, see Gunlög Kolbe, ‘Marie Sophie Schwartz’ roman *Mannen av börd och kvinnan av folket*. En populärroman från 1850-talet’, in Leffler, Yvonne (ed.), *Det glömda 1800-talet. Några populära genrer inom svensk prosa och dramatik*, Karlstad: Karlstad University, 1993, p. 81.
- 47 Schwartz 1877, 69.
- 48 Verbatim translation to English, with the omitted and added phrases indicated (strike-through and italics, respectively).
- 49 Compare to humility as a feminine trait according to Maria Ilnicka’s article above.
- 50 ‘with humility’.
- 51 As mentioned, the Swedish book edition (1877) was published two years after the German translation (1875), which meant that the Swedish manuscript could be re-edited before printing.
- 52 I do not comment on the 1876 translation, which evidently contains an editorial or printing error, i.e., the age of twenty is mentioned twice (MG, 100).
- 53 German translation by Emil J. Jonas, PG by Teofil Szumski (T.S.) and MG by J.K.S. undetermined.
- 54 The following edition is used here as the source: Marie Sophie Schwartz, *Emancipationsvurmen. Berättelse*, 3rd revised edition, Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1886.
- 55 Stolpe interprets them as idealised portraits of the author herself and her foster sister, Stolpe 1965, p. 9.
- 56 These were two, *Emancipationsmanie* and *Emancipationswuth*, published in the same year (1864), translated by different translators (Carl Otto and August Kretschmar, respectively) and published by different publishers (Franckh in Stuttgart and Brockhaus in Leipzig).
- 57 See the remarks on the titles above.

- 58 Here, the relevant issue of *Gazeta Polska* 1865 and page reference.
- 59 As the comparison is based on the third revised edition of *Emancipationsvurmen* (1886), any changes in the text are not remarked upon because they may have been made in the Swedish original.
- 60 As Radway (1984, p. 83) puts it: "The romantic fantasy is therefore not a fantasy about discovering a uniquely interesting life partner, but a ritual wish to be cared for, loved, and validated in a particular way."
- 61 Andrzej Nils Uggla, *Från politik till litteratur. Sveriges väg till den polska nationella diktningen under 1800-talet i sju studier*, Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1989, p. 28.
- 62 Uggla 1989, pp. 42–50.
- 63 Uggla 1989, p. 89.
- 64 [Marie Sophie Schwartz,] *En Polens dotter. Novell af Förf. till 'Positivspelarens son'*, Stockholm: Sigfrid Flodins förlag, 1863, p. 2.
- 65 Schwartz 1863, pp. 94–95.
- 66 Schwartz 1863, p. 88.





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