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Yvonne Leffler

SWEDISH
NINETEENTH-
CENTURY NOVELS
AS WORLD LITERATURE

Transnational Success and Literary History

Yvonne Leffler
*Swedish Nineteenth-Century Novels as World Literature:
Transnational Success and Literary History*

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

THIS STUDY ON Swedish nineteenth-century novels as world literature was initiated within the research project “Swedish Women’s Writing on Export in the Nineteenth century”, which resulted in two previous volumes within this series. Also in the process of writing this book, I have incurred many debts. First, I would like to thank Riksbankens Jubileumsfond for the Advancement of the Humanities and Social Sciences for one year funding in 2019. Without their financial support, it would not have been possible for me to conclude this study within a year. I would also like to express my gratitude to the Department of literature, history of ideas, and Religion at the University of Gothenburg for support to publish this book. Second, I am immensely indebted to my three expert readers Gunilla Hermansson, Åsa Arping, and Birgitta Johansson Lindh, whose comments and suggestions have been both astute and useful. Thanks also to Béla Leffler for his help with the research database SWED and for preparing the graphs included in this book. Finally yet importantly, I am grateful to Richard Lindmark for his professional help with editing and preparing my manuscript for printing and for designing the cover of the book.

INTRODUCTION

TODAY, SCANDINAVIAN literature is recognised for its crime fiction and children's stories. In the early twenty-first century, The Millennium trilogy by Stieg Larsson was an international blockbuster, and TV productions, such as *The Crime (Forbrydelsen)* and *The Bridge (Bron)*, have resulted in several remakes by international production teams. Children all over the world are familiar with Astrid Lindgren's Pippi Longstocking, Selma Lagerlöf's Nils Holgersson, and Hans Christian Andersen's little mermaid. Nowadays, Scandinavian culture is well known abroad. Despite their small populations and the limited number of native speakers, Sweden and Denmark are among the world's top 10 exporters of fiction, which means that both Swedish and Danish are more prominent as literary languages than might be expected.¹

The worldwide success of Scandinavian fiction is far from a recent phenomenon. Many scholars are familiar with the impact of the so-called Modern Breakthrough of Scandinavian literature at the fin de siècle and the dramas by Henrik Ibsen and August Strindberg. Less known is the first wave of Swedish novels from the 1830s onwards. As early as in the 1820s and 1830s, readers outside Sweden welcomed Esaias Tegnér's romantic verse tale, *Frithiofs saga* (1825; *Frithiof's Saga*), a tale of heroic Viking deeds and unhappy love. From 1840, Fredrika Bremer and Emilie Flygare-Carlén were among the most widely read novelists in Europe and the United States. They were often marketed together with other famous and top-selling European novelists, such as Charles Dickens and Eugène Sue. The international reception of their stories illustrates how nineteenth-century literature travelled in translation and how the first Swedish novelists paved the way for the

reception of the Scandinavian writers of the *fin de siècle*. By compiling and analysing data from digitised archives online, I will present a new view of the early Swedish novel, a history that concentrates on the international reception of Swedish novels written in the mid-nineteenth century, mainly between 1830 and 1870.

In previous case studies, my colleagues and I have demonstrated the transnational success of Swedish women writers in the nineteenth century until World War I, particularly in comparison to the contemporary dissemination of today's canonised male writers. The investigation concentrated on five female authors, two of whom, Bremer and Flygare-Carlén, were novelists in the mid-nineteenth century.² A second study on the dissemination of Swedish novels in Eastern Europe included another bestselling Swedish novelist, Marie Sophie Schwartz.³ The aim of this study is to expand on the earlier case studies by adding male novelists and broadening the investigation of Swedish authors' transnational reception up to the present. My objective is to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the dissemination of the most circulated Swedish nineteenth-century novelists – both male and female – by mapping published translations of their novels outside Sweden from first date of publication until 2018. Furthermore, I examine and compare the responses to their novels in the international press, newspapers, and literary journals.

The investigation is focused on the reception of the six most popular and acknowledged novelists at the time – from both a national and international perspective: Carl Jonas Love Almqvist, Fredrika Bremer, Emilie Flygare-Carlén, Marie Sophie Schwartz, Zacharias Topelius, and Victor Rydberg. In order to identify general trends in relation to publishing strategies, genre classifications, and cultural and gender-related matters, as well as to describe certain exceptions from the ruling pattern, the reception of the six above-mentioned novelists is compared to that of other contemporary Swedish writers. The most central reference writers are Sophie von Knorring, August Blanche, Carl Fredrik Ridderstad, Carl Anton Wetterbergh (pen name: Onkel Adam), and Esaias Tegnér. By comparing the treatment of these writers, my intention is to examine to what extent genre, source culture, and the gender of the writer mattered. To what extent were the novels launched as Scandinavian/Swedish novels or as European novels? To what degree did publishers, translators, and critics promote their novels as belonging to a certain genre, such as romances, domestic novels, and realist novels? How much were the biographical, geographical, and cultural background of the writer highlighted? To what degree is it possible to discern certain changes in marketing and reception over time? Thus,

my aim is to examine notable differences in the reception of the writers as well as changes relating to target regions and languages, cultural contexts and periods.

Moreover, I draw attention to the inconsistency between international success in the mid- and late nineteenth century and future canonisation in the national Swedish literary history, along with its consequences for the nineteenth-century writers' posthumous reputation and transnational status today. I point at the complex relation between translation, nation-based history, and the evolving system of world literature. I contest the prevailing national model of writing literary history. Inspired by Linda Hutcheon and Mario J. Valdés's call to rethink literary history in 2002, I put forward a new perspective on today's literary history and its construction.⁴ In so doing, I address and challenge David Damrosch's previous discussions on canonisation procedures aiming at a new understanding of literary history by returning to the importance of transnational perspectives in order to understand the construction of cultural heritage.⁵

The transnational turn in the writing of literary history has brought about an intense and ongoing theoretical and methodological discussion as well as a new terminology within the fields of new comparative literature, translation studies, and world literature. An account of the current and complex conceptualising within these fields is already presented in *Swedish Women's Writing on Export*.⁶ Drawing on that survey, my study on the reception of Swedish nineteenth-century novels outside the national space is guided by some central standpoints and concepts. The first term is "transnationalism". Because of the increasing importance of nation and nationalism during the nineteenth century, in particular in Europe, I use "transnational" more frequently than "transcultural" in this study. In Europe, the nineteenth century was characterised by nation-building processes. The national borders on the map were redrawn; at times, they did not coincide with cultural and linguistic demarcations. As this study mainly deals with literary transfer from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, when national movements strengthened their positions in Europe, the term "transnational reception" often seems more adequate. As will be demonstrated below, the rising significance of national or nationalistic traits increased and progressively influenced the reception of literary texts.

Other concepts used are literary representation and canon, both of which hold an idea of aesthetic or literary value. Quantitative studies of literary dissemination often neglect to address the aesthetic qualities of literary works in favour of stating the popularity of stories based on the quantity of translations, published editions, and possible readers.

When I map the dissemination of Swedish novels and point out the most widely translated and published ones, I conclude that these novels were the most popular ones among the readers as the number of translations and editions indicate that they were in demand in a certain language and region. In so doing, I do not estimate the aesthetic qualities of the works or their literary value or status. However, by comparing contemporary dissemination of novels with their evaluation by later literary critics and scholars and thereby their representation in the national curriculum and syllabus of literary studies, I demonstrate that ideas about literary forms, genres, styles, and modes are constantly changing. In this way, I draw attention to how the material and the ideological and aesthetic context of production and reception construct authors, texts, and readers. This perspective is especially important when dealing with the late nineteenth century, as this is a period when a sense of aesthetic value was shaped and it is of importance for the formation of the vernacular literary canon. As John Guillory, Mary Poovey, and other scholars have demonstrated, a new exclusive anti-market definition of literary value was formed that progressively separated a work of art from consumption and commercial value.⁷ This understanding of aesthetic qualities and literary value still prevails, and it has directed the formation of today's literary canon, both on a national and transnational level. Stories that were once the most popular among contemporary audiences have seldom been the most valued and canonised works among future scholars and critics. A history of literature that denies and dismisses the existence of various systems of evaluating literary texts and forms does not only narrow our understanding and construction of literary history, it also, I argue, risks distorting the description of a literary system and culture at a certain period.

Two other central conceptions are what Franco Moretti would term a combination of distant and close reading, more precisely expressed by Jordan A.Y. Smith's word "translationscapes", a combination of close reading of certain kinds of texts with extensive system-level research in order to investigate the process of the literary transfer for a certain set of literary texts.⁸ A large-scale mapping of the number of Swedish novels published in other languages from the first date of publication until today by more than 10 Swedish writers is combined with close-reading analysis of various types of reception material, such as reviews, articles, and announcements in the international press, introductions of novels by publishers and translators, and correspondence between writers and their translators and publishers. The mapping of the migration of Swedish works in translation is based on the bibliographical database *SWED*, while digitised and freely available press archives

have enabled me to do a close reading of a vast number of reviews, articles, and announcements in the international press, in particular in German-, English-, and French-language newspapers and periodicals.⁹

SWED was created in connection to the aforementioned previous project on the export of Swedish women's writing and has now been further expanded and developed. Unlike Kathrine Bode with her study *A New History of the Austrian Novel* (2014), I have not been able to use a national bibliographical archive similar to *AustLit*. Instead, it has been necessary to construct a bibliographical database, *SWED*, in order to analyse and present empirical data on translations, publications, and publishing trends outside Sweden.¹⁰ Nor have I been able to limit my investigation to texts written in the source language of the novels. Novels written in Swedish have to be translated into other languages in order to reach readers outside Scandinavia. To study the transnational reception of Swedish literature is to work with a multi-language corpus of texts, which involves various linguistic and cultural challenges, some of which I will later expand on in my Appendix 1, "Note on transnational research and some methodological challenges".

OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

The chapters of this book are to some extent ordered chronologically. In the first three chapters, I outline the dissemination of the Swedish verse tales and novels based on distant reading of recorded data on published translations in *SWED*. I map how Swedish fiction travelled into other languages in order to investigate the circulation of Swedish – and indirectly, European – literature in the mid- and late nineteenth century. This quantitative research enables me to demonstrate the literary routes in Europe, the transmission of texts across geographical and linguistic borders, and the importance of German as a transit language in the nineteenth century. In that way, I contest the dominating conception of literary culture and centres in Europe and the role of Swedish nineteenth-century novels in particular. For example, the bibliographical data convincingly proves the importance of certain literary languages compared to others, as well as differences in distribution depending on current trends in publishing novels. The first chapter, "Swedish narrative fiction in translation in the early and mid-nineteenth century", describes the first transnational circulation of Swedish literature in the early and mid-nineteenth century and the response to Esaias Tegnér's romantic verse tale *Frithiofs saga* (1825). However, the bibliographical investigation concentrates primarily on some of the most popular male novelists, such as Carl Anton Wetterbergh and Carl Jonas Love

Almqvist. The next chapter, “The success of three women writers”, focuses on the circulation of the most successful Swedish novelists in the century, the women writers Fredrika Bremer, Emilie Flygare-Carlén, and Marie Sophie Schwartz. While the findings outlined in Chapter 1 and 2 confirm some general trends in the distribution of European literature, I explore some noteworthy differences between the writers. For all Swedish writers, for example, the main target language was German, but there are differences in how and to what extent their publications in German triggered translation into other languages. In addition, possible dissimilarities in relation to genre and gender will be discussed in Chapter 2. The third chapter, “Highbrow intellectuals at home, storytellers for children abroad”, revolves around the next generation of Swedish novelists, represented by the two most renowned male writers, Zacharias Topelius and Victor Rydberg, who had similar literary careers and status in the national history of Swedish literature. Both of them benefited from the transnational achievements of their female predecessors, who assisted in introducing them to the American readers. Still, most of their works reached only a limited number of readers in other languages during their lifetime. Since their death, they have mostly been represented by their canonised works both at home and abroad. Their cases thus confirm the importance of national recognition for future transnational circulation.

The fourth chapter, “Launching and transnational reception of mid-nineteenth-century novelists”, is based on a close reading of various reception texts in the international press, primarily German-, English- and French-language newspapers and periodicals. I compare the welcoming of the once highly regarded women writers, Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, and Schwartz, to that of the less successful but nowadays canonised male writer Almqvist. I point at certain differences in reception related to the receiving culture and to contemporary genre and gender trends. In addition to analysing press material, I expand on other reception events, such as documented celebrity status of the female novelists based on contemporary fan activities, published homages, and literary references.

In the last chapter, “Swedish novels and women writers”, I use my findings on the circulation of Swedish novels to question the established history of Swedish and European literature. I challenge the widespread conception of the European nineteenth-century novel and the dominance of English and French works. I expand on the process of literary canonisation by highlighting the complex relationship between transnational reception and national recognition. In this chapter, I discuss some possible reasons behind the triumph of Swedish novels by women

writers in the mid- and late nineteenth century. I also clarify how literary qualities that once resulted in transnational fame might have caused future marginalisation and de-canonisation. In doing so, I question prevailing practices in writing literary history and demonstrate the discrepancy between contemporary fame and future canonisation.

A note on some methodological challenges concludes the study (Appendix 1). Digitised sources and quantitative methods, and search tools and computational strategies that enable them, should not be used uncritically. In particular, working with digitised sources compiled in different languages and representing different scholarly cultures and practises raises a number of issues. I share some of the problems I have faced in this study, which, I argue, a scholar daring into the field of transnational reception must be aware of and be prepared to handle.

NOTES

- 1 For Swedish as a literary language, see p. 152.
- 2 Yvonne Leffler, Åsa Arping, Jenny Bergenmar, Gunilla Hermansson, and Birgitta Johansson Lindh, *Swedish Women's Writing on Export: Tracing Transnational Reception in the Nineteenth Century*, Göteborg: LIR.skrifter, 2019.
- 3 Yvonne Leffler (ed.), *The Triumph of the Swedish Nineteenth-Century Novel in Central and Eastern Europe*, Göteborg: LIR.skrifter, 2019.
- 4 Linda Hutcheon and Mario J. Valdés (eds.), *Rethinking Literary History*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- 5 David Damrosch, *What Is World Literature?* Princeton N.J: Princeton University Press, 2003; David Damrosch, "World Literature in a Postcanonical, Hypercanonical Age", in Saussy, Haun (ed.), *Comparative Literature in an Age of Globalization*, Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2006, pp. 43–53.
- 6 "Introduction" in Yvonne Leffler, Åsa Arping, Jenny Bergenmar, Gunilla Hermansson, and Birgitta Johansson Lindh, *Swedish Women's Writing on Export: Tracing Transnational Reception in the Nineteenth Century*, Göteborg: LIR.skrifter, 2019, pp. 11–24.
- 7 John Guillory, *Cultural Capital: The Problem of Literary Canon Formation*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993; Mary Poovey, *Genres of the Credit Economy: Mediating Value in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Britain*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- 8 Franco Moretti, *Distant Reading*, London and New York: Verso, 2013; Jordan A.Y. Smith, "Translationscapes: On the Legibility of Transnational Ideologies in World Literary Systems", *Comparative Literary Studies*, Vol. 54, No. 4, 2017, pp. 749–770.
- 9 The most frequently used press archives are the German *digiPress*, the

Austrian *ANNO*, the French *Gallica*, and *Chronicling America*. To cover the reception outside Sweden, I also use the Finnish newspaper archive Digi. Kansalliskirjasto, the American Old Fulton New York Post Cards, and free online archives on individual literary periodicals, such as *The North American Review* and *The Athenæum*. Unfortunately, there has not been a freely available and comprehensive archive of British newspapers and journals.

- 10 *SWED* was created as a digitised bibliography in order to search, sort, and analyse the dissemination of Swedish novels translated into other languages in connection to the abovementioned previous research project “Swedish Women’s Writing on Export”. In connection to the present project, it has been further developed. It contains bibliographical information about the text: the original Swedish title of a translated text (if identified); the translated title and subtitle; the language of the translation, the name of the translator and publisher (if given), place, country, and year of publication; other additional information about the work. It also records the source of information and thus identifies at least one library or archive that holds an existing copy of the publication.

SWEDISH NARRATIVE FICTION IN TRANSLATION IN THE EARLY AND MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

IN THE FIRST decades of the nineteenth century, romantic verse tales were widely read in Sweden. Some of them were also translated into other languages and initiated the transnational reception of Swedish narrative fiction and the first surge of Swedish novels. Among the novelists, three women writers dominated by far, based on number of translations into other languages and published editions outside Sweden: Fredrika Bremer (1801–1865), Emilie Flygare-Carlén (1807–1892), and Marie Sophie Schwartz (1819–1894). Two male writers who began their literary careers in the mid-century, Viktor Rydberg (1828–1895) and Zacharias Topelius (1818–1898), soon became literary icons in their national contexts, and some of their works also reached international readers. Before expanding on the reception of their novels, I will chart the transnational dissemination of Swedish literature in general based on the number of published translations by some of their most widely and transnationally read Swedish colleagues at the time, that is, the two romantic poets Esaias Tegnér (1782–1854) and Per Danius Amadeus Atterbom (1790–1855), and the five novelists Sophie von Knorring (1797–1848), Carl Jonas Love Almqvist (1793–1866), Carl Fredrik Ridderstad (1807–1886), August Blanche (1811–1868), and Carl Anton Wetterbergh (1804–1889), better known by his pen name, Onkel Adam, in English meaning Uncle Adam. My mapping confirms the emerging transnational interest in Swedish narrative fiction in the mid-nineteenth century. At the same time, it demonstrates how Swedish fiction usually travelled into other languages and across borders. Among the abovementioned Swedish novelists, the most renowned nowadays is Almqvist. He is considered to be one of

the most important romantic and realist writers in the national history of Swedish literature. The case of Almqvist is therefore of special interest in this study, particularly in relation to the transnational reception of Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, and Schwartz, which will be investigated in following chapter.

ROMANTIC VERSE TALES IN GENERAL AND ESAIAS TEGNÉR'S *Frithiofs saga* IN PARTICULAR

Some of the best known verse tales in Sweden were Esaias Tegnér's *Axel* (1822) and *Frithiofs saga* (1825; *Frithiof's Saga*) and Per Daniel Amadeus Atterbom's *Lycksalighetens ö* (1824–1827; *Island of the blest*). These tales also reached readers outside Sweden. Within a decade, Tegnér's *Axel* and Atterbom's *Lycksalighetens ö* were translated into German, in 1829 and 1831–1833 respectively.¹ However, Atterbom's complete verse tale did not reach many international audiences, while Tegnér's *Axel* was translated into several non-Scandinavian languages. Between 1833 and 1842, it was published in Dutch, English, and Polish.² In the 1850s and 1860s, it was distributed in Spanish, Russian, and Hungarian.³ Later on, between 1872 and 1914, it was translated into Finnish, French, and Italian.⁴ It is notable that the French translation was distributed from Gothenburg in Sweden.

In many languages, Tegnér's *Axel* was translated and republished several times. For example, in Danish, A.E. Boye's translation was published six times between 1827 and 1872.⁵ It was even more circulated in German and English. In German, it was distributed in at least eight different translations and published 11 times between 1829 and 1910; one of these translations and editions was published in Innsbruck, Austria.⁶ In English, it was available in seven different translations, two of which were published twice between 1838 and 1915.⁷ It was published in English in London as well as New York, Chicago, and Buffalo. One translation into English was also offered for sale by a Swedish publisher in Gothenburg in 1866. Worth noting is that, in Polish, *Axel* was published twice in Lithuania and once in Poland.⁸

However, the real international success among Swedish romantic epics was Tegnér's *Frithiofs saga*, which has been noted previously by scholars, such as Ola Nordenfors.⁹ With *Frithiofs saga*, Tegnér intended to write a national epos in the tradition of Homer and Vergil. It resulted in an epic-lyric romance, and Tegnér used varied types of metrics, such as old antique and Norse verse forms. In Sweden, it soon achieved status as a national epos set in Norway about the Viking hero Frithiof and his beloved Ingeborg. Thereby it conveyed a specific ancient Swedish spirit,

which also, according to the Swedish scholar Fredrik Böök, explained its popularity.¹⁰ Many of its songs were rapidly set to music, and, in particular, the Swedish composer Bernhard Crusell's compositions added to its popularity among Swedes.

Until the present day, Tegnér's *Frithiofs saga* has been considered the most-translated and widely disseminated literary work written in Swedish before the fin de siècle and the arrival of August Strindberg and the Nobel Laureate Selma Lagerlöf on the scene. It has been claimed that it was Tegnér and *Frithiofs saga* that first introduced Swedish literature to international readers.¹¹ It was amazingly quickly translated into German; some songs were published in German in 1823, that is, before the comprehensive verse tale – consisting of 24 songs – was published in Swedish in 1825.¹² In 1826, the epic was available in both Danish and German.¹³ In Danish, it was retranslated by A.E. Boye in 1838, and his version was repeatedly republished once or twice every decade until 1875.¹⁴ In the late 1870s, the Boye translation was replaced by a translation by Edvard Lembecke, which was republished three times until World War I.¹⁵ Still, the number of translations and editions in Danish is rather small compared to those in German. In German, it was instantly published in 1826 in three different translations by Gottlieb Mohnike, Amalie von Helwig, and Ludolph Schley.¹⁶ However, the last one was not published by a German publisher but by a Swedish publisher, Wilhelm Fredrik Palmblad in Uppsala, but one year later the same translation was printed by the publisher Schade in Vienna.¹⁷ These translations were republished several times in the following decades. Furthermore, several new translations into German were regularly published and republished until the interwar period. Altogether, *Frithiofs saga* was available in about 30 German translations. Of these, the most frequently published was Gottlieb Mohnike's translation, first published in 1826 and then republished about 40 times until 1935, and thereafter once again in 2018 by the University Library in Heidelberg.¹⁸

Frithiofs saga was promptly translated into English and published in several translations from the 1830s onwards. The first three translations into English were published in London.¹⁹ However, a fourth translation was published in the 1830s by the Swedish publishing house Adolf Bonnier in Stockholm in cooperation with Black and Armstrong in London.²⁰ From the 1840s until the interwar period, the verse tale was published and republished a couple of times every decade. Until 1867, all editions in English were printed in London with the exception of two that were printed in Dublin, in 1857 and in 1862.²¹ In 1845, an early and incomplete translation by the famous American writer Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was made.²² Later, the Viking epic was

recurrently printed in the United States in various translations and editions. From the late 1860s, it was available in American translations by William Lewery Blackley, George Stephens, Thomas A.E. Holcomb, and Martha A. Lyon, among others.²³ It is noteworthy that most American editions were not published in New York but in Chicago by various publishing houses. The main reason was probably the many Swedish immigrants in Chicago and that they still maintained a special interest in Swedish literature and culture.

Ten years after the first translation of *Frithiofs saga* into English, the first French edition was published in Paris in 1843.²⁴ From then on, it – or an abridged version of it – was published in about 10 different translations and editions until the interwar time.²⁵ Less than a decade after the first French translation, it was published in Italian in 1851 and again in 1893.²⁶ One more Italian translation was published in 1904, but after that no new publications were distributed until the end of the twentieth century, one in 1976 and one in 2001.²⁷ Just as late as the first Italian edition, the first publication in Dutch was published in 1850, and after that about one new edition or republication was published in Dutch every decade until 1909, and then once more in 1937.²⁸

At the same time as the first French translations were published, some translations into Polish were distributed from 1840 onwards.²⁹ By the turn of the twentieth century, one more Polish translation was published in Warsaw.³⁰ However, the first Polish translation was not published in Poland but in St. Petersburg in Russia in 1840. That is, the first translation into Polish was printed in Russia and it was published at the same time as the first translation into Russian was published in Helsinki, Finland, in 1841.³¹ The first translation into Russian was immediately followed by one more version in Russian printed in Moscow in 1845.³² The first Russian translation was republished a couple of times in the 1870s and 1890s and was followed by a few new translations and editions in the mid- and late twentieth century.³³

Furthermore, there were some later and sparse translations of Tegnér's verse tale into some other languages in the nineteenth century, such as one translation into Hungarian from the late 1860s which has been republished three times, and one translation into Czech in 1891.³⁴ From the mid-nineteenth century, some translations into other Nordic languages were distributed; *Frithiofs saga* was offered in Norwegian from the 1840s, in Icelandic from the 1860s, and in Finnish from the 1870s onwards.³⁵ The verse tale has also been circulated in some other minor languages, such as Croatian, Esperanto, and Estonian.³⁶

There might be many reasons behind the popularity of *Frithiofs saga* outside Sweden.³⁷ A Swedish Viking epos set on the Norwegian

coast immediately turned into a Scandinavian epos in the Old Norse tradition about a heroic Scandinavian past. Thus it fitted into the programme of various national movements that cherished a common glorious Scandinavian – or Northern European – history. Many songs were instantly set to music, which added to its popularity, not least among students' and men's choruses in the Nordic countries. The Old Norse theme and mode of the epic probably appealed to various supporters of the Romantic programme in Europe, not least the German Sturm-und-Drang movement. It reflected the taste of philosophers such as Johann Gottfried Herder, who advocated literature rooted in the traditions of the common people, such as folksongs and folktales.

The success of *Frithiofs saga* abroad was also owing to some famous and significant mediators, such as the German author Wolfgang Goethe and the American writer Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. As early as in 1823, Goethe read some songs translated by Amalia von Helvig. In the journal *Kunst und Altertum*, he praised Tegnér's genius and gift for combining "the old strong, gigantic, barbaric poetry" with "the new sensible and delicate mode".³⁸ While Goethe's immediate interest in Tegnér and *Frithiofs saga* added to its instant introduction in German, Longfellow's visit to Sweden in 1835 resulted in its breakthrough in the United States. Longfellow's admiration of Tegnér is confirmed by their correspondence between 1838 and 1841.³⁹ Although Longfellow never completed his translation of the epic, he promoted several editions where William Lewery Blackely is named as the translator. He also published an appraising introductory essay that was published together with the translations. Longfellow's – and the American audience's – fondness for *Frithiofs saga* might also have been due to a general attraction they felt towards Vikings and certain Americans' search for a national history and a Nordic heritage. The story about a brave Viking who is parted from his beloved was certainly an intriguing combination of heroic Viking actions and sentimental romance with two heart-breaking star-crossed lovers.

SWEDISH MID-NINETEENTH- CENTURY NOVELS IN TRANSLATION

At the same time as Esaias Tegnér's *Frithiofs saga* was widely read outside Sweden, many Swedish novels were translated into other languages. Besides the extremely successful female writers Fredrika Bremer and Emilie Flygare-Carlén, quite a few other Swedish novelists reached readers in other languages. A female novelist often grouped together with Bremer and Flygare-Carlén in the history of Swedish literature,

Sophie von Knorring, is worth mentioning together with some male writers, such as Carl Johan Love Almqvist, Carl Fredrik Ridderstad, August Blanche, and Carl Anton Wetterbergh (pen name Onkel Adam).

In the national history of Swedish literature, Sophie von Knorring is mostly identified with romantic love stories set in an aristocratic environment. She debuted anonymously in 1834 with *Cousinerna* (The cousins), which became – and still is – her most famous novel. It treats the subject of love versus duty and the tragedy in having to give up forbidden affection, a recurring theme in her fiction. The novel also opened a heated discussion about the danger of reading novels and its impact on young readers; *Cousinerna* was accused of arousing forbidden desires and inappropriate behaviour, particularly in young women.

Like many Swedish novels at the time, Knorring's stories were quickly translated into Danish and German. Three years after her debut, *Cousinerna* was translated into Danish and published anonymously.⁴⁰ Before 1838, four other novels by her were distributed in Danish: *Illusionerna* (1836; The illusions), *Qvinderna* (1836; The women), *Vännerna* (1835; The friends), and *Axel* (1836). However, they were not published as novels by Sophie von Knorring but pseudo-anonymously as “by the author of The cousins” (“Forfatterinden til Søkendebørnene”) and so on.⁴¹ One year after the distribution of *Cousinerna* in Danish, the same novels were published in German, as “von der Verfasserin der Cousinen u.s.w.,” that is, with the latest previously published title by her added on the cover to promote the new novel to German readers.⁴² Some more novels were distributed in Danish and German in the 1840s and 1850s.⁴³

Although most novels by Knorring were translated into Danish and German, these translations did not promote a widespread dissemination in other languages. From the mid-1840s onwards, a couple of novels were translated into French, Dutch, Russian, and English. In Dutch, Russian, and French, only one novel was published in each language. However, in French, the novel *Cousinerna* was republished four times between 1844 and 1878.⁴⁴ Two stories were translated into English; the first, *Torparen och hans omgifning* (1843; *The Peasant and His Landlord*), was translated by Bremer's translator Mary Howitt in 1848 and published in both New York and London, as well as a second time in New York in 1855. In 1864, a novella was translated into English and published in London titled *The Ancestress; or, Family Pride*.⁴⁵

The transnational reception of Sophie von Knorring is similar to that of four male writers: Carl Fredrik Ridderstad, August Blanche, Carl Anton Wetterbergh, and Carl Jonas Love Almqvist. Some of their novels were rather quickly translated into Danish and German. A few of

their works were also translated into some other European languages. All four male writers were exploring two of the most popular genres of the time: the historical novel and the novel of the life and manners of the common people.

Publishers outside Sweden took an interest in some of Ridderstad's historical novels, while they went in for Almqvist's, Blanche's, and Wetterbergh's stories about the lives of the Swedish people. Among them, Almqvist is the most recognised writer in today's handbooks on Swedish literature. However, at the time, Wetterbergh's novels were more widely disseminated outside Sweden than Almqvist's were. Wetterbergh published his short stories in newspapers in the 1830s and put out his first collection of stories, *Genremålningar* (Genre pictures), in 1842, which brought his works to the attention of publishers outside Sweden. His collections of stories were widely disseminated in more than 10 languages in the mid-nineteenth century.

Carl Fredrik Ridderstad had his debut as a novelist in the mid-1840s with a roman à clef, *Frenologen* (1844; The phrenologist), but his most famous novel is probably *Samvetet eller Stockholms-mysterier* (1851; The conscience or the mysteries of Stockholm), his Swedish version of a city-mystery novel that was inspired by Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris* (1842; *The Mysteries of Paris*). Ridderstad's novel was rapidly translated into several languages. It appeared in German in 1851–1852 and once again in 1852–1853 and once as late as in 2011.⁴⁶ It was first translated into Danish and first published as a series in 1852–1853 and later as a book in 1853–1854.⁴⁷ It was published in Dutch in 1852–1853, and in French in 1857.⁴⁸ Many of his historical novels set in Stockholm were circulated in German, such as *Drabanten* (1849–1850; The guard), *Fursten* (1852; The prince), *Svarta handen* (1848; The black hand), *Far och Son* (1852–1853; Father and son), and *Drottning Lovisa Ulrikas hof* (1854–1856; The court of Queen Lovisa Ulrika) in the 1850s.⁴⁹ However, no novels were published in German after the 1850s. Instead, five of Ridderstad's historical novels were published in Danish in the 1860s, and the last of these, *Far och son*, was distributed in Danish in 1874–1875.⁵⁰

During the period when Ridderstad's novels were circulated in German, four of them were published in French, some of them several times. As a result of different translations and publishers, his most popular novel in French, *Drabanten*, was circulated with three different titles: *Le trabant*, *Vincent*, and *Un conspirateur*. The one titled *Vincent*, which was a so-called free translation, was first published in 1857 and one year later republished twice by two different publishers.⁵¹ Besides German, Danish, and French, Ridderstad's novels were translated into

two more languages: two historical novels were translated into Dutch in the early 1850s, and one novel, *Svarta handen*, was published in Polish in 1873.⁵² The Polish translation seems to be the last translation ever made of Ridderstad's novels. However, three German translations of Ridderstad's historical novels were republished in 2011–2012 by NabuPress in the United States.⁵³

Compared to Ridderstad's novels, August Blanche's stories were more frequently and for a longer period translated into other languages. Blanche's first fictional story was a response to Almqvist's controversial novel *Det går an* (1838; *Sara Videbeck*), and it was titled after Almqvist's female heroine, *Sara Videbeck*, in 1840. Many of his later novels and short stories can be described as stories about the lives of common people, set in Sweden in the mid-nineteenth century. Most of his novels, as well as his short stories published in collections such as *Hyrkusens berättelser* (1863; *The liveryman's tales*) and *Bilder ur verkligheten* (*Pictures of real life*), were published in Danish from the late 1840s and in German from the early 1850s and until World War I.⁵⁴

Many of Blanche's novels and short stories were also, especially in Danish, published as serials in newspapers.⁵⁵ Several of his stories were republished several times in both Danish and German, and a couple of them were reprinted in Danish between 2013 and 2017.⁵⁶ From the mid-1860s until the mid-twentieth century, a handful of stories were circulated in other Nordic languages: Norwegian, Finnish, and Icelandic.⁵⁷ Some of the Norwegian and Icelandic translations in the 1890s were published in the United States and Canada respectively.

In addition to these translations, there were a couple of random translations of Blanche's works into other European languages. In 1856, one novel, *Banditen* (1848; *The Bandit*), was published in Dutch, and one collection of stories, *Klockaren i Danderyd* (*The parish clerk in Danderyd*), in Hungarian.⁵⁸ In 1928, his novel *Sonen av söder och nord* (1851; *The son of south and north*) was translated into Czech by Hugo Kosterka, who also translated Strindberg's and Flygare-Carlén's stories.⁵⁹ In the 1870s and the 1880s, two novels were translated into English. Schwartz's two translators, Selma Borg and Marie A. Brown, translated the first one, *Banditen*, which was published as *The Bandit* in New York in 1872.⁶⁰ The second one, *Flickan i stadsgården*, was published as *Master of His Fate* in London in 1886.⁶¹ Between 1879 and 1907, a couple of short stories were translated into French, and most of them were included in *Nouvelles du Nord*, which was published by Hachette in Paris.⁶² Some of these stories were also published in Italian and Spanish in the 1880s and around 1920.⁶³ Furthermore, a collection of stories by Blanche was translated into Russian in 1911.⁶⁴

Despite Blanche's comparably successful international career, the most internationally popular Swedish male novelist at the time was Carl Anton Wetterbergh, better known by his pen name, Onkel Adam. He started as a writer of short stories published in the Swedish newspaper *Stockholms-Posten* in 1832. His first collection of stories, *Genre-målningar* (1842; Genre pictures) was quickly distributed in German in 1844 and opened up for widespread circulation of his fiction in German until 1860.⁶⁵ Some novels were immediately published in two translations; for example, *Olga* (1850), was translated by Hans Wachenhausen in 1851 and by Gottlob Fink in 1852. The novel was, in two years, published in four editions distributed by three publishers from four cities: Pest, Leipzig, Stuttgart, and Grimma/Leipzig. Many of his stories were circulated by the dominating publisher of foreign literature in German, Franckh'sche Verlagshandlung in Stuttgart, and like other popular Swedish novels, Wetterbergh's novels were included in Franckh'sche's comprehensive series *Das belletristische Ausland*. However, his popularity in German was largely confined to two decades, the 1840s and 1850s.

While Wetterbergh's fiction was widely read in German, many of his stories were translated into Danish and Dutch. About 20 titles were distributed in Danish from the early 1840s until the mid-1870s, and 10 works were circulated in Dutch between 1845 and 1863.⁶⁶ Some of his works were, at the same time, translated into English and French. His novel *Hämnd och försoning* (1845) in English titled *Revenge and Reconciliation*, was published in New York as early as 1845.⁶⁷ However, no more books by Wetterbergh were published in the United States after that. Instead, three stories were published in London in 10 years, 1854–1864.⁶⁸ At the same time, in the 1850s, five works were translated into French; the first of these, *L'argent et le travail*, was translated by Rosalie Du Puget, who also translated novels by Bremer and Flygare-Carlén.⁶⁹ Some decades later, some of Wetterbergh's stories were included in French collections of fiction from Northern Europe, such as Xavier Marmier's *Les perce-neige: nouvelles du nord* (1883).⁷⁰

Although Wetterbergh's stories were widely disseminated in German during two decades in the nineteenth century, rather few were circulated in other local languages in Eastern and Central Europe. A couple of stories were circulated in Polish in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁷¹ Among them, his novel with a social tendency, *Penningar och arbete* (1847; Money and labour), was issued three times in 1852, 1872, and 1972. One story was translated into Hungarian in 1852, but nothing appeared in Czech.⁷² Instead, a couple of works were translated into Russian; Wetterbergh's novel *Hämnd och försoning* was published

in 1859, and *En bränvinsupares lefnad och död* (1841; An alcoholic's life and death) was printed twice, in 1866 and in 1873.⁷³

Although many publishers outside Sweden took an interest in the novels by Knorring, Ridderstad, Blanche, and Wetterbergh, none of them made a transnational success. Their stories were not repeatedly republished in several languages and – compared to the reception of Bremer and Flygare-Carlén – their novels are more or less invisible in the international press. There are probably many reasons why their fiction did not attract the same levels of attention as the novels by Bremer and Flygare-Carlén. To some extent it could be due to the fact that neither of them was discovered and promoted by an influential mediator, translator, or publisher, especially not outside German-speaking Europe. In the most important target language, German, their novels were occasionally translated and published by the same translators and publishers that promoted the novels of Bremer and Flygare-Carlén. For example, several of Ridderstad's and Wetterbergh's novels, as well as one novel by Knorring, were circulated by the dominating German publisher Franckh'sche Verlagshandlung in Stuttgart, which also published many novels by Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, and Schwartz. Still, Franckh'sche's distribution did not create a notable demand for the novels of Ridderstad, Wetterbergh, and Knorring, nor did it open up for further translation outside today's Germany. Furthermore, two of Blanche's works were published by Flygare-Carlén's publisher, Hartleben, with publishing houses in Leipzig, Vienna, and Pest (Budapest), but for Blanche it only resulted in one translation into Hungarian.⁷⁴ And although Knorring's novels in German were mainly translated by Carl Eichel and circulated by Kollman in Leipzig, that did not prompt other translators or publishers to invest in her fiction. In the case of Flygare-Carlén, Eichel's translations published by Kollman were part of her early and extremely successful introduction to the German audience in the early 1840s.

One reason why Knorring, Ridderstad, Blanche, and Wetterbergh were not as widely disseminated as Bremer and Flygare-Carlén might have to do with the type of novels they wrote. The stories of Ridderstad, Blanche, and Wetterbergh are often set in a specifically Swedish environment, and they depict either a certain period in Swedish history or the contemporary social situation in Sweden. Therefore, the European readers might have found them too regional or too foreign and particularly Swedish to be of general interest. However, their specific regional and Scandinavian character was probably not what made Knorring's novels of less concern. Instead, her tragic love stories about young unmarried heroines might not have been particular enough to

compete with other sentimental and popular European novels of the time. Unlike most of the novels of both Bremer and Flygare-Carlén, Knorring's sentimental romances are not multi-perspective domestic novels with many characters and subplots. Therefore, Knorring's novels were probably mostly read by young female readers, while Bremer's and Flygare-Carlén's domestic novels appealed to many different categories of the rising number of European readers, both men and women, young and old. They were the kind of novels that could be enjoyed by different members of the bourgeois family – as well as its domestic servants – when read aloud as evening entertainment.

CARL JONAS LOVE ALMQVIST IN TRANSLATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND ONWARDS

Compared to the transnational distribution of August Blanche's and Anton Wetterbergh's stories, the dissemination of Carl Jonas Love Almqvist's fiction was rather modest during the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century. A mapping of which works were translated demonstrates a minor and rather arbitrary transnational circulation. However, contrary to most of his contemporary male and female writers, his stories have been more widely translated from the late twentieth century onwards.

Almqvist's debut in Sweden was in 1814. In 1830, he broke through as a writer of novels and novellas with his collection *Törnrosens bok* (Thornerose book), which was followed by many works in the 1830s, such as *Drottningens juvelsmycke* (1834; *The Queen's Diadem*) and *Kapellet* (1838; *The Chapel*). Still, only two works were translated before 1840; the drama *Columbine* was translated into Danish in 1837, and his novel *Det går an* (*Sara Videbeck*) was published in Dutch in 1839.⁷⁵ The latter translation is a notable case: *Det går an* was first published in Swedish in 1839, and the translation into Dutch must be based on the Swedish source text, that is, it cannot have been done via a German translation, which was normally the case at the time. Therefore, the translation into Dutch was not only the first translation of Almqvist's controversial novel and attack on lifelong marriage as an institution, it was probably also the first example of a Swedish literary work being translated into Dutch directly from the Swedish source text.⁷⁶

The two translations into Danish and Dutch opened up for several translations of Almqvist's prose works in the coming decade, the 1840s. During this period, about 30 editions were published in different languages. Most works were translated into Danish and German, but there were also four translations into Finnish, two more into Dutch, and

one into English. Some of the novels translated into Danish were later translated into German, such as *Amalia Hillner*, *Kapellet*, *Det går an*, and *Gabrièle Mimanso*.⁷⁷ However, some works translated into Danish, such as *Araminta May* (1838), and *Skällnora kvarn* (1838; Skällnora mill), were not translated into German, while the most popular story in German, *Drottningens juvelsmycke*, was not translated into Danish until in 1977.⁷⁸ In German, *Drottningens juvelsmycke* was distributed in two different translations in 1842, and in one more in 1846.⁷⁹ Following the first translation of *Det går an* into Dutch in 1839, Almqvist's novels *Gabrièle Mimanso* and *Kapellet* were distributed in Dutch in the 1840s.⁸⁰ Of these two novels, *Gabrièle Mimanso* was also published in English in 1846.⁸¹ In the same year, *Kapellet* was issued in Finnish, three years after the first translation into Finnish of *Arbetets ära* (1839; The honour of labour) in 1843.⁸²

After the flow of translations in the 1840s, only three or four translations per decade were distributed during the rest of the century. All of these were publications in Danish or Finnish except one translation into French of *Kapellet* as *La femme du pêcheur*, which was published in 1854 and once again in 1883.⁸³ Worth noting is also that most of the publications in Danish were reprints or republications of former translations. Only one of Almqvist's novels was translated into Danish for the first time in 1860, *Smaragdbruden* (1845; The bride of emerald).⁸⁴ That is, the transnational dissemination of Almqvist's works was confined to a single decade, the 1840s.

Most of Almqvist's works in the nineteenth century were distributed in German, Danish, and Finnish, that is, in three languages, two of which are Nordic languages. In the early twentieth century until World War II, the transnational dissemination of Almqvist's works increased, and almost 20 works were issued in German, English, Finnish, French, and Russian. Among the translations of Almqvist's novels in this period, the translations into German dominated by far, with publication of *Grimstahamn nybygge* (1839; Grimstahamn's settlement), *Palatset* (1838; The palace), *Jaktslottet*, *Kapellet*, and *Drottningens juvelsmycke*, as well as the drama *Ramido Marinesco*.⁸⁵ In the second-most popular language, Finnish, *Araminta May*, *Arbetets ära*, *Det går an*, *Kapellet*, and *Skällnora kvarn* were circulated.⁸⁶ The last one, *Skällnora kvarn*, was also the first story to be translated into Russian; it was first printed in 1908 and was republished again in Russian in 1914 and 1916.⁸⁷ During the same period, only two stories in English and one novel in French were published: *Sara Videbeck* together with *The Chapel* in English, and *Svenska fattigdomens betydelse* (1838; The significance of Swedish poverty) titled *La pauvreté suédoise* in French.⁸⁸

At the end of the twentieth century, Almqvist's growing status as a canonised writer in his home country, Sweden, resulted in new publications abroad. Most of these publications were reprints or new editions of former translations, but some works appeared in new translations: *Det går an* as *Sara* in French in 1981 and *Drottningens juvelsmycke* as *Tintomara* in French in 1996.⁸⁹ In addition, a collection of Almqvist's most well-known stories was printed in Czech in 1965, and one collection in Italian was published in 1966, which was republished in 1981.⁹⁰ In Danish, *Drottningens juvelsmycke* was published for the first time in 1977.⁹¹ In the 1980s, *Det går an* was for the first time distributed in Norwegian and French, as well as in a second new translation in Dutch and German.⁹² Some years later, in 1991, the same novel was published in Greek.⁹³ At the same time, new translations were made of *Det går an* into a few minor languages, such as Estonian, Latvian, and Esperanto.⁹⁴

During the late twentieth and the early twenty-first centuries, most translated publications by Almqvist were distributed in the major European languages: German, English, and French. In German, *Palatset* was republished in 1996, *Det går an* was translated twice and printed altogether five times in three years, from 2004 to 2006, and the translation of 1927 of *Drottningens juvelsmycke* was republished in 1989. Some decades later, in 2005 and 2006, the two novels were distributed twice in new translations.⁹⁵ In English, both *The Queen's Diadem* and *Sara Videbeck* were published twice in two different translations and with two different titles each. In 1992, *The Queen's Diadem* was published in London and Columbia and once again in 2001 in London, titled *The Queen's Tiara*. In 1994, *Sara Videbek* was distributed in the United States titled *Why Not!*, and once again in 2010 in a new translation titled *Sara Videbeck*.⁹⁶ In French, four works were issued: *Det går an* (*Sara*, 1995), *Drottningens juvelsmycke* (*Le joyau de la reine*, 1996), *Palatset* (*La palais*, 2001), and *Jagtslottet* (The hunting seat) as *Chronique du château* in 2011.⁹⁷

As demonstrated above, a few new translations were published early in the twenty-first century. These publications confirm which of Almqvist's works have become the most central ones: *Det går an* and *Drottningens juvelsmycke*. That is, the works by Almqvist that are today considered the most significant in the history of Swedish literature are the ones that are most frequently circulated in translations. In this way, the international reception reflects the established national canon. It is also worth pointing out that most translations made today are made into those national languages where Scandinavian studies is well established as an academic discipline at the local universities.

LAUNCHING ALMQVIST
– TITLES AND PUBLISHING STRATEGIES

In the nineteenth century, two of Almqvist's most translated works were his novels about the regional life of common people in Sweden: *Kapellet* and *Grimstahamns nybygge*. The first one was translated into Dutch, German, Finnish, French, and Danish, while the second one was published several times in Danish and once in German, in 1902.⁹⁸ In Denmark, both novels were repeatedly launched as educational novels about regional everyday life in series such as "Udvalget for Folkeoplysnings Fremme" (Selected to promote education of the public/common man).⁹⁹ Also in German, *Grimstahamns nybygge* was published twice as an affordable and instructive chapbook in "Wiesbadener Volkbücher" (People's reading of Wiesbaden).¹⁰⁰

Besides these two novels, one of his historical suspense stories, *Gabriële Mimanso*, was distributed in several languages and editions: in Danish, German, Dutch, and English. One reason why *Gabriële Mimanso* became Almqvist's most popular translated novel in the 1840s might be its title, which consists of the name of a woman, presumably the heroine. In most languages, the Swedish subtitle was added, proclaiming a novel about the attempted assassination of the French king Louis Philippe I. In German, the subtitle was "der letzte Mordversuch gegen den König Ludwig von Frankreich, im Herbste 1840", and in Dutch, "eene geschiedenis uit den tijd van den aanslag in den jare 1840 tegen het leven van Louis" (the last assassination attempt against King Louis of France in autumn 1840). The English subtitle also added captivating information about the female protagonist "Gabriële Mimanso, the niece of Agd-el-Kader: or an attempt to assassinate Louis Philippe, king of France."¹⁰¹ Firstly, the name of the female protagonist in the main title indicated a bildungsroman, or educational novel, and a narrative about the life and struggles of a female protagonist. Secondly, the subtitle also promised a sensational story told from a female point of view, or a narrative that revealed her role in an authentic contemporary drama. It was thus labelled as the kind of novel many female readers asked for in the mid- and late nineteenth century, that is, a novel with a female protagonist and her role in an authentic documentary about a dramatic event that had recently taken place.

An investigation of which novels by Almqvist were translated and of the titles under which they were launched in other languages demonstrates the frequent use of a female name in the title. The first story ever translated by Almqvist was his drama *Columbine*, which was published in Danish in 1837, followed by the epistolary novel *Amalia Hillner* in

1840.¹⁰² The most frequently published story in German was *Drottningens juvelsmycke*, where the protagonist, Tintomara, was brought into the title in two different translations and editions of 1842: *Der Königin Juvelschmuck oder Azouras Lazuli Tintomara* (The queen's jewellery, or Azouras Lazuli Tintomara) and *Tintomara: Ereginisse kurz vor, bei und nar der Ermordung Gustav der Dritte* (Tintomara: events shortly before, at and after the murder of Gustaf the Third).¹⁰³ In the second one, the spectacular murder of a Swedish king was also announced. Accordingly, in 1842, *Drottningens juvelsmycke* was published and launched in German with the same kind of subtitle as that used for *Gabriële Mimanso*; both subtitles guaranteed a plot where the fate of the heroine was combined with a suspenseful narrative based on a historical event pertaining to the assassination of a real-life king.

In the 1840s, some other novels were distributed in German announcing stories about female protagonists. In 1843, *Tre fruar i Småland* was distributed as *Drei Frauen i Småland* (Three wives in Småland) and it was republished one year later, in 1844.¹⁰⁴ In the same year, *Amalia Hillner* was first distributed in German, and, like *Tre fruar i Småland*, it was republished one year after the first German edition by the leading publisher of translated novels in Stuttgart, Franckh'sche Verlagshandlung.¹⁰⁵

When *Kapellet* was distributed in French in 1854 and once again in 1883, it was promoted as *La femme du pêcheur* (The angler's wife).¹⁰⁶ The same strategies were applied in other languages. When *Det går an* was translated into English in 1919 and published in the United States, it was titled after the female protagonist Sara Videbeck.¹⁰⁷ Accordingly, several of Almquist's novels were launched in other languages as novels about female protagonists and thereby probably primarily addressing female readers.

This pattern was also prevalent later, in particular in the late twentieth century. In French, *Drottningens juvelsmycke* was published as *Tintomara* in 1964, and *Det går an* was published as *Sara* in 1981 and in 1995.¹⁰⁸ The latest American publication of *Det går an* is, like the first one, titled *Sara Videbeck* (2010), not as the 1994 version published as *Why Not!*¹⁰⁹ In German, the same novel was first published in 1846 titled *Es geht an*, that is, with a German title very close to the Swedish one. In the preface of this edition, the translator explains and discusses various ways of translating the Swedish title into German.¹¹⁰ When the novel was retranslated in 1989, it was published as *Die Woche mit Sara* (The week with Sara), that is, with a title more closely corresponding to the American one and consistent with the general practice of putting the heroine into the title.¹¹¹ However, as mentioned above, nowadays the

circulations of these two novels by Almqvist do not primarily depend on the titles. Instead, and since the mid-twentieth century, the reprinting of former translations, as well as the publishing of new translations, has been narrowed down to the most canonised novels in the national history of Swedish literature, which happens to be these two novels. As a result, since the mid-twentieth century, *Drottningens juvelsmycke* and *Det går an* are the most frequently translated and published novels at the same time as the names of the (female) protagonists, Tintomara and Sara, are repeatedly brought into the titles.

The preparatory introduction of Almqvist's novels as female "bildungsromanen", or novels about a female protagonist's life and manners in the mid-nineteenth century, was probably a crafty strategy by the local publishers. However, the use of the name of the female protagonist in the title was not enough to make Almqvist a bestselling international novelist. Although female names attracted translators and publishers outside Sweden in the nineteenth century, they did not guarantee readers and commercial success to the publishing team. To judge by the rather small number of translated publications and retranslations, Almqvist did not write the kind of novels the European and American audiences asked for, and therefore they were not novels that the local publishers at the time made a profit from. Thus it was not until his position as a canonised Swedish author was established in the national history of Swedish literature that some of his works attracted the attention of international publishers specialising in classics or literature of academic interest.

NOTES

- 1 Tegnér, *Axel: eine Romanze*, trans. Gottlieb Mohnike, Stralsund: Trinius, 1829; Atterbom, *Insel der Glückseligkeit: Sagenspiel in fünf Abenteuren*, trans. H. Neus, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1831–1833. About the translation of Atterbom, see Gunilla Hermansson, "Julia Nyberg/Euphrosyne; Romantic Poetry, World Literature, and Superficial Reception", in Yvonne Leffler, Åsa Arping, Jenny Bergenmar, Gunilla Hermansson, and Birgitta Johansson Lindh, *Swedish Women's Writing on Export: Tracing Transnational Reception in the Nineteenth Century*, Göteborg: LIR.skrifter. 10, pp. 44–46.
- 2 Tegnér, *Axel. Eene saga*, trans. E.J. Potgieter, Amsterdam: Westerman, 1833; Tegnér, *Axel*, trans. Robert Gordon Latham, London: T. Hookham, 1838; Tegnér, *Aksel: romanzen*, trans. Jana Wiernikowskiego, Wilno: J. Zawadski, 1842.
- 3 Tegnér, *Axel: poema éico*, trans. Ramón Baeza, Barcelona, 1850; Исалии Тернер, Аксель, trans. D. Oznobišina, St. Petersburg: Gogenfeldena, 1861; Tegnér, *Axel*, trans. Vilmos Györy, Budapest: Szemle, 1869.

- 4 Tegnér, *Aksel*, trans. A. Törneros, Helsinki: Edlund, 1872; Tegnér, *Axel*, trans. L.L.H. Combertigues-Vareennes, Gothenburg: Handels-Tidnings Aktiebolag, 1876; Tegnér, *La saga di Axel*, trans. Fortunato Vitali, Firenze: Quartini, 1914.
- 5 Tegnér, *Axel*, trans. A.E. Boye, København: Schubothe, 1827, 1837, 1839, 1846, 1851, 1872.
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- 11 See Nordenfors, “Frithiofs saga – en framgångssaga”, p. 84.
- 12 Nordenfors, “Frithiofs saga – en framgångssaga”, p. 84.
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- 37 Cf. Hermansson, “Julia Nyberg/Euphrosyne”, pp. 48–51.
- 38 “die alte, kräftige, gigantish barbarische Dichtart” with “eine neue sinnig zarte Weise”, quoted from Ola Nordenfors, “Frithiofs saga – en framgångssaga”, p. 85.
- 39 See Nordenfors, “Frithiofs saga – en framgångssaga”, pp. 87–88, 92. During his Italian journey in 1828, Longfellow had already been introduced to Tegnér by Swedish artists in Rome, such as Johan Niklas Byström and Karl August Nicander.
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THE SUCCESS OF THREE WOMEN WRITERS

Fredrika Bremer, Emilie Flygare-Carlén,
and Marie Sophie Schwartz

AMONG SWEDISH nineteenth-century novelists, two female writers conquered the international market from 1840 onwards: Fredrika Bremer and Emilie Flygare-Carlén. In 1860, their younger compatriot Marie Sophie Schwartz started to compete with them, particularly in the German book market. This chapter starts by describing the early success of Bremer and Flygare-Carlén in the 1840s and 1850s before including Schwartz's achievements and expanding on the success she and Flygare-Carlén enjoyed in Central and Eastern Europe. I then conclude by mapping the fading interest in their novels from World War I onwards.

THE BREAKTHROUGH OF BREMER AND FLYGARE-CARLÉN: TRANSLATION INTO GERMAN VIA DANISH

Bremer's Swedish debut in 1828, with the first part of *Teckningar utur hvardagslifvet* (*Sketches of Everyday Life*) and two additional parts in 1830 and 1831, resulted in a couple of new editions before her works were recognised in Denmark. In 1836–1837, three parts of her collections of stories were published in Danish, among them her novels *Presidentens döttrar* (1834; *The President's Daughters*) and *Nina* (1835).¹ Thereafter, many of her stories were rapidly translated into Danish.² However, Bremer's novels were not as frequently republished and retranslated as those by her younger colleague Flygare-Carlén.³ Unlike Bremer's novels, Flygare-Carlén's were instantly recognised in Denmark, and they were frequently republished in Danish until the mid-twentieth century. Her first novel, *Waldemar Klein* (1838), was distributed in Danish in 1839, one year after the first edition in

Swedish.⁴ Her second and third novels, *Gustaf Lindorm* (1839; *Gustavus Lindorm*) and *Professorn och hans skyddslingar* (1840; *The Professor and His Favourites*), were printed in Danish in the same year they were published in Swedish, in 1839–1840 and 1840 respectively.⁵ This prompt translation set the norm, and many of Flygare-Carlén's later novels were published in both Swedish and Danish in the same year, such as *Vindskuporna* (1845; *Marie Louise; or, the Opposite Neighbours*) and *En natt vid Bullarsjön* (1847; *A night at Bullar Lake*).⁶ Most of her novels were republished several times in Danish, several as many as three times before 1900, and sometimes also a couple of times early in the twentieth century. Her novel *Rosen på Tistelön* (1842; *The Rose of Tistelön*) was first published in 1843, and then again in 1862.⁷ Thereafter, it was published in a new edition and probably a new translation in 1893, which was republished in 1911.⁸ Her very last novel, *Ett köpmanshus i skärgården* (1859; *A merchant house among the islands*), was her most widely distributed novel in Danish. It was first published as a serial in 1859, then as a book in 1860.⁹ Thereafter, it was published in an authorised translation in 1894, and then it was republished in different editions/publications in 1911, 1912, 1914, and 1927–1928. In 1973, it was printed in a new abbreviated Danish edition.¹⁰

Ett köpmanshus i skärgården was not only the most widely circulated novel in Danish by Flygare-Carlén; it is also an example of how rapidly one and the same novel could be launched in another language, in this case in Danish and German. The novel was first published as a serial in both Sweden and Denmark in 1859, that is, one year before it was printed as a book in both countries. In the same year that it was running as a serialised novel in Swedish and Danish newspapers, two different German publishers published it in two different German translations. One of them, distributed by Phillip Maass in Leipzig, had already been printed as *Ein Handelhaus in den Scheeren* in autumn 1858, but it had to be withdrawn for legal reasons. In 1859, Maass's edition reappeared, and in the same year, the novel was also published in another German translation by the leading publisher of foreign novels in German, Franckh'sche Verlagshandlung in Stuttgart.¹¹

The dissemination of Bremer's novels demonstrates a similar way of transmission via Danish into German. Two years after *Presidentens döttrar* and *Grannarne* (1837; *The Neighbours*) were distributed in Danish in 1836 and 1837 respectively, the first one was translated into German as *Die Töchter des Präsidenten* in 1838 and the second one as *Die Nachbarn* in 1839–1841.¹² It is hard to know whether these translations were based on the Danish translation or the Swedish source texts, or a collation of both. Whichever was the case, the introduction

of Bremer in German opened up for speedy translation of other novels. Like Flygare-Carlén, Bremer sometimes chose to send her German publisher the manuscript of a new novel while she still was writing it, in order to facilitate the publication in German. By cooperating with a foreign publisher, Bremer could be in control of the publication of a certain edition, which also enabled her to secure an income from her foreign publisher.¹³ In 1841, almost 20 of her works were distributed in German.¹⁴ In the following four years, 1842–1845, almost 10 of her works were published or republished annually.¹⁵ Sometimes the same publisher issued the same novel in two different series in the very same year. For example, in 1842 the publishing house Brockhaus included Bremer's *Nina* in the series "Skizzen aus dem Alltagsleben" (Drafts of everyday life), as well as in "Ausgewählte Bibliothek der Classiker des Auslandes" (Selected library of foreign classics). In 1843, Franckh'sche Verlagshandlung circulated both *Familjen H**** (1830–1832; *The H-Family*) and *Grammarne* in Bremer's "Sämtliche Werke" (Collected works) and in their series "Das belletristische Ausland" (Foreign fiction).¹⁶ Now and then, two different publishers published the same novel in the same year in two different translations. In 1842, Bremer's main publisher, Brockhaus in Leipzig, was challenged by a small publishing house in Hamburg, Kittler, which Bremer sometimes preferred to Brockhaus.¹⁷ In 1844, *Presidentens döttrar* was published as *Des Präsidenten Töchter*, translated by E.A. Wolheim and distributed by Velhagen & Klasing in Bielefeld, and was also published under the title *Die Töchter des Präsidenten*, translated by Gottlob Fink and issued by Franckh'sche Verlagshandlung in Stuttgart.¹⁸ However, Bremer's fame progressively faded and nothing was published in German until after World War II. Then a few of her novels were republished, as well as her travelogues, such as *Lifvet i den gamla världen* (1860–1866; *Life in the Old World*) in 1963.¹⁹ At the end of the twentieth century, academic publishers, such as Belser Wissenschaftliche Dienst, republished a number of novels, including *En dagbok* (1843; *A Diary*) and *Syskonlif* (1848; *Brothers and Sisters*).²⁰

The dissemination of Flygare-Carlén's novels in German is more long-lasting and spectacular. Three years after her debut in Sweden and two years after the first novels in Danish, her first novel in German was printed. In 1841, *Kyrkoinvigningen i Hammarby* (1840–1841; *The Magic Goblet*) was published in both Danish and German.²¹ In the following two years, in 1842 and 1843, 10 more novels were published by four different publishing houses. Two of them were printed in two editions: *Skjutsossen* (1841; *Ivar; or, the Skjuts-Boy*) and *Waldemar Klein*. The first one was published in two translations by two different

publishers: one by F.H. Morin in Berlin and one by Franckh'sche Verlagshandlung in Stuttgart.²² Franckh'sche launched the second one in two separate collections of novels: "Emilie Flygare-Carlén's sämmtliche Romane in sorgfältiger Übertragung" (Emilie Flygare-Carlén's collected novels in careful translation) and "Das belletristische Ausland".²³ From 1841 until the early twentieth century, several novels were published and republished almost every year.

Flygare-Carlén thus remained a bestselling novelist for a longer period than Bremer. Bremer's novels were highly in demand in the 1840s with a decline in printing from the late 1840s onwards, except for a minor peak in the late 1850s. Flygare-Carlén's novels were frequently distributed until the 1860s, with a renewed surge in the late 1880s, when most of her works were reprinted in various collections and series. How might these differences in popularity be explained? As Åsa Arping concludes, based on Karin Carsten Montén's dissertation on the German reception of Bremer, Bremer's more limited popularity might be due to the fact that her early novels were welcomed as representing the current German Biedermeier ideals, and that her stories soon became unfashionably conservative.²⁴ It is possible that Flygare-Carlén's middle-class realism was more lasting and to the taste of both the German readers and the Young Germany movement. Another reason might be that Bremer's and Flygare-Carlén's novels were progressively circulated in different literary systems; while Bremer's stories were dismissed as outdated, Flygare-Carlén's suspenseful plots were marketable for a longer time as popular fiction.

The enduring interest in Flygare-Carlén's novels might also be due to the fact that her novels were circulated by more publishers within German-speaking Europe than Bremer's stories were. Two publishers dominated the distribution of Bremer's works: F.A. Brockhaus in Leipzig and Franckh'sche Verlagshandlung in Stuttgart. One specific translator also repeatedly appears on the covers of Bremer's works: Gottlob Fink at Franckh'sche. For a start, F.A. Morin in Berlin and Velhagen & Klasing from Bielefeld tried to hold on to Bremer, but the two dominating publishers, Brockhaus and Franckh'sche, soon outranked them and published almost everything in German by Bremer. Notably, her German publishers – including Morin and Velhagen & Klasing – distributed her novels only from places in today's central Germany.

These circumstances differ from those of her younger colleague, Flygare-Carlén. In contrast to Bremer, many different translators and publishers located in different regions competed to circulate her novels. Some of her novels were translated by Bremer's translator Gottlob Fink, others by translators, such as Karl Stein and Carl Friedrich

Frisch, at Franckh'sche. Some publishers also distributed her novels from places outside today's Germany, for example, Conrad Adolf Hartleben in Leipzig (Germany), who also issued her books from Vienna (Austria) and Pest (today's Budapest in Hungary), and Karl Prochaska, who ran publishing houses in both Leipzig and Vienna.²⁵ As in the case of Bremer, after the turn of the twentieth century, few works were reprinted or translated, with the exception of an academic interest in republishing Flygare-Carlén's works in the late twentieth century. The same academic publisher that circulated Bremer's novels, Belser Wissenschaftliger Dienst in Wildberg, distributed Flygare-Carlén's most issued novel in Swedish, *Rosen Tistelön*, in German translation as a Microfiche edition.

Probably neither Bremer nor Flygare-Carlén did much to promote translations into other languages, at least not at first. The quick recognition by Danish and German publishers and readers initiated translations into Dutch, and it is easy to follow the migration of a text from Danish into German, and from German into Dutch. Bremer's *Hemmet* (1839; *The Home*) was distributed in Danish and German in 1840, and one year later it was circulated in Dutch.²⁶ Flygare-Carlén's *Professorn och hans skyddslingar* was printed in Danish in 1840, in German in 1842, and in Dutch in 1843.²⁷ Many works were issued in Dutch just one year after the first translation into German, for example, Bremer's *Grannarne* and *Familjen H****, which were launched in German in 1839–1841 and in 1841 respectively, and both of them were circulated in Dutch in 1842.²⁸ Also in 1842, Flygare-Carlén's *Rosen på Tistelön* was published in both Swedish and German. One year later, it was printed in Dutch.²⁹

From the early 1840s until the 1870s, Bremer's and Flygare-Carlén's novels – as well as Bremer's travelogues – were extensively disseminated in Dutch, and a single work by Bremer was often reprinted a couple of times, while a novel by Flygare-Carlén was habitually distributed in the same year by two different publishers. Most likely, the first translations were made via German. If they were made from the Swedish source texts, they were possibly assisted by German translations. A letter from the Dutch writer and translator Servaas du Bruin – written to Flygare Carlen in Swedish in 1850 – confirms how much the translations into Dutch depended on the German translation; he claims that his translation of Flygare-Carlén's novel *En natt vid Bullarsjön* was the first translation into Dutch ever made from the original Swedish text.³⁰ It was published as *Een nacht aan't Bullar-Meer* in Amsterdam in 1848 translated by “Brendius”, a pseudonym used by de Bruin.

THE EARLY SUCCESS IN THE ANGLOPHONE WORLD

The first translations of Swedish novels into English depended on their previous popularity in German. Often Swedish literature was translated into English via German, and it was certainly the case when Bremer's novel *Grannarne* was translated by Mary Botham Howitt in cooperation with her husband William Howitt and published as *The Neighbours* in 1842.³¹ Mary Howitt thus established herself as Bremer's translator, and the year after, in 1843, she had translated five more novels by Bremer.³² In the same year, several other novels by Bremer were published in English without a named translator.³³ All of these novels by Bremer were distributed by several publishers simultaneously from both London and New York. In the next year, two more translators were named on the covers of Bremer's novels: E.A. Friedländer and Mary Lowell Putnam. While Friedländer started to translate most of Bremer's novels, formerly translated by Howitt, for distribution by H.G. Clarke in London, Lowell Putnam translated only one novel, *Trälinnan* (1840; *The Bondmaid*), which was issued both in London and in New York in 1844.³⁴

At the same time, in the early 1840s, Mary Howitt also translated one novel by Flygare-Carlén, *Rosen på Tistelön*. This translation was also done via German. As Åsa Arping points out, Mary Howitt did not know Swedish at the time, and she and her husband translated Bremer's novels into English via German.³⁵ *Rosen på Tistelön* from 1842 was distributed in German in 1843, that is, one year before Howitt's translation was published in 1844. In addition, Howitt's translation of it was printed in the same year as many other translations based on the German versions, such as the translations into Dutch and Hungarian. Some other translations of Flygare-Carlén's novels into English were also made via German. On the cover of a translation eight years later, *Ett lyckligt parti* (1851; *A Brilliant Marriage*) published in London in 1852, it says "from the German by the translator of *The Birthright*".³⁶ Thus the previously published novel, *The Birthright* translated by "the translator of St. Roche" and issued by Richard Bentley in London in 1851, was most likely translated from an earlier German translation, although this is not specified on the cover. There it is only declared that the translation is made "from the original by the translator of 'St. Roche'".³⁷ The phrase "from the original" could mean anything at the time; it may indicate that it was a trustworthy translation rather than a translation from the Swedish source text.

The English and American marketing of Flygare-Carlén's novel *Rosen på Tistelön* in 1844 demonstrates the instant transfer of her own

and Bremer's novels across the Atlantic and the cooperation between English and American publishers. It also shows that, often, several different translators were simultaneously translating the same novel. In the same year that two different publishers distributed Howitt's version of *Rosen på Tistelön* in London, one more English translation by the Swedish immigrant Gustaf Clemens Hebbe and his American colleague Henry Champion Deming was circulated.³⁸ Unlike Howitt, they made their translation directly from the Swedish source text as Swedish was Hebbe's native tongue. Their translation was distributed in both London and New York with slightly different titles. The first American edition was titled *The Smugglers of the Swedish Coast, or, The Rose of Thistle Island*, while the British version was published as *The Rose of Thistle Isle*. In this case, there was a specific reason behind two different translations of the very same novel. In their preface to the novel, Hebbe and Deming explained why they had chosen to publish their version despite the already distributed translation by Howitt. They claimed that Howitt had omitted whole pages of Flygare-Carlén's novel and, as a result, "much of the beauty and spirit" of the novel was lost.³⁹ What they did not mention were the commercial motives behind their translation, which was first launched by Winchester in New York. Their main intention was probably to establish themselves as Flygare-Carlén's translators with special expertise in Swedish to ensure future profits from her bestselling novels.⁴⁰

The rising commercial value of popular fiction is confirmed by cases where the launching of a novel became a turbulent American mass media event. Just as with the publishing of two different translations of Flygare-Carlén's *Rosen på Tistelön* in 1844, the release of Bremer's *New Sketches of Every-Day Life: A Diary Together with Strife and Peace* in 1843–1844 illustrates the piracy of popular novels and the ongoing competition between different translators and publishers. In the "Preface by the Translator" of the English and American edition of Bremer's work, published by Longman & Co. and Harper, Howitt promoted herself as Bremer's translator and reproached competing publishers and the unfair methods used in order to publish low-cost and abbreviated editions before the first quality translation was on the market. Howitt's attack was directed at those publishers that, in 1843, had already published *Strid och frid* (1840; *Strife and Peace*) in what she considered second-rate translations; these included William Smith, H.G. Clarke & Co., in London and James Munroe & Co. in Boston.⁴¹ As Åsa Arping demonstrates, Howitt's outburst triggered counter-attacks in several journals and newspapers.⁴² In some of those, Howitt was blamed for making mistakes because she translated from a

German version, not the Swedish source text.⁴³ An attention-grabbing attack in connection to Hebbe and Deming's aforementioned translations of Flygare-Carlén's *Rosen på Tistelön* was also published in the New York paper *The New World* in June 1844. The headline was "Caution to the Public!" because of "the imperfect edition" of Flygare-Carlén's *Rosen på Tistelön*, which was translated by Mary Howitt. In the advertisement by J. Winchester, the Swedish immigrant Hebbe's Swedish language skills and knowledge of the country's literature were stressed as the novel – *The Rose of Thistle Island* – was claimed to be translated directly from the Swedish source text – not via the German version as Howitt's translation had been. However, the main argument for reading Hebbe and Deming's version was – as mentioned above – that it was published as an objection to Howitt's expurgated version.⁴⁴ Besides, whatever the quality of the different translations of the Swedish novels, Mary Howitt's fight for defending the rights of translators occasioned by rivalry over the Bremer novels – as well as competition over the translation of *Rosen på Tistelön* by Flygare-Carlén – probably played a part in initiating a discussion about and a revision of English copyright laws. At any rate, the Bremer scholar Doris Ryan Asmundsson claims that it is due in part to Mary Howitt's fight against piracy of Bremer's novels in 1843 and onwards that an international copyright law was finally enacted in 1848. Thus, Asmundsson argues, the popularity of Bremer's novels contributed to "the financial welfare of English authors".⁴⁵

Contrary to the case of Bremer, no individual translator held on to Flygare-Carlén's novels for too long, nor did any one person aim at translating her complete works into English. One year before Hebbe and Deming published their translation *The Rose of Thistle Island*, Hebbe had anonymously translated another novel by Flygare-Carlén, *Professorn och hans skyddslingar*, which was published in New York in 1843.⁴⁶ Later, he translated one more novel by Flygare-Carlén, *Fideikommisset* (1844; *The Temptation of Wealth*), published in New York in 1846 and in London in 1851.⁴⁷ However, in collaboration with Deming, Hebbe did not translate any more novels by Flygare-Carlén. Instead, another American translator team appeared: Axel L. Krause and Elbert Perce. They translated two novels together: *Bruden på Omberg* (1855; *The Bride of Omberg*) and *Ett år* (1846; *One Year/ Twelve Months of Matrimony*), both published in 1853.⁴⁸ They also translated a couple of novels individually.⁴⁹

Regarding Mary Howitt, she never returned to Flygare-Carlén's stories. Hebbe and Deming's attack on her translation *The Rose of Tistelön* could be one explanation, but the main reason was probably

her cooperation and friendship with Bremer and that she was busy translating and launching Bremer's novels. In three years, 1842–1844, she translated about 10 novels/novelettes by Bremer. She was also named as the translator of the collection "Miss Bremer's Novels", which contained almost 15 stories and was published in London in 1843–1844.⁵⁰ Continuously, she translated Bremer's latter works into English, which also included her famous travelogues: *The Midnight Sun*, *The Homes of the New World*, and *Life in the Old World*.

Contrary to what could be assumed, Bremer's and Flygare-Carlén's novels did not travel west from London to New York. The first translation into English of Flygare-Carlén's novel *Professorn och hans skyddslingar* was first published in New York in 1843 as *The Professor and His Favorites*. Hebbe's first translation of *Fideikommisset* as *The Temptation of Wealth* was published in New York in 1846, thereafter in a new and abridged English edition in London in 1847, and in a new translation in London titled *The Birthright* in 1851.⁵¹ Thus, several of Flygare-Carlén's novels travelled via America to England. Still, many of her novels, as well as most of Bremer's works, were distributed in English from both New York and London in the same year. Consequently, Bremer and Flygare-Carlén were popular among British as well as American readers. However, measured by the number of published editions in English, Bremer far exceeds Flygare-Carlén. During 1843, her top year, 26 different editions were published, according to Arping's investigation. Most editions in English were printed between 1843 and 1860. Although Bremer was immensely popular in the United States in the nineteenth century, she seems to have been even more appreciated in England, as English publishers in London published even more editions by her.⁵²

Some of the Swedish novels translated into English were probably printed in large editions. According to advertisements in the New York paper *The New World* in 1843, 25 000 copies of Mary Howitt's translation *The President's Daughters* and *Nina* by Bremer were printed, and according to another advertisement in the same paper by Winchester in 1844, Flygare-Carlén's novel *The Smugglers, or The Rose of Thistle Island* had already sold 20 000 copies.⁵³ However, the latter novel was not published by Winchester but by W.H. Colyer in New York and by H.G. Clarke & Co. in London in 1845. It is hard to verify whether the announced number of copies in the two advertisements was the normal size of an edition or not. It was certainly in the publishers' interest to exaggerate the figures in order to promote coming novels. On the other hand, the leading publishing house Franckh'sche in Germany published the same novels in editions of 15 000 copies.⁵⁴ Furthermore, Bremer

and Flygare-Carlén were two of the most widely circulated foreign novelists not only in German but also in English. Their English success thereby challenges Franco Moretti's results and his conclusion that the Anglophone literary world was an insular system, and that the British market in particular was well supplied with domestic novels. According to him, England was exporting a large amount of fiction but hardly importing any foreign literature at all.⁵⁵

However, the distribution of certain Swedish novels translated into English by both English and American publishers tells another story. Novels by some foreign writers were undoubtedly imported and became widely held in English. Not only keen bookworms read Bremer and Flygare-Carlén's novels in English; they were also reviewed in newspapers and literary journals, such as *The New World*; *Athenaeum*; *The Leader*; *The Anglo American, a Journal of Literature, News, Politics, the Drama, Fine Arts, Etc.*; and *The North American Review*.⁵⁶ The popularity of, in particular, Bremer's work in English is well demonstrated by Åsa Arping's search on "Miss Bremer" in two free online collections of American newspapers and journals. A search in Old Fulton New York Post Cards, a collection of New York newspapers, displays more than 3 000 hits, while the same search on Chronicling America from the period 1840 to 1900 gives a result of about 2000 hits.⁵⁷ The sort of celebrity status Bremer had in the United States is also confirmed by the frequent and detailed reports on her tour across the continent in the American press.⁵⁸ Unlike Bremer, Flygare-Carlén never travelled abroad, nor did she do much to promote her works outside Sweden. Still, editors and publishers frequently asked her to write prefaces and send pictures of herself to be published in, or in connection to, new editions. For example, in the early 1850s she received several letters from her American translator Elbert Perce in which he asked her to write a preface to the coming edition of *Gustavus Lindorm*. Finally, when she was offered "a fair percentage" for her work, she submitted a preface "To My American Readers" – translated into English by Perce.⁵⁹ Another example of Bremer's and Flygare-Carlén's popularity among English-speaking readers, as well as their shared status as representatives of Swedish fiction, is visibly displayed by a "Swedish Literature Pen Case" featuring portraits of Fredrika Bremer and Emilie Flygare-Carlén. A. Sommerville & Co., a pen manufacturer in Birmingham, England, made the pen case exclusively for a customer named Henry Ravené, who presumably was a great fan of the two Swedish novelists, Bremer and Flygare-Carlén.

TRANSLATION INTO FRENCH AND INTRODUCTION INTO THE LATIN REGIONS

Novels by Fredrika Bremer and Emilie Flygare-Carlén were also quickly translated into another major European language, French, and via French they occasionally travelled into the Latin regions in Europe and in South America. Bremer's first two novels in French, *Familjen H**** and *Grannarne*, were published in Paris in 1840 and 1845 respectively.⁶⁰ In same year that Bremer's second novel was issued, Flygare-Carlén's *Rosen på Tistelön* was circulated in French as *Les smogglers suédois*.⁶¹ The next year, 1846, five translations of Bremer's novels were circulated.⁶² Besides a new edition of Rosalie Du Puget's translation of *Familjen H****, four new translations were printed in 1847.⁶³ Thereafter, several new translations and republished former translations were issued in French almost every year until the turn of the twentieth century. Nearly every work by Bremer in French was published in Paris, and among the translators, Rosalie Du Puget dominates. Just as in English, some of Bremer's most popular novels were republished several times and appeared in different translations. For example, *Grannarne*, titled *Les voisins*, was not only the first of Bremer's novels to be published in French, it was also her most frequently republished work. The first translation, in 1845, which was translated from the German version published by Brockhaus in Leipzig, was republished in Brussels in 1853.⁶⁴ Rosalie Du Puget's translation from the Swedish source text was published in 1846, and it was republished in new editions in 1853, 1861, 1868, 1875, 1876, 1881, 1882, and 1896.⁶⁵ It was also republished more recently, in 2013 and 2017.⁶⁶ In the year that Du Puget's translation was first published, the same novel was translated, or rather adapted into a new free translation by Joséphine-Marie de Gaule and titled *Bruno*. The latter version was, however, only republished once, in 1857.⁶⁷

Although the first novels in French by Flygare-Carlén was published in 1845, the dissemination of Flygare-Carlén's novels was not as instant a success as that of Bremer's stories. After the first translation of *Rosen på Tistelön* in 1845, it took seven years before some more novels were distributed. However, once distribution finally began, 15 novels were printed in French over the next 10 years.⁶⁸ After that, about five to eight editions were published every decade until 1890. Altogether, about 15 novels by Flygare-Carlén were published in different translations and editions. That is, both Flygare-Carlén and Bremer had the same number of titles published, but in Bremer's case, the French translations – like

the English ones – also included her travelogues. However, in French the works by Bremer were, like the ones in English, more frequently republished in different translations and editions.

Judged by number of translations, editions, and republications, Bremer's and Flygare-Carlén's most popular novels in French were the same as in English: Bremer's *Grannarne* and Flygare-Carlén's *Ett år*. This is probably not caused by the English and French translators and publishers sharing the same networks and mediators. As mentioned earlier, Swedish novels were often introduced into English via German translations. Into French, Swedish literature was most likely translated directly from the Swedish source text without any mediating language. Therefore, the retranslation and republishing of the same novels in English and French was most probably not due to collaboration between French and English publishers. Instead, French and English readers probably shared the same literary preferences. Bremer's *Grannarne* and Flygare-Carlén's *Ett år* are both about newly married female protagonists and their struggles to handle their new position in life. They can thus be classified as female educational novels or realistic domestic novels of manners with a captivating love story in combination with intriguing family secrets.

Despite certain similarities, there are some notable differences in the circulation of Bremer's and Flygare-Carlén's novels in French, which also reflect the observable differences in the distribution of their novels in German and English. While Rosalie Du Puget translated most of Bremer's stories and most of them were published in Paris by Librairie de l'Association pour la propagation et la publication des bons livres until the early 1870s, there were many different publishers and translators behind the marketing of Flygare-Carlén's stories. Bremer's main translator, Rosalie Du Puget, translated one novel by Flygare-Carlén, *En nyckfull quinna* as *Une femme capricieuse*, which was published in 1859 by the same publisher that circulated most of Bremer's works, Librairie de l'Association pour la propagation et la publication des bons livres in Paris. The translators that are most frequently named on Flygare-Carlén's novels are, however, Marie Souvestre and O. Squarr. Another remarkable difference between the dissemination of Bremer and Flygare-Carlén in French is that while Bremer's novels were continually distributed from Paris, France, Flygare-Carlén's stories were also frequently published outside France, that is, in Brussels and Liège in Belgium and in Bern, Switzerland. Her novels were even distributed in French by publishers in Luxemburg as well as in Leipzig in the German-speaking part of Central Europe. These dissimilarities in circu-

lation might be due to chance, for example, due to the fact that certain publishers outside France happened to discover Flygare-Carlén's novels but not Bremer's. To some extent they might also reflect differences in literary taste. It is noteworthy that while publishers in France and Belgium invested in Flygare-Carlén's domestic novels centred on family matters – and thus those most in the style of Bremer's works – her Swiss publisher, Körber, circulated two of her most suspenseful stories set on the west coast of Sweden, *Rosen på Tistelön* and *Enslingen på Johannesskäret* (1846; *The Hermit*).⁶⁹ *Rosen på Tistelön* was the first novel by Flygare-Carlén ever published in French; it was first printed in Paris in 1845, and 10 years later a new translation was distributed from Brussels.⁷⁰ The second novel, *Enslingen på Johannesskäret*, was only published by Körber in Switzerland, first in 1876 and then again in 1877. It was never translated or circulated by any of her publishers in France or Belgium and does not seem to have been favoured by the readers in these countries. They obviously preferred her family stories set in bourgeois townhouses and mansions in the countryside to those depicting devious crimes and the hard life at sea or on the Swedish west coast.

Usually via French, but sometimes also via German, Swedish literature travelled into other Latin languages.⁷¹ While Flygare-Carlén's novels were more frequently translated into Italian, Bremer's works became more popular in Spanish. Five novels by Flygare-Carlén were published in Italian between 1869 and 1892, among them an abbreviated version of her most popular novel in French, *Ett år*, in 1869.⁷² Only one novel by Bremer – *Presidentens döttrar* – was translated into Italian. It was published as early as in 1846 and then republished three times in Milan between 1880 and 1921.⁷³ In Spanish, Bremer's novels were published in serialised form in newspapers as early as in the 1850s, and two of them, *Grannarne* and *Hertha*, were also printed as books.⁷⁴ In book form, the first one was reprinted at the same time as Flygare-Carlén's stories, that is, in the 1880s. In both cases, some of their most popular works in French were translated and published as books in Spanish: *Grannarne* by Bremer and *Ett år* and *Ett lyckligt parti* by Flygare-Carlén. While Spanish publishers in Spain published the novels by Flygare-Carlén, French publishers located in Paris distributed the novels by Bremer. It was not until a century later, in 1959, that Bremer's *Grannarne* was printed by a publishing house in Madrid.⁷⁵ In addition, in the late twentieth century, Bremer's travelogue from her visit in Cuba was published and republished several times in Havana. In 2014 and 2016, it was also circulated by a publisher in Spain.⁷⁶

THE BESTSELLING FOLLOWER: SCHWARTZ

In the early 1850s and a decade after Bremer and Flygare-Carlén broke through in the European and American book markets, Marie Sophie Schwartz published her first two works, *Förtalet* (1851; Defamation) and *De värlösa* (1852; The defenceless), and they were instantly published in German in 1852.⁷⁷ In 1855, her novel *Egennyttan* (1853; Egoism) was published in Danish.⁷⁸ Five years later, the distribution of her works was in full swing in both Danish and German. Her novel *Mannen af börd och quinnan af folket* (1858; *The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People*) was serialised in a Danish newspaper in 1859, and *Arbetet adlar mannen* (1859; Labour ennobles the man) and *Ett klöverblad* (1860; A trefoil) were published in 1860.⁷⁹ They were followed by an average of six novels and/or new editions every year until 1865.⁸⁰ Thereafter, a couple of new works and republications were printed in Danish almost every year until World War I.⁸¹ In the 1860s, Schwartz's novels were also published en masse in German. In the top years of 1864 and 1865, about 40 editions were distributed.⁸² In the same years, many novels were printed in two different translations by different publishers, such as *Emancipationsvurmen* (1860; Emancipation frenzy), which was both circulated as *Die Emancipationsmanie*, translated by Carl Otto and published by Franckh'sche Verlagshandlung in Stuttgart, and as *Die Emancipationswuth*, translated by August Kretzschmar and published by Brockhaus in Leipzig. Schwartz's novel *Arbetets barn* (1854; *Gerda, or the Children of Work*), titled *Die Kinder der Arbeit*, was published in three different translations by three publishers in 1865. One anonymous translation was published by Otto Janke in Berlin, one translation by August Kretzschmar was published by Brockhaus in Leipzig, and another translation by C. Büchele was published by Franckh'sche in Stuttgart. In 1865, Franckh'sche published Schwartz's collected novels in a series called *Sämmtliche Werke* (Collected works), and in 1865–1866, the publisher C.E. Kollman in Leipzig distributed her collected works as *Gesammelte Novellen und Erzählungen* (Collected novels and tales). A survey of Schwartz's novels in German demonstrates that several translators were engaged in translating them. Novels published by Brockhaus in Leipzig were often translated by August Kretzschmar, while Carl Otto and C. Büchele translated many novels issued by Franckh'sche. From the 1870s until the turn of the twentieth century, new editions were frequently circulated, and between 1891 and 1895, many of her novels were, like Flygare-Carlén's novels, republished in Bondy's series *Ausgewählte Romane* (Selected novels) distributed from Vienna and Leipzig.

At the same time as Schwartz became popular in Danish and German, in the 1860s, many of her novels were translated into Dutch. Between 1862 and 1877, 18 stories were distributed by several publishers and from almost 10 different places in the Netherlands, such as Groningen, Amsterdam, and Arnhem.⁸³ Among the translators, Johan Jacob Antonie Goeveueur appears five times on the covers of publications distributed from Groningen by publishers such as Van Bolhuis Hoitsema and Noordhof. However, although as many as 18 stories were translated, none of them were ever retranslated or republished in Dutch.

Unlike the works of Bremer and Flygare-Carlén, hardly anything by Schwartz was translated into French. Rosalie Du Puget, who translated most novels by Bremer and one by Flygare-Carlén, translated Schwartz's *Enkan och hennes barn* (1859; *The widow and her children*) in 1862. One decade later, in 1872, *Ett hämndens offer* (1859; *A victim of revenge*) was translated by Auguste Materne, and it was republished one year later.⁸⁴ These two stories by Schwartz were the only ones distributed as books in French.

Although some novels by Schwartz were translated into English, they were remarkably few compared to the success of Bremer and Flygare-Carlén, and only two of them were distributed from London: *Man- nen af börd och quinnan af folket* (*The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People*) in 1868 and *Guld och namn* (1863; *Gold and Name*) titled *Elvira, Lady Casterton* in 1874.⁸⁵ Most of her novels in English were printed in the United States in the 1870s. The introduction and circulation of nine novels in the United States was very much due to the cooperation of two female translators: Selma Borg and Marie A. Brown (married name, Shipley). The first novel translated by them was *Börd och bildning* (1861) – titled *Birth and Education* – in 1870, which was republished in 1871.⁸⁶ Eight more stories translated by them were distributed in the next four years, 1871–1874.⁸⁷ This concentrated publication was caused by the postponement of printing due to financial problems resulting from the American civil war in the 1860s.⁸⁸ When publishing resumed, several publishers and their partners were employed, such as Lee & Shepard in Boston and their publishing house in New York, called Lee, Shepard, & Dillingham. These circumstances probably reflect the precarious economic situation after the war. Maybe it also explains why another Swedish celebrity was engaged in the business, the opera star Christina Nilsson. Each novel included in the costly series published by Lee & Shepard was promoted by a letter written by Nilsson to the translator Selma Borg, which was included both in the original language, French, and in an English translation. In it, Nilsson confirms that she is “a fervent admirer of Madame Schwartz [...] who

has contributed to make the glory of our country”.⁸⁹ Still, Schwartz’s novels never reached the popularity of those by Bremer and Flygare-Carlén. Unlike their novels, hers were not republished several times. One reason might be that American publishers were less interested in importing foreign novels, or that Swedish novels were less in demand by the time Schwartz arrived on the scene. The even more limited interest in Schwartz’s novels by British publishers can also be related to a diminishing interest in Swedish novels. Even the very popular Fredrika Bremer’s literary star status began to decline in the 1850s, partly because she was publishing fewer novels at the time, but also because her English reviewers found her plots weak and the stories increasingly didactic and metaphysical.⁹⁰

In addition, Selma Borg and Marie A. Brown’s first two translations of Schwartz’s novels published in America, *Guld och namn* and *Börd och bildning* in 1871, were ruthlessly criticised; the translators were accused of not being “qualified for the work” and their translations were considered “very badly executed”.⁹¹ Another reason for Schwartz’s modest achievements in the American market may be that her programmatic depiction of class and gender issues did not appeal to American readers. However, by the end of the nineteenth century, quite a few of her – as well as Flygare-Carlén’s – stories were published as serialised novels in the Swedish-language newspapers *Minnesota stats tidning* and *Skaffaren*, published by and for Swedish immigrants in Minnesota.⁹² In particular, Schwartz’s social tendency and depiction of self-made heroes and heroines, showing that an industrious hardworking person might achieve anything in life, had a certain appeal to Swedish immigrants, who were fighting hard to make a new life in the United States.

TWO SWEDISH SUCCESS STORIES IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE: FLYGARE-CARLÉN AND SCHWARTZ

Although the works by Fredrika Bremer and Emilie Flygare-Carlén were introduced in Danish, German, Dutch, French and English about two decades before the novels by Marie Sophie Schwartz, the three writers had their breakthrough in eastern Central Europe at the same time, in the 1860s. In all three cases, the translations into German opened up for their introductions into other local and national languages within the Austrian Empire, such as Hungarian, Czech, and Polish. Most of the translations into these languages were initially made via German, or as a collation between the Swedish source text and a German translation of it. When the Swedish novels appeared in the local languages in Central Europe, the readers were probably already familiar with the

Swedish writers and had read their novels in German.⁹³ The only noteworthy exception to this pattern was the introduction in Hungarian. Flygare-Carlén's novel *Rosen på Tistelön* appeared in a translation as early as in 1844, two years after the first edition in Swedish.⁹⁴ According to Péter Mádl and Ildikó Annus's study, there might even have been an earlier publication in 1843.⁹⁵ This 1844 (or 1843) translation was almost certainly the first time a Swedish literary text was translated into Hungarian, and it was most likely made from Gottlob Fink's German translation of the novel, which was printed in 1843.

Due to political circumstances, the failed revolution in Hungary in 1848 and the following defeat against the Austrian Empire, it was not until 14 years later that another Hungarian translation was published. Then, there was a major introduction of Flygare-Carlén's novels: between 1858 and 1876, three publishers – M. Rath, Hartleben, and Családi Kör located in Pest (i.e. the eastern side of today's Budapest) – issued seven novels in Hungarian.⁹⁶ Two of the novels were also republished: *Vindskuporna* and *En nyckfull kvinna* (1848–1849; *Woman's Life*).⁹⁷ In addition, three of Flygare-Carlén's novels were distributed by J. Stein in Klausenburg/Kolozsvár, that is, from Cluj-Napoca in today's Romania: *Professorn och hans skyddslingar*, *Vindskuporna*, and *En nyckfull kvinna*.⁹⁸ All novels translated into Hungarian had previously been published in German several times. Therefore, it is likely that most Hungarian translations were based on previous German versions.

Marie Sophie Schwartz's novels in Hungarian were also most likely translated via German. When her novels were launched, from 1867 until 1903, it was on a large scale; at least 14 novels were translated into Hungarian by as many translators.⁹⁹ The first three – *En fåfängmans hustru* (1857; *The Wife of a Vain Man*), *Äktenskapet* (1853; *The marriage*), and *Guld och namn* – were translated by three different translators and published in Pest (Budapest) by as many publishers: Fővárosi Lapok, Khór-Wein Ny, and Családi Kör. Only two novels by Schwartz were published twice: *Börd och Bildning* and *Ädlingens dotter* (1860; *A nobleman's daughter*). Both were first published in 1873 by Gelgedi in Debreczen and one year later by Teey N. és.t. in Budapest.¹⁰⁰ Notably, Schwartz shared few translators and publishers with her predecessor Flygare-Carlén. The Hungarian translator Mária Dominkovich translated one novel by each of them, and both novels were published in the Hungarian paper *Fővárosi Lapok* (The capital's newspaper) in 1864 and in 1867 respectively. While the publisher in Pest, Családi Kör, published three novels by Flygare-Carlén in his series *Magyar hölgyek könyvtára* (Hungarian ladies' library) in the late 1860s, only one novel by Schwartz was published in the same series.

Despite the interest in novels by Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz, no novel by Bremer was circulated in Hungarian. Her only publication in Hungarian is a short story published in a verse anthology as late as in 1943.¹⁰¹

In Polish, the situation was quite different; here Fredrika Bremer initiated the introduction of Swedish novels in 1852, when *Grannarne* and *Presidentens döttrar* were distributed in Polish.¹⁰² Before 1893, eight more of her works were published, such as *Familjen H * * **, *Nina*, *Hemmet*, and *Hertha*.¹⁰³ Also, her travelogue, *Hemmen i den nya världen* (1854; *The Homes of the New World*), and two collections of essays from Norway and the county of Dalarna in Sweden were published in Polish: *Strid och frid* and *I Dalarna* (1845; *Life in Dalecarlia*).¹⁰⁴ At the turn of the twentieth century, her short biographical text “Örninnan” (The female eagle) was translated and published twice in two papers.¹⁰⁵ The circulation of Bremer in Polish is the only example of an actual interest in translating her works into a local language in eastern Central Europe. There might be different reasons behind it. One might be the interest of a particular publisher, Henryk Natanson in Warsaw, who published almost everything by her in Polish. Another may be that her works were immediately well received by female readers; a memorial article, published in the women’s magazine *Bluszcz* in 1866, one year after her death, indicates this kind of gendered reception. Whatever the reason behind Bremer’s early introduction in Polish, it probably promoted the translation of novels by both Schwartz and Flygare-Carlén.

At the same time as Bremer’s novels became popular in Polish, Schwartz’s novels were introduced in 1864. Three years later, and after Bremer’s death, some of Flygare-Carlén’s novels were translated into Polish. However, contrary to the situation in most other languages, the circulation of Schwartz’s works in Polish surpassed that of her two predecessors. As Magdalena Wasisłewska-Chmura points out, four of Schwartz’s novels were first published in the journal *Gazeta Polska* in 1864–1865 before they were published as books.¹⁰⁶ Schwartz’s stories were instantly distributed on a large scale and they continued to be for several decades, from the mid-1860s until the 1920s, with a flourishing period from the late 1860s until the early 1880s. In 1864, two of her most popular novels were translated: *Mannen av börd och kvinnan av folket* and *Arbetet adlar mannen*, both of which were first published in *Gazeta Polska* and titled *Rodzina Romarhierta* and *Praca uszlachetnia* respectively.¹⁰⁷ The first one was published at least five times in Polish, while the second one was published four times by publishers in Warsaw, Lwów, and Gorodok Jagiellonski (in today’s Ukraine).¹⁰⁸ *Mannen*

af börd och qvinnan af folket was the first to be published in Polish and was most frequently titled *Rodzina Romarhierta* (The family Romarhierta) but also *Pan z rodu i kobieta z gminu*, The circulation of this novel demonstrates how Schwartz's novels often were published with different titles. Some other examples are her novel *Emancipationsvurmen*, which was published as *Marzenia i rzeczywistosc* and as *Gorąca emancypacji*,¹⁰⁹ and her novel *Gertruds framtidsdrömmar* (1877; Gertrud's dreams about the future), which was circulated as *Marzenia Gertrudy* and as *Przyszłość Gertrudy*.¹¹⁰ In some cases, the Polish title confirms that the translation was made via German. For example, the novel *Sonsonen* (1872), in English meaning "the grandson", is in German and Polish titled *Sein oder Nichtsein* and *Być albo nie być* respectively, which in English is "To be or not to be".¹¹¹

Three years after Schwartz's breakthrough in Polish, Flygare-Carlén was introduced to the Polish audience, and five novels were translated within 10 years, from 1867 to 1877.¹¹² Many decades later, in 1913, her last novel, *Ett köpmanshus i skärgården*, was published in Polish.¹¹³ Her most popular novel, *Ett år*, was published at least four times between 1867 and 1920. However, the last time, it was not issued in Poland but in a paper in Chicago, *Polish Daily*, targeting Polish immigrants in the United States. The novel was first translated by Pawła z Czerniatyna, titled *Rok małżeństwa*, and published as a serial in *Bibl Warszaw* in 1867. Seven years later, in 1874, it was circulated as *Rok zameżcia* translated by Teofil Szumski, and included in a collection of novels. This version was republished twice in the twentieth century, in 1904 and in 1920.

In the Czech lands, Swedish novels were even more circulated in the second half of the nineteenth century, from the 1850s onwards. As early as in 1843, Bremer's story "The Lonely" was printed in an almanac for 1844.¹¹⁴ However, it did not attract much attention from Czech publishers. Nothing else by Bremer was printed until 1872, when one of her novels, *Hemmet*, was circulated in Czech as *Rodina*.¹¹⁵ These two stories are the only works by Bremer in Czech. Instead, the Czech-language book market was, from the 1860s, dominated by Bremer's two compatriots Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz. As the Czech Ondřej Vimr demonstrates, the Czech élite were often familiar with Flygare-Carlén's and Schwartz's novels in German translation before they were translated into Czech.¹¹⁶ Therefore, some Czech publishers might have chosen to issue translated novels in less costly ways – as serialised novels in periodicals and newspapers – before they decided on costly book publications. In 1867–1868, the publisher Gustav Schalek in Prague launched Schwartz's novel *Mannen af börd och qvinnan af folket* as

Urozený pán a žena z lidu.¹¹⁷ Although Schalek's publishing house changed name and owners a couple of times in the following decades, it was behind several new translations of Schwartz's novels, such as *Arbetet adlar mannen* (1868), and the republishing of *Mannen af börd och qvinnan af folket* (1884).¹¹⁸ During the same period, other publishers, such as Libuže, published several works, together with the newspaper publisher *Pozel z Prahy* that issued *Passionerna* (1853; *The Passions*).¹¹⁹

At the same time as Schwartz was introduced, the first two stories by Flygare-Carlén were circulated in Czech by the political newspaper *Občan* in Prague in 1868: *Ett lyckligt parti* and *Familjen i dalen* (1849; *The Home in the Valley*) titled *Šťastný sňatek* and *Rodina v údolí*.¹²⁰ In the following year, four novels were published in the same paper.¹²¹ The stories by Flygare-Carlén were republished and retranslated several times. The first stories that were translated by the female translator M. Chorušická, or some other translator in the 1870s, were often later retranslated by, for example, Bohumil Klika. Flygare-Carlén's novel *Fideikommisset* was translated three times, first by the signature "E...B..." in 1873, then in 1904 by Bohumil Klika, and then again in 1925 by the prolific and professional translator Hugo Kosterka.¹²² Her novel *Vindskuporna* was probably translated three times. First it was translated anonymously in 1871 for the publisher and paper *Pozel z Prahy*, a version titled *Svetničky arkýřové* that was republished in 1873. In 1872, it was distributed as *Arkýřové svetničky* in a translation by K.V.F. Šimáček, and in 1900, it was published once again as *Arkýřové svetničky* in a translation by Hugo Kosterka.¹²³

The circulation of Flygare-Carlén's stories in Czech periodicals and newspapers was vital to her success. The distribution of her novels in *Občan*, and later in *Posel z Prahy* when the paper resumed its original name, established her in the Czech book market. In the 1870s, the publishing company circulated about 25 novels by Flygare-Carlén, and 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 *Ett köpmanshus i skärgården*, *Gustav Lindorm*, and *En nyckful qvinna*.¹²⁴ In addition, her novels were promoted even more noticeably when the publishing house F. Šimáček started its massive distribution of them in 1888. Between 1888 and 1893, the company published seven of her novels. From 1897 until 1930, it circulated many of her works in new translations and costly editions.¹²⁵ Šimáček's eagerness to launch Flygare-Carlén's novels in Czech is demonstrated by the number of translators employed, such as Václav Petrů, Hugo Kosterka, Bohumil Klika, and J. Nový.

While Šimáček continued to publish novels by Flygare-Carlén in the

early twentieth century, the publisher Antonín Dědourek maintained the most significant distribution of Schwartz's novels in Czech. After World War I, between 1918 and 1927, he published almost 10 works translated by, for example, Jaromír Trunovský, Eliška Pilná, and Nora Grimsová. Yet only one novel by Schwartz was reprinted and retranslated several times, *Mannen av börd och qvinnan af folket*. First it was translated via German by Vojtěch Vrána and published in Prague by Schalek in 1867 and 1884. Then it was translated by Nora Grimsová and published by Antonín Dědourek four times, in 1918, 1919, 1920, and 1926.¹²⁶ Thus, while it was F. Šimáček in Prague that promoted Flygare-Carlén, it was Schalek in Prague and Antonín Dědourek in Třebechovice who launched Schwartz. Flygare-Carlén's publisher F. Šimáček did not print anything by Schwartz, nor did Schwartz's publishers Schalek and Dědourek distribute anything by Flygare-Carlén. Moreover, Flygare-Carlén's most frequent translators did not engage themselves with Schwartz's novels, nor the other way around. The novels by the two Swedish writers seem to have been circulated in parallel, although many literary critics later perceived them as two of a kind. As Vimr shows, by the end of the nineteenth century, a growing number of Czech critics increasingly classified their novels as bestselling popular fiction.¹²⁷

TRANSLATION INTO OTHER NORDIC LANGUAGES AND THEREAFTER

As mentioned above, in general, the popularity of the three female Swedish novelists declined during the interwar years. Later on, some random publications, or republications, of their works were printed in those languages in which they had been most widely read during their lifetime. For example, during the interwar period, the novels of Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz were regularly republished in Czech until 1930. After that, an arbitrary number of their works, and works by Bremer, were published in some other languages. However, the dissemination of Flygare-Carlén's and Bremer's novels increased in the mid-twentieth century. A handful of novels by Flygare-Carlén were circulated in Danish and English from the mid-twentieth century onwards.¹²⁸ Some of Bremer's works translated by Mary Howitt were republished in English in the United States from the 1960s onwards, especially her most popular novels, such as *Grannarne* and *Presidentens döttrar*, and the travelogues from her visit to the United States.¹²⁹ A new translation by Sarah Death of Bremer's novel *Familjen H**** titled *The Colonel's Family* was published in England as late as 1995.¹³⁰ At the same time, the Cuba

part of Bremer's travelogue was published in Spanish in Havana as late as the 1980s, and it was reprinted in the 1990s. Furthermore, it was republished in both Havana and Barcelona in the early twenty-first century.¹³¹ In addition to these publications, at the turn of the millennium, there were also, as mentioned earlier, some new, academic publications of Bremer's – and Flygare-Carlén's – works in German.¹³²

The most noteworthy reception event at the turn of the twentieth century is, however, the initial dissemination of the works of Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, and Schwartz in some Nordic languages, that is, in languages other than Swedish and Danish. As mentioned earlier, the novels of all three of these writers were quickly translated into Danish. At the time most Nordic readers, including those in Norway, Iceland, Faroe Islands, and Finland, read literature in either Swedish or Danish. Therefore, there was no immediate need to translate and publish Swedish novels in other Nordic languages. However, by the end of the nineteenth century there was a growing interest in publishing fiction in the local Nordic languages. Already in the mid-nineteenth century, a few works by Bremer were translated into Norwegian and Finnish, such as *Trälinnan* into Norwegian in 1840 and *Julafton och julottan* (a Christmas tale) into Finnish in 1856.¹³³ By the turn of the twentieth century, two novels were published in Finnish, *Familjen H**** and *Hemmet*.¹³⁴ One novella by Flygare-Carlén was circulated in Norwegian in 1867, followed by a novel translated into Norwegian but published in Chicago in 1890, *Ett år*.¹³⁵ In the early twentieth century, two more novels by Flygare-Carlén were published in Norwegian: *Rosen på Tistelön* in two editions in 1908 and *Enslingen på Johannisskåret* in 1911.¹³⁶ Once again, in 1950, two publishers in Norway retranslated and published *Rosen på Tistelön*.¹³⁷ In Finnish, several novels by Flygare-Carlén were issued in the early twentieth century, during World War I and the years after. Between 1916 and 1928, at least 12 novels and novellas were distributed, including *En nyckfull kvinna* and *Rosen på Tistelön*.¹³⁸ As late as 1977, her last novel, *Ett köpmanshus i skärgården*, was published in Finnish.¹³⁹

Schwartz's novels became even more circulated in the Nordic languages than the novels by her predecessor. Like the works of Bremer and Flygare-Carlén, a couple of stories were translated into Finnish at the turn of the twentieth century, among them Schwartz's most popular novel, *Mannen af börd och kvinnan af folket* in 1915.¹⁴⁰ Although Schwartz's and Flygare-Carlén's novels were immensely popular in Danish in the mid- and late nineteenth century, between 1870 and 1910, Schwartz's stories were more frequently translated into Norwegian than those by either Bremer or Flygare-Carlén. In 40 years, 10 novels

and novellas were published in Norwegian. Six of them were printed in Norway, and one, *Arbetet adlar mannen*, was published both as a book and in a journal, titled *Arbeidet adler manden* and *Fabrikherren eller Arbeidet adler manden* respectively.¹⁴¹ Fourteen other novels were published in Norwegian in the United States. Two of them, *Skuld och oskuld* (1861; *Guilt and Innocence*) and *Hämdens offer*, were published twice.¹⁴² In contrast to Bremer and Flygare-Carlén, several novels by Schwartz were also translated into Icelandic in the twentieth century. Between 1911 and 1982, four novels were circulated, and two of them, *Mannen af börd och qvinnan af folket* and *Arbetet adlar mannen*, were republished five and three times respectively.¹⁴³

One reason that Schwartz was more disseminated in Nordic languages other than Danish and Swedish could be that her debut as a novelist was later than that of Bremer and Flygare-Carlén. She triumphed as a novelist by the end of the century, that is, at a time when the national movements in Europe and the Nordic countries progressively endorsed translation of fiction into the local languages, particularly into minor national languages, such as Norwegian, Finnish, and Icelandic in the Nordic region.

NOTES

- 1 Bremer, *Nina: en Tegning af Hverdagslivet*, trans. J.R. Reiersen, København: J.R. Reinersen, 1836–1837; Bremer, *Præsidentens döttrar; en fortælling*, trans. Christian Julin-Fabricius, København: Schubothe, 1836; Bremer, *Tegninger af Hverdaslivet*, trans. Theodor Schorn, København, 1836.
- 2 For example, Bremer, *Nabofamilierne*, trans. Christian Julin-Fabricius, København: Schubothe, 1837; Bremer, *Hjemmet, eller Familie-Sorger og Glæder*, trans. Christian Julin-Fabricius, København, 1840; Bremer, *En Dagbog: Tegning af Hverdagslivet*, København, 1844. Cf. Åsa Arping, “‘The Miss Austen of Sweden’: Fredrika Bremer’s Transatlantic Triumph in the Age of Reprint”, in Yvonne Leffler, Åsa Arping, Jenny Bergenmar, Gunilla Hermansson, and Birgitta Johansson Lindh, *Swedish Women’s Writing on Export: Tracing Transnational Reception in the Nineteenth Century*, Göteborg: LIR.skrifter.10, 2019, pp. 99–100.
- 3 The only works by Bremer published in Danish after the turn of the century were published in 1903: *I Dalarna* as a serial in a newspaper *Randers Dagblad* and a Christmas tale as *En Julefortælling fra Sverige* in a Calendar, *Diakoniserstiftelsens Almanak*.
- 4 Flygare-Carlén, *Waldemar Klein*, København 1839.
- 5 Flygare-Carlén, *Gustav Lindorm*, København, 1839–1840; Flygare-Carlén, *Den gamle professorn*, København, 1840–1841.
- 6 Flygare-Carlén, *Gjenboerne*, København: Thaarup, 1845; Carlén, *En nat vid Bullar-Søen*, trans. L. Molke, København: Bing & S., 1847.

- 7 Flygare-Carlén, *Rosen paa Tisteløen*, København: Schubothe, 1843/ København: Jordan, 1862.
- 8 Flygare-Carlén, *Rosen paa Tidseløen. Fortaelling fra den vestlige skaergaard*, København: Eiby, 1893; Flygare-Carlén, *Rosen paa Tidseløen. Fortaelling fra den svenska skaergaard*, København: Dansk-norsk Boghandler-forlag, 1911.
- 9 Flygare-Carlén, *Et Kjöbmandshuus i skaergaarden*. Dagbladets feuilleton, København: Salin B & Salomons tryck, 1859; Flygare-Carlén, *Et Kjöbmandshuus i skaergaarden*, København: Jordan, 1859–1860.
- 10 Flygare-Carlén, *Et Köpmandshuus i skaergaarden*, Autoriseret oversættelse, København, 1894; Flygare-Carlén, *Et köpmandshuus i skærgaarden*, Ill. Jenny Nyström, København: Universa København forlaget, 1911, 1912/ København: Københavns Bog- og Kunstforlag, 1914/København: Nationalforlaget, 1927–1928; Flygare-Carlén, *Et Købmandshuus i skærgaarden*, trans. Marianne Brønnum, abbreviated edition, København: Winther, 1973.
- 11 Flygare-Carlén, *Ein Handelshaus in den Scheeren. Küsten-Roman*, autoriserte übersetzung Vol. 1–2, Stockholm, Leipzig: Ph. Maasz, 1859; Flygare-Carlén, *Ein Handelshaus in den Scheeren*, trans. Gottlob Fink, Stuttgart: Franckh, 1859.
- 12 Bremer, *Skizzen aus dem Alltagsleben 1: Die Töchter des Präsidenten*, Leipzig, 1838; Bremer, *Die Nachbarn*, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1839–1841. In 1840 one more novel was published by Bremer, *Das Haus oder Familiensorgen und Familienfreude*, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1840.
- 13 Carina Burman, *Mamsellen och förläggarna: Fredrika Bremers förlagskontakter 1828–1865*, Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1995, pp. 43–45.
- 14 Bremer, *Axel und Anna oder Briefwechsel zwischen zwie Haugenossen; Die Sklavinn: Skizze aus der Vorzeit* Berlin: F.H. Morin, 1841; Bremer, *Die Familie H.*, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1841; Bremer, *Die Nachbarn*, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1841; Bremer, *Die Nachbarn*, trans. E.A. Wolheim, Bielefeld: Velhagen & Klasing, 1841; Bremer, *Das Haus oder Familiensorgen und Familienfreuden*, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1841; Bremer, *Der häusliche Herd*, trans. A.E. Wolheim da Fonseca, Bielefeld: Velhagen & Klasing, 1841; Bremer, *Nina*, Leipzig: Brockhaus 1841–1842; Bremer, *Nina*, Berlin: Morin, 1841; Bremer, *Des Präsidenten Töchter*, trans. E.A. Wolheim, Bielefeld: Velhagen & Klasing, 1841; Bremer, *Die Töchter des Präsidenten*, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1841; Bremer, *Streit und Friede*, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1841; Bremer, *Streit und Friede*, trans. A.E. Wollheim da Fonseca, Bielefeld: Velhagen & Klasing, 1841; Bremer, *Streit und Friede, oder, einige Scenen in Norwegen*, Berlin: Morin, 1841.
- 15 For example, Bremer, *Die Nachbarn*, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1842; Bremer, *Das Haus oder Familiensorgen und Familienfreuden*, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1842; Bremer, *Nina*, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1842; Bremer, *Die Töchter des Präsidenten*, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1842; Bremer, *Streit und Friede*, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1842; Bremer, *Kleinere Erzählungen*, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1842.
- 16 Bremer, *Nina*, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1842 in *Skizzen aus dem Alltagsleben 6–7/ Ausgewählte Bibliothek der Classiker des Auslandes 5*; Bremer, *Die Familie H.*, trans. Gottlob Fink, Stuttgart: Franckh, in *Sämtliche Werke Bremer 3/ Das belletristische Ausland*, herausg. Von C. Spindler, 20; Bremer, *Die Nach-*

- barn, trans. Gottlob Fink, Stuttgart: Franckh, in *Sämtliche Werke Friedrike Bremer 2/Das belletristische Ausland*, herausg. Von C. Spindler, 8–12.
- 17 About the competition between the publishers, see Burman, *Mamsellen och förläggarna*, pp. 43–45.
 - 18 Bremer, *Des Präsidenten Töchter; Streit und Friede*, trans. E.A. Wolheim, Bielefeld: Velhagen & Klasing, 1844; Bremer, *Die Tochter des Präsidenten: Erzählung einer Gouvernante*, trans. Gottlob Fink, Stuttgart: Franckh, 1844.
 - 19 Bremer, *Die Nachbarn*, trans. H. Denhardt, Leipzig: Recalm jun., 1985; Bremer, Bremer, *Leben in der alten Welt*, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1963.
 - 20 Bremer, *Neue Skizzen aus dem Alltagsleben: Ein Tagebuch*, Wildberg: Belser Wiss. Dienst, 1989–1990; Bremer, *Neue Skizzen aus dem Alltagsleben: Geschwisterleben*, Wildberg: Belser Wiss. Dienst, 1989–1990.
 - 21 Flygare-Carlén, *Kirke-Indvielsen i Hammarby*, København: J.H. Schubothe, 1841; Flygare-Carlén, *Die Kircheinweigung zu Hammarby*, Berlin: Morin, 1841.
 - 22 Flygare-Carlén, *Ivar, der Skjuts-Junge*, Berlin: Morin, 1842; Flygare-Carlén, *Der Skjutsjunge*, trans. Carl Stein, Stuttgart: Franckh, 1843.
 - 23 Flygare-Carlén, *Waldemar Klein*, Stuttgart: Franckh, 1843 in *Emilie Flygare-Carlén's sämtliche Romane in sorgfältiger Übertragung/Das belletristische Ausland* herausgeg. C. Spindler, Vol. 29–31.
 - 24 Karin Carsten Montén, *Fredrika Bremer in Deutschlands: Aufnahme und Kritik*, Skandinavistische Studien, 14, Neuünster: Wachholtz, 1981, pp. 21–22, 58 et passim; Åsa Arping, “The Miss Austen of Sweden: Fredrika Bremer’s Transatlantic Triumph in the Age of Reprint”, in Yvonne Leffler, Åsa Arping, Jenny Bergenmar, Gunilla Hermansson, and Birgitta Johansson Lindh, *Swedish Women’s Writing on Export: Tracing Transnational Reception in the Nineteenth Century*, LIR.skrifter 10: Göteborg, p. 101.
 - 25 For example, Flygare-Carlén, *Der Vormund*, Vienna, Pest, Leipzig: A. Hartleben, 1892; Flygare-Carlén, *Der Einsiedler auf der Johannis-Klippe*, Vienna, Leipzig: K. Prochaska, 1892.
 - 26 Bremer, *Hjemmet, eller Familie-Sorger og Glæder*, trans. Christian Julin-Fabricius, København, 1840; Bremer, *Das Haus oder Familiensorgen und Familienfreuden*, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1840; Bremer, *Huisselijk geluk en huisselijk leed*, trans. N. Beets, Harlem: Erven F. Bohn, 1841.
 - 27 Flygare-Carlén, *Den gamle professorn*, København, 1840; Flygare-Carlén, *Der Professor und seine Schützlinge*, trans. C.B, Leipzig: Kollmann, 1842; Flygare-Carlén, *De professor en zijne gunstlingen*, Arnhem: Is. An. Nijhoff, 1843.
 - 28 Bremer; *Die Nachbarn*, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1839–1841; Bremer, *De buren*, Groningen: W. van Boekeren, 1842; Bremer, *Die Familie H*, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1841; Bremer, *Het gezin van den overste*, Haarlem: Bohn, 1842.
 - 29 Flygare-Carlén, *Rosen på Tistelön. Berättelse från skärgården*, Stockholm: Bonnier, 1842; Flygare-Carlén, *Die Rose von Tistelön*, Berlin: Morin, 1842; Flygare-Carlén, *De roos van Tistelön*, Haarlem: Bohn, 1843.
 - 30 Letter from Servaas de Bruin to Emilie Flygare-Carlén, dated Haag 23 April 1850. Nordiska Museets arkiv, Stockholm. However, the translation of Almqvist’s novel *Sara* into Dutch in 1839 was probably also done directly from the Swedish source text. See above in Chapter 1, footnote 76.

- 31 Bremer, *The Neighbours: A Story of Every-Day Life*, trans. Mary Howitt, London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1842. About Mary Howitt as Bremer's translator, see e.g. Judith Johnston, *Victorian Women and the Economics of Travel, Translation, and Culture*, 1830–1870, Farnham: Ashgate, 2013, pp. 151–152; Åsa Arping, “A Writer of One's Own? Mary Howitt, Fredrika Bremer, Translation and Literary ‘Piracy’ in the United States and Britain in the 1840s”, in Isis Herrero López, Cecilia Alvstad, Johanna Akjärvi, and Synnøve Skarsø Lindtner (eds.), *Gender and Translation: Understanding Agents in Transnational Reception*, Vita Traductiva. Éditions québécoises de L'œuvre, 2018, pp. 83–106.
- 32 Bremer, *A Diary; Together with Strife and Peace*, trans. Mary Howitt, New York: Harper & Brothers/London: Longman & Co., 1843; Bremer, *The Home; or Family Cares and Family Joys*, trans. Mary Howitt, New York: Harper & Brothers/London: Longman & Co., 1843; Bremer, *Nina: Life in Sweden*, trans. Mary Howitt, New York: J. Winchester/London: W. Smith, 1843; Bremer, *The President's Daughters: A Narrative of a Governess*, trans. Mary Howitt, New York: J. Munroe and Company/London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1843.
- 33 Bremer, *The H-Family*, Boston: J. Munroe and Company, 1843/London: William Smith, 1843; Bremer, *The Twins and Other Tales*, translated by a Lady, New York: J. Winchester/London: William Smith, 1843.
- 34 In 1844, the first three translations by Friedlænder were published: Bremer, *The Neighbours*, trans. By E.A. Friedlænder, London: H.G. Clarke & Co., 1844; Bremer, *The Home: Or, Family Cares and Family Joys*, trans. E.A. Friedlænder, London: H.G. Clarke & Co., 1844; Bremer, *Nina*, trans. E.A. Friedlænder, London: H.G. Clarke & Co., 1844. Bremer, *The Bondmaid*, trans. Mary Lowell Putnam, London: H.G. Clarke & Co./Boston: J. Munroe and Company, 1844.
- 35 Åsa Arping, “‘The Miss Austen of Sweden’”, 2019, p. 100.
- 36 Flygare, *A Brilliant Marriage*, from the German, by the translator of “The Birthright” (A Domestic Tragedy from the French). London: Richard Bentley, 1851.
- 37 Carlén, *The Birthright*: from the original by the translator of “St. Roche”, London: Richard Bentley, 1851. Although it says on the cover “by the translator of “The Birthright” (A Domestic Tragedy from the French), it is unlikely that *The Birthright* was translated from the French as this novel by Flygare-Carlén was not published in French, at least not as a book, until four years later, in 1855.
- 38 Carlén, *The Rose of Tistelön: A Tale of the Swedish Coast*, trans. Mary Howitt, London: H.G. Clarke & Co., 1844/London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1844; Flygare-Carlén, *The Rose of Thistle Isle* (published in England as *The Rose of Tistelön*) or *The Smugglers of the Swedish Coast. A Romance*, trans. G.C. Hebbe, H.C. Deming, London: Bruce and Wyld, 1844; Carlén, *The Smugglers of the Swedish Coast, or, The Rose of Thistle Island. A Romance*, trans. G. C. Hebbe and H.C. Deming, New York: J. Winchester, 1844.
- 39 [Gustavus Clemens Hebbe, and Henry Champion Deming] “Translators’ Preface”, *The Rose of Tistelön, or, the Smugglers of the Swedish Coast. A*

- Romance by Mrs. Emilie Carlén, translated from the original Swedish by G.C. Hebbe, LLD, and H.C. Deming, ESQ, London: Flygare-Carlén, *The Rose of Thistle Isle* (published in England as *The Rose of Tistelön*) or *The Smugglers of the Swedish Coast. A Romance*, trans. G.C. Hebbe, H.C. Deming, London: Bruce and Wyld, 1844; Carlén, *The Smugglers of the Swedish Coast, or, The Rose of Thistle Island. A Romance*, trans. G. C. Hebbe and H.C. Deming, New York: J. Winchester, 1844.
- 40 Cf. Arping, “The Miss Austen of Sweden”, p. 116.
- 41 Mary Howitt, “Preface by the Translator”, in Bremer’s *New Sketches of Every-Day Life: A Diary Together with Strife and Peace*, New York: Harper & Brothers/London: Longman & Co., 1843, p. [v]. About Howitt’s attack, see Arping, “The Miss Austen of Sweden”, pp. 124–132; Arping, “A Writer of One’s Own”, pp. 90–93.
- 42 Arping, “The Miss Austen of Sweden”, pp. 124–132. As an example of an ambitious counter-attack see Review of *The Bondmaid* by Fredrika Bremer, *The North American Review*, Vol. 58, No 123, April 1844, pp. 496–508.
- 43 About Howitt’s translation mistakes, also see Arping, “The Miss Austen of Sweden”, pp. 132–135.
- 44 Translators’ Preface to *The Rose of Tistelön, or, the Smugglers of the Swedish Coast. A Romance*. By Mrs. Emilie Carlén, translated from the original Swedish by G.C. Hebbe, LLD, and H.C. Deming, Esq, London: Bruce and Wyld, 1844.
- 45 Doris Ryan Asmundsson, *Fredrika Bremer in England*, diss., Columbia University, Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, Inc. 1964, p. 80. About Howitt’s fight against literary piracy, see *ibid.* pp. 80–96.
- 46 Flygare, *The Professor and His Favorites*, New York: Stjernefeld & Broad-medow, 1843.
- 47 Carlén, *The Temptation of Wealth; or the Heir by Primogeniture*, trans. Gustavus Clemens Hebbe, New York: Charles Müller, 1846.
- 48 F. Carlén, *The Bride of Omberg*, trans. Alex L. Krause and Elbert Perce, New York: Charles Scribner, 1853; F. Carlén, *One Year, a Tale of Wedlock*, trans. Alex L. Krause and Elbert Perce, New York: Charles Scribner, 1853. Also published as *Twelve Months of Matrimony*, trans. Alex L. Krause and Elbert Perce, London: Charles H. Clarke, 1853.
- 49 Carlén, *Ivar; or, the Skjuts-boy*, trans. A.L. Krause, London: Office of the Illustrated London Library, 1852/New York: Harper & Brothers, 1852; Carlén, *Marie Louise; or, The Opposite Neighbours*, trans. Alex L. Krause, London: Ingram, Cooke, 1853; F. Carlén, *Gustavus Lindorm, or, “lead us not into temptation”*, trans. Elbert Perce, New York: Charles Scribner, 1853, 1856/Cautley Newby: London, 1854; F. Carlén, *The Whimsical Woman*, trans. Elbert Perce, New York: Charles Scribner, 1854; F. Carlén, *The Home in the Valley*, trans. Elbert Perce, New York: Charles Scribner, 1854.
- 50 Bremer, *The Neighbours: A Story of Every-Day Life*, trans. Mary Howitt, London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1842, 1843/New York: Harper & Brothers, 1843, 1844/Philadelphia: J.M. Campbell & Brothers, 1843; Bremer, *A Diary; Together with Strife and Peace*, trans. Mary Howitt, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1843/London: Longman & Co., 1843; Bremer, *The Home; or Family Cares and Family Joys*, trans. Mary Howitt,

- New York: Harper & Brothers, 1843/London: Longman & Co., 1843; Bremer, *Nina: Life in Sweden*, trans. Mary Howitt, New York: J. Winchester, 1843/London: W. Smith, 1843; Bremer, *The President's Daughters: A Narrative of a Governess*, trans. Mary Howitt, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1843, 1844/London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1843; Bremer, *New Sketches of Every-Day Life* (A Diary, Together with Strife and Peace), trans. Mary Howitt, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1844/London: Longman & Co., 1844; Bremer, *The H-Family, Trälinnan, Axel and Anna, and Other Tales*, trans. Mary Howitt, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1844/London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1844; Bremer, *Tales of Every-Day Life in Sweden* (The Neighbours, The H--Family, The President's Daughters, Nina, Strife and Peace), trans. Mary Howitt, Boston: J. Munroe and Company, 1843; Bremer, *Miss Bremer's Novels*, trans. Mary Howitt, London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1843–1844.
- 51 Carlén, *The Temptation of Wealth, or the Heir by Primogeniture*, trans. Gustavus Clemens Hebbe, New York: Charles Müller, 1846; Flygare, *The Temptation of Wealth: A Romance*, translated and abridged from the Swedish, London, 1847; Carlén, *The Birthright*; from the original by the translator of “St. Roche”, London: Richard Bentley, 1852.
- 52 Arping, “The Miss Austen of Sweden”, 2019, p. 104.
- 53 Arping, “The Miss Austen of Sweden”, 2019, p. 106; Advertisement of Flygare-Carlén's *The Magic Goblet* in *The New World*, 21 Dec. 1844, p. 800.
- 54 About the number of subscribers signed up for the series, see *Franckh'sche Verlagshandlung Stuttgart 1822–1957. Ein altes Verlagshaus mit jungem Geist*, Stuttgart: Franckh'sche Verlagshandlung W. Keller & Co., 1957, p. 40. See also Montén, *Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte Fredrika Bremers in Deutschland*, pp. 22, 69. An edition of 15 000 copies was probably 10 or 20 times as much as the normal size of an edition of fiction in Europe at the time, see *ibid.* s. 31.
- 55 Franco Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel 1800–1900*, London and New York: Verso, 1998, pp. 151–158.
- 56 See, for example, Review of *The Guardian*, *The Athenaeum*, 19 August, 1865, No. 1973, p. 243; Review of the Lovers' Stratagem, *The Leader*, 8 Jan. 1853, p. 44; Review of *The Rose of Tistelön*, *The Anglo American, a Journal of Literature, News, Politics, the Drama, Fine Arts, Etc.*, 1 June., 1844, No. 3, p. 135/*The New World*, 25 May 1844, p. 653; Review of *The Magic Goblet*, in *The North American Review*, Vol. 60, No. 127, April, 1854, pp. 492–493. See also Johnston's survey of reviews of Bremer's novels, in *Victorian Women and the Economics of Travel, Translation, and Culture*, pp. 152–154.
- 57 Arping, “The Miss Austen of Sweden”, 2019, p. 105.
- 58 About Bremer's visit in Boston, see, for example, *New York Daily Tribune*, 19 Nov. 1849, p. [1]; about Bremer's arrival in New York and Thanksgiving in Uxbridge, see *New York Daily Tribune*, 29 Nov. 1849, p. [1], a published copy of her farewell letter to the editor in *New York Daily Tribune*, 28 Nov. 1851, p. 7. About Bremer's tour in America, see also Arping, “The Miss Austen of Sweden”, 2019, p. 105 and Laurel Ann Lofsvold, *Fredrika*

- Bremer and the Writing of America*, [Litteratur, teater, film, Nya serien 22], diss., Lund: Lund University Press, 1999.
- 59 See letter written after the translation of *Gustavus Lindorm* was published, letter from Elbert Perce to Emilie Flygare-Carlén, dated New York, 28 March 1854, Nordiska museet, Stockholm.
- 60 Bremer, *La famille H. Tableaux de la vie privée*, trans. R. Puget, Paris: Librairie française et étrangère, 1840; Bremer, *Les voisins*, Paris: V.A. Waille, 1845.
- 61 Carlén, *Les smugglers suédois*, trans. F. Coquille, Paris: rue Grange-Bateliere no 1, 1845.
- 62 Bremer, *Tableaux de la vie privée: Familjen H...*, trans. Rosalie Du Puget, Paris: Librairie française et étrangère, 1846; Bremer, *Bruno*, trans. Joséphine Marie de Gaulle, L. Lefort, 1846; Bremer, *Tableaux de la vie privée: Les voisins*, trans. Rosalie Du Puget, Paris: Librairie française et étrangère, 1846; Bremer, *Le chez-soi*, 1846–1847; Bremer, *Les jumeaux*, trans. Louis-Antoine Léouzon Le Duc, Musée des familles, 1846–1847.
- 63 Bremer, *Tableaux de la vie privée: La famille H...*, trans. Rosalie Du Puget, Paris: Librairie de l'Association pour la propagation et la publication des bons livres, 1847; Bremer, *Scènes de la vie dalécarlienne*, Paris: Cherbuliez, 1847; Bremer, *Nouveaux tableaux de la vie privée: Les filles du président*, trans. Rosalie Du Puget, Paris: Librairie française et étrangère, 1847; Bremer, *Scènes norwégiennes*, trans. Jean Cohen, Paris: V.A. Waille, 1847; Bremer, *Expérances, our Décédance et grandeur d'un vicair de campagne*, trans. Louis-Antoine Léouzon le Duc, Musée des familles, 1847–1848.
- 64 Bremer, *Les voisins, avec une letter de l'auteur à M. Brockhaus, libraire à Leipzig*, trans. de l'Allemand, Paris: V.A. Waille, 1845; Brussels: Meline 1853.
- 65 Bremer, *Tableaux de la vie privée: Les voisins*, trans. Rosalie Du Puget, Paris: Librairie française et étrangère, 1846/Paris: Librairie de l'Association pour la propagation et la publication des bons livres, 1853, 1861, 1868/Paris: Garnier, 7. ed. 1875, 8 ed. 1875; 1876; Paris: Librairie de l'Association pour la propagation et la publication des bons livres, 1881/Paris: Garnier frères, 1882/Paris: Librairie française et étrangère, 1896.
- 66 Bremer, *Les voisins*, trans. R. Du Puget, Hachette BNF, 2013, 2017.
- 67 Bremer, *Bruno*, trans. Joséphine-Marie de Gaulle, L. Lefort, 1846, 1857.
- 68 Carlén. *Un an de mariage*, trans. O. Squarr. Brussel, 1852/Brussel: Schnée et Comp., Kiessling, 1854; Flygare-Carlén, *Une simple histoire de village*, trans. Xavier Marmier, Paris: Gariner frères, 1854; Carlén, *Un brillant mariage*, trans. P-J Stahl and L. Hymans, Brussel, Leipzig: Kiessling, Schnée et Comp., 1855; Carlén, *Un an de mariage*, trans. O. Squarr, Brussel: Kiessling, 1855; Carlén, *Le Fidéicommis*, trans. Pierre-Denis Dandely, Mathilde Dandely, Liège: Desoer, 1855; Flygare-Carlén, *Six semaines*, trans. Auguste Couvreur, Brussel, Leipzig: Kiessling, Schnée & Comp. 1855; Flygare-Carlén, *Les contrabandiers suédois*, Brussel: Meline, Cans et cie/Brussel Libr. Intern., 1855; Carlén, *La demoiselle dans la mansard*, trans. Willy Wohl-Fann, A Cadot, 1855; Carlén, *La Mansarde*, trans. Pierre-Denis Dandely/Mathilde Dandely, Brussel: J. Desoer, 1855; Carlén, *La famille de la vallée Mlle Nanny*, trans. O. Squarr, Brussel: Alphonse

- Lebègue, 1856; Carlén, *Un an de mariage*, Paris: Bureaux de la revue contemporaine, 1857; Flygare-Carlén, *Un an de mariage*, trans. O. Squarr, Brussel, Leipzig: Auguste Schnée, 1857; Carlén, *Le fideicommis*, Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1857; Flygare-Carlén, *Alma ou la fiancée de l'Omberg*, trans. Karl Bénédicte, Brussel, Leipzig: A. Schnée, 1858; Flygare-Carlén, *Deux jeunes femmes ou un an de mariage*, trans. Marie Souvestre, Paris: M. Levy, 1858; Flygare-Carlén, *Le fideicommis*, Brussel: Meline, Cans et cie, 1858; Flygare-Carlén, *Les frères de lait*, trans. Pierre-Denis Dandely and Mathilde Dandely, J. Desoer, 1858; Flygare-Carlén, *Les frères de lait*, trans. Willy Wohl-Fann, Brussel: A. Schnée, 1858; Carlén, *Les frères de lait*, Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1858; Flygare-Carlén, *L'heroine de roman*, trans. Mlle Mathilde D****, Brussel, Leipzig, Desoer, 1858; Carlén, *La Mansarde*, trans. Pierre-Denis Dandely and Mathilde Dandely, Brussel: Meline, Cans et cie, 1858; Carlén, *Une femme capricieuse*, trans. Rosalie Du Puget, Paris: Librairie de l'Association pour la propagation et la publication des bons livres, 1859.
- 69 Flygare-Carlén, *La solitaire du rocher de la vierge*, Bern: Körber, 1876, 1877; Flygare-Carlén, *Le rose de Tistelön*, Bern: Körber, 1876.
- 70 Flygare-Carlén, *Les smugglers suédoise*, trans. F. Coquille, Paris: rue Grange-Bateliere No. 1, 1845; Flygare-Carlén, *Les contrabandiers suédois*, Brussel: Meline, Canz et. Cie, 1855/Brussel: Libr. Intern, 1855.
- 71 About, for example, the translation of Selma Lagerlöf's works into Italian via either German or French, see Anna Smedberg Bondesson, *Gösta Berling på La Scala: Selma Lagerlöf och Italien*, Göteborg: Makadam, 2018, pp. 141–144, 165–166.
- 72 Carlén, *Un anno di matrimonio*, trans. Clemente Mappello, Milano: E. Treves, 1869; Carlén, *La signorina Nanny: Romanzo*, Milano: Tipografia Edice Lombardica, 1875; Flygare-Carlén, *Sei settimane, Romanzo*, Milano: Tipografic editrice lombarda, 1876; Carlén, *Splendide Nosse*, Milano: A brigola, 1883; Flygare-Carlén, *Il dolore di unna donna*, Napoli: Luigi Pierro Edit, 1892.
- 73 Bremer, *Le figlie del Presidente*, Milano: Coi Tipi Borroni e Scotti/Milano: Birgola, 1880/Milano: Tip. Eusebiana, 1880/Milano, 1921.
- 74 Arping, “The Miss Austen of Sweden”, 2019, p. 101. Here Arping refers to Henriette Patzsch's study “The Complex Routes of Travelling Texts: Fredrika Bremer's Reception in Nineteenth Century Spain and the Transnational Dimension of Literary History”, *Comparative Critical Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 2–3, 2014, pp. 281–293.
- Bremer, *Los vecinos*, Madrid, 1859; Bremer, *Historia du un alma*, trans. José Leses y Moreno, Madrid: Imprenta del al Correspondencia, 1865.
- 75 Bremer, *Los vecinos*, trans. Fausina Saez de Melgar, Paris: Liberia de Garnier Hermanos, 1883/Paris: Garnier frères, 1883/Madrid: Impr. De La Correspondencia Augo'grafa, 1959.
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- 86 Schwartz, *Birth and Education*, trans. Selma Borg; Marie A. Brown, Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1870/trans. Selma Borg and Marie A. Brown (Marie A. Shipley), Boston: Lee & Shepard and New York: Lee, Shepard & Dillingham, 1871.
- 87 Schwartz, *Gold and Name*, trans. Selma Borg and Marie A. Brown (Marie A. Shipley), Boston: Lee & Shepard and New York: Lee, Shepard & Dillingham, 1871; Schwartz, *The Right One*, trans. Selma Borg and Marie A. Brown (Marie A. Shipley), Boston: Lee & Shepard and New York: Lee, Shepard & Dillingham, 1871; Schwartz, *The Wife of a Vain Man*, trans. Selma Borg, Marie A. Brown (Marie A. Shipley), Boston: Lee & Shepard and New York: Lee, Shepard & Dillingham, 1871; Schwartz, *Guilt and Innocence*, trans. Selma Borg, Marie A. Brown, Boston: Lee & Shepard and New York: Lee, Shepard & Dillingham, 1871/Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1871; Schwartz, *Two Family Mothers*, trans. Selma Borg and Marie A. Brown (Marie A. Shipley), Boston, New York: Lee & Shepard Lee, Shepard & Dillingham, 1872; Schwartz, *The Wife of a Vain Man*, trans. Selma Borg, Marie A. Brown (Marie A. Shipley), Boston, New York: Lee and Shepard, 1873; Schwartz, *Little Karin*, trans. Selma Borg and Marie A. Shipley, Hartford, Conn: R.V. Bliss & Company, 1873; Schwartz, *The Son of the Organ-Grinder*, trans. Selma Borg and Marie A. Brown (Marie A. Shipley), Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1873; Schwartz, *Gerda, or the Children of Work*, trans. Selma Borg and Marie A. Brown (Marie A. Shipley), Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1874.
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- 89 “en fervente admiratrice du talent de Madame Schwartz [...] qui a contribué à faire la gloire du notre Pays”, letter by Christina Nilsson on added sheet in Schwartz, *Birth and Education*, trans. Selma Borg and Marie Brown, Boston: Lee & Shepard/New York: Lee, Shepard & Dillingham, 1871.
- 90 About the English reception, see Asmundsson, *Fredrika Bremer in England*, pp. 49–79; About the American reception, see Arping, ““The Miss Austen of Sweden””, 2019, pp. 104–109. An early example of the changing trend is a review of *The Neighbours*, *The Home*, *The President's Daughters*, and *Nina*, in *Fraser's Magazine*, XXVIII, November 1843, p. 506.
- 91 *The Evening Telegraph* (Philadelphia) 20 Jan. 1871, p. 6.
- 92 See, for example, Schwartz, *Arbetet adlar mannen, Skaffaren* 21 July 1886, Schwartz, *Arbetets barn, Minnesota statstidning*, 16 Dec. 1896, Schwartz, *Tvenne familjemödrar, Minnesota stats tidning*, July–Dec. 1896. Cf. Flygare-Carlén's *Familjen i Dalen, Skaffaren* July–Dec. 1894; Flygare-Carlén, *Skjutsgossen, Skaffaren* Dec. 1894–Dec. 1895.
- 93 About the bilingual literary situation in the Czech lands, see Ursula Stohler, “The Czech Reception of the German Woman Writer Luise Mühlebach (1848–1873)”, *New Zealand Slavonic Journal*, Vol. 46, 2012, pp. 27–28. About the bilingual literary situation in Hungary, see Péter Mádl and Ildikó

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- 94 Flygare-Carlén, *A sziget rózsája*, trans. Sándor Lakner, Hatleben, Pest, 1844.
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- 97 Flygare-Carlén, *Ket erkély-szobácska*, trans. Julia, Klausenburg: J. Stein, 1872, 1873; Flygare-Carlén, *Szeszély hölgy*, trans. József Székely, Pest: Hatleben, 1862; Flygare-Carlén, *Szeszelyes hölgy*, Klausenburg: J. Stein, 1872; Flygare-Carlén, *As öreg ur védenczei*, trans. Julia, Kolozsvár: Stein, 1876.
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HIGHBROW INTELLECTUALS AT HOME, STORYTELLERS FOR CHILDREN ABROAD

Zacharias Topelius and Viktor Rydberg

AFTER THE FIRST generation of post-romantic and realist novelists, two male writers dominate: Zacharias Topelius (1818–1898) and Viktor Rydberg (1828–1895). They had parallel careers as writers, journalists, and university professors. Topelius, a Swedish-speaking native of Finland, became a professor of History at the Imperial Alexander University in Helsinki, Finland, in 1854 and combined his academic profession with his work as editor-in-chief of the daily newspaper in Helsinki, *Helsingfors Tidningar* (Helsinki Newspaper) from 1841 to 1860. In addition to his writings as a journalist, he devoted himself to multifarious literary writing in prose and verse, and many of his novels and short stories were first published in *Helsingfors Tidningar*.

While Topelius made a career as a Swedish-speaking writer in Finland, Rydberg started as a journalist and writer in Jönköping and Gothenburg before he settled in Stockholm, the capital of Sweden. Some of his most well-known novels were first published in *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning* (Gothenburg trade and maritime paper), the main newspaper in Gothenburg, where Rydberg was employed from 1855 to 1876. Like Topelius, later in life he combined his career as a journalist and writer with that as a university professor. From 1884, he held the position as professor of History of Culture at Stockholm University.

As literary writers, Topelius and Rydberg have much in common. They published works in most genres. Besides pamphlets, cantatas, speeches, songs, and hymns, they wrote short stories and serialised novels in newspapers, many of which were later revised and published as books. They became famous for their poetry, especially Rydberg, while Topelius became renowned for his dramas and an opera libretto.

Moreover, both of them were celebrated for their historical novels. Topelius's most famous work is *Fältskärens berättelser* (1853–1867; *The Surgeon's Stories*), which consists of five volumes – or cycles – of tales about the Swedish wars in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Rydberg's most widely held novels are *Singoalla* (1858), a romantic and tragic love story set in the Middle Ages, and *Den siste Atenaren* (1859; *The Last Athenian*) set in Athens during the transition from Platonic paganism to Christianity in the year AD 300. Topelius and Rydberg are also known for their Christmas tales and stories for children. Topelius published several collections of stories, such as *Sagor* (1847–1852; Fairy tales) and *Läsning för barn* (1865–1871; Reading for children). Rydberg wrote a story titled *Lille Viggs äfventyr på julafton* (1875; *Little Vigg's Christmas Eve*) and a narrative poem called “Tomten”, both of which are still well known today.

Besides their fictional writing, Topelius and Rydberg published several academic works. Some of Rydberg's most circulated scholarly studies are *Romerska sägner om apostlarne Paulus och Petrus* (1874; *Roman Legends about the Apostles Paul and Peter*) and *Romerska dagar* (1877; *Roman Days*). Topelius is best known for his history textbook, *Boken om vårt land* (1875; *The book about our nation*), which was used in schools in Finland for one hundred years, from 1850 to 1950. Thus, it has shaped the image of Finland as a nation and its history for many generations of Finns.

Many of both Topelius's and Rydberg's works have been translated into other languages. Like their literary and scholarly careers, the international dissemination and reception of their works have many features in common. At the same time, their reception highlights certain features of the transcultural reception of Nordic literature in general at the turn of the twentieth century. Before returning to these characteristics, I will give a survey of the transcultural dissemination of both Topelius's and Rydberg's works based on published translations in different languages.¹

TOPELIUS IN TRANSLATION

Like the works of many Swedish-writing authors in Finland, Zacharias Topelius's fiction was first translated into Finnish, the regional language of his homeland. The translation was initiated in 1848, when some of his short stories, such as “Fattigubben” (The poor old man) appeared in Finnish.² In the early 1860s, a collection of tales was published as *Topeliuksen tarinoita* (1861), and in 1870, some other stories were translated into Finnish, such as “Lasse-Liten” (Little Lasse).³

Some years later, a collection of tales for children was translated and published in many volumes as *Lukemisia lapsille*.⁴ At about the same time, K.G. Levander translated the first part of *Fältskärnens berättelser* in 1867.⁵ In 1878–1880, Robert Mellin translated parts one to four into Finnish.⁶ Fifteen years later, in 1895–1898, the publisher Werner Söderström started its distribution of the same work as *Välskärin kertomuksia* translated by Juhani Aho, and since then *Fältskärnens berättelser* has been published in many editions and prints until present day.⁷ From 1881 onwards, *Vinterquällar* (1880; Winter evenings) was translated and published.⁸ In addition, *Planeternas skyddslingar*, later titled *Stjärnornas kungabarn* (1889; The royal children of stars) was translated and retranslated several time between 1890 and 1995.⁹ In addition to these publications, several other works were distributed in Finnish from the late nineteenth century onwards, such as *Hertiginan av Finland* (1849; The duchess of Finland) in 1874, and various collections of stories, dramas, and poems.¹⁰ Together with a number of collections of works, several editions of other single stories were circulated in Finnish in the mid-twentieth century: “Trollens jul” (The trolls’ Christmas), “Adalminas perla” (Adalmina’s pearl), “Walters äfventyr” (Walter’s adventure), “Trollkarlens dotter” (The sorcerer’s daughter), and *Tomten i Åbo slott* (*The Tomte at Åbo Slott*).¹¹ In the 1970s and 1980s, new editions of Topelius’s collected fairy tales were published.¹² Since then, some other stories have also been disseminated in new prints and editions. For example, a collection of horror stories was issued in 2013 as *Morsian ja muita kauhunovelleja*.¹³

It is noteworthy that some of Topelius’s works were instantly translated into French. The story “Trollkarlens dotter” (The sorcerer’s daughter) was first published in *L’Histoire littéraire du Nord* (Nordic literary tales) in 1850 and then again in *Études sur la Russie et le nord de l’Europe* (Studies on Russia and Northern Europe) in 1853.¹⁴ Eight years later, the play *Efter femtio år* (1851; After fifty years) was translated into French by Rosalie Du Puget, who also was busy translating other Swedish novelists into French, including Fredrika Bremer.¹⁵ In 1885, Antonie Gauthey translated several tales, which were published in the series *Suisse romande* (French-speaking Swiss).¹⁶ From 1888, Charles Simond’s translations of various stories were distributed in several editions and prints, such as “Adalminas perla”.¹⁷ In 1908, a selection of stories for children was circulated as *Contes finlandais: récits pour la jeunesse* (Finnish tales: told for the young).¹⁸ Between 1928 and 1947, many of Topelius’s stories for children reached French readers, for example, in collections titled *Contes finlandais* (Finnish tales), *Contes du Nord* (Nordic tales), and *Contes et legends de Finlande* (Tales

and legends from Finland) in 1947.¹⁹ At the millennium, several of his stories were republished, either as single publications, such as *Tomten i Åbo slott* titled *Le tomte du château d'Åbo* in 1999, or as collections of stories, such as *Oeil d'étoile et autres conte* (Star Eye and other tales) in 2008.²⁰

A decade after the first publications in French, the first translations into Danish appeared. The first parts of *Fältskärens berättelser* were printed in Danish in 1862, then again in 1875.²¹ In 1880, Fr. Winkel Horn started to translate Topelius's fiction into Danish, and then all parts of *Fältskärens berättelser* were published as *Feltlægens Historier* between 1880 and 1895, then again in 1906–1908, and once again in 1910–1915.²² In the 1940s, one more translation of *Fältskärens berättelser* was published in Danish.²³

At the same time as the first part of *Fältskärens berättelser* was introduced in Denmark, the first translation of *Läsning för barn* (Reading for children) was circulated in 1869–1871. The latter was also published in a costly illustrated edition by the leading publishing house in Denmark, Gyldendalske boghandel, in 1909–1910.²⁴ Some parts of this collection for children were retranslated and republished in 1928–1929, 1943–1945, and 1963.²⁵ In the second half of the twentieth century, some more tales were distributed in Danish, such as “Sampo Lappelill” (*Sammy and the Mountain King*) in 1979 and “Hallonmasken” (The raspberry worm) in 1995.²⁶

Topelius's most circulated works in Danish are *Fältskärens berättelser* and his stories for children. In Norwegian, his stories for children are more popular than his historical fiction. The first translation into Norwegian was a comedy for children, *Rinaldo Rinaldini* in 1871.²⁷ At the same time as the first translations into Danish were made of Topelius's collection of stories for children, it was translated into Norwegian as *Læsning for børn*, and it was published in different versions and editions from the 1870s until the mid-twentieth century.²⁸ Several other collections of children's stories were published in Norwegian, such as *Bjerkens og stjernen og andre eventyr* (The birch tree and the star and other tales) in 1925 and *Ride Ranke og andre eventyr* (Ride Ranke and other tales) in 1926, as well as single stories, such as “Sampo Lappelill” (1960) and “Stjerneøye” (Star Eye) in 1991.²⁹ As a writer of historical novels, Topelius was first introduced to Norwegian readers in the United States, when *Fältskärens berättelser* was published in Chicago in 1903–1906.³⁰ It was not until 1953 that the first translation of the first part of the cycles was published in Norway.³¹

Topelius's tales for children were also popular in other Nordic languages, such as in Icelandic, Faroese, and Sámi languages, where

especially “Stjärnöga” and “Sampo Lappelill” have been distributed in several different translations.³² In Icelandic, there has also been a recurrent interest in *Fältskärens berättelser*. It was first published in 1898–1909, and then again in 1855–1957, and once again in 2014–2017.³³

Among the translations into Nordic languages, the translations into Danish were the most important ones for further translation into non-Scandinavian languages. For example, the translations into Danish initiated translations into German. As early as 1855, the first three cycles of *Fältskärens berättelser* were published in German.³⁴ Nonetheless, and just like the Danish- and Norwegian-speaking audiences, German readers were mainly attracted to Topelius’s stories for children. In 1885, both *Schwedischen Märchenbuch* (Swedish fairy tales) and *Märchen und Erzählungen für Kinder* (Fairy tales and stories for children) were circulated.³⁵ Between 1899 and 1949, various other collections of fairy tales were published in different editions.³⁶ Just as in Danish, there was a continuous distribution of certain tales in German translation during the nineteenth century. For example, Eugene Welster’s translation of “Sampo Lappelill” was published in Vienna in 1919 and 1925.³⁷ A new translation by Angelika Oldenberg was printed in Stuttgart in 1984, 1986, and 1994.³⁸

Unlike most Swedish-language literature disseminated in German-speaking Europe, Topelius’s works were not instantly distributed in Dutch. The first translation occurred in 1903.³⁹ Some more works were printed in Dutch in the 1920s and 1930s, such as “Adalminas perla”.⁴⁰ The most important publication of Topelius’s stories in Dutch was in 1937, when almost 15 stories were translated by Piet Schepens and published in *Dauidsfoonds Volkboek*. Some of the stories were “Hallonmasken” and “Sampo Lappelill”.⁴¹ Some of these stories were retranslated in the 1940s, such as “Sampo Lappelill”.⁴² However, it was not until in 1963 that the first part of *Fältskärens berättelser* was translated, but when it was concluded, Classics International Corporation published it in both the Netherlands and the United States.⁴³

At the same time as the first translations appeared in other Scandinavian languages, the first works in English were printed. The first cycle of *Fältskärens berättelser* was issued as *The Surgeon’s Stories* in 1872. Selma Borg and Marie Adelaide Brown, both of whom translated novels by the Swedish novelist Marie Sophie Schwartz, translated it into American English.⁴⁴ However, on the front pages of the other cycles, only Brown’s name was printed.⁴⁵ The different cycles of *The Surgeon’s Stories* were published in several prints and editions at the fin de siècle. A British translation of the first part was also distributed from London in 1901 and 1912.⁴⁶ As in most other languages, several collections of

short stories were published in English from 1881 onwards. Although *The Surgeon's Stories* were first published in America, various collections of tales for children were first published in London in 1881, including *Snowdrops* and *Whispering in the Woods*, both with the added subtitle "Finnish Idylls for Children".⁴⁷ From 1899 until 1959, several collections were circulated in both England and the United States, such as *The Birch and the Star and Other Stories* and *Canute Whistlewinks and Other Stories*. The latter was also distributed in Canada.⁴⁸ In 1977, one more collection of stories, *Where Stories Grow*, was published in New York.⁴⁹

A bit later than the translations into Scandinavian languages and English, the first stories by Topelius were translated into Russian. This speedy translation into Russian was probably done because Finland, after the Finnish war in 1809, was ceded to and incorporated into the Russian Empire. In 1877, some stories were published in Russian, for example, "Sampo Lappelill", and in 1898, "Ljungars saga" (Ljungar's saga) and *Regina von Emmeritz* were issued in Russian.⁵⁰ Some years later, *Fältskärens berättelser* and "Adalminas perla" were translated.⁵¹ Between 1950 and 1960, several collections, as well as many single tales, were printed in Russian, such as the collection *Skakzi* (1955) and the story "Sampo Lappelill" (1960). Many of these stories have since been republished several times.⁵²

In the early twentieth century, the first translations into Polish and Estonian were made. In 1900, a collection of tales was published in Polish and then republished a couple of times.⁵³ By the end of the 1950s, Janina Porazińska started to translate several stories into Polish, such as "Sampo Lappelill", which was printed three times between 1957 and 1986.⁵⁴ The first translations into Estonian were also made around 1900, among them were "Två gånger två är fyra" (Two times two is four) and "Hjertat af gummi elasticum" (The heart of elastic rubber).⁵⁵ The first part of *Fältskärens berättelser* was printed in two different translations in 1923 and in 1924 respectively.⁵⁶ At the same time, several other works were issued, such as *Mirza och Mirjam* (Mirza and Mirjam) and "Olle på skidor" (Olle skiing).⁵⁷ Three decades later, a collection of stories for children was published as *Allotari jäljed* (1957; Various footprints), and three decades after that, it was retranslated into Estonian once again titled *Muinasjutte* (Reading for children).⁵⁸ Also, after the millennium, a couple of new translations were distributed in Estonian, such as "Knut Spelevink" (Knut scapegrace) and "Prinsessan Lindagull" (The stolen princess).⁵⁹

Besides these translations, some of Topelius's works have reached readers in other languages. In the first part of the twentieth century,

a couple of stories were distributed in Hungarian, such as “Sampo Lappelill” (1913) and “Björken och stjärnan” (1943, 1944).⁶⁰ A collection of stories was published in Spanish as *Cuentos de hadas nórdicos* (Nordic fairy tales) in 1952 and was reprinted in 1959.⁶¹ In Italian, Topelius was launched as a writer of children’s books in the second half of the twentieth century with a number of stories for children, such as “Sampo Lappelill” and *Tomten i Åbo slott*.⁶²

RYDBERG IN TRANSLATION

Unlike Topelius’s fiction, the first translations of Viktor Rydberg’s works were not into Finnish but, like most other Swedish literature, into Danish. One of his historical novels, *Fribytare på Östersjön* (1857; *The Freebooter of the Baltic*), was first published in the Danish newspaper *Helsingørs Avis* in 1858, that is, one year after the first Swedish publication.⁶³ Eight years later, in 1866, his novel *Singoalla* (1858), set in the Middle Ages, was published.⁶⁴ The next work published in Danish was not a literary work but a scholarly study, *Medeltidens magi* (1865, *The Magic of the Middle Ages*), which was printed in Danish in 1873.⁶⁵ At this time, Otto Borchsenius started his comprehensive translation of Rydberg’s works into Danish. In 1874 Rydberg’s novel *Den siste atenaren* (1859; *The Last Athenian*) and his work *Romerska sägner om apostlarna Paulus och Petrus* (1874; *Roman Legends about the Apostles Paul and Peter*) were printed.⁶⁶ Despite a rather slow introduction in Danish, Rydberg’s novels soon became popular in Denmark. Before 1906, his novel *Fribytare på Östersjön* was printed four times, *Den siste atenaren* three times, and *Singoalla* and *Vapensmeden* (1891; *The armourer*) twice each. After that, *Vapensmeden* was issued once in 1943, and *Den siste atenaren* once in 2012.⁶⁷ Otto Borchsenius translated all these novels. The only fictional work by Rydberg that he never translated was the Christmas tale *Lille Vigg’s äfventyr på julafton* (1875; *Little Vigg’s Christmas Eve*), which was translated into Danish by Inger Harbou Vikström in 1900, and by Ellen Kirk in 1981.⁶⁸

Although *Fribytare på Österlön* was circulated in Danish as early as in 1858 and *Singoalla* in 1866, Rydberg’s introduction in Danish did not instantly result in further translations into German. The third translation of Rydberg’s works was to be into American English, and it was done on behalf of his internationally renowned female colleague Fredrika Bremer. During American consul William Widgery Thomas Jr.’s visit to Stockholm in the early 1860s, Bremer introduced him to Rydberg’s novel *Den siste atenaren*. In the introduction of the translated novel, published in Philadelphia in 1869, Thomas describes how

Bremer persuaded him to translate the novel into English. At the end of his preface, he included a letter from Bremer, dated 8 December 1865, in which she thanks him for his translation because it has “given the American public the best and most genial historical novel that ever was written in Swedish language”.⁶⁹

Those words of praise from Bremer introduced Rydberg to American readers. As discussed in the previous chapter, since the early 1840s, Bremer was one of the most treasured and read novelists in the United States. Her travels in America between 1849 and 1851 added to her celebrity status and sparked American readers’ interest in her writing.⁷⁰ Therefore, Bremer’s approval of Rydberg’s novel was an important part of the marketing, and the novel was soon republished twice in Philadelphia, in 1879 and 1883.⁷¹ It might also be due to Bremer’s promotion that two scholarly works by Rydberg were published in English in 1879: *The Magic of the Middle Ages* and *Roman Days*.⁷² *Roman Days* was reprinted several times in both the United States and England.⁷³ By the turn of the century, *Fribytare på Östersjön*, titled *The Freebooter of the Baltic*, was published in 1891, and *Singoalla* was published in 1903.⁷⁴ One year after Axel Josephsson translated *Singoalla* into American English, the novel was retranslated by Josef Fredbärj, published in England in 1904, and republished in 1908 and 1910.⁷⁵ One more work was translated in the twentieth century, *Lille Viggs äventyr på julafton* as *Little Vigg’s Christmas Eve*, in 1924, which was distributed in English from three cities: Vienna, London, and New York. This Christmas tale was republished in 1981 in both London and New York.⁷⁶

As mentioned above, Rydberg’s early introduction in English differs from the normal pattern for Swedish fiction, which travelled from Danish into German and then – sometimes via German translations – into English. His novel *Den siste atenaren*, which was first published in English in 1869, was not translated into Danish until in 1874. One year later, it was published in German;⁷⁷ it thereby became the first work by Rydberg to be translated into German. A year after that, in 1876, *Romerska sägner om apostlarna Paulus och Petrus* was translated.⁷⁸ However, this introduction in German did not result in any more translations until 10 years later, when *Singoalla* was published in 1885.⁷⁹ Two years later, Rydberg’s long poem *Prometheus och Ahasverus* (Prometheus and Ahasverus) was launched in German together with a revised version for young adults of his scholarly work *Fädernas gudasaga* (1887; *Our Fathers’ Godsaga*), which was circulated in German by his publisher in Stockholm, Bonnier.⁸⁰ From then on, Rydberg’s works were progressively published in German. Two years after the first edition of *Prometheus och Ahasverus* was published, a new translation

was printed and, in 1890, a new edition of *Singoalla* was issued.⁸¹ At the turn of the twentieth century, one more translation of *Den siste atenaren* was circulated, as well as the first translation of *Lille Viggs äfventyr på julafton*.⁸² In 1908, Rydberg's last novel, *Vapensmeden*, was published in German, and two years later, a new edition of *Lille Viggs äfventyr på julaften* was printed.⁸³ In this period, several new editions and printings of *Romerska sägner om apostlarna Paulus och Petrus* and *Romerska kejsare i marmor* (Roman emperors in marble) were distributed.⁸⁴ In the early twentieth century, new translations and editions of *Lille Viggs äfventyr på julafton*, *Den siste atenaren*, and *Singoalla* were printed.⁸⁵ In 1924, publisher Schneider distributed the first German translation of his novel *Fribytaren på Östersjön* from Berlin, Leipzig, and Vienna, that is, from three cities and regions in German-speaking Europe.⁸⁶

Although one of Rydberg's works was accessible in French as early as in the 1870s, his introduction in French differs from that in Danish, German, and English. French readers were not introduced to one of his historical novels, but to his Christmas tale *Lille Viggs äfventyr på julafton*. Nor was the distribution first made from France – or any other French-speaking region in Europe – but from Sweden, by C.E. Fritze's bookstore in Stockholm in 1876.⁸⁷ Thirteen years later, in 1889, one more translation into French was published in Sweden, *Romerska kejsare i marmor*.⁸⁸ Also, the first translations of *Singoalla* were published in Sweden in 1900, and in the year after, *Den siste atenaren* as *Le dernier des Athéniens* was distributed by two publishers in Paris, Per Lamm and Nilsson, both of which had close connections to Sweden.⁸⁹ In 1913, the Swedish scholar Thekla Hammar translated two long poems into French to be distributed by the French publisher Larousse in Paris.⁹⁰ Rydberg's introduction in French by Swedish publishers and mediators is probably an example of the predominant view of Paris, and France more generally, as a significant literary centre at the turn of the century. Therefore, as the Swedish scholar Andreas Hedberg has observed, many Swedish writers made active efforts to be published in French in order to be widely disseminated in Europe.⁹¹ The first translation into French made by a French translator and distributed by a French publisher in Paris seems to be the second translation of *Lille Viggs äfventyr på julafton* published in *Nouvelles suédoises* (Swedish stories) in 1889.⁹²

The distribution of Rydberg's works in French from Sweden and by Swedish mediators may reflect his growing national prestige as a writer in his native country. Probably, his status in Sweden also promoted translations into the other Nordic languages. Some of his works

were translated into Norwegian and Icelandic in the early twentieth century. From the mid-twentieth century onwards, several more works were published in Norwegian: *Vapensmeden*, *Singoalla*, “Tomten”, (The tomten), and *Lille Viggs äfventyr på julafton*.⁹³ Of these stories, “Tomten” and *Singoalla* were printed three times each.⁹⁴ In Icelandic, *Singoalla* and *Lille Viggs äfventyr på julafton* were first published in 1916 and in 1917 respectively.⁹⁵ Since then, *Lille Viggs äfventyr på julafton* has been the most frequently published of Rydberg’s works in Icelandic; it was issued three times between 1928 and 1981.⁹⁶

Rydberg’s works were more frequently translated into Finnish than into Danish or any other language. This is contrary to the pattern seen with most Swedish writers in Sweden, though similar to the dissemination of Topelius’s works. Many of his works were circulated in Finnish in the nineteenth century. *Romerska sägner om apostlarna Paulus och Petrus* and *Den siste atenaren* were published in 1890, and then again in 1891.⁹⁷ In 1895, “Den nye Grottesången” (The new cave song), *Lille Viggs äfventyr på julafton*, *Singoalla* and *Vapensmeden* were issued in Finnish.⁹⁸ Some years later, *De vandrande djäknarna* (1896; The wandering apprentices) and *Fribytaren på Östersjön* were distributed.⁹⁹ In the twentieth century, many titles were retranslated and republished in new editions. Juhani Aho’s translation of *Lille Viggs äfventyr på julafton* from 1895 was followed by Arvid Järnefelt’s translation in 1900, and then once again by Eila Kivikkaho’s translation in 1981.¹⁰⁰ Three different translations of *Vapensmeden* were published in 1895, 1907, and 1930 by Otava in Helsinki.¹⁰¹ One translation of *Fribytaren på Östersjön* was printed five times between 1899 and 1972.¹⁰² *Romerska sägner om apostlarna Paulus och Petrus* was first translated in 1881 and then again in 1903. Six years later, *Romerska kejsare i marmor* was distributed in Finnish.¹⁰³ The Christmas poem “Tomten” was printed four times in less than 40 years, between 1945 and 1982.¹⁰⁴ That is, Rydberg’s stories were not only translated into Finnish at the turn of the twentieth century, but they were also continuously retranslated and republished until the 1980s. Still, Rydberg’s achievements in Finnish did not result in extensive dissemination in Russian as it did for some other Swedish-language writers, including Topelius. The only stories translated into Russian were *Lille Viggs äfventyr på julafton* and *Den siste atenaren*, in 1897 and 1901 respectively. However, *Den siste atenaren* was circulated in two different translations.¹⁰⁵

Just as in the case of Topelius, some works by Rydberg were translated into some minor European languages. A couple of stories were printed in Dutch by the end of the nineteenth century: *Lille Viggs äfventyr på julafton*, *Singoalla*, and *Vapensmeden*.¹⁰⁶ *Lille Viggs äfventyr på*

julafton was published as a book in Polish in 1910 and in 1946, in Czech in 1911, and in Estonian in 1925 and 1926.¹⁰⁷ This Christmas tale was also printed in the artificial language Ido in 1932.¹⁰⁸ Among Rydberg's oeuvre, only "Tomten" and *Lille Viggs äfventyr på julafton* have been translated into non-European languages. Both stories have been published in Japanese, in 1979 and 1982 respectively.¹⁰⁹ They have also been printed in Afrikaans in 1967 and 1981 respectively.¹¹⁰

TOPELIUS'S AND RYDBERG'S RECEPTION OUTSIDE SWEDEN

In many ways, the transcultural dissemination of Topelius's and Rydberg's fiction demonstrates a different pattern compared to that of the earlier Swedish novelists, such as Fredrika Bremer and Emilie Flygare-Carlén. Although the first translations of Rydberg's stories were into Danish, his introduction to Danish readers was rather fumbling, and it did not result in an immediate translation into German. His first novel was translated into Danish in 1858, but the first stories translated into German appeared as late as 1874, just when the third novel, *Den siste atenaren*, had been published in Danish. As mentioned earlier, unlike Rydberg's stories, the Swedish-speaking Finn Topelius's stories were not first translated into Danish but into Finnish in 1848. It was not until the early 1860s that some stories were circulated in Danish. However, 20 years later, as late as in the 1880s, Topelius had a breakthrough in German. For neither Rydberg nor Topelius did the translation of their stories into German rapidly result in translations into other European languages, such as Dutch, Czech, Polish, or Hungarian. Thus, for the two male prose writers, German did not serve as an important transit language for translations into other European languages.

The early transmission of Topelius's and Rydberg's fiction into two major languages – French and English – was, as mentioned earlier, primarily a result of extraordinary and person-driven circumstances. Rydberg was quickly introduced in English to the American audiences because of Bremer and her ability to persuade William Widgery Thomas Jr. to translate *Den siste atenaren* in the early 1860s. Topelius's short story "Trollkarlens dotter" was quickly published in French because of the French diplomat Louis-Antoine Léouzon Le Duc's interest in it during his stay Helsinki in the 1840s. Probably it attracted Duc's attention because of its French subplot, that is, the depiction of the French duke of Orleans's visit to Lapland. Like the first translation of Topelius's story into French, the first translations of Rydberg's fiction into French were also prompted by certain local circumstances; they

were made and published in Sweden by a Swedish publisher. Furthermore, the next translations were distributed by publishing houses in Paris that were run by, or in cooperation with, Swedish publishers. In contrast to the earlier Swedish novelists, the launching of both Rydberg's and Topelius's writing outside Sweden depended on various Swedish mediators – publishers, translators, and even fellow writers, such as Bremer when it comes to Rydberg. It is also noteworthy that a couple of translators often dominate the first translations into a certain language. For example, Rydberg's leading Danish translator was Otto Borschsenius, while Juhani Aho translated several of his stories into Finnish. Worth mentioning is also that *Singoalla* was translated into French, Italian, Spanish, and English by the same translator, Josef Fredbärj. Likewise, the same translators translated many of Topelius's works. For example, Frederik Winkel Horn translated several stories into Danish, while Charles Simon translated quite a few into French.

Despite various efforts to introduce Topelius and Rydberg in some languages, their works did not attract much attention outside Northern Europe, at least not compared to some of their earlier colleagues. Unlike the novels by Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, and Marie Sophie Schwartz, their stories were not instantly and regularly translated into Danish and German and thereafter quickly into other European languages in Central Europe. Instead, their transnational dissemination resembles the distribution of Carl Jonas Love Almquist's works. Like the stories by Almquist, both Rydberg's and Topelius's works were mainly circulated in the Nordic region and in Scandinavian languages. Just like Almquist's fiction, their works travelled less quickly and widely than the novels by the women writers. Although several of Topelius's and Rydberg's stories were translated into German and the other two major European languages, French and English, this did not result in a massive distribution, retranslation, and republishing of their works, neither during their lifetime nor later on. Consequently, they were far from as up-and-coming as their female colleagues had been, based on the number of translated and retranslated titles and republished editions of their fiction, or considering the number of languages of translation and thereby their transnational and geographical circulation. Nor did the publication of their works catch much attention from literary critics outside Scandinavia. Their fiction was not frequently reviewed or mentioned in literary surveys in the international press. Even in comparison to Almquist, their literary production was remarkably invisible in the international press. Although the American press, in a review of the first cycle of *The Surgeon's Stories*, named Topelius "The Swedish Dumas", it is mainly this novel and his tales for children that were

noticed by critics outside Scandinavia.¹¹¹ However, his scholarly qualities were often brought up in the German press, in particular, his works on Finnish history and culture.¹¹² Also, in the case of Rydberg, critics were more interested in his historical and scholarly works than in his fiction. His work on Nordic myths, *Fädernas gudasaga*, as well as his *Romerska dagar* were announced and reviewed a couple of times.¹¹³ When his fiction was mentioned, it was usually with reference to its historical qualities.¹¹⁴ When *Singoalla* was reviewed in New York in 1904, the critic started by declaring, “Prof. Rydberg of Stockholm [...] was better known as a philosopher and antiquarian than as a novelist, and his favourite pursuits were comparative mythology and the history of early civilization.”¹¹⁵

Although the pattern of translation differs from those of the successful female novelists, there are certain similarities in circulation between these two authors and Almqvist. Like Almqvist, Topelius and Rydberg established strong regional positions at home in the Nordic countries; their works were frequently reprinted and republished in Swedish, and they were extensively translated into some other Nordic languages. However, Topelius’s and Rydberg’s fiction was not, like most Swedish literature, mainly translated into Danish but into Finnish. That Topelius’s oeuvre was quickly translated into Finnish is understandable: Topelius was a Swedish-speaking Finnish writer working in Finland. However, Rydberg’s works were also extensively and uninterruptedly distributed in Finnish. The works by their male predecessor Almqvist were also more widely translated into Finnish than Swedish fiction was in general, including the works of the bestselling women writers. However, Almqvist’s works were not as soon nor as frequently distributed as those by his two male successors. One explanation for the rapid and regular translation of not only Topelius’s but also Rydberg’s works into Finnish was probably related to the national movement in Finland and the endeavours to establish Finnish as a literary language.

The noteworthy reception of Topelius and Rydberg in Nordic languages other than Danish could probably also be related to a new literary trend in Scandinavia. By the turn of the twentieth century, there was a growing interest in Swedish literature translated into other Nordic languages. Most likely, this practice encouraged translations of novels not only by Topelius and Rydberg, but also by their contemporary female writer, Marie Sophie Schwartz. Her novels, published at roughly the same time as Topelius’s and Rydberg’s works, were more consistently translated into other Scandinavian languages than the novels by her two predecessors Bremer and Flygare-Carlén had been. That is to say, by the turn of the twentieth century, it is likely that Scandinavian readers

progressively wanted to read fiction in their local languages, and not only in the former literary dominant languages in the Nordic countries, Swedish and Danish.

In addition, the wide and lengthy circulation of both Topelius's and Rydberg's works in the Nordic languages was probably also due to their established literary status in their native countries. Contrary to the women writers and many of the earlier novelists, they were immediately recognised as highbrow writers of literary importance. Their academic and political careers guaranteed and added to their national – and Nordic – fame. Both of them were regularly awarded memberships in academies and cultural societies. Due to their positions among the cultural elite of their countries, their works were quickly canonised in their own time. Because of that, they have retained their literary prestige until today.

Rydberg and Topelius demonstrate a different pattern of literary recognition from that of their forerunners. While the female novelists' stories circulated extensively and in many languages because of their popularity among European and American readers, the distribution of the stories by Topelius and Rydberg appears to have been dependent on the writers' scholarly and literary position within a certain regional culture. Contrary to their male predecessor Almqvist, they not only established but also upheld their cultural capital throughout their lives. Unlike Almqvist, they were not involved in any severe scandals, and neither of them was suspected of serious crimes nor had to leave his country. Instead, the timing of their national breakthrough was favourable, that is, at a time when the popularity of their forerunners was fading. At the same time, the success of the female novelists had paved the way for the reception of Swedish literature abroad. As mentioned above, Topelius's and Rydberg's works were in some cases introduced to certain languages with the assistance of specific influential mediators, such as Fredrika Bremer and the American consul Thomas Jr. in Rydberg's case, and the French diplomat Léouzon Le Duc in Topelius's case. Thus, in some circumstances, the transnational transmission of their works relied on influential mediators and therefore their works mainly migrated as far as the members of their local networks had an impact.

The mechanisms behind network-based circulation of fiction may also explain why Topelius and Rydberg were immediately represented by the same literary works both at home and abroad, while the most translated and disseminated works by earlier male and female novelists were not the same as their most well-known and appreciated novels in Sweden. The first translations of Almqvist's fiction appear to have

been done rather casually; those stories that were first and most frequently translated into other languages are not the same as those that former critics and later scholars have identified as Almqvist's most important ones in a national setting. In a regional context, Bremer and Flygare-Carlén were in their time – and still are today – recognised by works that distinguish them from their male colleagues. Still, those works by the women writers that fit into the national history of Swedish literature are not the same novels that the contemporary European and American readers welcomed most. However, the literary taste of huge numbers of anonymous readers in the past did not secure enduring literary status for certain literary texts by the female novelists. In contrast, those works by Topelius and Rydberg that the native literary gatekeepers approved of and mediated did not prove to be the same kind of fiction that the readers of the time craved. Therefore, the works by the two male authors did not result in as frequent retranslations and republications as the works by Bremer and Flygare-Carlén did.

Nevertheless, to some extent the early-canonised titles by Rydberg and Topelius encouraged translations into other languages and, in addition, safeguarded the writers' undisputed fame for posterity. Because of their literary position at home, they were also included in surveys of Swedish and Scandinavian literature abroad. For example, Rydberg was soon presented as one of the locally canonised Scandinavian male writers in France by L. Bernardini's book *La littérature Scandinave* (1892).¹¹⁶ Topelius was the subject of a long chapter by R. Nisbet Bain in the French literary journal *Cosmopolis. Revue internationale* in 1898, as well as an entry titled "Zacharias Topelius et ses Contes finlandais" (Topelius and his Finnish tales) written by Marie Dutiot in *Foi et vie: revue de quinzaine, religieuse, morale, littéraire, sociale* in 1910.¹¹⁷

Today, the two male writers' best-known titles in their native countries are the same titles that once were – and still are – their most distributed works in translation. Their most circulated and well-received works in translation are, in both cases, one historical novel and a couple of Christmas tales and stories for children. In Sweden and Finland, Topelius's most recognised novel was and still is *Fältskärens berättelser*, and the first part – or cycle – of these tales is still the most translated and transnationally distributed of his novels. Rydberg's most well-known and circulated novel in Sweden and abroad is – and has been since the late nineteenth century – the tragic medieval love story *Singoalla*, titled after the female protagonist. After their deaths, both Topelius's and Rydberg's most translated and widely circulated works have been their stories for children, especially a couple of Christmas

tales, Topelius's *Tomten i Åbo slott* and Rydberg's *Lilla Viggs äfventyr på julafton*. Today's readers, critics, and scholars outside Sweden and Finland thus primarily remember and appreciate them because of these Christmas tales.¹¹⁸

PROMOTION BY FEMALE PREDECESSORS AND SUCCESSORS

Although Topelius and Rydberg never reached the same transnational fame as Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, or even Schwartz, they both benefited from the popularity of their female colleagues. Not only did Fredrika Bremer take an active part in promoting Rydberg as a novelist to American readers when she initiated the American translation of his novel *Den siste atenaren* (*The Last Athenian*), the popular Marie Sophie Schwartz was also engaged in launching Topelius to American readers. When Selma Borg's coming translation of Topelius's *Fältskärens berättelser* (*The Surgeon's Stories*) was announced in 1872, Topelius's literary talent was stressed by a quotation by Schwartz in which she stated that "his books for children are 'true pearls'".¹¹⁹

Moreover, younger and internationally successful female writers have continually promoted Topelius and Rydberg after their death. The Swedish Nobel laureate Selma Lagerlöf secured Topelius's position as an important Swedish-language writer with her fictional biography *Zachris Topelius* (1920). Two years before it was published, there was an announcement in Vienna that Lagerlöf was writing a book about Topelius.¹²⁰ When it was published in 1920, it was quickly translated into other languages and frequently reviewed or mentioned in German and French papers.¹²¹

The launching of Rydberg is even more striking. The success of his most published work, *Lille Viggs äfventyr på julafton*, was most certainly the result of the work of the young female artist Jenny Nyström, who of her own accord started to illustrate Rydberg's fairy tale. Despite the resistance of Rydberg's main publisher in Stockholm, Bonnier, it was published with Nyström's illustrations by another publisher, Sven Adolf Hedlund in Gothenburg. It was an immediate success, and Nyström's illustrations have become iconic in Sweden.¹²² Her illustrations also attracted publishers outside Sweden, and they have been published in some translated editions, including the Russian version. Nonetheless, the most successful female mediator of Rydberg's works has been the Swedish bestselling writer of children's books, Astrid Lindgren. Many decades after Rydberg's death, her adaptation of his Christmas poem "Tomten" (1960) established him and made him linger in the interna-

tional book market as a Swedish writer of stories for children. In that way, she secured his international remembrance. Today Astrid Lindgren is one of the most well-established international writers of children books, and because of that, she has guaranteed a long-lasting reception of Rydberg as a writer of Swedish Christmas tales for children.

NOTES

- 1 More detailed presentations of both Topelius's and Rydberg's works in translation have been published in two articles in Swedish: Yvonne Leffler, "Zacharias Topelius i världen – verken i översättning, Pia Forssell and Carola Herberts (eds.), *Författaren Topelius – med historien mot strömmen*, Helsinki, Stockholm: SLS, Appell, 2019, pp. 425–452; Yvonne Leffler, "Viktor Rydberg i världen: Skönlitteratur i översättning", in Anders Burman and Tore Lund (eds.), *Efter Viktor Rydberg: Receptionshistoriska studier*, Huddinge: Södertörns högskola, 2020, pp. 57–76.
- 2 Topelius, *Satu Puu-Pietarista*, trans. C.G. Borg, Helsingfors: Simelius, 1848.
- 3 Topelius, *Topeliuksen tarinoita*, trans. A.J. Weänänen, Helsingfors: Frenckell, 1861; Topelius, *Topeliuksen satuja II, Kirkonkellot: suloinen kertoelma lapsille*, trans. C.A. Grönberg, Pori, 1870; Topelius, *Topeliuksen satuja VI, Pikku-Matti ja Wähä-Lassi*, trans. C.A. Grönberg, Pori, 1871.
- 4 Topelius, *Lukemisia lapsille*, 1–3, Helsingfors: Hougberg, 1874–1875; Topelius, *Lukemisia lapsille*, 1–2, trans. Aatto Suppanen, Em. Tamminen, O. Berg, Borgå: Werner Söderström, 1886.
- 5 Topelius, *Välskäärin juttuja*, trans. K.G. Levander, Helsingfors, 1867–1875.
- 6 Topelius, *Välskäärin kertomuksia*, 1–4, trans. R. Melin, Uleåborg, Helsingfors: Edlund, 1878–1880. In 1882, the fifth part was published by the same publisher but translated by K. Krammus.
- 7 Topelius, *Välskäärin kertomuksia*, 1–5, trans. J. Aho, Borgå: Werner Söderström, 1895–1898.
- 8 Topelius, *Talvi-iltain tarinoita*, 1–6, trans. Aatto Suppanen, Borgå: Söderström, 1881–1882. In 1886, S. Suomalainen was engaged as a translator. In 1910, Ilmari Jäämaa was also working as a translator of the stories included in this collection.
- 9 Topelius, *Tähtien turvatit*, 1–8, trans. Theodolinda Hahnsson, Helsingfors: Edlund, 1890–1892. Between 1930 and 1995 the book was issued several times by Werner Söderströms in Porvoo (Borgå) in translation by Aune Brotherus.
- 10 Topelius, *Suomen herttuatar*, Helsinki: Holm, 1874; Topelius, *Kootut teokset*, 1–5, trans. I. Jäärmaa m.fl., Borgå: Werner Söderström, 1929–1930.
- 11 Topelius, *Peikkojen joulu*, trans. M. Kuusi, Borgå; Werner Söderström, 1952, 1970; Topelius, *Adalmiinan helmi*, trans. Kirsti Kunnas, Borgå: Werner Söderström, 1957, 1989, 1990, 1991; Topelius, *Adalmiinan helmi*, trans. Irja Lappalainen, Helsingfors: Tammi, 1990; Topelius, *Adalmiinan helmi*, trans. Asko Sahlberg, Helsingfors: Söderströms, 2012; *Valtterin seikkailut*, trans. Kertu Manninen, Esbo: Weilin-Göös, 1986/Jyväskylä/Helsingfors:

- Gummerus 2001; Topelius, *Noidan tytär*, Torneå: Tornionlaakson kuntain toimikunta 1966; Topelius, *Turun linnan tonttu-ukko*, trans. Oiva. Koivisto, Turku: Turun sanomalehti- ja kirjapaino, 1967, 1973, 1987, 2002.
- 12 Topelius, Z. *Topeliuksen satuja*, Esbo: M. Heino, 1978; Topelius, *Topeliuksen kauneimmat sadut*, trans. Sirkka Rapola, Keuruu/Helsingfors: Otava, 1984, 1989.
 - 13 Topelius, *Morsian ja muita kauhunovelleja*, Åbo: Faros, 2013.
 - 14 Léouzon Le Duc, *l'Histoire littéraire du Nord, Première Partie: Poésie. I*. Tegnér, Paris: Gide et Baudry, 1850, s. 344–372; *Études sur la Russie et le nord de l'Europe*, trans. L.A. Léouzon Le Duc, Amyot, 1853, republished in Paris: Librairie K. Nilsson, 1875. About translations into French, see Maija Lehtonen, “Deux images de la Laponie chez Z. Topelius, 2009.
 - 15 Topelius, *Cinquante ans après*, trans. R. Du Puget, Paris, 1861.
 - 16 Topelius, *Suisse romande*, trans. A. Gauthey, Geneve, 1885.
 - 17 Topelius, *La perle d'Adalmine*, trans. C. Simond, Paris: H. Lecène et. H. Oudin, 1888, 1889, 1891, 1893, 1911.
 - 18 Topelius, *Contes finlandais*, trans. Elisa Girod-Hoskier, Genève: Édition Atar, 1908.
 - 19 Topelius, *Contes finlandais*: trans. Elisa Girod-Hoskier, Neuilly, 1928, 1929; Topelius, *Contes finlandais*: Lausanne: Édition Spes, 1944; Topelius, *Contes du Nord*, trans. Militza. Tavaststjerna, Sulev J. Kaja, Bryssel/Paris: Editions de la Toison d'or, 1944; Topelius, *Contes et légendes de Finlande*, trans. Lucie Thomas, Paris: Librairie Fernand Nathan, 1947.
 - 20 Topelius, *Le tomte du château d'Åbo*, trans. Catherine. Buscall, Jean Renaud Nantes: L'Élan, 1999; Topelius, *Oeil d'étoile et autres conte*: trans. Maurice de Coppet, Nantes: l'Élan, 2008.
 - 21 Topelius, *Kongens ring*, København: Fjeldsøe & Grandrup, 1862; Topelius, *En Saarlæges Fortællinger*, København, 1875.
 - 22 Topelius, *Feltlægens Historier*, 1–5, trans. Fr. Winkel Horn, København, 1880–1881, København: P.G. Philipsen, 1885, 1894–1895, København: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1906–1908, 1910–1915.
 - 23 Topelius, *Feltlægens Historier*, 1–3, trans. Hakon Stagerup, København: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1940.
 - 24 Topelius, *Børnefortællinger efter Topelius*, København, 1869–1871; Topelius, *Børnenes Bog*, 1–4, trans. I. Falbe-Hansen, L. Holstein, L.C. Nielsen, København: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1907–1909.
 - 25 Topelius, *Fortællinger for børn*, trans. Gerda Mundt, København: O. Lohse, 1928, 1929, 1943, 1945, 1963.
 - 26 Topelius, *Sampo Lappelill*, trans. Herta. J. Enevoldsen, København: Braner og Korch, 1979; Topelius, *Sampo Lappelill*, trans. Dagmar Holdensen, København: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1984; Topelius, *Eventyret i hindbærskoven*, trans. Ilse M. Haugaard, København Sesam, 1995.
 - 27 Topelius, *Rinaldo Rinaldini*, Kristiania (Oslo): Th. Friis Jensens Forlag, 1871.
 - 28 Topelius, *Læsning for børn*, 1–4, trans. N. Rolfsen, Kristiana/Oslo: P.T. Mallings Boghandels Forlag, 1876–1885, 1886–1889, 1898–1898; Topelius, *Barnenes bok*, Kristiania/Oslo: Gyldendalske, 1907; Topelius, *Valters*

- eventyr og andre fortellinger fra Lesning för barn*, trans. Olav Hæreid, Oslo: Lutherstiftelsen, 1961.
- 29 Topelius, *Bjærken og stjernen og andre eventyr*, trans. Ingeborg Møller Hansen, Kristiania: Aschhoug, 1925; Topelius, *Ride Ranke og andre eventyr*, trans. Ingeborg Møller Hansen, Oslo: Aschhoug, 1926, 1878, 1984. Topelius, *Sampo Lappelill*, trans. Ola Hæreid, Oslo: indremisjonsforlaget, 1960; Topelius, *Sampo Lappelill, eit eventyr frå finsk Lappland*, trans. Halldis Moren Vesaas, Oslo: Det norske samlaget, 1984; Topelius, *Stjerneøye*, trans. Marianne Viemyr, Oslo: Damm, 1991; Topelius, *Stjerneøye*” Tromsø: VoBa-teatret, 1998.
- 30 Topelius, *Feltlægens historie*, Chicago: Johan Anderson, 1903–1906.
- 31 Topelius, *Kongens ring*, trans. Aage Hallsberg, Oslo: Lutherstiftelsen, 1953.
- 32 Icelandic: Topelius, *Mirsja og Mirjam*, 1980; Topelius, *Sampo Litlilappi*, trans. Thorstein frá Hamri, Reykjavík: Idunn, 1886; Topeliu, *Sampo Litlilappi*, Akran: Hörpuútgáfan, 1990; Topelius, *Stjarneyg*, Reykjavík: Forlagið, 1993.
Faroese: Topelius, *Stjørnueyga*, Tórshavn, 1965; Topelius, *Stjørnueyga: søga*, trans. Sigurð Joensen, Tórshavn: Føroya lærarafelag, 1990, 1991; Topelius, *Stjørnueyga*, Helsinki: Werner Söderström, 2015.
Sámpi: Topelius, *Násstetjalmme*, trans. Sigga Tuolja-Sandström, Jokkmokk: Sámi girjijt, 1992; Topelius, *Nástečalbmi*, trans. M. A. Allas, Jokkmokk: Sámi girjijt, 1992. Topelius, *Sampo Sámásj*, trans. S. Tuolja-Sandström, Jokkmokk: Sámi girjijt, 1992; Topelius, *Sampo Sámás*, trans. Ellen Saitton Burman, Jokkmokk: Sámi girjijt, 1992.
- 33 Topelius, *Sögur Herlaeknisins*, trans. Matthías Jochumssons, Reykjavík: Oddur Björnsson, 1898–1899/ Isafjörður: Sigurdur Jónsson, 1904–1909/ Reykjavík: Ísafoldarprentsmiðja, 1955–1957/Reykjavík: Hlusta, 2014–2017.
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LAUNCHING AND
TRANSNATIONAL RECEPTION OF
MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY NOVELISTS

Carl Jonas Love Almqvist, Fredrika Bremer, Emilie
Flygare-Carlén, and Marie Sophie Schwartz

IN THE NINETEENTH century, Carl Jonas Love Almqvist, Victor Rydberg, and Zacharias Topelius did not reach hordes of readers outside Sweden. Compared to the novels of their female colleagues Fredrika Bremer, Emilie Flygare-Carlén, and Marie Sophie Schwartz, their stories received only a modest international reception. Even other novelists, such as August Blanche and Carl Anton Wetterbergh, were more successful in terms of numbers of published translations. However, and unlike their at the time more popular female compatriots, in the twentieth century Almqvist and Rydberg became highbrow writers in the national history of Swedish literature. Topelius, as a Swedish-speaking Finnish writer, is a canonised author in the history of Swedish-language literature in Finland, but not as naturally so in the national history of Swedish literature in Sweden because of his Finnish nationality. In addition, in recent decades Rydberg has faded into the background in the history of Swedish nineteenth-century literature. Almqvist, however, is nowadays regarded as one of the most significant and treasured writers in the national history of Swedish literature. He is portrayed as a romantic and realist writer, an author of dramas, novels, poetry, essays, criticism, and political articles. He is recognised as a composer of songs and as a radical pedagogue and clergyman, just to mention a few of his personas. In one of the most influential handbooks on Swedish literature, Lars Lönnroth and Sven Delblanc's literary history in seven volumes, *Den svenska litteraturen* (1987–1990; Swedish literature), Almqvist's oeuvre is presented in two different volumes. In the second volume of the handbook, he is placed together with the romantic poet Erik Johan

Stagnelius, and in this context, he is called a “romantic visionary”.¹ In the third volume, his authorship is placed under the heading “the age of liberalism”, and here his political and realist works are described.² Some literary scholars and experts on Almqvist would probably still agree with the Swedish feminist educator Ellen Key, who at the turn of the twentieth century called Almqvist “Sweden’s most modern writer”.³ Because of his national fame, his works are still frequently published in new editions. Some of his texts are included in the core curriculum of courses in Swedish literature at universities in and outside Sweden. Currently, Almqvist’s most recognised works are his romantic historical novel *Drottningens juvelsmycke* (1834; *The Queen’s Diadem*) and his realistic novel on gender issues, *Det går an* (1839; *Sara Videbeck*).

In comparison with Almqvist, the once very popular novelists Fredrika Bremer, Emilie Flygare-Carlén, and Marie Sophie Schwartz hold a modest position in handbooks on Swedish nineteenth-century literature. Bremer and Flygare-Carlén are often grouped together with another female novelist, Sophie von Knorring, as examples of three early female novelists at the mid-nineteenth century.⁴ When included in handbooks, they often represent different traditions of mid-nineteenth-century novels. Fredrika Bremer, who had an early breakthrough with her *Teckningar utur hvardagslifvet* (*Sketches of Every-Day Life*) in 1828–1831, is recognised for her realistic depictions of family life and her work as a feminist reformer. Her late novel *Hertha* (1856; *Hertha, or, A Soul’s History: A Sketch from Real Life*) is always named as it fuelled the contemporary discussion about the emancipation of women and prompted reforms in Swedish legacy.⁵ Because the name of Bremer is associated with women’s liberation, feminist scholars have taken a growing interest in her writings, and in recent decades her position has been upgraded in the history of Sweden and in Swedish literature, in particular when a gender perspective is applied.⁶

To some extent, today’s scholars have noted the feminist qualities in Emilie Flygare-Carlén’s novels.⁷ Still, in most handbooks, she is primarily recognised for her qualities as an early realist novelist and for introducing a new geographical and social lower-middle-class environment into Swedish literature, the region of Bohuslän, that is, the northern west coast of Sweden, and its regional population of fishers, sailors, customs officers, and their families. To Swedish readers, her most well-known novels are *Rosen på Tistelön* (1842; *The Rose of Tistelön*) and *Ett köpmanshus i skärgården* (1859; *A merchant house among the islands*), both of which can be characterised as suspenseful crime stories about family life in the north-western archipelago of Sweden.⁸ However, in recent decades some of her domestic novels of education

novels about a young protagonist's journey towards maturity and fulfilment have attracted growing attention among scholars and publishers.⁹

In that way, Flygare-Carlén and, in particular, Bremer have established a semi-recognised position in today's history of Swedish nineteenth-century literature, while the third bestselling Swedish novelist, Marie Sophie Schwartz, can be called a forgotten writer, whose novels many decades ago were removed to the archives of "h'ors d'usage", or the storerooms of the great unread, to use Margaret Cohen's term.¹⁰ Not even her most translated and published novels on social issues with working-class heroes, *Mannen af börd och kvinnan af folket* (1858; *The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People*) and *Arbetet adlar mannen* (1859; *Labour ennobles the man*), are mentioned in handbooks on Swedish literature. Nor are her explicitly feminist stories, such as *Emancipationsvurmen* (1860; *Emancipation frenzy*) commented on in the Nordic history of women writers, *The History of Nordic Women's Literature*.

While Almquist is recognised today as a canonised writer, the three most widely disseminated and well-received women writers in the mid- and late nineteenth century have a less reputable position in today's literary history on Swedish literature. Therefore, a further investigation of the contemporary marketing and reception of their works outside Sweden might be of interest. In what way did contemporary publishers categorise and market their novels translated into other languages? Are there any general differences between Almquist and his female compatriots? Is it possible to observe general differences in the international reception by investigating publicity in the press, such as the number of reviews of translated novels, introductory articles, celebrity reportage, and so on? And may any of the observable dissimilarities explain their posthumous reputation and future status in a national and international perspective?

PUBLISHING STRATEGIES: TITLES, COLLECTIONS, AND SERIES

As demonstrated by the charting of published works in translation in the previous chapters, Almquist's fiction attracted less attention among translators and publishers outside Sweden than the novels by Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, and Schwartz. While Flygare-Carlén's novels were marketed in almost 20 languages, and Bremer's and Schwartz's works were each disseminated in almost 15 languages, Almquist's stories were translated into only seven languages. As shown in the previous mapping of Almquist's novels in translation, those of his stories that

attracted attention outside Sweden were primarily available in Danish, German, and Finnish.¹¹ That is to say, while Almqvist's fiction was mainly disseminated in the Nordic region and in Northern Europe, the novels by the three women writers were widely circulated on the European Continent, in the United Kingdom, and in the United States. More or less all their works – including travelogues and biographical narratives – were translated into Danish and German. Via German, they travelled into many other European languages in Western and Eastern Europe, such as Dutch, English, Czech, Hungarian, and Polish. As pointed out above, Flygare-Carlén's novels were circulated all over Europe, while Bremer's novels were primarily distributed in Northern and Western Europe in languages such as German, Dutch, English, and French, and Schwartz's stories were predominately circulated in Eastern and Central Europe in Polish, Czech, and Hungarian.

The novels by the women writers were not only more widely disseminated in different languages than Almqvist's were, they were also retranslated and republished more frequently and for a longer period. Compared to the intense and widespread circulation of novels by Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, and Schwartz, the transnational distribution of Almqvist's novels appears casual and arbitrary and it is limited to one decade, the 1840s. Although some titles attracted translators and publishers and therefore resulted in the translation and printing of these novels, the publication of these stories seldom led to reprinting or new translations into the same language, nor to new editions of the same novel by other publishers, which was normally the case with the novels by the women writers. In their cases, the same publisher did not only republish a translated novel several times, it was often retranslated a number of times into the same language and therefore published in new translations and editions by several different publishers. For example, in German, Flygare-Carlén's novel *Vindskuporna* (1845; *Marie Louise, or Opposite Neighbours*) was published in two different translations – titled *Das Dachkammerchen* and *Die Erkerstübchen* respectively – by two publishers in the same year, in 1845, and the novel was published in at least five editions between 1845 and 1875.¹² In Czech, three publishers distributed the novel *Vindskuporna* four times in three different translations between 1871 and 1900, while just as many Czech publishers distributed *En nyckfull quinna* (1848–1849; *Woman's Life*) five times in two different translations between 1869 and 1898.¹³

A single translator would often try to translate most of Bremer's fiction into a certain language, and the same translation of a novel was often republished several times. Mary Howitt translated Bremer's *Grannarne*, titled *The Neighbours*, in 1842, and different publishers

in London and the United States republished it at least 15 times before 1910.¹⁴ Besides Howitt's translation, E.A. Friedländer translated it into English, and his version was published at least twice in London, in 1844 and 1849.¹⁵ The same publication pattern characterises the distribution of Schwartz's novels. Her most popular novel, *Mannen af börd och qvinnan af folket*, was translated twice into Czech, by Vojtěch Vrána in 1867 and by Nora Grimsová in 1918, and each translation was published two and four times respectively between 1867 and 1926.¹⁶ So, besides publications as a serial, Schwartz's novel was published as a book in Czech at least seven times.

Contrary to most novels by the women writers, few works by Almqvist were translated and published more than once in the same language before the mid-twentieth century. The most striking exception to this rule is the distribution of *Drottningens juvelsmycke* in German from the mid-nineteenth century until the interwar time, as it was published in four editions. It was first translated anonymously and published twice in 1842, once in Berlin and once in Leipzig.¹⁷ Three years later, it was translated by Adolf Seubert and published in Stuttgart.¹⁸ In 1927, it was retranslated by Ellen de Boor and published in Leipzig.¹⁹ However, the German marketing of the novel illustrates a stratagem often used to promote contemporary novels. One of the two 1842 editions was in German titled *Tintomara*; the other one was titled *Der Königin Juvelschmuck oder Azouras Lazuli Tintomara* (The queen's diadem, or Azouras Lazuli Tintomara). Slightly different versions of the second title were used the third and fourth times: *Der Königin Juvelschmuck* and *Der Juvelenschmuck der Königin*. In all four cases, the title indicated a female character as owner of a diadem or piece of jewellery. In that way, the novel was launched as a story about a female protagonist.

A closer examination of the transnational reception of Almqvist's stories demonstrates that publishers outside Sweden were primarily interested in those titles that advertised stories about women and had female protagonists. Although some of, for example, Flygare-Carlén's novels translated into English were titled after the female protagonist, this practice seems more frequently used when Almqvist's novels were launched outside Sweden.²⁰ On one hand, it seems that works featuring a female name in the original Swedish title were the ones most likely to attract the attention of translators and foreign publishers. It is probably not a coincidence that his most widely circulated novel in the 1840s, judged by number of languages it was translated into, was *Gabrièle Mimanso*, which was translated into four different languages: German, Dutch, Danish, and English.²¹ In all languages, it was published with its

original Swedish title, the name of the female protagonist. Another of his instantly and most translated and published works in the 1840s was *Amalia Hillner* (1840), which was published in Danish in 1840–1841 and in German in 1844 and 1845.²² His novel *Tre fruar i Småland* (1842–1843; Three wives in Småland) was immediately printed twice in German by two different publishers in 1843 and in 1844 respectively.²³ On the other hand, some novels by Almqvist that did not name a female protagonist in the Swedish title and did not otherwise indicate a story about a woman were launched in other languages with new gendered titles. For example, his novella *Kapellet* (1838; The chapel) was published in French as *La femme du pêcheur* (The angler's wife) in 1854 and then again in 1883.²⁴ It was thus the only story published twice in French before the late twentieth century, that is, before *Det går an* was titled *Sara* and published twice, in 1981 and 1995.²⁵ Before that, the same novel in English was titled *Sara Videbeck* in 1919.²⁶

However, putting the female protagonist into the title was not enough to make Almqvist a bestselling international novelist. The translation of *Gabrièle Mimanso* into four languages in five years, 1842–1846, did not result in further translations or republications of the novel. Obviously, to judge from the rather small number of translated publications and retranslations of Almqvist's novels titled after the heroine, even with a gendered title they did not fulfil the expectation of an intriguing story about an engaging female character. Almqvist seems not to have written the sort of novels about female characters that the contemporary European audiences desired, and therefore not the type of novels publishers could profit from, at least not those publishers addressing readers interested in a female Bildungsroman. However, there were other ways to market Swedish novels, and publishers used various strategies to label and launch novels in order to address certain categories of readers.

Apart from tempting titles, another commonly used practice by European and American publishers to promote foreign novels was to include them in series or collections of novels targeting certain kinds of readers, including readers with special interests in foreign literature. As mentioned in Chapter 1, some of Almqvist's most frequently translated stories were those depicting regional life of common people in Sweden, such as *Kapellet* and *Grimstahamns nybygge* (1839; Grimstahamn's settlement). In Danish and German, these novels were launched as educational novels in series, such as *Ved Udvalget for Folkeoplysningens Fremme* (Selected to promote education of the public) and *Wiesbadener Volkbücher* (Reading for people in Wiesbaden).²⁷

Besides being launched in popular instructive series about the lives

and manners of common people, it is worth mentioning that Almqvist was consistently marketed as a Swedish or Scandinavian writer. Among Almqvist's first three stories printed in German in 1842, two of them – *Drottningens juvelsmycke* and *Gabrièle Mimanso* – were included in *Bibliothek der besten und neuesten schwedischen Romane* (Library of the best and latest Swedish novels), as well as some of his later-translated novels, such as *Tre fruor i Småland* (1843).²⁸ Some stories translated into German were published in *Sammlung schwedischer Muster-Romane* (Collection of Swedish master novels), such as *Amalia Hillner* and *Skällnora kvarn* (1838; Skällnora mill).²⁹ Other works printed in German in the 1840s were published in the series *Das Belletristische Ausland* (Fiction from abroad): *Tre fruor i Småland*, *Amalia Hillner*, *Kapellet*, *Det går an*, and *Drottningens juvelsmycke*.³⁰ Likewise, in the twentieth century, German publishers promoted Almqvist's novels as foreign literature, as Nordic or Scandinavian literature. They were included in series, such as *Aus fremden Gärten* (From foreign gardens), *Nordische Bücher* (Nordic books), *Sammlung Scandica. Neuere skandinavische Literatur* (Collection Scandica. Latest Scandinavian literature), *Kleine Bibliothek Nordeuropa* (Small library of Northern Europe), and *Skandinavische Erzähler* (Scandinavian narrators).³¹ These exotifying publishing strategies were also applied in French-speaking Europe. In the nineteenth century and onwards, Almqvist's stories were repeatedly included in regionally defined series: *Les perce-neige nouvelles du nord* (The latest Nordic snowdrops), *Anthologie des écrivains suédois contemporains* (Anthology of contemporary Swedish writing), *Domain nordique* (Region Nordic), and *Classiques du Nord* (Nordic classics).³² Correspondingly, a number of works published in English in the United States were circulated in series directed at Scandinavian immigrants and other readers interested in Scandinavian literature, such as *Scandinavian Classics*, and *The Library of Scandinavian Literature*.³³

Likewise, for a start, some novels by Fredrika Bremer, Emilie Flygare-Carlén, and Marie Sophie Schwartz were included in series specialising in Scandinavian or foreign literature. A couple of Flygare-Carlén's first novels in German were published, like Almqvist's works, in *Sammlung schwedischer Muster-Romane* in 1841–1842, while a few of Bremer's first novels were printed in *Ausgewählte Bibliothek der Classiker des Auslandes* (Selected library of foreign classics).³⁴ Eleven and 21 novels by Bremer and Flygare-Carlén respectively, as well as five of Almqvist's novels and one story by Schwartz, were published in *Das belletristische Ausland* by Franckh in Stuttgart.³⁵ In the mid-1840s, two of Flygare-Carlén's stories were printed in *Skandinavische Unterhaltungs-Bibliothek* (Scandinavian popular library), and in the

1860s, three of Schwartz's novels were published in *Roman-Magazine des Auslanders* (Foreign novel magazine).³⁶ In French, some novels by Bremer and Flygare-Carlén were included in the *Bibliothèque étrangère* (Foreign library).³⁷

However, and contrary to Almqvist, many novels by Flygare-Carlén, Bremer, and Schwartz were included in less regionally defined series in a way that established their status as European writers. In German, their novels were issued in the inclusive and extensive series *Europäische Bibliothek der neuen bellerischischen Literatur Deutschlands, Frankreichs, Englands, Italiens, Hollands and Skandinaviens* (European library of the latest and best fiction from Germany, France, England, Italy, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia), which was issued by Verlags-Comptoir in Grimma.³⁸ Sometimes their stories were printed in series specialising in realist novels or in collections addressing female readers. In the 1840s, several of Bremer's novels in German were launched with the Swedish serial title as *Skizzen aus dem Alltagsleben* (*Sketches of Everyday life*), while one novel by Flygare-Carlén in English, *Twelve Months of Matrimony*, was printed four times in *The Parlour Library*.³⁹

The works by the women writers were also circulated in series labelled as collections of carefully chosen novels and quality literature. Many novels in English by Bremer and a few by Flygare-Carlén were, between 1853 and 1873, distributed in *Harper's Library of Selected Novels*.⁴⁰ Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz's novels in Polish were disseminated in *Biblioteki najciekawszych Powieści* (Library of the most interesting novels) and *Biblioteka wyborowych powiesci i romansow* (Library of great novels and romances).⁴¹ All the more status was bestowed on Flygare-Carlén in the 1850s when her stories in French were circulated as international novels or world literature in the Belgian collection *Bibliothèque internationale* (International library) and the German-Hungarian series *Belletristisches Lese-Cabinet der neuesten und besten Romane aller Nationen* (The fiction reading-cabinet of the latest and best novels of all nations).⁴² By the turn of the twentieth century, three of Flygare-Carlén's novels in German were also printed in the German-Austrian series *Die besten Romane der Weltliteratur* (The best novels of world literature) and *Klassische Romane des Weltliteratur* (Classic novels of world literature).⁴³

The significance of being included in these series may be contested, but the names of the series probably tell something about the publishers' branding and intended audiences. A novel launched in a library of Scandinavian or Swedish fiction probably attracted other readers than it would if it were marketed as a classic novel or as world literature. A novel published to promote the education of common people – as some

by Almqvist were – presumably appealed to a different category of readers than those who preferred parlour novels or romances, as some novels by Bremer and Flygare-Carlén were labelled when they were issued in series specialising in these kinds of stories. While publishers outside Sweden primarily categorised Almqvist’s novels as foreign or Nordic literature and as educational stories about the lives of common people, they launched the novels by the three women writers in a variety of different series, thereby addressing a wider range of readers. As mentioned above, in the beginning, the novels by the women writers were published in series of foreign or Nordic literature, but they were progressively distributed as European and international novels, romances, stories of everyday life, classics, and – in Flygare-Carlén’s case – the best novels of world literature.

THE TRANSNATIONAL RECEPTION: REVIEWS, REPORTAGE, AND OTHER RECEPTION EVENTS

The different publishing strategies used to launch Carl Jonas Love Almqvist's novels compared to those applied to promote the fiction of Fredrika Bremer, Emilie Flygare-Carlén, and Marie Sophie Schwartz could also be related to other variations in reception. It is impossible to cover all kinds of reception events; it is not even possible to find all reviews published in the three major languages nor to analyse them in detail. Reviews published in newspapers and literary periodicals are also often contradictory depending on the ideological and contextual background and/or aesthetic programme of the authors, papers, and periodicals. The reception of a writer in the same cultural context may also change dramatically over time, as demonstrated by Karin Carsten Montén's investigation of the reception of Fredrika Bremer in Germany.⁴⁴ However, a search on each author's name (including some variations in the spellings) in some comprehensive digitised collections of newspapers and journals may give some indication of general trends and differences in reception between the Swedish novelists.⁴⁵ Although there are distinct differences in how the three women writers were marketed and received outside Sweden, their receptions still have much in common, especially if compared to that of Almqvist. Some of the differences between the women's and Almqvist's promotion and response could probably be related to questions of genre and gender. At any rate, it is obvious that Almqvist was, from the start, presented in another – and male – context that set him apart from the three women writers Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, and Schwartz.

ALMQVIST, THE WRITER AND PERSON IN THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS

A preliminary investigation of the contemporary reception of Almqvist's works confirms his instant status as a recognised Swedish-language writer in, for example, Finland, a country with strong cultural connections to Sweden, although it had been ceded to the Russian Empire after the Finnish war in 1809. A search on his name in the comprehensive digital collections of the National Library of Finland (digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi) gives many hits. In the Swedish-language press, Almqvist was immediately acclaimed as a talented genius, often compared to great, canonised male writers in world literature, such

as Wolfgang Goethe and William Shakespeare.⁴⁶ Furthermore, he was compared by Finnish and Swedish-speaking critics to the highly praised national poet of Finland Johan Ludvig Runeberg (1804–1877).⁴⁷ In the first extensive article on Almqvist's authorship in 1842, he was celebrated for his "folkskrifter", or more precisely, for his stories about the lives and manners of common people set in identifiable regions of Sweden.⁴⁸ While these works were included in Danish- and German-language collections of educational stories about people, they were categorised as belonging to the same sort of stories in introductory articles in Finland. Furthermore, in the Swedish-language press in Finland, Almqvist was introduced by those works that would later become his most disseminated works in the local language of the country, Finnish. It is also worth noting that the national movement in Finland embraced his works about common people, and that they were sometimes used by Fennomans in their endeavours to establish Finnish – at the expense of Swedish – as the official and national language. The translation of *Kapellet* into Finnish, for example, was both launched as an achievement in the establishing of Finnish-language literature as such, and as recommended educational reading for young people, in particular women, that is, the future mothers of the Finnish nation.⁴⁹

In addition, Almqvist's celebrity status in Finland resulted in numerous life-and-letter articles about his doings as a writer and private person. There was frequently news on various disputes and scandals in Sweden in which he was involved. There were frequent reports about his persecution after the publication of *Det går an* and attacks on him by his enemy, the Swedish theologian Christian Eric Fahlcrantz.⁵⁰ Finnish newspapers continually reported on his role in conflicts at the editorial board of the Swedish liberal newspaper *Aftonbladet*. They also gave comprehensive reports on his involvement in a spectacular criminal investigation, where Almqvist was suspected of fraud and of poisoning attempts against a usurer named Jacob von Scheven, which led to his flight from Sweden in 1851.⁵¹ Furthermore, the interest in Almqvist's doings also resulted in announcements of translations of his works into other languages, as for example when *Drottningens juvelsmycke* was published in German in 1846.⁵²

Although there are few examples of the contemporary reception of Almqvist's novels in German and Austrian newspapers and magazines available online – in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek's database *digiPress* and the Austrian newspapers-online database *ANNO* – there are some striking connections between the Swedish-language response in Finland and German-language reception in Europe. When German readers were introduced to Almqvist in lengthy articles, they were often presented

with recycled translations of surveys that had previously been published in Swedish-language papers or in Swedish studies on him. A long article on Swedish literature in 1838 mentions Almqvist and proclaims him to be the greatest of all writers, and it gives a short presentation of his collection *Törnrosens bok* (Thornrose book).⁵³ Also, in a short and early introduction “Lowe Almqvist” in 1839, that is, before any works by him were translated into German, he was praised for his “fantastic” work “Tintomara” (*The Queen’s Diadem*) and – as in the Finnish press – compared to no less a German writer than Wolfgang Goethe. This comparison was repeated in a short announcement seven years later.⁵⁴

Moreover, in the later German reception, in obituaries and surveys of Almqvist’s oeuvre published in the late 1860s and in the 1870s, he was often claimed to be one of the most complex Swedish writers. In an adulatory article in 1866, formerly published in a Finnish paper, *Kunkasleleshti*, Almqvist is said to be “the greatest Swedish writer”.⁵⁵ As mentioned earlier, many of these appraisals were translations or summaries of studies published in Swedish, such as Adolf Strodtmann’s “C.J.L Almqvist. Nach den neuesten Quellen geschildert”, based on Arvid Ahnfelt’s life-and-letters study *C.J.L. Almqvist, hans liv och verksamhet* (1877; C.J.L. Almqvist, his life and work), that starts by characterising Almqvist as “the most ingenious and most versatile” Swedish writer.⁵⁶ Later on, in the early twentieth century, the famous female feminist and reformist Ellen Key once again reminded German – and French – readers of Almqvist’s talent because of her biographical work on him.⁵⁷ In a presentation of the biography in 1904, the reviewer “E” repeatedly celebrates Almqvist as an anarchist and a Swedish Tolstoy by mentioning works such as *Ramido Marinesco*, *Kapellet*, and *Ormus och Ariman* (1825; Ormus and Ariman).⁵⁸ In an article published in 1916, 50 years after Almqvist’s death, a German critic once again pointed out his revolutionary merits.⁵⁹

Still, the contemporary German reception of Almqvist is contradictory. Most of the rare hits from a search of the German-language press are lists of recently published novels, or in a few cases a combination of advertisements and short reviews.⁶⁰ When presenting *Drottningens juvelsmycke* in 1842, the signature “E.” recognises Almqvist’s talent as a writer, yet at the same time the reviewer finds the story strange and doubly bizarre and claims that the reader has to get used to it in order to appreciate it.⁶¹ Although the novel and its “fantastic and wonderful ego”, the character Tintomara, is praised by another reviewer, the same critic is confused by the composition of the novel and asks, “Is the author so incompetent, or does he have such evil will?”⁶² In another review of several Swedish writers in 1844, the anonymous author

dislikes the sensational plot of *Gabrièle Mimanso* and finds this novel “unworthy” of Almqvist. On the other hand, the same critic enjoys Flygare-Carlén’s “true pictures of life, which are depicted with talent and good taste” in her novels *Kyrkoinvigningen i Hammarby* (1840–1841; *The Magic Goblet*) and *Skjutsgossen* (1841; *Ivar; or, the Skjutsboy*). The reviewer is also keen to express his or her regrets that Bremer has not recently published a new novel.⁶³

Accordingly, when Almqvist’s fiction was brought up, it was often in collective advertisements and articles on Swedish literature, sometimes together with his female compatriots. His novels were habitually announced together with Emilie Flygare-Carlén’s stories, both when they were published in German in the mid-1840s and after his death in 1866. From 1866 onwards, there was a renewed interest in marketing his formerly published but probably unsold novels, to judge by the number of published advertisements in German-language newspapers and periodicals.⁶⁴ When Almqvist’s fiction was mentioned in articles, he was often stated as an example of a contemporary Swedish writer without any further presentation. If he was characterised, he was often claimed to be a strange or weird writer in the German reception. For example, he was described as “a peculiar poet character” when his collection *Törnrosens bok* was introduced in 1846.⁶⁵ In 1845, he was placed together with the Swedish writers Magnus Jacob Crusenstolpe, Fredrika Bremer, and Emilie Flygare-Carlén, but only the works by the latter were commented on.⁶⁶ In an article about Swedish writing in 1849, Almqvist was grouped together with von Knorring, Bremer, and Flygare-Carlén. According to the author of the article, the women novelists far surpassed the male writers as narrators and there was in this case only one Swedish man worth mentioning, Almqvist.⁶⁷ Also in 1852, in a long German article on Swedish literature and its many “remarkable novelists”, Flygare-Carlén received the most extensive analysis, while Almqvist was dismissed within parentheses as an author “who is very familiar to foreigners”.⁶⁸ The reviewer was probably referring to Almqvist as the focal point of scandals, firstly when *Det går an* was printed in 1839, secondly when he was accused of attempted murder and embezzlement and had to escape Sweden in 1851.⁶⁹ The latter affair was extensively covered in the German-language press. In the German press, Almqvist’s reputation as a man of dishonour was established in many reports on his controversial writings and not least in numerous reports on his escape from Sweden in 1851. Furthermore, the announcements of his death in Bremen in northern Germany, on his way back from America to Sweden in 1866, added to this image of him as an ill-fated man in flight.⁷⁰

The inconsistency between the national and regional responses in the Nordic countries and the international reception is even more striking in English- and French-language press items available online. In the United States, a search in the *Old Fulton New York Post Cards* history digital archive and *Chronicling America* at the Library of Congress shows that it was not Almqvist's writing but his spectacular life that drew attention in 1878, 12 years after his death in 1866.⁷¹ This happened at the same time that another conspicuous rumour was circulated; Almqvist was claimed to have been a private secretary to Abraham Lincoln during his time in the United States.⁷² Consequently, in the American press it is not the writer but the disreputable man that was of interest to the audiences. In the French press, Almqvist's life and letters caught even less attention, according to the results of a search in the French digital archive *Gallica* (Bibliothèque nationale de France). It was not until the publication of Ellen Key's biography that he become known to the French audience, and then this was very much due to Louise Cruppi's book on women's writing in Sweden, in which she included Ellen Key and her book on Almqvist.⁷³ Both earlier and later, his name is mainly listed together with other European, or specifically Swedish, male writers without further presentation.⁷⁴

THE EARLY RECEPTION OF BREMER AND FLYGARE-CARLÉN

In contrast to the reception of Almqvist, the success of Fredrika Bremer and Emilie Flygare-Carlén quickly resulted in several long introductions, reviews, and flashy advertisements of their novels from the early 1840s onwards.⁷⁵ The articles in the international press were written by domestic critics, and thereby they were not as often, as in the case of Almqvist, translations or summaries of Swedish-language studies. For example, in 1840 and 1841, Bremer's novel *Grannarne* was recurrently reviewed in the German press, and it was consistently praised for its good morals.⁷⁶ Some year later, the German literary journal *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* (Papers on literary entertainment) published extensive three-day serialised presentations of Bremer's writing.⁷⁷ This ambitious portrait of Bremer in 1843 certainly confirmed what the literary journal had claimed one year before: that Bremer's novel conquered Germany faster than any Swedish weapons did during the Thirty Years' War in the seventeenth century.⁷⁸

Emilie Flygare-Carlén's less intense but lengthier achievements in the German-speaking market resulted in long and flattering reviews of her novels from 1840 onwards. Her stories were repeatedly praised

for interesting character portrayals, good stories, and vibrant descriptions.⁷⁹ When interest in Bremer's stories declined in the late 1840s, it was to the benefit of Flygare-Carlén's fiction.⁸⁰ Bremer's instant triumph in German-speaking Europe, and the initially more measured pace of translation of Flygare-Carlén's novels into German is confirmed in an article about the latest Scandinavian literature in 1845. In it, the commercial side of the female novelists' success is commented on; Flygare-Carlén's novels are said to bring "in thousands of Thaler", and Bremer's stories even more money.⁸¹ Additionally, in a German article on women writers in 1860, where the most well-known novelists of the time are listed, three Swedish names occur: Fredrika Bremer, Sophie von Knorring, and Emilie Flygare-Carlén. However, among all women writers recorded, only two are portrayed in detail and in separate paragraphs: Bremer and Flygare-Carlén.⁸²

Bremer's and Flygare-Carlén's novels also triumphed in English. In particular, Bremer's novels changed the image not only of Swedish literature but also of Sweden as such. Around 1840, Sweden was known in England as a country of depravity, crime, and illegitimacy, a view based on Samuel Laing's widely known travel book *A Tour in Sweden in 1838* (1839).⁸³ This unfavourable impression of Sweden was modified by Bremer, however. The sophisticated and refined picture of Sweden in her novels was, according to Doris Ryan Asmundsson's thesis on the reception of Bremer in England, "one of the most important functions" of her stories from 1843 onwards.⁸⁴ Bremer was awarded lengthy essayistic reviews in literary journals in England and the United States, such as *Athenaeum* and *The North American Review*, where several of her novels were held up as models of "a literature of the highest order".⁸⁵ For example, *Grannarne*, in English titled *The Neighbours*, was praised for "its pure and healthy tone of moral feeling".⁸⁶ Bremer also established a specific cult status in the view of American readers.⁸⁷ She became a literary celebrity during her journey to America, and during her stay, the New York paper *Daily Tribune* enthusiastically covered her doings and wrote in 1851: "Who cared for Sweden till Miss Bremer *revealed* Sweden to the world, and invested every Swede with a certain interest and glory".⁸⁸ Six years later, Bremer's significance for the image of Sweden is once again confirmed: "Except through Miss Bremer and the exportation of Swedish iron the little Scandinavian Kingdom is almost a *terra incognita* to well-educated Americans."⁸⁹

Bremer's popularity certainly upgraded the image of Sweden and Swedish literature in the English-speaking world. Although her main translator, Mary Howitt, was partial, she was probably right when, in 1862, she pointed out the global dissemination of Bremer's novels

in English: “I have sent them expressly to Australia; and in America, in India, at the Cape as well as in Australia, *Miss Bremer* is now a household word – nay, more – a household possession and blessing”.⁹⁰ With this remark, Howitt demonstrates the global reception of popular novels in English; translation of Swedish novels into English opened up for a reception not only in England and America but also in the entire English-speaking British Empire. Probably some novels by Flygare-Carlén were also widely distributed in the English-speaking British Empire, especially when Bremer’s fame declined and she was progressively rivalled by Flygare-Carlén from around 1850. For example, in reviews from 1854, Flygare-Carlén is considered to deserve “as highly the value of her sex as Bremer” or sometimes even is considered “far superior to Miss Bremer”.⁹¹

An example of Bremer’s and Flygare-Carlén’s instant breakthrough outside Scandinavia is the way their names and the titles of their novels are used in advertisements in the German-language press. For example, the highly commercial publishing house Frankch’sche Verlagshandlung repeatedly launched their series *Belletristische Ausland*, edited by Carl Spindler, which included some of Bremer’s and Flygare-Carlén’s novels in 1844.⁹² While male novelists, such as Charles Dickens, Eugène Sue, James Fenimore Cooper, and Frederick Marryat, are represented by one novel each, the advertisement contains six novels by Bremer and seven by Flygare-Carlén. Although the title of Sue’s *The Mysteries of Paris* is in bold letters in this specific case, the series was promoted from the very start by putting novels by Bremer and Flygare-Carlén in the headlines of the advertisements.⁹³

There may be several reasons behind the welcoming of Swedish women writers in Europe, and the response in the German press may reveal one of them. Bremer’s novels were instantly embraced as fresh and different from French and English fiction, something specifically Nordic and Germanic.⁹⁴ Although Bremer was presented as a Swedish female – even a womanly writer – she was favourably compared to male writers such as Jean Paul, Ludvig Tieck, Honoré de Balzac, Henry Fielding, and Walter Scott.⁹⁵ This acknowledgment was most likely, according to Karin Carsten Montén, because Bremer’s novels voiced the contemporary “Biedermeier” ideals, that is, a decent combination of realism and idealism, virtuous morals and realistic depiction of details and, not least, credible portrayals of contemporary family life.⁹⁶ In the French reception, however, the critics paid more attention to Bremer’s interest in the emancipation of women.⁹⁷ Separate portrayals of Bremer were frequently included in works on remarkable women, such as An-

toinette Jo Drohojowska's *Les femmes illustres de l'Europe* (The illustrious women of Europe) in 1852.⁹⁸

Although Bremer and Flygare-Carlén were sometimes presented together with other Swedish women writers – in the 1840s, Sophie von Knorring, and from the 1860s, Marie Sophie Schwartz – their novels were frequently compared.⁹⁹ Sometimes it was to Flygare-Carlén's advantage, as for example in a German review of *Kyrkoinvigningen i Hammarby*, where the reviewer finds the novel more impressive and deeply tragic than the works of “the emotionally rich Fredrika Bremer”.¹⁰⁰ In the American New York paper *The New World*, Flygare-Carlén is praised as having “more clearly seen and more firmly grasped the elements of *struggling* life in Sweden” than the more romance-writing Bremer.¹⁰¹ Also, in French newspapers, Flygare-Carlén's intriguing plots, trustworthy depictions of everyday life, and vigorous portrayals of various characters is recurrently praised.¹⁰² At other times reviewers preferred Bremer's portrayals of everyday family life to Flygare-Carlén's suspenseful plots and conflict-ridden characters.¹⁰³ In *The North American Review*, the reviewer is eager to point out the pleasure in reading Bremer, while the narrative of Carlén's latest novel *Kyrkoinvigningen i Hammarby*, in English titled *The Magic Goblet*, was read with “increasing dislike; it is all a wild phantasmagoria of unmingled and unaccountable evil”.¹⁰⁴

However, in most cases, the novels of Bremer and Flygare-Carlén are equally praised. In a joint review of *Syskonlif* (*Brothers and Sisters*) by Bremer and *Jungfrutornet* (*The Maiden Tower*) by Flygare-Carlén in a Finnish paper in 1849, this is demonstrated in an instructive way. While the reviewer encourages Bremer to develop her interesting ideas, the reviewer admires Flygare-Carlén for her animated portrayals of male characters in particular. The reviewer then concludes that Bremer and Flygare-Carlén might have their individual flaws, but if they would combine their talents in one novel, it would become an outstanding one.¹⁰⁵ In an English review from 1853 that discusses the position of women novelists, the reviewer claims that the best novels were written by women, such as Harriet Beecher Stowe and George Sand, while “Miss Bremer and Mrs. Carlén share the crown of Swedish novelism”.¹⁰⁶

When Bremer and Flygare-Carlén's younger colleague Marie Sophie Schwartz was introduced to the German readers in the 1860s, Bremer's main publisher Brockhaus announced that Schwartz's novels were published on the recommendation of Bremer. Other announcements claimed that her novels were sanctioned by “her famous compatriots”

Bremer and Flygare-Carlén.¹⁰⁷ For example, the German publisher Brockhaus used the fame of Bremer and Flygare-Carlén when he announced Schwartz's novel *Schuld und Unschuld* in 1862.¹⁰⁸ Compared to the works of her two female predecessors, Schwartz's novels did not attract much attention from reviewers in the international press. Although her novels were frequently advertised in the German-language press, few reviews were published.¹⁰⁹ Perhaps her fiction was considered less literary and outstanding than the stories of Bremer and Flygare-Carlén. A survey of Swedish fiction for sale in Finland in 1861 points to this classification of Schwartz's novels; she is portrayed as a highly productive and entertaining novelist because of her plots, suspenseful narration, and modern subjects, but her novels are criticised as lacking originality and depth in the descriptions of life and characters.¹¹⁰ In another Finnish newspaper, Schwartz's novels are even categorised as "lousy literature".¹¹¹ The few reviews in the German press are somewhat more positive, and they draw attention to the ideological aspects of her novels, explicitly the depiction of hardworking and self-controlling characters.¹¹² Although she is immediately introduced – together with Flygare-Carlén – as an important Swedish novelist of real-life stories in the French encyclopaedia *Annuaire encyclopédique* 1859–1860, there are few other traces of her or her novels in the French-language press.¹¹³ Her visibility in the English-language press is somewhat better as her novels translated into English were regularly announced from 1871 onwards.¹¹⁴ When a couple of them were reviewed, Schwartz's popularity and productivity were mentioned, as well as the moral lessons taught by her depiction of honest work.¹¹⁵

The rather few and late translations of Schwartz's novels into French and English – at least compared to the impressive dissemination of Bremer's and Flygare-Carlén's works in these two languages – may explain the remarkably few reviews of her novels in French and American press. However, the number of published editions in German is equal to the number published by Bremer and Flygare-Carlén respectively. Still, few of these publications were reviewed in the German-speaking press. On the other hand, the introduction of Schwartz's novels in German happened two decades after the breakthrough of Bremer and Flygare-Carlén, and in a market already well supplied by popular – including Swedish – novels. Contrary to her predecessors' novels, when announced, Schwartz's stories were often dismissed as ordinary popular fiction, or as one American reviewer writes "no better and no worse than a hundred other novels of the year".¹¹⁶

THE LATER AND SECONDARY RECEPTION
OF BREMER, FLYGARE-CARLÉN, AND SCHWARTZ

Although Fredrika Bremer, Emilie Flygare-Carlén, and Marie Sophie Schwartz were sometimes mentioned together, their novels were praised for different qualities, especially in the German press. Bremer's novels were mainly admired for "Gemüth", cosiness, and sensible depictions of family and everyday life. Flygare-Carlén's stories were praised for their intriguing narratives and animated portraits, whereas Schwartz's novels were celebrated for their accounts of both domestic and public life in Sweden, as well as for their moral tendency.¹¹⁷ Although both Schwartz's, and Flygare-Carlén's works were increasingly labelled as popular novels, they maintained their celebrity status among their readers for many years to judge from reports and advertisements in international press. If Almqvist as a person drew attention in connection to an alleged murder and his flight from Sweden in 1851, as well as his death in Bremen 15 years later in 1866, the three women writers, in particular Bremer and Flygare-Carlén, were reported on due to more positive circumstances. Bremer's travels and endeavours to facilitate the emancipation of women were repeatedly monitored and commented on in the European and American press.¹¹⁸ Her travels in the United States were covered in detail in the American press, and when she left the country, the *New York Tribune* published a copy of her "Farewell letter" to the editor.¹¹⁹ Another kind of attention was directed to Flygare-Carlén in the international press when her birthdays, anniversaries as a writer, and health problems were recurrently recorded from the 1840s until her death in 1892.¹²⁰ There were also several announcements when Flygare-Carlén – after several years of silence – resumed her writing with *Ett köpmanshus i skärgården* (A merchant house among the islands) in 1858.¹²¹ Although, Schwartz never received the same cult status, some articles about her personal life were published.¹²²

Furthermore, visitors to Sweden confirmed these women writers' star position through their own reports and interviews. As early as in 1844, a Finnish traveller described in detail his meeting with the popular novelist Flygare-Carlén in her home and took the opportunity to recommend her novels because of their "healthy morality and good reasoning over many conditions in life".¹²³ Four decades later, in 1888, the German visitor Robert Byr started his reportage by declaring that he was amazed that Sweden had produced three so outstanding novelists as Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, and Schwartz. Because of Bremer's death in 1865, he concentrated his presentation on the two still living ones. However impressed he was by their literary stories, he was even more

awestruck by them as persons, their charm, and the way they received him in their homes. Despite their professional careers and striking productivity, they had retained, in his opinion, “their true womanhood”.¹²⁴ Worth mentioning is also that after their death, obituaries were frequently published all over Europe.¹²⁵

There are also examples of what could be called secondary reception, that is, traces of reception outside the normal literary schedule, such as reviews, articles, and interviews. Secondary reception could be classified as the sixth phase of transnational reception, according to Petra Broomans and Ester Jiresch’s proposed phases of cultural transmission.¹²⁶ Because of their fame, Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, and Schwartz were included in or referred to in literary works by other international writers, not only literary journalists such as the abovementioned Robert Byr. For example, an amusing fictional meeting between Fredrika Bremer, Wolfgang Goethe, and Goethe’s pupil Johann Peter Eckermann is described in the drama *La Chenille de Goethe* (1882), included by Philibert Audebrand in *Ceuz quie mangent la pomme: recontrars parisiens* in 1882.¹²⁷

There are also early examples of what could be called fan fiction. In 1847, the French author Joséphine-Marie de Gaulle published *Bruno*, a story built on Bremer’s most popular novel outside Sweden, *Grannarne*. The prolific German dramatist Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer wrote a play called *Mutter und Sohn* (Mother and son) in 1846 based on Bremer’s novel *Grannarne* (*The Neighbours*) as well as a play titled *Edith* in 1855 inspired by Flygare-Carlén’s novel *En nyckfull kvinna* (*A Woman’s Life*).¹²⁸ In 1854, the German author Philipp Frans Trautmann’s was enthused by Flygare-Carlén’s novels when he wrote his comedy *Ein Don Juan wider Willen: Lustspeil in drei Akten (Nach einem Roman der Emilie Flygare-Carlén)*.¹²⁹ In 1878, Victorien Sardou’s play *Les bourgeois de Pont-Arcy* was announced as based on a scene in Flygare-Carlén’s *En nyckfull kvinna*, and in 1883, Rudolph Berch’s drama *Stephanie* was advertised as based on Flygare-Carlén’s popular novel *Ett år* (*One Year*).¹³⁰

The most striking example of adaptations or fan fiction is the German female author Paula Herbst, who wrote six sequels to Flygare-Carlén’s novels, published in five years, 1856–1860. The references to Flygare-Carlén’s novels were explicitly spelt out on the covers, for example, as *Ture Horn: Fortsetzung von “Der Einsiedler auf der Johannisklippe” von Emilie Flygare-Carlén* (1856) and *Moje und Fritze: Fortsetzung von “Der Vormund” von Emilie Flygare-Carlén* (1860).¹³¹ However, one of Herbst’s fan-fiction novels was not a sequel to a story by Flygare-Carlén but a novel by another Swedish writer, Wilhelmina Stålberg, whose novel was published in German as *Emma’s Hertz* by Flygare-

Carlén. Because of its attribution to Flygare-Carlén, it was continued by Herbst's *Edith: Fortsetzung von "Emma's Hertz" von Emilie Flygare-Carlén*.¹³² Probably both Herbst and her publisher were eager to explicitly declare Herbst's dependence on her Swedish role model and therefore after the heading added subtitles such as "Fortsetzung von 'Der Einsiedler auf der Johannisklippe' von Emilie Flygare-Carlén". In doing so, they made sure no reader would miss the connection between Flygare-Carlén and Herbst's stories. Thereby, the status of Flygare-Carlén's stories as European novels is confirmed, especially as Herbst's sequels were included in the European collection *Europäische Bibliothek der neuen belletristischen Literatur Deutschlands, Frankreichs, Englands, Italiens, Hollands und Skandinaviens*.

It was not only Stålberg's *Emma's Herz* but also another novel titled *Der Reichsverweser* (The Ruler) that was misleadingly published in German in 1844 by Verlags-Comptoirs in Grimma as a novel by Flygare-Carlén. Flygare-Carlén became aware of the fraud and she immediately published a renouncement, where she denied having written either of these novels.¹³³ Still, *Emma's Herz* was not only continued by Paula Herbst in 1857; it was also published in Latvian as a novel by Flygare-Carlén in 1877.¹³⁴ The fate of *Der Reichsverweser* is harder to trace, and it was probably not published in any other language as a novel by Flygare-Carlén, nor does it appear to have been continued by a fan writer. However disgraceful the circumstances were behind these publications, the pirating of Flygare-Carlén's name demonstrates its commercial value as a brand. In addition, among the three women writers, Flygare-Carlén was not the only one who inspired other writers to continue her stories. In the late 1870s, two novels by Schwartz were continued by the Danish writer Carl Hermann (Carl Hermann Sørensen, 1845–1881) and published as *Ivar Ivarson: Fortsættelse af "Arbeidet adler Manden" af Marie Sophie Schwartz* (1875) and *Lothard og Skyldfri. Fortsættelse af "Uskyld og Brøde" af Marie Sophie Schwartz* (1880).

However, not all authors were as keen on explicitly announcing their source of inspiration as Herbst and Sørensen. For example, the abovementioned French author Joséphine-Marie de Gaulle published *Bruno* in 1847, which was built on Bremer's top-selling novel outside Sweden, *Grannarne*. No explaining subtitle was added to de Gaulle's version. The French author Georges Ohnet's novel *Le Maître de forges* (1882), which was later turned into a play by Ohnet, was to such an extent based on Flygare-Carlén's novel *Ett år* that it was accused of plagiarism, which gave rise to a heated debate in 1884.¹³⁵ However, the success of Ohnet's adaptation resulted in several adaptations into film, the first one made by Henri Pouctal in 1912.

Because of their fame, Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, and Schwartz and their novels were repeatedly referred to in other literary works. For example, one of the first references of Swedish literature in Hungarian literature, according to Mádl and Annus's investigation, is an explicit reference to Flygare-Carlén's heroine Isabelle in *Fideikommisset* (*The Temptation of Wealth*) by Zsigmond Kemény's in his novel *Paul Gyulai* in 1847. Other Hungarian writers followed his example. For example, in László Beöthy's novel "*The Blur Car*": *Goldbach & Co.'s Grocery* (1858), one of the characters boasts of having met Flygare-Carlén in person, and in Lujza Harmath's short story "Torn Clouds" (1901), a German governess is known to read sentimental stories by Schwartz.¹³⁶ Also, in the Norwegian writer Jonas Lie's *Familjen på Gilje* (1883) and in the French playwright Victorien Sardou's work, *Mes plagiats!: réplique à Mario Uchard*, there are explicit references to Flygare-Carlén's novels.

With these kinds of references, the status of Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, and Schwartz as literary icons was repeatedly established. Such references presumed that the audiences were familiar with them and their novels and could recognise and enjoy adaptations of and references to their stories. However, their fame was also confirmed by another kind of secondary reception. In particular, the impact of Bremer and Flygare-Carlén is repeatedly verified in various peculiar ways. A "Swedish Literature Pen Case" has been found. A pen manufacturer in Birmingham, England, A. Sommerville & Co., made it for a customer named Henry Ravené, and its lid is adorned with two portraits, of Fredrika Bremer and Emilie Flygare-Carlén. Another example is travel writing from visits to Visby on the Swedish Islands of Gotland, where visitors stopped at one of the towers of the city wall, the so-called Jungfrutornet (The maiden tower) because of Flygare-Carlén's novel *Jungfrutornet* (*The Maiden Tower*), which is partly set on the island of Gotland.¹³⁷ And an even more offbeat example of secondary reception is the recipe "Louise Frank's Citron Soufflé" included in the 1850 edition of *Modern Cookery* by Eliza Acton. Acton was a fan of Bremer, and especially of her novel *Hemmet* (*The Home*), where the female character Louise is noted for her lemon soufflés. Because of that, Acton asked Bremer's translator Mary Howitt to write to Bremer and request the recipe for the second edition of Acton's cookery book.¹³⁸ In this way, Bremer's novels certainly confirmed their position as domestic products.

NOTES

- 1 Louise Vinge, “Romantiska fantasterna – Stagnelius och Almqvist”, in Lars Lönnroth and Sven Delblanc (eds.), *Den svenska litteraturen*, Vol. II: *Upplysning och romantik*, Stockholm: Bonniers, 1988, pp. 235–250.
- 2 Louise Vinge, “Almqvist uppgång and fall”, in Lars Lönnroth and Sven Delblanc (eds.) *Den svenska litteraturen*, Vol. III: *Upplysning och romantik*, Stockholm: Bonniers, 1988, pp. 89–112.
- 3 Sveriges modernaste författare, Ellen Key, *Sveriges modernaste diktare. Carl Jonas Ludvig Almqvist*, Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1897, <https://litteraturbanken.se/författare/KeyE/titlar/SverigesModernasteDiktare/sida/3/etex> (retrieved 2020-02-20)
- 4 Lars Lönnroth, Arne Melberg, Börje Räftegård, “Romanens väg till Röda rummet”, in Lars Lönnroth and Sven Delblanc (eds.), *Den svenska litteraturen: Det liberala genombrottet 1830–1890*, Vol. 3, Stockholm: Bonniers, 1988, pp. 67–81. An earlier influential example is Henrik Schück, “Fredrika Bremer och hennes efterföljare”, in Henrik Schück and Karl Warburg, *Illustrerad svensk litteraturhistoria, Sjätte delen: Efterromantiken*. 3rd. ed., Möklinta: Gidlund, 1985, pp. 165–231.
- 5 Schück, “Fredrika Bremer och hennes efterföljare”, pp. 201–206; Arne Melberg, “Kvinnoromanen Hertha”, in Lars Lönnroth and Sven Delblanc (eds.), *Den svenska litteraturen: Det liberala genombrottet 1830–1890*, Vol. 3, Stockholm: Bonniers, 1988, pp. 77–78. The title *Hertha* is nowadays mostly known as the name of a feminist journal dated back to 1859 and issued by the feminist association “Fredrika Bremer förbundet” (The Fredrika Bremer Association), founded in 1884. Åsa Arping and Gunnel Furuland, “Inledning”, in Fredrika Bremer, *Hertha, eller en själv historia. Teckning ur det verkliga lifvet*, Utgiven med inledning och kommentar av Åsa Arping och Gunnel Furuland (Svenska författare ny serie), Stockholm: Svenska Vitterhetssamfundet, 2016, pp. [ix]–xxlii.
- 6 Gunnel Furuland, “Hertha i trycksvärtans ljus: utgivning, mottagande och forskning”, in Åsa Arping and Gunnel Furuland, *Hertha—en vexel dragen på framtiden*, Stockholm: Årstasällskapet för Fredrika Bremer-studier, 2017, pp. 9–11.
- 7 Monica Lauritzen, *En kvinnas röst: Emilie Flygare-Carléns liv och dikt*, Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 2007.
- 8 Lars Lönnroth, “Flygare-Carlén och badgästerna”, in Lars Lönnroth and Sven Delblanc (eds.), *Den svenska litteraturen: Det liberala genombrottet 1830–1890*, Vol. 3, Stockholm: Bonniers, 1988, pp. 68–69; Alf Kjellén, *Emilie Flygare-Carlén: En litteraturhistorisk studie*, Diss. Göteborg, Stockholm: Bonniers boktryckeri, 1932.
- 9 Maria Löfgren, *Emancipationens gränser: Emilie Flygare-Carléns 1840-talsromaner och kvinnans ställning*, Stockholm & Stehag: Symposion, 2003; Yvonne Leffler, “Ett nytt kapitel i äktenskapshandboken: Emilias brev till modern i *Ett köpmanshus i skärgården* av Emilie Flygare-Carlén, Yvonne Leffler (ed.), *Kvinnan, kärleken och romanen*, Karlstad: Karlstads universitet, 2001, pp. 63–90.
- 10 Margaret Cohen, *The Sentimental Education of the Novel*, Princeton,

- NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999, pp. 20–25. Studies on Schwartz are: Gunlög Kolbe, *Om konsten att konstruerar en kvinna: Retoriska strategier i 1800-talets rådgivare och i Marie Sophie Schwartz' romaner*, diss., Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 2001; Gunlög Kolbe, *Strategier för framgång: Marie Sophie Schwartz som föregångskvinna*, efterlämnade papper utgivna av hans Hanner & Eva Lilja med bidrag av Hans Hanner, Göteborg: LIR. skrifter.varia Göteborgs universitet, 2014.
- 11 See also Yvonne Leffler, “Prosaförfattaren Almqvist ur ett transkulturellt perspektiv: Översättningar och internationell spridning”, Anders Burman and Jon Viklund (eds.), *Almqvist-variationer: Receptionstudier och omläsningar*, Göteborg, Stockholm: Makadam, 2018, pp. 191–214.
 - 12 Flygare-Carlén, *Das Dachkämmerchen*, trans. Han Wachenhusen, Grimma: Verl. Spt, 1845–1846; Flygare-Carlén, *Die Erkerstübchen*, trans. Carl Friedrich Frisch, Stuttgart: Franckh, 1845, 1858, 1874, 1875.
 - 13 Flygare-Carlénová, *Svetničky arkýřové*, Prague: Pozel z Prahy, 1871, 1873; Flygare-Carlénová, *Arkýřové svetničky*, trans. K.V.F Šimáček, Prague, 1872; Flygare-Carlénová, *Arkýřové svetničky: obraz žívota žěny*, trans. Hugo Kosterka, Prague: F. Šimáček, 1900; Flygare-Carlénová, *Rosmarná žena*, Prague: Pozel z Prahy, 1869, 1873; Flygare-Carlénová, *Rosmarná žena*, Prague: Občan, 1869; Flygare-Carlénová, *Rosmarná žena*, trans. Hugo Kosterka, Prague: Šimáček, 1897, 1898. The latter one was also republished in 1925.
 - 14 Bremer, *The Neighbours: A Story of Every-day Life*, trans. Mary Howitt, London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1842/New York: Harper & Brothers, 1843, 1844, 1853/Philadelphia: J.M. Campbell & Co., 1843/London: Longman & Co., 1843/London: William Smith, 1845/London: Bohn, 1852/London: G. Bell & Sons, 1875, 1883, 1901, 1910/London, New York: G. Bell & Sons, 1892/Freeport, NY: Books for libraries press, 1971.
 - 15 Bremer, *The Neighbours*, trans. E.A. Friedländer, London: H.G. Clarke & Co., 1844, 1849. It was probably also published a third time in London by Ingram, Cooke & Co., 1853.
 - 16 Schwartzová, *Urozený pán a jena z lidu*, trans. Vojtěch Vrána, Prague: Gustava Schalka, 1867–1868/Prague: Josefa Schalka, 1884; Schwartzová, *Urozený pán a jena z lidu*, trans. Nora Grimsová, Třebechovice: Antonín Dědourek, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1926.
 - 17 Almqvist, *Der Königin Juwelschmuck oder Azouras Lazuli Tintomara*, Berlin, 1842; Almqvist, *Tintomara*, Leipzig: Schumann, 1842.
 - 18 Almqvist, *Der Königin Juwelschmuck*, trans. Adolf Seubert, Stuttgart: Franckh, 1846.
 - 19 Almqvist, *Der Juwelschmuck der Königin*, trans. Ellen de Boor, Leipzig: H. Fikentacker, 1927/Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1989.
 - 20 Yvonne Leffler, “Prosaförfattaren Almqvist ur ett transkulturellt perspektiv. Översättningar och internationell spridning”, in Anders Burman and Jon Viklund (eds.), *Almqvistvariationer: Receptionstudier och omläsningar*, Göteborg, Stockholm: Makadam, 2018, pp. 178–180.
 - 21 Almqvist, *Gabriële Mimanso: der letzte Mordversuch gegen den König Ludwig von Frankreich, im Herbste 1840*, Leipzig: Gebrüder Schumann, 1842; Almqvist, *Gabiele Mimanso: eene geschiedenis uit den tijd van*

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- 22 Almqvist, *Amalia Hillner*, trans. Christian Julin-Fabricius, København: Schubothes Boghandling, 1840–1841; Almqvist, *Amalia Hillner*, Berlin: F.H. Morin, 1844; Almqvist, *Amalia Hillner*, Stuttgart: Franckh, 1845.
- 23 Almqvist, *Drei Frauen in Småland*, Leipzig: Schumann, 1843; Almqvist, *Drei Frauen in Smaland*, Stuttgart: Franckh, 1844.
- 24 Almqvist, *La femme du pêcheur*, trans. Xavier marmier, Paris: Garnier Frères, 1854/Paris: Victor Havard, 1883.
- 25 Almqvist, *Sara*, trans. Régis Boyer, Aix-en Provence: Pandora, 1981/Toulouse: Ombres, 1995.
- 26 Almqvist, *Sara Videbeck and The Chapel*, trans. Adolph Burnett Benson, New York: American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1919/New York: Twayne Publishers, 1972/Kessinger, 2010.
- 27 Almqvist, *Kapellet, Fortælling fra Skjærgaardslivet*, trans. Fr. Winekl Horn, København, 1872, 1881 [Ved Udvalget for Folkeoplysnings Fremme]; Almqvist, Gristahavns opdyrkning, København, 1844 [Folkeskrifter, No. 4]; Almqvist, *Die Kolonisten auf Grimstahamn*, trans. Georg Simon, Wiesbaden, 1902, 1918 [Wiesbadener Volksbücher, No. 23].
- 28 Almqvist, *Tintomara. Ereignisse kurz vor, bei und nach der Ermordung Gustav des Dritten*, Leipzig: Schuman, 1842 [Bibliothek der besten und neuesten schwedischen Romane]; Almqvist, *Gabriele Mimanso; der letzte Mordversuch gegen den König Ludwig von Frankreich, im Herbstse 1840*, Leipzig: Gebrüder, 1842 [Bibliothek der besten und neuesten schwedischen Romane]; Almqvist, *Drei Frauen in Småland*, Leipzig: Schumann, 1842 [Bibliothek der besten und neuesten schwedischen Romane].
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SWEDISH NOVELS AND WOMEN WRITERS

IN THE EARLY and mid-nineteenth century, most Swedish fiction did not reach readers in non-Scandinavian languages. If Swedish literature was translated into another language, it was most likely into Danish, and in a few cases via Danish into German. The literary route out of Sweden went via Danish into German and in some rare circumstances via German into other European languages. Usually, a translation into a non-Scandinavian language was an arbitrary occurrence, which did not result in further translations, neither into the same language nor into other languages. The rather few and random translations of some novelists' fiction into other languages are illustrative examples of this pattern. In particular, the reception of Carl Jonas Love Almqvist is interesting as his novels were rather randomly translated into other languages – at least compared to those by his contemporary female peers Fredrika Bremer and Emilie Flygare-Carlén. Although he was rather well known outside Sweden, most of the translations appear to have been made on a trial basis and not due to organised and planned publishing investments by publishing houses outside Sweden. Some of his novels were translated into Danish and German, but except for the German translations, few stories reached audiences in other non-Scandinavian languages. Even if his works reached readers in German, remarkably few of them were republished in German. Despite his rather limited transnational achievement, he is nowadays one of the most canonised writers in a national Swedish context.

The transnational dissemination and reception of the female novelists Bremer and Flygare-Carlén, and later Marie Sophie Schwartz, demonstrate another approach and an exceptional success story in

Swedish and European literature. To them, German was the core target language. In German, their novels reached a vast number of European readers as most readers in Central Europe read fiction in German. At the time, German was the official and literary language in a large part of the European continent, not only in today's Germany and Austria, but also in Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Ukraine, Slovakia, and northern Italy. Therefore, popular novels were often re-published and retranslated several times into German, at the same time as they were distributed from a number of different places in Europe in order to facilitate the distribution in various parts of the German-speaking continent and in the Austrian Empire. For the distribution of Swedish novels, the main publishing centres in the German-reading world were the regions around Leipzig and Stuttgart, but Swedish novels were also repeatedly distributed from publishers in Berlin, Hamburg, Grimma, Vienna, and Budapest. The massive circulation of novels by Bremer and Flygare-Carlén from 1840 onwards is remarkable with regard to the number of translations, retranslations, and published editions. The representation of their novels in various collections and series of novels is also impressive and added to their success. Many of their novels were published in the leading European collections and series of novels, such as *Das belletristische Ausland* issued by the leading publishing house Franckh'sche Verlagshandlung in Stuttgart 1843–1865, a series that had 15 000 subscribers, and therefore probably had two or three times as many devoted readers.¹ Furthermore, these two female novelists were among the most frequently published writers in Franckh'sche's collection, and the number of novels by Flygare-Carlén exceeds even the number of novels by some of the top-selling male novelists in Europe, such as Walter Scott, Charles Dickens, Eugène Sue, and Alexandre Dumas, père et fils.

To prosperous European novelists, German often served as a mediating transit language, which inspired and supported translation into other European languages, such as Dutch, English, Polish, Czech, and Hungarian. Most translations into these languages were initially made via German translations and not from the source texts.² In the early 1840s, the first novels by both Bremer and Flygare-Carlén were translated into English from German translations. Later on, their novels were more often translated into English from the Swedish source text, especially when Swedish immigrants were engaged to assist American publishers. The latter was also the case in the 1870s, when American publishers launched Schwartz's novels in costly editions translated by the Swedish-speaking Finnish immigrant Selma Borg in cooperation with Mary A Brown (Shipley). The only early and consistent exception

to the practice of using German as a transit language seems to have been translations of Swedish literature into French. Almost as early as the introduction in English, that is in the mid-1840s, Bremer and Flygare-Carlén's first novels were translated into French, and these translations were almost certainly made from the Swedish source texts. However, the instant and extensive dissemination of their novels in French were probably a result of their growing popularity in German-speaking Europe, especially in the case of Flygare-Carlén. While publishers in Paris quickly published Bremer's novels, most of Flygare-Carlén's novels were circulated in French somewhat later, and then not only by publishers in Paris but also by publishers in other French-speaking countries, such as Belgium and Switzerland. That is, Flygare-Carlén's novels in French were issued in countries where French was not the only official language but shared its position with other Germanic languages, Flemish and Swiss German respectively. To both Bremer and Flygare-Carlén, however, the publications in French inspired further translation into other Latin languages. For example, some of Flygare-Carlén's novels were soon circulated in Italian, and the Italian translations were probably done via previous French translations. Moreover, when novels by both Bremer and Flygare-Carlén were issued in Spanish, the translations were almost certainly supported by previous French translations.

To sum up, it is obvious that for successful Swedish novelists, such as Bremer and Flygare-Carlén, the main route to the European book market in Northern and Eastern Europe was via Denmark into the German-speaking countries for distribution in Germanic and Slavic languages, as well as in Hungarian and the Baltic languages. For promotion in the Latin languages in Southern Europe, the route went through French translations. Translation into German was also vital for the first translations into English and the introduction to the British as well as American audiences.

WHY NOVELS BY WOMEN WRITERS?

There may be many reasons behind the success of Swedish novels by women writers in the mid- and late nineteenth century. There were practical circumstances that facilitated the distribution of novels. The first half of the century witnessed a massive increase in publishing in general in the period that Thomas Carlyle and later scholars have named "the paper age".³ The dissemination of popular novels by foreign writers in Europe and the United States was also simplified because of the absence of regulations or copyright laws until the turn of the twentieth century. The Berne Convention for the protection of

literary and artistic works was first accepted in Berne, Switzerland, in 1886. Although many nations signed the treaty in 1886–1887, some of them did not implement all parts of it until much later, which was the case in the United Kingdom and the United States. Thus, the great number of competing translations and editions until World War I was not only a consequence of the popularity of novels but also a result of the possibility for translators and publishers to meet the demands of the audiences without too many legal restrictions.

Still, the increase in book trade and the lack of copyright regulations does not explain the achievements of Fredrika Bremer, Emilie Flygare-Carlén, and Marie Sophie Schwartz, and the limited number of translations by other contemporary and nationally famous and prolific Swedish novelists, such as Sophie von Knorring, Almqvist, and others. Furthermore, despite the lack of legal restrictions, Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, and Schwartz cooperated with foreign publishers and therefore they were well paid by at least some of them. For example, according to correspondence between Bremer and her German publisher Brockhaus in Berlin, in the beginning she earned at least 300 German Thaler for each edition of 1500 printed copies.⁴ That is, some publishers were willing to pay certain writers in order to get hold of their manuscript so they could guarantee a speedy publishing process. Thus, the main reason for the success of the female novelists was not that their novels could be translated and published at low cost, but that publishers could make a profit because these were the kinds of novels the contemporary European audience wanted, especially the rising number of middle-class readers.

Many of the works by Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, and Schwartz can be characterised as voluminous novels; the events narrated take place during a long period and include many different characters and subplots. The readers could thus immerse themselves in the story for a long time both in terms of story-time and text-time. Thereby the novels demonstrate a feature that still warrants success today: they tell long-lasting stories about the doings of a collective group of engaging characters. Their novels are the kind of polyphonic compositions that typify the long-running TV series of today with their numerous parts and seasons.⁵ Some of Flygare-Carlén's and Schwartz's novels were published as paperbacks and three-deckers, that is, as cheap three-volume sets. Publishers of commercial and circulating libraries originally introduced the three-decker format because a novel divided into three parts could create an increasing demand. The first part worked as an appetizer for parts two and three. To the publisher, the income from the first part could be used to pay for the printing costs of the next part and so on. A novel published in several volumes was also of advantage for the com-

mercial libraries as the same novel could then be borrowed and read by a couple of readers at the same time.⁶

Certain genre features may also explain the success of the female novelists. Some recurring subjects in their novels might have been of special importance and to the liking of the growing number of readers in the mid-nineteenth century. Of all their novels, their most popular works outside Sweden stand out as universal or cosmopolitan novels with no accentuation of particular cultural or regional details. The welcoming of these qualities is explicitly voiced in the American reception of Bremer's stories, which are cherished because of her depiction of universal characters and their everyday lives.⁷ Accordingly, the novels fulfilled the expectations of readers craving stories about contemporary daily life and trustworthy protagonists with whom they could identify, while at the same time the stories depicted topical subjects of interest to most European and American readers. In their novels, Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, and Schwartz in various ways addressed questions of equality between men and women and they advocated women's rights. Therefore, most of their novels can be classified as domestic novels about current social issues, or as educational novels depicting the lives and struggles of engaging protagonists and their endeavours to attain personal fulfilment and social recognition in the prevailing society.⁸ To the increasing number of female readers, the focus on female characters and gender issues might have offered a positive alternative to the current novels by male novelists, such as Charles Dickens, Alexander Dumas, and Eugène Sue. To judge by the illustrated covers on some of the novels by Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz, some of their publishers primarily targeted female readers. The illustrations on the covers of the Dutch and English novels often show an attractive young woman immersed in suitably womanly activities.

At a time of social change in Europe, Swedish novels about topical social and gender issues may have responded to certain wants. According to various reception documents, the national movements in the European countries made use of novels by Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, and Schwartz to promote their social programmes. According to Magdalena Wasilewska-Chmura's and Ondřej Vimr's studies about the situation in Poland and the Czech lands respectively, the liberation of the nation and the education of women were joint projects, and Swedish novels by women writers played a vital part in the national endeavours.⁹ According to Wasilewska-Chmura, the works by Bremer and Schwartz were important in the emancipation debate and to the social project in Poland.¹⁰ In the Czech lands, Vimr claims, Flygare-Carlén's novels were from the very start used by the publisher František Šimáček in

his enlightenment project and national undertakings. When František Šimáček, from 1872, included her works in a new book series “for entertainment and knowledge” initiated by his wife Ludmila Šimáčková, it was to ensure that Flygare-Carlén’s novels were marketed as far better than popular mass-produced fiction. The object of the series was to distribute novels of “noble content for the family circle”.¹¹ Also in the Italian reception, a novel by Flygare-Carlén was used to promote the national programme and the education of women. In his lengthy introduction to *Ett år* (*One Year*), published in Italian in 1869, the Italian translator Clemente Mapelli compliments Flygare-Carlén’s literary talents and her capable female characters and thereby the importance of good education for women as something that could improve their maternal qualities. Thereby it endorsed those family values promoted by the national movement in Italy.¹² In the American reception, too, the educational qualities of novels were underlined. For example, in a review of Bremer in 1844, the anonymous critic claims that the current realist novels have changed the “spirit and manners of literature” and they have become essays “on morals, on political economy, on the condition of women, on the vices and defects of social life”.¹³

Swedish novels by women writers were also used in another sense. At a time when the German-speaking Austrian Empire was a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic power in Europe, Swedish fiction showed how much citizens of a minor nation could achieve in their local national language if they were liberated from cultural oppression. According to Péter Mádl and Ildikó Annus, Flygare-Carlén’s novel *Rosen på Tistelön* (*The Rose of Tistelön*) was a “trendsetter” and established Swedish writers as models for Hungarian literati because they were able to produce “highly readable literature”.¹⁴ This Hungarian example can be compared to how the aforementioned Czech publisher Šimáček actively and explicitly promoted Flygare-Carlén’s stories as literature written in a minor language by a novelist from another small nation. To him, her novels could be used to encourage Czech writers to write in their local language because they were good examples of non-German literature. According to various advertisements and promotional texts by Šimáček, Flygare-Carlén’s novels were launched to the Czech people to represent the Czech spirit, and to achieve in Czech translation the same popularity “as the works by the best male and female Czech authors”, to cite a frequently reprinted promotional text.¹⁵ The publisher František Šimáček also expressed his views in a letter written in Swedish in 1882 that enclosed “a gift of honour” from the Bohemian people to Flygare-Carlén. What makes the letter of special interest is that Šimáček considered himself to be a spokesperson for the “Bohemian people” in his protest

against German as the major cultural language in the Czech lands. In his letter, he stresses the importance of literature in Czech in order to teach people to read and write in the native tongue. Therefore, he underlines the impact of Flygare-Carlén's novels in Czech translation; according to him, they strengthened the Czech national spirit.¹⁶ In addition, half a century later in 1948, the Czech scholar Gustav Pallas asserted that Flygare-Carlén's novels had a noteworthy influence on an entire generation in the Czech-speaking regions, as they were morally superior to what he called the inferior – probably German – salon, or conversation, literature of the time. Pallas actually referred to her novels as virtuous educational works.¹⁷ However, and at the same time that Šimáček launched Flygare-Carlén, some Czech critics within the women's movement asked for more problem-solving literature besides Flygare-Carlén's novels in order to educate the Czech people, in particular Czech women.

The welcoming of Swedish novels in certain European regions dominated by the German-speaking Austrian Empire is one thing. The popularity of Swedish novels in English translation is another story. At the time, England was a top-exporting country of novels and, according to Franco Moretti's investigation, very few foreign novels were imported, translated, and published in English.¹⁸ That is to say, the literary marketplace in England was well supplied by domestic products in English. However, among those rather few literary translations made into English between 1830 and 1890, there was a notable increase in the number of titles from Northern Europe, and Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, and Schwartz were all responsible for these surges.¹⁹ Bremer's translators Mary and William Howitt initiated the first translations of her novels, and there were soon British publishers that were prepared to invest money in publishing her as well as Flygare-Carlén's Swedish novels from the 1840s onwards. According to an English review of literature from Northern Europe in 1852, Swedish literature was claimed to be "exceedingly rich, and it has far more congeniality with English feelings and tastes than that of Denmark".²⁰ Simultaneously, American publishers launched both Bremer's and Flygare-Carlén's novels enthusiastically in the American press. In contrast to the British reception, national interests might explain the American response. The young United States had an interest in establishing itself and its legacy as an independent nation or union of states. At the same time, many inhabitants in New England traced their roots back to Scandinavian origin, because they believed Vikings to be the first Europeans to explore their part of the American continent. The imagined bond to Scandinavian Vikings is explicitly stated in some of the early reviews of both Bremer's and Flygare-Carlén's novels.²¹ At the same time, as Åsa Arping claims,

Bremer's remarkable achievements in the United States were due to few American novels being written, in a time when there was a growing ambition among American literati and intellectuals to be liberated from the dominance of British culture. American intellectuals were eager to form their own specific American culture and literature; they strove to establish an independent American tradition.²² As, for example, Gideon Toury argues, works by foreign writers fill a gap and serve as models for the literature of a target culture, in particularly in a colonial situation or for an emerging nation.²³ In that way, Swedish novels by Bremer and Flygare-Carlén may have played a significant part in the early formation of the American national novel.

AWARDING CELEBRITY STATUS

In the nineteenth century, only a limited number of readers could read novels written in Swedish – probably around five million readers, including the Swedish-speaking population in Finland.²⁴ Today, only 10 million people speak Swedish, and Sweden is merely the 90th-largest country based on its population or number of native speakers. Still, Swedish is one of the 10 most important literary source languages.²⁵ It is not one of the four dominant literary languages in the world – English, French, German, and Russian – but it is placed in the next group of six semi-dominant languages, together with Spanish and Italian.²⁶ The impressive transnational dissemination of Swedish novels by women writers in the mid-nineteenth century probably laid the groundwork for the exceptionally strong position Swedish literature holds today. At the time, the novels by Fredrika Bremer, Emilie Flygare-Carlén, and Marie Sophie Schwartz were widely read in the same languages that today dominate as the most important target languages for Swedish fiction. In the mid- and late nineteenth century, their novels were extensively translated into Danish, German, English, French, Polish, Czech, Hungarian, and Dutch. A few stories by Bremer and Flygare-Carlén also travelled into Italian, Spanish, and Russian. Although, far from as widely circulated as the first women novelists, the next generation of male writers, Viktor Rydberg and Zacharias Topelius, were also translated into most of these languages. Today, Swedish literature is translated into more or less the same main languages. Besides translation into the Nordic languages, Swedish fiction is often available in German, English, French, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, Polish, Czech, and Hungarian, according to the Swedish scholar Andreas Hedberg's study.²⁷ The successful and long-lasting reception of Swedish nineteenth-century novels most certainly promoted Swedish literature in general and therefore

Swedish as an important and interesting source language for translation into many other languages.

There are many early examples of how Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, and Schwartz contributed to the launching and positive reception of Swedish writers and increased the interest in Sweden as a whole. Flygare-Carlén's novel *Rosen på Tistelön* (*The Rose of Tistelön*) was the first Swedish fiction ever translated into Hungarian in 1844, and it initiated a praising review of Almqvist's *Ordbok öfver Svenska språket* (Dictionary of the Swedish Language) in the same year, although this was never translated into Hungarian. According to Péter Mádl and Ildikó Annus, it is most likely that the positive reception of Flygare-Carlén opened up for introducing Almqvist as another Swedish writer.²⁸ However important the presentation of Almqvist's *Ordbok* was in Hungarian literary history, nothing by Almqvist was ever translated into Hungarian, at least not in book form. Nonetheless, the popularity of Flygare-Carlén's novels – and Schwartz's up-and-coming debut in 1867 – initiated other translations of Swedish literature, such as Vilmos Győry's legendary translation of Esaias Tegnér's *Frithiofs saga* (*Frithiof's Saga*) made from the Swedish source text in 1868. It is assumed that Győry was willing to learn Swedish only to be able to translate *Frithiofs saga* from Swedish into Hungarian.²⁹ Before his translation, only a couple of songs in Tegnér's romantic epic were available in Hungarian, translated from a German version by Gábor Fábíán in 1828.³⁰ Also in Czech, the welcoming of Swedish novels from the 1860s onwards most likely resulted in the first and only recorded translation of Tegnér's *Frithiofs saga* by J.V. Sládek in 1891.³¹ More than two decades after the success of Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz, Sládek translated Tegnér's verse tale into Czech.

Tegnér's *Frithiofs saga* from 1825 can be said to be the first example of an instant and prosperous export of Swedish literature, and parts of it were published in some languages – in particular in German – as early as the late 1820s. Still, it is noteworthy that an intensified transcultural distribution of it in new translations and editions coincide with the boom of Swedish novels by Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, and Schwartz. Because of cooperation between Swedish and French cultural mediators and publishers, Swedish literature was often published in extracts in various French collections or journals. For example, a song in *Frithiofs saga*, "Ingeborgs klagan" (Ingeborg's lament), was printed in *Littérature et voyages Allemagne et Scandinavie* in 1833.³² Yet, there was no major interest in Tegnér's verse tale until Bremer's breakthrough in the early 1840s. The first translation of the complete verse tale was published in Paris in 1843.³³ Three years later, in 1846, Tegnér's epic was circulated in a new translation made by Rosalie Du Puget, who also translated

Bremer and Flygare-Carlén.³⁴ From then on, several separate parts of the verse tale were issued continuously, as well as some new translations of other works by Tegnér.³⁵ Also in Poland, the popularity of Bremer resulted in a noteworthy renewed interest in Tegnér. Before the introduction of Bremer, a selection of songs of *Frithiofs saga* was published as early as in 1840, which was followed by a new edition in 1842, as well as a translation of his romantic verse tale *Axel* in 1842, and a new publication of the latter one in 1843.³⁶ However, a more concentrated distribution of Tegnér's verse tales occurred together with Bremer's novels in Polish a decade later, in the 1850s. Between 1850 and 1866, five different translations of the complete, or various parts of, *Frithiofs saga* were circulated.³⁷ In this specific case, Tegnér and Bremer's introduction of Swedish literature in Polish was succeeded by the circulation of novels by Schwartz and Flygare-Carlén a decade later, in the 1860s.

Not only Esaias Tegnér's works benefitted from the celebrity status of his female compatriots. Other and later male writers were also announced to readers outside Sweden with the assistance of the female novelists. When the Danish author Hans Christian Andersen was introduced in England, he was recurrently compared to his Scandinavian predecessor Bremer, and not always in Andersen's favour. For example, when his first novel, *The Improvisatore*, was published in 1845, the reviewer wrote: "There is none of that indigenous and primitive air which gave such character and attraction to the best Swedish novels of Fredrika Bremer."³⁸ As mentioned, Bremer herself actively introduced her male compatriot Victor Rydberg to English-speakers readers when she persuaded William Widgery Thomas Jr. to translate Rydberg's novel *Den sista atenaren* (*The Last Athenian*) for American readers. His translation was published in 1869 together with a letter by Bremer, in which she expresses her gratitude for his achievements.³⁹ A quotation from her letter was also used when the novel was announced in New York in the newspaper *New Daily Tribune* in 1869.⁴⁰ Three years later, Bremer's younger colleague Schwartz assisted in introducing another contemporary male writer to the American audience, the Swedish-speaking Finnish writer Zacharias Topelius. When his upcoming novel *The Surgeon's Stories* was advertised in American newspapers in 1872, the publisher announced it with a quotation by Schwartz in which she praised Topelius's books for children.⁴¹ Worth noting is that five decades later, Topelius became even more internationally known when the Swedish Nobel Laureate Selma Lagerlöf published her fictional biography *Zachris Topelius* (1920). It was rapidly translated into other languages, and it was instantly and frequently reviewed in German-language newspapers.⁴² Possibly, Topelius became more known to the

German-reading audience as a character in a fictional biography by Lagerlöf than read as a writer of fiction available in various translations.⁴³ His stories for children were the works he was best known for at the time of Lagerlöf's novel. However important Lagerlöf's biographical novel was for Topelius's memory abroad, it never attracted the same attention as her compatriot's, the educational reformist and feminist Ellen Key's portrayal of another Swedish male writer, Almqvist. Key's homage to him as the most modern Swedish writer in 1894 was recurrently reviewed together with her work *Människor* (People). Especially in the German press, her essay resulted in a renewed interest in Almqvist's oeuvre.⁴⁴ It also influenced the later reception of Almqvist's oeuvre in his homeland, Sweden. Thereby, Key's work contributed to the national canonisation of Almqvist in Swedish literary history, as well as his international recognition as a Swedish writer.

Not only did the contemporary male writers benefit from their female colleagues' achievements. The new generation of writers of the Scandinavian breakthrough also profited from the established reputation of Swedish novels. A stunning case in point is the announcement of August Strindberg's collection of stories *Giftas* (*Married*) in a Czech paper in 1894. In it, the reviewer declares that although Flygare-Carlén had been "the literary king" for so long, she had now lost her admirers. Therefore, it was time for a new kind of literature represented by Strindberg.⁴⁵ The inconsistency of this appraisal is demonstrated by the fact that a couple of years later, 12 new translations of Flygare-Carlén's novels were published in Czech. Thus, Strindberg was launched in Czech at the same time as collection of novels by Flygare-Carlén was published, between 1898 and 1902. All of Flygare-Carlén's stories had been published before, but now they were offered in new and probably more professionally translated Czech editions. It certainly was a costly reintroduction of Flygare-Carlén, and the new translations of her novels was accomplished by Hugo Kosterka, who also was Strindberg's most important translator and mediator in Czech in the 1890s.⁴⁶

CHANGING LITERARY STATUS

Despite their celebrity status in the mid- and late nineteenth century, and like so many other once-popular writers, Fredrika Bremer, Emilie Flygare-Carlén, and Marie Sophie Schwartz have faded into the background. They have been dismissed as what David Damrosch calls the shadow canon.⁴⁷ Their novels have been sorted out as "hors d'usage" – useless – and belong to "the great unread", according to Margaret Cohen.⁴⁸ Although some of today's feminist scholars have rediscovered

the novels by Bremer and Flygare-Carlén, they can still, together with Schwartz, be categorised as marginalised writers with little legacy, place, and voice apart from what might arise out of scholarly inquisitiveness. Instead, some of their male counterparts, such as Carl Jonas Love Almqvist, Zacharias Topelius, and Viktor Rydberg, have replaced them in a scholarly context, and thereby also in the history of Swedish-language literature.

As detailed above, the most illuminating example is Almqvist. In the international press, his contemporary reception was scarce and modest, at least compared to the response of the novels by both Bremer and Flygare-Carlén. Some of his stories were translated into Danish and via Danish into German. As with many other Swedish nineteenth-century novelists, most translations of his stories were into German. Just a few stray works were translated into other languages, such as French, English, and Dutch. Although German was an important target language for Swedish literature, to Almqvist it did not serve as a transit language that resulted in further translation into various vernaculars within the Austrian Empire. Compared to the geographical and linguistic circulation of Bremer's and Flygare-Carlén's fiction, Almqvist's stories were mainly distributed within the Nordic region and in Northern Europe, that is, they were primarily translated into the Scandinavian languages and Finnish and German. Still, Almqvist and his writing caught more attention by international reviewers than most transnationally disseminated Swedish novelists did at the time, including his later peers Rydberg and Topelius, as well as his extremely successful female colleague Schwartz. However, many hits from a present-day search on Almqvist do not refer to literary articles and reviews but to news – or gossip – about his private life and the latest scandals that he was involved in and fuelled. Still, it is interesting to compare the response to Almqvist to that of his two contemporary female counterparts, Bremer and Flygare-Carlén, because there is one significant and gendered difference related to his versus their representation and literary status in the early reception. Bremer and Flygare-Carlén were related to other contemporary male novelists, such as Charles Dickens and Alexander Dumas, père et fils, but they were not, like Almqvist, repeatedly equated with literary male writers with genius status, such as Wolfgang Goethe and William Shakespeare. Although they were initially juxtaposed with other European writers, including male novelists, they became increasingly associated with famous female novelists, especially in the second half of the century. The English translator Mary Howitt launched Bremer as “the Miss Austen of Sweden” to American readers,⁴⁹ and in the German press, Bremer was often compared to George Sand and Madame de Staël, just to mention a few examples.⁵⁰

It is notable that the contemporary critique was not always consistent with the current reading habits and preferences. Sometimes, the critics were almost certainly familiar with the writers they most approvingly praised in their articles; sometimes they were unable to present a convincing case. In an 1858 article on European literature, the Czech dramatist and critic Karel Sabina warmly introduced Almqvist in a couple of sentences, while he devoted almost three pages to Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, and Sophie von Knorring.⁵¹ Obviously, Sabina was more familiar with the women's novels than with Almqvist's oeuvre; he had probably read the female novelists' works in German translation. To some extent, his introduction predicted the subsequent success of Swedish novels in Czech translations. Ten years after Sabina's article, Flygare-Carlén – together with Schwartz – triumphed on the Czech book market, and Flygare-Carlén kept her position as one of the most widely read novelists among the Czech-reading audience until World War I. No novels by Almqvist and Knorring were published in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The only Swedish writer, who had had a text translated into Czech at the time of Sabina's article was Bremer. Her short story "Den ensamma" (The Lonely) was printed in a Czech almanac in 1844, but it did not attract attention; she published nothing else in Czech until much later, in 1875, when one of her novels, *Hemmet* (*The Home*), was circulated in Czech as *Rodina*.⁵² For self-evident reasons, Sabina did not mention the second-most popular Swedish novelist in Czech, Schwartz. At the time of his article, he was probably not familiar with her because in 1858 none of her novels were available in German translation.

There are many other examples of the inconsistency between being named by the critics and being chosen by the readers. For example, Mádl and Annus's study on the reception of Swedish novels in Hungary confirms that, although Bremer's novels were mentioned in a Hungarian article as early as in 1841, that is, before the success of Flygare-Carlén's novel *Rosen på Tistelön*, nothing by Bremer was ever translated into Hungarian. Bremer was, as Mádl and Annus conclude, "an author that everyone respected and was ready to speak well of, yet nobody really loved in Hungary – she was admired from a distance".⁵³ According to Tanja Badalič's investigation of the reception of European women writers in the Slovenian region, no results come up when searching for Bremer in literary journals. The only mention documented is in the diary of the Slovenian female writer Luiza Pesjak.⁵⁴ Although some of Bremer's novels in German were listed in one Slovenian library, many more libraries offered a varied selection of novels by both Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz.⁵⁵

It is notable that among the three female novelists, the earliest one, Bremer, was often recognised – at least for a start – as a serious high-brow writer, while the youngest one, Schwartz, was instantly labelled as a popular writer, sometimes even a hack writer. This evaluation might be related to different qualities of their novels and the subjects they highlighted. It might also be a result of the changing literary climate in the second half of the nineteenth century. As early as around 1850, some critics disapproved of the prevalence of popular female novelists.⁵⁶ For example, in an 1855 German article, Bremer's and Flygare-Carlén's novels, together with stories by other international female novelists, were categorised as "Frauenromanen" (novels for women).⁵⁷ As Karin Carsten Montén observes in her study on the reception of Bremer's novels in Germany, they soon became seen as old-fashioned, according to the literary programme of "Junge Deutschland" (Young Germany) and other radical movements. At the same time, in 1856, the English female novelist and reviewer George Eliot dismissed Bremer's novels as outdated and forgotten in England.⁵⁸ That is, Bremer's success in the German and English markets was rather short-lived, and her novels were gradually marginalised as novels primarily addressing female readers and issues.⁵⁹ Around 1850, German reviewers also started to express reservations against Flygare-Carlén's novels. In 1852, under the heading "Emilie Carlén" in *Illustrirte Zeitung*, she is portrayed as a novelist with millions of readers and a great favourite, especially among female audiences. Although the reviewer admires her earlier works for her depictions of nature and characters, as well as her talent for illustrating "the poetry of everyday life", the author is disappointed in her latest novels and finds them written in the French style, that is, as sensational plot-driven stories with dubious morals.⁶⁰ Like this reviewer, many German and American critics were dissatisfied with Flygare-Carlén's later novels, such as *Ett rykte* (A rumour) and *En natt vid Bullarsjön* (A night at Bullar Lake). In the Swedish press, the very same novels were blamed for being sensational and in the French style, and not least, for addressing offensive subjects, such as erotic passions and religious hypocrisy.⁶¹ All of a sudden, there was clear correspondence between the increasingly negative domestic response and the international reception.

The misgivings about female novelists accelerated in the coming decades and are especially notable in the response to Schwartz's novels. Her fiction was not as frequently included in surveys of Swedish quality literature as her two predecessors' works had been. According to Vimr, her novels were immediately categorised as "trash literature" in the Czech reception, because her publisher Joseph Schalek was known as a connoisseur of dubious French literature.⁶² Many reviewers described her

as a highly productive writer of popular fiction with suspenseful plots and “modern trends”, to quote a Finnish critic.⁶³ By modern trends, the reviewer probably meant what other Finnish critics referred to as Schwartz’s social tendency and her advocacy for women’s rights, especially her presentation of reforms that would make it possible for both men and women to earn a living from honest labour.⁶⁴ Advertisements and reviews of her novels were also recurrently published in journals addressing female readers, in particular in the German reception.⁶⁵ Her novels were progressively used as cautionary examples of popular fiction in the German and English press, while they were used as warning examples of demoralising pulp fiction in Finnish papers targeting teachers and issued by educational authorities and organisations.⁶⁶

Because of Schwartz’s later debut, and therefore later introduction in other languages, the lack of professional reviews of her fiction might be due to the growing reservations against novels by productive and popular women writers. It is noteworthy that the objections towards Schwartz’s novels progressively affected the reception and evaluation of her female colleagues. Because of the negative reviews of Schwartz’s novels by Czech critics, the formerly praised Flygare-Carlén was gradually placed in the same category as Schwartz.⁶⁷ A similar change can be traced in the Hungarian reception. As Mádl and Annus demonstrate, while Flygare-Carlén – together with Esaias Tegnér – were well received and favourably referred to in highbrow literary works by Hungarian writers, the more widely read Schwartz was soon regarded as a mass-market writer of romances. By the end of the century, some Hungarian writers also made Schwartz a subject of ridicule in their works and as an alarming example of a female novelist, which of course influenced the reception of female novelists in general.⁶⁸ The Czech and Hungarian receptions display a general European trend. Novels by widely read women writers were increasingly labelled as sentimental novels or romances, that is, as outdated novels compared to the new realist and naturalist programme of the late nineteenth century. By the 1920s, the formerly very popular Swedish novelists Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, and Schwartz were forgotten in most European regions, as judged by the shrinking number of translations and new editions printed in European languages.

At the *fin de siècle*, there are many other examples of the depreciation of widely read female novelists in favour of a new generation of male writers. The diminished status of female novelists and novels by the end of the nineteenth century is well documented in English language literature.⁶⁹ Also in Scandinavian literature, formerly acknowledged female novelists were gradually edged out. Very few literary works by Swedish writer Viktor Rydberg were translated, announced, and reviewed in the

international press. Still, he was immediately evaluated as an important Swedish and Scandinavian writer not only at home but also abroad. For example, the French critic Léonie Bernardini included Rydberg in his book on Scandinavian literature, *La littérature Scandinave* (1894), together with twelve other male highbrow male writers. He expands on some older canonised writers, such as the Swedish eighteenth-century songwriter Carl Michael Bellman (1740–1785) and the Romantic poet Esaias Tegnér, before he groups Rydberg together with the next generation of up-and-coming male writers of the modern breakthrough in Scandinavia, such as George Brandes (1842–1927), August Strindberg (1849–1912), and Henrik Ibsen (1828–1906).⁷⁰ In 1894, there was no room for any women writers, not even for the most successful Swedish novelists in French translation, Fredrika Bremer and Emilie Flygare-Carlén. Thus, Bernardini's survey mirrors the literary change that took place in Scandinavia in the 1880s and 1890s. As Per Gedin demonstrates, a shift in aesthetic values, in combination with a changing social, technological, and economic situation, resulted in an increasing masculinisation of the literary field. While it made it easier for male authors to secure their positions, female writers were increasingly forced to stand aside. In particular, the older generation of bestselling female novelists were dismissed as outdated by the new group of male writers, who in Sweden labelled themselves as “the young Sweden” (*det unga Sverige*).⁷¹

CONTEMPORARY RECEPTION VERSUS EVALUATION BY POSTERITY

There may be various reasons behind the accelerating discrepancy between the welcoming reception of female novelists in the mid-nineteenth century and the increasing devaluation of their novels by the end of the century. There may also be various explanations for their modest representation in today's literary landscape. Although their importance is under reevaluation due to an increasing scholarly interest in women writers, their novels are still remarkably absent from the curricula in literary studies at universities in and outside Sweden. Whatever happens in the future and to whatever extent today's historical presentation will be modified by posterity, the findings of this study open up for a reflection on the mechanism behind literary representation and canon formation. The results also stress that the process of selection of authors and texts for the national curriculum is too complex to be reduced to determination by single factors, such as gender and genre. The reason that women writers are not represented in surveys of earlier periods is not that their works were routinely excluded due to their social identity

as women. The historical reason is, of course, that most women before the eighteenth century did not have access to literacy; they did not have the requisite literary education nor the means of literary production. In the mid-nineteenth century, however, Swedish women writers, such as Bremer and Flygare-Carlén, did have access to the means of literary production. Like many Swedish upper- and middle-class women, they also had access to the means of literary consumption, that is, they were able to read novels and acquire genre knowledge. For example, when Flygare-Carlén became a widow she decided to start writing novels to support her family because, having read so many novels herself, she felt that she, as a writer, could match and challenge them.⁷²

One explanation for both Bremer's and Flygare-Carlén's rapid transnational achievements might be that they triumphed as novelists just before the novel became a male prestige genre.⁷³ In the early and mid-nineteenth century, novels still formed unoccupied territory in the literary landscape; it was a free zone for women writers to populate. Bremer and Flygare-Carlén became professional writers of a rising genre, which had not safeguarded its literary status. However, at about the same time as their novels – and novels in general – became a recognised literary form, literary writing and fiction was progressively sorted into two categories, high-cultural literature of aesthetic value and mass-culture popular fiction of commercial value but of inferior aesthetic qualities. To judge from early reviews, the novels of both Bremer and Flygare-Carlén were at first categorised as serious novels addressing an audience consisting of both men and women, both in Sweden and outside the country. The contemporary response also indicates that they competed with male novelists on rather equal terms. In particular, Flygare-Carlén's novels were often praised by what Nicola Diane Thompson has characterised as masculine forms of approvals, such as “vigorous” description.⁷⁴ There is even some evidence that they benefited from being women writers. The sex of the female novelist was often explicitly announced on the cover; her Christian name was spelt out or replaced by the gendered title “Miss”, “Mrs” or “Madame” in front of her family name.⁷⁵ In some cases, it looks like the name of a female translator added to the value of their novels. Sometimes, when a translation was made in cooperation between a man and a woman, the publisher – and the translation team – chose to name only the female translator. Although both Mary and William Howitt were behind several translations of Bremer's novels, only Mary Howitt was given as the translator.⁷⁶ Despite the fact that Servaas du Bruin translated Flygare-Carlén's novel *Förmyndaren* (*The Guardian*) into Dutch, he chose to put his wife's name – Clarisse Sophie Meijer – on the cover.⁷⁷

This might have been done to guarantee certain qualities and a certain kind of story, as well as to attract female readers. Certainly, the name of a female writer and a female translator on the cover of a novel was a plus in the mid-nineteenth century; it probably represented cultural or commercial value in the prosperous world of novels.

Nonetheless, during the second half of the century, the same qualities that had guaranteed prestige and success came to stand for the opposite. As Mary Poovey and John Guillory have pointed out, since the Romantic period in English literature, a distinction was made between works of art and mass-cultural products, of literature of aesthetic value and of commodities of commercial interest but of inferior aesthetic qualities.⁷⁸ In addition, the hierarchy of literature came to be related to different kinds of reading practices; cheap and popular literature was presumed to be easy to read by common readers, a reading practice feared and despised by the educated elite readers, among them critics and reviewers.⁷⁹ According to Jacqueline Pearson's study, the rise of the female novel also resulted in a feminisation of the reading public that was a disadvantage for certain kinds of novels, that is, those categorised as romances.⁸⁰ In the formation of a new and highly cultural novelistic tradition, in opposition to the emergence of mass culture, novels were progressively categorised as either serious or popular fiction, and novelists as either innovative highbrow authors or popular lowbrow writers of formulaic stories. Successful and prosperous female novelists like Bremer and Flygare-Carlén, who made a living by publishing novels, tended to be categorised as commercial writers because of their widespread popularity, productivity, and commercial success.⁸¹ Recurrent republishing of new editions in different languages contributed to putting a mass-market label on both the novels and the writers.

Simultaneously, the reviewing practice changed. As Thompson's study on the reception of Victorian novels states, in the mid-century, gender became a powerful analytic category used by reviewers to conceptualise and evaluate novels.⁸² At the time, both Bremer's and Flygare-Carlén's novels were categorised as domestic novels about family matters, a subgenre of novels that was gendered female and a subgenre that, by the end of the century, was progressively phased out as old-fashioned and of less literary interest. Although their novels were first launched as realist novels that were true to life, by the end of the century they were dismissed either as sentimental novels depicting an ideal world (Bremer), or as plot-driven melodramatic romances (Flygare-Carlén). In short, they were not realistic enough and not in accordance with the new programme of realism and naturalism, which was foremost represented by the next generation of male authors, such

as August Strindberg in Swedish literature and Émile Zola in France. By the end of the century and in a time of an increasingly male-oriented definition of high-cultural literature and novelistic tradition, both their sex as women and the kind of novels they wrote contributed to devaluation of their works as female novels that mainly addressed female issues and female audiences.

Furthermore, in a time of nationalism in Europe, genre – and indirectly gender – mattered in a new sense, not least in Scandinavian literature. The radical modern breakthrough in the 1870s and 1880s called for naturalist novels, which could be characterised as “state-of-the-region” novels addressing current social and political issues in Scandinavia. From the late 1880s onwards, the modern breakthrough in Scandinavia turned into a pseudo-romantic and nationalistic movement, which greeted and elevated regional exclusivity and provincial folk culture, as well as Vikings and heroic (male) deeds in the past. That is to say, Esaias Tegnér’s romantic verse tale *Frithiofs saga*, about Vikings in Norway, fulfilled the regional and national ideal, while “European” domestic novels were of less interest in the construction of a national literary canon. Both Bremer’s and Flygare-Carlén’s novels had been praised for depicting universal characters and everyday life and for addressing current social issues. Therefore, at the end of the century, they were not considered regional enough. Their universal and European or even cosmopolitan novels became of little interest to the national – and nationalistic – programme. They did not fit into the new national project by the turn of the twentieth century and the formation of a unique vernacular canon, that is, the construction of the history of Swedish and Scandinavian literature. Among the Swedish-language novelists, their male counterparts Almqvist, Rydberg, and Topelius came closer to the definition of Scandinavian culture. They were all writers of historical novels depicting a specific moment in Scandinavian history, such as Almqvist’s *Drottningens juvelsmycke* (*The Queen’s Diadem*), Rydberg’s *Singoalla*, and Topelius’s *Fältskärarens berättelser* (*The Surgeon’s Stories*). Almqvist was also acknowledged for his “folkskrifter”, or stories about the everyday life of common people set in specific provincial regions of Sweden, while Topelius took active part in the national Fennoman movement in Finland, something that influenced many of his stories. During their lifetimes, the male writers were also well established as serious writers in their countries. The end of the nineteenth century was not only a time of nationalism and new literary ideals; it was also a time when the literary field was taken over by professional men who were products of and authorised by new institutional structures.⁸³ Not least, Rydberg and Topelius achieved high

national and intellectual status due to their academic positions, scholarly achievements, and the approval of elite readers in their own generation of fellow countrymen. Thus, in their own time, they attained that kind of national prestige that made them most likely to survive and to be remembered in posterity both in and outside Scandinavia.

As John Guillory claims, literary works can only be canonical when “they are seen to endorse the hegemonic or ideological values of dominant social groups”.⁸⁴ At the turn of the twentieth century, dominant social groups in literary criticism consisted primarily of male critics, and the predominating male group came to construct the national canon of Swedish and Scandinavian literature for generations to come. In their view, the domestic novels by Bremer and Flygare-Carlén did not fulfil the requirements of the national curriculum to be read by future pupils and scholars. In some rare cases, however, Bremer and Flygare-Carlén have been mentioned in the national history of Swedish literature, but it has not been because of their transnational achievements. Instead, it has been because a couple of their novels are considered to have regional or social significance in a local national context. Flygare-Carlén’s novels set on the Swedish west coast have been credited with introducing a new and specific regional environment in Swedish literature, and Bremer’s *Hertha* has been declared to have been important for future feminist reforms in Sweden. That is, by the turn of the century the ruling national critics in Sweden ignored and dismissed their transnational success and thereby dismissed their most circulated novels abroad, such as Bremer’s *Grannarne* (*The Neighbours*) and Flygare-Carlén’s *Ett år* (*One Year*). In that way, their most influential novels outside Sweden were not only excluded from the literary history of Swedish literature but also from the future history of European literature. The construction of the history of European literature relies on the expertise of regional or national scholars; the canon of European world literature is based on the national selection of local writers and texts. Those historical writers and texts listed in the national curriculum are the ones most likely to be translated into other languages and published outside the country. Therefore, those stories by Almqvist that are frequently included in the current curriculum in Sweden are also those stories most frequently circulated outside Sweden. Today, Almqvist’s novels are almost as widely disseminated outside Sweden as the once very transnationally successful novels by Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, and Schwartz. Since after World War I, however, his works have been more frequently published in Swedish than the novels by any of the women writers (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2). This is the ruling mechanism of the formation of literary history, both in a national and a global perspective.

TOTAL NUMBER OF SWEDISH TITLES PUBLISHED PER 10-YEAR PERIOD

■ Fredrika Bremer ■ Emelie Flygare-Carlén ■ Marie Sophie Schwartz ■ Carl Jonas Love Almqvist

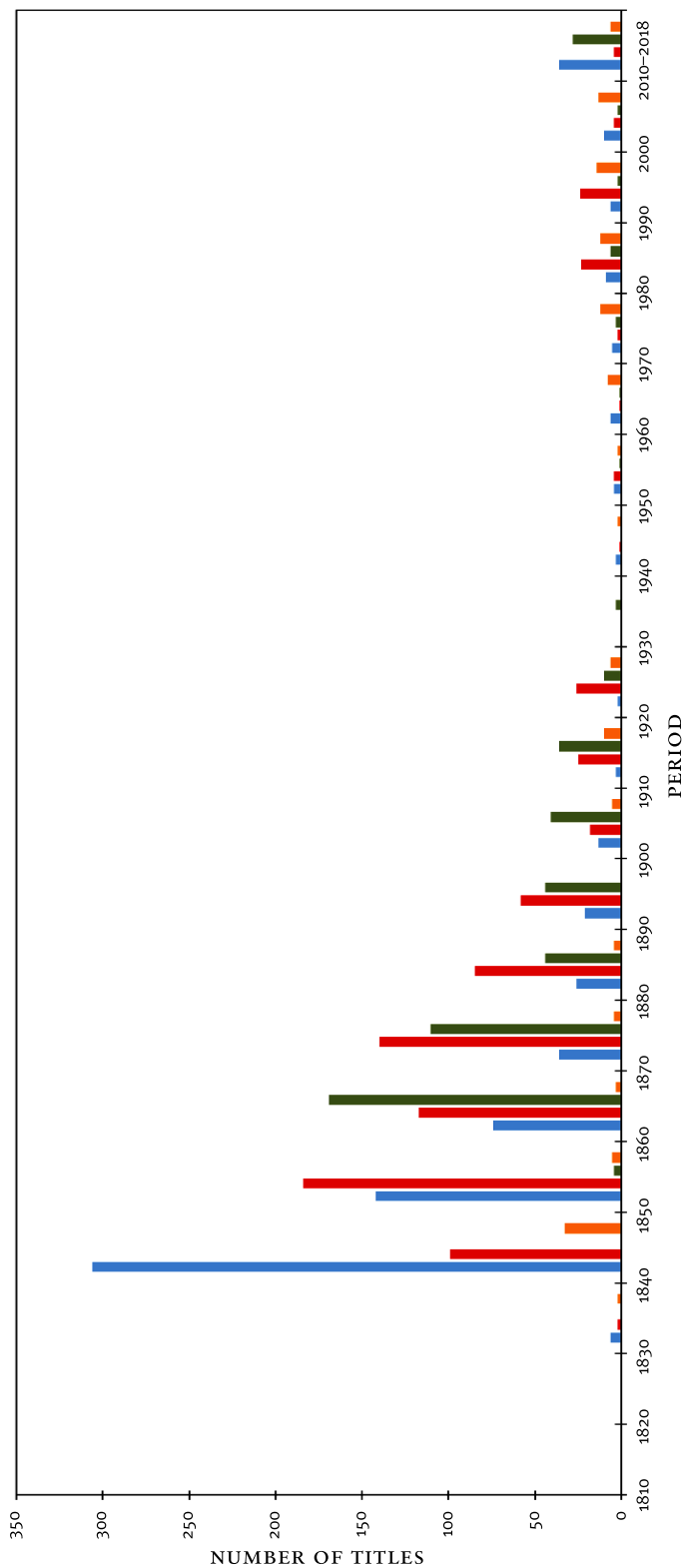


Fig. 1: Number of translated titles published 1810-2018 (SWED 2019)

TOTAL NUMBER OF SWEDISH TITLES PUBLISHED PER 10-YEAR PERIOD

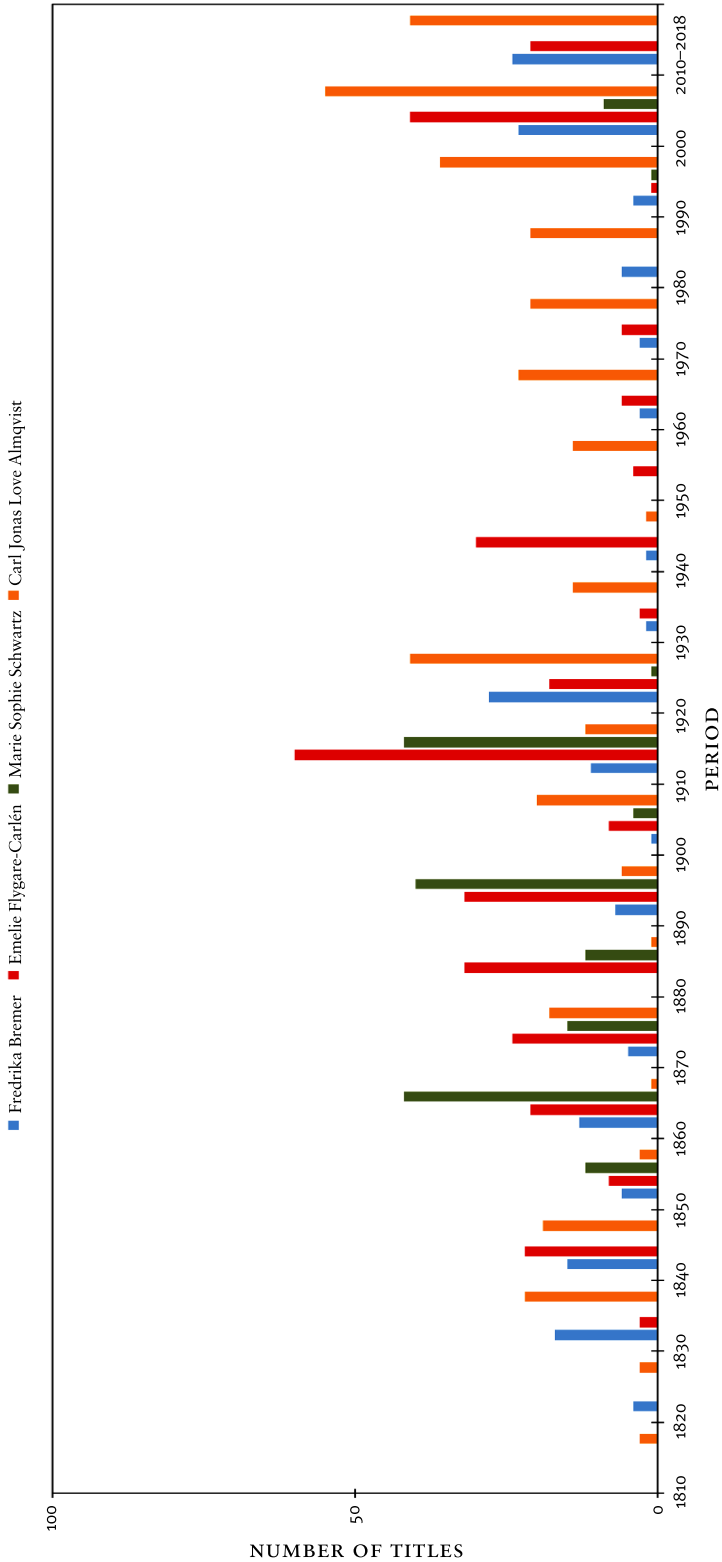


Fig. 2: Number of Swedish titles published 1810-2018 (SWED 2019)

SWEDISH NINETEENTH- CENTURY NOVELS AS WORLD LITERATURE?

Is it possible to think of some of the Swedish nineteenth-century novels as world literature? It certainly is for those scholars embracing David Damrosch's definition of world literature as a mode of reading and circulation, that world literature comprises "all literary works that circulate beyond their culture of origin, either in translation or in their original language".⁸⁵ That also means, according to Damrosch, that a given work can first enter and then fall out of world literature; the corpus of world literature is constantly reshaped.⁸⁶ The extremely popular novels by Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, and Schwartz circulated widely in the European-American part of the world from the mid-nineteenth century until World War I. In that sense, they certainly did enter into the corpus of world literature. After World War I, most of their novels fell out of the corpus, but at the millennium, some novels by both Bremer and Flygare-Carlén have returned to the huge selection of circulated texts by being republished and/or retranslated due to a growing curiosity about women writers. In relation to Damrosch's circulation-based meaning of world literature, other Swedish nineteenth-century novelists also entered and retreated from the corpus of world literature. Although Almqvist, Topelius, and Rydberg were less renowned abroad in their time, several of their works were distributed in other languages during a certain period. However, since World War II, some of their works have been more frequently issued outside their countries than those by the women writers. Some of Almqvist's most canonised novels in Sweden, as well as some stories for children by both Topelius and Rydberg, are today widely and recurrently distributed. Thereby, some Swedish nineteenth-century novels have been and still are included in the huge corpus of world literature according to Damrosch's classification: they have been circulated beyond their home base both in the nineteenth century and around the millennium. Topelius, in particular, has a global circulation because some of his stories for children are recurrently translated into both European and non-European languages.

But what about Swedish nineteenth-century novels as world literature in a narrower sense? The construction of world literature takes place on many different levels, not only among audiences, readers, and writers, but also among academic scholars and literary gatekeepers. The concept of world literature is occasionally used to refer to an established corpus of classics or evolving canon of literary masterpieces by acknowledged major authors. In that delimited sense, hardly any of the Swedish novels – or stories for children – mentioned above could

claim a place, not even in a specific subdivision within world literature, such as in the Western canon or the Euro-American section of world literature. Should world literature be understood as consisting of those canonised fractions of national literatures that are included in the curricula in university courses in comparative literature, two novels by Almqvist – *Drottningens juvelsmycke* and *Det går an* – might be included, at least on current university courses including Scandinavian or Nordic literature. Because Almqvist is an acknowledged major author in the national history of Swedish literature, today's specialists in Swedish literature make sure his most highly valued works are represented in the canon of Nordic world literature.

Instead of defining world literature as a selection of canonised texts, many scholars use world literature as a mode of reading texts that open up worlds beyond our own place, culture, and time.⁸⁷ Currently, many academic courses on world literature concentrate on non-Western literature aiming to different global perspectives on literature and literary traditions often raised by postcolonial studies within comparative literature. Should world literature be understood as texts offering new views on the established or recognised world, or as texts offering windows into foreign worlds, some of the Swedish novels certainly did qualify to be considered as world literature in the mid- and late nineteenth-century. Although they were part of Western and European literature, in the early and mid-nineteenth century, Swedish novels represented the unknown outskirts of European literature. According to contemporary reviewers and documented reception events, the novels by both Bremer and Flygare-Carlén put forward something innovative and fresh in literature, as well as a new view of Swedish culture. As such, they influenced readers and writers beyond their source culture. In particular, their novels were welcomed for their good morals, refined depiction of everyday life, and animated portrayals of trustworthy characters, not least, capable women. Most certainly, they established Swedish literature as a positive and encouraging concept. To allude to a previously quoted American reviewer in 1851: Who cared for Swedish literature until Bremer and Flygare-Carlén introduced it to the world?

NOTES

- 1 About the number of subscribers signed up for the series, see *Franckh'sche Verlagshandlung Stuttgart 1822–1957. Ein altes Verlagshaus mit jungem Geist*, Stuttgart: Franckh'sche Verlagshandlung W. Keller & Co., 1957, p. 40. See also Karin Carsten Montén, *Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte Fredrika*

- Bremers in Deutschland*. Verlag, Übersetzung, Publikum [Scripta Minora 1975–1976: 2], Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1976, p. 22.
- 2 About translation into Polish and Czech via German, see Wasilewska-Chmura, “Marie Sophie Schwartz in Translation: Exporting Swedish Women’s Literature to Poland”, in Yvonne Leffler (ed.), *The Triumph of the Swedish Nineteenth-Century Novel in Central and Eastern Europe*, Göteborg: LIR.skrifter. 9, 2019, pp. 42–53.
 - 3 Thomas Carlyle, *The French Revolution. A History*, Vol. I. Book II: “The Paper Age”, in *Collected Works*, Vol. II, London: Chapman and Hall/ New York: Scribner, Welford & Co., 1869, pp. 33–74. Also referred to by e.g. Mary Poovey, *Genres of the Credit Economy: Mediating Value in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Britain*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008, p. 154.
 - 4 Montén, *Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte Fredrika Bremers in Deutschland*, p. 31. See also *ibid.* 39. Cf. Carina Burman, *Mamsellen och förläggarna: Fredrika Bremers förlagskontakter 1828–1865*, Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1995, pp. 43–45.
 - 5 According to Hedberg, polyphonic narration characterises today’s most translated Swedish fiction, see Andreas Hedberg, *Svensk litteraturs spridning i världen, Rapport från Svenska förläggareföreningen*, Stockholm: Svenska Förläggare AB, 2019, p. 28.
 - 6 About triple-decker novels and Mudie’s circulating library in England, see Poovey, *Genres of the Credit Economy*, pp. 303–304.
 - 7 Review of *The Neighbours*, *The North American Review*, Vol. 56, No. 119, April 1843, p. 497; Review of *The H-Family*, *The North American Review*, Vol. 57, No. 120, July 1843, p. 137. Cf. Åsa Arping, “‘The Miss Austen of Sweden’: Fredrika Bremer’s Transatlantic Triumph in the Age of Reprint”, in Yvonne Leffler, Åsa Arping, Jenny Bergenmar, Gunilla Hermansson, and Birgitta Johansson Lindh, *Swedish Women’s Writing on Export: Tracing Transnational Reception in the Nineteenth Century*, LIR.skrifter 10: Göteborg, pp. 114–115.
 - 8 About their female domestic novels, see Åsa Arping and Yvonne Leffler, “The Wonderful Adventures of Swedish Everyday Life: Female Domestic Novels on Export in the Nineteenth Century”, in Margareta Fahlgren and Anna Williams (eds.), *The Dynamics and Contexts of Cultural Transfers. An Anthology*, Uppsala: Avdelningen för Litteratursociologi, Uppsala universitet, 2017, pp. 66–68.
 - 9 Ondrej Vimr, “Despised and Popular. Swedish Women Writers in Nineteenth-Century Czech National and Gender Emancipation”, in Yvonne Leffler (ed.), *The Triumph of the Swedish Nineteenth-Century Novel in Central and Eastern Europe*, Göteborg: LIR.skrifter.9, 2019, p. 106; Wasilewska-Chmura, “Marie Sophie Schwartz in Translation”, pp. 153, 157.
 - 10 Wasilewska-Chmura, “Marie Sophie Schwartz in Translation”, p. 157.
 - 11 Vimr, “Despised and Popular”, pp. 99–102.
 - 12 Clemente Mapelli, “Prefazione”, in Carlén, Emilie, *Un anno de matrimonio*, trans Clemente Mapelli, Milan: E. Treves, 1869, p. 13.
 - 13 Review of *The Bondmaid* by Fredrika Bremer, *The North American Review*, Vol. 58, No 123, April 1844, p. 488.

- 14 Péter Mádl and Ildikó Annus, “The Significance of Swedish Literature in Nineteenth Century Hungary”, Yvonne Leffler (ed.), *The Triumph of the Swedish Nineteenth-Century Novel in Central and Eastern Europe*, Göteborg: LIR.skrifter. 9, 2019, pp. 128–129.
- 15 Translation of the promotional text quoted by Ondřej Vimr, *Historie překladatele. Cesty skandinávských literatur dočestiny* (1890–1950), Příbram: Pistorius & Olšanská, 2014, p. 41.
- 16 Letter from Františka Šimáček to Emilie Flygare-Carlén dated 21 June 1882, Nordiska musseet Archive, Stockholm.
- 17 Gustav Pallas, *Hvězdy severu: Kapitoly z kulturních dějin severských*, Havlíčkův Brod: Jiří Chvojka, 1948, p. 196.
- 18 Franco Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel 1800–1900*, London and New York: Verso, 1998, pp. 151–158.
- 19 Peter France and Kenneth Haynes, “The Publication of Literary Translation: An Overview”, in Peter France and Kenneth Haynes (eds.), *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006, p. 136; Robert E. Bjork, “6.6. Modern Scandinavian”, in Peter France and Kenneth Haynes (eds.), *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006, p. 288.
- 20 “Miscellaneous Reviews”, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, April 1852, p. 380.
- 21 Review of *The Bondmaid* by Fredrika Bremer etc., *The North American Review*, Vol. 58, No. 123, April 1844, pp. 480–483.
- 22 Arping, “The Miss Austen of Sweden”, 2019, pp. 112–119.
- 23 Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translations Studies and Beyond*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1995, p. 27. About Bremer’s novels in this context see Arping, “The Miss Austen of Sweden”, 2019, pp. 116–119.
- 24 See <https://www.tacitus.nu/svenskhistoria/befolkning.htm>
- 25 Hedberg, *Svensk litteraturs spridning i världen*, p. 14; Johan Svedjedal, “Svensk skönlitteratur i världen”, *Svensk litteratur som världslitteratur. En antologi.*, Johan Svedjedal (ed.). [Skrifter utgivna av Avdelningen för litteratursociologi vid Litteraturvetenskapliga institutionen i Uppsala], 65, Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2012, p. 37.
- 26 Johan Heilborn, “Translation as a Cultural World System”, *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology*, No. 8:1, 2000, s. 14, also referred to in Svedjedal “Svensk litteratur som världslitteratur”, p. 36.
- 27 Hedberg, *Svensk litteraturs spridning i världen*, pp. 25, 35.
- 28 About the impact of Flygare-Carlén’s novel and its importance for the introduction of Swedish literature, see Mádl and Annus, “The Significance of Swedish Literature in Nineteenth Century Hungary”, pp. 128–133, 137–139.
- 29 Mádl and Annus, “The Significance of Swedish Literature in Nineteenth Century Hungary”, p. 137.
- 30 Mádl and Annus, “The Significance of Swedish Literature in Nineteenth Century Hungary”, p. 126.
- 31 Tegnér, *Píseň o Frithiofvi*, trans. J.V. Sládek, Prag, 1891.
- 32 Tegnér, “Plainte d’Ingeborg”, trans. Jean-Jacques Ampère, in *Littérature et voyages, Allemagne et Scandinavie*, Pauline, 1833, p. 154–155/Louis Haman & Cie, 1834, pp. 156–157.

- 33 Tegnér, *Frithiof, poem*, trans. Hippolite Desprez, Paris: Challamel, 1843.
- 34 Tegnér, *Axel: Fritiof: Poésies diverse*, trans. Rosalie Du Puget, Paris: Librairie française et étrangère, 1846.
- 35 Tegnér, *La saga de Fritiof*, in *Histoire littéraire du Nord*, 1, Paris: Gide et Baudry, 1850; Tegnér, *Frithiof et Ingeborg*, trans. Louis Boutillier, Rennes: A Marteville et Lefas, 1851; Tegnér, *La saga de Fritiof*, trans. Hippolite Deprez, Paris: Hachette, 1851; Tegnér, *La Saga de Fritiof etc.*, trans. L. Léouzon Le Duc, Paris: A Lacrois, Verboeckhoven et Cie, 1867; Tegnér, *Quatre chants de la Saga de Fritiof*, trans. Louis Guillaume Téint, Stockholm: Norstedt, 1869; Tegnér, *La plainte d'Ingeborg*, trans. H.F. Amiel, Paris: Sandoz, 1876; Tegnér, *Frithiof*, Paris: H. Gautier, 1887; Tegnér, *La saga de Frithiof*, trans. A. Gaston-Péot, Paris: Ed. Du Monde nouveau, 1924.
- 36 Tegnér, *Sagi-Frytjof*, trans. D. St. Peterburg, 1840; Tegnér, *Saga o Frithiofie*, 1842. Tegnér, *Axel*, trans. Jana Wiernikowskiego, Wilno: J. Zawadski, 1842, 1843.
- 37 Tegnér, *Aksel: Fritiofs saga*, Pozna, 1850; Tegnér, *Fritiofs-Saga*, trans. R. Zmorski, in *Znicz*, 1852, p. 7–22; Tegnér, *Fritjowa saga*, trans. Ludwika Jagielskiego, Pozna: L. Mierzbach, 1856; Tegnér, *Frytjof*, trans. Józef Grajnert, Warsaw: J. Jaworski, 1859; Tegnér, *Frytjof*, trans. Jana Wiernikowskiego, St. Petersburg: J. Ohryzko, 1861; Tegnér, *Dwa upepy z Sagi o Frithjofie*, trans. Roman Zmorski, Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1866.
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- 39 William Widgery Thomas Jr., “Introduction”, in Viktor Rydberg, *The Last Athenian*, trans. William Widgery Thomas Jr., Philadelphia: T.B. Peterson & Brothers, 1869, p. 23.
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- 41 *New York, Evening Post*, 2 May 1872.
- 42 E.g. in German newspapers: “Litteraturblatt”, *Neues Freie Presse*, 19 June 1921, p. 31; “Bücher von denen man spricht”, *Moderne Welt*, Heft 4, 1921–1922, p. 23; Paul Frank, “Feuilleton”, *Neues Wiener Journal*, 13 March 1922, p. 3.
- 43 *Neue Freie Presse* (Wien) 19 June, 1921.
- 44 “Menchen”, *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 28 Nov. 1903, p. 406; Otto Hauser, “Schwedische Lyrik”, *Neue Freie Presse*, 20 Dec. 1903, p. 42; “E”, “Feuilleton”, *Badener Zeitung*, 30 Jan. 1904, pp. [1]–4.
- 45 “Ze světa literárního. August Strindberg: Manželství”, *Plzeňské listy* 25 Sept. 1894, p. 1. Quoted and commented on by Ondřej Vimr, “En hård kamp? Strindbergs første tiår på tsjekkisk”, *Strindbergiana*. Tjugoåttonde samlingen utgiven av Strindbergssällskapet, ed. Elena Balzamo, Anna Cavallin, David Gedin, Per Stam, Stockholm: Atlantis, 2013, p. 60 and Vimr, “Despised and Popular”, pp. 110–111.
- 46 Vimr, “En hård kamp”, pp. 64–65.

- 47 David Damrosch “World Literature in Postcanonical, Hypercanonical Age”, in Haun Saussy (ed.), *Comparative Literature in an Age of Globalization*, Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006, pp. 45–46.
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- 49 Arping, “The Miss Austen of Sweden”, 2019, pp. 118–119, 125, 138.
- 50 *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 15 May 1847, p. 540.
- 51 Karel Sabina, “Slovo o románu vůbec a českém zvláště. Článek druhý Dokončení”, *Lumír*, No. 26, 1 July 1858, pp. 613–620. About the article see, Vimr, “Despised and Popular”, pp. 91–92.
- 52 Bremerová, *Z deníku osamtnéle*, Horník, Almanach na r. Kutná Hora: J. Pospíšil, 1844. See also Vimr, “Despised and Popular”, pp. 88–89. Bremerové, *Rodina, její starosti a radosti*, trans. J.B. Libuše, Prague: Libuše, Matice zábavy a vědění, 1872.
- 53 Mádl & Annus, “The Significance of Swedish Nineteenth-Century Literature in Hungary”, pp. 142–143.
- 54 Arping, “The Miss Austen of Sweden”, 2019, p. 102. See also Tanja Badalič, *Reception of European Women Writers in Slovenian Multicultural Territory of the 19th Century until the End of the First World War*, diss. University of Nova Gorica, 2014, pp. 77–78.
- 55 See Badalič, *Reception of European Women Writers in Slovenian Multicultural Territory*, “Appendix”, pp. 201, 204, 214.
- 56 “En blåstrumpa”, *Åbo Underrättelser*, 7 Nov. 1846; Struzen-Becker/Orvar Odd, “Christian Winthers ’Träsnitt””, *Morgonbladet*, 30 March 1848, p. [1]; *Litteraturblad för allmän medborgerlig bildning*, 1 Jan. 1856, p. 12.
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- 59 Karin Carsten Montén, *Fredrika Bremer in Deutschlands: Aufnahme und Kritik*, Skandinavistische Studien, 14, Neuünster: Wachholtz, 1981, pp. 58–104, 131–165. See also *ibid.* pp. 53, 121, 172, et passim.
- 60 “die poesie des Alltagslebens”, “Emilie Carlén”, *Illustrierte Zetung*, 3 July 1852, p. 7. About her many readers cf. “Ein handelshaus in den Scheeren”, *llustrirte Zietung*, 17. Sept. 1859, p. 193.
- 61 Monica Lauritzen, *En kvinnas röst: Emilie Flygare-Carléns liv och dikt*, Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 2007, p. 377; Yvonne Leffler, *I skräckens lustgård. Skräckromantik i svenska 1800-talsromaner*, diss, Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 1991, pp. 98–99.
- 62 Vimr, “Despised and Popular”, p. 94.
- 63 “moderna tendenser”, in “I boklådan”, *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 18 Sept. 1861, p. [1]. Cf. E., “Korrespondens från Sverige”, *Barometern*, 20 Dec. 1861, p. 126.
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- 66 *Tidskrift utgiven av Pedagogiska föreningen i Finland*, 1 Jan. 1870, p. 224; *Tidskrift utgiven av Pedagogiska föreningen i Finland*, 1 Jan. 1870, p. 341; “Små ströftåg på skolans område”, *Åbo Underrättelser*, 13 June 1874, p. [1-2].
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- 78 Poovey, *Genres of the Credit Economy*, pp. 160–169. Guillory, *Cultural Capital*, pp. 19–28.
- 79 Poovey, *Genres of the Credit Economy*, pp. 157, 160, 305–307 et passim. See also Kelly J. Mays, “The Disease of Reading and Victorian Periodicals”,

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- 80 Pearson, *Women's Reading in Britain*, pp. 16, 198–200 et passim.
- 81 About the idea that books written to be sold were seen as commodities, see Poovey, *Genre of the Credit Economy*, p. 27.
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- 85 David Damrosch, *What Is World Literature?*, Princeton, New Jersey, and Woodstock, Oxfordshire: Princeton University Press, 2003, pp. 4–5.
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APPENDIX 1

Note on Transnational Research and Methodological Challenges

THIS STUDY ON the dissemination and reception of Swedish nineteenth-century novels is based on a quantitative investigation of which novels have been translated into other languages and to what extent they have been published and republished outside Sweden from the first date of publication in Swedish until 2018. The analysis is centred on six novelists – three female and three male: Fredrika Bremer, Emilie Flygare-Carlén, Marie Sophie Schwartz, Carl Jonas Love Almqvist, Viktor Rydberg, and Zacharias Topelius. In order to investigate and verify the mechanisms behind the transmission of Swedish novels in general, the six writers are compared to the transmission of six more Swedish writers: two writers of romantic verse tales, Per Daniel Amadeus Atterbom and Esaias Tegnér, and four novelists, Sophie von Knorring, August Blanche, Carl Fredrik Ridderstad, and Anton Wetterbergh (pen name Onkel Adam). More specifically, the quantitative study is based on recorded bibliographical data on 12 Swedish writers in the database *SWED*, which lists the literary publications by the writers found during the survey. This includes the original publication of a work and new editions of it in Swedish as well as published and republished translations of it into other languages.¹ Thus, *SWED* has been used to chart and compare the male and female writers, the most successful ones and those less popular, as well as to create statistics in order to visualise the results over time and compare the transnational distribution of different writers or specific works. The graphs, tables, and charts included in the chapters of this study are based on data compiled from the latest and updated version of the database, *SWED 19*.

The construction of *SWED* and thereby the mapping of the ways

in which Swedish nineteenth-century novels travelled across languages and national borders could not be done without access to digitised and open library catalogues. The investigation of the transnational response to the novels and their writers also relies on the increasing amounts of press material accessible online. The digitisation of archives and catalogues, as well as making them freely available online, has radically improved conditions for scholars working on the transnational reception of literary texts. Nevertheless, many digitised archives are not open to the public or available free of charge, but instead require payment of membership or subscription fees. All digitised sources used in this study were open to the public during the time of the survey, and they continue to be. However, full access to certain data or the conditions for using certain digitised archives may change without notice. Therefore, all sources used for the construction of *SWED* are listed in *SWED 19*, and source used for the investigation of historical press material are listed in “Bibliography” in this book. Access to a reliable free British newspaper archive has been useful in this study, but still, most of them are not free to use. On the other hand, in some cases it has been possible to use previous scholarly works on the reception of Swedish literature in English or other languages.² In some cases, some British newspapers have been digitised in databases outside Britain, such as the German newspaper archive *DigiPress*.

Although material is digitised and made available online, some of the main bibliographical databases cause methodological problems. UNESCO’s *Index Translationum*, created in 1979, is not useful when working on nineteenth-century literature. Data in union or general catalogues and databases, such as *WorldCat*, *Europeana*, and *Google Books*, is often scarce and sometimes deficient or unreliable. In this study, information about a publication in these archives and their recorded sources has sometimes proved to be incorrect when checked. A further problem is that titles and texts once found in databases such as *Google Books* have sometimes not been possible to find at a second search, while instead, other titles and texts have been included.

The collection and its recorded data at the National Library of Sweden are also incomplete. The national legal deposit legislation has ensured the acquisition of every item printed and circulated in Sweden since 1661, but it does not include Swedish literature translated into other languages and published outside Sweden. Although within the national online catalogue *Libris* there is a sub-database, *Suecana Extranea*, which indexes Swedish literature that has been translated and printed abroad, it is far from complete and therefore insufficient for this kind of investigation. While *Libris* including *Suecana Extranea*

covers as much as half of all translated book publications by canonised national writers, such as August Strindberg, it only lists about a quarter of all translations by now-forgotten but at the time bestselling writers, such as Marie Sophie Schwartz. In addition, translated works included in anthologies and collections in languages other than Swedish are seldom registered, and serialised novels published in foreign periodicals, newspapers, journals, and magazines are even less likely to be listed in the national catalogue.

For the construction of *SWED* and for finding all translations not recorded in *Libris*, catalogues at other national libraries have been used. Although, the national libraries are not required to register and preserve all works translated into the national languages, they often keep works translated into these languages if they are published by a publishing house in the country or its regions. Nonetheless, the information given on a specific publication is sometimes undersupplied or hard to deduce. The online catalogues at the national libraries often work differently and the selection of data noted down on publications is far from standardised. In some digitised European library catalogues, the name of the publishing house is not registered and only some of the information given on the title page is recorded. Sometimes the name of the translator is missing, although it is spelt out on the cover or title page of the printed book. Secondary information of interest for a reception study is often omitted, such as whether the publication is a new edition or a reprint of a former edition, whether the text was translated from the source text or from a translation into another language, and so on. That is, a scholar will get more or less detailed information depending on which digitised catalogue or subsection is used as a source. Moreover, although it is far from the normal case, the facts given are not always reliable due to direct misinterpretation of data, lost information, or incorrect recording. For example, sometimes the year of publication is misprinted. In some cases, the registered year of publication has not been the year of publication of the actual translation or target text, but the first year of publication of the Swedish source text. Sometimes, the record-keeping librarian has misinterpreted the source or target language, or because of insufficient language skills, she or he has misunderstood or neglected to record certain data. However, these kinds of mistakes and incorrect information are often possible to detect and correct, especially if it is possible to compare the information given in different sources.

In addition, collecting data from publicly available online sources that include nineteenth-century titles and works entails various problems, depending on how data is presented and compiled and the way

it is made searchable. Although all writers included in this study represent more or less the same literary period and genre, the mid-nineteenth century novel, the amount of available and reliable data varies. It is an overwhelming task to sort and survey the number of works in translation by bestselling novelists, such as Bremer, Flygare-Carlén, and Schwartz. It is also hard to identify and estimate the number of separately published works included in other publications, such as series and collections. It is also difficult to find separately published short stories that are included in anthologies, collections of short stories, children's books, and textbooks by writers such as Almqvist and Topelius. Although the title and certain publication data on an anthology or collection might be recorded, the contents and titles of the included stories and the names of the writers are not always registered. It is even more challenging to find stories that are not issued as books, or included in books, but are published in periodicals or newspapers because serialised novels are seldom registered in current digitised library catalogues, databases, and printed bibliographies. If they are registered, it is sometimes hard to decide if the registered data is referring to the original serialised publication or a later publication in book form of the serialised version. In the nineteenth century, enthused readers often cut out serialised novels in newspapers and periodicals and had a book-binder turn them into costly hardcover volumes. Today it is sometimes hard to decide if a volume of this kind was first published as a book by a publishing house or if it is a binding of a serialised novel, which was first published in a newspaper or magazine.

Considering these discrepancies between different forms of publications and registered data at different libraries at different periods in history, the number of translated titles recorded in available library sources does not fully describe the actual quantity of published translations of a certain novel or the reception of it or its author in a certain region. The size of a printed edition is seldom recorded or possible to estimate. Moreover, it is difficult to determine in which contexts a specific printed translation was distributed and read. In the mid-nineteenth century, the cultural elite in Europe often preferred to read fiction in major and culturally high-status languages. For example, in today's Poland, Hungary, Romania, and Czech Republic, fiction was usually read in German. In Italy and Spain, literates often read foreign novels in French. Accordingly, in certain regions of Europe, fiction was habitually read in other languages than those we today recognise as the national languages in these regions. Besides, in some cases one and the same text was translated and retranslated several times both into the official major language – for example, German – and into the

local vernaculars, such as Czech, Hungarian, and Estonian. The latter procedure indicates that a large number of people in a certain region, possibly including readers not belonging to the cultural elite, read it.

In addition, studying the translation and the reception of Swedish nineteenth-century novels means working with a multi-language corpus of literary texts, reception material, and online sources. This fact raises practical and methodological challenges. Besides insufficient and sometimes also incorrectly recorded data, the digitised world is substantially unequal: some material in major languages might be relatively accessible and well documented, while more arduous work is sometimes required to obtain digitised sources in minor languages. Besides, for a non-native scholar it always requires extensive linguistic and cultural skills to properly search and interpret data in other languages. As mentioned above, different digitised sources work differently, and the data recorded is not always equivalent or compiled according to a consistent model. Therefore, the use of various abbreviations in different languages and cultures is particularly trying for a non-native scholar with insufficient knowledge of a certain language, its culture, and its scholarly traditions.

Charting the dissemination of a writer entails not only finding translations but also identifying the source texts behind specific translated titles. The original title is seldom recorded in a digitised library catalogue. Different translations of a source text can also be given different titles in the same language. Almqvist's novel *Det går an* – in English meaning “Why not?” or “It’s OK!” – is in the United States titled *Why not!* (1994) and later *Sara Videbeck* (2010). Flygare-Carlén's novel *Ett år* – “One year” – is in English given five different titles: *Twelve Months of Matrimony* (1847); *One Year, a Tale of Wedlock* (1853); *Lavinia; or, One Year* (1873), *The Event of a Year* (1853), and *Two Wives* (1884). The first three titles refer to the same translation – by Alex L. Krause and Elbert Perce – while *The Event of a Year* is probably a different and anonymously published translation. The last title, *Two Wives*, is a new translation by a translator using the signature F.E.D. For a list of Swedish titles and translations into English, see Appendix 2.)

In certain European languages, not only the text and its title are translated but the name of the author is also spelt in a local manner. For example, in Czech, Emilie Flygare-Carlén frequently appears as Emilie Flygaré-Carlénové, or Flygare-Karlénové, and Marie Sophie Schwartz is known as Marie Žofie Schwartzové or Marie Žofie Švarcové. Also in English one and the same writer can be named differently, in particular female writers. For example, Flygare-Carlén can be called by her title Miss or Mrs together with only one of her family names, that is, as Miss

or Mrs Flygare or Carlén/Carlen. She can also be recorded by her both family names spelt out as Mrs/Emilie Flygare-Carlén, or just as Emilie F. Carlén. Sometimes her first name is written Emilie or Emilia, which can be compared to the different spellings of Fredrika Bremer's first name, which in French is spelt Frédérique or Frédérica, and in Polish Fryderyke. Also, Carl Jonas Love Almqvist's family name appears with different spellings, such as Almqvist, Almqvist, and Almkvist, which complicates a search on his name in digitised newspaper archives.

In general, publication data on reception documents is not searchable in national library catalogues. The reception texts used in this study have been retrieved from databases containing press material in different languages in non-commercial open-access archives, such as the French *Gallica*, the Austrian *ANNO*, the German *DigiPress*, and the American *Chronicling America* at the Library of Congress and *Old Fulton New York Post Cards*. However, when this investigation took place in 2019, it was restricted in various ways. The searches made were confined to the material available and readable by available tools. None of the above-mentioned archives contain all newspapers and journals published in a certain region and language. For example, *Chronicling America* does not contain New York newspapers, such as *New York Daily Tribune*, which published many reviews of Swedish novels translated into English and articles on Swedish and Scandinavian literature. The New York papers have instead been available in *Old Fulton New York Post Cards*. Although it would be interesting to use digital methods in order to track the extent to which literary critics recycled texts in reviews, or to trace commonly used tropes about Sweden and Swedish nineteenth-century novels, it is not possible without a considerable amount of pre-processing. It would, for example, involve the transformation of image to text, correction of OCR errors, and identification and retrieval of the relevant material. Due to these circumstances, this study has applied quantitative digitised search methods in order to find relevant reception events in the international press in combination with qualitative methods of close reading in the analysis of reception texts, such as reviews, articles on literature and writers, obituaries, literary travel reports, and interviews with writers.

Still, searching in digitised historical press archives is connected with several difficulties, and therefore the current search methods are far from fully reliable. To begin with, a scholar looking for published material on a specific writer or literary text by a writer has to decide which search word, or cluster of words, to use. Although the obvious search word is the name of the writer, such a choice might pose problems, especially if the search word is a rather common name in international

text. A search on, for example, Schwartz or Bremer must be narrowed by including the first name(s) of the author. However, this addition also gives rise to new problems as more search names also result in more possible ways of spelling them. As demonstrated above, the name of an author is often spelt in different ways in different languages, and sometimes the first name is not used but is replaced by a title, such as Mr for a male writer and Miss, Mrs, Mademoiselle, or Madame for a female writer. If it is a female writer, the title Miss or Mrs is not always used according to her actual civil status. Although married, the women writers investigated in this study are often referred to as Miss, that is, as unmarried women.

Another major obstacle in this study has been the quality of the scanned pages in digitised archives. Blurry printing in the original paper copy, in addition to newspaper pages printed in various forms of German type or black letters, often proved unsearchable because the applied search tool could not recognise the individual letters or the exact search word. Sometimes, when a certain article was found in a random manual search, the same article could not be found when using electronic tools to search in the same archive. Also, when a certain article in a newspaper or journal was found in one archive, the same article could not always be found when searching in another digitised archive containing the same newspaper or journal. In most cases, these failures are due to the poor quality of the scanned or digitised page, which makes it unreadable with current technology. Another problem relating to unreadable letters is that it has been difficult to find all reviews of a writer's works by searching on the writer's name. At times, a certain review did not come up when searching on the name of the actual writer of the reviewed novel. Instead, it was found on a search of another author's name because it happened to be mentioned in the text. For example, sometimes a review of a novel by Flygare-Carlén could not be found using her name – or different versions of it – but it was found on a search on Bremer because Flygare-Carlén's reviewed novel is compared to a novel by Bremer. Accordingly, despite repeated searches in the same archive, reviews and articles of significant interest may not have been found or been accessible for an electronic search. At times, the electronic tools therefore seem to give a rather random and unreliable result. However, although it has not been possible to find and study every single entity of interest, the amount of data actually available in the study has made it possible to investigate, analyse, and demonstrate general trends with good accuracy.

NOTES (APPENDIX 1)

- 1 *SWED* was created as a search tool and digitised bibliography. It contains information on the title and subtitle of the text; the original Swedish title of a translated text (if identified); the language of translation; the name of the translator and publisher; place, country, and year of publication; and additional information about the work. It also records the source of information and thus identifies at least one library or archive that holds an existing copy of the publication.
- 2 For example, on the reception of Bremer in England, see Doris Ryan Asmundsson, *Fredrika Bremer in England*, diss., Columbia University, Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, Inc. 1964.

APPENDIX 2

List of titles in Swedish and translations made into English

IN THOSE CASES no English translation has been found, a rough translation of the Swedish title is given within brackets.

CARL JONAS LOVE ALMQVIST

Amalia Hillner (Amalia Hillner)

Amorina (Amorina)

Arbetets ära (The honour of labour)

Columbine (Columbine)

Drottningen juvelsmycke – The Queen’s Diadem/ The Queen’s Tiara

Det går an – Sara Videbeck/Why Not!

Jaktslottet (The hunting seat)

Gabrièle Mimanso – Gabrièle Mimanso

Grimstahamns nybygge (Grimstahamn’s settlement)

Kapellet – The chapel

Ormus och Ariman (Ormus and Ariman)

Ramindo Marinesco (Ramindo Marinesco)

Palatset (The palace)

Skällnora kvarn (Skällnora mill)

Smaragdbruden (The bride of emerald)

Svenska fattigdomens betydelse (The significance of poverty)

Törnrosens bok (Thornrose book)

Tre fruar i Småland (Three wives in Småland)

PER DANIEL AMADEUS ATTERBOM

Lycksalighetens ö (Island of the blest)

AUGUST BLANCHE

Banditen – The Bandit

Bilder ur verkligheten (Pictures of real life)

Flickan i stadsgården – Master of his Fate

Hyrkuskens berättelser (The liveryman's tale)

Klockaren i Danderyd (The parish clerk in Danderyd)

Sonen av söder och nord (The son of south and north)

FREDRIKA BREMER

Lifvet iden gamla världen – Life in the Old World

En dagbok – A Diary

*Familjen H*** – The H-Family/Family H/ Domestic Life; or, The H---family/
The Coloner's Family*

Grannarne – The Neighbours

*Hemmen I den nya världen – The Homes of the New World; Impressions of
America*

*Hemmet eller familjesorger och fröjder –The Home; or Family Cares and
Family Joys*

Hertha, eller en själs historia – Hertha, or, A Soul's History

I Dalarna – Life in Dalecarlia

*Livet i gamla världen – Life in the Old World; or, Two Years in Switzerland and
Italy*

Nina –Nina: Life in Sweden

Nya teckningar utur hvardagslifvet – New Sketces of Everyday Life

Midsommar-resan – The Midnight Sun

Presidentens döttrar – The President's Daughters: a Narrative of a Governess

Strid och frid eller några scener i Norge – Strife and Peace: or, Scenes in Norway

Syskonlif – Brothers and Sisters

Teckningar utur hvardagslivet – Sketches of Everyday Life

Trälinnan – The Bondmaid

Tvillingarne – TheTwins

EMILIE FLYGARE-CARLÉN

Bruden på Omberg – The Bride of Omberg

En natt vid Bullarsjön (A night at Bullar lake)

*En nyckfull qvinna –Woman's Life; or, The Trials of Caprice/A Whimsical
Women*

Enslingen på Johannisskåret – The Hermit

*Ett år – One Year/ Twelve Months of Matrimony/The Events of a Year/
Two Wives*

Ett köpmanshus i skärgården (A merchant house among islands)

Ett lyckligt parti – A Brilliant Marriage

Ett rykte (A rumour)

Familjen i dalen – The Home in the Valley

Fideikommisset – The Temptation of Wealth/The Birthright

Förmyndaren – The Guardian
Gustaf Lindorm – Gustavus Lindorm
Jungfrutornet – The Maiden Tower
Kyrkoinvigningen i Hammarby – The Magic Goblet
Professorn och hans skyddslingar – The Professor and His Favourites/ Rosa and Her Suitors)
Representanten – The Lover's Stratagem
Romanhjältinnan – John, or is not a Cousin in Hand
Rosen på Tistelön – The Rose of Tistelön/The Rose of Thistle Isle/The Smugglers of the Swedish Coast/The Rose of Thistle Island
Skjutsgossen – Ivar: or, the Skjuts-Boy
Vindskupor – Marie Louise; or the Opposite Neighbours
Waldemar Klein – Waldemar Klein/ Julie, or, Love and Duty

SOPHIE VON KNORRING

Axel (Axel)
Cousinerna (The cousins)
Illusionerna (The illusions)
Qvinderna (The women)
Torparen och hans omgivning (The peasant and his landlord)
Vännerna (The friends)

CARL FREDRIK RIDDERSTAD

Drabanten (The guard)
Drottning Lovisa Ulrikas hof (The court of queen Lovisa Ulrika)
Far och Son (Father and son)
Frenologen (The phrenologist)
Fursten (The prince)
Samvetet eller Stockholms-mysterier (The conscience or mysteries of Stockholm)
Svarta handen (The Black Hand)

VIKTOR RYDBERG

De vandrande djäknarna (The wandering apprentices)
Den nye Grottesången (The new cave song)
Den siste atenaren – The Last Athenian)
Fädernas gudasaga – Our Fathers' Godsaga
Fribytare på Östersjön – Freebooter of the Baltic
Lille Viggs äfventyr på julafton – Little Vigg's Christmas Eve
Medeltidens magi – The Magic of the Middle Ages
Prometheus och Ahasverus (Prometheus and Ahasverus)
Romerska dagar – Roman Days
Romerska kejsare i marmor (Roman kaisers in marble)
Romerska sägner om apostlarna Paulus och Petrus – Roman Legends about the Apostles Paul and Peter

Singoalla – Singoalla
Tomten – The Christmas Tomten/ The Tomten
Vapensmeden (The armourer)

MARIE SOPHIE SCHWARTZ

Arbetet adlar mannen (Labour ennobles the man)
Arbetets barn (Gerda, or the children of work)
Börd och bildning – Birth and Education
De värlösa (The defenceless)
Egenhyttan (Egoism)
Emancipationsvurmen (Emancipation frenzy)
En fåfång mans hustru – The Wife of a Vain Man
Enkan och hennes barn (The widow and her children)
Ett hämndens offer (A victim of revenge)
Ett klöverblad (A trefoil)
Förtalet (Defamation)
Gertruds framtidsdrömmar (Gertrud's dreams about the future)
Guld och namn – Gold and Name/ Elvira, Lady Casterton
Mannen af börd och quinnan af folket – The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People
Skuld och oskuld – Guilt and Innocence
Äktenskapet (The marriage)
Ädlingen dotter (A nobleman's daughter)

ESAIAS TEGNÉR

Axel – Axel
Frithiofs saga – Frithiof's Saga

ZACHARIAS TOPELIUS

“Adalminas perla” (Adlamina's pearl)
Björken och stjärnan – The Birch Tree and the Star
Boken om vårt land (The book about our nation)
Efter femtio år (After fifthly years)
Fältskärarens berättelser – The Surgeon's Stories
“Fattigubben” (The poor old man)
“Hallonmasken” (The raspberry worm)
Heriginnan av Finland (The duchess of Finland)
“Hjertat af gummi elasticum” (The hearth of elastic rubber)
“Knut Spelevink” (Knut Scapegrace)
Läsning för barn (Reading for children)
“Lasse-Liten” (Little Lasse)
Ljungars saga (Ljungar's saga)
Mirza och Mirjam (Mirza and Mirjam)
“Olle på skidor” (Olei skiing)

Planeternas skyddslingar/ Stjärnornas kungabarn (The royal children of stars)
“Prinsessan Lindagull” (The stolen princess)
Regina von Emmeritz (Regina von Emmeritz)
Rida Ranka (Ride Ranke)
Rinaldo Rinaldini (Rinaldo Rinaldini)
Sagor (Fairy tales)
“Sampo Lappelill” – *Sammy and the Mountain King*
“Stjärnöga” (Star Eye)
Tomten i Åbo slott – The Tomte i Åbo Castle/The Tomte at Turku Castle
“Trollens jul” (The trolls’ Christmas)
“Trollkarlens dotter” (The sorcerer’s daughter)
“Två gånger två är fyra” (Two times two is four)
Vinterkvällar (Winter evenings)
“Walters äfventyr” (Walter’s adventure)

CARL ANTON WETTERBERGH

En bränvinsupares lefnad och död (An alcoholic’s life and death)
Genremålningar (Genre pictures)
Hämnd och försoning – Revenge and Reconciliation
Olga (Olga)
Penningar och arbete (Money and labour)

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