

Emilie Flygare-Carlén in Italy: Between women's education and the market

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Abstract

Thanks to the increasing role of women's readership, Swedish women writers in the second half of the Nineteenth century were both widely read at home and successfully translated abroad. This was also true for Italy, where novels written by women were by far the most translated group of works in the period in exam. This paper aims at analyzing the case of Emilie Flygare-Carlén's five novels translated into Italian between 1869 and 1892, via French, as it often happens between two semi-peripheral languages such as Swedish and Italian.

Keywords: Emilie Flygare-Carlén, women's writing, domestic novel, translation, canon construction

1. Introduction

In a recent survey of Swedish literature translated into Italian in the nineteenth century, I observed that among the works published in Italy from 1845 – date of the first Swedish translations known so far¹ – to the outbreak of the World War I World war, a preponderant part of prose works was written by women². Fredrika Bremer, Emilie Flygare-Carlén³ and Anne Charlotte Leffler are the recurring names in the first half of the period in exam, with Sophie Elkan and above all Selma Lagerlöf dominating the second half. Male novelists – including authors who are now considered as the founders of the Swedish novel, such as Carl Jonas Love Almqvist

¹ The poems *Flytt-Fåglarne* by Erik Johan Stagnelius and *Skaldens morgonpsalm* by Esaias Tegnér, published in a Turin-based encyclopaedic magazine, *Museo Scientifico, Letterario ed Artistico*. Cf. De Marco 2018: 355; De Marco 2020: 1-2.

² In the preliminary database I have collected so far – based on the online database (<http://www.letteraturenordiche.it/index.html>, last access May 25th, 2022), crosschecked with the Online Public Access Catalogue of Italian National Library Service (<https://opac.sbn.it/>, last access May 25th, 2022) – for the period 1845-1915 I have recorded 14 narrative works by male authors (6 of which in the same miscellaneous volume) and 31 works by women writers. Cf. De Marco 2020, De Marco 2018

³ This is the name with which she chose to appear on the cover of her books after 1860, when Adolf Bonnier planned to reprint her complete works. Her first novels – with the exception of the very first, which appeared anonymously – were published under her first husband's name, as “F. Flygare” or “Emilie Flygare”, but after her second marriage in 1841 she switched to “Emilie Carlén”. The double surname was therefore a compromise solution to avow the authorship of her whole opus. In this article I will use this ‘official’ name, except for the bibliographical data of her translated books, where I will use the name and spelling that appeared on the volume.

and August Strindberg – appear almost exclusively in a comprehensive anthology of Nordic authors, *Anime nordiche* (1909),⁴ edited by Giulia Peyretti.

This observation is consistent with the results of a recent research project at the University of Gothenburg, “Swedish women writers on export in the nineteenth century”, i.e. that “women’s writing during the nineteenth century was more widely read and disseminated than the works by their male contemporaries” (Leffler et al. 2019: 12). That project included limited data on the Italian translations, though, and the present study aims at supplementing an Italian perspective to the global one.

Around the half of the century, a first wave of Swedish writers invaded European (and North-American) markets, including countries with a much higher literary capital than peripheral Sweden, such as the long-standing headquarter of the Republic of Letters, France, and the new exporting centre of the novel, England (Casanova 1999: 106–114, Moretti 1998: 151–157). But instead of crime novels, as was the case with the most recent wave of Nordic literature worldwide in the 2000s, nineteenth century Swedish best-sellers abroad were novels written by women. This is confirmed by the thorough quantitative analysis performed in Yvonne Leffler’s *Swedish nineteenth-century novels as world literature* (Leffler 2020). By comparing the foreign dissemination of male writers such as Almqvist, Zacharias Topelius and Viktor Rydberg on one hand, and of female ones such as Fredrika Bremer, Emilie Flygare-Carlén and Marie Sophie Schwartz on the other, Leffler highlights that, in Almqvist’s case, his works were far less translated abroad than his women colleagues, and that the foreign publication of Rydberg’s and Topelius’ works was actively promoted by the already successful women novelists (Leffler 2019: 192, Leffler 2020: 98–99).

The main factor behind this phenomenon is the dramatic increase in women’s reading throughout the nineteenth century, which in its turn was closely tied to the rise of the novel. As French literary critic Albert Thibaudet pointed out, the success of the novel is based on the favour of women readers, because “le roman, c’est le genre où la femme existe, où le monde tourne autour d’elle, où l’on se passionne pour elle ou contre elle”⁵ (Thibaudet 1925: XIII). The social revolution that made reading a bourgeois activity had, parallel to a *class* factor, also a *gender* one. While middle-class men acquired a prosperity and leisure that could fuel their interest in books, their wives started to gain a certain literacy and to develop a budding consciousness of their own role in society, be it mainly as wives and mothers (cf. Arslan 1998: 20). This is why “[i]n the mid-nineteenth century, being a female novelist depicting female characters, and thereby primarily addressing female readers, could promote international success” (Leffler et al. 2019: 17).

⁴ The book offers an exhaustive outlook of the main Nordic authors of the time. For Sweden, Peyretti included short stories by Selma Lagerlöf, August Strindberg, Verner von Heidenstam, Ola Hansson, Oscar Levantin, Per Hallström, Sophie Elkan.

⁵ “The novel is the genre where the woman exists, where the world is centered around her, where you feel passionate about her, or against her”. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

A second factor behind the international success of women writers is that their novels were by their nature less tied to national (and nationalistic) elements and therefore more suitable for transnational diffusion. The novel as a genre had soon developed a dichotomy based on gender: while historical and social novels were usually a male territory, women, confined in the limited sphere of family life, specialized in what has been labelled as the “domestic” novel, describing a “little” world that did not differ so much from one country to another, be it Sweden or France, Germany or Italy. The connection between the national element and the disparity in dissemination is confirmed by the case of the only nineteenth century Swedish woman writer who did not produce domestic novels: Selma Lagerlöf. With her “idea of a national home” (Bergenmar 2019: 264) and her interest for Swedish folklore and tradition, she was perceived in Latin countries as “alltför rotad i hemlandets skog”⁶ (Lokrantz 1990: 45, quoting an article by Italian critic Giuseppe Antonio Borgese from 1909), and therefore was less appreciated (and translated) there than she was, for instance, in Germany, whose culture and tradition had a deeper consonance with the Swedish ones (cf. Ljung Svensson 2011). Only after she was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1909 – the first woman to receive such an honour – did she begin to attract interest from critics and the public in Southern Europe too.⁷

Although, as highlighted by Leffler’s studies, the success of women’s writing is a global scale phenomenon (Leffler 2019, 2020), this article will focus on the relationship between Italy and Sweden (often mediated through France) and concentrate on the case of Emilie Flygare-Carlén, the most represented among the little group of Swedish women writers translated into Italian in the nineteenth century, with five different novels for a total of six editions: *Un anno di matrimonio* (1847 and 1904), *La signorina Nanny* (1875), *Sei settimane* (1876), *Splendide nozze* (1883) and *Il dolore di una donna* (1892). The survey and textual analysis of her Italian translations will show that the pattern of her dissemination in Italy is not dissimilar to her distribution and fortune in other European countries.

2. Women writers (and readers) in Sweden and Italy

As in the rest of Europe, in the nineteenth century a modern publishing industry started to develop both in Sweden and in Italy, albeit with a few decades of delay in the latter. In fact, while in Sweden a good number of citizens possessed basic literacy already at the beginning of the nineteenth century, with the level of education and reading habits growing steadily ever since (Lönnroth 1999: 25–26), in the wake of the unification in 1861 the Italian average illiteracy rate was still at 75%, with dramatic differences between the North and the South of the country.⁸ However, in both countries, within the growing numbers of readers in the

⁶ “Too rooted in her homeland’s forests”.

⁷ For a thorough analysis of Lagerlöf reception in France and Southern Europe, as opposed to the German-speaking countries, see Bergenmar 2019.

⁸ Both as a result and a perpetuating cause of this, the Italian publishing industry has long been concentrated in the northern regions. Cf. Tranfaglia 2000: 4, 13-16.

nineteenth century, women were growing at a faster pace (cf. for Sweden Lönnroth 1999: 26, for Italy Chemello 1997). As a result, the budding publishing industries in both countries invested in the sector that appealed the most to feminine tastes, that of the novel. In Sweden, the first popular collections of novels were launched in the 1830s, with Lars Johan Hierta’s “Läsebibliothek af den nyaste utländska litteraturen” (Collection of the newest foreign literature), inaugurated in 1833, and the concurrent “Kabinets bibliothek af den nyaste litteraturen” (The closet’s collection of the newest literature), founded by Niclas H. Thomson in 1835. Together with foreign (“utländska”) literature, both publishers richly invested in domestic authors, among which women “were among the most influential and well received in their time” (Leffler et al. 2019: 12). Emilie Flygare-Carlén was herself at the centre of a long-lived competition between her publisher Thomson and his competitor Hierta (Leffler 2019: 157, Lauritzen 2007: 84–85, 109–120).

In mid-century Italy, a modern publishing industry with a new consumption-oriented model started to emerge, offering to the new reading audience both education – with the first collections of domestic and foreign classics – and entertainment, with popular novels and serials, often specifically addressed to female readers, together with fashion and society papers and magazines. Most female readers, especially those from the lower middle classes, preferred foreign novels, particularly if “l’intreccio è emozionante, pieno di morti misteriose, di avventure e di fortune inattese”⁹ (Chemello 1997: 184). However, the escapist satisfaction provided by these sensationalistic romances was not the only commodity offered to (and written by) women. Another widespread kind of reading was aimed at preparing and educating women for their role in the evolving society: certainly that of wife and mother, but with a growing, albeit still limited, relationship with and influence on society. This is definitely the case with the Swedish novels translated into Italian, since they are all “domestic” novels revolving on women’s position in the family and outside it. This is stated explicitly in the prefaces to the first two Swedish novels translated into Italian, Bremer’s *Presidentens döttrar* (The President’s daughters) and Flygare-Carlén’s *Ett år* (A year), where the two translators Fanny Lutti¹⁰ and Clemente Mapelli¹¹ declare the reasons why the novels could appeal to the Italian reader: “i principi di domestica educazione” together with “la ristretta sfera della vita muliebre” (Lutti 1846: 6) for *Le figlie del presidente*, and “il tema così vitale della famiglia, [...] l’esame insomma di quanto ha germe nel domestico focolare, ma che poi indirettamente si riflette sulla società”¹² (Mapelli 1869: 5) for *Un anno di matrimonio*.

⁹ “The plot is thrilling, full of mysterious deaths, adventures and unexpected fortunes”.

¹⁰ Francesca (Fanny) Lutti (1827-1878) was an Italian poet and above all the host of a lively literary salon near Garda Lake; Bremer’s novel is her only translation, almost certainly from the German version.

¹¹ See below, 5.1.

¹² “The principles of domestic education”, “the restricted sphere of female life”, “the vital theme of family, [...] the analysis of what germinates in the domestic hearth but then reflects on society as a whole”.

However, the condition of women was evolving quickly; in the almost twenty-five years that separate the first of Emilie Flygare-Carlén’s Italian editions (1869) from the last one (1892) many things changed, and this certainly affected their Italian reception.

3. Sweden’s best-selling author¹³

When she was first translated into Italian in 1869, Emilie Flygare-Carlén was “Sveriges mest uppburna författare”¹⁴ (Lauritzen 2007: 463–464), with a three-decade, extremely prolific career behind her. She had debuted in 1838 with *Waldemar Klein*,¹⁵ a quite conventional story of three young couples that struggle their way to marriage. Albeit a debutant in literature, she was not so in life: she was a thirty-year-old widow, mother of a legitimate son and of an illegitimate daughter, born out of her second love to a man who died short before their planned marriage, and one of her reasons for turning to writing was to provide for her family.

Born in 1807 on the west coast of Sweden as the daughter of a tradesman, Emilie Smith grew up in a lively and unconventional environment, surrounded by sailors and shipowners, an experience which will give her inspiration for the second phase of her authorship. After assessing herself as a successful writer with a handful of novels focusing on marriage in its various aspects, including the economic one – something quite unusual for a woman writer at that time – in 1842 she began a new phase in her writing with *Rosen på Tistelön* (1842)¹⁶ a novel revolving around a real murder case connected to smuggling, then a widespread crime on the poverty-stricken Western coast where the story was set. The release of the book sparked much commotion among the critic: at that time it was quite uncommon for a woman to write about men’s affairs, such as trading, sailing, smuggling and murdering. Until then women novelists – at the time a scanty group counting, besides Flygare-Carlén, Fredrika Bremer and Sophie von Knorring – had remained confined in the more comfortable domestic sphere. With her new novel, therefore, Emilie Flygare-Carlén “hade gjort sig skyldig till ett övertramp”¹⁷ (Lauritzen 2007: 248), not only by showing an uncommon and almost inconceivable familiarity with sailing and fishing, but also by describing faithfully – again for the first time in Swedish literature – the living conditions of the poor, an excess of realism for which she was accused of lacking in poetic qualities (cf. Leffler 2019: 183, Lauritzen 2007: 247). However, the exotic fascination of the West Coast setting appealed to the readers, and in the second half of the 1840’s Emilie Flygare-Carlén was Sweden’s most read and best paid author, much more so than today more acclaimed colleagues such as August Strindberg or Verner von Heidenstam (Hansson 1995: 5–52). Between 1844

¹³ Cf. Leffler 2019: 155: “Emilie Flygare-Carlén was the most transculturally disseminated and top-selling Swedish writer in the nineteenth century measured by the number of published titles, editions and reprints of titles in translation”.

¹⁴ “Sweden’s most celebrated author”.

¹⁵ Fru F** (1838), *Waldemar Klein*. Stockholm: Thomson.

¹⁶ (1842), *Rosen på Tistelön*. Stockholm: Thomson.

¹⁷ “Had made herself guilty of trespassing”.

and 1848 three other West-Coast novels followed – *Pål Värning* (1844), *Enslingen på Johannis-skäret* (1846) and *Jungfrutornet* (1848) – but in parallel she also went back to her main interest: women’s possibility to find their own position and role in the family and in society.

Between 1846 and 1851 she wrote five novels that could be seen as “ett slags äktenskapskola för unga kvinnor”¹⁸ (Lauritzen 2007: 335): *Ett år* (1846), *En natt vid Bullarsjön* (1846-1847), *En nyckfull qvinna* (1848-1849), *Ett rykte* (1850) and *Förmyndaren* (1851). In mid-nineteenth-century Sweden, women were still under the legal and economical custody of their fathers and husbands. Emilie Flygare-Carlén herself, although being the source of most of her household’s incomes, could not dispose of her money autonomously, but had to rely on her second husband’s countersignature for her contracts or legacies (cf. Lauritzen 2007: 434–436). She was therefore well aware of the prevailing gender role ideology and practice of the times, and until then she had remained within accepted grounds, limiting herself to negotiating for a slightly ampler and more equal space for women within the family boundaries. With these five novels, though, she began to stretch that negotiation a bit too far, recognizing for instance the importance of erotic forces in women – although always underscoring the danger they represented both for their morals and their lives. *En nyckfull qvinna* and above all *Ett rykte* came under violent criticism due to the presence of unconventional and unprincipled female characters: in an article about “bad” literature in *Tidskrift för litteratur*, C.F. Bergstedt went so far as to define *Ett rykte* as something among the “orenaste och vidrigaste kanske något lands romanlitteratur har att uppvisa”¹⁹ (quoted in Lauritzen 2007: 366). The realization that she was losing the favour of the public, together with the deep depression in which she was precipitated by the sudden death of her beloved twenty-two-year-old son Edvard, induced her to almost eight years of silence. Only in 1859 did she make her comeback with *Ett köpmanshus i skärgården* (1860-61),²⁰ a novel in which she went back once again to her childhood’s West Coast. Despite the setting, the book is something new in Flygare-Carlén’s production, a narrative of almost Dickensian ambition. The complex plot interweaves the story of a commercial firm – for the first time in Nordic literature (Lauritzen 2007: 426) – with the love story of two young couples and with a thrilling “detective” subplot, to create an ambitious construction in which both the masculine and the feminine spheres are represented. After *Ett köpmanshus*, however, her production did not go back to the impressive pace of the first fifteen years. She wrote mostly short novels or sketches, such as those collected in *Stockholmsscener bakom kulisserna* (1877) or *Berättelser från landsorten* (1877). However, her books continued to be reprinted and read well into the 1880s, as corroborated by the publication of her *Samlade romaner* by P.B. Eklund between 1869 and 1875; in 1862 she was also awarded the Swedish Academy’s gold medal, a decoration that had been bestowed on a woman only once before, on Fredrika Bremer.

¹⁸ “A kind of marriage school for young women”.

¹⁹ “The dirtiest and most disgusting that the literature of any country has to offer”.

²⁰ In 1859 the novel was published in instalments on *Aftonbladet*.

4. An international success

Emilie Flygare Carlén’s domestic success was matched by an unprecedented dissemination abroad: in fact, she was “the most translated and disseminated Swedish writer for almost a century” (Leffler 2019: 160). Her novels were translated into German soon after they had been published in Sweden. Already in 1841, only three years after her Swedish debut, her first novel appeared in German, and in the following two years ten more novels were published by four different publishing houses, some of which in more than one edition (Leffler 2020: 47–49). From Germany, Flygare-Carlén’s translations travelled eastward, to Hungary, Bohemia (now Czech Republic), Poland.²¹

Also, the first translations into English were based on the German ones, although versions from the original started to appear soon, printed by American publishers. Between 1843 to 1853 eleven translations of her books were published on both coasts of the Atlantic, often in high numbers (*The magic goblet* was advertised by the publishing house Winchester has been printed in 20.000 copies, cf. Leffler 2019: 171–175).

Dissemination in France is more interesting for us, since text comparison demonstrates that Italian translations were based on French ones. The first of Flygare-Carlén’s works to appear in France was *Rosen på Tistelön*, published in 1845 under the title *Les smugglers suédois*, which seems to argue for a translation based on the English version with the same title printed in 1844, *The rose of thistle isle or the smugglers of the Swedish coast*. After that first attempt, French dissemination stopped for about seven years, but when she did her comeback in 1852, she had fifteen novels translated in French over the next ten years, with continuous reprints until the 1890s (Leffler 2020: 55–57). Another confirmation of Flygare-Carlén’s status in France, is her presence – in one case as the only Swedish author – in two volumes of Nordic short stories collected (and probably translated) by Xavier Marmier, *Les Perce-neige* (1854) and *Nouvelles du Nord* (1882).

Unlike the German and English-speaking markets, where her West coast novels were translated more than once, Francophone publishers preferred her domestic novels. *Ett år* was her most popular book in France, with two different translations printed by several publishers: Flor O’Squarr’s version was printed several times in Belgium, while Marie Souvestre’s one was published in Paris, again with several reprints.

5. Emilie Flygare-Carlén in Italy²²

Her first Italian translation, *Un anno di matrimonio*, came out in 1869, followed by a reprint by a different publisher in 1904. Between the 1870s and 1880s four other Italian titles appeared: *La signorina Nanny* (1875), *Sei settimane* (1876), *Splendide nozze* (1883) and *Il dolore di una donna* (1892). After 1904, however, no other

²¹ About the boom of Swedish novels in Central and Eastern Europe, see Leffler 2019.

²² Cf. also Leffler (2019: 178-179).

translation, edition or reissue of her works appeared in Italy, a destiny shared by the other Swedish women novelists listed in paragraph 1, with the exception of the Nobel laureate Selma Lagerlöf.²³

Flygare-Carlén’s six Italian books were printed by five different publishers: Treves, that in the 1870s was one of the main publishing houses of the country and gave out many masterpieces both of Italian and foreign literature (cf. Tranfaglia & Vittoria 2000: 81–84); Tipografia Editrice Lombarda, a short-lived enterprise of Giovanni Pavia, a former administrator at Treves, whose activity was mainly focused on commercial novels, often by foreign authors (Manca 2005, Farina 1911); Brigola, a solid, Milan-based publisher, active both with novels and scientific books; Luigi Pierro, one of the few successful publishers based in Naples, who printed among the others Benedetto Croce and Emile Zola; and Salani, a Florence-based publishing house specialized in school manuals and collection of classics, including foreign ones.

Unfortunately, none of their archives has survived, and we can only conjecture why and how they decided to publish Flygare-Carlén’s novels. However, we will try to find a partial answer with the help of textual and paratextual analyses in the following sections.

As a first observation, we can notice that the chosen texts all share a “domestic theme” and belong to the second phase of her career: *Ett år* was the first of the five novels dedicated to marriage, written after her West-coast phase; *Familjen i Dalen* is a novelette originally written for an illustrated Christmas almanac, as the author herself declares in her preface;²⁴ *Inom sex veckor* has the same origin, as the author herself reveals in a metanarrative comment halfway through the book: “Utrymmet af en liten julnovell medgifver ej långa invecklingar, om det skall bli något för utvecklingarne”²⁵ (Carlén 1853: 87). *Ett lyckligt parti* probably had a similar making, since it shares with the two previous works the same reduced length – around 150 pages, against the more than 1000 pages of her more complex novels – and a similar theme.²⁶ Finally, “En qvinnas sorg” is a short story from *Stockholmsscener bakom kulisserna*, where the author goes back once again to her favourite theme of the relationship between husband and wife. Already this first element points to a French origin of the Italian translations, since, as we have already mentioned, French publishers concentrated on the domestic novels and novelettes rather than on the West-coast books.

²³ The same is also partly true for Sweden, a circumstance that Leffler has approached with interesting reflections about canonizing and de-canonizing processes in a gender perspective (Leffler et al. 2019: 16-19). See also Hansson 1995: 60-65.

²⁴ Christmas almanacs were volumes of miscellanea which had great success in the second half of the nineteenth century, and where well-known Swedish authors published shorter works (cf. Lönnroth & Delblanc 1999: 26-28).

²⁵ “The extent of a short Christmas novelette does not allow long complications, if there must be some development”.

²⁶ They also share a lower rating in her production. Monica Lauritzen describes them as “verk som ger intryck av rent brödskrivande” (2007: 302), works that give the impression of being written for breadwinning’s sake.

5.1 *Un anno di matrimonio* (1869)

The title page of the Italian edition includes the name of the translator, Clemente Mapelli, and the words “Prima Traduzione Italiana”, first Italian translation, without indication of the source language. However, textual comparison demonstrates that – despite an allusion to English literature in the Preface – the source is doubtless Marie Souvestre’s French version, *Deux jeunes femmes, ou Un an de mariage*, published in Paris in 1858 by Michel Lévy Frères Libraires-Éditeurs.

According to the Italian OPAC (on-line public access catalogue), *Un anno di matrimonio* is the only translation attributed to Clemente Mapelli. The only known person with that name is a volunteer who followed Giuseppe Garibaldi in his military expedition in Sicily, even if there is no certainty about this identification. Born in Bergamo in 1843, at 16 years of age Mapelli left his secondary school studies to join Garibaldi’s ‘Thousands’. After the campaign he resumed his studies until he took a degree in medicine and moved to Rome, where he died in 1922 (cf. Colombi 2010). However, nothing in the (admittedly scanty) biographic information about him refers to any kind of literary or linguistic activity, so this identification – albeit not impossible – cannot in my opinion be considered as certain.

As anticipated in the previous subchapter, we have no indication of how the publishing house Treves came to the decision to translate Emilie Flygare-Carlén’s *Ett år*. However, the eleven-page “Preface” by the translator gives us a hint about what made it an interesting book to publish. Mapelli starts by highlighting the usefulness of translating works from other nations, above all those that deal with themes in which our own (Italian) culture is less versed. One of these is, according to Mapelli, “il tema vitale della famiglia”, where instead “la letteratura anglo-svedese [sic!]” excels: there, “l’uomo, la famiglia e la società sono messi in iscena con tanta naturalezza da offrire un vero specchio di quanto succede realmente; le virtù ed i difetti poi sono così tratteggiati da infondere nel lettore *quei sani principi*”²⁷ (Mapelli 1869: 5 f, italics mine). Mapelli thus immediately identifies two selling points of Flygare-Carlén’s writing: her realism, for which she was also known and praised at home, and her moral values. He then goes on to quickly present the author, with some biographical inaccuracies (her first husband was a doctor and not a musician; their marriage was not ill-fated, and was ended by the husband’s death, not by a divorce) which seem to indicate that his source – directly or indirectly – was Hachette’s *Dictionnaire universel des contemporains*, where the same errors are recorded (Vapereau 1858: 340).

Finally, he analyses the novel itself: he praises Flygare-Carlén’s ability in sketching characters and scenes with touching realism, but above all he praises her views on women’s position in society, “quella cui natura l’ha destinata”, i.e., that

²⁷ “The vital theme of family”, “the Anglo-Swedish [sic!] literature”, “man, family and society are represented with such naturalism that they offer a true mirror of what really happens; virtues and faults are then painted so as to instil in the reader those sound principles”.

of good wife and good mother (Mapelli 1869: 13). Flygare-Carlén’s book gives him the possibility to attack “costoro che, specialmente ai nostri giorni, vorrebbero togliere la donna dal centro ove fu da natura collocata, per innalzarla, a loro credere, col farla partecipe di diritti e doveri che fino ad ora furono esclusivamente riservati all’uomo”²⁸ (Mapelli 1869: 11). We cannot know for certain who he was referring to, but those were the years when Italian journalist and feminist activist Anna Maria Mozzoni wrote the first survey on the social conditions of women, and when socialist magazine *La Plebe* wrote that “è la donna che deve instillare col latte, direi quasi, nel cuore ai propri figli l’amore alla patria, alla libertà, ad alte gesta, alla iustizia, all’onestà; [...] per dare alla società il tesoro inestimabile di probi cittadini e di valorosi patrioti”²⁹ (quoted in Giovannini 1982: 357). The issue of women’s role in society was a hot one in post-unitarian Italy, when the revolutionary ideas of Mazzini and Garibaldi had to merge with more institutional positions, both at a political and a social level. However, even for those post-revolutionary forces, the role of women remained well linked to the traditional view, if a newspaper as *La Favilla*, founded and directed by a friend of Garibaldi’s such as Paride Suzzara Verdi,³⁰ could write lines such as these:

La donna possiede quelle doti che mancano all’uomo, cioè la grazia, la venustà, la dolcezza [...]. Noi non vogliamo che la donna ascenda alla tribuna, che s’immischi nelle lotte politiche, che la sua mano incontri la nostra nelle urne dello scrutinio. Noi abbiamo detto che l’uomo e la donna sono uguali, non diremo però che sono identici. Se i loro diritti sono gli stessi, le loro funzioni sono diverse. La donna rappresenta la vita interna, il focolare, il mondo nascosto; l’uomo rappresenta la vita esterna, il contatto, la lotta.³¹ (quoted in Giovannini 1982: 366).

The content, and even some of the wording, reminds closely of Mapelli’s words in his preface to *Un anno di matrimonio* – something that, after all, could argue for an identification between Mapelli the translator and Mapelli the follower of Garibaldi. Mapelli the translator concludes his preface by praising once again the novel as a whole, recommending it to the reader, who “insieme col diletto potrà ancora far tesoro dei sani principi che in questo romanzo si trovano disseminati” (Mapelli 1869: 15). This was precisely the objective of Treves, who, together with a

²⁸ “That for which nature has designed her”, “those who, in our days, would remove woman from the centre where nature placed her, to lift her, in their opinion, by making her to share rights and duties which so far have been exclusively reserved to men”.

²⁹ “It is woman’s duty to instil with her own milk, I dare say, in her children’s heart the love for their country, for freedom, for noble deeds, for justice, for honesty; [...] so as to give society the priceless treasure of upright citizens and brave patriots”.

³⁰ Paride Suzzara Verdi (1826-1879) was an Italian patriot, journalist and politician. Member of the First Socialist International.

³¹ “Woman owns qualities that men lack, that is to say grace, beauty, sweetness [...]. We do not want that women rise to the tribune, that they mingle with political struggles, that their hands meet ours at ballot boxes. We declared that man and woman are equal, but we will not say that they are identical. While their rights are the same, their functions differ. The woman represents inner life, the hearth, the hidden world; the man stands for external life, contact, struggle”.

collection dedicated to the “letteratura amena”, the nineteenth century version of “entertainment”, also invested in a production of high literary quality (Gigli Marchetti 1997: 129–132). Therefore, even if we do not know how or thanks to whom the publishing house got acquainted with Flygare-Carlén’s novel, we can conclude that they found it perfectly respondent to their editorial profile, thus confirming what Johansson Lindh observed regarding Anne Charlotte Leffler: since “the fields of literature and theatre in Scandinavia are more progressive than in their own [the receiving] countries”, her works – as Flygare-Carlén’s – can be “understood as having contributed something that had been missing in the target culture” (Johansson Lindh 2019: 248). As David Damrosch pointed out, “works become world literature by being received into the space of a foreign culture, a space defined in many ways by the host culture’s national tradition and the present needs of *its own* writers” (Damrosch 2003: 283).

As for the text itself, there are clear indications that Italian translation is based, as already mentioned, on Marie Souvestre’s 1858 version.³² For instance, all names and titles are mediated through French, including some downright substitutions: “Gotthard L.” becomes “Louis Hembach” in French and “Luigi Hembach” in Italian (SV: 7, FV: 3, IV: 21); “ryttmästare Ludvig C:sköld” becomes “colonel Hermann de Rosenborg” in French and “colonnello Hermann di Rosenborg” in Italian (SV: 11, FV: 6, IV: 25). Other modifications, such as small explanatory additions, expurgations – such as the allusions to some previous proposal received by the female protagonist and the hints to the economic position of the proposers (SV: 52–53, FV: 36–37, IV: 74–75) – or neutral cuts – lengthy remarks about food or other household details (SV: 36, FV: 24, IV: 54) – are also clearly mediated through French. However, despite these and other minor adjustments to local tastes or customs, both the French and the Italian translations are quite faithful to and respectful of the original.

5.2 *La signorina Nanny* (1875) and *Sei settimane* (1876)

Completely different is the situation with the second and the third of Emilie Flygare-Carlén’s Italian translations. Six years had passed since the publication of *Un anno di matrimonio* without any other of her works appearing in Italy, while in France her novels continued to be reprinted in new editions. Then in the space of two years Tipografia Editrice Lombarda published two of her short novels, *La signorina Nanny* (*Familjen i Dalen*) and *Sei settimane* (*Inom sex veckor*). Both books appeared in the collection “Scelta di buoni romanzi stranieri”, selected and often even translated by Salvatore Farina.³³ We have no certain information about how Flygare-Carlén’s books were chosen, but we have an idea of how the collection worked thanks to Farina’s memorials:

³² The following textual comparisons are based on *Ett år*, below indicated as SV, *Deux jeunes femmes*, below indicated as FV, and *Un anno di matrimonio*, below indicated as IV.

³³ Salvatore Farina (1846–1918) was an Italian writer, author of some seventy works, either novels or short stories, mostly about family life in middle-class society.

La fortuna che mi assicurò l'indipendenza [...] l'ebbi dall'essermi un giorno incontrato con Giovanni Pavia [...]. Avendo bisogno di consigliarsi per la parte letteraria, si varrebbe del mio consiglio... gratuito; in cambio mi fornirebbe molto lavoro di traduzioni dal francese e magari di compilazioni quando se ne presentasse l'occasione. Non mi feci pregare.³⁴ (Farina 1910: 178–180)

It is clear, then, that the choice of the books to publish rested fully on Farina, who saw his job as an unpaid editorial consultant as a way to support himself with translations from French. A purely commercial rationale therefore seems to have guided the selection of these “good” foreign novels, including those by Emilie Flygare-Carlén, and at that time the most obvious source for good-selling books was certainly the French publishing market.

The French origin of the Italian translations would have been manifest even without Farina's explanation, though. Although neither the source language nor the name of the translator is shown on the title page, *La signorina Nanny*³⁵ declares already in its title that it has been translated from O. Squarr's version, *La famille de la vallée. M.lle Nanny* (1856),³⁶ since that is the only one that adds the name of the female protagonist to the original title. The practice of personalizing titles, usually with a female character's name, was then a common publishing strategy, aimed at attracting women readers' attention (cf. Leffler 2020: 113–115).

If the title was not conclusive enough, the very first lines of the Italian translation include an explanatory remark between dashes, absent in the original version but present in the French one:

Nei libri del buono e virtuoso Lafontaine – e voglio dire del Lafontaine tedesco, il quale disgraziatamente non ha altro di comune che il nome coll'immortale ed inimitabile amico della signora di Sablier – l'azione accade quasi sempre in una bella vallata. (IV: 5).

Dans les livres du bon et vertueux Lafontaine – nous parlons ici du Lafontaine allemand, qui n'a, malheureusement, rien de commun que le nom avec l'immortel et inimitable ami de madame de la Sablière – l'action se passe presque toujours dans une belle et fraîche vallée.³⁷ (FV: 5)

The addition was necessary, since French and Italian readers were probably not as familiar as the Swedish ones with the name of German novelist August Lafontaine, then a best-seller in Sweden. Many, many others were not, though. In full compliance to the well-known French translation practice of “*belles infidels*”, O. Squarr seems to have rewritten the book to his own tastes – or what he thought

³⁴ “The piece of luck that granted me independence [...] consisted in meeting one day Giovanni Pavia [...]. Being in need of counselling on the literary part, he would like to avail himself of my advice... for free; in exchange for it, he would assign me many translations from French and some editing too, should that opportunity arise. I didn't hesitate”.

³⁵ Below indicated as IV.

³⁶ Below indicated as FV.

³⁷ “In the books of good and virtuous Lafontaine – we refer to the German Lafontaine, who unfortunately has nothing in common with the immortal and incomparable friend of madame de la Sablière – the action is almost always set in a beautiful and refreshing valley”.

French-speaking readers’ tastes were. In addition to the then common adaptations in names and customs (the exotic Ragnar becomes Ludwig in French and Ludovico in Italian, while timber houses become brick-built), dialogues created out of thin air,³⁸ lengthy and fanciful descriptions of people and places,³⁹ didactic and explanatory comments: all of these addictions abound in the little more than 200 pages. On the other hand, many ironic comments (and a subtle irony is one of the best qualities of Flygare-Carlén’s writing), hints to women’s sexual desires and all socially charged remarks have been expunged. The French and the Italian books are an entirely different story from the original one.

Proceeding to *Sei settimane*,⁴⁰ released the following year by the same publisher in the same collection, the title page reports the words “ROMANZO (dallo svedese)”, NOVEL (from Swedish), but without the name of the translator. It is dubious, though, that Farina recurred to a Swedish translator – a rare commodity at those times – and textual comparison confirms that also this book was translated from a French version, *Six semaines* (1855).⁴¹ The chapter titles, for instance, are the same in Italian and French, while they differ from the original: the simple “Hemmet” becomes “Ou l’on voit deux frères sur le point de devenir rivaux”⁴² and “Dove si vede due fratelli in procinto di diventar rivali” (FV: 29, IV: 21). As for the rest, there are only a few censoring cuts; only when the original ascribes a hasty acceptance of a proposal to “det varma blodet i mitt hjerta”, the French translator feels the need to introduce a vagueness of intentions: “Je ne sais quel démon me poussai. Était-ce esprit de contradiction, crainte de rester fille, amour véritable?”⁴³ which the Italian imitator was forced to follow: “Un demone di certo m’aveva invasa. Era per ispirito di contraddizione, per paura di restare zitella, per lo slancio di un amore profondo?” (SV: 7, FV: 151, IV: 140).

The two “latin” versions are much more faithful to the original than in *La signorina Nanny*’s case. The responsibility of this difference, however, lies entirely on the French translators, since the Italian versions are very close to their intermediate source.

5.3 *Splendide nozze* (1883)

After Tipografia Editrice Lombarda went bankrupt in 1880, Alfredo Brigola took over its activity, including the collection “Scelta di buoni romanzi stranieri”, which continued to be directed (and translated?) by Salvatore Farina (Manca 2005: 242). Before publishing his third novel by Emilie Flygare-Carlén, *Splendide nozze*, Farina

³⁸ For instance, two full pages have been added to the exchange between the male protagonist Gottlieb and his uncle Fabian in chapter XVI (XV in the French and Italian versions, which both merge chapter V and VI).

³⁹ The most notable are the detailed physical descriptions of squire Fabian and his wife Ulgenia in chapter III, completely absent in the original version.

⁴⁰ Below indicated as IV.

⁴¹ Below indicated as FV.

⁴² “The home”, “Where we see two brothers on the verge of becoming rivals”.

⁴³ “The hot blood in my heart”, “I don’t know what seized me. Was it a rebellious impulse, the fear of remaining a spinster, true love?”

had a few years earlier printed two other books by Swedish women writers, a new (abridged) translation of Bremer’s *Presidentens döttrar* and the only Italian translation of Emilie Flygare-Carlén’s daughter, Rosaura Carlén, *Tre anni e tre giorni*.⁴⁴ In the eight years 1875-1883, the collection “Scelta di buoni romanzi stranieri” therefore published five novels by Swedish women writers, showing that they were very likely considered a good commercial investment, even if it is impossible to confirm it with figures.

On the title page, *Splendide nozze* shows (in brackets) the words “dallo svedese”, from Swedish, but, as we have already seen in the case of *Sei settimane*, that did not necessarily correspond to the truth. The Italian text correspond quite faithfully to the original, although the chapter division is sometimes rearranged, without altering the contents. In this case, however, I have not managed to find a copy of the French version, and therefore it is not possible to conclude that the Italian translation is based on a mediating text.

5.4 Il dolore di una donna (1892)

The last of Emilie Flygare-Carlén’s books to be published in Italy is a short story originally included in *Stockholmsscener bakom kulisserna*, “En kvinnas sorg”,⁴⁵ published by Naples-based Pierro as *Il dolore di una donna*.⁴⁶ Even in this case we do not have certain information about the rationale for publication, but Pierro was closely acquainted with Benedetto Croce and Salvatore Di Giacomo, both friends and the latter even translator of another Swedish writer who had then recently moved to Naples, Anne Charlotte Leffler. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to argue that the suggestion to publish “Sveriges största, mest produktiva och mest lästa författarinna”⁴⁷ (Lauritzen 2007: 9), as Flygare-Carlén was described in the obituaries published after her death in February 1892, could have come from her younger colleague, maybe just as a homage in the wake of her death. In the same year, Pierro also gave to the prints Leffler’s play *Come si fa il bene*, translated in 1892 by Di Giacomo,⁴⁸ which seems to corroborate a link between the two books.

However, what can be considered as ascertained is that the textual source was Xavier Marmier’s *Nouvelles du Nord*,⁴⁹ a collection of short stories from England, Germany, Russia, Denmark and – represented by Emilie Flygare-Carlén – Sweden: that is in fact the only foreign translation of this specific text. Again, we do not know why Marmier chose that particular story for his collection, but we do know that he was a deep connoisseur of Nordic literatures, and we can therefore argue that his choice was simply guided by personal tastes.

⁴⁴ The book also had a second edition in 1921 by Milan-based Treves.

⁴⁵ Below indicated as SV.

⁴⁶ Below indicated as IV.

⁴⁷ “Sweden’s greatest, most productive and most widely read author”.

⁴⁸ The play is introduced by a preface by Benedetto Croce (“Letteratura moderna scandinava”), which is a short but accurate presentation of modern Nordic literatures.

⁴⁹ Below indicated as FV.

The title page carries the words “Novella svedese della signora Flygare Carlen” (Swedish novelette by Mrs. Flygare Carlen), without the name of the translator nor the source language. As in the previous cases, textual comparison clearly demonstrates the direct derivation of the Italian version from the French one: all modifications, from the smaller ones – a sledge that becomes a carriage; an old lady who becomes a friend (SV: 132, IV: 5, FV: 127; SV: 151, IV: 40, FV: 146) – to the more substantial – for instance, the elimination of a long dialogue between the protagonist and a poor woman from the slums in chapter III – are to be ascribed to the French translator. Marmier however was much respectful of the spirit of the original; even the longer cuts were likely due to the need to compress the story in order to fit in his collection, rather than to censoring intentions.

What is interesting here is the completely different character of the text: this is not a brilliant and light-hearted tale of a courtship inevitably (happy-)ending with one or more marriages, but the story of a lucky marriage that risks being destroyed by inadequate communication between husband and wife. The original short story, in fact, was not a commercial narrative written for a Christmas almanac, as the previous three, but a text that can be described as “romantiserade socialreportage från Stockholms fattigaste områden”⁵⁰ (Lauritzen 2007: 446–447), written in the later years of Flygare-Carlén’s career. This difference in theme and tone reflects two different publishing strategies: one – Brigola’s and Tipografia Editrice Lombarda’s – aimed at producing commercial books to be quickly consumed by lower-middle-class readers; the other – Treves’ and Pierrò’s – targeted to a more demanding reading community which included both women and men.

6. Italian reception

It is extremely difficult to evaluate Emilie Flygare-Carlén’s reception in Italy, due to the fragmentary and scattered state of historical newspaper and periodical collections in Italy. So far, I have found no trace of reviews of her novels, even if they were profusely advertised both in newspapers and in the end pages of books by the same publisher. However, curiously enough she is named in a review of one of Salvatore Farina’s novels, who had likely translated two of her books – though not the one to which his *Oro nascosto* is compared:

La situazione non è nuova, e tutti sanno quel bellissimo lavoro di una donna “Un anno di Matrimonio”, di Emilia Carlen, in cui è descritto il progressivo rivelarsi di un amore, che nei primi tempi, inconscio di se stesso, assumeva le sembianze dell’odio.⁵¹

The anonymous author of the review is well acquainted with the plot and the qualities of Flygare-Carlén’s book and thinks that his readers are likely to know

⁵⁰ “Romanticized social reportages from Stockholm’s poorest areas”.

⁵¹ “The situation is not a new one, and everybody knows that wonderful work of a woman “Un anno di Matrimonio”, by Emilia Carlen, where the progressive revealing of a love is described, which in the beginning, unconscious of itself, took upon itself the appearance of hate”. Review of *Oro nascosto* by Salvatore Farina, in “Il Gazzettino Letterario di Lecce”, November 15, 1878, italics mine.

them as well. This suggests that her novel(s) should have attracted some attention both from the critics and the common public, the more so since this remark dates from nine year after the release of *Un anno di matrimonio*.

Flygare-Carlén’s first mention in an Italian compilatory work dedicated to Nordic literatures dates from 1841, with the reprint of Jakob Gråberg’s *Sunto della letteratura svezzese nei tre ultimi anni 1829-1830 e 1831*, included in Xavier Marmier’s *Storia della letteratura in Danimarca e in Svezia* (1841); in 1879 Angelo De Gubernatis dedicated a well informed and illustrated entry in his *Dizionario biografico degli scrittori contemporanei* to the Swedish writer, who is described as “benissimo pagata” and whose name is “il più popolare in tutta la Svezia”⁵² (De Gubernatis 1879: 254–255). Still in 1913 she appears in an article dedicated to “the Scandinavian Muses” which describes her in highly praising terms:

figlia di popolo e osservatrice attenta e pittrice efficacissima dei costumi e dei caratteri del popolo minuto [...]. L’arte di Emilia Carlén non predica come quella della Bremer; non fa dell’umorismo come quella della Knorring, ma ritrae fedelmente ciò che vede con una obiettività che preannuncia la reazione della scuola naturalista.⁵³ (Molteni 1913: 840–841).

However, soon afterwards her fame starts to decline. In his *Storia universale della letteratura*, dating from 1935, Giacomo Prampolini dismisses her in one and a half line (Prampolini 1932-37: 88), and at the end of the 60’s her name has completely disappeared from Gabrieli’s and Scovazzi’s histories of Scandinavian literatures. It is only in *Storia delle letterature scandinave*, recently edited by Massimo Ciaravolo, that she makes her comeback, being praised for her “talento superiore tanto nella creazione degli intrecci e dei dialoghi quanto nella costruzione di personaggi e ambienti”⁵⁴ (Ciaravolo 2019: 266).

7. Conclusions

Emilie Flygare-Carlén’s destiny in Italy seems to follow in broad lines her trajectory at home, albeit with less momentum. When she appeared on the Swedish literary scene in the 1830s, she was greeted first as a promising and talented exponent of the small group of successful women writers such as Fredrika Bremer and Sophie von Knorring, then as an established author with “fin människokännedom och en skarp observationsförmåga”.⁵⁵ Even in the later phase of her authorship, it was just her realism that attracted attention from the critics, both as a positive characteristic – an insight in “folklivets friskare anda” with

⁵² “Very well-paid”, “the most popular in Sweden”.

⁵³ “Of humble origin, a keen observer and a powerful painter of the customs and character of common people [...]. Emilia Carlén’s art does not preach as Bremer’s; it is not witty as Knorring’s: it depicts faithfully what it sees with an objectivity that anticipates the reaction of Naturalism”.

⁵⁴ “Superior talent both in creating plots and dialogues and in shaping characters and environments”.

⁵⁵ “An accurate knowledge of humankind and a sharp capacity of observation”, Anders Lindeberg on *Gustav Lindorm*, in *Aftonbladet*, September 7, 1939.

“djervare, originellare bilder”⁵⁶ – and as a negative one, when she was accused of dwelling on unnecessary and unpleasant details such as “obäddade sängar eller såporna i vrån”.⁵⁷

Her economic success was also impressive: not only did the earnings from her books allow her to provide for her household and even to buy a comfortable house,⁵⁸ but they even induced publishers to contend her contracts. When she began her career as a writer, in 1838, she chose to rely on Niclas H. Thomson, publisher of a series of easy-readable novels, the “Kabinets bibliotek af den nyaste litteraturen”. However, as soon as she moved to Stockholm from the native West-coast, Thomson’s main competitor, Lars Johan Hierta, tried to convince her to sign with him (cf. Lauritzen 2007: 119-120). She used this rivalry to raise her royalties and remained with Thomson, and when the latter in 1847 decided to launch a new collection tellingly called “Nya Svenska Parnassen”, he chose one of her novels to open the series, *En natt vid Bullar-sjön*.

This success lasted until the 1870s, when another publishing house, Eklund, started to print her collected works under the title *Samlade romaner* (1869-1875). Soon afterwards, though, her appeal began to give way to other, more modern, more emancipated women writers, such as Victoria Benedictsson and Anne Charlotte Leffler,⁵⁹ but she continued to sell and be read widely.

It was in the new century that she and the other women writers of her time started to disappear from the literary scene. According to Gunnar Hansson, one of the main culprits was the literary historian Henrik Schück, whose

avsnitt om Flygare-Carlén kan ses som ett skolexempel på hur ett författarskap skrivs ut ur den svenska litteraturhistorien, genom att det förses med förklenande och starkt negativa värdeomdömen, samtidigt som det framställs som en krusning på dåtidens yta och dess betydelse för senare generationer av läsare förtigs eller förringas.⁶⁰ (Hansson 1995: 68).

From then on, the pattern was set, and Emilie Flygare-Carlén was expurgated from the Swedish official canon, to remain confined in what David Damrosch calls the “shadow canon”, that is, “minor” authors who fade increasingly into the background” (Damrosch 2006: 45–47). Between the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, canon formation started to rely more and more on “the concepts of originality and exclusiveness”, while “massive dissemination

⁵⁶ “Fresher spirit of street life”, “bolder, more original images”, Review of *Rosen på Tistelön* in *Dagligt Allehanda*, March 10, 1842.

⁵⁷ “Unmade beds or the garbage in a corner”, review of *Rosen på Tistelön* in *Freja*, April 19, 1842.

⁵⁸ According to Swedish author August Blanche, a good friend of the Carléns, they were the first couple of authors in Sweden who bought a property with the royalties from their books (cf. Lauritzen 2007: 268).

⁵⁹ When Flygare-Carlén read one of Anne Charlotte Leffler’s short story, it is rumoured that she exclaimed: “And they called my *Ett rykte* indecent!” (cf. Blanche 1892).

⁶⁰ “Passage about Flygare-Carlén can be seen as a textbook case of how an author is removed from Swedish literary history, by attributing him or her dismissive and strongly negative evaluations, and at the same time presenting him or her as a ripple on the surface of the past and silencing or belittling his or her significance for the following generations of readers”.

in cheap publications and celebrity status [were seen] as degrading, especially for women” (Leffler et al. 2019: 138–139), a position that quickly turned “den populäraste romanskrifvaren i Sverige”⁶¹ into a forgotten, minor author (article in *Dagligt Allehanda*, March 24, 1847, quoted in Lauritzen 2007: 308). Until recently, when ideas of a less elitist history of literature (a history of literature of readers, as Gunnar Hansson defined it, 1995: 34–36) hopefully came to rescue her from oblivion.

In Italy she was the most represented among nineteenth century Swedish (women) novelists, but after the turn of the century she quickly disappeared from the scene. The analysis of texts and paratexts in this article allows to assume that her writings were chosen for two different reasons, relying on the publisher’s editorial line: educating women for their role in a changing society in the case of Treves and Pierro; humouring a market demanding entertaining books for women on the part of Tipografia Editrice Lombarda and Brigola.

Today the Italian rediscovery of nineteenth century Swedish women writers is still very partial. Only Selma Lagerlöf, who despite her Nobel prize had long been absent from Italian publishing catalogues, and more recently – and more limitedly – Anne Charlotte Leffler can boast new Italian translations or dedicated studies by Italian academics.⁶² A similar revival of interest in Emilie Flygare-Carlén’s works – and of the other Swedish female novelists of the same period – could certainly contribute both to improve the Italian perception of the Swedish canon of the late nineteenth century, and to recognize how this canon affected the coeval Italian publishing sector.

Works by Emilie Flygare-Carlén

- Flygare-Carlén, Emilie (1838), *Waldemar Klein*. Stockholm: Thomson.
– (1842), *Rosen på Tistelön*. Stockholm: Thomson.
– (1844), *Pål Värning*. Stockholm: n.p.
(1846), *Enslingen på Johannis-skäret*. Norrköping / Stockholm: Östlund & Berling.
– (1846), *Ett år*. Stockholm: Thomson.
– (1846-47), *En natt vid Bullarsjön*. Stockholm: Thomson.
– (1848), *Jungfrutornet*. Stockholm: Thomson.
– (1848-49), *En nyckfull qvinna*. Norrköping/Stockholm: Östlund & Berling.

⁶¹ “Indisputably the most popular novelist in Sweden”.

⁶² For academic studies, see for instance Giordano Lokrantz (2001), Smedberg Bondesson (2011), De Marco (2020). For translations: Selma Lagerlöf (1991), *L’Imperatore di Portugallia (Kejsaren av Portugallien)*, tr. by Adamaria Terziani. Milano: Iperborea; (1995), *L’anello rubato (Löwensköldska ringen)*, tr. by Silvia Giachetti. Milano: Iperborea; (1997), *Jerusalem*, tr. by Maria Ettlinger Fano. Milano: Iperborea; (2007) *La saga di Gösta Berling (Gösta Berlings saga)*, tr. by G. Pozzo, M. Svendsen Bianchi, Milano: Iperborea; Anne Charlotte Leffler (2012), *Ricordi d’infanzia. La vita di Sonia*. Milano: Università Luigi Bocconi; (2020), *Bozzetti napoletani (Napolitanska bilder)*, tr. by Catia De Marco. Napoli: Langella.

- (1850), *Ett ryckte*. Norrköping/Stockholm: Östlund & Berling.
- (1851), *Förmyndaren*. Norrköping/Stockholm: Östlund & Berling.
- (1853), *Inom sex veckor*. Stockholm: Rydlander
- (1860-61), *Ett köpmanshus i skärgården*. Stockholm: Bonnier.
- (1869-1875) *Emilie Flygare-Carléns Samlade romaner*, vv. 1-31. Stockholm: P.B. Eklund.
- (1877), *Stockholmsscener bakom kulisserna*. Stockholm: Fahlstedt.
- (1877), *Berättelser från landsorten*. Stockholm: Flodin.

Works by Emilie Flygare-Carlén in translation

- Flygare-Carlén, Emilie (1844), *The rose of thistle isle or the smugglers of the Swedish coast. A romance*, tr. G.C. Hebbe & H.C. Deming, New York: J. Winchester; *The Rose of Tistelön*. London: Bruce and Wyld.
- (1845), *Les smugglers suédois* tr. F. Coquille. Paris: La Bibliothèque Britannique.
 - (1852), *Un an de mariage*, trans. O. Squarr. Brussel: Schnée et Comp; (1854, 1855), Brussel: Kiessling; (1857), Brussel-Leipzig: Auguste Schnée.
 - (1855), *Six semaines*, transl. by A. Couvreur. Bruxelles: A. Cadot.
 - (1856), *La famille de la vallée. M.lle Nanny*, trans. O. Squarr. Brussel: Alphonse Lebègue.
 - (1858), *Deux jeunes femmes, ou Un an de mariage*, trans. Marie Souvestre. Paris: M. Levy.
 - (1854), “Une simple histoire de village”, in *Les Perce-neige. Nouvelles du nord*, édité par Xavier Marmier. Paris: Garnier Frères
 - (1869), *Un anno di matrimonio*, tr. by Emilio Mapelli. Milano: Treves.
 - (1875), *La signorina Nanny*. Milano: Tipografia Editrice Lombarda.
 - (1876), *Sei settimane*. Milano: Tipografia Editrice Lombarda.
 - (1882), “Le douleur d’une femme”, in *Nouvelles du Nord*, édité par Xavier Marmier. Paris: Hachette.
 - (1883), *Splendide nozze*. Milano: Brigola.
 - (1892), *Il dolore di una donna*. Napoli: Pierro.
 - (1904), *Un anno di matrimonio*, tr. by Emilio Mapelli. Firenze: Salani.

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