

UNIVERSITY OF NOVA GORICA  
GRADUATE SCHOOL

**RECEPTION OF EUROPEAN WOMEN WRITERS IN  
SLOVENIAN MULTICULTURAL TERRITORY OF THE  
19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY UNTIL THE END OF THE FIRST  
WORLD WAR**

DISSERTATION

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## 1 ABSTRACT

In Slovenian territory as well as in other European countries the significance and role of women writers in the past have been often overlooked. The main goal of this dissertation is thus to scrutinize the reception of European female authors within the Slovenian territory from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century until the end of World War I. In doing so, it also illuminates the importance of a small, but multicultural territory and its historical background for the reception of foreign authors. Moreover, in this dissertation, numerous names of female authors who are nowadays forgotten, yet were famous in the 19<sup>th</sup> century world of culture and contributed to the shaping of the literary field, are brought again to the surface.

In contrast to some Slovenian comparative literary studies, such as Janko Kos' work, in which foreign female authors are barely mentioned, this investigation displays not only that women writers were widely received within the Slovenian territory in the long 19<sup>th</sup> century, but also, that they had more impact on Slovenian literature than previously thought. Additionally, the research also proves that during said period, the flow and reception of information were actually very good considering the large amount of news about female authors circulating through, for instance, periodical press.

The dissertation illustrates the various types of reception of women writers. First of all, it analyzes the reception of women writers in Slovenian and German periodical press, as both presses were present simultaneously within the Slovenian territory during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Articles, obituaries, mentions and reviews of women writers and their literary works were published in these periodicals. Particular stress is placed on columns and literary reviews which brought news about female authors and their works. Catalogues of public and private lending libraries and private collections have also been accurately examined in order to see which works were available to the Slovenian readers. Thanks to the repertoire of Slovenian theatres, works of women writers that were put on stage in the 19<sup>th</sup> century have also been checked. Secondly, literary works written by European female authors are presented in their Slovenian translations. First translations were published only after the revolutionary year of 1848. They appeared as stand-alone publications or serialized

publications in periodical press. At the turn of the century and due to the national movement, the translation activity increased considerably. Finally, the last part of the dissertation is dedicated to the research of the women writers' literary influence. European women writers were received and discussed by Slovenian male and female authors in different ways: discussing them in their correspondence; quoting them in their works, notes or diaries, publishing articles and obituaries, or reviews of their works, and even by translating their works. Consequently, all this presumably influenced Slovenian authors and their works in different ways, which is also presented in this investigation.

The way of rethinking the reception of women writers throughout the dissertation is based mostly on the theory of Bourdieu's literary field, the theory of the empirical study of literature, Moretti's distant reading, and the theory of intertextuality.

### **Keywords**

reception of women writers, European women writers, 19<sup>th</sup>-century Slovenian territory, literary field, literary influence, library catalogues, translations, intertextuality



## **2 POVZETEK**

### **Recepcija evropskih pisateljic v večkulturnem prostoru 19. stoletja in do konca prve svetovne vojne na Slovenskem**

Na Slovenskem in v drugih evropskih deželah sta bila pomen in vloga pisateljic v zgodovini velikokrat spregledana. Glavni namen disertacije je temeljito raziskati recepcijo evropskih avtoric na slovenskem ozemlju od začetka 19. stoletja do konca prve svetovne vojne. S tem je poudarjen tudi pomen majhnega, večkulturnega ozemlja in njegovega zgodovinskega ozadja pri recepciji tujih avtoric. V disertaciji so tako ponovno obujena številna imena pisateljic, ki so danes pozabljena, bila pa so znana v svetu kulture 19. stoletja in so prispevala k oblikovanju literarnega polja.

V nasprotju z nekaterimi slovenskimi primerjalnimi literarnimi študijami, kot je delo Janka Kosa, v katerem so tuje avtorice komaj omenjene, ta raziskava pokaže, da so bile pisateljice dobro sprejete na Slovenskem v dolgem 19. stoletju in da so imele več vpliva na slovensko literaturo, kot je bilo doslej predstavljeno. Poleg tega raziskava tudi dokazuje, da sta bila tok in sprejem informacij v tistem obdobju zelo dobra, sodeč po številnih novicah o avtoricah, ki so krožile v periodiki.

Disertacija prikazuje različne vrste recepcije pisateljic. Najprej je predstavljena analiza recepcije v slovenskem in nemškem časopisju, ki je izhajalo na Slovenskem v obdobju, vključenem v raziskavo. V časopisih je bilo objavljenih veliko omemb, člankov, nekrologov o pisateljicah in recenzij njihovih literarnih del. Poseben poudarek stoji na časopisnih rubrikah in književnih pregledih, ki so prinašali novice o avtoricah in njihovih delih. Katalogi javnih in privatnih izposojevalnih knjižnic so bili natančno pregledani, da bi ugotovili, katera dela so bila na voljo slovenskim bralcem in bralkam. Zahvaljujoč repertoarju slovenskih gledališč smo lahko tudi preverili, katera dela evropskih pisateljic so bila uprizorjena na Slovenskem v času 19. stoletja. V nadaljevanju so predstavljeni slovenski prevodi literarnih del, ki so jih napisale evropske pisateljice. Prvi prevodi so bili objavljeni šele po revolucionarnem letu 1848 kot posamezne knjige ali pa kot objave v časopisju. Na prelomu stoletja se je prevajalska dejavnost znatno povečala, predvsem v povezavi z nacionalnim gibanjem. Zadnji del disertacije je posvečen raziskavi o literarnih vplivih. Evropske

pisateljice so bile namreč sprejete med slovenskimi avtorji in avtoricami na različne načine. O njih so razpravljali v svoji korespondenci, citirali so jih v svojih delih, zapiskih ali dnevnikih, o avtoricah so objavljali članke in nekrologe ter recenzije njihovih del, prevajali pa so tudi njihova dela. Vse to je predvidoma vplivalo na slovenske avtorje in avtorice, kar je predstavljeno tudi v tej raziskavi.

Skozi celotno disertacijo je recepcija pisateljic ovrednotena predvsem s pomočjo teorije literarnega polja Pierra Bourdieuja, teorije empirične obravnave literature, Morettijeve teorije oddaljenega branja in teorije intertekstualnosti.

### **Ključne besede**

recepcija pisateljic, evropske pisateljice, slovensko ozemlje v 19. stoletju, literarno polje, literarni vplivi, knjižnični katalogi, prevodi, intertekstualnost

### 3 INTRODUCTION

The interest in the works of the European female authors who wrote in the precedent centuries has considerably increased in the last three decades. Their texts are challenging for the researchers who investigate them by means of new methodologies such as the theory of the empirical study of literature, theory of the literary field, intertextuality, theory of distant reading, feminist literary criticism, and gender studies among others. These new approaches allow researchers to rediscover overlooked qualities. Until now, these qualities had been mostly neglected, therefore there are not many studies dealing with the reception of women writers in times when they were written. Nevertheless, the available quantitative and qualitative approaches indicate new connections between female authors which enable new comparative analysis of motifs, themes, genres, ways of writing and the analysis of their literary influence.

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, several names of women writers from different parts of Europe and their works appeared within the Slovenian ethnic territory. They were well received among Slovenian intellectuals and writers, such as Josip Jurčič (1844–1881) and Josip Stritar (1836–1923), and also among the first Slovenian women writers, such as Luiza Pesjak (1828–1898) and Pavlina Pajk (1854–1901). For instance, it should be noted that Pavlina Pajk was the first Slovenian female author who wrote a long obituary of the French female author George Sand (1804–1876) in Slovenian language. Similarly, Luiza Pesjak mentioned the Swedish author Fredrika Bremer (1801–1865) in her diary, while George Sand's quotation was included in Josip Jurčič's novel *Rokovnjači* (Brigands, 1881). Such examples prove that Slovenian scholars and authors knew most renowned European female authors, since they discussed their life and works in periodical press (i.e. in articles, obituaries, and reviews), their correspondence, and diaries or mentioned female authors and their works in their own literary works.

Several foreign female author names were published in the periodical press in the Slovenian territory during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. At first, they appeared as simple mentions, but later on, lengthy articles about female authors followed. Important evidence of the presence of their literary work is found in the library catalogues of

public and private lending libraries, as well as in private collections. The repertoire of Slovenian theatres should also be taken into consideration, as it includes works of several foreign female authors whose work were put on stage in Slovenian language. In addition, an increase of translation work focused on foreign texts can be noted at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup>.

The Slovenian territory formed part of the Habsburg Empire during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Throughout the whole century, national consciousness and different movements kept developing and growing. Slovenian language began to assert itself besides German – the official language of the Monarchy. The national idea of the Slovenian people rested on linguistic consciousness despite German liberal nationalism's attempts to suppress Slovenian aspiration for freedom by restricting the use of Slovenian in schools.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, Slovenian culture, particularly its literature,<sup>2</sup> assumed the burden of the national movement: writers and poets played an essential role in forming the national consciousness of Slovenians. During this time, many Slovenian periodicals emerged, bringing news from the sphere of literature and thus information of several foreign female authors and works. It must be observed that periodicals in German language were particularly relevant for mediating information about works of German-speaking female authors above all in the 1870s and 1880s, while Slovenian periodicals brought in most cases news about works of Slavic authors from the 1880s onwards, Czech and Polish in particular, with a considerable augmentation in the 1890s. This indicates another very important factor for the reception of foreign female authors: most Slovenian readers were bilingual. (Hladnik, *Slovenski* 293) Therefore, the majority of works available in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Slovenian territory were in German – German originals and/or German translations. Nevertheless, due to the strong German oppression, Slovenian scholars were gradually finding their role models in other European countries outside the Monarchy, particularly in Slavic countries. This could be first seen in arts, especially in literature and painting. Marko Juvan, in his article on the Slovenian cultural syndrome, explains that the aesthetic retardation of Slovenian literature as a

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<sup>1</sup> According to the historian Eric Hobsbawm, "where multinationality was sufficiently recognized to permit elementary or even secondary education in some other vernacular (as in the Habsburg Empire), the state language inevitably enjoyed a decisive advantage at the highest levels of the system" (Hobsbawm 150).

<sup>2</sup> See Mihurko Poniž, "Nation and gender in the writings of Slovene women writers: 1848–1918."

consequence of its national function it is not a mere characteristic of Slovenian literature, but rather a characteristic of all “small”, marginal literatures. (Juvan, *Slovenski* 16) However, this was probably the reason why works from marginal literatures, such as Slavic literature, were translated into Slovenian more frequently than works from bigger literatures, such as German. Juvan also observes that until Slovenian Moderna<sup>3</sup> there was a bad and delayed flow of information. (Ibid., 8) This investigation is strictly focused on female authors portrayals, and supports that the flow and their reception were positive considering news and critiques on female authors.

The 19<sup>th</sup> century was also important for Slovenian women because it is in this period of time when they started appearing in public life, particularly during the revolution of 1848, when they were able to express their national consciousness, and later on, when they participated in different events, such as reading societies. (Vodopivec 35) Nevertheless, women did not have the opportunity to get higher education, with the exception of some girls from rich and ambitious families, such as the author Luiza Pesjak and the poet Fany Hausmann (1818–1853). (Ibid., 34) In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the Habsburg Empire, several female authors emerged and began writing in order to support their nation and culture, against a foreign, dominant nation. (Mihurko Poniž, *Nation* 32) Literature thus became very significant for national, social and political emancipation, while Slovenian authors were encouraged to include motifs distinctive of their culture. (Ibid., 32) According to Katja Mihurko Poniž, nationalism also played a significant role in the facilitation for Slovenian women’s entry into the literary field. In this period, the main change in the development of Slovenian women’s literature was “the shift from topics connected with the strengthening of the national consciousness, which emerged after 1848, to a portrayal of women’s subordination and emancipation, which took place at the fin de siècle and the beginning of the twentieth century.” (Ibid., 28) Women could thus start independantly taking part in public life as late as at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The French literary historian Monique de Saint Martin observes that women writers were not included in the studies of the literary field at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but rather they were exclusively mentioned in sociological studies in connection to

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<sup>3</sup> Slovenian early Modernism which took place approximately between 1899 and 1918.

literary salons despite the fact that library catalogues of lending libraries prove their extensive literary production. Due to their sentimentality, easiness and intuition women writers remained at the margin of the literary field, while the centre belonged to male authors because of their rationality and power. (Saint Martin 53) The consequences of these restrictions were, among others, the use of male pseudonyms. By this mean, some female authors managed to put themselves in the public scenery and became known abroad. These factors also played a pivotal role in the reception of female authors, as it let them come to the fore.

The fact that the 19<sup>th</sup> century Slovenian ethnical territory was marked with multiculturalism and a special role of Slovenian language in a multinational country, in which German language prevailed, influenced the reception of literary works among readers and consequently, the literary creativity of Slovenian male and female authors. The period after World War I brought new values to the world, which had an impact on the point of view on gender roles, and continued the process of female emancipation which had started already in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In Slovenian cultural space several newspaper and publishing houses were founded, the role of women's societies and organizations strengthened, and new literary currents formed. As a consequence, this research is limited to the end of the World War I in 1918 when the Habsburg Monarchy finally collapsed and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians was founded.

My hypothesis is that female authors were very well-received within the Slovenian territory during the 19<sup>th</sup>-century: both in German periodicals (e.g. *Laibacher Zeitung*, *Illyrisches Blatt*, *Carinthia*), and in periodical press published in Slovenian during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (e.g. *Ljubljanski zvon*, *Dom in svet*, *Slovenka*, *Slovenski narod*, *Zora*); in library catalogues of private and public lending libraries, such as Janez Giontini's catalogues, Hedwig von Radics' catalogue, and the catalogue of the General Women's Society; in the repertoire of Slovenian theatres and among Slovenian readers and authors. The purpose of this dissertation is thus to scrutinize the reception of European female authors in Slovenian territory from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century until the end of World War I. Preliminary studies have shown that foreign female authors enjoyed wide circulation among Slovenian readers and authors. Consequently, their influence on Slovenian male and female authors

will be also examined. Furthermore, one of the aims of this dissertation is also to confirm the importance of the cultural and historical context on the reception of European female authors in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Slovenian territory. Last but not least, in doing so, the investigation will stress the significance and the role of female authors in the literary field.

The topics of this dissertation have not yet been the subject of any extensive Slovenian literary studies. These are some of the investigations accomplished thus far: Miran Hladnik's article on Slovenian female novel (1981), Katarina Bogataj Gradišnik's studies of the sentimental novel (1984, 1989), Katja Mihurko Poniž's monograph about Zofka Kveder (2003) and the comparative analysis between Eugenie Marlitt and Pavlina Pajk (2011), the reception of Jane Austen by Vanesa Matajč (2007), Ana Toroš's article about Ada Negri (2010), Milena Mileva Blažič's comparative analysis between Božena Němcová's and Slovenian fairy tales (2011), and Tanja Žigon's article about Hedwig von Radics (2012). However, some of these comparative or reception studies deal with the period of time after 1918. Besides, Janko Kos in his work *Primerjalna zgodovina slovenske literature* (The Comparative History of Slovenian Literature, 2001) mentions only seven female authors: Ida Hahn-Hahn, George Sand, Germaine de Staël, Simone de Beauvoir, Virginia Woolf, Anna Akhmatova and Marina Ivanovna Tsvetaeva. The impact of the last four authors is mentioned as a possible influence on Slovenian authors only after 1950. All this indicates that the reception of female authors in Slovenian territory has been mostly overlooked or neglected. Nevertheless, the preliminary research demonstrates that the first mentions of female authors go back to the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, namely in the period of Illyrian provinces (1809–1813), when the official newspaper *Télégraphe officiel des Provinces Illyriennes* (1810–1813) was published. Mentions, articles, obituaries and reviews of female authors and their work started appearing, and consequently, being discussed. The mentions bear witness that some female authors, most of forgotten nowadays, were famous in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century world of culture and art even outside the borders of their own countries, while articles, obituaries and reviews testify that Slovenian scholars knew very well the literary works of several foreign female authors. Besides, the aforementioned library catalogues and private collections sustain that their works were available to Slovenian readers, even though the majority of them was in German language.

For this reason, the first part of my dissertation will focus on the historical and cultural situation of the Slovenian ethnic territory in the long 19<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, the reflection of the multicultural space and foreign influences on Slovenian literature will be displayed. The significance of the appearance of Slovenian women in public life and the importance of the periodical press and lending libraries for the dissemination of foreign literature will be also discussed. The second part of the dissertation will be focused on the woman writer. The appearance of women writers in history and their position in the literary field of the 19<sup>th</sup> century will be presented, particularly in France. Consequently, portraits of European authors, who were published in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Slovenian newspapers and received by Slovenian scholars and readers, will be presented in a more accurate way in order to show the recurrent motifs about their personality, life and profession which were circulating in Slovenian territory. The third part will investigate the literary distribution of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. factors, such as periodical press, lending libraries, private collections, theatrical adaptations and translation activities which helped foreign female authors' works to circulate in Slovenian territory. With regard to periodical press, firstly, the periodicals in which names of female authors and their works were found will be presented; secondly, several important literary overviews and columns will be highlighted. The subsection devoted to lending libraries and private collections will analyse which works could be found in Slovenian territory within the investigated period of time. The same applies for the repertoire of the Slovenian theatres, while the subsection dealing with translations will expose which works have been translated into Slovenian. Finally, the last part will be entirely devoted to the reception of European female authors and their works in Slovenian literary works. In this last part, the foreign literary influences and similarities which reflect in the choice of motifs, genres and topics of Slovenian works will be enlightened. This will highlight which foreign literary works inspired Slovenian authors. For instance, contemporary critics frequently accused Slovenian female authors, such as Pavlina Pajk and Luiza Pesjak, of being epigones of German female writers. However recent researches, such as Katarina Bogataj Gradišnik's and Katja Mihurko Poniž's, point out other possible influences on Slovenian writers, in particular English and French. As a case study, George Sand and Pavlina Pajk have been chosen. This part of the investigation and the comparative analysis of foreign and Slovenian literary works will show how and to which extension foreign female authors influenced Slovenian



authors, and how Slovenian authors transformed and updated foreign motifs according to contemporary Slovenian cultural and social values.

The main aim of this dissertation, and thus my contribution to science, is to highlight the recognition of women writers in history, overlooked by previous researches, and their significance in the shaping of the literary field. In addition, by researching their reception in Slovenian multicultural territory of the long 19<sup>th</sup> century, the importance of foreign literary influences on Slovenian literature will be exposed. Consequently, this may encourage new investigations and comparative analysis which will facilitate new interpretations and enable to discover omitted qualities of Slovenian literary writings.

## 4 METHODOLOGY

The research will be based on different methodological approaches. I will focus on the quantitative, empiric research. By means of a typewritten card catalogue of foreign authors in Slovenian periodicals preserved at the Institute of Slovenian Literature and Literary Studies at the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (ZRC SAZU) in Ljubljana I will make a list of all mentions, articles and other types of reception of European female authors in the periodical press present in Slovenian territory in the 19<sup>th</sup> century until 1918. The articles will be analyzed and contextualized. I will also examine the library catalogues of five lending libraries and two private collections and the repertoire of Slovenian theatres until 1918 in order to see which literary works<sup>4</sup> – or their theatrical adaptations – of European female authors were received in Slovenian territory. In this part Franco Moretti's method of distant reading will be considered. In fact, while Moretti was investigating the national bibliographies, he realized:

what a minimal fraction of the literary field we all work on: a canon of two hundred novels [...] is still less than one per cent of the novels that were actually published [...] and close reading won't help here [...] And it's not even a matter of time, but of method: a field this large cannot be understood by stitching together separate bits of knowledge about individual cases, because it isn't a sum of individual cases: it's a collective system, that should be grasped as such, as a whole. (Moretti, *Graphs* 4)

Moretti thus proposes a "more rational literary history." (Ibid., 4) In his opinion, the quantitative approach to literature can take several different forms: "from computational stylistics to thematic databases, book history, and more." (Ibid., 4) Moreover, he states that close reading cannot work if you want to look beyond the canon, while distant reading "is a condition of knowledge: it allows you to focus on units that are much smaller or much larger than the text: devices, themes, tropes – or genres and systems." (Moretti, *Conjectures* 57)

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<sup>4</sup> While listing a foreign literary work for the first time (or in different chapters) in this dissertation, I will write the original title in italic in the first place. In brackets, my English translation of the title will be provided. If the English translation already exists, the English title will be written in italic. If the work has been translated into Slovenian, the Slovenian title in italic will follow in the third place. The year of publication, if found, will be in the last place. However, if the original title of the work has not been found, the Slovenian (German or Croatian) title will be written in italic in the first place followed by an asterisk. My English translation will be provided in brackets.

Since this investigation deals with hundreds of authors, the quantitative data of the reception of European women writers will be presented in the end in the appendix.

The data will be analyzed in order to find out the significance of female authors in the national literary system and transnational connections. In doing so, I will base my findings on Pierre Bourdieu's theory of the literary field and the theory of the empirical study of literature. Both theories deal with the importance of the social context within the study of literature. However, since these theories are based on a determined place and period of time,<sup>5</sup> they cannot be entirely applied to the particular situation of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Slovenian territory.

The theory of the literary field also includes in its subject of investigation the social and historical context. Bourdieu defines the literary field as "a field of forces acting on all those who enter this space and differently according to the position that they occupy there, at the same time as a field of struggle aiming to transform this field of forces." (Viala & Wissing 566) According to Bourdieu, the writer is thus not alone in the literary field since his or her practice "is overdetermined by his or her competition with contemporaries responding to the same codes and constraints, as writers take positions in relations to each other, striving for literary recognition and/or economic success." (Cohen 7) Besides the importance of the social context, Bourdieu stresses also the significance of the historical context for the reception of a work of art: "Thus the categories engaged in the perception and appreciation of the work of art are doubly linked to historical context: associated with a social universe which is situated and dated, they are also the object of usages which are themselves socially marked by the social position of their users." (Bourdieu 297) He concludes that "it is the historical analysis which allows us to understand the conditions of the 'understanding', the symbolic appropriation, real or fictive, of a symbolic object which may be accompanied by that particular form of enjoyment which we call aesthetic." (Ibid., 333)

In the investigation I will also refer to the theory of the empirical study of literature which also considers the context in which the literary work has been created. The

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<sup>5</sup> Bourdieu's theory is based on the situation of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century France (Paris), while the theory of the empirical study of literature has been developed in Germany by Siegfried J. Schmidt.

interpretation of a literary work is not only tied to the text, but also to individual and social conventions of the reader. (Tötösy de Zepetnek 34) The literature is thus considered as a social system of (inter)actions: “The main question is what happens to literature and how: it is written, published, distributed, read, censored, imitated, etc.” (Ibid., 34) For this reason, according to Siegfried J. Schmidt, the object of study of the empirical study of literature is not only the text in itself, but roles of actions within the literary system: the production (die Produktion), distribution (die Vermittlung), reception (die Rezeption) and the processing of texts (die Verarbeitung).

The last part of the research will be carried out by means of intertextuality – the interrelationship between texts. The meaning of intertextuality is many-sided and complex, nevertheless usually it refers to “relations between texts, interweaving of texts, weaving of one text into another, connectedness and interdependence of at least two related texts, the characteristic of a text of establishing a relation with (an)other text(s) or having another or multiple texts woven into it or interrelatedness or interaction of texts” (Juvan, *History* 13). In literary history there have been a series of pronouncements in which writers show awareness of intertextual occurrences and “the fact that every work necessarily takes into account that which was written before” (Ibid., 13). Julia Kristeva, who launched the notion of intertextuality, writes that a text is “a permutation of texts, an intertextuality in the space of a given text, in which several utterances, taken from other texts, intersect and neutralize one another” (Allen 35). In Kristeva’s opinion, the text is not “an individual, isolated object but, rather, a compilation of cultural textuality. Individual text and the cultural text are made from the same textual material and cannot be separated from each other” (Ibid., 35–36). At last, she states that “any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another. The notion of intertextuality replaces that of intersubjectivity, and poetic language is read as at least double” (Ibid., 39). In the case of Slovenian literary works this mosaic could be seen on different levels: genres, themes, motifs, quotations and even names of the characters.

While forming arguments which will substantiate my ascertainments even more I will enter the quantitative data about the reception of European women writers in the

Database *WomenWriters* which records data concerning the reception of women's writings and enables us to approach women's literature on the basis of contemporary reactions. (Van Dijk XIX)

#### 4.1 Database *WomenWriters*

My research contributes to the huge mosaic of European literary culture thanks to the COST Action IS0901 Women Writers in History (November 2009–October 2013),<sup>6</sup> in which the database *WomenWriters* played an important role. This ever-expanding database is available to broad public and will stay open and continue to develop further on. The database “contains information on the production of women authors from the middle ages up to c. 1900, and on the reception of their works by contemporaries as well as early literary historians (both men and women).”<sup>7</sup> Thus it is a modern tool which allows the research of the reception of female authors and their works in an international framework:

This database *WomenWriters* has been created to allow, for pre-1900 Europe, the study of women's writing in their international reception context: the authors' places, activities and recognition. Such a study was not possible given the evident lack of large-scale information about women's writing being received by contemporaries. Large scale and transcending of boundaries is considered a necessity because of women's frequent role as translators, and also because of women's reputations abroad not always being recognized in the home country.<sup>8</sup>

The primary aim of the database was to put together and to stock scattered pieces of information about the reception of women writers. Later on, the initiators of the database “toyed with the idea of using the database not only as a much-needed repository of information, but also as a basis for producing a new history of women's writing before 1900: new source materials would accumulate there that would enable (future) researchers to address new questions.” (Van Dijk, Gilleir & Montoya 155)

It must be also noted that the database is a working place, a work in progress, not a publication site; for this reason some errors or gaps might be found.<sup>9</sup> The

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<sup>6</sup> See: [http://www.cost.eu/domains\\_actions/isch/Actions/IS0901](http://www.cost.eu/domains_actions/isch/Actions/IS0901).

<sup>7</sup> See “Welcome to *WomenWriters*” (ed. Suzan van Dijk), <http://neww.huygens.knaw.nl/>.

<sup>8</sup> See “Database *WomenWriters*” (ed. Suzan van Dijk), [http://www.womenwriters.nl/index.php/Database\\_WomenWriters](http://www.womenwriters.nl/index.php/Database_WomenWriters).

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

consultation of the database is free, but the complete access to all the data is restricted to password owners.<sup>10</sup>

The database is divided into three parts: authors, works and receptions. The part dedicated to authors contains biographical information, such as names, pseudonyms, dates, other personal and professional information, literary production, etc. The part regarding works offers information about the date of publication, editions, language, genre and so forth. The last part provides us with references to texts and factual information evidencing the (international) reception of the works, for instance, reviews, articles and mentions in the periodical press, translations, intertextuality, library catalogues, production in theatre, etc.<sup>11</sup> There are many advantages that one can obtain thanks to the database. First of all, many known and unknown names of female authors and their works were brought to light again, which could be considered as a proof that numerous women in the past wrote and contributed to the literary field. Besides, we can see that women were reading other contemporary female authors or authors from previous centuries who might have exerted influence upon their literary activity. The international reception of an author or of her work could be easily deduced from the database. Furthermore, the stored data could be also used for visualizing different aspects of the reception, for example, the reception of a defined author in a defined country in a defined period of time, etc.

However, as already stated above, the database is a work in progress and it can be also adapted for the researchers' needs. For this reason, in the future it will continue to develop thanks to numerous important innovations which will be included in the new Virtual Research Environment, such as a new data model, faceted search, and the interconnectivity with other related projects,<sup>12</sup> and thus it will continue its function in the framework of CLARIN-NL<sup>13</sup> and HERA.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> However it is possible that during one of the next phases of the project, this relatively open access to the database may change. (Van Dijk, Gilleir & Montoya 155)

<sup>11</sup> See "Welcome to *WomenWriters*" (ed. Suzan van Dijk), <http://neww.huygens.knaw.nl/>.

<sup>12</sup> See "Data preparation in view of transfer to Virtual Research Environment" (ed. Suzan van Dijk), [http://www.womenwriters.nl/index.php/Preparation\\_of\\_data\\_in\\_view\\_of\\_VRE](http://www.womenwriters.nl/index.php/Preparation_of_data_in_view_of_VRE).

<sup>13</sup> See "CLARIN-NL," <http://www.clarin.nl/node/456>.

<sup>14</sup> See "HERA, Collaborative Research Project (2013–2016), Travelling Texts 1790–1914: the Transnational Reception of Women's Writing at the Fringes of Europe," [http://heranet.info/system/files/HERAJRPdocuments/hera\\_a4\\_28p\\_17sept\\_2.pdf](http://heranet.info/system/files/HERAJRPdocuments/hera_a4_28p_17sept_2.pdf).

## 5 THE HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL SITUATION IN THE SLOVENIAN ETHNIC TERRITORY IN THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY AND UNTIL THE END OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

### 5.1 The Multicultural Territory

The space that I have chosen for the historical and cultural research in my dissertation is the Slovenian ethnic territory of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It encompasses the so-called Slovenian lands or provinces,<sup>15</sup> which were mainly inhabited by the Slovene-speaking population. The territory, expanded between the Alps and the Adriatic Sea, included Carniola with the capital Ljubljana in the centre, the southern part of Carinthia with Klagenfurt in the north, the southern part of Styria with Maribor in the east, Prekmurje in the northeast, the northern part of Istra in the south and Gorizia, Gradisca and Trieste<sup>16</sup> in the west.<sup>17</sup> This territory “has always been a place of transition, a borderland and a crossroads, but also a bridge between different cultures, people, nations and states” (Štih 7). During the centuries preceding the World War I, it was also a point, where several different cultures overlapped, cohabited and intertwined, in particular the Slavic, Germanic and Romance culture.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Peter Vodopivec stresses in “Politics of History Education in Slovenia and Slovene History Textbooks since 1990” that the so-called Slovene provinces were never “homogenously ethnically Slovene” (Vodopivec in Dimou 57). All Slovenian texts were translated by the author of this dissertation, unless otherwise mentioned.

<sup>16</sup> Trieste played an important role in the Austrian Empire due to its geopolitical circumstances and its strategic position. It was a multiethnic city, in which Slovenian, Italian and Austrian/German cultures flourished until Trieste’s union to Italy after the end of World War I in 1918, which provoked the process of Italianization of the Slovenian ethnic group. See Boris M. Gombač, *Trst-Trieste – dve imeni, ena identiteta*.

<sup>17</sup> The linguistic boundaries of the Slovenian territory remained mostly unchanged in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century: “The western linguistic border ran from the Gulf of Trieste to the Tagliamento River, along the edge of the Friulian plain and the Karst Plateau. Slovenes inhabited the Resia Valley, from where the border ascended through Kanin and Pontebba and then descended to the Kanal Valley, crossing the Carnic Alps towards the Gail River in Carinthia. The Slovenian-German border crossed the Gail Valley east of Hermagor, then turned at Villach, crossed the Ossiacher Tauern range, Zollfeld, and the Sau Alps, and continued until the area north of Diex, whence it turned towards the Drava River and crossed Styria eastwards. This part of boundary ran north of the present-day Slovenian-Austrian state border. The Prekmurje region remained part of Hungary, where Slovenes also inhabited the area stretching to the Raba River. The Sotla River, the Gorjanci range, and the Kolpa River separated the Slovenian ethnic territory from Hungary and Croatia. In Istria the Slovenian and Croatian population inhabited both sides of the present-day Slovenian-Croatian border.” (Svoljšak in Luthar 291)

<sup>18</sup> “The Slovene lands never formed the centre of a significant Slavonic state. Before the sixth century, the area was populated by Thracians, Illyrians, Celts and Romans. The ancestors of the modern Slovenes in turn became vassals of the Avars and then were incorporated into the Frankish empire, experiencing only brief periods of autonomy under the rule of Samo in the seventh century and Kocelj in the ninth. By 1832 most of the Slovene lands were ruled from Vienna by the Habsburg

This diversity left its marks on this territory, preserving them in the rich history and culture.

The historical and cultural situation of a territory cannot be reduced to only one nation, since the majority of European nations coalesced as political nations as late as in the nineteenth century.<sup>19</sup> Consequently, when referring to the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Slovenian territory, one cannot speak about only one culture, but instead one must refer to a multicultural space, where several various cultures interlaced. Nevertheless, the following century brought several important changes. Namely, Slovenian people entered the 20<sup>th</sup> century as a part of the Habsburg Empire and as an identifiable nation with a developed political, cultural and social life despite the slow pace of economic development and modernisation.<sup>20</sup> The First World War “stands as a landmark and a turning point in the landscape of modern Slovenian history” (Luthar in Luthar 369). In fact, the end of the war brought pivotal changes to the Slovenian territory: in December 1918 it became a part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians. After long centuries under Germanic cultural influences, with accession to Yugoslavia, Slovenian people turned towards their Slavic roots, particularly towards the Balkan culture.<sup>21</sup> By doing so, the Slovenian territory enters another form of a multicultural space. This is the reason why my research ends at this point.

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dynasty and were to remain so until 1918” (Gow & Carmichael 13). Only during the period of the Reformation in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, “the Slovene ethnos began to form itself culturally into a nation, and by the period of the Enlightenment, the Slovene national awakening could be based on social, economic, legal, and political bases of enlightened civilized nation” (Prunk 9). For more information see also Štih, Simoniti and Vodopivec, *A Slovene history: society - politics - culture*.

<sup>19</sup> Regarding the notion of nationality itself Štih explains that: “Elsewhere in Europe, historians talk of countries and nations in periods when neither had yet come into being [...]. A history of the Slovenes therefore only relates to recent centuries, but that does not mean that Slovene history, understood as the history of the land where present-day Slovenia is located and its people, is any the less for this distinction, only that it has been more accurately defined” (Štih 8).

<sup>20</sup> Ljubljana had already become an informal capital of Slovenia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In contrast to Western Europe, where weaker linguistic and ethnic groups were assimilated in the period up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in Central Europe, the slower economic and social development, without any strong central government, allowed small nations to develop. It has to be remembered that the Austrian education system ensured an enviable level of literacy, school education and thus facilitated the creation of Slovenia’s national elite. Right up until the end of the First World War, Slovenes studied primarily in Graz and Vienna, the capital of the Empire. (Štepec 9–10)

<sup>21</sup> “After vegetating for many centuries in the Habsburg Empire, the Slovenes now found themselves in a community of South Slavic nations, no longer exposed to Greater-German or Hungarian national violence; they thus became sovereign, to a certain extent at least, as could be interpreted from the name of the new state. This was now a realistic foundation for the achievement of all cultural and political demands that had been proclaimed [...]: those of 1848 and later.” (Kmecl 70)



## 5.2 Foreign Influences on Slovenian Culture and Literature

The influence of the multicultural space strongly reflected in the literature, which was mostly connected to the Germanic world since its beginning.<sup>22</sup> Slovenian culture and language played an essential role in the history of the Slovenian nation.<sup>23</sup>

According to Janko Kos,<sup>24</sup> in his work *Duhovna zgodovina Slovencev* (Slovenian Geistesgeschichte), the literature played the major role of all the segments which regard culture and arts from the very beginning, particularly if we reckon among it also the ecclesiastical manuscripts with the continuation in the ecclesiastical literature of modern times and folk poetry. Kos sustains that literature seems to be the focus and the core of the Slovenian Geistesgeschichte, since it mostly touches religion, politics, morals, painting, theatre and so forth. All these segments were realized through poetry or literature in its broader meaning: "This is the reason why

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<sup>22</sup> With the end of the Frankish Empire and the defeat of the Magyars in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the (ethnically German) Holy Roman Empire was founded in 962, which was later on called the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation. The Empire encompassed the Slovenian lands until its end in 1806. During all this time its people were politically, socially and culturally separated from other Slavic lands and by this means, they became a special unit subjected to other influences. (Kos, *Duhovna* 12) In fact, "the renewed Germanic-German authority over the Slavic territory fortified itself by creating frontier marches that included and divided the original Slavic territory." (Prunk 21) These marches strengthened the borders of the Holy Roman Empire against Hungary and Croatia, and thus the eastern ethnic boundary between the Slovenians and the Hungarians and Croats was formed, which has remained the same for a thousand years. (Ibid.) Shortly after 1000 the Slovenians were already living "in three different states: the German (which possessed the majority of Slovenian lands), the Hungarian and the Venetian. Their only connecting element was the language and the culture that was based on it" (Granda 52). However, the feudal colonisation of Slovenian lands in the Holy Roman Empire brought German-speaking people. Therefore, this social integration with the Central European feudal order "meant economic and also cultural integration" (Granda 53–58). Consequently, this resulted also in the language of the Slovenian lands: German became the written language, while Slovenian remained mostly spoken. (Granda 65–69) The granting of Slovenian lands to notable dynasties should be also briefly mentioned here. In fact, according to Granda, the collective historical memory of the Slovenes is closely connected with the Habsburgs: "They had possessions here from 1282 to 1918, and from around 1500 held the majority of Slovenian ethnic territory." (Granda 70) Outside their authority remained only the County of Gorizia and the western Istria, where Venetian Republic imposed its authority until 1797. What was more, in 1784, the Emperor Joseph II proclaimed German as the official language throughout the Habsburg Monarchy. (Granda 116)

<sup>23</sup> "In their cultural life the Slovenes were dominated, at least where the written word was concerned by the Austrian authorities. Although not entirely a peasant culture, the chance of a literary version of Slovene was severely curtailed before the national awakening of the late eighteenth century. The Slovene language was both a unifying and a dividing factor in the history of the nation, but the status of the language is the single most important *leitmotiv* running through the history of this people and can in some senses be said to define the parameters of Slovene national development." (Gow & Carmichael 16) See also Kos, *Duhovna zgodovina Slovencev*, 16.

<sup>24</sup> A Slovenian literary historian, theoretician and critic.

the spiritual history of Slovenian people is above all the history of literary manifestations, works and texts.” (Kos, *Duhovna* 22)

The proof of that goes back to the Middle Ages. In fact, the first preserved Slavic or – according to modern linguists – Old Slovene texts known as *Brižinski spomeniki* (The Freising Manuscripts), written between 972 and 1022/1039, were found in Freising in Germany.<sup>25</sup> During the following centuries the written literature in Slovenian was mostly meant for religious ceremonies and even though folk songs seemed not to be religious, their background was often of Christian origin.<sup>26</sup> This changed during the Age of Enlightenment when scholars began to encourage other scholars to write Slovenian secular verses.<sup>27</sup> Kos adds that in the Slovenian territory the Baroque culture had already included secular poetry in Latin or German.

Nevertheless, during this time the first secular poem in Slovene was printed in Janez Vajkard Valvasor’s<sup>28</sup> *Die Ehre des Herzogthums Crain*<sup>29</sup> (The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola, 1689). (Kos, *Duhovna* 75) In this very work also the first published poem written by a female author was found in the Slovenian territory. Namely, Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg (1633–1694), an Austrian woman poet of the Baroque era, wrote a four-page long poem, which figures at the beginning<sup>30</sup> of *Die Ehre des*

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<sup>25</sup> They are the most important evidence of the Slavic mission. They are also the oldest Slavic texts in the Latin alphabet and were a component part of a pontifical, the liturgical book used by a bishop. “Modern linguists sometime refer to the language of the manuscripts as Old Slovene, while contemporary writers referred only to the Slavic language.” (Štih in Luthar 90)

<sup>26</sup> See Kos, *Duhovna zgodovina Slovencev*, 35–44. It must be observed that the Reformation also played a crucial role in regard to Slovenian language and literature since it inspired the Protestant reformer, Primož Trubar, to publish the first two books in Slovene: the *Catechismus* and the *Abecedarium* (1550). In this way he laid the foundations of literary Slovene. He also embarked on a translation of the *New Testament*, which he would publish in 1577. He worked with a number of collaborators who, besides faith, occupied themselves with education, published the first Slovene grammar, and printed some song-books and some secular books. With the translation of the whole of the *Bible* undertaken by Jurij Dalmatin and its publication in 1584, the “Slovenes took their place as the 16<sup>th</sup> cultural nation in the world.” (Granda 86–89)

<sup>27</sup> For instance, Marko Pohlin (1735–1801), a Slovenian philologist and author, in his *Kranjska Gramatika* (A Carniolian Grammar, 1768) called upon Slovenians not to be ashamed of their mother tongue. He formulated a negative point of view towards a foreign, that is, German language, which spread unduly in Carniolian territory. (Kos, *Duhovna* 76)

<sup>28</sup> Valvasor (1641–1693), born in Ljubljana, was a distinguished secular writer and a polymath.

<sup>29</sup> The work, written in German, covers 15 books and catalogues in enormous detail the history and geography of Carniola: “Since the author also used original archive material which has not survived, the work has immense academic value for almost every branch of humanist and scientific knowledge.” (Granda 102)

<sup>30</sup> Riet Schenkeveld-van der Dussen points out that in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Netherlands, even when a woman’s work was published, it usually appeared in the book of a male author: “as an introductory

*Herzogthums Crain*, preceded only by Valvasor's introduction to the book. She dedicated her poem to Valvasor, as the author of the work, rendering him thanks for such an excellent description of the Duchy of Carniola. The poetess compares Valvasor to Homer, saying that finally after long longing "our Carniolian Homer has been found, who had rescued this land from oblivion and introduced it to the world" (Valvasor 17).<sup>31</sup>

In his extensive work *Primerjalna zgodovina slovenske literature* (Comparative History of Slovenian Literature) Janko Kos states that Slovenian literature in its true sense of the word started as late as around 1770, that is to say, at the beginning of the Slovenian Enlightenment. (Kos, *Primerjalna* 8) Kos then points out all most known Slovenian authors and their works from then on, comparing them to their European counterparts and thus showing upon whom they modelled themselves and by whom they were inspired. His research displays that Slovenian authors<sup>32</sup> from 1770 to the end of the World War I were strongly influenced by foreign authors, in particular German-speaking authors,<sup>33</sup> French,<sup>34</sup> British/Irish,<sup>35</sup> Latin,<sup>36</sup> Italian,<sup>37</sup> Slavic,<sup>38</sup> and others.<sup>39</sup> Among them, German-speaking authors seem to have most influenced

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ode, as a poem to which a man had responded, to fill up blank pages". (Schenkeveld-van der Dussen 14)

<sup>31</sup> In the continuation of her poem, she briefly describes the characteristics of the places, customs, languages and people that will be presented afterwards by Valvasor. She also mentions the countess Maria Isabella von Zinzendorf, in the allegory of the Carniolian crown, to whom, in her opinion, Valvasor's book was dedicated.

<sup>32</sup> In the whole Kos' work only three Slovenian female authors are mentioned: Marica Nadlišek-Bartol (1867–1940), Zofka Kveder (1878–1926), and Svetlana Makarovič (1939). Kos points out the influence of Maupassant on Kveder (Kos 220–226), while Nadlišek-Bartol and Makarovič are only briefly mentioned.

<sup>33</sup> Kos mentions particularly the following German-speaking authors who presumably exerted influence on Slovenian authors: M. Denis, Ch. F. Gellert, J. W. L. Gleim, J. Uz, F. Hagedorn, G. B. Hancke, Hölty, Lessing, Bürger, E. Kleist, Klopstock, Goethe, J. Richter, Haller, Kleist, F. Matthisson, F. Schiller, Herder, brothers Schlegel, Uhland, Grillparzer, Werner, Ch. Schmid, Heine, Lenau, Rückert, A. Stifter, B. Auerbach, J. Gotthelf, T. Storm, C. F. Meyer (a German-speaking Swiss), R. Gottschall, Hauptmann, Nietzsche, C. F. Hebbel, R. Dehml, A. Schopenhauer.

<sup>34</sup> In particular: Beaumarchais, Boileau, Batteux, Lafontaine, Rousseau, Voltaire, Coppée, G. Sand, A. Dumas (son), Augier, Verlaine, Baudelaire, Zola, Maupassant.

<sup>35</sup> In particular: A. Pope, J. Macpherson, Shakespeare, Byron, O. Goldsmith, W. Scott, Dickens, Wilde.

<sup>36</sup> In particular: Horace, Ovid, Virgil, Propertius.

<sup>37</sup> In particular: Petrarca, Dante, Ariosto, Tasso, Manzoni.

<sup>38</sup> In particular: Kollár, Mickiewicz, Turgenev, H. Sienkiewicz, Pushkin, Nekrasov, Dostoyevsky, Gogol, Tolstoy, Gorky.

<sup>39</sup> In particular: Cervantes, Jacobsen, Ibsen, Strindberg, M. Maeterlinck, E. Verhaeren, Andersen.

Slovenian authors.<sup>40</sup> The reception of German-speaking authors was significant especially until the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, later on Slovenian authors started looking also for other sources of inspiration from Europe. Kos affirms that in the Slovenian literary activity after 1848, the strong current of Enlightenment ideas began to amalgamate and intertwine with other contemporary literary currents into complex mixtures. (Kos, *Primerjalna* 118) This reflected in the Slovenian literary works in the form of different influences from 18<sup>th</sup>-century European literature. (Ibid., 118) German influence was nevertheless still prominent even after 1848.<sup>41</sup>

With regard to European female authors, Kos mentions only seven names.<sup>42</sup> For my research only three of them are important: Madame de Staël is mentioned in the context of European Romanticism (Kos, *Primerjalna* 106), Ida Hahn-Hahn is mentioned as a less central German novelist in connection to the classifications of novels in German poetics (Ibid., 163), while George Sand is supposed to have exerted influence upon one 19<sup>th</sup>-century Slovenian male author, namely Josip Jurčič.<sup>43</sup> (Ibid., 168)

### 5.3 The Appearance of Women in Public Life and their Role

Taking into consideration all the above, one would think that female authors, either foreign or Slovenian, hardly existed before the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but this is far from the truth. In fact, the historian Gisela Bock demonstrates just the opposite in her book *Women in European history*. She presents a list of numerous women who were active throughout history, among them several female authors. For instance, Christine de Pizan (1364–c. 1430), a French woman writer who wanted to oppose the long tradition of hatred of the female sex as early as at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century in

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<sup>40</sup> For more information about the relation between German culture and Slovenian intellectuals in the long 19<sup>th</sup> century see also Grdina, *Doživljanje Nemcev in nemške kulture pri slovenskih razumnikih od prosvetljenstva do moderne* (Viewpoints of Slovene Intellectuals Referring to Germans and German Culture from the Age of Enlightenment to the Modern Age), 1993.

<sup>41</sup> For instance, as Kos observes, Slovenian narrative writing, such as the rural novel (*vaška zgodba*) and also the novel (*roman*), developed directly from the German *Dorfgeschichte* and the German novel, although similar types of narrative writings were present at the same time in other European literatures. (Kos, *Primerjalna* 146, 158) However, this shows that most of the literary influence came to Slovenian territory through the German territory.

<sup>42</sup> See Kos, *Primerjalna* 344–362.

<sup>43</sup> See my findings about the influence of Sand on Jurčič in section 8.2.2.

order to show that not everything in the books of that time was trustworthy,<sup>44</sup> wrote a book in defence of women, in which she explains why women should write from their own experience. The reason for the creation of the book *The Book of the City of Ladies* (1405) in which Pizan refuted the stereotypic misleading beliefs, prejudices and false assertions about woman's nature, was the misogynist cultural heritage. Since then, many female authors had emerged which proves that women did contribute to history in different ways and therefore they should be taken into consideration.

In Slovenian territory, women started appearing in public life as late as the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>45</sup> Still, there is some evidence of women who had been exposed before that time.<sup>46</sup> For instance, Anton Tomaž Linhart's<sup>47</sup> wife made her first appearance in public playing the role of Micka in Linhart's comedy *Županova Micka* (The Mayor's Daughter Micka, 1789) when it was premiered in Ljubljana in 1789.<sup>48</sup> (Legiša & Gspan 396) Nevertheless, it was not until 1848<sup>49</sup> that Slovenian women entered public life in the broadest sense of the term:

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<sup>44</sup> By that time, the majority of the texts about women were written by men. It therefore comes as no surprise that the images of women were erroneous as they were only described from a male perspective. (See Bock 1–10)

<sup>45</sup> See Vodopivec, "Kako so ženske na Slovenskem v 19. stoletju stopale v javno življenje" (How women entered public life in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Slovenian territory).

<sup>46</sup> Peter Vodopivec, a Slovenian historian, states that women in Slovenian history before the 19<sup>th</sup> century impressed on Slovenian historical memory more as literary than as historical heroines, even though they were real historical personages. (Vodopivec 30–31)

<sup>47</sup> A Slovenian playwright, poet and historian. The author of the first comedy and theatrical play in Slovene, *Županova Micka* (The Mayor's Daughter Micka).

<sup>48</sup> The play, however, was performed in a closed circle of people.

<sup>49</sup> The revolutionary year of 1848 was pivotal for Slovenian nation, since Slovenians specified their demands in the programme known as Zedinjena Slovenija (United Slovenia). The concept expressed by Matija Majar, the creator of the programme, was that each nation should live in accordance with its own agenda and wishes. The spirit was best presented in the words of the greatest Slovenian poet France Prešeren in *Zdravljica*: "Long live all nations that yearn to see the day, when wherever the sun shines, all disputes will be banished from the world." The basis of the United Slovenia programme was "the unification of all Slovene lands, irrespective of existing historical provincial borders. The idea was for it to evolve into an autonomous administrative entity under the protection of the Habsburg Empire, thus moving from the traditional provincial borders and the legacy of being tied to the historical provinces of Carniola, Styria, Carinthia, Gorizia-Gradisca and Istria". (Štepec 9) The authors of the programme also demanded the equality of the Slovenian language with German and its introduction in schools and public administration. (Svoljšak in Luthar 283) Even though the introduction of the Slovenian language was the fundamental point of the Slovenian national program of 1848, before World War I Slovenian "only fully asserted itself in elementary education". (Ibid., 331) The Slovenian national movement ceased for a brief period due to the failed revolution and censorship. Still, Slovenian people were encouraged to concentrate on culture and literary activity, this is why Slovenian political societies "turned into reading and cultural societies." (Ibid., 289) Numerous intellectuals contributed with their work to the enrichment of Slovenian culture. Their

The political activity of women in the revolutionary year 1848/49 was influenced not only by the traditional forms of their public activities, which mainly covered welfare, cultural activities in clubs (Kasinos), reading societies, and bourgeois and aristocratic parlours, but also by their material circumstances. More than ever before, their rights to trade activity and to hold titles to property became important. The latter was especially so in a country, where the main criterion for public activity was the possession of a farm. In some places women as title holders had the right to vote at pre-elections [...]. In 1848, women can be found among the publishers of new newspapers (*Sloveniensi Blatt*) and the authors of the first political articles [...]. Anyway, the year 1848 can be regarded as the beginning of the political activities of women in Slovene territory, but it is necessary to be aware that these activities also reflect general economic, social and political circumstances. A certain peculiarity is greater activity in the national movement. (Granda, *Ženske* 515)

During the revolution of 1848 Slovenian women were thus able to publicly express their national consciousness in different ways: by supporting their men and by signing the petition of the United Slovenia etc. (Svoljšak in Luthar 366). Since they were not allowed to affiliate themselves to political societies, they participated in other entertainments and events, such as reading societies. (Vodopivec 35) During the 1860s and the 1870s this path was also taken by Marija Murnik Horak, “an activist and an organizer of charitable, educational, and women’s societies.” (Svoljšak in Luthar 366). In fact, in Ljubljana, she assembled “troops of Slovenian women and girls and started encouraging them to respect and love their mother tongue, to initiate a voluntary work and to prepare for an active participation in the national events.” (Vodopivec 36)

The number of women who participated in public life by attending national events, writing, singing, acting, and so forth, increased considerably. Hence, also the number of Slovenian women poets, female writers and women painters, such as Ivana Kobilca (1861–1926),<sup>50</sup> was slowly increasing. (Vodopivec 40) Franja Tavčar (1868–1938), the wife of the writer Ivan Tavčar (1851–1923), was also a prominent figure in the 1890s. She took over the leadership of Ljubljana’s womanhood, and,

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effort merits even more praise, since, according to Eric Hobsbawm, “those whose first language was an unofficial vernacular would almost certainly still be excluded from the higher ranges of culture and private or public affairs, unless as speakers of the official and superior idiom in which they would certainly be conducted.” (Hobsbawm 157)

<sup>50</sup> In 1889, in Ljubljana, Ivana Kobilca had her first solo exhibition. (Vodopivec 40)

later on, she became the chair of the Slovenian General Women's Society. (Vodopivec 33)

According to Katja Mihurko Poniž<sup>51</sup> the year 1848 “was not only the first year when Slovene women voiced public demands, it was also a turning point in the history of Slovene women's literature” (Mihurko Poniž, *Nation* 32). By the 1840s the representatives of Slovenian literature were exclusively males. Only by the end of forties Slovenian women began appearing as authors. The first Slovenian female author is considered to be Fany Hausmann (1818–1853) who published her poems between 1848–1849 in the journals *Celjske novine* (Celje's News) and *Slovenija* (Slovenia).<sup>52</sup> She was followed by other female authors: Luiza Pesjak (1828–1898), Josipina Turnograjska (1833–1854) and Pavlina Pajk (1854–1901). Mihurko Poniž stresses that, since the Revolution of 1848 did not bring the expected liberties to the Slovenian people, literature again became pivotal for national and political emancipation. (Mihurko Poniž, *Nation* 32) Slovenian writers were thus “encouraged to include motives and themes that emphasised the culture and uniqueness of their nation” (Ibid., 32). Consequently, female authors, such as Josipina Turnograjska, Luiza Pesjak,<sup>53</sup> and Pavlina Pajk also contributed to the national emancipation with their writings.

The poet and writer Pavlina Pajk<sup>54</sup> also dedicated herself to other topics.<sup>55</sup> In her early works she “emphasized female sensitivity and criticized the restrictions on women's freedom in patriarchal society” (Verginella 389). Later on, when she wrote for the literary gazette *Zora* (Dawn), her “literary creativity was released, turning

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<sup>51</sup> In her article “Nation and gender in the writings of Slovene women writers: 1848–1918.”

<sup>52</sup> See Erjavec & Flere XXIV–XXX. For more information see also Grdina, “Fanny Hausmannova in problem slovenske ženske literature” (Fanny Hausmann and the problem of Slovene women's literature), and *Vladarji, lakaji, boemi* (Rulers, servants, bohemians) in which he warns about the questionable Hausmann's authorship due to her scarce mastery of Slovene.

<sup>53</sup> For more information about Turnograjska's and Pesjak's importance in the Slovenian national movement see Mihurko Poniž, “Nation and gender in the writings of Slovene women writers: 1848–1918.” For Turnograjska see also Delavec, *Moč vesti: Josipina Urbančič Turnograjska: prva slovenska pesnica, pisateljica in skladateljica*.

<sup>54</sup> For more information about Pajk's life and work see Pajk M., “Pavlina Pajkova”, and Koblar, “Pajkova Pavlina”.

<sup>55</sup> It must be observed that she was born in Italy, therefore her first language was Italian. She started learning Slovene at the age of sixteen. In 1872, at the age of nineteen she published her first lyric prose *Prva ljubezen* (First Love) in the newspaper *Soča* (Isonzo). In her correspondence she explains that she dared to start writing poetry in Slovenian language only when she was heartbroken. (Erjavec & Flere CI)

towards romantic idealism” (Ibid., 390). In this very literary gazette, in 1876, she published a long obituary of the above mentioned French novelist George Sand describing the author and her work. This was the first article about Sand in Slovenian language and also the very first time that Pajk gave a powerful example of a foreign female author in order to make the French author known among Slovenian people. A closer comparison of their prose writings showed that Sand had very likely influenced the literary activity of Pajk.<sup>56</sup> Besides, in 1898, after the death of the empress Elisabeth of Austria (1837–1898), Pajk published in the newspaper *Slovenski list* (Slovenian Newspaper) a short obituary of the empress and some of her poems in original and in Slovenian translation.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, in 1899, in the periodical *Ljubljanski zvon* (Ljubljana’s Bell), she published a thirteen-page long article entitled “Spominski listi o cesarici Elizabeti” (Diaries about Empress Elisabeth), in which she presented the empress Elisabeth of Austria. She also included a passage where the Romanian author Carmen Sylva (1843–1916) is mentioned, and by doing so she indirectly presented some new aspects of this well-known contemporary author. Nevertheless, Pavlina Pajk’s literary work mostly includes sentimental novels and short stories. Pajk was also the first Slovenian female author who started writing publicly about the female condition. She was probably influenced by the first wave of feminism that reached the Slovenian territory through German speaking territories in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. (Pešak Mikec 63) In 1884 she published in the periodical *Kres* an article entitled “Nekoliko besedic k ženskemu vprašanju”<sup>58</sup> (Some Words about the Woman Question) and in 1894 she gave a lecture on the same topic at Slovenian club<sup>59</sup> in Vienna. Nevertheless, Pavlina Pajk did not claim a radical women’s emancipation. (Pešak Mikec 69–72) She adapted the feminist demands to Slovenian conditions in order to contradict the wrong statements about female abilities which originated from the differences in education and formation. She strived for elementary education for women of all social classes and she called people’s attention to women’s inequality. Her view of the female condition was still

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<sup>56</sup> See the comparison of their works in section 8.2.1.

<sup>57</sup> See the portrait of Empress Elisabeth of Austria in section 6.3.3.

<sup>58</sup> Pajk, Pavlina. “Nekoliko besedic k ženskemu vprašanju.” *Kres* (1884): 457, 507.

<sup>59</sup> The Slovenian club was founded in 1885 by Slovenian scholars in order to stimulate the cultural and especially the literary activity of the Slovenian people living in Vienna. It had no rules, no minutes not even an official place. The participants were supposed literally to have fun reading, singing and giving lectures preferably on literature. (Goestl 321) While there, Pavlina Pajk gave four lectures on love, friendship, woman question and happiness.



very traditional, because in her opinion, a woman's vocation is to become a mother, only if she does not succeed, she should study and take up a profession. However, her public discussions "supported women's involvement in Slovenian cultural and political life and helped pave the way for organized women's activity" (Verginella 391).

#### 5.4 The Disseminating Role of Periodical Press and Lending Libraries

In the 1970s, Slovenian intellectuals publicly began to express their views on women's role in society.<sup>60</sup> (Svoljšak in Luthar 366) Two decades later, the first Slovene newspaper for women entitled *Slovenka*<sup>61</sup> (Slovenian Woman, 1897–1902) was published in Trieste, "presenting modern ideas alongside traditional views of female maternal, household and national duties" (Štih 326). *Slovenka* played an important role in the development of the Slovenian female literature and in Slovenian women's emancipation. (Budna Kodrič 268) In fact, it's "mission was to educate female Slovenian readers" (Svoljšak in Luthar 367). Nataša Budna Kodrič states that "among the first to start writing in the review *Slovenka* and struggling for the establishment of a much needed women's society were: Elvira Dolinar (1870–1961),<sup>62</sup> Ivanka Klemenčič (1876–1960),<sup>63</sup> Zofka Kveder (1878–1926),<sup>64</sup> and Minka Govekar (1874–1950)<sup>65</sup>" (517). *Slovenka*'s first editor was the writer Marica Nadlišek Bartol (1867–1940).<sup>66</sup> She maintained that Slovenian women "did not

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<sup>60</sup> In 1871, the Slovene author Radoslav Razlag delivered a lecture entitled "On the Autonomy of the Female Gender" (Svoljšak in Luthar 366) and in 1884, the author Fran Celestin wrote an article entitled "Žensko vprašanje" (The Woman Question). (Mihurko Poniž, *Nation* 34)

<sup>61</sup> The title "emphasised the identity of its female founders and intended readers" (Mihurko Poniž, *Nation* 35). *Slovenka* was first a supplement of the Trieste daily *Edinost* (Unity), "a politically independent newspapers of the Slovenes in Austro-Hungarian seaport of Trieste, published in Slovene." (Ibid., 35) In 1900 the supplement became an independent journal.

<sup>62</sup> A Slovene writer, journalist and feminist. See Vesna Leskošek, "Elvira Dolinar", in: *Pozabljena polovica. Portreti žensk 19. in 20. stoletja na Slovenskem*, 120–124.

<sup>63</sup> A Slovene writer, first professional female journalist and feminist. See Nina Vodopivec, "Ivanka Anžič Klemenčič", in: *Pozabljena polovica. Portreti žensk 19. in 20. stoletja na Slovenskem*, 88–92. From 1899 she was the editor of *Slovenka*.

<sup>64</sup> A Slovene writer, journalist, editor and feminist. For more information see Mihurko Poniž, *Drzno drugačna: Zofka Kveder in podobe ženskosti* (Daringly different. Zofka Kveder and images of femininity).

<sup>65</sup> A Slovene teacher, translator, feminist and journalist. See Vesna Leskošek, "Minka Govekar", in: *Pozabljena polovica. Portreti žensk 19. in 20. stoletja na Slovenskem*, 134–138. In 1910, she published an obituary of the Polish woman writer Eliza Orzeszkowa in the journal *Slovenska gospodinja* (Slovenian Housewife, 1905–1914).

<sup>66</sup> For more information see Zemljič, "Marica Nadlišek Bartol".

respect their language enough because they did not speak Slovene in public and at home, and that they could contribute to the liberation of their nation by speaking Slovene and educating their children in that language” (Mihurko Poniž 35). That is the reason why *Slovenka* promoted above all “nationalism with feminist and literary articles” (Ibid.). The second editor of *Slovenka* was Ivanka Anžič Klemenčič. During her editorship, the journal “published more feminist journalistic articles and less literary works” (Ibid.). Furthermore, *Slovenka* was significant also for the promotion of foreign female authors. In the meantime, the first female Slovenian poets and writers gained recognition, writing for the literary journal *Ljubljanski zvon* (Ljubljana’s Bell) and *Kres* (St. John’s Fire), while in the 1890s *Slovanski svet* (Slavic World) introduced a women’s column. (Svoljšak in Luthar 367)

In 1901, the efforts to secure women vote brought together publicly active Slovenian women of different views and *Splošno žensko društvo* (The General Women’s Society) was established, which:

was intended for all Slovene women, irrespective of class or occupation. [...] The objectives of the first Slovene feminist society were determined before its foundation by the review *Slovenka*. They covered the general and vocational education of women, thus issues in the feminist area. These objectives were implemented by meetings, lectures, courses, the publishing of professional articles, etc. Great emphasis was put on the political education of women, supposedly a preparation for the right to vote, for which they had endeavoured since the foundation of the society. (Budna Kodrič 520)

The society possessed also a library, where the members could acquire extensive literary knowledge by reading the most important works of world literature, available for loan from the library. (Dular 523) The preserved printed catalogue of 1905 presents its holdings.<sup>67</sup>

These important social, national and cultural changes in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Slovenian territory, the increasing number of Slovenian authors and readers in particular, strongly influenced the literary sphere due to the increased circulation of information from various parts of Europe. People could access news from other parts of Europe

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<sup>67</sup> For more detailed information of the library’s holdings see Dular, “Knjižnica Splošnega ženskega društva” (The library of the General women’s society).

with more ease than ever, which meant they were quite well informed about the leading topics in the world:

The inhabitants of the Inner Austrian and Slovene lands over the period from 1815 to 1848 were not uninformed about the main trends and events of the day. This is reflected in their artistic, cultural and academic life which, with a few notable exceptions, was not outstanding, but could by no means be described as backwards. The foreign poets copied by local producers of verse, and published in the provincial papers, were primarily second or third-rate Romanticists who appealed to less demanding tastes. (Štih 275–276)

Among all the information, names of European female authors began to appear gradually and by different means throughout the whole century in the Slovenian territory. As it was shown in the premises, Slovenian intelligentsia followed the activity in the European literary space mostly through the German culture, that is, through newspapers, books and translations from the German speaking territory due to smallness of the Slovenian literary field.<sup>68</sup> Concerning the periodicals, the Slovenian literary historian, Matjaž Kmecl, observes that they had an important role also in the connection between the “nationally political and nationally cultural”:

A simple scan of various newspaper names and institutions draws attention to the fundamental shifts: Vodnik’s newspaper in 1797 was *lublanski* (Ljubljana), Bleiweis’s from 1843 *kmetijski in rokodelski* (farming and crafts, only around 1848 supplemented with the word “national”), *Kranjska čbelica* (The Carniolian Bee) from 1839 was Carniolian, and the German language newspaper were very locally defined – *Marburger Zeitung* and *Laibacher Zeitung* (for Maribor and Ljubljana, respectively). At the time of the March Revolution in 1848, names start defining themselves as Slovene: the first literary reviews were *Slovenska bčela* (The Slovene Bee) and *Slovenski glasnik* (The Slovene Herald) (1858); later the first daily *Slovenski narod* (The Slovene Nation) [...]. (Kmecl 61–62)

The swing of the periodical press and the growing number of lending libraries in the 19<sup>th</sup> century played a leading role in regard to the reception of female authors. In fact, they started bringing not only numerous names and works of contemporary writers and poets, but also names of authors and works from previous centuries. Therefore, it is no wonder that the very first mentioning of a foreign female author in the Slovenian territory was found precisely in the periodical press. An ample amount

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<sup>68</sup> See Kos, *Primerjalna zgodovina slovenske literature*.

of female authors were thus brought to the surface thanks to the investigated material in this research and they will be presented further on.

## 6 WOMEN WRITERS: HISTORY, LITERARY FIELD, PORTRAITS

### 6.1 Women Writers in History

In European history, there are numerous facts that prove the different perception and interpretation of the genders, their peculiarities and their relationships.<sup>69</sup> As far as female gender and writing were concerned, it was generally considered that women were not able to produce literature. (Leuker 95) Women had fewer opportunities than men to participate in literary life. Subsequently, in the past the majority of the texts in general and texts about women were written by men. It therefore comes as no surprise that the images of women were erroneous as they were only described from a male perspective. (Bock 8–9) The aforementioned allegorical book *City of Ladies* of Christine de Pizan introduces an alternative to the misogynistic tradition and historiography. (Bock 9) The book raised questions that would carry on influencing the gender dispute for centuries. Pizan stated that the female soul is equivalent to the male soul and that women do not lack intelligence. She continued that women's knowledge is more limited than that of men, since they are not allowed to be involved in several different things, but stay at home and run the household: if girls were sent to schools like boys, they would learn as much as boys do. According to Eva D. Bahovec, the women who are wronged in Pizan's book are not presented as victims of bad and evil men, they are "victims of their ignorance, narrow-mindedness and blindness, which is shared by both men and women" (Pizan 1999: 10). Since their opportunities for pursuing studies were scarce, they did not have access to general knowledge. The common conviction throughout many centuries was that a woman's task was to be with the family at home; girls were supposed to be educated as spouses, mothers and housewives: "Women themselves often wrote that caring for a husband and children is their main goal in life." (Schenkeveld-van der Dussen 13) If their possibilities for finding some spare time were limited, then finding some time and space for writing was an even greater problem for women.

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<sup>69</sup> These oppositions were debated for centuries in the *querelle des sexes*, in which people were arguing "about what or how women and men are, should be, could be" (Bock 1). The discussion spread quickly from France, Italy and Spain to other parts of Europe, particularly due to the writing in the European vernaculars, the printing of books and reproduction of pictures. The origins of the dispute go back to the Middle Ages, when the question about human nature was raised. Since then, a woman was regarded as a deficient male, as a being who embodies evil and temptation. (Bock 1–2)

Nevertheless, throughout history both women and men stressed that women would have written history differently than men, if they had been allowed to. (Bock 9–11) Women would have been as capable rulers, scholars, philosophers and writers as men, if they had been given a chance, which is demonstrated by some exceptional figures.

Throughout centuries women started appearing with their texts in public more and more often; at the beginning it was especially in order to fight for social issues.<sup>70</sup> In the 19<sup>th</sup> century women even had an easier access to the printing press and thus to the public sphere as I have already explained in the chapter five. They also actively participated in the economic changes,<sup>71</sup> since industrialization managed to bring women an income for homework and factory.<sup>72</sup>

The increasing possibility for a woman to live by her pen and also to sustain her family by writing incited several women to become professional writers: “It was only when the novel made it possible to make a living out of writing that women decided

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<sup>70</sup> For instance, women were very significant for the French revolution. Two years after the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen* (1789) Olympe de Gouges wrote the *Declaration of the Rights of Woman and Female Citizen*, in which she wanted to warn about the errors that had been made in the first declaration: “Women were human because and not although they were women” (Bock 50). In 1793, she was guillotined as the first woman after the queen. The declaration of de Gouges was hardly known in its time. Nevertheless, half a century later she was to become a symbol and her contribution to later events in history was considerable: “But the historical significance of Olympe the Gouges and the other voices that were raised for female citizenship resides not in the fact that they failed but that they existed at all. The revolution gave them space, and the revolution silenced them. De Gouges raised almost all the questions that would affect the future women” (Bock 54). Similarly, in 1792, a British writer and advocate of women’s rights – Mary Wollstonecraft – published her *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, a treatise on female rights and manners. She saw education as being responsible for female weakness and sensuality. In her opinion, women were taught to be flirtatious and hypocrite. Thus, her book is an “appeal to revolutionize education for girls and for equal education of boys and girls” (Bock 75). Wollstonecraft’s perception of education also includes a concept of female citizenship, containing duties and rights. (Bock 75) Later on, with the emergence of the feminist movement at the turn of the twentieth century, Wollstonecraft’s advocacy of women’s equality and critiques of conventional femininity became increasingly significant.

<sup>71</sup> “The rise of labour and socialist movements as major movements for the emancipation of the unprivileged unquestionably encouraged women seeking their own freedom [...], the rise of an economy of services and other tertiary occupations provided a wider range of jobs for women, while the rise of a consumer economy made them into the central target for the capitalist market.” (Hobsbawm 202)

<sup>72</sup> “Since women and children were notoriously cheap labour and easy to brow-beat, especially since most female labour consisted of young girls, the economy of capitalism encouraged their employment wherever possible – i.e. where not prevented by the resistance of men, by law, by convention, or by nature of certain physically taxing jobs.” (Hobsbawm 199)

to become professional writers. As a matter of fact, they sometimes wrote to sustain their families whenever the husband was in some way unable to do this.”<sup>73</sup> (Schenkeveld-van der Dussen 13) Nevertheless, this was also the period of the beginning of the women’s movement<sup>74</sup> which encouraged the appearance of many female authors:<sup>75</sup> women were expressing their thoughts and feelings by writing, in this way they were also touching the question of the role of women in the society. Thus many female novelists emerged, becoming even more numerous and successful than their male counterparts. For instance, the French woman writer George Sand (1804–1876) strongly condemned the conventional marriage in her extremely popular novels *Indiana* (1832) and *Lélia* (1833), in which the woman is presented as a slave or a victim of a man. In this period, all over Europe, women’s novels flourished in which the protagonist tried “to break out of their role – usually involving the drama of enduring dependence and grief in arranged or convenience marriages – sometimes accepting an early death in exchange” (Bock 108). Numerous European women writers, such as Jane Austen (1775–1817), Fanny Lewald (1811–1889), Luise Mühlbach (1814–1873), Rosalía de Castro (1837–1885), and Eliza Orzeszkowa (1841–1910), just to mention a few, followed this sample in their novels.

As for the Slovenian female authors, the European revolutions of 1848 were decisive for European women writers. Several women writers took part in the revolts.<sup>76</sup> At

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<sup>73</sup> For instance, the research of the reception of 17<sup>th</sup>- and 18<sup>th</sup>-century women writers in Dutch literature of the 19<sup>th</sup> century reflects different discourses of the time showing that the public opinion of female authors was very ambiguous: on the one hand a “woman poet always ran the risk of being considered a bluestocking, which was supposed to be the opposite of a virtuous woman”, on the other hand, women writers “served as role models from whom national as well as female virtues could be learned”. (Leuker 95) Thus women who were undertaking a literary career at the time must have been aware of the positive and negative consequences of their decision to become a professional writer.

<sup>74</sup> Gisela Bock asserts that the women’s movement did not emerge as an organized or even mass movement, since many women moved individually or together with other women, so that they published publicly: “In the generation before the formation of lasting feminist associations, a literary and journalistic feminism emerged in many places whose main themes were criticism of marriage and female (as well as male) poverty” (108). These women are considered to be the pre-pioneers and pioneers of the women’s movement.

<sup>75</sup> Hobsbawm states that despite the new possibilities for women, their road in a man’s world remained hard, since for them success implied quite exceptional efforts. Besides, he continues: “By far the largest proportion of them practised activities recognized as being compatible with traditional femininity, such as in the performing arts and (for middle-class women, especially married ones) writing.” (211)

this point George Sand has to be mentioned again since she was considered as “a symbol of radicalism because of her male clothing and cigars” (Bock 110). According to the historian Karen Offen, during the mid-nineteenth century in England there was even a “deluge of publications addressed to women, many of them written by women and for women.” (95) These publications promoted female emancipation, but they also insisted on women’s subordination in a male-headed family unit. (Ibid., 95) Works, such as Charlotte Brontë’s *Jane Eyre* (1847) and *Shirley* (1849) testified that several women were eager to combat the latter argument, even though that provoked negative, even hostile reactions towards them.<sup>77</sup> In order to avoid expressing themselves in an explicit radical way, some female authors found other, more subversive, ways of projecting their revolt and anger towards the patriarchal society. Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar examine these subversive strategies in their study about the writings of the nineteenth-century women writers in England – *The Madwoman in the Attic*. In the work, Gilbert and Gubar analyze the confinement of women writers in their writings to make their female characters incarnate either the angel or the monster. In fact, many women writers, in their attempts to escape the prison of male texts, begin defining themselves as angel-women or monster-women:

Like Snow White and the wicked Queen, their earliest impulses [...] are ambivalent. Either they are inclined to immobilize themselves with suffocating tight-laces in the glass coffins of patriarchy, or they are tempted to destroy themselves by doing fiery and suicidal tarantellas out of the looking glass. Yet, despite the obstacles presented by those twin images of angel and monster, despite the fears of

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<sup>76</sup> Offen stresses that the extraordinary political activism of many women who had taken part in these revolutions was scarcely mentioned in most historical accounts. (Offen 109) She also points out that in the period before the revolutions in 1848 partisans of the critical perspective mounted a campaign in order to: “[...] abolish the privileges of the male sex, to expose the prejudices that supported male privilege, to transform existing institution, to empower women and thereby liberate them from male control. Especially in the postrevolutionary nation-states of France and England a broad spectrum of writers and social critics recast earlier Enlightenment formulations to envision a radical restructuring of the relationship between the sexes within the family and in society. [...] This new generation of feminist challengers included such diverse contributors as Harriet Martineau, John Stuart Mill, George Sand, Flora Tristan, and Louisa Otto.” (Offen 87)

<sup>77</sup> “To pursue knowledge or the arts privately was one thing. But opponents charged that when a woman claimed a public voice, or displayed her erudition, she effectively unsexed herself. That a negative, indeed hostile, construction had been placed on women’s claims to write and to publish, to learn and to be heard, was clear from Jules Janin’s snide characterization of ‘Bluestocking’ women writers as ‘women men of letters’ or the verse attached to an 1842 caricature of George Sand in male costume.” (Offen 105)



sterility and the anxieties of authorship from which women have suffered, generations of texts have been possible for female writers. By the end of the eighteenth century [...] women were not only writing, they were conceiving fictional worlds in which patriarchal images and conventions were severely, radically revised. (Gilbert & Gubar 44)

Gilbert and Gubar state that a woman writer “feels herself to be literally or figuratively crippled by the debilitating alternatives her culture offers her” (Ibid., 57) whether she is a passive angel or an active monster. As a matter of fact, if women writers did not suppress their work entirely or publish it pseudonymously or anonymously, they could “modestly confess (their) female ‘limitations’ and concentrate on the ‘lesser’ subjects reserved for ladies as becoming to their inferior powers.”<sup>78</sup> (Ibid., 64) Nevertheless, women developed different strategies for overcoming their anxiety of authorship. Some of them “have created submerged meanings, meanings hidden within or behind the more accessible, ‘public’ content of their works, so that their literature could be read and appreciated even when its vital concern with female dispossession and disease was ignored.” (Ibid., 72) For this reason 19<sup>th</sup>-century women writers were concerned with deconstructing and reconstructing those images of women inherited from male literature, in particular, the paradigmatic polarities of angel and monster. Thus, these writers created characters who enacted their own “covert authorial anger” (Ibid., 77): they created a madwoman, who spoke for them in order to “destroy all the patriarchal structures which both their authors and their authors’ submissive heroines seem to accept as inevitable.” (Ibid., 78) The madwoman is thus in some sense “the author’s double, an image of her own anxiety and rage.” (Ibid. 78) Charlotte Brontë’s novel *Jane Eyre* is one of the most famous examples of this subversive strategy.<sup>79</sup>

The motif of a madwoman in the attic spread all around Europe appearing in several literary works. This kind of subversive characters also appear in the literary works of Slovenian women writers, for instance in Pavlina Pajk’s *Arabela* (1885),<sup>80</sup> in which

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<sup>78</sup> Gilbert and Gubar add that in this way such writers protested not that they “were ‘as good as’ men but that, as writers, they *were* men.” Examples such as George Sand, George Eliot and the three Brontë sisters by means of a male pseudonym show that they wanted to gain “male acceptance of their intellectual seriousness” or to conceal their “troublesome femaleness.” In doing so, female authors could move away from the “lesser subjects” and “lesser lives” which had constrained their foremothers. (Gilbert & Gubar 65)

<sup>79</sup> The reception of *Jane Eyre* in the Slovenian territory will be discussed further on.

<sup>80</sup> See also Mihurko Poniž, “Trivialno in/ali sentimentalno? Pavline Pajk Arabela: študija primera.”

the young heroine Arabela finds her mad mother confined and hidden in the attic of her uncle. In Zofka Kveder's works there are also several examples of female characters that go mad. This happens due to their resistance to patriarchal tradition: "Their psychological disturbance is the consequence of the inability to revive their own life, after being torn from the roles that the patriarchal society assigns to a woman." (Mihurko Poniž, *Drzno drugačna* 49) Some authors preferred even to stay unmarried in order to have the possibility to write:

Many women realized all too well that by marrying they were shutting themselves away and denying themselves the freedom to practise the arts. There are enough texts which show that women, time and time again, chose the freedom of unmarried life. This meant in effect that many women writers stayed unmarried or stopped writing after marriage. (Schenkeveld-van der Dussen 13)

Generally speaking, women who wanted to write in the past had to go beyond many obstacles and resolutions. Nevertheless, the richness of the literary production until 1918 proves that those female authors who had followed their strong will and had not given up left behind a well-paved path for their successors.

## **6.2 Women Writers and the Literary Field**

Despite all problems and obstacles for women in pursuing a writing career numerous women managed to write. The above written shows that female authors existed and that their number was not insignificant, but their position "in literary culture remained marginal, however, and this is reflected in the difficulty they often had in finding *opportunities to publish*." (Schenkeveld-van der Dussen 14) Thus, female authors have been very often neglected by the literary history and even excluded from the literary field. This could be very well explained and shown on the French example. The sociologist and researcher Monique de Saint Martin, in her article about women writers and the literary field in France, states that women writers are absent from recent studies of the market or the literary field from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, her own review of library catalogues located the names of 778 female authors writing in the same period. (Saint Martin 52) As Saint Martin observes, in sociological works, women were mentioned in particular with regard to

the literary salons. She finds out that, in some cases, critics instead of giving recognition to female authors, they marginalised them or even excluded them from the literary field, since they judged them more for their physical qualities and for their female condition than for their literary talent. In fact, according to some critics, the literary activity of women “can perform only decorative or ornamental functions” (Ibid., 53).<sup>81</sup> Therefore, women writers had to stick to the spheres which had been accorded to them: sentiment, sensibility, frivolity, chatting, intuition, intimacy and interior, while reason, intelligence, power, creation, exterior, public domain and history were reserved for men. (Ibid., 53) Consequently, if a woman wanted to write, she had to “limit herself to subordinate positions” (Ibid., 54), such as the popular novel and the novel for children, and “conceal her identity” (Ibid., 54). Another way for a woman in the 19<sup>th</sup> century to write and publish was the support of a celebrated male author: “Women who write find themselves very often in an untenable position due to their origins, their trajectories, and due to the situation in the society, and also in the literary world where the tendency is not to admit them unless they are protected one way or another by a ‘great’ writer.”<sup>82</sup> (Ibid., 54) Moreover, many female authors in the 19<sup>th</sup> century wrote under a pseudonym, in most cases a male pseudonym.<sup>83</sup> With regard to their writings, the critics often deplored their insipidity, insignificance and lack of originality, while on the other hand, before publishing a book, female authors were asked to cut off several parts in order to make the book indeed “insignificant”. (Ibid. 55) Concerning the inclusion, or rather exclusion, of women writers from the literary field, Saint Martin observes that if they were not excluded, they were “at least marginalised in relation to important literary groups, debates, authority of consecration, and literary legitimization.” (Ibid., 56) The reasons for their exclusion are numerous. First of all, women writers exclude

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<sup>81</sup> Saint Martin gives an example of a book by J. de Bonnefon entitled *La corbeille de roses ou les dames de lettres* (Basket of roses or women writers) which title is very significant. (Saint Martin 53)

<sup>82</sup> Monique de Saint Martin points out that women writers in the 19<sup>th</sup> century seemingly needed to be initiated and authorised at the beginning of their career by a “superior and competent authority”: “Women who write are, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, presented and perceived as being tied somehow to a man writer.” (Saint Martin 55) This man could have been, in most cases, their father, husband or even brother. However, “the wife of the great writer has, throughout the past century, more chances to lead an independent literary career, provided that she keeps her place, the second one, and that she keeps her position, which is a very female position.” (Ibid., 55)

<sup>83</sup> Saint Martin also notices that in France, especially in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, numerous works published by women were anonymous or they were just indicating the author by “Madame \*\*\*”. However, those women who wanted to succeed as a writer, they chose a male pseudonym, in particular those who wrote popular (sentimental or psychological) novels. (Ibid., 55)

themselves from the literary field due to their education.<sup>84</sup> Secondly, they are excluded by male authors, critics, and journalists, since they represent in some way a “threat” for those who participate in this field: “By writing and publishing women indeed run away from the family and private space where, in particular in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, they were kept. The multiplication of female authors risks not only detracting the family organisation but also, and this could be even more ‘dangerous’, contributing to the ‘devaluation’ of the literary activity.” (Ibid., 56)

The position of French women writers in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century literary field was probably influenced by the “decanonizing” process of the feminine in the previous century. The researcher Joan DeJean in her article “Classical Reeducation: Decanonizing the Feminine” explains the gradual exclusion of women writers from the literary canon in the later 18<sup>th</sup>-century France. DeJean starts from the point that each age has its own vision of the literature of previous centuries and that therefore we should approach the study of canons in a palimpsest way.<sup>85</sup> Consequently, in the case of 17<sup>th</sup>-century literature, she goes back to the period from the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century to the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century when several anthologies of French authors were edited.<sup>86</sup> According to DeJean, at the beginning of these anthologies “all authors are included who have acquired a certain ‘reputation’, whether or not they can be considered ‘great’ authors” (DeJean 27) and therefore they provide information on several influential 17<sup>th</sup>-century female authors. These very anthologies played an important role in making the French canon.<sup>87</sup> Anyway, after the revolutionary year of

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<sup>84</sup> Women mostly “refuse to make of the literary creation an independent stake” (Ibid., 56). Moreover, Saint Martin warns that the fear of the creation and writing was very frequent and that this could have been found also in the greatest female authors, such as George Sand who had hesitated for a long time before saying publicly that she wanted to make literature the aim of her life. (Ibid., 56)

<sup>85</sup> “Each age has its canon, its own peculiarly idiosyncratic vision of the literature of preceding centuries. One way of approaching the study of canons is palimpsest-style, by peeling back superimposed layers of critical judgement in search of the hierarchies and the process of inclusion-exclusion that commentators of a given period developed to package contemporary literary production and that of earlier ages for pedagogical dissemination and consumption.” (DeJean 26)

<sup>86</sup> DeJean warns that these anthologies in France for over a century until just after the Revolution were mostly compiled for adults who wished to keep abreast of the literary scene and not for school-children. (DeJean 27)

<sup>87</sup> “Indeed, prior to the mid-eighteenth century, the only canonical status to which French authors could aspire was inclusion in worldly anthologies compiled for adults, a canonical status that was never officially legitimated.” (DeJean 28)

1789 which was, in DeJean's opinion, "an inauspicious date"<sup>88</sup> [...] both for feminist writing in general and for the until then larger aristocratic tradition of French women's literature in particular" (Ibid., 30) the most influential 17<sup>th</sup>-century women writers "are pronounced unworthy of membership in the class of 'great authors of the seventeenth century' because the 'ideal' their works express is deemed unfit to be proposed to schoolchildren as a model" (Ibid., 27). In fact, in the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, a desire to standardize the teaching of Frenchness in schools was gradually developing and literary texts would play an essential role in this uniform, national education.<sup>89</sup> The new anthologies<sup>90</sup> were thus transformed into "the arm by which critics could police the reading habits of the 'honnête homme' and could thereby shape both his taste and his national prejudices." (Ibid., 31) Consequently, pedagogues should adapt the literary texts the better "to accomplish their task of making their young charges into 'good Christians'" (Ibid., 31) and women's texts were obviously considered as a bad example to follow. The program<sup>91</sup> for the study of French tradition from the mid-eighteenth century aimed to "eliminate all literature deemed dangerous to civic virtue, especially the women writers who figure[d] so prominently in the nonpedagogical anthology tradition." (Ibid., 32) Women writers in the French case were thus so threatening to the ideology of the new pedagogical canon that for nearly two centuries "it has been as if their works included in the early

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<sup>88</sup> "In contrast to *ancien régime* literary culture, where women played a prominent role both as writers and as arbiters of taste." (Cohen 14) DeJean explains that an examination of early French literary histories shows that, until the dawn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, "women writers were just about as likely as their male counterparts to be included in canonical compilations." (30)

<sup>89</sup> "In a standardized, national educational program whose primary goal was to use the teaching of literature to form model Frenchmen, educators realized that the newly recognized French literary tradition should play a major role [...] This project for the ideological packaging of literature took shape over the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Scholars gradually developed the anthology into a full-scale literary program." (DeJean 31)

<sup>90</sup> DeJean gives the example of Goujet's *Histoire de la littérature française*.

<sup>91</sup> DeJean bases herself on Charles Batteux's works on literature. According to her, Batteux's reduced canon is remarkably close to the classic French canon, in fact, in his reductionist theory, he "selects the precise examples that should be imposed upon the minds of those to be made into model Christian citizens, to mould them, without their knowledge, into the recognition of socially correct greatness." (DeJean 32–33) The works are thus singled out only because of their value as examples. His program officially excludes the novel from the literary history, and therefore this also means the exclusion of women writers "who were until then its most illustrious practitioners". (Ibid., 34) However, he includes two women writers (Sévigné and Deshoulières), but as DeJean remarks, they seem to have been included in the first pedagogical canon of French literature the better to justify the exclusion of women's writing in general: "These token women achieve exemplary status above all as illustrations of the threat to 'vigorous' male Christian standards represented by the 'softening' and 'languishing' tendencies of female literary models. Women writers, Batteux warns, had to be eliminated from the curriculum because they were a direct threat to church and state." (Ibid., 35–36)

canon for adults no longer existed.”<sup>92</sup> (Ibid., 36) What is more, whenever a female author was evoked in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it was mostly in order to explain why her works should not be read. These views of the canon, as DeJean points out, were inherited to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. (Ibid., 37)

Another excellent study that reconstructs the literary situation in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century France, and thus also contributing to a better understanding of the many-sided mosaic of women writers’ place in the French literary field, is Margaret Cohen’s work *The Sentimental Education of the Novel*. In opposition to the belief that the influential French realist novel has been exclusively considered as a production of male authors, Margaret Cohen displays that realist codes were actually taken from the contemporary sentimentality, which was mostly the domain of women writers who had been often brought into disrepute by famous male authors, such as Balzac and Stendhal. With regard to the absence of women writers from the 19<sup>th</sup> century French realist canon Cohen discovers that “Balzac and Stendhal’s female contemporaries overwhelmingly steered clear of realist codes,” however their avoidance of realism did not “mean their insignificance or absence in the contemporary novel.” (Ibid., 9). In fact, female authors, such as George Sand, forged a form that was realism’s principal competition across the 1830s and 1840s – the sentimental social novel.<sup>93</sup> According to Cohen, realist codes did not appeal to women writers “because of the complex interaction between the construction of gender in specifically literary and more broadly social contexts.” (Cohen 14) One of the aspects for this construction was the status of women in the institutions of literary production. For instance, during the July Monarchy, critics, readers, and publishers regarded women writers “as women first, writers second.” (Ibid., 14) Another aspect was the prevalent gendering of sentimentality as feminine and realism as masculine. In the continuation, following Bourdieu, Cohen exposes the problem of genre as “a social relation”<sup>94</sup> (Ibid., 17) describing two kinds of positions<sup>95</sup> which influence the

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<sup>92</sup> The terms in which Batteux eliminated female authors were continually repeated as the original French pedagogical canon was set in place. According to DeJean, “critics-pedagogues most often just reiterate the judgements of others.” (Ibid., 36)

<sup>93</sup> Cohen denominates this novel as the sentimental social novel in order to emphasize its continuity with early-nineteenth-century sentimentality. (Cohen 9)

<sup>94</sup> Cohen uses Bourdieu’s terms (from his work *The Rules of Art*) in order to explain genre as a position: “Genre designates the fact that writers share a common set of codes when they respond to a space of possible, a horizon formed by the literary conventions and constraints binding any writer

writer in order to excavate the forgotten generic forms. (Ibid., 19) She comes to a conclusion that realism was a “compromised position”<sup>96</sup> (Ibid., 14) for contemporary women, which means that gender-specific obstacles prevented women “from making good on the century’s promise of a career open to talents” (Ibid., 187). In other words, women writers of the time were structurally in a compromised position because “their activities violated hegemonic notions of femininity” (Ibid., 187). The advantages that George Sand derived from her sexually ambiguous literary identity demonstrate the important role of gender in orienting the reception of women’s works.<sup>97</sup> Cohen concludes that “a woman writer had no choice but to write as a woman, and yet she needed simultaneously to legitimate the fact that, as a woman, she wrote at all” (Ibid., 195). It therefore comes as no surprise that women interested in the symbolic capital chose the previously dominant sentimental practice of the novel, since they were preeminent in it and since their contributions were widely recognized, while optioning for a realist practice would mean a compromised position. (Ibid., 195)

### 6.3 Portraits of Female Authors

Being a female author in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and before thus did not mean the same as being a male author. As Cohen observes, the “female author’s identity as *woman* writing was inescapable” (Ibid., 194). However, news and texts of numerous European women writers crossed borders of their own countries: their texts circulated throughout Europe in the original version or rather they were available in

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at a particular state of the field [...] When recast as a position, genre, or [...] subgenre, becomes constitutively intertextual as well as intergeneric: a systemic, synchronic relation.” (Cohen 17)

<sup>95</sup> For writers when they craft their work, there are two kind of important practices: “the dominant position(s) defining the problematic when they first start writing, and the other responses to this position that are a writer’s greatest contemporary competition.” (Cohen 19)

<sup>96</sup> Cohen takes the phrase “a compromised position” from the French novelist Caroline Marbouty’s sentimental social novel *Une Fausse Position* (A Compromised Position, 1844): “As *Une Fausse Position* suggests, gender was an inevitable aspect of a woman author’s identity as a literary producer, whatever other social parameters might define her subject position. In showing why the woman author cannot escape from her gender, Marbouty is above all interested in the fact that men dominate the institutions structuring the literary field.” (Cohen 192) In every respect, Marbouty’s work is a very good example of the difficulties across which a woman comes if she wants to undertake a writing career.

<sup>97</sup> “Signing with the name of a man, even while she flaunted the fact that she was a woman, Madame George Sand, as some reviewers called her, abrogated to herself the attributes of both literary masculinity and femininity, whatever they might be, along with challenging the binarism of the divide. The success of her strategy is evident in critical evaluations, which frame her writing as transcending sexual categorization.” (Cohen, 194)

translation. What is more, according to Suzan van Dijk, the writers themselves often crossed boundaries and formed individual links with other women.<sup>98</sup> (Van Dijk 91) Nevertheless, the majority of female authors whose reputation spread abroad were taken into consideration either because of their talent or because of other remarkable features, of which mostly did not have much to do with literature. The latter was often the case for Slovenian reception of foreign female authors. For instance, articles and short reports in periodical press usually informed, on the one hand, about the personal situation or the (extravagant) style of living of an author, such as her way of dressing, smoking habits, religion, travelling abroad, and (noble) origin. On the other hand, their connections with men were frequently highlighted, such as links to other male authors or love affairs with famous men. What is more, sometimes they were discussed in connection to other female authors due to similar features regarding their lives or style of writing. These portraits of women writers who had received some public recognition were appearing in the periodical press mostly through anecdotal stories, in form of recurring characteristics or motifs.<sup>99</sup> Some of them were even presented as role models, i.e. an example to follow, for Slovenian authors, in particular women writers.

During my research a vast amount of names of European female authors received in the long-19<sup>th</sup>-century Slovenian territory was brought to life. Some of them were very well received in all researched categories while others were received to a lesser degree, for instance, with only one record. In order to show how these authors were seen and perceived among Slovenians, some representative case studies will be presented by means of recurring motifs of their life found in the periodical press.

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<sup>98</sup> Van Dijk gives some examples of women writers who travelled abroad: Anne-Marie du Boccage went to the Netherlands, Betje Wolff and Aagje Deken to France, and Mary Wollstonecraft to Sweden. So did their works. Van Dijk points out that there was a considerable number of women who provided translations of these works: "Often they did not only produce translations: they were also women who created their own oeuvre, or were later to do so. [...] Some of these female translators seem to have had a special interest in the works of other women." (Van Dijk 91) With regard to Slovenian female authors, they also travelled and lived abroad, in particular Zofka Kveder and Pavlina Pajk. Moreover, Zofka Kveder, while she was living in Prague, had the chance to meet some female authors, such as Gabriela Preissová (see Orožen), forming thus individual and, at the same time, international links with other authors.

<sup>99</sup> Such as motifs which deal with an author's personal situation: her origin, national identity, marital status, family, physical appearance, personality, social class, religion, profession or other activities (particularly, if the author was an advocate of women's rights), financial aspects, style of writing, and collaboration with male authors.



### 6.3.1 George Sand (1804–1876)

Amantine Lucile Aurore Dupin<sup>100</sup> best known by her pseudonym George Sand<sup>101</sup> was a very prolific French author. She inspired female and male authors all over Europe with her literary work, personality and, in particular, with her style of living. Her sporting men's clothing, smoking cigars in public and her criticism of women's legal and emotional situation in marriage were considered extremely scandalous at the time. In her study about feminist networks in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Margaret H. McFadden compares Sand to the famous American author Harriet Beecher-Stowe (1811–1896), since both were judged by their looks:

Sand did not travel much internationally (except to Italy and Majorca), but people vied to wangle introductions to meet her, and she was constantly mentioned in the press, in letters, in conversations. Her work, although never achieving best-seller status, was in some ways more popular than Stowe's – partly because she wrote more, but mostly because people were both fascinated and repelled by her conduct. Many reviews gave far more space to her personal life than to her novels, and like Stowe she was judged by her looks. (McFadden 77)

Besides, Sand's liaisons with famous men, such as Jules Sandeau, Alfred de Musset and Frédéric Chopin made a great stir. However, she became a role model for many women, and as Karen Offen observes for the German case:

Lifestyle issues had become a sore point among German feminists, following a recent wave of *Georgesandismus*, a term used to refer to self-proclaimed “emancipated women” who appropriated the unorthodox and much-caricatured habits of the French novelist George Sand. These contentious habits included wearing male dress (still illegal – even in France – without a police permit), smoking, and engaging in liaisons with men to whom not married. Indeed, in Central Europe, Sand had become a symbol of all that was dangerous about French culture, and condemnations of her loose lifestyle

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<sup>100</sup> For more biographical information see Jack, *George Sand: a woman's life writ large*.

<sup>101</sup> A liaison with the French writer Jules Sandeau heralded her literary debut. They wrote and published a few works in collaboration, signing them “Jules Sand”, from where she adopted her pen name that made her famous – George Sand. McFadden states that the fact that Sand was writing at a time when many women used male pseudonyms to get a fair reading was significant in providing a second kind of connection for aspiring female writers: “She began writing as J. Sand, then G. Sand, then Georges Sand, and finally George Sand, without the s. This idiosyncratic spelling gives a strange androgynous look to the name in French and suggests Sand's generic ambivalence. She was conscious of making her own identity, writing, ‘In Paris, Mme Dudevant is dead. But Georges Sand is known to be a vigorous fellow.’” (McFadden 82)

showed up repeatedly not only among antifeminists and German nationalists, but also in the pro-woman arguments of German feminist reformers of this period. (Offen 116)

George Sand was one of the most well received European female authors in Slovenian territory in all the researched categories. In periodical press, most of the records about her have one thing in common – they all stress Sand's scandalous smoking cigars in public, her man-like style of clothing, and her love affair with Frédéric Chopin.<sup>102</sup> Some of the articles mention that she was a fighter for women's rights, for this reason she is mentioned also in connection with Mary Wollstonecraft and Louise Otto-Peters.<sup>103</sup> In short, mentions about her in periodical press were less interested in her literary work than in her life.

The first mention of the French novelist in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Slovenian territory was found in the newspaper *Carniolia* from 1840/41, which presents the author and stresses her style of clothing.<sup>104</sup> Later short mentions of her were mostly found in the newspaper *Laibacher Zeitung*. In June 1876, an obituary was published in the same newspaper in German mentioning again her lifestyle, love affair with Chopin, her ideas of emancipation in her novels, and her talent.<sup>105</sup> In September of the same year, the Slovenian writer Pavlina Pajk wrote a lengthy obituary about Sand's death, life and work for the magazine *Zora*.<sup>106</sup> This was the first record about George Sand in Slovenian language, and also the very first time that Pajk gave a powerful example of a foreign female author known among Slovenian people. Probably it is not a coincidence that a female author wrote it. Pajk says that France has lost one of the biggest writers, the well-known female author of the wittiest works written by a woman's hand that the world has ever read:

With her death, also her energetic spirit expired, which was still evolving high ideas in the grey head of the celebrated old woman. [...] The life of George Sand was very strange, romantic and unusual

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<sup>102</sup> For instance, Marica Nadlišek-Bartol in her article about Chopin writes about his first encounter with Sand, who made a bad impression on him: "She was not-beautiful and fat, she was quite a lot older than him and she dressed herself in a strange way." (Nadlišek-Bartol, Marica. "Friderik Chopin." *Ljubljanski zvon* 6 (1900): 362–363.)

<sup>103</sup> Heilborn, Ernest. "O psihologiji Lavre Marholmove." *Slovenka* 23 (1897): 3.

<sup>104</sup> "Maifeuilleton." *Carniolia* 25 (1840/41): 100.

<sup>105</sup> "George Sand." *Laibacher Zeitung* 134 (1876): 1034–1035.

<sup>106</sup> Pajk, Pavlina. "George Sand." *Zora* 17 (1876): 275–277.

from beginning to end. This was the origin for the unusual style of her works, which evoked so much attention and admiration among the biggest European and French artists. (Pajk 275)

In the obituary Sand's life is presented from her childhood to her death, stressing her unhappy wedlock, unusual way of life for a woman and her engagement in the emancipation of women.<sup>107</sup> She does not forget to mention Sand's male way of clothing, smoking cigars<sup>108</sup> and her physical appearance: her big nose, ears and mouth. In Pajk's opinion, only her big, black, witty eyes and her smiling mouth gave some kind of a nicer female expression to her face. Concerning Sand's work, Pajk does not mention any title, but she focuses on its contents. She believes that Sand's childhood and youth strongly affected her work:

Already as a fifteen years old girl she was skilful in climbing and riding. She knew how to hold the weapon properly and how to fight with the sword. During the day she used to hang in the woods, where she was hunting and where, resting her tired body under dense trees, she was rejoicing and enthusiastic about reading about audacious and courageous ranks of war's protagonists. On her example, we recognize the truth of famous Goethe's words that nobody can avoid the impressions of one's first youth. All works of George Sand are loud evidence of how big influence had her savage life on her spirit and her later appearing fantasy. (Pajk 275)

Pajk adds that Sand's works are full of philosophical reflections, wittiness, fierce energy and high idealism, and that one must ask oneself whether this was written by a woman or a man. (Ibid., 276) Besides, she concludes that her life was as various as her characters were and that all the subjects in her novels and stories were taken from her own life story. Last but not least, in this very obituary, Pajk began to speak about the binary opposition between female and male writing: "George Sand always revealed with freedom her opinions and beliefs that a male author would not dare to. She was always consistent and she was not afraid of revealing the truth, even though she could have suffered because of that." (Ibid., 276) In the continuation of the obituary this binary opposition is reminded once again beside her connections with

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<sup>107</sup> Probably Pajk had read Sand's autobiography *Histoire de ma vie* as she went into so many details. The next sentence could be considered as a proof that she indeed read Sand's own thoughts and that she did not make use of other texts written about Sand: "Her marriage was, at least in her opinion, one of the unhappiest." (Pajk 275) However, this obituary proves that Pajk knew very well the French author and presumably for this reason Sand's work had some influence on Pajk's literary work. Namely, a lot of intertextuality can be found in her work which will be discussed further on.

<sup>108</sup> "George Sand was a passionate smoker of cigars, to which she remained true until her death." (Pajk, 276)

famous men: “She corresponded with Victor Hugo and Heine, and the most distinguished Parisian ladies respected and flattered her, which proves that the genius has neither sex nor class.” (Ibid., 277) Pavlina Pajk also mentions that George Sand was a defender and a supporter of the female emancipation and that this idea is defended in her novels as well but Pajk does not give any example. At the same time, Pajk is astonished at the fact that Sand wrote such difficult novels at the same time as village and naïve stories.

The Slovenian Realist writer Janko Kersnik mentioned Sand in 1878 in his article “Razvoj svetovne poezije” (The Development of World Poetry) and attributed new courses of literature to her: “In France with the genius George Sand, a new era started, and after her, lurching from left to right, Dumas fils, Sardou, Daudet, Cherbuliez and other are marching.”<sup>109</sup>

The female author Marica Nadlišek-Bartol in her article about girls’ education writes that despite Sand’s anxious character, nobody could reproach her with anything concerning this issue: “An all-round cultivated wife will be responsible for her duty at any rate. This has been demonstrated by history. The learned English woman Mary Somerville was an exemplary mother; and even the anxious character of George Sand cannot be reproached with regard to this by her worst adversaries.”<sup>110</sup> Due to her wittiness Sand was also considered, among other famous European female authors, as a role model for Slovenian women poets.<sup>111</sup>

Sand was also mentioned in connection to the Czech writer Karolina Světlá when the latter died in 1899. In the obituary of the magazine *Slovenka* it was stressed that Světlá admired Sand and read her works passionately,<sup>112</sup> while in the obituary of *Slovenski narod*, Světlá was compared to Sand as “the most famous French artist.”<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Kersnik, Janko. “Razvoj svetovne poezije.” *Slovenski narod* 7 (1878):1–3.

<sup>110</sup> Nadlišek-Bartol, Marica. “Vzgoja deklet.” *Slovenka* 9 (1901): 233.

<sup>111</sup> “Also the small Slovenian nation with its quite developed and rich literature includes some brave female representatives. Although their either poetic or prosaic works cannot compete with the works of a witty Ada Negri or George Egerton or Neera or G. Sand or Laura Marholm or Sonya Kovalevsky. No intelligent person could blame our women poets because of that.” (Govekar, Fran. “Slovenske pesnikinje.” *Slovenka* 3 (1897): 8.)

<sup>112</sup> Zavadir, Antonin. “Še nekaj črtic življenja Svetle.” (Some Sketch Stories of Světlá’s Life) *Slovenka* 22 (1899): 519.

<sup>113</sup> Kristan, Anton. “Karolina Svetla.” *Slovenski narod* 208 (1899): 1.

In 1904, for the centenary of the French writer's birth, three lengthy articles were published which describe her life and work. However, in the new century, records were often hostile towards women or moralistic, as it is seen in the article which was published in the Catholic magazine *Dom in Svet*:

Her debauched life turned the attention to her, the great writer talent which was seen in her fierce novel got her the name and she became famous and adored. However, as a writer she did not fall so low as the future French writers did. The only good thing left in her was the generosity with which she gave the needy her wealth gained with her pen. When her worshipers unlimitedly celebrate her, it is only fair if we stress that the views she proclaimed in her essays and executed in her life were harmful to society.<sup>114</sup>

The newspaper *Slovan* depicted her also as the famous French woman writer and as an emancipated woman who had had several lovers, Chopin and Musset among them. Besides, her physical appearance from a picture is outlined as "dreaming voluptuous." The article ends with the binary public opinion of her personality: "Sand was soared to heaven for praising her, but she was also insulted as a whore. This was exaggerated, since she was, all the same, a great artist despite weak morals, but with a generous heart."<sup>115</sup> In the same year, news reported about the unveiling of a monument consecrated to Sand in Paris, saying also that she had always been an emancipated woman "living scandalously, separated from her husband."<sup>116</sup>

George Sand was one of the most received foreign female authors among Slovenians. This is very likely due to the fact that she had a very ambiguous personality, a combination of feminine and masculine characteristics. At the same time she embodied the angelic and the monstrous side of a woman writer which presumably appealed very much to her readers or at least provoked mixed feelings among them.

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<sup>114</sup> "George Sand." *Dom in svet* 8 (1904): 510.

<sup>115</sup> "Književnost. George Sand." *Slovan* 9 (1904): 285–286.

<sup>116</sup> "George Sand." *Slovenec* 157 (1904): 5.

### 6.3.2 Charlotte Brontë (1816–1855)

In England, Charlotte Brontë,<sup>117</sup> a novelist and poet, “had raised the novel to new heights, with *Jane Eyre* (1847) and *Shirley* (1849). (Offen 127) She wrote under the pen name of Currer Bell, preserving thus her initials.<sup>118</sup> In concealing her troublesome femaleness behind this mask, Charlotte Brontë insisted that she had chosen this name for its “androgynous neutrality but which most of [her] earliest readers assumed [was] male.” (Gilbert & Gubar 65) As stated above, Brontë developed different strategies which conceal and obscure deeper levels of meaning: she depicts similar strategies for overcoming anxiety in the careers of all heroines who appear in her novels.<sup>119</sup> (Ibid., 82) Charlotte Brontë passed most of her life confined at home, in her father’s house.<sup>120</sup> She probably found a way out from this literal and figurative confinement by means of her subversive writing.<sup>121</sup> Another peculiar feature of the English novelist is that she was “a trance-writer”, i.e. she wrote with her eyes shut. (Ibid., 311) Gilbert and Gubar presume that her trance-writing and her literary male-impersonation (in *The Professor*, for instance) were both an evasion of her own rebellious impulses, since they also have deeper connections:

For one thing, the woman writer who may shrink from a consciously female appraisal of her female vulnerability in a male society can more easily make such an appraisal in her role of male impersonator. That is, by pretending to be a man, she can see herself as the crucial and powerful Other sees her. More, by impersonating a man she can gain male power, not only to punish her own forbidden fantasies but also to act them out. These things, however, especially the last, are also the

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<sup>117</sup> For more biographical information see Gaskell, *The life of Charlotte Brontë*.

<sup>118</sup> Also her sisters Anne and Emily wrote under pseudonyms.

<sup>119</sup> “In tracing subversive pictures behind social acceptable facades, women writers “managed to appear to dissociate themselves from their own revolutionary impulses even while passionately enacting such impulses.” (Gilbert & Gubar 82)

<sup>120</sup> Between 1842 and 1844 she travelled two times to Brussels where she remained several months.

<sup>121</sup> “Almost all nineteenth-century women were in some sense imprisoned in men’s houses. Figuratively, such women were, as we have seen, locked into male texts, texts from which they could escape only through ingenuity and indirection. It is not surprising, then, that spatial imagery of enclosure and escape, elaborated with what frequently becomes obsessive intensity, characterizes much of their writing.” (Gilbert & Gubar 83) Gilbert and Gubar continue on this subject: “Dramatizations of imprisonment and escape are so all-pervasive in nineteenth-century literature by women that we believe they represent a uniquely female tradition in this period. Interestingly, though works in this tradition generally begin by using houses as primary symbols of female imprisonment, they also use much of the other paraphernalia of ‘woman’s place’ to enact their central symbolic drama of enclosure and escape.” (Ibid., 85)

things she does in her somnambulistic reiteration of a duplicitous enclosure-escape story, a story which secretly subverts its own ostensible morality. (Ibid., 316–317)

In contrast to George Sand, Charlotte Brontë passed almost unperceived in the periodical press of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Slovenian territory probably due to her non-sandalous way of life. In fact, she was mostly mentioned in connection to her novel *Jane Eyre*, which was one of the most received European novels at the time in Slovenian territory.<sup>122</sup> However, in 1899, a translated article entitled “Polygamy and monogamy”<sup>123</sup> of the Czechoslovak sociologist and philosopher Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk was published in the newspaper *Slovenka*. In the article, while speaking about the literary field the author asks himself how many women writers there are in the Czech territory such as the Czech author Božena Němcová. He continues that in England, France and Germany a female author works equally and has the same value as a male author. Among English women writers Masaryk lists Charlotte Brontë, George Eliot, Joanna Baillie and Elizabeth Browning. At the end, Masaryk suggests some role models from whom authors should draw inspiration. First of all, he proposes Shakespeare, followed by Brontë and Browning. With regard to Charlotte Brontë he points out that, in her works, she stresses not only the physical beauty but also the moral one.

Besides mentioning Brontë as a role model no other recurring motif about her life was found in periodical press, therefore presumably the author herself was known among Slovenian readers to a lesser degree than her very work. This could be explained by the fact that her novel *Jane Eyre* became known particularly thanks to the German adaptation *Die Waise aus Lowood* (The Orphan of Lowood, 1853) by Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer who consequently received more recognition in Slovenian periodicals.

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<sup>122</sup> In particular due to the German adaptation of the novel by Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer.

<sup>123</sup> Masaryk, Tomáš. “Mnogoženstvo in enoženstvo.” *Slovenka* 12 (1899): 280; and 14 (1899): 335.

### 6.3.3 Empress Elisabeth of Austria (1837–1898)

Empress Elisabeth of Austria<sup>124</sup> became an historical icon after her death due to her free spirit, non-conformism and transgressing the court protocol. She was known for being a passionate rider and walker, for her physical beauty and for her endless travels abroad (particularly to the island of Corfu in Greece) which were considered an escape from her own life. However, she was not known very much as a poet, since she had not published any work. Empress Elisabeth had written poetry since her adolescence. She wrote, mostly inspired by her main idol, Heinrich Heine, numerous poems, affected by her frustration, melancholy, longings, and isolation. She even sank deeper into melancholy after the death of her son in 1889.

The Empress' personality, her way of life and consequently her poetry drew Pavlina Pajk's attention. In 1898, after the empress' death, Pavlina Pajk published in the newspaper *Slovenski list* a short obituary of the empress and some of her poems. Concerning the Empress Elisabeth of Austria, Pajk wanted to present the less known aspects of the Empress' life. She introduced her with these words: "The best woman is usually the one of whom we speak the less."<sup>125</sup> Surprisingly, in Pajk's opinion this would hold true for the Empress as nobody had neither talked nor written about Empress Elisabeth for ages. Only her unexpected death triggered people to take an interest in her once more. Thus Pajk focuses on the Empress' devotion to sciences and arts: "The devotion to learning it's always a sign of moral advantage not only for men but also for women, even though a rude writer obstinately asserts that learning makes a woman boring, ill and disagreeable. Well, this assertion does not hold true for our empress." (Ibid., 291), Pajk also mentions that the Empress learnt Greek language in order to translate Shakespeare's dramas into Greek. Finally, Pajk put special stress on the loss of the Empress' child and her later mourning, concluding that only death left her the final peace. In the following numbers of the same periodical, Pajk writes about the Empress' ignored artistic soul. In fact, most of her poems have not been published. Because of this, Pajk decided to make some of Empress Elisabeth's poems known among Slovenian readers.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> For more information see Haslip, *The lonely empress: Elizabeth of Austria*.

<sup>125</sup> Pajk, Pavlina. "Cesarica Elizabeta." *Slovenski list* 52 (1898): 291.

<sup>126</sup> See section 7.4.2.



As already mentioned, in 1899, in the periodical *Ljubljanski zvon*, Pajk published a thirteen-page long article<sup>127</sup> entitled “Diaries about Empress Elisabeth”, in which she summarized and translated some passages from Constantine Christomanos’ biography<sup>128</sup> of the empress Elisabeth of Austria entitled *Tagebuchblätter* (1899). In this article, she first made an introduction about the Empress and afterwards she presented the Greek author. She describes the Empress as follows:

Big, notable geniuses love, look for and want solitude, because they are self-sufficient and their strong individuality best evolves and completes in solitude. People of genius are all more or less original; and even I find the character of our deceased empress to be original, interesting and worthy of investigating, for the sake of everything that we learnt about it from the most reliable sources.<sup>129</sup>

The passage where the Romanian author Carmen Sylva is mentioned has also been included in the Slovenian article as the Empress used to read Sylva’s works and discuss them with her Greek friend. Pavlina Pajk presented the Empress through her particular features, laying great stress on her restless genius, her passion for nature, travelling and reading. Pajk also referred to authors who were a big source of inspiration for the Empress. Because of all this, Pajk is considered to have contributed a lion’s share to the recognition of Empress Elisabeth as a poet among Slovenians.

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<sup>127</sup> The introduction of the article is very interesting, since it proves that Pavlina Pajk was aware that not all the information could cross the cultural or language border even though at that time Austrian and Slovenian territories were both part of the same empire. Therefore her main objective was to mediate this information to Slovenian readers: “Considering that Christomanos’ so extensive – but for us Austrians so precious – book would remain mostly unknown to Slovenian people, I would like to summarize its most important passages that best describe the deceased empress. I am vividly aware of the fact that I could not completely express with my modest copy the enraptured writing of the young Hellenic descendant, but I would be very glad if these lines of mine awake in the reader at least a little bit of deep feeling, that Christomanos’ memorial papers certainly do.” (Pajk, *Spominski* 147)

<sup>128</sup> The Greek author Constantine Christomanos was born in Athens in 1867. At the age of 21, he went to live in Vienna and three years later, he was invited by the Imperial Court to teach Greek to the empress Elisabeth and to accompany her. In 1899, in Vienna, he published his diaries about the empress Elisabeth of Austria entitled *Tagebuchblätter*. Pajk affirms that Christomanos’ biography is the best among many others due to its realistic and vivid description of the empress: “Christomanos’ book does not show us the empress in the shine of imperial magnificence, but it shows her as a human being that thinks, feels, rejoices and suffers as ordinary mortals. Nevertheless, in this very likeness, the high-born lady seems to be magic, mild, indescribably charming and admirable. Yes, admirable!” (Pajk, *Cesarica* 291)

<sup>129</sup> Pajk, Pavlina. “Spominski listi o cesarici Elizabeti.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 19/2 (1899): 146.

#### 6.3.4 Carmen Sylva (1843–1916)

Pauline Elisabeth Ottilie Luise zu Wied was the Queen consort of Romania, widely known by her literary name of Carmen Sylva. She was born and brought up in Germany, which she left after her marriage with the future king of Romania. She was known for her artistic skills, such as music, painting and particularly writing, and for her devotion to poor people. Similarly to the empress Elisabeth of Austria mentioned above,<sup>130</sup> Carmen Sylva lost her only daughter, an event from which she never recovered, and the reason she engaged herself in writing.

These features of Carmen Sylva also circulated in Slovenian periodicals. The author was mentioned in Slovenian periodical press as a “witty”<sup>131</sup> and “famous”<sup>132</sup> woman poet. In 1898 in *Slovenka* a nine-page long article was published about her, where her life and work were presented in detail. She is portrayed as an extremely talented, beautiful and sensitive woman who behaved as if had not been of royal origin. Her gift for learning languages is also stressed. With regard to her literary talent, she is considered as an excellent poet who depicts “every impression, sad or happy, in a wonderful, poetic form.”<sup>133</sup> The early death of her daughter made her quite apathetic and melancholic, which is also reflected in her literary work: “The main tone of all her literature is formed by a deep melancholy, which reflects also on her face, even though the queen tries to conceal it with a smile.”<sup>134</sup> At the end of the article, her charitable work is pointed out, such as establishing new societies, factories and schools in order to help poor people:

In her great personality a female beauty and delicacy are tied with a male strength and courage and the sensible hearth of a child. She clearly demonstrates that a woman is not an inferior being, as some people think. With her truthfulness, her orienting towards beauty and good, and her precious qualities she prevails over thousands and thousands of men. (Ibid., 7–8)

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<sup>130</sup> It must be also highlighted that the recurrent motifs of the life of the empress Elisabeth of Austria and the queen Carmen Sylva in Slovenian periodical press were quite similar. They all stress the empress’ and the queen’s unusual way of living for a royalty, their artistic talents, their gift for learning foreign languages, their melancholy, the death of their child, etc.

<sup>131</sup> “Visoki gostje v Postojni.” *Slovenski list* 19 (1897): 155.

<sup>132</sup> Knific, Ivan. “Od Save do Bospora.” *Dom in svet* 2 (1902): 106.

<sup>133</sup> N., Krista. “Carmen Sylva.” *Slovenka* 26 (1898): 601.

<sup>134</sup> N., Krista. “Carmen Sylva.” *Slovenka* 1 (1899): 5.

In the article about the empress Elisabeth of Austria mentioned above, Pavlina Pajk manages to insert indirectly and almost imperceptibly the Romanian author. In doing so, she shows also the Queen's more temperamental side:

They [The empress Elisabeth of Austria and Christomanos] were reading works of Carmen Sylva, the Queen of Romania; the Empress liked them. "Their youthful spirit is wonderful," she said. "Carmen Sylva is still the German teenage girl despite her exotic queen's crown and her white hair. Her emotional dimension has remained the same, even though in the meantime she has become an unhappy mother. She is still the same sanguine person: she quickly gets excited, but also she quickly calms down. Her temperament thus affects her works. She is not patient enough to persist in her ideas and to be absorbed in them. In this way she becomes exhausted desiring to reach what is unreachd. That is why she knows no peace, which is nevertheless the final aim of everything."<sup>135</sup>

In 1916, the year of Carmen Sylva's death, two obituaries were published, in which her life and work were depicted. The newspaper *Edinost* reports that she was a "prolific poet and writer".<sup>136</sup> With regard to her literary activity, attention is paid to the influence of the Romanian folk songs. It is also presumed that her Slavic origin, although her family had been later on Germanized, played an important role in her poetic temperament. Her supporting of the textile industry, education for women, arts and literature is also noted. In *Slovenski narod* Sylva's literary talent and her collaboration on several books with her lady-in-waiting, Mite Kremnitz, are stressed. Finally, it is stated that she was very popular among Romanians, in spite of the fact that "she could not get accustomed to the circumstances and life of the Romanian nation."<sup>137</sup>

In 1906, the Slovenian woman poet and playwright Ljudmila Poljanec (1874–1948)<sup>138</sup> published a collection of her poems – *Poezije* (Poems). One of the poems is entitled *Carmen Sylva*.<sup>139</sup> The poem was ranged in the section entitled *Ob Adriji* (Along Adria), therefore it was probably written during Poljanec's journeys at the Adriatic coast, more precisely, in Opatija.<sup>140</sup> In her poem, the Slovenian author

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<sup>135</sup> Pajk, Pavlina. "Spominski listi o cesarici Elizabeti." *Ljubljanski zvon* 19/2 (1899): 147.

<sup>136</sup> "Carmen Sylva." *Edinost* 66 (1916): 2.

<sup>137</sup> "Kraljica vdova Elizabeta." *Slovenski narod* 51 (1916): 3.

<sup>138</sup> For more information see Koblar, "Ljudmila Poljanec."

<sup>139</sup> See Poljanec 95–96.

<sup>140</sup> Carmen Sylva and her husband King Carol I of Romania were frequent guests of Opatija, and their participation in social life of the city has left many traces. For instance, a five-kilometre long

idealizes the Romanian Queen, and even more, she almost sanctifies her. In fact, Poljanec imagines the Queen walking along the seaside and observing the wonderful landscape around her: a shady bay tree, a straight palm tree, the sea and the mountains in the dawn. Poljanec then focuses on a rock where a poem of Carmen Sylva, beautifully wreathed with ivy, glitters in golden hieroglyphics. (Poljanec 96)

### 6.3.5 Fernán Caballero (1796–1877)

Fernán Caballero was the pseudonym of the novelist Cecilia Francisca Josefa Böhl de Faber. She was born in Switzerland as the daughter of Johann Nikolaus Böhl von Faber, a German lover of Spanish literature. When she was seventeen, her family moved to Spain, where she got married and became a widow three times consecutively. In Spain, she became famous as the author of *La Gaviota* (*The Seagull*, 1849) and *La familia de Alvareda* (*The Alvareda Family*, 1849). She is known as a born teller of stories with a natural gift of observation.<sup>141</sup>

In the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Slovenian territory Fernán Caballero was not very well received, however, in 1899 her life and literary work were discussed in the footnotes of an article about the well-known Spanish writer Luis Coloma, since she had been his teacher.<sup>142</sup> The author of the article, Frančišek Lampe,<sup>143</sup> says that Fernán Caballero had a powerful influence on the young student Coloma: she treated him as her son, she helped and advised him in his writing. The proof of her lively interest in him would be her prologue to his work *Dolores de un estudiante* (*Suffering of a Student*). Lampe devotes special attention to Caballero in the footnotes. First of all, he considers her a “famous woman.”<sup>144</sup> Secondly he asserts that the Spanish author is

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promenade was named after Carmen Sylva. There she found inspiration for several of her poems. The belvedere on Queen Elisabeth’s Rock is locally known as Mala fortica. However, the plaque with the inscription Carmen Sylva Ruhe can be found above a stone bench beneath the belvedere. See <http://www.advisorcroatia.com/carmen-sylve-promenade/>.

<sup>141</sup> “Caballero sees more in things produced by the hand of a sculptor, be it human or God, than the average observer, keen as the other person’s eye may be, and well trained as his taste for art may be. This appreciation for Nature and manual products has been fostered and strengthened by her love for the things that are good and by her inclination to follow her heart’s impulses, directed by a pure conscience.” (Kressin 125)

<sup>142</sup> Lampe, Frančišek. “P. Luis Coloma.” *Dom in svet* 24 (1899): 737–739.

<sup>143</sup> Frančišek Lampe (1859–1900) was a Slovenian philosopher, writer and theologian. He was also the editor of the journal *Dom in Svet*.

<sup>144</sup> Lampe, Frančišek. “P. Luis Coloma.” *Dom in svet* 24 (1899): 737.

already known among Slovenians due to her work *La familia de Alvareda*, which had been translated into Slovenian as *Družina Alvaredova* in 1864 by Janez Parapat.<sup>145</sup> In the footnotes, Lampe provides the readers with further information about Caballero's life and work. First, he mentions her father's works in Spanish, secondly he points out her literary beginnings with the novel *La gaviota* followed by many others, such as *La familia de Alvareda*, *Un verano en Bornos* (One Summer in Bornos, 1864), *Clemencia* (Clemency, 1852), *Lágrimas* (Tears, 1860), the famous *Élia* (1875), *Pobre Dolores* (Poor Dolores, 1852), *Lucas García* (1852) and other short stories.<sup>146</sup> Finally, Lampe estimates her literary talent:

Her [Caballero's] writings have soon become famous and they have passed over to other literatures through translations. Caballero is really a great woman writer, who has, in her works, joined and united all the qualities of a good novel. She wrote in truth or realistically, therefore also modernly; she depicted the life of Spanish people in a realistic and vivid way. However, her writing remains always clear and noble, full of enthusiasm for the Catholic faith and for the national sacred things of Spanish people.<sup>147</sup>

In 1901 the beneficent influence of Caballero on Coloma and her prologue of Coloma's book are mentioned again. Here Caballero is introduced as "an extraordinary woman, whose spiritual abilities are comparable to those of St. Teresa."<sup>148</sup>

### 6.3.6 Ida von Hahn-Hahn (1805–1880)

The countess Ida von Hahn-Hahn was born in a German aristocratic and protestant family.<sup>149</sup> She married her wealthy cousin, in order to support her family, with whom she had a disabled daughter who was given into care. After two years of marriage, the couple divorced. Hahn-Hahn never married again, but she found a partner in her

<sup>145</sup> See section 7.4.1.

<sup>146</sup> Lampe enumerates all the titles in Spanish without providing a translation. As it could be noticed, some of the works mentioned by Lampe, can be indeed found in the National Library.

<sup>147</sup> Lampe, Frančišek. "P. Luis Coloma." *Dom in svet* 24 (1899): 738.

<sup>148</sup> Perne, Frančišek. "P. Luis Coloma." *Dom in svet* 6 (1901): 322–323.

Saint Teresa of Jesus (1515–1582) was a prominent Spanish mystic, a Carmelite nun and a writer of Counter Reformation.

<sup>149</sup> For more information see Kontje's work *Women, the Novel, and the German Nation 1771–1871* where he introduces (beside other German female authors) Hahn-Hahn's life and work explaining the important role of her work in shaping attitudes toward class, gender, and the nation.

travelling companion Baron Adolf von Bystram. Living by her pen, she wrote poetry, travelogues and novels similar to those of George Sand, this is why she was often called the “German George Sand”. She became very popular among German readers. In 1849 she decided to convert to Catholicism,<sup>150</sup> which reflected as a religious turn in her literary work. Later on, she founded a convent in Mainz, in which she lived until her death.

In the Slovenian periodical press, Ida von Hahn-Hahn was mostly mentioned due to her marriage with her cousin, her style of writing, and her conversion to Christianity. With regard to the latter, her book *Von Babylon nach Jerusalem* (*From Babylon to Jerusalem*, 1851) is often mentioned. In *Laibacher Zeitung*, in 1880, a short obituary of Hahn-Hahn was published, depicting her life and work, saying that with her social novels she made happy the society of that time, since her novels seemed to be more exquisite stories than a picture of reality.<sup>151</sup> In his article about the Slovenian writer Josip Jurčič, the Slovenian literary historian Fran Levec states that Jurčič passionately read the German author who had, “in her tendentious novels, a lot of genially depicted characters, in particular, female characters.”<sup>152</sup> In 1899, Hahn-Hahn is mentioned indirectly as a shallow writer in the article about Karolina Světlá<sup>153</sup>: “In her works there is no truth, nor a piece of brains, nor a bit of real poetry. Everything is lied about, exaggerated, in the moral and artistic regard of a living monster. This woman dances with pretence, on the rope of her completely sick fantasy.”<sup>154</sup>

In 1906, the literary historian Jože Debevec published a five-page long article about the countess’ life and work in the catholic *Dom in Svet*. First of all, Debevec mentions that Josip Jurčič read Hahn-Hahn’s works, in particular, *Maria Regina* (1860) and *Doralice* (1861), which are considered her best novels. Secondly, he writes about the deficient education in her childhood, her unhappy marriage (both daughter and mother were deceived by their husbands’ infidelity) and her disabled child. Debevec divides her life in three periods. The first one was the period of

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<sup>150</sup> Hahn-Hahn described her own conversion in the book *Von Babylon nach Jerusalem*.

<sup>151</sup> “Tagesneuigkeiten.” *Laibacher Zeitung* 11 (1880): 1.

<sup>152</sup> Levec, Fran. “Spomini o Josipu Jurčiču.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 7 (1888): 420.

<sup>153</sup> During Světlá and Němcová’s visit to a famous Czech scholar, the latter encouraged Němcová to write more in order to dislodge Hahn-Hahn from the Czech literature due to her shallowness.

<sup>154</sup> Zavadil, Antonin. “Še nekaj črtic iz življenja Svetle.” *Slovenka* 22 (1899): 515.

restless travelling and searching for truth: “She felt the strongest indignation in her heart at the regulation of the social life [...], at the marriage. In the works of that period she celebrates the free, sensual love, while she describes marriage as the biggest humiliation, as a slavish yoke for a wife.”<sup>155</sup> According to Debevec, the second period started with her conversion to Christianity: “She found what she was longing for: peace.” (Ibid., 346) He describes her life in the convent, where she wrote many books on the history of the Catholic Church. Debevec then points out some of her books, of which he highlights the main ideas. The third period started in 1860, after twelve years of silence: she published again some social novels on the initiative of the German poet Molitor. In Debevec’s opinion, during this period she wanted to remedy her faults from the first period: “She made two big faults in her first period: she exaggeratedly praised the sensual love and she unjustly attacked the marriage. She wanted to repair these faults in these books [*Maria Regina* and *Doralice*].” (Ibid., 347) Debevec concludes that her works are fruits of her own experience and he considers her a modern author, since she is more interested in the soul than in external circumstances.

Mentions of Ida Hahn-Hahn in periodical press show that stress was put particularly on her style of writing. The critics did not share the same opinion, or rather, their statements sometimes even conflict themselves. However, it seems that her style of depicting (female) characters was quite appealing for Slovenian readers.

#### 6.3.7 Eugenie Marlitt (1825–1887)

E. Marlitt was the pseudonym of Eugenie John, a popular German novelist.<sup>156</sup> She was born in Arnstadt, but her patroness, the Princess of Schwarzburg-Sondershausen sent her to Vienna to study music for three years due to her fine voice. She became deaf, and returned to her patroness. Her correspondents encouraged her to write novels. For this purpose, she returned to Arnstadt in 1863, where she began her career as a novelist. Marlitt published several works in the German weekly magazine

<sup>155</sup> Debevec, Jože. “Grafica Ida Hahn-Hahn.” *Dom in svet* 6 (1906): 344.

<sup>156</sup> For more information about her life and literary success see Kontje, “Marlitt’s World: Domestic Fiction in an Age of Empire” and also Kontje, *Women, the Novel, and the German Nation 1771–1871*.

*Die Gartenlaube*,<sup>157</sup> which had a significant impact on the magazine success<sup>158</sup> and also on Marlitt's popularity. According to the researcher Todd Kontje, in the last third of the nineteenth century, Marlitt's works "were read wherever the German language was spoken, and also in many places where it was not." (Kontje, *Marlitt* 408)

Marlitt was also very popular among Slovenian readers. In fact, she became known particularly due to her style of writing.<sup>159</sup> Since Slovenian women writers, such as Pavlina Pajk and Luiza Pesjak, continued the tradition of sentimental novel, practiced also by Marlitt, they were often associated with Marlitt's name. However, her name had a rather pejorative connotation among Slovenian scholars who were adverse to sentimentality in literature.<sup>160</sup> Pavlina Pajk was several times accused of copying the German author.<sup>161</sup> The Slovenian writer Josip Stritar<sup>162</sup> supported Pajk in a letter with these words: "If they call you Slovenian Marlitt, you should not be ashamed of this name." (Stritar, *Zbrano* X 168)

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<sup>157</sup> According to Kirsten Belgum, *Gartenlaube* was the most popular illustrated German magazine in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Its first goal was to reach the entire middle-class family. Moreover, the *Gartenlaube* "was a space in which a national identity was constructed and mediated in late nineteenth-century Germany for a broad audience." (Belgum 91)

<sup>158</sup> "Indeed, some critics have suggested that the magazine owed part of its success to the popularity of its 'star author' Eugenie Marlitt. Marlitt's first big hit in the *Gartenlaube* was her novel *Goldelse*, which appeared in 1866. This work launched the author's long-term collaboration with the *Gartenlaube* and in particular with Ernst Keil (founder of the magazine), who quickly became an ardent supporter of Marlitt and her work [...]. Following *Goldelse*, several Marlitt's novels appeared in quick succession in *Gartenlaube* [...], all of which were also soon published in record numbers as book editions." (Belgum 100)

<sup>159</sup> In Kontje's opinion her works resonated so strongly with the larger world due to her skill "as an author of the ever-popular genre of romance: her novels all feature young, strong-willed heroines who confront adversity and overcome hardships while falling in love with a worthy man with whom she will settle down to raise a happy family [...] Above all, Marlitt addresses questions of central importance to women during a period of rapid social change: should one marry for money or for love? Should women work outside the home? Should they publish, and, if so, under their own name, a pseudonym, or anonymously? Who should care for children, the old, and the chronically ill?" (Kontje, *Marlitt* 409)

<sup>160</sup> Katja Mihurko Poniž presumes that the devaluation of Marlitt's work in Germany in the 1880s influenced the severe reception of the German author in Slovenian territory at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. (Mihurko Poniž, *Trivialno* 71)

<sup>161</sup> See also Katja Mihurko Poniž's study "Trivialno in/ali sentimentalno? Pavline Pajk *Arabela*: študija primera" (Trivial and/or sentimental: Pavlina Pajk's novel *Arabela*: a case study) where Pajk's *Arabela* is compared to Marlitt's *The old mam'selle's secret*.

<sup>162</sup> Josip Stritar (1836–1923) was a great supporter of the sentimental novel. He realized his sentimental aspirations in the novel *Zorin* (1870).



In 1888, the Slovenian writer Janko Kersnik wrote a lengthy review about Luiza Pesjak's novel *Beatin dnevnik* (Beata's diary)<sup>163</sup> in which he compared the Slovenian novel with Marlitt's work. First of all, Kersnik starts with introducing the German writer saying that she is very well known among Slovenians, and, particularly, among Slovenian women. He informs about Marlitt's literary success due to the magazine *Die Gartenlaube* adding that this was the reason for so many Marlitt's epigones. However, Kersnik announces the decline of Marlitt's works since this is the destiny of several brilliant literary texts. Secondly, he devotes his attention to Marlitt's style arguing that her work does not reach the demands required for the works of art. Kersnik then briefly analyses Marlitt's work in order to compare it to *Beatin dnevnik*. He draws parallels between the two works concluding that in Pesjak's work "we follow step by step to her [Marlitt's] epigonism." (Ibid., 382) However, according to Kersnik, Pesjak surpasses Marlitt in describing children, since Marlitt, being childless, "did not understand this art." (Ibid., 382) Sometimes information about an author's fortune circulated in the newspapers. For instance, in 1899 there was a very short news dealing with Marlitt's legacy inherited by her nephew and informing that she had earned "a lot of money due to her numerous novels."<sup>164</sup>

The aforementioned negative attitude towards Marlitt's style can be seen in a lengthy article published in 1905 on the occasion of the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the prestigious literary newspaper *Ljubljanski zvon*: "Zvon represented sound aesthetic principles when it strictly turned against texts made upon Marlitt's sweet and maudlin genre (*Beatin dnevnik!*)."<sup>165</sup> *Beatin dnevnik* by Luiza Pesjak is thus mentioned once again as an example following Marlitt's genre. Despite these critical remarks, Marlitt's serialized publications in periodical press were widely read by Slovenian readers.

To come to a conclusion, mentions about Marlitt in Slovenian territory were mostly about her style of writing. Her name was usually pejoratively associated with the sentimental novel.

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<sup>163</sup> Kersnik, Janko. "Beatin dnevnik." *Ljubljanski zvon* 6 (1888): 379–383.

<sup>164</sup> "Dnevne vesti." *Slovenski narod* 75 (1899): 5.

<sup>165</sup> Tominšek, Josip. "Četrto stoletje slovenskemu slovstvu na braniku. K petindvajsetletnici Ljubljanskega zvona." *Ljubljanski zvon* 11 (1905): 676.

### 6.3.8 Božena Němcová (1820?–1862)

Božena Němcová<sup>166</sup> (born Barbora Panklová) was a Czech author, journalist, a key figure of the Czech national Revival and one of the first Czech women to publicly address the female cause.<sup>167</sup> Her grandmother played an important part in her life.<sup>168</sup> In Prague, she became familiar with the patriotic and literary salons which influenced her intellectual development. She collected and adapted folk tales for publication. Her husband, from whom she was estranged, was a Bohemian patriot, therefore they often had to move to different locations. Since her family suffered from lack of money, Němcová tried to support them by writing. However, she died in poverty. Her talent and her personality turned her into an idol.<sup>169</sup>

Slovenian readers impressed Božena Němcová on their memory especially due to her novella *The Grandmother*<sup>170</sup> and her folk tales. In fact, the majority of the mentions in periodical press deal with these subjects.

In the newspaper *Slovenka*, Němcová was very frequently mentioned in connection to other Czech female authors, such as Karolina Světlá and Eliška Krásnohorská (1847–1926). In this very periodical, in 1899, there was a long article dedicated to Němcová in the rubric “Album čeških žena” (Album of Czech women), in which the Czech journalist Antonin Zavadil stresses that all Slavic women should follow Němcová’s example, in particular, in the matters of patriotism. He designates her as “the pride and the glory of the nation,”<sup>171</sup> a genius, a “witty idol of young dreamers,” (Ibid., 250) “a paragon of an educated Czech woman,” (Ibid., 251) etc. Zavadil depicts Němcová’s life in many details: the influence of her grandmother, her life in Prague, her unhappy marriage and her poverty. With regard to her style of writing he declares that she “showed an unusual ability of storytelling, vividly emotional,

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<sup>166</sup> Němcová has been frequently compared to George Sand due to their similar ideas concerning individual happiness, marriage, female identity etc. See van Dijk & Walle.

<sup>167</sup> See Šmejkalová 366–369.

<sup>168</sup> Němcová would later write her most famous novel with the main character inspired by her grandmother – *Babička* (*The Grandmother*, 1855).

<sup>169</sup> “It was not only her unusual talent, but also the long-lasting desire of the patriotic community for an emancipated creative heroine that turned this exceptionally beautiful and charismatic woman into an idol.” (Šmejkalová 367)

<sup>170</sup> Probably the early Slovenian translation (*Babica*) of *The Grandmother* in 1862 by France Cegnar and its reprint in 1884 contributed a lion’s share to the popularity of the author.

<sup>171</sup> Zavadil, Antonin. “Album čeških žena.” *Slovenka* 11 (1899): 249.

ardent, with a fluent style, with a simple language, speaking all so gently and tenderly.” (Ibid., 251) Moreover, he highlights Němcová’s effort for women’s rights, particularly female education.

In 1912, at the fiftieth anniversary of the author’s death, *Slovenska žena* published an article significantly entitled “Apostolica” (Female Apostle), in which Němcová’s life and work are praised. A picture of the Czech author can also be found in the article, which is quite unusual for that time. The article ends with saying: “Her [Němcová’s] life is pure and without lies, and they can throw as much mud as they can at her memory – they who cannot get rid of chains.”<sup>172</sup>

Božena Němcová was very well received in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Slovenian territory. Both her literary talent and her personality were accorded a warm welcome by Slovenian readers and reviewers.

#### 6.3.9 Gabriela Preissová (1862–1946)

Gabriela Preissová<sup>173</sup> was a Czech writer and playwright. Although she was living in a Germanized town in Moravia, she preferred to socialize with Czech-speaking craftswomen from surrounding villages: “She strove to become part of the local life, and her house soon became a gathering point for local craftswomen and maids, while being increasingly avoided by the local bourgeoisie.” (Jusová 65) She travelled through the Czech-speaking villages while accompanying her husband and she wrote of her experiences in a series of short stories. (Thomas 79) Her ideas reflect in her works which were intended to be “acutely political explorations of the plight of the rural poor and, in particular, of the difficult situation of women at the end of the nineteenth century.” (Thomas 78)

Numerous mentions about Gabriela Preissová in Slovenian periodicals are connected especially to her living in the surroundings of Klagenfurt, in Carinthia, for two years. She was interested in the life of Carinthian Slovenians, which she described later on

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<sup>172</sup> V., Vera. “Apostolica.” *Slovenska žena* 2 (1912): 38.

<sup>173</sup> Preissová was also directly connected to the Slovenian woman writer Zofka Kveder, since Kveder visited her literary salon when she was in Prague. (For more information see Orožen)

in her *Korutanské povídky* (Carinthian Tales, 1895). In 1899, at the time of publication of the short story *Mládí* (Youth, *Mladost*, 1898), the journal *Dom in svet* reported that the story had been dedicated to the then mayor of Ljubljana, Ivan Hribar. In this article, the author's talent is praised and, in particular, her sense of picturesqueness, in which many Slovenian authors would be lacking: "The author really has a fine talent, she knows well the human heart, she depicts it very vividly, in some places even too vividly. In the short story, one can find the same picturesqueness, which is proper to our northern brothers, and which we miss more or less vividly in some of our writers."<sup>174</sup>

Several mentions place Preissová among other "excellent"<sup>175</sup> Czech authors of short stories, such as Němcová and Krásnohorská. *Slovenska žena* dedicates to the Czech author a special article, since it considers her as "the closest [Czech] author to us, Slovenians"<sup>176</sup> due to several Slovenian translations of her works. The stress is also put on her literary talent and her interest in the meeting of Czech and Slovenian women in Prague, during which she willingly helped Slovenian women in finding accommodation.

In 1918, *Slovenski narod* published an article at the time of publication of Preissová's new work *Zahrady* (Gardens, 1918), dedicated to a Slovenian – Dr. Jesenko.<sup>177</sup> The quoted dedication is followed by the author's biography, in which her kindness to Slovenians is highlighted: "Her hospitable house in Prague has been always opened to every Slovenian guest; she [Preissová] supported joyfully everything that could encourage our cultural ties. Our young people have always found in her a good friend, who wanted them to feel at home."<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> "Slovanska knjižnica." *Dom in svet* 5 (1899): 160.

<sup>175</sup> Zagorac, Stjepan. "Češko slovstvo." *Dom in svet* 1 (1891): 46.

<sup>176</sup> "Iz ženskega sveta." *Slovenska gospodinja* 4 (1907): 30.

<sup>177</sup> In the dedication, Preissová writes that she met Dr. Jesenko during wartime (1914/1915). They became friends in those very hard times. He used to speak to her about gardens. Later on, she lost every contact with him. For this reason, she wrote this book hoping that it will reach Dr. Jesenko, wherever he was.

<sup>178</sup> Lah, Ivan. "Praško pismo." *Slovenski narod* 10 (1918): 1.

### 6.3.10 Maria Konopnicka (1842–1910)

Maria Konopnicka was a Polish poet, author, translator and an activist for women's rights. She got married very young to a man who did not approve of her writing career and from whom she separated after many years. She earned money by writing or giving private lessons. Later on, she went abroad and from that time on "she lead a life of wandering." (Borkowska 199) With regard to her literary talent, she is considered as a borderline case: "She went further than other writers, but at the same time remained almost completely silent about the specific factors that conditioned the lives and condition of women." (Borkowska 202)

Within Slovenian territory, mentions about Konopnicka started appearing at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Special attention has to be drawn to a ten-page long essay written by Ivan Prijatelj<sup>179</sup> and to Anton Aškerc's<sup>180</sup> article (both published in *Ljubljanski zvon*), and to the article about Konopnicka in *Dom in svet*. The latter proclaims the Polish poet as someone who "stands in the front ranks among the great sons of the Polish nation" besides being also an "exceptional literary apparition."<sup>181</sup> In this article, her life, the influence of other Polish writers on her literary creativity and her poetic development are described in details. Among others, her epic poem *Pan Balcer w Brazylii* (*Mister Balcer in Brazil, Pan Balcer v Braziliji*, 1910) is interpreted, about which many Slovenian periodicals will report later on.

In his essay, the literary historian Ivan Prijatelj outlines Konopnicka as a "great talent", "a well-educated lady, an entirely modern woman" who obtained a place "among the most excellent notabilities of Polish Parnassus".<sup>182</sup> He continues describing her figure as if she was a myth: "In her appearance she reminds us a little of the ladies of the late Renaissance, and of those witty women who were incorporating German romantic writers during the period of their most intensive creativity in their literary salons, and writing literary journals, full of fine observations." (Ibid., 34) Prijatelj also indicates the well-known Polish authors, such as Adam Mickiewicz and Henryk Sienkiewicz, who contributed to her inspiration.

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<sup>179</sup> Ivan Prijatelj (1875–1937) was a Slovenian literary historian and translator.

<sup>180</sup> Anton Aškerc (1856–1912) was a Slovenian poet and priest.

<sup>181</sup> "Marija z Wasilowskich Konopnicka." *Dom in svet* 12 (1902): 765–766.

<sup>182</sup> Prijatelj, Ivan. "Marya Konopnicka." *Ljubljanski zvon* 1 (1902): 34–44.

Regarding her passion for travelling, she is compared to Madame de Staël. Lastly, Konopnicka's altruism and compassion to the poor are featured.

On the occasion of the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Konopnicka's writing career, the Slovenian poet Anton Aškerc presents the Polish author as a "great genius of a Slavic woman".<sup>183</sup> Aškerc mediates the opinion of Polish people about their female author. For instance, Aškerc writes that according to Adam Mickiewicz, Konopnicka deserves well of the development of Polish poetic language and that others considered her as an exemplary Polish woman and defender of national rights. As to her life, Aškerc says that she spent most of her childhood in solitude, reading the Holy Bible and the old Polish poets. Later on, he adds, Konopnicka travelled almost all around Europe.

The Slovenian journalist and feminist Minka Govekar published a lengthy article about Konopnicka in *Slovenska gospodinja*, in which she mentions, beside her biography, Konopnicka's resemblance to the Italian author Ada Negri. In fact, they call her "the Polish Ada Negri."<sup>184</sup> Govekar refers to Konopnicka as "the greatest Slavic literary artist, poet and writer" (Ibid., 69) and she points out her compassion and empathy to all humanity. With respect to her life, Konopnicka's solitude in her childhood, her early marriage and her travels are mentioned. At the end, Minka Govekar wishes that also Slovenians would be interested in Konopnicka as much as Polish people are and that there would be more Slovenian translations of her works.

Several important articles about the Polish author were published after her death in 1910. Beside some obituaries, in which she is proclaimed as a "social poet: the herald of the miserable and oppressed people",<sup>185</sup> there was also a sixteen-page long analysis of the above mentioned work *Pan Balcer w Brazylii*.<sup>186</sup> The lengthy articles about Konopnicka and her work prove that she was very well known and appreciated among Slovenians.

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<sup>183</sup> Aškerc, Anton. "Jubilej Marije Konopnicke." *Ljubljanski zvon* 12 (1902): 790–791.

<sup>184</sup> Govekar, Minka. "Marya Konopnicka." *Slovenska gospodinja* 9 (1905): 69–71. Govekar asserts that between Konopnicka and Negri there is congeniality; moreover both of them share the inclination for the proletariat. Besides, Konopnicka translated two works of Negri into Polish.

<sup>185</sup> Mole, Vojeslav. "Marija Konopnicka." *Ljubljanski zvon* 11 (1910): 689–91.

<sup>186</sup> Grabowski, Stan. "Konopnicka in njen epos: Pan Balcer v Brazylii." *Ljubljanski zvon* 9, 10 (1910): 529–535, 584–592.

### 6.3.11 Eliza Orzeszkowa (1841–1910)

Eliza Orzeszkowa was a Polish woman writer and publicist. She was born into a well-off noble family. Her first marriage turned out to be a failure, thus she divorced her husband and got married again. Orzeszkowa's thought was mostly influenced by the Warsaw Positivists, who were fascinated by the Western liberalism. She also had a reputation as an advocate of women's emancipation in Poland. In 1904, she was nominated for the Nobel Prize for Literature, while between 1904 and 1908 various celebrations were held in her honour in Poland. (Wiśniewska 376–378) During the revolutionary movements in 1905, she "used her own writing to wage a battle for the political rights of women." (Wiśniewska 379)

In Slovenian periodicals, Orzeszkowa was widely appreciated, particularly, due to Slovenian translation of some of her works. With regard to her private life, her unhappy marriage with a rich landowner and her participation in the Polish national movement are exposed. She was mentioned several times together with Maria Konopnicka. For instance, at their death in 1910, the periodical press reported that Poland "had lost two main female representatives in the literary field."<sup>187</sup> *Slovan* wrote about her talent that "it contains in itself a mannishly energetic, almost cold reason with a deep female compassion."<sup>188</sup>

In this very newspaper, Minka Govekar published an article about Orzeszkowa's literary activity, in which she designates her as "the greatest woman writer and the most known literary Polish apparition of the 19<sup>th</sup> century."<sup>189</sup> Govekar emphasizes the author's endeavour to help people abandoned by luck, to take their side and to protect them. At the occasion of the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Orzeszkowa's literary career, *Dom in svet* puts her in the same rank as George Eliot:

In world literature Orzeszkowa, with her short stories from rural life on social basis, has an excellent place next to the English woman writer George Eliot, to whom Orzeszkowa ideas could be best compared. The same literary movement of the modern culture which enticed out the great English woman writer from the idyllic calmness has also influenced the genius of Orzeszkowa; both of them

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<sup>187</sup> "Marija Konopnicka." *Dom in svet* 12 (1910): 47.

<sup>188</sup> Hajek, Andrej. "Dvajset let poljske književnosti." *Slovan* (1902/1903): 128.

<sup>189</sup> Govekar, Minka. "Eliza Orzeszkowa." *Slovan* 8 (1904): 251.

get the material for the most distinguished literary monuments of their own glory in the family environment, in the closest neighbourhood, in the life of humble people. The much liked characters who fill up the novels of Orzeszkowa are abandoned people of all kind.<sup>190</sup>

In 1910, the year of her death, one of the obituaries, accentuating the author's committed literature, declares: "Orzeszkowa lived in the present, and she did not go back to the rich history of her nation; she amalgamated art with tendency."<sup>191</sup> Another obituary reports that Polish people "lost the best novelist who was famous in all world literature."<sup>192</sup> Relating to her art, it praises her style: "She perfectly knew how to characterize; she gave wonderful poetic description of nature. The virtues of her art are concise diction, psychological profundity and epic width." (Ibid., 22) At the end, her role as a propagandist of female emancipation is indicated. Considering all mentions in periodical press, Orzeszkowa left a positive impression on Slovenian readers and reviewers. What is more, the article written by Minka Govekar manifests the wish to support the circulation of Orzeszkowa's works in Slovenian territory even more.

#### 6.3.12 Karolina Světlá (1830–1899)

Karolina Světlá, born Johanna Rotová, was a Czech author and the president of Women's Czech production Society. She married her music teacher, who introduced her to the ideas of the Czech scholar-patriots and to the well-known writer Božena Němcová. The latter profoundly influenced Světlá's intellectual development as well as the French author George Sand. After the death of her daughter in infancy, Světlá fell into depression and she threw herself into writing in order to make up her loss. Her critical attitude to prevailing social norms is already seen in her short stories.<sup>193</sup> She strived for the elimination of female poverty and also for the promotion of Czech patriotism. Her friendship with the writer Jan Neruda, who openly expressed his love for her, became "one of Czech literature's best-known love stories." (Chitnis 549)

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<sup>190</sup> "Eliza Orzeszkowa." *Dom in svet* 10 (1906): 637.

<sup>191</sup> "Eliza Orzeszkowa." *Ljubljanski zvon* 6 (1910): 383.

<sup>192</sup> "Orzeszkowa Eliza." *Slovan* 7 (1910): 22.

<sup>193</sup> "In these stories, her heroines trace Světlá's own journey to a greater awareness of self and to a realization of the injustices and inadequacies of social norms, particularly in relation to women." (Chitnis 549)



Karolina Světlá was as much warmly accepted in Slovenian territory as her female compatriots Němcová and Preissová. She became known especially due to the Slovenian translation of her work *Hubička* (*The Kiss*, *Poljub*, 1875).<sup>194</sup> With regard to her life, she was frequently mentioned in connection to other well-known female authors: her sister Sofie Podlipská (1833–1897), the Czech feminist writer Eliška Krásnohorská (1847–1926), Božena Němcová, and George Sand among others. In 1899, when she died, several obituaries of Světlá were published in Slovenian periodicals. *Slovenka* wrote extensively on Světlá's life and work in four issues. In one of them Světlá is considered to be “the greatest Czech woman writer.”<sup>195</sup> As to her early life, her Germanized education is mentioned, and the influence of her future husband on her national consciousness. The consequence on her health of the painful loss of her daughter is also evoked. About her style, it is stressed that she used to be tendentious, since she wrote about Czech educational system, cosmopolitanism and female cause. With regard to her personality, Světlá is depicted as charitable and good, and thus generally cherished and respected.

The longest obituary of Světlá in *Slovenka* was written by the Czech publicist Antonín Zavádil. Throughout ten pages, Zavádil presents the author's life and work in detail. Concerning her popularity among Czech people, he asserts: “Světlá gained the love of her venerated by numerous sets of perfectly depicted images taken directly from the popular life, images in which Czech people recognized themselves, their land, their horizon, and for this reason, they were so tightly enraptured.”<sup>196</sup> Zavádil explains the salutary consequences of the work of the French priest Lamennais on Světlá after her child's death and the literary stimulations from the part of Vítězslav Hálek, a Czech author and journalist, while George Sand was her role-model during all that time. Moreover, Zavádil continues that Světlá masterly fulfilled the expectations of many Czech scholars becoming the Czech George Sand.<sup>197</sup> In the second part of the obituary, Zavádil devotes most of his attention to

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<sup>194</sup> The Slovenian translation of this work by the literary historian and translator Karol Glaser, *Poljub* (*The Kiss*), was published as a serialized publication in the newspaper *Zora* in 1873. As a stand-alone publication it was published as late as 1909. The translation was signed only by the initials F. P.

<sup>195</sup> “Karolina Světlá.” *Slovenka* 20 (1899): 469.

<sup>196</sup> Zavádil, Antonín. “Še nekaj črtic iz življenja Svetle.” *Slovenka* 22 (1899): 516.

<sup>197</sup> In fact, Zavádil writes that during Světlá's and Němcová's visit to a Czech scholar – Dr. Čejk, who asserted to have served as George Sand's guide in Prague, Dr. Čejk begs Němcová to become the

Světlá's literary style, patriotism and her contribution to the female cause. He gives a meaningful metaphor of her place in Czech literature: "Světlá is in the lush orchard of the Czech literature a known female gardener."<sup>198</sup> At the end, she is said to be "the great Czech woman who sacrificed her life to her last sigh for the nation." (Ibid., 538) The obituary of Světlá in *Slovenski narod*, portrays her as "the model of a woman and the model of a human being."<sup>199</sup>

The journalist, Anton Kristan summarizes the obituary from the Czech newspaper *Národní Listy*, which wrote that Světlá was a brilliant woman writer, a woman of "great genius and huge creative talent which had been entirely donated to the Czech nation." (Ibid., 1) Here again she is compared to George Sand and praised for her personality and talent. Moreover, Kristan mediates also the following words from *Národní Listy* which assign to Světlá a male soul: "Yes, genius and character; a rigorous, a mannishly rigorous soul, with the deepest and the most splendid heart of an independent Czech woman." (Ibid., 1)

### 6.3.13 Ada Negri (1870–1945)

Ada Negri<sup>200</sup> was an Italian poet and writer. She was born into a poor artisan family, but she left home to become an elementary-school teacher. During this period she

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Czech George Sand. Unfortunately, Němcová could not fulfil his wishes due to her early death. In her place, Světlá was the one who fulfilled his expectations.

<sup>198</sup> Zavadil, Antonín. "Še nekaj črtic iz življenja Svetle." *Slovenka* 23 (1899): 534.

<sup>199</sup> Kristan, Anton. "Karolina Svetla." *Slovenski narod* 208 (1899): 1.

<sup>200</sup> The reception of Ada Negri in the Slovenian lands in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was made by the Slovenian researcher Ana Toroš. Her study illuminates particularly the literary contacts between Ada Negri and the Slovenian poet and translator Alojz Gradnik (1882–1867). The research is mostly based on their correspondence in the 1930s: "The first mention of the Italian poet and author, Ada Negri, appears in the Slovene lands as early as the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. From the 1930s the positive evaluation of her social activism is gradually supplanted by the increasing criticism of her political views. The response during the Italian occupation of Ljubljana in the beginning of the 1940s was different. The majority of her poetry and prose was translated into Slovene by Alojz Gradnik in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. During this period, the Slovene poet and Ada Negri kept epistolary correspondence, of which twelve poetess's letters are preserved in Gradnik's bequest in the National University Library (NUK). The oldest preserved letter is from 1932, but from the content of the letter and other records one can conclude that they met before that. Understanding of their correspondence is more difficult because of Gradnik's lost letters, but it is nevertheless possible to surmise that in the 1930s the Italian poet was interested in the promotion of her literary works in Yugoslavia with the help of Gradnik's translations. As gifts she sent him her successful literary publications. Later, Gradnik's anthology Italian Lyric caught her attention and she wrote about it in the last three preserved letters of 1941. From the content of her letters it is also possible to surmise that Gradnik unsuccessfully tried to convince her to translate and publish his poems in Italy. After

published her first poems in the Milanese newspaper *Illustrazione popolare*. Thanks to her first volume of lyrics, *Fatalità* (Fatality, 1892), with a strong social content,<sup>201</sup> she soon acquired fame, and she was also awarded the title of *professoressa* in a Milanese preparatory high school. (Merry 295) She got married in 1896, but later on, she separated from her husband with whom she had had two daughters, and lived abroad for some time, mainly in Switzerland. She had an affair with a man who died young. She described this relationship and her sorrow after his death in an “unusually frank and daring volume<sup>202</sup> for a woman to publish at that time in a still deeply Catholic and conservative society [...]” (Merry 296) However, in her last years, she turned toward simple spiritual and Catholic values. (Merry 301)

In Slovenian periodicals, Ada Negri was given to Slovenian poets as an example to follow. For instance, the Slovenian writer, Josip Stritar writes that he was so impressed by reading Negri’s *Fatalità* that he advises Slovenian poets: “Ada Negri; blessed be your name! You, poets, if you can learn something, go to learn to this little girl. This is new, ‘modern’, that could not be more, and beautiful, so beautiful!”<sup>203</sup> Similarly, Jesenko Dragotin, a Slovenian poet, suggests that poets should study Negri, among others, since from these poets “a fresh living breath comes, an ardent hearty blood.”<sup>204</sup>

In 1897, the Slovenian female writer and journalist Marica Nadlišek Bartol wrote a lengthy article dedicated to the Italian female poet. In the introduction, Nadlišek Bartol asks herself who Ada Negri is, since many Slovenians, who do not even know her, refer to her as a “spectre”.<sup>205</sup> Then, she presents the Italian author calling her a “poet of genius”.<sup>206</sup> Nadlišek Bartol mentions Negri’s career as a teacher, her

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exchanging their poetic texts from the 1930s, the two poets sensed the similarity of their poetic worlds. Parallels can be drawn particularly in the framework of the erotic theme.” (Toroš 372)

<sup>201</sup> Her early work was mostly infused with the revolutionary social themes: “Her earliest book was not the voice of a woman, but the cry of a class.” (Shepard Phelps 528) Later on, her poetry became more autobiographic and introspective. (Merry 296)

<sup>202</sup> *Il libro di Mara* (Mara’s book, 1919).

<sup>203</sup> Stritar, Josip. “Dunajska pisma.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 5 (1896): 280.

<sup>204</sup> Jesenko, Dragotin. “Ali napredujemo v liriki?” *Slovenski narod* 140 (1897): 1.

<sup>205</sup> The Slovenian world used by Nadlišek Bartol “strašilo” could be also translated as “scarecrow”, but “spectre” or “phantom” fit better in the context.

<sup>206</sup> Nadlišek Bartol, Marica. “Ada Negri.” *Slovenka* 14 (1897): 3

marriage and even her simple way of clothing.<sup>207</sup> At the end, the Slovenian author expresses the wish that this “humanitarian female poet” (Ibid., 4) would be translated into Slovenian language. In 1904, *Slovan* published a three-page long article about Ada Negri’s life and work.<sup>208</sup> Negri is denominated as a representative of the modern Italian poetry, a “social poet of the deepest hearty voices, new current ideas, a wonderfully fine diction, and splendid, masterly verses.”<sup>209</sup> Her life is denoted as “short and without any romanticism.” (Ibid., 327) She is also said to be a “poet of social fights, modern, and strictly democratic.” (Ibid., 327) The love to her mother is also noted.<sup>210</sup> Moreover, the article devotes especial attention to the importance of motherhood in her life and work.

Last but not least, Ada Negri was mentioned in the correspondence between the Slovenian poet Josip Murn – Aleksandrov (1879–1901) and the Slovenian female poet Vida Jeraj (1875–1932). In her first letter to Murn, Jeraj probably wrote that she was reading Negri’s works.<sup>211</sup> In his answer from the 15<sup>th</sup> of September 1899, Murn wished Jeraj a pleasant and entertaining reading and asserted that he had read just a little of Ada Negri. (Murn 158) Despite the short mentioning, it is evident that Slovenian poets read and knew Negri’s work which might have even influenced their literary activity.

Mentions about Ada Negri in Slovenian periodicals present the Italian author as a woman of humble origin that became famous not only in Italy, but all around Europe thanks to her modern and social poetry. Many journalists and authors suggest her as a role model to Slovenian poets. Her humanitarianism and charity are frequently emphasized. Furthermore, the correspondence between Josip Murn and Vida Jeraj proves that Negri’s work was circulating also among Slovenian readers and authors.

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<sup>207</sup> “She is always simply dressed with a golden crosslet on her neck, and humility and kindness blow from all her personality.” (Ibid., 3)

<sup>208</sup> The article is signed only with the initials M. G. However, I suppose that the author who was hiding behind these initials was the Slovenian publicist and translator Minka Govekar who also used to write for this newspaper.

<sup>209</sup> M. G. “Ada Negri.” *Slovan* 11 (1904): 327.

<sup>210</sup> In fact, Negri dedicated her work *Tempeste* to her mother, thanks to the struggles and sacrifices of whom, Negri succeeded in getting her diploma. (Merry 295)

<sup>211</sup> Jeraj’s letter has not been preserved, while Murn’s letter was published in his collected works.

#### 6.3.14 Fredrika Bremer (1801–1865)

Fredrika Bremer was a Swedish writer and a feminist activist.<sup>212</sup> As a young woman she travelled throughout Europe due to health problems. Later on, her travel took place after her family was well provided for and after her novels had been translated into foreign languages, English in particular. (McFadden 154) For this reason, she made numerous connections with women in other countries. For instance, she met the Romanian-born writer and feminist Dora d'Istria, the English poet Elizabeth Barrett Browning, the American novelist Harriet Beecher Stowe, and so forth. Bremer was considered to be a "remarkable networker" in establishing international connections. (Ibid., 158) In the United States she also met slave and Indian women, working women, slaveowners, etc. In doing so, she actually "set out to become an international person, *une citoyenne du monde*." (Ibid., 154) After her return to Sweden, Bremer corresponded with many people she had met, "treating not only of family and friends, but of politics, women's rights, new ideas, books." (Ibid., 156) In 1854, Bremer together with other Swedish women proposed an international federation of women's groups. She called for women of all lands to join her, but the proposal did not become reality. (Ibid., 157) As a writer, Bremer published her first novels anonymously. She introduced the domestic novel into Swedish literature. (Bogataj-Gradišnik, *Sentimentalni* 75) Her later novels deal with the social effects of the assertion of women's rights. She was particularly interested in the position of unmarried women. (McFadden 158) Fredrika Bremer never got married.

Despite her broad international activity and engagement, no mention of Fredrika Bremer was found in the investigated Slovenian periodicals. She was, however, known among Slovenian readers. In the library catalogue of Janez Giontini thirteen of her works were listed. What is more, in 1844, the Slovenian female author Luiza Pesjak<sup>213</sup> wrote in her diary that she had got the works of the Swedish woman writer as a present from her teacher. Pesjak's comment upon these works runs like this: "Bremer's writings are wonderful, the everyday life is depicted so white and [this part was illegible], all the inconveniences which are inevitable in our life are

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<sup>212</sup> For Fredrika Bremer's biography see *Life, Letters, and Posthumous Works of Fredrika Bremer* written by her sister Charlotte Bremer.

<sup>213</sup> At that time, Luiza Pesjak was 16 years old.

mitigated with friendship and love, so that there are almost none left. Love, the blessing feeling!”<sup>214</sup> Luiza Pesjak’s note from her diary is therefore a valuable information which shows how Bremer’s works were perceived by a young Slovenian female reader who would become a writer and a poet later on, and who might even have taken Fredrika Bremer as her example.

## 6.4 Conclusion

Considering all mentioned in the previous notes, different portraits and life stories of European female authors circulated in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century periodical press of Slovenian territory. However, parallels can be drawn between most of the mentions of the fourteen cases studied and presented previously. The most frequent recurring characteristics or motifs that catch the eye are: the style of writing of an author, details from their private lives, their social involvement and charity, and their patriotism. For example, the style of writing of the author was found and discussed throughout all fourteen case studies. In the case of George Sand and Eliza Orzeszkowa it was even alluded to their ambiguous opposition between female and male writing. Concerning the private life of the authors, their (unhappy) marriages were frequently discussed. The loss of a child having strongly influenced the writer’s life and inspiration is also frequently noted. For example, Carmen Sylva, Empress Elisabeth of Austria, Ada Negri, and Karolina Světlá all suffered after the death of their child, which also had strong consequences in their literary work. Carmen Sylva and Empress Elisabeth of Austria were both treated as royalties for their origin, but considered humble and kind by heart. For most of them, their travelling spirit is also delineated. In the case of Karolina Světlá, Maria Konopnicka, and Božena Němcová, their passionate patriotism was highlighted several times. The topic of female emancipation and, particularly, endeavour for female education was brought to the surface when mentioning George Sand, Maria Konopnicka, Božena Němcová, Eliza Orzeszkowa and Gabriela Preissová. Ada Negri, Božena Němcová and Charlotte Brontë were explicitly proposed to be taken as role models for Slovenian male and

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<sup>214</sup> The original passage from Pesjak’s diary written in German reads like this: “Bremers Schriften sind herrlich, wie weiß und [this part was illegible] ist das Alltagsleben geschildert, die Unanagenehmlichkeiten, die sich unausweichbar in unseren Leben bilden, wurden in ihrer Werken durch Freundschaft und Liebe wenn nicht ganz gehoben, so doch gemildert. Liebe beglückendes Gefühl!” (Diary of Luiza Pesjak, 23 March 1844, p. 16, Legacy of Luiza Pesjak, Ms 488, National and University library).

female authors, while the majority of other authors were praised for their literary activity, with the exception of Eugenie Marlitt, whose name was often associated with literature of inferior quality. The authors were also mentioned sometimes in connection to other names of famous European female or male authors. Furthermore, Karolina Světlá was sometimes referred to as the “Czech George Sand”, and Maria Konopnicka as the “Polish Ada Negri” due to their similarities with George Sand and Ada Negri, respectively. However, the most appreciated authors in Slovenian periodicals seem to be those who were known for their sense of social justice and charity, such as Sand, Negri, Konopnicka, Sylva, Světlá, Němcová and Orzeszkowa. Even though Sand excited curiosity and disapproval for her provoking way of life, she won people’s favour for her human kindness. Fredrika Bremer is the only exception among these authors, since no mention about her was found in periodical press. Yet, judging by Luiza Pesjak’s mentioning of Bremer in her diary, it could be seen that the Swedish author was known among Slovenian reading public and probably even taken as a role model.

Coming back to the metaphor of “angel and monster” by Gilbert and Gubar, it can be asserted that, generally speaking, Slovenians indeed preferred female authors whose endeavour for social causes was the foundation of their life and work. Consequently, the portraits of authors which appeared in Slovenian press until the end of the World War I contained both the angelic and the monstrous, i.e. the revolting side of an author, since in the majority of cases those authors had to transgress established rules for attaining a superior social end, thus being a source of inspiration and hope for Slovenian readers in those critical times.

## 7 LITERARY DISTRIBUTION

In his system-theoretical approach, Siegfried Schmidt defends the thesis that in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Europe literary systems started to function as autonomous, self-organizing social systems for the first time and they have stayed the same until today. (Schmidt 26–27) Therefore, the role of the literary distributor radically changed from the 15<sup>th</sup> or 16<sup>th</sup> centuries to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. According to Marijan Dovič, the role of mediators is frequently underestimated, since they “never were simply transmitters.” (Dovič, *Economics* 121) In fact, they were “often crucial in furnishing the final versions of texts, and they notably affected the structure of available reading in a given historical situation, thus significantly shaping the stock of ideas in circulation both in vernacular literary fields (or scholarship) and in international exchange.” (Ibid., 121–122) In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, in the cities, the number of libraries increased, while in the countryside the offer of books was still scarce. (Dovič, *Sistemske* 72) The most successful literary works were printed in several thousand copies.<sup>215</sup> The periodical press also played a crucial role in the development of the literary distributor, as by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century there were 10% of literary periodicals among the new periodicals. (Ibid., 72) Besides, also other periodicals dealt with literature: “Newspapers through summaries, reviews, and essays have become the crucial medium of selection.” (Ibid., 72) What is more, the role of the literary distributor was marked by the censorship, which had especial authorizations and which was active before and after the printing.<sup>216</sup> However, for the development of the role of the literary distributor, the most important feature was “the differentiation of the role of the printer, publisher, bidder, seller of commission, seller of separate books, and even of the newsvendor until the 19<sup>th</sup> century.” (Ibid., 72) Another significant feature was the professionalization of the merchant who became a capitalist tradesman who uses to his profit the new media, such as newspapers and almanacs, and profits by the forming role of criticism for his publicity. (Ibid., 73) Dovič states that in Slovenian territory “tendencies to develop the distinct vernacular ‘literary culture’ grew stronger” (Dovič, *Economics* 124) while the current of cultural

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<sup>215</sup> In 1811 the first trial of the steam-powered printing press occurred, which enabled the mass production of printed works. (Dovič, *Sistemske* 72)

<sup>216</sup> This resulted in the appearance of the auto censorship in the literary system. (Dovič, *Sistemske* 72)



nationalism<sup>217</sup> reached the Habsburg Monarchy in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. He thus presents the founding of Slovenian literature in two phases. In the first phase (1779–1848), the Slovenian books “were mostly published and put into circulation as spontaneous individual projects, thwarted heavily by the very sharp preliminary censorship, scant reading audience, non-existing market for Slovenian books, and poorly regulated copyright.” (Ibid., 124) Wealthy patrons and self-financing by authors were thus of crucial importance for the publication and circulation of Slovenian books. At that time, publishers and booksellers dealt mostly with German and Latin books. (Ibid., 124)

The Revolution of 1848 brought some changes. The small networks of enlightened circles, which played an important role in the first phase, “were supplemented by more organized efforts by patriotic associations.”<sup>218</sup> (Ibid., 125) The amount of Slovenian publications started to grow rapidly thanks to a more liberal censorship. Book production was on the “rise due to publishing associations such as the popular St. Hermagoras Society (Družba Sv. Mohora) and the Slovenian Society (Slovenska matica).” (Ibid., 125) In this second phase, according to Dovič, “the most important factor (besides market logic) that helped shape book circulation was *nationalism* – often related in complicated ways to competing identity policies favoured by ideologies such as Pan-Slavism or Illyrism. Producing, buying, and reading Slovenian books was encouraged as a patriotic act *par excellence* especially as the idea of the immense relevance of literature for Slovenian national identity was becoming commonplace” (Ibid., 125) Consequently, publishing Slovenian books was not completely designed for business reasons, but “it had to pay homage to the notion of a specific ‘cultural mission,’ or at least pretend to do so.” (Ibid., 125) All this also caused the appearance of the professional writer. Besides, the growing body of Slovenian books “was gradually being supplemented with a body of translated books (especially at the turn of the century, when more systematic translation activities were initiated), which was the first step towards the ‘nationalization’ of knowledge.” (Ibid., 125)

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<sup>217</sup> The notion “cultural nationalism” was discussed by Joep Leerssen in his article “Nationalism and the Cultivation of Culture.”

<sup>218</sup> Such as reading rooms. (Dovič, *Economics* 125)

In the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Slovenian territory, the literary works of European female authors were distributed mostly through periodical press, lending libraries and translations. Several works of women writers were also found in private collections and also as adaptations in the repertoire of Slovenian theatres of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### 7.1 Periodical press in Slovenian territory of the long 19<sup>th</sup> century

The research of reception in periodical press was carried out with the help of a typewritten card catalogue of foreign authors in Slovenian periodicals preserved at the Institute of Slovenian Literature and Literary Studies at the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Ljubljana. The catalogue<sup>219</sup> covers foreign authors of literature and some related areas, such as philosophy, philology, history, etc., in Slovenian and foreign-language periodicals from the territory of present-day Slovenia from 1770 to 1970. The records in the catalogue are arranged in alphabetical and chronological order by author for each national literature. Each record includes bibliographic information on the item and is categorized according to the size and importance of the item. The catalogue thus offers a perspective on the presence of an individual author or national literature in Slovenian periodicals from this period and contains more information than can be contained in bibliographies. Therefore, the catalogue allows us to follow also the reception of European female authors in Slovenian territory.<sup>220</sup>

As already stated, the very first mentioning of a foreign female author in the Slovenian territory was found precisely in the periodical press. Namely, the French author Amélie-Julie Candeille was mentioned in 1812 in the magazine *Télégraphe officiel des Provinces Illyriennes* (The Official Telegraph of Illyrian Provinces). This magazine was published from 1810 to 1813 in Ljubljana in French, and occasionally

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<sup>219</sup> See <http://isllv.zrc-sazu.si/en/zbirka/card-catalogue-of-foreign-authors-in-slovenian-periodicals#v>.

<sup>220</sup> Since I had the status of a young researcher for three and a half years I had to limit myself to the collected data preserved at the Institute of Slovenian Literature and Literary Studies. However, the recent investigation about the reception of female authors in the Italian newspaper *L'Unione* (1874–1881, published in Koper), carried out by Mojca Šauperl, proves that the card catalogue does not include all periodicals published in the territory of the present-day Slovenia. In fact, Šauperl has found that *L'Unione* published many articles, such as biographies and obituaries, about female authors and their texts in translation. (See Pavlina Pajk in *žensko avtorstvo v 19. stoletju: zbornik s simpozija ob 160. obletnici pisateljčinega rojstva*, 9. april 2014, Krajevna skupnost Solkan)

in German and Italian language as well. It was the official magazine of the French authorities in the Illyrian Provinces.<sup>221</sup>

However, in spite of the fact that the first mentioning was found in a French journal, until 1848 the majority of periodicals in the Slovenian territory were written in German. Tanja Žigon states that, in the Slovenian territory, German periodicals were published since the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>222</sup> She points out that no extensive and synthetic investigation which would handle this topic more in detail has been done yet, even though this kind of periodicals was very influential from the historical, political and literary point of view. (Žigon, *Nemško* 9) Only a few periodicals in Slovenian language had come to existence before the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The first Slovenian periodical, *Lublanske novice* (Ljubljana's News) was published during the period of Enlightenment, from 1797 to 1800. A blank period followed from 1800 to 1843, except for the almanac *Kranjska čbelica* (The Carniolian Bee, 1830–1834). In this literary almanac Slovenian scholars, such as the poet France Prešeren (1800–1849) and the linguist Matija Čop (1797–1835), disseminated Slovenian literature, particularly their poems. Prešeren was convinced that “the word of the poet as the most far-reaching concentration of language was thus supposed to possess a magical

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<sup>221</sup> The Illyrian Provinces were founded after the defeat of the Austrian army in 1809, when Austria had to cede to France the territories of Western Carinthia, Carniola and the Littoral with Gorizia, Trieste and Austrian Istria and the Croatian lands south of the river Sava. The main purposes of the creation of the Illyrian Provinces were economic and military; therefore the territory “was never nationally, politically, or economically united.” (Svoljšak in Luthar 255–257) The Illyrian Provinces were part of the French Empire, but not all French laws applied to their territory. In fact, their inhabitants were Illyrian citizens and the administrative organization differed from the organization in the French departments. (Ibid., 257) The official language was French, while German and Italian were auxiliary languages. Due to a severe economic crisis, consequent new taxes and military conscription, the majority of the population was not enthused with the French rule, yet the Slovenian cultural workers were, on the contrary, pleased and accepted the order of the governor Marmont who introduced lessons in Slovenian in elementary schools and lyceums. This gave Slovenian *language* “an opportunity to find its place in textbooks” and it finally became a language of instruction. (Ibid., 259) The French rule found supporters especially among Slovenian enlighteners. The Illyrian name of the Provinces gave them “high hopes for national and linguistic development” (Ibid., 260), as they recognized in it the pre-Roman Illyrian origins of Slavs, including the South Slavs and the Illyrian-speaking population of Dalmatia and Bosnia. (Ibid., 260) In 1813, after Napoleon's defeat against Russia, the Illyrian Provinces decayed and Austrian army started returning to the territory of the former Illyrian Provinces. The Vienna Congress (1814–1815) restored them to Austria. In 1816 most of them were reconstituted as the Illyrian Kingdom which was administratively divided into the Trieste and Ljubljana gubernia under the authority of the administration in Vienna. In this way, Ljubljana kept the control over Carinthia until 1848. (Ibid., 262)

<sup>222</sup> For more information about the German periodicals in the Slovenian territory see Žigon, *Nemško časopisje na Slovenskem* (German periodicals in the Slovenian territory).

power to save and unify, ensuring a new history” (Kmecl 50). By the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, several receptions of European women writers, particularly mentions, were found in *Carinthia*, *Illyrisches Blatt*, *Carniolia* and in *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice* (Agricultural and Handicraft News). In fact, the second mentioning of a European female author was found in 1816 in *Carinthia*. This literary journal – later on historical and naturalistic as well, was the most important newspaper in the northern Slovenian territory. It was published in Klagenfurt in 1811 for the first time. (Žigon, *Nemško* 72) *Illyrisches Blatt* was issued from 1819 to 1849 in Ljubljana. Its contents were didactic, patriotic and amusing. (Ibid., 37) In the same year of its first publication, there were found two mentions of female authors. Despite censorship, which confined Slovenian literary creativity and the periodical press, in 1838 a new gazette appeared in Ljubljana, entitled *Carniolia*, which included local history review, arts, literature, theatre and social life. Even though it was published in German, the contents were about Slovenian history and culture. Folk songs and France Prešeren’s poems were also translated into German. (Svoljšak in Luthar 276) In 1843, the appearance of the Slovenian periodical – *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice*<sup>223</sup> was provoked by the termination of *Carniolia*. This periodical avoided “conveying any political or religious content” (Svoljšak in Luthar 276). Both periodicals published articles about history, geography and literature. The first mention of a female author in *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice* is from 1845.

After 1850 female authors’ names started appearing also in other periodicals: *Zgodnja Danica* (Early Morning Star), *Slovenska bčela* (The Slovene Bee), *Šolski prijatelj* (School Friend), *Blätter aus Krain*, *Slovenski prijatelj* (Slovenian Friend), *Slovenski glasnik* (Slovenian Herald), *Drobtince* (Crumbs), *Učiteljski tovariš* (Teacher’s comrade), *Laibacher Zeitung*, *Zvon* (Bell), *Zora* (Dawn), *Slovenec* (The Slovenian), *Slovenski narod* (Slovenian Nation), *Kres* (St. John’s Fire), *Ljubljanski zvon* (Ljubljana’s Bell), *Slavjan* (Slavian), *Slovan* (Slav), *Slovanski svet* (Slavic World), *Dom in svet* (Home and World), *Rimski katolik* (Roman Catholic), *Soča* (Isonzo, the river), *Slovenka* (Slovenian Woman), *Katoliški obzornik* (Catholic Review), *Slovenski list* (Slovenian Newspaper). And finally, after 1900 also in the following periodicals: *Čas* (Time), *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* (Newspaper

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<sup>223</sup> Usually abbreviated simply to *Novice*.

for History and Ethnography), *Demokracija* (Democracy), *Domoljub* (Patriot), *Mentor* (Mentor), *Naši zapiski* (Our Notes), *Vrtec* (Kindergarten), *Omladina* (The Youth), *Rdeči prapor* (Red Flag), *Rodoljub* (Patriot), *Slovenska žena* (Slovenian Woman), *Slovenski spomini in jubileji* (Slovenian Memories and Jubilees), *Veda* (Science), *Piščalka* (Whistle) and *Slovenska gospodinja* (Slovenian Housewife). The aforementioned *Slavjan* (1873–1875), *Slovan* (1884–1887) and *Slovanski svet* (1888–1899) were particularly significant for the reception of Slavic female authors.

In summary, European female authors were received in all forty-three above mentioned periodicals between 1812 and 1918. After 1850 they were mostly received in Slovenian periodicals with the exception of two German newspapers: *Blätter aus Krain* and *Laibacher Zeitung*. The latter was the most important German periodical in Ljubljana in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It was published from 1778 to 1918 and it brought news from home and abroad. From 1848 on, it also published political articles, literary feuilletons, German poems, as well as translations from Slovenian literature. *Laibacher Zeitung* also had several supplements, for instance, *Illyrisches Blatt* and *Blätter aus Krain*. (Žigon, *Nemško* 21–33) Even though the periodical was issued from 1778, it is not until 1868 that the first mentioning of a female author was found. *Blätter aus Krain* (1857–1865) became a supplement of the periodical *Laibacher Zeitung* when *Illyrisches Blatt* ceased to be published. It was a literary and historical review which dealt in particular with poems and prose works of German and Austrian authors, as well as Slovenian authors who wrote in German; among others also Luiza Pesjak. (Ibid., 39) Both periodicals were particularly important for the reception of German-speaking female authors; *Laibacher Zeitung* especially during the seventies and the eighties of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

With regard to Slovenian periodicals, some of them have to be particularly highlighted due to the number of mentions and articles about European female authors and their works which were found in them. Namely, *Zora*, *Slovenec*, *Slovenski narod*, *Ljubljanski zvon*, *Dom in svet*, *Slovenka*<sup>224</sup> and *Slovenska žena*. *Zora* was a literary review, issued from 1872 to 1878. Its subtitle was “A review for entertainment, science and art”. Pavlina Pajk published in it the long obituary of

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<sup>224</sup> See page 34.

George Sand. *Slovenec* was the leading newspaper of the Slovenian Catholic camp. It was issued from 1873 to 1945. Since the Catholic camp strengthened and established a Catholic printing house in the eighties, *Slovenec* became a daily newspaper in 1883. (Štih 316) As to *Slovenski narod*, Štih writes:

The clericalisation of the conservatives and their cautious national policy encouraged liberal Styrian Slovenes to found a newspaper in Maribor in 1868, *Slovenski narod*, which became the paper of the Slovene 'progressives'. The newspaper was initially issued three times a week, becoming a daily on its move to Ljubljana in 1872. It was committed to a powerful and free Austria that would protect Slovenes against the Italian and Prussian threat, but rejected dualism. It was in favour of federalism, enthusiastic about Slavic and South Slav co-operation and proclaimed United Slovenia as the principle Slovene political goal. (Štih 300–301)

According to Granda, the appearance of *Slovenski narod* was a great success for the younger generation of liberals who had a good command of Slovene culture, particularly literature, which "they wanted to bring closer to European aesthetic criteria" (Granda, *Slovenia* 166–167) In the 1880s the liberal *Ljubljanski zvon* and the Catholic *Dom in svet*, which contents were literary, artistic and educational, saw the light of day:

The greater freedom, in national terms, that the Taaffe government brought in for Slovenes (though largely in Carniola) was a boon for Slovene publishing and writing activity. The growing number of literary publications was matched by new newspapers and journals. The literary journals, the liberal *Ljubljanski zvon* from 1881, and the Catholic *Dom in svet* from 1888, maintained a prominent and well-reputed place among the Slovene cultural journals until the Second World War. (Štih 316)

The last journal relevant for the reception was *Slovenska žena* which was issued only from 1912 to 1913 in Ljubljana. It was destined for Slovenian women. Its contents were quite heterogeneous: literary, social, educational, and so forth. In the rest of the Slovenian periodicals mentions or articles about female authors were found to a lesser degree.

With regard to reading public of these periodicals, no research has been done yet, except the investigation about the newspaper *Triglav* carried out by Tanja Žigon. Žigon closely examined the subscribers of *Triglav* which was a German newspaper for Slovenian patriotic interests published between 1865 and 1870, with a break

between 1866 and 1868. Even though the newspaper was originally ment for Carniolian Germans in order to enlighten them with Slovenian patriotic issues, its readers were mostly Slovenian patriots. In fact, the detailed analysis has shown that one third of its subscribers were from Ljubljana, others were from Carniola, and only a small share of its subscribers was from other Slovenian lands. Often, the subscribers of *Triglav* took the Slovenian newspaper *Novice* at the same time. (Žigon, *Nemški* 310) Žigon sums up that it was senseless to publish a newspaper for patriotic interests in German, since “the target public, Carniolian Germans, did not read it, while people in favour of Slovenian aspirations read *Novice* and *Slovenski narod*.” (Ibid., 314) Judging from this case study, supposingly German newspapers were read mostly by German readers, while Slovenian readers chose Slovenian newspapers. Apparently, this was also reflected in the reception of European authors, since German newspapers mostly brought information about German-speaking authors, whereas Slovenian newspapers focused on Slavic authors. Nevertheless, it is difficult to state who exactly were the readers of German and Slovenian newspapers published during the 19<sup>th</sup>-century within the Slovenian territory without having a complete scientific research on this topic.

#### 7.1.1 Literary Works of Female Authors in Periodical Press

In periodical press there were several ways of introducing or presenting a literary work. Most frequently, literary works were mentioned in an article, or within short news or a literary overview was written, which would discuss one or more authors. Often, beside the author’s name, her works were listed and briefly presented.

##### 7.1.1.1 Literary Overviews

First of all, attention should be paid to literary overviews, in which a vast amount of names and works was brought to life in order to make them known among Slovenian readers. Two such overviews were published in 1912 in *Slovenska žena*. Anton Debeljak<sup>225</sup> wrote an important and lengthy article<sup>226</sup> with the title “Pregled glavnih

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<sup>225</sup> Anton Debeljak (1887–1952) finished the studies of Romance languages in Paris.

<sup>226</sup> Debeljak, Anton. “Pregled glavnih zastopnic francoskega slovstva.” *Slovenska žena* (1912): 52–55, 81–85.

zastopnic francoskega slovstva”<sup>227</sup> (The Overview of the Main Female Representatives of French Literature) in which he ponders about the reasons for the lesser productivity of female writers in comparison to male writers: “He stressed that it was not their incompetence, but their social position which was to blame, but that was now changing, and the proof of it were the French women.” (Mihurko Ponž & Badalič 83) In the article, sixty-six female writers and poetesses are mentioned from the Middle Ages up to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Some authors are only mentioned, and others receive more attention.<sup>228</sup> The ones that are worthy of notice in Debeljak’s opinion are especially Marie de France (12<sup>th</sup> century), Christine de Pizan (1364–1430?), Marguerite de Navarre (1492–1549), Madame de Scudéry (1607–1701), Madame de La Fayette (1634–1639), Antoinette Deshoulières (1638–1694), Madame de Staël, George Sand, Louise Ackermann (1813–1890), Marceline Desbordes-Valmore (1786–1859), Juliette Adam (1836–1936), Sidonie-Gabrielle Colette (1873–1954), Rachilde (1860–1953) and Anna de Noailles (1876–1933). The last part of the article is dedicated to contemporary authors and their works. Debeljak is “rather sharp when evaluating individual opuses and sometimes also ironic.” (Ibid., 83) The longest part of the article is dedicated to George Sand. As to Sand, he writes that she outshines all of her Romantic female contemporaries. The periods of her literary creativity are also described by means of examples of her works. In this passage, Debeljak mentions some of Sand’s works which probably inspired Pavlina Pajk to write some of her stories:

The novels from this period (*Indiana*, *Lélia*) are full of lyricism, idealism, and romanticism. In her next period, she becomes socialistic, emotional, reciting, and mystical. The type of this novel (*Le Péché de M. Antoine*, *Consuelo*) is a dream of a future golden era, the fraternity of all nations; the problem is overcome in a somewhat easy and naïve way with the help of – love. She gave the French masterpieces in the idyllic genre. *François le Champi*, *La Mare au diable* and the aforementioned *La petite Fadette* study the idealized images of farmers and landscapes without embellishing. In the last period, she told her audience just like a grandmother to her grandson, the paragon of her heart, nice love histories without brutality (*Marquis de Villemer*).<sup>229</sup>

<sup>227</sup> Debeljak refers to Philibert Audebrand’s *Romanciers et viveurs du XIXe siècle* published in 1904.

<sup>228</sup> In regard to these authors, Debeljak writes shortly about the main events in their lives, the relative ties with famous authors or families, about their important works and the influences on other female as well as male authors.

<sup>229</sup> Debeljak, Anton. “Pregled glavnih zastopnic francoskega slovstva.” *Slovenska žena* (1912): 55.



Presumably, Debeljak's stress on the literary opus of George Sand is not a coincidence, since this writer received the most intense reception in the Slovenian territory. Beside Sand's works, Debeljak lists many other works: Mme de Stäel's *De l'Allemagne* (1813), *Corinne* (1807) and *Delphine* (1802), Mme de Scudéry's *Clélie* (1660) and *Le grand Cyrus* (1649), and Mme de La Fayette's *La princesse de Clèves* (1678), among the most known works.

In the same periodical, the Slovenian female author and translator Ljudmila Prunk (1878–1947) wrote a significant five-page-long article “Italijanske pisateljice in pesnice”<sup>230</sup> (Italian women writers and female poets).<sup>231</sup> In the article, thirty-two Italian authors were mentioned with their works and briefly discussed. The majority of these Italian authors were poets. For instance, Ada Negri is listed with her works *Fatalità* (Fatality, 1892), *Tempeste* (Tempests, 1896), *Maternità* (Motherhood, 1904) and *Dal profondo* (From Profundity, 1910); Neera (1846–1918) with *Canzoniere della nonna* (Song-book of the Grandmother, 1908); Amalia Guglielminetti (1881–1841) with *Le seduzioni* (Seductions, 1908) and *Le vergini folli* (The Deranged Virgins, 1907); Luisa Macina Gervasio (1872–1936) with *Amanti* (Lovers), *Le spose bibliche* (The Biblical Brides, 1895), *Ballate e sogni* (Ballads and Dreams), and so forth. In some cases Prunk does not give the title of the poet's work, but besides telling some information about the poet's personal life she informs about what kind of poetry the poet wrote. Concerning the poet Vittoria Colonna (1490–1547), who was already famous in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Prunk discusses her friendship with Michelangelo;<sup>232</sup> however the stress is laid on her poetic work: her collection of erotic poems, her sonnets, madrigals and particularly her epistle dedicated to her husband, the marquis of Pescara, which is considered to be the best of that century. Other poets to whom the Slovenian author devotes more attention are Annie Vivanti (1866–1942) and Luisa Anzoletti (1863–1925). According to Prunk, Vivanti was one of the best Italian poets, even though she was given an American education. Her *Lirica* (Lyric, 1890) is mentioned as being praised by the Italian poet Giosuè

<sup>230</sup> Prunk, Ljudmila. “Italijanske pisateljice in pesnice.” *Slovenska žena* 4/5 (1912): 122–126.

<sup>231</sup> The author of the article, the Slovenian female author and translator Ljudmila Prunk, noted that in her article she had summarized the contents from an article, which had been lately published in an Italian newspaper. However she did not give the name of the newspaper.

<sup>232</sup> Vittoria Colonna was a passionate friend of the famous artist Michelangelo Buonarroti. They maintained a lively correspondence until Colonna's death.

Carducci.<sup>233</sup> With regard to Luisa Anzoletti, Prunk writes that her muse is “serious, imbued with ideals and deeply absorbed in thought.”<sup>234</sup> In the continuation, she describes Anzoletti’s poetry and prose works, among which she reckons *La fede nel soprannaturale* (Faith in the Supernatural, 1894), *La donna nel progresso cristiano* (Woman in the Christian Progress, 1903), *Per un nuovo patto fra la religione e la scienza* (For a New Pact between Religion and Science, 1899), and *Il divino artista* (The Divine Artist, 1909). In the end of the passage dedicated to Anzoletti, Prunk notes an anecdote about the poet’s poem *Elegia latina* (Latin Elegy), which made a great stir: in fact, due to its exceptionality, many a man had doubts about Anzoletti’s authorship and for this reason she had to pass an examination. Prunk adds that the poet passed it with distinction, much to the surprise of her strict examiner. (Ibid.)

In 1874, the literary magazine *Zora* published a lengthy literary overview entitled “Jugoslavjanske pisateljice”<sup>235</sup> (Yugoslavian Women Writers) in which thirty-six<sup>236</sup> female authors with their works were discussed.<sup>237</sup> The overview starts with the oldest national poet, Gracijoza Lovrinčević, from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In the first part, special stress is laid on Flora (Cvijeta) Zuzerić (1552–1648) due to her exceptional intelligence and beauty.<sup>238</sup> With regard to her work, she was said to have written excellent epigrams, which had disappeared without a trace.<sup>239</sup> In the second part, particular attention is paid to the following authors: Katarina Zrinska (c. 1625–1673), Marija Betera-Dimitrička (1670–1765), and Anica Bošković (1714–1804).<sup>240</sup> Katarina Zrinska was mentioned with her prayer book *Putni tovaruš* (Travel Mate, 1660), which was reprinted several times. Marija Dimitrička’s work was presented as full of religious and biblical motifs due to the ascetic influence. Moreover, some Dimitrička’s texts, dealing with the Virgin Mary, were enumerated. In the overview,

<sup>233</sup> Prunk quotes Carducci’s opinion in Italian about Vivanti’s *Lirica*: “La sua poesia è cio che è, ma poesia è.” (Her poetry is what it is, but poetry is.)

<sup>234</sup> Prunk, Ljudmila. “Italijanske pisateljice in pesnice.” *Slovenska žena* 4/5 (1912): 124.

<sup>235</sup> The article refers to three sources: *Vienac* 8, 1873; S. Llubid: *Ogledalo književne poviesti jugoslavjanske*, 1869; and Šafarik & Jireček: *Geschichte der Südslawischen Literatur*, 1865.

<sup>236</sup> Among them, there are eleven Slovenian female authors. See X. H. “Jugoslavjanske pisateljice.” *Zora* 18 (1874): 313–315.

<sup>237</sup> X. H. “Jugoslavjanske pisateljice.” *Zora* (1874); No. 14, 16, 17, 18, and 19.

<sup>238</sup> In fact, in the article it is noted that many Slavic and Italian poets from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century, such as Dinko Ranjina, Miho Bunić Babulinov, Dominko, Zlatarić, Miho Monaldi, Torquato Tasso and Boccabianca, had praised and worshipped her in their poems.

<sup>239</sup> X. H. “Jugoslavjanske pisateljice.” *Zora* 14 (1874): 226–227.

<sup>240</sup> X. H. “Jugoslavjanske pisateljice.” *Zora* 16 (1874): 269–273.

several poems of Anica Bošković were listed, in which the influence of Jesuits could be seen.<sup>241</sup> Her poems are said to be quite long and full of pious hyperboles; the most interesting thing, according to the reviewer, is the fact that her work contains a lot of beautiful pictures from nature. (Ibid., 293) The poems of Lukrecija Bogašinovič (?–1800) were considered to be of less worth because they encompassed less ideas and mettle than those of her predecessors. (Ibid., 293) Among the contemporary authors, Dragojla Jarnevič (1813–1875), and Ana Vidović (1799–1879) were put forward. Dragojla Jarnevič was depicted as a patriotic writer, even though she started writing poems in German. Her *Domorodne pripovedke* (Patriotic Tales) were mentioned beside other stories, such as *Plemić i seljan* (A Nobleman and a Peasant), *Ružin pupolj* (A Flower's Bud), and *Strašna smrt* (Horrible Death). Ana Vidović's poems were presented as "full of emotions, a true outburst of a poetic heart." (Ibid., 294) Beside poems in Croatian, such as *Alva i Alko* (Alva and Alko, 1844), and *Ljubav i nemilost* (Love and Disgrace, 1844), she also wrote in Italian: *Romolo, ossia la fondazione di Roma* (Romulus, or the Foundation of Rome, 1856). The last part of the overview was dedicated to Slovenian female authors, in which Josipina Turnograjska and Luiza Pesjakova were the most exposed ones.<sup>242</sup>

In 1888, in the newspaper *Slovanski svet*, there was an interesting article about the literary activity of the Ukrainians.<sup>243</sup> The author of the article, Peter Miklavec,<sup>244</sup> mentions the almanac of Ukrainian women writers – *Pershyi Vinok* (First Wreath, 1887), in which there were presented a lot of prolific female authors but he exposes only seven names.<sup>245</sup> With regard to their works, Miklavec highlights only two works of Nataliya Kobrynska (1855–1920), and the novel *Tovaryshky* (Comradesses, 1887) of Olena Pchilka (1849–1930). The latter would occupy the first place among the

<sup>241</sup> X. H. "Jugoslavjanske pisateljice." *Zora* 17 (1874): 293.

<sup>242</sup> In the conclusion, the author of the overview discusses the reasons for the dead silence which ruled in Slovenian literature for so long time in history. He blames the Slovenian subjugation to German culture, literature and language. In fact, according to him, Slovenian houses are full of German books and newspapers, such as *Gartenlaube*, *Über Land und Meer*, *Familienzeitung*, etc., while nobody wants to read or buy Slovenian books or newspapers. Finally, he invites women to start writing in the name of patriotism. See X. H. "Jugoslavjanske pisateljice." *Zora* 19 (1874): 333–334.

<sup>243</sup> Miklavec, Peter. "Književno delovanje Malorusov." *Slovanski svet* 10 (1888): 160.

<sup>244</sup> Peter Miklavec (1859–1918) was a Slovenian translator and journalist.

<sup>245</sup> I could not find any information for the following authors mentioned by Miklavec: Jerina, Raskovicheva, Navrocka, Barvinska. Probably, this is also due to the different Slovenian spelling of their names.

novels. According to Miklavc, the poet Uliana Kravchenko (1861–1947) stays at the head of the female poets, since her sonnets are “true tears of compassion.”<sup>246</sup> Nevertheless, at the end of the overview, the journalist adds that too much space would be required to examine the extensive and rich material of Ukrainian female authors. He praises the female endeavour, since the almanac was made without the participation of men which is “a happy and convincing sign that this nation longs for culture and education.” (Ibid., 160) He also wishes that this prolific production would be possible also among Slovenian women writers.

The Slovenian literary historian Andrej Fekonja (1851–1920) wrote in 1888 an overview of the Croatian poetry in Dalmatia from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>247</sup> In the passage dedicated to female poets who, according to Fekonja, had adorned the national literature with a garland, he listed the following authors:<sup>248</sup> Gracijoza Lovrinčević, Flora Zuzerić, Nikoleta Restić, Julija and Nadalica Bunić, Marija Gundulić, Margita Menčetić,<sup>249</sup> Jelena Ohmučević-Grgurić (1569–1610), Marija Betera-Dimitrička, Anica Bošković, Lukrecija Bogašinović-Budmanička, Marija Faccenda-Righić (?–1795), Kata Sorkočević-Basseglieva, Sara Vučević, and Srečka Fantastić.<sup>250</sup> In Fekonja’s opinion, unfortunately nothing has remained of these authors except their names, since the cruel fate buried their works which have either decayed completely or they are hidden somewhere in oblivion.

The Russian reviewer Akil Volynskiy wrote for *Ljubljanski zvon* two lengthy essays entitled “Ruska poezija” (Russian Poetry) (1901) and “Ruski novelisti” (Russian Novelists) (1902).<sup>251</sup> Volynskiy mostly discussed literary works of male authors. However there were also several female authors mentioned. The work of the Russian author Zinaida Nikolaevna Gippius (1869–1945) was examined in both essays. In “Ruska poezija” Volynskiy wrote that beside novels, critical articles, and the fantastic drama *Sviataia krov* (*Holy Blood, Sveta kri*, 1900), Gippius wrote lyrical

<sup>246</sup> Peter Miklavc. “Književno delovanje Malorusov.” *Slovanski svet* 10 (1888): 160.

<sup>247</sup> Fekonja, Andrej. “Vila Slovinska.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 4 (1888): 224.

<sup>248</sup> The same female authors were listed also in the overview of Yugoslavian authors in *Zora* (1874). Fekonja, however, did not mention any of their works.

<sup>249</sup> Nikoleta Restić, Julija and Nadalica Bunić, Marija Gundulić, and Margita Menčetić probably lived in the 16<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>250</sup> Kata Sorkočević-Basseglieva, Sara Vučević, and Srečka Fantastić lived in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>251</sup> The essays were translated by the Slovenian poet and editor of *Ljubljanski zvon* Anton Aškerc.

poems in which she “coquettishly plays with the rhyme and the free metrics.”<sup>252</sup> Moreover, her decadent feeling gives freshness and purity to the poems: “These verses show talent, and, with the exception of some philosophically depicted things, they are harmonious and beautiful. She is a genuine poet of sentiments, and despite not being powerful and a little bit monotonous, she is, however, delicate, original.” (Ibid., 622) On the contrary, Maria Alexandrovna Lokhvitskaya (1869–1905) was considered a modern Sappho, with an “erotic talent” (Ibid., 624). In “Ruski novelisti” Gippius is considered as the decadent of sentiment: “Her texts from nature are wonderful, as a delicate engraving, since the beautiful nature gives a grateful material to the decadent fantasy.”<sup>253</sup> However, Volynskiy asserted that she “does not have a lot of her own talent.” (Ibid., 158) In the same essay, the Russian reviewer listed several other female authors,<sup>254</sup> such as Lidia Ivanovna Veselitskaya – Mikulich (1857–1937), Marko Vovchok (Mariya Vilinska, 1833–1907), Nadezhda Khvoshchinskaya (1824–1889), Aleksandra Osipovna Smirnova (1810–1882), Olga Shapir (1850–1916), Mariya Vsevolodovna Krestovskaya (1862–1910), Yuliya Bezrodnaya (1826–1869), Anastasia Alekseevna Verbitskaia (1861–1928), Nina Pavlovna Annenkova-Bernár (1859–1933), Nadezhda Aleksandrovna Luhmanova (1840–1907), and Tatiana Shchepkina-Kupernik (1874–1952).<sup>255</sup> With regard to Smirnova, Volynskiy commented that she is a “great talent of sober mind.” (Ibid., 235) He added, however, that in her feuilletons, she almost “speaks with an unwomanly audacity and sincerity.” (Ibid., 235) Olga Shapir’s novels and tales were described as “full of beautiful human motifs.” (Ibid., 235) According to Volynskiy, Krestovskaya is “the most feminine among all women writers,” while Shchepkina-Kupernik’s way of writing is apparently beautiful, since behind the appearance it hides “certain artificiality and coquettishness.” (Ibid., 235) Lidia Ivanovna Veselitskaya was discussed as an author who had become famous very quickly, but who had also disappeared with the same haste. In Volynskiy’s opinion, she silently wished to follow Tolstoy’s steps.<sup>256</sup>

<sup>252</sup> Volynskiy, Akil. “Ruska poezija.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 9 (1901): 622.

<sup>253</sup> Volynskiy, Akil. “Ruski novelisti.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 3 (1902): 158.

<sup>254</sup> Due to the Slovenian spelling of the names listed in the essay, I could not find any information for some of the authors. Nevertheless, I included their names with an asterisk in the table of “European women writers received in Slovenian territory” in the appendix.

<sup>255</sup> Volynskiy, Akil. “Ruski novelisti.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 4 (1902): 235.

<sup>256</sup> Volynskiy, Akil. “Ruski novelisti.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 2 (1902): 90.

The newspaper *Veda* published in 1914 an overview entitled “Češka literatura v novem stoletju”<sup>257</sup> (Czech Literature in the New Century) written by the Czech literary historian and critic Arne Novák (1880–1939). In the overview eleven female authors were mentioned. More stress is put on Karolina Světlá, Gabriela Preissová, Božena Němcová, Teréza Nováková (1853–1912), Růžena Svobodová (1868–1920), and Božena Viková-Kunětická (1862–1934). Novák discusses particularly the style of writing of the authors in connection to the literary movement to which they belonged. He asserts that Teréza Nováková is the only one who should be called “a genuine poetic soul” (Ibid., 141) among other Czech poets. She is also designated as “a serious artist,” (Ibid., 298) who found her grounding very late. Karolina Světlá’s work is denominated as “the great epic art,” (Ibid., 141) while Preissová is said to have dedicated herself to conventional story-telling, since she wrote “tiny, fresh short stories.” (Ibid., 141) Karolina Světlá and Božena Němcová are considered to have embodied “in the Romantic period and in the framework of the rural story the opposition to the naive and sentimental poetry.” (Ibid., 299) Viková-Kunětická’s epic poetry is delineated as objective, “realized by the victory over the suffering of one’s own, and the tendentious problems, which slacken all the bridles of the irrepressible passion.” (Ibid., 299) In the overview, special attention was given to Růžena Svobodová, since according to Novák, her artistic work was divided into two organic halves by the crossroads of the two centuries. Her style of writing is described in many details. Moreover, Novák asserts that thanks to Svobodová, “women conquered the first place for the first time in the development of the Czech novelistic art.” (Ibid., 299) The following works of Svobodová were listed: *Zamotaná vlákna* (Tangled Threads, 1899), *Milenky* (Female Lovers, 1902), *Černí myslivci* (The Black Hunters, 1908), and *Marné lásky* (Vain Love, 1906).

The Slovenian author and critic Ivan Pregelj (1883–1960) wrote in 1915 an article entitled “Zanimivosti iz nemškega slovstva”<sup>258</sup> (Curiosities from German Literature) in which he arranges German female authors by following different curiosities from their lives: foreign origin, unusual way of dying, religious conversion, friendship among authors, use of pseudonyms, and so forth. For instance, Margarete von Bülow (1860–1884) was mentioned due to her drowning in the attempt to save a child. Ida

<sup>257</sup> Novak, Arne. “Češka literatura v novem stoletju.” *Veda* (1914): 140–141, 298–300.

<sup>258</sup> Pregelj, Ivan. “Zanimivosti iz nemškega slovstva.” *Mentor* 3–5 (1915/1916): 72–74.

Hahn-Hahn and Luise Hensel (1798–1876) were discussed because of their conversion into Christianity, while Marie Luise von François (1817–1893) and Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach (1830–1916) were mentioned owing to their friendship. Several women writers were listed for using a pseudonym and thus concealing their sex: Ossip Schubin (1854–1934), Hans von Kahlenberg (1870–1957), Hans Arnold (1850–1927), Emil Marriot (1855–1938), and Leo Hildek (1858/1860–1933). The last anecdote in the article is about a nun and dramatist, Hrotswith von Gandersheim, from the 10<sup>th</sup> century who naively confessed to have blushed several times while describing indecent scenes in her work. Despite so many names of authors, Pregelj did not include any title of their works. Nevertheless, even though there was no work mentioned, it could be presumed that these curiosities about the authors' lives triggered the readers to reach for their works. Thereupon this particular way of presenting the authors was probably a good means of distributing their works.

#### 7.1.1.2 Columns in Periodicals

Several periodicals from the 19<sup>th</sup> century included different columns dedicated to different issues, in particular general culture, art and literature. These columns were very significant for the reception of women writers and their works, since they usually included a short presentation or review of a work. Frequently, they even informed about the literary novelties on the market or the translation of a foreign work to Slovenian language. The columns, particularly relevant for the distribution of texts written by female authors, were the following:

- “Književnost in umetnost”<sup>259</sup> (Literature and Art), and “Album čeških žen” (Album of Czech Women) in *Slovenka*;
- “Književne novosti” (Literary novelties), “Slovenski glasnik” (Slovenian Herald), “Listek” (Feuilleton), and “Gledališče” (Theatre) in *Ljubljanski zvon*;
- “Književnost” or “Slovstvo” (Literature), and “To in ono” (This and That) in *Dom in Svet*;
- “Razne vesti” (Various News) and “Dnevne vesti” (Daily News) in *Slovenski narod*;

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<sup>259</sup> Sometimes the column was entitled just *Književnost* (Literature).

- “Kunst und Literatur” (Art and Literature), and “Feuilleton” (Feuilleton) in *Laibacher Zeitung*.

#### 7.1.1.2.1 Slovenka

##### 7.1.1.2.1.1 “Književnost in umetnost”

In *Slovenka*’s column “Književnost in umetnost” there were several mentions of women writers. For instance, in 1897 there was a report about Turkish women who respect and know very well the famous names of European female authors, such as George Sand, Mme de Staël, Sophie Germain (1776–1831) and Carmen Sylva.<sup>260</sup> With regard to their works, it was stated that Turkish women read and studied them. The author of the report invited Slovenian women to imitate the Turkish women. In the same year, there were news about the publication of the novel *Proti prúdu* (Against the Tide, 1894) written by the Slovak Elena Maróthy-Šoltésová (1855–1939) and translated into Czech by Vilma Sokolová (1859–1941),<sup>261</sup> while Teréza Nováková was named the editor of the *Ženský svět* (Female World) in Prague. (Ibid., 10) There were also notices about the publication in Slovenian translation of Gabriela Preissová’s work *Korutanské povídky* (Carinthian Tales, *Koroške pripovedke*, 1895),<sup>262</sup> and Anna Řeháková’s (1850–1937) *Povídky s cest* (Stories from Travelling, *Povesti s potovanja*, 1890) in Slovanska knjižnica (Slavic Library).<sup>263</sup> Similarly, in 1900, there was an announcement about Mariya Vilinska’s work *Narodni opovidannya* (Folk Stories, 1857) published by Matica Hrvatska (Croatian Literary Society) in Croatian translation.<sup>264</sup> In the same column, in 1899, Ada Negri was paralleled with the Slovenian author Oton Župančič (1878–1949) in the discussion about his poem *Čaša opojnosti* (The Goblet of Inebriation, 1899).<sup>265</sup> The Russian woman writer Zofja Kowalewska (1850–1891) was praised as a professor of mathematics and as a member of the Academy of Science of Berlin and Paris.<sup>266</sup>

<sup>260</sup> “Književnost in umetnost.” *Slovenka* 10 (1897): 11.

<sup>261</sup> Brežičan. “Književnost in umetnost.” *Slovenka* 4 (1897): 10.

<sup>262</sup> “Književnost in umetnost.” *Slovenka* 5 (1897): 10.

<sup>263</sup> “Književnost in umetnost.” *Slovenka* 6 (1897): 9.

<sup>264</sup> “Književnost.” *Slovenka* 6 (1900): 141.

<sup>265</sup> Kristan, Etbin. “Književnost in umetnost.” *Slovenka* 10 (1899): 236.

<sup>266</sup> “Književnost in umetnost.” *Slovenka* 6 (1897): 10.



#### 7.1.1.2.1.2 “Album čeških žen”

In *Slovenka*’s column “Album čeških žen” (Album of Czech Women), there was a series of detailed portraits of Czech authors and their literary activity.<sup>267</sup> The author of the articles was a Czech priest and journalist, Antonin Zavadil (1866–1920), who wanted to mediate the Czech culture to Slovenian readers. Special attention was thus devoted to the following authors: Sofie Podlipská (1833–1897), Božena Němcová, Eliška Krásnohorská, and Františka Stránecká (1839–1888). Furthermore, these articles also included the names of other women writers, such as Karolina Světlá.<sup>268</sup> With regard to Sofie Podlipská’s work, Zavadil discusses her first extensive novel *Osud a nadání* (Destiny and Talent, 1898), and *Příklady z oboru vychovacího* (Examples from the Educational Field, 1874).<sup>269</sup> In fact, according to Zavadil both works display the author’s interest: the novel and the pedagogical texts. Moreover, her pedagogical texts represent the core of her activity, since all Czech experts agree that “no other nation has such exquisite texts for children.” (Ibid., 160) In the article, it is also announced that Podlipská wrote more than hundred literary works, in which “so many wonderful and sublime thoughts are hiding.” (Ibid., 160) Eliška Krásnohorská is presented as the literary daughter of Karolina Světlá. Since her first collection of poems *Z máje žití* (From the Springtime of Life, 1871), “her pen brought to life a complete fortune of pearls from the spring of her divine talent.”<sup>270</sup> Zavadil writes that his intention is not to list her works, but that it should be enough to say that “the Czech nation considers them as its most precious fortune.” (Ibid., 21) He adds that everywhere in her prose work one can notice the classic perfection of the form and the magic beauty of the language. Božena Němcová<sup>271</sup> is praised by Zavadil for her well-known novel *Babička* (*The Grandmother*, 1855), translated into Slovenian as early as 1862 as already mentioned in the portrait of Božena Němcová. In the article, a poem (without a title) of her collection from 1843 is included to display her patriotism. Beside *The Grandmother*, her first poem *Ženám českým* (To Czech Women, 1843) and the novel *Pohorská vesnice* (Alpine Village, 1855) are

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<sup>267</sup> Some of these portraits have been already mentioned in the section 6.3, Portraits of female authors.

<sup>268</sup> Zavadil also dedicated to Karolina Světlá a lengthy obituary which was not included in the “Album čeških žen.” See section 6.3.12.

<sup>269</sup> Zavadil, Antonin. “Album čeških žen. Zofija Podlipská.” *Slovenka* 7 (1898): 158–160.

<sup>270</sup> Zavadil, Antonin. “Album čeških žen.” *Slovenka* 1 (1898): 20.

<sup>271</sup> Zavadil, Antonin. “Album čeških žen. Božena Němcová.” *Slovenka* 11 (1899): 249–254.

listed. The latter was considered by the author her “most accomplished work”. (Ibid., 254) Instead of enumerating other works, Zavadil illuminates her simple but unreachable style of writing:

Her texts have an accomplished form; the characteristic of figures is masterly. The smooth speech is intertwined with educational maxims, proverbs, images, vivacious witticisms; the good-sense jokes sweeten the already charming story. The characters in the stories are really types from the folk; they are depicted with psychological authenticity. Yet, among all, *The Grandmother* is the most beautiful and the most precious heritage [...]. (Ibid., 254)

As to the literary work of Františka Stránecká, Zavadil conveys that she first wrote fables and short stories, and later on she chose to describe folk's life, which she depicted so vividly that she was even paralleled with Němcová. People liked reading her texts due to their simplicity: “In them [the texts] there are no troubling passions, of which the ardent power would shake the reader's soul; her texts have no profuse form, which would daze, but they have a sound, delicious core, which is to the simple people's taste.”<sup>272</sup> Zavadil resumes her work *Z pohoří moravského* (From the Mountains of Moravia, 1886), in which the Czech author exposes the whole picture of Moravian people. He adds that, in her works, Stránecká tended to show the good side of the world: honesty, devotion and happiness, since “who wants to help people, has to work for the restoring of the old honesty and the old Slavic manners.” (Ibid., 16)

#### 7.1.1.2.2 Ljubljanski zvon

##### 7.1.1.2.2.1 “Listek”

In *Ljubljanski zvon*'s column “Listek” (Feuilleton), in 1887, two collections of tales written by Eliška Krásnohorská were mentioned to have been published in Prague: *Mladým srdečkům* (To Young Hearts, 1887) and *Z tajemných říší* (The Mysterious Realms, 1887),<sup>273</sup> while in 1888 there was a notice about the publication in Slovenian translation of one of her folk tales – *Pohádka o vetru* (The Tale of the Wind,

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<sup>272</sup> Zavadil, Antonín. “Album českých žen. Františka Stránecká.” *Slovenka* 1 (1900): 15.

<sup>273</sup> “Češka književnost.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 5 (1887): 319.

*Pripovedka o vetru*, 1877).<sup>274</sup> “Listek” also reported about Krásnohorská’s treatise regarding Czech poetry in the last two decades<sup>275</sup> and the publication in Slovenian translation of two of her tales: *Dědečkův hněv* (Grandfather’s Anger, *Dedov srd*, 1875) and *Sedmikrásy a kopřiva* (Daisy and Nettle, *Marjetica in kopřiva*, 1875).<sup>276</sup> In the same book other Czech tales by Bohumila Klimšová (1851–1917) were included: *Tři růže* (Three Flowers, *Tri rože*, 1889), *Ctiboj králevic* (Prince Ctiboj, *Kraljevič Častiboj*, 1889), *Dědicové* (Heirs, *Dediči*, 1889), and *Mlynář a vítr* (The Miller and the Wind, *Mlinar in veter*, 1889). Since this collection of tales was meant for the youth, the reviewer claimed that some of them were unfit and incomprehensible for them because of the unjustness of the main character and because of the rich imagination of the author. (Ibid., 514) The proof that Germans were interested in Polish literature, was the notice that Eliza Orzeszkowa’s novel *Pierwotni* (The Originals, 1883) was published in the journal *Deutsche Zeitung*, while her novel *Eli Makower* (1875) could be found in German translation – *Der Kampf um die Scholle* (The Battle for the Clod). The novels of Stefania Chłędowska (1850–1884) were published in the Viennese weekly *An der schönen blauen Donau* (By the Beautiful Blue Danube).<sup>277</sup> The name of Marie-Louise de la Ramée – Ouida (1839–1908) appeared in 1890 when the Croatian translation of her novel *In a Winter City* (*Lady Hilda*, 1876) was announced.<sup>278</sup> This novel was thus available also to Slovenian readers. Mariya Vilinska was mentioned in 1891 under the pseudonym Marko Vovchok as one of the authors whose work had been published in Russkaja biblioteka (Russian Library).<sup>279</sup> In 1893, the work *Protivy* (Contrarities, *Protivja*, 1893) by Ľudmila Podjavorinská (1872–1951) was published in Slovenian translation in Slovanska knjižnica (Slavic Library),<sup>280</sup> while Vilma Sokolová’s collection of tales *Pozdravy z lesů a polí* (Greetings from the Forest and the Field, 1890) could be found in Croatian translation *Pozdravi iz dubrave i polja*.<sup>281</sup>

<sup>274</sup> “Pripovedka o vetru.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 1 (1888): 55.

<sup>275</sup> Foerster, Vladimir. “Češka književnost.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 4 (1895): 255.

<sup>276</sup> “Knjižnica za mladino.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 8 (1895): 514.

<sup>277</sup> “Poljska literatura.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 12 (1889): 767.

<sup>278</sup> Stare, Josip. “V hrvaški književnosti.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 3 (1890): 187.

<sup>279</sup> “Russkaja biblioteka.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 12 (1891): 767.

<sup>280</sup> “Slovanska knjižnica.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 12 (1893): 767.

<sup>281</sup> “Književnost hrvaška.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 2 (1893): 126.

In 1894, there was a notice about new books in Slovanska knjižnica (Slavic library).<sup>282</sup> The first story was a tale from the life of Polish people written by Waleria Morzkowska – *Smutna swadźba* (A Sad Marriage, *Žalostna svatba*, 1876), which was valued as of no much worth. Moreover, it was noted that the title had nothing to do with the contents. The second story – *Stryko Martinko* (Uncle Martinek, *Stric Martinek*, 1889) by Gabriela Preissová – had been more appreciated. Slovanska knjižnica also brought Eliza Orzeszkowa's book *Romanowa* (Roman's Wife, *Stara Romanka*, 1888) in Slovenian translation.<sup>283</sup> In the same year, a report about Croatian literature informed that Georgina Kayser-Sobjeska published her dramatic work *Svako djelo dođe na vidjelo* (Each Work Comes to Light, 1894). Beside a short summary of the plot, the reviewer comments that the subject is quite sentimental and that the whole plot shows a lot of routine, without any great character.<sup>284</sup> In 1895, a notice informed that Gabriela Preissová's work *Do Podzimu* (In Autumn, 1898), in which she had integrated several characteristics from the life of Carinthian people, was published in the Czech journal *Zlatá Praha* (Golden Prague). Similarly, the readers could find her work *Štěstí* (Happiness, 1898), again written upon Carinthian life, in the journal *Světlozor*, while the "lovely" work *Snih* (Snow, 1898) could be found in the periodical *Osvěti*.<sup>285</sup> That year, Slovanska knjižnica also published two stories from Bosnian popular life by Milena Mrazović (1863–1927).<sup>286</sup> In 1896, a short report announced the publication of *Planinska Idila* (Alpine Idyll, 1895) by Pavlina Pajk in Knezova knjižnica (Knez's Library). The publicist Fran Govekar commented that Pajk's work: "is a wonderful, but a completely unrealistic collection of hyper-ideal male and female protagonists in the style of women writers, such as Marlitt, Heimburg,<sup>287</sup> Werner<sup>288</sup> and Ouida. A lot of interesting things, even more whimpering idealism, pure chance at the most, a happy ending, a marriage and – the story of Mrs. Pajk is finished."<sup>289</sup> In doing so, Govekar, even without mentioning any of the works, alluded to the genre of these female authors' works. Matica Hrvatska (Croatian Literary Society) published in 1897 the dramas *Kraljević Radovan* (Prince

<sup>282</sup> "Slovanska knjižnica." *Ljubljanski zvon* 3 (1894): 188.

<sup>283</sup> "Slovanska knjižnica." *Ljubljanski zvon* 2 (1894): 123.

<sup>284</sup> "Iz hrvaške književnosti." *Ljubljanski zvon* 9 (1894): 575.

<sup>285</sup> Foerster, Vladimir. "Češka književnost." *Ljubljanski zvon* 5 (1895): 328.

<sup>286</sup> "Slovanske knjižnice." *Ljubljanski zvon* 2 (1895): 120.

<sup>287</sup> Bertha Behrens (1850–1912).

<sup>288</sup> Elisabeth Bürstenbinder (1838–1918).

<sup>289</sup> Govekar, Fran. "Knezova knjižnica." *Ljubljanski zvon* 5 (1896): 316.

Radovan) written by Ida Fürst,<sup>290</sup> and *Ljubav i sjaj* (Love and Splendour) by Hermina Tomić.<sup>291</sup> However, in 1898, it was reported that the play was not successful on the stage.<sup>292</sup> In the same year, “Listek” informed that Gabriela Preissová’s *Korutanske povídky* (Carinthian Tales, *Korotanske povesti*, 1895) and Anna Řeháková’s *Povídky s cest* (Stories from Travelling, *Povesti s potovanja*, 1890) had been published in Slovenian translation in Gabršček’s<sup>293</sup> Slavic library,<sup>294</sup> while in 1899 Gabršček’s Goriška tiskarna (Gorica’s Printing House) published another Slovenian translation of Preissová – *Mládi* (Youth, *Mladost*, 1898) which was dedicated to Ivan Hribar, a Ljubljana’s mayor.<sup>295</sup>

Sometimes “Listek” also brought news from the sphere of the theatre. In 1894, it reported about the performance of Světlá’s work *Hubička* (*The Kiss*, *Poljub*, 1871) in Slovenian theatre.<sup>296</sup> The following reports were also found in “Listek”, even though their subtitle was “Slovensko gledališče” (Slovenian Theatre). In 1891, two reports dealt with the performance in theatre of Charlotte Birch Pfeiffer’s plays. The first one, *Der Goldbauer* (*The Golden Farmer*, *Nasledki skrivnostne prisege*, 1860) was strongly criticized: “Our actors went to great pains and strived hard with this maudlin production of the (now – thanks to God – almost forgotten) sentimental German woman writer, but without success. Furthermore, this kind of old-fashioned plays, in which nowadays nobody is interested and in which one cannot even take warm interest, should be completely omitted.”<sup>297</sup> With regard to the other play, *Die Waise von Lowood* (*The Orphan of Lowood*, *Lowoodska sirota*, 1853), the reviewer wrote: “Even though the play, as all Birch-Pfeiffer’s plays, is exaggerated in many things, it has nevertheless some nice scenes and it offers to the actor several occasions to develop his art.”<sup>298</sup> In 1898, the main actress was praised for her excellent performance in Birch-Pfeiffer’s play *Die Grille*<sup>299</sup> (Cricket, *Cvrček*, 1856).<sup>300</sup> In

<sup>290</sup> Perušek, Rajko. “Matica Hrvatska.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 11 (1897): 708.

<sup>291</sup> Perušek, Rajko. “Matica Hrvatska.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 6 (1897): 385.

<sup>292</sup> Perušek, Rajko. “Matica Hrvatska.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 3 (1898): 189.

<sup>293</sup> Andrej Gabršček (1864–1938) was a Slovenian journalist and editor.

<sup>294</sup> “Listek. Knjižna naznanila.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 7 (1885): 442.

<sup>295</sup> “Goriška tiskarna.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 1 (1899): 59. And: “Slovenska knjižnica.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 2 (1899): 121.

<sup>296</sup> “Slovensko gledališče.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 12 (1894): 761.

<sup>297</sup> “Slovensko gledališče.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 4 (1891): 250.

<sup>298</sup> “Slovensko gledališče.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 12 (1891): 764.

<sup>299</sup> The adaptation of *La petite Fadette* (*The Little Fadette*) by George Sand.

<sup>300</sup> “Slovensko gledališče.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 2 (1898): 127.

1896, there was a review of Anton Funtek's<sup>301</sup> play *Iz osvete* (For Revenge, 1896). When the reviewer Fran Zbašnik (1855–1935) resumes the plot of the play, he states that many years ago he read something very similar in one of Marlitt's novels, but he does not mention the title of the work.<sup>302</sup> Similarly, in the review of *Vaški podobar\** (Village Painter),<sup>303</sup> it is noted that in the play we do not see real life, since everything reminds us "too much of the *lažiumetnost*"<sup>304</sup> of Marlitt and Birch-Pfeiffer."<sup>305</sup> In 1896, it was reported that Adelheid Wette's *Hänsel und Gretel* (*Hansel and Gretel, Janko in Metka*, 1894) was performed in the National theatre in Ljubljana.<sup>306</sup>

#### 7.1.1.2.2.2 "Slovenski glasnik"

In 1885, the column "Slovenski glasnik" (Slovenian Herald) reported about the novelties in Czech literature.<sup>307</sup> In the report, a collection of works entitled *Pomněnky: Výbor básní pro dívky* (Forget-me-nots: Collection of Poems for Girls, 1882) by Czech poets was presented. Among the authors Albina Dvořáková-Mráčková (1850–1893), Marie Čacká (1811–1882), Irma Geisslová (1855–1914), Eliška Krásnohorská, Berta Mühlsteinová (1841–1887), Anna Vlastimila Růžičková (1823–1868), and Božena Studničková (1849–1934) were listed. In the same year, there was also a report about the reprint of Němcová's *The Grandmother* in Slovenian.<sup>308</sup> It was also noted that the novel had been almost for twenty years property of Slovenian people who read it with the same passion as Czech people did. Besides, concerning Croatian literature, it was informed that the book of poems *Pjesme* (Poems) by the author Milka Pogačić had been published. The author was praised for her true feelings and her plastic poetic images.<sup>309</sup> In the same column, in 1881, Eliška Krásnohorská was mentioned as the editor of the journal *Ženské listy*<sup>310</sup> and as the author of the collection *K slovanskému jihu* (To the Slavic South, 1880).

<sup>301</sup> Anton Funtek (1862–1932) was a Slovenian writer, poet and translator.

<sup>302</sup> Zbašnik, Fran. "Slovensko gledališče." *Ljubljanski zvon* 11 (1896): 708.

<sup>303</sup> Written by Ludwig Ganghofer and J. Neuert.

<sup>304</sup> The word *lažiumetnost* could be translated as lying-art or false-art.

<sup>305</sup> Zbašnik, Fran. "Slovensko gledališče." *Ljubljanski zvon* 11 (1899): 705.

<sup>306</sup> Zbašnik, Fran. "Slovensko gledališče." *Ljubljanski zvon* 1 (1896): 61.

<sup>307</sup> Štrekelj, Karel. "Češka književnost." *Ljubljanski zvon* 1 (1885): 62.

<sup>308</sup> "Nove knjige slovenske." *Ljubljanski zvon* 7 (1881): 442.

<sup>309</sup> "Hrvaška književnost." *Ljubljanski zvon* 11 (1885): 702.

<sup>310</sup> "Slovenski glasnik." *Ljubljanski zvon* 3 (1881): 195.

The poems of the latter collection were valued as wonderful and the reviewer said that “nobody would think that these strong, brave words, the profound feeling and sound views of life come from a woman’s heart.”<sup>311</sup> Moreover, it was alluded to the influence of the Serbian folk poetry on Krásnohorská’s work. In 1883, Eliza Orzeszkowa’s work *Sielanka nieróżowa* (Not-pink Idyll, 1886) was mentioned to have been translated into Czech (*Nerůžová selanka*). In 1884 it was reported that Orzeszkowa wrote a new novel – *Hasło* (Password, 1883), and that Hajota – the pseudonym of Helena Janina Pajzderska (1862–1927), published her short stories in which the tale *Wachlarz* (Range, 1883) distinguishes itself.<sup>312</sup> Similarly, in 1889 another Orzeszkowa’s tale was mentioned to have been published – *Nad Niemnem* (On the Niemen, 1888).<sup>313</sup> Two other tales of Orzeszkowa were translated into German – *Silny Samson* (Samson the Hero, *Simson der Held*, 1886) and *Der Sonnenstrahl*\* (Sunbeam), while Mara Čop Marlet (1859 –1910) published her work *Südslavische Frauen, auf Höhen und Tiefen der Balkanländer* (South-Slavic Women, on the Heights and the Depths of the Balkans, 1888) in Budapest. About the latter work, it was commented that “better things had been written, even in German.”<sup>314</sup> Furthermore, the author was reproached with some historical mistakes in her work.

#### 7.1.1.2.2.3 “Književne novosti”

In “Književne novosti” (Literary novelties), in 1901, it was reported that the Croatian author Jagoda Truhelka wrote a sentimental story *S obala Drave. Medju večerom i noći*. (From the Shore of Drava. Between Evening and Night).<sup>315</sup> In 1903, the literary historian and linguist Josip Tominšek (1872–1954) informed about the publication of *Djevojački svet: izabrane pripoviesti čeških spisateljica* (Girl’s World: Selected Stories of Czech Women Writers, 1902) in Croatian translation in Matica Hrvatska (Croatian Literary Society).<sup>316</sup> In the book stories of the following Czech women writers were found: Eliška Krásnohorská, Božena Kunětická, Vlasta Pittnerová (1858–1926), Sofie Podlipská, Gabriela Preissová, and the sisters Bogoslava and Vilma Sokolová (1859–1941). Tominšek added that the stories were smoothly

<sup>311</sup> “Slovenski glasnik. Češko slovstvo” *Ljubljanski zvon* 5 (1881): 323.

<sup>312</sup> “Poljska književnost.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 11 (1884): 704.

<sup>313</sup> “Poljska književnost.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 8 (1889): 510.

<sup>314</sup> “Razne književne novice.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 10 (1889): 640.

<sup>315</sup> “Spomen-cvijeće iz hrvatskih i slovenskih dubrava.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 6 (1901): 430.

<sup>316</sup> Tominšek, Josip: “Djevojački svet.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 7 (1903): 442–444.

readable and thus he recommended them to every Slovenian reader. However, he particularly exposed Preissová's stories *Radi savršene toilette\** (Because of the Perfect Dress) and *Ulovljena zraka\** (Caught Air), since Preissová "influences appeasingly the human heart only by the artistic and general human perspective." (Ibid., 443) The same goes for Kunětická's *Stari stražar\** (The Old Guard) and Vilma Sokolová's *Ljubav\** (Love), while concerning other stories one can see that they were meant for "in usum Delphini," (Ibid., 443) as many would be more adequate for being published in a newspaper. Furthermore, in the long introduction to the book, the Croatian translator Stjepan Radić described the cultural activity of Czech women and he mentioned several other female authors, such as Němcová and Světlá, who had contributed to Czech literature. Eliza Orzeszkowa's collected tales could also be found in Croatian translation – *Izabrane pripoviesti* (Collected Tales, 1900) in Matica Hrvatska.<sup>317</sup> The Slovenian reviewer Rajko Perušek added that the Polish author had already been known among Slovenians due to her translated work *Romanowa* into Slovenian, which "overshadows all other works" (Ibid., 499) of the same author for its literary value. In 1905, there was a review of the recently published collections of stories entitled *Ivka* (1905) by the Croatian writer Adela Milčinović. The reviewer notes that the author writes smoothly in a "gentle feuilleton's style."<sup>318</sup> Another work, *Bez sreće* (Without Luck), of the same author was published in Matica Hrvatska in 1912.<sup>319</sup> In 1909, Karolina Světlá's *Hubička* (The Kiss, *Poljub*, 1875), a story from the Alpine life of Czech people, was published in Slovenian translation.<sup>320</sup>

#### 7.1.1.2.2.4 "Gledališče"

In the column "Gledališče" (Theatre), in 1904, there was a theatre review about Gabriela Preissová's play *Gazdina roba* (The Gaffer's Woman, *Žena sužnja*, 1890) – a story of the life of Moravian Slovaks. The reviewer stated that everything in the play demonstrates that Preissová is an excellent author with the exception of the end which is "incomplete and too little psychologically founded."<sup>321</sup> With regard to the

<sup>317</sup> Perušek, Rajko. "Knjige Matice Hrvatske." *Ljubljanski zvon* 7 (1901): 499.

<sup>318</sup> "Adela Milčinović: Ivka." *Ljubljanski zvon* 8 (1905): 632.

<sup>319</sup> "Publikacije Matice Hrvatske za leto 1912." *Ljubljanski zvon* 1 (1912): 49.

<sup>320</sup> "Poljub." *Ljubljanski zvon* 5 (1909): 317.

<sup>321</sup> Zbašnik, Fran. "Drama." *Ljubljanski zvon* 11 (1904): 700–701.



main heroine Eva, it was written that she is a special character that “only a woman could have sketched.” (Ibid., 701) In 1910, the column reported about the comedy written by Gabriela Zapolska (1857–1921) and translated into Slovenian – *Moralność pani Dulskiej* (The Morals of Lady Dulska, *Morala gospe Dulske*, 1906). The reviewer wrote that some characters of the play were depicted in one-sided way, even caricaturised, including the main heroine Lady Dulska. In fact, she is the “representative and advocate of those convenient morals, which consider everything as permitted, provided that it does not come to be known and that there are no scandals or rumours.”<sup>322</sup> A short summary of the play was also provided, followed by the review of the performance and the cast. In 1909, the play *Der arme Kinder Weihnacht oder die Schutzgeister* (The Poor Kids or the Guardian Spirits of Christmas, *V božični noči*, 1899), a fairy tale with singing, by Elise Bethge-Truhn (1838–1889) was announced to be performed in Slovenian National Theatre Drama Ljubljana.<sup>323</sup> In January 1910, it was written that the play had been performed in the afternoon of the holy day. It was also annotated that it was a play “which required adequate sceneries”<sup>324</sup> because it included singing, dancing and music.

#### 7.1.1.2.3 Dom in svet

##### 7.1.1.2.3.1 “To in ono”

The column “To in ono” (This and That), in 1901, reported about the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Austrian writer Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach (1830–1916). With regard to her work, it was written that her dramatic work was not successful, while in her stories, she depicted the advantages and disadvantages of living in Vienna, and also the life of the Moravian countryside. Besides, her way of describing is compared to Ivan Turgenev’s.<sup>325</sup> In 1902, a short notice was written on the occasion of the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Maria Konopnicka’s literary career and its celebration in Krakow.<sup>326</sup> This very year, also a lengthy article about the same Polish author was published presenting her life and work. In it, numerous greater poems were listed in Polish, such as *Klaudya*, *Mojzesz*, *Imogena*, *Jan Hauss*, *Nocach letnich* (Summer Nights),

<sup>322</sup> Wester, Josip. “Drama.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 3 (1910): 186–187.

<sup>323</sup> “Slovensko gledališče.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 10 (1909): 639.

<sup>324</sup> “Slovensko gledališče.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 2 (1910): 123.

<sup>325</sup> “Nemško slovstvo.” *Dom in svet* 9 (1901): 579.

<sup>326</sup> “25-letnica Marije Konopnicke.” *Dom in svet* 11 (1902): 702.

*Fragmentach* (Fragments), etc. Her collection of poems *Italia* (Italy, 1901) was depicted as the one which had awoken the most curiosity, while her epic poem *Mister Balcer in Brazil* was very positively presented.<sup>327</sup> In 1902, there was also a report about Ouida's *Critical studies*, in which she described the situation in Italy focusing also on the Italian poet Gabrielle d'Annunzio. It must be considered that the author of the article considered Ouida to be a male author. In fact, the title of the article is "An Englishman about Gabrielle d'Annunzio."<sup>328</sup> In the same year, the column informed about the life and work of the Italian writer Matilde Serao (1856–1927). Among the reviewed works, there were *Nel paese di Gesù* (In Jesus' Land, 1893), *Suor Giovanna della croce* (Sister Joan of the Cross, 1901), and particularly *La ballerina* (The Ballet Dancer, 1899). In 1903, numerous Eliza Orzeszkowa's important works in Polish, such as *Dziurdziowie* (The Dziurdzióws, 1885), *Cham* (The Boor, 1888), *Eli Makower* (1875), *Rodzina Brochwiczów* (Family Brochwiczów, 1876), *Widma* (Spectrum, 1881), *Nad Niemnem* (On the Niemen, 1888), *Bene nati* (1891), etc. were listed in a short article about the author.<sup>329</sup> In 1904, the jubilee publication, "in a wonderful and tasteful shape," of Božena Němcová's *Grandmother* was announced.<sup>330</sup> In 1905, the column brought news from Romanian literature. Beside male writers, Constanța Hodoș (1861–1934) was mentioned with her national drama *Aur!* (Gold!, *Zlato*, 1903), which had been performed in theatres successfully. The story of the drama was taken from one of her novels which depict Romanian national types. Hodoș' language is said to be clear and rich, while her style of writing is marked with "a fine psychological analysis and an extraordinary and natural characterization of figures."<sup>331</sup> In the same year, Irma Geisslová life and work were briefly presented, in particular her stories from the world of the railway, which had been mostly published in the periodical press. Several stand-alone publications were also listed in Czech original: the poetic collections *Immortelly* (Immortels, 1879) and *Divoké koření* (Wild Spices, 1881); the dramatic work *Valdštýn v Jičíně* (Valdštýn in Jičín, 1889); and other books, such as *Lid na železnici* (The people on the railways, 1885), *Inženýr Racek* (Engineer Racek, 1887), *Mračny a Hrabín* (Mračny and Hrabín), etc. In 1905, there were also some

<sup>327</sup> "Marija z Wasilowskich Konopnicka." *Dom in svet* 12 (1902): 765–766.

<sup>328</sup> "Anglež o Gabrielu d' Annunzio." *Dom in svet* 8 (1902): 511.

<sup>329</sup> "Eliza Orzeszkowa." *Dom in svet* 3 (1903): 190.

<sup>330</sup> "Jubilejno izdanje Babice." *Dom in svet* 9 (1912): 509.

<sup>331</sup> "Iz romunske književnosti." *Dom in svet* 8 (1905): 511.

news from the theatre. For example, the performance of Gabriela Preissová's play *Gazdina roba* was critically reviewed: "The author has not persuaded us that Eva should act as she did; but if the heroine has chosen this way, as Preissová depicts it, then the only logical consequence of the step, which arises only from love without considering religion, is suicide. In our opinion, the plays of adultery should be rejected. We should leave this kind of plays to French people, who already have too much practice in it."<sup>332</sup> In 1906, the column wrote about the publication of *Razkazi* (Tales, 1906) a book of tales by the Bulgarian author Anna Todorova Velkova (1871–1949). The author was presented as the first Bulgarian woman writer who had an honourable place in the Bulgarian literature.<sup>333</sup> In the same year, on the occasion of the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Czech writer Věnceslava Lužická (1835–1920), a short notice reported that the author had written several educational texts for young people, numerous short stories and novels in which the woman's role at home and in public was presented and articles concerning the female cause.<sup>334</sup> The following works were listed: *Povídky z malého města* (Tales from a Small Town, 1883), *Chlumy* (1886), *Salomena* (1887), and *Na zříceninách* (On the Ruins, 1878). In that year also Eliza Orzeszkowa celebrated her 40<sup>th</sup> literary anniversary. On this occasion, a short notice was published in which it was told that the author had written more than 60 works: *Nad Niemnem* (On the Niemen, 1888) and *Cham* (The Boor, 1888) were considered as her best works.<sup>335</sup> In 1908, on the occasion of the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Eliška Krásnohorská there was a lengthy notice concerning her literary activity. Many of her works in Czech were listed, such as poetic collections, idylls and dramatic works. She was also mentioned as the author of didactic texts and as a translator of several works, such as Byron's *Child Harold* and Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz*.<sup>336</sup> In 1913, Matilde Serao, Gabriela Preissová, and Eliza Orzeszkowa<sup>337</sup> were mentioned among foreign authors whose works were suggested to be translated into Slovenian.<sup>338</sup>

<sup>332</sup> Rosiva, Adolf. "Slovenska drama." *Dom in svet* 1 (1905): 58.

<sup>333</sup> "Drobne književne vesti." *Dom in svet* 5 (1906): 320.

<sup>334</sup> "Najstarejša češka pisateljica, gospa Venceslava Lužicka ." *Dom in svet* 3 (1906): 190.

<sup>335</sup> "Eliza Orzeszkowa." *Dom in svet* 10 (1906): 636–637.

<sup>336</sup> "Šestdesetletnica Eliške Krasnohorske." *Dom in svet* 1 (1908): 47.

<sup>337</sup> With regard to Orzeszkowa, the following works were proposed: *Bene nati*, *Australczyk* and *Iskry*.

<sup>338</sup> Gradovin, R. "Nekaj misli in predlogov o našem prevajalnem slovstvu." *Dom in svet* 8 (1913): 116, 118.

Obituaries could be regularly found in this column. In 1901, it was reported about the death of the Polish writer Ludwika Godlewska (1863–1901) who wrote under the pseudonym of Exterus. Several of her works were listed with the Polish title, for instance, *Po zdrowie* (For Health, 1895), *Dobrane pary* (Matched Pairs, 1900), *Kato* (1897), *Feministka* (Female Feminist, 1897), *W karnawale* (At Carnival, 1897), *Adam* (1912), etc. With regard to her style of writing, the reviewer noted that he would never suspect that *Po zdrowie* had been written by a female hand. Nevertheless, he added: “The story, however, does not have the necessary qualities which would recommend it for being translated, in any case, it can be said that it is written solidly, clearly, and interestingly.”<sup>339</sup> In 1905, a short obituary of the Norwegian author Amalie Skram (1846–1905) was published informing that she had not been much liked among the readers: “She was reproached for concealing intentionally the female individuality. However, this reproach was unfair. Her unscrupulous naturalism was not artificial, but it was just the consequence of her hard and rigid life.”<sup>340</sup> In the obituary, several books were mentioned as being her best novels: *Professor Hieronimus* (*Professor Hieronimus*, *Profesor Jeronim*, 1895), *Børnefortællinger* (*Children’s Stories*, *Doraščevanje*, 1890) and *Julehelg* (*Christmas Season*, *Ljubljene bogov*, 1900).<sup>341</sup> With regard to them, it is noted that they are “difficult and at first sight they astonish the reader by their exterior brutality,” but that the depiction of characters is “exquisite, subtle and psychologically grounded.” (Ibid., 383) In the same year, the obituary of Seweryna Duchińska (1816–1905) reported that this Polish author wrote right in the period when the Polish literature was despised by the intelligentsia. Besides, it is written that she was also disdained as a woman writer because “the French Sand at that time brought into disrepute all womanhood engaged in writing.”<sup>342</sup> Nevertheless, it is noted that she became a popular writer for young people and adults. Some of her tales in Polish were listed and special stress was also put on her pedagogical and translation activity. In 1906, there was an obituary of Mirra Lokhvitskaya (1869–1905) in which her literary work was discussed. Concerning her dramatic works, it was said that she had not been successful. She published five books of poetry: “In the first books, the poems are full

<sup>339</sup> Zavadil, Antonin. “Dva poljska grobova.” *Dom in svet* 11 (1901): 706.

<sup>340</sup> “Amalija Skram.” *Dom in svet* 6 (1905): 383.

<sup>341</sup> In the obituary, the titles of these works in Slovenian – *Profesor Jeronim*, *Doraščevanje* and *Ljubljene bogov* – were directly translated from German translations.

<sup>342</sup> “Seweryna Duchinska.” *Dom in svet* 10 (1905): 636.

of life, passionate eroticism, deep and audacious feelings; in the last books, the poet has left the previous course of her poems and she has oriented towards the occurrences of everyday life.”<sup>343</sup> In 1908, an obituary of Mariya Vilinska was published, in which her life and literary work were presented. Several works were listed, such as *Narodni opovidannya* (Folk Stories, 1857), *Zapiski prichetnika* (The Notes of a Participant, 1870), *V glushi* (In the Backwoods, 1875), and so forth. With regard to her short stories, it was stated that the author depicted the sad situation and misery of the Ukrainian peasant.<sup>344</sup> In 1910, in the obituary of Maria Konopnicka only one work was listed – *Mister Balcer in Brazil*, which was defined as her “most beautiful work” and a “swan song.”<sup>345</sup> The author with her idealism and deep feeling was said to have interfered with the main literary current in Poland at that time – the positivism. (Ibid., 558)

A report entitled “Svetovno slovstvo” (World Literature) was also frequently included in the column “To in ono”. The report thus also brought information concerning (new) published works of female authors, such as *Il nostro padrone* (Our Master, 1913) by Grazia Deledda, *Mes filles* (My Daughters, 1910) by Dora Melegari, *La Bachelière* (*The Female Graduate*, 1910) by Gabrielle Réval (1870–1938), *Under Five Reigns* (1910) by Dorothy Nevill (1826–1913);<sup>346</sup> *Eterne Leggi* (Eternal Laws, 1911) by Clarice Tartuffari (1868–1933), and *Il cuore e il destino* (The Heart and the Destiny, 1911) by Teresa Ubertis (1877–1964).<sup>347</sup>

#### 7.1.1.2.3.2 “Književnost” and “Slovstvo”

The columns “Književnost” and “Slovstvo” (Literature) usually reported about novelties or Slovenian translations in the book market. The majority of these reports dealt with Slavic literature, in particular Czech, Slovak and Polish literature. For instance, in the 1890s, the column informed that three works of Ľudmila Podjavorinská were translated into Slovenian: *Protivy* (Contrarities, *Protivja*,

<sup>343</sup> “Marja Aleksandrova Lohvickaja.” *Dom in svet* 1 (1906): 63.

<sup>344</sup> “Marija Markovičeva (Marko Vovčok).” *Dom in svet* 3 (1908): 142.

<sup>345</sup> “Marija Konopnicka.” *Dom in svet* 12 (1906): 557–558.

<sup>346</sup> Robida, Adolf. “Svetovno slovstvo.” *Dom in svet* 1 (1911): 43.

<sup>347</sup> Robida, Adolf. “Svetovno slovstvo.” *Dom in svet* 4 (1911): 164.

1893),<sup>348</sup> *Za neistými túžbami* (Behind Insecure Aspiration, *Za negotovimi težnjami*, 1892),<sup>349</sup> and *Na brodu*<sup>350</sup> (On the Ferry).<sup>351</sup> In 1889, the publication of Božena Němcová's *Národní báchorky a pověsti* (National Stories and Legends, 1845) was noted.<sup>352</sup> In 1890, with regard to Czech literature, the translation of *Child Harold* by Eliška Krásnohorská was listed beside her poems *Bajky velkých* (Great Fables, 1889). About Krásnohorská, it was written that she was a well-known poet and appreciated writer, as she wrote epic and lyric poems, dramatic works and, particularly, novels.<sup>353</sup> Krásnohorská was also mentioned together with Karolina Světlá, Teréza Nováková and Gabriela Preissová as a contributor to the anthology *O bídě lidské* (About Human Misery, 1890). Krásnohorská's *Rukavička* (Mitten, 1890) was described as "interestingly written."<sup>354</sup> In 1891, two dramatic works written by the Croatian author Hermína Tomić were reviewed: *Zabluda matere* (A Mother's Mistake, 1890) and *Kita cvijeća* (Bunch of Flowers, 1890). With regard to the author, the following was mentioned: "The writer represents a sound realism, she does not know sentimentality, her judgement is rigid and just."<sup>355</sup> In 1892, the volume five of *Kalendar pani a divěk českých* (The Almanac of Czech Ladies and Young Ladies) was announced to be published. It was stated that the anthology had excellent contents and that it had been written only by Czech popular women writers: Eliška Krásnohorská, Irma Geisslová, Teréza Nováková, Sofie Podlipská, Růžena Jesenská, Bohuslava Sokolová, and Věnceslava Lužická. The work was considered as a proof that Czech women did "not lag behind in general progress and that they could appreciate moral, artistic and national progress."<sup>356</sup> However, in 1893, the Czech reviewer Josef Tumpach (1826–1916) asserted that among many Czech male and female authors who write short stories and tales he would give the first place to Němcová's *The Grandmother* and *Pohorská vesnice*.<sup>357</sup> In 1894, Preissová's Slovenian translation of *Stryko Martinko* was published in Slovanska knjižnica

<sup>348</sup> Bernik, Valentin. "Slovenska književnost." *Dom in svet* 1 (1894): 29.

<sup>349</sup> "Slovenska književnost." *Dom in svet* 1 (1896): 26.

<sup>350</sup> The story was published in 1898 in *Venec slovanskih povestij: prevodi iz raznih slovanskih jezikov. Knj. 2.* (Garland of Slavic Stories: translations from Different Slavic Languages. Book 2.).

<sup>351</sup> "Slovenska književnost." *Dom in svet* 2 (1900): 61.

<sup>352</sup> Zagorac, Stjepan. "Češko slovstvo." *Dom in svet* 4 (1889): 99.

<sup>353</sup> Zagorac, Stjepan. "Češko slovstvo." *Dom in svet* 3 (1890): 96.

<sup>354</sup> Zagorac, Stjepan. "Češko slovstvo." *Dom in svet* 1 (1891): 46.

<sup>355</sup> Severus. "Hrvaško slovstvo. Zabluda matere. Kita cvieća." *Dom in svet* 5 (1891): 238.

<sup>356</sup> "Češko slovstvo." *Dom in svet* 4 (1892): 187.

<sup>357</sup> Tumpach, Josef. "Češko slovstvo." *Dom in svet* 4 (1893): 191.

(Slavic Library).<sup>358</sup> In the same year, the recently published Orzeszkowa's work *Romanowa* in Slovenian translation was quite negatively reviewed. In fact, the reviewer Valentin Bernik wrote that at the beginning the text "sort of bores"<sup>359</sup> and that in the conclusion one is not informed about the end of the drunkard Mihalko. Bernik continues: "The repeating descriptions of the clothes and here and there a considerable loquacity reveals a woman's habit." (Ibid., 94) Concerning the Slovenian translation, the reviewer said that it was all right despite some short remarks. (Ibid., 94) In 1895, Němcová's short story *V zámku a v podzámčí* (In the Castle and below the Castle, *V gradu in pod gradom*, 1858) in Slovenian translation was published. It was also stated that this short story is very meaningful in social regard since it deals with social classes.<sup>360</sup> In 1898, "Književnost" reported about the translated collection<sup>361</sup> of Czech tales in which texts by Eliška Krásnohorská and Bohumila Klimšová were included.<sup>362</sup> A short report regarding Polish literature informed about the publication of the stories *Trzy nowele* (Three Short Stories, 1898) written by Orzeszkowa in a Polish collection.<sup>363</sup> That year, in the report about Croatian literature, there was also a detailed summary of the dramatic work *Kraljević Radovan* (Prince Radovan, 1897) by Ida Fürst. The tragedy, according to the reviewer, would be more successful on stage than among the readers, since the work was easy to put on stage.<sup>364</sup> *Mládí* (Youth, *Mladost*, 1898) – one of Gabriela Preissová's Carinthian tales dedicated to Ljubljana's mayor Ivan Hribar, was published in Slovenian translation in Slovanska knjižnica (Slavic library) and positively reviewed in 1899.<sup>365</sup> In 1900, *Argonauti* (*The Argonauts*, 1900) – another story of Orzeszkowa was mentioned to have been published in Poland, as well as Ludwika Godlewska's works *Dobrane pary* (Matched Pairs, 1900) and *Kato* (1898). For all three works, a short summary was provided.<sup>366</sup> In the same report, Gabriela Zapolska's *Z pamiętników młodej męzatki* (From the Diary of a Young Married

<sup>358</sup> Bernik, Valentin. "Slovenska književnost." *Dom in svet* 10 (1894): 318.

<sup>359</sup> Bernik, Valentin. "Slovanska knjižnica." *Dom in svet* 3 (1894): 94.

<sup>360</sup> Bernik, Valentin. "Slovenska književnost." *Dom in svet* 14 (1895): 447.

<sup>361</sup> The same collection has already been mentioned above, in *Ljubljanski zvon*'s "Listek".

<sup>362</sup> "Slovenska književnost. Knjižnica za mladino." *Dom in svet* 2 (1898): 62.

<sup>363</sup> "Poljska književnost." *Dom in svet* 5 (1898): 159.

<sup>364</sup> Medved, Anton. "Hrvaška književnost." *Dom in svet* 6 (1898): 190.

<sup>365</sup> "Slovanska knjižnica." *Dom in svet* 5 (1899): 160.

<sup>366</sup> "Poljska književnost." *Dom in svet* 10 (1900): 318.

Woman, 1899) was considered as “really bad” (Ibid., 319).<sup>367</sup> In 1900, it was reported about new publications in Czech literary field. Among male authors, the following female authors were found with their works: Gabriela Preissová’s *Co život vyprávěl* (What life told), Karolina Světlá’s contribution in the anthology *Laciná knihovna národní* (Laciná National Library, 1880),<sup>368</sup> Světlá’s *Sebrané Spisy* (Collected Works, 1899)<sup>369</sup> and her tales in Polish translation *Z naszych walk i bojów: Oczarowana* (From our Struggles and Battles: Enchanted, 1900). In 1901, there was a review of Preissová’s *První obrázky ze Slovákka* (First Pictures of Slovakia, 1900) saying that the Czech author offers many wonderful pictures of life of Slovak people: “All pictures are genuine pearls of novelistic art and they provided for the author an excellent place in Czech literature.”<sup>370</sup> In the same year, the Russian author Mirra Lokhvitskaya was depicted as one of the best Russian poets. She was also denominated as the “author of voluptuousness.”<sup>371</sup> Regarding her work, the notice refers to her three published volumes of poems. That year, it was also reported that the much-praised work *Dewajtis* (Dewajtis, 1889) by Maria Rodziewiczówna (1863–1944) had been reprinted. Besides, it was written that the work had been already translated into Serbian and that Slovenians were waiting for a Slovenian<sup>372</sup> translation.<sup>373</sup> In 1904, it was noted that Orzeszkowa’s collected tales were published in Croatian translation (*Izabrane pripoviesti*) in Matica hrvatska in 1902.<sup>374</sup> In 1906, there was an interesting review of the novel *Zemlya* (*Land, Zemlja*, 1902) written by Olha Kobyljanska (1863–1942). The Slovenian translation was published serially in the monthly *Piščalka* (Whistle).<sup>375</sup> The reviewer was afraid that the readers’ interest in the novel would cease, as the publication would take some time to be completed, for this reason he wanted to write a short summary in order to introduce its contents. With regard to the author’s style of writing he commented that it could be clearly

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<sup>367</sup> Besides, the reviewer writes that it is high time that authors of this kind of stories go into retirement. (Ibid., 319)

<sup>368</sup> “Češka književnost.” *Dom in svet* 4 (1900): 127.

<sup>369</sup> “Češka književnost.” *Dom in svet* 13 (1900): 413.

<sup>370</sup> Štingl, Franc. “Češka književnost.” *Dom in svet* 7 (1901): 447.

<sup>371</sup> “Ruska književnost.” *Dom in svet* 10 (1901): 639.

<sup>372</sup> The book, however, was translated into Slovenian (*Hrast* by Debeljak and Butkovič) as late as 1943.

<sup>373</sup> “Poljska književnost.” *Dom in svet* 5 (1901): 317.

<sup>374</sup> “Hrvaška.” *Dom in svet* 3 (1904): 174.

<sup>375</sup> *Piščalka* (Whistle) was a monthly newspaper for abstainers, drinkers and drunkards. It was published from 1905 to 1906 and it published several literary texts.



seen that she is good at describing the beauty of nature.<sup>376</sup> The review of *Rojenica – Eine Erzählung aus dem Krainer Hochgebirge* (Rojenica – A Story from the Carniolian Mountains, 1906) by Irene von Schellander (1873–1933) was also published that year. The short story was very negatively reviewed. The reviewer insisted on the fact that the story had nothing to do with the life in Slovenian mountains despite the names of the protagonists. He added that Schellander was a recognized and awarded German author, however he concluded that she would certainly not be awarded for her work among Slovenians.<sup>377</sup>

#### 7.1.1.2.4 Slovenski narod

##### 7.1.1.2.4.1 “Razne vesti” and “Dnevne vesti”

The column “Razne vesti” (Various News) in 1891 informed that Eliška Krásnohorská had written a libretto for the opera *Dítě Tábora* (A Camp’s Child, 1878).<sup>378</sup> In 1893, the column published an anecdote about Father Didon<sup>379</sup> in which George Sand was mentioned. In fact, Father Didon, when writing about the literary work of the French writer Émile Zola, would say that Zola “was less immoral than George Sand.”<sup>380</sup> In 1916, an obituary of Carmen Sylva was found in the column. Regarding her literary activity, it was written that she had dedicated herself to writing poetry, dramas, short stories, and novels, partially in collaboration with her lady’s companion and writer Mite Kremnitz (1852–1916).<sup>381</sup> A short obituary of Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach was published in the same year. It was stated that the German author surpassed numerous more popular contemporary authors, such as Marlitt and Heimbürg,<sup>382</sup> thanks to the artistic value of her novels and short stories.<sup>383</sup>

“Dnevne vesti” (Daily News), in 1897, announced the first performance in theatre of Ida Fürst’s historical drama *Kraljević Radovan* (Prince Radovan) in Zagreb. At the

<sup>376</sup> “Zemlja.” *Dom in svet* 7 (1906): 442.

<sup>377</sup> Turšič, Leopold. “Rojenica.” *Dom in svet* 6 (1906): 379.

<sup>378</sup> “Razne vesti.” *Slovenski narod* 42 (1891): 3.

<sup>379</sup> Henri Didon (1840–1900) was a French Dominican writer, educator and preacher.

<sup>380</sup> “Emile Zola in pater Didon.” *Slovenski narod* 181 (1893): 4.

<sup>381</sup> “Kraljica Elizabeta.” *Slovenski narod* 51 (1916): 3.

<sup>382</sup> Pseudonym of Bertha Behrens.

<sup>383</sup> “Razne vesti.” *Slovenski narod* 60 (1916): 3.

same time, it was stated that the book had been already published in Matica Hrvatska.<sup>384</sup> In the following days, it was reported that the play had been a complete success. Moreover, Fürst was praised for her extraordinary talent despite her youth.<sup>385</sup> In 1898 the column reported about Birch-Pfeiffer's plays which had been put on stage in the Slovenian theatres: *Dorf und Stadt* (Town and Village, *Mesto in vas*, 1848), *Die Waise von Lowood* (The Orphan of Lowood, *Lowoodska sirota*, 1853) and *Die Grille* (The Cricket, *Cvrček*, 1856). The reviewer noted that in these works it could not be hidden that the author was a woman due to sentimentality, intrusive pathos, strangeness, improbability, and so forth. With regard to *Die Grille*, the reviewer continued that it had been performed for the first time already in 1856, which meant that the play was out-of-date.<sup>386</sup> In 1898 the column wrote about the most prolific writers of the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The English Victorian era popular novelist Mary Elizabeth Braddon (1835–1915) was proclaimed as one of them since she had written fifty-five books in thirty-seven years.<sup>387</sup> Similarly, Sofie Podlipská was also given as an example of a prolific author with her one hundred and fourteen novels, twenty-six short stories and four dramatic works.<sup>388</sup> In the same year, the column reported about the successful Croatian play *Na Ruševinam* (On the Ruins, 1898) written by Kamila Lucerna (1868–1960), which was put on stage in Zagreb's theatre.<sup>389</sup> In 1899, there was a notice entitled "Reakcionarka" (Female Reactionist) dealing with the Italian writer Anna Zuccari, known as Neera. Neera would stand up against women's rebellion since she was a great adversary of female emancipation. Besides, it was noted that she had written several articles with this topic and that she had published *Battaglie per un'idea* (Battles for and Idea, 1898), a book in which she "slaughters the unnatural emancipation of women."<sup>390</sup> In that year, also an obituary of Karolina Světlá was published which briefly presented her literary work. It was noted that, in total, she had written about one hundred and twenty works, such as novels, short stories, tales, prologues, and aphorisms, of which subjects and characters had been always taken from Czech popular life.<sup>391</sup> Moreover, the column

<sup>384</sup> "Dnevne vesti." *Slovenski narod* 117 (1897): 3.

<sup>385</sup> "Dnevne vesti." *Slovenski narod* 119 (1897): 4.

<sup>386</sup> "Dnevne vesti." *Slovenski narod* 142 (1900): 3.

<sup>387</sup> "Dnevne vesti (Plodoviti pisatelji)." *Slovenski narod* 230 (1898): 3.

<sup>388</sup> "Dnevne vesti (Plodoviti pisateljica)." *Slovenski narod* 61 (1898): 3.

<sup>389</sup> "Dnevne vesti (Hrvatska drama)." *Slovenski narod* 30 (1898): 3.

<sup>390</sup> "Dnevne vesti (Reakcionarka)." *Slovenski narod* 217 (1899): 3.

<sup>391</sup> "Dnevne vesti." *Slovenski narod* 206 (1899): 4.

also informed about the misery of Laura Marholm (1854–1928), in which she found herself due to her conversion into Catholicism. In fact, the Protestant editors would let her down. Nevertheless, she is praised for her literary works, particularly for her three “sensational novels about womanhood”:<sup>392</sup> *Das Buch der Frauen* (The Book of Women, 1894), *Zur Psychologie der Frau* (On the Psychology of Women, 1897), and *Wir Frauen und unsere Dichter* (We Women and Our Poets, 1895). It was appended that all these books had been very wittily written and in a wonderful style. (Ibid., 3) In 1900, on the occasion of the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer’s birth, it was reminded that the author had written numerous dramatic works, such as the aforementioned *Dorf und Stadt*, *Die Grille* and *Die Waise von Lowood* which had been constantly present in the past on the Slovenian repertoire.<sup>393</sup> In 1902, the column informed about a lecture concerning the Italian poet Ada Negri. The poet was depicted as “full of genius, whose forehead is crowned with laurels by Italian people.”<sup>394</sup> With regard to her poems, the social aim was stressed: “her most beautiful poems are a tribute to the despised classes.” (Ibid., 4)

#### 7.1.1.2.5 Laibacher Zeitung

##### 7.1.1.2.5.1 “Kunst und Literatur”

The column “Kunst und Literatur” (Art and Literature) frequently brought information about novelties in German language on the book market. In 1884, it was reported that the magazine *Von Pol zu Pol* (From Pole to Pole) published *Vogelzschwitschern* (Chirping Birds), a short story by Rosa Barach (1840–1913), *Graue Gespenster* (Grey Ghosts) by Margarethe Halm (1835–1898), *Moufflon* (Moufflon) by Ouida, and *Moderne Aesthetik* (Modern Aesthetics) by Franziska von Kapff Essenther (1849–1899).<sup>395</sup> Ada Christen’s *Letzte Liebe* (Last Love) was announced to be published in *Illustrierter Österreichischer Volkskalender* (The Illustrated Austrian Folk Calendar) for the year 1885.<sup>396</sup> In 1885, there was a review of the book *Geschichten für Jung und Alt im Volk* (Stories for Young and Old People, 1885) by

<sup>392</sup> “Dnevne vesti.” *Slovenski narod* 165 (1899): 3.

<sup>393</sup> “Dnevne vesti.” *Slovenski narod* 142 (1900): 4.

<sup>394</sup> “Dnevne vesti (Ada Negri).” *Slovenski narod* 39 (1902): 3.

<sup>395</sup> “Kunst und Literatur.” *Laibacher Zeitung* 183 (1884): 1516.

<sup>396</sup> “Kunst und Literatur.” *Laibacher Zeitung* 269 (1884): 2220.

Johanna Spyri (1827–1901). The reviewer noted that the book shows the truth.<sup>397</sup> In the same year, the column reported about the foundation of the society for women writers and female artists in Vienna. On this occasion, several authors, such as Betty Paoli (1814–1894), Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach, Auguste von Littrow (1819–1890) Ida Barber (1842–1931), Hermine Frankenstein (1848–1938), Leopoldine von Prohazka (1848–1938), and Anna Forstenheim (1847–1889) were mentioned.<sup>398</sup> That year, the column also noted that Claire von Glümer’s work had been published in *Neue Illustrierte Zeitung* (New Illustrated Newspaper, 1885).<sup>399</sup> Numerous female authors were mentioned also in the notice presenting the anthology of German women’s writing – *Deutsche Dichterinnen und Schriftstellerinnen in Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien* (German Female Poets and Writers from Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia) published in 1885. Among them, known and lesser known names of authors were listed: Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach, Bertha von Suttner (1843–1914), Nora Görner (1832–1910), Franziska von Kapff Essenther, just to mention a few.<sup>400</sup> In 1886, it was reported that Carmen Sylva published two novels in collaboration with Mite Kremnitz: *Aus zwei Welten* (From Two Worlds, 1886) and *Astra* (1886),<sup>401</sup> while in 1888, it was noted that Sylva had written a libretto for a ballet – *Die Edelsteine* (The Gems, 1888).<sup>402</sup> In 1886, it was also reported about the performance in theatre of Birch-Pfeiffer’s play *Dorf und Stadt* (Village and Town, 1848);<sup>403</sup> John Eugenie Marlitt’s work *Die zweite Frau* (The Second Wife, 1874) was mentioned in connection to the French novelist Georges Ohnet,<sup>404</sup> and Betty Paoli was mentioned as one of the authors who had contributed to the magazine *Deutsche Dichtung* (German Poetry, 1886).<sup>405</sup> In the 1880s, Hermine Proschko (1854–1923) was mentioned several times with regard to literature for children and young people because of her work *Jugendheimat* (Youth Homeland, 1882).<sup>406</sup> Similarly, Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach’s work, in particular her *Parabeln* (Parables, 1886), was

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<sup>397</sup> “Kunst und Literatur.” *Laibacher Zeitung* 30 (1885).

<sup>398</sup> “Kunst und Literatur.” *Laibacher Zeitung* 61 (1885): 490.

<sup>399</sup> “Kunst und Literatur.” *Laibacher Zeitung* 74 (1885): 598.

<sup>400</sup> “Kunst und Literatur.” *Laibacher Zeitung* 81 (1885): 658.

<sup>401</sup> “Kunst und Literatur.” *Laibacher Zeitung* 175 (1886).

<sup>402</sup> “Kunst und Literatur.” *Laibacher Zeitung* 67 (1888).

<sup>403</sup> “Kunst und Literatur.” *Laibacher Zeitung* 6 (1886): 46.

<sup>404</sup> “Kunst und Literatur.” *Laibacher Zeitung* 268 (1886): 2210.

<sup>405</sup> “Kunst und Literatur.” *Laibacher Zeitung* 256 (1886): 2104.

<sup>406</sup> “Kunst und Literatur.” *Laibacher Zeitung* 102, 115, 292 (1888).

discussed a few times.<sup>407</sup> In 1889, *Apsara* and *Novellen* (Short Stories) by Sophie Barazetti (1858–1929) were shortly reviewed<sup>408</sup> and the writer Marie von Olfers (1826–1924) was mentioned in the presentation of the anthology *Deutsche Dichtung* (German Poetry, 1889).<sup>409</sup>

#### 7.1.1.2.5.2 “Feuilleton”

In the column “Feuilleton” (Feuilleton) some very short mentions about female authors were found. These mentions generally dealt with the authors themselves and not their works. For instance, in 1870, Marie de Gournay (1565–1645) was depicted as “smart and original French woman writer,”<sup>410</sup> Ann Radcliffe (1764–1823) was mentioned as being fascinated by the Gothic novels (Ibid., 2071), and Madame de Staël was considered as “the mistress of conversation.”<sup>411</sup> Articles were dedicated to authors very seldom. For instance, in 1870, there was a lengthy article about the poet Ada Christen (1839–1901) discussing her life and work.<sup>412</sup> Similarly, in 1882, there was an article about Josefine Gallmeyer (1838–1884) as novelist.<sup>413</sup> Sometimes, reviews were also found in this column. For example, a review of Ada Christen’s work *Aus der Asche* (From the Ashes, 1870) was published in 1870<sup>414</sup> and Jenny Neumann’s *Von aner eigenen Rass*’ (People of their own Race, 1889) in 1889.<sup>415</sup>

However, the column was particularly important for publishing short texts and therefore it played a significant distributing role. Consequently, the following texts of female authors were found in “Feuilleton”: Henriette Grunewald’s *Kunst und Herz* (Art and Heart), *Auch ein Heldenherz* (Also an Hero), and *Der Weihnachtsmann und seine Tanne* (Santa Claus and his Fir) in 1882;<sup>416</sup> Rosa Barach’s *Vogelzwitschern* (Chirping Birds) in 1886;<sup>417</sup> Natalie Schohl’s *Katastrophen* (Catastrophy), *Ich habe kein Zeit* (I Have no Time), and *Die Macht der Personlichkeit* (The Power of

<sup>407</sup> “Kunst und Literatur.” *Laibacher Zeitung* 256 (1886): 2104.

<sup>408</sup> “Kunst und Literatur.” *Laibacher Zeitung* 280 (1889).

<sup>409</sup> “Kunst und Literatur.” *Laibacher Zeitung* 19 (1889): 150.

<sup>410</sup> “Feuilleton.” *Laibacher Zeitung* 287 (1870): 2071.

<sup>411</sup> “Feuilleton.” *Laibacher Zeitung* 291 (1870): 2098.

<sup>412</sup> “Feuilleton. Christen Ada.” *Laibacher Zeitung* 115 (1870): 831.

<sup>413</sup> “Feuilleton. Josefine Gallmeyer als Novellistin.” *Laibacher Zeitung* 64 (1882): 539.

<sup>414</sup> “Feuilleton.” *Laibacher Zeitung* 93 (1870): 669.

<sup>415</sup> “Feuilleton.” *Laibacher Zeitung* 117 (1889): 1001.

<sup>416</sup> “Feuilleton.” *Laibacher Zeitung* 116, 227–228, 292 (1870).

<sup>417</sup> “Feuilleton.” *Laibacher Zeitung* 263–265 (1870).

Personality)<sup>418</sup> in 1886 and 1887; Martha von Bosse's *Langeweile* (Boredom)<sup>419</sup> and *Im Trauten Heim* (In the Cosy Home)<sup>420</sup> in 1887; Gabriela Zapolska's *Für ein Sternlein\** (For a Little Star),<sup>421</sup> Adele Crepaz's *Muttertraume* (Mother's Dreams),<sup>422</sup> Stella Hohenfels' *Wie ich zum Märchenlesen kam* (How I Came to Read Fairy Tales),<sup>423</sup> Wanda Bartels' *In der Thür* (At the Door),<sup>424</sup> and Jenny Neumann's *Nur nicht romantisch* (Just not Romantic),<sup>425</sup> *Unsere Ebenbilder* (Our Counterparts),<sup>426</sup> *Hausmütterchen* (Housewives)<sup>427</sup> in 1889. Franziska von Kapff Essenther was the most published among female authors since fourteen<sup>428</sup> of her texts were found in the "Feuilleton" in the 1880s.

### 7.1.2 Conclusion

The 19<sup>th</sup>-century periodical press brought a vast amount of information about European women writers and their works. Since 1812, the date of the oldest mention found of a female author, some hundred names appeared which were more or less discussed. In the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the mentions were scarce and they were found mostly in German periodicals which were published in the Slovenian territory. After the revolution of 1848, there was a considerable rise of various periodicals, among them also those which disseminated news from the world of literature. Moreover, periodicals in Slovenian language started to appear gradually. Consequently, mentions of female authors and their works could be found more and more in different articles, notices, reviews, overviews, reports and obituaries.

Some literary overviews and columns seem to have contributed more than others to the publicity and mediation of female authors and their works, for this reason they

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<sup>418</sup> "Feuilleton." *Laibacher Zeitung* 82, 132 (1887).

<sup>419</sup> "Feuilleton." *Laibacher Zeitung* 41 (1887): 341.

<sup>420</sup> "Feuilleton." *Laibacher Zeitung* 119 (1887): 1005.

<sup>421</sup> "Feuilleton." *Laibacher Zeitung* 55 (1889): 437.

<sup>422</sup> "Feuilleton." *Laibacher Zeitung* 168 (1889).

<sup>423</sup> "Feuilleton." *Laibacher Zeitung* 99 (1889).

<sup>424</sup> "Feuilleton." *Laibacher Zeitung* 201 (1889): 1711.

<sup>425</sup> "Feuilleton." *Laibacher Zeitung* 72 (1885).

<sup>426</sup> "Feuilleton." *Laibacher Zeitung* 236 (1885).

<sup>427</sup> "Feuilleton." *Laibacher Zeitung* 126 (1889).

<sup>428</sup> *Der erste Schnee, Der Frauenfeind, Alice auf dem Maskenball, Ein nobler Herr, Das Hemd des Glücklichen, Am Hochzeitsmorgen, Die Suggestvon, Mina's Liebesfrühling, Der kleine Felix, Ein Kuss, Gibt es Engel?, Die Hangelampe, Der Schwiegevater, Vineda.*

have been highlighted in this chapter. Literary overviews were found exclusively in Slovenian periodicals: the first one dates from as late as 1874. These overviews were focused exclusively on female authors, as if their authors wanted to stress the role of women in literature which had been neglected or even denied in the past.<sup>429</sup> Generally speaking, these overviews offered a short presentation of female literary activity. Usually there were some most representative works listed and reviewed or there were comments upon the style of writing of an author. Sometimes short anecdotes from an author's personal life were also included. The authors in the overviews were assorted by nationality (Italian, French, Russian, Czech, Ukrainian, Croatian, Yugoslavian, German) and since they were published at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century or in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century it is not surprising that the majority dealt with Slavic authors.

Several columns from the periodicals in Slovenian and German language were also relevant and fruitful for the investigation since they disseminated news regarding novelties on the book market (new publications, translations), book reviews and also theatre reviews. Moreover, *Laibacher Zeitung*'s column "Feuilleton" played a very important role in the distribution of the texts for it published several short stories of women writers. Another meaningful fact which must be pointed out is that periodicals in German language were particularly relevant for mediating information about works of German-speaking authors (this occurred above all in the 1870s and 1880s) while Slovenian periodicals brought in most cases news about works of Slavic authors, in particular Czech and Polish (from the 1880s on, with a considerable augmentation in the 1890s). The most discussed or advertised works were thus the works of Gabriela Preissová, Božena Němcová, Eliza Orzeskowa, Eliška Krásnohorská, and Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer.

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<sup>429</sup> For instance, Ljudmila Prunk in her overview about Italian women writers and poets introduces Italy as the mother of many male poets and writers of whom it boasts before the whole world. However, she continues: "Italy does not boast only of poets, but also of numerous female poets. And works of many female poets have attracted attention of the public and reviewers." (Prunk, Ljudmila. "Italijanske pisateljice in pesnice." *Slovenska žena* 4/5 (1912): 122.)

## 7.2 Lending Libraries and Private Collections

European female authors became popular also for the sake of the public and private libraries, which offered numerous works of women writers, particularly novelists. The first public libraries in the Slovenian territory appeared in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Beside them, lending libraries, held by booksellers, played a crucial role for the spreading of the reading culture among Slovenians. Women were also among their members, even though they were not numerous.

The libraries became in full swing as late as the 19<sup>th</sup> century, during the second half of the century in particular. During this period, many societies established their libraries, some of them were meant especially for women. (Dular 117) It must be observed that after the Revolution of 1848, beside libraries, different organisations contributed to Slovenian reading culture. For instance, the founding, in 1851 of Mohorjeva družba (St. Hermagoras Society) – “a society devoted to the publication of books aimed at the widest possible readership,” and the creation of Slovenska Matica (Slovenian Literary Society) in 1864 – “a kind of academic society and publishing house specialising in professional and academic literature.” (Granda, *Slovenia* 159, 165)

During the research, the catalogues of five lending libraries and two private collections have been examined.<sup>430</sup> That is, the catalogue(s) of Janez Giontini's<sup>431</sup> library, Hedwig von Radics'<sup>432</sup> library, Leopold Paternolli's<sup>433</sup> library, the catalogue of the public library of the General Women's Society,<sup>434</sup> and the catalogue of Javna ljudska knjižnica gospodarskega in izobraževalnega društva za dvorski okraj v Ljubljani (Public Library of Economic and Educational Society for Court District in

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<sup>430</sup> In order to check which authors were received in the investigated catalogues and private collections see appendix *European women writers received in Slovenian territory until 1918*.

<sup>431</sup> Janez Giontini (1818–1897) was a bookseller and a publisher who in 1846 established a lending library in Ljubljana. There are seven printed catalogues of his library from 1846, 1851, 1853, 1856, 1860, 1861, and 1865.

<sup>432</sup> The Austrian woman writer, journalist, social activist, critic and editor Hedwig von Radics-Kaltenbrunner (1845–1919) established in 1886 the first private library in Ljubljana. Radics-Kaltenbrunner spent her youth in Vienna and the rest of her life in Ljubljana. For more information see Žigon, *Dunajčanka*. There is one printed catalogue of her library from 1898.

<sup>433</sup> Leopold Paternolli was a bookseller and a publisher. There are three printed catalogues of his library from 1833, 1834, and 1854.

<sup>434</sup> The catalogue was printed in Ljubljana in 1905.



Ljubljana).<sup>435</sup> The two private collections examined belonged to Francesco Grisoni<sup>436</sup> and Janko Kersnik.<sup>437</sup>

As it has been also observed by Franco Moretti with regard to British libraries of the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, most readers did not buy novels, but borrowed them from the libraries, which are therefore an excellent indicator of the cultural market of that period. (Moretti, *Atlas* 144) However, despite many preserved library catalogues, no loan records have survived, which means that there are no proofs left to confirm that the books were actually read: “[...] in other words, we know what books were on the shelves, but not whether they were read or not. Still, this major limitation makes a study of what was on the market even more significant: if we cannot know what people did actually read, finding out what they could (or could not) read is really all we can do.”<sup>438</sup> (Ibid., 144)

From the catalogues of private as well as public libraries which are preserved in the Slovenian territory from the years 1833–1916, it cannot either be determined whether the books listed were in fact read since there is no information on the loans. However, it can be deduced that the lenders expected a response since the books were listed. The same goes for the private collections, since presumably the works from these collections were available to a limited reading public, such as family members and friends of the owner. Nevertheless, the fact that certain authors and their works can be found in two or more library catalogues or private collections should be taken into consideration as well, since it could be regarded as a proof of the popularity of the authors or works in question. For instance, George Sand’s

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<sup>435</sup> Published in Ljubljana in 1916.

<sup>436</sup> The count Francesco Grisoni (?–1841) was a rich bibliophile who bought numerous books during his travelling to Italy and France bringing them to Koper (Capodistria); probably between 1772 and 1841. His private collection includes about 5000 books. In his will, he left his collection to the orphanage of Koper – Pio Istituto Grisoni, where it remained until 1946. Nowadays, his collection is placed at Srečko Vilhar Public Library in Koper, where there is also a card catalogue with the titles and the authors of the books. I found out about Grisoni’s collection thanks to the suggestion of the researcher Mojca Šauperl.

<sup>437</sup> Janko Kersnik (1852–1897) was a Slovenian writer and politician. He had a big library used also by his family.

<sup>438</sup> Moretti studied several catalogues, and then turned to the indicator of “canonicity”. He analyzed how many of the first hundred novels in each sample had been written by authors listed in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (DNB). He found out that, despite some deviations: “the smaller a collection is, the higher the proportion of DNB texts. The smaller a collection is, the more canonical it is.” (Moretti, *Atlas* 145–146)

works were found in four researched catalogues: Giontini's catalogue, the catalogue of the public library of the General Women's Society, the catalogue of the public library in Ljubljana, and in Janko Kersnik's private collection. The same goes for several other authors who will be discussed further on.

#### 7.2.1 Janez Giontini's Catalogues (1846, 1851, 1853, 1856, 1860, 1861, 1865)

The seven printed library catalogues from 1846 to 1865 of Janez Giontini's library from Ljubljana can be considered the most extensive investigated catalogues in this research. The majority of works are German originals or German translations of European works. Besides, in the catalogues, there are also smaller sections for works in a foreign language, particularly English, French and Italian. In these catalogues, one hundred and forty-one European female authors were listed. The German-speaking authors prevail over other authors. They are followed by French and Anglophone authors. Therefore the majority of works of non-German-speaking authors were found in German translations. Some of them were also found in French, English and Italian original or translation. The greater part of the authors in these catalogues were listed with less than five works.

The example of Giontini's catalogues, thanks to which we can follow the growing number of works of a certain author in a time span of almost twenty years, from his first catalogue printed in 1846 to his last catalogue from 1865, can presumably demonstrate the preference of Slovenian readers for a certain author. For instance, only two novels of George Sand were listed in Giontini's first catalogue from 1846, while the number of her works increased to more than thirty until 1865. Sand's works were available in German translation, but some of them also in French original and Italian translation. Similarly, in the catalogue from 1846 there was no work of Amalie Schoppe<sup>439</sup> (1791–1858) and Luise Mühlbach<sup>440</sup> (1814–1873), while the number of their works increased to twenty-six and twenty-eight, respectively, until the 1860s. Beside Sand, Schoppe and Mühlbach, Emilie Flygare-Carlén<sup>441</sup> (1807–

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<sup>439</sup> The prolific German author Amalie Schoppe was particularly notable as the author of books for children and young people.

<sup>440</sup> Luise Mühlbach was the pseudonym of the German writer Clara Mundt. She is best known for her historical fiction.

<sup>441</sup> Emilie Flygare-Carlén was a well-known Swedish novelist.

1892) with more than twenty novels was also very well represented in Giontini's catalogues. Other female authors who were listed with more than ten and less than twenty works were Caroline Pichler<sup>442</sup> (1769–1843), Ida Hahn-Hahn, and Fredrika Bremer<sup>443</sup> (1801–1865). This indicates that beside German-speaking writers, the two Swedish authors, Flygare-Carlén and Bremer, were also very appreciated among Slovenian readers. Last but not least, the following women writers were listed with more than five works: Marie le Prince de Beaumont (1711–1780), Madame de Genlis (1746–1830), Sophie Cottin, Comtesse Dash (1804–1872), Elisabeth Charlotte Pauline Guizot (1773–1827), and Johanna Schopenhauer (1766–1838). It must be observed that in the last group, all the authors were French, with the exception of Schopenhauer who was German. Consequently, several works of these French authors were available in French original, or even in Italian translation. Another important peculiarity of these catalogues is the fact that among all one hundred and forty-one authors only one was of Slavic origin, namely the Czech Magdalena Dobromila Rettigová (1785–1845) with only one work with a meaningful title in German translation: *Ein belehrendes Unterhaltungs-Buch für Mädchen, welche gute Frauen werden wollen* (An Instructive Entertaining Book for Girls who Want to be Good Wives, 1840).

### 7.2.2 Hedwig von Radics' Catalogue (1898)

The library of Hedwig von Radics in Ljubljana was “the precursor of the library of the General Women's Society.” (Žigon, *Dunajčanka* 161) Its catalogue demands special attention, since Hedwig von Radics was a woman writer which would lead to the supposition that her library comprised numerous female authors. In fact, one hundred and ninety-three female authors were listed in her catalogue. The works were listed in German original or German translation. A very small number of works were in French. The greater part of these female authors was German-speaking. They were followed by several Anglophone authors and some French authors. Some Swedish and Italian writers were also listed. Only two Slavic authors were found, namely the Polish writer Eliza Orzeszkowa and the Bosnian writer and journalist

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<sup>442</sup> Caroline Pichler was an Austrian novelist who also owned a literary salon.

<sup>443</sup> Fredrika Bremer was a Swedish writer and a feminist activist.

Milena Mrazović with one work each.<sup>444</sup> With regard to the number of works of an author, Natalie von Eschstruth<sup>445</sup> (1860–1939) with twenty-two works was the most received. Hedwig von Radics knew personally Natalie von Eschstruth and there are even some reviews of Eschstruth's works preserved which had been written by Radics. (Ibid., 163) Beside Eschstruth, several authors, such as Paul Maria Lacroma<sup>446</sup> (1851–1929), Laddey Emma (1841–1892), Hermine Proschko, Lina Morgenstern (1830–1909) who were listed in the catalogue were Radics' friends or acquaintances (Ibid., 162–163), therefore it is no wonder that she included their works in her library. As Tanja Žigon observes, this kind of friendship led to "intellectual connecting and well organized social networking of women writers who collaborated in creative and personal field" (Ibid., 163): the authors were informing each other about literary novelties; they were sending each other copies of books and published reviews; in their letters, they were analyzing the novels that they had read and they were also writing about personal matters. (Ibid., 163) However, these connections also explain the reason why Radics' catalogue includes so many women writers that appeared exclusively in her catalogue and were not listed in any other of the investigated catalogues.

Other authors that appear in the catalogue with at least ten works are E. Werner<sup>447</sup> (1838–1918), Bertha von Suttner and Eugenie Marlitt, and those with more than five works are Ida Boy-Ed (1852–1928), Emilie Flygare-Carlén, Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach, Franziska von Kapff Essenther, Ida Klein (1828–1899), Paul Maria Lacroma, Marie Sophie Schwartz (1819–1894), and Doris Spättgen (1847–1925). With the exception of the Swedish Flygare-Carlén and Marie Sophie Schwartz, all most received authors in Radics's catalogue were German-speaking.

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<sup>444</sup> It must be observed that even though no Slovenian female author was listed in her catalogue, she mentioned several Slovenian authors, France Prešeren and Luiza Pesjak among others, in the colossal work of German-Austrian literary history *Deutsch-österreichische Literaturgeschichte* (1898, 1914, 1935, 1937), in which she also stressed that those authors had written in both German and Slovenian language and that Slovenian was equal to German. (Žigon, *Dunajčanka* 165)

<sup>445</sup> Natalie von Eschstruth was the pen name of the German novelist Nataly von Knobelsdorff-Brenkenhoff.

<sup>446</sup> Pseudonym of the writer Marie Edle von Egger-Schmitzhausen.

<sup>447</sup> Pseudonym of the writer Elisabeth Bürstenbinder.

### 7.2.3 Leopold Paternolli's Catalogues (1833, 1834, 1854)

The three catalogues of this public library are not as extensive as the previous two. There were thirty-five European female authors listed: fifteen of them were Francophone, seven of them were Anglophone, and the rest was German-speaking. No author of Slavic origin was found. The majority of works were in German original or translation. However, several works were also in French original or translation and in Italian translation. Only one work was in English, namely the *Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* (1764) by the English writer Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762). The same work, as well as the major part of the works listed in Paternolli's catalogues could be also found in Giontini's catalogues, which must not be a coincidence, since Janez Giontini worked for some time in Paternolli's library.<sup>448</sup> The woman writer listed with the largest number of books (twelve) is Caroline Pichler. She is followed by Madame de Genlis with six works, Madame de Beaumont with five works and Sophie Cottin with three works. The rest of the authors are listed with one or two works.

### 7.2.4 The Catalogue of the Public Library of the General Women's Society (1905)

The catalogue of the General Women's Society is the first of the investigated catalogues from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Slovenian language. This catalogue also incorporates Slovenian translations of works of foreign authors. Seven of the forty-eight women writers found in the catalogue were listed with a Slovenian translation of their work: Waleria Morzkowska (1832–1903), Božena Němcová, Eliza Orzeszkowa, Ľudmila Podjavorinská, Gabriela Preissová, Anna Řeháková and Karolina Světlá. Preissová was listed with three works, Podjavorinská and Němcová with two works and the four other writers were listed with one work in Slovenian translation. Other works of female authors were listed in German language with the exception of one work in Croatian.<sup>449</sup> Women writers of German origin prevail among the authors, however there are also female authors of English, French, Italian, Swedish, Norwegian, Russian and Romanian origin: George Egerton (1859–1945),

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<sup>448</sup> See Šlebinger, "Janez Giontini".

<sup>449</sup> The author listed was Nina Silko with the book *Život* (Life). However, there is no other information available about this author.

George Sand, Neera, Ada Negri, Matilde Serao, Grazia Deledda, Selma Lagerlöf (1858–1940), Ellen Key (1849–1926), Anne Charlotte Leffler (1849–1892), Amalie Skram, Sonia Kowalewska, and Carmen Sylva. Most of them were listed with one work. Luise Mühlbach was listed with four works. Beside Podjavorinská and Preissová, Ada Negri, Amalie Skram, Bertha von Suttner, Jeanne Marni (1854–1910), and Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach were found with three works.

#### 7.2.5 The Catalogue of the Public Library of Economic and Educational Society for Court District in Ljubljana (1916)

The Catalogue of the Public Library of Economic and Educational Society for Court District in Ljubljana is the second investigated catalogue from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century published in Slovenian language. This catalogue also includes works in Slovenian translation. Fifteen of the one hundred twenty-three European female authors found in this catalogue were listed with their works in Slovenian translation: Selma Lagerlöf, Božena Němcová, Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer, Marie Knauff (1842–1895), Frances Hodgson Burnett (1849–1924), Sophie Cottin, Maria Konopnicka, Karolina Světlá, Anna Řeháková, and Mariya Krestovskaya were listed with one translated book; Eliza Orzeszkowa with two works; Božena Viková-Kunětická (1862–1934) and Ľudmila Podjavorinská with three works; Mariya Vilinska (ps. Vovchok) with four works; and Gabriela Preissová with five works. The Croatian author Milena Sajvert Pokupska was found with one work in Croatian original. All the other works were listed in German original or translation. Similarly as in the case of the catalogue of the General Women's Society, German and Austrian authors were listed in a substantial majority. However, authors from different parts of Europe were also included. For instance, the Romanian Bucura Dumbravă (1868–1926), the Spanish Emilia Pardo Bazán (1851–1921), the Swedish Emilie Flygare-Carlén and Ellen Key, the Norwegian Amalie Skram, the French George Sand, the English Charlotte Brontë and Mary Elisabeth Braddon, the Italian Matilde Serao, and so forth. Regarding the number of books per author, the German novelist Natalie von Eschstruth goes first with forty-four works. She is followed by Eufemia von Adlersfeld-Ballestrem (1854–1941) with forty-two works, Marie Bernhard (1852–?) with twenty works, E. Werner (1838–1918) with eighteen works, Emil Marriot

(1855–1938) with thirteen works, Eugenie Marlitt with ten and George Sand with seven works.

#### 7.2.6 Francesco Grisoni's and Janko Kersnik's Private Collections

In comparison to the investigated catalogues both private collections included a smaller number of female authors. Kersnik's collection incorporated works of sixteen women writers of very different origin for such a small number: German, Austrian, English, French, Swedish, Spanish and Hungarian. The Swedish Emilie Flygare-Carlén with four works is followed by George Sand with three works. All works were listed in German. It has to be noted that Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847) was found in two different editions in German: *Johanna Eyre, die Waise von Lowood* (Prochaska's edition) and *Jane Eyre oder die Waise aus Lowood* (Hartleben's edition). The Spanish Fernán Caballero also found a place in this catalogue with her *Spanische Novellen\** (Spanish novels). Grisoni's collection is a significant example, since it is the only investigated collection which was not found in Ljubljana, but in Koper, thus on the margin of the Slovenian lands. Grisoni's family, which had emigrated to Koper, was of Venetian origin; therefore it is no surprise that the Romance influence is evident. Besides, Francesco Grisoni travelled several times to France, from where he probably brought the majority of the works. In fact, among the twelve female authors found in his collection nine authors were Francophone. Only one author was of German origin, namely Caroline of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1768–1821) and one of English origin, namely Charlotte Smith (1749–1806). However, it might be remarkable that only one writer was of Venetian origin, namely Giustina Renier Michiel (1755–1832) listed with her extensive work *Origine delle feste veneziane* (Origins of Venetian Customs, 1817). This is also the only work in Italian language, the rest of female authors were listed in French original or translation. Madame de Staël (1766–1817) is listed with three works; the rest is listed with one or two. Another significant fact about this collection is that every work, except Madame de Staël's novels *Corinne* (1807) and *Delphine* (1802), are memoirs, letters, or dialogues. This indicates that Grisoni was particularly interested in autobiographic, historical and educational literature.

### 7.2.7 Conclusion

The investigation of the library catalogues and private collections has shown that works of female authors were ubiquitous and thus probably well received among Slovenian readers. Even though there are no proofs left about the loans, some conclusions could still be drawn from the comparison of the works found in the catalogues and collections. First of all, with the exception of Grisoni's collection, the majority of works of female authors were found in German language, i.e. in German original or translation. Some of the books were found in French, English, or Italian original or translation. However, by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, thanks to the increasing translation activity, female authors could also be found in Slovenian translation. The fact that especially authors of Slavic origin, such as Czech and Polish authors, were found in Slovenian translation may indicate that Slovenian readers were used to read foreign literature in German translation and therefore they did not have need of translating it into Slovenian. However, when Slovenian people started turning toward Slavic roots in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and, particularly, at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, they felt the necessity to know Slavic culture and literature which was not available much in German translation and hence they had to translate it. Presumably for this reason a lot of Slovenian translations of the West Slavic authors appeared during this time. This could be also seen in the catalogues, since only the two catalogues from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century include Slovenian translations. Secondly, the comparison shows that this kind of reception was quite heterogeneous in regards to the origin of the authors. Authors from all parts of Europe were listed in the catalogues and in the private collections. Nevertheless, German-speaking authors predominate over other nationalities. They are followed by Francophone and English-speaking authors. Swedish and Italian authors were also listed in most of the catalogues. The number of works of Polish and Czech authors increased considerably as late as the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Spanish, Norwegian, Swiss, Croatian, Romanian, Russian, Danish and Hungarian authors were found to a lesser degree. Another interesting point is that several authors were listed in different catalogues which probably means that they were quite popular among the readers. For instance, authors such as Charlotte Brontë, Natalie von Eschstruth, Emilie Flygare-Carlén, George Sand, Marie Sophie Schwartz and Bertha von Suttner were found in four different catalogues, while works of Eufemia



Adlersfeld-Ballestrem, Helene von Beniczky Bajza, Valeska Bethusy-Huc, Helene Böhlau, Comtesse Dash, Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach, Madame de Genlis, Jeanne Mairat, Eliza Orzeszkowa, Henriette von Paalzow, Matilde Serao, and Anna Astl-Leonhard were listed in three different catalogues or collections.

To sum up, the reception of female authors in the investigated library catalogues and private collections seems to be numerous. A vast amount of names and works available to a broader 19<sup>th</sup>- and 20<sup>th</sup>-century anonymous readership was brought to life. Even though it cannot be stated with certainty that the books were read, some factors (for instance, the increasing number of works of an author in a library) could be a relevant indicator of the probable demand or the readers' preference. In addition, the investigation has also displayed that there was a shift at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century regarding the origin/language of an author. In fact, the prevailing works of German-speaking authors were slowly ceding their place to increasing Slovenian translations of Slavic authors probably due to ideologies related to nationalism which helped the book circulation.

### **7.3 The Repertoire of the Slovenian Theatres from the 19<sup>th</sup> Century**

The repertoire of the Slovenian theatres from the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>450</sup> has also been included in the research in order to find out which works or adaptations of female authors had been performed in the Slovenian theatres during the 19<sup>th</sup> century and until 1918. Works of female authors were put on stage in the following theatres: Slovensko narodno gledališče Drama Ljubljana (Slovenian National Theatre Drama Ljubljana), Slovensko gledališče v Trstu (Slovenian Theatre in Trieste), Drama Slovensko narodno gledališče Maribor (Drama Slovenian National Theatre Maribor), and Okrajno gledališče na Ptuj (District Theatre in Ptuj). The theatre in Ljubljana staged fourteen works of female authors, while the rest of the theatres staged one work each. All the plays were performed in Slovenian language.

In Ljubljana the following works were staged: Therese Megerle's (1813–1865) *Im Dorf* (In the Village, *Na kmetih*, 1859) was performed in 1873 and *Der Graf Monte-Christo* (The Count of Monte-Cristo, *Grof Monte Cristo*, 1859) – the adaptation of

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<sup>450</sup> See *Repertoar slovenskih gledališč 1867–1967* (The Repertoire of Slovenian Theatres 1867–1967).

Alexandre Dumas' novel – in 1908; Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer's (1800–1868) *Der Goldbauer* (The Golden Farmer, *Nasledki skrivnostne prisege/Ukročena trmoglavost*, 1860) in 1874, *Die Grille* (The Cricket, *Cvrček*, 1856) – the adaptation of George Sand's *La petite Fadette* – in 1876, *Die Waise von Lowood* (The Orphan of Lowood, *Lowoodska sirota*, 1853)<sup>451</sup> – the adaptation of Charlotte Brontë's novel – in 1876 and *Dorf und Stadt* (Village and Town, *Mesto in vas*, 1848 ) in 1888, Marie Knauff's *Wer zuletzt lacht* (Who Laughs Last, *Kdor se poslednji smeje*, 1876) in 1876; Božena Viková-Kunětická's *Sberatelka starožitnosti* (Collector of Antiquities, *Starinarica*, 1890) in 1892 and *Holčička* (The Little Girl, *Punčka*, 1905) in 1910; Adelheid Wette's *Hänsel und Gretel* (*Hansel and Gretel*, *Janko in Metka*, 1894) in 1896, Maria Thiede's<sup>452</sup> *Rotkäppchen* (Little Red Riding Hood, *Rdeča Kapica*) in 1902 and *Wintermärchen* (Winter Fairy Tale, *Zimska pravljica*) in 1913; Gabriela Preissová's *Gazdina roba* (The Gaffer's Woman, *Žena sužnja*, 1890) in 1904; Frances Eliza Burnett-Hodgson's *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (*Mali lord*, 1886) in 1906; Elise Bethge-Truhn's *Der armen Kinder Weihnacht oder die Schutzgeister* (The Poor Kids or the Guardian Spirits of Christmas, *V božični noči*, 1899) in 1909, Gabriela Zapolska's *Moralność pani Dulskiej* (The Morals of Lady Dulska, *Moralna gospe Dulske*, 1906) in 1910. Maria Thiede's *Rotkäppchen* was performed also in SNT Drama in Maribor in 1912, and in the District Theatre in Ptuj in 1913, while Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer's adaptation of *Jane Eyre* was performed in Slovenian Theatre in Trieste in 1907. Judging from several restagings of Birch-Pfeiffer's plays *Der Goldbauer*, *Die Grille*, and *Die Waise von Lowood* and Marie Knauf's *Wer zuletzt lacht*, these works were very well accepted by Slovenian public. Besides, attention should be also paid to female authors of Slavic origin, since the reception of their works in the library catalogues was scarce until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, while the repertoire demonstrates quite the opposite.

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<sup>451</sup> *Jane Eyre* was adapted by Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer in 1855. The play had been known in Slovenian territory at least from 1865, when it was performed in Maribor. (Bogataj-Gradišnik, *Sentimentalni* 139) However, the translation in Slovenian (*Lowoodska sirota* by Davorin Hostnik) of Birch-Pfeiffer's adaptation was published in 1877, thus one year after its first performance in theatre. (Ibid., 139) The play was performed in Slovenian language six times from 1876 to 1901 in the SNT Drama Ljubljana.

<sup>452</sup> No information was found about this author and her work except the record in the repertoire.

The role of the repertoire of Slovenian theatres is pivotal for the reception of European female authors and their works particularly due to their performance in Slovenian language. In fact, all the adaptations were translated into Slovenian, and the public could enjoy all these works in their own language. On the other hand, it must be observed that adaptations were sometimes quite different from the original. For instance, the adaptation of Brontë's *Jane Eyre* – *Die Waise von Lowood* – by Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer which became the most valued among the Slovenian public and, according to the Slovenian researcher Bogataj-Gradišnik, also the most known in the Slovenian territory, had suffered many changes and thus became a simple pathetic story. (Bogataj-Gradišnik, *Sentimentalni* 139–140) This example indicates that translations (or even worse: the translation of a translation) and adaptations for theatre frequently digressed from the main sense of a work, and therefore the readers or the public could not appreciate the work in its authenticity. Last but not least, the periodical press also played an essential role in the dissemination of some plays, since it was posting positive or negative reviews about them, or it was informing about the success of their first performance.

#### **7.4 Translations**

In the long 19<sup>th</sup> century there were more factors which shaped the process of translating books into Slovenian. Hence, sometimes it is very difficult to find out why a book has been translated or not. Works translated into Slovenian appeared as a stand-alone publication or as a (serialized) publication in periodical press. Sometimes, they were published in both ways. Several translations have already been mentioned in the three examined categories (periodical press, library catalogues, and the repertoire of Slovenian theatres); nevertheless, they will be presented once more in this section. Moreover, probable causes which led to the translation of a work will also be discussed.

Majda Stanovnik in her research on Slovenian literary translation states that “translations and attempts at writing original verse coexisted and often clearly intertwined, especially during the Enlightenment and later in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (1780–1830).” (Stanovnik 313) However, the “equal recognition of translated and native

literature was increasingly questioned, and soon strongly resented, by nationally conscious poets, critics, and editors after 1848 [...] Translations were marked as foreign material, promoting foreign values and a foreign spirit, and therefore threatening Slovenia's modest native literary activity." (Ibid., 314) For instance, in the text *Zona*<sup>453</sup> (Zone), in which the Slovenian writer Josip Stritar meditates on the role of literature, he mentions George Sand and her novel *Valentine*. He claims that Slovenians do not need their own Homer, Shakespeare, Goethe, Heine and George Sand. He suggests that Slovenians start building from the floor up and wait until, in the course of time, Slovenian Fausts, Hamlets, Iliads and Valentines are born. (Stritar, *Zbrano* VI 346) Nevertheless, later on, "translations are recognized as a necessary complement to Slovenian literature." (Stanovnik 314) For instance, at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Ivan Prijatelj, a modernist translator of Russian literature, "declared literary translations an indispensable part of Slovenian culture that cannot possibly prosper in isolation." (Ibid., 314)

As already discussed in the previous sections, the translation activity ran parallel particularly with the nationalist movement which provoked that Slovenian people started turning towards Slavic culture and literature in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. For this reason, several works were translated from Slavic languages, particularly Czech, Polish, Slovak, Russian, and Ukrainian. Just to give an illustration of how Slovenian translators followed the example of other Slavic nations, Vekoslav Benković, the translator of Orzeszkowa's *Romanowa* (Roman's Wife, *Stara Romanka*, 1888) wrote at the end of the book some notes about the author and her literary work adding that "this gentle woman writer will find favour – as she did with Czechs, who already have about twenty volumes of her translated works – with Slovenians whom we want to introduce gradually to other of her texts." (Benković in Orzeszkowa 94) Benković thus took the Czechs, who had obviously recognized Orzeszkowa's literary value, as his example and wanted to mediate to Slovenian readers more works of the Polish author.

Similarly, the Slovenian poet Anton Aškerc in the postface of *Ruska antologija v slovenskih prevodih* (Russian Anthology in Slovenian Translations, 1901) writes that

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<sup>453</sup> The text was published in Stritar's newspaper *Zvon* in 1876.

the anthology is the first attempt to mediate Russian poetry in as good translations as possible to Slovenian reading public in order to let them know “the image of the Russian poetic genius.” (*Ruska antologija*, 462) In the footnotes, Aškerc gives advice that it would be necessary to make a Polish or Czech anthology on the model of the Russian anthology, while this is not necessary for Croatian and Serbian poets since Slovenians understand them in their original language. (Ibid., 462). The Slovenian poet continues encouraging the mediation of Russian literature among Slovenian readers saying “Russian literature is also our literature, and *Russian poets are also our poets!*” (Ibid., 463; Aškerc’s emphasis). In his opinion, every Slovenian scholar should read them in Russian, but since this is not possible, good translations should be provided. In the end, Aškerc asserts that the translated literature is an important part of the national literature in all educated nations, since it unites them. He finishes affirming: “It is true that all great poets and writers are international and that also we Slovenians have to know them; it is particularly important to get to know *Slavic* leading geniuses because then we get to know also ourselves.” (Ibid., 463–464; Aškerc’s emphasis) Secondly, several works or their adaptations were translated into Slovenian in order to be put on the stage. In most cases, these works were also published as a stand-alone publication after the performance in theatre.

On the other hand, it has to be noted that translations were not always appreciated. In fact, several authors or publicists who wrote for periodicals alluded to the problematics of translation. For instance, while mentioning the poetry of the Italian author Ada Negri, the Slovenian writer Josip Stritar writes: “Who is capable of speaking Italian, he/she should read her; who is not, he/she should learn it that much in order to be able to read her.”<sup>454</sup> In the continuation, Stritar warns against translations and translators: “Traduttore traditore!”<sup>455</sup> The better the poem, the more you should refuse the translation.” (Ibid., 280) Similarly, in the long article about the same Italian author, the Slovenian author Marica Nadlišek-Bartol wishes that this humanitarian poet was translated by a Slovenian translator, since she claims: “God forbid having her translated from German! The translation has only half of the worth of the original; the translation of the translation – none whatever!”<sup>456</sup> Nadlišek-Bartol

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<sup>454</sup> Stritar, Josip. “Dunajska pisma.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 5 (1896): 280.

<sup>455</sup> An Italian saying meaning: Translator traitor!

<sup>456</sup> Nadlišek-Bartol, Marica. “Ada Negri.” *Slovenka* 14 (1897): 4.

continues that the analysis of Ada Negri's poetry made her realize that it would be impossible to translate it faithfully. However, she still hopes that there is a skilful Slovenian poet who completely understands Italian and who would try to translate Negri's poetry. (Ibid., 4) These examples demonstrate that people were well aware of the risks and consequences that resulted from (bad) translations (in particular, translations of poetry). For this reason they emphasized reading works in original.

Particular attention should be devoted to the article "Nekaj misli in predlogov o našem prevajalnem slovstvu" (Some Thoughts and Suggestions about our Translated Literature) published in *Dom in svet* in 1913 in which the Slovenian writer Rudolf Andrejka (R. Gradovin, 1880–1948) wrote about foreign literature translated into Slovenian. In the introduction he said that the Slovenian Society (Slovenska matica) had decided to organize translations of foreign literature, but he was afraid that good suggestions, which were already extremely necessary, would take some time to arise.<sup>457</sup> Consequently, Andrejka himself made some suggestions, since he thought that some works in the process of translation did not have any cultural or literary value. He wanted to raise the level and the richness of Slovenian translated literature "which lacks good narrative works recognized in world literature." (Ibid., 115) Among his suggestions, there were English, French, Italian,<sup>458</sup> Spanish and American authors. With regard to German and Scandinavian literatures, Andrejka asserted tersely: "[...] as a rule we read them in German language, for this reason I do not mention them in this place." (Ibid., 117) As to the Slavic literature, he excluded Croatian and Serbian authors, since in his opinion, Slovenian readers could read them in their languages, while concerning Bulgarians, Andrejka confessed that he was not aware of the existence of any world-known work. (Ibid., 117) In the continuation, Andrejka stressed the necessity of drawing more attention to Czech literature, of which he proposed Gabriela Preissová's novels among other works of Czech authors. However, the majority of the proposed authors were males. Beside Preissová, Eliza Orzeszkowa and Matilde Serao were recommended among female authors. Andrejka's article thus clearly confirms the prevailing lodestar of Slovenian translating activity at least in the 1910s: there was no interest in translating works

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<sup>457</sup> Gradovin, R. "Nekaj misli in predlogov o našem prevajalnem slovstvu." *Dom in svet* 8 (1913): 115.

<sup>458</sup> Concerning Italian literature, Andrejka stated that among other proposed literatures it offered the least affinity with the Slovenian nation. (Ibid., 116)

which were available in German and works written by Slovenian southern neighbours, since Slovenian readership was also able to read in those languages. On the contrary, he encouraged a closer acquaintance with English, French and particularly Slavic literatures. The article bears witness also about the canonization of literary works of women writers which took place in that period. Namely, Andrejka probably made his own selection of female authors as a consequence of the canonization of that time.

Another important factor in the translating activity was the Church. In 1913, a Slovenian theologian and philosopher Aleš Ušeničnik wrote an article about translations in which he also refers to Andrejka's article. Ušeničnik claims that before translating a work the cultural and particularly the ethical influence of the translations on people should be taken into consideration.<sup>459</sup> He reproaches Rudolf Andrejka with being regardless of some general rules given by the Church. In fact, according to him, the Church is the teacher of Christian ethics, and thus the Church shall see to literature as well. Ušeničnik continues that the Church gave us some general rules of what should be read or not. He enumerates the books that were explicitly and strictly prohibited. Among them, there were also all novels written by George Sand. Finally, Ušeničnik asserts that it will be to people's advantage if we conform to these rules. (Ibid., 157)

#### 7.4.1 Stand-Alone Publications

First of all, two Slovenian bibliographies have been examined: Franc Simonič's bibliography which includes books in Slovenian from 1550 to 1900, and Janko Šlebinger's bibliography from 1907 to 1912.<sup>460</sup> For the period between 1900 and 1907 the bibliographies by Karol Glaser and Janko Šlebinger in the yearbooks of the Slovenian Society (*Zbornik znanstvenih in poučnih spisov*) have been examined. The majority of the translated works of female authors listed in the bibliographies were of

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<sup>459</sup> Ušeničnik, Aleš. "Še nekaj opomb o prevodih." *Dom in svet* 4 (1913): 157.

<sup>460</sup> The research in Šlebinger's and Simonič's bibliographies was made by Katja Mihurko Poniž.

Slavic authors. Most of them have already been mentioned in this research:<sup>461</sup> Eliška Krásnohorská's *Dědečkův hněv* (Grandfather's Anger, *Dedov srd*, 1875) (1895),<sup>462</sup> *Sedmikrásy a kopřiva* (Daisy and Nettle, *Marjetica in kopriva*, 1875) (1895), *Hubička* (The Kiss, *Poljub*, 1875) (1894), and *Pohadka o vetru* (The Tale of the Wind, *Pripovedka o vetru*, 1877) (1887); Bohumila Klimšová's *Tři růže* (Three Flowers, *Tri rože*, 1889), *Ctíboj kralevic* (Prince Ctíboj, *Kraljevič Častiboj*, 1889), *Dědicové* (Heirs, *Dediči*, 1889), and *Mlynář a vítr* (The Miller and the Wind, *Mlinar in veter*, 1889); Ludmila Podjavorinská's *Protivy* (Contrarities, *Protivja*, 1893) (1893), *Za neistými túžbami* (Behind Insecure Aspiration, *Za negotovimi težnjami*, 1892) (1895), and *Na brodu*\*<sup>463</sup> (On the Ferry) (1898); Waleria Morzkowska's *Smutna swadźba* (A Sad Marriage, *Žalostna svatba*, 1876) (1894); Božena Němcová's *Babička* (The Grandmother, *Babica*, 1855) (1862), *V zámku a v podzámčí* (In the Castle and below the Castle, *V gradu in pod gradom*, 1858) (1894) and *Národní báchorky a pověsti* (National Fairy Tales, *Česke pravljice*, 1845) (1912); Anna Řeháková's *Povídky s cest* (Stories from Travelling, *Povesti s potovanja*, 1890) (1897); Gabriela Preissová's *Korutanské povídky* (Carinthian Tales, *Korotanske povesti*, 1895) (1897), *Mládí* (Youth, *Mladost*, 1898) (1899), *Stryko Martinko* (Uncle Martinko, *Stric Martinek*, 1889) (1894), *Siluety z odvodu* (Silhouette from the Levy, *Silhuete z nabora*, 1886) (1906), *Cunjar Jaka*\* (Ragman Jaka) (1906) and *Obrázky ze Slovácka* (Slovak Pictures, *Slovaške sličice*, 1886/89) (1896); Karolína Světlá's *Kantůrčice* (A Woman Sage, *Kantorčica*, 1869) (1874), and *Hubička* (The Kiss, *Poljub*, 1871) (1909); Eliza Orzeszkowa's *Romanowa* (Roman's Wife, *Stara Romanka*, 1888) (1893) and *Obrazek z lat głodowych* (Picture from the Years of Hunger, *Slika iz gladnih let*, 1866) (1896); Maria Konopnicka's *Dym* (The Smoke, *Dim*, 1893) (1906). Some of Marko Vovchok's tales were published in *Venec slovanskih povestij* (Garland of Slavic Stories): *Čary* (Charms, *Čari*, 1860) (1905), *Dva syna* (Two Sons, *Dva sina*) (1902), *Maksim Trimach* (Maxim Trimach, *Maksim Grjemač*) (1906), while her *Paul Chornokryl* (Paul Chornokryl, *Pavlo Črnokril*) was published in *Naš dom: zbirka povesti, pesmi in*

<sup>461</sup> In this section, also works (usually tales and short stories) written by different authors and published together in one volume have been included. For instance, in the volume *Venec slovanskih povestij* (Garland of Slavic Stories) several works of female authors were published.

<sup>462</sup> The year in brackets indicates the year of Slovenian translation.

<sup>463</sup> The story was published in *Venec slovanskih povestij: prevodi iz raznih slovanskih jezikov. Knj. 2.* (Garland of Slavic Stories: Translations from Different Slavic Languages. Book 2.).



*narodnega blaga, zanimivosti itd.* (Our Home: Collection of Tales, Poems and National Goods, Curiosities etc.) in 1905. Eugenia Ribalenko-Kotyrlo's<sup>464</sup> *Maščeval se je\** (He Was Revenged); Nadezhda Luhmanova's *Sila lyubvi* (The Power of Love, *Moč ljubezni – Božična pripovedka*, 1896) and *Stari oče Zahar\** (The Grandfather Zahar); and Ljudmila Podjavorinská's *Že zopet!\** (Again!) were published in 1901 in *Venec slovanskih povestij* (Garland of Slavic Stories). Eliška Krásnohorská's *Grlice\** (Turtledoves) and *Težka vest\** (Guilty Conscience); and Jadwiga Teresa's *Kratke povesti\** (Short Tales) were published in *Knjižnica za mladino* (Library for Young People) in 1902.

In 1901, *Ruska antologija v slovenskih prevodih* (Russian Anthology in Slovenian Translations) was published which incorporated translations of eight Russian poets: Karolina Pavlova's *Ozero Valen* (The Lake of Valen, *Valensko jezero*, 1861); Countess E. K. Osten-Saken's<sup>465</sup> *Moj sen\** (My Dream); Julija Valerianovna Žadovskaja's *Biser* (Pearl) and *Ni razsipal mi laskavih fraz\** (He did not dissipate flattering Phrases to me); Nadezhda Dmitrievna Khvoshchinskaya's *Kazak\** (Cossacks); Anna Pavlovna Barykova's *Pesem parihev* (The Poem of Pariahs); Mirra Lokhvitskaya's *Pesn' lyubvi* (Love Song, *Pesem ljubezni*, 1889), *Pesem bakhantinje\** (The Song of Bacchante), *Dve krasoti\** (Two Beauties), *Moja in tvoja ljubezen* (My and Yours Love), *Ta išče sreče, oni slave\** (This One Looks for Happiness, That One Looks for Success), *Azrail* (Azrael, *Azrael*, 1895), *Sonet* (The Sonnet, *Sonet*, 1890), *Ne uhajaj od mene nikamor!\** (Do not Run Away from Me), *Sem mogla ne verjeti?\** (Could I Have not Believed?), *Čebela zaostala sama je od roja\** (The Bee Lagged Alone behind the Swarm), *Sanje vestalke\** (Dreams of a Vestal), *Moye nebo* (My Sky, *Moje nebo*, 1894), *Zibelna pesem\** (The Cradling Poem), *Zvezane peruti\** (Tied Wings), *Povodnji cvet\** (The Water Flower), *Kaj mi to, če me z gorkimi gledaš očmi?\** (What Does It Mean to Me if You Look at Me with Warm Eyes); Olga Nikolajevna Čjumina's *Najhujša smrt\** (The Most Terrible Death); and Tatiana Shchepkina-Kupernik's *V mraku\** (At Nightfall) and *Soglasje\** (Consensus). Mirra Lokhvitskaya outstands from the group with sixteen poems.

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<sup>464</sup> Except the fact that the work was translated from Russian, no other information was found about this author.

<sup>465</sup> The editor of the anthology Anton Aškerc writes in the notes that except the translated poem he did not find any information about this author.

Judging also from her reception in periodicals, she was the most known of the Russian female poets among Slovenians.

The Bosnian writer Milena Mrazović wrote mainly in German. Two stories from her work *Selam: Skizzen und Novellen aus dem bosnischen Volksleben* (*Selam: Sketches and Tales of Bosnian Life*, 1893) were translated into Slovenian in 1895: *Abla* (*Abla, Abla*) and *Zur Unzeit* (*At the Wrong Time, O nepravem času: iz bosniškega narodnega življenja*).

Another group of translated works is directly connected to the theatre. In fact, many of the works which had been adapted in order to be put on the stage were translated into Slovenian and later on published as a stand-alone publication. These works were: Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer's *Die Grille* (*The Cricket, Cvrček*, 1856) (1877) and *Die Waise von Lowood* (*The Orphan of Lowood, Lowoodska sirota*, 1853) (1877), Marie Knauff's *Wer zuletzt lacht* (*Who Laughs Last, Kdor se poslednji smeje*, 1876) (1883), Adelheid Wette's *Hänsel und Gretel* (*Hansel and Gretel, Janko in Metka*, 1894) (1895), Božena Viková Kunětická's *Sběratelka starožitností* (*Collector of Antiquities, Starinarica*, 1890) (1902), and Frances Eliza Burnett-Hodgson's *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (*Mali lord*, 1886) (1909).

Nevertheless, there were also some exceptions to which special attention must be drawn. The oldest translation found of a female author is Sophie Cottin's novel *Élisabeth ou les Exilés de Sibérie* (*Elizabeth; or, the Exiles of Siberia, Elizabeta ali pregnanci v Sibiriji: povest v poduk in kratek čas*, 1806) published by St. Hermagoras Society in 1857. Curiously, no copy of the book was listed in the investigated catalogues, nor it was mentioned in the periodicals. Yet, this work was available in French original and in German translation in Giontini's catalogues. Probably the Croatian translation of the same novel from 1848 stimulated St. Hermagoras Society to translate it into Slovenian. In 1907, another translation of the same work by Cottin was published under another title: *Elizabeta, hči sibirskega jetnika* (*Elizabeth, the Daughter of a Siberian Prisoner*). The latter was found in the catalogue of the Public Library of Economic and Educational Society.

Fernán Caballero's *La familia de Alvareda*<sup>466</sup> (*The Alvareda Family*, *Družina Alvaredova*, 1849) was translated by Janez Parapat<sup>467</sup> in 1864. The fact that in the Slovenian National Library there are quite a few books<sup>468</sup> of Caballero in Spanish is very interesting, since Spanish language was not spoken by many Slovenians. This could also be the reason for an early translation into Slovenian language of *La familia de Alvareda*. However, on the other hand, probably for that very reason the author was not generally received among Slovenian readers considering Caballero's meagre reception in the library catalogues<sup>469</sup> and in periodical press.

Selma Lagerlöf's short stories *Kristuslegender* (*Christ Legends*, *Kristusove legende*, 1904) were published in 1906 in the collection *Ljudska knjižnica* (Popular Library). However, the name of the author is not mentioned in the book. In 1909, the newspaper *Slovenec* published a review about it saying that these legends have "a special charm, which rest on the legendary world".<sup>470</sup> The reviewer praises the publishing house Katoliška bukvarna (Catholic Bookshop) for publishing "such a beautiful and extensive book for such a low price." (Ibid., 5)

<sup>466</sup> The translation of Parapat from 1864 is still available in some Slovenian libraries. It must be observed that it is also the only work by Caballero that has been translated into Slovenian until now.

<sup>467</sup> Janez Parapat was a Slovenian writer and priest who started learning modern languages, Spanish in particular, in order to read historical books.

<sup>468</sup> In the Slovenian National Library there are still eight Caballero's books in Spanish original from the 1860s: *La familia de Alvareda* (1860), *Lagrimas* (1860), *Clemencia, novela de costumbres* (1863), *Cuadros de costumbres* (1865), *Cuatro novellas* (1866), *Cuentos y poesias populares Andaluces* (1861), *La Farisea, las dos Gracias y otras novelas escogidas* (1867), *Élia, ó La España treinta años ha; El ultimo consuelo; La noche de navidad; Callar en vida y perdonar en muerte* (1864). The research in the accession protocols (*Accessions – Protokol der Studienbibliothek in Laibach, 1861–1890*) has shown that the eight books were bought by the library in 1879 which means that they were available to Slovenian readers in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It has to be noted that the National Library is the successor of the Lyceum Library which "was legally entitled to receive legal deposit copies from the province of Carniola as early as 1807. During the French occupation, this edict applied to all of the Illyrian provinces. After the abolition of the Lyceum in 1850 the library became the main reference library of the province. After World War I, in 1919, it was renamed the State Reference Library, thus becoming the central library of Slovenia with the right to receive legal deposit copies from that area. In 1921, the library became the State Library, and deposit of publications from all the regions of former Yugoslavia started to pour in [...] In 1945, the Library was legally recognized as the Slovenian national library." (See <https://www.nuk.uni-lj.si/nukeng1.asp?id=123006838>)

<sup>469</sup> In Giontini's catalogue from 1861 readers could find Caballero's *Ausgewählte Werke* (Selected Works) in German translation which included seven of her works: *Die Familie Alvareda* was among them. Kersnik's private collection incorporated one of her works: *Spanische Novellen* (Spanish Short Stories), while none of her works was found in other investigated catalogues. Nevertheless, Caballero was still the most received female Spanish author in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Slovenian territory.

<sup>470</sup> "Kristusove legende." *Slovenec* 185 (1909): 5.

Even though this research focuses only on European authors, it is important to note that translated works of two American female novelists were also listed in the bibliographies: Maria Susanna Cummins (1827–1866) with *The Lamplighter* (*Prižigalec*, 1854) (1877) and *Mabel Vaughan* (*Mabel Vaughan*, 1857) (1887); and Harriet Beecher-Stowe with two translations of her novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852): *Stric Tomaž ali življenje zamorcov v Ameriki* (Uncle Tom or Negro Life in America) and *Stric Tomova kočica ali življenje zamorcov v robnih državah svobodne séverne Amerike* (Uncle Tom's Cabin or Negro Life in the Slave States of America). Manifestly, the contents of the book (i.e. slavery<sup>471</sup>) was so topical in that period that both translations appeared at the same time, one in Ljubljana, translated by the Slovenian author and translator Franc Malavašič, and the other one in Klagenfurt translated by the priest Janez Božič, in 1853. The fact that they were published only one year after the publication of the American original is very interesting. The one translated by Malavašič was a double translation – a translation of the German translation which also appeared in 1853. It was published by Janez Giontini.<sup>472</sup> Supposedly, Božič also translated it into Slovenian via a German translation.

Last but not least, a work entitled *Ljudmila* (Ljudmila), translated by the Slovenian writer Janko Leban was published in 1887. The name of the author was not mentioned, however, the inscription on the book in Slovenian<sup>473</sup> indicates that the work was written in German by a female author. The translation was shortly reviewed in *Ljubljanski zvon*. The reviewer claims that the novel pleases to all friends of the sentimental novel, “particularly to the uncritical female readers”.<sup>474</sup> He advises Janko Leban to translate another nicer and more serious story next time. (Ibid., 447)

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<sup>471</sup> Presumably, it is not a coincidence that the topic of slavery was popular in Slovenian territory of that time, since we can draw parallels between the slavery of African people in the USA and Slovenians in the Habsburg Monarchy.

<sup>472</sup> In Giontini's catalogues from 1861 the Italian and German translations of Uncle Tom's cabin were listed: *La capanna del zio Tom o vita de' negri al mezzodi degli stati uniti d'America* (published in 1853) and *Onkel Tom's Hütte; oder, Negerleben in den Sklavenstaaten* (published in 1852, 1853, and 1856). The German translation was listed also in the catalogues from 1853 and 1860. However, the Slovenian translation was not listed.

<sup>473</sup> “Nemški napisala \*\*\*.” (Written in German by \*\*\*). This verbal form in Slovenian indicates that the subject was a woman. The book has not been found during the research, therefore it has not been possible to define the author.

<sup>474</sup> Kristan, Etbin. “Ljudmila. Roman.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 7 (1887): 447.

Finally, in 1875, the newspaper *Slovenski narod* announced the publication in Slovenska knjižnica (Slovenian library) of George Sand's novel *Valentine* (1832) in Davorin Hostnik's translation (*Valentina*). However, the novel was not published, even though it had been already prepared to be printed, but probably the publication turned out a failure due to financial problems. (Kersnik, *Zbrano* I 303)

#### 7.4.2 (Serialized) Publications in Periodicals

Many translated works, particularly short stories, tales, and poems, were published in the periodical press. Translations of works written by Slavic authors prevail over others also in this category. The following works of Slavic authors were published in the periodical press: Gabriela Preissová's *Čerešniččin zelený hřích* (Čerešnica's Regreted Sin, *Čerešničin obžalovani greh*, 1889) (*Slovenski narod*, 1891), *Stařeček Žabík* (The Grandfather Žabík, *Stari oče Žabjek*, 1890) (*Slovenec*, 1892), *Sníh* (Snow, *Sneg*, 1898) (*Novice*, 1902), *Siluety z odvodu* (Silhouette from the Levy, *Silhueta z nabora*, 1886) (*Slovenec*, 1906), and *Korutanské povídky* (Carinthian Tales, *Korotanske povesti*, 1895) (*Glas naroda*, 1910); Marko Vovchok's *Dva Syna* (Two Sons, *Dva sina*) (*Slovenski narod*, 1892 and *Glas naroda*, 1912), *Pastir in ovčice\** (The Shepherd and the Sheep) (*Slovenski narod*, 1893), *Chary* (Charms, *Čari*) (*Slovenec*, 1901; *Domovina*, 1903; *Primorec* 1905; *Glas naroda*, 1906), *Son* (Dream, *Sanje*) (*Mir*, 1902), *Sužnja\** (Slave) (*Mir*, 1902), *Pans'ka volja* (A Nobel Will, *Gosposka volja*) (*Domovina*, 1903), *Instytutka* (A Female Pupil of the Educational Establishment, *Zavodna vzgojenka*) (*Gorica*, 1904), *Maksim Trimach* (Maxim Trimach, *Maksim Orjemač*) (*Primorec*, 1905), *Paul Chornokryl* (Paul Chornokryl, *Pavlo Črnokril*) (*Domovina*, 1905) and *Svekrukha* (Mother-in-law, *Tašča*) (*Domovina*, 1903; *Domači prijatelj*, 1907); Mariya Krestovskaya's *Prva sreča\** (First Happiness) (*Slovenka*, 1897); Irma Geisslová's *Sebičnost\** (Selfishness) (*Slovenski narod*, 1897) and *Strahopetnež\** (Coward) (*Slovenski narod*, 1897); Anna Řeháková's *Le domu!\** (Home!) (*Novice*, 1902); Maria Konopnicka's *Dym* (The Smoke, *Dim*, 1893) (*Slovenski narod*, 1902), *Pomladi ni dočkal\** (He Has Not Lived to Springtime) (*Slovenska gospodinja*, 1905) *Občinska milosrčnost\** (Municipal Charity) (*Slovenec*, 1906), and a fragment from the poem *Mister Balcer in Brazil – Jaśków list* (John's Letter, *Janezovo pismo*, 1910) (*Dom in svet*, 1913); Karolína Světlá's *Svoji k svojim* (One to One's Own) (*Gorica*, 1904); Olha

Kobylianska's *Zemlya* (*Land, Zemlja*, 1902) (*Piščalka*, 1906); Maria Walewska's *Na Golgoti\** (On Golgotha) (*Slovenec*, 1909); Vilma Sokolová's *Češki otok pod nemškimi valovi\** (The Czech Island below German Waves) (*Narodni list*, 1912); Eliza Orzeszkowa's *Dziwak* (A Queer Person, *Čudak*, 1886) (*Soča*, 1912); Božena Němcová's *Národní báchorky a pověsti* (Czech Fairy Tales, *Česke pravljice*, 1845) (*Ljubljanski zvon*, *Slovan*, and *Učiteljski tovariš*, 1912).<sup>475</sup>

Translations of thirteen non-Slavic female authors were published in periodical press. Janez Parapat, the Slovenian author who translated Fernán Caballero's *The Alvareda Family* mentioned above, was manifestly a great fan of the Spanish author. He translated several Caballero's texts, particularly tales which were published in various periodicals. In Parapat's biography<sup>476</sup> it was noted that Parapat had translated Caballero's *La flor del Lililá* (The Flower of Lililá, *La flor del Lililá*, 1850). The tale was published in the third yearbook of the theological seminary's paper entitled *Slovenska lipa* (Slovenian Linden Tree). Caballero's Andalusian tale *La suegra del diablo* (The Mother-in-law of the Devil, *Teta Holofernes in njen zet*, 1859) was published in *Slovenski glasnik* in 1864. Other Caballero's texts translated by Parapat were *Poslednja tolažba\** (The Last Consolation) published in *Slovenske večernice* (Slovenian Evening Stars) in 1867; and *Juan Soldado* (Juan the Soldier, *Janez soldat*, 1859), *Juan Holgado y la muerte* (Juan Holgado and the Death, *Janez Vsegadost in smrt*, 1850), and *Las ánimas* (Souls, *Verne duše*, 1859) which were published in *Besednik* (Speaker) in 1869.

Ouida's *In a Winter city* (*Lady Hilda*, 1876) was published in *Slovenski narod* in 1894. Supposedly, the Slovenian translation was made upon the Croatian translation *Lady Hilda*, since *Ljubljanski zvon*<sup>477</sup> announced its publication in 1890. The Croatian translation was also available to Slovenian readers. The same title of both Croatian and Slovenian translations is probably not a coincidence.

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<sup>475</sup> Beside the translations mentioned above, a translation of a very short text entitled *Natakar* (The Waiter) was found in 1908 in the periodical *Glas Naroda* (The Voice of the Nation) whose author was Pavlovna Gordon. The ending of the word Pavlovna indicates a female person, but since the first name is not written, the author's identity cannot be confirmed.

<sup>476</sup> Benkovič, Josip. "Janez Parapat, župnik in pisatelj." *Dom in svet* 22 (1894): 673–679, 706–714.

<sup>477</sup> Stare, Josip. "V hrvaški književnosti." *Ljubljanski zvon* 3 (1890): 187.

Two short stories of the Swedish children's story author Helena Nyblom's were published in 1910: *Ko je priplul parnik k skalnatemu otoku\** (When the Steamer Reached the Rocky Island) in *Straža*<sup>478</sup>, and *Nevesta gorskega duha\** (The Bride of the Mountain Ghost) in *Ameriški Slovenec*.<sup>479</sup> Both newspapers were catholically oriented which is probably meaningful information, particularly because of the author's conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1895. Works of four other Swedish authors were published in Slovenian periodicals: Selma Lagerlöf's *Kejsarens syn* (*The Emperor's Vision*, *Cezarjeva vizija*, 1904) was published in *Slovenec* in 1904, Sophie Elkan was found with her work *Zvezda pada\** (The Falling Star) in *Slovenski narod* in 1902, Elisabeth Kuylensstierna's *Sopotnici\** (Female Fellow Travellers) was published in *Slovenski narod* in 1903, and Ellen Key's *Pogum\** (Courage) was published in *Omladina* in 1904. Julie d'Assenai's<sup>480</sup> *Valček iz Fausta\** (The Waltz from Faust) was published in *Slovenski list* in 1902. Maria Edgeworth's *The Grateful Negro* (*Hvaležni črnc*, 1804) was published in *Mir*<sup>481</sup> in 1912. In the same year, Grazia Deledda's *Don Evèno* (*Don Evèno*, *Don Evèno*, 1898) was published in *Naša moč*.<sup>482</sup> The newspaper *Naša moč* also published Margaret Strickland's *Molčeča priča\** (Silent Witness) in 1913; and Irma Blood's *Mati prepodi tigra\** (Mother Chases Away the Tiger) and Sara Bernard's *Obleganje Pariza\** (The Siege of Paris) in 1914.<sup>483</sup>

With regard to poetry, translated poems of three authors were found in the periodicals: Adelheid von Stolterfoth's *Alarihova smrt\** (Alarich's Death) (*Slovenski glasnik*, 1867); Empress Elisabeth's poems translated by Pavlina Pajk (*Slovenski list*, 1898); and Ada Negri's poems *Brez dela\** (Without Work) (*Slovenka*, 1901), *Požar v jami\** (The Fire in a Cave) (*Slovenec*, 1913), *Prisilna selitev\** (Forced Migration) (*Naši zapiski*,<sup>484</sup> 1913), and twenty-two of her poems were published in the newspaper *Naša moč* in 1905 and 1906: *V tovarni\** (In the Factory), *Prijatelju\** (To a

<sup>478</sup> *Straža* (The Guard) (1909–1914) was a gazette of the political Catholicism in Styria.

<sup>479</sup> *Ameriški* (*Amerikanski*) *Slovenec* (American Slovenian) was the first newspaper of Slovenian immigrants in the USA. It was a Catholic newspaper, but it used to publish also general topics relevant for a general audience.

<sup>480</sup> No other information was found about the author.

<sup>481</sup> *Mir* (Peace) (1882–1920) was a gazette of the Carinthian Slovenians.

<sup>482</sup> *Naša moč* (Our Power) was a Catholic workingclass newspaper created by J. E. Krek in 1905. Krek translated and published several works in his newspaper.

<sup>483</sup> No information was found about Irma Blood and Sara Bernard. However, Sara Bernard was probably the French actress Sarah Bernhardt (1844–1923).

<sup>484</sup> *Naši zapiski* (Our Notes) was a socialist newspaper.

Friend), *Delavec\** (A Worker), *Brez dela\** (Without Work), *Selitev\** (Migration), *Poslednji bodo prvi\** (The Last will be First), *Stavka\** (The Strike), *Konec stavke\** (The End of the Strike), *Moja pot\** (My Way), *Vrnitev\** (The Return), *Velikani\** (Giants), *Moja ljubezen\** (My Love), *Motika\** (The Hoe), *Kuratov pogreb\** (The Curate's Funeral), *V bolnišnici\** (In the Hospital), *Materi\** (To Mother), *Mrtvi poljub\** (Dead Kiss), *Sebi\** (To Myself), *Neznanki\** (To a Female Stranger), *Želja po detetu\** (Longing for a Child), *Svetišče\** (Sanctuary).

Regarding the Italian author Ada Negri, Marica Nadlišek-Bartol's wishes soon came true: some Slovenian authors tried their hand at translating her poems. Negri was translated particularly due to her social ideas. The person who translated the poem *Brez dela\** (Without Work) only signed up under the initials Ž. L. M. However, supposedly, the translator was a man.<sup>485</sup> The name of the translator of *Prisilna selitev\** (Forced Migration) was only marked with three asterisks. Nevertheless, Ana Toroš found out that the translation of the same poem published in 1932 in the newspaper *Žena in Dom* (Woman and Home) indicates that the translator was the Slovenian poet Alojz Gradnik (1882–1967).<sup>486</sup> Toroš asserts that Gradnik's translations of Negri's works were published for the first time in periodical press in 1913 (i.e. the poem *Prisilna selitev*<sup>487</sup>). (Toroš 363) After 1913, Gradnik's translations of Negri were appearing more or less continually until the beginning of the World War II. (Ibid., 363) However, this is the only work of Negri translated by Gradnik that was published before 1918.

Negri's poem *Požar v jami\** (The Fire in the Cave) was translated by the Slovenian sociologist, author and publicist Janez Evangelist Krek (1865–1917) who used to translate works which mostly dealt with problems of the working class.<sup>488</sup> Krek also translated the aforementioned twenty-two Negri's poems in *Naša moč*.

Concerning Empress Elisabeth, Pavlina Pajk wrote an obituary in which she also discussed the Empress' literary activity.<sup>489</sup> Since most of the Empress' poems had

<sup>485</sup> The verb form in Slovenian indicates a male person.

<sup>486</sup> Gradnik also wrote poems imbued with social feeling.

<sup>487</sup> See Toroš's list of Negri's translations in Gradnik, *Zbrano delo*, p. 691.

<sup>488</sup> Krek was very interested in socialism: he wrote several texts concerning this topic. Hence, it is no wonder that he decided to translate Negri's work.

<sup>489</sup> Pajk, Pavlina. "Cesarica Elizabeta." *Slovenski list*, 52 (1898): 291.



not been published Pajk decided to mediate some of her poems also to Slovenian readers. Therefore she published the poems in the original (German) version and in her Slovenian translation. First, she published a poem in the form of a prayer that had become very known and popular in Austria due to its grace. The poem had no title.<sup>490</sup> As Pajk affirmed, the empress put it at the feet of the statue of the Virgin Mary on Jainzen in Bad Ischl in 1885. Secondly, Pajk referred to the two poems that have been published in the Austrian periodical *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*. The first poem had no title,<sup>491</sup> but the second one was entitled *Verzicht* (Renunciation, *Odpoved*). Pavlina Pajk said that their unusual depth, seriousness and melancholy impress the reader.<sup>492</sup> These poems were found in the Empress' bedroom on the island of Corfu. In Pajk's opinion, both were deeply serious, rigorously philosophical, tender and full of pure ideas. Both poems were published together with Pajk's Slovenian translations.

#### 7.4.3 Conclusion

Slovenian translations of female authors started appearing only after the revolutionary year of 1848. The first translated work of a woman writer – *Uncle's Tom Cabin* by the American novelist Harriet Beecher-Stowe – was published as late as 1853. Four years later, in 1857, a translation of Sophie Cottin's work was published, followed by translated works of Božena Němcová in 1862 and Fernán Caballero in 1864. In spite of this initial heterogeneousness of translated works and authors, the intensive translating activity in the 1890s and in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century showed an obvious preference for authors of Slavic origin, particularly Czech, Polish and Russian authors. This was directly connected to the nationalist movement which took part in the second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when cultural activities with national ideas were strongly supported and encouraged. However, works of lesser known authors among Slovenian readers, such as Selma Lagerlöf,

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<sup>490</sup> The poem starts like this: "O breite deine Arme aus ..." (O, milostno razpni roko, ...)

<sup>491</sup> The poem starts like this: "Ob gross, ob klein erscheint, was wir gethan ..." (Al' mnogo kdo al' malo zdaj stori ...)

<sup>492</sup> Pavlina Pajk wrote: "Is it possible that ideas and feelings, that usually come from bitter experience and unfulfilled wishes, were born in the mind of the first most respectable Lady of the state, whose life, as we would suppose, should have been as smooth as the surface of a lake, wonderful as a spring sky and to whom the smallest order was adhered to?" (Pajk, Pavlina. "Zopet dve pesmi cesarice Elizabete." *Slovenski list*, 58 (1898): 335.)

were also translated, probably because of their popularity in other European countries. Several works were also translated and published due to their performance in theatre. Among them, Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer's works were the most popular.

Similar parallels might be drawn for the publications in periodical press. Although the first published translation was a poem of the German author Adelheid Stolterfoth in 1867, translations of works written by Slavic female authors were indubitably more popular. For instance, the literary work of the Russian author Marko Vovchok was widely received in periodicals also due to its reprints. However, there were also some outstanding publications, such as Maria Edgeworth's tale *The Grateful Negro*, Ouida's *In a Winter City* – which translation was probably provoked by the homonymous Croatian translation, and works of the following Swedish authors: Helena Nyblom, Selma Lagerlöf, Elisabeth Kuylenstierna, and Ellen Key. An important number of Fernán Caballero's translated texts, particularly tales, were published thanks to Janez Parapat who was very interested in Spanish literature. Even though Empress Elisabeth of Austria was barely known for her poetic soul,<sup>493</sup> it is interesting that her work had intrigued the Slovenian author Pavlina Pajk to the point of translating three of her poems. Lastly, Ada Negri's social poetry has undoubtedly dragged the attention of some male authors, in particular Janez Evangelist Krek's and Alojz Gradnik's.

Despite the fact that works of Slavic authors were translated more frequently, it could be stated that Slovenian readers could nevertheless reach for some works written by authors from various parts of Europe, and even from the United States of America.

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<sup>493</sup> Pavlina Pajk in her article asserts that the empress' artistic soul has been ignored and that most of her poems have not been published. See Pajk, Pavlina. "Cesarica Elizabeta." *Slovenski list*, 52 (1898): 291.

## 8 RECEPTION OF EUROPEAN FEMALE AUTHORS IN SLOVENIAN LITERARY WORKS

The particular development of Slovenian literature as a small literature has been often related to its connections with foreign literatures. However, the dependence of Slovenian literature on foreign literatures has been called into question. Marko Juvan warns about it in his article “‘Slovenski kulturni sindrom’ v nacionalni in primerjalni literarni zgodovini”,<sup>494</sup> (‘Slovene cultural syndrome’ in Slovene national and comparative literary histories), since he sustains that this peculiarity of the Slovenian literature is only one variety of European cultural nationalism which in the 19<sup>th</sup> century involved many “other ‘national’ literary systems, particularly of the so-called small nations without statehood.” (Juvan, *Slovenski* 16) Moreover, Slovenian national and comparative literary histories derive from the same ideological matrix. (Ibid., 1) Consequently, in his article, Juvan also refers to Slovenian comparative literature scholars Anton Ocvirk and Janko Kos<sup>495</sup> who interpreted Slovenian literature in the broader European and international context in the way that its “Sloveneness” remained its main focus and referential point. This means that they “based the ‘great narrative’ about the formation and development of Slovene literature on external factors, i.e., by finding connectedness of Slovene literature to general and respected models of historical development, mostly derived from Western canon.” (Ibid., 17)

Anton Ocvirk, the founder of Slovenian comparative literature as an independent scholarly discipline, in his work *Teorija primerjalne literarne zgodovine* (Theory of the Comparative Literary History, 1936) displays the main starting-points of the new literary-historical branch. He thus focuses on the importance of the international literary connections, relations, interdependence, and, consequently, literary influences. Ocvirk states that Slovenians, due to political pressures of the Austrian

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<sup>494</sup> In his article, Juvan calls into question Dimitrij Rupel’s sociological theory on the “Slovenian Cultural Syndrome” and Dušan Pirjevc’s conception of the “Prešeren Structure” which explains the aesthetic and ideological retardation of Slovenian literature as a consequence of its national function. In Juvan’s opinion both theories are questionable, since they are mainly derived from the self-perception of Slovenian writers, overlooking the broader comparative context. (Juvan, *Slovenski* 1) Juvan concludes that the thesis of the Slovenian cultural syndrome could thus proliferate as a general point due to the prevalent comparison with “central spaces of European and international literature, rather than with other ‘small’ literatures and the periphery.” (Ibid., 17)

<sup>495</sup> See page 28.

Empire, relied almost exclusively on German literature for a long time and started approaching other literatures in a more conscious way at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. (Ocvirk 111) Ocvirk points out that Fran Celestin, a Slovenian writer and literary historian, tried to depict Slovenian relations with neighbouring nations in his long article “Naše obzorje” (Our Horizon) as early as 1883. In Celestin’s opinion, the main task of the Slovenian literature was “to get rid of the too big German intellectual dependence.” (Ibid., 52) Ocvirk claims, however, that relations between Slovenian and foreign literatures did not weaken Slovenian originality, even though Slovenians often gave themselves to implicit copying, but rather that these relations helped them to attain their own identity. (Ibid., 52) Moreover, according to Ocvirk, Slovenian literature demonstrates from its very beginnings that it continually developed thanks to the stimuli of the neighbouring nations, which means that Slovenians “faithfully received foreign influences, either German, Slavic or Romance, by means of which they raised their own cultural physiognomy.” (Ibid., 51) Ocvirk throughout his study mentions several foreign male authors on whom Slovenian authors probably modelled themselves. Nevertheless, he does not mention any influence by foreign female authors. However, as early as 1897, Viktor Bežek, the editor of *Ljubljanski zvon* from 1895 to 1899, in the article entitled “Plagiatovstvo” (Plagiarism) enumerates some Slovenian authors who have been (wrongly) accused of copying other foreign authors, among them also two female authors, namely, Ada Negri and Betty Paoli.<sup>496</sup> Bežek, nevertheless, speaks in favour of the accused Slovenian authors since he believes that an educated author who has read many national or foreign works sometimes inserts consciously or, more often, unconsciously several components of these works into his own work.<sup>497</sup> He asserts that artists of all times have taken topics and motifs from works of their ancestors in order to offer to their contemporary public a known subject in a new form. In his opinion, this new form suffices to be considered a new work of art. (Ibid., 292) Bežek thus considers foreign literary influences as something inevitable which contributes to an author’s creativity, and similarly to Ocvirk, he sustains that these influences are anyhow transformed according to contemporary values. Nevertheless, the fact that Paoli and Negri were discussed in Bežek’s article must be taken into consideration. Even though these European female authors did not demonstrably

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<sup>496</sup> See the presumable influence of Betty Paoli and Ada Negri on Slovenian authors further on.

<sup>497</sup> Bežek, Viktor. “Plagiatovstvo.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 5 (1897): 291.

exert influence on Slovenian authors, it could be maintained that their works were certainly received among Slovenian authors.

In the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Slovenian territory several European female authors were well received in various ways by Slovenian female and male writers. Even though there are not many tangible proofs left, such as quotations or names of foreign female authors in Slovenian literary works that would confirm any sort of influence of foreign female authors over Slovenian authors, there are still some factors which should be considered. For instance, Slovenian authors were discussing foreign female authors and their works in their correspondence; some of them wrote down short notes or quotations of foreign female authors in their diaries, notebooks or even works; others published articles, obituaries or reviews with regard to foreign works or, furthermore, they had books of female authors in their private collections and sometimes they also translated their works. Taking everything into account, writings of foreign authors probably inspired Slovenian authors and exerted some influence upon their literary creativity. Consequently, this possibly left some features in Slovenian literary works. Because of this reason, I have focused on some authors and their works in order to find out if there are any similarities between them. In this chapter, I have focused on the influence that works of various European female authors could have had on Slovenian authors and thus on their literary works. Since the research has displayed that several hundred European female authors were well received in the long 19<sup>th</sup>-century Slovenian territory, it would be practically impossible to analyse all their works and then compare them with Slovenian works. Because of this, I have considered above all works of those female authors who were explicitly<sup>498</sup> received by Slovenian authors and works of those authors who were claimed to have exerted influence on Slovenian authors.

This part of the research has been carried out by means of intertextuality. As a case study for this research, I have chosen the French author George Sand and the Slovenian author Pavlina Pajk, since there are several similarities between their literary works that probably indicate the impact of the French author on Pajk.

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<sup>498</sup> By "explicitly received" I mean that names and works of European female authors were explicitly mentioned in works, letters, diaries, notebooks, articles, and reviews of Slovenian authors.

Therefore, I examined and compared their literary works in much detail. Nevertheless, the possible influence of other female authors and their works on Slovenian literary works will be also discussed.

## 8.1 The Pattern of the Sentimental Novel

The Slovenian researcher Katarina Bogataj-Gradišnik was the first one who raised the question about the reception of foreign women writers in the Slovenian territory in her monograph *Sentimentalni roman* (The Sentimental Novel) and in her article *Ženski roman v evropskem sentimentalizmu in v slovenski literaturi 19. stoletja* (Female Novel in European Sentimentalism and in Slovenian Literature of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century).<sup>499</sup> In her monograph Bogataj-Gradišnik explains the notion of the sentimental novel. The philosophy of sentimentalism stressing the exaltation of sensibility, love and passion manifested in the sentimental novel in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In the Slovenian territory the sentimental novel developed in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, that is, after the Revolutions of 1848 when the Slovenian national movement started. (Bogataj-Gradišnik, *Sentimentalni* 102) In the investigated territory there was no explicit sentimental literary current in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, therefore the short story and the novel developed not until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. At that time appeared the middle-class prose destined for the cultivated reader. (Ibid., 102) This kind of novel was a mixture of sentimental and Enlightenment ideologies and values. (Ibid., 99) With regard to sentimental characteristics, Slovenian authors drew their inspiration particularly from English, German and French middle-class literature. (Ibid., 107–155) As a matter of fact, Katarina Bogataj-Gradišnik states that Slovenian writers in the 19<sup>th</sup> century grasped the example of Pamela (from the novel *Pamela; or Virtue Rewarded* by Samuel Richardson, 1740). This example is said to have mixed with other types of novels in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in European lands and experienced many changes. The most important one is the female protagonist's education and thus independence, although she remains subordinated. (Ibid., 138) Among others, Charlotte Brontë's novel *Jane Eyre*<sup>500</sup> and George Sand's *Le Marquis*

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<sup>499</sup> See also Mihurko Ponž & Badalič.

<sup>500</sup> The first German translation of *Jane Eyre* was published in Berlin in 1848 and since then the novel has become quite popular in German-speaking countries and thus it was also available to Slovenian readers, particularly due to the theatrical adaptation of Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer. (Bogataj-Gradišnik, *Sentimentalni* 139)

*de Villemer* (*The Marquis of Villemer*, 1860) are said to have taken this example as well, and these two were the examples which Slovenian female authors most likely followed. However, as Bogataj-Gradišnik claims, it is difficult to determine how much these two variants influenced the works of Slovenian writers since many local as well as foreign influences intertwined, and most influences came from the German authors. (Ibid., 141) In fact, Miran Hladnik notes that the German magazine *Gartenlaube*, in which Eugenie Marlitt had published her works, was the most popular reading matter of Slovenian middle class.<sup>501</sup> Hladnik also adds that Pavlina Pajk and Luiza Pesjak were both accused of plagiarism of Marlitt's works. (Hladnik 288) Besides, he points out the origin of both authors which would have an important impact on their literary work: since Pavlina Pajk received an Italian and Luiza Pesjak a German education, they would tend more to foreign narrative patterns. (Ibid., 292–293) Hladnik, however, also wants to show the differences between Marlitt and both Slovenian authors. In his opinion, the Slovenian female novel has no anti-French ideas, Pesjak even seems to be pro-French oriented, and moreover, the Catholicism in Pajk's works is contrary to Marlitt's religious indifference. (Ibid., 290) Nevertheless, Katja Mihurko Poniž in her study "Trivialno in/ali sentimentalno? Pavline Pajk Arabela: študija primera" (Trivial and/or sentimental: Pavlina Pajk's novel *Arabela*: a case study) compares Pajk's *Arabela* (1885) to Marlitt's *Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsell* (*The Old Mam'selle's Secret*, 1868). By comparing both novels and the reception of Marlitt in the Slovenian lands, Mihurko Poniž sheds new light on the relationship between Eugenie Marlitt and Pavlina Pajk and answers the question why her contemporaries persistently accused her of being Marlitt's epigone. Pavlina Pajk's works *Blagodejna zvezdica* (*Beneficent Star*, 1881), *Mačeha* (*The Stepmother*, 1882), *Slučaji usode* (*Chances of Fate*, 1897), and Luiza Pesjak's *Beatin dnevnik* (*Beata's Diary*, 1887) thus could be considered as a modern variety of Pamela's story. The works have the following motifs in common: the protagonists are all beautiful and educated women (orphans), who earn their own money as a lady's companion or a maid. (Bogataj-Gradišnik, *Sentimentalni* 142) In the Slovenian female novel the protagonist almost always gets married. The deviation is

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<sup>501</sup> Stanko Janež ascertained that *Gartenlaube* was obviously "a general mental pabulum of the educated public of that time." (Janež 73)

represented by the loss of the aristocratic lover who is replaced by a bourgeois scholar. (Ibid., 143)

The woman's question which, in Bogataj-Gradišnik's opinion, originates in the works of Madame de Staël is also posed in the Slovenian female novel. Slovenian protagonists are educated women earning their own money, but they are still rather meek in comparison to the protagonists of the Brontë sisters, George Eliot, and George Sand. However, they still decide their own destiny by independently choosing their partner. (Ibid., 145) The pattern of the sentimental novel was thus inherited by the Slovenian female novel. This could be seen particularly in the works of Pavlina Pajk and Luiza Pesjak.<sup>502</sup> Nevertheless, it cannot be asserted with certainty that a particular female author or her work exclusively influenced the literary activity of Slovenian authors, since there are numerous factors<sup>503</sup> that can contribute to it. Moreover, Slovenian authors incorporated in their works features typical of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Slovenian territory and thus gave their work a stamp of authenticity.

## **8.2 George Sand (1804–1876)**

Undoubtedly, out of all French writers, George Sand received the most interest among Slovenian reading public and authors. The reception of the French author in Slovenian literary works can be perceived most in the writings of Pavlina Pajk and Josip Jurčič.

### **8.2.1 Pavlina Pajk (1854–1901)**

The aforementioned obituary published in *Zora* by Pavlina Pajk about the life and works of George Sand proves that Pajk knew well Sand's work. The comparison of their works has shown that, in addition to similar motifs, there are other elements in Pajk's works that show she read Sand's novels. Their works resemble in terms of

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<sup>502</sup> The pattern of the sentimental novel was followed also by Slovenian male writers, such as Josip Stritar (1836–1923) and Fran Erjavec (1834–1887).

<sup>503</sup> Such as culture, tradition, and cultural memory. (Juvan, *History* 61)



content and composition. The similarities could be seen in the genre, motifs, setting, words and names. Firstly, pairs such as *Le marquis de Villemer* (*The Marquis of Villemer*, 1860) and *Slučaji usode* (*Chances of Fate*, 1897) as well as *Blagodejna zvezdica* (*Beneficent Star*, 1881); *La petite Fadette* (*The Little Fadette*, 1849) and *Judita* (1896); *François le Champi* (*Francis the Waif*, 1847) and *Najdenec* (*Foundling*, 1894) have been discussed. Afterwards, other motifs and similarities from a wider selection of their novels have been taken into account. For easier comparison of the texts, a short abstract of the content is provided first, and then similarities between the works, in particular similarities concerning motifs, will be exposed.

#### 8.2.1.1 *Le marquis de Villemer*, *Slučaji usode* and *Blagodejna zvezdica*

The main character of the novel *Le marquis de Villemer* is the beautiful orphan Caroline, who is disappointed in love and earns her own living as a lady's companion to an old and rich lady who has two sons: the libertine son Gaëtan and the sensible Urbain. They both fall in love with Caroline. Urbain has a child from a previous relationship but nobody knows it as he placed him in foster care. Caroline falls in love with Urbain, but he thinks that she is in love with his brother. When he falls ill, Caroline takes care for him. The marquise wants Urbain to marry a rich heiress, but she prefers Gaëtan and they get married. Therefore Urbain wants to marry Caroline, but the marquise interdict the marriage and Caroline runs away and comes across Urbain's child by chance. The truth comes out and they get married. In *Slučaji usode* (*Chances of Fate*) the beautiful Malvina, orphan by father, is raised by her father's relative, since her mother remarried and could not take care of Malvina because of financial problems. When she is 18 years old, she is given in marriage with Leopold, a rich baron. Leopold spends all his money due to his gambling habits and leaves Malvina alone with a child. Malvina goes with her child to Graz (which is far away from her home) in order to find an employment. Her child dies and she starts working as a lady's companion at a manor house in Tirol. In the meantime, she learns that her husband Leopold was found dead. At the manor, nobody knows her past. One day Otmar, the stepson of the lady of the manor, comes to the manor and they fall in love. When he was young he was in love with Avrelija, a rich woman, who cheated on him, therefore he left to forget his sadness and to lead a dissolute

life. One day John, a man whom Otmar met on his journey, comes to the manor. Malvina recognizes him as her husband Leopold. Leopold first menaces her, but later on, he kills himself because he cannot escape from the authorities. Otmar wants to marry Malvina, but his stepmother is indignant at the probable scandal provoked by the marriage between a poor lady's companion and her heir. Malvina leaves the manor and the old lady dies. Meanwhile, Malvina has been left a large fortune by a distant relation. There are no obstacles to their love any more.

In *Blagodejna zvezdica* (Beneficent Star) Ada, an orphan, serves as a maid to an ill child, Oskar, who has two elder brothers, the generous Bruno and the libertine Hugo. They both fall in love with Ada; Hugo just wants to seduce her and his brother is jealous of him because he thinks that they have a relationship. Oskar dies, therefore Ada wants to leave but Bruno proposes her marriage.

These three works have several motifs in common. To begin with all the female protagonists – Caroline, Malvina and Ada – are beautiful, educated and moral, and the men that surround them fall in love with them. Furthermore, the three protagonists seek for the work of a lady's companion, and later on Ada serves as a maid. All three of them are in contact with an extremely generous man – Urbain in *Le marquis de Villemere*, Otmar in *Slučaji usode* (Chances of Fate), and Bruno in *Blagodejna zvezdica* (Beneficent Star), and also with a libertine - Gaëtan, Leopold, and Hugo. The obstacle for a happy relationship with the generous man is the female protagonist's poverty and the generous male protagonist's mother or stepmother. The settings in *Le marquis de Villemere* and *Slučaji usode* (Chances of Fate) are similar: in both the old lady lives in a manor where rich guests often come to pass the time by gossiping. Otmar is very much like Urbain; they are both reserved when in company, they prefer to talk to the female protagonists, they are educated and know a lot about the world, but at the same time, they both have a melancholic character and are dreamers. Urbain and Malvina both have a child from a previous relationship and both of their partners are deceased. Caroline and Malvina support their relatives with the money they make, and are very determined not to marry (again), because they are both haunted by their past bad experience. However, they can both stay calm in delicate situations by completely hiding the feelings they have for the men they love. The marquise and the lady of the manor like their dames de compagnie very much,

but when they find out that their heirs want to marry them, they give them notice to leave.

In *Le marquis de Villemer* and *Blagodejna zvezdica* (Beneficent Star), the same motif is at the centre of the plot: a conflict between two brothers who fall in love with the same woman. One of the brothers is a womanizer and in debt, and the other is sensitive and helps his brother paying off the debts. The first one merely wants to seduce the heroine, but when he fails, he starts to ignore her. But, the second brother believes that they have a relationship and is jealous of his brother. Both works talk about disease as well. Caroline tirelessly takes care of Urbain after he falls ill, and Ada selflessly takes care of the ill Oskar. Urbain and Bruno both already have wealthy fiancées whom they do not love.

#### 8.2.1.2 *La petite Fadette* and *Judita*

In the novel *La petite Fadette* there is a story about rich twin brothers: the weak Sylvain and the strong Landry. They are very attached to each other, for this reason when Landry has to leave, Sylvain hides himself in the forest. Landry finds him with the aid of Fadette, who is considered to be an ugly sorceress. She is a poor orphan and she lives with her ill brother and grandmother. The peasants insult and avoid them, therefore Fadette likes hiding herself in the forest. Landry falls in love with her but his family forbids their relationship. Fadette leaves for some time and when she returns, she has changed a lot: she has become beautiful and rich because she inherited from her grandmother. She gets married with Landry. In *Judita* the heroine is also considered to be a sorceress, only Viljem, the teacher's son, defends her from other children. He discovers that Judita's family (her father and stepmother) moved from Russia to a nearby castle in ruins. Her father has passed away recently and Judita lives with her unkind stepmother who wants to inherit Judita's money, that is why she wants Judita to avoid people and she even wants to get rid of her. Viljem helps Judita to get more trustful and they fall in love. Her stepmother gathers all the money and runs away with her secret lover. Judita and Viljem get married.

At the first sight, the stories do not have much in common; however, there are a lot of similar motifs between the female characters Fadette and Judita. They are both

orphans and are looked after by women who treat them badly – a grandmother and a stepmother. Both protagonists learn at the end that they are wealthy although beforehand everybody thought they were poor. Most of Judita's wealth is spent by her stepmother, but Fadette is financially taken care of. Both of them are presented as lacking female beauty and elegance, but when they dress up, they are both very beautiful. Their physical appearances are similar as well – they are both slender and have long black hair and black eyes. Two young men from respected families take their sides and defend them against other people. Fadette and Judita behave differently therefore the village children think that they are witches. It is also believed that their families are connected with the devil, and thus everyone avoids them. The girls run away and hide from people or scare children, making them even more scared of them. They like to linger and even dance by the river in the forest, and this is where the main male characters Landry and Viljem meet them. Fadette and Judita collect different herbs which are in other people's minds merely poisonous herbs which they use to cast spells. In reality they use the herbs to make medicines which Fadette was taught by her grandmother and Judita by her father, who was a doctor. In both works also appears the motif of friendship: Fadette has an ill younger brother with who Landry makes friends, and Viljem has a deaf mute younger sister with who Judita makes friends. The similarities between the protagonists are so obvious we can claim without further evidence that Pavlina Pajk's Judita was influenced by Fadette's character.

#### 8.2.1.3 *François le Champi* and *Najdenec*

The first similarity between Sand's *François le Champi* and Pajk's *Najdenec* (Foundling) is visible right in the titles: "champi" in Berrichon dialect means "foundling", as well as the Slovenian word "najdenec". François le Champi is a poor foundling who comes to a miller's estate. Madeleine, the miller's wife, takes a great liking to him and she raises him up secretly. The miller is told that his wife cheats on him with François, so he must leave Madelaine. Some years pass by and François gets to know that the miller has passed away and that Madelaine is very sick. In the meantime he gets a message that he has inherited a huge amount of money from his biological mother. He returns to help Madelaine but they soon fall in love and get married. In *Najdenec* (Foundling) Marko is also a poor orphan. Rezika, a rich

farmer's daughter, asks her father to help him and they grow up together. Marko must join the army, and when he returns, he cannot find a job. For this reason he goes to Vienna hoping to earn some money, but he does not succeed and wants to commit suicide. He meets an older man (his biological father) who helps him financially. Some years pass by and Marko returns to Rezika. They get married.

François and Marko are both foundlings. Both stories are set in the time between their childhood and their marriage. Besides that, the protagonists are male and this is an exception for both writers. They are saved from poverty, defended, and raised by women from wealthy families. The compassion and the gratitude change into love. The motif of suicide is interesting as well. Little François wants to throw himself in the river in order not to leave Madeleine, and Marko wants to do the same from despair. It can be claimed that the story in *Najdenec* (Foundling) is more plausible since Marko and Rezika are of the same age, and Madeleine is more than ten years older than François. Both Marko and François leave for a few years, and upon their return, everything ends well. They become financially independent by inheriting money from the parents they had lost and found in the end and they get married to the female protagonists.

#### 8.2.1.4 Similar Motifs from a Wider Selection of Sand's and Pajk's Novels

Also in other works of both authors similar motifs could be found. Several motifs are known from other literary works; nevertheless, it would be important to mention them in this part:

- the motif of suicide/death in the water appears in several Sand's and Pajk's works: in *François le Champi* and *Najdenec* the main characters want to commit suicide by throwing themselves into the water but they change their mind. In some other Sand's novels the characters (Indiana and Noun in *Indiana* (1832), Sténio in *Lélia* (1833)) also (or at least want to) commit suicide by throwing them into the water. In Pajk's case the only one who wants to kill himself is Marko, other characters fall into the water by accident: in *Dora* (1885) a child drowns because of playing on the ice, in *Dušne borbe* (The Fights of the Soul, 1896) Emerih and Franjo get almost killed because the boat overturns accidentally. We can suppose that Pajk condemned the

suicide and attributed this kind of death to an accident, while Sand found in it a romantic solution,

- the motif of wooers appears in *La mare au diable* (*The Enchanted Lake*, 1846) and in *Dora* (1885). In both cases the wooers come to a rich girl's home, where they are attended very well and they only want to profit by the opportunity,

- the motif of a faithful dog in *Indiana* and *Dora*: Dora's dog Vari helps her from her childhood to her death. Indiana's dog Ophélia stands by her owner until the sailors kill her when she follows Indiana in the sea,

- the motif of a father living with his daughter in the castle in ruins in *Le péché de M. Antoine* (*The Sin of Mr. Antoine*, 1845) and *Judita*,

- Caroline in *Marquis de Villemer* is very surprised when she sees that the marquise is capable of writing and reading a letter by herself; until that moment she was asked to do it for her. The same happens in Pajk's *Pripovednik v sili* (*Emergency Storyteller*, 1883). The servant is amazed when he sees that the countess is capable of reading the letters by herself as she was supposed to be weak-eyed.

- the motif of a young woman married to an old man; for example, Indiana (*Indiana*) and Feodora (*Dušne borbe*) are both young and beautiful women unhappily married to an old man. They resigned themselves to their fate; nevertheless, they both fall in love with a young charming man even though they suffer even more because their love is impossible.

- the motif of a woman keeping watch over a sick (beloved) man: Indiana/Raymon in *Indiana*, Caroline/Urbain in *Le marquis de Villemer*, Feodora/Franjo in *Dušne borbe*, Melita/Konrad in *Roka in srce* (*The Hand and the Heart*, 1893), Ada/Oskar in *Blagodejna zvezdica*, Judita/ Judita's father in *Judita*.

#### 8.2.1.5 Language, Words and Names in Pavlina Pajk's Literary Work

In addition to similar motifs, there are other elements in Pajk's works that show she read French novels. One of the examples is the name of one of the characters: Spiridijon in the work *Pripovednik v sili*. Pajk must have found this very unusual name in Slovenia in the novel *Spiridion* (1838) by George Sand. Some of the loanwords, although commonly used in German and Slovenian at that time, may as well show French influence. Words such as "toilleta", "marquis", "šarman", "brilliantni" and "lieutenant" were found in the works *Pripovednik v sili* and *Roka in*

srce. The adverb “mehanično” (mechanically) is also very recurrent in Pajk’s works; for example, in *Blagodejna zvezdica* and *Dušne borbe*. It was frequently used in French works too (“machinalement”, for example, in *Le marquis de Villemer*). An interesting passage in *Blagodejna zvezdica* also appears when the heroine Ada speaks in French in order not to be understood by her protégé Oskar.

#### 8.2.1.6 The Settings and the Characters of the Novels

Concerning the setting, the novels have much in common. The stories take place in the rural or urban environment or at manor houses in the countryside. Both authors like to include descriptions and author’s remembrances of real places. For instance, the countryside of Nohant is frequent in Sand’s novels (*La petite Fadette*, *La mare au Diable*), while Pajk likes depicting the countryside of Goriška and the river Soča (*Judita*). The descriptions are realistic and usually geographically exactly determined. The heroines normally go far away from home in order to find an employment, therefore the narrative place extends even to other continents (*Indiana*, *Domačija nad vse* (Home above All, 1889). The characters are usually idealised or they are attributed to have extremely bad qualities. In the works of both authors egoism and pride are considered to be the worst qualities, whilst love reigns among all the human emotions. The faith in God has a key role, as all characters believe that everything happens due to divine providence. The physical appearance of the heroines is mostly created upon the author’s appearance. Namely, Sand’s heroines are usually small, with dark eyes and hair, while Pajk’s heroines are tall and slim with blue eyes.

#### 8.2.2 Josip Jurčič (1844–1881)

The Slovenian writer Josip Jurčič unquestionably knew Sand’s works. The literary historian Jože Pogačnik in his monograph about the development of the Slovenian folk motive of Lepa Vida, states that George Sand’s novels influenced Josip Jurčič’s novel *Lepa Vida* (Beautiful Vida, 1877). (Pogačnik 81–83) Ivan Prijatelj thinks the same about Jurčič’s tale *Moč in pravica* (Power and Justice, 1870). (Mihurko Poniž & Badalič 85) Both *Lepa Vida* and *Moč in pravica* contain the motif of marital

infidelity as the main problem which Jurčič condemned and wished to stress ethical principles in his works. (Ibid., 85) The proof is Jurčič's handwritten notes from 1868:

The theme of adultery (ehebruch) [sic] was and will be inevitable in poetic works, especially novels. There is a big difference if the adultery happens with the natural need in which the natural (sinlich) [sic] motives work together – after all, spirit and body cannot separate in life as they do on paper - or if it arises from a broken fidelity to a man or engaged woman due to a physical insatiable desire which happens with the female Don Juans who are portrayed by George Sand and who throw men like squeezed oranges away and fly as bees from a flower to flower, never satisfied. Slovenians don't like that. We have morals embedded, we differ from the French. The French have comedies on this topic; we must have tragedies – a tragic ending. We must be soothed by a punishment which the natural power gives for the sin we do not defend. The whole, the strength, the morals rise above the attack of an individual in a tragic ending. (Jurčič 358–359)

As Pogačnik claims, Sand expressed the thought of a woman's liberation of any kind of male authority and the search for true love in her novels *Indiana* (1832), *Lélia* (1833) and *Valentine* (1832). The above quote shows that Jurčič did not quite understand the essence of George Sand's protagonists (Pogačnik 83). Pogačnik adds that Jurčič valued Sand and her work despite the difference in ideas and he considered her "the greatest French novelist". (Ibid., 84) In the 12<sup>th</sup> chapter of the novel *Rokovnjači* (Bandits, 1881) which – as Jurčič died – was finished by Janko Kersnik on the basis of the draft version by Jurčič, we find a quote by George Sand's famous prologue to *François le Champi* (1850): "If I make a farmer speak the way we speak, he becomes a fictitious thing who needs to be given ideas he does not have."<sup>504</sup> (Jurčič 167) This proves, however, that Jurčič took some ideas from the work of the French author that he found interesting and applied them in accordance with his own ideas.

### 8.2.3 Josip Stritar (1836–1923)

The Slovenian author, translator, and publisher Josip Stritar also knew the French author and her work. Stritar was a great supporter of the sentimental novel. He realized his sentimental aspirations particularly in the novel *Zorin* (1870). No

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<sup>504</sup> In French original, the sentence is: "Si je fais parler l'homme des champs comme il parle, il faut une traduction en regard pour le lecteur civilisé; et si je le fais parler comme nous parlons, j'en fais un être impossible, auquel il faut supposer un ordre d'idées qu'il n'a pas". (Sand 12)



particular similarities were found between his work and the work of George Sand, however, it is important to note that in his writings Stritar explicitly alleged the French author. His aforementioned mentioning of Sand in *Zona*<sup>505</sup> shows that Stritar appreciated the French author and her work very much and wished Slovenian authors would create works as Sand's, since he placed her among the most known and valued world authors. In Stritar's review from 1876 of the Slovenian translation of Oliver Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield* (*Župnik Wakefieldski* by Jesenko) he cites the works of Sand as an example once again, since in his opinion, there is a lot of external action in her better novels. He thinks that this kind of action reveals the secrets of the human soul to the reader and he denominates that kind of novel a "psychological" novel. (Stritar, *Zbrano* VII 239)

### 8.3 Quotations, Paraphrases, Works and Names of European Authors in Slovenian Works<sup>506</sup>

#### 8.3.1 Eugenie Marlitt (1825–1887)

Slovenian female authors, in particular Pavlina Pajk and Luiza Pesjak, were frequently accused of plagiarizing Eugenie Marlitt by their contemporaries as it has been already stated in the aforementioned Marlitt's portrait. The opposition to Pavlina Pajk and her romantic idealism manifested as early as 1880s and 1890s. (Stritar, *Zbrano* X 471) In fact, the anonymous reviewer of her *Zbrani spisi* (Collected Writings, 1895) insinuated that particularly the first short story – *Roka in*

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<sup>505</sup> See page 132.

<sup>506</sup> Even though only authors of literary works have been included in this subsection, it must be observed that the Swedish essayist Ellen Key (1849–1926) was received by Zofka Kveder in her *Misterij Žene*. Kveder put Key's quotation in German at the beginning of one of her short stories which depicts the suffering of a woman who has been disappointed in marriage. The quotation runs as follows: "Die Liebe ist sittlich auch ohne gesetzliche Ehe, aber diese ist unsittlich ohne Liebe" (Love is moral also without marriage, but the latter is immoral without love). (Kveder, *Zbrano* I 49) The second part of the quotation is repeated once more at the end of the story. The phrase was taken from Key's essay *Die Frau* (Woman) published in the book *Die Essays* (Essays, 1899). (Ibid., 508) Kveder's story thus completely illustrates Key's idea since the suffering of her heroine is caused by the deficiency of love in her marriage. Ellen Key is also quoted in the last story of Kveder's collection. The heroine, who has had a relation with a married man, finds herself more worthy to be deeply loved than women who give themselves to their husband without loving them. She thus remembers Key's words "Reinheit ist der frischgefallene Schnee, der geschmolzen oder beileckt werden kann; Keuschheit der im Feuer weissgeglühte, gehärtete Stahl ..." (Purity is the freshly fallen snow which can melt and get dirty, chastity is the white-glowing, hardened steel in the fire). (Ibid., 53) The quotation was also taken from the aforementioned essay *Die Frau*. (Ibid., 508)

*srce* (Hand and Heart) is “reminiscent of Marlitt’s well-known motifs.”<sup>507</sup> Similar accusation came upon Pajk’s *Planinska idila* (Alpine Idyll) in 1896.<sup>508</sup> Fran Govekar denounced Pajk also in his article “Portretne karikature” (Portrait Caricatures) saying that all of her novels had been written on the model of German female authors.<sup>509</sup> This is why Josip Stritar ran to Pajk’s help in his letter from 1897 in which he defended her stating that she should not be ashamed of being denominated with Marlitt’s name. (Stritar, *Zbrano X* 168) Luiza Pesjak’s *Beatin dnevnik* (Beata’s Diary, 1887) had been through analogous recriminations.<sup>510</sup>

As already discussed, also Katarina Bogataj-Gradišnik, Miran Hladnik, and Katja Mihurko Poniž take into consideration the possible influence of Marlitt on Slovenian female authors. Nevertheless, Mihurko Poniž states that the relation between Pajk’s and Marlitt’s works can be just presumed since Marlitt’s name has been found neither in Pajk’s works nor in her correspondence. (Mihurko Poniž, *Trivialno* 75) Several similarities between their works derive in fact from the convention of genres. (Ibid., 76) Moreover, motifs, such as the madwoman in the attic which appears in both works, and other sentimental motifs could have been taken from works of other European female authors, such as Charlotte Brontë and George Sand, as it has been already stated by Bogataj-Gradišnik. Since Brontë’s *Jane Eyre* is the most famous novel which includes the motif of the madwoman in the attic it seems even more probable that Pajk took this motif from the English novel. (Ibid., 76) According to Mihurko Poniž, the comparison has shown that there are assuredly similarities between their works. However, inspite of the fact that Marlitt was undoubtedly more read than English and French female authors, it cannot be asserted that Pavlina Pajk was directly influenced by the German author, but the possibility of other influences must be taken into consideration. (Ibid., 78) Similarly, there is no proof of Marlitt’s influence on Luiza Pesjak either, since the motifs which appear in her *Beatin dnevnik* could be also found in the novels of several European female authors.

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<sup>507</sup> “Zbrani spisi Pavline Pajkove.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 10 (1895): 641.

<sup>508</sup> Govekar, Fran. “Knezova knjižnica.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 5 (1896): 316.

<sup>509</sup> Govekar, Fran. “Portretne karikature.” *Edinost* 110 (1896): 3.

<sup>510</sup> See page 65.

Even though Marlitt's influence has not been researched in the works of other Slovenian authors, her name was frequently put in the mouths of their characters or simply mentioned in the works. In her *Pisma* (Letters), the Slovenian woman writer Zofka Kveder mentions an old issue of a Viennese journal which she read from beginning to end, including Marlitt's text.<sup>511</sup> (Mihurko Poniž, *Trivialno* 73) However, Kveder does not make any further comment about Marlitt. Despite this, in her short story *Študentke* (Female Students), Zofka Kveder while describing a male character – dr. Stein, compares his family relations to the “unhappy episodes of Marlitt's novels” (Kveder, *Zbrano* 428) since at times he was “all beaten and scratched” (Ibid., 428).

Nevertheless, Marlitt was not only known among female authors, but several male authors mentioned her in their works. For instance, in Fran Govekar's short story *Sama svoja* (One's Own, 1895), Minka reads Marlitt's novels.<sup>512</sup> (Mihurko Poniž, *Trivialno* 73) Similarly, the German governess Elza in Janko Kersnik's *Ciklamen* (Cyclamen, 1883) extensively discusses Marlitt's novels with the nationally conscious Slovenian Dr. Hrast who finds them so “foolishly invented and unnaturally conceived that nobody will read them anymore in ten or twenty years” (Kersnik 125). (Mihurko Poniž, *Trivialno* 73) As Mihurko Poniž ascertains, Marlitt's name appears several times with a negative connotation in the works of the Slovenian writer Ivan Cankar (1876–1918) who considered the works of the German female author as maudlin and proper only for stupid female bourgeois. (Ibid., 74) Moreover, Anton Funtek's work *Iz osvete* (For Revenge, 1896) reminds the reviewer Fran Zbašnik of one of Marlitt's novels but he does not go into further detail.<sup>513</sup>

The German author was undoubtedly widely received among Slovenian female and male authors. Probably due to Marlitt's devaluation in Germany in the 1880s her works were associated with a valueless and maudlin literature also in Slovenian territory particularly among male authors who often included Marlitt's name with a negative connotation in their works. (Mihurko Poniž, *Trivialno* 71–74) Even though Pavlina Pajk and Luiza Pesjak were charged with being Marlitt's epigones, it cannot

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<sup>511</sup> Kveder, Zofka. “Pisma.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 8 (1904): 463.

<sup>512</sup> Govekar, Fran. “Sama svoja.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 8 (1895): 491.

<sup>513</sup> Zbašnik, Fran. “Slovensko gledališče.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 11 (1896): 708.

be affirmed with certainty that they drew their inspiration from the German novelist, since they might have been influenced also by other European novelists, in particular English and French.

### 8.3.2 Madame de Staël (1766–1817)

Josip Stritar mentioned Madame de Staël in the aforementioned reflexion on literature *Zona* in 1876. The author thinks about the French quotation “Tout comprendre, c’est tout pardonner.”<sup>514</sup> He has heard that it is attributed to Madame de Staël, but he does not believe it since, as he affirms, he has read her *De l’Allemagne* (*Germany*, 1810/1813) and *Corinne* (1807), and another work of which he does not remember the title anymore. For this reason he states that it is not flour from her mill. He continues that he cannot stand the French author as Napoleon could not either.<sup>515</sup> (Stritar, *Zbrano* VI 335)

It must be noted that *Corinne* was also mentioned by the Slovenian writer Valentin Korun (1865–1940). In his short story *Na Žovneku* (On Žovnek) published in *Ljubljanski zvon* in 1913 he relates a popular romantic story of a young baroness who was waiting for her husband to come back from the Napoleon’s war in Russia in 1812. At the beginning of the story, the young lady holds in her hands “the recent published novel *Corinne ou l’Italie* by the French woman writer Madame de Staël.”<sup>516</sup> The narrator also adds that the baroness was reading the novel with interest for the second time. (Ibid., 23)

### 8.3.3 Selma Lagerlöf (1858–1940)

The Swedish author Selma Lagerlöf was quoted by the Slovenian author Milan Pugelj (1883–1929) in his short story *Magda* which was published in *Ljubljanski zvon* in 1907. Ana, a housemaid of noble origin, narrates the story of a young and rich man Oton Jug, with whom she was in love, and the courtesan Magda. At some moment, Ana cites Lagerlöf’s words: “The Swedish woman writer Selma Lagerlöf

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<sup>514</sup> The phrase is usually translated as: To know all is to forgive all.

<sup>515</sup> Stritar even notes that Mme de Staël came to hate Napoleon when he expressed his preference for a woman with as many children as possible. (Stritar, *Zbrano* VI 335)

<sup>516</sup> Korun, Valentin. “Na Žovneku.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 1 (1913): 23.

says somewhere that young, innocent, and unhappy people already feel all the difficult occurrences when they are approaching. And at that time I was young, innocent, and unhappy, and probably this was the cause that I had a premonition in my dreams and in my thoughts of something obscure and very tragic.”<sup>517</sup>

Pugelj thus put Lagerlöf’s words into the mouth of his heroine – the first-person narrator Ana. This must be taken into consideration, since, first of all, it means that the author himself was influenced by Lagerlöf’s works, and secondly, Pugelj by means of his heroine shows what kind of literature was read by young and well-educated Slovenian women.<sup>518</sup>

#### 8.3.4 Gabriele Reuter (1859–1941)

The novel *Aus guter Familie* (*From a Good Family*, 1895) of the German author Gabriele Reuter was mentioned in Zofka Kveder’s *Študentke* (*Female Students*, 1900). (Mihurko Poniž, *Drzno* 76) The Russian protagonist Liza comments upon Reuter’s novel, which she has read, saying that “these are awful tragedies, all this everyday nullity and a mere trifle.” (Kveder, *Zbrano* II 423) Liza then compares Germans and Russians stating that the latter are much more freethinking, brave and that they get rid of prejudices more easily. (Ibid., 432) Kveder obviously knew very well this novel. Probably the novel had an impact also on other Kveder’s stories, since similar motifs can be found in them. For instance, Katja Mihurko Poniž highlights in particular the following motifs: the relationship between mothers and daughters in *Hanka* (1917), *Njeno življenje* (*Her Life*, 1914), *Moja prijateljica* (*My Friend*, 1900), and *Nada* (Ibid., 110–111), and the representation of motherhood in *Hanka*, *Moja prijateljica* and *Pravica do življenja* (*Right to Life*, 1901) (Ibid., 116).

#### 8.3.5 Ada Christen (1839–1901)

The following quotation in German of the Austrian author Ada Christen was found in the beginning of the novelette *Soror Pija* (*Soror Pija*) written by Emil Leon – the

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<sup>517</sup> Pugelj, Milan. “Magda.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 7 (1907): 429.

<sup>518</sup> The education of Ana, however, is not mentioned anywhere in the story. Ana herself tells us about her noble origin, which she kept secret in order to find work at Jug’s house. Moreover, she also mentions reading Goethe’s *Werther* and going to theatre where she met Jug for the first time. Therefore, the character is supposed to be educated according to her nobility.

pseudonym of the Slovenian writer Ivan Tavčar (1851–1923), and published in *Zvon* in 1879: “Die Welt ist so gross – Leicht kann sich verbergen ein glückloses Weib”<sup>519</sup> (The world is so big – a hapless woman can hide herself without problems). The quote reflects the fate of the heroine.

### 8.3.6 Luise Mühlbach (1814–1873)

In the novelette *Milan*<sup>520</sup> (Milan) published in *Slovenski narod* in 1891 the main character Milan is depicted as noble-minded man who does not know enough the real life and whose books show that he is inclined to daydreaming. Among Milan’s favourite reading matter, the author includes Luise Mühlbach’s novel *Graf von Benjowsky* (1865) noting that when Milan read the novel, he even cried.<sup>521</sup>

### 8.3.7 Caroline Pichler (1769–1843)

Even though there is no explicit proof of influence of the Austrian writer Caroline Pichler on the Slovenian writer Janez Trdina (1830–1905), it must be noted that Trdina in his autobiographical work *Moje življenje* (My Life, 1905/1906) wrote that he had read Pichler’s works. In fact, he confessed falling in love so passionately with the “genuine novel,” because of which he visited the library every day.<sup>522</sup> In the course of time, he read all Pichler’s works. In Trdina’s opinion, Pichler belongs to the best German-speaking authors. He stated that her honest works could not offend anybody and that he was particularly interested in her historical novels: *Die Schweden in Prag* (The Swedish in Prague, 1827), *Die Belagerung Wiens* (The Siege of Vienna, 1824), *Die Wiedereroberung von Ofen* (The reconquest of Ofen, 1829). He concluded saying that whoever reproves her, does not know her. (Ibid., 656) Trdina generally condemns the sentimental novel, since in the continuation he asserts that this kind of reading matter is of no use. (Ibid., 656) However, considering his own words, the impact of Caroline Pichler’s work on him was not negligible.

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<sup>519</sup> Leon, Emil. “Soror Pija.” *Zvon* 6 (1879): 88.

<sup>520</sup> The author of the novelette is only denominated with the initials Fr. d. P. Ž–ć. The real name has not been found.

<sup>521</sup> Fr. d. P. Ž–ć. “Milan.” *Slovenski narod* 12 (1891): 2.

<sup>522</sup> Trdina, Janez. “Moje življenje. Avtobiografska pisma.” *Ljubljanski zvon* 11 (1905): 655.

### 8.3.8 Laura Marholm (1854–1928)

The German-Baltic author Laura Marholm was mentioned several times in Slovenian periodical press, particularly in *Slovenka*. The latter dedicated to the German author three long articles. The first one, published in 1897 and summarized upon a German article, extensively and very critically discussed Marholm's work *Zur Psychologie der Frau* (*On the Psychology of Women*, 1897).<sup>523</sup> The editor Marica Nadlišek Bartol writes in the footnotes that the article was dedicated to someone who suggested in a letter that Slovenian women should write "à la Marholm". Nadlišek Bartol, instead of answering to "such a ridiculous letter" preferred to publish the article about Marholm of an estimated German author so that "Slovenians would not want to copy every stupidity which appears in a foreign field." (Ibid., 5) The Czech critic Arne Novak thoroughly reviewed Marholm's works in his article on the modern woman which was published in *Slovenka* in 1900.<sup>524</sup> In the same year, the historian Dragotin Lončar published an article entitled "Lavra Marholm o ženi" (Laura Marholm on a Woman)<sup>525</sup> in which Marholm's anti-feminist ideas were presented on the basis of her work *Das Buch der Frauen* (*The Book of Women*, 1895). Similarly as in the aforementioned article, the second editor of *Slovenka*, Ivanka Anžič, writes in the footnotes that the article was published in order to introduce the readers to different points of view concerning the female emancipation, although *Slovenka* does by no means support the ideas of Marholm. (Ibid., 161)

Marholm was undoubtedly read by Zofka Kveder. At the very beginning of her book of short stories *Misterij žene*<sup>526</sup> (*The Mystery of a Woman*, 1900), Kveder put the following quotation in German from Marholm's work *Das Buch der Frauen*:

Das Weib hat kein eigenes Schicksal. Es kann es nicht haben, denn es kann nicht allein sein. Es kann auch nicht Schicksal werden, nicht direct, nicht durch dass, was es veranlasst. Je mehr Weib es ist, je

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<sup>523</sup> Strnad, Marica. "O psihologiji Lavre Marholmove." *Slovenka* 23 (1897): 3–5.

<sup>524</sup> Novak, Arne. "Nove faze moderne žene." *Slovenka* 2 (1900): 32–35.

<sup>525</sup> Lončar, Dragotin. "Lavra Marholm o ženi." *Slovenka* 7 (1900): 161.

<sup>526</sup> In her collection, Kveder wanted to outline some parts of female soul and female fate in order to show the suffering of women to those who do not see it so that they would respect the woman and her dark and mysterious fate. (Kveder, *Zbrano* I 9)

reicher veranlagt es ist, desto mehr wird der Mann, der es nimmt als sein, sein Schicksal durch das, was er selber ist als Mann und durch das, was er ihm zu geben hat, als Mann.<sup>527</sup> (Kveder, *Zbrano* I 7)

According to Katja Mihurko Poniž, Kveder chose this quotation as a motto for her collection, even though Marholm was not considered as a progressive and socio-critical author which is evident from the fragment above. (Kveder, *Zbrano* I 503) Nevertheless, it must be noted that the same quotation was recapitulated in Lončar's article which was published approximately one month after the publication of *Misterij žene*.<sup>528</sup>

Moreover, Josip Stritar in the aforementioned letter to Pavlina Pajk, in which he defends her against those who accused her of being Marlitt's epigone, probably refers to Marholm when he writes: "If I could make a choice: Marlitt or Marhohn [sic], I would always choose the first one and, I guess, it would not be only me!" (Stritar, *Zbrano* X 169) From what Stritar wrote, it is evident that he did not appreciate Marholm's work.

### 8.3.9 Adélaïde de Montgolfier (1789–1880)

Adélaïde de Montgolfier's poem for children *L'hirondelle* (The Swallow) was found in French language in Luiza Pesjak's *Beatin dnevnik* (Beata's Diary). Pesjak, however, did not indicate the author. The poem was rather adapted to the context, since the French lady's companion Zoë de Latour quotes it to the children after whom Beata was taking care. Zoë ingeniously changes and adapts some verses of the poem in order to include the twin sisters, Beata and herself in the story of the swallow. This is an evident proof of how Pesjak took a motif of another author and originally transformed it according to her own imagination. Moreover, the French character Zoë and the use of French are interesting by themselves, since this may

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<sup>527</sup> In English translation: The woman has no her own destiny. She cannot have it, because she cannot be alone. Likewise, she cannot become destiny, not directly, not in such way that she would cause something fatal with her activity. The more woman she is, the more gifted she is with this, the more the man who takes her as his own becomes her fate by what he himself is as a man and what he can give her as a man.

<sup>528</sup> *Misterij žene* was published in mid-June of 1900 (Kveder, *Zbrano* I 460), while Lončar's article was published on 15/7/1900.



indicates the author's preference for French literature and thus French influence rather than German of which Pesjak was normally accused.

## 8.4 Presumable Influence of European Female Authors on Slovenian Authors

### 8.4.1 Betty Paoli (1814–1894)

In the aforementioned article about plagiarism, Viktor Bežek indicates that the poet Simon Gregorčič (1844–1906) was accused of plagiarizing the Austrian female author Betty Paoli.<sup>529</sup> In fact, Gregorčič's ode *Človeka nikar!* (Spare the Man!, 1877) was denounced as being a mere translation of a Paoli's poem.<sup>530</sup> However, Bežek speaks in favour of the Slovenian lyric poet, since he believes that his poem was taken from the bottom of the poet's view about the world's and life's value. Bežek admits that the Austrian poet wished the same as Gregorčič did,<sup>531</sup> i.e. she wished that the Creator, if she would be meant to live once again, would never give her a human body in which she had suffered so much; she wished God would create her as a songbird – free and independent.<sup>532</sup> Bežek is convinced that if the two poets expressed the same idea in a different form it is just an accidental reciprocity which often occurs between congenial souls. He concludes that Simon Gregorčič did not have the necessity to translate other poems, since he had enough beautiful ideas in his soul and heart. (Ibid., 295)

Similarly, the literary historian France Koblar, who investigated Gregorčič's life and work, indicates *Človeka nikar!* as a parallel to Paoli's *Wenn ich dereinst entrückt dem Lebenslande* (When I Once Retire from Life) from her collection *Neue Gedichte* (New Poems, 1850). (Koblar, *Simon* 401) Koblar, in response to the accusations that Paoli's poem was a stimulus for *Človeka nikar!*, warns that there is a fundamental

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<sup>529</sup> Bežek, Viktor. "Plagiatovstvo." *Ljubljanski zvon* 5 (1897): 294.

<sup>530</sup> Bežek in his article did not indicate either the title of Paoli's poem or the person who would have accused Gregorčič of plagiarizing the Austrian poet. Therefore, I have examined the reviews (see also Gregorčič, *Zbrano* 396) of Gregorčič's *Poezije* (Poems, 1877), in which *Človeka nikar!* was published, but no reviewer mentioned Paoli's influence on Gregorčič. Similarly goes for Koblar who wrote Gregorčič's biography. In his book, he gives the title of Paoli's poem but he does not indicate the person who accused Gregorčič of plagiarizing Paoli.

<sup>531</sup> Gregorčič begs God not to give life to men anymore.

<sup>532</sup> In her *Wenn ich dereinst entrückt dem Lebenslande* – the poem which supposedly influenced Gregorčič – Paoli does not mention either the Creator or the songbird.

difference between them due to the evident Paoli's pessimistic concept of the world, with no religious feeling, while Gregorčič pessimism arises from Christian idealism. (Ibid., 220)

#### 8.4.2 Ada Negri (1870–1945)

Viktor Bežek in his article discusses also the artistic honour of the Slovenian poet Anton Aškerc who was blamed of plagiarism of Ada Negri's work. In fact, according to Evgen Lampe<sup>533</sup> Aškerc's poem *Delavčeva pesem o premogu* (Coal Miner's Poem, 1897) was related to Negri's poem of the coal miners.<sup>534</sup> Bežek defends Aškerc stating that authors who examine the same life or the same social movement could obtain similar results.<sup>535</sup> Furthermore, Aškerc's poem was directly copied from the regional conditions in which the author lived: he was surrounded by big coal mines where he could observe the hard work of the miners including the accidents in the mines. (Ibid., 250) Bežek concludes that therefore it is natural that their poems resemble so much. He states, however, that both of them are still independent artists. (Ibid., 250) Undoubtedly, Bežek took all these arguments from the letter that Aškerc had written to the Slovenian writer Fran Govekar in 1897. Namely, After Aškerc's death in 1912, Fran Govekar dedicated to Aškerc a long article in the newspaper *Slovan* in which he published Aškerc's letters.<sup>536</sup> In his letter to Govekar from 1897, after being accused of plagiarizing Ada Negri, Aškerc defends himself explaining that he knows Negri only from the German newspaper *Neue Zeit* (New Time). Besides, Aškerc continues that he cannot speak Italian enough to read poems in original and adds that since he would like to write about the social question, he does not want to read these kind of poets on purpose. He also enumerates the same reasons as mentioned by Bežek and declares that his poem has been taken from the conditions of his own place. In the conclusion, he notes that he ignored that Negri had written anything on this subject. (Ibid., 246)

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<sup>533</sup> Lampe (1874–1918) was a Slovenian priest, author and the editor of the Catholic literary newspaper *Dom in svet* between 1900 and 1913.

<sup>534</sup> Lampe, Evgen. "Leposlovje fin de siècle." *Katoliški obzornik* (1897): 65–66.

<sup>535</sup> Bežek, Viktor. "Plagiatovstvo." *Ljubljanski zvon* 6 (1897): 350.

<sup>536</sup> Govekar, Fran: "Iz spominov Antona Aškerc." *Slovan* 8 (1912): 246.

Nevertheless, Tone Smolej ascertains that Aškerc indeed did not read Negri in original, but that he knew her work from the review of Negri's collection *Tempeste* (Tempests, 1896) published in *Neue Zeit* by Dora Landé. (Smolej 123) The review incorporated an accurate description of several poems and also some translated fragments. The longest appertained to the the poem *L'incendio della miniera*<sup>537</sup> (The Fire of the Mine) of which tendency, according to Lampe, was the same as of Aškerc's *Delavčeva pesem o premogu* despite some discrepancies. (Ibid., 123) In Smolej's opinion, however, Negri approaches to a more symbolistic poetical expression, while Aškerc is more realistic: Negri's poem thus probably affected Aškerc in the choice of genre, while some descriptions were influenced by Émile Zola's *Germinal* (1885). (Ibid., 124)

The deviation from both foreign authors and the originality of Aškerc's poem is nevertheless seen in the introduction of the legendary mining dwarf who avenges himself on people for stealing him the coal (Ibid., 125) In 1910, the Slovenian poet and art historian Vojeslav Mole published an article about Yugoslav poetry translated into Italian in which he briefly mentioned Negri's influence on Slovenian social poetry.<sup>538</sup> Mole did not specify any Slovenian author; however, probably he also referred to Aškerc. The polemic in Slovenian periodicals concerning Aškerc's work continued for several years. Even though on the one hand Aškerc himself denied having followed Negri's example, on the other hand he admitted having read the German review of her work which probably left some impact on his poetic creativity.

#### 8.4.3 Božena Němcová (1820?–1862)

Božena Němcová was mostly known among Slovenians for her work *Babička* (*The Grandmother*, 1855) which was translated into Slovenian (*Babica*) as early as 1862. There is no explicit evidence of the impact of this work on Slovenian authors. However, Luiza Pesjak published in 1883 a poem with the same title – *Babica*<sup>539</sup> which could have been influenced by the Czech work. The grandmother in Pesjak's poem longs for seeing her grandchild even though she has never seen him yet

<sup>537</sup> In German translation: *Minenbrand*. (Smolej 123)

<sup>538</sup> Mole, Vojeslav. "Giovanni Kušar, Canti Jugoslavi." *Ljubljanski zvon* 8 (1910): 507.

<sup>539</sup> Pesjak, Luiza. "Babica." *Kres* 4 (1883): 199.

because he lives far away. She imagines what they would do together through all four seasons if he came. On the contrary, Němcová's grandmother comes to live with her grandchildren and she lives her dreams just as Pesjak's grandmother would like to. Moreover, Christmastime plays an important role in both works, since it is considered to be a period of happiness for both children and grandmothers. However, while Pesjak's grandmother fancies about passing Christmas together with her grandchild she realizes that her dreams will not come true.

Nevertheless, it seems that Němcová's fairy tales and legends were those which most inspired Slovenian authors. Sabina Žnidaršič Žagar presumes that Josipina Turnograjska's<sup>540</sup> tale *Rožmanova Lenčica* (1853) was probably influenced by the Czech author,<sup>541</sup> since Turnograjska's tale "represents (probably) the transition in her interest, which was meant until then for topics from Slavic history, to folklore." (Žnidaršič Žagar 130) In 1912, in the review of the Slovenian translation of Němcová's Czech fairy tales Fran Govekar states that the tale which is the most "national, i.e. which most resembles to national fairy tales"<sup>542</sup> is *O třech zakletých psích* (About Three Enchanted Dogs). According to Govekar, in the central part, this tale is "very reminiscent of *Martin Krpan*" (Ibid., 317) – a Slovenian tale written by Fran Levstik and published in 1858, but he does not set forth reasons. Govekar probably referred to the part in which the king offers his daughter's hand in marriage to whoever succeeds at killing the monster which threatens the kingdom. The hero completes his task as well as Levstik's Martin Krpan does. However, this very motif is quite recurrent in fairy tales, therefore it cannot be maintained that Levstik took it from the Czech author. No further similarities were found between the two tales.

#### 8.4.4 Sophie Cottin (1770–1807)

No explicit mentions of the French author Sophie Cottin by Slovenian authors have been found in their works or correspondence. Nevertheless, taking into consideration the reception of her works in the library catalogues, it can be presumed that she was

<sup>540</sup> Josipina Turnograjska could read Němcová's work in original since, as Žnidaršič Žagar notes, she learnt Czech. (Žnidaršič Žagar 122)

<sup>541</sup> Probably by Němcová's work *Národní báchorky a pověsti* (National Stories and Legends) (1845–1847).

<sup>542</sup> Govekar, Fran. "Češke pravljice." *Slovan* 10 (1912): 317.

known among Slovenian readers. First of all, Katarina Bogataj Gradišnik mentions the influence of Cottin's novel *Malvina* (1800) on Pavlina Pajk, since the protagonist of the Slovenian novel *Slučaji usode* (Chances of Fate, 1897) is also named Malvina.<sup>543</sup> (Bogataj Gradišnik, *Ženski* 37) Both novels have in fact the following motifs in common: the heroines are both widows who did not love their husbands, which is unusual for the protagonists of novels who are usually presented as inexperienced and innocent. Furthermore, Sophie Cottin's Malvina's friend dies, and Pavlina Pajk's Malvina's child dies. And these two persons were the only consolation left for both protagonists. Due to a bad financial state they both leave home in order to forget the tragic events. There, everybody admires them for their immense physical and spiritual beauty, and for the first time, they both fall in love with men who are said to indulge in passion. (Mihurko Poniž & Badalič 85) Between Cottin's novel *Claire d'Albe* (1798) and Pajk's *Dušne borbe* (The Fights of the Soul, 1896) several parallels could be also drawn. Both works tell the story of a young, beautiful, sensible, and virtuous woman (Claire/Feodora), who has married an upright older man (M. D'Albe/Emerih), in accordance with her father's will. The women's peaceful life is upset when their husbands bring home a young relative, a cousin (Frédéric) or a brother (Franjo). Both young men's physical appearance is on a par with their mind. In both cases, the heroine falls in love with the young man and spends the remainder of the story resisting her feelings to him and struggling over what to do. Claire and Feodora want to act virtuously despite their love.

Despite this, it cannot be stated with certainty that Cottin's novels had an influence on Pajk's literary work, although both authors follow similar motifs and assign to their female and male protagonists the principal attributes of sentimental heroism, such as virtue, sensibility and intelligence.

#### 8.4.5 Charlotte Brontë (1816–1855)

Charlotte Brontë's novel *Jane Eyre* (1847) or at least its adaptation *Die Waise von Lowood* (1853) by Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer enjoyed wide circulation among

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<sup>543</sup> The Polish author Maria Wirtenberska wrote the novel *Malwina albo domyślność serca* (Malvina or the Perspicacity of the Heart, 1816) where the heroine Malwina is also a young widow who falls in love with a mysterious man. Therefore Pavlina Pajk could have also known this novel.

Slovenian audience, particularly due to its performance in Slovenian theatres. Katarina Bogataj-Gradišnik mentioned, beside Sand's novels, Brontë's novel as a possible inspiration for Pavlina Pajk's *Blagodejna zvezdica* (Beneficent Star, 1881), *Mačeha* (The Stepmother, 1882) and *Slučaji usode* (Chances of Fate, 1897), and Luiza Pesjak's *Beatin dnevnik* (Beata's diary), since their heroines have much in common: they are poor but well-educated orphans who work as a governess or as a lady's companion. However, many deviations occur in the works of Slovenian authors. For instance, Pajk's heroines are not very young girls but rather thirty-year-old mature women, while the male protagonists in Pesjak's and Pajk's works are bourgeois scholars and not aristocrats. (Bogataj-Gradišnik, *Sentimentalni* 142) Besides, Pajk's *Arabela* (1885) includes the motif of the madwoman in the attic which has been already discussed in the reception of Eugenie Marlitt.

#### 8.4.6 Marie-Jeanne Riccoboni (1713–1792)

The Slovenian literary historian Janko Kos pointed out a possible influence of a French literary work on the playwright Anton Tomaž Linhart (1756–1795), namely the influence of Madame Riccoboni's novel *Histoire de Miss Jenny* (1764) on Linhart's tragedy *Miss Jenny Love* (1779) which was written in German. (Kos, *Zgodnja* 447–461) The comparison of the works showed that Linhart's tragedy and the work of Marie Jeanne Riccoboni have a common name in the title, namely Miss Jenny, who is also the protagonist of both works. Similarities in other names occur as well: both mothers are named Sara; in Linhart's work Jenny is in love with Edvard and in *Histoire de Miss Jenny*, Edouard is Jenny's father. In both works, the protagonists passionately and unnaturally stock men (Lord Danby and Lord Harrington); the women do not wish to be with the men, which is why strong male emotions constantly cause evil. Despite that, the French writer's Jenny first succumbs to the passion of Lord Danby and marries him, but when she notices that the wedding was bogus, she wishes to sever all ties with him. Linhart's Miss Jenny's father saves Miss Jenny from Lord Harrington even before he entices her by murdering him. Linhart's tragedy is full of blood and violence; Lord Harrington wishes to murder Jenny's lover Edvard, but the murder goes awry; her father has also murdered in the past. In the story of Madame Riccoboni the lust for blood is not that obvious, however, it is still marked by murders; Lord Danby mortally wounds Lord

Arundel who wanted to marry Jenny, and Jenny's father lost his life in a battle. The setting of Linhart's tragedy is Scotland, and that of Madame Riccoboni's is England, although her characters mention Scotland many times as well. (Mihurko & Badalič 78–79)

## 8.5 The Presumable Influence of Greek Metrics on Slovenian Poetry

### 8.5.1 Corinna (6<sup>th</sup> century BC)

In 1916, in *Dom in svet* the Slovenian philologist Franc Omerza wrote an article about the influence of Greek poets on the metrics of the Slovenian poet France Prešeren (1800–1849), in particular on his poem *Nezakonska mati* (The Unmarried Mother, 1843).<sup>544</sup> In Omerza's opinion, Prešeren found inspiration in the metrics of the ancient Greek poetry.<sup>545</sup> The metrics in Corinna's poetry was, among others, compared to Prešeren's metrics in the aforementioned poem and Omerza drew several parallels between them. Moreover, he states that several Prešeren's poems, such as *Zdravilo ljubezni* (Love Remedy), *Ženska zvestoba* (Female Fidelity, 1839), *Pevcu* (To a Poet, 1838) etc., follow the example of the metrics of *Nezakonska mati* which probably shows a more general Greek influence. (Ibid., 219)

### 8.5.2 Sappho (c. 6<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> century BC)

The influence of the Greek author could be seen in the ode *Oda spominu Franca Plemelna* (Ode to the Memory of Franc Plemel) published in 1852 in *Slovenska bčela*.<sup>546</sup> Namely, below the title it is noted that the ode is written in Sappho's metrics. However, no other similarity has been found. The Greek lyric author was mentioned also in two Josip Stritar's literary works: *Klara*, a short story published in *Zvon* in 1880, and *Apostrof. Ljubezen* (Apostrophe. Love), a short dramatic work published in *Zvon* in 1876. In the first work, the heroine Klara is reading Sappho who "is praised by the whole world."<sup>547</sup> Klara reproaches contemporary lyric authors with

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<sup>544</sup> Omerza, Franc. "Prešernova Nezakonska mati." *Dom in svet* 7/8 (1916): 218.

<sup>545</sup> Until then, it was generally thought that Prešeren only read Latin classics, such as Horace, Virgil and Ovid. (Ibid., 219)

<sup>546</sup> P. Š. "Oda spominu Franca Plemelna." *Slovenska bčela* 30 (1852): 244.

<sup>547</sup> Stritar, Josip. "Klara." *Zvon* 18 (1880): 276.

looking for their topics in ancient times instead of turning their eyes to the present world. She addresses Sappho in her thoughts and raises rhetoric questions wishing to be the Greek poet: “You miserable, unhappy Sappho! Which woman, such as we are, would not like to be in your place!” (Ibid., 276) In the dramatic work *Apostrof. Ljubezen*, the main character Ljubezen (Love) boasts of inspiring all great authors such as Sappho, Petrarca and Prešern.<sup>548</sup> Moreover, France Prešeren in the poem dedicated to Luiza Pesjak *An eine junge Dichterin* (To a Young Poet, 1844), published in the German journal *Carniolia*, mentioned Sappho. With this poem Prešeren probably wanted to encourage the young Luiza Pesjak in writing poems. In fact, he declares that if she feels passionate about writing poems, she has to join Sappho’s guild: “Fühlst du Begeist’rung dir den Busen schwellen, / Vom inner’n Gott zum Dichten dich getrieben, / Dann ist dir wahrlich keine Wahl geblieben, / Du musst dich Sapphos Gilde zugesellen.”<sup>549</sup> (If you feel the enthusiasm swelling in your breasts, / and your inner God tells you to write poems, / then there is no choice for you, / you have to join Sappho’s guild.)

## 8.6 Conclusion

By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Slovenian periodicals raised the question about the probable influence that foreign authors had had on Slovenian writers. In fact, the reviewers called the attention of the readers revealing some examples of evident similarities between several works. Among these European authors there were also female authors. Besides, foreign female authors and their works were discussed in the correspondence of Slovenian authors; they were mentioned or quoted in their literary works, notes and diaries. Moreover, Slovenian authors published obituaries, articles, and reviews of foreign authors. Considering this, it can be presumed that in one way or another writings of European female authors exerted some influence, conscious or unconscious, on Slovenian literary works.

The investigation has shown that several European female authors undeniably had an impact on the creativity of Slovenian authors. Explicit evidences, such as quotations of Laura Marholm, Ada Christen, Madame de Staël or the paraphrase of Selma

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<sup>548</sup> Stritar, Josip. “Ljubezen.” *Zvon* 10 (1876): 154.

<sup>549</sup> Prešeren, France. “An eine junge Dichterin.” *Carniolia* 53 (1844): 211.



Lagerlöf which were included into Slovenian texts, display the significance of works of female authors for Slovenian works. In some cases, only the name of an author or her work was mentioned in a literary work which should also be considered as meaningful information, since a particular female author was probably not alluded to by accident. This was the case of Eugenie Marlitt, Madame de Staël, Sappho, Luise Mühlbach, Caroline Pichler and Gabriele Reuter. Nevertheless, sometimes, in particular when the author's name or her work was not mentioned, it is very hard to demonstrate that her work was a source of inspiration for Slovenian authors. Moreover, it must be taken into account that genres, such as the sentimental novel, contained recurrent similar motifs which could be found in several novels around Europe. For this reason the influence cannot be attested with certainty, but only presumed. For example, Eugenie Marlitt's, Charlotte Brontë's, Sophie Cottin's, and Madame Riccoboni's works seem to have much in common with works of Pavlina Pajk and Luiza Pesjak, but their influence can be only supposed. An interesting case was found in Luiza Pesjak's *Beatin dnevnik*, since the Slovenian author adapted Adélaïde de Montgolfier's poem according to her creativity. Furthermore, similar metrics as that of ancient Greek authors Sappho and Corinna was perceived in some Slovenian poems. Well-known cases of presumed influence were those of Ada Negri and Betty Paoli on Anton Aškerc and Simon Gregorčič respectively, even though Aškerc denied all accusations against him.

Finally, as a case study for a detailed investigation I have chosen Pavlina Pajk and George Sand, since Pajk incontrovertibly knew Sand's work. The analysis of their literary works demonstrates that similar recurrent motifs from the sentimental novel were recycled, preserved and reutilized in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. By this means, they were actualized according to the moral qualities and the time when Sand and Pajk lived. George Sand influenced many European authors. Pavlina Pajk was undoubtedly among them, even though she never mentioned it explicitly. Her style of writing, choice of the genre, motifs and even the names of the characters show that she knew very well the literary work of the French author. Nevertheless, Pajk managed to transform with great skill similar motifs remodeling them according to the contemporary Slovenian culture and society. In doing so, she achieved originality and authenticity.

All the aforementioned examples and the case study prove that the Slovenian literature was tightly connected – not only regarding male authors but also, as it has been shown, female authors – to the European literature, from which it also took some inspiration and ideas transforming them in an authentic way conforming to contemporary Slovenian ideas and literary currents.

## 9 CONCLUSIONS

Within my research, I attempted to illuminate the reception of European women writers in Slovenian territory from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century until the end of World War I: which and how many female authors were received, where and how they were received and by whom they were received. Moreover, I endeavoured to investigate the possible influence or impact that their literary works exerted on literary works of Slovenian authors.

Due to the historical and cultural situation, when referring to the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Slovenian territory, one must refer to a multicultural space, where several various cultures interlaced. In fact, this territory formed part of the Habsburg Monarchy, in which the official language was German, throughout the whole century until World War I when the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians was founded and thus after long centuries under Germanic cultural influences Slovenian people turned towards their Slavic roots. However, the influence of the multicultural space strongly reflected in Slovenian culture and, particularly, literature which was mostly connected to the Germanic world. According to the Slovenian literary historian Janko Kos, literature played a pivotal role in the Slovenian *Geistesgeschichte*. In his work *Primerjalna zgodovina slovenske literature* (Comparative History of Slovenian Literature, 2001) Slovenian authors are compared to their European counterparts. Kos thus mentions seven foreign women writers among numerous male authors, particularly German, in connection with Slovenian literature. Kos' comparison, however, seems to give an erroneous idea of the presence, or rather, the absence of female authors in the European literary field and their importance. Namely, the outcome of this research has shown that there were seven hundred and eighty-two European female authors received in Slovenian territory in the investigated period of time (see Appendix). Consequently, this quantitative research has led to a closer analysis of the investigated reception which is presented in this dissertation.

Being a female author in the 19<sup>th</sup> century did not mean the same as being a male author. The female author's identity "as *woman* writing was inescapable." (Cohen 194). However, news and texts, in the original version or in translation, of numerous European women writers circulated throughout Europe. The majority of female

authors were taken into consideration either because of their talent or because of other remarkable features which did not have much to do with literature. The latter was often the case for Slovenian reception. In fact, the fourteen case studies presented in this dissertation prove that different portraits and life stories of European female authors circulated in the investigated periodical press. The most frequent recurring characteristics or motifs that draw attention are the style of writing of an author, details from her private life, her social involvement and charity, and her passionate patriotism. Concerning the private life of the authors, frequently their (unhappy) marriage was argued about. Several times, it was discussed about the loss of a child which had strong consequences for their literary work. Moreover, in several cases, their travelling spirit is also depicted. Stress was put also on the topic of female emancipation and, particularly, endeavour for female education. Some authors, such as Ada Negri, Božena Němcová and Charlotte Brontë were clearly proposed to be taken as role models for Slovenian authors, while the majority of other authors were praised for their literary activity. The authors were also mentioned sometimes in connection to other names of famous European female or male authors. However, the most appreciated authors in Slovenian periodicals seem to be those who were known for their sense of social justice and charity, such as George Sand, Ada Negri, Maria Konopnicka, Carmen Sylva, Karolina Světlá, Božena Němcová and Eliza Orzeszkowa. Even though George Sand excited a lot of curiosity and disapproval for her provoking style of life, she won people's favour for her human kindness.

The 19<sup>th</sup> century brought new changes also for Slovenian women. Studies, such as Peter Vodopivec's research about Slovenian women's entry in public life and Katja Mihurko Poniž's study on Slovenian women writers' entry in the literary field, display that women were given recognition particularly after the revolution of 1848 when they actively participated with their engagement and literary contributions in the national movement. During this time, first Slovenian women writers emerged, such as Fany Hausmann (1818–1853), Luiza Pesjak (1828–1898), Josipina Turnograjska (1833–1854) and Pavlina Pajk (1854–1901). While all of them contributed with their writings to national causes (Mihurko Poniž, *Nation* 32), Pajk, besides being the first Slovenian woman writer who presented the woman question in public, continued also the tradition of the sentimental novel.

These important social and cultural changes in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Slovenian territory, particularly the increasing number of Slovenian authors and readers played an important role in Slovenian literary sphere due to the increased circulation of information from different parts of Europe. Consequently, among this information, names and titles of European female authors began to appear. Besides, the swing of the periodical press and the growing number of lending libraries in that period strongly contributed to the reception of female authors. In fact, they started bringing numerous names and works of contemporary writers and poets, and of those from previous centuries. Moreover, the very first mentioning – from 1812 – of a European female author in the Slovenian territory was found precisely in the periodical press: in the magazine *Télégraphe officiel des Provinces Illyriennes* (The Official Telegraph of Illyrian Provinces). The research of reception in periodical press carried out with the help of the typewritten card catalogue of foreign authors in Slovenian periodicals preserved at ZRC SAZU has demonstrated that European female authors were received in forty-three German and Slovenian periodicals between 1812 and 1918. After the revolution of 1848, there was a considerable rise of various periodicals, among them also those which disseminated news from the world of literature. Moreover, periodicals in Slovenian language started to appear gradually. Consequently, mentions of female authors and their works could be found more and more in different articles, notices, reviews, overviews, reports and obituaries. It must be noted that after 1850 they were mostly received in Slovenian periodicals with the exception of two German newspapers *Blätter aus Krain* and *Laibacher Zeitung*. The following Slovenian periodicals have to be particularly highlighted due to the number of mentions and articles about European female authors and their works that were found in them: *Zora*, *Slovenec*, *Slovenski narod*, *Ljubljanski zvon*, *Dom in svet*, *Slovenka* and *Slovenska žena*. Some literary overviews and columns have contributed more than others to the publicity and mediation of female authors and their works, for this reason they have been particularly highlighted. Literary overviews were found exclusively in Slovenian periodicals. These overviews were focused exclusively on female authors, as if they wanted to stress the role of women in literature which had been neglected and overlooked in the past. In general, these overviews offered a short presentation of female literary activity. Usually they included some most representative works and comments upon the style of writing of

an author. Several columns have been also very relevant for the investigation since they disseminated news regarding novelties on the book market (new publications, translations), book reviews and also theatre reviews. It must be pointed out that periodicals in German language were particularly relevant for mediating information about works of German-speaking authors (above all in the 1870s and 1880s) while Slovenian periodicals mostly brought news about works of Slavic authors, in particular Czech and Polish (from the 1880s on, with a considerable augmentation in the 1890s). The most discussed or advertised works were the works of Gabriela Preissová, Božena Němcová, Eliza Orzeszkowa, Eliška Krásnohorská, and Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer.

European female authors became popular also for the sake of the public and private lending libraries and private collections, which offered numerous works of women writers. During the research, the catalogues of five lending libraries and two private collections have been examined. Namely, the catalogue(s) of Janez Giontini's library, Hedwig von Radics' library, Leopold Paternolli's library, the catalogue of the public library of the General Women's Society, and the catalogue of Javna ljudska knjižnica gospodarskega in izobraževalnega društva za dvorski okraj v Ljubljani (Public Library of Economic and Educational Society for Court District in Ljubljana). The two private collections examined belonged to Francesco Grisoni and Janko Kersnik. This investigation has shown that works of female authors were ubiquitous and that they were probably well received among Slovenian readers. The majority of works were found in German language, i.e. in German original or translation. Some of the books were found in French, English, or Italian original or translation. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, female authors could also be found in Slovenian translation. The fact that particularly authors of Slavic origin, such as Czech and Polish authors were found in Slovenian translation may indicate that Slovenian readers were used to read foreign literature in German translation and therefore they did not have need of translating it into Slovenian. However, due to the national movement in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Slovenians felt the necessity to know Slavic culture and literature which was not available much in German translation and hence they were obliged to translate it. The comparison also shows that the reception in catalogues was quite heterogeneous. Nevertheless, German-speaking authors predominate over other nationalities. They

are followed by Francophone and English-speaking authors. Swedish and Italian authors were also listed in most of the catalogues. The number of works of Polish and Czech authors increased considerably as late as the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Spanish, Norwegian, Swiss, Croatian, Romanian, Russian, Danish and Hungarian authors were found to a lesser degree. Several authors were listed in different catalogues which probably means that they were quite popular among the readers. For instance, authors such as Charlotte Brontë, Natalie von Eschstruth, Emilie Flygare-Carlén, George Sand, Marie Sophie Schwartz and Bertha von Suttner were found in four different catalogues, while works of Eufemia Adlersfeld-Ballestrem, Helene von Beniczky Bajza, Valeska Bethusy-Huc, Helene Böhlau, Comtesse Dash, Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach, Madame de Genlis, Jeanne Mairet, Eliza Orzeszkowa, Henriette von Paalzow, Matilde Serao, and Anna Astl-Leonhard were listed in three different catalogues or collections.

The repertoire of Slovenian theatres was also important for the reception of works of European women writers particularly due to their performance in Slovenian language. On the other hand, it must be observed that adaptations were sometimes quite different from the original, which is the case of Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847) adapted by Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer in her *Die Waise von Lowood* (1855) which became the most known among the Slovenian public.

Slovenian translations of European female authors started appearing only after the revolutionary year of 1848. Works of forty-eight European women writers were translated into Slovenian in the investigated period. In 1857, the first translation – a novel by Sophie Cottin – was published. Translations of Božena Němcová and Fernán Caballero followed in 1862 and 1864, respectively. In spite of this initial heterogeneousness of translated works and authors, the intensive translating activity in the 1890s and in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century showed an obvious preference for authors of Slavic origin, particularly Czech, Polish and Russian authors. This was directly connected to the aforementioned national movement which took part in the second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when cultural activities with national ideas were strongly supported and encouraged. However, works of lesser known authors among Slovenian readers, such as Selma Lagerlöf, were also translated, probably because of their popularity in other European countries. Several works were also translated and

published due to their performance in theatre as already mentioned above: Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer's works were the most popular. Publications in periodical press followed the same vein as stand-alone publications. Although the first published translation was a poem of the German author Adelheid Stolterfoth in 1867, translations of works written by Slavic female authors were indubitably more popular. For instance, the literary work of the Russian author Marko Vovchok was widely received in periodicals. However, there were also some outstanding publications, such as works of Maria Edgeworth and Ouida; and works of the following Swedish authors: Helena Nyblom, Selma Lagerlöf, Elisabeth Kuylenstierna, and Ellen Key. Besides, an important number of Fernán Caballero's texts were published thanks to Janez Parapat's translations. Other important translations were also Pavlina Pajk's translated poems of Empress Elisabeth of Austria, and translations of Ada Negri's social poetry by Janez Evangelist Krek and Alojz Gradnik. Despite the fact that works of Slavic authors were translated to a much bigger degree, Slovenian readers could nevertheless reach for works in Slovenian translation written by authors from various parts of Europe.

Within Slovenian territory of the investigated period several European female authors were received in various ways by Slovenian writers. In fact, Slovenian authors were discussing foreign female authors and their works in their correspondence; some of them wrote down short notes or quotations of foreign female authors in their diaries, notebooks or even works; others published articles, obituaries or reviews with regard to foreign works or, furthermore, they had books of female authors in their private collections and sometimes they also translated their works. The investigation has corroborated that literary texts of foreign female authors very likely inspired Slovenian authors and exerted some influence upon their literary creativity, which can be also seen in Slovenian literary works. The importance of these works for Slovenian works is attested by the quotations of Laura Marholm, Ada Christen, Madame de Staël and Selma Lagerlöf's paraphrase which were included into Slovenian texts. In some cases, only the name of an author or her work was mentioned in a literary work which should also be considered as meaningful information. This was the case of Eugenie Marlitt, Madame de Staël, Sappho, Luise Mühlbach, Caroline Pichler and Gabriele Reuter. Nevertheless, when the author or her work is not mentioned, it is very difficult to demonstrate that her



work was a source of inspiration for Slovenian authors. Furthermore, it must be noted that genres, in particular the sentimental novel, contained recurrent motifs which could be found in several novels around Europe. For this reason the influence cannot be indicated with certainty, but only presumed. For example, Eugenie Marlitt's, Charlotte Brontë's, Sophie Cottin's, and Madame Riccoboni's works seem to have much in common with works of Pavlina Pajk and Luiza Pesjak, but their influence can be only supposed. The example found in Luiza Pesjak's *Beatin dnevnik*, in which the Slovenian author adapted Adélaïde de Montgolfier's poem, on the contrary, displays how a foreign text could be transformed and moulded according to the creativity of the author who had reutilized the existing texts. In some Slovenian poems, similar metrics as that of ancient Greek authors Sappho and Corinna has been perceived. Cases of presumed influence were also those of Ada Negri and Betty Paoli on Anton Aškerc and Simon Gregorčič respectively, despite the fact that Aškerc denied all accusations against him.

Finally, as a case study for a detailed investigation Pavlina Pajk and George Sand have been chosen, because of the fact that Pajk indubitably knew Sand's work since she published an obituary of the French author in 1876. The analysis of their literary works demonstrates that similar recurrent motifs from the sentimental novel were recycled, preserved and reutilized in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when both authors lived. Even though Pavlina Pajk never mentioned explicitly that she had modelled herself upon the famous French author, similarities between their works, such as the style of writing, choice of the genre, motifs and names of the characters, are evident. Nevertheless, Pajk added a touch of originality and authenticity by transforming similar motifs and remodelling them according to the contemporary Slovenian cultural and social values.

Often we think that some things do not exist only because we have not seen, heard or felt them or maybe because we just close our eyes to their existence. These *things* can smoulder in silence for ages before uttering a single sound which would unveil their entity. Female voice emerged in the past centuries mostly due to women writers who dared to write and let know their point of view of the world, which surrounded them, through their writings. Even though the literary history has frequently wrapped them up in the veil of oblivion, this research has shown that women writers existed

and that there were numerous of them who wanted to break the silence of their existence by writing. Moreover, this dissertation also proves that women writers in history, despite being often placed on the margins of the literary field, exerted influence on other female and male authors, so that their ideas reincarnated in other works which may provoke the creation of new works. Therefore, I hope that this research is one of the little cracks in the silence which will enable other quite voices to be heard through its walls.

*We can only grasp silence in the moment in which it is breaking.* (S. Rowbotham)

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## 11 APPENDIX

### European Women Writers Received in Slovenian Territory until 1918

Legend of the table

NAME: Name and/or pseudonym of the author (by alphabetical order) found in at least one of the researched categories. If the name appears with an asterisk, it means that no information has been found about the author which is also probably due to the Slovenian spelling of the name.

YEAR: Year of birth and death of the author, if known, or century in which she probably lived. When no information about the author's life was available, there is a question mark following the century in which the author probably lived, since I have considered the date of publication of her works.

LC: This category represents the reception of women writers in five library catalogues and two private collections which are differentiated by their initials: JG (Janez Giontini's library catalogues), HR (Hedwig von Radics' library catalogue), LP (Leopold Paternolli's library catalogues), SŽD (Library catalogue of Splošno žensko društvo (General Women's Society)), JLK (Library catalogue of Javna ljudska knjižnica gospodarskega in izobraževalnega društva za dvorski okraj v Ljubljani (Public library of economic and educational society for court district in Ljubljana)), JK (Janko Kersnik's private collection) and FG (Francesco Grisoni's private collection).

MP: This category includes mentions, articles, obituaries, reviews, essays, serialized publications, reports, and short news found in periodical press. The research of reception in periodical press was mostly carried out with the help of a typewritten card catalogue of foreign authors in Slovenian periodicals preserved at the Institute of Slovenian Literature and Literary Studies at the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Ljubljana (ZRC SAZU). Therefore the data can be found in the card catalogue and/or in the online database *WomenWriters* <http://neww.huygens.knaw.nl/>.

QLW: Quotation(s) of the listed author found in Slovenian literary works.

MLW: Mention(s) of the listed author or her work found in Slovenian literary works.

R: Work(s) of the listed author found in the repertoire of Slovenian theatres.

T: Slovenian translation(s) of a literary work.

NAME	YEAR	LC	MP	QLW	MLW	R	T
Abrantès, Laure Junot, duchesse de	1784–1838	FG					
Ackermann, Louise	1813–1890		✓				
Adam, Juliette	1836–1936		✓				
Adlersfeld-Ballestrem, Eufemia	1854–1941	SŽD, HR, JLK	✓				
Akhmatova, Anna	1889–1966		✓				
Albertoni, Silvia	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Alexander, Mrs. – French Annie	1825–1902	HR					
Aleksandrovna Luhmanova, Nadezhda	1840–1907		✓				✓
Alexandrovna Lokhvitskaya, Maria	1869–1905		✓				
Alt, Helene	?	HR					
Ancelot, Marguerite Louise Virginie	1792–1875	JG					
Andreas-Salomé, Frau Lou	1861–1937		✓				
Annenkova-Bernár, Nina Pavlovna	1859–1933		✓				
Antolini, Cornelia	1866–1952		✓				
Anzoletti, Luisa	1863–1925		✓				
Arnim, Eva von	1863–1938	HR					
Arnold, Hans	1850–1927	JLK	✓				
Arsić, Eustahija	1776–1843		✓				
Asenijeff, Elsa	1867–1941		✓				
*Assenai, Julie de	?						✓
Assing, Ludmilla	1821–1880	JG					
Aston, Luise	1814–1871	JG					
Athez, Mme d'	?		✓				
Audoux, Marguerite	1863–1937		✓				
Augusti, Brigitte	1839–1930	HR					
Austen, Jane	1775–1817	JG, LP					
Ávila, Teresa de	1515–1582		✓				
Baccini, Ida	1850–1911		✓				
Bach, Cuno	?	HR					
Bach, Emilie	1840–1890		✓				
Baillie, Joanna	1762–1851		✓				
Baisch, Amalie	1859–1902	HR					
Barach, Rosa	1840–1913		✓				
Barazetti, Sophie	1858–1929		✓				
Barber, Ida	1842–1931	HR	✓				
Bartels, Wanda von	1861–1921		✓				
Barthélemy-Hadot, Marie-Adélaïde	1763–1821	JG					
Bartusówna, Maria	1854–1885		✓				
*Barvinska	?		✓				
Barykova, Anna Pavlovna	1839–1893						✓
Baudissin, Gräfin Eva	1869–1943	HR, JLK					
Baudissin, Gräfin Sophie von	1817–1894	HR					
Bauer, Heribert –	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	HR					

Ulrike von Petersdorff							
Bauer, Martin – Selma Martini	1853–?	HR					
Bawr, Alexandrine – Sophie Goury de Champgrand	1773–1860	JG					
*Bay, Adeline Freiin	?		✓				
Bazán Pardo, Emilia	1851–1921	JLK					
Beaulieu, G. (Gertraut) von	1846–1902	HR					
Beaumont, Jeanne Marie Leprince de	1711–1780	LP, JG					
Beauvoir, Mme Roger de	1822–1859	JG					
Becher, Emmy	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> c.	HR, JLK					
Behrens, Bertha – Heimbürg W.	1850–1912		✓				
*Bely, Emma	?		✓				
Bender, Hedwig	1854–1928	HR					
Benešová, Božena	1873–1936		✓				
Beniczky Bajza, Helene von	1840–1905	JK, HR, JLK	✓				
Berend, Alice	1875–1938	JLK					
Berger, Ilse	?	HR					
Berger, Julie	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	JG					
Berkow, Karl – Elise Charlotte Freiin von Wolfersdorf	1846–1921	HR					
Bernardini, Adelaide	1872–1946		✓				
Bernhard, Marie	1852–?	HR, JLK					
*Bernard, Sara	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> c.						✓
Bernstorff, Gräfin Elise von	1789–1867	HR					
Bertheroy, Jean	1868–1927		✓				
Besant, Annie	1847–1933		✓				
Betera-Dimitrička, Marija	1670–1765		✓				
Bethge-Truhn, Elise	1838–1889		✓			✓	
Bethusy-Huc, Valeska – M. von Reichenbach	1849–1926	SŽD, JK, HR					
Bettingen, Frieda	1865–1924		✓				
Bezrodnaya, Yuliya	1826–1869		✓				
Bing, Bertha	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	SŽD					
Binzer, Ina – Ulla von Eck	1856–1916	HR					
Birch-Pfeiffer, Charlotte	1800–1868	JG, JLK	✓			✓	✓
Blessington, Marguerite	1789–1849	JG					
*Blood, Irma	?						✓
Blumenreich, Franziska	1849–?		✓				
Bobertag, Bianca	1846–1900	HR					
Bock, Annie	1867–?	HR					
Bodin, Camille –	1792–1851	JG					



Bastide, Jenny							
Bogašinović-Budmanička, Lukrecija	?–1800		✓				
Bogdanović, Milica	1882–1973		✓				
Bogler, Filip – Bogler Agnes	1823–?	HR					
Böhlau, Helene	1859–1940	SŽD, HR, JLK					
Bölte, Amalie	1811–1891	JG					
Bonelli-Franciosi, Eugenia	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Borresich, Marie	15 <sup>th</sup> /16 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
*Bosse, Martha von	?		✓				
Bošković, Anica	1714–1804		✓				
Bouchaud, Magdelaine de	1872–?		✓				
Botti-Binda, Rachele	1858–1933		✓				
Bourdon, Mathilde	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	SŽD					
Boy-Ed, Ida	1852–1928	HR					
Brachmann, Louise	1777–1822		✓				
Brachvogel, Carry – Hellmann Caroline	1864–1942						
Braddon, Mary Elisabeth	1835–1915	HR, JLK	✓				
Brakel, Freiin von	1835–1905	HR					
Brassey, Annie	1839–1887	HR					
Braun, Isabella	1815–1886	HR					
Braun, Lilly	1865–1916		✓				
Bray, Anna Eliza	1790–1883	JG					
Bremer, Fredrika	1801–1865	JG					
Brentano, Bettina	1785–1859		✓				
Brlić, Jagoda	1824–1897		✓				
Brooke, Frances	1724–1789	JG, LP					
Brontë, Charlotte – Currer Bell	1816–1855	JG, HR, JK, JLK	✓			✓	
Browning, Elizabeth	1806–1861		✓				
Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, C. A. Elizabeth	1768–1821	FG					
Bülow, Frieda	1857–1909	SŽD, HR					
Bülow, Margarete von	1860–1884		✓				
Bülow Wendhausen, Paula	1845–1918	JLK					
Bulwer Lytton Rosina	1802–1882		✓				
Bunić, Julija	16 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Bunić, Nadalica (Speranza)	16 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Bürow, Julie	1806–1868	JG	✓				
Caballero, Fernán	1796–1877	JG, JK	✓				✓
Cabrini, Maria	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Catherine II	1729–1796		✓				
Catulle-Mendès, Jane	1867–1965		✓				
Caldwell Marsh,	1791–1874	JG					

Ann							
Callot, Magdalene	1776–1831	LP, JG					
Campan, Jeanne Louise Henriette Genet	1752–1822	FG					
Candeille, Julie	1767–1834		✓				
Cantoni, Alberta	19 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Caruchet, Jeanne	1872–1906		✓				
Caussé, Marie	1875–1909		✓				
Caylus, Mme de	1672–1729		✓				
Charles, Hall	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	JG					
Chézy, Helmina von	1783–1856	JG	✓				
Chłędowska, Stefania	1850–1884		✓				
Choiseul-Meuse, Félicité de	18 <sup>th</sup> /19 <sup>th</sup> c.	JG					
Christen, Ada	1839–1901		✓	✓			
Ciotta, Natalie von	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	HR					
Cladel, Judith	1873–1958		✓				
Cleghorn Gaskell, Elizabeth	1810–1865	JG					
Clifford Lucy, Lane	1846–1929	HR					
Cochelet, Louise – Mme Parquin	1783–1835	JG					
Colet, Louise	1810–1876		✓				
Colette, Sidonie- Gabrielle	1873–1954		✓				
Colleville, Anne Hyacinthe de	1761–1824	LP					
Colonna, Vittoria	1490–1547		✓				
Convenz, Anna	?	HR					
Corinna	6 <sup>th</sup> c. BC		✓				
Corthis, André	1882–1952		✓				
Cosmar, Antonie von	1806–1870	JLK					
Cottin, Sophie	1770–1807	LP, JG, JLK					✓
Courtanville, Marquise de	18 <sup>th</sup> c.	LP					
Courths Mahler, Hedwig	1867–1950	JLK					
Cozzi, Orsola	18 <sup>th</sup> /19 <sup>th</sup> c.	JG					
Craon, Princesse Valentine du Cayla de	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	JG					
Crepaz, Adele	1849–1919		✓				
Čacká, Marie	1811–1882		✓				
Čjumina, Olga Nikolajevna	1864–?						✓
Dash, Comtesse	1804–1872	JK, JG, JLK					
Daubenton, Marguerite	1720–1818	LP					
Daudet, Julia	1844–1940		✓				
Dauguet, Marie	1860–1942		✓				
Deffand, Marie du	1697–1780		✓				
Delarue-Mardrus, Lucie	1874–1945		✓				
Deledda, Grazia	1871–1936	SŽD					✓

Delle Grazie, Marie Eugenie	1864–1931	SŽD					
Deni, Cecilia	1872–1934		✓				
Desbordes-Valmore, Marceline	1786–1859		✓				
Deschamps, Madame	?	JG					
Deshoulières, Antoniette	1638–1694		✓				
Dmitrieva, Valentina Iovovna	1859–1948	JLK					
Dniprowa, Czajka	1861–1927		✓				
Dodd – Mizi Stein	1874–?	HR					
Dohm, Hedwig	1831–1919	HR					
Dom, Anna	?	HR					
Dovsky, Beatrice	1866–1923	SŽD, JLK					
Droste-Hülshoff, Annette von	1797–1848	JLK	✓				
Družbacka, Elżbieta	1698–1765		✓				
Duc, Aimée – Wettstein-Adelt Minna	1869–?	SŽD					
Duchińska, Seweryna	1816–1905		✓				
Dumbravă, Bucura	1868–1926	JLK					
Dunajew, Wanda – Aurora von Sacher-Masoch	1845–1933	HR					
Duncker, Dora	1855–1916	SŽD					
Durand, Alice	1842–1902		✓				
Durand de Bédacier, Catherine	1670–1736	LP					
Düringsfeld, Ida von	1815–1876	JG	✓				
Dvořáková-Mráčková, Albina	1850–1893		✓				
Ebner von Eschenbach, Marie	1830–1916	SŽD, HR, JLK	✓				
Eckhel, Anna Hilaria	1873–1948	SŽD					
Edgeworth, Marie	1768–1849	JG, LP					
Egerton, George	1859–1945	SŽD	✓				
Egidy, Emmy von	1872–1946	SŽD					
Egidy-Nostitz, Lenka von	1862–1944	JLK					
Egloff, Louise	1804–1835		✓				
Ehrmann, Marianne	1755–1795	JG					
Eisenhart, Luise	1828–?		✓				
Elbe, Auguste von der	1827–1908	JK, JLK					
Elkan, Sophie	1853–1921						✓
Emmerich, Anne Catherine	1774–1824		✓				
Endsor Jewsbury, Geraldine	1812–1880	JG					
Elbe, Auguste von der	1828–1908	HR					
Eliot, George	1819–1880	JK, JLK	✓				
Elisabeth of Austria	1837–1898		✓				✓

Épinay, Mme d'	1726–1783		✓				
Erhard, Emile – Emilie von Warburg	1833–1907	HR					
Erlin-Schmeckebier, Hedwig	1873–?	JLK					
Ernesti, Louise	1825–1891	HR					
Ernst, Johanna	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	JG					
Eschstruth, Natalie von	1860–1939	SŽD, JK, HR, JLK	✓				
Euple-Gadola, Luisa	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Faccenda-Righić, Marija	?–1795		✓				
Fantastić, Srećka	18 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Felice Lancellotti, Vicenzina de	1856–1898		✓				
Félix-Faure Goyan, Lucie	1866–1913		✓				
Fels, Egon – Johanna Herbert	1830–1909	HR					
Fels, Ritter von – Rosa Pirka	1842–?	HR					
Ferval, Claude	1856–1943		✓				
Fleury, Madame		JG					
Flygare-Carlén, Emilie	1807–1892	JG, HR, JK, JLK					
Forstenheim, Anna	1847–1889		✓				
Fouqué, Caroline de la Motte	1773–1831	JG	✓				
France, Marie de	12 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
François, Marie Luise von	1817–1893	HR	✓				
Frankenstein, Hermine	1848–1938		✓				
Franz, Agnes	1794–1843		✓				
Franz, Emma	19 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Frapan, Ilse	1849–1908	HR					
Freese, Henriette	1801–1855	JG					
Freschi-Borgese, Maria	1881–1947		✓				
Friedrich-Friedrich, Emma	?	HR					
Fritsch, Franziska von	1828–1904	HR					
Frohberg, Regina	1783–1850	LP, JG	✓				
Füger-Rechtborn (Siegerist), Anna	1822–?		✓				
Fullerton, Georgiana	1812–1885	JG, HR					
Fürst, Ida	19 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Gallmeyer, Josefine	1838–1884		✓				
Gallwitz, Valeska	1833–1888	HR					
Gambara, Veronica	1485–1550		✓				
Gandersheim, Hrotswith von	10 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Gautier, Judith	1845–1917	HR	✓				
Gaj, Julijana	19 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Gasser, Xaveria	18 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Gay, Sophie	1776–1852	JG					
Gayer, O. – Sabine	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	HR					

von Gayworowski							
Gebauerová, Marie	1869–1928		✓				
Geisslová, Irma	1855–1914		✓				
Genlis, Stéphanie Félicité de	1746–1830	LP, JG, FG	✓				
Gerard E.D. – Emily Gerard & Dorothea Longard de Longarde	1849–1905 1855–1915	HR					
Gerbrandt, Marie	1861–?	HR					
Gerhard, Adele	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	SŽD					
Gerhardt – Anna Maul	1838–?	JLK					
Germain, Sophie	1776–1831		✓				
Gerner, Marie	1868–1956	HR					
Gersdorff A. – Ada Freiin von Maltzahn	1854–1922	HR, JLK					
Gersdorff, Wilhelmine von	1768–1836	JG					
Gianelli, Elda	1848–1891		✓				
Giehrl, Emmy	1837–1915		✓				
Gies – Elisabeth Paar	1852–?	HR					
Giese, Marie		SŽD					
Gippius, Zinaida Nikolaevna	1869–1945		✓				
Glaser, Juliane	1806–?		✓				
Glaser, Marie	1871–?	HR					
Glümer, Charlotte von	1799–1839	JG					
Glümer, Claire von	1825–1906	HR, JLK	✓				
Godin, Amelie Linz	1824–1904	HR					
Godlewska, Ludwika – Exterus	1863–1901		✓				
Gore, Frances	1799–1861	JG					
Görner, Nora	1832–1910	HR	✓				
Görres, Sophie	?–1918		✓				
Gosseck, Hermann – Herma Göes Sulzer	1859–?	HR					
Gottis, Augustine	?	JG					
Gournay, Marie de	1565–1645		✓				
Greggh, Harlette	1881–1958		✓				
Gravière, Caroline	1821–1878	HR					
Grazie, Marie Eugenie delle	1864–1931	JLK					
Greiffenberg, Catharina Regina von	1633–1694		✓	✓			
Grignan, Mme de	1646–1705	FG					
Groner, Auguste	1850–1929	HR					
Grossmann, Julie Menzel von	1790–1860	JG					
Grünwald, Henriette – Harriet	1851–?		✓				
Grünwald Zerkowitz, Sidonie	1852–1907	JLK					
Guidi, Orlanda	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	JLK					
Guischard,	1826–1896	JG					

Wilhelmine							
Guizot, Elisabeth Charlotte Pauline	1773–1827	JG					
Guglielminetti, Amalia	1881–1941		✓				
Gumpert, Thekla	1810–1897	HR					
Günderrode, Karoline	1780–1806		✓				
Gundulić, Marija	16 <sup>th</sup> /17 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
*Gurevich	?		✓				
Guyon, Marie-Jeanne	1648–1717		✓				
*Guyon-Rouland, Nina	?		✓				
Gyarmathy, Etelka	1845–1910	HR					
Gyllembourg, Thomasine	1773–1856	JG					
Hahn-Hahn, Ida von	1805–1880	JG	✓				
Haidheim, Luise	1834–1921	HR					
Hajota	1862–1927		✓				
Halden, Elisabeth	1841–1916	HR					
Halm, Margarethe	1835–1898	HR	✓				
Hamilton, Mary	1739–1816	JG					
Handel-Mazzetti, Enrica	1871–1955		✓				
Harraden, Beatrice	1864–1936	HR					
Harry, Myriam	1869–1958		✓				
Hartenstein, Anna	1857–?	SŽD					
Hartwig, Georg – Emmy Köppel	1850–1916	HR					
Haupt, Antonie	1853–1932	HR					
Heimburg, W. – Bertha Behrens	1848–1912	HR, JLK	✓				
Helm, Clementine	1825–1896	HR	✓				
Helme, Elizabeth	18 <sup>th</sup> /19 <sup>th</sup> c.	JG					
Helwig, Anna Amalie von Imhoff	1776–1831	LP, JG					
Hennique, Nicolette	?		✓				
Henschel, Anna	1844–?	HR					
Hensel, Luise M.	1798–1876		✓				
Herbert M. – Therese Keiter	1859–1925	HR					
Herbst, Anna	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	JLK					
Hermann Hanns - Hermine Schubert	1866–?	HR					
Hesekiel, Ludovika	1847–1889	HR	✓				
*Hessig, Hertha	?	JLK					
Hildek, Leo	?1858/1860–1933		✓				
Hiller, Olga	1853–?	HR					
Hillern, Hermine von	1859–1924	HR					
*Hin	?		✓				
Hirsch, Jenny	1829–1902	HR					
Hodgson Burnett, Frances	1849–1924	HR, JLK				✓	✓
Hodoş, Constanța	1861–1934		✓				
Hohenfels, Stella	1857–1920		✓				

Hohenhausen, Henriette von	1781–1843		✓				
Hohlfeld, Dora	1860–1931	JLK					
Hohndorf, Luise	1845–?	HR					
Hölder, Luise	?	JG					
Hörmann, Angelika von	1843–1921		✓				
Horn, Flora	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	HR					
Houville, Gérard d'	1875–1963		✓				
Huber, Therese	1764–1829	JG					
Hutzier, Sarah	?	HR					
Hülsen, Helene von	1829–1892	HR					
Ichenhäuser, Eliza	1869–?		✓		✓		
Imre, Arpad – Elsa Kalnein	1859–?	HR					
Iskra, Štefa	1869–1952		✓				
Jacoby, Alinda	1855–1919	HR					
Jadwiga, Teresa – Papi	1843–1906		✓				✓
Jambrešakova, Marija	1847–1937		✓				
Janitschek, Maria	1859–1927	SŽD					
Jarnević, Dragojla	1813–1875		✓				
Janković, Milica	1881–1939		✓				
*Jerina	?		✓				
Jesenská, Růžena	1863–1940		✓				
Jossenay, Mme	18 <sup>th</sup> /19 <sup>th</sup> c.	LP, JG					
Junghans, Sophie	1845–1907	HR, JLK					
Jurić, Marija – Zagorka	1873–1957		✓				
Kahlenberg, Hans von	1870–1957		✓				
Kallusky, Martha	1854–?	HR					
Kapff Essenther, Franziska von	1849–1899	HR, JLK	✓				
Kapri, Mathilde von	1832–1889	HR	✓				
Karschin, Anna Louisa	1722–1791	JG	✓				
Kautsky, Minna	1837–1912	HR	✓				
Kavanagh, Julia	1824–1877	JG					
Kayser-Sobjeska Georgina	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Keiter, Therese	1859–1925		✓				
Key, Ellen	1849–1926	SŽD, JLK	✓	✓			✓
*Keyser, Stephanie	19 <sup>th</sup> c. (?)	JLK					
Khvoshchinskaya, Nadezhda Dmitrievna	1824–1889		✓				✓
Klein, Ida	1828–1899	HR					
Klimšová, Bohumila	1851–1917		✓				✓
Klink, Fanny	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	HR	✓				
Klock, Amanda	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	HR					
Knauff, Marie	1842–1895	JLK				✓	✓
Knobloch, Luise	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	HR					
Knorring, Sophie von	1797–1848	JG					

Kobell, Louise	1828–1901						
Kobylianska, Olha	1863–1942		✓				✓
Kobrynska, Nataliya	1855–1920		✓				
*Kohanovskaya	?		✓				
Konopnicka, Maria	1842–1910	SŽD, JLK	✓				✓
Kowalewska (Kovalevskaya) Zofja/Sonia	1850–1891	SŽD	✓				
Kravchenko, Uliana	1861–1947		✓				
Kræmer, Lotten von	1828–1912		✓				
Krásnohorská, Eliška	1847–1926		✓				✓
Kremnitz, Mite	1852–1916		✓				
Krestovskaya, Mariya Vsevolodovna	1862–1910	JLK	✓				✓
Krones, Therese	1801–1830		✓				
Krysinska, Marie	1857–1908		✓				
Kulmann, Elisabeth	1808–1825		✓				
Kumičić Marija	1863–1945		✓				
Kuylensstierna, Elisabeth	1869–1933						✓
La Chapelle-Roobol, Suze	1855–1923	JLK					
Lacroma, Paul Maria	1851–1929	HR, JLK					
Laddey, Emma	1841–1892	HR					
La Fayette, Mme de	1634–1639	LP, JG	✓				
Lagerlöf, Selma	1858–1940	SŽD, JLK	✓		✓		✓
Lamb, Caroline	1785–1828	JG					
Lambert, Marquise de	1647–1733		✓				
Lambrecht, Nanny	1869–1942	JLK					
Lancken, Bertha	1863–1935	JLK					
Landon, Letitia Elizabeth	1802–1838		✓				
Lapauze, Jeanne	1860–1921		✓				
Launay, Antonia von	?	LP					
Leblanc- Maeterlinck, Georgette	1875–1941		✓				
Leffler, Anne Charlotte	1849–1892	HR, SŽD					
Lemaître, Mme de	?		✓				
Lenclos, Ninon de	1620–1705		✓				
Lenéru, Marie	1875–1918		✓				
Leonhardt Lyser, Caroline	1811–1899	JLK	✓				
Leppée, Dragica	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Lerou, Emilie	?		✓				
Lescot, Marie	1837–1902	JLK					
Lepinasse, Julie de	1732–1776		✓				
Lessing, Caroline	1779–1834		✓				
Lewald, Fanny	1811–1889	JG	✓				
Liancourt, Carolina von	19 <sup>th</sup> c. (?)	LP, JG					
Lieres und Wilkau,	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	JLK					



Gabriele von							
Linhart Elise	1848–1880		✓				
Liss Blanc – Lisa Weise	1864–?	HR					
Littrow- Bischoff, Auguste von	1819–1890		✓				
*Ljetkova	?		✓				
Lohde, Clarissa	1836–1915	HR					
Lohmann, Friederike	1749–1811	LP					
Löhn-Siegel, Anna	1830–1902	HR					
Lovrinčević, Gracijoza	16 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Lokhvitskaya, Mirra	1869–1905		✓				✓
Lucerna, Kamila	1868–1960		✓				
*Ludwig, Elise	19 <sup>th</sup> c. (?)		✓				
Luhs, Maria	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	HR					
Lütetsburg, Fanny	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	HR					
*Lux, Irma	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> c.	JLK					
Lužická, Věnceslava	1835–1920		✓				
Máchová, Karla	1853–1920		✓				
Macina-Gervasio, Luisa	1872–1936		✓				
Maggioni, Rita	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Maintenon, Mme de	1635–1719	FG	✓				
Mairet, Jeanne		JK, HR, JLK					
Majerová, Marie	1882–1967		✓				
Malířová, Helena	1877–1940		✓				
Mallarmé, Charlotte de Bournon, comtesse	1753–?	JG					
Malling, Mathilde – Stella Kleve	1864–1942	HR					
Manson, Marie Françoise Clarisse Enjalran	1785–1835	LP, JG					
Marby, Amalie	1834–1915	HR, JLK					
Maret, F. Claire	?		✓				
Marholm, Laura	1854–1928	SŽD, HR	✓	✓			
Marković, Milena	19 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Marković, Zdenka	1884–1974		✓				
Marlitt, Eugénie	1825–1887	HR, JLK	✓		✓		
Marni, Jeanne	1854–1910	SŽD, JLK	✓				
Marriot, Emil	1855–1938	HR, JLK	✓				
Marryat, Florence	1833–1899	HR					
Marlet Čop, Mara	1859–1910	HR	✓				
Maróthy-Soltéssová, Elena	1855–1939		✓				
May, Maria Theresia	1851–?		✓				
May, Sophie	1775–1827	LP, HR, JG					
Mayerffy, Marie	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	HR					
Mayreder, Rosa	1859–?	HR					
Mathers, Helen –	1853–1920	HR					

Buckingham Ellen							
Mazzoni-Lioy, Lisa	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Meerheimb, Henriette von	1859–1920	JLK					
Megerle, Therese	1813–1865					✓	
Meinhardt, Adalbert – Marie Hirsch	1848–1911	HR					
Meisel, Grete	1879–1922		✓				
Melegari, Dora	1849–1924	JLK	✓				
Mel nec – Clementine Böttger	1848–?	HR					
Memini – Ines Bengalio	1849–1897	JLK					
Memours, Mme de	?		✓				
Menčetić, Margita	16 <sup>th</sup> /17 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Mereau, Sophie	1770–1806	LP, JG					
Merlin, la comtesse	1789–1852	JG					
Meyer, Louise	?	JG					
Meyke, Nina	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> c.	SŽD, JLK					
Meysenbug, Malwida	1816–1903	HR, SŽD	✓				
Michaëlis, Karin	1872–1950	JLK					
Migerka, Katharina	1844–1922	HR					
Milčino vić, Adela	1879–1968		✓				
Miremont, Anne d’Aubourg de La Bove	1735–1811	LP					
Mohr, Marie	1850–?	HR					
Mohrenheim, Juliane	18 <sup>th</sup> c.	JG					
Mongellaz, Fanny	1798–1829	FG					
Montague, Lady Mary Wortley	1689–1762	JG, LP	✓				
Montgomery Tautphoeus, Jemima	1807–1893	JG					
Montolieu, Isabelle de Polier de Bottens de	1751–1832	LP, JG					
Montpensier, Mme de	1627–1693		✓				
Morgan, Lady		JG, LP					
Morgenstern, Lina	1830–1909	HR					
Morzkowska, Waleria	1832–1903	SŽD	✓				✓
Motteville, Mme de	1615–1689		✓				
Mrazovic, Milena	1863–1927	HR					✓
Mühlbach, Luise	1814–1873	SŽD, HR, JG	✓		✓		
Mühlsteinová, Berta	1841–1887		✓				
Murray, Frances/Fanny	1729–1778	LP					
Nadaždi, Magdalena	18 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
*Nagy-Lehmann, Marie	19 <sup>th</sup> c. (?)		✓				
Najmajer, Marie von	1844–1904	HR					
Nathusius, Marie	1817–1857	HR, JLK					
Naubert, Benedikte	1751–1819	LP, JG					
Navarre, Marguerite	1492–1549		✓				

de							
*Navrocka	?		✓				
Neera – Zuccari, Anna	1846–1918	SŽD, HR	✓				
Negri, Ada	1870–1945	SŽD	✓				✓
*Nell, Antonia	19 <sup>th</sup> c. (?)		✓				
Němcová, Božena	1820–1862	SŽD, JLK	✓				✓
Neumann, Jenny	1860–?		✓				
Neumann-Hofer, Annie	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> c.	JLK					
Neumann-Meissenthal, Marianne	19 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Nevill, Dorothy	1826–1913		✓				
Niebelschütz, Sophie	1850–?	HR					
Niendorf, Emma	1807–1876		✓				
Nier, Anna Frieda	1871–?	HR					
Noailles, Anna de	1876–1933		✓				
Norton, Caroline	1808–1877	JG					
Nováková, Teréza	1853–1912		✓				
Nyblom, Helena	1843–1926						✓
Oertzen, Marie Margarete von	1868–?	HR					
Ohmučević-Grgurić, Jelena	1569–1610		✓				
Olfers, Marie von	1826–1924		✓				
Olfers, Sibylle von	1881–1916		✓				
O'Meara, Kathleen	1839–1888		✓				
Opie, Amelia	1769–1853	JG					
Orzeszkowa, Eliza	1841–1910	SŽD, HR, JLK	✓				✓
Osten-Saken, Countess E. K.	19 <sup>th</sup> c.						✓
Ottenheimer, Henriette	1807–1883	JG					
Otto-Petters, Louise	1819–1895	HR	✓				
Ouida – Marie Louise de la Ramée	1839–1908	HR	✓				✓
Paalzow, Henriette von	1788–1847	JK, JG, JLK	✓				
Paar, Mathilde	1849–?		✓				
Pagano, Lucia	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Palmé-Paysen, Hilda Ottilie	1843–?	JLK					
Pannier, Sophie	1793–1859	JG					
Paoli, Betty	1814–1894	JG	✓				
*Pape, Claire	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> c.	JLK					
Pavlova, Karolina	1810–1894						✓
Pchilka, Olena	1849–1930		✓				
Peard, Frances Mary	1835–1923	HR					
Penseroso – Ferdinande Herge	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	JG					
Perin von Vogelsang, Josephine	1779–1856		✓				
Perrault-Harry, Myriam	1875–1958		✓				

Pfeiffer, Ida Laura	1797–1858	JG					
Pichler, Caroline	1769–1843	LP, JG	✓		✓		
Pichler, Helene	1848–1906	HR					
Pichler Zeller, Louise	1823–1889	JG					
Pierantoni-Mancini, Grazia	1842–1915		✓				
Pittnerová, Vlasta	1858–1926		✓				
Pizan, Christine de	1364–1430?		✓				
Pleša, Sofija	19 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Podjavorinská, Ludmila	1872–1951	SŽD, JLK	✓				✓
Podlipská, Sofie	1833–1897		✓				
Pogačić, Milka	1860–1936		✓				
Pokupska Sajvert, Milena	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	JLK					
Polko, Elise	1822–1899	HR, JLK	✓				
Pompadour, Marquise de	1721–1764	JLK					
Poradowska, Marguerite	1848–1937	JLK					
Porter, Anna Maria	1780–1832	JG					
Postumus, Karl – Postuma Wilh. von Leesen	1847–?	HR					
Pötting, Grafin von	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	HR					
Preissová, Gabriela	1862–1946	SŽD, JLK	✓			✓	✓
Prigge- Brook, Marie	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> c.	JLK					
Prohazka, Leopoldine von	1848–1938		✓				
Proschko, Hermine	1854–1923	HR	✓				
Puttkamer, Marie Madeleine	1881–1944	JLK					
Rachilde	1860–1953		✓				
Radcliffe, Ann	1764–1823	JG	✓				
Raff, Helene	1865–1942	JLK					
*Raskovicheva	?		✓				
Rašković, Danica	19 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Rave, Judith	1762–1807	JG					
Raven, Mathilde	1817–1902	JG					
Renier Michiel, Giustina	1755–1832	FG					
Řeháková, Anna	1850–1937	SŽD, JLK	✓				✓
Reichardt-Strömberg, Mathilde	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	JG					
Reinhardt, Lina	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	JG					
Rémusat, Claire de	1780–1821		✓				
Remy, Nahida	1849–1928	HR					
Renneville, Sophie de	1772–1822	JG					
Restić, Nikoleta	16 <sup>th</sup> /17 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Rettigová, Magdalena	1785–1845	JG					
Reuter, Gabriele	1859–1941	SŽD, JLK	✓		✓		

Réval, Gabrielle	1870–1938		✓				
Reventlow, Franziska	1871–1918	JLK					
Reybaud, Mme Charles Fanny	1802–1870	JG					
Reyer Prokesch, Irene	1841–?	HR					
Rhoden, Emmy von	1829–1885	JLK	✓				
*Ribalenko-Kotyrlo, Eugenia	?						✓
Riedberg, Erika	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> c.	JLK					
Riedel-Ahrens, Bertha	1850–?	HR					
Riccoboni, Marie-Jeanne	1714–1792	JG					
Richard Lesclide, Juana	1866–1951		✓				
Rittaine, Elise	19 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
*Ritter (Ruhland), Marie	?		✓				
Riversdale, Paule	1870–1930		✓				
Robinson, Emma	1814–1890	JG					
Robinson Therese – Talvj	1797–1870		✓				
Roche, Sophie von La	1730–1807	LP, JG					
Rodziewiczówna, Maria	1863–1944		✓				
Roland, Mme	1754–1793		✓				
Rose, Felicitas	1862–1938	JLK					
*Rosenfeldt, Rosalie	19 <sup>th</sup> c. (?)		✓				
Roskowska, Marie	1828–1889	HR	✓				
Rosselli, Amelia	18 <sup>th</sup> /19 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Rudolphi, Caroline	1753–1811	JG					
Rümelin, Natalie	1853–?	JLK					
Rüst, Edela	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	JLK					
Ruth, M. von – Frau von Schönberg	1839–?	HR					
Růžičková, Anna Vlastimila	1823–1868		✓				
Rygier Nałkowska, Zofia	1884–1954	JLK	✓				
Sablé, Marquise de	1599–1678		✓				
Sachsen, Amalie	1794–1870		✓				
Saint-Point, Valentine de	1875–1953		✓				
Saint-Surin, Rose de	1800–1885	JG					
Sand, George	18041–876	JG, SŽD, JK, JLK	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Salburg, Edith	1868–?	HR					
Sale, Florentia	1790–1853	JG					
Salvi, Edvige	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Sappho	6 <sup>th</sup> /7 <sup>th</sup> c. BC		✓		✓		
Savi Lopez, Maria	1846–1940	HR					
Scalera, Anna	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Schellander, Irene	1873–1933		✓				
Schelling (Schlegel), Caroline	1763–1809		✓				

*Schildknecht, Henriette	19 <sup>th</sup> c. (?)		✓				
Schmidt Nauen, Wilhelmine	1810–?	JG					
Schohl, Natalie	19 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Schopenhauer, Adele	1797–1849	JG					
Schopenhauer, Johanna	1766–1838	JG					
Schoppe, Amalie	1791–1858	JG	✓				
Schreiber, Clara	1848–?	JK	✓				
Schubin, Ossip – Lula Kirschner	1854–1934	HR	✓				
Schuhmacher, Kathe	?	HR					
Schultz, Marie	19 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Schutz, Charlotte	1789–1817		✓				
Schwartz, Marie Sophie	1819–1894	JG, HR, SŽD, JLK					
Schwartzkoppen, Clotilde	1830–1910	JLK					
Schwarzenau Marie –Erlburg L.	1815–1880		✓				
Schwerin, Josephine	1836–?	HR, JLK					
Scott, Lady Sophie	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	JG					
Scudéry, Madeleine de	1607–1701		✓				
Sebregondi, Lenzen Maria	1814–1882	HR					
Sedelmeier, Johanna Maria	1811–1853		✓				
Ségallas, Anaïs	1819–1895		✓				
Seguin, Hélène	1885–1982		✓				
Sekulić, Isidora	1877–1958		✓				
*Seldorf, Elma	19 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Serao, Matilde	1856–1927	SŽD, HR, JLK	✓				
Sévigné, Mme de	1626–1696	FG, JG	✓				
*Shabelskaya-Tolochinova	?		✓				
Shapir, Olga	1850–1916		✓				
Shchepkina-Kupernik, Tatiana	1874–1952		✓				✓
Sick, Maria Ingeborg	1858–1951	JLK					
Siena, Caterina de	1347–1380		✓				
*Sienkewitz, Hanna	?	HR					
*Silko, Nina	?	SŽD					
Simiane, Mme de	1676–1737	FG					
Skram, Amalie	1846–1905	SŽD, JLK	✓				
Smirnova, Aleksandra Osipovna	1810–1882		✓				
Smith, Charlotte	1749–1806	FG					
Smolyaninova, Zinaida	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Sokolová, Bohuslava	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				

Sokolová, Vilma	1859–1941		✓				✓
Somerville, Mary	1780–1872		✓				
*Sonntag, Erika	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Sor, Charlotte de	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	JG					
Sorkočević- Basseglieva, Kata	18 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Souza, Mme de	1761–1836		✓				
Spättgen, Doris Freiin	1847–1925	HR					
Spyri, Johanna	1827–1901	HR	✓				
Staël, Mme de	1766–1817	LP, JG, FG	✓	✓	✓		
Stahl, Caroline	1776–1837	LP, JG					
Stahl, Marie	1852–?	HR, JLK					
Stålberg, Wilhelmina	1803–1872	JG					
Stampa, Gaspara	1523–1554		✓				
Stein, Friedrich – Frida Goldstein	1864–?	HR					
Stengel, Franziska von	1801–1843	JG					
Stern, Detlef – Dora Stempel	1837–?	HR					
*Sternau Sömmering, Sophie	?		✓				
Stöckert, Fanny	1844–1908	JLK					
Stojadinović, Milica	1828–1878		✓				
Stolterfoth (Zwierlein), Adelheid	1800–1875		✓				✓
Stránecká, Františka	1839–1888		✓				
Strickland, Margaret	c.1880–1970						✓
Strussenfelt, Ulrika Sophia	1801–1873	JG					
Struve, Amalie	1824–1847	JG					
Studničková, Božena	1849–1934		✓				
Strumfels, Käthe	1878–1958	JLK					
Sudermann, Clara	1861–1924	HR					
Sumín, Jiří	1863–1936		✓				
*Susan, Anna	19 <sup>th</sup> c. (?)		✓				
*Suss, Maria von	19 <sup>th</sup> c. (?)		✓				
Suttner, Bertha von	1843–1914	SŽD, JK, HR, JLK	✓				
Světlá, Karolína	1830–1899	SŽD, JLK	✓				✓
Svobodová, Růžena	1868–1920		✓				
Sylva, Carmen	1843–1916	SŽD	✓				
Štefanović, Sofija – Raviojla	19 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Tanska Hoffmanowa, Klementyna	1798–1845		✓				
Tarbé des Sablons, Michelle Chatherine	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	JG					
Tarnow, Fanny	1779–1862	LP, JG	✓				
Tartufari, Clarice	1868–1933		✓				
Tenger, Mariam	1821–1898	HR					

Teffi, Nadezhda	1872–1952		✓				
*Teubner, Henriette	19 <sup>th</sup> c. (?)		✓				
Theiss, Anna	1860–?	HR					
Thenen, Julie	1834–1919		✓				
*Thiede, Maria	?					✓	
Thurnberg, Marie von Augustin	1807–1886	JG					
Timme, Marie – Villamaria	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	HR	✓				
Tinayre, Marcelle	1877–1948		✓				
Todorova Velkova, Anna	1871–1949		✓				
Tomić, Hermína	19 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Torelli Viollier Torriani, Maria	1846–1920		✓				
Treves-Tedeschi, Virginia – Cordelia	1855–1916		✓				
Trembiska, Mme	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	JG					
Trollope, Frances	1779–1863	JG					
Troll Borostyáni, Irma	1847–1912	HR, JLK					
Truhelka, Jagoda	1864–1957		✓				
Tschudi, Clara	1856–1945	JLK	✓				
Ubertis, Teresa	1877–1964		✓				
*Ulmann, Amanda	19 <sup>th</sup> c. (?)		✓				
*Urand, Charlotte	19 <sup>th</sup> c. (?)		✓				
Urbanowska, Zofia	1849–1939		✓				
Uzès, Comtesse d'	1847–1933		✓				
Vacarescu, Elena	1864–1947		✓				
Vaudère, Jane de la	1857–1908	JLK	✓				
Veldenz, Auguste Weismüller	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	HR					
Vely E.C. – Emma Simon Couvely	1848–1934	HR					
Verbitskaia, Anastasia Alekseevna	1861–1928		✓				
Verena (Alberti), Sophie	1826–1892	HR					
Veselitskaya, Lidia Ivanovna	1857–1937		✓				
Vijatović Radivojević, Julijana	1799–?		✓				
Vidović, Ana	1799–1879		✓				
Viebig, Clara	1860–1952	SŽD, JLK	✓				
Viková-Kunětická, Božena	1862–1934	JLK	✓			✓	✓
Vilinska/Markovych, Mariya – Marko Vovchok	1833–1907	JLK	✓				✓
Villinger, Hermine	1849–1817	HR, JLK					
Vincens, Louise-Cécile	1840–1908		✓				
Violetta	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	HR					
Vivanti, Annie	1866–1942		✓				
Vogel vom Spielberg, Anna –	1860–1924	HR, JK, JLK					



Anna Astl-Leonhard							
Vořart, Élise	1786–1866	LP, JG					
Volkhausen, Adeline	19 <sup>th</sup> c. (?)		✓				
Vragović, Barbara	18 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Vučević, Sara	18 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Wahlheim E. – Marie von Feldegg	1860–?	HR					
Weissenturm, Maximiliane von	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	JLK					
Waissenturn, Johanna Franul von	1773–1847	LP, JG					
Waldemar, H. – Hermine Louran	1855–?	HR					
Waldow, Ernst – Lodoiska von Blum	1841–1927	HR					
Walewska Wielopolska, Maria	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				✓
Wallendorf, Henriette	18 <sup>th</sup> c. (?)	LP					
Warden, Florence	1857–1929	HR, JLK					
Wauer, Minna	1815–1866	JG					
Weissenturn, Max – Maximiliane Franul	1851–1931	HR					
Weissenturn, Johanna Franul von	1773–1847	JG	✓				
Werner, E. – Elisabeth (Elise) Bürstenbinder	1838–1918	HR, JLK	✓				
Westkirch, Louise	1858–?	HR, JLK					
Wetherell, Elizabeth	1819–1885	JG					
Wette, Adelheid	1858–1916		✓			✓	✓
Weyrich, Marie	1878–1925		✓				
Whitehead, Emma	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	JG					
Widdern, Marie	1844–?	HR					
Wildermuth, Ottilie	1817–1877	JLK					
Wilke, Henriette	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	JG					
Willigerod, Lilly	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	HR					
Willmar Herz, Wilhelmine	1779–1822	JG					
Willms, Agnes	1844–?	HR					
Wilson, Harriette	1786–1845	LP					
Winter, Amalia	19 <sup>th</sup> c. (?)	JG					
Wirth, Bettina	1849–?	HR					
Wobeser, Wilhelmine Karoline von	1769–1807	LP, JG					
Wohl, Stefánia	1848–1889	HR	✓				
Wohlbrück, Olga	1867–?	JK, JLK					
Wohlmuth (Petrasc), Eugenie	1860–?	HR					
Wollmar, Charlotte	1764–?	JG					
Wollstonecraft, Mary	1759–1797		✓				
Wolska, Maryla	1873–1930		✓				
Woltmann, Karoline von	1782–1847	JG					

Wothe, Anny	1858–1919	HR, JLK	✓				
Wright, Frances	1795–1852	JG					
Wuttke-Biller, Emma	1833–?	HR					
Zabojecka, Maria	1870–1932		✓				
Zapolska, Gabriela	1857–1921		✓			✓	
Zappa, Anita	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				
Zauli Sajani, Ifigenia	1810–1883	JG					
Zay, Maria, Freiin von	1779–?	JG					
Zepler, Wally	1865–?		✓				
Zichy Oršička, Josefa	?–1778		✓				
Zimmern, Helen	1846–1934		✓				
Zitelmann, Katharina	1844–1926	HR	✓				
Zöge von Manteuffel, Ursula	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	HR					
Zöller Lionheart – Charlotte Zoeller	19 <sup>th</sup> c.	HR, JLK					
Zrinska Frankopanová, Katarina	c.1625–1673		✓				
Zuylen de Nyevelt de Haar, Hélène Betty Louise Caroline de	1863–1947		✓				
Zuzerić, Cvijeta (Flora)	1552–1648		✓				
Žadovskaja, Julija Valerianovna	1824–1883						✓
Žagar, Marija	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> c.		✓				

## 12 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

*Here they are. Seven hundred and eighty-two souls have been included in this research. For every single of these souls an endless story could be written. However, I have put them all in one place, but this does not mean that their story ends in the table with their names in the appendix. These women writers have left behind them more than only books. We all know this.*

*This research refers also to those souls who have not been explicitly mentioned but who have somehow contributed to its formation. I would like to gratefully thank my supervisor Katja Mihurko Poniž for her guidance, for introducing me in the world of women writers and for giving me the unique opportunity to participate in the COST Action IS0901 Women Writers In History. In regard to this, I would like to sincerely thank Suzan van Dijk and other colleagues from the action for broadening my horizon.*

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*At the end, which is a new beginning for me, I would like to express my thanks and gratitude in my mother tongue:*

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