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Infrastructure of the semi-peripheral exchange

In this chapter, we will examine the meso level of the transnational literary circulation, with a special focus on the semi-periphery. The overall aim is to investigate how cosmopolitanizing and vernacularizing processes are activated in relation to literature entering and exiting the semi-peripheral literary spheres. Our main hypothesis is that the semi-periphery is an intermediate literary space where the boundaries between the cosmopolitan and the vernacular are blurred and, more importantly, where ideas of the cosmopolitan and the vernacular are negotiated and transformed. In order to approach these complex issues, we will examine how the semi-periphery interacts with other literary fields, how it includes literatures from other areas and, vice versa, how it is included in foreign cultures.

According to Nicky van Es and Johan Heilbron (2015), the meso level concerns ‘the predominantly national publishing fields’, while actors involved in the selection, translation and framing of particular works are analysed on the micro level (298). In this study, the meso level is conceived of as including *both* these levels, since intermediaries tend to be closely related to a specific national or regional publishing field and are therefore an essential part of the *cosmopolitan infrastructure*. The translated texts will be studied in the chapter on the micro level (Chapter 4), as we want to stress the importance of conducting close readings even in studies concerned with the transnational circulation of literature. Consequently, this chapter will discuss the role of the publishing houses. In the next chapter (Chapter 3), we will move on to the translators, and specifically to a discussion of the translators of works by Nobel prize laureates.

The cosmopolitan infrastructure: Intermediaries institutions, reception

According to Pascale Casanova, a language’s literariness (i.e. its power, prestige, linguistic and literary capital) is not measured in terms of the number of writers

or readers it has but rather in terms of the number of *cosmopolitan intermediaries*, such as publishers, editors, critics and translators (2004: 21). Drawing on this observation, we argue for an extension of this idea to explore the *cosmopolitan infrastructure* in relation to the semi-periphery. The cosmopolitan infrastructure of a region, nation and/or language area includes the *intermediaries* mentioned by Casanova, as well as the *institutions* which proliferate literature (libraries, culture institutes, academies, universities) – all closely engaged with the *vernacular* in the source culture(s) as well as in the target culture(s). The dynamics among such actors – very much influencing the reception of translated literature – is the key interest of our analysis. In the following, we will outline a method for studying these relationships. The method will also be exemplified in the discussion that follows. In our presentation of the method, the focus will be on the publishers. The aim, however, is to provide a methodology that can be applied to other instances of the cosmopolitan infrastructure as well. Moreover, since translation will be given special attention in other parts of this volume, the following method will chiefly concentrate on *selection* and *framing*.

Sweden will be used as an example of a semi-peripheral literary space. The analysis will include examples of Swedish as a target language, but also as a source language. As a literary market, Sweden is relatively open to translated literature, the latter making up quite a large proportion of the books that are published and sold (24 per cent in 2011) (Lindqvist 2016: 75). As a source language of literary translation, Swedish is remarkably common, it is one of the ten most important globally and – like e.g. Russian and Italian – positioned between the hyper-central English, central French and German and peripheral source languages such as Japanese, Romanian and Arabic (Svedjedal 2012: 36). Taken together, the specifics of the Swedish example, both as a target language and a source language, will make it possible to shed additional light on the logics at work in the world system of literary translation, specifically when it comes to semi-peripheral spaces, but also – from the vantage point of the semi-periphery as a transitional space between extremes – regarding world literature in general.

Methodological framework

In the cosmopolitan infrastructure, publishers are intermediaries. In order to study the modes of inclusion – i.e. the strategies through which literary works are selected and framed as vernacular or cosmopolitan – we will investigate ‘the

process of inscription', in which publishing houses play a key role. According to Lawrence Venuti, this process is initiated as soon as foreign texts are chosen for translation, since these choices necessarily entail an exclusion of other texts as well as an inevitable domestication of the translated text, marking it with linguistic and cultural values that are understandable and attractive to the new audience (Venuti 1998: 67).

Publishing houses are crucial gatekeepers when literature travels from one culture to another, mainly because their selection and packaging reveal inclusion strategies. For instance, in recent years, three Swedish publishers of Italian literature have chosen to present their selection of authors in very different ways, the first one drawing on universality and tradition (Cartaditalia), the second on moral issues and political engagement (Astor), and the third on emotions and entertaining plots (Contempo) (Schwartz 2017). According to van Es and Heilbron (2015: 302–4), this *framing* of foreign literature involves both the publisher's activity and the media reception. They also claim that the framing strategies implemented in the marketing of peripheral literature within the pole of small-scale production (where, according to Pierre Bourdieu [1993: 74–111; 2008], intellectual or aesthetic criteria prevail rather than the law of the market) tend to highlight either the translated work's *cosmopolitan* or *vernacular qualities*. Publishing also involves consecration, a transfer of symbolic capital from the publisher to the translated work as well as from the translated work to the publisher and its repertoire of authors, who themselves were more or less consecrated beforehand (Bourdieu 2008).

Selection

In the following, we will analyse the criteria that have guided publishers' selection of foreign literary works from peripheral and semi-peripheral languages. According to van Es and Heilbron, literary works in peripheral languages are basically chosen because of their success in the source culture – a success that can be either economic or symbolic. In order to discuss these issues, we will use Bourdieu and Gisèle Sapiro's model of ideal-typic writers: the notables, the aesthetes, the popular and the avant-garde writers.

The **aesthetes** (orthodox-autonomous) are authors holding dominant positions while not adapting to the market. These writers have a strong symbolic capital that depends on neither sales nor temporary consecration, such as literary awards. Their counterparts among the dominant writers consist of the **notables**

(orthodox-heteronomous), i.e. authors who have become famous thanks to temporary consecration: through literary prizes, successful sales or time-limited positions in institutions or academies.

At the dominated pole, authors are distinguished as belonging to the vanguard or to the popular. The **popular** (heterodox-heteronomous) is represented by authors who have the lowest symbolic capital in the literary hierarchy because they combine a high degree of market adaptation with a strong focus on content. Here we find writers who often live on their writing, but do not have access to literary prestige: popular writers and journalists who write about current issues as well as producing social satire, pamphlets and studies in order to cause scandal. Their non-existent symbolic capital is often replaced with a high degree of social capital. Finally, we have the **vanguard** (heterodox-autonomous) authors who lack formal power but still claim autonomy. These writers represent a subversive idea of literature, which is mainly expressed by attacking the supposedly good taste acclaimed by those at the orthodox pole. However, their attempts to redefine the prevailing aesthetic norms are also aimed at accumulating symbolic capital for themselves.

Our analysis of the selection of the target language will be guided by the following questions: *Were the selected titles successful in their source language? If so, what kind of success did they have: economic (bestsellers) or symbolic (literary awards, critical recognition)?* A second criterion is related to the fact that peripheral literatures are often translated and published by houses close to the pole of small-scale production, with a predominantly literary orientation, the market of symbolic goods in general and the book market in particular being structured around 'the opposition between small-scale and large-scale production/circulation' (Bourdieu 1993: 74–111). Moreover, the publishers tend to make their selections drawing on the elective affinity with similar publishers from foreign literary fields, i.e. *horizontal isomorphism*. These issues are investigated with the help of additional questions: *Do the publishers belong to the pole of the large-scale production or small-scale production? Are there cases of horizontal isomorphism?*

To these questions we will add the following: *How are ideas concerning the cosmopolitan and/or the vernacular reflected in the profiles and practices of the publishers?* Here, the distinction between niche publishers and generalist publishers becomes crucial. In order to find out more about the publisher's profile, their self-perceived function in the literary field and ideas related to the cosmopolitan and the vernacular, the publishers' epitexts – presentation texts

on websites, interviews, articles in the press, etc. – provide useful information, especially when it comes to *niche market publishers*, whose identity is often based on translations from a particular language or geographic area. Issues concerning the publishers' peritexts – covers, prefaces, titles, notes, etc. – are also considered as part of the framing strategies.

Framing

As in the case of selection, framing also influences all the instances of the cosmopolitan infrastructure. Works of literature are framed, but so, for example, are institutions. The primary task of the publisher's peritext is that of conveying the text to readers in the receiving culture (Kovala 1996). Van Es and Heilbron argue that translated works from peripheral languages require specific framing strategies, concerning the large-scale vs. small-scale production as well as the work's cosmopolitan vs. vernacular qualities.

We will therefore ask: *Are the works framed within the large-scale pole or the small-scale pole?* At the large-scale pole the framing strategies are recognized when the publishers: a) refer to economic success, best-selling qualities; b) stress that the work is easily accessible; c) compare the work to a more famous author writing in the same genre. For a work framed within the pole of small-scale production, strategies range from presentations underscoring the aesthetic qualities of the work to comparisons pointing out its place within a very particular literary genre.

The framing of literary qualities of works from peripheral languages basically follows two opposite paths: 1) the works' literary qualities lie in the fact that they are *typically* Swedish/Brazilian/Italian/Nigerian etc. This is what we could call the *vernacular qualities*. The other path is quite the opposite in that it underscores the work's *cosmopolitan qualities*: often described as a distinct European/universal/global style (e.g. metaphysical, philosophical, experimental); themes related to migration and cosmopolitanism; comparison with well-known authors and works in the international literary field; the work is regarded as a 'classic', and it is stressed that it is internationally and critically acclaimed (van Es and Heilbron 2015: 303).

Finally, we will ask: *Are the works framed according to their vernacular or cosmopolitan qualities? If so, what are these qualities?* If the cosmopolitan qualities are likely to be more or less the same, we have to be more creative in singling out the vernacular qualities since they might vary from one language to another. In the case of what was regarded as typically Dutch in English translations of literature

from the Netherlands, the following features were highlighted: the literary style (a strong realism), the typical culture embodied in the work (Dutch culture), the particular landscapes and, finally, the stories with a Dutch perspective on historical events (the war, colonization etc.) (cf. van Es and Heilbron 2015: 303).

The results are here presented in a discussion of major and minor publishers operating in the chosen ‘translation flows’ and of the different logics that can be discerned behind their working with translated literature. The period studied is 1980 to 2018, which includes a number of dramatic shifts for the international book market, including an important period of internationalization, spurred on by literary agents and technical innovation. An overall aim is to describe the publishers’ choices (chiefly regarding their selection and presentation of foreign works) in relation to the processes of cosmopolitanization and vernacularization. These choices are of course at least partly the result of the dynamics described by Bourdieu:

In the global structure of the field and at any given moment, each house occupies a specific position with respect to every other depending on its relative wealth in rare resources (economic, symbolic, technical, etc.) and on the power that it confers upon the field; it is this *position* that orients the specific *position-takings* of decision-makers – their stance regarding the publication of French or foreign literature, for example – because it defines a system of objectives and constraints as well as a margin (often restricted) for confrontation and struggle between the players of the publishing game.

(Bourdieu 2008)

Bourdieu also stresses the mutability of the positions occupied by the publishing houses. He attributes changes in editorial policy to changes in the house’s position. Hence, a ‘movement towards a dominant position’ entails a policy shift towards ‘asset management’ at the cost of innovation, a move from symbolic capital to commercially viable authors. Our analysis will show, among other things, how the selection and framing of translated literature can be related to the position of the target language publisher.

Publishers of Swedish literature in the UK and the USA

The publishing field is often described as made up of, on the one hand, large houses focusing on bestseller genre fiction and economic capital and, on the

other, small houses focusing on highbrow literature and symbolic capital. This dichotomic vision cannot, however, do justice to the literary world in its entirety. Occasionally, new players on the field will try to make a name for themselves with the publishing of successful genre fiction more at home at the pole of large-scale production.

An original crime novel, for example, might present an opportunity for such a newcomer, as was the case with Steven T. Murray's English translation of Stieg Larsson's *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo* (*Män som hatar kvinnor*), the first instalment of the Swedish author's Millennium trilogy. The novel was published by British MacLehose Press as one of its very first titles, the house having been founded by Christopher MacLehose in 2008 as an imprint of Quercus Publishing, itself founded only four years earlier. From the start and up until October 2019, MacLehose Press published more than 230 titles, of which *circa* thirty books were classified as non-fiction. Over a period of almost twelve years, then, the imprint issued more than two hundred titles of fiction. Judging from MacLehose's website presentation, there is no doubt that *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo* was a crucial early success for the company, pivotal in making its mark on the UK book market. This is how the publisher's history is presented on its official website:

The MacLehose Press is an independently minded imprint of Quercus Books, founded by Christopher MacLehose and publishing the very best, often prize-winning, literature from around the world; mainly in translation but with a few outstanding exceptions as English language originals.

We published our first books in January 2008, among them a ground breaking thriller by a little-known Swedish author called Stieg Larsson, and since then our list has grown to include writers from almost every continent and some of the very best translators working today. From writers as yet undiscovered in translation, to prize-winning household names; from dazzling literary creations to spine-tingling noir masterpieces, we endeavour to bring a broad spectrum of the very best of foreign literature to English-reading audiences.

Our mission is to 'Read the World', and we hope you will join us on our adventures.

(MacLehose Press, www.maclehosepress.com)

The presentation is very keen on giving the impression that MacLehose offers high-quality books, published with a cosmopolitan outlook on the world. In the short text, the publishers not only express their ambition to publish prize-winning

works but also use the phrase 'the very best' three times. Here, MacLehose Press directly positions itself as dealing with notable authors. The ambition to offer a 'broad spectrum' of books from highbrow 'literary creations' to entertaining 'spine-tingling noir masterpieces' shows an interest in both notable and popular writers, but in calling the selected works of suspense novels 'noir masterpieces', the publishers reveal a strategy to also market popular authors as notables.

Apart from this stress on literary quality, MacLehose's presentation shows a distinct ambition to be a major player in publishing and distributing world literature to British readers. They claim to have a mission: to give voice to 'writers from almost every continent' and to give the domestic audience an opportunity to 'Read the World' (this internationalist rhetoric is strongly reminiscent of that used by other publishers, whose claims to 'understand the world' or to publish 'what the world reads' will be analysed below).

At first glance, this publication strategy might seem like a cosmopolitan ambition, but if we go beyond the publisher's self-presentation and take a look at the source languages represented in their backlist and how they are presented, it becomes evident that MacLehose international perspective also can be regarded as vernacular. Their two hundred titles of fiction include literary works originally written in twenty-one languages, including worldwide languages such as Arabic, Chinese and Spanish as well as smaller ones such as Finnish, Estonian, Welsh and Catalan. The fact that the website presentation stresses the ambition to collaborate with 'some of the very best translators working today', confirms a vernacular ambition: MacLehose is keen to come across as treating the original literary works and their vernacular origins with respect. An effect of this broad interest in twenty-one different literary traditions is that English literature tends to be vernacularized by the publisher. With twenty-nine titles of fiction originally written in English, domestic UK literature is just one of many traditions in this publication context, standing side by side with forty-six French, twenty Italian, eighteen Spanish and eighteen Swedish works of fiction.

In the UK distribution of his Nordic noir novels, Stieg Larsson is treated as both notable and popular. *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo* is described as a masterpiece, but also as a commercial success that made it possible for MacLehose Press to introduce literature from twenty-one languages and even more literary cultures to British readers. MacLehose's marketing of popular writers as notables, together with their emphasis on vernacularity can be compared to the *commercial vernacularization* found in the paratexts and epitexts of other publishers that will be described below.

In relation to the ambition to treat foreign literary works as particular contributions from vernacular cultures, however, a well-spread anecdote surrounding the English translation of Stieg Larsson's first novel is quite paradoxical. According to *New York Times* journalist Charles McGrath, Steven T. Murray refused to be overtly credited with translating *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo*, which is why the publisher used the translator pseudonym Reg Keeland instead of Murray's name. McGrath argues that Murray was unhappy with Christopher MacLehose's many adjustments of his translation, interventions that the publisher did in order to present the story as accessible to movie executives, hoping to sell the rights to a screenplay (McGrath 2010). That MacLehose ended up publishing the cleaned-up, streamlined version rather than Murray's original translation seems to go against the publisher's ambition to respect the vernacular backgrounds of particular works.

The same year it was issued in Great Britain, 2008, Larsson's novel was published and distributed in the United States by Alfred A. Knopf. Unlike MacLehose Press, Alfred A. Knopf was by then an old, solidly established and financially strong American publisher. The New York company was founded in 1915 by Alfred A. and Blanche Knopf. In 1960, it was acquired by Random House, which in turn was acquired by Bertelsmann in 1998. Since then, Knopf has been an imprint of Knopf Doubleday. From the start, the publisher specialized in highbrow literature, an image they try to maintain in their website presentation:

Alfred A. Knopf has long been known as a publisher of distinguished hardcover fiction and non-fiction. Its list of authors includes Toni Morrison, John Updike, Cormac McCarthy, Alice Munro, Anne Rice, Anne Tyler, Jane Smiley, Richard Ford, Julia Child, Peter Carey, Kazuo Ishiguru, and Michael Ondaatje, as well as such classic writers as Thomas Mann, Willa Cather, John Hersey, and John Cheever.

(<http://knopfdoubleday.com/imprints/#knopf>)

The company's special interest in notable authors is clearly underlined in this list of sixteen authors, which includes four Nobel laureates, eight recipients of the Pulitzer Prize and three winners of the Booker Prize. Since 2000, nine titles published by Knopf have been awarded the Pulitzer Prize, including Cormac McCarthy's *The Road* in 2007 and Jennifer Egan's *A Visit from the Goon Squad* in 2011.

If we take a look at the list of authors fronted under the heading 'Authors' on Knopf's website, this massive image of publishing notables is somewhat

nuanced. On the first page of writer portraits, at least five of the twenty-four *œuvres* must be classified as popular rather than notable. Mixed with the likes of Kazuo Ishiguro, Toni Morrison and James Baldwin we find the names of John Grisham, E. L. James, Dan Brown, Stephen King and Alexander McCall Smith. These twenty-four fronted authors also include quite a few non-fiction writers of high esteem, such as John Carreyrou, Erik Larson and David Grann.

In the publisher's list of historically successful *œuvres* as well as in the list of most fronted contemporary authors, American authors dominate. Only seven out of the twenty-four most visible writers are foreign, and only one of them, Haruki Murakami, writes in a different language than English. Translated literature, then, is by no means put forward as a Knopf specialty. Rather, the publisher's special focus seems to be American contemporary fiction and journalism, but this focus is not stressed as a profile. American literature, culture and politics are elevated to a universal level. In not stressing any kind of vernacular interest, Knopf's website marketing thereby contributes to the cosmopolitanization of American interests.

As we have seen, the minor publishers can turn to translations for the purpose of accumulating symbolic and economic capital (Bourdieu 2008), with the ultimate goal of securing a stable position in the literary field from which competition with older houses is possible. In some cases, though, publishers are motivated by other concerns. This is true of university presses, for whom economic capital might be of secondary importance. In their case, a translation can be made for solely academic purposes, or as a pioneering attempt to introduce an unknown author. One such university press specializing in literary translation is the University of Nebraska Press, founded in 1941 with an explicit ambition very much in line with American university publishers generally. According to their homepage, they run 'a non-profit scholarly and general interest press' that 'extends the university's mission of teaching, research, and service by promoting, publishing, and disseminating works of intellectual and cultural significance and enduring value' (<http://nebraskapress.unl.edu>). Although this self-imposed mission sounds like a cosmopolitan one – highlighting universal literary values – in the 1970s and 1980s many of the UNP's publications reflected local and regional interests. Many titles were published that studied and presented cultural phenomena from the western USA, especially its Native American heritage. They also published several books by Willa Cather, who is mostly known for her novels on life on the prairie.

Already in the 1960s, however, one could notice a distinct interest in Scandinavian topics at the University of Nebraska Press. Translations of Icelandic sagas, plays by Danish eighteenth-century dramatist Ludvig Holberg and Swedish twentieth-century Nobel laureate Pär Lagerkvist were published, as well as the memoirs of Finnish diplomat Georg Gripenberg. In the 1970s, several books on Icelandic literature were published, and in 1974 a study on Scandinavian migration to the United States. When a selection of Mary Wollstonecraft's letters was published, the collection consisted solely of her letters from Sweden, Norway and Denmark. In 1986, the University of Nebraska Press also launched the book series *Modern Scandinavian Literature in Translation*. Within the frame of this series, translations of many modern Scandinavian classics were published throughout the 1980s and the 1990s.

Another kind of publisher connected to a university world is the Feminist Press, a part of the City University of New York. The company is explicitly 'non-profit' and 'tax-exempt', and their publications are partly funded by the New York State Council on the Arts (Moa Martinson 1988: 289). Unlike the University of Nebraska Press, however, the Feminist Press has an explicit ideological agenda and is devoted to distributing knowledge on a very specific topic. Their objective is to 'eliminate sexual stereotypes in books and schools'. To this effect, they have published a long list of 'works by women, feminist biographies of women, and non-sexist children's books' since they started in the 1970s. Many of these books are literary works in translation, including two novels by Swedish modern classic Moa Martinson, published by the Feminist Press in 1985 and 1988.

The American Feminist Press can be compared to a British equivalent not connected to a university: the London-based Women's Press, which published one of the above-mentioned translations of Moa Martinson two years after it was issued in the United States. Lacking the funding and channels of a university, the Women's Press does not share the Feminist Press' academic conditions and interests. Their emancipatory ambition is, however, just as evident. They market themselves as 'dedicated to publishing incisive feminist fiction and non-fiction by outstanding women writers from all around the world'. Just like the Feminist Press, their publication list also has a wide generic range: 'Literary and crime fiction, biography and autobiography, books on psychology, health, race and disability, women's studies and cultural, sexual and political theory all have a place within the inclusive publishing space that is the Women's Press' ('The

Women's Press' 2016). The political frame of these publications is made very visible on their covers, on which the company's logotype is placed in the bottom right corner – a flatiron with the publisher's name written on the potentially fiery surface.

The Women's Press was launched in 1977, and it quickly became the second largest feminist publisher in the UK, after Virago, which was founded in 1972. Their first best-selling title was Alice Walker's Pulitzer Prize-winning *The Color Purple* from 1983, a commercial success that opened up large possibilities. According to Simone Murray, the Women's Press developed a unique profile in the 1980s when they promoted 'writing by women from those minority groups marginalized by early second-wave feminism: black women, women from ethnic minorities, working-class women and lesbians' (1998: 176). To achieve this ambition, translations of Scandinavian women writers play a significant role. Apart from Moa Martinson's *Women and Apple Trees* (*Kvinnor och äppelträd*), the publisher has also issued Danish writer Tove Ditlevsen's *Early Spring* (*Det tidlige forår*) and Norwegian writer Cora Sandel's *Krane's Café* (*Kranes konditori*) and her trilogy *Alberta and Jacob* (*Alberte og Jakob*), *Alberta and Freedom* (*Alberte og friheden*) and *Alberta Alone* (*Bare Alberte*).

The Feminist Press and the Women's Press are both results of the influence of feminist theory and politics on the American and British book markets in the 1970s and the 1980s (Murray 1998: 171–2). Still, the fundamental conditions for these two publishers are different. Whereas the Feminist Press is attached to the City University of New York and receives public financial support, the Women's Press is a part of Palestinian businessman Naim Attallah's media group Namara Group. This ownership structure has other kinds of demands than university ambitions and public interests, and the relationship between Attallah and the editors has sometimes been ridden with conflict. In her article on the company, Simone Murray highlights the Women's Press' problematic position between its ideological ambition and the demands of business. She also discusses the special competition between the company and the leading feminist publisher in the UK, Virago.

When Swedish authors such as Moa Martinson are published by university presses or smaller houses with political or ideological ambitions, they are framed in different ways. Commercial vernacularization is not an issue here. Rather, abstruseness or foreign elements are strategically highlighted in order to achieve educational or ideological goals. The semi-periphery is engaged for these idealistic purposes.

Publishers of Swedish literature in France

When it comes to the publishing of Swedish literature translated into French, the market is divided among a large number of publishers, ranging from the very small to – especially when it comes to children’s literature – the most important players in the French publishing field. These publishers are characterized by very different amounts of economic and/or symbolic capital, some of them specializing in bestseller authors, others having a very broad catalogue with both bestsellers and high prestige fiction, while some have opted for a clear niche of authors close to the pole of small-scale production described by Robert Escarpit, Bourdieu and his followers.

Among the ten most common publishers of Swedish fiction in translation to French, Éditions du Seuil is (together with Gallimard) the most prestigious, with a central position in the publishing world of the Parisian ‘rive gauche’. Together with the competitors Gallimard and Grasset, Le Seuil has jokingly been referred to as ‘Galligrasseuil’, an imagined oligopoly claiming a large part of the literary market as well as the lion’s share of literary prizes, in particular Le Prix Goncourt. This expression of course says a lot about how these publishers are viewed by the average French reader. According to Bourdieu, Le Seuil is one of seven publishers in ‘the leading rank’ of the French publishing field, together with Gallimard, Flammarion, Grasset, Minuit, Albin Michel and Laffont. They all stand out in their foundation dates (prior to 1946), the size of their personnel (in most cases more than a hundred salaried employees), the number of translated titles they have and the amount of funding they receive for translations. They all have a high degree of symbolic capital, but also a ‘high index of commercial success’. Finally, and equally important, they are all situated in Paris, five of them – as Bourdieu especially notes – in the fifth, sixth or seventh arrondissements of the capital (Bourdieu 2008).

Le Seuil was founded in 1935 with the stated aim of publishing works ‘that help us understand our time and to imagine what the world needs to become’ (‘qui permettent de comprendre notre temps et d’imaginer ce que le monde doit devenir’). This, of course, can be understood as an ambition to cosmopolitanize the literary field, to foreground the international qualities of literature and literary communication (to give readers the opportunity to ‘read the world’, as claimed by the British publisher MacLehose described above). In practice, Le Seuil has developed into an important generalist publisher, although with a couple of clear niches, perhaps most notably translated fiction (in the prestigious series *Cadre*

vert, comparable to Gallimard's *Du monde entier*) and social sciences (works by, among others, literary sociologists Pierre Bourdieu and Pascale Casanova).

The translation sociologist Gisèle Sapiro has stressed the fact the Le Seuil very early on chose to publish authors from source languages in which other publishers had not yet shown interest, such as German right after the Second World War and the Eastern European languages spoken in countries east of the iron curtain well before the end of the Cold War. With choices like these, Sapiro claims, Le Seuil's clearly cosmopolitan strategy 'cannot be reduced to economics alone but also arose from cultural and political motives and was partly based on elective affinities with publishers from other countries' (Sapiro 2008: 161). In other words, this focus on translation, with clear niches in the form of otherwise-neglected source languages, can be interpreted as a way to accumulate symbolic capital in order to consolidate one's position in the publishing field, very much like the small and innovative publishers described by Bourdieu who, deprived of capital, are 'condemned to a strict observance of universally proclaimed norms', becoming champions of the ideals of the publishing industry (Bourdieu 2008: 135). Translation, as Casanova puts it, is 'a process of establishing value' (2004: 24).

When it comes to translations from the semi-peripheral Swedish, Le Seuil made a couple of early attempts in the 1970s which can be explained according to the logic described by Bourdieu: a re-edition of the script from Ingmar Bergman's movie *Tystnaden* (*Le Silence/The Silence*) and a very ambitious anthology of Swedish poetry, *Anthologie de la poésie suédoise*, prefaced by Jean-Clarence Lambert (1971; re-published by UNESCO in 2000, with the added subtitle 'des stèles runiques à nos jours' [from the runestones til today]). However, these attempts do not seem to have been crowned by success (commercial or symbolic), since Le Seuil waited until 1996 before publishing another Swedish author, this time of a completely different kind: children's book artist Anna Höglund (three books, published in the series *Seuil Jeunesse*, 1996–2000). In the wake of the international success of Nordic crime fiction, the publisher then picked up the pace, introducing five Swedish authors between 1999 and 2008, followed by another three in the early 2010s. In 2006, Le Seuil also published another book by a Swedish author, Björn Larsson's *Besoin de liberté*, written directly in French. The most striking common denominator of these eight authors (of which one is in fact a pair of authors: Cilla and Rolf Börj lind) is that they are crime fiction bestsellers in their source culture, published by large or medium-sized publishing houses. This, of course, can be interpreted as a result of the

logic analysed by van Es and Heilbron, that works from peripheral languages (here: semi-peripheral) are chosen as a result of success in terms of economic *or* symbolic capital (here: chiefly economic). It may also be a sign of the changing position of Le Seuil in the French publishing field, having moved further from a position as a small and innovative house towards a position as a major player, rich in both symbolic and economic capital.

The collaborations with Sweden's most important publishers – such as Bonniers and Norstedts – can be interpreted as cases of elective affinities, or horizontal isomorphisms, on Le Seuil's part. Bonniers, Norstedts and Le Seuil are all important generalist publishers, with catalogues spanning from contemporary poetry (small-scale production) to bestsellers (large-scale production), although Le Seuil, with its prestigious translation series and its catalogue of academic literature, seems the most exclusive of the three. The works chosen by Le Seuil from the catalogues of Bonniers and Norstedts are not the ones commonly associated with these important Swedish publishers. More often than for crime fiction, Bonniers and Norstedts are famous for their publishing of high-end novels and poetry by what Pierre Bourdieu has called the 'aesthete' or 'notable' authors. Interestingly, this goes for Le Seuil as well. It seems, then, that Le Seuil wanted to join the race for successful Nordic crime fiction authors, but in order to do so without risking too much, they turned to prestigious publishers mirroring their own status in the literary field. On the other hand, Le Seuil has so far been very reluctant to publish Swedish authors with an 'aesthete' or 'notable' profile; no Swedish author has been included in the translation series *Cadre vert*, which is somewhat surprising considering the publisher's 'Germanic' and 'pan-European' profile. (Perhaps, though, there will be a shift in Le Seuil's publishing profile. In 2018, they acquired the translation rights to Swedish author Sami Said's novel *Människan är den vackraste staden* [published by the mid-sized Swedish publisher Natur and Kultur in 2018], nominated for both the Swedish August Prize [comparable to the Man Booker Prize or the Goncourt] and for the literary prize of the Nordic Council. Said's novel was published by Le Seuil in 2020.)

In the publishing politics of Le Seuil, then, Swedish literature is typecast as easily accessed popular fiction. At the same time, however, the crime fiction authors chosen by Le Seuil are loaded with literary capital and recognition, with what Pascale Casanova calls 'litterarité' (literariness), something that they are not used to from their source culture. To be in Le Seuil's catalogue of 'polars' (crime novels and thrillers) means being counted among the elite of the genre.

Perhaps as a result of the change of context, the crime novels published by Le Seuil became more critically acclaimed in their target culture, a change in status that would later reoccur for the work of Swedish crime fiction authors Stieg Larsson and Camilla Läckberg when they were picked up by the smaller publisher Actes sud.

That Le Seuil have been careful not to expose themselves to risk is also evident when looking at how they secured control of their two major Swedish authors, Henning Mankell and Håkan Nesser. These authors were already bestsellers and celebrities in their home culture, not just popular in the sense described by Bourdieu but also, using a descriptive label from the same model, notable due to their strong positions in the public sphere. Furthermore, Le Seuil waited for smaller competitors to try out these authors before daring to publish themselves, Henning Mankell's *Mördare utan ansikte* (*Meurtriers sans visage/Faceless Killers*) having been published (unsuccessfully) by Christian Bourgois in 1994 and Håkan Nessers' *Det grovmaskiga nätet* (*Le vingt et unième cas*) by Presses universitaires de Caen in 1997. When Le Seuil *did* dare to publish, however, they were very persistent, especially in selling the brand of Henning Mankell, establishing a long-term collaboration or 'constellation of production' (Håkanson 2012: 55) between the Swedish author and 'his' translator, Anna Gibson. Today, Mankell's novels have been translated into thirty-five languages and he has been awarded several international prizes.

Le Seuil's editions of Swedish crime novels are clearly framed within the pole of large-scale production, the black covers (in several cases with photos that are out of focus or taken against a light source, artistic rather than documentary and with no distinguishable localities) making them part of the 'noir et policier' genre, often with special shelves in the French 'librairies'. Referring these novels to the globally successful crime fiction genre also means framing them according to their cosmopolitan qualities (Hedberg 2017, Nilsson 2017). On the other hand, the back cover presentations, which are mostly focused on the plot, tend to mention Sweden or Swedish nature, for example clearly placing the events of the story 'by the forest in the north of Sweden' ('au coin d'un bois, dans le nord de la Suède'), in 'the small city of Ystad' ('dans la petite ville d'Ystad'), 'on an island in the Baltic sea' ('sur une île de la Baltique') or 'in a small village in the north of Sweden' ('dans un hameau au nord de la Suède'). In the case of Mankell, over the years the paratextual information on the author became more and more respectful, and more and more detailed concerning his identity as a Swedish writer. The back cover presentation of *Svenska*

gummistövlar (*Les bottes suédoises*), published the year after his death, ends with a farewell to the author: 'Henning Mankell passed away in Gothenburg on the 5th of October 2015, aged 67' ('Henning Mankell est mort à Göteborg le 5 octobre 2015 à l'âge de 67 ans'). This shows the scope of Le Seuil's investment in Mankell's writing, but it also illustrates how fame and (commercial) success allows for a vernacular framing. With economic success, then, comes the blurring of the line between cosmopolitan and vernacular typical of the semi-peripheral context.

Translated fiction is often confined to independent presses, not expected to sell as well as original language literature, especially so in central language spheres such as the French or Anglophone world. The more central the language sphere, the smaller the proportion of translated fiction on the literary market. Still, translated fiction may come with a high concentration of literary capital, forming a prestigious part of the small-scale literary production. Also, newcomers and independent presses are often the ones to generate movement in the publishing field, much as translations from minor languages, according to Casanova's model, are able to generate movement in the literary culture of the target language.

An example of a French publisher with a clear translation niche is Éditions Gaïa, founded in Larbey, far away from the powerful Parisian publishing houses, in 1991 by the Danish translator Susanne Juul and her French husband, Bernard Saint-Bonnet. Compared to Le Seuil, discussed above, with more than a hundred employees, Gaïa, with fewer than ten, must be considered a small player in the French literary field (since 2005, Actes sud has been a distributor and majority shareholder of Gaïa). In Bourdieu's discussion of the French publishing field, Gaïa (although not mentioned) fits well into a class of 'small, innovative publishers' who may not have much influence in the field but 'are nonetheless its *raison d'être*' since they 'represent its ideals' (in contrast to the established houses, which have turned their editorial policies towards safe investments). Deprived of resources, the small houses are 'condemned to a strict observance of universally proclaimed norms'. Like Gaïa, these houses are '[m]ostly located in the provinces and run largely by women with extensive knowledge of literature'. They are absent from all aspects of the commercial side of the publishing business, and are not able to compete for literary prizes since they lack the resources and networks. On the other hand, they often 'make use of their talent and pioneer audacity to discover minor authors writing in minor languages' (Bourdieu 2008: 135). Consequently, translations make up a sizeable portion of their catalogues.

In Gaïa's case, Juul and Saint-Bonnet very early on opted for Scandinavian literature, with a pronounced ambition to change the public conception of Scandinavia. 'For far too long', they claimed, 'when one spoke of Scandinavian literature, the images that came to the minds of French readers were of landscapes, certainly magical but harsh and ruthless, whose inhabitants were as dark as the polar night. A depressing literature in short' ('Pendant bien trop longtemps, lorsqu'on évoquait la littérature scandinave, les images qui venaient à l'esprit des lecteurs français évoquaient des paysages certes magiques mais rudes, impitoyables, aux habitants aussi sombres que la nuit polaire. Une littérature déprimante en somme'). In order to fight these 'well-anchored clichés' ('clichés bien ancrés'), Gaïa chose to publish more easily accessible fiction, described by themselves as 'novels that make you travel, in the world as well as in thought, the great stories, about personalities that you want to take the time to get to know, to tame and to follow to the end of their adventures' ('des romans qui font voyager, dans le monde comme dans la tête, de grandes sagas, des personnages que l'on peut prendre le temps de connaître, d'apprivoiser, de suivre tout au long de leurs aventures').

It might be said that Juul and Saint-Bonnet shared this ambition with the most successful of French publishers within the 'Nordic niche', Hubert Nyssen, founder of Actes sud, who in Scandinavian fiction claimed to have found the great stories and the strong feelings expressed through landscapes that he found lacking from French literature, which was hampered, as he saw it, by overt philosophical themes and literary experimentation. One might also speak about a case of horizontal isomorphism when comparing Gaïa with the small Swedish publisher Sekwa, with a pronounced ambition to counter a prejudiced perception of French literature, common among Swedish readers, as 'difficult' and 'philosophical' (Hedberg 2016). Both Juul and Nyssen seem to have cultivated an image of cosmopolitanism. They have both shown, in theory as well as in practice, that French literary culture is in need of well-developed contacts with the rest of the world. On the other hand, however, they have time and again chosen to highlight not cosmopolitan but vernacular traits in the source culture texts, i.e. what is different from the literature of the French target culture. This can be interpreted as a natural consequence of the cosmopolitan openness to the world, but also as *commercial vernacularization*, putting the exotic or particular of the other at work for economic purposes. This, then, is another example of the blurring of the line between cosmopolitan and vernacular in a semi-peripheral context.

When it comes to Swedish literature, Gaïa's catalogue presents a broad selection. This is typical of Éditions Gaïa who, within the confines of a clear niche, very much comes off as a generalist publisher. This generalist profile is rather hard to pin down, seeing as it goes against the norm of small publishers, often described as completely dependent on distinct niche marketing. Several of the Swedish authors chosen by Gaïa are best presented as belonging to the field of mid-scale production, not comparable to the bestsellers or notables (as are Mankell and Nesser, published by Le Seuil), nor to the prestigious aesthetes. Exceptions to this tendency are Jonas Gardell, a best-selling novelist and stand-up comedian in Sweden, and Katarina Mazetti, author of children's books as well as light-weight comic novels for adults, also selling well in Sweden and one of Gaïa's greatest successes to date. Neither Gardell or Mazetti, nor Gaïa's only Swedish crime fiction author Kjell Eriksson, were likely published solely for the literary prestige of fiction in translation. Crudely speaking, their success has guaranteed survival for Gaïa's publishing operations. Successful titles such as these seem to be equally important for smaller publishers elsewhere, for example publishing houses working with French literature in translation to Swedish, such as Sekwa mentioned above (Hedberg 2016). This might also explain Gaïa's later choice of publishing the 'feel-good' novels of Mikael Bergstrand, who at least has the potential of developing into another 'Mazetti success' for the publisher (feelgood novels or 'women's fiction' have been described as important future prospects for Sweden's literary export [Hedberg 2019: 28]). Other choices are harder to explain, for example novels by Maria Ernestam and Anna Karin Palm, who are respected authors of romance and adventure novels, but without any overwhelming success in Sweden.

Besides these contemporary authors, Gaïa have opted for two canonized authors from Sweden, Frans G. Bengtsson and Vilhelm Moberg. These authors might be considered as aesthetes, in the sense that they have been given very strong positions in the literary history of Sweden, but at the same time they have been and still are read among larger audiences. In this sense, they can be described as *popular aesthetes*. There is also an epic quality to their fiction, Bengtsson writing (in two volumes) about Viking explorers and Moberg (in four) about nineteenth-century masses of Swedish emigrants to the United States, themes that can be considered vernacular since they are uniquely Swedish or Scandinavian. Both these authors have been translated by Philippe Bouquet, a long-time translator of Swedish fiction and something of an authority when it comes to the cultural ties between Sweden and France. Bouquet's position might

in fact help explain the publisher's choice of publishing older Swedish fiction, establishing the prestigious 'production constellation' of Gaïa/Bouquet. Other noteworthy constellations are Gaïa's long-time cooperations with translators Lena Grumbach (for Katarina Mazetti's novels aimed at adult readers) and Agneta Ségol and Marianne Ségol-Samoy (for children's books by the same author).

Looking at how the Swedish novels in Gaïa's catalogue are framed, they are seldom presented as exotic or praised for their *Swedishness*. More often than not, the themes highlighted in the paratexts are universal, even though the authors are specifically presented as Swedish. Cover images usually lack elements that can be connected to specifically Nordic localities, Anna Karin Palm's novel *Les filles du peintre (Målarens döttrar)* having been given a cover image by British artist Thomas Gainsborough, and Maria Ernestam's novels (*Les oreilles de Buster/Busters öron* or *Le pianist blesse/Den sårade pianisten*) having covers with drawings or stock photos relatable everywhere.

Moberg's emigrant novels were first (1999–2000) given cover photos from Jan Troell's 1970s film adaptation, and were later (2013) reprinted (now in two massive volumes instead of originally eight) with nautically themed artistic images (sea gulls, a tall ship). This was the second French translation of 'the emigrant saga', the first one (by Marguerite Diehl) having been published by Robert Laffont (1955–1960). Bouquet's translation was also re-published in paperback by Le livre de poche (in five volumes), marking a somewhat surprising success for this 'national epic of Sweden' among French readers (not to mention the French press, that favourably reviewed Moberg's novels). Gaïa presents the novels as 'a unique testimony of Swedish history and a fabulous human adventure' ('témoignage unique de l'histoire de la Suède et fabuleuse aventure humaine'). Still, the vernacular qualities of the novels are played down rather than highlighted, which might also be said about Frans G. Bengtsson's *Orm le rouge (Röde Orm/The Long Ships)* even though Gaïa gave this novel a cover image of a Viking ship and presented it as 'a fabulous Viking picaresque' ('un fabuleux roman picaresque viking'). The paratextual focus is on *the adventure*, not the elements of Nordic vernacular culture.

An exception to this rule is Gaïa's edition of Jonas Gardell's trilogy of novels *N'essuie jamais des larmes sans gants (Torika aldrig tårar utan handskar)* about the HIV epidemic in 1980s Stockholm. Gardell's novels were published in a single volume, also including a translation of the Swedish edition afterword, emphasizing the trilogy's social history qualities. The translators – once again,

Lena Grumbach, this time in cooperation with Jean-Baptiste Coursaud – are thoroughly presented, more clearly than usual for Gaïa identifying the book as a translation. The back cover presentation says the background of one of the main characters is in ‘deep Sweden’ (*‘la Suède profonde’*) and mentions the failure of ‘the Swedish model’ (*‘le modèle suédois’*) when it comes to dealing with the epidemic. The vernacular elements of the novels are thus brought to the fore, a strategy otherwise not often used by Éditions Gaïa.

Publishers of Italian literature in Sweden

Italian fiction translated into Swedish is an example of a mutual semi-peripheral exchange in the sense that both languages involved are positioned between the centre and the periphery of the global translation market. Between the years 1980 and 2018, 788 editions of literary works translated from Italian were published by 159 different publishers. One of the most important of these publishing houses is Forum. Founded in 1943, this publisher started out as an imprint of Sweden’s largest publishing house Bonnier. Still today, it is part of what has become a powerful conglomerate of publishing houses, Bonnierförlagen. Nevertheless, Forum is presented as ‘the small publisher within the large house’ (*‘det lilla förlaget i det stora huset’*). A more accurate description would be that of a middle-size publisher. According to the website, Forum publishes sixty to seventy titles per year and has around fifteen employees. In the beginning, the legendary director Adam Helms had the idea to focus on classics (which explains the choice of name) but soon translated fiction became a more important segment for the house: the first title in this category was Ernest Hemingway’s *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, which became a huge success. The focus on classics and translations provided a cosmopolitan profile to the publisher, which was the effect of a constriction rather than an independent choice: Forum was not allowed to compete with the mother house Bonnier by publishing Swedish authors (this ‘rule’ was respected until the 1980s). The cosmopolitan profile of the house was intact in the 1990s, when the motto of Forum was to publish ‘what the world reads’ (*‘vad världen läser’*) (Pettersson 1994: 21). Initially, the house had the ambition to contribute to adult education (*folkbildning*), but there is no doubt that this democratic aim has gradually developed into a more market-oriented profile. In 1994, the director Bertil Käll proudly characterized Forum as a ‘publishing house of entertainment literature’ (*‘underhållningslitterärt*

förlag') which 'takes entertainment seriously' ('tar underhållning på allvar') (Zorn 1994: 8).

Today, the publisher has moved further towards the commercial pole of large-scale production. The overall character of its catalogue reveals that Forum mainly publishes bestsellers and popular fiction, aiming to publish the books you 'talk about during coffee breaks at work' ('böckerna det snackas om på fikarasten'), and reaching a potential audience among those who 'never open a book' ('aldrig öppnar en bok') (<https://www.forum.se/om-forlaget/>). Yet the company has continued to publish 'serious literature in translation' ('seriös översättningslitteratur') over the decades, and until recently Forum was the publisher of the Portuguese Nobel prize candidate António Lobo Antunes, and still today they issue the works by Claudio Magris.

Parallel to the development towards the commercial pole, in the 1970s Forum started to concentrate on women writers. This female bias was probably inspired by Adam Helms, who immediately after his retirement started a new firm, Trevi, with his former colleague from Forum, Solveig Nellinge. Trevi focused on female authorships and soon became the most important publisher of women's emancipation literature (Andersson 2013: 11), for instance the Portuguese feminist classic *Novas Cartas Portuguesas* 1972. The strong focus on women writers turned out to be very successful, which might explain why Helms' former publishing house was quick to realize the potential of the same concept. In the 1980s, Forum began to explore the upcoming subgenre of women's romance fiction by publishing writers such as Freda Bright and Rona Jaffe, who turned out to be extremely saleable (Pettersson 1994: 20). The real breakthrough of the subgenre took place in 1984 when Forum translated Jackie Collins' novel *Chances* (the Swedish translation of Shirley Conran's *Lace* having been published by the house AWE/Geber the year before).

Only recently have scholars started to investigate in more depth what publishers have known for decades: that translated women's literature is a profitable segment of the book market. A French publisher quoted by Bourdieu claims that 'women's literature and escapist fiction' translated from English is 'the most profitable foreign literature' (Bourdieu 2008: 148). And that this is not a new phenomenon was demonstrated by the research project 'Swedish Women Writers on Export in the Nineteenth Century' led by Yvonne Leffler at the University of Gothenburg. Today, literary agents repeatedly insist on the attractiveness of 'the female perspective' in the translation market (Hedberg 2019: 28). When it comes to Italian literature, however, male authors predominate. Of all translations

from Italian to Swedish in the years 1980–2018, only 29 per cent were authored by women, but in the case of Forum the corresponding percentage was much higher, 45 per cent (ten of twenty-two). As a comparison, we can observe that Bromberg, another publishing house of about the same size and with the same number of Italian authors in their catalogue, published fourteen male authors (82 per cent) and only three female (18 per cent) during the same period. Given these figures, Forum outmatches all the other publishing houses in terms of publication of Italian women writers. However, it is not possible to discern any gender pattern in their publications: if the 1980s had a female predominance, the first half of the 1990s shows a clear male bias, which in turn was succeeded by a new female wave in the second half of the 1990s etc. In the years 2009–2018, Forum published only one title by an Italian woman writer.

Among the titles selected by Forum in the 1980s, there are some Italian women writers who anticipated the Jackie Collins trend by using a formula in which feminism was combined with erotic outspokenness, Barbara Alberti and Lidia Ravera. The latter had become worldwide famous thanks to the novel *Porci con le ali* from 1976 (translated into English with the title *Pigs have Wings*, 1977), co-written with Marco Lombardo Radice, about the extravagant sex life of two teenagers. Interestingly, Ravera's novels were translated into Swedish by Si Felicetti, one of the first members of the legendary feminist group Grupp 8. This seems to have influenced the peritext. The flap text presentation of Lidia Ravera claims that 'she has participated actively in the Italian left wing movement, which was so important for the entire European intellectual left' ('hon har deltagit aktivt i den italienska vänsterrörelsen, som betytt så mycket för hela den europeiska intellektuella vänstern'). A belated sister in this category (though lacking Ravera's outspoken feminism) is Melissa Panarello's scandalous novel *100 colpi di spazzola prima di andare a dormire* about a family girl's advanced sex life, which was published by Forum in 2008. Interestingly, Barbara Alberti, another writer published by Forum and belonging to the same category as Ravera, wrote the screenplay when Panarello's novel was transposed into film.

For a publishing house which commits itself to mass-market literature ('underhållningslitteratur'), Forum's selection of Italian writers is surprisingly concentrated on highbrow writers. They are more or less consecrated mainstream authors, which relegates them to the Bourdieusian categories 'notables' (more consecrated) or 'popular' (less consecrated). At the beginning of the studied period, Forum also published a few Italian classics or 'aesthetes': Marco Polo's *Il Milione* (in a translation from 1917), Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa's

Il gattopardo (*The Leopard*) and a retranslation of Sibilla Aleramo's feminist classic *Una donna* (*A Woman*) from 1906. However, these titles disappeared after 1992 and ever since the house has ceased to publish Italian classics. In the 1990s, the majority of Forum's Italian writers (Magris, Bufalino, Maraini, Barbero, Di Lascia) had been awarded some of Italy's greatest literary prizes, while writers translated in the new millennium mainly belong to the populars (Calvetti, Cappellani, Panarello, Faletti, Piazza) or an intermediate zone of 'popular notables', i.e. notables who are very close to the commercial pole (De Carlo, Giordano). This is in line with the general development of the publisher during the last two decades. The divide between the popular and the notables is actually blurred; a more appropriate categorization for the literature that is translated from Italian would be what Gianluigi Simonetti calls 'nobile intrattenimento' (2018: 227), the noble entertainment.

Even though *horizontal isomorphism* is applied in the case of Forum, as it publishes Italian authors from the largest publishing houses, similar to Forum's mother house Bonnier (Rizzoli, Bompiani, Feltrinelli, Mondadori, etc.), it is clear that of these publishers' wide-ranging catalogues, the house tends to select the more commercial titles. Forum's development might in some regards be compared to the French publisher Le Seuil's (that has been described above); both houses, in the process of accumulating capital, introduced themselves as innovative, while at the same time observing the core values of literature. They both did this by focusing on translation. Over time, however, their selection became more and more confined to literature regarded as commercially viable.

According to van Es and Heilbron (2015), peripheral titles will be framed in order to emphasize either symbolic or economic qualities. Interestingly, Forum's inclination towards the commercial pole is not always reflected in the packaging of the books of Italian provenience. Especially in the 1980s and 1990s, the economic qualities – such as references to sales figures – were not particularly highlighted in the peritext. Only occasionally did the texts on the flaps and back covers refer to a works' best-selling qualities, for instance the number of languages that the title had been translated into previously. Making comparisons with internationally acclaimed authors, which is another way of signalling economic quality, is very uncommon. In the examined volumes there was only one case: Gesualdo Bufalino is described as 'Italy's Graham Greene'. A more usual strategy is to describe writers as part of the Italian literary forefront: 'one of the most important authors in contemporary

Italy', and similar formulaic expressions aiming to cover *both* economic and symbolic qualities are frequently employed, and they are often intertwined as in the case of Francesca Duranti's novel which is described as an 'intellectual entertainment novel' that had been praised by both critics and ordinary readers.

More than the economic qualities, the Italian titles are highlighted for their symbolic qualities and the framing is definitely cosmopolitan. For instance, Italian fiction, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, were given covers with paintings by famous European artists such as René Magritte, Vincent van Gogh and Marc Chagall. Often, the publisher chose the same cover as the original. In recent years, however, a tendency to deviate from the original packaging has emerged, which indicates a greater distance between the source and target culture. In the packaging of the novels published in the new millennium, there are several cases in which the cover has undergone major changes. The Italian edition of Paolo Giordano's novel *La solitudine dei numeri primi* (English translation in 2009, *The Solitude of Prime Numbers*) features a close-up of a brown-eyed girl on the front cover, which was rejected by Forum in favour of two espresso cups seen from above with eyes reflected on the beverage's surface. This choice evidently underlines the source text's Italian origin, which at the beginning of the new millennium was cherished for its coffee culture. According to the dictionary *Svensk ordbok*, the Italian terms *espresso* and *cappuccino* entered Swedish in the 1960s, but the Italian coffee boom took place around the new millennium, when barista training and competitions became popular in Sweden.

Even more striking are the transformations of Gianrico Carofiglio's legal thrillers, which were all soberly packaged in the Italian editions from Sellerio (a publishing house which applies a homogenized packaging of all their publications), while the Swedish editions (notably inspired by the English ones) have photos of lonely women and men in sunglasses. Both transformations signal a greater tendency to promote Italian literature with regard to stereotypes, a *commercial vernacularization*, which has become a more recurrent strategy in Forum's peritexts.

Even though Forum has made use of this commercial vernacularization, the cosmopolitan qualities generally prevail on the flap texts, blurbs and back covers. In many cases, especially in the first two decades, Italy is only mentioned with regard to the author's nationality or the work's economic success, while the descriptions of the content generally do not draw on Italianness. 'Cosmopolitan' traits and issues – such as references to the world, universality,

the human existence, classics, intellectuality – are highlighted in formulations such as ‘the Western human being of our time’ ‘vår tids västerländska människa’, an ‘intellectual adventure’ (Duranti), ‘a onebook campaign against national chauvinism’ (Magris), ‘in this old continental culture’ (Magris), ‘strong inner drama’ (Tamaro), ‘in the labyrinths of human existence’ (Tamaro), ‘an unconventional picture of our rather insane world’ ‘en okonventionell bild av vår tämligen vanskinniga värld’ and ‘a modern classic’ (Benni).

Additionally, the portraits of the authors bear signs of a strong cosmopolitan bias in that they are framed within an international setting: Andrea De Carlo ‘has travelled and worked in Europe, North America and Australia’ ‘han har rest och arbetat i Europa, Nordamerika och Australien’, Stefano Benni is ‘a cult figure even in some places outside his homeland’ ‘en kultfigur på sina håll också utanför hemlandet’, while one of the most recent Italian authors of Forum’s catalogue, Emma Piazza, is presented as ‘a South European cosmopolitan’ ‘en sydeuropeisk kosmopolit’. Especially Claudio Magris is depicted as an intellectual, not only in words regarding his erudition and professional titles (professor of German literature, author of works about Habsburg, translator of Kleist and Schnitzler), but also in the way he is literally portrayed: the front cover of his work *Microcosm* features a photo of the author himself sitting in a café with a newspaper on his lap and a contemplative gaze – an image of the European intellectual à la Jean-Paul Sartre. In the paperback edition, this idea was reduced to the image of a cup of espresso and a newspaper. To summarize, Forum, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, chose to frame Italian literature as cosmopolitan, and even though this cosmopolitanization is still practised, the emphasis on the vernacular Italianness is becoming more frequent.

Among the Swedish publishers with a large catalogue of translated Italian fiction, one of the smallest is Contempo, which mainly publishes works that belong to the pole of large-scale production. For this reason, there are no cases of horizontal isomorphism or elective affinity; rather, if we want to stick to the mathematical terminology, it is a case of anti-isomorphism since this small house publishes novels that are edited by Italy’s largest houses Feltrinelli, Einaudi, Rizzoli, Mondadori and Bompiani.

Contempo was founded in Stockholm in 2011 (with its first titles released in 2013) by Göran Emitslöf and his daughter Malin Emitslöf. According to Göran Emitslöf, the rise of Contempo was inspired by a meeting with the director of the Italian Cultural Institute in Stockholm, Paolo Grossi, who was

also involved in the foundation of at least three other publishing houses with an Italian focus: Laurella & Wallin, Astor and Cartaditalia (cf. Schwartz 2017). As the name Contempo indicates, the house concentrates on contemporary Italian novels, all of which have achieved economic and/or symbolic success in their homeland. Until 2018, Contempo had published fifteen titles by ten authors and among their writers there were names of well-established middlebrow Italian, mainly male, writers such as Sandro Veronesi, Marco Missiroli and Paolo Cognetti. On its website, Contempo is presented as a *connoisseur* of Italian literature as it states that its activity is conducted ‘in close contact with the Italian book market’ and it is also stressed that the publishing house has ‘translated and published several acclaimed Italian literary stars’. The strategy is clearly that of publishing literature which has been successful in the source culture, a strategy that is often described as a way to gain fast recognition outside national borders (Dubini 2009: 5). A similar method was applied by Forum in the 1980s and 1990s, but there might be a commercial reason why it was abandoned. In order to attract a Swedish audience, it is not enough to claim that a writer was successful in his or her source culture, at least this tactic does not seem to work when it comes to Italian literature in Sweden.

In an interview, Göran Emitslöf admits that Contempo is ‘struggling to be exposed as a publishing house’ and that it is ‘extremely hard’ to reach out to the Swedish book market. Actually, Contempo’s publications have had very little visibility in the Swedish media and book market. Not only do their titles receive hardly any reviews (blogs included), but the firm has also failed to pinpoint Italian writers who really excite Swedish readers, such as Silvia Avallone and Elena Ferrante. In Contempo’s latest publication, Paolo Cognetti’s *Le otto montagne*, which was awarded the prestigious Premio Strega and became an international bestseller, the peritext draws parallels to Ferrante by highlighting that it is ‘a modern Italian masterpiece about the viability of friendship’ and the ‘encounter between two boys from different backgrounds that will develop and challenge them throughout the whole life’. Several blurbs from international and Italian press follow this description, with one asking: ‘Is Cognetti the new Ferrante?’

Focusing on a single language area, the company employs a clear niche strategy, but its ambition to publish *best-selling notables* seems to collate with two different literary systems: the Italian source system in which these authors have a good reputation and a considerable readership, and the Swedish system

in which the names are unknown. These authors have to compete with already well-established Anglophone writers, as a critic of Sandro Veronesi's novel *Caos calmo* indicates:

Fast vi lever ju, för att komma med en originell observation, i en globaliserad värld. Denna italienska bästsäljare, filmatiserad av Nanni Moretti, påminner snarare om en viss sorts engelska förebilder som undantagslöst också blir filmatiserade – Nick Hornbys böcker, till exempel, eller David Nicholls 'En dag'.

(Although, to offer an original observation, we do live in a globalized world. This Italian bestseller, adapted to the movie screen by Nanni Moretti, is rather reminiscent of a certain kind of English work, that also, without exception, are made into movies – Nick Hornby's novel for example, or David Nicholl's *One Day*.)

(*Expressen*, 5 March 2013)

Another peculiarity regarding Contempo is that it not only tries to introduce new names, but the house also 'rescued' some authors who had been published and subsequently dropped by a larger Swedish company (Melania Mazzucco, Niccolò Ammaniti and Margaret Mazzantini). This publishing pattern actually goes against the common notion of small publishing houses as discoverers of unknown but promising authors (Sapiro 2008: 157), who, if they are successful, will be contracted by larger firms.

As in the case of Forum, most Italian writers published by Contempo belong to the category of *best-selling notables*, i.e. commercially successful and award-winning authors with a great deal of focus on plot. The choice of a more or less pronounced *figure idéal-typique* reflects the determination to provide a coherent image of Italian writers. According to Siri Nergaard, a publishing house's decision to concentrate exclusively on a particular geographic region represents 'a strong ideological position' (2013: 193). The object of Nergaard's study is for many reasons an older sibling of Contempo: Iperborea, an Italian publisher focusing on literature from the Nordic countries and applying 'localizing' translation and packaging strategies by 'insisting on geographical, national and cultural origin' (2013: 198). Iperborea itself was inspired by the French publisher Actes sud, using a similar strategy when framing and presenting literary translations, often from the Scandinavian countries (Nergaard 2004). Even in the case of Contempo, the Italian focus gives rise to some clichés about the country in

the epitext. For instance, on its website, Contempo puts emphasis on Italy as the homeland of conflicting and strong emotions, which is reflected in the country's literature where everything is 'always portrayed with passion, in love and hate, life and death, pleasure and pain' (<https://www.contempo.se/om-forlaget/>).

Moreover, publishing houses' emphasis on a particular region or country tends to homogenize the selected titles and reduce the distance between them by creating 'family resemblances' (Nergaard 2013: 192). Similar family resemblances are highlighted in the peritext of Contempo's titles, where a couple of frequently repeated themes interconnect very different stories and writers: life, family bonds, love, sex and passion, i.e. typical ingredients of *Italianness*. 'Life' is often described as something that starts anew after a crisis. The peritexts are pervaded with expressions such as 'to find new lust for life' 'the beginning of a travel towards a new life', 'the dream of a better life'. Similarly, words that denote love, desire, sex and passion can be detected on almost every back cover. Margaret Mazzantini's *Splendore*, for instance, is described as 'a love novel on forbidden love' between two boys 'who develop a loving friendship which during the teenage leads to sexual attraction'. Interestingly, the peritexts refer to love and passion even when these are not very dominant themes in the novels, for instance in the case of Melania Mazzucco's *Vita*, a novel about Italian emigrants in New York at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Even though Contempo does not explicitly highlight the Italian origin of the works and the authors (which would be superfluous since it only publishes Italian novels), the focus on the above-mentioned themes (life, love, family) is used to make the reader associate with the most positive elements of Italianness. The strategy is then to interconnect these 'good' qualities with typical formulations referring to economic qualities, i.e. *commercial vernacularization*. The house actually applies the large-scale publishing house's typical strategies, by insisting on their focus on bestsellers. Under their logotype, a short but very telling text explains that 'Contempo publishes Italian literature in Swedish. The authors represent a selection of contemporary bestsellers in Italy and in many other countries' 'Contempo ger ut italiensk litteratur på svenska. Författarna är ett urval av samtida storsäljare i Italien och många andra länder'. The peritexts always refer to the successful sales of the title in Italy and/or abroad, the many languages that the titles have been translated into, and other qualities that highlight the book's capacity to reach a broad audience. A synthesis of all these elements is found in the text on the back cover of Margaret Mazzantini's *Splendore*:

Margaret Mazzantini har skrivit sex romaner varav tre är filmatiserade. Alla filmer har maken Sergio Castellito regisserat och i två av dem spelar Penélope Cruz huvudrollen. Mazzantinis stora genombrott kom med romanen *Non ti muovere* (Rör dig inte). Boken är översatt till fler än 30 språk och blev film år 2004. Margaret Mazzantini har belönats med flera prestigefyllda litterära priser.

(Margaret Mazzantini has written six novels of which three have been filmed. All the films have been directed by her husband Sergio Castellito and in two of them Penélope Cruz plays the leading role. Mazzantini's great breakthrough was with the novel *Non ti muovere* (Do not move). The book has been translated into more than 30 languages and became a film in the year 2004. Margaret Mazzantini has been awarded several prestigious literary prizes.)

Moreover, Contempo's covers are colourful and richly illustrated, always in a way that denotes or reproduces an aspect of the content. For example, Mauro Covacich's *A perditione*, in which the main character is a Marathon runner, has a runner on the cover, while Niccolò Ammaniti's *Io e te*, about a schoolboy who hides in the basement during the winter holidays, features a pair of eyes under a staircase on the front cover. This focus on the plot utterly underscores Contempo's orientation towards the commercial pole. A considerable part of the back cover texts summarizes the plot in the most exciting way possible, often with direct references to entertainment literature, as in the cases of Veronesi's *The Power of the Past*, which is claimed to have 'a thriller's spectacular twists'; Mazzucco's *Sei come sei*, which is described to be 'as exciting and dramatic as an adventure novel'; and Igiaba Scego's postcolonial novel *Adua*, which is defined as 'captivating and intriguing'. By a generous use of affective adjectives, the novels in Contempo's catalogue are described as 'thrilling', 'moving' and 'heart-stopping'. The peritexts' framing of Italian *notables* as *populars* is a recurring tendency which might be explained by the ongoing popularization of the literary field (Franssen 2015).

Publishers of Anglophone African literature in Sweden

Anglophone African literature is at once a literature written in a hyper-central language, with very few exceptions first published in one of the global literary centres, and, at the same time, an expressive mode at the margin of world literary

space. English is for all intents and purposes the necessary condition for this literature's mobility through the world's publishing systems and its visibility to institutions that receive and recognize literature, as is publication by houses in London and New York. Despite recent efforts, such as Nigerian publisher Cassava Republic's decision to establish offices both in Lagos and London to connect book markets, or the earlier establishment of African Books Collective, a distribution network that aims to sell African books on American and other international book markets, African publishing makes up a minimal percentage of the world's total output of books, and local- or national-language books seldom travel beyond national borders (Bgoya and Jay 2013, Bosch Santana 2018, Wallis 2018).

The Swedish case illustrates this situation well. In the period studied here, 430 editions of translated African literature (novels, short story collections, poetry and drama) were published in Sweden. Out of a translation total of a little more than thirty thousand editions, this means African literature accounts for around 1.5 per cent. The pattern fluctuates slightly between years and decades, for instance, the 1990s ended at the slightly lower level of 0.5 per cent, but the proportion of African literature in Swedish publishing remains relatively stable. Virtually all the novels translated were first published by British or American publishers, which confirms the importance of the global centres of publication. One of the very few exceptions to the rule, which may be recounted since it reminds us that books also travel along more individual routes, is Tanzanian author Elieshi Lema's novel *Parched Earth*. First published in 2001 by the publishing house that Lema herself founded in Dar es Salaam, E&D Ltd, it was translated into Swedish and published in 2004. It has not found a British or American publisher but has recently, somewhat unexpectedly, been translated into French, and published by *Présence Africaine* (2016).

Given the small volume of translated Anglophone African literature on the Swedish literary market, it is noteworthy that the total is shared among a relatively large number of publishers, although the number (around forty) seems small in comparison to Italian literature described above. A small niche market, the publishing of Anglophone African literature is not dominated by houses with an 'African' profile; nor is Anglophone African literature primarily presented to the Swedish audience through book series, as is the case, for instance, in France (Ducourneau 2011: 50). The literary output is clearly divided into large-scale/small-scale literature, but several publishers also work across the poles. For instance, Tranan, a small publisher with a marked 'world literature' profile and the ambition to introduce literature from less well-known literary

cultures, publishes twenty-one Anglophone African literary works in the period, all of which belong in the category of literary fiction. Bromberg, another small publisher specializing in literary fiction from many parts of the world, in similar fashion concentrates on literature with high symbolic capital but has a much narrower focus: one author, J. M. Coetzee, accounts for twenty-two of their total of twenty-eight published works (the other authors being Athol Fugard and Buchi Emecheta). At the other end of the publishing spectrum, popular publisher Damm's Anglophone African publishing is limited to best-selling Alexander McCall Smith, and B. Wahlström's to Wilbur Smith. Working at both ends of the literary-popular spectrum, Bonniers published a great deal of the Anglophone African literature during the period, and combined highly literary fiction, such as Nadine Gordimer and Nuruddin Farah, with 'mid-brow' authors such as Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, even making an attempt to break into the popular Anglophone African literary segment through the publication of McCall Smith's *Drömguden* (2007, *Dream Angus*). The crossover pattern can also be observed in the case of significantly smaller publishers such as Weyler, which publishes highly consecrated South African author Marlene van Niekerk, author of *Agaat*, alongside popular crime writer Deon Meyer (both of whom write in Afrikaans but are translated from English). To further illustrate the publishing of African literature in Sweden in the period, it will be useful to compare two publishers at opposite ends of the publishing poles, Bonniers and Modernista.

Bonniers is one of Sweden's oldest publishing houses. Founded from a bookseller business in 1839, it has long been one of the biggest and most important publishers in Sweden. Throughout its history, it has published numerous canonized Swedish authors – in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries August Strindberg, Ellen Key and Nobel prize laureates Selma Lagerlöf and Pär Lagerkvist, among others. This history has made Bonniers into one of the most prestigious publishers in Sweden. Bonniers also maintains a leading position in translating foreign quality literature into Swedish, for example with the famous Panache publication line, which started in 1946 and which contains many Nobel Prize laureates, the majority of which were published long before the year of the prize (Ruëgg 2020).

Like many international publishing houses, over the last decades Bonniers has gone through changes that have to do with its position and role, as well as its internal organization. Bonniers has, through mergers, acquisitions and restructuring, gone from being a privately owned publishing house to a large corporate media conglomerate. The transformations have not followed

a single logic but have shifted from expansion of activities in the 1990s to contraction in the following decade. Parallel to these developments, Bonniers – again like several other European and American houses – has been engaged in vertical integration, i.e. buying and/or controlling distribution and sales of books.

Being one of the major publishing houses in Sweden, Bonniers publishes broadly and in many different genres from poetry to crime fiction. For example, at its small-scale pole it publishes poetry ranging from the highly experimental, and sometimes controversial (vanguard authors such as Johan Jönson), to the established (notables such as Aase Berg and aesthetes such as Witold Gombrowicz); at its popular, large-scale, pole, Bonniers is home to a number of crime writers and authors of romantic prose, such as American bestsellers Dennis Lehane and John Grisham, Swedish (and internationally successful) authors such as Lars Kepler (pseudonym for Alexander Ahndoril and Alexandra Coelho Ahndoril) and American Nora Roberts and British Penny Vicenzi, whose romances have sold millions of copies globally. Between the extremes of the publishing spectrum, Bonniers has a large segment of literary fiction which attracts critical acclaim because of its literary value while at the same time finding success with readers. This category of the novel, among which are found Man Booker Prize laureates, can be exemplified by authors such as Salman Rushdie, Roberto Bolaño and Marlon James internationally, and Jonas Hassen Khemiri, one of the stars of contemporary Swedish literature, nationally.

Bonniers' broad profile makes its Anglophone African publishing pattern interesting. As Sarah Brouillette and various others have noted, postcolonial literature (the umbrella term under which African literature is often included) is internationally very often a niche market, which is indicated by the existence of specialized publishers, imprints or book series devoted to literatures from particular regions (Brouillette 2007: 44–75). When it is not, as is the case with Bonniers, the question arises what authors are published, and how they are marketed. To what degree are these authors presented as belonging to a certain country, region or culture? What does the relation between the vernacular and the cosmopolitan look like in the presentation of these authors?

In the period 1980–2018, Bonniers published eight African authors writing in English: Nadine Gordimer, Damon Galgut, Nuruddin Farah, Ben Okri, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, Alexander McCall Smith, Petina Gappah and Dinaw Mengestu. In total, the publishing amounts to twenty-five editions – a

little more than 7 per cent of the total publishing output of African authors translated from English. The selection of authors presents no singular focus on the part of the publisher, which includes both notables such as Nadine Gordimer, popular writers such as Alexander McCall Smith and 'mid-brow' writers such as Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie and Petina Gappah.

Being a distinctly cosmopolitan publisher in its selection of authors, it is interesting to examine how Bonniers have portrayed their authors in the epitextual material which surrounds the publishing. The case of Nadine Gordimer offers a good entry point. Gordimer is a long-standing commitment for Bonniers, and she was one of the first African authors to be translated into Swedish. Gordimer's novelistic debut, *Lögnens dagar* (*Lying Days*), was published in 1955, two years after its original publication. After the first translation, Bonniers remained a faithful and rather swift publisher of Gordimer's works, releasing them onto the Swedish market a year or two after their original publishing. *A World of Strangers* (1958) was published as *Främlingars värld* (1959); *Occasion for Loving* (1963) as *Tillfälle att älska* (1965); *The Late Bourgeois World* (1966) as *En bortgången värld* (1967), *The Conservationist* (1974) as *Bevararen* (1975), to give examples from Gordimer's early career. An exception to this pattern was *The Guest of Honour* which was originally published in 1970 and published by Bonniers in 1977.

In their presentation of Gordimer, Bonniers has been careful to describe her authorship in ways that connect locality to universal themes. Thus, for instance, the publisher's web page briefly recounts her life (born in the Transvaal, discontinued studies at the University of the Witwatersrand) and stresses her artistic concern with the local conditions of apartheid, while simultaneously generalizing this thematic as an exploration of the interaction of public and private life (<https://www.albertbonniersforlag.se/>). The framing of her novels has put equal emphasis on the vernacular and the cosmopolitan qualities of her writing. *Börja leva* (*Get A Life*), for instance, is described as involving a South African ecologist and as thematizing how 'existence is fundamentally transformed' in moments of crisis ('hur tillvaron ohjälpligt förändras när allt ställs på sin spets').

That the transcendence of the local situation is important, and that vernacular attachment may indeed stand in opposition to the general is indicated by the quotation from the British newspaper *The Times* included on the web page to market the novel, which states that Gordimer's 'rootedness in a political time, place and destiny never overshadows her multifaceted talent as a writer' ('starka förankring i en politisk tid, dess och plats och öde har aldrig överskyllt hennes

mångfacetterade begåvning som författare'). *The House Gun*, to take another example, is, according to a critic cited on the publisher's website, said to take place in a post-apartheid South Africa where 'years of racial conflict vibrate under the surface' ('är av rasmotsättningar vibrerar under ytan'), and thematizing deeply existential – placeless – conditions ('tillvarons själva grundvillkor, varhelst människorna lever sina liv').

The examples indicate that for Bonniers the particularities of a South African context are not seen as intrinsically good, but have to be communicated in a cosmopolitan literary form in order to reach the target language reader. This cosmopolitanization of Gordimer's work differs from the commercial vernacularization instigated by Le Seuil and Forum described above. Presumably, this has to do with Gordimer's status as a Nobel Prize laureate, dubbing her work as 'pure literature' (and raising it above the work of the authors vernacularized by Le Seuil and Forum). The early introduction of Gordimer to Swedish readers, and the dedication to the translation of works by this highly consecrated author, have generated a great deal of symbolic capital for Bonniers and contributed to its prestige. Gordimer was awarded the Booker Prize (UK, 1974), the Premio Malaparte (Italy, 1985) and the Nelly Sachs Prize (Germany 1986) – before she was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1991 for her 'epic writing' in the service of ('great benefit to') 'humanity'.

In view of the total of Bonniers' Anglophone African publishing, the long-standing commitment to a renowned author appears a singular case, and regardless of what type of writer is involved, the house's publishing strategy seems rather more erratic and discontinuous. The fate of Nuruddin Farah, a writer with a stature comparable to Gordimer's, illustrates this well. Farah, originally from Somalia and for many years a resident of South Africa, had his first novel, *From a Crooked Rib*, published by Heinemann in the African Writers Series 1970. His next novel, *A Naked Needle*, was published in 1976, also by Heinemann, after which followed a series of trilogies – a format which came to be seen as a Farah trademark. 'Variations on the theme of African Dictatorship', which includes *Sweet and Sour Milk* (1979), *Sardines* (1979) and *Close Sesame* (1983), was Farah's first trilogy; the second, 'Blood in the Sun', encompasses *Maps* (1986), *Gifts* (1993) and *Secrets* (1998); the 'Past Imperfect' trilogy, which is his latest, includes *Links* (2003), *Knots* (2007) and *Crossbones* (2011). Farah's most recent novels, *Hiding in Plain Sight* (2014) and *North of Dawn* (2018), are free-standing novels. Farah's productivity is matched by his international literary standing. He has been awarded a number of literary prizes, among them the

Neustadt Prize, and the Tucholsky Prize (awarded by the Swedish section of PEN International) and his name is regularly mentioned in speculation before the Nobel Prize (e.g. Smith in *The New York Times*, 19 May 2004). The website of his present publisher, Penguin Random House, presents him through quotations by author colleagues such as Nadine Gordimer and Salman Rushdie (<https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/authors/241845/nuruddin-farah>).

Bonniers published the first Swedish translation of Farah's work *Kartor* (*Maps*) – the first novel in the 'Blood in the Sun' trilogy – in 1987, one year after its original publication. Over the following decade, they published the subsequent instalments in the trilogy: *Gåvor* (*Gifts*) in 1990, and *Hemligheter* (*Secrets*) in 2000. After the completion of the 'Blood in the Sun' trilogy, the publishing of Farah's novels in Swedish became more scattered. Bonniers published *Länkar* (the first of the 'Past Imperfect' Trilogy) in 2006 but did not follow up with the subsequent novels; instead, their next translation was *Adams revben* (*From a Crooked Rib*), released in 2008, after which the publisher seems to have lost interest in Farah. Bonniers' handling seems to be an example of how a major publisher picks up a foreign author for symbolic reasons but then drops the same author for economic reasons. More recently the small publisher Modernista has taken over the publishing of his work, re-issued the 'Blood in the Sun' trilogy and translated his most recent novel *Hiding in Plain Sight* (*Dolda i det fullt synliga*, 2018).

Whatever the explanation for Farah's more recent fate at the hands of Bonniers – be it increasing pressure on books to perform well economically or something else – the release of a highly consecrated writer appears to foreshadow what has later befallen less renowned but acclaimed writers such as Ben Okri, Dinaw Mengestu and Petina Gappah. Okri, a Nigerian author, had his Booker Prize-winning *Den omättliga vägen* (*The Famished Road*, 1992) published in 1993 by Wiken but was later taken up by Bonniers through *Farlig kärlek* (1997; *Dangerous Love*, 1996). The title remains the publisher's only effort with Okri; despite the fact that the author, who has written eight novels to date, has been translated into twenty languages, received several literary awards and is housed by large publishing corporation Penguin, Bonniers has discontinued the publishing of his novels. Mengestu, an Ethiopian/American author with two novels behind him, likewise, has seen Bonniers publish his first novel – *Att tyda luften* (*How to Read the Air*, 2010) – in 2012, but show no interest in his following novel (*All our Names*, 2015). Gappah, whose latest novel, *Out of Darkness, Shining Light*, is her fourth literary work, and who is published by

major American publishing house Simon and Schuster, has only had two titles translated into Swedish and published by Bonniers: *Sorgesång för Easterly* (*Elegy for Easterly*, 2009) and *Memorys Bok* (*The Book of Memory*, 2015).

The lack of publishing continuity contrasts with Bonniers' presentation of their Anglophone African authors. All are apparently selected on the basis of literary merit rather than economic success (a number of literary prizes mentioned, even if some of these may also hint at increased sales figures) and are described as significant literary voices which (like Gordimer) combine vernacular and cosmopolitan traits in their writing. Gappah, though, is partly described as a satirist, dealing with particular versions of eternal themes – struggling lives under the Mugabe regime; a setting in a prison's death row in Harare – and as an important author ('stilsäker [...] väsentligt författarskap'), Mengestu as a sensitive author grappling with existential issues from a particular migrant experience ('sensibel skildring av att försöka förstå de skeenden som format en människa').

Bonniers' presentation of Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie crystallizes in more positive ways what may be seen as the publisher's rhetorical split between emphasizing the literary value of an author, but evaluating her with regard to sales. Adichie, whose books have sold millions of copies around the world, is presented on the publisher's web page as primarily a qualitative writer (the Orange Prize, National Book Critics Circle Award, *The New York Times*' Best Books, and the MacArthur Foundation Genius Grant are mentioned, even if the range of translations are also noted), and her novel *Americanah* is compared with Balzac's work in its ability to capture the atmosphere of an era through the literary depiction of a few individuals' lives ('skildra ett helt samhälle och en tidsanda genom några få, utmejslade öden').

Modernista is one of Sweden's smaller publishers, focusing on translations, especially from English. One of the strategies of this publisher has been to re-issue Swedish and international books which are considered classics – and to do this within different genres of literature. Thus Modernista has translated and published Plato's *The Republic* and Nietzsche's *Thus Spake Zarathustra* and *On the Genealogy of Morals*, as well as Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*, Charles Dickens' *Hard Times*, short stories by Katherine Mansfield and Virginia Woolf's *The Waves*. Modernista has also launched re-editions of minor or major classics by Swedish authors, such as Selma Lagerlöf, Birgitta Trotzig and Jan Myrdal.

The re-issuing of classic works may be interpreted in different ways. It may be, as Gisèle Sapiro puts it, a way by which literatures are allowed to exist – and

perhaps only exist – in terms of ‘past symbolic capital’ (2015: 321). It may also be a way for a publisher to accumulate its own literary capital with relative speed through the taking over of what were once other publishers’ backlists. A publisher’s build-up of reputation is a time-consuming and high-risk activity in which the investment in authors gradually yields returns in the form of symbolic capital (e.g. Bourdieu 2008, Thompson 2010: 219–20). Since Modernista, which was founded in 2002, has not yet had the time to accumulate that capital through nurturing their own authors’ literary careers, the acquisition of rights to publish Swedish or foreign classics appears, in this context, a process by which the accumulation of literary capital is accelerated. In comparison to Bourdieu’s typical case, however, Modernista’s position-taking appears somewhat less risky in that the publisher continuously receives support from the state-sponsored Kulturrådet and very often re-publishes older translations.

In the period covered, Modernista published eleven titles by Anglophone African authors, all of them in the last years of the period (2014–2017). Of these, Nuruddin Farah and Ngugi wa Thiong’o represent more than half of the outlet (the other authors being Ben Okri, Amadi Elechi, Ayi Kwei Armah). It may be noted that the publishing is all-male, a profile which is closely connected to – if not explained by – the fact that, except for Ben Okri, the works issued are almost all by authors long hailed as writers of ‘classics’, most of whose works were originally published in the 1960s and 1970s. Elechi’s novels published by Modernista, for instance, were originally published by Heinemann’s Educational Publisher in the ‘African Writers Series’ (*The Concubine*, 1966; *The Great Ponds*, 1970), as were Farah, even if Modernista’s selections are later works, originally published by Arcade publishers in the United States (since 2010 part of Skyhorse publishing).

Modernista’s selection of Anglophone African ‘classics’ – or works written by authors also considered to have produced ‘classics’ – is matched by the publisher’s presentation of these authors. Farah is described as ‘long seen as one of Africa’s most significant writers’ (‘Sedan länge räknas han till de mest betydande afrikanska författarna’) and his Neustadt Prize is mentioned, alongside the explanation that it is one of the world’s most prestigious literary prizes (‘en av världens mest prestigefyllda priser’). The publisher’s presentation of *Secrets* draws attention to the distinctly vernacular – or rather national – qualities of the novel. It is set, the text states, in a society on the brink of civil war where familial bonds have become ideology (‘blodsband har blivit ideologi’) – all the while excerpts from reviewers and author colleagues demonstrate the literary quality

of the writing, and the value of the singular artistic practice of Farah. A quotation from Salman Rushdie labels Farah as one of Africa's best contemporary writers; an excerpt from a review in the *Guardian* states that Farah is one of Africa's great writers and a cosmopolitan voice in English language fiction; and Swedish critic Viola Bao is quoted as saying the value of Farah's art lies in the connection of individual lives and larger political circumstances. Bao's description somewhat echoes the presentation of Gordimer as a vernacular author who speaks to the world.

Modernista's presentation of Ngugi is similar to Farah's and his authorship closely connects regional (African) politics and great art. Ngugi is said to be a great African author, polemicist and satirist, and several of the descriptions of his literary works include references to speculation about Ngugi as a possible Nobel Prize laureate. His *Kråkornas herre* (*Wizard of the Crow*, 2006) is described as a great allegory about the African postcolony ('storslagen allegorisk skildring [...] av en afrikansk nation i efterdyningarna av kolonialismen'), and both *The River Between* and *A Grain of Wheat* are presented as deeply rooted in the Kenyan context ('Två Gikuyu-stammar i Kenya'; 'Kenyas frihetskamp på femtiotalet') while dealing with universal themes like the power of collective stories ('de kollektiva berättelsernas inneboende kraft'), betrayal and love lost. A number of quotations from international and Swedish press accompany the presentation of his novels, many of which reference both the historical background against which Ngugi writes, and his literary craft. A common trait for these Anglophone African writers translated into Swedish, then, is that they are presented as rooted in the vernacular, the foreignized context of the African continent, while still speaking to readers all over the world in a cosmopolitan literary form.

Publishers of Lusophone literature in Sweden

Literatures written in Portuguese – so-called Lusophone literatures – translated into Swedish originate from four different continents: Europe (Portugal), Latin America (Brazil), Asia (East Timor) and Africa (Angola, Cape Verde and Mozambique). Despite its geographical diversity and abundance this literature is, with 317 translated literary works during the period 1980–2018, a peripheral phenomenon in the Swedish book market. When looking at the publishing landscape of translated Lusophone literature, a significant majority

of the publishers are thus to be found in the small-scale publishing industry. Out of these, quite a few are 'micro-publishers' with only very few titles per year. 'Micro-publisher' is used in this text as defining a small-scale company with modest annual sales, often operating on a one-person level and with only one (or even fewer) titles published per year. As noted by Ann Steiner, the distinction between a small publisher and a micro-publisher can be difficult to define. One definition presented by Steiner draws upon the publishers' size through measuring their economic turnover, that is, less than ten million Swedish crowns for the 'small publisher' and under one million for the 'micro-publisher' (2019: 131). The predominance of small-scale houses also emerges when looking at the publishing houses responsible for hosting the most titles and authors of Lusophone literature in their backlists. During the period studied here, the niche publisher Tranan ranks first with thirty-two titles (with very few second editions) and seventeen different authors, and a micro-publisher such as Almaviva, with twelve titles and seven authors is also among the most prominent in number of published titles (as will be addressed more thoroughly below).

With a niche profile focusing on translations of 'literature of quality from all over the world' ('översatt kvalitetslitteratur från hela världen' – Tranan's web page <https://tranan.nu/om-tranan>), the publishing house Tranan hosts several Brazilian authors, e.g. Clarice Lispector, but also the Angolan writers Ondjaki and Pepetela, the Cape Verdean Germano de Almeida, as well as the East Timorese Luís Cardoso. Clarice Lispector holds a predominant position in the Brazilian literary canon, as well as being highly consecrated and translated outside Brazil. With growing international recognition and symbolic capital, Lispector qualifies for the category of *aesthetes* and she has grown to be one of Tranan's most prestigious profile authors, with seven published titles, some with several editions. Furthermore, Tranan has also introduced contemporary Brazilian authors such as Adriana Lisboa and João Paulo Cuenca. These authors are considered to belong to the new generation of writers in Brazil awarded prestigious national literary prizes, for example Prêmio Jabuti. All the Lusophone writers Tranan publishes from Africa and Asia: Ondjaki, Pepetela (Angola), Germano de Almeida (Cape Verde) and Luís Cardoso (East Timor) belong to the *notables*, as the most contemporary consecrated authors of their source cultures and are translated internationally. Likewise, in the inner transcontinental Lusophone book market, these authors have high sales numbers, are awarded prestigious literary prizes and are published by large-scale publishing houses in Portugal and Brazil.

Adding to the picture of Lusophone literature predominantly being hosted by small-scale publishers is the fact that Portuguese and Brazilian classics and their most canonized authors (*aesthetes*), such as Fernando Pessoa, Eça de Queirós and Machado de Assis are published by the small publishing house Pontes. As a consequence of this picture, only a few Lusophone writers or single titles are published by Swedish large-scale or mid-scale publishing houses. It is mainly the two internationally recognized Portuguese authorships, the Nobel Prize laureate of 1998 José Saramago (thirteen translated titles) and the ‘considered’ Nobel candidate António Lobo Antunes (fourteen translated titles), which are published by Wahlström & Widstrand and Forum, respectively, both parts of the large publishing house Bonnier. Bonnier also published one title each of the Brazilian authors Milton Hatoum in 2010, *Den förtrollade staden* (*Orfãos de Eldorado*), Michel Laub in 2014, *Att falla* (*Diário da Queda*) and Patrícia Melo in 2000, *Lögnens lov* (*Elogio da Mentira*). Also, the large-scale publisher Norstedts has published single titles by Brazilian authors during the period. The publishing of these single titles is possibly an attempt to introduce and launch these globally successful authors into the Swedish market, although none of the titles were followed up with a second translation. In the border zone between middle-size and small-range publishers we find the well-established publishing houses Ordfront and Leopard, which launch approximately thirty titles per year, and have published the internationally recognized Mozambican author Mia Couto. Leopard – which will be further studied below – has also published a recent successful novel by the Angolan writer José Eduardo Agualusa.

To complete this brief overview of the Swedish publishing landscape of Lusophone literature we have to address the case of the Brazilian worldwide best-selling author Paulo Coelho. In terms of number of titles and editions of Brazilian literature translated into Swedish, Coelho dominates completely. In the investigated period (1980–2018), he is the author of 61 (33 per cent) out of a total of 186 editions of Brazilian literature. Coelho is published by the publishing house Bazar, which is closer to the commercial pole of the publishing field. Coelho is then the only author writing in Portuguese who qualifies as a *popular* author in the Swedish market. We will take a closer look at two instructive examples of publishers of Lusophone literature in Sweden, the mid-scale publisher Leopard and the micro-publisher Almaviva.

The publishing house Leopard was founded in 2001 by the Swedish internationally best-selling author Henning Mankell and editor Daniel Israel. They both formerly came from the publishing house Ordfront – with a similar

size and profile as Leopard – where Israel held the position of publishing director and Mankell was the signed global best-selling author of Nordic noir novels. Henning Mankell is also known for introducing the world famous Swedish police inspector Kurt Wallander in his novels. In an interview in the Swedish daily *Aftonbladet* that very same year, Mankell explained that their intention with the new publishing house was to launch translations of fiction from Africa and Asia. The name of the label, Leopard, is derived from Mankell's novel *Leopardens öga* (1990) (*The Eye of the Leopard*) and symbolizes the Leopard's ability to survey its surroundings when lying down in a spot where it has a great overview of the terrain (interview with Mankell, *Aftonbladet*, 6 June 2001). During the last two decades, in tune with Mankell's personal political and social commitments, Leopard has developed into a publishing house with a strong community-oriented profile of sociopolitical consciousness, publishing around thirty titles per year.

Since then, Leopard's original scope of literature from Asia and Africa has been broadened with non-fiction genres (e.g. debate, history and popular science), which focus on social equality issues and questions with reference to both Swedish society as well as the larger world. Leopard's current catalogue includes a variety of topics concerning social engagement, for example anti-colonialism, globalization, racism, human rights, feminism and LGBT issues, as well as fiction from Sweden, Africa, Asia, Arabic countries and Latin America. Leopard's publishing list of non-Swedish writers includes Maryse Condé, Assia Djebar, Achmat Dangor, Emmanuel Dongala and Frantz Fanon. Also included in Leopard's catalogue are two prominent African authors writing in Portuguese: José Eduardo Agualusa from Angola and Mia Couto from Mozambique.

The trajectory of Mia Couto's authorship into the Leopard publishing house is an interesting one, simultaneously representing a translational path of an already globally translated and successful writer – translated into more than forty languages – and a personal networking path. Mankell had a long-standing commitment to African independence and development and a lifelong and special personal relationship to Mozambique (cf. Helgesson 2018: 92). For many years, Mankell lived partly in Maputo where he worked as a director of the theatre house Teatro Avenida and where he cultivated a close friendship with Mia Couto. Three of Couto's previous novels were published by Ordfront, before he followed Mankell to his new publishing house.

Leopard's backlist includes two novels by Mia Couto: *Sjöjungfruns andra fot* (*O outro Pé da Sereia*; Caminho 2006), published in 2010, with a reprint

and a paperback edition in 2014 and *Jesusalem* (*Jesusalém*; Caminho 2009) published in 2015. By José Eduardo Agualusa, Leopard has also published one title: *En allmän teori om glömska* (*Teoria Geral do Esquecimento*; Quetzal 2012) in 2017. However, it was not Leopard that introduced Agualusa authorship to the Swedish audience. The micro-publisher Almagora had previously published four titles of his work, which will be addressed below. Leopard's publishing of Agualusa's novel followed upon its international success of being awarded the English PEN Translates award, and the International Dublin Literary Award (former IMPAC Dublin Award), as well as being shortlisted for the 2016 Man Booker International Prize. Likewise, Mia Couto, has been awarded important literary prizes within the Lusophone publishing circuit as well as international ones. Couto received the most prestigious Portuguese literary award, the Camões Prize, the important Neustadt International Prize for literature in 2014 and was a finalist for the Man Booker Prize in 2015. Agualusa and Couto are arguably the two most renowned and successful Lusophone African writers in the current international publishing market, both in number of translations into other languages, as well as in symbolic capital accumulated from critical attention. Furthermore, in their source cultures and in the transcontinental Lusophone publishing circuit they are published by the most prominent and large-scale publishing houses, e.g. in Portugal, by Caminho/Leya (Couto) and Quetzal (Agualusa) and in Brazil, both by Companhia das Letras. When these publishers launch new titles by Couto and Agualusa they are treated as 'big books', meaning that, in anticipation of a big success, they invest in 'a larger print run, more marketing events, and prioritized sale pitch' (Steiner 2018: 121). While the average print run of a new novel by the publisher Caminho/Leya in Portugal is between two to three thousand, the first edition of a new novel by Couto is often printed in thirty thousand copies.

Leopard's web page frames Mia Couto and Agualusa accordingly, on literary merits and quality, as being the foremost representatives of Portuguese-speaking Africa: Mia Couto is considered 'the foremost author of Portuguese-speaking Africa' ('den främsta författaren från det portugisiskspråkiga Afrika') and Agualusa 'one of the foremost literary voices of Angola and the Portuguese-speaking world' ('en av de främsta litterära rösterna från Angola och den portugisiskspråkiga världen') (<https://leopardforlag.se/>). The claim of being 'the best and foremost' author representing a country or a language area seems to be a common strategy used by a smaller publisher when highlighting the literary quality of an author. The presentations on the website are short

and include mentions of literary awards and the positions as finalists for the Man Booker Prize.

Leopard's description of the three novels sums up the vernacular plot, but then stresses the cosmopolitan value and the universal human condition as its subject matter, rather than suggesting a vernacularized exotification of the novel's content. As can be seen in the description of Agualusa's novel: 'The result is a fascinating and playful novel, both comic and tragic, and at the same time a tender depiction of human vulnerability' ('Resultatet är en fascinerande och lekfull roman, både komisk och tragisk och på samma gång en ömsint skildring av människans sårbarhet') (<https://leopardforlag.se/>). Likewise, in the presentations of Couto's novels the universal human condition is highlighted: 'Sjöjungfruns andra fot [The Mermaid's Second Foot – the novel is not translated into English] is a poetic novel that questions perceptions of identity, race and tradition' ('*Sjöjungfruns andra fot* är en poetisk roman som ifrågasätter uppfattningar om identitet, ras och tradition'). Leopard's presentation of the authorships and novels is thus on par with their expressed niche profile of cosmopolitan concern for social equality issues from a global perspective. Nevertheless, questions must be raised regarding the lack of continuity in publishing the novels of Mia Couto by Leopard, just as in the case with Bonniers' publishing of Nuruddin Farah, described above. Despite additional titles, including a paperback edition of Couto's first novel, Leopard has not published any more of his novels since 2015. Since the year 2015, coinciding with Mankell's death, the publishing house has continued the clear cosmopolitan profile of social engagement in global issues. However, the percentage of socially engaged non-fiction has lately increased substantially in proportion, arguably at the expense of the continuity of publishing African authors such as Mia Couto.

Having accumulated a large amount of symbolic and economic capital in the transcontinental Lusophone literary circuit and symbolic capital internationally, Mia Couto and Agualusa fall into the category of notables. Nevertheless, when migrating into the Swedish book market, through Leopard, this means being published by a medium/small-size niche publisher. This is in line with the overall arrangement of the Swedish publishing of Lusophone literatures, where even culturally consecrated, canonized and best-selling authors are generally published at the small-scale pole of publishing. At the same time, this also follows a recognizable pattern of African literature being published on the international market by a niche publisher of postcolonial African and Asian novels (Brouillette 2007).

Another notable feature of published Lusophone literature on the Swedish market is the relatively large proportion of micro-publishers in the overall small-scale production. Four micro-publishers, Lusima böcker, Panta rei, Diadorim Edition and Almaviva, are responsible for 10 per cent of the published titles and 16 per cent of the introduced authorships during the studied period. These small enterprises are all niched in Lusophone literatures and operated by a single woman who assumes the multiple roles of translator, editor, designer, marketing director and publisher. Lusima böcker ('böcker' meaning books), operated by Inger M. Alves, introduced and published one title each of the notable Portuguese writers Gonçalo M. Tavares (the publishing house Tranan has followed up with two titles) and Alice Vieira. Panta rei, managed by Gunilla Winberg, has published titles by the Angolan writers Pepetela, José Luís Mendonça, Maria Celestina Fernandes and Paula Tavares and the *aesthete* Brazilian writer Jorge Amado. Ulla M. Gabrielsson, the originator of the publishing house Diadorim editions, specializes in poetry and has translated and published the poets Ana Luísa Amaral (Portugal) and several titles by the Brazilians Ferreira Gullar and Gui Mallon. If we also add to this group of four micro-publishers the small-scale publisher Pontes (publisher of Fernando Pessoa and the Lusophone *aesthetes*), which is managed by Margareta Marin, they are responsible for a fairly large proportion of the publications in general and of the translated poetry in particular. In common for these micro-publishers are the structure of a 'one-woman enterprise' assuming all these different roles of cultural mediation through their own personally created networks and attachments: Inger M. Alves worked as an interpreter and lived for many years in Portugal, Gunilla Winberg worked on solidarity and development work for SIDA (The Swedish Governmental Development Agency) in Angola, and the poet and translator Ulla M. Gabrielsson has lived in Brazil. Their cultural mediator profiles could well be described as 'smugglers', defined recently by Roig-Sanz and Meylaerts, as non-profit promoters of cultural exchange and creators of 'their own norms, circuits, channels and forms' (2018: 3) and as 'mediating in channels of exchange in which translated literature has a low economic value but a high symbolic one' (14). The driving force behind these micro-publishers is clearly not commercial or economic; instead, it is a personal engagement with and commitment to the translational dissemination of Portuguese-speaking cultures and literatures. This description is also very true for the micro-publisher with the most Lusophone titles in their backlist, Almaviva.

The publisher Almagiva was founded in 2000 by the award-winning translator and editor Marianne Sandels. With a total of eleven published translations from the Portuguese language, and as the host of seven different authorships, Almagiva is, in spite of its very small-scale production, a major player in terms of the number of Lusophone titles disseminated in Sweden. On Almagiva's web page, Sandels explains the reason for her interest in Lusophone literature as an interest in Portuguese culture as a niche with high-quality literature and an interesting history (seafarers, colonizers and missionaries), which is not sufficiently presented to the Swedish and Nordic audiences. Since the beginning, Almagiva's ambition has broadened this scope to encompass the larger Portuguese-speaking world and its inner cultural, social and historical affinities and interconnectedness (Almagivas' web page, http://www.almagivabok.se/om_almagiva.html).

Marianne Sandels started off as a translator of poetry, and before establishing Almagiva she translated several Portuguese poets published by other houses. Almagiva's backlist includes four books by José Eduardo Agualusa: two collections of chronicles and texts, *Dansa igen: berättelser och krönikor från den portugisisktalande världen* (2002), *Praktisk handledning i konsten att sväva* (2011), and two of his well-known novels, *Kreolska riket* (*Nação crioula*) in 2003 and *En främling i Goa* (*Um Estranho em Goa*) in 2006. Regarding Portuguese writers, Almagiva published two titles of prose by the notable Almeida Faria and four titles of translated poetry by four contemporary poets: Eugénio de Andrade, Ana Luísa Amaral, Nuno Júdice and Vasco Graça Moura. Furthermore, the backlist includes a collection of poems from the Mozambican poet José Craveirinha. This selection of contemporary authors all belong to the well-known and (symbolic) *notables* authors in their source cultures and in the inner Lusophone circuit. However, it is always difficult to connect the literary production of even successful poets to economic large-scale publishing. These Portuguese poets belong to the notables through critical recognition, rewarded prices and as translated into several languages. Likewise, the poet Craveirinha must be considered as the most consecrated poet in Mozambique, often considered the father of Mozambican poetry and crucial for the development of Mozambican literature, as well as being the receiver of the prestigious Portuguese Camões Prize. (For a discussion on Craveirinha's translational dissemination beyond the Portuguese linguistic circuit, e.g. Sweden, see Helgesson 2018: 85–99.)

In line with fostering a niche profile towards Lusophone culture and literature, all Almagiva's publications include a personal written introduction by Sandels,

thorough bio-bibliographical notes on the author, descriptions of the literary text with culturally specific sociopolitical and historical contextualization and accentuates the text's importance in the source cultures. The editions aim to distinguish themselves in the market by exhibiting a stylish overall uniform design in the book covers and extra care in paper quality. John Eyre has designed all the covers in a uniform style and font, with pictures of, e.g. landscapes or paintings covered with a watercolour-like matte surface, creating a sophisticated impression. Two of the covers (Almeida Faria and Agualusa) have reproductions of modernist paintings of the Portuguese Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso, and two (Agualusa and Craveirinha) have African motifs, while others show serene landscapes, connoting an overall prevailing *cosmopolitan* impression with *vernacular* elements. For these qualities Almaviva was rewarded a 'honorable mention for an ambitious series with good quality' ('hedersomnämmande för en ambitiös serie med god kvalitet') by the jury of Svensk Bokkonst in 2001 (<http://www.almavivabok.se/>). 'Svensk Bokkonst' is a non-profit association that every year gives out rewards to stimulate and inspire the book industry to increase quality in the production of books in Sweden.

Looking at the framing of the publications on the web page, they all, to some extent, emphasize the *vernacular* qualities, as they include and enhance cultural affinities between the author/literary text and major specific historical and political contexts, such as Portuguese colonialism, fascist regime, the Carnation Revolution and African national independence. Moreover, the framing enhances culture-specific concepts such as the well-known melancholic mood of 'saudade' and mythical connections to the sea (seafarer), as expressed in the introduction to the anthology of poems *Vintergatan asfalteras i vitt* (2012) by Amaral, Judice and Moura: 'represents the lyrical tradition of their homeland in a multifaceted way [...] some poems characterized by melancholy and longing, the saudade one meets in fado songs' ('representerar sitt hemlands lyriska tradition på ett mångfacetterat sätt [...] vissa dikter präglade av melankoli och längtan, den saudade man möter i fadosånger') (<http://www.almavivabok.se/>).

Interestingly, Almaviva's descriptions of Agualusa's works and authorship differ in focus and perspective from the framing of the Leopard editions. If Leopard presented him as being one of the foremost African authors writing in Portuguese, with universal qualities, Almaviva portrays him as a voice of – and transnational traveller in – the historical and cultural interconnectedness of the Portuguese-speaking world and cultures. By focusing on how Agualusa lived and studied in Angola, Portugal and Brazil and how his novels and short prose

texts take place in various parts of the Portuguese-speaking world (<http://www.almavivabok.se/>), the peritexts frame Agualusa as a representative of a larger transcontinental Portuguese-speaking community that extends beyond an exclusively vernacular regional image of Angola. In describing the publications, Almaviva combines vernacular qualities with references to the authors' affiliations with cosmopolitan traits, such as highlighting connections with classical mythical motifs and the writing and writers of Western and European cultures. The overall framing, then, of Almaviva's packaging of the books and their descriptions on the web page's peritext contains an entanglement of enhancing vernacular and cosmopolitan qualities in order to simultaneously present a unique and original literature that qualitatively connects to the larger circuit of world literature.

The publishing landscape of translated Lusophone literatures in the Swedish market is mainly populated by male authors (75 per cent) from the categories of notables and aesthetes in their Portuguese-speaking source cultures, and they are almost exclusively published in the small-scale publishing field, in which the niche micro-publishers play a prominent role. Horizontal isomorphism is only to be found in two cases of Portuguese writers, José Saramago and António Lobo Antunes, and in single titles by Brazilian authors, published by the large-scale publishing houses Wahlström & Widstrand, Forum, Bonniers and Norstedts. The micro-publishers' management through a non-commercial personal commitment to disseminating the Portuguese-speaking cultures opens up possibilities to discover authorships through their direct networking activities without this literature being previously translated and circulated in central languages such as English or French. As such, they can play an important role as introducers of authorships that later get picked up by more established publishers, as in the cases (referenced above) of Agualusa (from Almaviva to Leopard) and Gonçalo M. Tavares (from Lusima böcker to Tranan). At the same time, the scarce economic circumstances of these small-scale publishers make them highly dependent on state institutional support of different kinds to cover the costs of their translations and publications. An investigation into the number of Portuguese and Afro-Portuguese literary works translated into Swedish which received publication grants indicates a high degree of dependency on institutional support for these titles. Most of the titles published between 2000 and 2018 received financial support from either the Swedish Arts Council (Kulturrådet) or from Portuguese cultural institutes (see Schwartz and Edfeldt forthcoming). Furthermore, the micro-publishers have limited resources for

marketing, and encounter difficulties in attracting media attention and getting their titles reviewed in the major papers. These editorial circumstances point to an overall lack of autonomy in, and an uncertainty about the continuity in publishing of, the translational flow from peripheral literatures to the Swedish market, such as in the case of Lusophone literatures.

Publishers of Hispanic Caribbean literature in Sweden

Hispanic Caribbean literature translated into Swedish is a rather marginal literary phenomenon in terms of the number of translated novels – during the investigated period (1980–2018) less than one novel a year, twenty-eight novels in total. This is probably due to the fact that bibliomigration (cf. Mani 2014) patterns are complex and heterogeneous (Lindqvist 2019), which in turn can be partially explained by the pluri-centrality of the Hispanic language and literary consecration and the fact that many Hispanic authors live in English-speaking parts of the world and also write in English. As discussed in the case of Anglophone African literature, sustainable definitions of Caribbean literature are hard to pin down. The only reasonable way of defining Caribbean literature is that it is presented as such to the Swedish reading public, whether the authors write in Spanish, English or French. This definition goes hand in hand with the development within translation studies to consider translations as facts of the target culture (Tourney 1995, 2012), emphasizing the norms and aesthetics of the receiving culture in the bibliomigration process. Having said that, what is nevertheless clear is that the majority of the translated authors are Cuban. The favoured position of Cuban literature in Swedish translation among Hispanic Caribbean literature might partially be explained by the favourable political and cultural relations between the Swedish Social Democratic governments and the Cuban regime during the 1980s and 1990s (Ahlmark 1997: 161). Moreover, a third of the twenty-eight studied novels have English as their source language. It is mostly the Cuban immigrant writers living in the United States or in Europe who write in English, but even so, they are presented to the Swedish readers as Cuban writers. Judging from the sum up of the source languages of the novels in the study it seems as if writing in English is also favoured by the selected translated female authors.

When examining the Swedish publishing field in search of a niched publishing house for Hispanic Caribbean literature, it becomes clear that it simply does not

exist. Caribbean literature is not a self-evident category in the publishing field nor in the Swedish National Bibliography. Therefore, the publication data of this study is based on numbers from the database *Världslitteratur.se* (worldliterature.se). The site is part of a project run by the Världsbiblioteket (World Library) in Stockholm. Its aim is to promote world literature – defined as African, Asian and Latin American literature – and to represent the authors and their translated works in print and online. The account which follows is presented in descending order of the numbers of publications by the involved publishing houses. Since the numbers are fairly low, no percentages will be employed in the account.

One of the most important publishers of Spanish Caribbean authors in Swedish translation counting numbers of novels, Bazar, was founded in 2002 as a Nordic publishing house including Norway, Sweden and Finland. In 2003, Denmark was also included. Today, only the Swedish section of the house has survived. The Danish branch was shut down and shortly after the Norwegian branch was purchased by Cappelen Damm publishing house. Since 2019, the remaining Swedish branch has been part of the rapidly growing Strawberry Publishing.

Bazar mainly publishes translated literature and explicitly describes their publishing strategy as promoting the best and most popular foreign literature ('det bästa och mest populära i utländsk skönlitteratur'), i.e. the best-selling foreign literature. Bazar's profile authors are – according to their website – populars such as Paulo Coelho (described as 'our biggest author' ['vår största författare'] and 'one of Bazar's strongest brands' ['Ett av Bazars starkaste varumärken']), Cecilia Samartín and Bernard Cornwell. Together with an ambition to promote the best-selling foreign literature and the earlier sale possibilities in the other Nordic countries, Bazar's publishing strategy forms a good candidate for being qualified as very close to the commercial pole of the publishing field. They work according to a short production cycle with close contact to an already established demand. Bazar is focused on more short-sighted economic capital than long-sighted cultural capital. They do not invest in building literary careers; rather they build on other charismatic consecrators' work. At the same time, however, Bazar's operations seem to be governed by an ambition to internationalize the Scandinavian book market. This is done, however, by describing the authors not as representatives of exotic source cultures, but rather as border-crossers and champions of a cosmopolitan literary art. This is especially clear in the publisher's presentation of Paulo Coelho, whose native country (of Brazil) is

not even mentioned – on the other hand, he is described as ‘an international bestseller’ and as a writer who has ‘inspired people all around the world’.

Another publisher of Caribbean fiction in translation to Swedish is Tranan, whose business model differs radically from Bazar’s. Tranan focuses primarily on ‘literature of quality from the world’ (‘kvalitetslitteratur från hela världen’) (<https://tranan.nu/om-tranan/>), their selection favouring translated fiction from Africa, Asia and Latin America and other regions less represented within the Swedish literary culture. Tranan is a relatively small publishing house with a production rate of twenty-five titles a year. Their first novel was published in 1992. From the start, Tranan was exclusively aimed at publishing translated Chinese literature (hence the name Tranan, meaning ‘the crane’). That market strategy changed over time and today their profile authors are, among others, the Brazilian novelist and short story writer Clarice Lispector, the Chilean novelist Roberto Bolaño and the Chinese novelist and Nobel Prize laureate Mo Yan. The high profiled series of anthologies with short stories *Berättarserien* (The storytelling series), started in 2004 with the title *China Narrates* (*Kina berättar*) and today has a total of twenty-five anthologies with short stories from different languages and cultures. Comparing Tranan publishing house with Bazar, the former constitutes the best candidate for being characterized as the ‘discovery type’ of publisher in the Bourdieusian sense (1986: 2001), i.e. a house that discovers and introduces quality literature from more peripheral literary cultures from a Swedish perspective. Among Caribbean writers, Tranan has published the Cuban poet and novelist Wendy Guerra’s novel *Alla ger sig av* (*Todos se van*) and – through its imprint Trasten, publishing books for children and young adults – her compatriot Teresa Cárdenas’ novels *Slaven* (*Perro Viejo*) and *Brev till mamma* (*Cartas a mi mama*). Both can be described as notable according to Bourdieu’s model of ideal-type writers. Tranan’s take on internationalization is different from Bazar’s, very much emphasizing the source culture of its authors (e.g. *China Narrates*) and proudly stating that they have published more than three hundred books from seventy-five countries, translated from almost forty languages. The same is true for the children’s books imprint Trasten, described as ‘the publisher who breaks the boundaries to let the world take place in the book shelves of Swedish children’.

The two publishing houses represent what Bourdieu would call two different kinds of symbolic ‘bankers’ within the Swedish publishing field, offering as security their accumulated symbolic capital (cf. Bourdieu 1993: 77). Classifying the two quantitatively most important publishing houses based on yearly output

of titles, yearly revenue and independence and numbers of members of the editorial board (cf. Steiner 2012: 233, Ruëgg 2020: 136), the size and range of the two publishing houses also differ from medium to small. It is important to keep in mind that publishing houses often change ownership relations as well as their profile and publishing lines over time. However, counting the sum of the output of titles published by the thirteen different publishing houses involved in Hispanic Caribbean translations into Swedish the medium range publishers except for Bazar, for instance Leopard and Forum, together dominate the output, often just publishing one translated title by the same author. The large publishing conglomerates Bonniers and Norstedts together published nine out of twenty-eight titles, and small houses produced eight titles. Medium-sized publishing houses thus published the majority of the translated Hispanic Caribbean literature in Sweden, but the differences are not very significant. These numbers confirm the heterogeneous nature of the publishing of this kind of literature.

Moreover, examining the relationship between the publishing houses within the Hispanic, Anglo-American and the Swedish literary spaces, the picture is even more heterogeneous, which makes it virtually impossible to trace cases of horizontal isomorphism, where publishers tend to make their selection drawing on the elective affinity with similar publishers from foreign literary fields. A general purview of the publishing houses in the three concerned literary spaces examined gives no clear picture. It seems that literary consecration by means of prizes and awards is more influential when it comes to Spanish Caribbean literature in Swedish translation.

Within the Hispanic context, rather small publishing houses placed in Havana are represented, for example Éditiones Union, Éditorial Letras Cubanas and Édition Homenaje del Ministerio de Cultura as well as large Mexican publishing concerns, for instance E.D.I.A.P.S.A. (Edición y Distribución Ibero Americana de Publicaciones. S. A.) and Spanish large and middle-range houses such as Alfaguara, Planeta and Anagrama. Among the American and English language publishing houses we find large conglomerates including Faber & Faber, Penguin and Bloomsbury, as well as the smaller Duke University Press and originally Hispanic niched American publishing houses such as Knopf publishing.

The following will explore the findings of the studied authors by means of the categorization into ideal-type writers, i.e. aesthetes, notables, popular and vanguards, the number of translated novels per author and the source languages of the source texts – three important variables in the study of translation bibliomigrancy. It should also be noted that in the group of a total

of twenty-eight translated Hispanic Caribbean novelists in Swedish, the gender distribution is surprisingly balanced: eight female and nine male authors were translated during the research period. According to the distinction of the writers in the four categories it is shown that the notables are the most translated into Swedish. They constitute roughly half of the translated authors during the research time span, for example Teresa Cárdenas, Wendy Guerra, Ana Menéndez, Senel Paz, Esmeralda Santiago and Carlos Somoza. However, these characterizations are approximations. Several authors could belong to different categories at different times in their careers. Nevertheless, one of the criteria for being characterized as a notable is that the writer in question has become famous thanks to temporary consecration through literary prizes or successful sales. This selection of authors for translation concurs very well with the general translation policy in the Swedish translation field – in order to be selected for translation you have to be highly consecrated within the source culture or write in English – English being the most translated literary source language. A favourable condition for the Hispanic writers to get translated is to also have been translated into English prior to the Swedish translation, a kind of double consecration (cf. Lindqvist 2019).

A good example of the notable category is Esmeralda Santiago. She was born in Puerto Rico in 1948 but moved to New York as a teenager. She graduated from Harvard in 1974 and currently, with her husband, runs a production company for documentaries and motion pictures named Cantomedia. She also works as a publisher and is very active politically. Santiago has written four novels and one has been translated into Swedish: *El sueño de América* in 1996 (*Américas Dröm*; America's dream), published at Bra böcker 1997 in translation by Maria Ortman – a charismatic translator with a long career in translation spanning more than fifty years.

Thematically the writing of Esmeralda Santiago deals with cosmopolitan issues such as immigration and the vulnerability of women. She writes 'memoirs', a kind of autobiographical fiction. Santiago is considered one of the most important and commercially successful voices within the Nyorican movement – a cultural movement created by poets and writers with Puerto Rican roots in New York during the 1970s. The cover of *Américas dröm* adorned by a close-up photograph of a beautiful dark skinned young woman captured with a blurry lens conveys the thematic exoticism of the novel – a fact underlined by the retention of the Spanish spelling of the protagonist's name on the cover and the presentation of the author on the inside of the dust jacket,

which stresses that she is born in Puerto Rico, but which also underlines her double appurtenance in Hispanic and Anglo-American culture in citing her activities as an essayist and journalist in major American newspapers such as *The New York Times* and *The Boston Globe*. Esmeralda Santiago writes her novels in Spanish and then translates them herself into English, thus taking part in two literary markets and consecration cultures. The back cover of the dust jacket is covered by a text excerpt from the novel describing the married lover of the protagonist América as:

en man som kvinnor älskar att se svettas. Fukten på hans hud framhäver armmusklerna, de kraftfulla låren, den eleganta kurvan mellan baken och övre delen av ryggen ...

(a man that women love to watch sweating. The moisture on the skin highlights the muscles of his arms, the strong thighs, the elegant curve from his behind up his back ...)

The text ends with a short sentence describing the maltreatment occurring in the relationship: 'Slaget skickar iväg henne så att hon faller raklång på den grusiga vägen' (The blow sends her falling flat on the gravel road). Hence the text on the back of the dust jacket somehow contradicts the exotic romantic blurriness of the front cover and also frames the narrative as an account of vernacular Latino machismo.

Furthermore, the second largest category – the aesthetes – is made up of five authors: Julia Alvarez, Jorge Onelio Cardoso, Heberto Padilla, Junot Díaz and René Vázquez Díaz. They all write in Spanish with the exception of one writer, who writes both in English and Spanish (Junot Díaz). These authors hold dominant positions in the source culture but do not adapt to the market. They are fewer in number in Swedish translation than the notables, probably because they are more esoteric in their consecration. The author chosen here as an example due to his large number of published novels is René Vázquez Díaz (b. 1952), originally from Cuba, but living in Sweden since the 1970s. Vázquez Díaz writes in Spanish and publishes his novels in Spanish in Sweden. They are then translated into Swedish by Elisabeth Helms and published again. Elisabeth Helms is a highly consecrated translator in the Swedish literary translation field who has received several translation prizes, for instance the Elsa Tulin Prize, which is a life achievement prize from the translation union Författarförbundets översättarsektion. Possibly the relation between Vázquez Díaz and Helms can be described as a budding production constellation, i.e. a relation dominating the

translation field when it comes to the number of novels published. Vasquez Díaz has published more than ten novels, the latest written in Swedish. He also works in poetry and has written a crime novel, a cookery book and several non-fiction literary studies. His three most well-known novels make up the Cuba Trilogy which consist of the novels *Hägringens tid* (1987, *La era imaginaria; The Time of Mirage*), *Kärleksblommans ö*, (1994, *La isla de Cundeamor; The Island of the Love Flower*), and *Dårskap och Kärlek* (2003, *El amor que se nos va; Foolishness and Love*), all published by Bonniers.

The Vásquez Díaz' consecration in Sweden is subtle, and not as formal as for most of the notables, and consists in his appointment in 2011 to the annual writer's award of the Publishers of the Swedish region Skåne. Vásquez Díaz was a board member of the Swedish Writer's Union during the period 2005–2012. He also works as a translator and has translated several high prestige Swedish authors into Spanish, among others Artur Lundqvist and Birgitta Trotzig. A more elusive form of consecration lay in the selection of Vásquez Díaz twice as host for the very popular radio programme *Sommar* (Summer) in Sweden, most recently in 2006. He has, however, also received awards internationally, for example in France, where he received the Radio France International Juan Rulfo Award in 2007. The Prize is the result of a cooperation between the institutions of the Romance languages in Paris, El Instituto Cervantes and the Spanish version of Le Monde Diplomatique. René Vásquez Díaz' literary authorship deals with both cosmopolitan and vernacular themes, but he is mostly framed as a Cuban immigrant author. Cosmopolitan themes include political opposition, betrayal, migration and love. Vernacular themes are reminiscences from his native Cuba, particularly expressed in his Cuba Trilogy, and contemplations of important Swedish authorships and their qualities.

Two categories remain to comment on: the popular and the vanguard. They both have two representatives each in the group. The popular authors are Cecilia Samartín and Diana Chaviano; the vanguards are Pedro Juan Gutiérrez and Junot Díaz. Popular writers are those within a dominated position who combine a high degree of market adaptation with a strong focus on content. The Hispano-American author Cecilia Samartín – living in the United States but originating from Cuba – is an illustrative example of the popular, ideal type of writer. All her published novels are translated from English, despite the Spanish titles in Sweden, for instance *Señor Peregrino* (2010) translated by Maria Cederroth and Lasse Lindström, which in the source text publication was entitled *Tarnished Beauty* and *Women in White* published in Sweden as *Doña Maria. Kvinnor i*

vitt – a clear exoticizing framing strategy since the words *Señor and Doña* are kept in Spanish replaced and added in the Swedish title. The covers in warm yellow colour tones also clearly denote the exotic plot setting. Cecilia Samartín is a worldwide success story. In Norway, she is particularly popular, with more than four hundred thousand copies of her books sold, more than the Swedish crime fiction author Stieg Larsson and Dan Brown. Despite her worldwide success she is – as might be expected according to the hierarchization of literary prestige (Casanova 2004) – far from a critic's favourite. The critic Kerstin Johanson (2011) writes in a review of the novel *Dreamhart* that the novel is shallow and the characterizations '[...] tunnare än röken från en Havannacigarr' (thinner than the smoke from a Havana cigar) (*Helsingborgs dagblad*, 21 March 2011).

An interesting finding among these authors is that the popular writers in the studied group write solely in English, but the vanguards write in both Spanish and English. The vanguards even mix English and Spanish and several varieties of the two. They represent a subversive idea of literature either in defying supposedly good taste or breaking prevailing conceptions of good literary language of the orthodox pole. An example of a vanguard writer defying literary good taste is the Cuban Pedro Juan Gutiérrez (b. 1950), author of the novel *Dirty Havana – the Havana Trilogy*. The novel was published in 2010 in Sweden by Lind & Co publishing house – a general publishing house, which started in 1999 and which today is one of the largest independent publishing houses in Sweden. The novel was translated into Swedish by Peter Landelius. He is a very prolific and extremely well-renowned translator who has translated more than forty novels into Swedish and served as an ambassador in several Latin American countries during the period 1980–2001.

Gutiérrez is a precursor of the literary movement 'Dirty Realism' and is often described as 'the Bukowski of the Caribbean'. He lives in Cuba and has been internationally consecrated on several occasions. He was for instance awarded the Spanish literary prize Alfons Garcia Ramos in 2000 and the Prix des Amériques Insulaires et de la Guyanne in 2008. Gutiérrez has altogether written five novels, fourteen collections of poems and a large number of travelling accounts and other journalistic texts. *The Havana Trilogy* was forbidden in Cuba for a long time, but has been translated into fifteen different languages, among them Swedish and English. An interesting detail showing the impact of Anglo-American culture and literature in Sweden and of the importance of double consecration is that the title of the English translation from 1998 is kept in the Swedish version – *Triologia sucia de la Habana* published by Anagrama

in Spain in 1998 became the *Dirty Havana Trilogy* in the English translation at Faber & Faber and *Dirty Havana – Havannatriologin* in the Swedish version kept segments of the American title on the Swedish cover – possibly left over from the double consecration preceding the Swedish translation. Gutiérrez's thematic sphere deals with sex and drugs and sex again. In that sense, the themes are cosmopolitan. However, the novel is framed on the dust jacket as a challenge to the official image of Cuban socialist society – a thrilling mixture of drugs, sex and politics set in Havana – a strongly commercialized vernacularization:

Dirty Havanna är en vildsint hedonistisk och kompromisslöst frispråkig skälmroman från Kuba. Berättelserna i boken bygger på författarens egna erfarenheter och väjer inte för någonting. Dirty havanna är totalförbjuden på Kuba eftersom den motsäger den officiella bilden av det socialistiska idealsamhället. Här ges röst åt ett folk som i tilltagande yttre förfall med alla medel kämpar för sin överlevnad och tvingas till prostitution och andra former av kriminalitet. Misären är påtaglig, men också uppfinningsrikedomen, livsviljan och kåtheten.

(Dirty Havana is a wild, hedonistic and without compromise outspoken picaresque novel from Cuba. The narratives in the novel are based on the personal experiences of the author and do not avoid anything. Dirty Havana is strictly forbidden in Cuba, since it contradicts the official image of the ideal socialist society. The novel gives voice to people who, facing constantly increasing exterior decay, fight for their survival with every possible means, and are forced into prostitution and other forms of criminality. The misery is palpable as well as the ingenuity, the willpower and the sexual steam.)

In 2019 the *Trilogía sucia de la Habana* was published in Cuba for the first time by Ediciones Unión. An observation comparing the two accounted for Cuban trilogies in Swedish translation – the aesthete and the vanguard – is that Swedish readers can take part in both an aesthetic and somehow distant romanticized childhood and adolescent narrative in the first case, and the darker sides of human nature played out in the capital Havana in decay and challenging the official image of the socialist society.

Concluding remarks

Our main hypothesis in this chapter has been that the semi-periphery is an intermediate literary space where boundaries between the cosmopolitan

and the vernacular are blurred and, more importantly, where ideas of the cosmopolitan and the vernacular are negotiated and transformed.

In many cases, the analyses of the selection and framing of translated works have confirmed this main hypothesis. For instance, we have seen that a combination of cosmopolitan and vernacular values has been referred to in the launching of Anglophone African writers in Sweden. In the case of Gordimer, the large publisher Bonniers has added a cosmopolitan framework to the vernacular particularities of her novels. When launching three Lusophone novels in Swedish translation, the mid-sized publisher Leopard has chosen epitexts that sum up the plots, focusing on vernacular elements. At the same time, however, they stress that the themes of these stories are cosmopolitan, in the sense that they deal with the human condition. In the case of the small-scale publisher, however, it is not easy to say whether the French publisher Gaïa's framing of Swedish literature in translation should be conceived of as cosmopolitanizing or vernacularizing with commercial purposes; in the cases studied, a consistent strategy has not been identified.

A rhetorical figure that occurs in the self-presentations of several of the publishers studied is the claim that the act of publishing translations is a way to connect the reader to the world. The British publisher MacLehose insists on having a cosmopolitan outlook on the world. In the 1990s, the motto of the Swedish publisher Forum was to translate 'what the world reads'. Similarly, the Swedish children's book publisher Trasten (an imprint of the small house Tranan) claims to aspire to 'break the boundaries' and to 'let the world take place in the book shelves of Swedish children'. This image draws on the conception of literature as a cosmopolitan phenomenon, on literature as 'literary' rather than 'national'. It is also consistent with Casanova's description of the ongoing struggle to de-nationalize literary establishments through the inclusion of authors or literary works that have already escaped the confines of national boundaries. By referring to this kind of struggle, the publishers are trying to present themselves as active subjects in the realization of literature's potential as a border-crossing and liberating phenomenon.

As shown in the examples above, another conclusion is that the blending of the cosmopolitan and the vernacular concerns all kinds of publishers, from large scale to small-scale houses. We have seen many examples of small publishers performing the same kind of actions as were once associated with large publishers with a commercial or generalist profile. For instance, some authors chosen by

smaller publishers such as MacLehose, University of Nebraska Press, Bazar, Gaia and Contempo do not belong to the small-scale pole of production in their source culture. Rather, they are best-selling writers in the mid- or large-scale category. Small publishers have turned out to be of two kinds: those who publish small-scale literature and those who publish mid- or large-scale literature. The best example of this tendency concerns Caribbean literature translated into Swedish by two small publishers: the high-prestige publisher Tranan and the more commercially focused Bazar. Therefore, in these cases, the 'rule' of horizontal isomorphism does not apply. The lack of horizontal isomorphism is especially evident when a very small publisher, even a micro-publisher such as Almagora in the case of Lusophone literature, can become one of the leading publishers of translations from a whole language area.

Another action often associated with large publishers is the tendency to abandon semi-peripheral or peripheral authors after just one or a few titles (as Bonniers did with Farah and Norstedts with Melania Mazzucco). This strategy was used by some smaller houses in the analysed translation flows, for instance Leopard and Couto. (We have also seen examples of the opposite: Le Seuil remained faithful to Mankell, and Forum to Magris.) The more peripheral the source language, it seems, the harder it is for a translated author to survive in the target culture, and in the catalogue of his or her target language publisher, especially when sales are unsatisfactory.

It has not always been possible to distinguish between economic and symbolic qualities, since they are often combined and intertwined, both in the publishers' selection and in their framing. We have also noted that the borders between the ideal-typical authors which were once outlined by Bourdieu tend to become less visible. In our attempts to categorize the chosen authors and the ways in which they are framed, we have often felt compelled to combine categories, ending up with amalgams such as 'popular aesthetes' (Vilhelm Moberg) and 'popular notables' (De Carlo, Giordano). We have also seen how British publisher MacLehose transforms Swedish noir into notables and vice versa, and how Italian notables are described as typical 'popular' writers by Swedish publishers.

Coming back to the notion of the semi-periphery and its status as a 'transitional space', we have shown that this is true in the case of Sweden and Swedish literature. The semi-peripheral Swedish translation field allows for both domesticating and foreignizing of translation and framing in a way hardly possible in central or hyper-central target cultures, where domestication is

a prerequisite (Casanova 2015). Looking at Swedish as a source language for literary translation, we have found a similar tendency for both domesticating and exotification to be possible, although for different reasons. This, presumably, is because the semi-peripheral Swedish culture is sufficiently familiar in the target cultures that have been studied.