

Driewerf zalig Noorden : over literaire betrekkingen tussen de Nederlanden en Scandinavië

Citation for published version (APA):

Grit, D. C. (1994). *Driewerf zalig Noorden : over literaire betrekkingen tussen de Nederlanden en Scandinavië*. [Doctoral Thesis, Maastricht University]. Datawyse / Universitaire Pers Maastricht. <https://doi.org/10.26481/dis.19940429dg>

Document status and date:

Published: 01/01/1994

DOI:

[10.26481/dis.19940429dg](https://doi.org/10.26481/dis.19940429dg)

Document Version:

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Please check the document version of this publication:

- A submitted manuscript is the version of the article upon submission and before peer-review. There can be important differences between the submitted version and the official published version of record. People interested in the research are advised to contact the author for the final version of the publication, or visit the DOI to the publisher's website.
- The final author version and the galley proof are versions of the publication after peer review.
- The final published version features the final layout of the paper including the volume, issue and page numbers.

[Link to publication](#)

General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal.

If the publication is distributed under the terms of Article 25fa of the Dutch Copyright Act, indicated by the "Taverne" license above, please follow below link for the End User Agreement:

www.umlib.nl/taverne-license

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us at:

repository@maastrichtuniversity.nl

providing details and we will investigate your claim.

Summary in English

The aim of this dissertation is to examine literary relations between the Low Countries, the Netherlands and Flanders, and the Scandinavian countries from the seventeenth century to the present day. Hitherto, the major publications on this subject have focused on the relations of a handful of Scandinavian authors – Holberg, Andersen, Kierkegaard and Strindberg – with the Netherlands and their reception there. Little regard has been paid to traffic in the other direction except for a few articles on the Dutch writer Potgieter's relation with Sweden. Furthermore, the relationship between the Netherlandic and Scandinavian literatures has been given but scant attention in scattered articles and other publications, usually inventories of translations.

The present study, which is historical-descriptive in character, tries to fill the major gaps left by these publications. It aims at answering the question of the image left in the minds of the readers from one of these linguistic areas by the literature of the other, and of the role played by individual authors (whether as subjects or objects) in the creation of this image. What personal contacts were made, what was known about the other literature, which works have been translated, how and with what effect, and what are the traces left by the one literature in the other?

This thesis does not pretend to offer an exhaustive treatment of these questions, but is made up of seven exemplary case studies, all of which have been published previously elsewhere. In the first half of the book, the focus is on individual *authors*, four pillars of Netherlandic literature: Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679), Willem Bilderdijk (1756–1831), Frederik van Eeden (1860–1931) and Stijn Streuvels (1871–1969). In the second half focus shifts to the *literatures* in their entirety: an investigation of the limits of reception-research into 'the' reception of Danish literature in Dutch translation 1731–1990; an analysis of H.C. Andersen's fairy tale *Reisekammeraten* in seventeen Dutch translations, 1846–1992; and a study of the reception of Dutch literature in Danish translation, 1900–1990. As appears from these studies, the image of Danish literature in the Low Countries coincides to a great extent with that of Scandinavian literature as a whole, and the limited reception of Dutch literature in Denmark is largely identical to its reception in the rest of Scandinavia.

A discussion of research models used in comparative literature, reception theory and translation studies shows that they are only of limited use for the purposes of this study. The distance in time between the topics dealt with in the separate studies (from the seventeenth century until the present day) and the resulting considerable variation in the quantity and character of the reception sources available makes it impossible to classify, relate and interpret the data collected within one and the same model. Besides, many of

the models presented prove to be rather pretentious and unpractical. This applies especially to the research model of reception history developed by Jauß and to the models of the so-called polysystem theory, which is related to both reception theory and translation studies. Inasmuch as this dissertation has links with comparative research, it is particularly with that of the French comparatist school.

On the other hand, this study does link up with polysystem theory as far as its focus on target culture and the descriptive principle is concerned. The emphasis is on the role of one author or literature in the target culture. As far as the translations described are concerned, there is no normative view taken of what makes a 'good' translation; it is the norms of the translators and critics that are analysed. Thus, the equivalence criterion in Katharina Reiß's model of translation criticism, which is used for the analysis of Andersen's *Reisekammeraten* in Dutch translation, is not so much a norm as the *tertium comparationis* for a neutral description of the shifts in the target text in relation to the source text.

This book does not present an alternative all-embracing model. It is selective in its approach, adapting the methodology per case study to the character of the available sources, although in all cases the aim has of course been to document and clarify the data and relations presented. The research has been 'systemic' in so far as as many aspects of the literary relations as possible have been involved. The study is of an empirical-documentary character, with all the consequent restrictions in availability of material – although every effort has been made to trace as much material as possible. In this respect, the aim has not been to build up just a positivist collection of data, but to establish the relations between these data and to put them in a broader cultural and historical context.

In the seventeenth century, cultural contacts between the Netherlands and the Nordic countries were unilaterally directed to the North. Dutch and Flemish architects, painters and scholars were engaged by Danish and Swedish kings. Knowledge of Dutch was widespread in the North. Unlike Dutch architecture, painting and philology, however, Dutch literature seems to have made little impact on Scandinavia.

This latter image needs to be adjusted as far as the reception of the person and work of the Dutch baroque poet *Vondel* is concerned. As appears from several primary and secondary sources, *Vondel* was read in the original and admired by contemporary Nordic kings and dignitaries, some of whom met him personally on his journeys to Denmark and Sweden. His plays were performed in Copenhagen and Stockholm by touring theatre companies, both in the original and in German versions. Several prominent Danish and Swedish renaissance and baroque poets (*Arrebo*, *Bording*, *Spegel* and others) were acquainted with his work and may have been influenced by him in the matter of word formation.

In the eighteenth century, Nordic interest in *Vondel* disappeared, but about 1900 the thread was taken up again by Swedish, Danish and Norwegian philologists and translators, who were especially interested in the relation between *Vondel* and Scandinavia, and in *Vondel* as a European baroque poet.

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there was little contact between Dutch and Flemish authors and the Nordic countries. Nevertheless, half a century before the Dutch critic Potgieter introduced modern Scandinavian literature to the Netherlands in the 1840s, the poet Bilderdijk, who in so many ways opposed the spirit of his age, appears to have shown his admiration for Scandinavia in word and deed. An ardent monarchist and anti-revolutionary, his poems sang the praises of Danish absolutism and unspoiled Nordic society, the very antipode of his corrupt homeland. He taught himself Danish and read both Old Norse and modern Scandinavian literature. He tried twice to settle in Scandinavia: as court poet in Copenhagen and as a professor of law at the university of Kongsberg (read: Christiania) in Norway.

In his youth he adapted one of Holberg's comedies, and at an advanced age he translated poems of like-minded Norwegian and Danish authors (Tullin, Schack Staffeldt and Baggesen), in which nature is glorified, the French Revolution rejected and literary imitation ridiculed. As he emphatically stated in his introduction to these translations, his aim was to make Danish poetry better known to the Dutch public.

Bilderdijk's strong opposition to the Dutch culture of his time helps at least to explain why he had few direct followers in his interest in Scandinavia. On the other hand, he did leave some traces in the North: there were contemporary Danish writers among his pupils and admirers, and as late as 1943 his poetry was translated into Danish by the famous critic Vilhelm Andersen.

Frederik van Eeden grew up during an age in which German and Dutch interest in Scandinavia was rapidly growing. Both his own family and his family-in-law travelled around the Nordic countries and read Scandinavian authors in the original. The idyllic character of Scandinavian society and its social and cultural experiments attracted their attention. For his part, Van Eeden attracted the attention of Scandinavian authors like Ellen Key, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson and Martin Andersen Nexø with his novel *De kleine Johannes* and his social experiments with the *Walden* agricultural colony. Thanks to lasting personal contacts with Georg Brandes, the father of the *Modern Breakthrough* in Scandinavian literature, several contributions by and about Van Eeden appeared in the Danish daily *Politiken*. Van Eeden twice toured Scandinavia, delivering lectures on his social experiments. Six of his works appeared in Swedish translations. A Swedish industrialist supported his social projects financially, and the Swedish psychiatrist and writer Poul Bjerre analysed the work of his Dutch colleague for the Scandinavian public.

Van Eeden's original work shows affinity with H.C. Andersen in his novel *De kleine Johannes* and his play *Ismea*, with Oehlenschläger in his play *Alladin*, and with the world of Vikings in his play *Lioba*. On the other hand, there appears to be no reason to suppose that Holberg's *Erasmus Montanus* had any influence on Van Eeden's play *De student thuis*. Van Eeden's attitude towards Ibsen is ambiguous: he admires Ibsen's technique and is jealous of his success, hardly daring to admit it, and, while critical of Ibsen's literary qualities, he nevertheless applies Ibsenian elements and techniques in his later plays.

Summary

Unlike the Dutch and German general public, readers in Flanders did not show much interest in Scandinavian literature during the second half of the nineteenth century. Hardly any translations were published and literary magazines did not pay much attention to Scandinavia. Nevertheless, some Flemings did show interest in the Nordic countries, namely the leaders of *de Vlaamse Beweging* (the 'Flemish Movement', i.e. the political, cultural and linguistic emancipation movement in French-dominated Belgium). These leaders saw a link between the Flemish-Nordic kinship in language, race and people, and the exemplary function of Scandinavian cultural and linguistic policy for Flanders. They were inspired by the revival of a related small language community, following a period of decline after a great medieval past. The father of the Flemish Movement, Jan Frans Willems, read and studied the Scandinavian languages, as did several other prominent leaders, mostly liberal romantic philologists. Their favourite writers were Oehlenschläger and Tegnér, who glorified the medieval empires of the Nordic peoples, and H.C. Andersen, the world-famous representative of a small Germanic country.

The 'internationalist' circle within the Flemish Movement, concentrated around the literary journal *Van Nu en Straks*, sought an alliance with the *Modern Breakthrough* writers and contacted Georg Brandes, who the Catholic circle, by contrast, did not want to have anything to do with, even though they also emphasized the Flemish-Nordic linguistic and racial kinship. It was especially the Norwegian regional novels that attracted Catholic attention.

As a Catholic contributor to *Van Nu en Straks*, Stijn Streuvels united the several points of view mentioned above. He read the modern Scandinavian authors, first in German, and after having learned Norwegian, in the original. With his translations of Bjørnson's country novellas he managed for the first time to interest a broad Flemish public in Scandinavian literature. Moreover, Bjørnson's work was reflected in the motifs and stylistic features of Streuvels' novel *De Vlaschaard*. Streuvels' later translations of Nordic sagas and Scandinavian folk tales had an ideological emphasis on racial relationship between Flemings and Scandinavians.

Unlike Van Eeden, Streuvels did not find any response in the Nordic countries. Suggestions that the work of Knut Hamsun was influenced by him, or vice versa, prove unfounded.

In the period between 1731 and 1990, 1654 separate editions of literary translations from Danish into Dutch were published in the Netherlands and Flanders. This appears from a general bibliography of Danish literature in Dutch translation and a special bibliography of Dutch Andersen translations. Interestingly enough, however, these translations did not leave a representative image of Danish literature on the consciousness of the Dutch and Flemish reading publics. In the eighteenth century, 37 of the 46 translations were of works by Ludvig Holberg, in which typical Danish features had disappeared. During the first half of the 19th century, only a few works of the great Danish romantic and realistic writers were translated, whereas the period 1850-1890 was dominated by H.C. Andersen, with 27 of the 63 translations. Translations of Danish authors of the *Modern Breakthrough* in Scandinavian literature were few and far between, whereas female

writers of trivial novels achieved resounding and lasting successes. The years 1910–1920 were once more dominated by H.C. Andersen, and the Catholic convert Johannes Jørgensen, who addressed two totally different publics.

During the period 1920–1960, no less than 610 translations appeared. This was the first period to offer an image of a specifically Danish literature because of the large number of regional novels. This, however, was not a typically 'Danish' image, but a general Scandinavian one. Works of high and of low quality were brought out by the same publishers. In the beginning, this genre was received positively by the (usually confessional) critics, but after the Second World War, it was criticized and parodied. Since the average Dutch regional novel was of a relatively low level, readers of belles-lettres ended up with low expectations regarding Nordic literature. Exceptions like Kierkegaard, Kaj Munk and Andersen were directed towards specific target groups and did not affect this image.

In 1960–1990 there is a greater diversification, but the number of translations decreases sharply, with the notable exception of books for children, who pay hardly any attention to the geographical or cultural background of the translations, however.

As a result, there is no homogeneous reception of Danish literature as such: the various popular authors and genres have specific readerships that vary strongly as to time, age, and social and religious background, and which therefore do not have a representative image of the translations available, let alone of Danish literature as a whole. This does not of course mean that further investigation into more restricted forms of reception, such as the reception of specific authors or movements, may not serve some useful purpose.

Compared with the countless translations of Hans Christian Andersen's fairy tales into more than one hundred languages, very little research has been carried out into the nature of these translations. Hence this attempt to analyse seventeen Dutch translations of the fairy tale *Reisekammeraten* (The Fellow Traveller), published between 1848 and 1992. With the help of Katharina Reiß's analysis model, the shifts shown by translations vis-à-vis the source text are described, and an attempt is made to explain them.

An analysis of the source text shows the fairy tale's consistent structure and characteristic narrative technique. Many of the original puns disappear in translation, as do the key words and repetitions, which in Andersen's work usually have a symbolic function. Moreover, the language is often normalized towards the style of the standard children's book, possibly because of the translator's fear that deviant usage might be considered his mistake.

The fact that German was an intermediate language and poor knowledge of Danish lead to unintentional shifts in the older and some of the more recent translations respectively. On the other hand, intentional additions and omissions can often be explained by fear of Andersen's 'vagueness', 'correction' of his 'mistakes', and commercial and moral/religious motives. Sometimes, the linguistic usage of older translations is modernized in more recent editions. In some of these modernizations, 'realia' are adapted to time and public.

Summary

There is no consistent system of interrelated shifts. Many of the shifts do not result from an intended adaptation, but from inaccuracy or lack of insight regarding, for example, the symbolic function of certain key words. In a few cases, shifts are simply due to insufficient knowledge of the source language. As appears from the present study, there is no consistent relation with the translation's target group, children or adults, or with the period in which the translation is produced. On the other hand, there are considerable differences in the type and number of shifts. The consistency is strongest in the two complete translations of Andersen's fairy tales: the source text oriented translation by Van Eeden (1931) and the recent translation by Annelies van Hees (1992), which aims at a balance between source text orientation and target group orientation.

Netherlandic literature does not generally fare well in translation. Examination of the possible causes of the lack of success of this literature in Danish translation between 1900 and 1990 (542 separate editions) shows that it is not the quality of the literature as such that is responsible for the poor response, but the distorted image that the translations themselves leave behind.

During the period between 1900 and 1930 the paucity of consultants and good translators determined the fate of the few translations published. The works of Multatuli, Heijermans and Couperus were translated and presented in a way that did not inspire new translations.

In the years 1930–1960 a number of active female translators produced a large quantity of very popular light reading (family novels) and, to a lesser extent, of belles-lettres. However, the predominance of the former category and the non-representative choice of the latter conspired to create a bad impression on the critics and the 'literary' public. Against this background the few literary translations of note did not attract sufficient attention. It appears that a similar phenomenon took place in Norway and Sweden.

A sharp reduction in the translation of both light novels and belles-lettres during the period 1960–1980 was at least partly due to competition from television and inexpensive paper-back editions of English and German works in translation. There were also internal factors, however: two important anthologies, published with Belgian and Dutch government grants, were criticized because of the quality of the selection, and a third anthology (in paperback) because of the inferior quality of the translation.

The period 1980–1990, however, shows a small but marked recovery as far as belles-lettres (13 different translations) is concerned, not only as a result of certain Dutch authors' successes in other European countries, but also thanks to the initiative of a number of consultants and the appearance of qualified translators, who also are responsible for the translation of high-quality children's books. Both the belles-lettres and the children's books have received ample critical attention and have largely been accorded positive reviews.

The vicious circle that characterizes most of the ninety years dealt with (bad presentation, little success, even fewer translations, lack of interest on the part of translators, etc.) is due not only to the publishers' commercial policies, but also to individual persons and initiatives. At the same time, individuals and their initiatives can

also break the circle, as has been shown in the last decade: their activities hardly form a sufficient condition for continuity and consistency, but they are an essential part of it.

As far as the individual *authors* are concerned, we may conclude that four pillars of the literature of the Low Countries received interest in Scandinavia and/or were interested in Scandinavia: Vondel, Bilderdijk, Van Eeden en Streuvels. The traces of this interest (personal contacts, translations, kinship and in some cases influences) are clearly visible, and they are representative of the role that these authors play in the history of Netherlandic literature: the charisma of Dutch culture in the seventeenth century, the opposition to 'the spirit of the age' around 1800, the interest in social experiments around 1900, and the experience of kinship between the Flemish and Nordic emancipation movements in the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. Vondel and Van Eeden contributed to the image of Dutch literature in Scandinavia; Bilderdijk and Streuvels to the image of Scandinavian literature in the Low Countries.

As far as profound mutual relations between the *literatures* as such are concerned, however, our conclusions are modest. Netherlandic literature in Denmark and Danish literature in the Low Countries have left little remaining traces on either side, – Danish reception and Danish literature in many respects being representative of Scandinavian reception and Scandinavian literature as a whole. Although there was a lively Scandinavian interest in Netherlandic culture during the seventeenth century and a general Netherlandic interest in Scandinavia in the first half of this century, the literatures show no exchange of influences. For a representative image of the belles-lettres, the several translation strategies are too varied, and the target groups of the many hundreds of translations are too diverse in time, age and social or religious background. (The various translation strategies are illustrated by a representative analysis of Dutch Andersen translations, together constituting about one fifth of all translations from the Danish.) The commercial policies of most publishers and a one-sided interest in certain themes and genres (especially family novels and regional novels) result in some periods in a stereotype image (apparent from reviews, prefaces and parodies, etc.), while other periods evince a total lack of Netherlandic interest in Scandinavian belles-lettres and vice versa. Personal initiatives of qualified translators may not be sufficient to break down this stereotype, but they are an essential condition for continuity and consistency. May the growing interest in Netherlandic studies in Scandinavia and the growing interest in Scandinavian studies in the Low Countries contribute to this.

Denne artikel er en del af bogen 'Nederlandsk litteratur i Danmark 1600-1800', som er udgivet af Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabsakademi i København. Bogen er en del af serien 'Nederlandsk litteratur i Danmark' og er udgivet i samarbejde med det svenske Skandinaviska litteratursällskapet.

En overgang over komparative, receptionsteoretiske og oversættelsesvidenskabelige forklaringsmodeller viser, at disse kun i begrænset omfang er brugelige for den litteraturvidenskabelige undersøgelse. Sammenligningen i tid (1600-tallet til i dag) gør det på grund af store forskelle i receptionskildernes kvantitet og karakter umuligt at udvikle, fortolke og forholde dem inden for én og samme model. Derudover viser det sig at mange af de påvirkende modeller er ret prægnante og i praktisk brugte brugelige. Dette gælder især

Resumé på dansk

Nærværende studie forsøger at give et billede af litterære forbindelser mellem Nederlandene og Skandinavien, fra 1600-tallet til i dag. Tidligere publikationer over dette emne har især fokuseret på forbindelser og/eller receptionen af nogle få nordiske forfattere (Holberg, H.C. Andersen, Kierkegaard og Strindberg) i Nederlandene, mens den omvendte forbindelse kun har været genstand for et par artikler, især vedrørende forfatteren Potgieters forbindelser med Sverige. Også relationerne mellem 'de' nederlandske og nordiske litteraturer som helhed er bare beskrevet i nogle få kapitler og artikler, der som regel bare har en inventariserende karakter.

Det foreliggende historisk-deskriptive arbejde forsøger at udfylde et antal huller i ovennævnte fremstillinger. Det prøver at besvare spørgsmålet hvilket billede læsere fra det ene område i tidernes løb har fået af litteraturen fra det andet område, og hvilken rolle særskilte forfattere, som subjekt og/eller objekt, har spillet i billeddannelsen. I denne forbindelse behandles beslægtede spørgsmål som: hvilke personlige kontakter har der været; hvad vidste man om den anden litteratur; hvad er der blevet oversat; hvordan har man oversat og med hvilken effekt; og hvilke spor af den ene litteratur findes der i den anden?

Bogen prætenderer ikke at behandle disse spørgsmål udtømmende, men har form af en række 'case studies', som tidligere er blevet offentliggjort som særskilte artikler. Dens første halvdel nærmer sig emnet fra *forfatternes* side, nærmere bestemt fire af Nederlandenes litteraturs støtter: Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679), Willem Bilderdijk (1756–1831), Frederik van Eeden (1860–1932) og Stijn Streuvels (1871–1969). Anden halvdel nærmer sig emnet fra *litteraturens* side: henholdsvis en studie over grænserne for receptionsforskning i 'den' danske litteratur i nederlandsk oversættelse 1731–1990; en analyse af H.C. Andersens eventyr *Reisekammeraten* i sytten nederlandske oversættelser, 1848–1992; og en studie over receptionen af nederlandsk litteratur i dansk oversættelse, 1900–1990. Som det fremgår af undersøgelsen, er billedet af dansk litteratur som sådan i Nederlandene stort set identisk med billedet af den nordiske litteratur som helhed, mens det begrænsede billede af nederlandsk litteratur i Danmark stort set stemmer overens med billedet i det øvrige Skandinavien.

En oversigt over komparative, receptionsteoretiske og oversættelsesvidenskabelige forskningsmodeller viser, at disse kun i begrænset omfang er brugelige for den foreliggende undersøgelse. Spredningen i tid (1600-tallet til i dag) gør det på grund af store forskelle i receptionskildernes kvantitet og karakter umuligt at samle, forbinde og fortolke dem inden for én og samme model. Desuden viser det sig at mange af de præsenterede modeller er ret prætentive og i praksis næppe brugelige. Dette gælder især

for Jauß' receptionshistoriske forskningsmodel samt for modellemerne der bruges inden for den såkaldte polysystemteori, en teori som er tilknyttet både receptionsteorien og oversættelsesvidenskaben. For så vidt den foreliggende undersøgelse tilslutter sig komparatismen, er det især den franske skoles forskning.

Polysystemteoriens fokusering på modtagerkulturen og deskriptive udgangspunkt er dog overtaget. Vægten ligger på den enkelte forfatters eller den ene litteraturs rolle i modtagerkulturen. Med hensyn til de beskrevne oversættelser indtages der ikke noget normativt standpunkt om hvad der er en 'god' oversættelse, men de metoder og normer der bruges af oversættere, anmeldere og andre kulturformidlere analyseres og beskrives. Ækvivalenskriteriet fra Katharina Reiß' oversættelseskritiske model, som bruges til at analysere H.C. Andersens eventyr i nederlandsk oversættelse, er altså ikke nogen norm, men *tertium comparationis* for objektivt at kunne fastslå, hvilke forskydninger oversættelsen viser over for originalteksten.

Studien præsenterer ikke nogen alternativ altomfattende model, men går eklektisk til værks, idet den pr. 'case study' tilpasser metodikken til de forhåndenværende kilders karakter. Selvfølgelig er der i denne forbindelse stræbt efter kontrollerbarhed af data og signalerede forbindelser. 'Systemisk' er værket for så vidt så mange aspekter af de litterære forbindelser som muligt inddrages. Undersøgelsen har en empirisk-dokumentarisk karakter, som giver forskellige resultater pr. case study, hvilket skyldes variationerne i materialets disponibilitet og præg. Jeg har dog hele tiden forsøgt at efterspore alt det forhåndenværende materiale, ikke for blot at anlægge en positivistisk samling af data, men for at forbinde disse data indbyrdes og at sætte dem i bredere kulturhistoriske rammer.

I 1600-tallet var de kulturelle forbindelser mellem Nederlandene og Skandinavien ensrettet fra syd til nord. Danske og svenske fyrster tog flamske og hollandske bygmestere, malere og videnskabsmænd i deres tjeneste, og kendskab til det nederlandske sprog var vidt udbredt i de nordiske lande. Dog syntes den nederlandske litteratur i modsætning til bygge- og malerkunst næppe at have efterladt sig spor i Skandinavien.

Dette negative billede med hensyn til litteraturen trænger til nuancering, når det drejer sig om receptionen af forfatteren *Vondels* person og værk. Som det fremgår af forskellige primære og sekundære kilder, blev Vondel læst på nederlandsk og beundret af samtidige nordiske fyrster og rangspersoner, som for en dels vedkommende har mødt ham personligt på hans rejser til Danmark og Sverige. Vondels skuespil opførtes i København og Stockholm på nederlandsk og tysk af omrejsende teatertrupper. Flere fremstående danske og svenske renæssance- og barokdigtere (Arrebo, Bording, Spegel og andre) har kendt hans værker og har muligvis været under indflydelse af ham på orddannelses-området.

I 1700-tallet forsvandt den nordiske interesse, men omkring 1900 blev tråden taget op igen af svenske, danske og norske filologer og oversættere, som især viste interesse for relationen Vondel : Skandinavien og for Vondel som europæisk barokkunstner, – en interesse som eksisterer den dag i dag.

I 1700- og begyndelsen af 1800-tallet var der næppe tale om forbindelser mellem nederlandske forfattere og Norden. Som den nordiske litteraturs gennembrud i Nederland betragtes generelt forfatteren Potgieters bog *Het Noorden* (1836-1840). Dog viste digteren Bilderdijk, der i så mange henseender modsatte sig tidens ånd, allerede et halvt århundrede tidligere sin beundring for Skandinavien i ord og gerning. Som ildfuld monarkist og anti-revolutionær besang han i sine originale digte den danske enevælde og det ufordærvede danske samfund, modsat det korruperede Holland. Han lærte sig selv dansk og læste både den oldnordiske og den moderne skandinaviske litteratur. To gange forsøgte han at bosætte sig i Norden, som hofdigter i København og som professor i jura i Kongsberg i Norge.

I sin ungdom bearbejdede han et skuespil af Holberg, og med det udtrykkelige ønske om at gøre den danske digtekunst mere kendt oversatte han senere i livet digte af åndsbeslægtede norske og danske forfattere (Tullin, Schack Staffeldt og Baggesen), hvori naturen forherliges, den franske revolution kritiseres sønder og sammen og den litterære epigonisme bespottes.

Bilderdijks uoverensstemmelse med tidsånden forklarer nok delvis at han ikke fik direkte efterfølgere i sin interesse for Skandinavien. Til gengæld har han efterladt nogle spor i Norden: samtidige danske forfattere (Dirckinck Holmfeld, Scharling) hørte til hans elever og beundrere, og så sent som i 1943 blev han oversat til dansk af Vilhelm Andersen.

Frederik van Eeden voksede op i en tid hvor den tyske og nederlandske interesse for Skandinavien tiltog stærkt. Både hans egen familie og hans svigerfamilie rejste rundt i Norden og læste nordiske forfattere på originalsprogene. Det nordiske samfunds idylliske karakter og dets fornyende sociale og kunstneriske eksperimenter tiltrak sig deres opmærksomhed. På sin side tiltrak Van Eeden sig nordiske forfatters opmærksomhed med romanen *De kleine Johannes* og sit andelsselskab *Walden*, blandt andet hos Ellen Key, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson og Martin Andersen Nexø. Takket være hans kontakter med Georg Brandes, *Det Moderne Gennembruds* fader, offentliggjordes flere bidrag af og om Van Eeden i det danske dagblad *Politiken*. To gange drog Van Eeden på en foredrags-turné i Norden, og i Sverige udkom seks forskellige Van Eeden-oversættelser. En svensk industrimand og politiker støttede hans sociale eksperimenter og den svenske psykiater/forfatter Poul Bjerre analyserede sin nederlandske kollegas værk for det nordiske publikum.

I Van Eedens originale værker er slægtskabet med H.C. Andersen synligt i *De kleine Johannes* og i skuespillet *Ismea*; med Oehlsenschläger i skuespillet *Alladin* og med vikingverdenen i skuespillet *Lioba*. En formodet indflydelse fra Holberg på komedien *De student thuis* er imidlertid ikke begrundet. Over for Ibsen har Van Eeden en ambivalent holdning: han beundrer Ibsens teknik og er jaloux på hans succes, men tør næppe erkende dette over for sig selv, og han kritiserer Ibsens ordkunst. I sine senere skuespil anvender han dog Ibsenienske elementer og teknikker.

I modsætning til det nederlandske og tyske publikum havde det flamske i 1800-tallets anden halvdel næppe nogen interesse for Skandinavien. Der udkom næsten ingen

Resumé

oversættelser i Flandern, og også i de litterære tidsskrifter findes meget lidt. Alligevel var der interesse for Norden, nærmere bestemt hos førerne for *De Vlaamse Beweging* (den politiske og kulturelle flamske emancipationsbevægelse). Deres opmærksomhed blev tiltrukket af flamsk-nordisk slægtskab i sprog, race og folk, og af den skandinaviske kultur- og sprogpoltiks funktion som forbillede. De blev inspireret af et beslægtet lille sprogsamfunds opblomstring efter en periode med forfald, som var fulgt efter middelalderens storhedstid.

Allerede den flamske bevægelses fader, Jan Frans Willems, læste og studerede de skandinaviske sprog, fulgt af flere andre fremstående, for det meste liberale, romantisk-filologiske 'flaminganter'. Deres favoritter var Oehlschläger og Tegnér, som jo besang de oldnordiske rigers glorie, samt H.C. Andersen, den verdensberømte repræsentant for et lille germansk-sproget land.

Den 'internationalistiske' kreds omkring tidsskriftet *Van Nu en Straks* søgte tilslutning til det Moderne Gennembrud, og havde kontakt med Georg Brandes. Den katolske kreds derimod var ikke begejstret over de moderne forfattere; men også katolikkerne lagde vægt på slægtskabet hvad angår sprog og folk. Især de norske bondenoveller tiltrak sig deres opmærksomhed.

Forfatteren Stijn Streuvels forenede som katolsk medarbejder af *Van Nu en Straks* de forskellige indfaldsvinkler. Han læste de moderne forfattere først på tysk; derpå lærte han sig selv norsk, og med hans oversættelser af Bjørnsons bondenoveller lykkedes det for ham som den første at interessere et bredt flamsk publikum for skandinavisk litteratur. Bjørnsons værk genspejles desuden i motiver og stiltræk i hans roman *De Vlaschaard*. Streuvels' senere bearbejdelser af oldnordiske gude- og heltesagn og skandinaviske folkesagn er ideologisk præget i deres eftertryk på raceslægtskabet mellem flamlændere og skandinavere.

I modsætning til Van Eeden har Streuvels ikke fundet genklang i Norden. Påstået indflydelse fra eller på Knut Hamsuns værker synes ikke at være til stede.

I perioden 1731–1990 er der udkommet 1654 selvstændige nederlandske udgaver med en litterær oversættelse fra dansk til nederlandsk. Dette fremgår af en bibliografi over dansk skønlitteratur i nederlandsk oversættelse, samt en bibliografi over nederlandske H.C. Andersen-oversættelser, med senere tilføjelser. Til trods for dette store antal har oversættelserne som helhed ikke efterladt et repræsentativt billede af 'den' danske litteratur hos det nederlandske og flamske læserpublikum.

I 1700-tallet var 37 ud af de i alt 46 udgaver oversættelser af Holbergs værker, hvori de typisk danske træk var forsvundet. I 1800-tallets første halvdel blev kun ganske få værker af de store danske romantikere og realister oversat, mens perioden 1850–1890 domineredes af H.C. Andersen, med 27 ud af de 63 oversættelser. For så vidt *Det Moderne Gennembruds* danske forfattere overhovedet blev oversat, skete det med en stor spredning over tiden, mens nogle kvindelige forfattere af trivillitteratur opnåede stor og langvarig succes. Årene 1910–1920 domineredes af både H.C. Andersens eventyr og helgenbiografierne af den katolske konvertit Johannes Jørgensen – to genrer der rettede sig mod to totalt forskellige læsergrupper.

I tidsrummet 1920–1960 udkom der i alt 610 oversættelser. Denne periode frembød for første gang et globalt billede af 'den' danske litteratur som følge af hjemstavnsromansens overvægt. Her er imidlertid ikke tale om et specifikt 'dansk', men et generelt skandinavisk billede, som blandt andet fremgår af anmeldelserne. Kvalitativt højt- og lavtstående værker offentliggjordes af de samme forlag, og på grund af den nederlandske hjemstavnsromans generelt lave niveau er forventningen hos det litterært dannede publikum tilsvarende lav. Undtagelser som Kierkegaard, Kaj Munk og H.C. Andersen rettede sig mod specifikke målgrupper, og ændrede ikke det generelle billede.

Årene 1960–1990 frembyder en større diversifikation, men det konkrete antal af oversættelser går stærkt ned, undtagen oversættelser af børne- og ungdomslitteratur, hvis målgrupper dog næppe har interesse for oversættelseenes geografiske eller kulturelle oprindelse.

Receptionen af 'den' danske litteratur i Nederlandene eksisterer altså ikke: de forskellige populære forfattere og genrer retter sig mod målgrupper som er vidt forskellige hvad angår tid, alder og social eller religiøs baggrund, og som ikke får noget repræsentativt billede af de forhåndenværende oversættelser, endsiges af den danske litteratur som helhed. Ikke desto mindre kan det være nyttigt at undersøge mere begrænsede former for reception, såsom receptionen af særskilte forfattere eller strømninger.

I forhold til de utallige oversættelser af H.C. Andersens eventyr til mere end 100 sprog findes der kun ganske få undersøgelser af oversættelseenes karakter. Derfor gøres der her et forsøg på at analysere sytten nederlandske oversættelser af eventyret *Reisekammeraten*, udkommet mellem 1848 og 1992. Ved hjælp af Katharina Reiß' analysemodel beskrives de forskydninger i forhold til originalteksten, der manifesterer sig i oversættelsen, og der søges efter en forklaring på disse forskydninger.

En analyse af grundteksten viser eventyrets konsistente struktur og karakteristiske fortælle-måde. Det fremgår, at mange ordspil forsvinder i oversættelse, ligesom nøgleord og gentagelser, der ofte har en symbolsk funktion hos Andersen. Desuden normaliseres sproget som oftest i retning af den gængse (ungdoms-)litterære stil, muligvis af frygt for at afvigende sprogbrug ville blive anset for oversætterens fejl.

Tysk som mellemed og manglende kendskab til dansk er årsag til utilsigtede afvigelser i henholdsvis de ældre og nogle af de nyere oversættelser, mens utilsigtede tilføjelser og udeladelser blandt andet skyldes frygt for Andersens 'uklarhed', 'forbedring' af hans 'fejl', moralsk-religiøse og kommercielle motiver. Af og til moderniseres ældre oversættelser i nyere udgaver, hvorved også 'realia' tilpasses tid og publikum.

Der er ikke tale om konsistente, sammenhængende forskydninger. Mange af disse forskydninger er iøvrigt ikke resultatet af en målbevidst tilpasning, men af sjusk og mangel på indsigt i for eksempel nøgleordenes symbolfunktion, og en enkelt gang manglende kendskab til kildesproget. Der er ikke tale om nogen konsekvent satsning på forskellige målgrupper – børn eller voksne –, eller sammenhæng med oversættelseenes forskellige tilblivelsesår. Til gengæld er der store forskelle i forskydningernes karakter og kvantitet. Konsistensen er størst i de to eneste fuldstændige eventyr-oversættelser: W. van Eedens kildeprog-orienterede oversættelse fra 1931, og oversættelsen af Annelies

van Hees (1992), som stræber efter ligevægt mellem kildesprog- og målgruppe-orientering.

Nederlandenes skønlitteratur i oversættelse har som regel kun haft begrænset succes. En undersøgelse af årsagerne til mangel på succes for nederlandsk litteratur i dansk oversættelse mellem 1900 og 1990 (542 særskilte udgaver) viser, at den væsentlige faktor ikke er den nederlandske litteraturs kvalitet som sådan, men det forvrængede billede som de konkrete oversættelser efterlader hos det fremmede publikum.

Mangel på konsulenter og gode oversættere bestemte i perioden 1900–1930 de få oversættelsers skæbne. Multatuli, Heijermans og Couperus blev oversat og præsenteret på en ganske utilfredsstillende måde, hvad der ikke inspirerede til nye oversættelser.

I årene 1930–1960 tilvejebragte nogle dygtige og aktive oversættere et stort udbud af meget efterspurgte underholdningsromaner, og i mindre grad af skønlitteratur. Overvægten af slægts- og egnsromaner fra den første kategori og det ikke-repræsentative udvalg af den anden efterlod imidlertid et dårligt indtryk hos anmeldere og det 'litterære' publikum. Mod denne baggrund var de få lødige skønlitterære oversættelser ikke iøjnefaldende nok.

Stærk tilbagegang for oversættelser af både underholdningslitteratur og skønlitteratur i perioden 1900–1980 skyldes blandt andet konkurrencen fra henholdsvis fjernsynet og billigsudgaver af oversættelser fra de kendte sprog. Men også mere interne årsager spiller en rolle: to vigtige antologier, udgivet med belgisk og nederlandsk statsstøtte, kritiseredes for deres mangelfulde indledninger og udvalg, og en tredje antologi i billigsudgave for dens dårlige oversættelse.

Årene 1980–1990 viser en let, men tydelig genrejsning af skønlitteraturen (13 udgaver), som følge af bestemte nederlandske forfatters succes i andre europæiske lande, men også takket være nogle aktive konsulenter og (især) gode oversættere, som også sørger for oversættelse af kvalitativt gode børne- og ungdomsbøger. Både skønlitteraturen og børne- og ungdomslitteraturen anmeldes udførligt og stort set meget gunstigt.

Den selvforstærkende virkning i størstedelen af det omtalte tidsrum (dårlig præsentation, ringe succes, endnu færre oversættelser, manglende interesse hos oversættere, og så videre) skyldes delvis den kommercielle forlagspolitik, men især enkelte personers ensidige initiativer. At en sådan virkning principielt også kan vendes i positiv retning, viser det seneste årti: konsulenternes og oversætternes aktiviteter er en ganske vist ikke tilstrækkelig, men i hvert fald nødvendig betingelse for kontinuitet og konsistens.

Afsluttende kan det med hensyn til de undersøgte *forfattere* slås fast, at fire skelsættende nederlandsksprogede forfattere har tiltrukket sig interesse fra og/eller vist interesse for Skandinavien: Vondel, Bilderdijk, Van Eeden og Streuvels. Spor af denne interesse (personlige kontakter, oversættelser, ånds-fællesskab og for en del også påvirkninger) er tydeligt synlige og repræsentative for den rolle, som de pågældende forfattere har spillet i nederlandsk litteraturhistorie: den nederlandske Guldalders udstråling i 1600-tallet; kampen mod 'tidsånden' omkring 1800; interessen for sociale fornyelser omkring 1900; og en fornemmelse af slægtskab mellem den flamske og den nordiske frigørelseskamp i 1800-tallets anden halvdel og 1900-tallets begyndelse. Vondel og Van Eeden har bidra-

get til billeddannelsen omkring nederlandsk litteratur i Skandinavien, og Bilderdijk og Streuvels til billeddannelsen omkring nordisk litteratur i Nederlandene.

Hvad angår dybtgående forbindelser mellem de respektive *litteraturer*, er konklusionerne imidlertid beskedne. Den nederlandske skønlitteratur i Danmark og den danske skønlitteratur i Nederlandene har på begge sider kun efterladt ganske få varige spor – og det viser sig at dette også gælder for nederlandsk skønlitteratur i Norden og nordisk litteratur i Nederlandene i det hele taget. Skønt 1600-tallets Norden viste stor interesse for nederlandsk kultur og skønt Nederland i 1800-tallets slutning og 1900-tallets begyndelse viste en generel interesse for Skandinavien, er der ingen vigtige indflydelser fra den ene litteratur på den anden tilstede. Der er heller ikke tale om det ene sprogområdes konsistente reception af 'den' hele litteratur fra det andet område. For et repræsentativt billede af skønlitteraturen divergerer de forskellige oversættelsesstrategier alt for meget, og er der alt for store forskelle i tid, alder og social eller religiøs gruppe mellem de forskellige målgrupper for de hundredvis af oversættelser. (Oversættelsesstrategierne fremgår blandt andet af en repræsentativ analyse af de nederlandske H.C. Andersen-oversættelser, som tilsammen udgør cirka en femtedel af samtlige oversættelser fra dansk). En kommerciel forlagspolitik med ensidig interesse for bestemte emner og genrer, især slægts- og egnsromaner, sørger mellem cirka 1920 og 1960 i begge sprogområder for et stereotypet billede af den fremmede litteratur. I andre perioder er forlagene fuldstændig lige glade med henholdsvis nordisk litteratur i Nederlandene eller nederlandsk litteratur i Norden. Personlige initiativer fra kvalificerede konsulenter og oversættere er en ganske vist utilstrækkelig, men i hvert fald nødvendig betingelse for at kunne nedbryde sådanne stereotyper. Den voksende interesse for nederlandskstudiet i Skandinavien og skandinavistikken i Nederland og Flandern kan forhåbentlig yde et positivt bidrag i denne henseende.

B

Ammerlaan, L. 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

Bæck, M. 247
 Bäckmann, I. 247
 Bachelmann, Lode 149, 123, 241, 248, 250
 Baggens, J. 27, 53, 57, 65-66, 68, 71, 245
 Bakker, M. 142, 147-157, 160
 Bakker, P. 172-173, 186, 188, 192, 193, 203
 Bakker-Nors, B. 74
 Baldensperger, F. 16
 Balzac, H. de 175
 Bang, H. 74, 93, 101-102, 115, 118, 121, 126-128, 175, 178, 184
 Barnard, H. 199
 Bartak, G. du 37, 38
 Basingx, E. 250