

‘The Italian Factor’: Representations of Italy in Selma Lagerlöf’s Legends and Hans Ernst Kinck’s Novellas

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Abstract

This article explores the representations of Italy emerging in a selection of short stories written by two Scandinavian authors at the end of the nineteenth century: two Italian legends by Swedish author Selma Lagerlöf (1858-1940) first published together in 1899, ‘Santa Caterina av Siena’ (Santa Caterina of Siena) and ‘Fiskarringen’ (The Fisherman’s Ring), and the novellas in *Trækfugle og andre* (1899, Migratory Birds and Others) by the Norwegian writer Hans Ernst Kinck (1865-1926). Through a comparative analysis of these texts and with the help of the concepts of ‘cultural appropriation’ and ‘mobility’, this article demonstrates how both Lagerlöf and Kinck engaged creatively with the literary forms of their choice – the legend and the novella, respectively – in the attempt to create new images of a country already so often written about. While drawing on the Romantic myth of a cultured and idyllic Italy perpetuated by the Grand Tour tradition, Lagerlöf’s and Kinck’s stories bring a fresh perspective by combining tradition with modern debates around social, political and gender issues.

Keywords

Selma Lagerlöf, *Legender*, Hans E. Kinck, *Trækfugle og andre*, cultural appropriation, mobility, North/South, literary genre

Introduction

Representations of Italy in Nordic literature are far from static: for the past two centuries they have functioned as a bridge between tradition and innovation, perpetuating deep-rooted trends while serving as a springboard for the experimentation with new forms and topics (Carbone 2016). On the whole, the tension between Italy and the Nordic countries should be placed within the broader context of the dialectic pair 'North/South', which Astrid Arndt refers to as 'one of the most long-standing distinctions in European cultural history' stressing that the dynamic relationship between these two shifting regional markers has proven essential in the construction of different cultural identities (Arndt 2007: 387). Until the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the relationship between North and South was shaped by what she calls a 'classicist nostalgia' which saw the North long for the South's glorious past and cultural richness (Arndt 2007: 388). The Grand Tour, a journey to the South for pleasure and education which from the mid-seventeenth century had become an important part of the education of men from the elites, is strictly linked to this longing (Buzard 2002: 38). As this travelling tradition consolidated, the Tour developed a rather fixed itinerary with a number of essential stops: the majority of Grand Tourists started with a journey across France and an obligatory stay in Paris, followed by a journey down the Italian peninsula which would include destinations such as Turin, Milan, Florence, Venice and Rome and would normally stretch as far as Naples (Buzard 2002: 39).¹ Italy was a key destination of this formative journey as it was there that the traveller could come into direct contact with classical culture and Renaissance art in particular (Black 2003: 1-16; Buzard 2002: 39). It therefore became a Romantic *topos* and was approached, according to Arndt, as 'an Arcadia or cradle of European arts' while travellers saw themselves 'as representatives of the cold and dark North' (Arndt 2007: 388).

The role of Italy as a productive source of inspiration went much beyond Great Britain and Germany – the two countries more commonly associated with this tradition – and extended far beyond the tradition of the Grand Tour (Carbone 2016: 18-19). In this article I will examine

the role of Italy as a representation of the South in a selection of short stories² written by two Scandinavian authors at the end of the nineteenth century. 'Santa Caterina av Siena' (Santa Caterina of Siena) and 'Fiskarringen' (The Fisherman's Ring), two Italian legends published in the collection *Legender* (1904, Legends) by the Swede Selma Lagerlöf (1858-1940), are analysed together with the novellas in *Trækfugle og andre* (1899, Migratory Birds and Others) by the Norwegian Hans Ernst Kinck (1865-1926). I will demonstrate how literary genres played an important role, particularly at a time when 'authors were challenged by the feeling that everything there was to say and write about Italy had already been said and written' (Carbone 2016: 378). Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries experimentation with form combined with a greater degree of realism are used to convey new images of Italy and challenge its idealisation (Carbone 2016: 377-379). Having amply discussed poetry, drama and novels in my study *Nordic Italies*, in this article I aim to focus on the short story genre – the second most popular genre after poetry in nineteenth and twentieth century literature on Italy – using a selection of texts by two of the most prolific Nordic authors who engaged with this genre. What is the function of form in Lagerlöf's and Kinck's stories? To what extent are these texts representative of the dualism between North and South? Through my analysis of these texts, I will also examine whether they follow the path of the so called *Italiaromantiken* (Italia-Romanticism), a trend which refers to travellers' and artists' preoccupation with Italy as 'a place of pilgrimage where visitors could come into direct contact with the origins and heights of Western civilisation and Mediterranean splendour'(Carbone 2016: 66). Is Italy represented as a classical and natural idyll or as a complex otherness, 'a potent mine of cultural, political, and ideological models' (Marrapodi 2014: 5)? I will answer these questions while considering the relationship between the Italian setting and the thematic as well as the stylistic structure of these stories.

Lagerlöf's and Kinck's Italian Connections

Internationally known for works such as *Gösta Berlings saga* (1891,

Gösta Berling's Saga) and *Jerusalem* (1901-1902), Selma Lagerlöf was the first woman to receive the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1909 and is today mostly remembered for her involvement in the women's rights campaign (Forsås-Scott 2014: 19-21). Less known is Lagerlöf's interest in Italian motifs, a consequence of her first Italian journey from autumn 1895 to summer 1896, which she undertook together with her friend Sophie Elkan (1853-1921). Like many other Nordic artists before them, Lagerlöf and Elkan set off to Italy to experience classical culture and Renaissance art as well as Southern nature and folk life. They joined the growing contingent of women travelling to the South in the nineteenth century as they took advantage of more affordable transport to the continent and followed into the footsteps of Madame de Stäel (1766-1817) and her fictional character Corinne, the protagonist of her *Corinne, or Italy* published in 1807 (Buzard 1993: 111-112; Chapman and Stabler 2003: 4-5).³ As Chapman and Stabler point out, Italy offered women travellers, including Lagerlöf, 'the prospects of independent life outside the confines of the Northern domestic sphere', allowing them to explore questions of social and sexual morality (Chapman and Stabler 2003: 4).

In addition to the obligatory destinations of the Grand Tour tradition, Lagerlöf and Elkan visited Sicily, a destination to which only few travellers – among whom most notably Goethe – had ventured (Ek 1951: 249). Lagerlöf's Sicilian stay was the main inspiration behind her novel *Antikrists mirakler* (The Miracles of Antichrist), published in 1897.⁴ Lagerlöf was clearly fascinated by Italy's local legends, particular those of hagiographical and historical subject. The entire plot of her *Antikrists mirakler* is triggered by 'Kejsarens syn' (The Emperor's Vision), a legend from Rome, and she continued to use legends as the subject for some of her short stories, namely 'Ljuslågan' (The Sacred Flame), a legend from Florence, 'Den helliga bilden i Lucca' (The Sacred Image in Lucca) and *Från skilda tiden* (From Different Times), the legend of Lucia (Edström 2002: 194). 'Santa Caterina av Siena' and 'Fiskarringen' also draw inspiration from hagiographical material: the life of Santa Caterina of Siena (1347-1380) – born Caterina di Giacomo di Benincasa – and the history of Venice, more specifically the legend behind the tempest that struck Venice on 15 February 1340. These

aspects are however combined with original fictional elements that allow Lagerlöf to explore issues related to identity, gender and social class in line with the idea of a socially engaged literature characteristic of the Modern Breakthrough.

While Lagerlöf's stories are characterised by a historical context mixed with realism that at the same time echoes contemporary issues, Kinck's *Trækfugle og andre* is a collection of short stories set in a more or less contemporary setting. Despite the size and scope of his impressive authorship, dealing with Norway's rural society as well as Italy's history and culture, Kinck has received relatively little scholarly attention. Considered one of the most prominent representatives of the neo-romantic movement in Norway, he often addresses in his works 'periods of transition and decay in which two cultures battle each other, or a human being comes into conflict with society' (Rossel 1982: 97). As Roy Eriksen puts it in his article on Kinck's tragedy *Den sidste gjest* (1910, *The Last Guest*), Kinck focuses on 'prosessene som viser kulturelle endringer og idékonflikter' (the processes that show cultural changes and conflicts of ideas) (Eriksen 2011: 59).⁵ This is evident in the stories in *Trækfugle og andre*, which portray as well as deconstruct old myths about the role that Italy played for Scandinavian, particularly Norwegian, travellers. Kinck represents here what he considers the inevitable attraction towards the South: 'Mot Syd går den nordiske dikters tanke og vil den vedbli å gå til tidens kveld' (Towards the South go the Nordic writer's thoughts and they will continue to do so until the end of time) (Kinck quoted in Langen Moen 2005: 79). But what happens when this attraction goes beyond thought and triggers a physical migration?

Kinck's interest in Italian culture was much more deeply rooted than Lagerlöf's: more than any other Nordic author, Kinck dedicated almost his entire career and corpus to Italy, which – having travelled there five times (1867; 1899; 1901; 1902; 1911) – he considered his second home country. He studied Italian culture and politics and Italian language and roughly half of his authorship is related to Italian topics. *Trækfugle og andre* is one of his many works about, or set in, Italy, which include neo-romantic dramas, short stories and essays. With its extended use of the metaphor of the migratory birds, this

collection seems to be focus less on Italy's glorious past and more on the travelling tradition between North and South. The stories in this collection contain, however, constant reminders that the motivation behind all these 'migrations' lies – at least ostensibly – in Italy's past, since Northerners travel there to experience life in one of 'de store kulturlandene' (the great countries of culture) (Kinck 1971: 30). Yet, does this mean that these stories have no connection with the tradition of Italia-Romanticism?

Lagerlöf and Kinck as Italy's Mobilizers

In this article I will argue that, despite being thematically rather different, all these texts are the result of a complex process of cultural appropriation which involves both style and content. Both Lagerlöf's and Kinck's stories could be said to appropriate artistic content or, more precisely, 'artistic elements' – namely 'the building blocks of works of art' such as styles, plots, musical themes, motifs, subject matters and genres – that assist them in the creation of multifaceted representations of Italy (Young 2008: 4). As one of the most influential European literary traditions, Italy provides a wide range of artistic elements, ranging from 'theoretical and narrative texts', 'poetic, dramatic and artistic theories, and by cultural and political discourses inscribed in literary and iconographic *topoi*' (Marrapodi 2016: 4).

According to J. O. Young, 'the representation of other cultures is often regarded as a form of cultural appropriation' as it involves the use of, for instance, some of the artistic elements 'developed in one cultural context by someone who belongs to another culture' (Young 2008: 4-5). While defining the complex network of cultural appropriations, Young reminds us that one of the major challenges when assessing instances of cultural appropriation is the fact that the boundaries between cultures 'have never been hard and fast' (Young 2008: 13). The idea that culture is a fluid concept is at the centre of the wider field known as mobility studies and of what has become known as the mobility turn, a theoretical framework for analysing social groupings and practices in terms of movement and not rootedness (Wilkie 2015). Methodologies of mobility focus therefore on the identification of

mobility systems and those who drive them, known as mobilizers, that allow for the circulation of people, objects and information through physical, imaginative, and virtual travel, and analogue and digital communication (Wilkie 2015).⁶

Inspired by cultural appropriation and the mobility turn, this article investigates how 'seemingly fixed migration paths are disrupted by the strategic acts of individual agents and by unexpected, unplanned, entirely contingent encounters between different cultures', because cultural encounters are never neutral (Greenblatt 2010: 252). As I will argue, Lagerlöf and Kinck are mobilizers, as they are the agents able to facilitate inter-cultural contacts between the North and the South (Greenblatt 2010: 251). Their stories further the mobility of their chosen Italian 'artistic elements', but, while doing so, they appropriate, adapt and transform them.

Novellas and Legends: Rooting Artistic Content in Older Traditions

Cultures move, but they also have the capacity to hide the mobility that drives them through processes of localisation and indigenisation (Greenblatt 2010: 252). Only by unearthing all the instances of mobility that are at the core of any culture can we unveil the intricate exchanges and transfers that form national discourses, challenging the idea that national spaces and identities are independent and stable (Heike 2010: 164-165).

Both Lagerlöf's and Kinck's short stories create an immediate connection with Italy by choosing it as the setting of their stories, but their cultural appropriation also involves a more 'hidden' artistic aspect. Lagerlöf sets 'Fiskarringen' and 'Santa Caterina av Siena' respectively in fourteenth-century Venice and Siena, while Kinck places all his short stories in *Trækfugle og andre* mostly in Southern Italy – focusing on Rome, Naples and the Abruzzo region – and offering glimpses from Norway, where most of the main characters come from. The appropriation of Italy as artistic content starts however with the choice of literary genre, which, as I have argued in *Nordic Italies*, plays a key role within the context of Nordic representations of Italy (Carbone

2016: 44-46, 385-388). As suggested by Alastair Fowler in his *Kinds of Literature*, the relationship to the genres that literary works embody 'is not one of passive membership but of active modulation' (Fowler 1997: 20).

As stated in the introduction, bibliographies of Swedish and Norwegian literature with Italian motifs show that the short story was the most widespread genre, together with poetry, throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁷ The popularity of this literary genre was at least partly conditioned by a practical reason: short stories were easily adaptable to various publishing modes. The rise of the short story as distinct prose genre was linked in particular to the proliferation of periodicals and magazines towards the second half of the nineteenth century and the need to create and engage new audiences (Killick 2008: 2-4, 22-23). Short stories about Italy could be easily drafted in the course of the authors' journeys across Italy. Afterwards, they could either be published in magazines individually or later arranged in cycles and collections. The versatility of the short story is one of the elements that attracted both Lagerlöf and Kinck. Selma Lagerlöf's 'Santa Caterina av Siena' and the Venetian story 'Fiskarringen' were already complete in 1896. 'Fiskarringen' was published in the magazine *Svea* in 1897. Then both legends were re-published together in the collection *Drottningar i Kungahälla jämte andra berättelser* (The Queens of Kungahälla and Other Stories) in 1899 and only later in *Legender* (Legends) in 1904. Kinck was also accustomed to sending articles and letters about Italy to Norwegian magazines and newspapers, but he preferred to publish his Italian short stories directly in collections, of which *Trækfugle og andre* was the first one to appear in 1899.

The short story genre opens itself to a wide range of forms and definitions, so that it overlaps with several literary traditions and is informed by a network of different modes including tales, sketches and essays (Killick 2008: 19). Although the word *novelle* in Norwegian means generally 'short story', Kinck does not seem to employ it with its generic meaning. His interest in the short story genre is in fact deeply rooted in his admiration for Italian *novelle*. Kinck expresses his fascination for Italian *novelle* in his essay *Italien og vi* (1925, Italy and

Us) where he emphasises its importance and compares it to the Nordic tradition of the saga:

Ett eller to sekler siden kom altsaa den ældste italienske novelle; den og sagaen er tilsammen den egeteste og største ordets kunst som overhodet er os leveret fra middelalderen. De dyrker begge prosaen, den ukunstlede og enkle mundtlighet.

(Kinck 1925: 40)

(One or two centuries after came the oldest Italian novella; that and the saga are the most authentic and greatest art of the word which the Middle Ages have given us. They both cultivate prose, the non-artistic and easy option.)

Kinck goes on in his essay to outline the aspects that make a good narrator: he/she should entertain his/her audience with stories, draw his/her material from reality and not fantasy in order to tell 'sandfærdige historier' (truthful stories) and group the events in an effective way giving his/her material an overarching structure (Kinck 1925: 40-41). It is clear from this description of the good narrator that Kinck has the works of Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375) and his contemporary Franco Sacchetti (c.1335-c.1440) in mind as models. Both authors provided him with the theme for some of his other works: while two of Kinck's dramas, *Agilulf den vise* (1906, Agilulf the Wise) and *Lisabettas brødre* (1921, Lisabetta's Brothers), are inspired by novellas in Boccaccio's *Decamerone* (Decameron), his *Bryllupet i Genua* (1911, The Wedding in Genua) is based on one of the novellas in Sacchetti's *Il trecentonovelle* (Three hundred novellas) (Carbone 2016: 252-253).

The stories in Kinck's *Trækfugle og andre* appear to follow the principles outlined above. They may not be kept together by a narrative frame – like for instance in Boccaccio – but they are united by an internal thematic linking, i.e. the theme of Scandinavian travellers' first meeting with Italy. In addition, they seem to be designed to entertain a new generation of travellers able to relate to these verisimilar plots presented in the collection. The protagonists of Kinck's stories are in fact all part of the Nordic travelling tradition of the nineteenth century.

From the 1830s onwards Italy became increasingly accessible to Nordic travellers and particularly to artists and aspiring artists. Rome was by far the most popular destination and by 1860 the *Skandinavisk Forening for Kunstnere og Vitenskapsmenn* (The Scandinavian Society for Artists and Scientists) offered these travellers an important base in the city (Carbone 2016: 71-73).⁸

Trækfugle og andre presents the reader with the fate of a fictionalised group of such travellers once they have reached their desired destination. Realising the significance and the symbolic value that journeys to Italy acquire for Scandinavian travellers, Kinck explores the reasons behind the travels and their possible consequences. The characters of *Trækfugle og andre* become – as indicated by the title – *exempla* of different ways in which migratory birds behave. Some of these birds travel alone, like Germund Gjuveland, the protagonist of ‘Renæssance’ (Renaissance), and are content only when they can rest their wings and enjoy the view of a light-hearted life: ‘Han kendte sig som en fugl som havde fløiet længe og nu endelig faldt ned, klappede sammen sine slappe vinger ...’ (He felt like a bird that had flown for a long time and had now finally landed, folded his tired wings) (Kinck 1971: 52). Other migratory birds, on the other hand, behave like the jackdaws described in ‘Odin i sivet’ (Odin in the Reeds): they prefer to stay in groups and defend the authority and territory gained after their arrival against newly arrived jackdaws. This is the case of the group of Scandinavians living in Rome in Kinck’s story, who struggle to accept a newly arrived controversial young sculptor (Kinck 1971: 80-81).

The common characteristic of the protagonists of Kinck’s stories is that after travelling across Italy – just like migratory birds – they have to head back to the country from which they came. This narrative pattern is employed in all the stories of the collection except the last one, where the migratory bird wants to become sedentary and settle down in Abruzzo. Migrating is for these birds not just part of their nature, but a necessity if they want to survive. The journey to Italy is the first step towards the realisation of their calling in life.

In the course of their quest across Italy, the protagonists of Kinck’s novellas expect to find everything that they are looking for in order to fulfil their existence. Their journey to the South is an expression of a

need for freedom, an individual or collective craving for the 'sun', which is often disguised behind other fictive reasons, like that of becoming an artist. The young woman in 'Chrysanthemum' leaves Norway in search of 'blaa himmel og sol' (blue sky and sun) as opposed to the Norwegian 'lav graa himmel' (low grey sky) (Kinck 1971: 15). Her cry for the 'sun' is a reaction against the narrow mentality of the people in her village. She hopes to become part of a more open-minded society, represented by the artists' environment in Rome. While this story expresses an individual's yearning, 'Renæssance' gives an example of a collective wish for the 'sun'. The artist Germund is sent to Italy by his fellow citizens so that he can learn to master the canons of the enlightened rational classical sculpture and abandon his art inspired by the obscure Nordic 'natur-angst' (nature-anxiety): 'Denne forbandede lodne naturmystik som aldrig sprak i solen!' (This damned hairy natural mysticism that never cracked in the sun) (Kinck 1971: 48). Italy becomes in the travellers' eyes the country where things are different and 'better', where everything is possible, where the sun is always shining and life is thriving, where inhibitions are forgotten. As Kinck explains, the migratory birds are urged on by 'eventyrlyst' (desire for adventure): 'De reiste for at veire paa et fuldkomment land, paa en muld som ikke negtet sin Eiermand noget' (They travelled to be in a perfect country, on a soil which did not deny its owner anything) (Kinck 1971: 19).

Like Kinck, Lagerlöf attempts to relate her short stories to an established literary genre. Her 'Fiskarringen' and 'Santa Caterina av Siena' present the main characteristics typical of the medieval legend tradition, since they refer to anecdotes from the saints' lives and narrations of their miracles. For this reason, even if they were initially defined simply as 'berättelser', namely 'stories', they are later more precisely classified by the author herself as 'legends'. The renewed fascination for legends that developed in Europe throughout the nineteenth century was in line with the interest in folklore and history that characterised the middle classes (Killick 2008: 154). More specifically middle-class readers – Protestants as well as Catholics – were particularly intrigued by legends engaging with saints from the past. As Gareth Atkins points out in his book about the making and

remaking of saints, these legends did not necessarily deal with religious issues but were used for broader discussions on gender, morality and national identity. Stories from the saints' lives often offered the opportunity to combine 'the cult of history' with 'the cultivation of character' (Atkins 2016: 4-5).

Having chosen to revive in her stories established legendary material, Lagerlöf's selection of content may therefore seem more constrained. Yet, in 'Fiskarringen' and 'Santa Caterina av Siena', Lagerlöf is not simply retelling well-known anecdotes from the life and death of San Marco and Santa Caterina, but is reshaping and rearranging them in order to make them relevant to the nineteenth-century reader as well as contextualising them in the fourteenth-century society of Venice and Siena respectively. Furthermore, she succeeds in conveying three-dimensionality and plasticity thanks to the fact that her primary sources of inspiration are iconographic.

Lagerlöf rediscovers the original narrative function of paintings illustrating legends. Ever since the Middle Ages, images of worship were displayed in series and were supposed not only to be admired from an aesthetic point of view but also to be 'read' since they were 'telling' stories, in this case those of San Marco and Santa Caterina (Giorgi 2003: 8-9). The Swedish author's *ekphrasis*, namely 'a verbal representation of a visual representation', is selective since she only chooses some fragments of these series of illustrated stories and reorganises them, creating connections and including additional elements (Mitchell 1994: 152). 'Fiskarringen' contains references to two legends relating to the time after San Marco's death. As Giordano Lokrantz points out, Lagerlöf's legend combines the two parts of the story represented in the *Burrasca Infernale* (Infernal Storm, 1528) – painted by Palma il Vecchio (1480-1528) and restored eight years later by Paris Bordon (1500-1571) – and in *Consegna dell'anello al Doge* (Handover of the Ring to the Doge, 1534) by Paris Bordon.⁹ In addition, in order to include in her story a third unrelated legend, that of the *translatio* of San Marco's body, the Swedish author invents the story of Cecco's sons.¹⁰ She explains that the two young fishermen died at sea because they had boasted of knowing in detail the story of the *translatio*. This narrative device gives her the chance to introduce a

brief summary of the disguising of San Marco's body, represented by a mosaic on the facade of San Marco's cathedral in Venice.

Lagerlöf's use of *ekphrasis* is also central in 'Santa Caterina av Siena', which contains explicit reference to her iconographic sources. She starts the narration by reporting the narrator's impressions during a recent visit to the house and sanctuary of the saint in Siena:

Det är i Santa Caterinas gamla hus i Siena en dag i slutet av april under den veckan, då hennes fest firas [...] Och när man går där, tänker man: "Det är alldeles, som om den lilla Caterina skulle vara död helt nyligen, alldeles så, som om alla de, som går ut och in i hennes hem i dag, skulle ha sett och känt henne." (Lagerlöf 1934: 36)¹¹

(At Santa Caterina's house in Siena, on a day towards the end of April, in the week when her feast day is being celebrated [...] Walking through these rooms, one cannot help thinking that it is just as if she had died yesterday, as if all those who go in and out of her home to-day had seen and known her.) (Lagerlöf 1916: 259)

The visitor can learn about Caterina's life as key moments of her path towards sainthood are represented on the walls of her house through the paintings by Alessandro Franchi (1838-1914): 'Se där på väggen, där är hon målad, där är hela hennes lilla historia, uppsamlad drag för drag!' (See, there they have painted her on the wall; there is the whole of her little history represented in every detail.) (Lagerlöf 1934: 37). The repetition of 'där är hon' (there she is) which follows this statement and introduces the description of the paintings gives immediacy to the narration: not only does it strengthen the impression that Santa Caterina is still alive, but it also gives the reader the illusion of visiting the house together with the narrator.

Modern Short Stories: Towards A Realist(ic) Italy

Both Kinck's and Lagerlöf's stories try to anchor themselves to older

traditions that are intrinsically connected with the Italian setting of the stories, namely the fourteenth-century Italian novella and local hagiographical legends. In these stories, appropriation does not, however, remain only on the level of genre. Content and genre are combined in order to transform Italy into the starting point of a discussion around contemporary issues topical in Scandinavia as well as in the rest of Europe.

In his study of British nineteenth-century fiction, Tim Killick states that in the course of the nineteenth century the focus of short fiction shifted from 'sentimental romance, simplistic allegory, and explicit moral didacticism' to greater concern for 'psychological and social realism' (Killick 2008: 6). In other words, the short story becomes a combination of 'orally-derived short narratives', such as tales, and the literary Renaissance novella that tended towards 'social observation'. In this respect, all the texts compared in this chapter can be defined as traditionally nineteenth-century short stories. Despite the fact that Lagerlöf's and Kinck's stories are rather different, both authors challenge the Romantic notion of Italy as an idyllic place by introducing elements of realism.

The Italy represented in Lagerlöf's legends is far from being described as an ideal world without failings. In fact, despite a number of supernatural elements, she presents a realistic picture of Italian society, without trying to hide its social and political plagues and injustices. In this way, the importance of the saints' compassionate assistance to ordinary people afflicted by human passions becomes even more evident. San Marco and Santa Caterina are trusted moral guides always ready to point their worshippers in the 'right' direction. Thanks to the *exemplum* set by the saints and their intervention, people can hope for help and sympathy, learning to bear their own sorrows. In this sense, the saints' behaviour is almost reassuringly predictable.

In 'Santa Caterina av Siena' the synthetic description of some of the images portraying the key moments of Caterina's life gives a brief characterisation of the saint before introducing the fictional story of the meeting between a man condemned to death, Nicola Tungo, and the young Caterina Benincasa. The nobleman Nicola Tungo's death is certainly unjust: he has been sentenced to death by the Signoria only

because he has expressed his disagreement with its politics. Caterina is powerless to change the Signoria's verdict, but can at least assist Nicola and prepare him for death. In 'Fiskarringen' San Marco punishes the whole of Venice with a storm, as the Venetian Cecco, afflicted by grief, loses his faith and accuses the saint of responsibility for his sons' death at sea: 'En venetianare hade hädat San Marco, och därför var det nära, att Venedig skulle sköljas bort av havet.' (Lagerlöf 1934: 28) ('A Venetian had mocked San Marco, and therefore Venice was in danger of being carried away by the sea.', Lagerlöf 1916: 247). At the same time, once Cecco shows his repentance, San Marco intervenes to save Venice when the city is threatened by an infernal storm and promises his eternal protection and devotion to its inhabitants (Lagerlöf 1934: 34).

Grief is however not the only sentiment that exposes Cecco's humanity and leads him to challenge the norms accepted by his society. Love is equally strong and leads him to re-think his role as father. As in many of her other texts, in 'Fiskarringen' and 'Santa Caterina av Siena' Lagerlöf addresses the issue of gender roles, a much-discussed topic in late-nineteenth-century Scandinavia as well as other Western societies. In both legends she points out and subverts the norms of traditional patriarchal society, which assigned femininity and masculinity specific spheres and duties: women were to be confined within private space (the home), while public space was to remain the domain of men (Carbone and Sjögren 2014: 213).¹² In 'Fiskarringen' Cecco the fisherman challenges this distinction between the domestic and the public sphere. As a widower left alone to provide for his sons, he has to take on the role of mother as well as that of father. Besides educating them and teaching them a trade, he has to feed and clothe them:

Deras mor hade dött tidligt, och Cecco hade fått dra all omsorgen. Han hade skaffat dem kläder och mat, han hade suttit med nål och tråd i båten och lagat och lappat. Han hade alls inte frågat efter om man hade skrattat åt honom fördenskull.
(Lagerlöf 1934: 18)

(Their mother had died early, and so Cecco had to take care of them. He had provided their clothes and cooked their food; he had sat in the boat with needle and cotton and mended and darned. He had not cared in the least that people had laughed at him on that account.)

(Lagerlöf 1916: 233)

People deride Cecco as cooking and mending clothes are considered feminine activities belonging to the domestic sphere. By putting the upbringing of his sons first, Cecco subverts the gender norms of fourteenth-century Venetian society. Based on these strict norms, it is not surprising that even Venice the city – represented as a feminine entity – has to be saved by a man, San Marco, and marry him. The ring that San Marco gives to the city symbolises, in fact, a marriage:

Åter var Venedig den sköna gudinnan, som tronar över vågen i den rosigt glittrande snäckan. [...] Ty ett rus av lycka uppfyllde henne, då fiskaren frambar ringen till dogen, och hon erfor hur helgonet nu och för all framtid höll sin skyddande hand över henne.

(Lagerlöf 1934: 35)

(Venice was once again the beautiful goddess, rising from the sea in her shell of rose-coloured pearl. [...] For a transport of bliss filled her when the old fisherman brought San Marco's ring to the Doge, and she heard how the Saint, now, and until the end of time, would hold his protecting hand over her.)

(Lagerlöf 1916: 256)

Like a husband in a traditionally patriarchal society, San Marco can offer Venice protection but can also inflict punishment should she not be faithful and obedient. The distinction between gender roles is outlined in relation to the position of the female and the male characters in relation to a network of relationships. In this patriarchal society, the 'marriage' between Venice and San Marco restores social order: San Marco establishes himself as the 'exchanger', while Venice is 'a sign of the exchange as well as its object' (Pollock 2008: 44-45).

Gender roles are also central in the story of 'Santa Caterina av Siena' where once again the characters are clearly positioned within social networks and social norms. The story offers in fact clear guidelines as to what is expected of a daughter and what is expected of a son. Caterina's mother torments and punishes her daughter when by cutting her hair and refusing to marry, she refuses to comply with her duty. As the only son in his family, Nicola Tungo has obligations that he will not be able to fulfil: 'det var han, som skulle fortsätta ätten. Det var han, som skulle gifta bort systrarna, han, som skulle bygga det nya palatset, han, som skulle plantera den nya vingården' (Lagerlöf 1934: 39) ('it was through his descendants that the family should be continued. It was he who should give away his sisters in marriage, he who should build the new palace, he who should plant the new vineyard', Lagerlöf 1916: 263-264). In both Caterina's and Nicola's case the inability to fulfil their duty as daughter and son has implications not only for them as individuals but also for the future of their entire families.

While Nicola is forced to renounce his duties as son by death, Caterina actively decides to rebel. In her own way, one could say that Caterina subverts the gender roles of her time by going against her family and refusing to marry in order to follow her vocation. Caterina has to fight, struggle and suffer in order to carry out her earthly task of bringing comfort to those in need. In the legend, the nobleman Nicola is untouched by the priests' reassuring words and he can only be persuaded to accept his death by the humanity of the woman Caterina. As Caterina herself admits, she is not bolder, wiser or stronger than other women, but she is driven by her will-power, her love of people and by her faith. As she admits: 'För jag är inte djävare eller klokare eller starkare än någon annan, sada hon' (Lagerlöf 1934: 43) ("For I am not braver, or wiser, or stronger than others," she said', Lagerlöf 1916: 269).

Caterina is a determined and pious woman with a strong power over the spiritual sphere but not over earthly matters: she can provide spiritual comfort but she cannot save Nicola's life. Ultimately the humanity of Caterina is represented in the final scene of the story where, despite her strong faith, at the moment of Nicola Tungo's execution she is 'upplöst av sorg' (Lagerlöf 1934: 47) ('entirely overcome with sorrow',

Lagerlöf 1916: 274). In other words, the future Santa Caterina is a human character that has more in common with Cecco and Nicola than with San Marco. Cecco the fisherman is a god-fearing man who cannot help but be overwhelmed by sorrow as he learns that his sons are dead. His doubting San Marco's benevolence in a moment of grief is, in my opinion, no act of hubris but just a human reaction.¹³ The same could be said of the nobleman Nicola Tungo. The young man cannot come to terms with his imminent death because he is far too much 'in love' with life. All he can think of is the injustice of his death sentence: until he meets Caterina, he refuses to find comfort in his faith and resign himself to his destiny (Lagerlöf 1934: 40).

Despite a number of attempts to subvert the *status quo*, Lagerlöf's two legends end with a general feeling that order has been restored and that, for good or for worse, nothing has really changed. In 'Fiskarringen' Venice is saved from the storm that threatened to submerge it for ever and in 'Santa Caterina av Siena' the soul of a peaceful Nicola Tungo is welcomed to Heaven by two angels after his execution.

In a similar manner, the plot of Kinck's stories involves no change as Italy cannot magically transform the lives of the foreign travellers. In all the stories of the collection *Trækfugle og andre*, we always meet one or more migratory birds, namely foreigners – mostly Scandinavians – that have travelled to Italy for different reasons. Migrating is for these birds part of their nature. The journey to Italy is usually represented as the first step towards the realisation of what the traveller believes is her/his calling in life. But the illusions of the travellers looking for perfection in a real country are bound to be at least partially shattered. Their Italian experience cannot fill the individuals' internal void. Using Kinck's symbolism, a chrysanthemum cannot become an almond flower only because it has been warmed by the Italian sun.¹⁴ As in Lagerlöf's legends, the subversion of established traditions is expressed subtly. In other words, the deconstruction of the image of an idyllic Italy where all problems are solved is achieved through the plots of the stories and not through explicit statements. The student in Kinck's story 'Ude i de store kulturlande' (Out in the Great Countries of Culture), complaining about everything during his journey, may seem to voice a critical perspective on the concept of Italian utopia. However, we soon discover that he is

only a caricature and is not capable of any concrete criticism, but only of random complaints:

Da kokte det op i stipendiaten:

- I dette land, hvor vanstellet er slaat om i moralsk forvildelse ... denne vældige anarkistfabrik som heder Italien ... dette land, hvor ikke sanddruhed gælder noget, ikke ærlighed, ikke engang samhold mellem kæltringerne ...

(Kinck 1971: 35)

(Then the student exploded:

- In this country where neglect is tied to moral aberration ... this mighty anarchist factory called Italy ... this country where neither truthfulness nor honesty nor even loyalty among scoundrels mean anything ...)

The student quickly changes his opinion, if necessary, for the sake of the conversation. Kinck's irony reaches its climax with the Scandinavian travellers' discussion about the 'nature' of Italian people. Some characters appear indeed quite surprised to 'discover' that Italians are not much different from other people:

- Jeg maa jo si, jeg personlig har i grunden bare truffet ærlige Italienerne - ...

- Jeg har ialfald truffet mange ærlige Italienerne -

- Italienerne er ærlige folk de som andre. Naturligvis! ...

(Kinck 1971: 36)

(- I really have to say that I have really only met honest Italians - ...

- I have at least met many honest Italians -

- Italians are honest people like all others. Of course! ...)

The protagonists of Kinck's novellas are torn by the contrast between Nordic life and Italian reality. On the one hand, their condition before the journey, despite being obscured by the oppressive grey sky of the

North, is the only one they are comfortable with and can deal with. On the other hand, their Italian experience, though illuminated by the sun, remains something alien and dangerous that they struggle to control. Once he has come back from his educational journey, the sculptor Germund saves a sketch of his Italian work before burning himself to death with his old works.

The only way Kinck's migratory birds can try to achieve some kind of control is by sticking together with their fellow countrymen. While they are in Italy, they usually meet other migratory birds, they get to know each other, form groups and circles. There is, however, nothing harmonious or idyllic about these gatherings as their existence is constantly threatened by their surrounding foreign environment and by the arrival of outsiders. In the short story 'Odin i sivet' Kinck represents one of these circles of Scandinavian artists in Rome and analyses its group dynamics. In this novella the story of the migratory birds and that of the travellers appear to be two separate ones: the first section is set up in the sky, while the other one takes place down on ground level. The first two pages focus on the representation of the behaviour of a particular group of birds in Rome, the jackdaws. It is a stormy and sultry November evening. The birds gather on bell towers as they are awaiting bad weather. The situation is however complicated by the arrival of new jackdaws and they all fight for shelter, making their typical sound: 'krah - krah - krh' (Kinck 1971: 81). Once the representation of the jackdaws on the towers preparing for the storm is complete, the narrator zooms onto the tavern behind the church tower where the jackdaws are resting. The second part of the short story is dedicated to a group of Scandinavians, a group of 'landsmænd' (fellow countrymen) as the narrator calls them. They are all gathered in a tavern as they talk about art. Within the group there is a newcomer, a sculptor who is talking about his new work, a medallion inspired by a verse uttered by Odin in the Eddic poem known as *Hávamál* ('Sayings of the High One', namely Odin). The connection between these two seemingly independent parts of the short story becomes clear if we look more closely at the relationship between the members of these groups as well as at their relation with the surrounding 'environment'. In other words, my point is that what happens up on the bell tower is very similar to what takes

place down in the inn. Despite being migratory, there is no doubt that both the group of jackdaws and that of Scandinavians have established a certain feeling of belonging to the space they currently inhabit. The jackdaws almost consider themselves Rome's permanent inhabitants (Kinck 1971: 80). Similarly, the group of Scandinavians is also keen to assert their belonging to Rome: they have managed to find their own place within their new local surroundings as they have their own tavern, their room, their table. Having carved out their own space in the city, both groups have to defend this against other rival communities, circles, groups in Rome. In other words, each group has the function of protecting their members from the others (the non-members), the members of 'other' groups and more generally from a foreign and dangerous environment. As the narrator in 'Odin i sivet' explains:

[...] de hadde sin forening kaierne ogsaa - hvert klokketaarn i Rom hadde sin. Men det var grupper inden foreningen; og grupperingen var stræng og hævdet.
(Kinck 1971: 80)¹⁵

([...] jackdaws also had their society - each bell tower in Rome had its own. Yet, there were groups within the society; and the groupings were strict and established.)

These groups of jackdaws are ready to scrutinise the outsiders, the newcomers brought there by the bad weather and establish whether they could become suitable members of their group or not. This process of inclusion and exclusion is all represented as a Darwinian battle for the survival of the fittest group through a process of natural selection. Every established group looks only for the perfect new member, namely for someone who is beautiful, does not say much and listens to what the other members have to say. Just as the jackdaws analyse the newcomers, so do the Scandinavians, as - when the second part of the story opens - they are all gathered around a newly arrived sculptor (Kinck 1971: 82). There is no dialogue between him and the other Scandinavians and the comments from the other members of the circle are only minimal. The women generally express their fascination

for the young man, while the men seem disturbed and uncomfortable with the ideas he expresses. The young man cannot become a member, especially after the 'illicit' passion between him and the wife of one of the other Scandinavian members is uncovered. The desperate attempts of the group to preserve their delicate balance, the avoidance of disagreements and scandals are only temporarily shattered by this newcomer. Admitting the 'wrong' individual within the circle can create confusion among its members and can even endanger the existence of the group itself.

The theme of the struggle for existence is, in fact, at the centre of all the stories examined in this article as Cecco, Caterina and the Scandinavian travellers all try to find a place in their contemporary society, at times challenging established gender and social rules. However, ultimately, they cannot change Italy, just as Italy cannot change them and their lives.

The Local and the Global: Cultural Boundaries and Hybridity in Representations of Italy

Influenced by the realism of the 1870s, Lagerlöf's legends represent the struggle faced by human beings – future saints or not – who attempt to follow their individuality but meet obstacles in the form of traditions and social norms. Kinck's novellas also deal with characters in search of fulfilment. Their inability to achieve this is however not determined by rigid social norms, but the fact that the premises of their plans to achieve their goals in life were flawed in the first place. These characters' life plans are based on the illusion that Italy can work its magic and change them or solve all their problems. In reality not only is Italy, a real country, unable to do this; the journey to Italy does not yield any form of intercultural interaction between the Nordic and the Italian sphere.

While Bruce Ziff and Pratima V. Rao point out that the process of cultural appropriation implies a division between insiders and outsiders, Jonathan Hart stresses the importance of focusing not on cultural boundaries but on cultural hybridity and mediation (Ziff and Rao 1997: 3; Hart 1997: 157). According to Hart, cultural appropriation

creates connections between the local and global which cause cultures to change 'over time' and not simply as the result of 'a static transaction between two sides' (Hart 1997: 157). Lagerlöf's legends represent the idea of cultural appropriation as a form of cultural hybridity. The local legends of Venice and Santa Caterina are the starting point for a universal message that goes beyond the representation of Italy. In 'Fiskarringen' and 'Santa Caterina av Siena' Lagerlöf seems to create with her legends a strong connection between local hagiographic stories and specific Italian places. Yet, Italy as a geographic reality remains only a background for the stories and not an Other, a term of comparison for a foreign Self. The Italian cultural traditions are overwhelmed by a broader cultural heritage: the legends are bearers of values that go beyond the Italian legacy. As Edström rightly points out, they are a means to convey a message to anyone, 'ett medel att nå många människor' (a way to reach many people) (Edström 1991: 94). Cecco is an expression of an unconditioned love for his hometown, his roots, his 'venezietá', a love that is greater than that for his family and his own life. Similarly, the figure of Caterina Benincasa represents the significance of human solidarity, as she tries to bring help and comfort to anyone that needs material or moral support.

Kinck's novellas are, on the contrary, built on the tension between Foreign-ness and Italian-ness, between outsiders and insiders. In his *Italien og vi*, written as a reaction after World War I and against the rise of fascism in Italy, Kinck argues in favour of the harmony among countries and cultures, something that in his opinion can be easily achieved:

Menneskene staar hverandre ikke saa fjernt som man tror. Og folkeslagene heller ikke. De er fra fødselen av brødre midt i sine ulikheter ... For er der ulikheter, har de dem for at komplettere hverandre ... Man skal bare forstaa hverandre. (Kinck 1925: 65-66)¹⁶

(Human beings are not as distant as one thinks. And peoples are not so distant either. With their differences they are brothers from birth ... Because they have differences in order

to complement each other ... It is only necessary to understand one another.)

However, this encouraging and inspirational message does not seem to be driving the stories in *Trækfugle og andre*, published more than twenty years earlier. The novellas do not emphasise harmony but conflict: understanding between two cultures is not necessarily a simple task, especially when communication is difficult. The Norwegian travellers, the migratory birds, protagonists of the first five stories, are never seen engaging with Italians but only with fellow Scandinavians. They observe and comment on the Italian surroundings, but do not try to alter them and leave no trace after their departure; they are spectators and not intruders. Their comments are often stereotyped and simple, but at the same time fundamentally harmless.

The real 'danger' comes from the foreign 'innovator' in the story 'Fête champêtre' as he starts interfering in Italian norms, traditions and everyday life. The rich American wants to settle in Italy and try to carry out his utopia in his Abruzzo castle, knowing nothing about the locals. He intends to destroy the wall that separates him and his land from his workers (Kinck 1971: 104). However, his project is doomed to fail. His Italian subordinates turn against him, 'den fremmede' (the foreigner), because they interpret his plan as a destabilising and chaotic intrusion (Kinck 1971: 105). While appropriating Italy and its travelling tradition as topics for his novellas, Kinck represents through the stories in his collections the results of failed attempts at cultural appropriation, made impossible by the unwillingness or inability to understand the cultural Other.

Conclusion

When analysing the appropriation of Italy in Shakespeare's works, Michele Marrapodi suggests the new concept of the 'Italian factor', arguing that that in early modern English drama 'the exploitation of Italian culture is deeply rooted in the process of ideological transformation, involving questions of political negotiations, antagonism and opposition' (Marrapodi 2016: 5). While the time and

cultural context on which Marrapodi focuses on is very different from that examined in this article, the mechanisms of appropriation to which he is referring are, in fact, rather similar. Marrapodi encourages scholars working on representations of Italy to move away from what he calls 'the old historical approach of a borrowed source' (note that the emphasis here is my own) and consider Italy as a 'multifaceted presence' resulting from the encounter with English culture. Like in Shakespeare's dramas, in Lagerlöf's legends and Kinck's novellas, Italy in all its forms is used to introduce new topics, interpretations and models. In other words, in this article I have examined the 'Italian factor' in Lagerlöf's 'Fiskarringen' and 'Santa Caterina av Siena' and Kinck's *Trækfugle og andre*, tracing the artistic aspects that make up Italy in these stories and considering their roles and implications.

For both Lagerlöf and Kinck Italy is not only a country but a literary tradition. Their short stories are an attempt to put older tradition in dialogue with new literary forms. While drawing inspiration from legends – in written or iconographical form – and fourteenth-century novellas, they play an active role in shaping the modern short story genre dealing with contemporary social issues and tending towards social and psychological observation.

Of the two sets of texts, *Trækfugle og andre* is the most closely linked to the traditional dichotomy between North and South, according to which the dark and cold North is juxtaposed to the warm South, the cradle of Western civilisation. Kinck's migratory birds fly to Italy in search of this Romantic myth. However, while the North from which they come is still dark and cold, the South they reach is only ostensibly lighter and conceals a gloomier reality. As the literary critic Edvard Beyer points out, Italy 'lokker, fengsler og skremmer' (attracts, imprisons and scares) the Norwegian characters in *Trækfugle og andre*. They are attracted by the excitement of the 'unfamiliar' and at the same time they long for the 'safe' and 'familiar', no matter how unsatisfactory this might be. Foreign outsiders are spectators and observe or adapt to the Italian way of life. Yet, while in Italy, these migratory birds cannot become Italian insiders or even escape their internal struggles (Beyer 1956: 199-200).

Like any other country, Italy is no dream land that makes problems

disappear. This same message is at the centre of Lagerlöf's legends. Although these texts find their starting point in hagiographical material, it becomes clear that their focus is not on miracles or infernal tempests but on ordinary human feelings and struggles. The Italian characters in Lagerlöf's legends have to find the strength to face their sorrows in themselves, their faith or love for their hometown: Cecco, Nicola Tungo, Caterina Benincasa are not immune from grief and injustices. They all attempt to challenge the *status quo* shaped by traditions, political biases and gender roles and, though they are not all successful in achieving their ultimate goal, they plant the seed of change. The Italian stories about San Marco and Santa Caterina become 'new' legends of grief, love and solidarity, only drawing on hagiographical and historical sources.

With their modern short stories rooted in older traditions and contemporary trends, Lagerlöf and Kinck become mobilizers of Italian culture, ensuring that this central *topos* of the North/South discourse can continue to be 'moved, disguised, translated, transformed, adapted, and reimagined in the ceaseless, resourceful work of culture' (Greenblatt 2010: 4).

Endnotes

¹ Note that, as Buzard points out, the return journey would normally follow a different route, passing through Austria, Germany and Amsterdam.

² Please note that in this article I use the term 'short story' in its broadest possible meaning of 'short fiction', highlighting what a number of scholars refer to as the versatile and interdisciplinary character of this text type (Lohafer 1984; Winther 2004; Killick 2008).

³ The novel, which centres on the unhappy love story between the half-Italian and half-English artist and performer Corinne and the young Scottish aristocrat Lord Oswald Nelvil, became a sort of guide book: while she guides Oswald across Italy, Corinne provides the reader with a range of practical and cultural information on the country as well as a portrayal of 'the woman artist's feelings, ambitions and sufferings' (Leighton 2003: 222). *Corinne* became particularly popular, not the least in the Nordic countries. It was published in Sweden in 1808-1809. Married to the Swedish ambassador to France, Madame de Ståel herself spent a few months in Stockholm where she engaged with the local literary circles (Carbone 2016: 281-282). It is also worth mentioning that *Corinne* features in Lagerlöf's *Gösta Berlings saga* (Smedberg Bondesson 2018: 17).

⁴ For a more detailed analysis of Lagerlöf's *Antikrists mirakler* see Carbone 2016: 312-325 and Carbone and Sjögren 2014: 207-221.

⁵ Please note that, unless otherwise stated, all translations into English are my own.

⁶ Wilkie 2015. See also Urry 2007; Elliott and Urry 2010; Greenblatt 2010.

⁷ See for instance Kleberg 1944: 86-115 and Øksnevad 1946: 32-46.

⁸ See also Eriksen 1997.

⁹ See Giordano 2001: 252-253. According to the legend, the night of 25 February 1341 (or 1340 according to other sources), a fisherman, called Cecco by Lagerlöf, sailed with San Marco, San Giorgio and San Nicola to the open sea. Here the saints exorcised a vessel full of demons that were trying to destroy Venice with a storm. Afterwards, San Marco asked the fisherman to bring a ring to the Doge as proof of the performed miracle. The two above-mentioned paintings were part of a series kept in the Scuola Grande di San Marco in Venice and constituted a narrative cycle together with another five paintings. Note that when Lagerlöf saw them they had already been transferred to the Gallerie dell'Accademia, where they are still kept today. See Humfrey 1987: 41-46.

¹⁰ The legend says that in the ninth century two merchants hid the remains of San Marco under pork meat in order to safely carry them to Venice from Islamic Alexandria.

¹¹ Note that from Lagerlöf's letters it is possible to confirm that she had visited Siena herself towards the end of April. See Lagerlöf 1998: 121.

¹² See also Pollock 2003: 96.

¹³ For the concept of *hybris* in Lagerlöf's legends see Ek 1951: 206.

¹⁴ Beyer points out the contrast between the chrysanthemum – a Nordic flower – and the almond flower – a symbol of Italy – as it emerges in Kinck's 'Chrysanthemum'. See Beyer 1975: 200.

¹⁵ Note here that the word used in Norwegian is 'forening' (society), which is the same used in the name of the above-mentioned *Skandinavisk Forening for Kunstnere og Vitenskapsmenn*.

¹⁶ About Kinck's reaction to World War I and the post-war political developments see Beyer 1975: 222-223.

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