
Translation, rewriting

and the domestication of lesbianism in Finland

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Translation is a type of text that exists in a limbo between the so called original work and the receptor culture of the translation. A translation cannot be fully identical with the original work which has inevitably been modified by the tones, registers and signifying systems peculiar to the target language, and frequently it has also undergone other manipulations in order to fit into the new cultural context.¹ In this sense translations “perform a work of domestication” (Venuti 1998 p. 5). But neither is a translation fully divested of its foreignness, its extraneous character. Translations seldom reach the same degree of naturalization as indigenous texts, which we invest with a self-legitimizing authority to substantiate the culture they were authored in. Although they are derivative texts with a second-hand identity, translations nonetheless constitute a significant cultural institution shaping our conceptual world, and provide a particularly revealing perspective on domestic cultural predispositions. Furthermore, they direct our attention to the wider question of mediated repetition, or *rewriting*, in the discursive formation and reproduction of lesbianism.

If female homosexuality did not arouse cultural anxieties in the Finnish agrarian society, as Jan Löfström has argued, and if its representations before the 1960s really were as infrequent in Finnish everyday discourse and literature as recent studies indicate, it is all the more reason to pay closer attention to translations and other rewritings of foreign origin.² Considering that the number of translations – especially in the field of fiction – have traditionally amounted to a large percentage of literature published in Finnish language, it seems reasonable to assume that the idioms, rhetoric, characterization and narrative conventions of female homoeroticism conveyed through translation have played not a small role in shaping the cultural intelligibility of lesbianism in Finland.³ The grim fact of there being major gaps in the translation of works of fiction and non-fiction that are now considered formative to modern lesbian conceptualization does not invalidate a translational inquiry into culturally specific Finnish lesbian genealogy. Such gaps were probably not inconsequential in enabling and disabling particular readings around love and desire between women. In the Finnish case, the effects of rewriting practices should be considered constitutive to the conditions of intelligibility of lesbianism.

Lesbian indeterminacy and Sapphic intertextuality

To illustrate the issues involved, I begin with an excursion into Laura Doan's recent study on British lesbian history, *Fashioning sapphism: The origins of a modern English lesbian culture* (Doan 2001 pp. xix-xx, xxiii). Doan reassesses the interpretative cultural frames available in 1920s England through close readings in law, sexology, fashion, as well as literary and visual representation whereby she demonstrates the inconsistency of lesbian intelligibility at the time. She shows how unsettled and incoherent the notion of lesbianism and especially the visual image of the lesbian still was around the time of the pivotal obscenity trial on Radclyffe Hall's *The well of loneliness*. Women's boyish or mannish fashion codes that we today tend to take for obvious evidence of lesbian identity did not necessarily imply lesbianism but modernity. It was not until the heavy media coverage of the obscenity trial made Radclyffe Hall a crystallizing visual embodiment of the invert and gave broader circulation to detailed, explicit information on lesbianism that the cultural ambiguity on female homoeroticism began to consolidate into a definite, recognizable signifier. Apart from informing those who had remained "utterly unknowing" of the elite discourses on lesbianism, the wave of publicity also rendered untenable the prevalent strategic dismissal of the disagreeable knowledge whereby one could "know-but-not-know". (Doan 2001 p. xiii)

Doan's approach of bringing into focus cultural indeterminacy and discursive inconsistencies is particularly pertinent to investigating circumstances in Finland where female homosexuality retained a nebulous, impersonal, faceless character till a much later period. The positions of both innocent obliviousness and willing disavowal of such obscure things remained viable reality for the majority of people. But there is one particular point in Doan's proclaimed premises that I want to call into question, and that is her misleading (if strategic) oversimplification of cross-cultural processes in lesbian genealogy. She asserts that one major source of untenable mythology in lesbian historiography has been the attempt to "internationalize" lesbianism, and she presents her own approach as a new direction in lesbian historiography which insists on a "particularized national context and temporality".⁴

Context is of course a crucial analytic criterion in translation studies, whether used in referring to the immediate linguistic context of an utterance, the context of situation, or cultural context, its variables ranging from explicit specifications stipulated in a translating commission to implicit ideological constraints. It would not occur to me to downplay the role of context, neither temporal nor national. But I find Doan's formulation unfortunate in its implication that precluding the consideration of cross-cultural processes from lesbian historiography would yield more particularized analyses. As if imported elements

were not worked into the very national particularities (albeit in their domesticated transformations), and as if such domestication processes were not a most telling barometer of prevailing understandings at any given time. My presumption is that overemphasizing national specificity easily backfires, especially in the case of small and peripheral national cultures like Finland. It can even be argued that it would be perverted to delimit an inquiry into the *origins of modern Finnish lesbian culture* to indigenous issues alone. As far as I can see, the conception of lesbianism in Finland, within both popular and learned discourses, appears to be to a significant degree a cultural import, the product of reading, translating and rewriting of foreign sources.

Admittedly, the possibilities of finding evidence for virginally homemade forms of lesbian understanding in Finnish history are far from being exhausted at this stage. So far research into historical sources has, however, revealed more about female homosexuality as a concern inspired by and patterned after foreign models than as emerging from indigenous contexts and concerns. It might be that the prosecution in the 1950s of a group of women connected with a religious orphanage on the charge of fornication with a member of the same sex was the first indigenous instance to attract wider public attention and thus effectively contribute to a vernacular discourse of non-normative desires between women, in spite of such rhetoric contradicting the defendants' own understandings.⁵ If there were earlier networks of Finnish women drawn together through mutual intimate or romantic involvements they don't seem to have aroused widespread attention or public exposure on account of assumed erotic deviation, or at least the scarcity of public testimonies thereof implies that any spectacularized pronouncements were not readily made. In the case of the abovementioned orphanage, it is an interesting question how the institution's Swiss-German origins figure in the actual bodily practices engaged in and in the ensuing lawsuit. The fact that sexual acts between women were a criminal offence in Finland in the first place was, however, probably inspired by foreign medical and forensic treatises framing such phenomena under titles like *Konträre Sexualempfindung* and *Psychopathia Sexualis* that were put forward by Westphal and Krafft-Ebing in the 1870s and 1880s, at the time when Finland's first criminal code was being drafted.⁶ Neither would I consider coincidental the foreign factor in the earliest short story with a lesbian theme to appear in Finnish language, *Ystävyystä* [Friendship] published in 1903. It was written by a woman who was a translator and an Anglophile, Aino Malmberg, and as Kati Mustola has shown, the narrative rewrites the author's impressions from a holiday in Swedish Jämtland.⁷

If we limit our attention to the more literally textual forms of cultural transfer and domestication, there are plenty of sources where the foreign and the nationally specific reception or interpretation intertwine; not only translations of fiction

and nonfiction as such (including adaptations and covert translation). Also other kinds of literary rewriting, as suggested by the translation theorist André Lefevere: adaptations for stage or screen, literary reviews in newspapers and magazines, critical commentaries in journals, anthologies, literary histories and reference works, and so on (Lefevere 1992). The vast scope of this kind of discursive interweaving easily frustrates any efforts to detach national understandings from understandings that were adopted from elsewhere. If we want to avoid national reductionism in mapping nationally specific histories of lesbian intelligibility we must also account for those multiple patterns of transfer across languages and discursive domains without losing sight of their interstitial status.

Within today's lesbian discourse the most obvious example of the power of rewriting is, of course, Sappho. A household name whose intelligibility and usefulness to us today is an effect of constant rewriting and intertextual cross-breeding. Joan DeJean (1989) delineates this history admirably in her *Fictions of Sappho: From 1546 to 1937*. She rejects all pretension of recovering the truth about the legendary poetess, her true sexuality or poetic intention, and instead takes as her object Sappho as a figment of literary imagination, a fictional creation constructed through scholarly interpretation, translation, and biographical speculation as well plain fictions inspired by a Sapphic discourse that was most extensively pursued in France but which periodically intensified also in Germany and in Britain. DeJean states that it was the very undecidability of knowledge about the fragmented originals and about the poet's life that enabled her wildly divergent transformations in the course of history. As she points out, the revisioning of Sappho and Lesbos in terms of a self-affirmative mythology of same-gender eroticism was one contingent strand of Sapphic rewriting to emerge in the beginning of 20th century. The innovators, Natalie Barney and Renée Vivien – both expatriate English native speakers who wrote mostly in French – were inspired by a current English translation of Sappho's fragments as well as by Pierre Louÿs's semipornographic pseudotranslation *Les Chansons de Bilitis* (1894). This in its turn was an intervention both into the already well-worn decadent lesbian imagery launched by Baudelaire's notorious *Les Fleurs du mal* (1857), and into the scholarly tradition embracing a theory of Sappho's chastity. Thus it appears that Barney's and Vivien's self-styled literary cult of a feminist, homoerotic Sappho with self-elected sterility became conceivable through its productive proximity to translation and cross-discursive, poetic-scholarly-semipornographic rewriting – a product of "strange alliances".⁸

Finnish translations and non-translation

To return to the Finnish scene, *Les chansons de Bilitis* has not been translated into Finnish to this day and neither were any of Natalie Barney's and Renée

Vivien's interventions into Sapphic textual traditions. At least two early advocates of Finnish language, C.A. Gottlund and Erik A. Ingman, tried their hand at translating Sappho already in the 1830s. Although their renderings seem at least partly open to a homoerotic or bisexual reading, both translators impose a heterosexual interpretative frame on Sappho's poetic intentions by giving a prominent place to the legend of her unrequited love for Phaon in introducing the poetess. (In Gottlund's case also by heterosexualizing explanatory footnotes.)⁹ Heikki Solin's introduction to the first collection of Sappho's poetry and the translation of Baudelaire's *De fleurs du mal* [Pahan kukkia], both published in the 1960s, were probably the earliest instances within the Finnish Sapphic discourse to evoke homoerotic perversity in connection to Sappho and Lesbos.¹⁰ At the time when French writers were involved in Sapphic speculations in the latter half of the 19th century, literary translating into Finnish was dominated by a nationalist agenda and the primacy of getting uncontroversial classics translated in order to nourish the emergent vernacular literature and to enrich the language. Considering the late emergence of Finnish-language literature in European comparison, the nationalist ideology underpinning the early translation discourse, the division of the literary system into a Swedish-language and Finnish-language section and the unprofitability of niche marketing within such a small linguistic constituency, it is unsurprising that the literary heritage of 'Lesbiana' is transmitted with gaps and delays.¹¹ Analyzing these gaps and delays is of course no less relevant than analyzing what was transmitted and how this domestication was mediated. But what I consider a particularly thought-provoking corollary of this sporadic mediation of representations with lesbian potential is that the absences seem to be self-replicating. In that sense the patterns of non-translation appear as a kind of inverse rewriting.

Of the several lurid French fictional portrayals of passing or cross-dressing women, tribadic practices and bisexual appetites appearing before the 20th century only Maupassant's short story 'La Femme de Paul' (1881) ['Paulin rakastettu', 1928] and Émile Zola's *Nana* (1880) [Nana I-II, 1930] were translated into Finnish by the end of the 20th century. (As Kati Mustola has pointed out, the lesbian content in *Nana* was almost completely eliminated from a 1950s reprint.)¹² Louÿs's later historical novel *Aphrodite, mœurs antiques* (1896) [Afrodite, lemmenromaani antikin päiviltä, 1918] was rendered into Finnish but here love between women appears more fleetingly under the guise of chastity and a loathing for the orgiastic heterosexual practices of those ancient times the novel depicts. Compared to the explicit lesbian section in *Bilitis*, same-sex affection in *Afrodite* is inconspicuous because it can easily be read as platonic.

The earliest book of the medicalizing tradition focused on sexual deviations

which appeared in Finnish language was the 1954 translation of *Sexual abnormalities and perversions* (1944) [Epänormaali sukupuolielämä], a 'revised' digest of Hirschfeld's works issued posthumously by "his disciples".¹³ A ten-page chapter was devoted to female homosexuality. Such a belated publication indicates that during the first half of the century first-hand knowledge of the founding medical texts by Krafft-Ebing, Ellis, and Hirschfeld was evidently limited to a specialist readership. Nevertheless, same-sex women, female homosexuality, lesbianism, sapphism, and tribadism were briefly introduced among other forms of sexual anomaly in several books and articles published before the WWII on sexual medicine and hygiene, forensic medicine, or sexual morals.¹⁴ Their intended audience varied from the professional specialist to the common people. During the 1940s and 1950s, guidebooks on marriage, sexuality and sexual morality as well as popularized texts on nervous disorders that were targeted at a general readership also frequently devoted an odd paragraph or even a chapter to homosexuality, although short shrift was often given to lesbianism in comparison to male homosexuality. Translations figured prominently in both the prewar and postwar scientific and instructional literature. In the wake of the 1960s sexual liberation mainstream publishers brought out the first paperback titles on variant sexuality, Lars Ullerstam's *De erotiska minoriteterna* [Sukupuoliset vähemmistöt, 1968] which stands up to demand civil rights for homosexual people who are understood as male, and Anthony Storr's *Sexual deviations* [Seksuaalinen poikkeavuus, 1969] which discusses male and female homosexuality in parallel chapters, but is steeped in psychoanalytic trajectories.

It appears then than knowledge of female homosexuality was not as totally absent even in the prewar years as could be inferred from the non-translation of the early, formative texts. Considering the brevity and infrequency of references to the issue this information could hardly make such impact or arouse same curiosity as the authoritative sexological tomes. Apart from this obvious divergence in amplitude, the translated nonfiction texts tend to diminish the lesbian's cultural appeal. They stop short of mentioning portrayals of female homoeroticism in the history of literature or making anecdotal references to famous historical women linked to tribadic practices. Such incorporation of cultural evidence of lesbianism into a scientific or pseudoscientific approach can, however, be found already in Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1886) and the tradition has continued in various studies ranging from Hirschfeld's *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes* (1923-24) and Franz Scott's *Das Lesbische Weib* (1932/1933) to Simone de Beauvoir's *Le deuxième sexe* (1949) and to Frank Caprio's *Female homosexuality* (1954). It is not uncommon to find in the more extensive scholarly studies references to classical authors, portrayals

in visual art, pornographic or libertine writing, gossips about historical persons, and to pertinent representations in modern literary history, drama or, later, movies. The Finnish translations are devoid of such cross-fertilization between different discursive domains and, consequently, they do little to enable reading female homoeroticism as anything else than an aberration observable on an individual plane, without recorded historical precedence, archetypal representatives, or cultural significance.¹⁵ References to culture are as a rule limited to a short mention of Sappho in connection to the etymology of 'lesbian' or 'sapphism'. The Finnish translator of August Forel's *Die sexuelle Frage* [Sukupuolikysymys, 1911] for instance supplements after these terms an explanatory footnote: "After the Lesbian poetess Saffo who lived in ancient times and was suspected of homosexuality".¹⁶ Lesbian existence is in effect more strictly confined to a clinical vacuum.

This tendency is amplified by a corresponding continued indifference toward works of foreign fiction where lesbianism is conspicuous. It is, of course, mostly impossible to pinpoint lesbian content as the main cause among many reasons why a work fails to find its way to publishers' translation lists, and the more obscure texts may simply have been unknown to those in the literary system. Evidently, lesbian portrayals are often to be found in texts that also otherwise had little translational appeal in Finland, for example in texts considered marginal within the author's oeuvre, in narratives permeated by culturally specific elements, or in genres undervalued in the domestic literary climate.¹⁷ If we count among the most likely texts to be translated those written by well-known or acknowledged authors, those that were publication successes, and those already translated into Nordic languages – which has been one factor guiding publishing decisions in Finland – there still remain baffling gaps. It is notable that *The well of loneliness* remained untranslated despite its publicity, and the fact that it was quickly rendered into Danish (1929, reprinted 1937, 1943, 1964), in four years also into Swedish (1932, reprinted in 1950) and later even into Norwegian (1949). A Swedish-language publisher in Helsinki, Schildt, had also issued the Swedish translation of Radclyffe Hall's earlier novel *Adam's breed* in 1928, the year *The well of loneliness* came out. Whether the *Well* was even considered for a Finnish translation is not known, but had it been so, such plans could have been short-circuited by the economic recession at the turn of the decade and Finland's ratification of the 1928 copyright treaty of the Berne convention which prohibited unauthorised translation, thereby increasing translating costs.¹⁸

Willy & Colette's popular Claudine series with spicy lesbian scenes did also appear in Danish (in the 1940s) and in Swedish (in the 1960s). In Germany Anna Elisabet Weirauch was an extremely productive popular author whose coming-out novel *Der Skorpion* from 1919 ran into several reprints and was

subsequently expanded into a trilogy. One of Weirauch's several heterosexual romances was published in Finnish translation in 1931, the same year the third volume of *Der Skorpion* came out. Some of the American pulp fiction titles of the 1950s and 1960s could also have had potential for translation, especially since it was popular fiction from the United States that boasted the greatest growth rates among translated titles after the war. (Jalonen 1985 pp. 152-154) In the USA, Tereska Torrès's *Women's barracks* (1950) ran into thirteen reprints by 1964 and sold over three million copies, aided by a congressional investigation on its decency. (Stryker 2001 p. 51) *The dangerous games* (1959) by the same author was immediately rendered into both Danish (1959) and Swedish (1959). *Spring fire*, written under the pseudonym of Vin Packer was another huge lesbian pulp success from early 1950s, although only *We, too, must love* (1958), written by the same author (Marijane Meaker) under a different pseudonym, Ann Aldrich, was published also in Danish in 1965. Of the lesbian pulp genre as a whole only an occasional detective story or a trashy soft-core pulp title with a lesbian subplot was published in Finnish, whereas the more psychological narratives on lesbianism were completely ignored. The same authors (or pseudonyms) that also produced lesbian pulp novels could, instead, be well-known to Finnish readers through several translations falling within the detective and adventure genres.¹⁹

Before the end of the golden age of lesbian pulps in USA in mid sixties, erotic themes and explicit sex talk were booming in Finnish translations, and by the same token the number of lesbian representations multiplied. Most of these were minor lesbian side-shows in the grand narrative of heterosexual libido's emancipation, only seldom could lesbianism claim center stage as in D.H. Lawrence's *The fox* (1922) [Kettu, 1959], Graham Greene's short story 'Chagrín in three parts' (1967) [Kaiho kolmessa näytöksessä, 1968], Violette Leduc's *Thérèse et Isabelle* (1966) [Therese ja Isabelle, 1968], and, most notably, Annakarin Svedberg's *Din egen* (1966) [Sinun, 1968]. Among those delayed translations catching up on risqué, sensational works from the past like Henry Miller's *The tropic of cancer* (1933) [Kravun kääntöpiiri, 1962] and John Cleland's *Memoirs of a woman of pleasure* (1749) [Fanny Hill, 1965] can neither be found any landmarks of lesbian literature. In translated literature published in the sixties, lesbian love - and especially lesbian sex - typically emerges as common knowledge to the stories' heterosexual or bisexual characters, a fact of life that modern people are aware of and articulate about despite its mostly unsavory or pathetic character. Lesbian shock value and narratives of lesbian panic were being superseded by a more up-to-date rhetoric of sexually enlightened knowingness, which nevertheless continued to be firmly planted in heteronormative ideology.

Such worldly-wise mentality certainly did not reflect the dominant attitude towards lesbianism in Finland at the time, but we can also question how enlightened were the intelligibilities offered in the 1960s translations. At this time when a public lesbian cultural sensibility made its final breakthrough also through other media, the two prominent modes of representation were the sexually trivializing minor incident and the exclusively clinical readings of sexual deviancy. The Finnish literary scene continued to be indifferent toward both the earlier narratives and the spectacularized wayward lesbianism cultivated in the American pulp genre. Similarly, pro-lesbian works based on a lesbian identity were limited to Svedberg's *Din egen* [Sinun]. In short, by this point the Finnish-language readers were most likely out of step not only with modern lesbian classics and coming-out stories but also with the multiple threads of a variant literary tradition since Sappho. The fictions of the lesbian and pre-lesbian still linger at such a 'fragmented' stage, and I believe that this effective history of non-translation and selectively mediated domestication continues to inform the Finnish perspective on lesbianism and culture in general. At least it seems that even today little elbowroom is left to the cultural and aesthetic functions of lesbianism within our horizons of expectation. It seems only natural in the Finnish context that works like Jeanette Winterson's *Oranges are not the only fruit* (1987) do not provide enough incentive to a Finnish translation, or that an abridged version of Beauvoire's *Le deuxième sexe* [Toinen sukupuoli, 1st trl.1980] excluding the lesbian chapter was still worth reprinting in 1999. To take an extreme example of a contrary development in lesbian cultural intelligibility, it was not too bizarre in the USA for a mainstream publisher to gather together different international strands of lesbian, pre-lesbian and variant representations from Sappho on into an anthology titled *Lesbian love in literature*, with a blurb promising "superb stories and selections from distinguished novels that present many variations of the theme of Lesbian love". This reclaiming of lesbian past by a mainstream business enterprise was possible already in 1962.²⁰

Retracing a few general trends in Finnish translating, as I have done above, can only give a limited picture of the effects of rewriting and needs to be supplemented by a closer look at the processes involved on the level of language, texts as well as literary institutions and the cultural field more generally. But it is one way to focus on the constructedness of terms of intelligibility on variant eroticism and affections. Through their domesticating function, translations and other rewritings reconstitute their originals by negotiating anew their source texts' meaning and value in the shifting web of currently topical discourses, and thereby enable their 'sur-vival', or *Nachleben* to borrow Walter Benjamin's organic terminology (Davis 2001 pp. 40-41). Analogically we can follow up the

translatedness of same-sex erotic meanings as a socio-cultural semiotic as it moves across national and linguistic boundaries. And I do not mean translatedness as a mystified, romantic idea of a transgressive universal lesbianism with a synchronized past that possibly haunts Laura Doan, or any metaphorical nationless state of otherness, but as a discursively constrained and enabling textual production and recycling which refashion their originals as they go along.

Notes

- ¹ 'Manipulation' became a prominent concept in translation studies following the publication of a collection of essays called *The manipulation of literature: Studies in literary translation* in 1985. In its introduction the editor Theo Hermans states provocatively that "all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose". (Quoted in Hermans, 1999 p. 9) The notion of manipulation marked a shift of focus away from formalistic models and towards culturally oriented translation theories.
- ² Löfström 1998, 1999; Mustola 1996; Juvonen 2002 pp. 283-284; also in Juvonen: "From two-ways people to Swedish love: The reconstruction of the normal/deviant distinction in Finland after the WWII", a paper presented at *The future of the queer past: A transnational history conference*, University of Chicago, 2000.
- ³ During 1840-1910 the annual number of translations of fiction exceeded the number of titles written originally in Finnish. In the late 1920s the combined effect of the 1928 Berne convention's provisions on translation, the economic recession and an increase in attitudes hostile to foreign influence drop the proportion of translated fiction to one third of all titles, a trend that continues through the war years. Since the mid-1950s translations have as a rule accounted for more than half of all Finnish-language works of fiction published yearly in Finland (Kovala 1992 p. 29; Jalonen, 1985 pp. 66-67; Paloposki 2000 pp. 23-24).
- ⁴ Ibid. Pp. xix-xxii. Doan's criticism against transnational generalizations does not altogether deny the effect of influences from abroad, and in chapter 5 Doan includes also foreign treatises in her discussion on how English authors negotiated sexological models. Yet, it is her provocative argumentation for a nationally specific approach that puts emphasis on the unreliability of reading history across national borders. Doan takes Bertha Harris's vignette from 1973 which ruminates on the cosmopolitan lesbian highlife in 1920s Paris as an example of the "internationalising" tendencies which shows that she is hard put to persuade her readers of the misreadings involved in such an approach.
- ⁵ Sorainen 1996, 1998, 2003.
- ⁶ Löfström has shown that the revised gender-neutral formulation of the 1889 Criminal Code ("fornication between members of the same sex") may well have been informed by current medical discourse and even by Strindbergian homophobic fiction. That this revised formulation was accepted without much ado attests in Löfström's view to the weakness of those bourgeois discourses where male and female sexual subjectivity was envisioned as strongly polarized, and which rendered the criminalization of same-sex acts between women unfeasible in most other European countries. The end result was thus a mixture of prompt adoption of foreign innovations and tardy preindustrial socio-cultural notions of gender and sexuality (1998, 1999 pp. 203-205)

- ⁷ Kati Mustola "The emergence of the concept 'lesbian' in Finland at the turn of the 19th to the 20th Century", a paper presented at the conference *Rhetoric and Conceptual Change*, Tampere, 2001.
- ⁸ DeJean 1989 pp. 277-285. Venuti discusses Louÿs's pseudotranslation as a subversion of literary authority and classical scholarship within a masculinist and heterosexual matrix, and recounts shortly how Barney and Vivien subsequently disrupt his lesbian reading through the construction of the lesbian author (1998 pp. 34-46). The English translation *The songs of Bilitis* (1926), later provided the covert allusion to lesbianism in the name of the first homosexual women's organisation in the US in the mid 1950s, 'Daughters of Bilitis'.
- ⁹ Gottlund 1932 pp. 162-180; Ingman 1934 pp. v-vi & 41-42.
- ¹⁰ Junkola flatly denies there being any references to "unnatural love" in Sappho's poetry or historical evidence of "tribadism" among Sappho's circle (1966 pp. 16-17).
- ¹¹ The term 'Lesbiana' is adopted from the pioneering lesbian literary critic Barbara Grier.
- ¹² Mustola 1996. Most famous – or notorious – of these untranslated texts are probably Pierre de Bourdeilles de Brantôme (*Les vies des dames galantes*, 1665), Denis Diderot (*Le Religieuse*, 1796), de Musset (*Gamiani*, attributed to Musset, 1833), Théophile Gautier (*Mademoiselle de Maupin*, 1835), Honoré de Balzac ("La Fille aux yeux d'or", 1835/ trl. "Kultasilmäinen tyttö", 2002), Adolphe Belot (*Mademoiselle Giraud, ma femme*, 1870), and Verlaine (*Les Amies, scènes d'amour saphique*, 1867). A discussion of several more obscure texts from the late 19th century can be found in Waelti-Walters (2000).
- ¹³ The Finnish translation gives as its source the Swedish "authoritative" translation of *Sexual Anomalies and perversions* [Det abnorma könslivet, 1952], but, curiously, both the Swedish and Finnish versions mention by name neither the editor(s) nor translator(s). The British source text is edited by Norman Haire.
- ¹⁴ Interesting descriptions on lesbianism can be found at least in Anton Nyström's *Sukupuolielämä ja sen lait* (1905), August Forel's *Sukupuolikysymys* (1911) – exceptional in that the translation was published by a workers' newspaper to enlighten the common people although the original work refers to "educated readers" as its intended audience, Anna Fischer-Dückelmann's *Naisen siitino* (1915); Akseli Nikula's "Homoseksuaaliteetti ja sen oikeudellinen arvosteleminen" (1919), Clement Wood's *Nykyajan sukupuolimoraali* (1930), and Eduard Spranger's *Nuoruusiän sielunelämä* (1932). More typically though, homosexuality is portrayed explicitly or implicitly as a problem concerning the male sex only.
- ¹⁵ Kinsey's *Naisten sukupuolinen käyttäytyminen* [Sexual behavior of the human female] is a curious exception in this respect because despite its extremely exact scientific approach it does engage with religious, anthropological and legal history in relation to female homosexuality, and in one footnote provides a list of classical sources on female homosexuality (1954 p. 502).
- ¹⁶ Forel 1911 p. 232, transl. VH.
- ¹⁷ For example, Kovala showed in his study on the mediation of Anglo-American literature into Finland before the WWII that the readers and mediators favoured romantic narratives and "serious, pure-spirited, and relatively easily comprehensible" books, whereas stories dealing with social problems and literary experimentation had a limited acceptance (1992 p. 180).
- ¹⁸ See note 3.
- ¹⁹ Bibliographic data on the originals is drawn from Damon & Stuart 1967 and Grier 1981 and on the translations from the Fennica database comprising the national bibliography of Finland.

²⁰ Fox 1962. The anthology was also published in Britain by Digit Books in 1964.

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