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# Ibsen, Lagerlöf, Sjöström and *Terje Vigen*: (Inter)nationalism, (Inter)subjectivity and the Interface between Swedish Silent Cinema and Scandinavian Literature

Bjarne Thorup Thomsen

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## Connecting low and high cultures

When, in 1909, Swedish novelist and soon-to-be Nobel Prize winner Selma Lagerlöf (1858–1940) was approached by a teacher in Malmö, F. Hallgren, with a proposal to film her recent and highly acclaimed adventure novel, national travelogue and textbook for Swedish schools *Nils Holgerssons underbara resa genom Sverige* (*Nils Holgersson's Wonderful Journey Through Sweden*, 1906–07), the author's reaction typified the schism between the high culture of literature and the low culture of cinema that obtained at the time. In a letter to Alfred Dalin, editor of the ambitious textbook series of which *Nils Holgersson* formed the first volume, Lagerlöf expressed her reservation about the proposed project and conveyed a general scepticism towards the new medium: 'Han [Hallgren] förefaller ju så entusiastisk för sin plan att göra biografen gagnelig i stället för skadlig, men jag tycker att detta inte kan genomföras' (Sahlberg 1960:191) ('He [Hallgren] does appear to be very enthusiastic about his plan to make the cinema useful rather than harmful, but I do not believe this can be achieved'). In his reply Dalin was distinctly dismissive of the 'mechanical images' which he identified as the enemy of imagination: 'De mekaniska bilderna av olika slag befördra icke barnfantasins sunda växt, utan hindra och förslöa den, helst om de i större antal ställas inför barnens ögon' (Sahlberg 1960:191) ('The mechanical pictures of various kinds do not promote the healthy growth of a child's imagination: indeed, they rather hinder and discourage it – particularly if the child is exposed to them in large numbers'<sup>2</sup>). However, only twelve years later, in February 1921, Lagerlöf's appreciation of the cultural potency and

prestige of cinema had developed dramatically when she wrote to congratulate director Victor Sjöström on the artistic success of his adaptation of her 1912 novel *Körkarlen* (*The Phantom Carriage*), acknowledging that Sjöström's work not only paved the way for Swedish film abroad but could be instrumental in the international dissemination of her books:

Nu är nog den filmen lyckligt i hamn, och det utmärkta arbete, som Ni har nedlagt på filmen både som filmförfattare, regissör och aktör blir denna gång till fullo uppskattat ... Nu tycks det emellertid, som om Ni skulle ha brutit väg inte bara för svensk film, utan också för mina böcker ... Jag tänker, att det roar Er att höra, att filmer också hjälpa fram böckerna. (Sahlberg 1960:199; Forslund 1980:137)<sup>3</sup>

(Now this film has safely reached port, and this time the excellent work you put into it as author, director and actor will be fully appreciated ... And it does seem as if you have not only paved the way for Swedish films but also for my books ... I think you'll be amused to hear that films can also boost books.)<sup>4</sup>

The u-turn in the evaluation of cinema that Lagerlöf's letters communicate reads as a reflection of the artistic and commercial rise of Swedish silent film that is traditionally termed its Golden Age. This is normally periodised as inaugurated by Sjöström's adaptation of Henrik Ibsen's 'Terje Vigen' in 1917, reaching its high-water mark, in terms of thematic, stylistic and technical complexity, with *Körkarlen/The Phantom Carriage* (1921), and concluding in 1924 with *The Atonement of Gösta Berling*, Mauritz Stiller's adaptation of Lagerlöf's breakthrough novel *Gösta Berlings saga* (published 1891). In 1925, Stiller followed the example Sjöström had set two years before by electing to continue his directorial career in Hollywood, the two leading directors thus moving away from the national cinema they had helped set in motion.

While the work of Selma Lagerlöf<sup>5</sup> and Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906) made essential contributions to the development of Golden Age cinema by supplying plots, thematic concerns and cultural prestige to landmark films, the two national icons were by no means the only prominent Scandinavian writers embraced by the industry. In his comprehensive study *Den nationella stilens Studier i den svenska filmens guldålder* Bo Florin stresses the significance of a wider alliance between Golden Age cinema and canonical Nordic writers, Nobel Prize winners in particular: works by Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson (Nobel Prize 1903), Knut Hamsun (Nobel Prize 1920), Henrik Pontoppidan, Karl Gjellerup (shared Nobel Prize 1917), August Strindberg and Hjalmar Bergman were all transferred to the screen between 1917 and 1924 (Florin 1997:186f). In Florin's analysis this alliance between literature and film is of a dialogic or reciprocal nature and is characterised by both continuities and discontinuities. Florin notes that as many as eight of the

literary sources of the Golden Age films were reprinted in editions illustrated with film images (Florin 1997:188f), instances in other words of the imitated art form copying its imitator and, like Lagerlöf's letters, indicative of a shift in the relative cultural 'strength' of the two media. Following Henry Bacon, Florin proposes to view Golden Age adaptation of literature as a process of *re-telling* that serves to retain and disseminate a cultural heritage while also reexamining and reinterpreting this (Florin 1997:187).

In accordance with the tenets of this argument I aim to offer in the following some reflections on both the faithfulness and flexibility with which the film that is credited with marking the beginning of the Golden Age relates to its textual precursor. While there is a tradition in film scholarship for emphasising the agreement between film and text versions of *Terje Vigen* and the indisputable accuracy and care with which Sjöström adapts Ibsen's epic poem,<sup>6</sup> the dialogues the film enters into with its own medium and with the ideological issues of its own day should not be overlooked. Thus, it may be proposed that Sjöström's *Terje Vigen* bridges the gap between the cinema of attractions that went before it and the art cinema it contributed to institutionalising by intensifying the role of spectacle and suspense in the storyline without, however, losing sight of the illumination of international and interpersonal conflict and reconciliation that lies at the heart of Ibsen's poem. It will likewise be argued that the film foregrounds the role of seeing – particularly appropriate in the age of silent cinema – and the representation of audience. Finally, it will be suggested that the film adaptation, while thorough in its treatment of the theme of violation of national sovereignty, realises some subtle shifts from a Norwegian to a pan-Scandinavian focus.

### **Appeal and adaptability**

In his recent study of Henrik Ibsen's life and work, *Ibsen. Kunstnerens vei*, Bjørn Hemmer stresses the connections between Ibsen's early epic poetry and his subsequent dramatic work. In his two major poems from around 1860, 'Paa Vidderne' ('On the Moors', 1860) and 'Terje Vigen' (1862), Ibsen succeeds in dramatising human development through stages of crisis, choice and clarification and achieves, by means of intricate scenic interrelationships connecting past and present, the cohesion, firm structure and 'logical' development that were to become hallmarks of his main plays (of which both *Brand* (1866) and *Peer Gynt* (1867) were in verse and characterised by Ibsen as dramatic poems) (Hemmer 2003:44ff). The compositional and scenic qualities Hemmer identifies would have contributed to the appeal of 'Terje Vigen' to silent cinema as the new medium sought to approach issues connected with subjectivity, society, nature and nation in structured and subtle

ways and develop complex methods to represent time, place and mind. Bengt Forslund (1980:83f, 1988:55) documents in his seminal study of Victor Sjöström's life and work how, as early as 1913, the main Swedish film production and distribution company Svenska Biografteatern had shown an awareness of the cinematic potential of Ibsen's work by signing a contract with the author's son, the then Norwegian prime minister Sigurd Ibsen, for the rights to film three of Ibsen's earliest, historical plays – *Fru Inger til Østeraad* (*Lady Inger of Østeraad*, 1854), *Gildet paa Solhoug* (*The Feast at Solhoug*, 1856) and *Hærmaendene paa Helgeland* (*The Vikings at Helgeland*, 1858) – plus *Peer Gynt*. Interestingly, however, in December 1915 the four stipulated plays were replaced, in an amendment to the original contract, by *Brand* and 'Terje Vigen' whose attractiveness to the film industry was thus underscored.<sup>7</sup>

In addition to its careful composition, 'Terje Vigen' provided silent cinema with an adaptable thematics. While 'Terje Vigen' is centred on events caused by the British naval blockade of Norway during the Napoleonic Wars, its treatment of war, international relations and (lack of) self-determination – both for the protagonist and his nation – acquired renewed topicality in subsequent periods: first in connection with Norway's late-nineteenth-century struggle for independence, resulting in the dissolution of the Swedish-Norwegian union in 1905, around which time the poem experienced a surge in popularity, and then in the context of World War I during which the film version was produced and premiered. Adapting 'Terje Vigen' in the silent film era thus offered the possibility of combining the weightiness of a cultural and historical heritage with resonances of more contemporary conflicts and concerns, thereby echoing the central focus of the plot on the protagonist's rootedness in and eventual reworking of the past.

The dominant environment in which the film's demonstration of the connectedness of present and past takes place is the sea. Alongside its compositional, thematic and temporal complexity, 'Terje Vigen' offered silent cinema the visual impact and symbolism that the element of water could supply. Hemmer sees a further significance of Ibsen's epic poems in the fact that they shaped the author's symbolic landscapes of mountains ('Paa Vidderne') and sea ('Terje Vigen') (just as his naturalistic dramas would fill the bourgeois drawing room with significance). In an illuminating study of Romantic travel, Roger Cardinal stresses the importance of both peak experiences and turbulent waters to the Romantic sensibility (Cardinal 1997:141). Following Hemmer and Cardinal, Sjöström's *Terje Vigen* may be understood as connecting with Romantic notions of place by using the Skagerrak sea as a trope for the protagonist's turbulent and traumatised soul and as a site in which his heroism and lonely struggle is performed, while also imbuing the sea with (inter)national and collective history. The composition of

marine and other images in Sjöström's film seems, moreover, to have been informed by Christian Krohg's naturalistic illustrations that accompanied editions of Ibsen's text from 1892 onwards (Florin 2003:64, Hemmer 2003:59), the film thus linking Romantic and post-Romantic approaches to the representation of landscape. Bengt Forslund (1980:90, 1988:60) goes as far as to suggest that the sea is the real main 'character' in Sjöström's film (in parallel with the role of the arctic mountainscape in *Berg-Ej vind och hans hustru/The Outlaw and His Wife* (1918) and the sandstorm in his last major work, *The Wind* (1928)). It is indisputable that the representation of awesome or sublime geographies is central to the appeal of Golden Age cinema, in Sjöström's films frequently feeding into a dramatic dialectic between exteriors and interiors.

### **Sea, subjectivity, suspense, spectacle**

A covert reference to Ibsen the dramatist may be found in the fact that Sjöström's adaptation of 'Terje Vigen' is divided into three 'acts', a literary and theatrical device that, ironically, is absent from the source text.<sup>8</sup> This expresses a striving for structure and form in a film that flourishes in repetitions, parallels, complementarities and contrasts. At times it modifies or develops the patterns present in the source text, as a closer consideration of some aspects of the compositional strategy that underlies act 1 of Sjöström's film will demonstrate. It will show, moreover, that the natural environment is central to the film not only as a correlate of the protagonist's subjectivity but also as a sphere of spectacle and suspense.

The film opens with an elegant tripartite sequence that presents soul, sea and their interconnection in an economical and very visual way while also stressing the act of seeing: an interior frontal shot of a troubled, elderly and isolated Terje, demonised by his 'mad' gaze and the surrounding smoke (from the fireplace, presumably), is followed first by a long shot of violent waves and then by a combining shot that shows Terje from behind and framed by the doorway looking restlessly at the relentless sea. Interestingly, in Ibsen's text a similar foregrounding of trauma and threatening landscape is, in a very filmic 'flashforward' fashion, juxtaposed with another 'take' of Terje Vigen which functions as a flagging up of the final rejuvenation of the protagonist, his marginalisation and apparent madness as represented in the initial scene replaced by mobility, agility and positive social contacts made possible by the connecting sea and the benevolent weather:

Siden jeg så ham en enkelt gang,  
han lå ved bryggen med fisk;  
hans hår var hvidt, men han lo og sang

og var som en ungdom frisk.  
Til pigerne havde han skemtsomme ord,  
han spøgte med byens børn,  
han svinged sydvesten og sprang ombord;  
så hejste han fokken, og hjem han foer  
i solskin, den gamle ørn.  
(Ibsen 1917:stanza 2)

(Distant the day, and that only day  
I saw him with fish by the quay;  
his hair was white, but he sang as gay  
and blithe as a boy might be.  
The lasses he used a light banter toward,  
he joined in the town-lads' talk,  
he waved his sou-wester, and leaped aboard;  
then homeward he sailed with the jib set broad  
in sunshine, the agèd hawk.)  
(Ibsen 1986:63)<sup>9</sup>

In Sjöström's film, however, this second scene and the clues it provides are omitted in order, it would seem, to keep the audience in suspense about the fate of the hero and create the conditions for a stronger happy ending effect. After its mysterious opening the film embarks instead on a linear narrative of the hero's life drama by adding a spectacular sequence that demonstrates notions of agility and merriment not dissimilar to those found in the omitted scene but now realised in the context of carefree youth. The sequence seems to reveal some of the film's visual goals and salient stylistic features. It contains a prolonged, fascinated and visually inventive depiction of the young Terje's acrobatic achievement as he is commanded to climb the sails of a large ship, balances on a rope, hangs on a crossbar... Interestingly, these physical feats appear to be copied by the camera as extreme long shots of the climbing seaman captured in a low camera angle from the level of the ship's deck are followed by a dizzying straight-on medium shot of the hero among the sails with the glittering waves deep below him. Thus the camera refuses to be outdone by the main character, its capability not realised in mobile frames, though, but in the creative cutting between static shots from very varied camera positions which typifies Sjöström's style in *Terje Vigen* and elsewhere. In addition, a visual dynamic is achieved by characters or objects entering and exiting individual static frames or appearing to be moving 'between' different frames. In the sequence in question the ascending hero climbs through the bottom line of one frame and disappears through its top line only to make his re-entry through the lower edge of the subsequent frame that captures a higher segment of the ship. Thus co-ordination and rhythm are features of both action

and image composition/combination, with subject matter and filming style working in unison. Overall, the spectacle of the sequence could be seen as, on the one hand, echoing the acrobatic bravura performances in circus milieux that were so popular in the cinema of attractions and, on the other hand, prefiguring the famous surreal scene in Sjöström's *Ingmarssönerna/The Sons of Ingmar* (released two years after *Terje Vigen*) where the troubled protagonist accesses his forefathers' world and consequently their wisdom by climbing a giant ladder that connects his home soil and heaven. The sequence may thus be read as reaching out to both simpler and more sophisticated stages in the history of silent cinema.

The other main addition to act 1 of *Terje Vigen* is the concluding scene that shows Terje successfully hiding when seeing that he has been spotted by the blockading British fleet at the beginning of his bold boat trip to Denmark to obtain food for his starving family. Thus, notions of hiding, seeking and restricting are introduced and a cliffhanger effect is achieved. The addition leads Bengt Forslund to comment that 'when Sjöström freely composed what the action entailed, so he also demonstrated what he had learnt from the simpler type of film drama – and was not afraid of exploiting this' (Forslund 1988:60). It should not be overlooked, though, that the concluding scene works as a premonition of and counterpoint to the climactic boat chase and capture scene in act 2, with the filmic inventiveness in this and other instances thus remaining true to the general idea of inter-scenic illumination that governs the composition of Ibsen's text.

### **The significance of seeing**

As the cliffhanging scene exemplifies, the motif of seeing that informs Ibsen's 'Terje Vigen' is reinforced by Sjöström. True to the concerns of silent cinema, his work displays a recurring, sometimes self-referential interest in the phenomenon of visual perception, with the formally experimental *Dödskynnen/The Kiss of Death* (1916) and *Körkarlen* particular cases in point. While the latter celebrates the existential implications of showing and seeing and could be understood as a tribute to cinema itself, the former interestingly contains, as Bo Florin documents, a copyright frame picture featuring an extreme close-up of the director's eye peering through a keyhole. Florin observes that '[k]eyhole scenes were common in early films, but generally from the perspective of the peeker' (Florin 2003:62). In *Terje Vigen* seeing is significant in several senses: as surveillance and control, as witnessing, and as insight into common ground between self and other.

The sinister aspects of this *leitmotif* are, as suggested above, mainly manifested in the sphere of international conflict. They are introduced in act

1 in a depiction of people in Terje's community discovering a blockading British cruiser which, in a brief arresting shot, is shown, motionless and reminiscent of a pirate ship, in the distance of a still seascape. The sequence cross-cuts between images of the watching crowd and the surveying ship, the latter represented by means of what may be termed an intersubjective shot. The implications of the notion of negative seeing that this scene signals are then explored in the hide-and-seek sequence discussed above and, most compellingly, in the climax of act 2. This shows the true power of the 'ørneøjne' ('eagle-eyed gleam') of the English "Man of war" (stanza 12; p.66). While images of soldiers using telescopes figure in the conclusion of act 1, it is only in act 2 that we encounter what may be termed telescopic images, i.e. images made out to be shot through a telescope by the use of a mask technique. As an ingenious illustration of how the gaze of the enemy closes in on the hero after his illicit journey to Denmark, Terje is 'caught' in three telescopic images, the second shot closer to him than the first and with cannon balls splashing into the sea around him in the third. Then follows a sequence, informed by complex choreography, camera work and cross-cutting, that displays how the defiant individual is overpowered by the collective might and unstoppable momentum of the military. Particularly poignant is the alternation between extreme close-ups of Terje's hands, desperately working the oars, and richly patterned pictures of the co-ordinated machine-like movements of the many uniformed bodies propelling the pursuing boat. Taken together the images read as a stylisation of the power imbalance of the conflict that is being played out. As this suspense-fuelled section of the film nears its disastrous denouement, the sophistication of cutting and the intensity of the illumination of the idea of viewing reach a high point: approaching a montage technique, the film now alternates not just between shots of the two boats connected through mutual seeing but between two additional scenes both set on land, one capturing the wife waiting in vain at home, cut off from seeing and hence knowing the fate of her husband, and the other showing the local people gathered on the shore witnessing the unfolding drama as a viewing audience.

Not all acts of seeing in *Terje Vigen* are tied to conflict, however. Seeing as understanding and insight comes to the fore in act 1 in a sequence that visualises the first in the series of turning points that structure Terje's life story, just as it introduces the film's recurring technique of focusing on the onlooker. The sequence centres on the protagonist seeing his newborn girl for the first time through the window of his cottage having arrived home from his early easy-going existence at sea. It cross-cuts between depictions of exterior and interior aspects of the scene, but instead of representing what is seen inside by means of point-of-

view shots the sequence uses reverse shots to combine in the same image a foregrounding of wife and child in a domestic setting with a continued representation of the observing husband, now shown *en face* and framed by the window in the top section of the background. Thus the scene never loses sight of the man whose mind it investigates while also visualising the coming-together of the family and the turn towards interpersonal commitment that occurs in the protagonist at that point, summed up in the poem in these lines: ‘Der sagdes, at Terjes sind med et / fik alvor fra denne stund’ (stanza 9; ‘That instant, and Terje’s mind, men say, / turned sober upon the spot’ (p.65)). The full potential reach of this commitment is not demonstrated, however, until deep into the film’s third act in a climactic and cathartic sequence that, typical of the composition of both film and text, echoes earlier turns, including the one considered here, as the effect of seeing a baby girl is duplicated: revenge is replaced by reconciliation and the affinity between antagonists recognised when Terje takes in through emphatic seeing that the English lord and naval commander who occasioned the death of his wife and child years earlier himself has a daughter (who shares the name of Anna with Terje’s child). Narratively, the scene is noteworthy in its complementary distribution of memory shots as images of the fateful earlier encounter between the men are evoked twice, first tied to Terje’s consciousness and then to the mind of the lord. Thus, the sequence expresses, thematically as well as formally, the emergence of an intersubjectivity that transcends national and class boundaries.

### **Connecting countries**

Just like Sjöström’s reworking of Ibsen, the premiere of *Terje Vigen* was an inter-Scandinavian phenomenon. The film was released simultaneously in Sweden (Stockholm, Gothenburg, Malmö) and Denmark (Copenhagen) on 29 January 1917, and the Norwegian premiere (Kristiania and Bergen) followed a few days later (Sjöström 1980:87, 1988:58). In terms of filmic content Sjöström’s adaptation likewise promotes connections, or downplays tensions, between the Scandinavian countries. His version thus makes a good deal more of Terje’s visit to the Danish shores than Ibsen’s text does. Whereas the poem’s treatment of the topic consists of the cursory lines ‘Til Fladstrand kom han i god behold / og hented sin dyre last’ (stanza 13; ‘At Fladstrand, reaching there safe and sound, / he gathered his precious stores’ (p.66)), the film opens act 2 with a prolonged scene that is set in a Danish harbour and suggests a Scandinavian continuum of solidarity with the hero’s symbolic struggle by focusing on his local helpers and an ‘audience’ of supportive bystanders, thereby echoing the depiction of Terje’s departure

from Norway. Conversely, the film chooses to ignore the text's far from unambiguous reference to Sweden's and Norway's post-Napoleonic union relationship. In Ibsen's poem the description of the protagonist's release from British prison is combined with an indirect and very economical summing-up of the ties that came into existence between the two Scandinavian nations after the conclusion of peace: 'Så kom attenhundred og fjorten med fred; / de norske fanger, og Terje med, / førtes hjem på en svensk fregat' (stanza 23; 'Then eighteen-fourteen came and with it accord; / a Swedish frigate brought home onboard / Norway's prisoners, and Terje too' (p.68)). The tension that may be identifiable in this statement between the simultaneous emergences of freedom and dependency could explain why the film, which is otherwise, as shown, drawn to the sights of sea and vessels, refrains from realising this scene. In contrast, Sjöström invests clear cross-national values in the film's penultimate scene, its real conclusion in many ways. It is a harmonising ending in the form of striking visual 'palimpsest' that combines maritime motifs, main characters and national emblems. As the English lord's departing yacht enters the frame from one side and Terje, bidding farewell on the cliffs in the foreground, enters from the other side, a Norwegian flag is projected on to the image at the very moment the protagonist and the waving English family overlap. The following images then focus on the flag which, interestingly, is the Norwegian version of the union marked flag that was in official use 1844-1905 and featured a cross combining the colours of Sweden and Norway in one of its upper quarters. While this emblem is not without its own ambiguities (not paralleled, in this instance, by the text version<sup>10</sup>), the main idea informing the interweaving of the national signs in this scene seems to be the stressing of commonality between countries rather than dependency or dominance. The emblem could additionally read as a reflection of the dual Norwegian-Swedish origins of the film. Overall, the inclusion of the 'inter-Scandinavian' flag, the overlapping former foes and the British vessel in a unifying image work as a summing-up of the film's desire to promote cross-national, cross-class and interhuman connections. Although the film was marketed in Germany as anti-British and criticised by a Danish commentator for being 'un-neutral' (Forsslund 1980:89, 1988:59), it could more appropriately be classed as anti-war and as influenced by an ideological turn away from nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century nationalism.

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## Notes

1. Translated by Peter Graves.
2. Translated by Peter Graves.
3. Lagerlöf's letter refers specifically to the reception of her work in Britain where her writing had not had the same impact as in continental Europe. The first screening abroad of *Körkarlen* took place in London 4 February 1921, only one month after the film's Scandinavian premiere (1 January), and led *The Bioscope* magazine to conclude its review with the assessment that '[w]herever it is shown it will help to add dignity and importance to the art of cinema' (Forslund 1988:90f).
4. Translated by Peter Graves.
5. Between 1917 and 1924 no fewer than eight of Lagerlöf's works were adapted to films, four of these directed by Sjöström: *Tøsen fra Stormyrtorpet/The Girl from the Marsh Croft* (1917), *Ingmarssönerna, I & II/The Sons of Ingmar, I & II* (1919), *Karin Ingmarsdotter/Karin Daughter of Ingmar* (1920) and *Körkarlen* (1921) (Florin 1997:186f).
6. Cf. Florin: 'In retrospect, the most striking thing about *Terje Vigen* is the extent to which Sjöström adapted it to Ibsen's poem' (2003:64).
7. This followed Svenska Bio's acquisition a couple of months earlier of a screenplay by Gustaf Molander based on 'Terje Vigen'. Molander's script was subsequently used for Sjöström's film. (Forslund 1980:83f, 1988:55)
8. A similar tendency to subdivide the filmic work is in evidence in Sjöström's *Ingmarssönerna* which was narrated and released in two parts (further subdivided into eight acts in all) although both parts were based on the opening chapter of Lagerlöf's novel *Jerusalem* (1901-02). In a letter (20 January 1919) to the director, the author,

while complimentary about the film in general, disputed the wisdom of the two-part structure (Sahlberg 1960:195). *Karin Ingmarsdotter*, also based on *Jerusalem*, was subtitled ‘en berättelse för film i fem avdelningar’ (a narrative for film in five parts).

9. In Ibsen’s text the scene is duplicated, almost word for word, in the penultimate stanza, its portrayal of a liberated state thus forming an overarching vision in the poem.

In what follows, quotations from the 1917 edition of the Norwegian text are indicated by stanza number, and the subsequent English translations by their page number in the 1986 edition.

10. The text simply states: ‘Da yachten drejed for Hesnæs-sund, / den hejste det norske flag’ (stanza 41; ‘The yacht then headed for Hesnes-sound, / with Norway’s own flag for wear’ (p.73)).