CHAPTER 8

The Colour Remakes of Swedish Classics in the 1950s: Production, Promotion and Critical Reception in the Context of Technological Innovation*

Kamalika Sanyal and Eduard Cuelenaere

INTRODUCTION

۲

Detween the late 1910s and 1920s, the practice of adaptation gained traction Din Sweden. During this 'golden age' of Swedish cinema (Furhammar 2003), many silent films were produced based on the works of renowned Nordic authors most prominently the Swedish Nobel laureate Selma Lagerlöf, Swedish author and playwright Hjalmar Bergman and other well-known writers from Scandinavia. Later, in the 1950s, two major Swedish production companies, AB Svensk Filmindustri (SF) and AB Sandrews (Sandrews) decided to remake some of the film classics of the 1910s and 1920s, which were already based on Swedish literary texts. Yet, this time, these film remakes would have sound – which saw swift progress in the 1930s – and colour, the latter being a relatively new development. This all happened during a highly transformative era of Swedish film history, known for its international advancements in every stage of the filmmaking process, as well as for its developments regarding the mobility of technology and professionals (Stenport 2019). The advancements in the film technology of that time – most importantly sound, colour and screen aspect ratio-offered new opportunities for re-adaptations and remakes (Eberwein 1998; Forrest and Koos 2002; Verevis 2006). Although there exists a clear theoretical line between a film remake (that is, generally understood as a film based on another film; see Verevis 2017) and a film re-adaptation (that is, a new film adaptation of a literary text which had already been adapted before to the filmic medium; see Leitch 2002), this chapter will use both terms interchangeably. The main reason for this is our agreement with Verevis' statement that film remakes are 'created and sustained through the repeated use of terminology [implying that] the very limited direct intertextual referentiality between

(•)

the remake and its original is organized according to an extratextual referentiality, located in historically specific discursive formations' (2006: 28). Hence, while a purely theoretical distinction between a film remake and re-adaptation might be possible, from a discursive standpoint, the understanding of cultural artefacts and their labels is dependent on the surrounding discourses.¹

 (\bullet)

Even though it is known that the filmic adaptations of the 1910s and 1920s were critically acclaimed and commercially successful (Furhammar 2003), and now are arguably considered as 'classics', not much research has been done on the re-adaptations and remakes that were released three to four decades later. Therefore, this chapter focuses on the practice of the Swedish film industry in the 1950s to release colour remakes of film classics based on literary works. In doing so, this chapter deviates from the Hollywood-centric modus of the field of remake studies (Smith and Verevis 2017), while expanding the existing scholarly discussions on Swedish remakes and Nordic narrative mobilisation on a global stage at the turn of the twenty-first century (Bondebjerg and Novrup Redvall 2011; Mazdon 2017; Stenport 2016). Moreover, this chapter agrees with Cuelenaere's (2020) plea to broaden the limited methodological toolbox of the field and Herbert's (2017) suggestion that mainstream criticism offers novel aspects of analysis that could inform and improve the scholarly study of film (remakes).² Building on archival research (conducted at the Svenska Filminstitutet, or the Swedish Film Institute), we look into the promotion as well as (journalistic) critical reception of these Swedish colour remakes. More specifically, our archival research looks at the promotion materials (for example, film programme booklets) and critical reviews published in daily Swedish newspapers and weekly or monthly film journals: Aftonbladet, Aftontidningen, Svenska Dagbladet, Ny Dag, Arbetaren, Morgontidningen, Svenska Morgonbladet, Veckojournalen, Dagens Nyheter, Upsala Nya Tidning, Bonniers Litterära Magasin and Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning.

The overarching aim of this chapter is to reconstruct and understand the position of film remakes in the context of colour and, more precisely, the audiovisual culture of Sweden in the 1950s. In this vein, we want to investigate if and how the use of colour is employed as a promotional strategy for these remakes. Moreover, the chapter focuses on the possible incentives behind the decision to remake classics in colour. Apart from the colour aspect, we wish to learn how these remakes at that time were received, interpreted and labelled by critics and journalists, and what impact this might have had on their judgements – and, therefore, on the cultural value of these films.

RE-ADAPTATIONS AND REMAKES AS ECONOMIC STRATEGY?

Even though it was the first Scandinavian country to venture into it, Sweden was rather late in exploring natural colour film (Hjort and Lindqvist 2016) – a

۲

technique where colour is recorded photographically. The first Swedish colour feature film, *Klockorna i Gamla Sta'n (The Bells in Old Town*), was released in 1946, many years after countries such as the US, France, Germany and the UK initiated their experiments with colour. Colour's popularity in Sweden, however, did not rise immediately, as only three feature films were produced between 1946 and 1952, none of them successful. Also, the post-production colour film processing had to be done in laboratories outside Sweden. Still, the slow adoption of the colour technique does not strike one as odd, given that Sweden was a small industry in terms of revenues and number of yearly produced films – especially when compared to other major European industries (Elton 1950) which were already innovating with various types of colour film systems.

 (\bullet)

In 1948, the Swedish film industry was confronted with an entertainment tax, leading to an industry-wide strike or 'film stop' in 1951 (Soila 1998; Larsson and Marklund 2010). After the film industry came to an understanding with the government, the entertainment tax only gradually decreased during the 1950s, still causing financial difficulties (Soila 1998). Following several hits and misses over the previous two decades and right after the 'film stop', in the 1950s SF and Sandrews tried every available strategy to achieve financial stability. It is in this context of economic difficulties that the biggest production house, SF, decided to invest in colour remakes of film classics based on earlier literary texts. This is in line with the findings of Ross – namely, that 'in periods when the film industry has suffered a malaise, companies have resorted to the tactic of acquiring long-term rights to films and producing multiple remakes based on the same literary property, rather than inventing new material' (2017: 137). The projects in which SF invested were, on the one hand, Sir Arne's Money (Herr Arnes pengar, 1919), which was remade into Sir Arne's Treasure (Herr Arnes Penningar, 1954) and, on the other hand, Song of the Scarlet Flower (Sången om den eldröda blomman, 1919, alternative title The Flame of Life), which was remade in 1956 under the same Swedish title.³ Mauritz Stiller directed both 1919 film adaptations, while the remakes were directed by Gustaf Molander. Sandrews, the second-largest Swedish film production company, did not stop there, either. In 1956, it produced *Girl in Tails (Flickan i Frack*, 1956), which was a remake of Girl in Tails (Flickan, i frack: En sommarlätt filmhistoria, 1926), also based on a novel titled Flickan i Frack, written by Hjalmar Bergman. The following year, AB Sandrew-Ateljéerna and AB Artistfilm jointly produced A Girl of Solbakken (Synnöve Solbakken, 1957), the adaptation of a Norwegian novel by Nobel laureate Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, which was adapted under the same title in 1919 and then re-adapted in 1934.

Following Ross (2017), Stern notes a commercial 'paradox' of remaking: The industry is inspired by an economic imperative to repeat confirmed successes, but in order to maintain viability 'remakes are also compelled to register variation and difference to incorporate generic developments' (2000: 226). For SF and Sandrews this arguably holds true, as they devoted large budgets to

()

re-adapt and remake well-known, successful narratives with a technological update. Likewise, Leitch (2002) argues that, typically, while the producers of a film remake purchase the adaptation rights of the property (that is, the source text), they pay no remake fees to the makers of the first film adaptation, even though the remake is often the direct successor of the first film adaptation, rather than of the source text. Interestingly, this does not seem to be the case for *Song of the Scarlet Flower*, as SF made two agreements with AB Wive-film, the producer of Stiller's film. These agreements were made to acquire the rights for a colour remake of *Song of the Scarlet Flower*, with both of them stating that 'Filmindustri intends to record a film in colour based on the work in question, but a prerequisite for this is that a manuscript acceptable for record-ing can be produced' (Svensk Filmindustri 1955a, 1955b).⁴

 (\bullet)

COLOUR AS PROMOTIONAL STRATEGY?

Colour seemed to play an important role in the promotion of these remakes, and this was quickly picked up by both journalistic articles and critical reviews. Dagens Nyheter, for instance, published an article eight months before the release of Sir Arne's Treasure, about the last day of on-location shooting. It mentioned that, because the film was a production in colour, cinematographer Åke Dahlqvist was measuring the light's brightness to find out that it was 'great with colour'. In Veckojournalen, the journalist reported that Sir Arne's Treasure was one of the most lavish productions in all of Swedish cinema. He also noted how Dahlqvist was moving around with an exposure meter because Gevacolor needed twice the light exposure in comparison to a black-and-white film (Sellermark 1954). The promotional materials for the four films all mention, on the front page and in highlighted font, that the film was in colour. The programmes used phrases such as 'färgfilm' ('colour film'), 'färg' ('colour'), 'i färgfilmen' ('in the colour film'), along with the names of the colour film system, such as Eastmancolor and Gevacolor (Sandrews - Flickan i frack 1956; Sandrews - Synnöve Solbakken 1957; SF - Sången om den eldröda blomman 1956; SF reklamråd - Herr Arnes penningar 1954). A Girl of Solbakken's programme, however, does not highlight its film system, but recounts that it is a 'vidfilm' or widescreen film in colour. Finally, all pamphlets for Song of the Scarlet Flower mention that the format is widescreen Agascope – this technology was the latest trend worldwide around the mid-1950s (Belton 1992).

Examining the excerpts of various reviews mentioned in the programmes, we found that they were all positive; this does not surprise, given that the programmes served as promotional materials. It became apparent that colour was a prominent factor there, too. For example, the programme to *Sir Arne's Treasure* quotes that it is the 'first absolutely flawless colour film in Sweden'

۲

and the 'best Swedish colour film to date' (SF reklamråd - Herr Arnes penningar 1954). Moreover, the programme quotes the Swedish newspaper *Östgöten*, which stated that *Herr Arnes* is 'an interesting film where the colour gives an artistic touch to everything'. The programme of *A Girl of Solbakken* acknowledges in detail that it is the third rendition of the novel, but this time as colour and widescreen film. It also quotes Staffan Tjerneld of *Expressen*: '[w]ithout doubt, [this is] the nicest Swedish film since the colour film came out'. Another review quote claims that this is '[p]erhaps the most beautiful Swedish film ever created' (Sandrews - Synnöve Solbakken 1957). Finally, the trailer of the new version of *A Girl of Solbakken* contains the on-screen text 'in the modern film version' – again a nod to the earlier Swedish adaptation and its remake (Synnöve Solbakken Trailerlista 1957).

 (\bullet)

Overall, our archival analysis shows that the new colour technique was generally used as a unique selling point for these recycled films. In some of the promotional programmes, the fact that these films were based on older source material was also clearly mentioned. As such, one could argue that the promotional material for these films tried to keep a balance between repetition (meaning, the film being based on already existing material) and novelty (that is, the use of the new colour technique), which is emblematic for sequential filmmaking (Jess-Cooke 2009). In order to grasp the discourses around these colour re-adaptations or remakes more fully, we analysed journalists' and critics' opinions and pieces. Hence, we want to find out whether Stern's (2000) commercial 'paradox' of remaking also holds true for the practice analysed in this chapter, by investigating whether the above-mentioned relationship between the recognizable and the innovative was found to be balanced or not. Yet, before analysing these critical discourses, we will first elaborate on how the status or label of the film remake and re-adaptation relates to the notion of cultural value, and what role the new colour technique might have played in this relationship.

JUDGING COLOUR RE-ADAPTATIONS/REMAKES AND ASSERTING THEIR CULTURAL VALUE

Mee (2017) argues that 'both [as] a category of text and [...] an industrial phenomenon, remakes (and the industry trend for remaking) are especially vulnerable to criticism rooted in preconceived notions of cultural value' (2017: 194). Hence, remakes or other "imitative" types of film are in danger of being assigned a low cultural status, or even of eliciting critical opprobrium, because they are copies of "culturally treasured" originals' (Naremore 2000: 13). Oftentimes, this disdain 'is rooted in the neoromantic belief that art should somehow not be concerned with making money' (Klein and Palmer 2016: 12). This same

۲

neo-romantic belief, stemming from the 1950s – a time when *auteur* theory was highly influential – also relies on the idea that the creator of a film is 'a heroic, visionary, and idiosyncratic artist [...] [which] would appear to conflict with the apparent lack of "originality" in remakes' (Herbert 2008: 189). As claimed by Mazdon (2000), in the case of a film adaptation (thus not a remake) of a classic text, a new set of audience members is introduced to an often 'essential' product of a (national) culture. Furthermore, the resulting film adaptation gains the cultural capital of the source text, which increases even more if the person who adapts the classic work also enjoys a culturally iconic status, thus helping it to become a classic in itself (Mazdon 2000). Given the complex status or label of our Swedish cases (see note 1), we want to find out whether the Swedish critics' discourses show traces of such a neo-romantic understanding of originality, how this relates to their labelling of these films and what role the new colour technique plays in all of this.

۲

Yet, before elaborating on the critical discourses of the re-adaptations and remakes, a quick look at the status of some of the earlier adaptations (and its creators) will help us understand the reception of the 1950s colour remakes. In fact, the 1919 films Sir Arne's Money and Song of the Scarlet Flower are appropriate examples of Mazdon's argument: Stiller is one of the most eminent film directors of Swedish cinema, hailed as one of its pioneers. Moreover, by adapting a classic text (and thanks to his own status as a classic director) his film was eventually transformed into a classic. For instance, critic Bengt Idestam-Almquist literally declared Stiller's adaptation of Sir Arne's Treasure a classic (Hood 1950). In 1954, critic Uno Asplund suggested that Stiller's film had a place among the best classic films of the world (Asplund 1954). Since the early days of Swedish cinema, producers had always shown a predominant ambition to achieve artistic or 'culturally valuable' film (Soila 1998). A Girl of Solbakken (1957) was also the third rendition of a popular Norwegian novel, the first one being made in the silent era (A Girl of Solbakken [Synnöve Solbakken], 1919) and the second being a talkie version A Girl of Solbakken (Synnöve Solbakken, 1934) starring Victor Sjöström. Unfortunately, the reviews of the 1957 A Girl of Solbakken were unavailable in the archives of the Swedish Film Institute; therefore, a comparison with reviews of the earlier version was not possible.

Apart from the 'classic' status of these earlier film adaptations and their directors, we would argue that in Sweden successful and critically admired silent films of the 1910s and 1920s – which had not yet reached the technical superiority of the 1950s – became ideal representatives of a 'golden' Swedish cultural past worthy of cherishing. *Girl in Tails*, for instance, presents an excellent example that depicts an idyllic Swedish suburb of Hjalmar Bergman's time, with a simple small-town narrative. *Sången om* is another contender, as it is a love story set in the heart of Lapland, featuring the journey of a man trying to find himself. SF and Sandrews reintroduced these films to the public imagination, while updating

۲

them for the contemporary audience. By modifying silent films with toned-down acting and screenplay, as well as colourful visuals, the new remakes tried to look back at the old times and re-establish the Swedish classics as an entertaining genre. Hence, in these Swedish cases, it is highly likely that the process of remaking and the nostalgia cycle (Le Sueur 1977) of the creative industry constituted an overlapping phenomenon.

 (\bullet)

Analysing the critical reviews, we found that many of the critics did praise the films' use of colour. For Herr Arnes, the consensus was that the cinematographer Dahlqvist did an excellent job with his 'mechanical perfection' in colour photography (Oldin 1954). The nature shots in colour also received praise. In Pir Ramek's (1954) opinion, this was the first 'fullgoda' ('satisfactory') Swedish colour film. Another critic viewed the colour as sober - the essence of the 1500s, albeit artificial, was captured well in Gevacolor (Filmson [Sven Jan Hanson] 1954); however, he also felt that the film itself was boring and that the colour added nothing to the story (A. K sk. 1954). Interestingly, apart from the colour aspect, other technologies such as sound were, at times, less welcome. One critic even wished that someone would 're-invent the silent films again' (Filmson [Sven Jan Hanson] 1954), while another claimed that Lagerlöf's narrative would work better with silent film's storytelling style (Beyer 1954). Asplund (1954) of the Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning, conversely, liked the usage of Lars-Erik Larsson's music that according to him reminded viewers of the Pathétique by Tchaikovsky. The latter also commented that Molander's version boasted extremely thorough detail and offered a pompous visual impression of the 1500s. Others were more critical about the use of film colour in these remakes: Sången om was rejected by the critics, and the fact that the remake was in colour did not help. Beyer remarked that the film colour showed 'how red the flower is, how green the forest is and how blue the water is' (1956), but that this did not contribute to the film itself. It was also claimed that the wilderness within the story was toned down (Lill [Ellen Liliedahl] 1956b): 'Yes, the flower is red in Eastmancolor [...] however, it is a pictorial wilderness story that does not impress anyone' (Sången om den eldröda blomman 1957). Another reviewer disliked the technical quality of the colour cinematography, stating that many scenes had dirty grey images with 'irritating' blue tints (Ramek 1956b). Aftonbladet's reviewer Karl Ekwall even went so far as to claim that the film was a testament to SF's bankruptcy and nothing else (Ekwall 1956b).

The latter statement brings us to the critics' interpretations and/or judgements of the films themselves, or, more specifically, their status or label of a remake or re-adaptation. With the exception of Ramek (1954) – who defended the remake status of the film itself, saying that many of the audience members might not have seen Stiller's version and that, hence, Molander's film 'should of course be reviewed as "new" – the fact that SF was trying to remake its golden age films did not sit well with most critics. In the case of Molander's re-adaptation, almost

()

۲

all of the reviews presented a comparative analysis between him and the director of the preceding film adaptation, Stiller.⁵ Generally, Molander's remake of Herr Arnes and Sången om received bleak criticism: The artist was not willing to seriously devote himself to his work, and the films did not do justice to Stiller's artistic literacy. This reflects the typical neo-romantic critique of remakes. The question was openly raised as to how Molander and Dahlqvist, in spite of their well-known talent, could 'dare to take up competition with the dead master?' (Beyer 1954). Ekwall (1954) held a similar opinion, stating that Molander could not add an inch to Stiller's work despite having all the aids of modern film technology. Furthermore, Bengt Gunnäs of $N\gamma$ Dag wrote that 'the choice is hardly a conscious endeavour to consolidate a national tradition, but rather the ambition to try to surpass the reputable works from guldåder ["golden age"] of Swedish cinema' (Gunnäs 1954). He further explained that it was an unnecessary proof of poor judgement to repeat Herr Arnes when several of Selma Lagerlöf's most important works were still out there waiting to be adapted. What becomes clear from these judgements is that, apart from their neo-romantic critique, most of the critics complained about the use of colour purely in relation to the fact that these films are re-adaptations or remakes. Indeed, for most of the commentators, the addition of colour to these stories did not make up for the recycling of these materials. In general, while the use of colour was often lauded, it did not compensate for these films' status as remakes or re-adaptations. This not only confirms the (especially in journalistic and critical circles) common negative bias towards the film remake (Mazdon, 2000: 4), but also expands this finding to the context of a small film industry such as that of Sweden in the 1950s.

The importance of the status or label of the remake/re-adaptation is confirmed when analysing the discourses surrounding the case of *Flickan*. The first film adaptation of *Girl in Tails* in 1926 was considered a gem of a comedy film from the silent era (Kindblom 2011). Moreover, the general feedback of the 1956 remake was equally positive. Yet, notably, none of the reviews compared the colour remake with the 1926 film, but only with the literary text by Bergman. Following Leitch's (2002) categorisation, this suggests that the 1956 film was rather regarded as a re-adaptation of the original text instead of a remake of the first film adaptation. Some critics called it a satisfactory adaptation from literature to screen (Flickan i frack 1956), while others recognized the film as director Arne Mattsson's finest directorial work (Flickan i frack 1956; Ramek 1956a). In terms of technicality and colour, a reviewer compared it with another colour feature of the previous year, The People of Hemsö (Hemsöborna, 1955) – also directed by Mattsson – and remarked that Girl in Tails was worse. Again, Filmson perceived the colour tones of the re-adaptation as artistically conscious (Filmson [Sven Jan Hanson] 1956). For Ekwall (1956a), the colours were better in the exterior scenes and usually less so in the interiors. The film was perceived as a pastiche that constituted 'a picture book of

۲

extremely delicious colour posters' (Lill [Ellen Liliedahl] 1956a). Perceiving this film as a re-adaptation rather than a remake and, consequently, comparing these films only with their literary (and not filmic) predecessor resulted in more positive judgements. This also happened in the case of *Sången om*: Almost all of the critical reviews compared the 1956 remake only to Stiller's film adaptation, and not to the classic text.⁶ As a result, the film was negatively received.

۲

CONCLUSION

۲

For its remakes, SF tried to use the allure of a well-known Scandinavian narrative, updated film technology and the director's reputation to draw the attention of contemporary audiences and garner profits in a stagnating economy. Sandrews did likewise, although none of the directors of their remakes were on par with Molander's status. Nevertheless, the grand plan of SF and Sandrews failed. The complexity of shooting with large colour cameras and the post-production of the colour film made these remakes very expensive (Zetterström 1956). Thrashed by the critics, SF's remakes did not perform well at the box office. After making *Sången om*, Gustaf Molander quit the directorial profession for a while, returning only after more than a decade (Qvist and Von Bagh 2000). Sandrews' *Girl in Tails*, however, was successful, as critics and audiences liked the light-hearted story and pretty suburbia visuals.

Our analysis of the press reviews revealed that the Swedish industry of the 1950s was yet to explore the multifaceted aspect of film colour in order to improve on films considered classics. The principal aim was to re-tell famous stories so as to reap financial benefits. A probable consequence is that the companies utilised colour film systems as a modern means to update the narrative in a new package and in an apparent trial of making the films more accessible to the masses. The journalistic discourse surrounding these films clearly shows that the critics were mostly interested in a strict comparison between the *auteurs*; they noted that the filmmakers had little interest in exploring film colour as an element that could have significantly contributed to the creative treatment of the narrative. The reviews show that black-and-white Scandinavian imagery still had a stronghold over the industry, being considered artistic and of substance, with the backing of critics. The discussions within film critic circles is thus significant for understanding the contemporary perception of film colour and classic film remakes.

Apart from elucidating the process of introducing colour technique to the Swedish film industry (its employment as a strategy to recycle existing material), our analysis has pointed at the connotative power of labels such as remakes and re-adaptations. Our findings confirm that there existed a general

critical disdain towards remaking practices also in Sweden of the 1950s. The analysed critiques not only showed clear signs of a neo-romantic take on originality, but also suggested that critics found that the novelty (the new technique of colour) of these films did not compensate for their repetitive character (that is, their status as remake). In other words, the two aspects of Stern's (2000) commercial 'paradox' (innovation versus recognition) were found to be out of balance, resulting in an overall negative stance towards these films. Lastly, we found that, generally, when a film was regarded as a remake (that is, based on an already existing film), its critical reception was overall negative, while a film considered a re-adaptation received more positive reviews. Apparently, today's tolerance for filmic adaptations (and, by extension, re-adaptations) and intolerance for film remakes dates back at least to the 1950s. While this notion necessitates further research, it might point towards the existence of a less critical stance towards intermedial adaptations (for example, from book to film), when compared with intramedial ones (for instance, from film to film). As such, this chapter indeed gives further weight to Herbert's (2017) assertion that critical reviews are necessary if one wants to more holistically understand the workings of a creative industry, but clearly wishes to expand this plea to the field of remake studies.

NOTES

- * Sanyal wishes to express her gratitude to the Academische Stichting Leuven (Academic Foundation Leuven), Belgium, for awarding her the grant that made a research stay and archival research in Sweden possible.
- 1. As will become clear by looking at the (critical and journalistic) discourses about the films under analysis in this chapter, specific terms such as 'adaptation' and 're-adaptation' did not appear in the reviews of that time. Yet, many of the reviewers did indirectly suggest that these films were re-adaptations, calling them the 'third Swedish version' or 'third Swedish recording'. The label 'remake', however, was mentioned twice in the case of *Song of the Scarlet Flower* (Ekwall 1956b; C.B-n. 1956). Although we decided to use both terms interchangeably, we do not underestimate the power of the connotations that both carry, as will become clear in our analysis itself.
- 2. We hesitate to depict the Swedish film journalist circle as entirely 'mainstream' in the narrow sense of the word, however, as we have also considered reviews penned by famed film critics and authors such as Bengt Idestam-Almquist and Uno Asplund.
- 3. The film was released under different titles in different European countries. Its English title is *The Song of the Red Flower*. The English programme booklet featured this title on the front page, while programmes of other countries had different titles. In Danish it was *Den Blomrøde Blomst* and in Finland *Laulu tulipunaisesta kukasta*. In West Germany, it was released, accompanied by two separate programme booklets, under two different titles: (1) *Das Lied von der roten Blume* and (2) *Heiss war meine Sehnsucht* (Das Lied von der roten Blume 1958; Den Blomrøde Blomst 1958; Heiss war meine Sehnsucht 1958; The Swedish picture: The Song of the Red Flower [n. d.]).
- 4. All translations from Swedish to English are by Kamalika Sanyal.

- 5. Interestingly, a young Molander was also involved in Stiller's *Sir Arne's Money*, as one of the screenplay writers, along with Stiller.
- 6. Except for one critic in *Stockholms Tidningen* who compared the film's ethos with the original novel (and, therefore, understood it as a re-adaptation). This, again, resulted in a positive reading of the film: 'They treat Linnankoski's book and its film traditions with a deeply touched reverence, much like you treat an old inherited plush furniture: you cut off the longest tassels but leave the furniture otherwise' (1956).

REFERENCES

I.K sk (1954), 'Röda Kvarn: Herr Arnes penningar', *Svenska Morgonbladet*, 27 December, AB Biografernas Filmdepôt, (n.d.), available at: http://www.svenskfilmdatabas.se/sv/item/?type=company&itemid=500058 (last accessed 10 September 2019).

- Asplund, Uno (1954), 'Herr Arnes Penningar', Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning.
- Belton, John (1992), Widescreen Cinema, Harvard: Harvard University Press.

Beyer, Nils (1954), 'Röda Kvarn: Herr Arnes Penningar', Morgontidningen, 27 December.

Beyer, Nils (1956), 'Röda Kvarn: Sången om den eldröda blomman', Morgontidningen, 27 December.

Bondebjerg Ib and Eva Novrup Redvall (2011), A Small Region in a Global World: Patterns in Scandinavian Film and TV Culture, Copenhagen: Centre for Modern European Studies-CEMES, University of Copenhagen.

C.B-n (1956), 'Sången om den eldröda blomman', Dagens Nyheter, 27 December.

Cuelenaere, Eduard (2020), 'Towards an Integrative Methodological Approach of Film Remake Studies', *Adaptation* online first.

- Das Lied von der roten Blume (1958), Stockholm: Svensk filmindustri.
- Den Blomrøde Blomst (1958), Stockholm: Svensk filmindustri.

Eberwein, Robert (1998), 'Remakes and Cultural Studies', in Andrew Horton and Stuart Y. McDougal (eds), *Play it Again, Sam: Retakes on Remakes*, Los Angeles: University of California Press, pp. 15–33.

Ekwall, Karl (1954), 'Herr Arnes Penningar', Aftontidningen, 27 December.

Ekwall, Karl (1956a), 'Flickan i frack', Aftontidningen, 16 October.

Ekwall, Karl (1956b), 'Sången om den eldröda blomman, Röda Kvarn', *Aftontidningen*, 27 December.

Elton, Arthur (1950), 'The Small Countries', in Film Centre London (ed.), *The Film Industry in Six European Countries: A Detailed Study of the Film Industry in Denmark as Compared with that in Norway, Sweden, Italy, France and the United Kingdom*, Paris: Unesco, pp. 17–84.

Filmson [Sven Jan Hanson] (1954), 'Herr Arnes Penningar: Röda Kvarn', *Aftonbladet*, 27 December.

'Flickan i frack' (1956), Bonniers Litterära Magasin, IX.

Forrest, Jennifer and Leonard R. Koos (2002), 'Reviewing Remakes: An Introduction', in Jennifer Forrest and Leonard R. Koos (eds), *Dead Ringers: The Remake in Theory and Practice*, Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 1–36.

Furhammar, Leif (2003), Filmen i Sverige: En historia i tio kapitel och en fortsättning, Stockholm: Dialogos and Svenska Filminstitutet.

Gunnäs, Bengt (1954), 'Herr Arnes Penningar', Ny Dag, 27 December.

- Heiss war meine Sehnsucht (1958), Stockholm: Svensk Filmindustri.
- Herbert, Daniel (2008), 'Transnational Film Remakes: Time, Space, Identity', doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California.

Filmson [Sven Jan Hanson] (1956), 'Flickan i frack, Royal', Aftonbladet, 16 October.

- Herbert, Daniel (2017), 'The Transnational Film Remake in the American Press', in Iain R. Smith and Constantine Verevis (eds), *Transnational Film Remakes*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 210–23.
- Hjort, Mette and Ursula Lindqvist (2016), A Companion to Nordic Cinema, Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
- Hood, Robin [Bengt Idestam-Almquist] (1950), 'Stiller, A Pioneer of the Cinema', *Biografbladet*, 31: 3, 133–40.
- I.S. (1956), 'Sången om den eldröda blomman', Ny Dag, 27 December.
- Jess-Cooke, Carolyn (2009), Film Sequels, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Kindblom, Mikaela (2011), 'Karin Swanström', available at: http://www.svenskfilmdatabas. se/en/item/?type=person&itemid=58282#biography (last accessed 11 September 2019).
- Klein, Amanda Ann and Robert Barton Palmer (2016), Cycles, Sequels, Spin-offs, Remakes, and Reboots: Multiplicities in Film and Television, Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Larsson, Mariah and Anders Marklund (2010), Swedish Film: An Introduction and Reader, Lund: Nordic Academic Press.
- Le Sueur, Marc (1977), 'Theory Number Five: Anatomy of Nostalgia Films, Heritage and Methods', Journal of Popular Film, 6: 2, 187–97.
- Leitch, Thomas (2002), 'Twice-Told Tales: Disavowal and the Rhetoric of the Remake', in Jennifer Forrest and Leonard R. Koos (eds), *Dead Ringers: The Remake in Theory and Practice*, Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 37–62.
- Lill [Ellen Liliedahl] (1956a), 'Flickan i frack', Svenska Dagbladet, 16 October.
- Lill [Ellen Liliedahl] (1956b), 'Röda Kvarn: Sången om den eldroda blomman', *Svenska Dagbladet*, 27 December.
- Mazdon, Lucy (2000), Encore, Hollywood: Remaking French Cinema, London: British Film Institute.
- Mazdon, Lucy (2017), 'Disrupting the Remake: The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo', in Iain R. Smith and Constantine Verevis (eds), *Transnational Film Remakes*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 21–35.
- McFarlane, Brian (2007), 'Reading Film and Literature', in Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Literature on Screen*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 15–28.
- Mee, Laura (2017), 'The Hollywood Remake Massacre: Adaptation, Reception, and Value', in Colleen Kennedy-Karpat and Eric Sandberg (eds), *Adaptation, Awards Culture, and the Value of Prestige*, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 193–209.
- Naremore, James (2000), Film Adaptation, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Oldin, Gunnar (1954), 'Herr Arnes penninagr', Arbetaren, 27 December.
- Oldin, Gunnar (1956), 'Royal: Flickan i frack', Arbetaren, 16 October.
- Qvist, Per Olav and Peter Von Bagh (2000), Guide to the Cinema of Sweden and Finland, Westport: Greenwood.
- Ramek, Pir (1954), 'Herr Arnes penningar', Upsala Nya Tidning, 27 December.
- Ramek, Pir (1956a), 'Flickan i frack ett lyckokast', Upsala Nya Tidning, 16 October.
- Ramek, Pir (1956b), 'RÖDA KVARN: Sången om den eldröda blomman', Upsala Nya Tidning, 27 December.
- Ross, Jonathan (2017), 'Factors Behind Retranslations: What can We Learn from the Scholarly Discourse on Film Remakes?' *Journal of Translation Studies*, 23, 129–46.
- Sandrews Flickan i frack (1956), Sandrews.
- Sandrews Synnöve Solbakken (1957), Stockholm.
- 'Sången om den eldröda blomman' (1957), Veckojournalen, 2.
- Sellermark, Arne (1954), 'Selma Lagerlöf i Naftalin', Veckojournalen, 16.
- SF Sången om den eldröda blomman (1956), Svensk filmindustri.

SF reklamråd – Herr Arnes penningar (1954), Stockholm: Svensk Filmindustri.

Smith, Iain R. and Constantine Verevis (2017), 'Introduction: Transnational Film Remakes', in Iain R. Smith and Constantine Verevis (eds), *Transnational Film Remakes*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 1-18.

Soila, Tytti (1998), 'Sweden', in Tytti Soila (ed.), Nordic National Cinemas, London: Routledge, pp. 135–220.

Stern, Lesley (2000), "Emma" in Los Angeles: Remaking the Book and the City', in James Naremore (ed.), *Film Adaptation*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, pp. 221–38.

Stenport, Anna Westerståhl (2016), 'Nordic Remakes in Hollywood: Reconfiguring Originals and Copies', in Mette Hjort and Ursula Lindqvist (eds), A Companion to Nordic Cinema, Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, pp. 436–56.

Stenport, Anna Westerståhl (2019), 'Opening up the Postwar World in Color: 1950s Geopolitics and Spectacular Nordic Colonialism in the Arctic and Africa', in Anna Westerståhl Stenport and Arne Lunde (eds), Nordic Film Cultures and Cinemas of Elsewhere, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 105–25.

Svensk Filmindustri (1955a), Avtal, Stockholm.

Svensk Filmindustri (1955b), Avtal, Stockholm.

Synnöve Solbakken Trailerlista (1957), AB Sandrew-Ateljéerna; AB Artistfilm, available at: http://www.svenskfilmdatabas.se/sv/item/?type=film&itemid=4544#holdings-scripts (last accessed 10 September 2019).

The Swedish picture: The Song of the Red Flower (n.d.), Stockholm: Svensk Filmindustri. Tjerneld, Staffan (1956), 'Flickan i frack på Royal', *Expressen*, 16 October.

Verevis, Constantine (2006), Film Remakes, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Verevis, Constantine (2017), 'Remakes, Sequels, Prequels', in Thomas Leitch (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Adaptation Studies*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 267–84.

Zetterström, Marianne (1956), 'Går pa bio: Flickan i frack', Idun, 44.

