

From sensation to fluent identity – Lili Elbe's life narrative between historical case and contemporary re-enactment*

By Marianne Ølholm

The life narrative of Lili Elbe is a case story from the 1930s that has received considerable attention in contemporary culture. Not least due to the Hollywood-film The Danish Girl (2015) it has become widely known, and in this essay, I would like to look at four representations of Lili's life. The primary case is Lili Elbe's life narrative Fra Mand til Kvinde – Lili Elbes Bekendelser (From Man into Woman Lili Elbe's Confessions, 1931). This forms the historical basis and background for the discussion of the other examples, which are the painting En Sommerdag (A Summerday, 1927) by Gerda Wegener, the film The Danish Girl (2015) directed by Tom Hooper and the dance performance with the same title produced by Tim Rushton and performed by Holstebro Dance Company (2022). As this list shows, Lili Elbe's story has been presented in various art forms and from different perspectives over time with the early 1930s as the historical point of departure. I my reading, I would like to trace the shifts in the perception of Lili's transition from one gender to another as they manifest themselves in the examples, from the emphasis on the surgical transformation in the original narrative to the perspective of gender-confirmation of the most recent adaptation. Another aspect, which presents itself through a reading across time, is the question of authorship to the narrative and of access to artistic production. Seen in relation to each other, the different representations reflect a development in how Lili Elbe's case is interpreted through the respective historical periods.

In the following, I will discuss the written narrative in its particular capacity of a hybrid between a historical document, depicting a particular point of intersection in the history of transgender, and a complex literary product that has inspired other artistic manifestations. The essay relates to the overall theme of this issue of *Peripeti*, which focuses on interpretations and representations of the 1930s today. In the case of *From Man into Woman*, a particular literary text and case story from the beginning of the decade has been reframed in versions in other media that reflect the distance in time and the changes in perceptions of gender, medical science and social norms. A short introduction to the publication history of *From Man into Woman* will be followed by a closer look at the theme of identity as it is presented in the narrative in relation to gender. In the last part of the article, I will briefly address two contemporary versions of Lili Elbe's life story in other media (film and dance) focusing on their approach to the subject of identity, gender, transgender and their description of Lili's transformation as a reflection of changing historical conditions for the negotiation of these. In this way the case study actualises contemporary perspectives on certain aspects of the 1930s and more specifically this is also manifested in the conditions of the productions in the different media.

Historical cases

The life narrative *From Man into Woman – Lili Elbe's Confessions* (1931) describes the Danish painter Einer Wegener's transformation into Lili Elbe (or Lili Ilse Elvenes, which was the name she chose). The surgical transformation from one gender to another leading up to her death in 1931 is often considered the first of its kind and as such it has been the subject of considerable attention. It is historically situated between the relatively progressive cultural and political climate

of the 1920s and the 1930s that was characterised by an increased political polarisation including the growing presence of totalitarian forces leading up to World War II. The narrative connects to the scientific advancements of the period as Lili Elbe underwent the initial examinations at Magnus Hirschfeld's clinic in Berlin before her surgery in Dresden. Magnus Hirschfeld's Institut für Sexualwissenschaft was closed as a result of Nazi persecution, and the building was attacked by Deutsche Studentenschaft in May 1933. Besides the political context, Lili Elbe's life narrative is also situated in an artistic milieu connected to the geographic and cultural centres of Europe. Einar Wegener and his wife Gerda Wegener both started their careers as artists in Copenhagen but travelled to Paris, Rome and Berlin, and especially Gerda Wegener received considerable recognition outside Denmark. In this way, the narrative maps distinct environments and locations of the late 1920s and early 1930s associated with progress, experiment, scientific advancement, broad-mindedness and artistic freedom, qualities that are sharply contrasted by the effects of the totalitarian tendencies of the following decade. The transformation taking place in From Man into Woman should be seen in the light of these broader developments as well as more specifically in the context of the understanding of gender in the period.

The historical quality of *From Man into Woman* is closely connected to the genre of the text and the complex conditions of its production. Autobiographical texts tend to invite readings that consider them as historical texts and authentic accounts, but as Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson put it: "Although it can be read as a history of the writing/speaking subject, life narrative cannot be reduced to or understood only as historical record " (quoted in Caughie and Meyer 2021: 20). The particularly complicated conditions of publication in this case make it necessary to question the expectations of truthfulness and referentiality associated with the genre.

From Man into Woman – Lili Elbe's Confessions was published after Lili Elbe's death in parallel versions in Danish in 1931, in German in 1932, and in English in Britain and the U.S. in 1933. The conditions of authorship of From Man into Woman are highly complex. In terms of authorship the text can be described as collage-like, and according to Sabine Meyer six individuals have been involved in its production. Lili Elvenes herself, Gerda Wegener, and their friend Poul Knudsen supplied their personal records, and these were edited by the journalist Loulou Lassen and Ernst Harthern (under the pseudonym Niels Hoyer), and finally the manuscript was proof-read by the surgeon Kurt Warnekros (Meyer 2011: 70). Though the title suggests an autobiographical narrative, the text does not have a first-person narrator but is constructed more like a novel. The characters have names that resembles those of the actual persons involved – Einar Wegener is Andreas Sparre and Gerda is called Grete. The text appears as fictional prose and the story starts in medias res at a small restaurant in Paris where Andreas and Grete celebrate a reunion with their artist friends. It does, however, contain elements that are closely related to the genre of autobiography, such as constructed letters by Lili Elbe and a chapter where Andreas Sparre gives an account of his life until the present moment.

The history of the origin of the narrative is complicated and relativises the idea of the (auto) biography as a straightforward account of a life. Furthermore, the text exists in several parallel versions of which none can be identified as the original manuscript, and the conditions of authorship are represented differently in the various editions. On the title page of the first version, which exists

The four editions of the narrative have been made accessible in *The Lili Elbe Digital Archive* (www.lilielbe.org) edited by Pamela L. Caughie and launched in 2020. All references to the narrative in this text can be found in the archive.



Einar Wegener (Andreas Sparre) (left) and Lili Elbe (right). From Fra Mand til Kvinde – Lili Elbes Bekendelser (From Man into Woman – Lili Elbe's Confessions), 1931.

only as a typescript in German, the author is identified as Niels Hoyer, a pseudonym for the German journalist, writer, and translator Ernst Harthern. On the title page of the Danish edition *Fra Mand til Kvinde: Lili Elbes Bekendelser* (From Man into Woman: Lili Elbe's Confessions, 1931) there is no name of an author but only the title. The German edition (1932) places Lili Elbe's name at the top of the title page, indicating that she is the author, and Niels Hoyer is credited as editor. The British and American Editions (both published in 1933) mention only the editor, Nils Hoyer.

The subtitle of the Danish edition includes the word "bekendelser" (confessions) and the version in English is presented as "An Authentic Record", and the work has generally been considered as an autobiography, biography, and memoir (Caughie and Meyer 2020: 28). All these genres are associated with expectations of truthfulness and referentiality, and in their introduction to the annotated edition of the American version from 2020, Pamela L. Caughie and Sabine Meyer suggest that this generic definition can be questioned.

Central to the genre of biography is the idea of identity, and this is also the case in Lili Elbe's life narrative, but more as an open question. In one scene Andreas Sparre asks the doctor who will transform him through surgical intervention: "Well, Professor, what am I? ... What." (American edition, Chapter II). In *From Man into Woman*, the question of identity is complicated by the fact that Andreas Sparre and Lili are presented as two separate individuals with different memories.

In one chapter, Andreas Sparre gives an account of his life to his friend Niels Hvide. After he has been through the preliminary examinations and the surgery is planned, he spends an evening

with his friend and his wife Inger, and he decides to tell them about his life. Andreas explains what motivates the need to give this account:

– Whatever comes, Mrs. Inger, this will be *my* last night That is why I would like to – if you have the patience to listen to me – tell you about my life No one knows if I'll still be *me* the day after tomorrow or if this will be the last time I sit here as Andreas And who knows if Lili shares my memories or if she has forgotten them? (Danish edition, Chapter VII²)

Niels offers to stenograph what Andreas tells them, and Andreas agrees to this. In this scene Andreas's story is written down by another person, which reflects the conditions of authorship and the complexity of the writing process in the book itself.

When it comes to Lili, the situation is quite different. It seems that she does not have a past at all. In the greater part of the narrative, she lives in expectation of her coming existence:

She never speaks about the past Often I have the impression that she has not had any past, as if she has no present either, as if she just exists in the expectation of the life Professor Kreutz will give her. (Danish edition, Chapter XII)

The central theme of transformation complicates the autobiographical narrative as the history of one individual.

Towards the end of the book, when Lili has returned to Denmark, she starts keeping a diary encouraged by her nephew:

"You can do a lot of good that way," he had said, "you may be able to help yourself and others now, in this period where you are preparing yourself to take up serious work, by writing down what you think and feel." (Danish edition, Chapter XXII)

The argument that her writings will be a help to others also suggests that the diary is meant for publication. At the same time the idea of the diary contributes to the impression of the book as an authentic narrative, although this is not the actual text that is presented to the reader.

In her diary, Lili uses the metaphor of a bridge to describe her transition from one identity to another and from the past to the future:

"I am like someone who is building a bridge. But it is no ordinary bridge. On one bank I stand That is the present and there I have already driven in the first poles. And from this bank I am going to build my bridge, floating in space toward the other bank that I often see not at all and otherwise only see as in a fog. Only now and then I see it quite clearly in my dreams. And then I do not know if this bank means the past or the future. This question then awakes in me: Have I only had a past, or have I not had any past at all, or do I only have a future and no past?" (Danish edition, Chapter XXIV)

²⁾ Translations from the Danish edition into English are from my translation published at www.lilielbe.org.

This metaphor of the bridge is developed further in a remark by Lili's doctor in the following chapter, linking it to the main motivation for writing and publishing her diary:

Your bridge, Lili, leads deeper into the past than you suspect now it leads across the chasm that otherwise separates man and woman it is a destiny that makes you chosen unique among all the rest of humanity. [...] (Danish edition XXIV)

The focus of this imagery is on the transition from one gender and one identity to another, which is accentuated in the narrative. The quotation from Lili's doctor also stresses the uniqueness of her experience and in this way approaches it from the perspective of the medical case story. In her reading of the bridge as a metaphor, gender scholar Eliza Steinbok adds that Lili chose to take her name after the river Elbe and that her "identification with the passing waters [...] suggest a much more fluid kind of identity" (Steinbok 2018: 177), and in this way she sees an opening in the text for another reading of Lili's identity.

The case story is in itself a modernist genre that should be mentioned in connection with the publication of Lili Elbe's narrative Modernist scholar Michael Levenson introduces this view of the narrative in his contribution to the scholarly edition of *Man into Woman*: "We should take case study as a modernist form, with as much claim on historical attention as other canonical techniques: the mythic method, collage, the image, etc. Case study is micro-narrative, living on the unstable boundary between art and science." (Levinson 2021: 244). This argument is expanded by Pamela L. Caughie and Sabine Meyer in their introduction where they see the narrative as a modernist text, not due to its formal or stylistic innovation, but as part of a general cultural shift in perceptions of gender identity characteristic of the early decades of the twentieth century (Caughie and Meyer 2021: 21).

It is precisely the uniqueness and novelty of her transformation from one gender to another that is at the centre of the attention that this text has been the object of. In his preface to the Danish edition Ernst Harthern advertised the book as a truthful autobiography by Lili Elbe approved by her surgeon:

The doctor whose daring operations made it possible for the critically ill Einar Wegener to carry on his life in complete harmony with his true nature has read through the book in my German translation. (Danish edition, Foreword)

This approval by a medical expert gives the text another kind of authority, and in combination with the link to the genre of the case story it adds to the expectation of authenticity and even scientific accuracy of the text. A contemporary example of the authority of a medical diagnosis is the recognition of trauma in the form of the diagnosis posttraumatic stress disorder that can validate the status of asylum seeking refugees as supporting testimony of persecution (Fassin and Rechtman 2007: 10).

Lili herself also experiences her situation as unique in the sense that it has not previously been described in literature:

What pleasure would I have from reading about the destiny of other people, I knew that I would never in any book find anything about people who were like me no poet

had yet written about such a being, because it had never occurred to any poet that it could exist. (Danish version, Chapter IX)

But she also distances herself from the role as an unusual exception, and she states that: "I don't want to be a phenomenon I want to be a quite normal and ordinary woman." There is clearly a tension between the framing of Lili's transformation as remarkable and medically ground-breaking and her own identification with the ordinary and 'normal'. With a contemporary term, she expresses the wish to 'pass', that is to be seen as the gender she identifies as and not as transgender. In his reading of Gerda Wegener's paintings of Lili turning her back to the viewer, gender studies scholar Tobias Raun reads Lili's half-turned posture as self-protection and a resistance strategy in the face of a constant demand for explanation and self-exposure that meets transgender individuals (Raun 2016: 54).



Gerda Wegner, En Sommerdag (A Summer Day), 1927.

The rendering of the gender transformation at the centre of *From Man into Woman* reproduces views of gender and gender stereotypes that are typical of the period and have been challenged by later representations of Lili's life. It is characteristic that the narrative views Andreas Sparre and Lili Elbe as two completely separate individuals with separate identities without any possibility of coexistence. In one scene Andreas/Lili describes how only one of them can live in his or her body:

in my ailing body two sharply divided beings lived who were foreign and almost hostile to each other, although they also had compassion with each other, because each of them knew that this body only had room for one. One of these beings had to be destroyed, or they both had to die (Danish version, Chapter IX)

The two "beings" do not share a common memory and have completely different personal qualities.

Although the focus in *From Man into Woman* is on the authentic case story from an (auto) biographical perspective, it is striking that the production of the text is at a distance from Lili Elbe herself, and that her experience is mediated by a number of other writers and editors with various interests and perspectives on her experience.

Before turning to the contemporary versions of Lili Elbe's story, I would like to briefly mention a representation of Lili that coincided with or even came before the written narrative, namely the paintings of Lili by Einar Wegener's wife Gerda Wegener. In the narrative, it is Grete's request of Andreas to pose for a portrait of an actress that creates the occasion for the character of Lili to emerge, and where she is given her name, and in real life Gerda Wegener painted numerous pictures of Lili.

It is striking that Wegener's portrayals of Lili differ from the gender stereotypes presented in the written narrative. An example of this is the painting *En Sommerdag* (A Summerday, 1927) that shows both Einar Wegener at the easel in the background and Lili as a nude model in the foreground. In contrast to the strict division between Andreas and Lili in *From Man into Woman*, Gerda Wegener's painting allows for the simultaneous presence of both.

Gerda Wegener's pictures of Lili were painted over a number of years, and according to gender studies scholar Tobias Raun, the paintings offer an alternative source for an understanding of Lili to the written account in *From Man into Woman* (Raun 2016, p. 42). Raun sees the paintings of Lili as a combination of Gerda Wegerner's painterly perception and representation of Lili and Lili's own ability to pose as a woman. According to Raun, Lili "seems to be deliberately posing – and this suggests that making oneself a female visual object is not only a passive, but also an active subjectivizing act. It is a way of achieving recognition and legitimacy as a female subject." (Raun 2016, p. 44). The paintings become a space of freedom where Lili can develop her female identity without the obstacles that she experienced in other contexts, and at the same time the paintings present a much more open space of potentials and interpretation of gender than what is found in the written narrative.

Contemporary representations

In recent years, there has been a renewed interest in Lili Elbe's case as the theme of transgender has become one of the central topics of contemporary discourse. The Hollywood movie *The Danish Girl* from 2015 directed by Tom Hooper is loosely based on David Ebershoff's novel from 2000 and has adopted its title. Unlike the title of autobiographical narrative *From Man into Woman*, the title of the novel does not focus on the transformation itself but on Lili as a specific case connected to a specific locality. It places her at the geographical periphery of the European continent and at a distance from the cultural centres of the period that were also part of her life as an artist as well as the location of her surgical transformation.

The relation between Einar and Lili is described through the dialogue and Einar refers to childhood memories that foreshadow Lili's presence: "Already back in Vejle ... [....] I was different." Another element that connects Einar's past to Lili's present is the fictional character Hans Axgill, who appears both in the novel and the film, and who is a childhood friend of Einar's. He reappears as an art dealer in Paris in the present of the film. His experience of Einar and Lili makes him a witness to the presence of both sides in Einar's earlier life. In this way the movie does not repeat the

view of two completely separate gender identities as it is found in the written narrative, although Einar's strong wish to become a woman maintains a complete distinction.

The dramatisation of the film tells the story of Einar's transformation into Lili through their relationship to Gerda. Gerda is supportive of Einar's transformation, and her portraits of Lili also play a major part in the film. In many ways, the focus of the film is on Gerda's situation as much as on Einar's, and in one scene, the "Danish girl" of the title actually refers to her.

Another aspect of the filmic representation is the attention to geographic location, costumes and make up that are used to produce an impression of the period and visualise Einar's transformation into Lili. The film has been criticised for giving an external depiction of the narrative with an emphasis on costumes and setting aimed at a cis-gendered audience. "The effect [...] is that we look *at* Lili as a he, a husband and cross-dresser, rather than *with* her; we are not invited into her situated knowledge of the world, nor to experience her self-conception" (Steinbock, 175). Another point of criticism has been that the film reproduces a stereotypical image of transgender for instance through Lili's preoccupation with her own appearance and female clothes.

The conditions of production became a prominent issue in connection with the reception of the film. Already in 2015, when the film had its premiere, the issue of casting Eddie Redmayne, who is a cis-gendered male actor, as Lili was commented on by the director Tom Hooper. In an interview quoted in *The Guardian* he states that the "film industry has a 'problem' with transgender actors, with many unable to secure roles despite a "huge pool of talent" ³. Hooper also made a point of stating that: "the production had reached out to the trans acting communities in the cities where they shot – London, Brussels and Copenhagen – and ended up casting "40 or 50 trans supporting artists". The question of the terms of production played a key role in the reception of the movie and was also considered in the process of production although this was not reflected in the casting of the leading part.

Tom Hopper also comments on the sharp distinction between the Einar and Lili that the film has adopted from the original narrative:

"In Lili's time, despite how revolutionary her surgery was, there was still a sense that if you're not fully a man you need to be corrected surgically to be fully a woman. [...] I hope we move forward to a place where people are free to do that, but also to put themselves at wherever they feel comfortable on that spectrum."

As a consequence of the debate surrounding the casting of the part as Lili Elbe, Eddie Redmayne declared in 2021 that he regretted taking the role:

"I made that film with the best intentions, but I think it was a mistake. The bigger discussion about the frustrations around casting is because many people don't have a chair at the table. There must be a levelling, otherwise we are going to carry on having these debates."

³⁾ Andrew Pulver: "Danish Girl director Tom Hooper: film industry has 'problem' with transgender actors" in *The Guardian* (15 September 2015).

In the years from 2015 to 2021, the awareness of the question of access to media and artistic production for transgender people had grown and made it necessary for Redmayne to reconsider his position.



The Danish Girl by Tim Rushton and Holstebro Dansekompagni Photo: Jonas Søgaard

The issue of access in the infrastructures of production is also at the centre of the staging of the dance performance *The Danish Girl* by Holstebro Dansekompagni (formerly Black Box Dance Company) in 2022 by the choreographer Tim Rushton. In the description of the performance on the company's website, the transgender status of the main character is highlighted: "Starring as Lili Elbe will be the exceptionally skilled dancer, Bjørk-Mynte Paulse. With her own vivid experience as transgender, she will add a dimension and depth to the character which will make this masterpiece even more relevant and meaningful." The opening lines of the programme takes its departure from the Hollywood film of 2015 emphasising the choice of not "involving any transpersons in the creation" (Brolin-Tani and Kier 2021). The topic of transgender is not only at the centre of the performance itself, but attention has also been shifted to include the conditions of production.

In their text to the printed programme for the performance, the dramaturges Storm Møller Madsen and Levi Bøgh Stray, both transgendered, focus on the changes in perspectives on Lili Elbe's life:

⁴⁾ The website of Holstebro Teater at https://holstebroteater.dk/en/show/the-danish-girl-2/ (consulted 10 August 2022).

Lili Elbe's story in many ways differ from today's translife. At the same time, the historical material about Elbe's life is both complex and ambiguous. In the dramaturgical work it has been crucial to find the balance in respecting Elbe's story, as she told it, and at the same time make a present performance in a contemporary perspective. [...] (Møller Madsen and Bøgh Stray 2021, n.p., translated by the author.)

The approach is a combination of an interest in the historical material and a contemporary angle that reinterprets this material. The dramaturges also see dance as a medium that can explore "all that we still lack the language and understanding for" and in this way a medium that can explore Lili Elbe's story as a trans-experience and minority representation in dramatic art.

The performance does not have the gender transformation as its central theme. It opens with a scene with Lili and not Einar sitting centre stage, emphasising that Lili is present from the beginning. The pioneering surgery appears as gender-confirmation rather than a transformation. The male character is introduced later, and during parts of the performance, Lili is dressed in male clothes as Einar. In one scene she and a group of dancers move uniformly in a controlled, slightly mechanical choreography illustrating the constrictions of the male gender stereotype.

Towards the end of the performance another scene describes Lili's surgery. Dancers in white costumes almost throw Lili around in what comes across as a quite violent choreography. This differs significantly from Lili's presentation of her surgeon Doctor Kreutz in *From Man into Woman* as her hero and a saviour who will give her a new life. Where the gender transformation in the historical narrative is presented as a solution in itself, in the contemporary performance, her identity is not exclusively tied to the medical transformation. The intensity of the scene also contains a criticism of today's medical approach to transgender persons, which maintains a binary view of gender and demands that the individual belongs to either one or the other as a prerequisite for treatment⁵.

The final scene of the performance shows Lili's dead body at the centre of the stage. The other dancers wrap her in a huge linen cloth that is folded into a kind of cocoon around her. In a talk after one of the performances, Bjørk-Mynte Paulse, who plays Lili, explained that it was important to the company to portray Lili as a figure surrounded by people who loved her in contrast to the stereotype of the life of transgender people as lonely and at a distance from community⁶.

From transformation to confirmation

The different historical representations of Lili Elbe's life story show different perceptions of gender and transgender. Where Elbe's surgery at the beginning of the 1930s was a medical sensation originating in the progressive climate of the 1920s, the role of the surgery itself today is toned down in favour of a more nuanced understanding of gender identity. The interest in Lili's story has moved from a focus on transformation to a perspective of gender confirmation and a greater attention to the transgender experience.

In the historical narrative, Lili and Andreas appear as two separate individuals with different memories and histories, each of them conforming without reservation to the gender expectations of the period. The two cannot be imagined as having a parallel existence and one of them literally has to disappear for the other to emerge. This view is modified in Gerda Wegener's painting, which

⁵⁾ I would like to thank dramaturg Storm Møller Madsen for an insightful conversation about the performance 27 October 2022.

⁶⁾ Artist talk after the performance of *The Danish Girl* at Baltoppen 30 April 2022.

allows Lili as a model and Einar as a painter to exist in the same image, suggesting a more fluent perception of identity and gender than the one that is found in the written narrative.

The two contemporary representations, the film and the dance performance, are situated in a cultural context where the subject of gender identity has become a central issue in society and popular culture (Steinbok 2018: 173, Raun 2015: 41). The idea of surgery as a transformation from one gender to another has been replaced by the concept of gender confirmation, indicating that gender identity exists prior to the surgery and allowing for a more fluent spectrum of identity and thus also for greater diversity.

In the cases of the two contemporary works, this is not only reflected in the works themselves, but also manifested in the discussion of the aesthetics of production surrounding them. The film based on Ebershoff's novel remains closer to the interpretation of the transformation of the historical narrative, and the critique of this mainly takes place as part of the reception. In the case of the dance performance, however, the attention to the issue of transgender representation is incorporated in the structure of the performance and considered in the casting.

The development in the presentation of gender identity thus concerns both the view of gender identity as well as the conditions of artistic production. Common to the different representations of Lili Elbe's story is the question of ownership of text, voice and expression and the issue of access to the means of aesthetic production is pertinent to all the representations. From the indeterminate authorship of the autobiographical text *From Man into Woman*, to the controversy around the casting of a cis-gendered actor in the role of Lili in the Movie *The Danish Girl*, and most recently to the focus on the transgender status of the dancer in the leading role of the most recent dance performance where this aspect of the production has become inseparable from the performance as a representation of transgender experience. From a historical perspective, this indicates that the perception of gender represented in the narrative from the early 1930s has changed substantially, and that the contemporary adaptions of the source text bring different perspectives to the interpretation of Lili Elbe's life story.

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