"Your eyes and ears on this side of the ocean": Complicating S. J. Greenburger's Role as Literary Scout and US Representative for Rowohlt Verlag in the 1960s

Corinna Norrick-Rühl and Miaïna Razakamanantsoa[1]

Abstract: As institutions of authorship, publishers rely on their own networks of gatekeepers and contacts to source texts from around the world for their lists. These far-flung gatekeepers can be influential and instrumental in the circulation of literature, but have remained largely invisible in the field and within literary and book historical scholarship. Using archival materials from Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach and Mainzer Verlagsarchiv, this contribution explores the extraordinary role of Sanford J. Greenburger as a literary scout for the German publisher Rowohlt in the 1960s. Greenburger is of particular relevance as a case study for transatlantic gatekeeping, having scouted authors and texts for Rowohlt's prize-winning portfolio of translations from the U.S. Besides making Greenburger's labor for Rowohlt visible and thus restructuring our understanding of Rowohlt's U.S. interests, the contribution also offers insights into the value of publishing archives and archival research.

Contributor biographies: Corinna Norrick-Rühl is Professor of Book Studies at WWU Münster, Germany, where she researches and teaches 20th- and 21st-century book culture and publishing, with special interests in translations and mass-market formats. She has published widely on book club editions, including a Cambridge Element titled *Book Clubs and Book Commerce* (2019). More recently, she co-edited *Bookshelves in the Age of the COVID-19 Pandemic* (with Shafquat Towheed, Palgrave 2022) and co-authored *Are Books Still 'Different'? Literature as Culture and Commodity in a Digital Age* (with Caroline Koegler, Cambridge UP 2023). She is Director of Publications for the Society for the History of Authorship, Reading and Publishing (SHARP) and involved in the collaborative research center "Law and Literature" (DFG SFB 1385) at the University of Münster.

Miaïna Razakamanantsoa is a research associate and doctoral candidate at WWU Münster, Germany. She holds a bachelor's degree in Multilingual Communication from the Université de Genève (French-English-Spanish) and a master's degree in Advanced Anglophone Studies from the Leibniz Universität Hannover. In 2021, she started her current position at the collaborative research center "Law and Literature" (DFG SFB 1385) at WWU Münster. Miaïna is a recipient of the 2019 Leibniz PROMOS Scholarship (DAAD) and the 2021 Exposé Scholarship (LUH Graduate Academy). Her research interests include the publishing and marketing of works in translation, strategies of cultural translation, the global circulation of literary works, the publishing industry, and the materiality of the book. She is currently working on her doctoral dissertation on the publishing of translated literature.

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Introduction

Gatekeepers and gatekeeping practices in the literary marketplace have received increasing attention over the past years, with a focus on how texts are selected and published, marketed and received. This contribution will focus on pre-publication gatekeeping in a transatlantic relationship, considering literary agents and scouts as institutions of authorship in keeping with the theme of this special issue. We will also give particular consideration to the invisibility of the actors involved in these pre-publication selection and gatekeeping processes.

The recognition that there are invisible actors and processes at play within the literary marketplace is not new. For instance, Ute Schneider has framed editors as "invisible" in her *Der Unsichtbare Zweite: Die Berufsgeschichte des Lektors im literarischen Verlag* (2015), and Lawrence Venuti has considered the "invisibility" of translators (2017). In a blog post in 2014, romance novelist Olivia Waite sketched out the types of invisible labor that authors, publishers, distributors, booksellers and readers perform within the contemporary literary marketplace (2014). In something of an industry reckoning, the invisible labor of junior editors was made visible by the open resignation letter of assistant editor Molly McGhee and the subsequent hashtag #publishingburnout (McGhee, Terrell, and Ganeshananthan 2022; see also Egan 2022). However, generally speaking, invisible labor in the book industry is under-researched. This dearth of research has only recently been recognized by book studies and publishing studies scholars, in particular by scholars engaged in feminist book history. As Parnell et al. (2020) have recently shown in regards to the author-publicist relationship, invisible labor is highly gendered, and particularly relevant to study within a publishing industry that employs a large majority of women, though for top positions hiring practices still tend to favor predominantly male (and white) actors (see Anderson 2017 and Cowdrey 2016). Combining these perspectives from recent work in feminist book history and publishing studies with a network-inspired view of gatekeeping (cf. Lanzendörfer and Norrick-Rühl 2020), this contribution will discuss the invisible labor inherent within established gatekeeping roles which are, themselves, under-studied: literary scouts. In this case, with a clear historical focus on the 1960s, we will consider the relationship between the German Rowohlt Verlag (est. 1908)[2] and Sanford J. Greenburger, who established his literary agency in Manhattan in 1932 and worked as a publishing representative and literary scout for Rowohlt's U.S. interests in the 1960s in particular.[3] The archival material consulted for the case study is located at the German Literary Archive in Marbach am Neckar (Deutsches Literaturarchiv) as well as at the Mainz Publishing Archive at Johannes Gutenberg-University (Mainzer Verlagsarchiv).[4] We will begin this contribution by explaining critical terminology, before considering forms of invisible labor in the publishing world and then moving on to our case study.

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[2] For historical context on Rowohlt Verlag, see Gieselbusch et al. 2008. See also the publisher's website: https://www.rowohlt.de/verlag.

[3] The firm still exists today: https://www.greenburger.com/about.

[4] We thank the Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach, Rowohlt Verlag (in particular Michael Töteberg) and the Mainzer Verlagsarchiv for permission to work with and quote from unpublished correspondence. We also thank Sanford J. Greenburger Associates, Inc., in particular Heide Lange, as well as Francis Greenburger for permission to quote from the unpublished correspondence.

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While an extended discussion of archival methodologies in publishing history and literary studies goes well beyond the scope of this paper, some comments seem to be in order. Firstly, there is previous work in book studies revolving around archival work and writing publishing histories which deserves mention, notably Schneider's "Verlagsgeschichte als Unternehmensgeschichte" ["Publishing history as corporate history"] (2012; see also Bode and Osborne 2015). Additionally, recent work in American studies has reflected on the challenges and opportunities of engagement with archival documents (Dever 2015 and Horn in Brasch and Starre 2022). As researchers, we recognize our role in the publishing archives to be complex, and to be influenced by the work of others, such as by former employees of the publisher and their filing preferences, but also by archivists and their knowledge organization strategies.[5] Given the large quantities of material researchers sift through in the archives, we also necessarily "rely on techniques of skimming and skipping—accident and contingency rule supreme" (Mayer in Brasch and Starre 2022, 13). Accident and contingency do not make our observations less relevant, but we feel it is important to acknowledge the vagaries of archival research.

Bridging the Atlantic: Literary Agents and Scouts as Institutions of Authorship

Transatlantic literary ties, in particular between continental Europe and North America, run deep. Even before the U.S. publishing industry was established, texts moved across the Atlantic with immigrants as commodities and as chance cargo on ships actually laden with other, more profitable products (for context, see Amory and Hall 2007). From the nineteenth century onwards, however, the American publishing industry began to expand, and books from Europe were published in the U.S. and vice versa. While the history of international copyright goes well beyond the scope of this article, it is important to note that the U.S. book industry had entered into international copyright agreements by the late nineteenth century with the Chace Act (1891), though the U.S. did not join the Berne Convention until 1986 (for context, see Ricketson and Ginsburg 2022). By the end of the nineteenth century, the selling and licensing of publishing rights became a lucrative business (see Owens 2010, 6; McCleery 2015).

Our contribution and case study is concerned with the 1960s, a decade in which the trade in rights was extremely active, especially for U.S. titles in continental Europe. Post-war and post-reeducation West German readers were primed for U.S. texts, which had been subsidized and supported in the immediate post-war period—and hand-selected to promote democratic ideals and a positive image of American life (see Wittmann 1999, 406). As Martin Meyer has reported, "between the early 1950s and the late 1960s, approximately 10,000 titles from the United States were published in German in the Federal Republic, about half of which were belles lettres" (2004, 429). Meyer further posits that the "great success of American literature can be explained by German readers' yearning for a sense of direction, which portions of the broad spectrum of American literature provided" (2004, 430). Among the very first novels to be published in post-war Germany, for instance by Rowohlt in his famous Rowohlts Rotationsromane and later in his RORORO paperbacks, were texts by U.S. authors such as Ernest Hemingway, Jack London, John Steinbeck, William Faulkner, and many, many others. Overall, Rowohlt Verlag has an especially long and

[5] We would like to thank Gunilla Eschenbach (DLA Marbach) and Cornelia Gisevius (MVA Mainz), in particular, for their assistance in working with these archival documents, as well as the staff in the reading room of the DLA Marbach for their patience and support.

pronounced tradition of publishing contemporary U.S. authors (see Norrick-Rühl 2020 and Norrick-Rühl 2021 for context). While modern classics were easier to identify and publishers often were able to re-activate pre-war licensing agreements, new talents needed to be scouted and published to quench the market's thirst for contemporary American stories and voices. Literary agents and literary scouts played an important role in bridging the Atlantic and finding these texts and authors, matching them with German publishers who, by the 1960s, were competing (sometimes fiercely) for licensing opportunities (for context, see McDowell 1983 and McDowell 1990).

Before we introduce our main protagonist, Sanford J. Greenburger, we first would like to clarify the terminologies used to describe those "in-between" roles that are sometimes subsumed under the blanket term "gatekeepers." While some recent work has considered how certain gatekeepers, especially literary editors (Squires 2020), and to a lesser extent literary agents,[6] influence the world of literature, there is much research ahead of scholars in understanding the complex processes of filtering and curation which shape our literary landscape. Michael Bhaskar writes that

> Literary agents [...] are about filtering. Their value to readers, on whom they ultimately depend, is directly correlated to the success or failure of that curation. [Their] careers [are] defined by what may be understood as micro or individual curatorial paradigms; in essence the agent is a maximally concentrated version of a publisher's curatorial paradigm. Agents [...] function as a vital part of solving publishing's abundance problem. (Bhaskar and Phillips 2019, 14)

There is some existing research on the role of agents in publishing, mostly with a contemporary view (for example, Fischer 2001; more recently McGrath 2021). James Hepburn (1968; 2009) and Mary Ann Gillies (2007) have considered the literary agent in historical perspective. Cécile Cottenet's book-historical research on literary agents is particularly instructive for our case because she focuses on the transatlantic book trade during a similar period in history. As she notes, "few proponents of this emerging field [of publishing history] have chosen to concentrate on literary agents" (2017, 9), evidenced for instance by the fact that literary agents play almost no role at all in the *History of the Book in America*'s volume for the second half of the twentieth century, *The Enduring Book* (Nord, Rubin, and Schudson 2014).

The terms that Greenburger and his contemporaries use vary. On the one hand, there are already literary agencies with literary agents active since the outgoing nineteenth century. In fact, as Mary Ann Gillies writes, "the basic techniques for exploiting the commercial possibilities of literature were well established by 1914" (2007, 167). These literary agencies are (usually) independent firms or self-employed actors who work for and with authors to place their manuscripts advantageously with publishers in a particular national or linguistic setting. Scouting, however, is also an established activity, although possibly less formalized as a role, especially because different actors take on the task of recommending books to foreign publishers. Greenburger's Rowohlt-branded letterhead, however, defines him as Rowohlt's "US Representative" instead of choosing either the term agent or scout. Similarly, for the Netherlands, Greenburger is listed in *Publishers Weekly* as the representative

[6] William Marling studies the circulation of "world literature" and the role of certain actors within this process in his 2016 *Gatekeepers: The Emergence of World Literature and the 1960s.*

of A. W. Bruna & Zoon (Nathan 1966, 64). Cottenet has offered alternative terms as well, noting that agents act as "brokers" and "legal counsellors" (2017, 4).

A serendipitous archival find—a letter Greenburger wrote to a book industry hopeful named James E. Hurley in 1968 to disambiguate roles and explain options for getting a foothold in the book business—contains Greenburger's definition of "scouting": "This function is to turn up eventually successful works that the regular, routine search made by a respective publisher and his staff, might have missed" (Greenburger to Hurley, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, February 9, 1968). Greenburger explains that only a few publishers "maintain regular, time compensated scouts in countries foreign to their operations." As Greenburger further elucidates, scouting was often an informal process whereby authors, colleagues and friends in the book business would receive "a small percentage of an outright honorarium if one of these people turns up a book or author to whom the publisher has not otherwise had access" (Greenburger, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, February 9, 1968). Given the increasing competition in the post-war period book industry, as Greenburger indicates, a subset of publishers opted to "engage on a permanent part-time basis [...] people of the local literary establishment" to offer "additional 'intelligence'" to the publisher (Greenburger, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, February 9, 1968). The use of the term "intelligence" rings an interesting bell in a post-1945, Cold War climate, and there was certainly an element of espionage and secrecy to scouting, as we will see below. Given the archival record, we can assume that Greenburger's role for Rowohlt was a permanent part-time scouting role, in which Greenburger's time was compensated and in which he received a percentage of the contractual fee after licensing contracts were signed (cf. Mainzer Verlagsarchiv, Rowohlt, Row 782, Rowohlt Verlag to Greenburger, January 26, 1968). Greenburger also put in for expenses, it seems, on a semi-regular basis (cf. Greenburger to Kurt Busch, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, October 1, 1967). Unfortunately, the archival records do not contain bookkeeping details, so there are only scattered mentions of the expenses incurred.

Scouts engaged in transatlantic dealings needed to be well-versed in multiple markets (and, ideally, languages). Especially in post-war Germany, scouting would include considerations of ideologies and traditions, and comparative knowledge of markets and readers was paramount to the scouting and negotiation process. After all, while Germany had re-entered the global stage as a cultural actor with the re-establishment of Frankfurt Book Fair in the immediate post-war period (cf. Büttner and Norrick-Rühl forthcoming), there were still particular differences to keep in mind. As Cottenet explains, "[t]he mechanics of negotiations of book rights must be viewed within the specific field of transatlantic publishing, which presupposes a comparative approach and the consideration of political/ideological and economic/financial constraints" (2017, 9).

Case Study: Sanford J. Greenburger & Rowohlt

Sanford J. Greenburger was born in 1903 in Glens Falls, New York, the only child of Frank Greenburger (Ferenc Grunberger) and Sarah Rosaling Lowenheim, two immigrants from Hungary (Lythgoe, n.d.). Greenburger spent time in Hungary during his years at university, but returned to New York to graduate from Columbia University. Greenburger translated several books from Hungarian, but was most well-known in the industry for his work as an agent, scout and U.S. representative for European firms, among them Rowohlt Verlag (*New York Times* June 10, 1971, p. 46; *Publisher's Weekly* June 28, 1971, p. 44). Greenburger wore multiple hats as he worked as a scout for the Rowohlt Verlag from at least 1960 to his death in 1971, corresponding and interacting in

particular with publisher Heinrich Maria Ledig-Rowohlt and, to a lesser extent, with publisher Fritz J. Raddatz. His portfolio of activities was surprisingly diverse, though some of Greenburger's activities were more measurable (and visible) than others.

One of Greenburger's most visible responsibilities—the most obvious duty of a literary scout—consisted of scouting new titles on behalf of the publisher, the assumption being that a scout in Manhattan would be closer to the "buzz" that is central to the book industry. As Raddatz emphasized in 1968, American literary agents worked too slowly for a quick transatlantic translation and turnover, and Greenburger was instrumental in procuring advance reader copies more quickly than regular literary agents (cf. Raddatz to Greenburger, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, November 7, 1968, here regarding Philip Roth's work).

One example of traditional scouting is Greenburger's work for the Rowohlt *Nachttisch-Büchlein* Series. The series was created in the late 1960s, following the considerable success of different works that Rowohlt had published, including Carl Brinitzer's *Liebeskunst ganz prosaisch* (1966), Kurt Kusenberg's *Lob des Bettes* (1964) and Jean Effel's *Heitere Schöpfungsgeschichte für fröhliche Erdenbürger* (1965). As Rowohlt wrote: "All these works are selling like hot cakes, all have already been printed over 50 thousand times, the EFFEL is nearing 200 thousand [Alle diese Bändchen gehen wie geschnitten Brot, alle haben das 50. Tausend bereits überschritten, der EFFEL nähert sich dem 200. Tausend]" (Ledig-Rowohlt to Greenburger, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, June 6, 1967). Aiming to gather similar titles, the Rowohlt *Nachttisch-Büchlein* Series was a response to the great acclaim that these books received (Rowohlt writes: "With this series we have apparently hit the core of the demand [Mit dieser Reihe haben wir anscheinend ins Zentrum der Nachfrage getroffen]," Ledig-Rowohlt to Greenburger, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, June 6, 1967). In this context, Greenburger's task was to find titles that would fit Rowohlt's specific criteria. The latter would range from the length of the text—about 30,000 words in English (Greenburger to Ledig-Rowohlt, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, March 15, 1967)—to the text's genre and style. The correspondence between Ledig-Rowohlt and Greenburger reveals the publisher's quite precise expectations: "It should definitely be about cheerfulness, grace, liveliness, or more precisely, humor combined with love, or at least humor or love [Es sollte sich auf jeden Fall um Heiterkeit, Anmut, Beschwingtheit, oder präziser ausgedrückt, um Humor mit Liebe verbunden handeln, oder wenigstens um Humor oder Liebe]" (Ledig-Rowohlt to Greenburger, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, June 6, 1967). To accommodate Ledig-Rowohlt's request, Greenburger contacted different publishers and provided several suggestions of English-language texts. He recommended, for instance, the National Book Award poetry winner James Merrill, drawing particular attention to the author's award (Greenburger to Ledig-Rowohlt, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, March 15, 1967)—this, interestingly enough, points to the importance of literary prizes in business-to-business communication. Though Greenburger primarily scouted English-language texts for Rowohlt, in this particular instance, Greenburger also pitched the idea of scouting for short prose texts in Hungary, given his biographical background (Greenburger to Ledig-Rowohlt, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, March 15, 1967).[7] The *Nachttisch-Büchlein* series illustrates the significant role that Greenburger played in the acquisition process for the publisher. As part of the network that Ledig relied on for the selection of new works, Greenburger considerably influenced the decision-making and, to borrow Bhaskar's term (2019), the curational paradigm of the publisher.

[7] Neither the archival record nor the catalog of the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek seem to indicate that Rowohlt took Greenburger up on this offer of scouting Hungarian texts for the series.

However, Greenburger's assistance with the acquisition of new titles was just one of many tasks for Rowohlt. Besides being on the lookout for new titles, Greenburger played a vital role in representing Rowohlt Verlag abroad. He was a key intermediary in charge of the communication between Rowohlt and authors, publishers, lawyers, and any other actor of the book industry based in the United States. Lila Karpf from Farrar, Straus & Giroux highlights the central function of Greenburger in Rowohlt's interaction with the American network as she thanked Greenburger for an "informative luncheon" they had had a few days earlier, adding that "the more I can learn about the Rowohlt operation, the better I think it serves all of us" (Karpf to Greenburger, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, March 23, 1967). Moreover, it is worth noting that Greenburger's intermediary function operated in both directions. The central position of Greenburger in New York also allowed Ledig-Rowohlt to obtain the latest updates on the happenings in New York, ranging from the most prominent trends to whispered rumors, passing on off-the-record conversations. In a letter to Ledig-Rowohlt, Greenburger details: "all I can do is to be your eyes and ears on this side of the ocean" (Greenburger to Ledig-Rowohlt, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, May 11, 1967). As metaphorical as this promise may be, Greenburger's statement perfectly describes the work he accomplished for Ledig-Rowohlt. After all, getting insider information that could serve the varied purposes of the publisher was a crucial aspect of his role for Rowohlt Verlag.

One significant consequence of Greenburger's central position in Rowohlt's communication with the different actors of the U.S. book industry was that he crucially helped to ensure Ledig-Rowohlt's good ties with his network. This translated into tasks that would range from having lunch with different actors of the U.S. publishing industry (like Lila Karpf) to sending presents on behalf of Rowohlt Verlag (like cards, flowers, or caviar). Greenburger would occasionally remind Ledig-Rowohlt of industry actors he had met, and in which context, to help him keep a clear picture of the book industry network and his position in it. In a letter about Harper Lee's rumored new book, for instance, Greenburger reminds Ledig-Rowohlt that he met Lee's literary agents Maurice Crain and Annie Laurie Williams at a cocktail party Greenburger threw for Rowohlt in Manhattan (cf. Greenburger to Ledig-Rowohlt, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, December 3, 1962). Occasionally, Greenburger would intervene in Rowohlt's negotiations to ensure that the publisher, absorbed by other imperatives and oblivious to the social dimension of the business, did not offend the other party. During the talks between Rowohlt and Dos Passos's literary agent Franz Horch, for instance, Greenburger quickly contacted Rowohlt publisher Raddatz per telegram, pointing out that their current offer might upset the writer (cf. Greenburger to Raddatz, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, February 2, 1967). Following the scout's advice, Raddatz doubled his offer (cf. Raddatz to Greenbuger, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, February 2, 1967). These are a few examples of the relational labor (for lack of a better term) that Greenburger accomplished for Rowohlt Verlag and that is much more obscure than his scouting activities—tellingly, even Greenburger himself fails to mention these tasks in his letter to Hurley.

Greenburger's function at Rowohlt was thus much more complex than merely transmitting information from one side of the Atlantic Ocean to the other. He was also the caretaker of Rowohlt's network, maintaining harmonious relationships between the publisher and their contacts in New York, ensuring Rowohlt's good name and reputation in the United States, and sometimes even subtly pulling the publisher out of tricky situations—which occurred more than once. One example appears in the correspondence that Ledig-Rowohlt and Greenburger exchanged regarding the reception of

Katherine Anne Porter's *Ship of Fools* in Germany. A few months before releasing the German translation of Porter's work (Porter 1963), Ledig-Rowohlt expressed his concerns to Greenburger as the book was already sparking controversy in the German press. He writes: "As expected, our FOOLSHIP is already stirring up public opinion and the press in Germany. It looks as if the Germans want to perceive the book as written exclusively for Germany, as a hateful criticism of Germany [unser FOOLSHIP erregt, wie nicht anders zu erwarten, schon jetzt in Deutschland die Meinung und die Presse. Es sieht ganz so aus, als wollten die Deutschen das Buch als ausschliesslich auf Deutschland hin geschrieben, ja als gehässige Kritik an Deutschland auffassen]" (Ledig-Rowohlt to Greenburger, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, July 18, 1962). The reception of the book was all the more compromised as the German press insisted on the fact that Porter still publicly expressed hostile views on Germany (Ledig-Rowohlt to Greenburger, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, July 18, 1962). To counter the controversy that Porter's book was already provoking—which, according to the publisher, would further increase after the book's release—Ledig-Rowohlt aimed to organize an interview in which Porter would share her (positive) view of Germany and talk about her book. Aware of Greenburger's diplomatic skill, Ledig-Rowohlt requested that he handle the situation (cf. Ledig-Rowohlt to Greenburger, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, July 18, 1962). Greenburger responded a few weeks later: "I have been on the verge of calling [Porter] but something has always held me back. It is the feeling that we must avoid the impression that could put us in the position of her feeling that we might want her to back down on something that she has said" (Greenburger to Ledig-Rowohlt, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, August 9, 1962). In an attempt to accomplish Rowohlt's project without offending the author—which further highlights the mental load Greenburger carried for preserving Rowohlt's U.S.-American network—Greenburger suggests a strategy that would enable Ledig-Rowohlt to reach his goal without offending the author:

> Would it not be possible to get your friends at either DIE WELT or at SPIEGEL to have one out of their picked men resident in Washington or in New York, ask her for an interview motivated by the success of the book here and the announcement that you are going to publish in Germany. The man, then, if it is the right man could possibly elicit from her the kind of statement that would do the job. It might even be so arranged that whoever is picked would get in touch with me first and then we could give Mrs. Porter the feeling that we are working hard for her and have arranged this feature interview. Should it be advisable I could go to Washington with the interviewer to have the Rowohlt man introduce the interviewer to her; and perhaps have some influence on what is discussed. (Greenburger to Ledig-Rowohlt, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, August 9, 1962)

A review of the book was indeed published in *SPIEGEL* shortly afterwards ("Das Narrenschiff" 1963). However, we cannot ascertain that this article was initiated by Greenburger or Rowohlt, and the article does not offer the positive viewpoint that both Greenburger and Rowohlt had hoped for.

The correspondence between Greenburger and Ledig-Rowohlt sheds light on two essential aspects of Greenburger's work for Rowohlt Verlag. First, it highlights the complexity of Greenburger's influence on the books published at Rowohlt Verlag. Not only did he find new titles and negotiated their rights sales on behalf of the publisher, but he also indirectly influenced the publication process of Rowohlt's books—and their reception, as in the case of Porter's book—by finding appropriate

solutions when problems arose with Rowohlt's U.S. titles. This example perfectly illustrates the fact that the making of literature is a collaborative practice and that, to this day, the roles and labor of most of the actors involved in this practice remain under-researched and under-appreciated. Furthermore, this case allows for deeper insight into Greenburger's relational labor at Rowohlt. Greenburger acts as the mediator who negotiates a way to accommodate Rowohlt's schemes to the different conditions set by other actors in the U.S. book industry. He is the intermediary who anticipates everyone's needs and navigates between everyone's agendas, in an effort to reach Rowohlt's objectives while preserving harmony between the publisher and other parties. Greenburger's relational work, which was a considerable asset for Rowohlt Verlag, is further explored below.

Eventually, Greenburger's and Ledig-Rowohlt's efforts paid off. Porter's *Ship of Fools* was a success in Germany. The hardcover edition was reprinted twice in 1963 alone (with a total print run of 36,000 copies), with three subsequent book club editions published in 1965 and a later paperback edition selling well over 100,000 copies over the course of three decades.[8] The book raised so much enthusiasm among readers and publishers that the licenses for Porter's other titles in Germany became more coveted—and thus harder to acquire. In his correspondence with Greenburger, Raddatz especially complains about Willy Droemer, who "went wild for Katherine Anne Porter, of course once THE FOOL SHIP was a pretty good hit with us [wie wild hinter Katherine Anne Porter her war, nachdem natürlich THE FOOL SHIP ein ziemlich guter Erfolg bei uns wurde]" (Raddatz to Greenburger, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, December 30, 1963). In a letter recounting the troubles that he had encountered while acquiring the rights to some of Porter's titles from Diogenes Verlag—Rowohlt planned to publish the paperback edition of Porter's works, but Droemer also made an offer for Porter's *Pale Horse, Pale Rider* to Diogenes—Raddatz mobilizes Greenburger for a matter that gives further insight into the mental load that Greenburger carried for Rowohlt. Knowing that Rowohlt's offer for the paperback license did not come close to Porter's renown, Raddatz explains that he could only obtain the rights to Porter's titles through a rather unconventional agreement with Diogenes. Raddatz suggested trading the rights to Porter's titles in exchange for a licensing agreement to some of Hemingway's titles that Rowohlt owned (cf. Raddatz to Greenburger, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, December 30, 1963). However, this singular agreement would put Rowohlt in a delicate situation regarding their relationship with Hemingway, whom Rowohlt had represented for decades. Under no circumstances should the author learn that he was used as a bargaining chip to acquire other titles. Hesitant as to how to approach the matter with Hemingway's lawyer Alfred Rice, who was in charge of the author's rights, Raddatz asked Greenburger to handle the situation while specifying: "It goes without saying that this 'swap deal' should not be disclosed to Rice [Daß man dieses 'Tauschgeschäft' natürlich Rice nicht sagen darf, versteht sich]" (DLA, Rowohlt Collection, January 21, 1964). Greenburger, just as "hesitant to bring this up with Rice," especially as he had to discuss other delicate matters with him, still came up with a strategy that would allow them to present the case positively (Greenburger to Raddatz, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, January 10, 1964). Among other things, he offered to coordinate the delivery of Ledig-Rowohlt's letter to Rice to avoid its interference with further "rather delicate negotiations" (Greenburger to Raddatz, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, January 10, 1964). This case provides deeper insight into Greenburger's relationship with and work for Rowohlt Verlag by highlighting the high degree of trust and discretion on which

[8] All numbers extracted from the German National Library catalog at www.dnb.de.

Greenburger's work was based. Their relationship required complete transparency from the publisher's side as well as Greenburger's implicit guarantee that he would support the publisher in all situations. Moreover, this case reveals how much Rowohlt relied on Greenburger in their business with their U.S. network. To some extent, Greenburger's efforts regarding Rowohlt's relationships allowed the publisher to focus more clearly on business. It seems that Greenburger's efforts put Rowohlt in a highly advantageous position while negotiating titles.

To properly assess how central Greenburger's labor was to Rowohlt's business, it is necessary to understand the critical dimension of networking in the book industry. Greenburger's duties were essential to Rowohlt not only because the scout would help them cover their occasional faux pas but also because relationships are a significant key to success in the book industry. The correspondence between Greenburger and Rowohlt Verlag reveals that the ties between the publishers and the U.S. publishing network—which were mainly dependent on Greenburger—were sometimes strong enough to counter Rowohlt's competitors despite having less economic capital. One example can be found in what seems to have been an ongoing competition between Droemer and Ledig-Rowohlt for paperback licenses in Germany. Take, for instance, Truman Capote's books: one of Capote's titles was reserved for Ledig-Rowohlt until Droemer made an offer that was so considerable that Max Niedermayer from Limes Verlag, who owned the German rights to the title, could not ignore it—for the sake of the author, according to Niedermayer (Ledig-Rowohlt to Greenburger, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, November 7, 1963). Interestingly enough, instead of immediately accepting Droemer's offer, Niedermayer allowed Ledig-Rowohlt to make a counter-offer as, after all, Ledig-Rowohlt had helped Niedermayer in the past, and the latter was grateful and much indebted to him (Ledig-Rowohlt to Greenburger, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, November 7, 1963). Although this example primarily aims to underline the competition between Droemer and Ledig-Rowohlt, it already hints at the importance of relationships and established collaborations in the book industry.

A few weeks later, the matter between Droemer and Ledig-Rowohlt reveals the pivotal influence of relationships on the decisions made in the book industry. Shortly after the Niedermayer event, Droemer went to New York intending to negotiate the license agreements to Capote's titles with Marjorie Currey from Random House directly. Greenburger, who had lunch with Currey shortly afterward, reported to Ledig-Rowohlt: "[Droemer] also brought up the question of Capote with her. She told me that she told him unequivocally that it was Rowohlt who has always done the Capote reprints and that she would not discuss any change with him" (Greenburger to Ledig-Rowohlt, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, November 20, 1963). The fact that Currey refused to negotiate Capote's titles with Droemer, who was, however, widely known for making very generous offers for the titles he purchased, is very telling of the significance of relationships in the publishing industry. It highlights—just as, to a lesser extent, the case of Niedermayer does—that money is not the only factor to be considered while negotiating licensing agreements and that relationships are powerful elements that strongly influence decision-making. In Bourdieusian phrasing, this is a prime example of cultural and symbolic capital winning out over economic capital. With the solid network that Greenburger curated, Rowohlt could compete against publishers with much more significant economic capital. Not only would the different actors of the industry show loyalty to their friends and allies, as in the case of Currey and Greenburger, but they would also support each other when they encountered difficulties. Returning to the competition for Porter's titles, for instance, Rowohlt Verlag received help from literary agent Joan Daves, who called Greenburger to inform him—in the utmost

confidentiality—that Diogenes, which had acquired the rights for a few of Porter's titles, still hadn't paid the advance for the books, thus risking invalidating their contract with Harcourt (Greenburger to Ledig-Rowohlt, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, July 5, 1962). With the help of Daves, Greenburger was able directly to call William Jovanovich from Harcourt, reporting Daves's statements and agreeing with Jovanovich that Rowohlt would replace Diogenes if Diogenes's promised advance payments were left unfulfilled (Greenburger to Ledig-Rowohlt, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, July 5, 1962). Once again, Greenburger's efforts allowed Rowohlt to compete for titles that would have been otherwise out of reach.

On the other hand, there were other transactions which simply did not come to fruition because Rowohlt's financial means were limited and not all actors in the industry valued their symbolic and cultural capital equally. For instance, a non-fiction book by Senator Robert Kennedy (1968) was licensed to Bertelsmann (for an advance of $25,000) instead of to Rowohlt (who had offered $8,000). In a follow-up to this failed transaction, Greenburger sought to explain the limits of his influence on the transaction. As Greenburger explained, "New York and Washington are 3,000 miles of geographic difference and perhaps light years of conceptual difference from Germany." In particular, he noted that "Only the highly professional writer who also happens to be an intellectual is concerned with that small fraction of plus or minus value that a publisher's imprint gives his work." Hence, a politician such as Kennedy and his advisors couldn't be expected to understand the difference between the "weight of a Rowohlt imprint" and "a Bertelsmann subsidiary imprint" for "image building in Germany" (all quotes Greenburger to Raddatz, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, December 19, 1967).

Examples like these notwithstanding, Greenburger's role as the caretaker of Rowohlt's networks removed many obstacles—on a communicational, administrative, but primarily relational level—that would have otherwise considerably hindered Rowohlt's business. In short, Rowohlt's success as a transatlantic gatekeeper was highly dependent on Greenburger having the publisher's back.

Conclusions

Given the limitations of our format, and our focus on institutions of authorship and (invisible) labor in the industry, we have not had the opportunity to recount further anecdotal finds from the archives. The archival material copiously exemplifies the robust, reciprocal and friendly relationship between Greenburger and his family as well as Rowohlt. When Greenburger described his own job to Hurley in 1968, he omitted many of the tasks that he managed for Rowohlt over the years, underlying the invisibility of certain types of labor. The archival documentation in the German Literary Archive is rich and we have only been able to scratch the surface here. The archival material emphasizes that institutions of literary exchange are often occupied with the banal, the quotidian, the quaint. For instance, Greenburger and Rowohlt provided each other with a cornucopia of products which were unavailable on either side of the Atlantic. Rowohlt regularly sent the Greenburgers marzipan as a gift and used the Greenburger's office for American correspondence and even for shopping (the Rowohlts seem to have bought jewelry and other gifts in the U.S. which were then forwarded to Reinbek, cf. e.g. Ledig-Rowohlt to Greenburger, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, October 30, 1967). When the parties visited one another, over-the-counter medications or items of daily use such as Schwarzkopf hairspray were exchanged. Interestingly, the reciprocal ties even included Rowohlt's publication of Ingrid

Greenburger's books in Rowohlt's list. The first, *Die Unschuldigen,* was published in 1969 in the rororo paperback series with a print run of 13,000 copies (cf. German National Library catalog). A second book was published in 1981 under the title *Widerstand* (Greenburger 1981). The entanglements ran deep and the archival documentation emphasizes how the relationship was characterized by reliability, trust, and reciprocity. In one letter, Ledig-Rowohlt writes to Greenburger, asking for a favor, and calls him the "trusted caretaker of the different Rowohlt families [bewährter Betreuer der verschiedenen Rowohlt-Familien]" (Ledig-Rowohlt to Greenburger, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, June 19, 1969).

This article offered a deep-dive case study of a robust and important link between German and American literary fields and, by focusing on literary scouts, has foregrounded an institution of authorship which has received nearly no attention to date. Publishing literature in translation, across markets and languages, was and is complicated, and prerequisites for success included collaboration and impeccable timing as well as a carefully tended network of relationships. We hope that this case study has offered an instructive example of transatlantic gatekeeping along with considerations of invisible labor within institutions of authorship, broadly understood. However, as Meyer has also indicated (2004, 429), further research is needed to uncover more clearly who else acted as a transatlantic intermediary. Towards the end of the 1960s, it seems that other German publishers such as S. Fischer Verlag decided to set up similar representation in New York,[9] and comparative research could shed light on the different roles and links created. The 1960s also marked an early turning point towards conglomeration and concentration in the U.S. and later the German publishing industry, and it would be fruitful to consider the implications of these impending changes on transatlantic gatekeeping processes.

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[9] Joan Daves set up an office as S. Fischer representative in 1969. Cf. Greenburger to Fritz J. Raddatz, DLA, Rowohlt Collection, March 17, 1969. See also Altenhein 2015.

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