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Authors of Authenticity: Translation and the Fairy Tale

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Comparative Literature

by

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by

Tegan Cathleen Raleigh

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ABSTRACT

Authors of Authenticity: Translation and the Fairy Tale

by

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This dissertation addresses the theoretical and historical relevance of translation to the canonical fairy tales in the Western tradition. It investigates the centrality of the act of narration and transmission in fairy tales, particularly the portrayal of original sources in illustrations, prefaces, and footnotes. I posit that such narratives about transmission implicate sources within the scope of fiction. I relate this phenomenon to translation theories that challenge notions of definitive originals and treat the notion of a fixed source as a misleading fiction.

I consider the concept of translation in terms of *translatio*, or "to carry across," and the historical overlaps between translation and storytelling. My study focuses on the representation of mediation and acts of transmission in the collections of tales by Charles Perrault, Thomas-Simon Gueullette, the Brothers Grimm, and Hans Christian Andersen as well as interlingual and intersemiotic translations of fairy tales in the English-, French-, and German-speaking traditions. My findings show that in the histories of translation and folklore, there has been a distinct conflation of the two. With the conclusion that storytelling is a form of translation and that translation, in turn, is a form of storytelling, I demonstrate that fairy tales, like translations, evoke

unattainable originals. Characterized by their mutability, fairy tales constitute a form of world literature that is in constant translation, creating new worlds rather than imitating them.

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Tu commets le crime suprême :
tu veux changer d'élément, changer d'espèce.
Es-tu résolue ?

Marguerite Yourcenar, *La Petite sirène*

Introduction

Ask me for the *Iliad*, ask me for the *Aeneid*, ask me for *Jerusalem Delivered*, and I'll do it again; but a tale! Curses! Perrault is quite a different man than Homer, than Virgil, and than Tasso, and *Little Thumbling* is a creation that is original in quite a different way from Achilles, Turnus, and Renaud.

-Alexandre Dumas, Père
"Story of a Nutcracker" ("Histoire d'un casse-noisette")[1]

In his version of the story of the nutcracker by E.T.A. Hoffmann (1776-1882), Dumas (1802-1870) foregrounds a scene of storytelling. The incipit to the preface playfully reads, "*Where it is explained how the author was compelled to tell the story of the Nutcracker of Nuremberg*,"[2] thereby including the storyteller as a part of the narrative performance within the scope of the fiction itself. Having brought his

[1] "Demandez-moi l'Iliade, demandez-moi l'Énéide, demandez moi la Jérusalem délivrée, et je passerai encore par là ; mais un conte ! Peste ! Perrault est un bien autre homme qu'Homère, que Virgile et que le Tasse, et le Petit Poucet une création bien autrement originale qu'Achille, Turnus ou Renaud" in "Histoire d'un casse-noisette," Paris: J. Hetzel, 1845, p. 11.
Translations from French and German into English are my own, unless otherwise noted. I introduce all titles first in English translation, followed by the text from the original language in parentheses. For quotations from languages other than English that exceed two lines, the original-language text is in a footnote. In this study, I strive to present translations that remain as close to the wording of the originals insofar as possible, though I remain keenly aware of the influences that my aesthetic preferences and linguistic histories have upon these translations, and by no means consider them as definitive but rather as points of reference.

[2] "Où il est expliqué comment l'auteur fut contraint de raconter l'histoire du Casse-noisette de Nuremberg," ibid, p. 7.

daughter to a *soirée* for children, the storyteller recounts that he had dozed off only to find that the children had tied him to a chair and were ordering that he tell them a tale (*conte*) in order to be set free. Dumas's initial *mise-en-scène* of storytelling creates a fictional space that involves the reader in an imagined, collective enjoyment of his adaptation of a German tale for his audience of French children.

As Dumas observes, the originality of a tale like "Little Thumbling" ("Petit Poucet") is different from that of historical epics. While reproducing other texts that preceded them, they simultaneously create an atemporal sphere in which a source does not necessarily precede its copy: that is, E.T.A. Hoffmann's text in German has no authority over Dumas's rendition of it in French. By relating the tale orally, Dumas's narrator transfers the *conte* to the members of the fictional audience as well as to his readers in what is explicitly a version of a tale from somebody else and from somewhere else. The French word *conte* and the English word *tale* are both etymologically linked to verbs for oral narration (*conter* and *to tell*, respectively) and authors such as Dumas have inscribed features of oral narration into their stories; this is particularly the case for fairy tales, which authors have associated with an idealized, preliterate past as well as the imaginative worlds of childhood.

Fairy tales are especially relevant to translation studies because many – most notably, those by Charles Perrault, Thomas-Simon Gueullette, the Grimms, and Hans Christian Andersen – refer to sources that allegedly preceded them. The frames of fairy tales orient the audience to read the tales as translations, in the broadest sense of the term "translation"; the English word is derived from the Latin *translatio*, meaning "to transfer across" and refers to the displacement or removal from one individual,

location, or state to another.[3] What many fairy tales and most translations have in common is a reference to a previous instance of narration. Perrault and the Grimms claimed to have transmitted folk tales, for example, thereby minimizing their own considerable contributions as authors. In "Histoire d'un casse-noisette," as soon as Dumas's narrator has conceded to tell a story to appease the diminutive tyrants, he issues this caveat: "But I have to warn you of one thing, that the tale I'm going to tell you isn't from me."[4] The narrator asks if they are familiar with the German author Hoffmann; they are not. While the name of E.T.A. Hoffmann (1776-1822) is absent from either of the two title pages, Dumas mentions him as a source of the tale, which Hoffmann had composed in German and published as "Nussknacker und Mausekönig" in 1816.

Cyrille François, whose recent work on fairy tales describes the poetics of the genre as characterized by a "jumble of voices" (François 2017: 11), situates Dumas's treatment of Hoffmann "somewhere between translation and rewriting" (François 2015: 283-284). With these tales, which Dumas published as a part of a "chat" ("causerie") with readers in his journal *Le Monte Cristo*, Dumas inserts himself into a long tradition of disavowing ownership of narrative material that Perrault (1628-1703), Thomas-Simon Gueullette (1683-1766), Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm (1785-

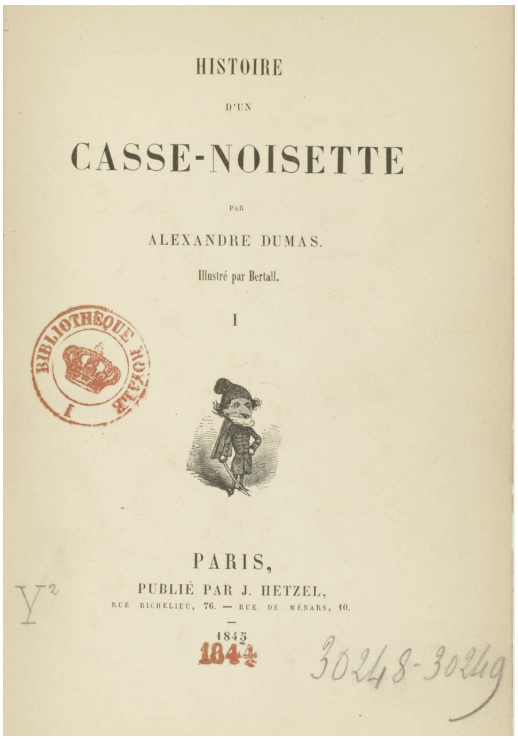
[3] Marina Warner, for example, employs this verb to describe the physical movmeent of fairy tales in the form of picture postcards. She begins her foreword to Jack Zipes's *Tales of Wonder: Retelling Fairy Tales Through Picture Postcards* (2017) by noting that "the postcard translated the fairy tale across space," p. vii.

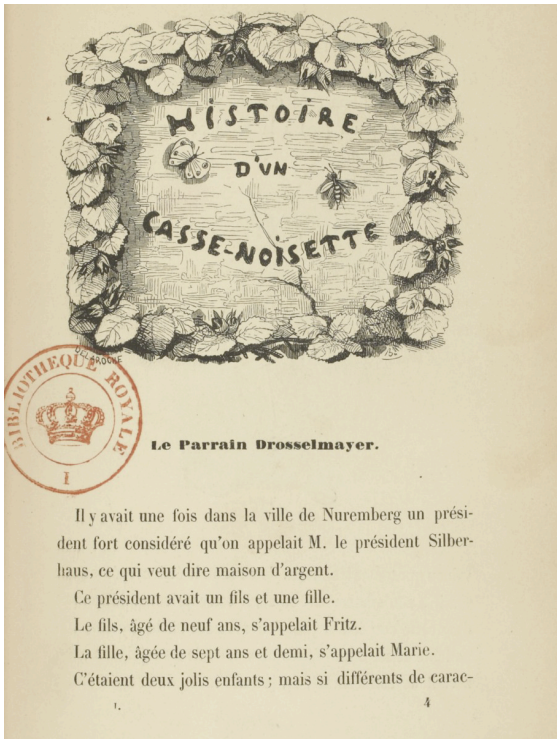
[4] " – Mais je vous préviens d'une chose, c'est que le conte que je vais vous raconter n'est pas de moi," Dumas 12.

1863; 1786-1859), and Hans Christian Andersen (1805-1875) had all practiced before him.

Such tales, originating in an indeterminate past and adapting to new environments with each successive telling, invent a shared storytelling heritage that privileges no single authoritative source. The act of narration serves as a distancing frame, as is the case with Dumas's description of the *soirée,* drawing attention to the process of mediation. The 1845 edition of Dumas's *Histoire d'un casse-noisette*, published by translator and author Pierre-Jules Hetzel, has two separate title vignettes that set apart the tale of the *soirée* and the tale of the nutcracker, meaning that the reader must cross multiple thresholds to access the story (See Figures A1 and A2).

Figure A1 Title page for* Histoire d'un Casse-Noisette *by Alexandre Dumas, Paris: J. Hetzel, 1845 and A2, title vignette following the preface





The eponymous nutcracker, as rendered by the French illustrator Bertall (1820-1862), presides like a sentry over the title page, one of the initial points of entry to the tale; and following the storyteller's preface, directed in the second person towards the reader, another vignette by Bertall announces in more playful script, accompanied by illustrations of cheery insects, a secondary, embedded "Histoire d'un casse-noisette." This is, the reader is to understand, the tale that the storyteller knew from E.T.A. Hoffmann and recounted to his captors. The visual thresholds that the reader must cross elicits the multiple layers that separate this tale of a nutcracker from Hoffmann, its apparent originator, and the reader of hte written version of the tale which the narrator allegedly recounted.

Fairy tales are tales of magic and of other enchanted worlds; they also treat the movement between worlds and the transmission of stories. They are, as I set out to demonstrate in this study, fundamentally about translation. Historically, the fairy tale established itself as a genre in the Western tradition across mutliple literary traditions and languages in a pan-European movement. This study begins with the fairy tale vogue in France during the 1690s, tracing the development of the fairy tale through England, Germany, and back to France with nineteenth-century translations of Hans Christian Andersen, who poised himself quite consciously for literary recognition on an international scale and was in communication with his translators such as Ernest Grégoire (French) and Mary Howitt (English).

The major driving force behind this momentum was translation. Publishers would release translations so quickly that they sometimes even influenced the subsequent versions of the "original" works, as was the case with the Grimm

Brothers, whose third edition of their *Children's and Household Tales* (*Kinder- und Hausmärchen*) in 1825 was clearly indebted to certain features of the 1823 version in English, *German Popular Stories*, translated by Edgar Taylor and illustrated by George Cruikshank. Translators of fairy tales adapted their material for their audiences in much the same way that Perrault, Gueullette, the Grimms, and Andersen had for theirs; and like these authors, they would refer to an "original" source that they were representing, but in many cases within a framework that itself constituted a fiction.

With the premise that the fairy tale is a genre that is about translation, this study considers the ways in which editions of fairy tales negotiate readers' expectations of translated materials across languages and storytelling traditions. What does it mean to be a genre that is about translation? This study approaches this question both historically and theoretically, with France in the 1690s as the point of departure. At this time, Perrault and his contemporaries such as his niece Marie-Jeanne L'Héritier de Villandon, Marie Catherine d'Aulnoy, and Henriette-Julie de Murat all wrote fairy tales inspired especially by *The Facetious Nights* (*Le Piacevoli notti*) of Giovanni Francesco Straparola (1480-1557), which were extraordinarily popular in seventeenth-century France. Two French-born Italian men, Jean Louveau and Pierre de Larivey, translated the entire collection of Straparola's tales, which contain some of the earliest versions in print of tales such as "Puss in Boots" ("Constantino Fortunato") and their translation, *Les Facétieuses nuits de Straparole*, was published no less than sixteen times. In the dedication, the translators Louveau and Larivey relate having come across the manuscript by chance and having

determined to bring to light such diverting tales for the entertainment of the dedicatee, Monseigneur François Rogier. The subsequent introductory material of the self-designated compilers of fairy tales such as Perrault and the Grimms is remarkably similar, attesting to an overlap between translation and the earliest folkloric endeavors in the Western tradition.[5]

In this study, the methodology for examining such an overlap focuses in particular on paratexts, which are elements that are accessory to a central text, such as Louveau and Larivey's dedication and Perrault's preface. As defined by the French theorist Gérard Genette in *Palimpsestes. La littérature au second degré* (1982) and *Seuils* (1987), paratexts direct a reader's reception of texts. Paratextual material alone speaks volumes; the collection *Fairy Tales Framed: Early Forewords, Afterwords, and Critical Words*, edited by Ruth Bottigheimer (2013), for example, reveals the degree to which the authors of fairy tales were in conversation with one another within the space of their prefaces. In a more general collection of prefaces from eighteenth-century France, Jan Herman notes that the preface had developed following the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns (*Querelle des Anciens et des*

[5] In "Misperceived Perceptions: Perrault's Fairy Tales and English Children's Literature," Ruth Bottigheimer writes that "From de Larivey's 'Constantin Fortuné' to Charles Perrault's 'Master Cat' there were very few steps. Paragraph for paragraph, Perrault's story matched de Larivey's, which must have lain open on the writing desk before him as he composed his courtly version of Straparola's original story" (Bottigheimer 2002: 126). Bottigheimer maintains a view that privileges textual transmission; while the focus of the present study is primarily of the circulation of fairy tales in print, I maintain that Perrault, the Grimms, and Andersen all likewise derived material and inspiration from oral narratives.

Modernes) as a site of metadiscourse among authors during a period when poetics in France were in a state of significant upheaval.[6]

Prefaces provided a site for dialogue between authors as well as a device for framing texts for readers. According to Genette, the paratext constitutes a *seuil*, or "threshold," between the reader and the text. The relation between the text and the paratext determines the terms of a genre contract and the reader's expectations. This study demonstrates that paratexts to fairy tales, particularly prefatorial material and footnotes, alert readers that they are not to interpret fairy tales as originals, but rather as stories that are what Genette referred to as "in the second degree" ("au deuxième degré").[7] Fairy tales that refer to a previous version are removed from the primary act of enunciation: Perrault and the Grimm Brothers were careful to point to their positions as transmitters, rather than originators, of stories. In referring to previous sources, such storytellers assume a function comparable to that of translators, who likewise are in the business of representing others' texts. In Genette's terminology, this original text from the oral tradition as evoked by Perrault and the Grimms, however elusive or illusory, would be the *hypotext*, and the texts produced by Perrault and the Grimms themselves the *hypertext*.[8]

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[6] See Christian Angelet and Jan Herman, *Recueil de préfaces de romans du XVIIIe siècle: 1700-1750*, Saint-Etienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 1999, p. 10.

[7] See Gérard Genette's *Palimpsestes. La littérature au second degré*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1982.

[8] Hypotexts and hypertexts also exist in the oral tradition. Sandra Beckett, for example, refers to the "earlier hypotexts" predating the tales of Perrault and the Grimms: Beckett 2008, p. 3.

The paratextual material may alert readers to the presence of a hypotext as well as any mediation or negotiation between hypotext(s) and hypertext(s). In this study, an analysis of paratexts of the fairy tales by Gueullette, Perrault, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, and Andersen, along with the translators of the latter four authors, reveal that fairy tales produce a narrative about second-degree storytelling, with two principal texts coexisting, or appearing to coexist, in one. This study focuses on the role of translation in the development of the fairy tale in part to consider a genre that foregrounds the act of transmission and translation, as in the case with Dumas's "Histoire d'un Casse-noisette." The history of the fairy tale provides insights into translation practices and conventions while theories of translation also lead to a greater appreciation of how fairy tales came to achieve popularity worldwide.[9]

In *Why Fairy Tales Stick: The Evolution and Relevance of a Genre* (2006), Jack Zipes notes that "We do not pay enough attention to translation when we study fairy tales […] but translation is vital in the history of the oral folk tale and the literary fairy tale as a genre" (Zipes 2006: 198). There are numerous book-length studies devoted to different versions of individual fairy tales and authors as well as to the translation of children's literature, although to date there has not been a study

[9] The Index Translationum, compiled by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, consistently lists the works of Hans Christian Andersen and the Brothers Grimm among the top ten of the most translated authors, and Charles Perrault among the top fifty. The index does not account for the fact that most tales have achieved such popularity that they often circulate as common property, rather than being the product of any individual author, as evidenced by the statistics from Worldcat that show only seventeen instances out of 553 book versions of "Cinderella" for the year 2015 having either Perrault or the Grimms listed as the author. The rate of translation frequency for fairy tales would therefore likely be even significantly higher than suggested by the Index Translationum's statistics. See the Official Website of UNESCO Index Translationum, which to date contains data from 1979 to 2017.

dedicated exclusively to the translation of fairy tales. Fairy tales are not children's literature by definition, though translation has played a major part in making it so. Translations have, in fact, determined the very nature of the genre of "fairy tale" in English itself – the Grimms' *Children's and Household Tales (Kinder- und Hausmärchen*) are considered to be fairy tales in the Anglophone traditions, despite their absence of fairies; in German, tales featuring fairies belong to the category of *fairy tales* (*Feenmärchen*), and the Grimms' tales instead are *folk tales* (*Volksmärchen*).

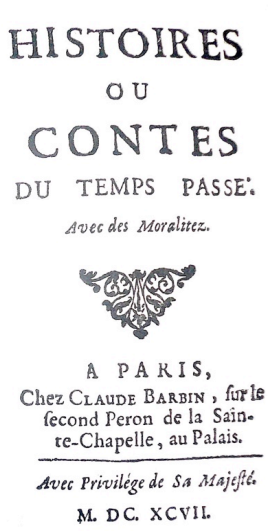
The primary aim of this dissertation is to address this gap in scholarship. In examining the role of translation in the evolution of the fairy tale genre in the Western tradition, I contend that the fairy tale is a genre of translation and, like translation itself, plays with and comments upon the possibilities of storytelling. My conclusion is based on the interconnection between storytelling and translation at the time when the fairy tale was just coming into its own as a literary form at the end of the seventeenth century up through the nineteenth century. Translation played a crucial role in the transmission of tales, which underwent, and undergo still, significant changes in the process. The initial transmission was a pan-European phenomenon, but quickly spread across the globe, circulating tales that may have initially traveled to Europe via oral traditions back to their points of departure, now in print forms.

Fairy tales tell stories about origins. They create a story for readers of an original while simultaneously showing that an original is available only through an intermediary or intermediaries. This study shows that the original text is often in fact

absent, elusive, or else an illusion that serves to confer authority to the tale: the older and timeless the better. While paratextual material may point to an original source, this source is often a fiction or an embellished reality. One particularly illustrative example is the frontispiece to Charles Perrault's *Histories or Tales of Past Times, With Moralities* (*Histoires ou contes du temps passé, avec des moralitez*) by Antoine Clouzier (see Figure B), which appeared in the 1695 manuscript of Perrault's tales, the 1697 version printed by Claude Barbin, and in countless reproductions and variations that followed suit on an international scale.

Figure B, Frontispiece to the 1697 edition of Histoires ou contes du temps passé, avec des moralitez, Charles Perrault (illustration by Antoine Clouzier)




HISTOIRES
OU
CONTES
DU TEMPS PASSE'.
Avec des Moralitez.

A PARIS,
Chez CLAUDE BARBIN, sur le
second Peron de la Sainte-Chapelle, au Palais.

Avec Privilége de Sa Majesté.
M. DC. XCVII.

This engraving represents a woman who is threading her distaff while keeping an audience of tiny aristocrats in thrall with her stories. The placard above her reads "Tales of My Mother the Goose" ("Contes de ma mère Loye"), and this fictional

source of stories presides over this paratextual threshold where the actual author's name – that of Charles Perrault – is in fact absent.

As I demonstrate in this study, paratexts to fairy tales provide their own, frequently fictitious, narratives about the tales and their origins. Such representations of humble beginnings for the tales create a sense of authenticity, something that subjects demanded increasingly with the onset of modernity. In her work *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies*, Regina Bendix identifies the longing for an idealized past among German scholars in the era of the Grimm Brothers, for whom an "anonymous folk community, preferably of the past, could be an acceptable resolution of the divide between the secular self and the spiritual ultimate" (Bendix 54-55). With the Grimm Brothers, searches for linguistic origins and national origins complemented one another.

Meanwhile, works of translation operate on the premise of their own kind of fairy tale. They likewise implicate myths of origins, and the paratextual material, particularly translators' prefaces, traditionally refer to an approach that confers authority to the original. The translation strategy may be faithful or unfaithful; foreignizing or domesticating; source-oriented or target-oriented. Such approaches rely upon a model that views the source text as a definitive original. Theorists have challenged this paradigm by viewing the original-language text as a draft or a work-in-progress. Suzanne Jill Levine has considered the original "as a first draft" (Levine 135) and Karen Emmerich has challenged the model of a stable original by arguing, "So-called originals are not given but made, and translators are often party to that making" (Emmerich 13). This approach to translation parallels the findings of this

study that demonstrate how paratexts to fairy tales play with the notion of originals and even embellish narrative traditions and invent mythical storytellers, contributing an additional fictional dimension for the audience of a fairy tale, situating the source at some point once upon a time, or unspecified times past ("temps passé").

Fairy Tales and Possible Worlds Nearby

For the purposes of this dissertation, I will be using the definition of "fairy tale" as set out by Marina Warner in *From the Beast to the Blonde: On Fairy Tales and Their Tellers* (1994) as well as in *Once Upon a Time: A Short History of the Fairy Tale* (2014). The term encompasses the types of stories that, while not always including characters that are fairies, involve magical transformation. These are stories with an "imagined antiquity and oral anonymity of the ultimate source" (Warner 1994: xix). Many of the best-known examples in English are derived from those who purported to have recorded them from oral tradition such as Perrault and the brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm. In the tales of Andersen, the topos of a non-human oral source who has transmitted a tale from epoch to epoch is omnipresent: narrators pass on the stories that they hear from the wind, as in "A Story from the Sand Dunes" ("En Historie fra Klitterne," 1859) or a grasshopper, as in "The Jumpers" ("Springfyrene," 1845).

In 1697, Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy introduced the term *conte des fées* with a book by the same name. This term translates as "tales of the fairies" and differs slightly from the modern term *conte de fée*. D'Aulnoy belonged to a group of

aristocratic women who regaled one another in their salons with tales of wonder. They formed a particular generation of *salonnières*, or "women of the salon," who also referred to themselves as *les Fées modernes*, or modern fairies. Their stories were not just about fairies, but *by* them, with these *Fées modernes* casting spells with strokes of their magic quills. Perrault did not count himself among the *Fées modernes*, although he was clearly inspired by their work. As the fame of his tales eclipsed those of the *salonnières*, the term came to be *conte* de *fées*, or a tale *about* fairies.

The Germanophone tradition differentiates among different varieties of fairy tales. A *Kunstmärchen* (*artistic tale*) is generally associated with a specific author, whereas a *Volksmärchen* is a popular fairy tale of the *Volk* (the folk), and a *Buchmärchen* (book tale) is a written form of a *Volksmärchen*, also known in English as "orature."[10] The definition of "fairy tale" that I apply in this study is closest to the *Buchmärchen*, insofar as I examine stories that communicate the imagined realm of magical possibilities, what Warner calls "a possible other world nearby" (Warner 2014: 13) along with an indeterminate past from which the tales originated, or the folkloric tradition, and that are available in print form.

Translating Fairy Tales Across Signifying Systems

Such other nearby worlds as evoked by Warner, possible or impossible, require storytellers or translators to communicate them from one realm to the next.

[10] See Elizabeth Wanning Harries's discussion of these terms; she argues that because the Grimms made such considerable changes to their *Märchen*, they are "much closer to the *Kunstmärchen* than to *Buchmärchen*" (Harries 7), insofar as they constitute printed literary texts rather than oral folktales.

Translation has played an undeniable role in the transmission, adaptation, and survival of fairy tales in oral as well as written traditions. A distinction among different types of translation is particularly germane to a study of the translation of fairy tales, given the great proliferation of fairy tales across media, usually in the form of adaptations rather than translations.

Generally, the term "translation" applies to the translation between two languages, or what the structuralist Roman Jakobson referred to as "intralingual translation" in his 1959 essay "Linguistic Aspects of Translation." This, for Jakobson, is "translation proper" (Jakobson 1959). In the same essay, Jakobson identifies two other types of translation: intralingual, or the transmission of a message within variants or registers of the same language, and intersemiotic, or the transmission of a message between different signifying systems, such as written to visual, or musical to written. Jakobson also employs the term "transposition," though he leaves the significance of this term open to interpretation. He does not explain how linguistic transposition, which entails the reordering of words, could be sufficient to translate texts; nor does he clarify whether he is using the term metaphorically in relation to musical transposition, whereby there is an alteration of the key of a musical piece, or whether his associations with the process are more anatomical, mathematical, genetic, or electric. Furthermore, Jakobson does not provide examples of intersemiotic translation, though the term and the tripartite distinction that Jakobson makes has consistently served as a point of reference for literary scholarship related to intersemiotic translation.

In response to Jakobson, Umberto Eco attempted to add greater precision to the term in *Mouse or Rat? Translation as Negotiation* (2003). Eco is particularly concerned with boundaries between interpretation and translation and insists on the delineation of translation proper from other forms of interpretation, which for him include Jakobson's intralingual and intersemiotic translation. Eco argues that neither of these are truly forms of translation at all. When an expression moves from one form of matter to another, it enters a new signifying system which is not sufficient to convey the original expression; for example, he argues that no verbal description of a visual object is sufficient to render all of the dimensions involved in the visual impression of the object. This shift in matter constitutes "so-called intersemiotic translation, that one that Jakobson defined as transmutation and that is sometimes called adaptation" (Eco 158). These interpretations, Eco argues, can help to appreciate the work that inspired it, as with Debussy's "Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune," though "it would be daring to say that Debussy had 'translated' Mallarmé" (ibid 159). Of vital importance for Eco is the impossibility of being able to identify and subsequently reconstruct the source work from the derivative one, which is impossible in the example he provides of Debussy and Mallarmé, meaning that the symphonic poem is an adaptation; were it possible to deduce from Debussy's work Mallarmé's original, then it would, for Eco, constitute a translation.

While Eco's reaction to Jakobson's rather sparse description of intersemiotic translation is convincing, folklorists and linguistic anthropologists have approached the concept in a somewhat different way. In particular, their interest has centered upon the representation of oral performance in print. Oral performance, after all, can

involve all of the senses and multiple signifying systems, from speech and its different inflections, volumes, and voices to gestures and the context of the performance. In *The Folklore Text: From Performance to Print* (1984), Elizabeth Fine provides an overview of the history of field research and addresses the concept of ethnopoetics, a concept introduced by Jerome Rothenberg and Dennis Tedlock in the 1960s to transcribe the pauses and verbal structures of oral performance. Fine sees a need for the work of the anthropologist to go one step further, in the direction of intersemiotic translation. Of particular interest to Fine is the audience's interaction with performers to generate meaning. According to Fine, anthropologists' notations of live performances should include paralinguistic as well as kinetic information, with the text itself featuring notations for intonations, syllable stress, and volume.

This study shows the ways in which Perrault, Gueullette, the Grimms, and Andersen referred to and constructed the act of transmission in their tales and how their translators elicited elements of oral performance this as a part of their own storytelling. In order to better understand how this works, an overview of certain terms from the field of narratology will prove useful in observing how interlingual, intralingual, and intersemiotic translation operate not within the field of social science or linguistics, but rather within the realm of fiction and storytelling.

The Multiple Voices of the Fairy Tale

As fairy tales dispersed across Europe in book form, translators and collectors alike were sure to include representations of the tales' origins. In many cases, these

representations formed an essential component to the story, as with the Scheherazade tale in *The Thousand and One Nights*; yet Scheherazade was a fictionalized character who was, within the frame of the collection, the source of the tales. Perrault's tales are allegedly from the French oral tradition, embodied by the figure of "Ma mère l'Oye" and the Grimms' by German peasants such as Dorothea Viehmann. While there are elements of truth to these origin stories of Perrault and the Grimms, there are likewise significant embellishments. The nurses and peasants that Perrault and the Grimms refer to are, like Scheherazade, essential components of the tales. In his comparative study of the canonical storytellers in the European tradition, François has proposed that this polyphonic quality is a fundamental feature of the genre of the fairy tale.

> Each author develops their own manner of storytelling, but we shall see that it is always based on a particular mode of enunciation, in the style of reported speech: the tale appears as a jumble of voices, with a storyteller relating a tale that's been told before, as if passing on the the voice of another storyteller, thereby inscribing him- or herself in a tradition where somebody always speaks following someone else."[11]

In the case of fairy tales, this "someone else," real or imaginary, frequently would have spoken a different language or dialect than the one of the written text. Jean-Paul Sermain notes the considerable difference between the language of seventeenth-century French peasants, many of whom could not read, and Perrault's written French

[11] "Chaque auteur développe une manière de raconter qui lui est propre, mais nous verrons qu'elle se fonde dans tous les cas sur un mode d'énonciation particulier, à la façon d'un discours rapporté : le conte apparaît comme un *enchevêtrement* de voix où un conteur relate une histoire déjà racontée auparavant, comme s'il rapportait la voix d'un autre conteur, s'inscrivant ainsi dans une tradition où l'on parle toujours à la suite de quelqu'un," François 2017, pp. 11-12.

(Sermain 2005: 41); likewise, the Grimm Brothers in a sense "translated" the tales of the German popular tradition for middle-class readers of the nineteenth century.

The multiple voices of these fairy tales serve as narrative devices that create a sense of a collective storytelling heritage. Elizabeth Wanning Harries has convincingly argued that in the Anglophone tradition, fairy tales in print seem to provide access to an oral tradition of folklore and maintains that this is "an illusion carefully and deliberately created by many fairy-tale collectors, editors and writers" (Harries 46). Although Harries also notes that the "history of the fairy tale in England is largely a history of translation" (ibid 80), the partipation of translators in the production of this illusion, in addition to the collectors, editors, and writers, merits further discussion. The voices of translators join in this "jumble of voices" to which François refers. In particular, the translator's presence is manifest in the prefatorial material, footnotes, and untranslated or mistranslated terms.

As noted in the general introduction, my treatment of the development of the genre of the fairy tale accounts in particular for the importance of paratexts, a category that includes such features as title pages, titles, fonts, attributions, prefaces, and footnotes. The paratextual border is characterized by its permeability, and there is a transaction between the reader and the text that is frequently a form of play. A title may suggest multiple meanings, provide a key to understanding the text, or undermine the apparent meaning of a text altogether. In *Seuils*, Genette explores examples of different forms of paratexts and what kinds of functions they serve.

Genette devotes an entire section of *Seuils* to fictional prefaces, which is of

particular interest to an understanding of how the authors of fairy tales have oriented the readers vis-à-vis their texts. Such prefaces, writes Genette, "are distinguished by their *fictional* or, if you prefer, playful regime (here the notions of fictional and playful seem to me more or less equivalent) – fictional in the sense that the reader is not really, or at least not permanently, expected to take the alleged status of their sender seriously."[12] One observation that has emerged from my research is that fictional prefaces and more traditional prefaceswere conflated at a time when translation, storytelling, and folklore had not yet become entirely distinct.

A historical perspective on the state of translation in France at the very end of the seventeenth century serves to situate what readers of the time were accustomed to in terms of prefaces. It is a logical point to enter the history of the transmission of the fairy tale, for the translators of classics into French who referred to their works as "belles infidèles" were aesthetically aligned with Perrault in the Quarrel of the Ancients versus the Moderns. Subsequently, the chain of transmission that I examine in my dissertation follows those who translated and were inspired by Perrault.

The Belles Infidèles *and the Grotesques of Translation*

The term "belles infidèles" is a term coined by French lexicographer Gilles de Ménage in response to the translations of Nicolas Perrot d'Ablancourt (1606-1664).

[12] "celles que nous allons considérer maintenant pour leurs fonctions s'en distinguent par leur régime fictionnel, ou, si l'on préfère, ludique (les deux notions me semblent ici à peu près équivalentes), en ce sens que le statut prétendu de leur destinateur ne demande pas vraiment, ou pas durablement à être pris au sérieux" (Gérard Genette, *Seuils*, Paris: Seuil, 1987, pp. 280-281 under the heading "Préfaces fictionelles"), trans. Jane E. Lewin, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Ménage was on friendly terms with *salonnières* such as Madame de Lafayette and Madeleine de Scudéry, as well as Ablancourt himself.[13] Remarking on the latter's French versions of the classics of Antiquity, he writes, "They remind me of a woman in Tours whom I loved very much, and who was beautiful but also unfaithful."[14] This method of translation applied generally to the rendering of Greco-Roman works to conform to French sensibilities of the seventeenth century. The first translations into French of the classics had been implicated in the valorization of French as a literary language on par with Latin and Greek, and by the time of Louis XIV, interest in style became the prevailing concern of translators, most of whom were writers and poets and thus invested in producing works of literary merit.

Ablancourt traveled throughout Europe early in his life and, upon his return to France in 1637, became a member of the Académie Française. Between this date and 1662, he published many works from Greek, Latin, and Spanish. He composed copious prefaces to his translations in order to explain his methodology, generally based upon a "sense for sense" rather than "word for word" approach. In the preface to his 1640 translation of the *Annals* of Tacitus, Ablancourt first justifies the arrangement of his publication, noting that although the Roman statestman and author wrote the history of four emperors in his *Annals*, only the first and the fourth were available in their entirety. Ablancourt therefore determined to divide the work into

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[13] Anthony Levi, "Belles infidèles," in *Encyclopedia of Literary Translation into English: A-L*, ed. O. Classe, Taylor & Francis, 2000, p. 127.

[14] "Elles me rappellent une femme que j'ai beaucoup aimée à Tours, qui était belle mais aussi infidèle," cited in *Anthologie de la manière de traduire: domaine français*, ed. Paul A. Horguelin, Montreal: Linguatech, 1981, p. 76.

two parts. This narrative about the manuscript and the organizing principles of the translation is also present in the prefaces of the orientalist scholars Antoine Galland and Pétis de la Croix, as well as Thomas-Simon Gueullette; the lineage of prefaces to such tales, which like Dumas's works are somewhere "between translation and storytelling" (François 2015) can thus be traced at least to the mid-seventeenth century. In addition, Ablancourt's commentary regarding his editorializing process, is likewise characteristic of the prefatorial material to the fairy tales and exotic tales of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

After praising Tacitus for being the caliber of historian suited for the task of writing the life of Tiberius, Ablancourt offers critiques of the work for its multitude of errors, "obscurité," and lack of coherence that he had to correct in order not to "shock the refinements of our language" ("choquer les delicatesses de nôtre Langue," Ablancourt, preface). He goes on to explain that he did not follow the text directly but rather considered the book as a whole with all parts forming a unity. Otherwise, the result would have been "a monstrous body, as with ordinary translations, that are dead or languishing, or messy and confused, without any order or grace."[15] Respecting order and harmony were thus priorities for Ablancourt, who believed that these, rather than slavish devotion to the order and wording of the source, were in fact more conducive to the clear expression of a text's overall message. His method, while not without its detractors, was admired well into the eighteenth century. Voltaire praised Ablancourt as "an elegant translator whose every translation is beautiful but

[15] "un corps monstrueux, tel que celui des traductions ordinaires, qui sont ou mortes & languissantes, ou confuses & embroüillées, sans aucun ordre ni agrément," ibid.

unfaithful" ("un traducteur élégant et dont on appela chaque traduction la belle infidèle," Voltaire 160). The image of the free translation serving to shed light on the original was also a theme for François de Malherbe (1555-1628), another practitioner of the methods associated with those who produced *belles infidèles* rather than grotesques. Like Ablancourt, he discussed his translation methods in detail. In the preface to his 1616 translation of Livy, he writes:

> On at least five or six occasions, I added or subtracted something; the former so as to shed light on that which is unclear and could pose problems that would be entirely undesirable for some; and the latter so as to avoid repetitions or other impertinences that would certainly offend a delicate sensibility. I followed the storyline exactly and accurately, but I didn't want to create the grotesqueries that it's impossible to avoid when restricted to the servitude of translating word for word.[16]

Ablancourt and Malherbe's stated aims were to avoid creating translations that did not form a harmonious whole, the alternative being the production of "monsters" or "grotesqueries." The principle of unity central to debates about *vraisemblance* throughout the seventeenth century thus apply to these translators' practices, and ultimately to Gueullette's as well. Although the definition of *vraisemblance* (likelihood or probability) has changed over the course of the centuries, it has consistently referred to what readers considered acceptable. Classical models were

[16] "Si, en quelques autres lieux, j'ai ajouté ou retranché quelque chose, comme certes il y en a cinq ou six, j'ai fait le premier pour éclaircir des obscurités qui eussent donné de la peine à des gens qui n'en veulent point ; et le second pour ne pas tomber en des répétitions ou autres impertinences dont sans doute un esprit délicat se fût offensé. Pour ce qui est de l'histoire, je l'ai suivie exactement et ponctuellement ; mais je n'ai pas voulu faire les grotesques qu'il est impossible d'éviter quand on se restreint à la servitude de traduire mot à mot," Malherbe, preface.

based primarily on *mimesis*, or imitation, as well as *bienséance*, or decency, and unity. The underlying principle of the concept, as Genette explains in his 1968 essay "Vraisemblance et motivation," is not so much the reflection of reality as reality as it should be. In *Vraisemblance et répétition* (2011), Nathalie Kremer indicates that over the course of the eighteenth century, what was *vraisemblable* became more focused on the reader's pleasure and less on *mimesis*.

The *belles infidèles*, associated with the Moderns, thus anticipate this turn away from classical imitation, which was in keeping with the priorities of the *Anciens*, towards an orientation that accounts for a translation's overall effect. This can thus explain why, for example, translators who were also orientalist scholars such as Galland and Pétis made the changes that they did to *The Thousand and One Nights* (*Les Mille et une nuits)* and *The Thousand and One Days* (*Les Mille et un jours*), respectively. They crafted their translations with the enjoyment of their reading public in mind, adhering to principles of unity and coherence that would sustain an audience's interest. As such, even tales of magic could be *vraisemblable*, so long as they contained some kind of truth or exhibited a unified quality.

Thomas-Simon Gueullette, the subject of this dissertation's second chapter, adhered to this principle of *vraisemblance*, though he initially masqueraded as more of a "fidèle." Such an orientation was consistent with the trend among seventeenth-century French translators of Greco-Roman classics to favor "belles infidèles" over precise translations. There was an acknowledgement that in order to bring authors back to life again, a drastic change woud have to take place. Ablancourt in fact compares the process of translation to that of reincarnation, claiming that Thucydides

passes "into another body as by a sort of metempsychosis, from being Greek to becoming French."[17] This theme of metempsychosis likewise appears in the works of Gueullette, as does, more specifically, theme of works achieving new lives through translation. This abandons the notion of a faithful copy in its consideration of translators themselves as variations of the storytellers who have preceded them.

Inscribing Interference

Translators such as Ablancourt and Malherbe adhered to specific aesthetic principles that privileged subjective interpretation rather than an approach aspiring to objectivity. The paratexts of the collections of fairy tales in this study bring the possibility of such objectivity into question. While some scholars have viewed Perrault as a folklorist, his approach was far more literary (Chapter 1), and while the Grimms estabished the foundations for folkloric studies in the Western tradition, they significantly altered their materials (Chapter 3).

The matter of whether a translator should render an original "sense for sense" or "word for word" has been a topic of debate dating as far back as Cicero and St. Jerome and, as George Steiner argues in *After Babel*, has not only been a debate but *the* debate in discussions about translation. Steiner writes, "Over some two thousand years of argument and precept, the beliefs and disagreements voiced about the nature of translation have been almost the same" (Steiner 251). Underlying this debate is the

[17] See Levi, "Belles infidèles," in *Encyclopedia of Literary Translation into English*, ed. Olive Classe, Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000. See also Lewis S. Seifert, *Fairy Tales, Sexuality, and Gender in France, 1690-1715: Nostalgic Utopias*, Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 119, 120, 234.

assumption that word and meaning are divisible, although translators of religious works who have adhered to a more literalist, or word-for-word, approach have often done so in order to not distort the word of God, implying that the letter functions, in this context, as more than a mere vehicle for meaning.

It is possible to further conceive of a "literalist" approach, beyond the scope of religious texts, as drawing upon the notion that there is no pure thought outside of language. In "On the Different Methods of Translating," Friederich Schleiermacher articulates a theory of linguistic relativism that informs his views regarding translation: "Every human being is, on the one hand, in the power of the language he speaks [...] The form of his concepts, the way and means of connecting them, is outlined for him through the language in which he is born and educated; intellect and imagination are bound by it."[18] Anticipating the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, Schleiermacher contends that insofar as languages differ, so do modes of thought. He insists that the translator convey the "spirit of the language" (ibid 39) to readers of the target text through a method that "leaves the writer alone as much as possible and moves the reader toward the writer" (ibid 42). The result is a translation that admits elements of the foreign, however disruptive they may be to the receiving situation.

[18] "Jeder Mensch ist auf der einen Seite in der Gewalt der Sprache, die er redet; er und sein ganzes Denken ist ein Erzeugniß derselben. Er kann nichts mit völliger Bestimmtheit denken, was außerhalb der Grenzen derselben läge; die Gestalt seiner Begriffe, die Art und die Grenzen ihrer Verknüpfbarkeit ist ihm vorgezeichnet durch die Sprache, in der er geboren und erzogen ist, Verstand und Fantasie sind durch sie gebunden," in "Methoden des Übersetzens," read at the Royal Academy of Sciences in Berlin and reprinted in *Friedrich Schleiermachers sämmtliche Werke, Dritte Abtheilung: Zur Philosophie, vol. 2* (Berlin: Reimer, 1938), pp. 207-45, in *Theories of Translation: An Anthology of Essays from Dryden to Derrida*, ed. Rainer Schulte and John Biguenet, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992.

In *The Trials of the Foreign: Culture and Translation in German Romanticism* (*L'Épreuve de l'étranger : Culture et traduction dans l'Allemagne romantique),* Antoine Berman argues that Schleiermacher and his contemporaries were interested in enriching "Germannness" ("Deutschheit") by expanding the German language, which they considered to be particularly accommodating to innovation. Here, Berman emphasizes that the "formation and development of a national and individual culture can and must take place by way of translation, that is, through an intensive and deliberate relation to the foreign."[19] For both Schleiermacher and Berman, the translator introduces the foreign into the receiving culture by highlighting differences between languages and, by extension, the ways of thought implicated in these differences.

American theorist Lawrence Venuti was one of the staunchest advocates for foreignizing translations in the 1990's, although instead of promoting a national identity, as is the case with Schleiermacher, he was primarily concerned with the global dominance of English. For the translator, he argued, resisting linguistic imperialism involved following Schleiermacher's lead, both in theory and in practice, insofar as linguistic heterogeneity manifests cultural difference and hierarchies.

> I want to suggest that insofar as foreignizing translation seeks to restrain the ethnocentric violence of translation, it is highly desirable today, a strategic cultural intervention in the current state of world affairs, pitched against the

[19] "Elle suggère en outre que la formation et le développement d'une culture propre et nationale peuvent et doivent passer par la traduction, c'est-à-dire par un rapport intensif et délibéré à l'étranger," Berman, p. 57.

> hegemonic English-language nations and the unequal cultural exchanges in which they engage their global others (Venuti 1995: 16).

In particular, this resistance on the translator's behalf would involve refusing to conform to the "transparent" and "fluent" model that would efface all signs of cultural difference. However, in a more recent work from 2013, a collection of essays entitled *Translation Changes Everything: Theory and Practice*, Venuti tempers his viewpoints, although the primary focus remains translators' visibility. Firstly, he makes allowance for what he calls "the poet's version," which admits creative leeway for intentional departures from originals. The question no longer hinges upon the ethics of domestication versus foreignizing, but upon acknowledging all translation as interpretation and the need to read translations not as originals, but as interpretations. More radical "poet's versions" provide a model for approaching translations on the whole, as they highlight the centrality of the interpretive act. Secondly, he criticizes both Schleiermacher and Berman's approaches for resting "uneasily upon an instrumental model of translation" (Venuti 2013: 3), which, he explains, assumes the "reproduction or transfer of an invariant" (ibid). Venuti argues that there is no invariant in a text; for, as the title of his book suggests, there is nothing that remains unchanged in the process of translation, not even the very foreignness of the text itself. Venuti asserts that "sense for sense" translation is an impossibility because sense not only varies from linguistic system to linguistic system and culture to culture, but from reader to reader and translator to translator. Rather than evaluating a translation for its faithfulness or its ability to represent foreignness, he argues, it is

imperative to focus on how a translator has interpreted a text and to read translations as translations, rather than faithful or unfaithful copies of their source texts.

The translator and essayist Kate Briggs has written that works of translation require a secondary suspension of disbelief, the "further fiction" (Briggs 22) that a reader can access an author's original words. Readers of English may like to think that they are reading the words of a French fairy tale, for example, but what they are actually reading is a translator's interpretations of the French text. Even if words look the same, they take on new meanings in new contexts. To take a most fundamental example from Ὀδύσσεια (*Odyssey*) from Greek to English, Ὀδυσσεύς becomes Odysseus, although many English speakers will be more familiar with the Latinized variant, Ulysses. With the name of the hero alone, there is thus a problem of what translation theorists refer to as "equivalence": Ὀδυσσεύς is a common name in Greece, even to this day, and is more familiar than the name Odysseus in the English-speaking world. Its historical context in Greek is entirely different from its historical context in English, in addition to a different pronunciation and visual impact of the letters. Moreover, the Greek of Homer differs significantly from Modern Greek, meaning that even the most educated of interpretations of Homer's writings are filtered through multiple centuries and the concomitant changes in language.

For this reason, Argentinian author, scholar, and theorist Jorge Luis Borges has quipped, in response to the debates about whether to translate Homer "word-for-word" or "sense-for-sense":

> Which of these many translations is faithful? the reader might ask. I repeat: none or all of them. If fidelity implies conveying Homer's inventions and the bygone people and days that the poet portrayed, none of the versions can

> succeed for us but all would for a tenth-century Greek. If fidelity means preserving the effects of Homer intended, any one of the above might serve, except for the literal ones, whose virtue lies in their departure from current poetic practices.[20]

Here, Borges mocks the possibility of a translation having an equivalent impact on the target as on the source audience; it is impossible to recreate the conditions of production for a text, a notion that Borges mocks in his fanciful *ficcion* (fiction), "Pierre Menard, Author of the Quixote." In this short work, Pierre Menard is a French scholar of the early twentieth century who sequesters himself to learn the sixteenth-century Spanish of Cervantes so as to reproduce one section of the *Quixote*, word-for-word. The reception of Menard's *Quixote* is enthusiastic: his version is subtler than that of Cervantes, postmodern in its antiquated style. The same text and the same sequence of words have a different character in its new context, and Borges hereby highlights the ever-changing nature of so-called "originals."

Tales in the oral tradition are even more subject to change; whereas printed materials have a fixed form, tales transmitted orally will inevitably assume a new form with each new telling. Fairy tales in print form are particularly rich for translation studies because they already explicitly constitute or stage a retelling and, as I set out to demonstrate in this dissertation, the pact it involves between the reader and author is comparable to the one evoked by Kate Briggs above. Readers imagine a

[20] "¿Cuál de esas muchas traducciones es fiel?, querrá saber tal vez mi lector. Repito que ninguna o que todas. Si la fidelidad tiene que ser a las imaginaciones de Homero, a los irrecuperables hombres y días que él se representó, ninguna puede serlo para nosotros; todas, para un griego del siglo diez. Si a los propósitos que tuvo, cualquiera de las muchas que trascribí, salvo las literales, que sacan toda su virtud del contraste con hábitos presentes," "Las Versiones Homéricas" (1932), trans. Suzanne Jill Levine: 1992, p. 1138.

primary source of enunciation and this imaginative act adds an extra fictional dimension, with meaning produced by a special kind of reader – the translator, who tells a story about the transmission and origins of the tale.

Scholarship About the Translation of Fairy Tales

Although there has been no single study in English, French, or German dedicated exclusively to the phenomenon of fairy-tale translation, fairy tale scholars have incorporated discussions about translation into their studies, and there have been individual articles and chapters addressing translations of specific works. In addition, there are many book-length collections devoted to the study of the migrations and adaptations of individual tales, as well as edifying forewords, prefaces, and introductions to new translations of fairy tales.[21]

Children's literature was not a genre unto itself at the time of the publication of Perrault's *Histoires ou contes du temps passé avec des moralitez* (1697). However, his prefaces account for several of the features that Zohar Shavit notes in her article "Translation of Children's Literature as a Function of Its Position in the Literary Polysystem" (1981), namely: that the translation should be suitable for children both in terms of content and comprehensibility and that "translations of children's literature tend to attach the text to existing models in the target literature" (Shavit

[21] These include *Mother Goose Refigured: A Critical Translation of Charles Perrault's Fairy Tales* (2016) by Christine A. Jones and *The Complete First Edition: The Original Folk and Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm* (2014) by Jack Zipes, along with Jack Zipes's foreword, Carmelo Lettere's illustrator's note, and Nancy Canepa's translator's introduction to Giambattista Basile's *The Tale of Tales, or Entertainment for Little Ones*, translated by Nancy L. Canepa, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2007.

172). This is the case for the translation of Perrault's tales into English by Robert Samber; since there were no existing models of fairy tales yet in English, he attached them to ballads and other forms of popular literature. A similar scenario applies to the translations of the Grimm Brothers' tales into English, which I address in the third chapter.

In *The Role of Translators in Children's Literature: Invisible Storytellers* (2010), Gillian Lathey presents Samber as an important figure in the orientation of Perrault's tales towards a young audience. She attributes this primarily to the content of his preface and the footnotes that he inserts, which have the tone of an adult addressing a child as they define the term "ogre" and "sauce Robert." My reading of Samber's approach differs insofar that I interpret his positioning of the tales in relation to ballads and British popular literature less as a way to appeal to children but to general readers of chapbooks and broadsides. I also incorporate the observations that Christine Jones makes in her article "Mother Goose's French Birth (1697) and British Afterlife (1729)" regarding the reordering of the tales in the English edition as well as her conclusions from her preface to *Mother Goose Refigured: A Critical Translation of Charles Perrault's Fairy Tales* (2017) that the morals of Perrault's tales are about learning how to "read" in the sense of interpreting, in addition to the actual development of literacy.

Elizabeth Wanning Harries and Jennifer Schacker both address England's lack of a homegrown fairy tale tradition, which, along with Zipes's observation that Taylor adapted the tales for a rising bourgeois class, informs my discussion of the translation of the Grimm Brothers into English. In *Why Fairy Tales Stick: The Evolution and*

Relevance of a Genre, Zipes addresses the aims of translation in terms of finding the right fit that allows the audience to identify with characters of a text. He writes, "Translation is a process of familiarization, an appropriation of someone else's language, making it familiar so that you and others who share your language and values will feel at home while reading the translated text" (Zipes 2006: 198). This perspective is especially relevant to the translation of fairy tales because part of the mechanism of enchantment is the audience's ability to identify with everyday characters, in contrast with the extraordinary, superhuman heroes and heroines of myth. In his classic study *The Uses of Enchantment*, Bruno Bettelheim identified such relatability as one of the key features of the fairy tale. Situations are just familiar and general enough to make it possible for members of the audience to understand tales in terms of the particularities of their own experience.

In *The Experience of the Foreign* (*L'Epreuve de l'étranger),* Berman associates the concept of education (*Bildung*) with translation, insofar as encounters with the foreign allow for a richer understanding of oneself: "the movement of the translation moves from one's own, sameness (the known, the everyday, the familiar) to go towards the foreign, the other (the unknown, the marvelous, the uncanny), and, from this experience, returns to its points of departure."[22] The process of *Bildung*, which can apply to the individual as well as communities and works of art, is the act of discovering oneself through the other, and is a circular process from self to other back to self. This arc of such a *Bildung* is similar to the many fairy tale plots that

[22] "(le movement de la traduction) « part en effet du propre, du même (le connu, le quotidien, le familier), pour aller vers l'étranger, l'autre (l'inconnu, le merveilleux, l'Unheimlich) et, à partir de cette expérience, revenir à son point de départ," Berman, p. 77.

involve a hero's absention, trials encountered in a foreign environment, and ultimate return. The role of the translator is that of a helper or guide, whose participation necessarily determines the representation of these foreign worlds.

Summary of the Chapters

This study begins with Charles Perrault, whose design of the Labyrinthe de Versailles, completed in 1677, anticipated the mazes of attribution that the paratexts to his tales create. In the first chapter, I address the multiple sources of inspiration that Charles Perrault drew on for his *Histoires ou contes du temps passé avec des moralitez* (1697). While Perrault claimed in his preface that he was simply transcribing the stories of the French oral tradition, he certaintly drew inspiration from Italian fabulists as well as texts written by his female contemporaries.

Since Perrault's tales appeared sequentially in the form of society journals, a manuscript, and book versions, there is, in turn, no definitive "original" French text by Perrault. Robert Samber's translation of Perrault created the illusion that many of the tales were from a popular English-speaking tradition. I show how his translation destabilizes the concept of originality, and that the age-old question of fidelity in translation becomes a moot point when there are, in fact, multiple originals. For Samber's influences were numerous and combined to create a narrative about an oral tradition in Britain.

The second chapter describes the narrative arc of the career of Thomas-Simon Gueullette, whose irreverent attitude towards his materials anticipates that of Borges

by several centuries. Gueullette (1683-1766), who also translated works of drama for the *Théâtre Italien* in Paris, followed in the footsteps of the fairy tale vogue of the 1690s as well as the enthusiasm for variations on the "thousand and one" ("mille et un(e)") theme at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Jean-François Perrin has written persusasively on the theme of a shared storytelling heritage in the works of Gueullette (Perrin 2011), whose attributions of tales, which appeared successively as collections that he referred to as "Breton," "Tartar," "Chinese," "Mongolian," and "Peruvian" seem almost arbitrary. These sequences begin with the closest geographic "Other" for French readers, in Brittany, which was still under the French crown in the early eighteenth century though still a separate country, and then head eastward, first in the footsteps of Marco Polo through Tartary, China, and Mongolia to then conclude in Peru. Gueullette appears to follow the trade routes, where stories would pass from traders along with material goods. The fact that Brittany was also called "petit Pérou" (Tourault 120) in the eighteenth century because of its flourishing mercantile activity furthermore suggests that Gueullette comes full circle. While traveling across the globe, passing from narrator to narrator, the "true" origins of the tales were eclipsed while each variation added its own individual features, contributing to the perpetuation and survival of the stories. Yet, as is the case with Perrault, the origin story remained a defining feature of the narrative apparatus.

The third chapter focuses on the shifts that the tales of the Brothers Grimm underwent in English translation, with an emphasis on the phenomenon of intersemiotic translation. As the fairy tale as a *Buchmärchen* already represents a transition from an oral to a written form, it has been, since its very inception, an

intersemiotic genre. Published in 1823, *German Popular Stories*, the English version of the Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* translated by Edgar Taylor and illustrated by George Cruikshank, offers far greater popular appeal than the Grimms' early editions; this is due in no small part to the inclusion of Cruikshank's lighthearted, satirical illustrations. In this chapter, I argue that these illustrations communicate the idealized oral, popular tradition that the Grimms evoked in the prefaces to their *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* but did not elicit as successfully as the first English edition based on their collection.

What the history of this first edition of the Grimms in English also tells us about fairy tales and translation is that the translation can influence the "original" upon which it was based. Schacker and Zipes have shown that the Grimms were inspired at least in part by the success of the Taylor and Cruikshank edition to release the *Kleine Ausgabe* (*Little Edition*) for Christmas in 1825 with a selection of tales curated for children and featuring illustrations by their brother, Ludwig Emil Grimm. One of these illustrations was of the *Märchenfrau* (storyteller) Dorothea Viehmann, who appears as the very embodiment of a rustic oral tradition. Edgar Taylor appropriated this image of Dorothea Viehmann for later editions of his translations of the Grimms, giving her the name Gammer Gethel and reporting that he had obtained the tales from her himself. Taylor thus fabricates his own origin story, based in part upon what he encountered in publications from the Grimms and in part upon how he, emboldened now as a storyteller himself, could best translate the dimensions of oral storytelling for an English-speaking audience.

The fourth and final chapter addresses the fairy tales of Hans Christian Andersen in the hands of French translators. By the time Andersen was writing his *Eventyr* in the mid-nineteenth century, the character of the storyteller had become an essential, expected part of the magical formula of the fairy tale, whether as a clearly imaginary figure such as Mother Goose or an embellished figure such as Dorothea Viehmann. Andersen was an important character in the story of fairy tales, as indicated most tellingly by the title of his autobiography, *Mit Livs Eventyr* ("The Fairy Tale of My Life"). Andersen owed his international success, in part, to translators' portrayal of Andersen the storyteller, or "the fairy tale man," and the foregrounding of the storytelling process.

Andersen's French translators Ernest Grégoire and Louis Moland exaggerate the potential of language to create and communicate other worlds. A comparison of Andersen's Danish with the French of Grégoire and Moland shows that the latter engages the reader even more explicitly in a dialogue: there are more rhetorical questions and uses of the second-person address, for example. In so doing, they introduce both familiarity and distance, establishing the narrator of the tales as Danish and the reader as Francophone. This establishes translation as a mediating frame and its own narrative device.

Fairy tales and translation do not belong so much to the tradition of imitation as the transmitters of tales may suggest at first glance. Equivalence in terms of the audience's original reception or an author's original intent is subject to the messenger's aesthetic and ideological criteria. The closest form of equivalence in translation, for Borges, is for a translator to assume the role of the author. In this way,

a text may take on a new life, which ensures its very survival. The fairy tale, after all, often communicates narratives about survival, which involves being able to interpret, to assume disguises, and to undergo transformation. The quest for an original, authentic form of a fairy tale privileges a view that considers texts to be stable and unchanging. Debates about imitation versus invention took shape in the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns, which marked the climate out of which some of the most influential fairy tales arose in the 1690s. While some of these tales, particularly those of Charles Perrault, gave the appearance of imitating the narratives of peasants, they also created new narratives, translating texts from local idioms and foreign languages while also translating readers into landscapes of the imagination.

Chapter 1

The Invention of Mother Goose: Robert Samber's Translations of Charles Perrault's *Histoires ou contes du temps passé, avec des moralitez*[23]

Transformation is at the thematic heart of Charles Perrault's fairy tales, which constitute the foundation of the fairy tale traditions in both England and France. It has likewise been the key to their survival across languages and national borders. When Robert Samber introduced Perrault's *Histoires ou Contes du Temps passé, avec des moralitez* (1697) as *Mother Goose's Tales: Histories, or Tales of Past Times, with Morals* to English readers in 1729, he transformed the tales so they would be better adapted to their new climate. "Mother Goose," for example, is not a word-for-word translation of "Ma mere l'Oye" ("my mother the goose") and Samber's phrasing evoked legends of legendary female storytellers in the British popular imagination such as Mother Hubberd and Mother Shipton.

Samber exaggerated certain oral features of Perrault's text, such as repetition and musicality, to enhance the impression that the tales had been transmitted via an oral tradition. Although his translation remains close to the French source, the characters took on decidedly new identities across the Channel. This was due, at least

in part, to Samber's ability to tailor the *Tales* in keeping with traditions that were already familiar to English readers.

Before Samber introduced them into English, many of Perrault's tales had led other lives in other languages. Although Perrault stated that these tales were from the oral tradition, his *Histoires ou contes du temps passé, avec des moralitez* have precedents in Giambattista Basile's *The Tale of Tales, or Entertainment for Little Ones* (*Lo cunto de li cunti overo lo trattenemineto de peccerille* 1634-1636), Giovanni Straparola's *The Facetious Nights* (*Le piacevoli notti,* 1550-1555), and, more immediately, the literary fairy tales of the *salonnières*, the female contemporaries of Perrault's who, throughout the 1690s, wrote their own individual variations of the same tales. While there undoubtedly existed an oral tradition from which Perrault drew inspiration, there is no doubt that he was aware of the work of the Italian fabulists as well of the *salonnières*.

There were thus multiple sources of inspiration for Perrault's tales, which themselves appeared in multiple editions. Just as his sources were manifold, so too did his texts produce multiple originals for translation. His tales spread across Europe in pirated versions, beginning in 1697 with an unauthorized edition printed in Holland. These editions contained errors and did not always respect the sequencing of the tales or correlate content with the correct author. Perrault's tales provide a concrete example in the history of translation of an unstable source with multiple originals. The very title of the 1695 manuscript, *Contes de ma mère l'Oye*, even

[23] The initial findings from the research for this chapter are contained in my article "Les Migrations de ma mère l'Oye : La première traduction des *Histoires ou contes du temps*

differs from the 1697 book title, *Histoires ou contes du temps passé, avec des moralitez,* and Samber combined the two into one title: *Mother Goose's Tales: Histories, or Tales of Past Times, with Morals.* There is thus instability at the level of the source texts, an instability that translates the mutable nature of an oral tradition that relies on the memory of those telling the stories and those who recall them without recourse to the authority of a single source, such as a print edition.

In the first part of this chapter, I address the lack of a definitive source for the Perrault tales together with the myth that Perrault created of the common, female origins for the tales. This image ignored Basile, Straparola, and the literary *salonnières*. In so doing, Perrault established a sense of French tales of times past which, he claimed, "our ancestors invented for our children."[24] Jean-Paul Sermain, however, maintains that Perrault did not document a popular tradition but actually *invented* it. Sermain writes, "The tale does not imitate the popular tale, it does not recreate it, but creates it or rather it creates the image or the phantom of it."[25] Similarly, Tristan Landry writes that Perrault invented a language that "endeavored to be 'popular,' even if this meant inventing the 'popular' according to the horizon of what was acceptable in his time."[26] Perrault replaces the socially and culturally

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passé de Charles Perrault" in the Italian journal *Francofonia : Studi e Richerche Sulle Letterature di Lingua Francese*, Bologna: Università di Bologna, 2017, pp. 37-52.

[24] "nos ayeux ont inventez pour leurs Enfans," Perrault 1695, Preface.

[25] "Le conte n'imite pas le conte populaire, il ne le recrée pas, il le crée, ou plutôt il en crée l'image ou le fantôme," Sermain, p. 41.

[26] "une langue qui… s'ingénie à être "populaire", même si pour cela il lui faut inventer du 'populaire', selon l'horizon des vraisemblances à son époque," p. 48.

heterogeneous nature of his sources with an ideal of an original French storytelling tradition, with simple, moralizing tales transmitted primarily by women, thereby displacing the audacious and complex fairy tales of his contemporaries and the bawdy Italian stories with *Histoires, ou contes du temps passé, avec des moralitez* that embodied the propriety, or *bienséance*, appropriate to a compilation dedicated to Louis the Fourteenth's niece.

In English, these tales were to take on lives of their own, and participate in what Elizabeth Wanning Harries has referred to as the "invention of the fairy tale in Britain" (Harries 73-98). Robert Samber's translation from 1729 was a forerunning text in this invention of the fairy tale genre in English. Sermain observes that Perrault invented a popular tradition for France, and Samber, in turn, mirrored the Académicien's accomplishments in England. At the time of the tales' début into English in the early eighteenth century, there were scant records of British fairy tales, and there were only a few scattered fairy tales in print prior to the translations of French authors. Fairies figured prominently in the works of Edmund Spenser and William Shakespeare, but the earliest fairy tales such as "The History of Tom Thumb the Little," first recorded in 1621, did not inspire the same kind of momentum that the fairy tale was to experience in Augustan England. Samber introduced the tales as fulfilling a need among Anglophone readers and situated them in terms of British predecessors that were not necessarily fairy tales. Establishing this frame of reference is one strategy that primed Samber's *Tales* for an enthusiastic reception, and in some cases perennial relevance.

One such transformation that the tales underwent in England was a shift towards a younger audience. Recent scholarship has shown that Samber's translation was a significant factor in orienting Perrault's works towards juvenile readers. Martine Hennard Dutheil de la Rochère in particular notes that Samber's preface emphasizes the didactic aims of the tales (Hennard Dutheil de la Rochère 2017), and Gillian Lathey contends that Samber "uses domesticating strategies" (Lathey 2016: 88) in order, first and foremost, to appeal to children. Samber gives characters English names and changes culturally-specific features: Little Red Riding-Hood brings her grandmother custard rather than *galettes*, for example. The *Suisses* asleep on the steps of the palace in "La Belle au bois dormant" become Beefeaters in "The Sleeping Beauty in the Wood," and the princess's pet dog is named Mopsey rather than Pouffe.

In the second part of the chapter, I analyze Samber's domesticating strategies while showing how they contributed to the creation of a more child-friendly text while making them more accessible to a popular audience. Samber did not use domesticating practices exclusively and employs a more foreignizing approach with the more complex stories at the end of the collection. This translation strategy recalls the process Zipes describes in *Why Fairy Tales Stick* as a process of gradual familiarization, which is analagous to Berman's notion of *Bildung* (see Introduction). Moreover, Samber's gradual introduction of French terms, creating a collection of tales that progressively becomes more obviously a translation from the first tale to the last, produces an effect of transparency. Samber's tales create the illusion of

homegrown English tales to then reveal, with tales that appear later in the collection, underlying French sources.

Various Editions of Perrault's Tales

In terms of the written fairy tale, it is really with Perrault and his contemporaries, at the end of the reign of Louis XIV, that the genre started to establish itself as such in Europe. The French fairy tale authors of this time did not present their material as original, but rather as reworkings of much older tales. Perrault claimed to have derived his material for the *Histoires ou contes du temps passé, avec des moralitez* from the French oral tradition, and many scholars, including the Grimm Brothers, have considered him to be France's first folklorist.[27]

Perrault (1628-1703) was born in Paris and took an early interest in literature and intellectual innovation. In his *Mémoires*, he relates having defended his ideas against his instructor in philosophy "because they were new."[28] He studied law and, early in his career, expressed admiration for Antoine Le Maistre's practice at the bar: "He brings the eloquence of ancient Greece and Rome, free from all the vices that our fathers introduced into it" and, by the power of his reason, possessed the "perfect

[27] See Ann Duggan's analysis of the Grimm Brothers' interpretation of Perrault as a folklorist in her article "The Reception of the Grimms in Nineteenth-Century France: Volkspoesie and the Reconceptualization of the French Fairy-Tale Tradition," *Fabula* 2014; 55 (3/4); 260-285, particularly the excerpt from the Grimms that "France must surely have more than what was published by Perrault," p. 269.

manner of expressing himself" (Perrault 1697 Tome I: 61). Perrault and Le Maistre, who was also a translator, were to advocate for such refinements and progress in literature. This anticipated Perrault's engagement in the Quarrel of the Ancients versus the Moderns, which was a heated cultural war that took place under the reign of Louis XIV. In 1687, Perrault championed modern authors before the assembled members of the Académie Française with his reading of the poem "The Century of Louis the Great" ("Le Siècle de Louis le Grand").

After Perrault oversaw the construction of a house for his brother Claude, Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683), who was then serving as the Minister of Finances for Louis XIV, admired his work and appointed Perrault to oversee the construction of royal buildings. Perrault's work in this capacity included working with André Lenotre in 1668 on the Labyrinthe de Versailles, a large hedge maze with statues representing scenes from the fables of Aesop. Perrault, who had already composed verses in praise of the King, was appointed to describe the masquerades and celebrations at the château.

By the 1670s, ladies of the court at Versailles would entertain one another by telling stories of fairies and fairyland to one another.[29] After retiring from public life

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[28] Perrault, *Mémoires*, cited in Andrew Lang's introduction to *Perrault's Popular Tales*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888, which provides the tales of Perrault in French along with Lang's lively descriptions of Perrault's biography. Lang commends Perrault for his excellence in telling fairy tales and claims, "No nation owes him so much as we of England, who, south of the Scottish, and east of the Welsh marches, have scarce any popular tales of our own save Jack the Giant Killer, and who have given the full fairy citizenship to Perrault's *Petit Poucet* and *La Barbe Bleue*," Lang, p. xvi.

[29] In 1677, the noblewoman Madame de Sévigné wrote to her daughter of such activity, which she referred to as "mitonner" ("to simmer"); cited in Bottigheimer 2009, p. 17.

in 1691, Perrault, now sixty-three years old, composed a tale in his turn: his earliest story with *The Marquise of Salusses, or the Patience of Griselidis (La Marquise de Salusses, ou la Patience de Griselidis)*. Perrault's *Griselidis* is a reconfiguration of a tale in the *Decameron* of Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375). Although Perrault could read Italian and had in fact translated several works from it, he writes that he had found the tale not in the *Decameron* but rather in the "blue books" of the *Bibliothèque bleue*, which were named for their inexpensive blue covers.[30]

In November 1693, the *Mercure Galant* published *The Ridiculous Wishes* (*Les Souhaits Ridicules)*, and one year later, the Dutch bookseller Moetjens republished Perrault's *Griselidis*, along with *Donkeyskin* (*Peau d'Asne)* in a collection called *Collection of curious and new selections in prose and verse (Recueil de pièces curieuses et nouvelles, tant en prose qu'en vers)*. All three were published together in 1694 and again in 1695, this time with a preface. 1695 was also the year that the manuscript of *Tales of My Mother the Goose (Contes de Ma Mère l'Oye)*, a work in calligraphy dedicated to the niece of Louis XIV appeared, presenting the first five of the eight tales. The first in the sequence was "The Sleeping Beauty of the Wood" ("La Belle au bois dormant"), which was also published in the periodical *Le Mercure Galant* in 1696. This was followed by "The Little Red Cap" ("Le Petit Chaperon Rouge"), "The Blue Beard" ("La Barbe bleue"), "The Master Cat, or the Cat in Boots" ("Le Maistre Chat, ou le Chat botté") and "The Fairies" ("Les Fées"). Claude Barbin published a collection of these five tales, now with the title *Stories or Tales of Past Times, with Moralities* (*Histoires ou contes du temps passé, avec des moralitez)*,

[30] Cited in Lang, p. xxi.

rather than the 1695 manuscript title of *Tales of My Mother the Goose* (*Contes de ma mère l'Oye)*, with the addition of "Cinderella, or the Little Glass Slipper" ("Cendrillon, ou la petite pantoufle de verre"), "Ricky with the Tuft" ("Riquet à la Houppe"), and "Little Thumb" ("Petit Poucet") in 1697. Although the latter is generally the more "definitive" of the editions, the name of the first, *Contes de ma mère l'Oye*, survives as lettering above the door in the frontispiece to the 1697 edition (See Figure B).

In his preface to *Contes de Perrault : Fac-similé de l'édition originale de 1695-1697*, Jacques Barchilon presents the differences between the 1696 version of "La Belle au bois dormant" as it appeared in *Le Mercure Galant* and the 1697 version as it appeared in *Histoires ou contes du temps passé*. The 1696 version is considerably longer and contains entire paragraphs that are absent from the 1697 edition (Barchilon 1980: xxi-xxviii). Barchilon also provides a detailed description of the changes that the five original tales from the 1695 manuscript underwent for the 1697 Desbordes edition, with a full chapter dedicated to "Perrault's textual improvements" (Barchilon 1956: 57-72). He notes that there are minor editorial improvements along with changes to entire passages, notably in the dedication and in the fifth tale, "Les Fées." With "Les Fées" and "Cendrillon" both beginning with the same situation of a stepmother who despises and maltreats her good-natured stepdaughter, Perrault changed some of the phrasing of "Les Fées" so that it did not too closely resemble "Cendrillon." It is clear that Perrault edited his sources rather than simply transcribing tales from an oral tradition; rather, he crafted the illusion of this tradition, embodied by the figure of "Ma Mère l'Oye."

Perrault's Sources

The uncertain nature of Perrault's sources, particularly in regards to whether they were oral or textual, have engaged scholars in debate up to the present day, more than three centuries after Claude Barbin published the collection in 1697. In the 1950s, Paul Delarue attributed all of Perrault's tales, with the exception of "Riquet à la Houppe," to French oral tradition (Delarue 20). A version of "Riquet à la Houppe" was published by Catherine Bernard shortly before *Histoires ou contes du temps passé, avec des moralitez*, and although the sequence of origins has been contested, the current consensus is that Bernard's preceded Perrault's. This does not, however, dissuade Delarue from noting that Perrault's tales were vastly superior to those of his female contemporaries: for him, Perrault's tales, "in their simplicity, their inimitatable creativity, emerged as infinitely superior to the dull stories that the cultivated ladies drew from their imaginations."[31] Overlooking and downplaying the contributions of the worldly female authors allows for a story of male authors documenting women's oral narratives to predominate.

French philosopher Marc Soriano, also a specialist of the works of Perrault, takes a slightly different approach regarding what he referred to as "our most famous book of literature."[32] In his chapter on Perrault's written and oral sources, he refers to this book as "the least personal, the least original" and continues, "Of all the classical

[31] "ils apparaissent dans leur simplicité, leur inimitable fantaisie, infiniment supérieurs aux fades histoires que des dames cultivées tiraient de leur imagination," ibid.

[32] "le livre le plus célèbre de notre littérature," Marc Soriano, *Les Contes de Perrault, culture savante et traditions populaires*, Paris: Gallimard, 1968, p. 75.

masterpieces, it is incontestably the one that refers to the most numerous sources."[33] Soriano notes that even by the nineteenth century, François Genin (1803-1856) contended that Perrault owed "Cendrillon," "La Belle au bois dormant," "Le Chat botté," and "L'Adroite Princesse" to Giambattista Basile's *The Tale of Tales or Entertainment for Little Ones (Lo Cunto de li cunti overo Lo trattenemiento de peccerille),* also known as *Pentamerone*, which had been published in a Neapolitan dialect between the years of 1634-36. Likewise, Perrault was certainly aware of Straparola's *Notti*, published in Italian between 1550 and 1555 and translated into French in 1560 by Louveau, then Larivey in 1576; there were at least eleven editions of the French translation by 1615 (ibid 76).

Jacques Barchilon affirms that the models Perrault had at his disposal "must have all been literary ones, for there is no trace of popular texts from the time of Perrault."[34] For the seven of the eight tales in the collection *Histoires ou contes du temps passé, avec des moralitez*, he cites literary precedents, most of them Italian. According to Barchilon, Perrault's work primarily consisted, as Perrault himself stated in the preface, of editing the tales for propriety (*bienséance*), though for Barchilon, the texts were not of oral but rather written origins. Like Barchilon, the

[33] "le moins personnel, le moins original," "De tous les chefs-d'œuvres classiques, c'est sans conteste celui qui renvoie aux sources les plus nombreuses," ibid.

[34] "devaient être tous littéraires, car il ne subsiste aucune trace de textes populaires du temps de Perrault," Barchilon, p. vii.

American scholar Ruth Bottigheimer argues that the transmission of fairy tales was exclusively a matter of the circulation of written texts.[35]

Curiously, Barchilon does not mention Perrault's more immediate predecessors, notably Catherine Bernard, whose version of "Riquet à la Houppe" was published one year prior to Perrault's.[36] Although Perrault is the towering giant in the world of the French fairy tale, he was preceded in the 1690s by dozens of female authors from the aristocratic milieu, known variously as the *salonnières*, or women who congregated in salons, *Fées modernes*, or *conteuses modernes*. Sophie Raynard[37] characterizes this movement for female fairy-tale authors a "seconde préciosité," linking these *conteuses modernes* with female authors from the early seventeenth century known as the *précieuses*. These *précieuses* were society ladies who discussed literature in rooms ("chambres") that were to later become salons whose focus was upon the art of pleasing and the aesthetics of gentleness. Notable hosts of such gatherings were Catherine de Vivonne, Madeleine de Scudéry, and Madame de Lafayette. One of their games was the narration of fairy tales to one another, and Raynard observes that the authors of the second préciosité such as Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy, Catherine Bernard, and Mademoiselle L'Héritier de Villandon placed a greater emphasis on metamorphosis than Charles Perrault. Such metamorphoses, she

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[35] See especially Ruth Bottigheimer, *Fairy Godfather: Straparola, Venice, and the Fairy Tale Tradition*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.

[36] Villandon's "Les Enchantements de l'eloquence," published in 1696, has a plotline similar to Perrault's "Les Fées" (1697) and was likely a source of inspiration.

[37] See Sophie Raynard, *La second préciosité: Floraison des conteuses de 1690 à 1756*, Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 2002.

maintains, point to the *conteuses'* desire to create a different kind of world where women have greater power and freedom in love.

Narrating such stories in aristocratic women's salons was a common game, which Catherine Bernard's novel *Inés of Cordoba* (*Inés de Cordoue,* 1696) dramatizes as two rival ladies-in-waiting tell stories in order to please the queen. The first tale, "Prince Rosier," tells of a rosebush that transforms into a prince thanks to the love of a princess; however, when the marriage grows stale, the prince asks the fairies to be restored to his previous, non-human state. The second tale is "Riquet à la Houppe," in which a clever gnome grants a dim-witted beauty with the gift of cleverness in exchange for the promise of marriage. The ending is somewhat different from Perrault's, with the young woman employing her newfound intelligence to smuggle a lover into the gnome kingdom. When Riquet finds out, he transforms the lover into a gnome just like himself, and the beautiful queen must spend the rest of her life attempting to differentiate between the two. In Bernard's "Riquet," the two husbands evoke the confusion between original and copy in the genre of fairy tales. In Perrault's version, there is less ambiguity, as the beautiful princess learns to love Riquet for his wit and abandons her paramour. Meanwhile, the reader never finds out the fate of the princess's ugly yet clever sister.

Whether his sources were oral or written, French or Italian, or a combination thereof, Perrault certainly adapted his material. While Perrault's fairy tales have a certain universal appeal, they represent instantiations of the tales specific to Perrault's time and place. Perrault's tales are capable of being simultaneously local and universal. Their unresolved nature, their ability to engage apparent polarities in a

constant dialogue with no definitive answer, is a part of their perennial appeal. In the introduction to her 2016 translation of Perrault, Christine A. Jones addresses these interplays of the oral and the written, aristocratic and popular, juvenile and sophisticated. Although Perrault claims to have derived his stories from French peasants, the similarities between his *Contes* and Straparola's *Notti* would have been clear to many readers. Perrault's claim that the tales are from an oral tradition is an invitation to a game that is fated to remain unresolved. This also raises the question: if there is no definitive source, but rather multiple sources, who is the author?

Questions of Attribution

In the January 1697 edition of the periodical *Le Mercure Galant*, an article announced the imminent publication of a collection of tales written by the same author as "La Belle au bois dormant,"[38] which it had featured the previous year. The article included a statement by this same unnamed "author" who relates that he is, in fact, not the real author of the tales at all, which are rather the product of "this infinite number of fathers, mothers, grandmothers, governesses, and friends who for perhaps more than a thousand years have always enriched them, one after the other, adding

[38] "Je me souviens de vous avoir envoyé l'année dernière le Conte de la Belle au Bois dormant, que vous témoignastes avoir lû avec beaucoup de satisfaction. Ainsi je ne doute point que vous n'appreniez avec plaisir que celuy qui en est l'Auteur vient de donner un Recuëil de Contes qui en contient sept autres, avec celuy-là. Ceux qui font de ces sortes d'ouvrages sont ordinairement bien aises qu'on croye qu'ils sont de leur invention. Pour luy, il veut bien qu'on sçache qu'il n'a fait autre chose que de les rapporter naïvement en la maniere qu'il les a oüi conter dans son enfance" in *Le Mercure Galant*, January 1697, pp. 949-51.

many agreeable circumstances."[39] The notion of such a long-lived tradition provided the tales with the time-tested legitimacy of the narratives of Antiquity while simultaneously creating an image of progressive improvement, as characteristic of the outlook of *Modernes* such as Perrault.

Perrault valorized his *Contes* in opposition to rewritings of Greco-Roman classics because they were derived from French sources: he celebrated France and its king, along with the sophisticated faculties of reason and a profound sense of morality that the author viewed as being characteristic of the reign of Louis XIV. Far from simply amassing previously-existing tales, Perrault's collection *Histoires ou contes du temps passé, avec des moralitez* was to demonstrate the superiority of French tales to Greek and Roman sources and also serve as an affront to Jean de la Fontaine, one of the most important partisans of the "Anciens."

In the 1695 preface to *Griselidis*, Perrault declares, "my tales are more deserving of being retold than most tales of Antiquity,"[40] especially the tale of Cupid and Psyche by Lucian of Samosata and Apuleius, which Perrault deems to present overly-flawed female characters. He contrasts these with the moralizing qualities of all the "contes de peau d'asne," or "donkeyskin tales," of the French tradition. This term refers both to the specific tale, "Peau d'Asne," which Perrault composed in a

[39] "[ce] nombre infini de Pères, de Mères, de Grand'Mères, de Gouvernantes et de grand'Amies qui depuis peut-être plus de mille ans y ont ajouté en enchérissant toujours les uns sur les autres beaucoup d'agréables circonstances," ibid.

[40] "mes Fables méritent mieux d'être racontées que la plupart des contes anciens" in *Griselidis nouvelle avec le conte de peau d'asne, et celuy des Souhaits ridicules. Quatrième édition*, Paris: Jean Baptiste Coignard, 1695, aiij.

verse form, and to other kinds of tales like it.[41] These tales of Greco-Roman Antiquity are "entirely pure fiction, like an old wives' tale, like the tale of Donkeyskin. Also, we see that Apuleius has it told by an old woman to a young girl that the thieves had taken, just as that of Donekyskin is told to Children every day by their Governesses and their Grandmothers."[42]

The German scholar Ute Heidmann addresses Perrault's reference to this literary device employed by Apuleius. She interprets "Barbe-bleue" as Perrault's revision of the story of Cupid and Psyche, both the Latin version by Apuleius and the rewritten version by La Fontaine. She provides a detailed comparison of phrasing from the Latin of Apuleius and the French of Perrault to conclude that the French Modern was working from Apuleius rather than the memory of what he had heard from a governess or a grandmother. Heidemann writes that Perrault's reference to the "*double writing*" (*double écriture*) of the Psyche fable by Lucien and Apuleius likewise refers to the complexity of the narrative device: even if Lucien did not invent the story of Psyche, he was innovative in his employment of the multiple enunciative device that has the story related first via the old woman, and then through Lucius, the narrator and protagonist of Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*.

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[41] *Peau d'Ane* is the tale with some of the oldest traces in French literary history. In her "Propos rustiques" (1547), Noël du Fail mentions the tale of Little Donkey's Hide (*Cuir d'asnette*); Bonaventure des Périers mentions a little girl by the name of "Peau d'Ane" in his *Contes ou Nouvelles récréations et Joyeux Devis* (1557). Allegedly, Louis XIV didn't leave the "hands of the women who would tell him Peau d'âne to get him to fall asleep" ("des mains des femmes qui lui racontaient Peau d'âne pour l'endormir"), see Olivier Chaline, *Le règne de Louis XIV*, Paris, Éditions Flammarion, 2005, p. 736.

[42] "Aussi voyons-nous qu'Apulée le fait raconter par une vieille femme, à une jeune fille que des voleurs avoient enlevée, de mesme que celui de Peau d'Asne est conté tous les jours à des Enfans par leurs Gouvernantes, & par leurs Grand'-meres," Perrault 1697, preface.

> The fact that he makes the enunciative device of the *Metamorphoses* explicit is important, for it signals that neither the ancient tale of Apuleius nor his own tales are 'old wives' tales,' as is still believed. Perrault's commentary insists on the fact that the author of Antiquity as well as he himself, a modern author, used the same complex device that make them resemble this type of tale."[43]

In order to bring tales that were marginal to the standard classical canon, with popular origins in Italian and French sources, Perrault produces a character of "Ma Mère l'Oye" who is speaking, while he transcribes.

Sermain has demonstrated that Perrault reworked old material in order to create texts that fulfilled an aesthetic criterion primarily of pleasure; the language was accessible to a variety of readers, not simply an elite and erudite class, and the material simple. According to Sermain, the principles that the *Anciens* adhered to excluded the common people. Sermain in fact casts Perrault himself as a translator of sorts, as an author who gave back to the people what was theirs "with a text that was no longer theirs but in which they could recognize themselves" (Sermain 41). This simplicity of style and the enchantment of narration was entirely in keeping with the

[43] "Son explicitation du dispositif énonciatif des *Métamorphoses* est importante, car elle signale que ni le conte ancien d'Apulée ni encore ses propres contes ne sont des « contes de Vieille », comme on persiste à le croire. Le commentaire de Perrault insiste sur le fait que l'auteur ancien et lui-même, auteur moderne, se servent d'un même dispositif complexe qui les fait ressembler à ce type de récit," Heidmann, p. 10.

principles of the *Modernes*, who focused not on imitation but innovation and improvement.[44]

In addition to this reference to previous generations who had authored the tale, another turn in this labyrinth of attribution is formed by the fact that the 1695 collection is signed "P.P." and the 1697 version "Pierre Darmancour," which was the name of Perrault's son. The dedication of the 1695 manuscript *Contes de ma Mère L'Oye*, in fact, begin by stating that "It is not so strange that a Child took pleasure in composing the tales of this collection."[45] Although there has been some debate about the "paternity of the tales," there is little doubt that Charles Perrault authored *Histoires ou contes du temps passé, avec des moralitez.*[46] Scholars have suggested that the Académicien may have been embarrassed at having published such trifles, or what the dedication refers to playfully as having the appearance of mere "bagatelles" (Perrault 1697: aii). The play between father and son, original and copy, is an extension of the coy game that the anonymous "author" established with the *Mercure Galant* announcement of the collection's imminent publication, and contributes to a

[44] "On ne peut s'abandonner au charme du conte, retrover le repos de l'enfance, cet arrachement au monde qui fait 'l'enchantement', le plaisir du 'merveilleux', de l'étonnement, le glissement de la magie, que parce que le conteur a su 'ingénieusement' en susciter les effets dans son texte. Le lecteur découvre dans le conte le sentiment de sa propre historicité en prenant la mesure de son écart avec le passé ; l'écrivain semble s'abolir dans l'irrationel, le populaire, l'enfantin du conte marque ainsi l'étendue de son pouvoir et de sa création. Avec lui, la littérature moderne triomphe" Sermain, pp. 41-42.

[45] "On ne trouuera pas estrange qu'un Enfant ayt pris plaisir a composer les contes de ce recueil" cited in Barchilon 1956, p. 113

[46] Delarue, for example, writes that "the famous collection Histoires ou contes du temps passé…while signed Pierre Darmancour, is generally attributed to his father, Charles Perrault, member of the Académie Française" ("le célèbre recueil des contes en prose Histoires ou contes du temps passé… bien que signé de Pierre Darmancour, est généralement attribué à son père, l'académicien Charles Perrault") Delarue, p. 20.

literary framing device that implicates the origins of the tales in its own fictional narrative.

According to this extradiegetic frame narrative, the son records the tales that he heard from his grandmother or nurse. Earlier, in the preface to the 1695 edition *Griselidis. Nouvelle avec le conte de peau d'asne, et celuy des souhaits ridicules*, Perrault introduces another child's voice: there is a poem that "a young miss with of great wit" ("une jeune Demoiselle de beaucoup d'esprit") composed after reading a copy of "Peau d'asne" ("Donkeyskin") that Perrault had sent her, comparing it with those that she had heard recounted orally:

> The donkeyskin tale is recounted here
> with such simplicity
> that it entertained me no less
> than when by the fire my Nurse or my Nanny,
> in so doing, enchanted my spirit,
> and in places there are some marks of Satire,
> which without bitterness or cruelty
> all contributed to the pleasure of reading:
> What pleases me still in its innocent sweetness
> is that it is entertaining and funny
> and all the while Mother, Spouse, and Confessor
> can find no reason to reproach it.[47]

[47] "Le conte de Peau-d'Âne est ici raconté
Avec tant de naïveté,
Qu'il ne m'a pas moins divertie,
Que quand auprès du feu ma Nourrice ou ma Mie
Tenaient en le faisant mon esprit enchanté.
On y voit par endroits quelques traits de Satire,
Mais qui sans fiel et sans malignité,
À tous également font du plaisir à lire:
Ce qui me plaît encor dans sa simple douceur,

This madrigal contributes to the vision of an oral tradition of storytelling that forms part of the vision in Perrault's *Histoires* of an original, rustic source of the tales. As with the excerpt from *Le Mercure Galant*, the emphasis on female storytellers is noteworthy. Perrault places particular importance upon the role of women as transmitters of these stories. In *From the Beast to the Blonde: On Fairy Tales and Their Tellers* (1995), Warner indicates that the associations between women and spinning, child-rearing, and magic all result in female storytellers as more traditional sources for fairy tales than men. She relates the terms in English for storytelling that also relate to the production of textiles: women fabricate, they tell yarns, they spin stories. Storytelling in the context of the frontispiece to Perrault's tales is particularly domestic, with the scene taking place by the hearth.

In the spirit of a collector and transmitter of texts that he assumed as the author of the *Histoires ou contes du temps passé, avec des moralitez*, Perrault includes this madrigal to conclude the preface of the 1695 edition of versified tales. An asterisk with a reference in the margin of the page indicates that the "jeune demoiselle" to whom Perrault refers is L'Héritier (1664-1734), who in fact was not particularly "jeune" by 1695, particularly by the standards of the seventeenth century. Though the text does mention her, her name remains literally marginalized, and her intellectual activity among the *mondaines* of Paris such as Madeleine de Scudéry, ignored in favor of a more domestic scene by the hearth with "ma grand-mère ou ma mie." In Perrault's preface, women tell, hear, and read fairy tales, but they do not

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C'est qu'il divertit et faire rire,
Sans que Mère, Époux, Confesseur,
Y puissent trouver à redire" (Perrault 1695 preface)

write them – this eclipses the fact that it was in fact women who wrote the first fairy tales in the French language. Ann Duggan argues that Perrault condemned "mondain women, in large part on moral grounds, in order to exclude them from the sociocultural public sphere" (Duggan 2005: 201).[48] Harries likewise claims that the verbal power of women, represented by the *conteuse* of the frontispiece to Perrault's tales (Figure B, page 11), is "mimed and controlled" by Perrault (Harries 47). The idealization of the oral storytelling tradition keeps it securely separate from the written one. The door behind the storyteller with the placard reading "Contes de ma mère l'Oye" reinforces this distinction.

In the frontispieces from 1695 and 1697, the door also has a keyhole, evoking the tale of Bluebeard, as well as a lock near the top that recalls the lines from "Le Petit Chaperon Rouge" that are, in French, perhaps the most famous: when the wolf comes to the grandmother's house and announces, in the voice of Little Red Riding Hood, that her granddaughter has come to bring her a *galette*, the grandmother tells her to pull the pin so the latch will fall.

> Knock, knock, who's there? It's your girl, Little Red Riding Hood (said the Wolf, imitating her voice) who brings you a galette and a small pot of butter my Mother sends you. The good Grandmother, who was in her bed because

she felt somewhat poorly, called out to him, pull the pin, the latch will fall, the Wolf pulled the pin and the door opened.[49]

Toc, toc, qui est la? C'est vôtre fille le petit chaperon rouge (dit le Loup, en contrefaisant sa voix) qui vous apporte une galette, & un petit pot de beurre que ma Mere vous envoye. La bonne Mere-grand qui estoit dans son lit à cause qu'elle se trouvait un peu mal, luy cria, tire la chevillette, la bobinette cherra, le Loup tira la chevillette, & la porte s'ouvrit.

Perrault, too, imitates a child's voice as well as that of an old woman, and it is his tales that survive, much like the wolf of the tale. The *moralité* at the end of "Le Petit Chaperon Rouge" warns of silver-tongued wolves preying upon women and chasing them all the way to their houses, and even to their bedsides – "Suivant les jeunes Demoiselles,/ Jusque dans les maisons, jusque dans les ruelles" (Perrault 1697: 56). Here, "ruelle" has multiple meanings: it is a small street or alley and also designates the space between the bed and the wall of a bedroom. This space is where the self-designated "Fées modernes," or female authors of fairy tales, would often hold their salons. Warner writes that the Marquise de Rambouillet (1588-1665) would invite guests to her chambre bleue, which served as an "alternative court" where women presided.

The Marquise de Rambouillet sat her favourite guests down to talk to her by her side in the ruelle – the "alley" – which was the space between her bed and

[49] I provide here my own translation in an interlinear style for immediate comparison with the French of Perrault's text. See also Christine Jones's excellent translation, "The Little Red Tippet" in *Mother Goose Refigured: A Critical Translation of Charles Perrault's Fairy Tales*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2016, pp. 116-199. Samber's translation reads: "[T]oc toc. Whose there? Your grand-daughter, The little red Riding-Hood, said the Wolfe, counterfeiting her voice, who has brought you a custard pye, and a little pot of butter mamma sends you. The good grandmother, who was in bed, because she found herself somewhat ill, cried out, Pull the bobbin, and the latch will go up. The Wolfe pull'd the bobbin, and the door open'd," Samber 3-4.

> the wall. *Ruelles* became the word for such salons, which sprang up in imitation of hers in the city; those who attended became the alcôvistes, privy to the alcôve. This arrangement of social space, both public and private at the same time, was presided over by women and it lasted until the Revolution. The word 'salon' itself came into use only after the practice had died out (Warner 1994: 50).

Perrault, like the wolf, did in fact follow some of these "jeunes Demoiselles" mentioned in the *moralité* and also to refer to L'Héritier in the preface of 1695 for their stories. The suggestion, then, is that the wolf character, known in Italo Calvino's Italian version as "The False Grandmother" ("La Finta Nonna"), may point to Perrault's interloping.

Jones maintains that these tales teach children how to interpret, especially intertextually and intermedially: between the main body of the text and its paratexts, between the written inscription of "Contes de Ma Mère l'Oye" on the door behind the spinning woman and the title on the opposite page. The tensions are what make Perrault's *Contes* so open to interpretation and infinitely readable. The moralizing poems at the end of each tale encourage multiple, often contradictory readings. The tales can certainly serve to help children read, in the literal sense; but also to read, in a more figurative sense: that is, how to interpret. Without one absolute moral, then, readers participate in the creation of meaning and in turn become new kinds of authors.

Situating the Tales to Create a New Literary Tradition

Samber (1682-1745) is something of an enigma, perhaps intentionally so. He was born to middle-class Roman Catholic parents during the reign of James II, who was overthrown with the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 by a staunch Protestant, William of Orange. J.M. Blom argues that Samber, because of his religion, didn't have much of a chance of making a mark on the world of letters in early eighteenth-century Britain and had to resort to translating in order to eke out a living. He concludes that "Samber's case is that of a literary hack" (529), though, as Lathey noted, "Samber's translation or retellings based on it, steadily increased in popularity until they became the most widely read and told of all the translated French fairy tales" (Lathey 2010: 55).

Christine A. Jones writes that translations of the tales from the eighteenth century have shaped the way that Anglophones read the tales. She writes, "Editors reiterated their titles and line-up so often that they ceased to need the French antecedent to be veritable icons and legends of the literary past. No longer translations, they became English-language originals" (Jones 2013). Five of the tales from Perrault's *Histoires ou contes du temps passé, avec des moralitez* are a part of the Anglophone fairy tale canon, and it was Samber who came up with the names that have weathered the tests of time, namely: "Little Red Riding Hood," "Sleeping Beauty," "Cinderilla,"[50] "Puss in Boots," and "Bluebeard."

[50] The spelling changed to "Cinderella" later in the eighteenth century, particularly with the translations of Guy Miège.

Scholarship dedicated to what Blom calls "Samber studies" is spotty, limited primarily to articles, chapters, or parts of chapters. Much of Samber's work was for Grub Street publishers such as Edmund Curll, who frequently pirated materials and didn't always attribute them to their legitimate author. Adding to his elusive identity is the fact that Samber also translated anonymously and under at least one pseudonym. All told, he produced at least six original works and twelve translations from Italian, French, and Latin. The quality and seemliness of the source texts for his translations varied wildly, with with Antoine Houdar de la Motte's *One Hundred New Court Fables* (1721) and Baladassare Castiglione's *The Courtier* (1724) at one end of the spectrum and the Abbé du Prat's *Venus in the Cloister: Or, the Nun in her Smock* (1724) and Charles Ancillon's *Eunuchism display'd. Describing all the different sorts of eunuchs* (1718) at the other. The publishing climate of the early eighteenth-century was characterized by the close proximity of the high-brow with the low-brow, especially because of unscrupulous printers on Grub Street who produced cheap, frequently unauthorized runs of anything they thought would sell.

Perrault's *Contes* themselves are a blend of popular and aristocratic features. Perrault had worked as an advisor to Louis XIV and, dedicating the volume to the Sun King's niece, Élisabeth-Charlotte d'Orléans, wrote with a courtly audience in mind. Yet the tales also have a colloquial register to evoke the oral tellings of "ma mere l'Oye." Associations in France between "ma mère l'Oye" and imaginative tales

date as far back as the sixteenth century,[51] and while the expression was in common usage in France, there was no exact equivalent in English that evoked the same image with the same familiar register. The title, which translates literally to "Tales of my mother the Goose," already resonated with French readers, who had likely encountered the term previously; in English, a word-for-word translation, also known as a "calque," would have been distancing and distracting.

The full title of Samber's translation, *Mother Goose's Tales: Histories, or Tales of Past Times*, drops the possessive article "ma" ("my"). This subtle change is characteristic of Samber's translation, insofar as it evokes elements of English lore to adapt the tales to their new climate. The name of "Mother Goose" is reminiscent of British legends who preceded her, such as Mother Hubberd of Edmund Spenser's *Prosopopoia: or Mother Hubberd's Tale* (1590)[52] as well as the prophetess Mother Shipton, whose predictions appeared in pamphlets and chapbooks throughout the seventeenth century. Another predecessor was Mother Bunch, a legendary ale-wife

[51] The sixteenth-century satirist Marthurin Régnier, for example, once stated, "Je n'ay de leurs discours ny plaisir, ny soucy ; / Et ne m'émeus non plus, quand leur discours sourvoye, / Que d'un conte d'Urgande, & de ma mère l'Oye." *Oeuvres de Mathurin Régnier*, London: 1750, p. 277.

[52] Several persons allegedly entertained Spenser while he was sick, though Spenser found Mother Hubberd to be the best storyteller: "Amongst the rest a good old woman was/ Hight Mother Hubberd, who did far surpass/ The rest in honest mirth that seemed her well;/ She, when her turn was come her tale to tell,/ Told of a strange adventure that betided/ Betwixt a fox and ape by him misguided;/ The which, for that my sense it greatly pleased.../ I'll write it as she the same did say." Spenser, in claiming to transcribe her tales, follows the same spirit as Perrault and, to an even greater extent, the Brothers Grimm.

celebrated for her bawdy, uproarious stories.[53] In the introduction to a nineteenth-century reprint of *Pasquil's Jests, Mixed with Mother Bunches Merriments* from 1604, W. Carew Hazlitt writes that Mother Bunch was extremely well-known and suggests that Pasquil appended the name of Mother Bunch to boost sales. The trend didn't stop with Mother Goose: following in her tracks, the French *conteuse* Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy became known as "Mother Bunch" in England and there was even a fleeting appearance of a "Mother Grim."[54] In *Popular Children's Literature in Britain*, David Blamires notes that, for d'Aulnoy, "the name of the aristocratic French author was replaced in the late eighteenth century by that of the folk figure Mother Bunch, probably in emulation of the Mother Goose who presided over Perrault's tales. The name of Mother Bunch made the tales traditional and disguised their foreign provenance" (Blamires 70). In the nineteenth century, the standard translation for the German tale "Frau Holle" ("Mrs. Holle") was "Mother Holle." Mother Goose became so naturalized on English soil that she herself became the subject of a nursery rhyme, and her name is far more familiar to most Anglophones than Perrault's or Samber's.

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[53] W. Carew Hazlitt writes that "she spent most of her time in telling of tales, and when she laughed, she was heard from Algate to the Monuments at Westminster, and all Southwarke stood in amazement, the Lyons in the Tower, and the Bulls and Beares of Parish-Garden roar'd (with terrour of her laughter) lowder then the great roaring Megge" *Pasquil's Jests, Mixed with Mother Bunches Merriments. Wherunto is added A Doozen of Gulles, Pretty and Pleasant to Drive Away the Tediousnesse of a Winter's Evening. 1604. Reprinted from the Rare Original, And Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by W. Carew Hazlitt.* London: 1866, 7-8.

[54] *Mother Bunch's Fairy Tales, Published For the Amusement of All Those Little Masters and Misses*. London: W. Osborne and T. Griffith: J Mozley, 1785 The fairies' repertory: containing choice tales selected from Mother Bunch, Mother Grim, and Mother Goose (1820) Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1820.

Although *Mother Goose's Tales: Histories, or Tales of Past Times, with Morals* were something entirely new in England, they shared features with ballads and rhymes that abounded in Britain's folklore. Perrault claimed to have derived his *Contes* from French popular tradition, and they are especially remarkable in combining colloquial language with that of Versailles. Samber's *Tales* are likewise distinguished by different registers, with a more conversational style characterizing the tales themselves and an erudite one pronouncing the morals at the end. The colloquial voice of the prose is amplified by Samber's introduction of elements that are reminiscent of rhymes such as "Tom Thumbe," who appeared in print as early as 1611 in *Coryat's Crudities*: "Tom Thumbe is dumbe, vntill the pudding creepe,/ In which he was intomb'd, then out doth peepe" (14).[55] These elements include alliteration and assonance, rhyme, and repetition.

Significantly, Samber's translations of all eight Perrault tales begin with "once upon a time," creating a unity for the tales that did not quite exist in the original French. Seven of Perrault's *Histoires* begin with "il était une fois," (literally, "there was a time"), though "Le Maître Chat ou le chat botté," simply begins by stating the plight of the three brothers who have inherited an estate consisting of a mill, an ass, and a cat. Samber thus forever set the tone for the fairy tale in English with "once upon a time." The phrasing had appeared previously in English, though not as a repeated introductory formula. The documented instances also invoke some of the language of Medieval romances and lore. The *Oxford English Dictionary* lists examples as early as the fourteenth century of "Onys… oppon a day" from *Sir*

[55] "Incipit Iacobus Field," *Coryat's crudities: reprinted from the edition of 1611. To which*

Ferumbras (ca. 1380) and ""Thee ones on a tyme" in Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*. The first instance with "upon" that the *OED* provides is from G. Peele's *The Old Wives' Tale* (printed 1595): "Once vppon a time there was a King or a Lord, or a Duke." Samber thus both drew upon pre-existing phrasing while also recontextualizing it and determining the shape of fairy tales to come.

The choice of names plays an important role in the relatability and popular appeal of the tales, and many of the names that Samber translated have stood the test of time. As with "Mother Goose," Samber did not translate the name of "Le Petit Chaperon rouge" word-for-word. In her English incarnations, she most frequently appears as "Little Red Riding-Hood," wearing a hooded cape. In one of Walter Crane's illustrations, for example, her head and shoulders are covered by a voluminous cloak that reaches her knees. Arthur Rackham depicts her in a similar garment with ruffled edging around the face that complements the bonnet the wolf dons in his impersonation of Granny. Yet in French representations of "Le Petit Chaperon rouge," the girl generally wears only a small hat, and German illustrations of "Rotkäppchen" likewise depict attire more appropriate for springtime than the "riding-hood" that is suited to provide protection from the English rain.

This difference in the Anglophone tradition dates back to Samber's translation, which introduced English readers to the story of the little girl who encounters a crafty wolf in the forest. In an elegant translation by Christine A. Jones, who has endeavored to be as historically accurate as possible, the name of the tale is "The Little Red Tippet" (Jones 2016). The definition for "chaperon" from the

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are now added, his letters from India, &c. and extracts relating to him. London: Cater, 1786.

Dictionnaire de l'Académie francaise of 1694 is not a "riding-hood" but rather "A headpiece that both men and women used to wear, it is a cap that had a burlet on the top and a tail hanging on the shoulders."[56]

Although it is not an entirely accurate one, Samber's translation has been the one that has endured. Many English translations of the Grimm Brothers' related tale "Rotkäppchen" ("little red cap") gradually adopted the same nomenclature, even though the two tales are quite different. Samber's choices, which at times constituted creative departures from the source text, were decisive for the development of the fairy tale in the English language.

Other translations of "chaperon" into English from Samber's period use "hood," and his interpretation is not as extreme. In the story by Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy of "Le Nain jaune," for example, the desert fairy who appears to claim the yellow dwarf's right to marry the princess he saved, "s'appuyait sur une béquille, elle avait une fraise de taffetas noir, un chaperon de velours rouge, un vertugadin en guenille." The 1721 translation reads, "she lean'd upon a Crutch, had a black taffety Ruff on, a red velvet Hood, and a Fardingdale all in Rags" (Aulnoy 172). In "Le Petit Chaperon Rouge," however, the headpiece assumes a slightly different function than in "Le Nain Jaune." Hennard Dutheil de la Rochère dicusses the interpretation of the moral to "Little Red Riding-Hood" as a commentary on improper parenting, with the presence of a "petit chaperon" insufficient to save the girl from the wolf, whereas a "grand chaperon," or chaperone, would have kept her safe. Rochère writes that "the

[56] "Coiffure de teste autrefois commune aux hommes & aux femmes. C'estoit un bonnet qui avoit un bourlet sur le haut & une queüe pendante sur les espaules," *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*, 1694.

pun would not have escaped Perrault's contemporary readers" (Hennard Dutheil de la Rochère 191). In English, the term "hood" does convey a sense of protection, but "riding-hood" even more so, particularly in the context of leaving home. The term has its own history from the early eighteenth century that links it to protection. At this time, ladies in England wore such garments and there was even a song entitled "The Nithisdale: vulgarly call'd a Riding-Hood" issued in 1719, or ten years prior to Samber's translation. The wife of Milliam Maxwell, Earl of Nithsdale, had been sentenced to decapitation for having joined the rebel forces against the crown in 1715, and his wife helped him to escape prison by dressing him in her riding-hood. The song extols the real-life heroine with eight-line verses that each end with the word "Riding-hood,"[57] and attests to the common usage of the term as well as its musical qualities.

The alliteration with "Red" and "Riding-Hood" is especially catchy and has endured for nearly three centuries. As noted by Lathey, Samber also gives Red Riding-Hood a nickname where there is none in the French source text (Lathey 2016:88). Her grandmother and mother call her "Biddy," a diminutive of "Bridget" that rhymes with "pretty." Also reminiscent of song are the repetitions that are absent from Perrault's text. The repetitions that Samber added to the first lines of "Little Red Riding-Hood," for example, render the English version considerably longer:

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[57] The last verse, for example, reads: "Oh thou, that by this sacred wife/ Hast saved thy liberty and life,/ And by her wits immortal pains,/ With her quick head hast sav'd thy brains:/ Let all designs her worth adorn,/ Sing her anthem night and morn,/ And let thy fervent zeal make good,/ A reverence for the Riding-hood" in *Early English Poetry, Ballads and Popular Literature of the Middle Ages*, Vol 27. T.C. Croker and F.W. Fairholt, eds. London: Richards St. Martin's Lane, 1849. 208-211, 211.

> There was once upon a time a little country girl, born in a village, the prettiest little creature that ever was seen. Her mother was beyond reason excessively fond of her, and her grandmother yet much more. This good woman caused to be made for her a little red Riding-Hood; which made her look so very pretty, that every body call'd her, *The little red Riding-Hood* (Perrault 1723: 2)

> Il était une fois une petite fille de village, la plus jolie qu'on eût su voir ; sa mère en était folle, et sa mère-grand plus folle encore. Cette bonne femme lui fit faire un petit chaperon rouge, qui lui seyait si bien, que partout on l'appelait le Petit Chaperon rouge (Perrault 1697).

Since the girl lives in a village, it is not necessary to identify her as a "country girl"; and while Perrault's *mère* and *mère grand* are simply crazy about the girl, their affection for her in Samber's version takes on more dramatic dimensions with "beyond reason excessively fond," evoking the emphatic diction of popular ballads. The "pretty" of the last lines could very well have been "suited her so well," as in the Jones translation, but Samber's choice makes the prose simpler and more like a song or nursery rhyme.

"The Fairy," which tells the story of a fairy who tests two sisters, one good and one bad, is also noteworthy for its familiar register. The good daughter who gives water to the eponymous fairy calls her "Goody," which was a colloquial title for a country-woman, instead of "ma bonne mère."[58] The fairy, in turn, calls her "my dear" where there is no term of address in the original French. The narrative voice is especially conversational with its addition of remarks made in the second person

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[58] "Good-wife, or goody, a title commonly given to a country-woman," in Kersey, John, *A New English Dictionary: Or, Compleat collection of the most proper and significant words, commonly used in the language*, 1702.

directed towards the audience: “for this was a fairy, you must understand, who had taken upon her the form of a poor countrywoman” (*Tales* 11) and “Now, you must know, that this was the very fairy that appeared to her sister, but had now taken upon her the air and dress of a princess” (ibid 13). The tone of the voice is that of a mother to a child interpreting the words of the fairy, with the narrator overtly mediating between the realm of the fairies. Lathey notes that in the tale of “The Sleeping Beauty in the Wood,” Samber adds his own definition for the term “ogre,” whereas such an explanation is missing in the original. This definition, writes Lathey, “conveys a tongue-in-cheek admonition typical of the storyteller accustomed to speaking to children” (Lathey 2014: 88).The amplification of the familiar tone is an important part of the enchantment, which in fact takes place on two levels in the *Tales*: the illusions of the fairy world, on the one hand, and the illusions of the translation, on the other.

In her “Infinite Cat Project,” Catherine Velay-Vallantin contends that the editors of the *Tales* wanted to distinguish this new collection from Aesop’s fables as well as the British folk tradition while simultaneously making it accessible. She discusses another choice of Samber’s that has remained relevant: “Le Maître Chat ou Le Chat Botté” is not “The Master Cat or the Cat in Boots” but rather “The Master Cat, or Puss in Boots.” She shows that the term “puss” as a familiar term for “cat” was in usage by 1530 and abounded in seventeenth-century nursery rhymes, though it always referred to female felines. The editors of the English *Tales*, she argues, switched the gender to distinguish Puss in Boots from his counterparts in English folklore. She writes, “The publishers were addressing children and their young

mothers, too; and so they looked for a name for this Maître Chat Botté that would make him more familiar to them. And so it was Puss."[59] In this way, the cat adopts a new English identity that is a continuation of other female forbears in England's folkloric tradition.

When Perrault's *Contes* became available to Anglophone readers for the first time, many gave the impression of having emerged from the British tradition. Samber's Little Red Riding-Hood gives very little indication of her French origins. In the case of these tales, the familiar seemed to go hand-in-hand with the popular, and it comes as no surprise that these fairy tales circulated widely in the form of chapbooks, which were available for purchase at the cost of just a few pence. Often, the names of the author and translator were absent from such publications, accelerating the naturalization process that was also facilitated by some of Samber's translation strategies that made characters familiar and relatable.

Breaking the Spell of Translation

Samber's *Mother Goose's Tales: Histories, or Tales of Past Times, with Morals* gradually admit foreign elements, with the first story being the most accessible, especially for children, and the last the most complex and comprehensible only to more advanced readers. Samber presented the collection as being of pedagogical value, noting that the stories themselves "grow up," exhibiting a process of maturation that parallels a child's:

[59]"C'est aux enfants que les éditeurs s'adressent, à leurs jeunes mamans aussi. On va donc chercher un nom à ce Maître Chat Botté qui puisse le leur rendre plus familier. Ce sera donc

> …the Author hath so ingeniously and masterly contrived them [the Stories], that they insensibly grow up, gradually one after another, in Strength and Beauty, both as to their Narration and Moral, and are told with such a Naiveté, and natural innocent Simplicity, that not only Children, but those of Maturity, will also find in them uncommon Pleasure and Delight (Perrault 1729: preface)

Like Perrault, Samber claimed that the tales conveyed moral messages, and he amplifies the *Tales'* arc of development by introducing more sophisticated prose and vocabulary. While the first stories are almost completely Anglicized, the last ones contain some French names and terms, some with explanatory remarks, others left completely untranslated. As the tales "grow up,"' Samber distinctly shifts the tone from a familiar one that seems to hark back to a popular oral tradition to a more erudite, literary one that he associates with maturity.

It is important to note that Samber was misinformed about Perrault's intentions on several counts, and that this interpretation of what the author had "contrived" was based in part upon erroneous information. As Jones demonstrates in her article "Mother Goose's French Birth (1697) and British Afterlife (1729)," the edition he was translating from was likely a pirated version printed in Amsterdam by Desbordes from 1716 or 1721 that presented a different order than that of the original Parisian editions from 1695 and 1697.

In reference to Perrault, Soriano notes that "arrangements" of tales represent a transformative process comparable to translation. He writes, "If all translation is, to a certain extent, a 'betrayal,' any 'arrangement' is, for quite similar reasons, an assault

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Puss," Velay-Vallantin 137.

against an original work, which always emerges more or less diminished or mutilated."[60] The varied paratexts and media in which Perrault's tales appeared in the French language, in the form of society journals, a manuscript, and different editions and with differing dedications and even attributions of authorship are especially characteristic of popular literature in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in both England and France. In the case of the former, there were the Grub street publishers as well as the chapbooks that the wandering chapmen would sell from town to town. In France, the chapbooks had a counterpart in *littérature de colportage*, which featured the "blue books" such as those that Perrault referred to for his *Griselidis*. This was a route by which the stories circulated back into the oral traditions from which they allegedly originated, to become rewritten and adapted *ad infinitum*.

These publishing practices extended to Holland: the Dutch publisher Desbordes placed "Le Petit Chaperon Rouge" at the beginning instead of "La Belle au bois dormant," and Jones has observed that this new sequence was more child-friendly than the original (ibid). "Le Petit chaperon rouge" is the shortest of the stories, while "La Belle au bois dormant," with its far more elaborate plot, is approximately twice as long. In the pirated Desbordes edition and Samber's translation, the first tales are, as with a textbook reader, the simplest; and most English collections followed the same order through to the end of the eighteenth century.[61]

[60] "Si toute traduction est dans une certaine mesure une 'trahison', tout 'arrangement' est, pour des raisons très proches, une voie de fait exercée sur une œuvre originale ; elle en sort toujours plus ou moins diminuée ou mutilée," Soriano, p. 75.

The *Tales* include the eight stories from Perrault's *Histoires ou contes du temps passé, avec des moralitez* plus "The Discreet Princess; or the Adventures of Finetta" ("L'Adroite princesse, ou les avantures de Finette"). Earlier, pirated editions published by the Desbordes publisher in Amsterdam also included "Finette" without any attribution to the true author. This last story was by Perrault's niece, Marie-Jeanne L'Héritier de Villandon, and it appears that Samber believed Perrault was the author; in the revised dedication, which in English is for Mary Montagu (1711-1775) rather than Henriette-Julie de Castelnau de Murat, he writes that the author of "Finetta" dedicated the tale to the eloquent Murat "assuring himself, through her patronage, the perfections of Finetta might be rendered the more diffusive and agreeably entertaining" (Samber 138-139). Of all the tales, "Finetta" has the most intricate plot as well as the craftiest heroine, and at seventy pages, it is also the longest by far. There is some irony in Samber's claim that the author intended for one tale to surpass the next when the author of the last tale was actually not Perrault himself, but rather his niece, and that the story became a part of the collection due to an editorial decision in Amsterdam.

Samber's general dedication to the Countess of Granville, which appears at the front of the volume, enters into the conversation in England about appropriate literature for the youth of England by attributing to the arrangement its own childlike qualities that reach maturity with "Finetta." He refers rather questionably to Plato's esteem for fables, declaiming with great hyperbole that "though he banished Homer

[61] French collections of Perrault also adopted the ordering of the Desbordes editions. A bilingual German-French version from 1761 (Berlin: Arnaud Wewer) also follows this same sequence.

his Commonwealth, he assigned in it a very honourable Post for Aesop. He desires Children might suck in those Fables with their Milk, and recommends it to Nurses to teach them to 'em" (Samber, dedication). In advancing the virtues of the book's contents, Samber appeals to the Countess's role as a mother and argues that the *Tales* are preferable to fables, echoing Perrault's words from the original French *dédicace*, though his rationale is somewhat different. Perrault valorized his *Contes* in opposition to fables because they were French. In England, conversations about modernity and classicism similar to the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns had been taking place, but by the end of the seventeenth century, John Locke's ideas were at the forefront of discussions about education. In his "Essay Concerning Human Understanding" from 1689, Locke expressed disapproval for fantastical stories, contending that they filled children's minds with nonsense. Locke suggested Aesop's fables as suitable material for those learning to read because of their ability to entertain while also encouraging reflections that could last into adulthood.

Samber presents an argument for tales over fables, as Perrault had likewise done, but shifts the terms of the justification. Whereas Perrault contended simply that the fables were devoid of morals, Samber's logic was that the *Tales* were more effective at conveying morals because children can identify with the human protagonists better than the animals of fables.

> Children have been known to weep at the Distress of the two Children in the Wood, who would not in any wise be affected with the Adventures of Cocks and Bulls, &tc. They know very well what they of their own species are, but the Natures and Properties of those Creatures we are pleased to call irrational,

> they are too young to have any tolerable Idea or Notion of" (Perrault 1729: preface).

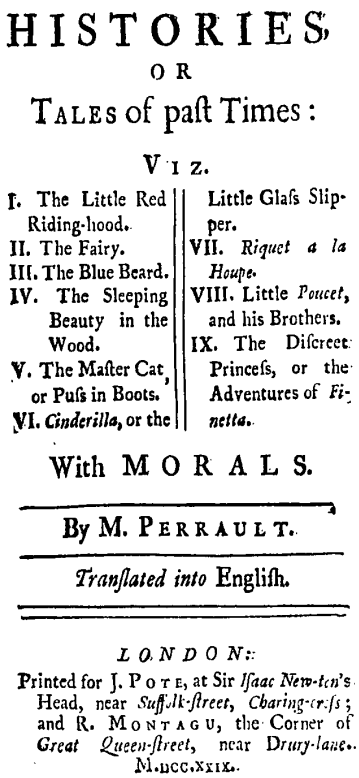
Though the fallacy of this logic is belied by the great popularity of animal stories for children throughout the ages, it serves as an important key to understanding what Samber would have meant by claiming that the tales "grow up." The human characters' faculties of reason become increasingly impressive, and Samber's focus upon the cognitive faculties is consistent with the spirit of Locke.

In the sequence of the Desbordes edition, the collection begins with Little Red Riding-Hood, a gullible country girl who ends up in the belly of the conniving wolf she encounters in the forest. Towards the end of the collection, the character of "Riquet a la Houpe"[62] is the hideously ugly suitor who is able to convince a beautiful but dim-witted princess to marry him in exchange for intelligence. Little Poucet is a quiet, contemplative type who tricks an ogre into killing his own daughters instead of Poucet and his older brothers. Finally, Finetta is the cleverest of them all. She helps her father run her kingdom and also outwits an ill-intentioned prince who had seduced her two sisters. While Samber did not have control over the sequence of the tales, he did make decisions that paralleled this increased sophistication of characters.

While the first of the tales usher the audience into the world of enchantment with familiarity, the later tales present foreign details. In the fourth tale, "Sleeping Beauty in the Wood," the heroine's stepmother, an ogress, explains to her chef that she would like to dine on her granddaughter dressed in "sauce Robert," which Samber defines with a footnote as "a French sauce, made with onions shred, and boiled tender

in butter, to which is added, vinegar, mustard, salt, pepper, and a little wine" (Perrault 1729: 51). This dash of foreign flavor was not overly intrusive, and "sauce Robert" still appears in contemporary English editions that preserve the post-nuptial adventures of Sleeping Beauty and the ogress.

Figure 1: Title page to the English translation of Charles Perrault's* Histoires ou contes du temps passé, avez des moralitez*, by Robert Samber, 1729. The inclusion of French terms is apparent in titles VII and VIII.



HISTORIES,
OR
TALES of paſt Times:
VIZ.

I. The Little Red Riding-hood.
II. The Fairy.
III. The Blue Beard.
IV. The Sleeping Beauty in the Wood.
V. The Maſter Cat, or Puſs in Boots.
VI. *Cinderilla*, or the Little Glaſs Slipper.
VII. *Riquet a la Houpe*.
VIII. Little *Poucet*, and his Brothers.
IX. The Diſcreet Princeſs, or the Adventures of *Finetta*.

With MORALS.

By M. PERRAULT.

Tranſlated into Engliſh.

LONDON:
Printed for J. POTE, at Sir *Iſaac Newton's* Head, near *Suffolk-ſtreet*, *Charing-croſs*; and R. MONTAGU, the Corner of *Great Queen-ſtreet*, near *Drury-lane*.
M.DCC.XXIX.

Closer towards the end of the collection, the reader encounters the title "Riquet à la Houpe," rendered in later English versions as "Ricky of the Tuft," which Samber left entirely untranslated (see Figure 1). This is followed by the tale of "Little Poucet and his Brothers," with Poucet's name explained with the phrase, "which

[62] As discussed below, Samber did not translate the name of "Riquet à la Houppe" in its

signifies little Thumb" (*Tales* 112). Other words that are English words from French appear in italics. Non-translations or changes such as "Houppe" to "Houpe" are clearly not mistakes or the result of laziness. Samber in fact substitutes one French term for another in the final story, "The Discreet Princess, or the Adventures of Finetta." The text describes Finetta's many qualities and the less admirable ones of her sisters. Drone-illa (Nonchalante) is so lazy that she always shows up to church in mismatched slippers, and Babillarde is a busybody who keeps notes about everybody in the palace.

> Elle tenait registre de toutes les femmes qui exerçaient certaines rapines dans leur domestique pour se donner une parure plus éclatante, et était informée précisément de ce que gagnait la suivante de la comtesse une telle et le maître d'hôtel du marquis un tel.
>
> She kept a register of all those wives who pinched their families at home, to appear the finer abroad, and was exactly informed what gained such a Countess's woman, and such a Marquis's Valet de Chambre. (148)

It is worth noting that "Valet de Chambre" was already in use in English, meaning "a gentleman's personal attendant"; "maître d'hôtel," the term in L'Héritier's source text, was also in use in English, though with far less frequency. The latter was never fully naturalized in the English language, whereas there was a "valet de chambre" in John Vanbrugh's *The Provoked Wife* (1697) and Sir Richard L'Estrange's fable "The Prince and his Valet de Chambre" (1715).

The presence of such French names and terms would have reminded readers that the text in front of them was a translation, and likewise that the English language

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entirety.

– like the folk tradition – had been enriched by borrowings from French. Some of the meanings would likely have been beyond the grasp of many readers who even had a good understanding of French, such as the name "Riquet à la Houpe" as well as characters in "Finetta": the king from the neighboring kingdom is *Moult-benign*, and his son, the conniving prince, is *Riche-cautelle*. Easier for a competent French speaker to understand would have been the name of the dashing prince, *Bel-à-voir*. Along with these names, there are also multiple loan-words from French that appear in italics: *Dupe*, *Toilette*, *Adroit*, and *mal a propos*. All these words had entered the English language in the seventeenth century and had undergone varying degrees of naturalization.

Samber believed that the collection exhibited its own process of maturation and exaggerated this effect by drawing attention to the French source of the tales. The same translator who changed *galettes* to custard later retained the term "sauce Robert" rather than finding a domestic equivalent. Samber's particular interpretation of the collection, which was based upon faulty information, thus informed his translation strategy. The *Tales* serves as a spectrum of localization and reveals a great deal about the transmission of texts intended for a juvenile audience. The tales that underwent the greatest changes to render them more familiar became classical fairy tales in English, while those such as "Riquet à la Houpe" and "Finetta" have remained relatively obscure.

Samber's dedication for "Finetta," based on L'Héritier's *dédicace* to the Comtesse de Murat (1670-1716) for "Finette," is to Mary Montagu, Countess of Cardigan and daughter of John Duke of Montagu. She is not to be confused with

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762), who would have been an outstanding counterpart to the Comtesse du Murat; the latter led a life of scandal, independence, and literature, whom Geneviève Patard describes as "a free woman refusing masculine violence and fighting for the recognition of her sex" (Patard 81-87). Just over one hundred years following the death of Murat, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu had spent a number of years in the Ottoman Empire while accompanying her husband in his capacity as a British diplomat. While abroad, she kept up correspondence with notable literary figures and these letters, in which she wrote famously of her admission into a Turkish seraglio, were published posthumously in 1837. Regardless of whether he was conscious of the fact that "Finetta" was written by a woman, Samber's dedication undermines the power of the original dedication to Murat. He chooses a woman not for her writing talents or rare accomplishments, but rather a woman with the same first and last name who is, most notably, the descendant of "the most High, most Puissant, and most Noble Prince, John Duke of Montague, &c, &c, &c. Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, and Knight and Grand Master of the Honourable Order of the Bath" (137-138). Although he references Murat as having been celebrated for her "way of writing," Samber praises the dedicatee of "Finetta" for "so strict and intimate consanguinity with the most consummate Hero in the World, the Terror of arbitrary sway, the Conservator of the liberties of nations, The Great, the Victorious, the Invincible" (Samber 1729: dedication). Whereas the original dedicatee's worth was in her refusal to be dominated by men, Mary Montagu is remarkable for her relations to them.

In his translation of the collection of tales, Samber takes the most liberties with the poem that concludes "Finetta." L'Héritier's moralizing poem is far longer than Perrault's *moralités*, and Samber's rendering even longer, with fifty-four lines versus L'Héritier's original thirty-six. He underscores their pedagogical potential in comparison with both classical and contemporary fables, then going on to encourage readers such as Montagu to use them to instruct their children.

> I can't but own I take delight extreme,
> And all young people do the same,
> Reading or hearing of these kinds of Tales,
> So much their sweet Simplicity prevails:
> But more diffusive would their beauties rise
> Of more extent their moral Virtues prove,
> Did noble Ladies in their Families
> Admit them Audience, and their Lecture love.
> The Mystick Meanings, which their Tour contains,
> Like vital gold lock'd up in a min'ral veins,
> Those in his tales by Aesop wrap'd so well,
> Certainly equal; and, Some say, excel (Perrault 1729: 205-206)

> Oüi, ces Contes frapent beaucoup,
> Plus que ne font les faits & du Singe & du Loup;
> J'y prenois un plaisir extrême,
> Tous les enfants en font de même:
> Mais ces Fables plairont jusqu'aux plus grands esprits,
> Si vous voulez, belle Comtesse,
> Par vos heureux talens orner de tels recits.
> L'antique Gaule vous en presse:
> Daignez-donc mettre dans leurs jours

Les Contes ingénus, quoique remplis d'adresse,
Qu'ont inventé les Troubadours.
Le sens misterieux que leur tour envelope
Égale bien celuy d'Esope (Villandon 297-298).[63]

Yes, these Tales strike much,
More than the deeds of the Monkey and of the Wolf
I took great pleasure in it,
And all children do too:
But these Fables will please the greatest of minds,
If you would, beautiful Countess,
Embellish such stories with your fortunate talents.
The Antiquity of Gaul urges you on:
Deem, then, to bring their light
To the Tales innocent yet full of skill
Invented by the Troubadours.
The mysterious meaning that their turns envelop
Are truly equal to that of Aesop.

Samber directly refers to the possibility of the tales leaving the popular oral tradition, not only to enter the world of letters but also the aristocracy, with his reference to the "noble ladies." Earlier, L'Héritier mentions that she had heard this tale, and the detail of the child's "reading or hearing" is of Samber's invention. The reader, then, can either engage with the text individually or share it aloud with others. Yet in the

[63] This echoes the concluding lines to "Les Enchantements de l'éloquence": "il me paraît que ceux de l'antiquité gauloise valent bien à peu près ceux de l'antiquité grecque; et les fées ne sont pas moins en droit de faire des prodiges que les dieux de la Fable."
Lewis Seifert observes that "Perrault and Lhéritier convey nostalgic and, thus, idealized visions of folklore. However, this nostalgia has less to do with a conviction for the pedagogical value of folklore than with strategic polemical interest" (Seifert, p. 67). He continues, "the fairy tales distance themselves from the popular origins of folktales by recycling them for the literary consumption of an elite readership" (ibid, p. 68)

original, dedicated as it was to an author, the suggestion is that Murat would honor the tale not necessarily by sharing it with children, but by composing her own tales. The Mary Montagu whom Samber addresses, who is noteworthy primarily because of her royal lineage, has a far more passive role as dedicatee than Murat. Replacing Murat with a British noblewoman is already a form of domestication, and the fact that he encourages the object of the dedication to simply love reading the tales, rather than composing their own, further displaces female authorship while privileging the transmission of tales by women through *telling*, rather than writing.

Samber remained relatively close to the version of the *Histoires ou contes du temps passé, avec des moralitez* that he had, though inscribed himself in various ways, such as the dedication to Mary Montagu. Samber's early original works and his translations show that, throughout his career, he was preoccupied by the relationship between authorship and translation, and his complicated bibliography makes it, appropriately enough, difficult to categorize his "original" works. His rewritings of Horace in *Poems on Several Subjects*, which he published as his own compositions in (1714), are not that far a cry from some of his translations which he appears to use as a platform to express himself. His domesticating strategies serve the purpose of making the text more accessible to readers and also highlights his intervention and creative contributions. Samber reveals aspects of his identity in the interlinearity of the translations, intertextual references to his own works, and additions and footnotes.

In the preface to his final translation on record, *A Treatise on the Suffocation of the Matrix* (1731), from the Latin of Dr. Lockman, Samber broaches the concept of plagiarism. The dedicatee is Dr. Cockburn, who was reputed as something of a quack,

despite being doctor to nobody less than Jonathan Swift, who lived to the respectable age of seventy-seven. Samber comes quickly to Cockburn's defense in the dedication, which is so passionate that it seems to have some bearing upon Samber's own situation.

> They envy your Invention, they call it Plagiarism, while they themselves are the greatest Plagiarists in the World. But they do not reflect that this is properly their own Characteristick, whose whole mis-shapen, unlicked Body of blotted Paper, is scarce any thing but what is artlessly purloined from others… These Crows of Aesop bear too strict Analogy with those unhappy Prostitutes, who are reduced to that miserable Subterfuge, that wretched Poverty of Strategem, of no otherwise endeavouring to palm a false Reputation of the World, than by depreciating that of Others (*Matrix* vi-vii).

This pledge of support for Cockburn, with its wild associations, seems rather out of place among the first pages of a medical treatise. The reference to the "Crows of Aesop" is in all likelihood a reference to the fabulists he derides in the preface to *Mother Goose's Tales: Histories, or Tales of Past Times*. In the early eighteenth century, there was an Aesop genre unto itself, with, for example, *The London Aesop; or jest and earnest on the present times* (1702), *Aesop at Court* (1702), *Aesop at Portugal, Being a Collection of Fables Apply'd to the Present Posture of Affairs* (1704), and *Aesop at Utrecht* (1712). It is possible that Samber identified with these "crows" as the author of his own tale about coffee, his translated works, his rewritings of Horace, and his deprecations of fable.

Samber's work demonstrates his ability to adapt his writing for a variety of audiences. In his dedications, he assumes tones that are erudite, sycophantic, and passionate. His early poems show a predilection for rewriting the poets of Antiquity,

and translation thus revealed itself to be a natural genre for Samber. The new identities that he gave to Perrault's *Tales* have been his most significant legacy, although they too changed as the *Tales* became a central feature of the fairy tale tradition in the English-speaking world.

Perrault's *Tales* were less easy to categorize in England than in France. In their country of origin, the name of their author, who had served Louis XIV at Versailles and was a member of the Académie Française, conferred immediate status on the *Contes*. Samber looked to other sources to validate the tales, and in keeping with the climate of Grub Street, he appealed to the styles of both more popular genres like the ballad while also claiming superiority over Aesop and his imitators. Samber's general attunement to female readers and the fact that he dedicated the *Tales* to a mother rather than a child, as was the case for the *Contes*, amplified the different registers for the *Tales*. As editors became more oriented towards books exclusively for children, some of the elements that held greater appeal for adults disappeared, most notably the morals at the end of the tales. However, the spirit of interpretation that inspired Samber still lives on in the legacy of the names that he chose and the opening formula of "once upon a time," which have inspired countless interpretations and variations in their turn.

Samber's particular interpretation of the collection as a whole determined his approach to the translation, which was directed towards a younger audience with the first tales and finally for an older audience with the last ones. His treatment of the collection like a reading primer for children is consistent with the fact that the editions in English to appear after the initial 1729 translation were bilingual editions

for learners of French (Bottigheimer 2002). However, the tales also spread individually in chapbook form, taking on independent identities as they became a part of English folklore, sometimes even with the author listed, if at all, as "Mother Goose."

Samber's translation contributed to the development of a fictionalized origin of fairy tales; he translated the stories but also created an illusion that these were popular tales from an oral tradition transmitted primarily by women. Samber so successfully situated the tales as having origins in a popular British tradition that his name gradually disappeared, along with Perrault's, while the name of Mother Goose was to endure. Perrault had likewise created the genre of the popular tale in France, and as Sermain indicates in regards to Perrault, such tales provide the "image" or "phantom" of previous voices that allegedly existed in an indeterminate past.

Chapter 2:

The Thousand-and-First Author: Thomas-Simon Gueullette's Collections of Tales and the Fabrication of the Exotic[64]

> It is one of the prettiest of all the 'Thousand & One' Collections. I have them in front of me... I still advise my Readers to read the modern imitation, in preference of the original & the old Translations.[65]
>
> — Paulmy d'Argenson

In his praise for Thomas-Simon Gueullette's *Thousand and One Quarters of an Hour, Tartar Tales* (*Les Mille et un Quart-d'heure, Contes tartares,* 1715-1717), René Louis de Voyer de Paulmy d'Argenson (1696-1764), a French statesman and friend of the *philosophes*, evokes one of the more scandalous notions in evaluating translations: the possibility that an imitation could be preferable to the original. Gueullette's is a peculiar case because he draws not just on one original but rather countless sources. His first collections of tales appear to be renditions of original manuscripts into French and the prefaces adhere to the conventions followed by the translators of his time. Yet over the course of his career, he reveals that the initial

[64] The initial findings from the research for this chapter are contained in my article "The Thousand and First Author: Thomas-Simon Gueullette's Repeating Fictions," *The Canadian Review of Comparative Literature*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017, pp. 701-717.

[65] "C'est un des plus jolis de tous ces Recueils, intitulés Mille & un. Je les ai sous les yeux […] Je conseille à mes Lecteurs de lire toujours l'imitation moderne, de préférence à l'original & aux vieilles Traductions" (D'Argenson 316-17)

pretense of translation had been a charade and that his storytelling method really consisted of gathering disparate materials and assembling them within a new frame.

Gueullette's tales, immensely popular with 18th-century readers,[66] were based on myriad sources that the author would dress in seemingly arbitrary guises. For example, the materials for his Tartar tales prove dizzying in geographic and temporal scope and likewise remarkable for their lack of material that is actually Tartar.[67] His collections were modeled on the wildly successful *Thousand and One Nights* (*Mille et une nuits*, 1704-1717) of Antoine Galland and the *Thousand and One Days* (*Mille et un jours*, 1710-1712) of François Pétis de la Croix. He was among the first to play with the conventions of the "thousand and one" motif and his prefatory material foregrounds his creative intervention. His revisionary methods are comparable to the practices of the translators who produced the *belles infidèles* as well as authors of fairy tales such as Perrault and the *salonnières*. Gueullette, whom Ruth Bottigheimer

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[66] His first collection, *Soirées bretonnes* (printed only in 1712) had the least success, but was followed by *Les Mille et un quarts-d'heure, contes tartares* (1715 (Vol I-II), 1717 (Vol III-IV), reprinted in 1723, 1724, 1730, 1737, 1753, 1778, 1780, 1783, 1785), *Les Aventures merveilleuses du mandarin Fum-Hoam, contes chinois* (1723, 1725, 1728), *Les Sultanes de Guzarate, contes mongols* (1732, 1733, 1736, 1749, 1765, 1782), and *Les Mille et une heures, contes péruviens* (1733 in an incomplete edition, followed by an expanded version in 1759). Indicated here are the reprintings up until the time of the publication of the *Cabinet des fées* in 1786, which included most of Gueullette's tales. See *Thomas-Simon Gueulette ; édition critique établie sous la direction de Jean-François Perrin*, Paris: Champion, 2010, for complete editorial histories for each of the collections of tales.

[67] Carmen Ramirez notes that, in addition to Galland, various plays, and classical Greco-Roman works, other sources for *Contes Tartares* alone include Christian lore, fables, the *Gesta romanorum*, the *Centes Nouvelles nouvelles* and related Italian works by Giovanni Fiorenti, Malespini, Bandello and especially Straparola, tales of chivalry, the *Pantchatantra*, the *Talmud*, the *Qur'an*, travel narratives (Chardin, Thévenot, Tavernier, etc.), Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale*, Herodotus, Ovid, and fairy tales (Carmen Ramirez, in: *Thomas-Simon Gueullette ; édition critique établie sous la direction de Jean-François Perrin. Paris: Champion, 2010,* 194-195).

has called a "hybridist extraordinaire" (Bottigheimer 2011: 374) thus brings the overt mediation of the translators of the *belles infidèles* and the writings of the *salonnières* into dialogue with the more scholarly approach of Galland and Pétis.

In this chapter, I begin by providing historical and theoretical background for Gueullette's works. First, I address the features of Gueullette's receiving tradition, specifically the genres of the fairy tale and the oriental tale. I then discuss the concept of pseudotranslation and provide an overview of two literary hoaxes of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century so as to situate Gueullette's collections of tales as potential pseudotranslations. These various lines of inquiry inform my chronological analysis of the paratextual frames, beginning with the *Breton Evenings: New Fairy Tales (Soirées bretonnes : Nouveaux contes de fées,* 1712) and followed by the *Thousand and One Quarters of an Hour, Tartar Tales (Quarts-d'heure, contes tartares)* (1715-1717), *The Marvellous Adventures of the Mandarin Fum-Hoam, Chinese Tales* (*les Aventures merveilleuses du mandarin Fum-Hoam, contes chinois)* (1723), *The Sultanas of Gujarat, Mongolian Tales* (*Les Sultanes de Guzarate, contes mongols)* (1732), and *The Thousand and One Hours, Peruvian Tales (Mille et une heures, contes péruviens)* (1733). Gueullette reconfigures the status of authoritative originals, gradually making his work "visible" and drawing attention to his particular efforts in imitation, as well as the various other activities implicated in the fabrication of these collections, inviting readers to read "translations as translations," as per Venuti's suggestion in *Translation Changes Everything: Theory and Practice* (2012).

Gueullette's career as a storyteller provides its own plot about his relationship to his sources. This charade of translation brings into question the identity of

translation, as David Martens has stated in regards to pseudotranslations (Martens 195). In the case of Gueullette, who followed in the footsteps of the orientalists Galland and Pétis, this charade relates specifically to the depiction of the Orient at the beginning of eighteenth-century France. Gueullette's reproduction of these translators' paratextual formulae is one element of the "disguise mechanism" of pseudotranslation evoked by Toury, who also argued that innovation could enter into a literary tradition undercover. With Gueullette, this innovation is the explicit hybridization and recontextualization of tales from widely different origins. Gueullette thereby exposes the subjective mediation in the transmission of texts from one culture to another.

Gueullette and Orientalism

According to translation theorist André Lefevere, there are limits – albeit constantly changing ones – to what a literary tradition receiving translated works can accept. This notion is comparable to Edward Said's fundamental analysis of the epistemological constraints involved in the construction of the idea of the Orient. In his 2000 essay "Crisis [in orientalism]," Said indicates that orientalism is a "textual attitude," deriving and conditioning certain expectations about the Orient in the Occident by defining the notion of the former on the latter's terms. Reality may fall short of or exceed such expectations, and he writes that when confronting the unknown, "one has recourse not only to what in one's previous experience the novelty resembles but also to what one has read about it" (Said 2000, 271).

Though Said's critique of orientalism, which began in the late 1970s and underwent various revisions up until his death in 2003, has been of enormous influence throughout the world, it takes the late eighteenth century as a starting point and overlooks the tradition of the oriental tale. This fails to account for an important chapter in the conceptualization of the Orient in the French imagination. Madeleine Dobie notes that "Given its central role in the genesis of Oriental exoticism, Galland's translation is surprisingly absent from *Orientalism*" (Dobie 2008, 42), except for a few passing remarks, and the same applies to Gueullette and the thousand and one other imitators of Galland. What emerges from my analysis of Gueullette's tales is a demonstration of an awareness of the exotic as an unreliable concept rather than an accurate representation of another culture. At the same time, Gueullette's use of an almost infinite variety of sources, as well as the possibilities for French readers to see their reflections in these "exotic" tales, establish a sense of transcultural commonality rather than hierarchy.

By imitating Orientalists' work, which conformed to certain scholarly as well as literary standards that adjusted depictions of the Orient and the exotic to meet readers' expectations, Gueullette relativized their projects by relocating them within an overtly fictional frame. The paratexts to his collections of tales situate – if only retroactively – the work of French orientalists before him within the scope of storytelling, rather than ethnography or folklore.

Pseudotranslations, writes David Martens, provide a venue for such a critique. He writes, "Through the feigned implementation of formal elements of translation and its paratextual protocols, these hoaxes bring into question the identity of

translation by generating ironies ad libitum, thereby challenging certain properties characteristic of the type of text to which it pretends to belong."[68] Gueullette's corpus marks a pivotal point between scholarly orientalist translation from the beginning of the eighteenth century and the patently fictional translations such as Voltaire's *Zadig* (1747) and Marie Antoinette Fagnan's *Kanor, Tale Translated from the Savage* (*Kanor, conte traduit du sauvage*, 1750) that proliferated less than five decades later. It is possible to trace this development of the relation between copy and original by examining the changes in how Gueullette presented himself, first as a translator and then as an author. His is a curious instance of pseudotranslation, which Gideon Toury has indicated employs a "disguise mechanism" (Toury 5) insofar as Gueullette progressively lowers the mask.

Gueullette's Precursors

Gueullette continues the legacy of the *belles infidèles*, with the collections of tales that d'Argenson characterized as "jolis," on the one hand, and pretending at first to be *fidèle* but ultimately confessing to readers that the merit of the tales was not in how true they were, but their ability to entertain. His attitude towards the notion of fidelity is playful and ironic. The statements that he makes in his prefaces recalls those of the *belles infidèles* of the seventeenth century as well as those of the *conteurs* and *conteuses modernes*, whose material, primarily the popular tales of Italy and

[68] "À travers une mise en oeuvre factice des caractères formels de la traduction et de ses protocoles paratextuels conventionnels, ces supercheries posent la question de l'identité de la traduction en ironisant à plaisir, et en mettant ainsi en question certaines des propriétés caractéristiques du type de textes auquel ils feignent d'appartenir," Martens, pp. 195-196.

France, is closer to Gueullette's than that of the *belles infidèles*, who worked with the classical texts of Greco-Roman Antiquity. Gueullette, then, provides his own *belles infidèles* for the eighteenth century.

Gueullette rearranged his materials to better accommodate his readers. This very act of "arrangement" constitutes, as Soriano had said in reference to French *contes*, an act of violence against the texts that are subject to these new arrangements. Yet Gueullette's irreverent approach towards fidelity is more in keeping with the principles of *vraisemblance* rather than of *mimesis*. Gueullette reiterates his desire to please and entertain his readers, and this strategy parallels the creative liberties that the *belles infidèles* as well as the *salonnières* explicitly took, in contrast to the subtler, sometimes undetected revisionary approaches of Perrault and the orientalists.

As demonstrated in Chapter 1, the authors from the time of the fairy tale wave of the 1690s did not follow their sources to the letter. In the concluding lines of "Finetta" (1696), Marie-Jeanne L'Héritier de Villandon claims to have heard the tale when she was a child and, addressing Murat, writes, "I confess to you that I embellished & lengthened it."[69] She goes on to extol the virtues of the troubadours and French storytelling tradition, though it is likely that her source was actually in Giambattista Basile's story "Clever Liccarda" ("Sapia Liccarda") from the

[69] "Je vous avouë que je l'ay brodée, & que je vous l'ay contée un peu long," Murat, p. 294

Pentamerone (1634).[70] Murat writes, "I'm very comfortable informing the Reader... that I took the idea for several of these Tales by an ancient Author entitled The Facetious Nights of Lord Straparola, printed for the sixteenth time in 1615."[71] Her confession about borrowing material did not come so easily to Gueullette, whose first overt admission to borrowing material relates, significantly, to a tale by Straparola.

Although Galland and Pétis revised their materials as well, they were less forthcoming about their adaptations. Galland initially worked from a Syrian manuscript and later from other sources including oral accounts from a Christian Arab from Aleppo named Hanah Diab.[72] The *Avertissement* that he provides, however, does not clue the reader into the complexities of his source material and rather gives the impression of a more or less seamless whole. Scholars such as Sermain as well as Georges May have praised Galland for fashioning a unique work of art, while others such as Muhsin Mahdi have reproached him for misleading readers and claim that rather than improving upon the material, he actually degraded

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[70] In *Fairy Tales: A New History* (2009) and *Fairy Godfather: Straparola, Venice, and the Fairy Tale Tradition* (2002), Bottigheimer argues that Basile and Straparola's tales provide the origins of the European fairy tale tradition, and that oral traditions had very little, if any, influence; however, the recent study by Graça de Silva and Tehrani (2016) that provides evidence that some fairy tales date as far back as 6000 years bring some of her conclusions into question; likewise, Bottigheimer has received criticism for her defining "fairy tale" so narrowly that it fits in with her hypothesis. Dan Ben-Amos, for example, writes in "Straparola: The Revolution That Was Not" that Bottigheimer's conclusion that Straparola was the inventor of the "rise tale," or the template for the rags-to-riches story, "is refreshing but wrong, totally wrong. This is neither an opinion nor an interpretation but a fact" (Ben-Amos 2010).

[71] "Je suis bien aise d'avertir le Lecteur... que j'ai pris les idées de quelques-uns de ces Contes dans un Auteur ancien intitulé, les Facecieuses nuits du Seigneur Straparole, imprimé pour la seizième fois en 1615" Murat, preface.

[72] For an account of Diab as an informant for Galland, see Robert Irwin 2009, wherein Irwin notes that "Galland took extraordinary liberties with the stories he received from Diab," p. 17.

it.[73] These conflicting assessments are representative of differing expectations regarding translations, with the former two cases oriented towards translation as a creative enterprise implicated in the reader's pleasure and *vraisemblance* and the latter, Mahdi, as a more mimetic one that is closer to the tradition of *mimesis*.

Pétis was a contemporary of Galland's and likewise an orientalist scholar and diplomat. The publication of his *Jours* followed closely on the heels of the success of Galland's *Nuits*, with five volumes appearing between 1710 and 1712. As with the *Nuits*, there is paratextual material situating the *Jours* that shares many similarities with Galland's work. The preface explains that his *Jours* are based upon a Persian collection that Pétis received from his friend, the dervish Moclès. There is no evidence of such a Persian manuscript, however, and Ulrich Marzolph demonstrates that the *Jours* actually come not from a Persian source but rather an Ottoman Turkish one from the fifteenth- or late fourteenth-century, itself derived from a Persian collection acquired for the Royal Library in Paris by none other than Antoine Galland.[74]

While the general public may not have been aware that Galland and Pétis revised their sources, Gueullette was certainly sensitive to the conventions and

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[73] For Mahdi's scathing critique of Galland, see "The Sources of Galland's Nuits," in *The Arabian Nights Reader*, Marzolph, Ulrich, ed., Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2006, pp. 122-137. He himself is not without his critics; see Madeleine Dobie, "Translation in the Contact Zone: Antoine Galland's Mille et une nuits: contes arabes," in *The Arabian Nights in Historical Context: Between East and West,* Saree Makdisi and Felicity Nussbaum, eds., New York: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 25-50.

[74] Ulrich Marzolph, "*Relief after Hardship*: The Fifteenth-century Ottoman Turkish Model for the French *Mille et un jours* and Its Relations to Persian and International Tradition," in press.

conceits of the translator's prefaces from Ablancourt to Murat to Pétis, as well as the more obvious counterfeit translations that are the subject of the following section.

Pseudotranslation

There are scant secondary sources about Gueullette until after his death, but many readers appear to have at first believed that he was the translator of tales, rather than a master of arrangement and combination. Only the first of Gueullette's collections of tales, the *Soirées*, fits into the category of "pseudotranslation," insofar as the *avertissement* claims that the tales were derived from an original manuscript that did not really exist. "Pseudotranslation," a term coined by translation theorist Gideon Toury in 1985, designates original works that present themselves as translations.

One of the better-known examples of a pseudotranslation in the Ancien Régime is *L'Espion Turc* (*Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy*). This epistolary novel contains its own preface relating the fortuitious discovery of letters left behind by an Ottoman spy in the court of Louis XIV and is one of literature's most brazen hoaxes. In 1684, the work appeared in Italian as a translation by Giovanni Paolo Marana, who actually presented it in person to Louis XIV as a translation from the Turkish. However, the authenticity of his enterprise quickly became the object of suspicion. The French philosopher Pierre Bayle (1647-1706), a forerunner to the Encyclopedists, for example, is inclined to consider it an ingenious fiction and identifies features that seem to betray an Italian, rather than a Turkish, author. He concludes, "It doesn't

matter whether it is a Turk or a Genovese who is speaking, as long as the book is a good one."[75] This is an early demonstration of the attitude that develops throughout Gueullette's career and culminates in the booksellers' notice to Gueullette's *Contes peruviens* (1733), which states that the origins of the tales are not of any concern to them. The emphasis is on the aesthetic criteria and the work of translation as a compelling text rather than its authenticity, in keeping with the tenets of literary *vraisemblance*.

Another instance of a pseudotranslation from the reign of the Sun King is Jean-Paul Bignon's *Les aventures d'Abdalla, la traduction complette du manuscrit Arabe trouvé à Batavia par M. Sandisson* (*The Adventures of Abdalla, the Complete Translation of the Arabic Manuscript found in Batavia by Mr. Sandisson*, 1712-14), which appears to have been a more successful hoax, perhaps due to the fact that it appeared at the same time as Galland's and Pétis's works. The fact that Bignon (1662-1743) was also the librarian to Louis XIV may have played a role. The *avertissement* to the work contains some of the same features as those of Galland, Pétis, Gueullette, and the *salonnières*. It contains a description of how Bignon received the manuscript, along with a letter, from Monsieur de Sandisson. Bignon includes the letter along with the translation as a kind of preface. He mentions that he has provided commentary where needed in order to explain foreign terms or concepts, which points to the potential value of the text as instructive. He also describes his

[75] "Peu importe que ce soit un Turc ou un Genois qui nous parlent, pourvû qu'ils nous donnent un bon livre," Bayle, p. 20.

editing practices and the struggles he encountered rendering the work into French, admitting that his attempts to remain faithful to the text were not entirely successful.

> Rather frequently, I found it quite awkward to translate parts of this Work that are completely removed from our ways; & on many occasions I was tempted to make everything French. I even tried to do so. But I don't know if it was a matter of prevention or if in fact Oriental stories lose all of their charm when they are disguised; my efforts didn't seem to succeed at all. I therefore believed that it was necessary to take the middle road, to temper at certain points, & to explain others with short notes.[76]

This overture to fidelity gave Bignon's work a greater sense of authenticity and perhaps can explain why the entry for it in the *Catalogue des livres imprimez da la Bibliothèque du Roy* (*Catalogue of printed books in the King's Library*), dating from 1750, still marks it as a translation.[77] Anne Duggan and Donald Haase note that Bignon "published *Les aventures d'Abdalla, fils d'Hanif*, (1712-14), presented as a translation but which is in fact a work of Bignon's own invention; Thomas Gueullette wrote *Mille et un quart d'heures, contes tartares* (*A Thousand and One Quarter of the Hour, Tatar Tales*, 1712) in a similar vein" (Duggan and Haase 2016, 748). It is challenging to assess the reception of Gueullette's work in his own time. According

[76] "J'ai été assez souvent fort embarassé sur la maniere de traduire les endroits de cet Ouvrage qui sont tout à fait éloignés de nos mœurs; & il m'est arrivé plusieurs fois d'être tenté de mettre tout à la françoise. J'ai même essayé de le faire. Mais je ne sçai si c'est par prévention, ou si en effet les histoires orientales, lorsqu'on les déguise, perdent de leurs graces ; mes essais ne m'ont point paru réussir. J'ai donc cru qu'il falloit prendre le parti mitoyen, d'adoucir certains endroits, & d'expliquer les autres par de courtes notes" (Bignon ii).

[77] The entry is: 681. Les avantures d'Abdalla, fils d'Hanif, envoyé par le Sultan des Indes à la découverte de l'isle de Borigo, où est la fontaine dont l'eau rajeunit ; avec la relation du voyage de Rouschen, Dame persane, dans l'isle détournée, à plusieurs histoires : traduites en françois sur le manuscrit arabe par Mr DE SANDISSON. Paris, Pierre Witte. 1712 & 1714. in-12. 2 vol. avec fig. *Catalogue*, p. 32.

to Jean-François Perrin, there is scant mention of Gueullette in the literary press when his works were being published, and this is further confirmed by the editorial history that he provides in his recent critical volume on Gueullette. However, it appears that many of Gueullette's readers believed that the *Quarts-d'heure*, which did not even appear as translations, were nonetheless regarded as such. Christian Angelet, for example, notes that "*Les Mille et un quart d'heure* (1715) were considered as tales really translated from the Arabic."[78] The elegy for Gueullette that appeared in *The Necrology of Famous Men* (*Le Nécrologue des Hommes Célèbres)* reads, "The genius and the device of oriental tales such as *The Thousand and One Days* and *The Thousand and One Nights* are imitated so successfully in these so-called *Tartar Tales* that many people thought they had been translated, like the others, from Persian or Arabic originals."[79] Gueullette's fictional framing of his tales, indebted in particular to the model established by Galland, thus successfully conveyed for a large number of readers a sense of authenticity, at least initially.

Chronological Analysis of the Paratexts of Gueullette's Tales

Gueullette, unlike Galland and Pétis, was not a scholar of the Orient by profession, but rather a magistrate who was also a man of letters. The material for his

[78] "Les Mille et un quart d'heure (1715) furent considérés comme des contes réellement traduits de l'arabe," Angelet p. 90.

[79] "Le génie et le tour des contes orientaux, tels que les *Mille et un jours*, les *Mille et une nuits*, et sont imités si heureusement dans ces prétendus Contes Tartares que beaucoup de personnes les ont crus traduits, comme les autres d'après des originaux persans ou arabes," cited in *Gueullette*, p. 2055.

tales came from his extensive reading, in particular the *Oriental Library, or Universal Dictionary Containing Everything Relating to the Knowledge of the Peoples of the Orient* (*Bibliothèque orientale, ou dictionnaire universel contenant tout ce qui regarde la connoissance des peuples de l'Orient)* (1697), the title of which suggests a patently Eurocentric enterprise, insofar as the *connoissance* to which it refers is presumably that of Orientalist scholars from Europe. In this century of classification and categorisation, Gueullette's increasingly obvious methods of plagiarizing and rewriting showcase the role of received ideas in the conceptualization of the Orient and the exotic.

Gueullette's relationship to his sources and his process remain relatively consistent throughout his career as a compiler of tales, but the paratexts tell a narrative of their own. In his first collection, he presents himself as a translator who is rendering the source material as faithfully as possible for the French reader. Gueullette's début collection, *Soirées Bretonnes: Nouveaux contes de fées (Breton Evenings: New Fairy Tales)* appeared approximately eight years after the initial installment of Galland's *Nuits* and two years after the first installment of Pétis's *Jours*. His *avertissement* shares key elements with those by Galland and Pétis. These components include descriptions of an original source, identification of the value of the tales, and explanations for editing. In this section, I will be addressing these elements in terms of the paratexts to the individual collections, with an emphasis on readers' notices and dedications but also with attention to other materials such as footnotes and titles. This analysis serves to demonstrate the development of Gueullette's representation of his activities as imitator, commentator, and inventor.

The *Avertissement* to the *Soirées* claims that the stories are translations from an ancient Breton manuscript, and it thus constitutes its own fictional frame. The context is comparable to what readers had previously encountered with the works of Galland and Pétis, who both dedicated significant portions of their *Avertissements* to describing the sources from which they translated. Here, Gueullette presents himself as a translator. The *Avertissement* to the *Soirées* begins: "These *fabliaux* or tales that I give to the public are translated from a very ancient manuscript which Monsieur de B..., president of the parliament of Brittany, presented me with a few years ago. Their original title is Soirées Bretonnes."[80] Remarkably, the "original" title that he indicates is in French, rather than Breton; and the stories themselves are set in "l'Arabie Heureuse" ("Arabia Felix").

Yet Gueullette's primary sources for his *Soirées* were not Breton, but rather, according to Christelle Bahier-Porte, *Peregrinaggio di tre giovani figliuoli del re di Serendippo* (*The Voyage of the Three Sons of the King of Serendib)*, itself allegedly a translation into Italian (1557) by Cristoforo Armeno from a Persian text, as well as *Le Voyage des princes fortunés* (*The Voyage of the Lucky Princes*, 1610) by Beroalde de Verville, which contains elements from *Serendippo* (Bahier-Porte 2007, 138). As mentioned earlier in the section on pseudotranslation, *Serendippo* is either a second-hand (or "relay") translation or a pseudotranslation based on a Persian text. There is thus very little that is Breton about Gueullette's *Soirées*, apart from the title and the

[80] "Ces fabliaux ou contes que je donne au public, sont traduits d'un manuscrit très-ancien dont me fit présent, il y a quelques années, monsieur de B..., président au parlement de Bretagne. Ils sont intitulés dans l'original Soirées Bretonnes," Gueullette 1712, p. 17.

geographical situation of the frame narrative, both of which are similar to those of the Galland and Pétis collections.[81]

The *Avertissement* to the *Soirées* explains that the stories came from subjects of a Breton princess who narrated them to a princess in order to cure her of her melancholy. As with the *Nuits* and *Jours*, the collection of *Soirées* consists of stories that help to allow a regal character – in this case, the princess Aliénore – to overcome a problem. The value of storytelling thus seems to be the ability of tales, in this case, to alleviate sadness, whereas in the *Nuits* it convinces the king Shahryar to spare Scheherazade's life. In both scenarios, a state of homeostasis that is initially disrupted is eventually restored, which follows Vladimir Propp's formula for the Russian folk tale as he describes in Морфология волшебной сказки (*Morphology of the Folktale*, 1928), with a state of lack preceding a hero's remedying of the situation, often with the assistance of a magical aid. In the instance of the *Soirées* as well as the *Nuits* and the *Jours*, the hero is the storyteller.

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[81] This collection includes the story of the lost camel: In Gueullette's version, three princes disguise themselves as the doctor Mirliro, the philosopher Indigoruca, and the savage Barbario in order to bring the statue of truth and the mirror of wisdom to the Island of Dreams. On their way, they encounter officers who ask if they have seen the emperor's cynogefore, a very rare kind of camel. Mirliro inquires whether the animal has a limp on the front left side; Indigocura asks if it is blind in the right eye; and Barbario, if it carries salt and honey. Astonished, the officers bring the three disguised princes to the Emperor, and the men reaffirm that they haven't seen the camel. "But by what miracle,' cried the emperor, 'have you been able to speak so astutely about something you have never seen?'" ("'Mais par quel prodige, s'écria l'empereur, avez-vous pu parler si pertinemment d'une chose que vous n'aviez jamais vue?'" Gueullette 1712, p. 119). In this story, which is likely of Persian origin and has taken on different forms across the centuries, the princes don't actually observe the animal, but are able to identify it through their powers of deduction. Voltaire rewrites a version of the story in *Zadig* (1747), itself a pseudotranslation.
Meanwhile, another version of the tale of the lost camel that appears in the Soirées was also published by the *Mercure Galant* as a "conte arabe" in 1712, the same year as the publication of the *Soirées*.

However, in contrast to the *Nuits* and *Jours*, this tale of a narrative cure allegedly took place at an extradiegetic level insofar as, according to the *Avertissement*, it gives the illusion of recounting the *actual* circumstances for the telling of the tales. The line between fact and fiction becomes blurred, and this line becomes even more indistinct in the paratextual material to Gueullette's subsequent collections of tales. As such, the claim to authenticity begins to appear suspect, with implications that previous narratives relating to how tales were obtained, by Gueullette and beyond, are themselves at least in part fictional.

Following in the tradition of the *Nuits* and *Jours*, the preface to the *Soirées* describes editorializing processes that aimed to maintain readers' interest. Just as Galland announced in the second volume to the *Nuits* that he had eliminated the repetitive element of Dinarzade asking her sister Scheherazade every night for a new tale and as Pétis claimed to have dispensed with the dialogue from the frame tale, which he indicated was not a part of the essential narrative and "only serves to leave the reader languishing and bored" (Pétis 8),[82] so too are the *Soirées* structured for the pleasure of the reader: "For the rest, I didn't think it was necessary to separate them by evenings, nor put the reflections that are at the end of each of the tales, as in the original. The simplicity of this discourse would certainly have bored the reader, who will take greater pleasure in reading these tales without interruption" (Gueullette

[82] "ne sert qu'à la faire languir et qu'à ennuyer le lecteur," ibid.

Soirées, XV).[83] This is a variation on what Pétis had written about his *Jours*, with its focus on the tailoring of the narrative structure in the interest of keeping the reader sufficiently entertained.

Notably, this approach stands in contrast with Gueullette's translation practices, as with his rendering of *La vida es sueño* (*Life is a Dream*) a play from 1635 by Pedro Caldéron de la Barca, into French. Yet, even in this translation of his, the actual original is absent, and in its stead a version of it: Gueullette did not work from the Spanish, but rather the Italian translation by Giacinto Andrea Cicognini. The original publication in 1718 of Gueullette's French version of the play is actually a dual language text, with the Italian text side-by-side with Gueullette's translation on the right. It appears together with the translation for ready comparison, suggestive more of a mirror effect than what occurs with Gueullette's exotic tales; this exhibits a different status for the representation of European works than those with more remote origins. Simultaneously, it presents a translation as a source text unto itself, rather than the "original" upon which it was based.

The frontispiece to the 1712 of the *Soirées* (see Figure 2a) illustrates the human role in the transmission of texts, depicting a young woman with a scepter, presumably the princess Aliénore handing a book with the cramped title "Soirées Bretone" to a young boy in regal dress and Roman sandals. The title is misspelled and there is a small letter "s" above the word "Bretone," as if an afterthought. Although this apparently is to represent the original manuscript, the fact that the title is not in

[83] "Au reste je n'ai pas cru devoir les séparer par soirées, ni mettre les réflexions qui sont à la fin de chacun de ces contes, comme cela est dans l'original. La simplicité de ces discours

the Breton language and that the young woman is passing it into the hands of a boy already makes the authenticity of this "translation" suspect. The scene is a *mise-en-abyme* insofar as the volume of the *Soirées bretonnes* that the illustration represents is the book itself, which the viewer of the book would be holding.

Figure 2a: Frontispiece to the 1712 edition of Soirées bretonnes, Thomas-Simon Gueullette (Bibliothèque Nationale de France)



In his subsequent collection of tales, *Les Mille et Un Quart-d'heure, Contes Tartares*, Gueullette begins with a dedication to the duke of Chartres. In contrast to

auroit certainement ennuyé le lecteur qui prendra plus de plaisir à lire ces contes sans

the *Soirées*, here Gueullette claims ownership of the work when he states that he hopes the duke will take a break from his serious occupations in order to look at what he calls "mon Livre" (Gueullette *Quart-d'heure,* dédicace). In this dedication, his praise is directed more towards the father than the duke himself, though he indicates that it would be no surprise to him if the duke were to inherit the merits of his father, his "Altesse Royale." This dedication therefore invites reflection on the relationship between the "master," or the father of the duke, and a successful "copy," or the duke, who, of course, would not be an exact replica of his progenitor, though invested with many of the same commendable qualities.

Gueullette elaborates on the theme of imitation in this dedication by comparing himself to minor painters. "Yet, your grace, I sense that I somewhat overestimate myself, and that it is for finer nibs than mine to compose such Panegyrics; it was only Appelles who was to paint Alexander; and I, in imitation of the retinue of other Painters of his time, must satisfy myself with secretly admiring the brilliant feats of the Prince who gave you life and not disfigure them with praise not worthy of him" (ibid).[84] This dedication provides valuable insights into Gueullette's view of his role vis-à-vis master artists, which in the case of his *Quarts-d'heure* would be the authors whom he imitated and often even technically plagiarized. His characterization of his admiration as being done in "secret" seems less of a commentary on the nature of his esteem of the duke's father, whom he here

interruption," ibid.

quite overtly praises, than on his particular manner of honoring his predecessors: the invisible imitation and rearrangement of their various texts.

The first volume (1715) to the *Quarts-d'heure* begins with this dedication yet does not contain an *Avertissement*. However, there is a notice to the reader at the end of the third and final volume (1717). In this notice, Gueullette compares his new collection not to his own *Soirées*, but instead indirectly to the works of Galland and Pétis by referencing earlier Arabic and Persian tales with which his audience was most likely familiar. This time, the main frame narrative is not situated paratextually in the *Avertissement*, as with the *Soirées*, but rather, as with Galland and Pétis, well within the paratextual threshold and thus as a part of the diegetic structure, or main text. Although Gueullette only hints at the presence of a source manuscript for the *Quarts-d'heure* in his *Avertissement*, the frame narrative only finds its resolution with the confirmation of an Arabic manuscript's credibility. The reader thus encounters the role of the manuscript within the narrative of the *Quarts-d'heure*, which in this instance appears in its entirely prior to the *Avertissement* at the end of the third volume and in many ways seems to be more revealing than Gueullette's direct statements about his role as an author.

The frame narrative of the *Quarts d'heure* tells the story of Shems-Eddin, the blind king of Astrakhan. The royal physicians are unable to restore his sight, but the doctor Abubeker recalls an Arabic manuscript that indicated a remedy for blindness.

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[84] "Mais, Monseigneur, je sens que je m'éleve un peu trop, c'est à des plumes plus délicates que la mienne, à faire de tels Panégyriques; il n'appartenoit qu'au seul Appellès de peindre Alexandre ; et je dois, en imitant la retenüe des autres Peintres de son tems, me contenter d'admirer en secret les éclatantes actions du Prince qui vous a donné le jour, sans de les défigurer par des loüanges trop peu dignes de lui" (ibid)

This cure, according to the ancient text, is a liquid contained in a golden phial around the neck of a bird on the island of Serendip. This bird lives atop of a tree that only truly loyal wives can successfully ascend; those who are untrue will die from the cuts of the blade-like leaves. The other doctors scoff at Abubeker, but the king is intrigued and asks the women of his kingdom if there are any among them who would venture for his sake to the island of Serendip; his search for volunteers is in vain. Abubeker finally offers to make the trip himself, with the hope of finding a faithful woman to fetch the cure. In Abubeker's absence, his son assumes the role of entertaining the king with stories until his father returns, and his allotted time is a quarter of an hour every day, which accounts for the title of the collection: the periodic signature refers to storytime.

The diverting value of narration is exemplified by the ability of Abubeker's son to successfully entertain the king while his father is away. Yet throughout the collection, virtue is rewarded with miracles; and at the level of the frame tale, it is the fidelity of a woman whom Abubeker encounters, actually the long-lost wife that Shems-Eddin believed to be dead. The tale is therefore a vehicle for morality, as the dedication explains: "The book that I take the liberty of presenting to Your Royal Highness has the Nature of those that can be instructive while entertaining: Though it treats material that does not seem to be serious, it does not fail to lead to the useful by way of the Moral contained therein" (ibid).[85]

[85] "Le livre que je prends la liberté de présenter à Votre Altesse Royale, est de la Nature de ceux qui peuvent instruire en divertissant: Quoiqu'il traite une matiere qui paroît badine, il ne laisse pas de conduire à l'utile, par la Morale qui y est renfermée," ibid.

In *Quarts-d'heure*, it is even more faith than faithfulness that reaps rewards. Certainly, the king's wife is able to obtain the blindness cure because of her loyalty; but he is ultimately the one who benefits, and this because he believes Abubeker. Gueullette's role is comparable to that of this doctor, who vaguely recalls the formula from a manuscript that he had seen long ago, and is then capable of providing vision to the king – in this comparison, analogous to the reader – who took him at his word.

An additional dimension of the work's apparent value is its ability to inform his readers as, to recall Perrin's term, a "narrative encyclopedia." It is a creative project based upon imagined travel; tellingly, Astrakhan was one of the first places that Marco Polo visited in his travels, recorded in the *Livre des merveilles du monde* (*Book of the Marvels of the World*) in Old French by Rustichello da Pisa. There has even been speculation that Marco Polo did not actually travel to Asia, and the general reliability of his accounts, which Rustichello recorded from what Marco Polo told him while sharing a prison cell with him in Pisa, has been the subject of some debate.

Though the first volume of *Quarts-d'heure* does not have an *avertissement*, Gueullette makes his presence – which is an authoritative one – known from the very beginning in the form of footnotes, which take up nearly half of the first page. Instead of the side-by-side translation of his relay translation of Caldéron's *Life is a Dream*, which invites a horizontal relationship of source and target text, this division of the page invites a vertical one, with the storyline on the top and the source material on the bottom.

The first entry happens to be for the word "Dervish," which is likewise the seventh word in Pétis's *Jours*: "We can thank the famous dervish Moclès for these

tales... He was the head of the Sufis in Ispahan" (Pétis 73).[86] This, in turn, is followed by a footnote on the first page of the preface to the *Jours*, which then goes on to explain how the dervish took Indian tales and translated them into Persian, changing the name from *Alfarage Bada Alschidda* ("*Joy after affliction*") into *Hezaryek-Rouz* (هزار و یک روز ; "*The Thousand and One Days*") so as to "give an original air to his work" (ibid 74).[87] Gueullette's dervish in *Quarts-d'heure* does not find tales but rather an abandoned baby. He then gives the baby to new parents, who name him Shems-Eddin, or "sun of religion," a telling moniker for a man who becomes blind and then regains his sight due to a remedy contained in an ancient Arabic manuscript. The dervish of the *Quarts-d'heure* thus performs what the one of Pétis's *Jours* did but on a more *romanesque* level, alluding to Gueullette's project of giving texts a new identity and home, and of the metempsychosis that Ablancourt associated with his translation of Thucydides. The entry for "Dervis" is derived word-for-word from *Le Grand dictionnaire historique ou Le mélange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profane*, with the exception of the last clause in reference to those who live in solitude.[88]

> (*The Dervishes or Darveshes are members of the Mahometean religion. They all affect to appear modest, humble, patient, & charitable and their legs

[86] "Nous devons ces contes au célèbre Dervis Moclès... Il était chef des sofis d'Ispahan," ibid.

[87] "donner à son ouvrage un air original," ibid.

[88] The text from the *Dictionnaire* is considerably longer, accounting for approximately one entire column. Here, I include the text that Gueullette selected and copied from the entry for comparison: "DERVIS, sorte de Religieux Mahométans... Ces Dervis affectent de paroître modestes, patiens, humbles & charitables. Ils ont en tot tems les jambes nuës, & l'estomach découvert, que quelques-uns se brûlent avec un fer chaud, pour exercer leur patience...Ils font profession de pauvreté, de chasteté & d'obéissance ; mais s'ils n'ont pas assez de vertu pour se contenir, ils peuvent obtenir la permission de sortir du Monastère, pour se marier." Moreri, *Dictionnaire* Volume 3, p. 541.

> are naked and stomachs are bare, & some still burn themselves with a hot iron to exercise their patience. They make a profession of poverty, chastity, and obedience, but if they are not virtuous enough to contain themselves, they may obtain permission to leave their Monastery, and some of them are solitary and somewhat like our hermits (Gueullette, *Quart d'heure* 2).[89]

The final clause draws the reader into a kind of complicity with the author of the footnote in its use of the first person possessive adjective in the plural, establishing a definitive line between the subject of representation and the object of representation. It is also notable that the entry calls the authenticity of the dervishes' comportment into question by noting that they "affect to appear" devoted, while some of them are in fact not virtuous enough to sustain the charade. This comparison both establishes distance, insofar as it establishes a polarity between "us" and them," as well as proximity, by making parallels between Western and Eastern ascetics.

Gueullette's presence makes itself known throughout the work in the form of the footnotes, even though these are not properly "his," but rather gleaned from another source. Thus far, and in contrast to the collections that follow, Gueullette thus portrays himself as faithful. It is telling, in light of his statements in later prefaces, that this is only an affectation, as with the dervishes as portrayed in the *Dictionnaire* and Gueullette's revised version of it. This ambiguous nature of authenticity and illusion is underscored by the fact that Gueullette introduces himself not as a

[89] "*Les Derviches ou Dervis, sont des Religieux Mahometans. Ils affectent tous de paroître modestes, humbles, patients, & charitables, ils ont les jambes nuës, l'estomac découvert, & quelques-uns se brûlent encore avec un fer chaud pour éxercer leur patience. Ils font profession de pauvreté, de chasteté et de obéissance, mais s'ils n'ont pas assez de vertu pour se contentir, ils peuvent obtenir la permission de sortir de leur Monastere, il y en a de solitaires à peu près comme nos Hermites," ibid.

translator but as an author, yet in his *avertissement* there remains the implication that an original source exists.

> Surely, a work as lengthy as the Arab or Persian tales had been expected of me. I can imagine the reader's surprise and perhaps anger at finding in this volume the conclusion to a Story that had been expected to follow a considerable number of adventures. This irritation would not be without merit, insofar as it would be a sign that the reader had not been bored. Yet there is a sound reason for my effort: though the book's title is *The Thousand and One Quarter Hours,* the attentive reader will recognize that I had no intention of relating all of the Stories that had been told to King Astrakhan."[90]

Maintaining the position as author that he established in the dedication with his reference to "mon Livre," here Gueullette reiterates that the public had likely expected a longer work from him. As with the *Soirées*, the pleasure of the reader is central to his comments on editing, which, despite his professed authorship, still suggests an original. He claims to have left out nine hundred quarter-hours, as if they already existed, particularly with the verb "rapporter" ("to relate"). Yet the final word of the volume is "Auteur," highlighting his role in the creation of the work: "All the better if the reader took as much pleasure with them as Shems-Eddin must have, & if the brevity of the work is the only failing that can be attributed to the Author"

[90] "L'on a sans doute attendu de moi un ouvrage d'aussi long cours que les Contes arabes ou persans. Je m'imagine voir le lecteur surpris et fâché peut-être de trouver dans ce volume le dénouement d'une Histoire qu'il n'ésperait qu'après un nombre considérable d'autres aventures. Cette petite colère aurait son mérite, puisque ce serait une marque que cette lecture ne l'aurait pas ennuyé. Mais il est bon de rendre raison de mon travail : quoique le livre soit intitulé les Mille et un quart-d'heure, pour peu que l'on y fasse attention, on connaîtra que je n'ai point eu dessein de rapporter toutes les Histoires qui ont été racontées au roi d'Astracan," Gueullette 1717, avertissement.

(ibid).[91] In the first edition, this *Avertissement* appears at the end of the third and final volume, as a kind of apology. Its situation at the end of the collection, rather than at the beginning, plays with the temporal elements implicated in the notion of *Avertissement* ("notice"), which usually precedes a text. Likewise, the copied material in the footnotes clues the reader to the fact that these tales are hypertexts with multiple originals, thereby defying a simple original-copy comparison, as with a basic translation. The notion of multiple and possibly countless originals likewise evokes the oral tradition and its performative aspects (see Chapter 3).

This kind of non-linear, tentacular system of intertextuality and metatextuality becomes even more pronounced with the next set of tales, *les Aventures merveilleuses du mandarin Fum-Hoam, contes chinois* (1723). This is Gueullette's third collection, thus marking the mid-point of the corpus, and it is distinct from the two that precede it in that there is neither a "mille et un(e)" organizing principle or a preface, and this conspicuous absence serve to accentuate this non-linearity. The dedication takes on unique aspects that further bring into question what the object of representation is and who exactly is representing it. Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* (*Lettres persanes*), just as much a commentary on Parisian than Persian society, if not more so, appeared in 1721 and marked a turning point in the conceptualization of the Orient in the French imagination. Though Paul Sebag does implicate Pétis de la Croix in a "literary deception" ("superchérie littéraire") (Sebag 50), he also reminds his readers that the work of Pétis was fundamentally that of an Oriental scholar; but *Lettres Persanes*

[91] "Heureux si le lecteur y a pris autant de plaisir que l'on peut se flatter que Schems-Eddin en a reçu, & si la brièveté de l'ouvrage est le seul défaut que l'on puisse reprocher à l'Auteur," ibid.

inaugurated what he refers to as a *topos* of Orient as a tool for reflection on French society (ibid 54). It is important to situate Gueullette's collection of Chinese tales within the context of such developments.

In a preface that also contains the narrative about the sources and editing, as with the *Nuits*, *Jours*, and *Soirées*, the "translator" of the *Lettres* suggests that the value of the work is the commentary from the outside on French customs: "There is one thing that frequently surprised me: seeing that these Persians are often as knowledgeable as I am about the customs and the manners of the nation, attuned to the most subtle of circumstances and noticing things that I am sure escaped many of the Germans who have traveled to France" (Montesquieu 9).[92] This preface inserts itself alongside those that we have already examined in this chapter and adds new dimensions to the elements of representation and intervention in the history of orientalism and exoticism in France.

Although Gueullette's Chinese tales do not contain an *avertissement*, the paratexts provide fascinating commentary about authorship and original. The dedication is for "Madame la Premiere President de la Cour des Aydes," and Gueullette begins by confessing that he hesitated to put her name at the front of the work, which he worried was not worthy of her. The conceit of deference does not stray from what the reader has observed with the *Quarts-d'heure*, though in this dedication there are footnotes that do not explain foreign phenomena but rather

[92] "Il y a une chose qui m'a souvent étonné : c'est de voir ces Persans quelquefois aussi instruits que moi-même des mœurs et des manières de la nation, jusqu'à en connoître les plus fines circonstances, et à remarquer des choses qui, je suis sûr, ont échappé à bien des Allemands qui ont voyagé en France," ibid.

French ones, drawing the dedication and encyclopedic details about France into the full narrative program of the collection. It is startling, for example, to find that the first footnote (*a*) of the dedication appears after the word "Hommes" and serves to explain Madame la Première Presidente's lineage, thereby rendering her an object of study along with the dervish of the *Quarts-d'heure* and Tongluck, King of Gannan, whose royal lineage appears in footnote (*a*) to the first part of the Chinese tales, or *Aventures*.

This dedication thus puts the paratexts into a relativist direct dialogue with the *contes* themselves, rather than assuming complete authority over them. The frame narrative dramatizes the fluidity of identity: a mandarin comes every day at the time that the queen of China takes her walk so as to tell her of the different adventures he has experienced with the various physical incarnations of his soul. In his self-described Borgesian analysis of Gueullette's *Aventures*, Perrin refers to the theme of metempsychosis to establish the relationship among Gueullette's *contes* and their sources as being non-hierarchical and claims, for example, that Straparola "borrowed the best of the *Facetious Nights* from his *Thousand and One Quarter-Hours*; François Béroalde de Verville found the core plot for his *Authentic Story or the Voyage of the Fortunate Princes* in his *Breton Evenings*; Gautier de Costes de la Calprenède literally recopied the two best tales of the *Sultanas of Gujarat* in his own *Cleopatra*"

(Perrin 2011, 36).[93] This logic is derived from the notion that certain tales are universal and timeless, on the one hand, and that their newest incarnations influence the character of their previous ones, traditionally known as "sources" or "originals."

The frontispiece to the *Aventures* depicts a woman seated in between two other men, all three cross-legged on cushions before another man who appears to be entertaining them, presumably the eponymous mandarin. The latter has a long moustache and pointed hat, as does the man to the woman's left; the man on her right is wearing a turban and has a full beard. Although the first two men look Chinese and the third possibly Ottoman, the woman resembles a woman of eighteenth-century France rather than the Chinese queen of the tales. Her hair is light and worn in the high style favored by Gueullette's contemporaries such as Françoise Marie de Bourbon, wife of the Regent of France, Philippe II, Duke of Orléans, who was in power at the time of the publication of the Chinese tales. In the frontispiece, this woman's hand rests in her lap and the other points to the man on her left. This is a further indication of the lateral relationship between the object of the dedication, Madame la Première Presidente, and the king Tongluck (see Figure 2b).

[93] "a emprunté le meilleur des *Piacevoli Notti* à ses *Mille et Un Quarts d'Heure* ; François Béroalde de Verville a trouvé dans ses *Soirées Bretonnes* le cœur de l'intrigue de son *Histoire véritable ou le Voyage des Princes fortunés* ; Gautier de Costes de La Calprenède a littéralement recopié dans ses *Sultanes de Guzarate* les deux meilleurs récits de son propre *Cléopâtre*" Jean-François Perrin, "Le temps des œuvres n'a-t-il qu'une direction? Le cas des contes orientaux de Gueullette au miroir d'un livre de Pierre Bayard," *Féeries* n. 8, 201, p.35-44.

Figure 2b: Frontispiece to Les Aventures merveilleuses du mandarin Fum-Hoam, contes chinois 1728 (detail)



In the dedication, Gueullette expresses the hope that his collection will be of interest in its presentation of Chinese and Muslim religious precepts. He also mentions that the work is morally instructive, insofar as vice is almost always punished and virtue rewarded. This is consistent with his previous statements in the dedication to the duke for the *Quarts-d'heure*, in which he maintains that the stories are both entertaining and educational, containing a moral. In this dedication, he indicates minimal intervention: "J'ai conservé leurs mœurs et leurs expressions autant

qu'il m'a été possible de le faire" ("I preserved their customs and their expressions insofar as possible"). Likewise, as if revisiting the statement that he made in the *avertissement* to the *Quarts-d'heure* about "mon livre," here he does not claim ownership of the tales: "je prends la liberté de vous presenter *les* Contes Chinois" ("I take the liberty of offering you *the* Chinese tales") (emphasis my own), as if intending to redirect the public's attention, as does the seated woman in the frontispiece pointing her finger at the man on her left.

In the *avis* to the *Sultanes de Guzarate, contes mongols* (*Sultanas of Gujarat, Mongolian Tales*) (1732), Gueullette reveals that he had borrowed from Straparola for his *Quart-d'heure*. He notes that his variation on Straparola's tale of three hunchbacks was "styled in the Tartar fashion and extremely different from what it is in the original."[94] Just as Ablancourt had translated liberally "to shed light on that which was unclear"[95] so too does Gueullette portray his work as rescuing tales that may have otherwise languished in the darkness. Gueullette concedes that the transmogrification of such materials may be objectionable, but also considers that this is a way of giving the stories new life.

> …several of our Novelists have not shied from drawing on what were little-known sources of Stories, sometimes only changing the names. I do not say this to reproach them; on the contrary, I believe that we are obliged to them for having rescued, so to speak, these works from obscurity; following their

[94] "habillé à la tartare et extrêmement différent de ce qu'il est dans l'original," Gueullette 1732, pp. 4-5.

[95] "pour éclaircir des obscurités," Malherbe, preface.

example, if such bases for my Stories are recognized, I think that I will be treated with the same indulgence as these men have been.[96]

Gueullette keeps the sources of the stories in his *Sultanes* to himself but valorizes his use of them insofar that he saves them from oblivion. This notion is in keeping with Perrin's interpretation of the metempsychosis that is especially pronounced on the thematic level of the *Aventures*.

Gueullette's variation on Straparola's hunchback tale in his *Quart-d'heure,* "Les Trois Bossus de Damas" ("The Three Hunchbacks of Damascus") ends in Bagdad, where Straparola's story takes on a twist borrowed from the *Nuits*. Like their Italian counterparts, Gueullette's hunchbacked brothers resemble one another so closely that even their parents have trouble telling them apart. They are all intent on inheriting their father's fortune; as the two younger brothers remain by his side, the eldest sets out into the world and goes through a series of unsuccessful stints before finding steady employment. When his employer dies, the eldest hunchback marries his widow. His brothers hear of his success and come one day when he is away on business. Though her husband had instructed her not to ever admit his brothers into the house, the widow is swayed by their flattery and imprecations and gives them food and lodging; when the eldest brother returns, she must quickly hide them and desperately leads them to a place where her husband will not find them. When she returns to find the brothers dead, she hires a man to throw the bodies into the river. In

[96] "plusieurs de nos Auteurs Romanciers n'ont pas dédaigné de puiser dans ces sources, alors très-peu connues, des Histoires, dont quelquefois même ils n'ont fait que changer les noms. Je ne dis pas ceci pour le leur reprocher ; au contraire, j'estime que nous leur avons beaucoup d'obligation d'avoir tiré, pour ainsi dire, ces ouvrages de l'obscurité ; à leur exemple, si l'on reconnoît quelque fonds de mes Histoires, je crois que l'on aura autant d'indulgence pour moi que l'on en a eu pour ces Messieurs," Gueullette 1732, pp. 3-4.

Straparola, this man is a professional corpse-bearer, but in Gueullette he is introduced as a porter, or "portefaix" (Gueullette 1715: 230) anticipating the metamorphosis of the tale into "Le Portefaix et les trois Dames" ("The Porter and the Three Ladies") from the *Nuits*. The widow pretends there is only one body to dispose of, and when the man returns after depositing the first corpse into the river, she presents the second body and demands why it is still there. In confusion and dismay, he slings it over his shoulder and makes his way back to the river. As he returns to collect from the widow, he encounters the eldest hunchback and believes he is the same dead man coming back to life a third time. He deals him a fatal blow to the head and throws him into the water to join his brothers.

In Gueullette's version, the porter believes that one man is dead and comes back to life thanks to magic, though it is really just a part of the widow's trick. While Straparola leaves the brothers to their watery grave, Gueullette does actually resuscitate them. After the porter takes his leave of the widow, he meets a slave, a fisherman, and a merchant who lead him to a house. The affiliation of this story with Galland's "Le Portefaix" becomes even more explicit when the narrator informs the reader that the merchant is really the Caliph Watik-Billah in disguise, who, "following the example of Harun al-Rashid his ancestor, would often walk at night in Bagdad to see what was going on & judge for himself if people were satisfied with his rule."[97] The character of Harun al-Raschid, based on a caliph from the eighth century, appears throughout Galland's *Nuits*, including "Le Portefaix," in which he

[97] "suivant l'exemple d'Aaroun Arreschid son ayeul se promenoit assez souvent de nuit dans Bagdad, pour voir ce qui se passoit, & juger par lui-meme si l'on etoit content de son Gouvernement," Gueullette 1715, p. 240.

and his vizier come across the house where the inhabitants are entertaining the porter. Gueullette also interpolates details from another tale from the *Nuits*, "Les Trois Pommes" ("The Three Apples"), which begins with the caliph offering money to an impoverished fisherman to cast his nets one more time before going home and giving them whatever he catches. In the *Nuits*, the caliph and his vizier find the body of a butchered woman in the chest caught by the fisherman's nets. In Gueullette's variation, the fisherman makes three catches, each one bringing in one of the hunchbacked brothers.

At the house to which the three men has brought him, the porter retells the story from his own point of view with scathing remarks about the widow. He describes the three instances of throwing the hunchbacked corpses into the river, and here the narrative slips into a *mise-en-abyme* with its repetition of this previously thrice-repeated episode. Yet the hunchbacks, rescued by the fisherman from the abyss, sputter out water as well as eau-de-vie and it comes to light that they are not dead, only dead drunk. The hunchbacks instantiate Gueullette's aims of resuscitating stories; they, like many of his sources, find new life as he crosses them with other tales.

In addition to confessing that he has borrowed material from Straparola, Gueullette also overtly acknowledges the French orientalists as sources. In the *avis* to the *Sultanes*, he writes that "Messieurs Galland, & Pétis de la Croix, or at least those who loaned them their pen to compose & write the Arab, Persian, & Turkish tales seem to have exhausted the material, & it seems that all that can be done now is to

glean after them."[98] Gueullette emphasizes the uncertainty of the relationship that Galland and Pétis have with their sources, wondering whose pen it was precisely that was responsible for their *Nuits* and *Jours*. This has two primary and interrelated effects that are central to my interpretation of Gueullette's role in the history of the oriental tale: first, this portrayal of Galland and Pétis likewise reflects on Gueullette himself and underscores the fact that though he may be an author, his materials are not original and have undergone some degree of mediation. Secondly, his use of the words "rédiger" ("compose") and "écrire" ("write") cast Galland and Pétis not as translators, but as copyists and writers.

Finally, Gueullette abandons the conceit of faithful transmission entirely with his Peruvian tales from 1733. While he begins his dedication by stating that, after losing sight of the north star, "I was reduced to crossing vast seas, and after a long trip, I found myself in Peru,"[99] he makes it clear in the paragraphs that follow that his journeys were only textual:

> Yet do not go imagining, Madame, that I went looking in the other hemisphere for the privilege to create fictions. Despite the proverb "cows far away have long horns," people don't go looking for this right overseas

[98] "Messieurs Galland, & Petis de la Croix, ou du moins ceux qui leur ont prêté leur plume pour rédiger & écrire les Contes Arabes, Persans & Turcs, paroissent avoir épuisé la matiere, & il semble qu'il n'y ait plus qu'à glaner après eux" Gueullette 1732, p. 2.

[99] "j'ai été réduit à traverser des mers immenses, et après une longue navigation, je me suis trouvé au Pérou," Gueullette 1733, p. i.

> anymore. I know of a thousand authors who have acquired it without leaving their study.[100]

Gueullette distinguishes himself from the authors of travel narratives, themselves not always reliable, and assumes the right to create fictions from the comfort of his desk. Significantly, he knows "of a thousand," which implies that he is the thousand-and-first, he who begins a series anew by amassing what preceded him. Borges writes that in the title *The Thousand and One Nights* "there is something very important: the suggestion of an infinite book. It practically is. The Arabs say that no one can read *The Thousand and One Nights* to the end. Not for reasons of boredom: one feels the book is infinite" (Borges 567). The *avertissement des libraires* (bookseller's notice) to this last collection of tales by Gueullette provides the final word on Gueullette's *contes*. This notice indicates that it is not the origins of the tales are not of the booksellers' concern; their interest is only in publishing the tales. Copyists themselves, the booksellers find themselves in a position analogous to that of the translator:

> Here, we find it suffices to say that the copy of the two volumes of *The Thousand and One Hours* has fallen into our hands and that we believed we could publish a book that may appear on bookshelves alongside the *Arabic, Persian, and Tartar Tales*. It appears to us that the authors' design has been the same (…) They have all employed marvelous events so as to surprise and

[100] "N'allez pourtant vous imaginer, Madame, que j'ai été chercher dans l'autre hémisphère le privilège de débiter des fictions. Malgré le proverbe « a beau mentir qui vient de loin », ce n'est plus la mode d'aller chercher ce droit au-delà des mers. Mille auteurs de ma connaissance l'ont acquis sans sortir de leur cabinet," ibid iii-iv.

> engage the reader. They have all decorated their narratives with ornaments that they found to be the most suitable.[101]

The bookseller's notice recalls the statement made by Pierre Bayle about the *Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy*, who said that it didn't matter who the author was, as long as the work was a compelling one. The booksellers' notice groups the *Heure* with other collections of Arab, Persian, and Tartar tales, affirming that they all have the intention of instructing readers about the religion, politics, and morals of those who inhabit their stories; the authors included this information in the form of diverting stories so as to maintain the readers' attention. Likewise, this notice ends by confirming that another valuable dimension of the tales is their moral instruction, as in the tales it is seen that "la vertu triomphe & que le vice est puni" ("virtue triumphs & vice is punished," ibid viii).

The unreliable narrator takes shape within the *Heure* in the form of the prince Virachocha, who has been banished by his father for raping one of the "filles du soleil" ("daughters of the sun") intended for his father the king. While in exile, the prince is visited by a ghost who tells him that the provinces of the empire are taking up arms to take over Cuscot the capital of the empire. When the prince comes out of exile to transmit the message, the king retorts, "You come to spout out in all seriousness fables that you invented; you want these fancies of yours to pass for

[101] "Il nous suffit de dire pour le présent que, la copie de ces deux volumes des *Mille et une Heures* nous étant tombée entre les mains, nous avons cru pouvoir mettre sous presse un livre qui pouvait figurer dans les cabinets avec les *Contes arabes, persans, et tartares*. Il nous a paru que le dessein des auteurs était le même. (…) Tous ont eu recours aux événements merveilleux, afin de surprendre et d'attacher le lecteur. Tous ont revêtu leurs narrations des ornements qu'ils ont trouvés plus convenables," ibid, p. v.

revelations from the Sun my father."[102] The revelation, however, proves to be true, and the enemies of the king Ynca Yahuarhuacac descend on Cusco, the Incan capital. While the king flees the city, the prince Virachocha joins forces and manages to conquer the invaders. Persuaded to abdicate the throne to his victorious son, the king contemplates suicide. One of the chosen virgins, Acllahua, learns of his anguish in a dream, and she is determined to save him. However, because of her status, she is unable to appear in public, which would be tantamount to adultery. In the dream, a luminous hand transports her to throne of the Sun, and later when she puts her own hand in her belt, the hand reappears and speaks to her: "O Acllahua, I obey the Moon, & she who wears her belt: if you want to find the Inca Yahuarhuacac, it is time for me to transport you to his palace" ("ô Acllahua, j'obeïs à la Lune, & celle qui porte sa ceinture: si tu veux aller trouver l'Ynca Yahuarhuacac, il est tems que je te transporte à son palais," ibid 97-98).

The frame narrative then assumes a form that is similar especially to Galland's *Nuits*, insofar as the storyteller's powers are a matter of life or death. Now, America becomes a part of Gueullette's universe, and the correspondence between the *Heure* and the *Nuits* that he establishes recalls Perrin's notion that the tales speak to a shared storytelling tradition. As such, the concept of the authoritative original has vanished, and what remains is merely the process of picking tales and reassembling them. The frontispiece (Figure 2d) to the *Heure* features the luminous hand that is able to magically transport the storyteller, in the same way that Gueullette's reading had been able to take him on a voyage across the ocean. The hand is disembodied and

[102] "Tu viens me débiter sérieusement des fables que tu as inventées ; tu voudrois faire passer

anonymous; it is also easy to imagine that Gueullette would have seen this as his own hand, shining brightly and rescuing the tales from obscurity. Indeed, in the first lines to the dedication, he tells Madame von der Stund that he had been waiting to "set the hand to work" ("mettre la main à l'œuvre," ibid i) until receiving from an unnamed women "some memoirs that she had promised me" ("certains mémoires qu'elle m'avoit promis," ibid). However, the missives never arrived, and with this he completely abandoned the charade of the original manuscript.

The dedication has a sense of resignation, perhaps an indication that this *Heure* was to be his last. He reflects back on the voyages that he made, not in search of gold but of hours; and if the fruits of these hours please the subject of the dedication, then he will consider them as valuable. He writes, "If you have a favorable opinion of them, I will not consider these hours to have been lost, and at any rate they will always have the merit of singularity; and it is something to bring the extremities of the universe together" ("Si vous en jugez favorablement, je ne les regarderai pas comme des heures perdues, en tout cas elles auront toujours le mérite de la singularité ; & c'est beaucoup pour les choses que l'on apporte des extrémités de l'univers," ibid iii). As always, Gueullette's interest is in bringing his reader pleasure, though this aim of bringing together different worlds seems to be more under his control, as is, perhaps even more so, the unique nature of his project.

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tes rêveries pour des révélations du Soleil mon père," ibid pp. 25-26.

Figure 2d, Frontispiece to Les Mille et une heure, Contes péruviens (1733) (Bibliothèque nationale de France, François Mitterand)



Gueullette's first collection begins with an *avertissement*, which translates as "notice" but could also be a "warning": and the clues that point to Gueullette's game become less subtle in the comments he provides in his later collections. Emily Apter maintains that pseudotranslations question the "extent to which all translations are unreliable transmitters of the original, a regime, that is, of extreme truth" and that "all translators are to some extent counterfeit artists, experts at forgeries and style" (Apter 167). Gueullette, by imitating the orientalists, the *belles infidèles*, and the *salonnières*, exhibits the various recombinations possible in and inherent to storytelling, all the while dispelling the illusion of a definitive source texts.

Chapter 3:

The Rebirth of the Storyteller:

The 1823 English Translation of the Grimm Brothers' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*

Whoever listens to a story is in the company of the storyteller;
even those reading share this company.[103]

--Walter Benjamin, "The Storyteller"

The title page of *German Popular Stories* (1823), the first translation of the Grimm Brothers' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (*Children's and Household Tales*) into English, features an illustration of a man reading from a book, presumably *German Popular Stories* itself. The reader is perched on a stool, one leg crossed jauntily over his knee, an impish grin on his face as he regales an audience comprised of men and women, boys and girls, with tales from the volume. The setting appears to be a public tavern or alehouse, with a woman in the background wearing a kerchief and holding a jug next to a table cluttered with cups. This etching illustrates one dimension of the term "popular" in the title of the collection in English, with the audience being a

[103] "Wer einer Geschichte zuhört, der ist in der Gesellschaft des Erzählers; selbst wer liest, hat an dieser Gesellschaft teil" in "Der Erzähler: Betrachtungen zum Werk Nikolai Lesskows," *Erzählen: Schriften zur Theorie der Narration und zur literarischen Prosa*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2007, p. 120.

general one comprised of non-specialists from various social classes. It also stages an imagined scene of collective enjoyment of the tales where the tales participate simultaneously in written and oral traditions (see Figure 3a below).

Figure 3a: Title page for German Popular Stories (1823)



This chapter serves to address the popular character of the Grimms' fairy tales in the first English edition from 1823, translated by Edgar Taylor[104] and illustrated by George Cruikshank, in contrast with the 1819 version of the *Kinder- und*

[104] Taylor was the primary translator and received assistance from David Jardine, though neither name appears in the 1823 edition. See Jack Zipes, *German Popular Stories. By the Brothers Grimm. Adapted by Edgar Taylor*. Edited by Jack Zipes, Kent, UK: Crescent Moon, 2012. In this chapter, I generally refer to Taylor except when discussing sections of prefatory material that mention "the translators" in the plural.

Hausmärchen upon which it was based.[105] Cruikshank's illustrations, along with Taylor's translation strategies, produced a volume that was of a different character than that of the German source material. The Grimms had conceived of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* as a scholarly enterprise, whereas *German Popular Stories* was clearly intended, first and foremost, to entertain and delight. The Grimms' *Märchen* became a more popular form of entertainment in their first English incarnation, and according to Jack Zipes, Taylor's main accomplishment "was to adapt the tales so they would be acceptable for a rising bourgeois class and a general population that was becoming more and more literate" (Zipes 2012: 31). In *National Dreams: The Remaking of Fairy Tales in Nineteenth-Century England*, Jennifer Schacker calls the translation "highly selective and inexact" and notes that the approach was a domesticating one that allowed for mass appeal (Schacker 31).

The Taylor and Cruikshank edition was enormously successful in finding a niche for the Grimms' tales in Anglophone literature. The tales of the Grimms remain among the top ten most-translated authors to this day, and it was indeed Taylor and Cruikshank who positioned them for international recognition. Notably, the reception of *German Popular Tales* was more enthuasiastic in England than the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* had been in its country of origin. *German Popular Stories* was considerably shorter than the 1819 *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* and sanitized of grisly

[105] Jennifer Schacker has noted that no other English edition of the 1819 Kinder- und Hausmärchen exists for comparison. Generally, the 1857 edition has been used as the basis for translations. Jack Zipes translated the tales from the two volumes (1812/1815) of the first edition, published as *The Complete First Edition: The Original Folk and Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm*, trans. and ed. Jack Zipes, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014.

and sexual content; with its portable size and humorous illustrations, it in fact more closely resembled the English editions of Perrault's *Histoires ou contes du temps passé, avec des moralitez* (1729), which were already circulating in the form of reprints of Samber's translation, new translations into English by Guy Miège, and chapbooks. The title page for the first edition of the *German Popular Stories* is clearly inspired by Antoine Clouzier's frontispiece to the tales of Perrault, and the frontispiece to the second edition, featuring a wizened old crone (See Figure 3b) instead of the bespectacled man, even more explicitly recalls the "Mère l'Oye" figure who graced the frontispieces to Perrault's tales in both French and English.

Figure 3b: Title page for* German Popular Stories*, Volume 2 (1823)



In the frontispiece to Volume 1, it is significant that the storyteller is a peformer as well as a reader – a detail emphasized by the presence of glasses – and male, with an audience that is more diverse in class and age than in the Clouzier frontispiece. Schacker notes the repetition of the figure of the aged female storyteller in frontispieces to the works by Perrault and the Grimms: "By the mid 1820s, the elderlyspinster/storyteller had already played a significant role in the history of fairy-tale illustration, the most famous and widely circulated image being the title page illustration of Charles Perrault's *Histoires, ou Contes du Temps Passé* (1697), reproduced in Robert Samber's 1729 English translation. The iconography was evocative: an elderly peasant woman seated at hearthside, flanked by cats, drop spindle, and an audience of young aristocrats. Although in Cruikshank's picture a spinning wheel has replaced the drop spindle of Perrault's mère l'oye ("Mother Goose"), and the old woman's audience has become much younger, the iconography has remained remarkably constant" (Schacker 39).

The illustrations and prefatory material for *German Popular Stories* thus served to position the tales within a pre-existing network of referents; that is, to introduce a translated work into a polysystem. According to Shavit, the translation of children's literature in translation is particularly subject to change because of its non-canonical status, on the one hand, and the need for it to be simple enough for children to understand, on the other. This transformation frequently involves translations "attaching" themselves to models that already exist in the target literature (Shavit 1981).

The success of *German Popular Stories* was due, in part, to its positioning in relation to other fairy tale material available in English. Popular tales of wonder such as those by Perrault and the Brothers Grimm were relatively scarce in print at this time in England, particularly because of negative Puritanical and Enlightenment opinions of the imagination. It is telling that the most widespread tales of magic were from foreign sources. When a new genre takes shape in a literature, there are two possible, complementary phenomena accompanying the emergence of such a new form: on the one hand, genres do not emerge in a literature *ex nihilo* and, in order to establish what Toury has called a "slot" (Toury 1978:85) refer to other genres and texts that preceded them. This was the case, for example, with Robert Samber's positioning of Perrault's tales for readers of English at the beginning of the eighteenth century (see Chapter 1).

On the other hand, a new foreign text that introduces an innovation into the literary landscape may be especially likely to survive because it fulfills a need in the literature. The translation theorist Eliot Weinberger writes, "Translation liberates the translation language. Because a translation will always be read as a translation, as something foreign, it is freed from many of the constraints of the currently accepted norms and conventions in the national literature" (Weinberger 2001). Both of these phenomena apply in the case of the début in the Grimms' tales in the English language, allowing them to become absorbed quickly into the literature. In other words, *German Popular Stories* entered into new intertextual relationships in English, or what was already familiar to Anglophone readers, and this allowed for the admission of foreign texts into the emerging fairy tale canon.

From Entertainment to Scholarship to Entertainment

Jacob (1785-1863) and Wilhelm (1786-1859) Grimm were prodigious scholars; though best known for their *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (*Children's and Household Stories*), they were also linguists, translators, and lexicographers. Much of their scholarly activity was informed by a desire to preserve and promote German culture in the face of French imperialism, which affected the Grimms directly in their youth during the Napoleonic campaigns.[106] Both of the brothers were students at the University of Marburg when they met Clemens Brentano and Achim von Arnim, whom they assisted with the compilation of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (*The Boy's Magic Horn*), which featured traditional German songs, stories, and ballads. The *Wunderhorn* (1805-1808) appeared at the time of the French occupation (1794-1813) and belonged to a number of works by the German Romantics that resisted the cultural and political domination of the French. German writers including Johann Gottfried Herder had stimulated interest in "nature poetry" (*Naturpoesie*) with forms that celebrated a primal Teutonic imagination free of foreign influence. Enthusiasm for *Naturpoesie* served as an initial motivation for the Grimms' documentation of tales, or *Märchen,* from storytellers throughout Germany, and this activity ultimately established the foundations of European folkloric studies.

Building upon the work of Jens Sennewald, Zipes states that the motivations behind the Grimms' enterprise were the brothers' desire to "discover 'true' and original tales that emanated from the common folk" (Zipes 2012: 23) that would

[106] For accounts of the brothers' life during the Napoleonic era, see for example Jack Zipes' *The Brothers Grimm: From Enchanted Forests to the Modern World,* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

"breathe new life into the German cultural heritage" (ibid: 22). The Brothers recorded the first versions of the tales from the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* in what is now known as the Ölenberg manuscript, which takes its name from the monastery in Alsace where the manuscript, along with Brentano's posthumous papers, remained inaccessible to scholars until the 1970s. The first two editions of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* were published in 1812/1815 (volume I/II) and 1819. The 1819 *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* preface insists on the purity of the tales that hearken from the past and the importance of preserving such "innocent tales" ("schadenlos Hausmärchen"). In addition, the collection of tales was to prove to have "scientific value."[107] Even more so than the *belles infidèles*, Perrault and Gueullette, the Grimms portrayed themselves as ensuring the preservation of texts. Although the tales were, by their accounts, for the enjoyment of all, their "arrangement" of the tales made them more the object of study for scientific subjects.

The 1812 version, with a 24-page preface, no illustrations, and total of 492 pages, would have likely been daunting for a young reader. The overall impact of the 1812 edition of the Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, according to Arnim, was too

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[107] "Previously we were given only a small space for notes, and then due to the growth of the book in the revision process, we now have designated a third volume for them. This has made it possible not only to communicate what we previously had to withhold, but also to provide new sections that we hope will make the scientific value of these traditions even more obvious" ("Für die Anmerkungen war uns früher nur ein enger Raum gegeben, da durch die Umarbeitung das Buch anwuchs, so konnten wir für jene nun einen eigenen dritten Band bestimmen. Hierdurch ist es möglich geworden, nicht nur das, was wir früher ungern zurück behielten, mitzutheilen, sondern auch neue, hierher gehörige Abschnitte zu liefern, die, wie wir hoffen, den wissenschaftlichen Werth dieser Ueberlieferungen noch deutlicher machen werden," Grimm, Jacob and Wilhlem, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, 1819, p. 15.

academic for general appeal.[108] The 1819 edition introduced, likely in response to this critique, illustrations for the title pages and frontispieces to the first two volumes, which consisted mainly of tales, and the Grimms reserved scholarly notes for a third volume, published in 1822. Despite these changes, the 1819 edition was still rather imposing: the first volume contains eighty-six tales and prefatory material amounting to approximately fifty pages. The first volume alone is 439 pages with two *Kupfern* (copper engravings): there is one illustration on the title page, with a garland of flowers surrounding the script reading "Kinder- und Hausmärchen, Erster Theil," along with a frontispiece by Jacob and Wilhelm's brother, Ludwig Emil, of the tale "Brother and Sister" ("Brüderchen und Schwesterchen"). The second volume is 304 pages and features seventy-five more tales together with nine *Kinder-Legenden* (children's legends) and an introductory essay of seventy-eight pages on "Kinderwesen und Kindersitten" (Children's Behaviors and Traditions). The title page again features a garland, and there is a *Kupfer*, no longer from "Brüderchen und Schwesterchen" but rather a portrait of Dorothea Viehmann, whose stories were the

[108] In a letter to Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, Arnim wrote that, had he known that the book was being prepared, he would have advised the Grimms to have their brother Ludwig Emil illustrate the tales, as "the lack of illustrations and the scholarliness now really shut it out from the realm of children's literature and prevents its general distribution" ("der Mangel an Kupfern und die umgebende Gelehrsamkeit schließen es jetzt eigentlich vom Kreise der Kinderbücher aus und hindern die allgemeinere Verbreitung") cited in Reinhold Steig and Herman Grimm, *Achim von Arnim und die ihm nahe standen*, Dritter Band, Stuttgart and Berlin: 1904, p. 252.

source of new material for the 1819 edition.[109] The starkness of the portrait, featuring a pensive Viehmann with no other ornament apart from a simple bow beneath her peasant's cap and a sprig of herbs in her gnarled fingers (see Figure 3c), provides a striking contrast to the merry scene of the title page to *German Popular Stories*.

Figure 3c, Portrait of Dorothea Viehmann, Kinder- und Hausmärchen, Zweiter Theil, 1819, Ludwig Emil Grimm



[109] In the preface to the 1819 edition, the Grimms write, "But it was one of those good coincidences that we became acquainted with a farmer's wife from the village of Nieder-Zwehrn near Kassel, who told us the most beautiful and the majority of the fairy tales of the second volume. This woman, named Viehmännin, was still spry, and not much over fifty years old. Her features had something solid, understandable and agreeable, and her big eyes made her look bright and sharp. She preserved the old legends firmly in her memory, a gift which, she said, was not given to everyone, and there were many who were unable to keep everything connected" ("Einer jener guten Zufälle aber war es, daß wir aus dem bei Cassel gelegenen Dorfe Nieder-Zwehrn eine Bäuerin kennen lernten, die uns die meisten und schönsten Märchen des zweiten Bandes erzählte. Diese Frau, Namens Viehmännin, war noch rüstig, und nicht viel über fünfzig Jahre alt. Ihre Gesichtszüge hatten etwas Festes, Verständiges und Angenehmes, und aus großen Augen blickte sie hell und scharf. Sie bewahrte die alten Sagen fest im Gedächtniß, eine Gabe, die, wie sie wohl sagte, nicht jedem verliehen sey, und mancher gar nichts im Zusammenhange behalten könne").

The Grimms' scholarly endeavors, while laying the grounds for folklorists for the centuries to come,[110] were not met with resounding commercial or critical success. Despite what Arnim viewed as the collection's inaccessibility, the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* nonetheless attracted the attention of readers in other countries, and a Dutch version, entitled *Sprookjes-boek voor Kinderen*, was published in Amsterdam in 1820, and the first English version appeared in 1823. This English version was considerably shorter than the German text, with only thirty-one tales versus the one hundred and sixty-one *Märchen* and nine legends of the 1819 *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* upon which Taylor based his translation. *German Popular Stories* was well-suited to a mass audience of all ages, particularly with the jolly illustrations throughout, a comparatively short length of 240 pages, and a twelve-page preface that prided the translators' anti-academic approach. The English version was more successful in orienting the tales for a general audience. Though Taylor's approach to the English translation itself was far from literal, the Grimms claimed to apply scrupulous methods of collection and transcription.

Scholars such as Harries and Zipes have argued that the Grimms, far from documenting oral traditions, gradually adjusted the tales to meet their expectations of just what a *Kinder-* or *Hausmärchen* should look like. As Harries notes, Max Lüthi contends that the Grimms "back-translated" fairy tales, some imported from France,

[110] It is important to note that the changes that the Grimm Brothers made to the tales over the course of seven editions of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* are significant, and in the twentieth century their methodology, particularly with the discovery of the Ölenberg manuscript, came under close scrutiny. For a discussion of "fakelore," see Regina Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies*, Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1997.

to sound less literary.[111] One example Lüthi provides is the story of "Rapunzel," which was a variation on the French fairy by Charlotte-Rose de Caumont de La Force (1654-1724), whose best-known *conte*, "Persinette" (1698), preceded the Grimms' "Rapunzel" by more than a century. Harries argues, "The writers of fairy tales rarely attempt to uncover or rediscover the folk elements in a tale. Rather, they build on, revise, and change the story as it has come down to them, rereading it in their own ways, pouring new wine into the old bottle that they know from the written tradition" (Harries 8).

Such observations about the Grimms attaching themselves to literary conventions already in place substantiate Shavit's contention that literatures in translation will "attach" themselves to pre-existing traditions. Richard Bauman and Charles L. Briggs contend that the Grimms' scientific aspirations to locate a purified form of language put them in a position of power over their subjects. Jacob's "On the Origins of Language" ("Über den Ursprung der Sprache") published in 1851, outlines three different phases of language, beginning with the first and most natural and the most contemporary being compromised by modernity. Bauman and Briggs point out that although Jacob glorifies more "natural" forms of language and storytelling, he does so from the vantage point of a modern subject, with these more humble productions serving as a malleable object of study. They write, "The Grimms thus become complex subjects, capable of assimilating multiple viewpoints and occupying various points in the spatio-temporal or chronotopic cartography… Members of das

[111] Cited in Harries p. 6; "they translated the seventeenth-century fairy tale back into the style of the folk fairy tale," ("Sie haben die Feengeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts zurückübersetzt in den Stil des Volksmärchens"), Lüthi, p. 93.

Volk, on the other, can inhabit only one spatio-temporal location; the Grimms construct them as single-dimension objects" (Bauman and Briggs 206). From the perspective of Bauman and Briggs, the Grimms treat the *Volk* as scientific objects of study, sources of the naïve tales that were on the verge of extinction. This recalls the approach adopted by Gueullette of "rescuing" the narratives that he reconfigured from obscurity and likewise that of the *belles infidèles* who adopted translation practices that they believed "shed light" on the literature of Antiquity.

In contrast to the Grimms, Taylor attempts to remove himself from a scholarly approach, concluding the preface by warning that the work "makes no literary pretensions; that its immediate design precludes the subjects most attractive as matters of research" (Taylor 1823: xii). However, Taylor does note that the tales may be of equal interset "to the antiquarian as well as to the reader who seeks only amusement" (ibid v). The volume includes twenty pages of notes at the end, and these primarily serve to draw attention to similarities of individual tales from the collection with those of other narrative traditions, including British ones.

Taylor, with the conviction that many German and British tales had come from the same original source, believed that the German tales could tell English readers about their own storytelling past, which had until that point been overlooked by most authors. In the preface, Taylor points out that British folklore had been neglected because so many considered it to be frivolous and not educational enough. Samber's translation of Perrault's *Histoires ou contes du temps passé*, along with other translations of other French authors such as Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy, had provided England with fairy tales, and Taylor takes note of "[t]he French fairy tales,

that have become so popular" (ibid ix) but apart from translated materials, there were just a few of England's own, such as "The History of Tom Thumbe the Little," "Jack the Giant-Killer," and "Dick Whittington." There was no British counterpart nearly as rich or extensive as the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*.

This, in large part, was due to English Puritanism, which "had silenced many native fairy tales before folklorists had the opportunity to collect them" (Mitchell 284). For Taylor, the culprit was the age of Enlightenment and its insistence upon the importance of prioritizing rationality in pedagogy. In the preface, Taylor celebrates the imagination and deplores the preponderance of didactic materials for children:

> The popular tales of England have been too much neglected. They are nearly discarded from the libraries of childhood. Philosophy is made the companion of the nursery: we have lisping chemists and leading-string mathematicians: this is the age of reason, not of imagination; and the loveliest dreams of fairy innocence are considered as vain and frivolous. Much might be urged against this rigid and philosophic (or rather unphilosophic) exclusion of woks of fancy and fiction. (Taylor iv)

Taylor goes on to state that the imagination is the source of happiness and encourages that it be developed, along with other faculties, from a young age.

With such an absence of a fairy tale tradition in Britain, Taylor referred to a shared heritage that had been preserved by the Grimm Brothers. He laments that the storytelling traditions of Britain had not received much attention, implying thus that it was necessary to turn to German collections so as to access the traditions that they had in common. In the end notes, Taylor provides examples of the possible connections that the individual tales might have with others that were likewise present

in Anglophone storytelling traditions, with the tales in German and in English having originated from a common source.

Schacker has noted that this 1823 English edition of the Grimm Brothers' tales is an altogether different book from the original German *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. The character of the tales in English has been much more playful; Schacker writes that "Taylor's treatment of these tales, accompanied by Cruikshank's now famous illustrations, injects the frequently dark and punitive world of the German *Märchen* with the levity and kindness that English readers presumably craved and continue to enjoy" (Schacker 16). Whereas the Grimm Brothers had first conceived of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* as a work of scholarship, *German Popular Stories* appeared as a book for general consumption that had added appeal because the contents were, according to Taylor, derived from the same sources as unrecorded British tales. Taylor perceived that there was something missing in British literature and astutely identified these tales as the right material to fill that gap. As the first translator of the Grimms' tales into English, he presents the stories as belonging to a collective imaginary space and, like the Grimms, created a vision of an idyllic past where the oral narration of tales was a source of enjoyment for all members of a society. Fictions were not primarily for instruction, but for play.

Setting the Stage for the Reception of the Märchen in English: The Receiving Tradition of the Pantomime

In the preface to the 1823 edition of *German Popular Stories*, Taylor insists on the entertainment value of the tales, articulating a purpose distinct from the

Grimms'. He begins by stating that the translation was inspired "by the eager relish with which a few of the tales were received by the young friends to whom they were narrated" (Taylor a2). According to this preface, the aim of the tales is to delight those of all ages, and Taylor continues: "They are, like the Christmas Pantomimes, ostensiby brougth forth to tickle the palate of the young, but often received with as keen an appetite by those of graver years" (ibid). By drawing a parallel between popular tales and the Christmas pantomimes, Taylor both establishes a link with existing British traditions and underscores the tales' primary entertainment value.

The tale in print form was thus relatively new, even in Germany, with the looming precedent in both cases being Perrault. Taylor's explicit references to the popular entertainments of British pantomime, which had become a major venue for the staging of Perrault's *Tales* throughout the nineteenth century, ensured the Grimms' tales a more natural transition into Anglophones' imaginations. The etchings by Cruikshank, who at the age of fourteen had started a lifelong career of pantomime illustration with a portrait of the famed clown Joseph Grimaldi[112] as Mother Goose also invited associations with pantomime productions, which appealed to both young and old from different sectors of society.

In the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, fairy tales in Britain were just as at home on the stage as they were on the page, with pantomimes such as *Harlequin and Cinderella or the Little Glass Slipper* or *Harlequin and Mother Goose* entertaining audiences of young and old alike. Thus, the tradition that

the Grimms were entering was one established primarily by the English translations of Perrault, beginning with Robert Samber in 1729 (see Chapter 1), and the subsequent and multiple theatrical productions derived from them. Most readers of *German Popular Stories* would have been familiar with pantomime, which had increased in popularity over the course of the eighteenth century in England.

Pantomime itself had its origins outside of Britain and was a syncretic form of entertainment that incorporated different influences over the course of the centuries. The term "pantomime" refers to a player who would perform all (*panto*) parts (*mimos,* imitator or actor) in a production. The modern version of pantomime emerged from the *Commedia dell'arte* that flourished in Italy during the sixteenth century and featured masked stock characters such as the old man (Pantalone) and the naughty servant (Arlecchino), also known as as Harlequin. Traveling *Commedia* troupes brought with them some of the characters that would become central features in British pantomime, particularly the character of the harlequin, a figure who was the basis of the character of the clown. The *Commedia*, like the fairy tale, underwent various permutations as it influenced and was influenced by new traditions, audiences, and performers.

In England, precursors to the pantomime included court entertainments such as the masque as well as the Mummers play, which represented a battle between St. George and the dragon. Over the course of the eighteenth century and into the Regency Era, there were more frequent appearances by Mother Goose and other fairy

[112] Born and raised in London, Grimaldi (1778-1837) was one of the most popular entertainers of his time, and frequently portrayed a Clown, as he did in an 1806 production of

tale characters in the British pantomimes. The Regency pantomime generally opened with a plot from a fairy tale, legend, or nursery rhyme whose characters would then transform into the figures of the *Commedia dell'arte*.[113]

In the early nineteenth century, the pantomime season generally began on Boxing Day (Davis 9). The festivities of the Christmas season were thus associated with storytelling and pantomime productions. In the preface to *German Popular Stories,* Taylor in fact mentions Christmas twice, first in reference to the pantomime, and a second instance to storytelling during the holiday season. The abundance of clowns and fools in pantomime productions served primarily to make the audience laugh, and these storytelling scenes that he depicts are cheerful. Just as Taylor was spurred by the initial "relish" with which young listeners responded to the Grimms' tales, he is primarily concerned with the ability of the tales to keep groups of people together, held in thrall by the magic of the storyteller's craft, and his statements about such gatherings find a visual counterpart in Cruikshank's illustration for the title page.

In addition to pantomime, Taylor refers to scenes of storytelling in Britain's past. He quotes from Richard Johnson's introduction to *The History of Tom Thumbe* (1621), one of the few surviving British folk tales in order to evoke a tradition of British storytelling:

Harlequin and Mother Goose; or, The Golden Egg. Cruikshank's illustration for this pantomime was reputedly "the first etching done solely by the artist" (Vogler 136).

[113] For a detailed discussion, see Jeffrey Richards, "E.L. Blanchard and 'The Golden Age of Pantomime," in *Victorian Pantomime: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. J. Davis, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

> There is, at least, a debt of gratitude due to these ancient friends and comforters. To follow the words of the author from whom the motto in the title-page is selected, 'They have been the revivers of drowzy age at midnight; old and young have with such tales chimed mattins till the cock crew in the morning; batchelors and maides have compassed the Christmas fire-block till the curfew bell rang candle out; the old shepheard and the young plow-boy after their daye's labor, have carold out the same to make them merrye with; and who but they have made long nightes seem short, and heavy toyles easie? (Taylor a2-a3)

By Taylor's description, this narration of stories took place on the occasion of long nights in jovial company. The reader of *German Popular Stories* would already have known that the stories were allegedly derived from oral sources thanks to the reference "From Oral Tradition" above Cruikshank's vignette on the title page. Such a tradition is a collective and popular one that Taylor explicitly associates with festivities. They are a common good and, not belonging to any particular author, circulate freely and assume new forms with each new performance.

Taylor likewise quoted from Richard Johnson's introduction to *Tom Thumbe* in an article on "German Popular and Traditionary Literature," which appeared in *The New Monthly Magazine* shortly before the publication of *German Popular Stories*: "Now you must imagine me to sit by a good fire, amongst a company of good fellowes, over a well-spiced wassel-bowle of Christmas ale, telling of these merry tales which hereafter follow."[114] Taylor's use of Johnson's words creates a conflation of the German and the English storytelling traditions, allowing "these merry tales" of Johnson to also encompass the German ones. In the article, he draws further

comparisons between German stories and British ones, suggesting that they all issue from the same source.

> In a review of German Popular Literature, the labours of M.M. Grimm, brothers united in spirit as well as kindred, cannot but be honourably acknowledged, though the abundance of materials which their volumes of "Kinder und Haus Märchen" present appals [sic] us with the difficulty of fixing any choice amidst such a profusion of dainties […] In the rich collection thus formed, almost every country in Europe may recognise some of its oldest favourites […] Our imaginations, indeed, are stretched to fix upon a period for the origin of these tales sufficiently remote to account for their extensive diffusion (ibid 290).

In the absence of records of British folktales, Anglophone readers could thus look to German ones, knowing that they were not entirely foreign. Taylor states that the Grimms' tales should be especially interesting to English readers because they are "of the highest Northern antiquity" and common to many different cultures that had originated from the same source. They marvel at the possibility that figures who had seemed so essential to lore of the British Isles such as Whittington and his Cat, Tom Thumb, and the Giant-destroyer of Tylney "should be equally renowned among the humblest inhabitants of Munster and Paderborn" (Taylor vi). In addition to providing entertainment, the collection was implicated in a project of recovering a past from and in foreign sources. The tales were thus a collective good not only in one language or country, but internationally. By depicting the stories as having issued from a common origin, Taylor placed these "Popular German Tales" as containing echoes of British popular tales that were otherwise undocumented.

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[114] *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, Volume 3, London – January to June,

Domesticating and Appropriating the Grimms

Like the Grimms, Taylor edited with young readers in mind, though he also simply avoided whatever might be too "curious" as well as whatever might not be curious enough. He was not entirely forthright about his editorial practices, stating that he excluded both material that was too foreign, on the one hand, and too familiar, on the other:

> The nature and immediate design of the present publication exclude the introduction of some of those stories which would, in a literary point of view, be most curious. With a view to variety, they have wished rather to avoid than to select those, the leading incidents of which are already familiar to the English reader, and have therefore often deprived themselves of the interest which comparison would afford… There were also many stories of great merit, and tending highly to the elucidation of ancient mythology, customs, and opinions, which the scrupulous fastidiousness of modern taste, especially in works likely to attract the attention of youth, warned them to pass by. (Taylor xi)

On the one hand, Taylor did not repeat stories that readers may have already had access to in print, which can account for the absence of overlap with Perrault. The 1819 edition of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* has several stories in common with Perrault, including "Little Red Riding Hood" ("*Rotkäppchen"* / "Le Petit Chaperon Rouge") and "Cinderella" ("Cendrillon / "Aschenputtel"), but these do not appear

1822, republished by E. Littell, Philadelphia, and R. N. Henry, New York, 1822.

among the tales that Taylor selected for first volume of the *German Popular Stories*, presumably because they were already available in English.[115]

At the same time, Taylor's avoidance of material that would have seemed too "curious" produces a translated work that does not admit elements that are overly foreign, which is characteristic of what translation theorist Lawrence Venuti calls "domesticating" translation practices.[116] Brian Alderson claims that Taylor's translation is an effort "to respond naturally to the language of the stories and make them sound as though they had originated in English rather than in German" (Alderson 67). This type of effect, which renders the process of translation more or less invisible, is a common feature in domesticating translations.

Schacker characterizes Taylor's translation as domesticating and revisits Venuti's critique of domesticating practices versus "foreignizing" ones. By creating the illusion that the work was created in the original language, she argues, *German Popular Stories* effaces the cultural specificities of the original German *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. Schacker likewise contends that in Taylor's translation, there are also defamiliarizing (or exoticizing) practices at work so that the tales were "distinctly but comfortably foreign" (Schacker 31).

The statement that the translators "wished rather to avoid than to select those, the leading incidents of which are already familiar to the English reader" also points to a common, original storytelling heritage shared by the Germans and the English

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[115] "Cinderella" does appear, however, in the second volume of the *German Popular Stories*, adopting the name that Samber had used to translate Perrault's "Cendrillon."
[116] Lawrence Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference*, New York: Routledge, 1998 and *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*, Routledge: 1995.

that Taylor elaborates upon in the preface. The triage, Taylor states, took place at the level of the selection of the stories, and not of the stories themselves.

> In those tales which they have selected they had proposed to make no alteration whatever; but in a few instances they have been compelled to depart in some degree from their purpose. They have, however, endeavored to notice these variations in the notes, and in most cases the alteration consists merely in the curtailment of adventures or circumstances not affecting the main plot or character of the story. (Taylor xi-xii)

Taylor's use of the term "variation" is particularly instructive here, as it shows clearly that Taylor does not treat the edition of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* from which he was working as the definitive version of any of these tales. The notes address other versions of the German tales, and Taylor may choose to adhere more closely to a different variant, depending upon what he considered to be most suitable for his particular audience. This approach to the translation process bears some similarities the pantomime, which is based upon stock characters who follow a basic script and introduce their own improvisational contributions based upon a number of factors, perhaps most signficantly reactions from the audience.

Taylor addresses, for example, different versions of what he refers to as the "Frog-Lover" motif in Scotland and suggests that the theme may have even migrated from a Tartar romance called *The Relations of Ssidi Kur*, changing form in the process from crocodiles to frogs. In Taylor's "The Frog-Prince" (a translation of the Grimms' "Der Froschkönig oder der eiserne Heinrich"), the princess who retrieves her lost golden ball with the help of the frog complains when he comes to sit with her at the dinner table and share her plate, as in the original German; but when he

requests that she take him to her bedroom, she places him upon her pillow and after three nights, finds a handsome prince standing at the head of the bed in the morning. The Grimms' version is significantly more violent, with the princess hurling the frog against the wall on the first night, which reveals itself to be the magic catalyst for his transformation into her Prince Charming. He immediately proposes to her and his carriage, with his faithful servant Henry behind, arrives to whisk them away. Henry tells them that he had missed his master so much that his heart had nearly burst; in the Grimms' version, iron bands had formed around the servant Heinrich's heart and the story ends as the bands snap, giving the tale its full name, which translates literally to "The Frog-King or Iron Heinrich." In Taylor's explanation of the Scottish version in the notes, there is likewise no incident of the princess flinging the frog against the wall; Taylor therefore chooses to align his version more closely to the Scottish one.

The 1823 version of "Sneewitchen" ("Little Snow White") bears the dulcet name of "Snow-Drop" and omits some of the grisly details from the 1819 version by the Grimms. The jealous stepmother tells a servant simply, "Take Snow-drop away into the wide wood, that I may never see her more," while in the German version, she is more explicit in her directions to a hunter. She orders him, "Lead the child out into the wild wood; I do not want to see her before my eyes any longer. There you shall kill her, and bring to me her lungs and liver as proof."[117] In the German version, the hunter then kills a stag and brings the lungs and liver to the stepmother, who eats them with salt. This scene is missing entirely from the English version, though the

[117] "führ das Kind hinaus in den wilden Wald, ich wills nicht mehr vor meinen Augen sehen. Dort sollst du's tödten, und mir Lung und Leber zum Wahrzeichen mitbringen," ibid.

translators do include this omission in their notes. As Schacker observes, Taylor does mention the change to the end of the story, however, with the stepmother dancing to death in burning-hot iron shoes, which they refer to as a "truly Northern punishment" (231).[118]

In addition to editing material out, Taylor also combined multiple stories into one. Zipes notes that Taylor created "amalgamations" of other stories and "used 61 of the Grimms' tales taken from their 1819 edition, and one from the 1812 edition" (Zipes 2014: 29). Taylor, far from making any pretense to preserving the tales, took relative liberties and in the notes even stated that the story "Chanticleer and Partlet" is comprised of three stories from the German: "Das Lumpengesindel," "Herr Korbes," and "Von dem Tod des Hühnchens," which he had, as he writes in his notes, "placed together as naturally forming one continuous piece of biography" (228). Schacker has identified other tales that were combinations of multiple stories, namely: "The Young Giant and the Tailor," "Hans and His Wife," and "Roland and Maybird" (Schacker 27).

In addition to treating the tales as raw materials for free recombination, Taylor took liberties with the names of the characters. "Hähnchen" (little rooster) becomes Chanticleer, a name that English readers may have previously encountered in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* or other Anglicized versions of the name Chanticler, a rooster in a tale from the *Roman de Renart* upon which Chaucer's "The Nun's Priest's Tale" was based. His companion, "Hühnchen" (little hen) becomes Partlet, a

[118] Another instance of bowdlerization occurs with "Rumpelstiltskin"; See Schacker, p. 27.

term for "hen" in English dating from the fourteenth century.[119] Taylor follows the story of "Das Lumpengesindel" faithfully, apart from the introduction of proper names, and adds a second episode, "2. How Chanticleer and Partlet went to visit Mr. Korbés." The first story and the second story both involve Chanticleer and Partlet taking a journey in a carriage and accepting new passengers. In the first instance, they bring along a pin and pincushion; and in the second case, a millstone, an egg, a duck, and a pin. In both stories, the owner of the house they overnight in accidentally hurts himself with the various objects around the house.

In a recent reissue of the Taylor/Cruikshank *German Popular Stories* edited by Zipes (2012), it is significant that Zipes designates the tales as not translated but "adapted by Edgar Taylor." Taylor appended the stories to the storytelling traditions already in place in England, including the tradition of the pantomime as well as other fairy tales available in English. The orientation of the *German Popular Stories* for a more general audience coincides with less sexual and violent content, which both Taylor and the Grimms associate with greater suitability for children. Zipes points out that Taylor "shaped the tales to be read to children" (Zipes 2012: 33), whereas in the original German, the Grimms made clear they were intended for "the perusal of adults" (ibid 26). According to Zipes, the publisher Baldwyn was hoping to produce a bestseller and Taylor's complementary aim was to "transform unusual folk tales from Germany and make them accessible to the scholarly interests of antiquarians and to provide amusement for middle-class families and their children" (ibid 29). Elsewhere,

[119] The example that *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Third Edition, June 2005) provides, for example, is from Chaucer's "The Nun's Priest's Tale": "Seuene hennes [...] Of whiche the faireste hewed on hire throte Was cleped faire damoysele Pertelote."

Zipes has noted that *Stories* was "the most important publication to stimulate an awakened interest in fairy tales by children *and* adults" (Zipes 1987: xvii)." The tales were thus to be performed – that is, read out loud – and thus needed to appeal to both adults and children.

In his translator's preface to his Englilsh rendition of Perrault's *Histoires ou contes du temps passé*, Samber indicates how literature for children may nonetheless be of interest to more mature readers.

> It was however objected, that some of them [the tales] were very low and childish, especially the first. It is very true, and therein consists their Excellency. They therefore who made this as an Objection, did not seem very well to understand what they said; they should have reflected that they are designed for children: And yet the Author hath so ingeniously and masterly contrived them, that they insensibly grow up, gradually one after another, in Strength and Beauty, both as to their Narration and Moral, and are told with such a Naiveté, and natural innocent Simplicity, that not only children, but those of Maturity, will also find in them uncommon delight (Samber, preface).

Simplicity and innocence do not just appeal to the young, according to Samber's opening remarks to the translation. Indeed, since adults are the ones who choose the books for their children and are to listen to them as well if they are to read to them, the presence of a "double address" and "their being read by adults is a sine qua non for their success" (Shavit 2009: 64).

By drawing connections with British pantomime, both Cruikshank and Taylor imply interest for both young and old: the audience of the pantomime performances has traditionally consisted of both adults and children. Taylor also evokes this type of audience with his reminisces in the preface about hearthside storytelling and

Cruikshank with the depiction of a motley assembly for the title page etching. The illustrations are vital in communicating this, suggesting a renewal of the oral tradition with the shared enjoyment of the tales from the book, in the absence of a physical storyteller. This recontextualization of the tales provided them with an entirely new character in English translation, and the illustrations by Cruikshank complemented this shift.

In keeping with the tradition of British pantomime, which had adapted the tradition of the *Commedia dell'arte* for British audiences, *German Popular Stories* took a form from an outside source – that is, where Puritanism may have made it difficult for authors to pen original fairy tales without the threat of censorship, a translation could more easily import new ideas and poetics. The main *raison d'être* of the pantomime, like Taylor's vision for the fairy tale, was entertainment, which is quite distinct from the Grimms' stated aims. This allowed for quite free interpretations of the tales by Taylor.

Cruikshank and Pantomime

Cruikshank's contribution to the reception of the Grimm Brothers in English was immense. E.D.H. Johnson writes that "(i)t is probably not excessive to state that Cruikshank's version once and for all fixed the way that English-speaking peoples think of fairyland" (Johnson 1).[120] Cruikshank was already well-known by the time of

[120] E.D.H. Johnson, *The George Cruikshank Collection at Princeton*, in R.L. Patten (ed.), *George Cruikshank: A Revaluation*, Princeton, N.J, Princeton University Library Chronicle, 1974, p. 9.

the publication of *German Popular Stories*. While Taylor's name was absent from the title page, Cruikshank's signature appeared at the bottom of the illustration, which served as "mute evidence of the fact that Cruikshank's designs were expected to recommend these works to the public" (ibid 10).

Cruikshank had recently gained acclaim for his collaboration with William Hone on the political satire *The Political House That Jack Built*, in 1819. In 1823, the publisher Charles Baldwyn hired Cruikshank to illustrate both the German tales as well as *Points of Humour*, a collection of derisive anecdotes aimed at all levels of British society. Cruikshank's illustrations for both books depict figures in awkward, compromising, and undignified situations, from spindly dancers to clumsy thieves, and made a significant contribution to a more humorous, lighthearted character of the Grimms' tales in English.

Cruikshank had lifelong ties with the tradition of British pantomime, and Charles Baudelaire said of his illustrations that "All his little people gesture with the same fury and turbulence as actors in a pantomime… This miniscule world jostles, writhes, and jumbles together with an unspeakable petulance."[121] Although the French tradition of *le pantomime* is distinguished from the British one in particular because it is silent, Baudelaire's description communicates a frenzied, exaggerated comedy of the grotesque. Baudelaire in fact notes that Cruikshank is an

[121] "Tous ses petits personnages miment avec fureur et turbulence comme des acteurs de pantomime. . . Tout ce monde miniscule se culbute, s'agite et se mêle avec une pétulance indicible," Baudelaire 566f).

"inexhaustible abundance of the grotesque."[122] He depicts Cruikshank's body of work as so vast that it would be inconceivable to imagine, with the reality of his creative output even surpassing what would be imaginable. The observer's memory ultimately gets lost in the works of Cruikshank, writes Baudelaire, which are like the rhymes of poets. By comparing his visual work with poetry, Baudelaire creates an intersemiotic connection that I will explore at greater length below.

William Makepeace Thackeray was another one of Cruikshank's numerous admirers and praised the illustrator for his mastery of the grotesque and, like Baudelaire, he associates him with the pantomime. He in fact identifies *German Popular Stories* as the origin of this association:

> How shall we enough praise the delightful German nursery tales, and Cruikshank's illustrations of them? We coupled his name with pantomime awhile since, and sure never pantomimes were more charming than these. Of all the artists that ever drew, from Michael Angelo upwards and downwards, Cruikshank was the man to illustrate these tales, and give them just the proper admixture of the grotesque, the wonderful, and the graceful (Thackeray 1840).

Thackeray's comparison with Michelangelo attests to the value of Cruikshank as an illustrator who did not just appeal to children, but also to sophisticated sensibilities.

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[122] "Le mérite spécial de George Cruikshank (je fais abstraction de tous ses autres mérites, finesse d'expression, intelligence du fantastique, etc.) est une abondance inépuisable dans le grotesque. Cette verve est inconcevable, et elle serait réputée impossible, si les preuves n'étaient pas là, sous forme d'une œuvre immense, collection innombrable de vignettes, longue série d'albums comiques, enfin d'une telle quantité de personnages, de situations, de physionomies, de tableaux grotesques, que la mémoire de l'observateur d'y perd ; le grotesque coule incessamment et inévitablement de la pointe de Cruikshank, comme les rimes riches de la plume des poëtes naturels. Le grotesque est son habitude." *Curiosités esthétiques*, p. 424.

The English art critic John Ruskin, himself a fan of pantomime, was deeply influenced by Cruikshank's illustrations. As a boy, he created his own puppet theater and book of illustrations that were based on the vignettes from *German Popular Stories*. In the introduction that he wrote to the third edition of *German Popular Stories* in 1868, he said little about Taylor's work of translation, reserving all his words of praise for the tales themselves and for Cruikshank's art. Although Ruskin generally disapproved of illustrations to children's books, which assign a particular interpretation to a tale and thus hinder children's imaginative development, he makes an exception for Cruikshank. He praises the simplicity of his style and even claims that his etchings are the finest "since etching was invented," following Rembrandt.[123]

Cruikshank had in fact provided several illustrations of pantomime prior to *German Popular Stories*, such as *The Rehearsal or the Baron and the Elephant* (1812), a satire of the Covent Garden pantomime that had featured a live elephant. Cruikshank's affiliations with pantomime extended throughout his career. Some ten years following the publication of *German Popular Stories*, he contributed twelve illustrations to *The Memoirs of Joseph Grimaldi*. He had likewise illustrated an 1822

[123] While Cruikshank received great acclaim early in his career, his later days were less illustrious. In a manual on drawing, Ruskin writes of Cruikshank, "All his works are very valuable, though disagreeable when they touch on the worst vulgarities of modern life; and often much spoiled by a curiously mistaken type of face, divided so as to give too much to the mouth and eyes and leave too little for forehead, the eyes being set about two 193 thirds up, instead of at half the height of the head. But his manner of work is always right; and his tragic power, though rarely developed, and warped by habits of caricature, is, in reality, as great as his grotesque power…There is no fear of his hurting your taste, as long as your principal work lies among art of so totally different a character as most of that which I Have recommended to you; and you may, therefore, get great good by copying almost anything of his that may come in your way; except only his illustrations, lately published, to "Cinderella," and "Jack and the Bean-stalk," and "Tom Thumb," which are much overlabored, and confused in line. You should get them, but do not copy them."

edition of Beauty and the Beast which, featuring three panels staging different scenes from the tale, exemplify the narrative capacities of visual media (see Figure 3e).

Figure 3e: Illustration for The History of Beauty and the Beast or, the Magic Rose: Embellished with a neat coloured frontispiece, George Cruikshank, 1822



Cruikshank's illustrations to *German Popular Stories* set a distinctly satirical, as well as theatrical tone for the volume. Many of the illustrations are crowded with various characters, as if on a stage, and all present at least one humorous feature. The title page illustration shows people doubled over mirthfully as they listen to the storyteller reading out loud by the fireside. The first plate illustration is for "Hans in Luck" and doesn't represent one particular scene, but rather depicts the different stages of the young man's entire journey, all on the same mount: at the top is Hans setting out to test his luck with a bindle on his shoulder, and lower down are the horse for which he traded his lump of silver (gold in the original German), along with the other animals that he traded in for successively less valuable ones: the cow, the pig,

and the goose. At the very bottom of the etching is the pond where Hans lost his last trade-in, the scissor-grinder's whetting stone. In the center is the solitary figure of Hans dancing for joy, unencumbered by any belongings.

The next of Cruikshank's plates accompanies "The Travelling Musicians, or the Waits of Bremen." As with the previous two illustrations, the scene is characterized by a great deal of movement, with different subjects crowding the frame. The comedy of the robbers fleeing the geriatric animals is accentuated by the robbers' large, terror-stricken eyes, and an overturned wine goblet on the floor. One of the robber's hats flies off of his head at an improbable angle. Above, a suspended oil lantern smokes indifferently. The illustrations resemble Cruikshank's representations of pantomime productions such as the aforementioned *Rehearsal*. These connections, through Cruikshank's illustrations, to such performances both served to recall the staging of fairy tales in the tradition of British pantomime, thereby helping to situate the German Popular Stories in terms of associations that readers already had with fairy tales, and served to encourage new performances of the material, whether by adults reading out loud to their children or young readers, such as Ruskin, who are inspired to stage their own variations of the tales. Where elements of oral performance are lost, new gains are made with Cruikshank's illustrations, which exhibit performative features of their own. The inclusion of lighthearted illustrations in *German Popular Stories* generated equivalence in terms of the effect upon the audience and did so through a change in medium, with visual elements serving as a compensation for what was missing from the oral tradition.

While such features of the type of intersemiotic translation suggested by anthropologists (see Introduction) such as intonations, syllable stress, and volume are absent from the German Popular Stories, the illustrations by Cruikshank portray and encourage performance of the tales and, by engaging in an intersemiotic dialogue with the text of the tales, generate a dynamic, rather than static, place for interpretation.

Cruikshank's illustrations evoke the popular and performative dimensions of the fairy tale's origins while simultaneously engaging with the pantomime traditions already in place. German Popular Stories thus inserts the Grimms into the slot available in the target literature, and this placement can incorporate different kinds of media, in addition to written texts. Cruikshank's illustrations present performative elements, particularly in staging both the act of narration, as is the case with the title page, as well as scenes of the stories themselves. While the sound of the storyteller's voice is silent among the pages, in Cruikshank's etchings there are visual counterparts to the expressive variations in voice.

Equivalence, Audience, and the Oral Tradition

There was a marked discrepancy between the Grimms' insistence upon the tales as a popular form of entertainment, on the one hand, and the more erudite character of their intended readership. Richard Bauman's observations (Bauman 2006) regarding the remove from which the Grimms' characterized the *Volk* attests to this discrepancy along with the implication of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* in the

construction of an idealized German past. Nonetheless, there is some truth to the Grimms' narrative about the origins of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. As Maria Tatar observes, "These stories had their origins in *preliterate* times, serving much the same function that print and electronic entertainments have today. Enlivening the evening hours long before the invention of books, newspapers, magazines, radio, television, and film, they not only passed the time but also passed along experience" (Tatar 2010: xxiv).

The portrait of Dorothea Viehmann in the 1819 *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* contributed to the myth of the female storyteller, or *Märchenfrau*. It is telling that the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* features her portrait and not that of other sources of stories such as the Hassenpflug sisters Amalie (1800-1871), Johanna (1791-1860), and Marie (1788-1856), whose father Johannes was an administrator in the Hessen-Kassel region; Viehmann, on the other hand, was the daughter of a tavern owner. Ludwig Emil's portrait of Marie from 1812 shows a young woman who is clearly of a different class than Viehmann, with a lace shawl fastened with a broach and her hair in ringlets. The rustic Viehmann is a far more consistent visual representation of the *Volk* and its *Märchen* than the more bourgeois Hassenpflug sisters.

A comparison between the prefatory material of the Grimm Brothers and Taylor reveals that the latter was much more interested in a general reading public, whereas the former imagined a more elite readership. In keeping with Bauman's contention that the Grimm Brothers considered the *Volk* and their cultural productions from a distanced perspective of modern subjects, the preface to the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* evokes sites of narration that they already situate in times past:

> That is how it appeared to us when we saw how nothing more remained from all that had blossomed in earlier times. Even the memory of it all was almost completely lost among the people, but for a few songs, books, legends, and these innocent fairy tales. Gatherings around the oven, around the kitchen stove, on stair landings, holidays still celebrated, grazing pastures and forests in their silence, and above all the unspoiled imagination – these were the hedges that protected these seeds and passed them down from one age to another.[124]

The Grimms' lyrical preface is marked by Romantic notions of an innocent state of humankind uncorrupted by the forces of modernity and its concomitant artifice. People are able to "take pleasure in them without having any reason" because "these tales are so close to the earliest and simplest forms of life (ibid). Yet as Bauman and Briggs note, the Grimms represent the *Volk* not as members of it but as scholars who define and represent it. The concluding lines to the preface, which are the same in both the 1812 and 1819 edition, are especially revealing in terms of the Grimms' intended audience and their relationship to the *Volk*: "We offer this book to well-meaning hands and thereby think chiefly of the blessed power that lies in these hands. We wish they will not allow these tiny morsels of poetry to be kept entirely hidden

[124]"So ist es uns vorgekommen, wenn wir gesehen, wie von so vielem, was in früherer Zeit geblüht hatte, nichts mehr übrig geblieben, selbst die Erinnerung daran fast ganz verloren war, als bei dem Volk Lieder, ein paar Bücher, Sagen und diese unschuldigen Hausmärchen. Die Plätze am Ofen, der Küchenheerd, Bodentreppen, Feiertage noch gefeiert, Triften und Wälder in ihrer Stille, vor allem die ungetrübte Phantasie sind die Hecken gewesen, die sie gesichert und einer Zeit aus der andern überliefert haben," Grimm 1819, p. 6; English translation from a previous publication by an unidentified translator.

from poor and modest readers."[125] Reading these final lines to the preface in conjunction with the Grimms' statements about the "hedges that protected" the seeds of folk narrative shows a shift in the safekeeping of knowledge from the physical locations in the house and countryside to the book, which is apparently not destined for the hands of the "poor and modest," but rather those who have enough power, in fact, to keep such reading material from less advantaged readers.

The Grimms dedicated the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* to Elisabeth von Arnim "for little Johannes Freimund" (für den kleinen Johannes Freimund," Grimm, 1812: 3). She was the sister of Brentano and wife of Arnim, with whom she had seven children. She was an important writer and intellectual figure of the period and, like the Grimms, had contributed to *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*. She came from the talented family of an Italian merchant and although she was involved in political activities to help the poor, she was of a bourgeois class, much like Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, to whom Samber dedicated "The Discreet Princess" in the 1729 collection *Mother Goose's Tales: Histories, or Tales of Past Times*. Unlike Perrault's tales in English and French as well as the Grimms' *Märchen* in German, Taylor's *German Popular Stories* has no dedication, contributing further to the impression that it was destined for a more general public.

The target audience for the *German Popular Stories* thus more closely resembled the original audiences that the Grimms envisioned for their *Märchen* in their original, oral state than those with the "blessed power" that they referred to in

[125] Translation by Zipes, 2014: 9, "Wir übergeben dies Buch wohlwollenden Händen, dabei denken wir an die segnende Kraft, die in diesen liegt und wünschen, daß denen, welche

the preface to the Kinder- und Hausmärchen. The *Märchen* were not originally intended for scholarly audiences, but instead ones that could enjoy them as pure entertainment. It is the matter of audience that determines what is known as "dynamic equivalence," a term originally coined by Eugene Nida, a translation scholar whose work primarily focused on Biblical translation but who has also been influential more generally in discussions among translation scholars about the age-old "word-for-word" and "sense-for-sense" discussion. Dynamic equivalence is a variation of the latter, with its definition of equivalence based in terms of reception. *German Popular Stories*, with its emphasis on the entertainment of a general public, encourages the kind of context for reception that the Grimms articulated in the preface regarding the oral storytelling practices among the *Volk*. This is also enhanced by the illustrations by Cruikshank, particularly with their stylistic relationship to the popular pantomime performances of the era.

Later Editions of German Popular Stories

The 1823 version by Taylor and illustrated by Cruikshank was so popular that a second volume appeared just three years later in 1826. A new edition was published in 1839 under the name *Gammer Grethel: Or German Fairy Tales, and Popular Stories*. In this edition, the title page features just the bespectacled man reading from the book, isolated in his own vignette; on the preceding frontispiece is Ludwig Emil's illustration of Dorothea Viehmann (1755-1816), one of the Grimms' main sources for

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solche Brosamen der Poesie Armen und Genügsamen nicht gönnen, es gänzlich verborgen bleiben möge" (Grimm, 1819: 19-20).

tales. Yet the illustration does not bear Grimm's signature, but rather that of "Byfield S," and the subject of the illustration is not identified. However, the title of the collection suggests that the image is of one "Gammer Grethel," which appears to be a name of the translator's or publisher's invention.

Like the name of "Mother Goose," Gammer Grethel inserts itself alongside other British traditions. "Gammer" is a colloquial word for an "old woman" and "Gammer Gurton's Needle" was printed in. John Still is traditionally considered to be the author of *Gammer Gurton's Needle, the full title of which is A Ryght Pithy, Pleasaunt and merie Comedie: Intytuled Gammer Gurtons Nedle*, and was performed on Christmas 1567. This play is one of the oldest comedies in the English language. Its plot follows the drama ensuing when Gammer Gurton loses her needle. The trickster figure Diccon slaps her servant, Hodge, on the buttocks, and the needle is discovered in the seat of his breeches.

Gammer Gurton's Garland, *or The Nursery Parnassus*, is another logical relative of Gammer Grethel. The full title of the work, written by Joseph Ritson and published in 1784, is *Gammer Gurton's Garland, or, The nursery Parnassus: a choice collection of pretty songs and verses for the amusement of all little good children who can neither read nor run*; the emphasis on children who are too young to read or run shows that the texts are for reading or sung aloud. This collection contains celebrated songs such as "London Bridge is Broken Down," "The Cambrick Shirt," and "Song of Sixpence."

Establishing a parallel between Gammer Gurton and Gammer Grethel suggests that the German stories are more or less counterparts to these British

entertainments. Remarkably, the scene of the bespectacled reader in a tavern setting is no longer featured on the title page. Instead, there is a wizened old woman sitting next to a hearth, leaning upon a stick as she speaks to a group of children assembled around her. The image evokes the frontispiece to Perrault's tales, though instead of the placard, there is a Gothic stained-glass window. This evokes the compositions of Ludwig Emil, as do the cats.

On the title page, the second volume, like the first, announces that the stories are derived from the oral tradition. There is a marked nostalgia for an authenticity that the translators associate with such a tradition, and the "advertisement" at the beginning concludes with a poem "imitated from Voltaire, by a friend":

> O the happy, happy season,
> Ere bright Fancy bent to Reason;
> When the spirit of our stories
> Fill'd the mind with unseen glories;
> Told of creatures of the air,
> Spirits, fairies, goblins rare,
> Guarding man with tenderest care;
> When before the blazing hearth,
> Listening to the tale of mirth,
> Sons and daughters, mother, sire,
> Neighbours all drew round the fire;
> Lending open ear and faith
> To what some learned gossip saith! (iv)

The poem goes on to lament the era of reason and celebrate the charms of "Error" (ibid). Admirers of the collection Sir Walter Scott and John Ruskin likewise preferred these works of the imagination to more stolid material that they believed was

plaguing the nursery. In his introduction to the 1869 reprint of *German Popular Stories*, Ruskin sets out to explain his preference for these tales to the "polished legends, moral and satiric" that were offered to children. In stories recently written for the young, laments Ruskin, the authors address themselves to "children bred in school-rooms and drawing-rooms, instead of fields and woods" (vi) "they are in many respects common, imperfect, vulgar; but their vulgarity is of a wholesome and harmless kind" (xi)

The British tradition, like the German one, thus associated a Romantic wild nature with the oral tradition, and the successive versions in English attempted to recapture this orality in different ways – by evoking scenes of storytelling by the fireside, often on the occasion of a holiday, either visually or in the poetic form above.

What Ruskin finds most praiseworthy in the tales is their lack of moralizing. In this eloquent exposition, he argues that overtly moralizing tales deprive children of the experience of learning how to differentiate right from wrong for themselves. He also acknowledges the inevitable changes that tales that arise naturally from a people should undergo, thereby aligning himself with those who wish to record tales as evidence of earlier times when the imagination was free. He goes on to state that the tales undergo changes in successive tellings, and his conception of the tales arising from "the mind of a people" is consistent with the Grimms' views about *Volkspoesie*, though clearly Ruskin sees the changes that such tales may undergo as natural, whereas the Grimms were dedicated to excising foreign influences from their collection of German tales and recovering the original forms. Ruskin's comments

about the value of the tales, which teaches children to exercise their imagination, are consistent with the value that Taylor places upon imagination in a child's upbringing.

In the preface to the first edition of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* in 1812, the Grimms remarked that nothing comparable to this collection of "children's and household tales" had appeared in German before[126]; in England, the *German Popular Stories* constituted a relatively new literary phenomenon as well. The translator Taylor connected the tales to the British pantomime that was popular at the time and also evoked an storytelling tradition that originated in an indeterminate past and was shared between the people of Britain and of Germany. The Grimms and Taylor alike expressed nostalgia for a bygone era when storytelling flourished; for the Grimms, it was modernity that had encroached upon storytelling, whereas for Taylor, it was the Enlightenment and as well as Puritanism. Despite their differences, both the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* and the *German Popular Stories* presented entertaining tales that were to determine the shape of children's literature for centuries to come in their respective languages, not to mention beyond. The *German Popular Stories*, which appealed to more general audiences than the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* because of its smaller size and lively illustrations by Cruikshank, was extremely successful among readers of English. It also provided the basis for the first translation into French[127] and and influenced the Grimms' later conceptualizations of their *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*.

[126] "No incident has been added or embellished and changed, for we would have shied away from expanding tales already so rich in and of themselves with their own analogies and similarities. They cannot be invented. In this regard no collection like this one has yet to appear in Germany" (trans. Zipes 2014: 9).

Even more so than the *Histoires ou contes du temps passé, avec des moralitez* of Perrault, the Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* constitutes an unstable source text. Taylor worked from the 1819 version, and the Grimm Brothers would still be editing the tales for nearly fourty years before publishing the final edition (*Ausgabe*) of 1857. The Grimms were aware of the English edition and released a version for children, entitled the *Little Edition* (*Kleine Ausgabe*) in 1825 for Christmastime, clearly in emulation of the English version translated by Taylor and illustrated by Cruikshank. The story of the Grimm Brothers in English provides a concrete example of a target text, or translation, influencing the source text, or "original," exemplifying the very mutable character of such sources.

[127] *Vieux Contes pour l'Amusement des Grands et des Petits Enfans : Ornés de 12 Gravures comiques*, Paris: Auguste Boulland et Cie. Libraires, 1824.

Chapter 4

"The Traveling Companion": Hans Christian Andersen, between the Languages of Nature and Cosmopolitanism

We travelled to the exhibition in Paris.
We're there now! it was an escape, a haste, utterly without magic;
we went with steam in vehicles and on country road.
Our age is the age of the fairy tale.
-Hans Christian Andersen, "The Dryad" ("Dryaden," 1868)[128]

Andersen's "Dryaden" tells of the relocation of a chestnut tree, along with the dryad living inside, to Paris. While still in her home village, the dryad had been enchanted by descriptions she overheard a country priest give of the city of light, but was disappointed once she arrived. In particular, she was disillusioned by the universal exhibition, where the nations of the world were on display in a soulless parade. Though the halls were filled with wonders, the creatures had been unhomed in order to please the public, and the fish and crabs in the aquariums commented critically on the humans' attempts to master the waters through the use of their

[128] "Vi reise til Udstillingen i Paris. Nu ere vi der! det var en Flugt, en Fart, aldeles uden Troldom; vi gik med Damp i Fartøi og paa Landevei. Vor Tid er Eventyrets Tid," in *H.C. Andersens Eventyr.* Copenhagen: Glydenalske Boghandel, Bind I-V, 1919.
Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from Danish to English are by Daniel Martini, who has generously provided translations that follow the syntax of the Danish as closely as possible so as to facilitate comparison.

technology. Previously, the dryad had been capable of communicating with animals and humans alike, but by the time she tried to speak to the fish at the Exhibition, she had already started to diminish, and the fish were unable to understand her.

Andersen's tales, or *Eventyr*, foreground acts of communication between different non-human characters and depict an animistic universe with talking animals, toys, and plants. He was inspired by Danish legends and folklore as well as the the literary *Märchen* of E.T.A. Hoffmann and Adelbert von Chamisso. His *Eventyr* also represent sources in the form of various fauna, flora, inanimate objects, and natural phenomena. Particularly frequent sources of tales are birds, as with a swallow that recounts the story of "Thumbelina" ("Tommelise," 1835) and a hen who gossips about other hens to the owls, pigeons, and bats in "It is Perfectly True!" ("Det er ganske vist!" 1852). In addition, Andersen's fairy tales may come from angels, as in "The Angel" ("Engelen," 1843).

In the world of Andersen's *Eventyr*, animals converse with one another and objects can communicate. Often, everyday items are excessively proud for their stations: a leather-bound ball spurns the amorous advances of an earnest top in "The Sweethearts" ("Kjærestefolkene," 1843), a haughty darning needle reprimands a finger for squeezing her too tightly in "The Darning Needle" ("Stoppenaalen," 1845), and a weather-vane snaps from inflexible arrogance in "The Cock and the Weathercock" ("Gaardhanen og Veirhanen," 1859).

Andersen's narrators address readers as visitors to a realm where animal, vegetable, and mineral inhabitants alike can frequently understand one another. Certain human individuals are likewise able to understand non-human speech; the

reader, however, needs an interpreter in order to comprehend the conversations taking place in this enchanted world. As in the tales of Perrault, Gueullette, and the Grimms, there is a significant divide between the apparent origins of the tales and the intended readership, both in terms of class and nationality. Andersen was thus a translator in several respects, mediating between a less advantaged class of Danish society and the literati as well as between Denmark and the rest of Europe. Andersen came from an extremely impoverished background and worked incessantly to ascend socially. Jack Zipes has characterized Andersen's tales as articulating the "discourse of the dominated" (Zipes 2005: 47-75). Those who do not normally have a voice can make themselves heard in Andersen's worlds. In this sense Andersen's narrators act as spokespersons for those who are usually silent or misunderstood, a symbolism that is highlighted by the miscellaneous characters' incessant preoccupation with status.

The story of Andersen's life is as enigmatic and poetic as his *Eventyr*, marked by a struggle to rise from poverty to glory. He was the only child of a poor family in Odense, Denmark, and his father was a cobbler; his mother was a washerwoman. He was a precocious youth and charmed his elders with his singing voice, which earned him the nickname "The Nightingale" ("Nattergalen"). His life and storytelling were inextricably entwined, as evidenced in particular by the title of the autobiography *The Fairy Tale of My Life* (*Mit Livs Eventyr*), which begins with a claim that his life is a rich and delightful fairy tale (Andersen 1855: 1). In this autobiography, Andersen provides information about the origins of his stories as well as his career as a storyteller while casting himself as an enigmatic character with preternatural gifts that destined him for a life of fame.

As was the case with the tellers, collectors, and translators of fairy tales that preceded him, Andersen inscribed the character of the storyteller into the texts. This includes references to himself such as characters like the cobbler's son in the early tale "The Tinderbox" ("Fyrtøjet," 1835) as well as many unlikely storytellers. These references to beings and phenomena that are normally inarticulate give Andersen's tales a cast of timelessness and age in addition to positioning Andersen as a translator of non-human language and representative of the underrepresented.

This chapter addresses the relationship between translation and storytelling in Andersen's works, whereby the narrator's role is markedly characterized by a mediating function. In turn, this connection between storytelling and translation becomes exaggerated in the French translations of Ernest Grégoire and Louis Moland, whose translations deviated significantly from Andersen's text but, like the tales of Perrault, provided audiences with a sense of folklore, though this time a Danish rather than a French one. Andersen strove for international recognition and in 1874, he wrote:

> My *Complete Fairy Tales and Stories* have been translated into almost all the languages of Europe. Both in my native land and far out into the world, they have been read by old and young alike. No greater blessing could be given any man than to have experienced such happiness in his own life.[129]

Andersen was acutely aware of the necessity of translation to the dissemination of his stories internationally. So as to position himself for fame on an international scale, Andersen traveled frequently, in spite of constant poor health. In addition, Andersen

[129] Translation by Erik Christian Haugaard, in *Hans Christian Andersen: The Complete Fairy Tales and Stories*, Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1974, p. 1096.

was in communication with his English translator, Mary Howitt (1799-1888), as well as his French translator Ernest Grégoire (1802-unknown date). He acknowledged the changes that were necessary in translation so as to ensure him a positive international reception. In his letters to his translator Grégoire, Andersen acknowledged the changes in the French translation and in fact thanked him for it.

Grégoire, along with his co-translator Moland, emphatically inscribed the storyteller into the text or paratexts, adding rhetorical questions to readers and exaggerating references to the storytellers' abilities to mediate between worlds. I consider this in parallel with Andersen's representation of the storyteller as a translator who renders tales from the wind, birds, and household objects comprehensible for human audiences. Such narrative vehicles, at times speak a human language, but one that is presumably foreign to the audience, as with "The Ugly Duckling" ("Den grimme ælling," 1843), who "speaks Egyptian" ("snakkede ægyptisk").

In this chapter, I consider the role of translation in Andersen's work and relate this to his ambivalent attitudes towards positioning himself as a cosmopolitan writer. In his analysis of "The Dryad," Jakob-Stougaard Nielsen relates the dryad's inability to survive in Paris to modernity and the increasing obsolescence of the storyteller.

> The problems of diminished value of experience and the demise of older narratives are tied to their replacement by information and information by sensationalism. The driving force behind this development was the appearance in the nineteenth century of mass news media. The result of the disappearance of the storyteller is the inevitable fragmentation of experience and community (Stougaard-Nielsen 136).

Prior to Andersen, Perrault and the Grimms had expressed the desire to represent oral storytelling traditions, with the Grimms in particular expressing concerns about the threats that modernity posed to the language of nature (See Chapter 3). Andersen's works are characterized by a similar nostalgia, although one feature that distinguishes his attitude towards reporting storytelling from the Grimms is that he recognizes himself as a modern subject who, while capable of rendering the language of nature intelligible to his fellow humans, is nonetheless at a remove from it.

Turning to the translations of Andersen into French, I contend that Grégoire and Moland in turn take on the role of storytellers by inscribing themselves in the text. Their translations, like Andersen's texts, evoke a distance between the audience and the realm of the tale by highlighting the importance of the intermediary's function. Like Andersen drawing attention to his ability to negotiate between worlds and languages, they also highlight their participation in creating the "possible worlds nearby," to borrow once again Warner's phrasing to characterize the fairy tale.

The Storyteller as Translator: Andersen as Spokesperson

Some of Andersen's inspiration was derived from the oral tradition, and in *Mit Livs Eventyr*, he recalls the tales that he heard as a child. He writes that his paternal grandmother would tend to the garden at the insane asylum and that when she would burn the green clippings twice a year, she would bring him along to the asylum with her. There was a spinning-room near the site where his grandmother would set fire to

the waste, and he would visit the women there and impress them with his eloquence. As a reward, they would tell him tales.

> I passed for an oddly clever child, and my talkativeness was rewarded by one telling me fairytales; a world, rich, as in *Thousand and One Night* was unfolded to me. The old women's stories, the figures of the mad, whom I in the hospital saw around me, all combined, from deep within, impacted me, who was quite filled with superstition, to such a degree, that I, when it became dark, barely dared venture outside my parents' house.[130]

Andersen, like Perrault and the Grimms, is sure to include a reference to female storytellers, in this case, literally "spinners" of stories. Andersen's early encounters with oral narration are marked by the presence of marginalized figures who have little power but nonetheless inspire deep fears in the impressionable Andersen.

Male storytellers are also a source of inspiration for Andersen's *Eventyr*. The female storyteller is ever present, but men have the power to enchant with their words, too. The first night that Hans Christian Andersen spends at home in his crib, which his father had repurposed from the coffin of a count, his father read to him from the works of Ludvig Holdberg (1684-1754), although the baby still cried all night, perhaps an allusion by Andersen to his own, failed ambitions as a playwright; but after this first night, his father read more from Holdeberg to him, as well as stories

[130] "Jeg gjaldt for et mærkeligt klogt Barn, og min Snaksomhed belønnedes med, at man fortalte mig Eventyr; en Verden, rig, som i „Tusind og en Nat" rullede op for mig. De gamle Koners Historier, Skikkelserne af de Sindssvage, som jeg i Hospitalet saae rundt omkring mig, Alt tilsammen, herinde fra, virkede i den Grad ind paa mig, der ganske var fyldt med Overtro, at jeg naar det mørknedes, neppe turde vove mig udenfor mine Forældres Huus" in Hans Christian Andersen, *Mit Livs Eventyr*, Gyldendalske Boghandel: Copenhagen, 1908 [1855], p. 10.

from the *Nights*, and Andersen recalls that it was on these occasions alone that his father appeared happy.

The fairy tale that he presents of his life features storytellers in various forms and the boy himself has a special magic, comparable to that of the characters from the *Nights* that his father reads him. It is a book that is powerful enough to render his father happy, and has its own particular value. As authors of fairy tales were addressing themselves increasingly towards a literate reading public in the nineteenth century, the fairy tale was also becoming a commodity, and Andersen represents himself as coming to an understanding early in his life that while he may have grown up in challenging economic circumstances, he was able to receive a reward for his verbal gifts; and this reward was more stories. The toys and daily objects that come to life throughout Andersen's works recall the dazzling power of material goods in the European marketplace, with products catering to a particular type of consumer: children.

Andersen was hungry for fame and the translation of his works contributed to his international success. His early novel *The Improvisator* (*Improvisatoren*, 1835), based upon his travels in Italy, was translated quickly into French and German and immediately gained popularity throughout Europe (Soerensen 168). He traveled frequently and widely and made the acquaintance of great literary figures of the nineteenth century such as Victor Hugo, Honoré de Balzac, Alexandre Dumas, Heinrich Heine, Ludwig Tieck, and Charles Dickens. He was also acquainted with some of those who translated and adapted his work, such as the German poet and botanist Adelbert von Chamisso (1781-1838), the British author Mary Howitt (1799-

1888), and the French writer Alexandre Dumas (1802-1870). According to Poul Høybye, Andersen could read French though he spoke it clumsily. Andersen translated a vaudeville play, *La Quarantaine*, by Scribe and Mazère and a drama by Alfred Bayard entitled *La Reine de Seize Ans*, which had a successful run in Copenhagen (Høybye: 9-10).

While orienting himself towards a growing cosmopolitan marketplace, Andersen was nostalgic about oral storytelling traditions and created a unique style that evoked spoken narration. Andersen invented most of his later tales, yet Peer E. Soerensen notes that he simultaneously creates "his own personal narrative forms by simulating an oral narrative tone that differs from both the folktale and the German romantic literary fairy tale" (Soerensen 170). In a letter to a colleague, Andersen described his approach to writing fairy tales: "I have written these fairy tales in the same manner that I would tell them to children" (cited in Soerensen: 169). His first collection of fairy tales from 1835 includes "The Tinderbox" ("Fyrtøjet") and "Little Claus and Big Claus" ("Lille Claus og Store Claus"), which were based on folktales, along with others of his own invention. The initial collections appeared in 1835 and 1837 as *Eventyr, fortalte for Boern* (*Fairy Tales Told for Children*), but the reference to a juvenile audience disappeared with the next collections, *Nye Eventyr* (*New Fairy Tales*) between 1845 and 1848 and *Historier* (*Stories*) between 1852 and 1853.

In the 1837 preface to *Eventyr, fortalte for Børn*, Andersen notes that he based "The Emperor's New Clothes" ("Kejserens nye klæder") upon a text by the Spanish author Juan Manuel (1282-1348), and that stories like "The Tinderbox," "Little Claus and Big Claus," "The Princess and the Pea" ("Prinsessen paa Ærten"), and "The

Traveling Companion" (“"Reisekammeraten") were retellings of fairy tales and stories that he heard as a child. Furthermore, Andersen's notes from 1862 and 1874 provide very detailed inventories of his sources. These consist primarily of Danish folk tales, superstitions, and legends as well as Andersen's own imagination. Other sources include *The Thousand and One Nights* for "The Flying Trunk" ("Den flyvende Kuffert," 1839), an Italian folk song for "The Rose Elf" ("Rosen-Alfen," 1839) and Mozart's Don Juan for "The Pine Tree" ("Grantræet," 1844).

Andersen's *Eventyr* foreground the process of transmission, though unlike Perrault, Gueullette, and the Grimms, Andersen does not refer solely to a human oral tradition but also to stories that pass from one generation to the next of animals, or even from one species of being or creature to the next. In "The Marsh King's Daughter" ("Dynd-Kongens Datter," 1858), storks tell tales to their children; the youngest are satisfied with "krible, krable, plurremurre!" (Andersen 1868: 59), which is nonsense, but the more mature storks are able to appreciate the lore that mother storks have imparted to their offspring for centuries. The identity of the narrator in this tale remains obscure, though the narrator has privileged access to the language of the birds. This tale, claims the narrator, is not well-known, perhaps because it is "indenlandsk" (ibid), which can mean both "domestic" and "provincial" in English.

> The [...] tale is not well known, possibly because it is a bit provincial. This tale has been handed down from one mother stork to another for a thousand

> years, and each succeeding story teller has told it better and better, and now we shall tell it best of all.[131]

The storks were qualified to tell the story in particular because they had been a part of the story, long ago. The marsh in question was located to the north of Jutland, where the storks spent their summers and helped to transport an Egyptian princess back home by cloaking her in the skin of a swan, which likewise enabled her to fly. Because she had donned the swanskin, she was able to understand the language of the birds, and in the world of the story, human comprehension of animals' speech is not a given, and this is another possible reason why the story had remained unknown, in addition to its being "indenlansk."

The narrator of "The Marsh King's Daughter" is situated in a chain of transmission that is oriented internationally, suggesting also that Danish, as a minor language in comparison with French or English, would have something in common with the language of the birds. As Felcht has noted, the Danish literary market was so small that it was difficult to earn a living writing in Danish alone, leading Andersen to turn to an international career.[132]

One instance of non-translation in Andersen's "The Swineherd" ("Svinedrengen," 1846) points to the power of dominant languages such as French

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[131] "Det andet Eventyr kjendes endnu ikke, maaskee fordi det er næsten indenlandsk. Det Eventyr er gaaet fra Storkemo'er til Storkemo'er i tusinde Aar og hver af dem har fortalt det bedre og bedre, og vi fortælle det nu allerbedst," Andersen 1868, p. 59. English translation by Haugard, p. 553.

[132] Filke writes that initially, Andersen did not receive royalties for his work in translation, due in part to the fact that international copyright laws did not yet exist, but that as he became a savvier businessman, he would sign contracts with international publishers and release translations before the Danish versions, which served as a preventative measure against pirated editions (Filke 144).

and German. “The Swineherd” is another tale of pride, though the protagonists are human. A poor prince with a tiny kingdom wishes to marry an Emperor’s daughter. Despite their differences in status, his renown emboldens him. His name is known far and wide, and for this reason many other princesses would have agreed to marry him. Disguised as a swineherd, he offers the princess a rose from a bush growing at his father’s grave and a nightingale. The ladies of the court coo, “Superbe, charmant” in French, but the object of the prince’s affection scorns the gifts on account of their being not artificial but real. It is only when the prince fashions a pot with bells that chime “Ach, du lieber Augustin, / Alles ist væk, væk, væk” as it boils that he catches her attention. It is a song she knows; and because of his knowledge of it, she reasons, he must be “cultured” (“dannet”). Andersen leaves the first line of the song in the original German, which translates in English to “Oh, you dear Augustin.” The princess’s approval of the pot that chimes a song in German is suggestive of Andersen’s reliance upon a German-reading public for fame. As Felcht notes, reception of his works in Denmark was “restrained,” but editions of his works in German strengthened his popularity (Felcht 145).

The Storyteller Translated

The first translations of Andersen’s *Eventyr* into French appeared in 1848. The title of the collection, *Contes pour les enfants*, made it clear that the target audience was a young one. This edition, containing fourteen tales and published by Belin-Leprieur et Morizot, featured illustrations by Derancourt, whose work had

appeared in other works for children such as collections of tales by the German author Gustav Nieritz.

Five years later in 1853, a publisher in Tours by the name of A. Mame et Cie released a new translation with the simple title *Contes Danois*, with no reference to either the translator or the illustrator. It contained only seven tales. In 1856, the publisher Hachette released a translation, this time with twenty-three tales and the title *Contes d'Andersen*, translated by D. Soldi, illustrated by Bertall, and with a biographical notice by X. Marmier. Bertall had also illustrated Dumas's "Histoire d'un Casse-Noisette," and his visual representations of Dumas's nutcracker and army of mice invite comparison with the tin soldier of Andersen and his encounters with rats.

Andersen was thus escorted onto the French literary scene by Bertall and Hoffmann; however, according to Aage Jørgensen, the tales in the Soldi translation failed to stir up the same excitement as Hoffmann had. He writes, "Marmier's presentation appears not to have led to an immediate French interest in Andersen's work, although there were cautious moves in that direction [...] There was no question of a real French breakthrough, not even after Andersen himself had visited France in 1843 (partly in order to breathe life into any possible embers)" (Jørgensen 277).

For nearly a decade and a half, Soldi appeared to have cornered the market on French translations of Andersen, with Hachette releasing new editions of the *Contes d'Andersen* in 1862, 1867, 1871. In 1873, a team of translators made up of Ernest Grégoire and Louis Moland came to dethrone Soldi with their *Contes danois*, published by Garnier and illustrated by the Breton artist Yan' Dargent. After the

initial edition from Grégoire and Moland of 1873, they translated a volume that came out in 1874 entitled *Nouveaux contes danois* and in 1880 *Les Souliers rouges, et autres contes* (1880). Marc Auchet has noted that the Grégoire and Moland edition was quite successful, with their versions still in print into the twenty-first century, although they took considerable liberties with the text.[133]

Upon receiving the news that Grégoire was interested in translating his *Eventyr*, Andersen welcomed the prospect, particularly given Grégoire's reputation. Grégoire had previously translated a version of the Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, which had enjoyed some success.

> Mr. Gregoire has contacted me with a request that it may be him permitted to publish my collected "Fairytales and Stories" in French translation. I shall on that occasion declare that there from my side is no objection, even less so, given Mr. Gregoire's name, that I dare hope that these works of mine will be treated with care and taste.[134]

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[133] Auchet, Marc: "H. C. Andersen og den klassiske sprognorm - eventyrene i fransk oversættelse", pp. 243-53 i Johan de Mylius, Aage Jørgensen & Viggo Hjørnager Pedersen (red.): *Andersen og Verden. Indlæg fra den første internationale H. C. Andersen-konference, 25.-31. august 1991*. Udgivet af H. C. Andersen-Centret, Odense Universitet. Odense Universitetsforlag, Odense 1993. In the twenty-first century, there have been several publications of Grégoire and Moland's translations, such as the book-length editions *La Reine des neiges*, *La Princess au petit pois : et autres contes de Hans Christian Andersen*, and *La Petite sirene ; suivi de Conte du vent*, all published in Quimper by Éditions Corentin in 2011; as well as *La Reine des neiges*, Paris: Flammarion, 2016; and *Contes*, BNF éditions, 2016. Soldi's translation also remains popular, although his translations of tales have, at least in the twenty-first century, never appeared on their own, but rather together with translations by Grégoire and Moland.

[134] "Hr Gregoire har henvendt sig til mig med Anmodning om at det maatte tillades ham at udgive min samlede 'Eventyr og Historier' i fransk Oversættelse. Jeg skal i den Andledning erklære at der fra min Side ikke er noget at erindre herimod, saa meget mindre, som jeg efter Hr. Gregoires navn tør haabe at disse mine Arbeider ville blive behandlede med Omhu og Smag," letter of April 12, 1873, H.C. Andersen Centret.

Following the publication of the translation, he acknowledges the changes that had been made to the French edition and thanks Grégoire for positioning the translation for the French market. Andersen's letter to Grégoire followed less than one year after Andersen's initial approval of the translation.

> Exactly for New Year's Greeting did I receive your and Mr. Moland's beautiful rendition of my Fairytales and Stories, I was happily surprised by the book's magnificent presentation, [struck through: the delightful] the illustrations and especially the good translation; in certain places it appears to me that some things had been left out, or [struck through: somewhat] changed [struck through: rendered], but I assume, that it has been necessary for the French reader, and I must [struck through: therefore] thank you for it [struck through: because you have shown this consideration].[135]

Andersen, with his reading knowledge of French, would have been able to ascertain the modifications that Grégoire and Moland had made to his text, but Andersen does not mind; on the contrary, he determines that these changes contributed to the positive reception that his tales had in France. In the letter, he refers explicitly to the mention of the tales in the French press:

> Already before the book came into [struck through: here to] my hands had I [struck through: already] in Danish magazines read, that it was [struck through: published and] well spoken of in the French papers [struck through: particularly in the, for book reviews, skilled and well-regarded Journal des Débats. I felt a great urge to immediately address you and state], that I did not

[135] "Allerede før Bogen kom i [overstr: her til] mine Hænder havde jeg [overstr: allerede] i danske Blade læst, at den var [overstr: udkommet og] vel omtalt i de franske Aviser [overstreget: særlig i det for Boganmeldelser dygtige og ansete Journal des Débats. Jeg følte stor Trang til straks at tilskrive Dem og udtale], at jeg da ikke straks skrev til Dem er min Sygdom Skyld i. / min Tak, [overstr: til] men [overstr: jeg] netop i de Dage havde jeg paadraget mig en stærk Forkølelse, der indtil nu har sat mig tilbage fra den Bedring, hvori jeg befandt mig," letter of January 14, 1874, ibid.

> immediately write you is the fault of my illness. / my thanks, [struck through: to] but [struck through: I] exactly in those days had I acquired a severe cold, which until now has distanced me from that recovery which I found myself in.[136]

Remarkably, Andersen's success in France had made its way back to Denmark, at least according to Andersen's letter to Grégoire.

There is indeed mention of the translation in the *Journal des Débats* from 1873, though it is not a book review but rather a recommendation of the volume as a gift for New Year's. The entry from December 22, 1873 reads:

> The collection of books for New Years available for 10 francs per volume, published by MM. Garnier frères, has been enriched this year with two new excellent items: a volume of Danish tales by Andersen, translated for the first time by Messieurs E. Grégoire and L. Moland; and a volume of charming accounts by Madame Louise Sw.- Belloc, The Bottom of Grandma's Bag. There is no need to recommend this collection, which contains a choice of works entirely available through the publisher and which finds no equal in bookstores.[137]

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[136] "Jeg er, som De ved, nu paa Maaneder lidende og bliver næppe rask, før jeg, om Gud vil, i den kommende Sommer kan leve paa Landet, i Bjergene eller ved Havet. Det falder mig besværligt endnu selv at skrive Breve, men De maa nødvendigvis høre fra mig, modtage min hjerteligste Tak for den Dygtighed og Omhu, hvormed De har gengivet mine Historier; jeg maa takke Hr. Moland for den interessante Introduction og Van Dargent for de fortræffelige Billeder, der ere saa sande, saa fri for al / Maneer, ogsaa Garnier Fréres skylder jeg Tak for den Omhue, han har vist for Bogens Tryk og Udstyrelse," ibid.

[137] "La collection des livres d'étrennes à 10 fr, le volume, publiée par MM. Garnier frères, s'est enrichie cette année de deux nouveautés excellentes : un volume de Contes danois, d'Andersen, traduits pour la première fois par MM. E. Grégoire et L. Moland ; un volume de charmans récits par Mme Louise Sw.-Belloc, le Fond du sac de la grand'mère. Il n'est pas besoin de recommander cette collection qui contient un choix d'ouvrages tout à fait hors ligne, et qui n'a point d'égale en librairie, *Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*, December 22 1873.

The entire back page of the *Journal* is crowded with advertisements, many for New Year's gifts ("étrennes"), with *Contes Danois* appearing in a square featuring titles by Garnier Frères. There are varying fonts and sizes of text competing for the reader's attention, as well as a more sober column dedicated to obituary announcements alongside a tidy list of that evening's theatre and vaudeville performances.

Fig 4a, Advertisement for Grégoire and Moland's translation of Andersen's tales, Contes danois, from the Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires, December 22, 1873


NOUVELLES PUBLICATIONS

ANDERSEN
CONTES DANOIS
TRADUITS POUR LA PREMIÈRE FOIS
PAR MM. ERNEST GRÉGOIRE & LOUIS MOLAND
Illustrés d'après les dessins de M. YAN' DARGENT. — 1 volume

LE FOND DU SAC DE LA GRAND'MÈRE
CONTES ET HISTOIRES
PAR Mme LOUISE SW.-BELLOC
Auteur de *la Tirelire*, des *Contes familiers*, etc.
Illustré par STAAL. — 1 volume

CH. NODIER. — Le Génie Bonhomme, etc., introduction par M. L. MOLAND.
Un volume illustré de nombreuses vignettes dessinées par STAAL.

ŒUVRES DE S. HENRY BERTHOUD. — Sept volumes illustrés par YAN' DARGENT et STAAL.
Soirées du docteur Sam. 1 vol. — *La Cassette des sept Amis.* 1 vol. — *Les Hôtes du Logis.* 1 vol.
Les Féeries de la Science. 1 v. — *Le Monde des Insectes.* 1 v. — *L'Homme depuis cinq mille ans.* 1 v. — *Contes du docteur Sam.* 1 v.

Fig 4b, Advertisement for Grégoire and Moland's translation of Andersen's tales, Nouveaux contes, from the Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires, 1895


NOUVELLES PUBLICATIONS

LES NOUVEAUX CONTES D'ANDERSEN
Traduits par MM. Moland et E. Grégoire. — Illustrés par Yan' Dargent. 1 vol.
Ce volume complète celui que nous avons publié il y a deux ans; on a ainsi l'œuvre du célèbre conteur danois, dans son ensemble, œuvre charmante, dont il n'est plus besoin de faire l'éloge.

LA CONTRÉE MERVEILLEUSE
Voyage dans l'Arizona et le Nouveau Mexique, par COZZENS
Illustré de nombreuses gravures anglaises et de Yan' Dargent. — Traduit par W. Battier. 1 vol.
Voyage instructif, pittoresque et dramatique, qui a obtenu le plus grand succès en Amérique et en Angleterre et qui ne sera pas moins bien accueilli en France.

In 1795, similar advertisements for the subsequent volume of Andersen's tales in translation appeared on the back page of the journal, surrounded by books relating

tales of adventure. These contexts demonstrate that Andersen's receiving context in France was tales of travel as well as whimsical stories directed at a juvenile audience.

The Storyteller as Guide

In the preface to the *Contes danois*, Moland attests to the philosophical basis of Andersen's wild imaginings and draws a parallel in this regard to Perrault's tales, which, despite their childish appearance, all contain a moral. As long as a tale convey a lesson, he argues, it doesn't matter how childish they may seem. "The storyteller," writes Moland, "can lead us through the strangest labyrinths of fantasy and imagination. We always feel the thread that the philosopher and the observer has placed in our hands to guide us."[138] This "guiding thread" ("fil conducteur") is reminiscent of the ball of thread that Ariadne gives to Theseus so that he may exit the labyrinth.

Andersen, according to Moland, has given all objects life and speech with a wave of his magic wand: "His tales are a concert where all beings answer one another. Man plays his part among all things."[139] In this enchanted world, the forces of nature, human beings, animals, and objects all come alive, and Andersen is gifted with the capacity to see them and "to hear them speak" ("de les entendre parler," ibid). It is in this way that Grégoire and Moland, Andersen's preferred translators, cast Andersen himself as an interpreter of creatures and objects that may otherwise be

[138] "Le conteur peut nous conduire à travers les plus étranges labyrinthes de la fantaisie et de l'imagination. Nous sentons toujours le fil que le philosophe et l'observateur ont remis entre nos mains pour nous y diriger," Moland 1873, p. III.

[139] "Ses récits forment comme un concert ou tous les êtres se répondent. L'homme y fait sa partie avec toutes choses," ibid IV.

mute or unintelligible to human beings, particularly adults. It's because of this double address, and this double address alone, that Andersen was enjoying such popularity, Moland asserts, and this all across Europe (ibid).

Part of Andersen's role as interpreter involves addressing readers directly to confirm their need of his guidance. Grégoire and Moland intensify the occurrence of rhetorical questions, exaggerating this dialogical quality already inherent to Andersen's style. This is a narrative technique that Anderson employs as another method of directly addressing the reader, who will either not know the answer to the question and thus need to continue reading in order to find out or need to actively imagine an object or situation that the narrator presents. In Andersen's tales, such rhetorical questions often form the opening lines of a tale. For example, "The Shepherdess and the Chimney Sweep" ("La Bergère et le ramoneur" / "Hyrdinden og Skorstensfejeren," 1845) begins: "Have you ever seen a really old wooden cabinet, quite black from old age and carved with ornaments and foliage?" ("Har du nogensinde set et rigtig gammelt træskab, ganske sort af alderdom og skåret ud med snirkler og løvværk?") Here, the "du" form, as with Hoffmann's German, is a familiar form of address in Danish.

Grégoire and Moland not only reproduce these rhetorical questions, but add their own where there is none in Andersen's Danish text. One instance of this is from "A Story from the Sand Dunes," first published in 1859 as "En historie fra klitterne," and subsequently in Grégoire and Moland's *Contes danois* as "Une Histoire dans les dunes." As is the case with the tales of Hoffmann, this rhetorical question encourages readers to consider the imagined world of the tale within the context of the real world.

In this tale of the dunes, there is no rhetorical question in Andersen's text. A close translation of the Danish into English by Daniel Martini makes it possible to observe a marked difference between Andersen's text and the rendition into French by Grégoire and Moland. In Andersen's text, there is no question in these concluding lines to the tale.

> The sand blowing has covered the mighty vaults. Sea buckthorn and wild roses grow over the church, where the wanderer now advances to its tower, which points out of the sand, a mighty headstone on the grave, seen from miles away; no king received one more magnificent! No one interrupts the deads's rest, no one knew or know it, before now, - the storm sang it to me between the dunes![140]

Grégoire and Moland's translation inserts a rhetorical question. For comparison, below is my translation from their French:

> The sand continued to accumulate around the ancient church. The roof disappeared, and only the tower remained visible; it could be perceived from a great distance: Georges' funerary monument. Are there any kings have ones that are more magnificent, more inviolable?[141]

Andersen's world exemplifies an enchanted realm with Andersen's presence as guide frequently quite pronounced. Grégoire and Moland amplify this presence,

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[140] "Sandflugten har dækket de mægtige Hvælvinger. Klittjørne og vilde Roser voxe hen over Kirken, hvor Vandreren nu skrider hen til dens Taarn, der peger op af Sandet, en mægtig Ligsteen paa Graven, seet milevidt; ingen Konge fik den mere prægtig! Ingen forstyrrer den Dødes Hvile, Ingen vidste eller veed det, før nu, - Stormen sang det for mig mellem Klitterne!" Andersen 1919.

[141] "Le sable s'amoncela de plus en plus autour de l'ancienne église. La toiture disparut, la tour seule resta visible; on l'aperçoit à une grande distance : c'est le monument funéraire de Georges. Les rois en ont-ils de plus magnifiques et surtout de plus inviolables ?" Andersen 1876, p. 186.

exaggerating the qualities of oral storytelling that Andersen had identified as informing his approach to composition.

In another instance, Grégoire and Moland transform the Danish word for "naturally" (naturligvis) to insert an additional reference to the reader: "The butterfly wanted to get married and, as you can well imagine, he aspired to choose a pretty flower from among all the flowers."[142] Here, "as you can well imagine" ("comme vous le pensez bien") could just as easily been "naturally" ("naturellement"); Grégoire and Moland's choice allows them to include additional references to the reader.

Grégoire and Moland's *Contes Danois* begin with "The Ice Maiden" ("La Vierge des Glaces"; "Iisjomfruen," 1861). The tale is set in the mountains of Switzerland, foreign for the readers of the original Danish and the French translation alike; here, the landscape is vertiginous, cold, and sublime. In the original, the narrator invites readers to accompany him to this foreign land. Martini's version in English reads:

> Let's visit Switzerland, let's look around the delightful mountain land, where forests grow up the steep rock walls; let's ascend the blinding fields of snow, and again descend to the green meadows, where rivers and streams rush on, as were they afraid, that they would not reach the ocean in time and vanish.[143]

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[142] "Le papillon veut se marier et, comme vous le pensez bien, il prétend choisir une fleur jolie entre toutes les fleurs" (Andersen 1880); "Sommerfuglen ville have sig en kæreste, naturligvis ville han have sig en net lille en af blomsterne."

[143] "Lad os besøge Schweiz, lad os see os om i det herlige Bjerg land, hvor Skovene voxe op ad de steile Klippevægge; lad os stige op paa de blendende Sneemarker, og igjen gaae ned i de grønne Enge, hvor Floder og Bække bruse afsted, som vare de bange for, at de ikke tidsnok skulle naae Havet og forsvinde" Andersen 1919.

The reader and the author are both strangers in this land of stark beauty; the French of Grégoire and Moland exaggerates the estrangement by changing the first-person plural subject of the initial sentence to a singular one that acts upon the reader. It is not the author and the reader who travel together, but the author who projects the reader into a foreign, foreboding landscape. Below is my translation from the French of Grégoire and Moland:

> I transport you to Switzerland, dear readers. Look around you at the dark forests growing on the steep summits. Climb towards the fields of snow, dazzling white, and descend back to the verdant plains, where so many rivers and howling torrents rush swiftly, as if they feared they wouldn't arrive soon enough to disappear into the sea.[144]

The fact that the subject "je" acts upon the "chers lecteurs" both emphasizes the author's spellbinding powers and distances him from the readers. The author does not share the experience with these "lecteurs" in beholding the foreboding Alpine landscape; instead, they must contemplate the towering mountains and blinding snow themselves.

The verb "transporter" appears likewise in Grégoire and Moland's "Une Histoire dans les dunes," which also takes place in a foreign land. Here, the narrator commands the reader, "Transport yourself in your thoughts to this Spain, drenched in sun. How the air there is hot, and the country superb!" ("Transporte-toi en pensée dans cette Espagne inondée de soleil. Que l'air y est chaud et que le pays est

[144] "Je vous transporte en Suisse, chers lecteurs. Regardez autour de vous les sombres forêts poussant sur les cimes escarpées. Montez vers les champs de neige d'un éclat éblouissant et redescendez vers les plaines verdoyantes, où tant de rivières et de torrents mugissants coulent avec rapidité comme s'ils craignaient de ne pas arriver assez tôt pour disparaître dans la mer," Andersen's text translated by Grégoire and Moland, 1873, pp. 1-2.

superbe!" 139). This imagery of "transport" is missing from the original Danish, which simply reads, ""Think your way there, to Spain! it is warm and it is wonderful!" ("Tænk Dig derhen, til Spanien! der er varmt og der er deiligt").

"The Ugly Duckling" (*Den grimme ælling*) features storks who speak Egyptian, establishing a continuity between them and the storks of "The Marsh King's Daughter." The tale begins with a picturesque description of meadows and fields of grain, where the stork "minced about on his red legs, clacking away in Egyptian, which was the language his mother had taught him" ("der gik storken på sine lange, røde ben og snakkede ægyptisk, for det sprog havde han lært af sin moder"). In Grégoire and Moland's version, the storks' language is even more rarefied: "One saw a group of storks moving around atop their long red legs; they mumbled to one another in the old language of the Egypt of the Pharoahs, which they alone knew how to speak purely" ("On voyait circuler un groupe de cigognes, juchées sur leurs longues jambes rouges ; elles marmottaient entre elles dans le vieux langage de l'Égypte des Pharaons, qu'elles sont seules à parler purement" *Compagnon de Voyage*: 327-28). The storks, as in "The Marsh King's Daughter," pass on knowledge from generation to generation, though here it is not just tales but language itself. Grégoire and Moland exaggerate the temporal distance by evoking the language of the Pharoahs, which has remained preserved not in speech of humans but that of the storks, who thereby evoke an ancient time when humans and animals spoke the same language.

The sense of the translator and storyteller as tour guide likewise extends to Denmark and those taking an imagined trip there. One example of changes made by

Grégoire and Moland relate to the tale of "The Marsh King's Daughter," which in their version is "La Fille du Roi de la vase." The French translation adds historical details to explain the meaning of the word "Viking," which would have required no explanation for a Danish audience but which Grégoire and Moland deem worthy of some additional information for French readers.

> The couple of storks who had a part in it [the story] resided every summer on the roof of the wooden home of a ferocious Viking, which is what these pirates of the North who make the grandsons of Emperor Charlemagne quake are called.
>
> Le couple de cigognes qui y joue un rôle habitait chacque été le toit de la maison de bois d'un féroce Viking, comme on appelait ces pirates du Nord qui faisaient trembler les petits-fils de l'empereur Charlemagne (Grégoire and Moland: 314-315).

Grégoire and Moland act as tour guides, adding further details about Danish history from a decidedly French perspective for their audience. Grégoire and Moland consistently amplify Andersen's presence – as well as their own – as guides with magical powers when the setting is in Denmark. In the tale "Buckwheat" ("Le Sarrasin," "Boghveden," 1841), they tailor the sentences specifically to readers who are not Danish. This effects a slight shift in the target audience; while in the original there is no overt distinction between the author's home country and that of the audience, Grégoire and Moland's "Le Sarrasin" insert a reference to the narrator's nationality:

> In the autumn, you've surely passed by a buckwheat field several times; you must remember that it was all black then, as if a blazing flame had set it on

> fire. In Denmark, our peasants say: "It's the lightning that made the buckwheat so black."
>
> But when I asked them how it happened, they didn't know how to answer. But I know know; it's a sparrow who told me the story […][145]

Here, Andersen uses the generic pronoun "man," which like the German "Mann" can translate informally to "you," though generally it translates to "one" or a reformulation of the sentence in the passive. The 1848 translation by V. Caralp opts for the general third-person pronoun "on," which serves a similar grammatical function as "man" in Danish. The reference to the Danish farmers is, as with the original text by Andersen, absent.

> When passing through a field of buckwheat after a storm, one will notice that it looks black and languishing, and one would be tempted to think that it had been ravaged by flame. "But why did the lightning do all that?" some lone voyager might ask, looking for a natural cause, or at least a simple explanation for all that nature does. I'll tell you what a sparrow told me about it.[146]

For comparison, the English translation by Martini, followed by Andersen's Danish text:

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[145] "Vous êtes, certes, bien des fois passé en automne à côté d'un champ de sarrasin; vous devez vous souvenir qu'alors il est tout noir, comme si une flamme ardente y avait porté l'incendie. En Danemark, nos paysans disent : « C'est la foudre qui a rendu le sarrasin si noir »"
"Mais, quand le je leur ai demandé comment c'était arrivé, ils n'ont pas su me répondre. Cependant je le sais maintenant ; c'est un moineau qui m'a conté l'histoire […] (Grégoire and Moland 1880: 140-141)

[146] Lorsqu'après l'orage, on passe dans un champ de sarrasin, il paraît noir et tout languissant. On serait tenté de croire qu'il a été ravagé par la flamme. « Mais pourquoi les éclairs ont-ils fait tout cela? » demandera peut-être quelque voyageur solitaire cherchant une cause naturelle, ou du moins une simple explication pour tout ce que fait la nature. Je vais vous raconter ce qu'un moineau m'a appris a ce sujet.

> Frequently and often, when after a thunderstorm you passs a field, where the buckwheat grows, you see that it has become quite black and scorched; it is as though a firefly had passed over it, and the farmer then says: "It got it from the lightning!" but why did it get it?
>
> Tit og ofte, når man efter et tordenvejr går forbi en ager, hvor boghveden gror, ser man, at den er blevet ganske sort og afsvedet; det er ligesom en ildlue var gået hen over den, og bondemanden siger da: "Det har den fået af lynilden!" men hvorfor har den fået det?

These opening lines set up the reader for a mystery that even the local farmers do not fully comprehend, requiring an interpreter such as the narrator to find the answer from beings who are not human. He receives his answer from a sparrow, who in turn had heard the story from a willow tree. Already in Andersen's text, the narrator acts as an intermediary between the language of the natural world, which he is privileged to understand, and the reader. The chain of transmission extends from the narrator to the sparrow and then to the willow; and in the Grégoire and Moland translation, the reference to "our peasants" ("nos paysans") establishes another level of remove between narrator and reader. As Andersen must interpret the language of nature, so too must his words be translated for the target audience of Grégoire and Moland's translation: French children. This shift stages the extension of the line of transmission for the tale, from the willow to the sparrow to the narrator and then to the translator and finally the reader. The words of the original narration would be incomprehensible to the reader, just as the Danish *Eventyr* would have been.

Contes danois : traduits pour la première fois (date) features the tale of "Children's Prattle" ("Børnesnak"), rendered by Grégoire and Moland as "Claquets

d'enfants." There is a children's party at a wealthy merchant's house and the children are discussing their social stations; a haughty, wealthy young girl asserts that those whose family names end with "sen" have no chance to make anything of themselves in the world.

Grégoire and Moland add an explanatory note: "Sen, in Danish, means son; it's one of the most frequent endings for commoners' names" (Sen, en danois, veut dire fils ; c'est une des terminaisons les plus fréquentes des noms roturiers" 188). Furthermore, in "The Ice Maiden" ("Iisjomfruen"), the birds speak to young Rudy, who is still young enough to understand the language of animals; for, as the narrator explains, when human beings are still children, objects and animals speak to them as distinctly as their own parents, though this faculty is lost with adulthood. Rudy is savoring the mountain air when he is joined by birds who speak to him in Danish:[147]

> The swallows of the seven nests that were beneath his grandfather's roof came to join him up high, where he was leading his goats, and they sang their mysterious refrain: *Vi og i, og i og vi*.[148]

The French text provides an explanatory footnote at the bottom of the page. It reads:

> Onomatopeia to express the swallow's cry; but, of course, the accent must be used; the meaning of these words is: 'You and we and we and you'.
>
> Onomatopée pour exprimer le cri de l'hirondelle; mais, bien entendu, il faut y mettre l'accent; ces mots ont le sens de: 'Vous et nous et nous et vous'

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[147] Solstraalerne, Solens Velsignelse bringende Døttre, kyssede hans Kinder, og Svimlen stod og lurede, men turde ikke nærme sig, og Svalerne nede fra Morfa'ers Huus, der var ikke færre end syv Reder, fløi op til ham og Gederne, syngende: "Vi og I! og I og Vi!"

[148] Les hirondelles des sept nids qui étaient sous le toit de son grand-père le venaient rejoindre là-haut, où il menait les chèvres, et elles chantaient leur mystérieux refrain : *Vi og i, og i og vi*.

The French footnote does not explain that the words Rudy hears the swallows crying out are Danish, the language of the original text; nor does it acknowledge that this would be a foreign language in the country where the story takes place, Switzerland. In Andersen's Danish text, the reader can understand the birds, along with Rudy, but the reader of the French is not able to participate fully in the enchantment, and requires an additional translation in order to understand the significance of these distinct syllables. The swallow's cry is symmetrical, ending and starting with the same word "vi," which in Danish means "we." The French, in fact, reverses the order; that is, the English translation of the Danish is "We and you (plural) and you (plural) and we," whereas, as shown above, the French is "Vous et nous et nous et vous." This curious detail demonstrates, on the one hand, the vulnerability of readers in the hands of their translators, as well as, on the other, a reorientation of the "we" and "you" of the text with the added layer of interpretation provided by the translators; while in the original Danish, the "vi" ("we") was a comprehensible call from the animal kingdom, in the French it is a nonsensical, eerie sound issuing from the original text. This draws a parallel between an imagined state where humans can understand animal vocalizations and an imagined state where all languages would correspond perfectly with one another.

Grégoire and Moland's treatment of this onomatopoetic moment draws attention to their own work as translators, although they shift the ordering of the first- and second-person address, creating a mirror effect between the order of "we" and "you," of self and other. Another similar instance occurs in the tale "The Snow Queen" (S*nedronningen*): Gerda is descending the river in a boat and begins to weep.

Nobody hears her but the sparrows and, as if they wanted to console her, ”they flew along the banks crying, ’Her ere vi! her ere vi!” (”comme pour la consoler, ils volaient le long de la rive et criaient : « Her ere vi ! her ere vi ! » ” 228). In the French translation, there is a footnote to explain the significance of the swallows’ cry, though it is not altogether precise. Whereas the Danish translates word-for-word to “Here we are!” Grégoire and Moland supply the following explanation: “These words, which form an onomatopoeia, mean ‘Yes, here we are; yes, here we are!’ ” (“Ces mots, qui forment une onomaptopée, ont le sens de : “Si, nous voici; si, nous voici!” ibid).

It is worth noting that these instances that Grégoire and Moland identify as onomatopoetic are in fact not onomatopoetic. In the Andersen text, these animals seem to be speaking the language of Danish humans; the reader of the Danish can understand them. The footnote serves to distance the French reader from the tale, positioning the translators as guides to foreign lands, much as Andersen positioned himself as a storyteller capable of transporting his audience. At the same time, instances such as the “vi og i” (“you and we”) becoming “nous et vous” (“we and you”) at the start of a phrase that already exhibits palindromic features, highlight the processes of familiarization and defamiliarization that are at work in both storytelling and translation.

Storytelling and translation reveal themselves to both be means of travel; as Berman has argued, translation implicates the experience of the foreign and an accompanying *Bildung*. The German *Bildung* is etymologically related to the English “to build” and means “formation” or “development.” Max Lüthi, in turn, has noted that the heroes of fairy tales are the ones that travel and cross frontiers (Lüthi 141).

The *Bildung* of Berman's "experience of the foreign" (*épreuve de l'étranger*) applies to the heroes of fairy tales who travel into unfamiliar territory to then return.

Fairy Tale Men

In the nineteenth century, tales of adventure took readers to exciting new lands. Andersen's tales appeared in the *Journal des Débats* amidst other narratives of what for the French reader would be exotic lands; the same is the case for Dumas's rewritings of Andersen that he featured in his *Le Monte Cristo : journal hebdomadaire de romans, d'histoire, de voyages, et de poésie*, a weekly publication that Dumas directed from 1857 to 1862 – Dumas and Dumas only, as the reader is reminded by the text, in all capital letters, "published and edited by Alexandre Dumas alone" ("publié et rédigé par Alexandre Dumas, seul") beneath the masthead.

Le Monte Cristo provided diverse stories and tales primarily about travel. In his fascinating analysis of Dumas's translating/storytelling, François notes that Dumas treats the world's repositories of stories as common property. Despite this, Dumas's versions of various tales were indeed his own creations, and the second line on the journal's front page, beneath the price and the date, reads "All translations or reproductions are prohibited" ("Toute traduction et reproduction sont interdites"). Dumas borrowed from Hoffmann, as with *Histoire d'un casse-noisette*, as well as the Grimms and Andersen. With a position somewhere between translator and storyteller, though Dumas "clearly appropriates works of other authors, he does not directly claim them to be he is own. They are presented neither as French tales nor as original

creations" (François 2015: 290). This attitude towards collective authorship and ownership of tales recalls the attitude of Gueullette, who may never even have left his library, towards the travels of his imagination.

Conclusion

Storytelling as Translation

This study has served to show that fairy tales in the Western tradition, by foregrounding the process of transmission and the role of the storyteller, is a genre that is especially relevant to translation studies. The theme of transmission complements the fact that historically, fairy tales have moved with great facility from language to language and from one representational system to the next. Although this study begins in the 1690s, the history of the fairy tale reaches back much farther, temporally and spatially, beyond the salons of Paris and the halls of Versailles. As I addressed in Chapter 1, there were Italian sources available to Perrault, in addition to the stories from the French grandmothers and nurses, who had likely derived their tales from the French troubadours. The fascination with original sources for tales, and the plasticity of the narratives about quests for such sources, structure the reception of fairy tales and allow them to circulate with facility across literary traditions.

The search for the origins of fairy tales has led scholars down labyrinths of interminable manuscripts, attributions, variations, and marginalia. Accounts of such scholarship, much like the title of Perrault's *Histories, or Tales of Past Times, With Moralities* (*Histoires, ou contes du temps passé, avec des moralitez*), invite a dialogical reading between "histories" and "tales" of the past. They involve dramatic episodes and inscribe the storytellers and the act of discovery, and recovery, into our imaginations and condition our reception of the tales. The Grimm Brothers allegedly destroyed the first version that they had produced of their *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*,

contained in what is today referred to as the Ölenberg manuscript after the monastery in Ölenberg, Alsace, where scholars found a second copy in the 1970s.[149] Because the contents of this manuscript, apparently representing transcriptions the Grimms made of the German tales (*Märchen*) they had heard throughout the German countryside were so different from the subsequent edited versions, scholars of the Grimm Brothers were compelled to reconsider just how faithfully the Grimms had recorded the tales. Were these *Märchen* in the manuscript the originals? What, then, were the versions from the 1857 edition of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*? And ultimately, to whom do these stories belong?

Translation as Storytelling

The question of authorship is one that is central to both translation studies and fairy tale scholarship. Donald Haase addresses this question in his article "Yours, Mine or Ours? Perrault, the Brothers Grimm, and the Ownership of Fairy Tales," the title of which is echoed in Apter's discussion of copyright, translation, and plagiarism in "What is Yours, Ours, and Mine: Authorial Ownership and the Creative Commons" from approximately fifteen years later. Haase, on the one hand, contends that when a nation claims ownership of fairy tales, it is, paradoxically, the fairy tales that actually own those who claim them by remaining fixed and perpetuating stereotypes about a given group; to counter this, writes Haase, "We claim fairy tales in every individual act of telling and reading. If we avoid reading fairy tales as

[149] Jack Zipes, *Grimm Legacies: The Magic Spell of the Grimms' Folk and Fairy Tales*, 2014, p. 40.

models of behavior and normalcy, they can become for us revolutionary documents that encourage the development of personal autonomy" (Haase 395). Collective ownership and authorship does not negate the value that fairy tales have for individuals, and in fact invests them with the power to adapt such tales in accordance with their own needs. Simultaneously, it exposes the problems inherent to identifying the "original" intentions of an author or a fairy tale. If translation be treason, according to the frequently-cited adage in Italian *traduttore, traditore* ("translator, traitor"), the betrayal is not of an original text, but rather the very notion of one.

Dumas's treatment of material by Hoffmann and Andersen reveals a conceptualization of the *conte* as a form of common property (François 2015). It is worth noting that Dumas translated only from the German, and this with the assistance of his wife, who had greater mastery of the language, and thus relied on German versions of Andersen's Danish *Eventyr* ("fairy tales"/ "adventures"). These forms of common property circulate internationally, and the inscriptions of the storyteller within the tales are markers of generations of successive owners. Such tales are works-in-progress, or what Emily Apter designated as the "worked or working text" ("œuvre ouvrée"), which no longer belong to a single author, but rather "emerges as a site of translational or editorial labor" (Apter 2007: 1410). A translation, like a *conte*, has previous textual referents, and though it may read like an original, is in fact a composite of intertextual relations to the source system it departs from and the target system into which it enters. If "works become world literature when they gain on balance in translation," as David Damrosch has observed (Damrosch 289), fairy tales are the translational genre *par excellence*. While all texts

are derivative in one way or another, some are more overtly so. Genette refers to such texts as "massively hypertextual" and explains that relatives of translation such as travesty serve to update, or familiarize, otherwise obscure texts.[150]

Fairy tales expose the myths of precise, faithful transmission and in so doing, dramatize the transformative potential of metamorphosis. The outcome is not the abandonment of attempting to understand the artistic creations from other cultures and traditions, but of experiencing these epistemological endeavors as dialogical processes rather than unidirectional procedures that reinforce the borders between subject and object. Walter Benjamin characterized translation as a "mode" that constantly confers new life to an original text. The fairy tales of this study challenge the notion of definitive originals, providing patent examples of texts in constant transition and translation; they are extreme cases of textual renewal. Benjamin writes that in translation, the life of the original "achieves its constantly renewed, latest and most comprehensive unfolding."[151] Damrosch has likewise called world literature as a mode "of circulation and reading" (Damrosch 5), and translation necessarily occupies a central position in these movements. As such, the transfer of literatures is not a question of transaction or imitation but, to borrow Emmerich's terminology, proliferation.

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[150] "Le travestissement es le contraire d'une distanciation : il naturalise et assimile, au sens (métaphoriquement) juridique de ces termes, le texte parodié. Il l'actualise," Genette 1982, p. 69.

[151] "In ihnen erreicht das Leben des Originals seine stets erneute späteste und umfassendste Entfaltung," trans. Steven Rendall.

Translation and Storytelling as World Literature

When Johann Wolfgang von Goethe used the term "world literature" ("Weltliteratur") in 1827, he referred to poetry as the common good, or "Gemeingut," of all the people of the world. He was speaking in particular of his perception that German authors needed to incorporate new, foreign elements into their literature, but was concerned not only with what could enter the German language, but also what what influence German authors were having on other literatures. Tellers of tales have portrayed themselves as bringing other worlds to their audiences: Perrault the *contes* of the French peasants for the aristocrats at Versailles; Thomas-Simon Gueullette stories from Brittany, Tartary, Mongolia, China, and Peru; the Grimms, the ancient tales of the *Volk*; and Hans Christian Andersen, the *Eventyr* he'd heard from the natural world. These authors were all well-versed in tales from other languages, as well, and their stories incorporate influences from stories that circulated in both written and oral form across multiple languages and in multiple translations.

These tales are not unmediated cultural products but renewals. Materials from both oral and written traditions combined to create innovative forms that highlight the participation of the mediator in the production of meaning. This foregrounds the authorial role of the translator as well as the reader. As with an oral performance of a tale, as depicted in the frontispiece to *German Popular Stories*, each reading of a tale is a unique one. Translation in its various forms, by involving both source and target literary contexts, is a matter of a dynamic interplay between the two, rather than a question of the faithful replication of invariable content.

While the concept of paratexts informs this study's approach to the presentation of fairy tales as derivative works, another concept from Genette, based upon Claude Lévi-Strauss and Roland Barthes before him, is instructive in terms of the interpretation of fairy tales as derivative works and, as I suggest in this study, translation on the whole: the notion of *bricolage*. This term in French is based upon the verb *bricoler*, which frequently appears in English as *to tinker* or *to cobble*. An overtly hypertextual work such as a translation or a fairy tale introduces materials into a new context. Genette writes that hypertextuality is related to *bricolage*, and that this "art of 'making new things out of old' has the merit, at least, of generating more complex and more savory objects than those that are 'made on purpose'; a new function is superimposed upon and interwoven with an older structure, and the dissonance between these two concurrent elements imparts its flavor to the resulting whole" (Genette 398).[152] This flavor is ever-present in the play between the text of the fairy tale and the paratexts that provide a narrative about its sources.

Applied to translation, Genette's model of *bricolage* dispenses with the question of what is lost or gained in translation by privileging neither source nor target but rather the dialogue in between. Further exploration of translation and fairy tales as *bricolage* could prove fruitful to contemporary discussions regarding how to read translations. While it is possible to conceive of fairy tales as a form of literature common to all, with the "jumble of voices" (François) and the imagined "once upon a time" of the tales' origins portraying storytellers as translators as capable of

[152] "Disons seulement que l'art de "faire du neuf avec du vieux" a l'avantage de produire des objets plus complexes et plus savoureux que les produits "faits exprès" : une fonction

resuscitating or reincarnating works, questions of copyright and intellectual property complicate the matter for other genres. One possible solution and avenue for further research is provided by Venuti's injunction to read "translations as translations" (Venuti 2013), whereby a translator's contribution is a consideration in the interpretation of the work as a whole, and the reading involving a dialogical, rather than hierarchical, comparison. In other words, the reader of a translation expects to encounter the unfamiliar, as does the hero of a fairy tale.

These tales are riddles that pass from culture to culture and generation to generation, defying a logic that polarizes source and copy; invention versus imitation. The alternative to these two is rather *translatio*. Here, for example, the "vi og i" of Andersen may transform into "nous et vous." Translation and the fairy tale involve the participation of multiple authors, and Tatar explains that it is precisely the transmission from generation to generation and origins in oral traditions that has endowed such tales with an important adaptability. Versions of tales differ from region to region, "picking up bits and pieces of local culture and lore, drawing a turn of phrase from a song or another story and fleshing out characters with features taken from the audience witnessing their performance" (Tatar 2004). This act of recombination and rearrangement is evident in written texts as well, such as the works of Perrault and the *salonnières*, whose works in turn appeared in various forms and editions, recombined, forming their own new narratives and forms of enchantment.

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nouvelle se superpose et s'enchevêtre à une structure ancienne, et la dissonance entre ces deux éléments coprésents donne sa saveur d'ensemble," Genette 1982, p. 451.

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