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TRANSLATION

CAY DOLLERUP

Tales and Translation

*The Grimm Tales from
Pan-Germanic narratives
to shared international
fairytales*

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TALES AND TRANSLATION
THE GRIMM *TALES* FROM PAN-GERMANIC NARRATIVES TO
SHARED INTERNATIONAL FAIRYTALES

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Volume 30

Cay Dollerup

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TALES AND TRANSLATION
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CAY DOLLERUP
University of Copenhagen

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‘The raven’ (illustration: Philip Grot Johann and R. Leinweber, 1893)

INTRODUCTION

Translation Studies is sometimes characterised as interdisciplinary. This book studies translation as an important factor in intercultural relations and it draws on history, on folklore, on comparative literature and on other fields of study. Accordingly, it will, I hope, appeal to readers interested in our shared international cultural heritage, including scholars from disciplines such as comparative literature, cultural studies, folklore, and national literatures. It considers individual as well as communal and collective efforts to preserve that legacy.

The book focuses primarily on the *Children and household tales* (henceforth *Tales*) collected at the beginning of the nineteenth century by the brothers Grimm in Westphalia, Germany. They command interest because, combined with the *Fairytales* of the Danish writer Hans Christian Andersen, they came to form the core of a new literary genre: the international fairy tale.

It is my thesis that translation was of central importance to this process: translation involves a certain reorientation of texts, and this process of reorientation seems to be particularly obvious in translations of literature, including tales. The Danes were the first to translate the German *Tales*. This is attributable to the close ties between the brothers Grimm and prominent personalities in Danish intellectual life at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Danish translations of the *Tales* throughout the subsequent nearly two hundred years reflect many changes in the Danish receptor culture, in Danish language, history, and national attitudes. The relations of the brothers Grimm with Denmark were not unidirectional, but dialectic, for the influence extended in both directions. Danish encouragement, Danish work in linguistics, and the brothers' knowledge of Norse mythology as mediated from Denmark, played important roles in their work, especially, of course, in linguistics and in their translations of Danish ballads and Norse poetry. Danish linguistics had a direct bearing on their views concerning the origin of tales, including their own. Conversely, the brothers' activities inspired a Dane to undertake the earliest systematic folklore collecting in the world, and the early translations of the German tales into Danish ultimately inspired Hans Christian Andersen to write his fairy tales.

At a higher level, it is a tenet of this study as well as of most scholarly endeavour that events do not happen at random: ultimately a systematic approach will yield insights and provide us with at least tentative hypotheses about cause and effect. Many of the so-called problems associated with the Grimm *Tales* are not incomprehensible, once they are put in context. Furthermore, at a higher level, the history of the Grimm *Tales*, in German, in Danish, and in international cultural contexts, illustrates some aspects of translation as cross-cultural communication. Moving from the textual level to questions of publication, the role of translators, and societal forces influencing translation, the present study is the most comprehensive study of translations of one type ever in the context of translation scholarship. It is therefore no surprise that it both supports and weakens some points of current trends in Translation Studies and Theory. This probing is carried out indirectly by a presentation of the facts throughout the book and, since this will be obvious to translation scholars, I have deliberately avoided long discursive deviations, in order not to blur the picture.

Although folkloristic narration has some similarities with translational activity and therefore offers interesting and novel insights into translation, notably, of course, of tales and other children's literature, this book is not a study of folklore. Nor is it an exhaustive discussion of the brothers Grimm in the German context, nor a sweeping reassessment of their contribution to literature and scholarship. The book focuses on the brothers' work on their tales at an intersection between folklore, linguistics and translation, especially in terms of 'reorientations' of tales and their subsequent careers or lives in foreign climes. In this respect, there is a clear connection between the tales Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm took down mostly in homely surroundings in Westphalia, and the tales' impact in present-day international co-prints. In itself it is a topic of considerable complexity. In addition, the distance in history renders many facts that were originally obvious, opaque and hard to understand in today's world. I have therefore chosen to start from scratch and take little for granted. This means that jaded Grimm scholars may find little new in the first three pages, except the accent. This decision is also prompted by the fact that there are many erroneous beliefs about the brothers Grimm: if I am to tell my tale smoothly, its basis must be sound and unambiguous.

The study opens with a discussion of the brothers Grimm and their background. Their relations to Denmark are placed in a historical and cultural context. This leads to a description of 'ideal tales', the brothers' methods of recording, and their assumptions about tales in order to be able to see if their intentions were realised in Danish translations.

Danish translations of the Grimm stories are then identified by means of the Danish national bibliography, catalogues, and personal research. This registration is used to illustrate the broad impact of the translations of the Grimm stories, and, above all, to provide evidence for the subsequent discussion: readers can readily check my information.

We then move on to an in-depth analysis of the way the tales were introduced in Danish, their impact, the factors affecting their form (including orthographical changes), the promotion of the stories by translators and publishers, the impact and longevity of the tales, and related questions. There is an analysis of the way translators have dealt with the tales and especially those layers in the tales which are transformed or retained in translations. This leads to a scrutiny of the factors in the tales that make for 'popularity' and for an identification of the tales central to the Danish Grimm Canon. Attention then focuses on the introduction and impact of illustrations, today in the form of international coprints which are now the most important carriers of the Grimm tales, as well as of Hans Christian Andersen's *Fairytales*: it was because Andersen and Grimm were translated, first into each other's languages and subsequently into other European languages, that readers decided that their stories were the same type of literature. Translators responded by offering more of the same kind and the fusion of the German and the Danish genres created and consolidated a new literary genre: the international fairy-tale, which, today, exists in an international, rather than any national, culture. It has won global acclaim and its central stories are instantly recognised by readers. It was disseminated and formed in translation, and to this day, Andersen and Grimm are, respectively, the most translated Danish and German writers, ranking second only to Shakespeare. This genre sprang from a close mutual relationship between Denmark and

Germany in terms of cultural present and linguistic past. For the last feature, I use the old-fashioned word 'Pan-Germanic' to stress that the relationship between Germany and Denmark was previously another than it is today when Germany is powerful and Denmark insignificant.

Translation having been central to the creation of the fairytale genre, the study ends with a discussion of the implications for Translation Studies.

I am *describing* a state of affairs which I find intriguing, fascinating, and sometimes alien to my own way of thinking. I do not intend to condemn, or point a finger at scholars, at librarians who are the educated curators of the bibliographical heritage, and at publishers, translators, and editors who pass on tales which have little to do with the stories the Grimms penned. In the present study, I have not the slightest intention of rapping others over the knuckles for misprints, mistakes, or other errors: it is only in exceptional cases, where misapprehensions may be carried on or where there is conflicting evidence, that I cite sources.

Little prior work has been directly useful to me. My references are scarce, but duly acknowledged in the footnotes. In a text heavily burdened by internal reference to the webs of tales woven by Wilhelm Grimm (and me), excursive footnotes would not be conducive to fluent reading. I have used, with caution, the fine studies on the Grimm heritage by Ludwig Denecke, Gunild Ginschel, Heinz Rölleke and others, but wish to stress that this is an independent study, which discusses the brothers' relationship with Denmark, and the Danish translations of their tales, both topics being pertinent to Translation Studies.

Turning to Translation Studies as such, a field in which I have been active for more than a quarter of a century, I can see that the approach I applied from the beginning of my research career has now crystallised and defined itself as a specific branch, Descriptive Translation Studies. Since my work on this book was started (around 1980) before this branch was really established, it will be readily understood that I owe no great debt to it. I am not in agreement on all points, but, on the other hand, it is obvious that this is the branch to which I relate most easily, for which reason most references are to Descriptive Translation Studies, notably as expounded by Gideon Toury in 1995.

In this book I shall not attempt to gather up all loose ends, but shall rather cut them short by a reference, or even, in some instances, by qualified guesses: there will inevitably be areas one fails to cover in any study. Given the need to keep track of an enormous amount of minutiae, I have often taken recourse to a brief repetition instead of cross-references (which are also used). It has proved impossible to be consistent everywhere. I offer no apology for this. For those inclined to cavil, the present book will, I am sure, provide a happy hunting ground. Uniformity would indeed be a bore, but, in more cases than one, inconsistencies are due to the fact that consistency would lead to ambiguity.

I dedicate this book to my children, Karen and Peter, who, many years ago, received Carl Ewald's *Complete Grimm* for Christmas and consequently craved for and therefore listened attentively to my readings and retellings of all the Grimm *Tales*. Their pertinent,

unscholarly, and untutored response (re)opened my eyes to the marvels the Grimm *Tales* unfold to children all over the world.

CD

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There are numerous people to whom I must extend my thanks, and I cannot possibly list everybody. My greatest thanks go to Iven Reventlow and Carsten Rosenberg Hansen, with whom I have been in close scholarly communion for more than a quarter of a century; the concept of the 'ideal tale' sprang from that cooperation in 1981-1982. I am indebted to the late Bengt Holbek for fruitful discussions over a ten-year period, to Marion Fewell, Henrik Gottlieb, Gisela Jensen, and Viggo Hjørnager Pedersen for encouragement and comment, and, in particular to Jennifer Draskau, Silvana Orel, and Gideon Toury for incisive, constructive, and, at the same time friendly criticism.

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The illustrations have been made in close cooperation with Lars Beierholm. Most pictures have been photographed by Messrs Mann Nielsen of the Arnamagnæan Institute, University of Copenhagen. Most portraits were readily procured by Mr John M. Christensen of 'Billedsamlingen' at the Royal Library, Copenhagen, and were photographed at the Royal Library.

The pictures have been chosen for exemplification and the quality in the reproduction does not do justice to the craftsmanship that went into them. I hope this will be understood by all readers. In particular I wish to thank the eminent Danish illustrator, Svend Otto S. and his heir, Kristin Wiborg, for their generous permission to reproduce some of his grand illustrations.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SPECIAL TERMS

| | |
|-------------------------|--|
| Anon. | = Anonymous |
| Anthology | = a collection comprising Grimm tales <i>and</i> material from other sources |
| bd | = bound, hardbound, leatherbound |
| <i>BLC</i> | = <i>British Library Catalogue</i> |
| Brdr. | = Brødrene, i.e. the brothers Grimm |
| cf. | = compare; information from |
| cm | = centimetre. 1 cm = 0.4 inch |
| Collection | = a collection (claiming to) contain only Grimm tales |
| <i>Complete Edition</i> | = only used for the <i>Grosse Ausgabe</i> which Wilhelm Grimm saw to the press (1812/1815, 1819, 1837, 1840, 1843, 1850, 1857). |
| <i>Complete Grimm</i> | = only used for translations into other languages which are uncritical (volume 1 or 2 or both (in Denmark: 'Lindencrone', Daugaard, Carl Ewald, and Villy Sørensen)) |
| ctd | = continued |
| <i>DB</i> | = <i>Dansk Bogfortegnelse</i> or <i>Biblioteca Danica</i> . The Danish national bibliography |
| Dkr | = Danish kroner (1 krone = 100 øre). Also sometimes abbreviated DKK |
| Ed/ed | = editor, edition |
| <i>Edition</i> | = spelled with a capital 'E' it always refers to authorial German <i>Editions</i> . |

| | |
|-----------|--|
| fn. | = footnote |
| GV | = <i>Gesamtverzeichnis</i> . The German national bibliography |
| ISBN | = International Standard Book Number. [Denmark has '87']. |
| KHM | = <i>Kinder- und Hausmärchen</i> . In order to avoid complete chaos, scholars refer to specific Grimm tales by the numbers they were given by Wilhelm Grimm in the <i>Complete Edition</i> of 1857, the seventh and last one he saw to the press. There is, however, some disagreement about the way in which to tackle tales that were omitted or changed radically between 1812 and 1857. I follow Rölleke (rpt 1857). |
| kilometre | = 0.62 mile |
| NUC | = <i>National Union Catalog</i> |
| orig. | = originally |
| p. | = page (used in cross reference and for clarity) |
| pb | = paperbound, clothbound |
| pp | = pages |
| 'Preface' | = One of the forewords in the German <i>Complete Editions</i> . All <i>Editions</i> after 1819 reprinted the 'Prefaces' of previous <i>Editions</i> : this makes for confusion. |
| q.v. | = for further details, see |
| recto | = right hand page |
| rev. | = revised |
| RL | = the institution and staff at the Royal Library, Copenhagen |
| RLC | = the Catalogues at the Royal Library, Copenhagen |
| rpt | = reprint, reprinted |
| ULC | = the catalogues at the (now defunct) University Library, Copenhagen |
| verso | = left hand page |
| vol. | = volume |
| x | = in measurements: 'by' |

QUOTATIONS

Many texts quoted in this study are in German or Danish. In order to make for a smooth reading, I give an English translation and sometimes cite more of the 'original text' in the source language for the benefit of multilingual readers. I dispense with the German originals in the appendix for reasons of space. Idiomatic English usage gets the better of a closer but awkward translation.

Quotations from the writings of Jacob Grimm are particularly difficult, since he used an orthography of his own. Following Weishaupt's lead (p. 237), I render his words the way they are given in the source quoted.

English and American usage on this point is inconsistent. In the present work I have chosen to do as follows: The punctuation inside quotation marks is normally that of the original text. Punctuation outside the quotation marks is mine. Parentheses which are added to section are punctuated outside the 'end/unquote'.

... indicates a cut.

[...] is a clarification inserted by me.

References to pages are usually without a [p.] except when a misunderstanding might arise.

.../... = new line or paragraph. ...//... = new page

I have tried to use "..." for originals and '...' for translations, but the overriding concern being with clarity, this usage is not entirely consistent.

All original emphases, no matter whether spaced, in bold, or italics, are uniformly rendered in italics. Italic type which I have inserted for emphasis is duly noted.



'The house in the forest' (illustration: Svend Otto S., 1970)

**GERMANY:
TELLING THE TALES.
THE BROTHERS GRIMM, THEIR *TALES*
AND THE PAN-GERMANIC CULTURAL HERITAGE**

French, German and Danish history 1785-1871 (simplified)

| YEAR | FRANCE | GERMANY | DENMARK | YEAR |
|------|----------------------------------|---|---|-------------|
| 1789 | French Revolution | | | |
| 1799 | Napoleon consul | | | |
| 1803 | War with England (until 1814) | Hesse becomes a principality | Naval battle of Copenhagen | 1801 |
| 1804 | Napoleon Emperor | | | |
| 1806 | War with Prussia | Hesse ruler flees from Kassel | Holsten incorporated in Denmark | 1806 |
| 1807 | Peace of Tilsit | Westphalia created | Bombardment of Co- penhagen. War with England 1807-1813 as Napoleon's ally | 1807 |
| 1808 | | | | |
| 1809 | | | | |
| 1810 | | | | |
| 1811 | | | | |
| 1812 | Russian campaign | | | |
| 1813 | | Westphalia dissolved Hesse ruler reinstated in Kassel | | |
| 1814 | | Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) concludes the Napoleonic Wars | Norway ceded to Sweden | 1814 |
| 1815 | Napoleon defeated at Waterloo | | | |
| 1830 | French Revolution | | | |
| 1848 | French Revolution | The Frankfurt Assembly | Victory in the first Slesvig-Holsten War | 1848- 51 |
| 1862 | | Bismarck Prussian Prime minister | Defeat in the second Slesvig-Holsten War | 1863- 64 |
| 1864 | | Slesvig-Holsten War with Denmark | | |
| 1866 | | Prussian-Austrian War | | |
| 1870 | Siege of Paris | Franco-German War | | |
| 1871 | | German Empire under Prussia | | |

THE LIVES OF THE BROTHERS GRIMM

The brothers Grimm were born and bred in the German county of Hesse, which - by the grace of Napoleon, Emperor of France - became a principality in 1803.¹

Jacob Grimm was born on 4 January 1785 and Wilhelm Grimm on 24 February 1786. They were the two eldest of the children (five sons, one daughter) of Dorothea Zimmer (1755-1808) and Philipp Wilhelm Grimm (1755-1796), a civil servant in the Hesse administration.²

Initially, the family lived at Hanau, at the point where the River Kinzig joins the River Main. In 1791, Philipp Grimm was appointed the *Amtmann* of Steinau, a further 45 kilometres up the Kinzig. Life in the provincial town was tranquil, with people from all walks of life calling on the respected household. However, the idyll, the brothers' schooling, and their youthful collection of "insects, butterflies and suchlike"³ came to an end with Philipp Grimm's premature death in 1796. Accordingly, the eldest son, Jacob became the 'responsible' male head of the family. The children's aunt, Henriette Zimmer, who was the *erste Kammerfrau* (principal woman of the bedchamber) to Princess Wilhelmine-Caroline, wife of Landgrave Wilhelm, the ruler of Hesse, then stepped in. Thanks to the board and lodging defrayed by Henriette Zimmer, Jacob and Wilhelm were able to attend school at Kassel and receive additional private tuition in Latin and French from 1798. They were admitted to the University of Marburg on the Lahn (Jacob in 1802; and Wilhelm in 1803). They quickly gained prominence in the student body and attracted the attention of an eminent scholar of law, Professor Karl Friedrich von Savigny. Savigny was primarily interested in the Roman Law of the Middle Ages and his historical methods encouraged the brothers to pursue studies in Old German literature. He also invited them to consult him and to visit him.

In 1803 Jacob Grimm had his first encounter with the German cultural heritage. It occurred in Karl von Savigny's private library: this is how he remembered it many years later, in 1850:

"I recall that, on the right-hand wall at the back as one entered, there was a quarto, Bodmer's collection of Minnelieder, which I picked up and opened for the first time; it contained 'Mr Jacob von Warte' and 'Mr Kristan von Hamle' with poems in a curious, barely comprehensible [Old] German." ('Ich entsinne mich, von der Tür eintretend an der Wand zur rechten Hand ganz hinten fand sich auch ein Quartant, Bodmers Sammlung der Minnenlieder, den ich ergriff und zum erstenmal aufschlug, da stand zu lesen 'her Jakob von Warte' und 'her Kristan von Hamle', mit Gedichten in seltsamem, halb unverständlichem Deutsch.' (Gerstner: 28))

From then on, thanks to Karl von Savigny's inspiration in terms of methods and his personal interest in the brothers' welfare, their careers came to focus increasingly on studies of the German cultural and linguistic past, and hence on the common Germanic heritage; within a few years they were ranked among the leading authorities.

Accompanied by his wife and (sometimes) her sister Elisabeth ('Bettina') Brentano (who later married the German poet Achim von Arnim), Savigny started a lengthy tour of libraries in 1804 in order to pursue his studies. The following year, on his arrival in Paris, the capital of the Napoleonic Empire, he invited Jacob Grimm to assist him. Jacob gladly accepted and went to Paris, where he worked for Savigny (mostly comparing manuscripts) and simultaneously pursued his own studies of manuscripts and observed cosmopolitan life in the French capital. He was also lonely and homesick, so it is no

surprise that he had a sudden outburst, a vision, as it were, describing to his cherished brother their future cooperation and careers:

“Dear Wilhelm, we will never be permanently apart; if one of us is moved elsewhere, the other must immediately leave his post. We are so accustomed to this companionship that even the shortest separation saddens me to death.” (‘...lieber Wilhelm, wir wollen uns einmal nie trennen, und gesetzt, man wollte einen anderswohin thun, so müsste der andere gleich aufsagen. Wir sind nun diese Gemeinschaft so gewohnt, dass mich schon das Vereinzeln zum Tode betrüben könnte.’ (Letter to Wilhelm 12 July 1805))

Wilhelm’s answer was reassuring:

“Also, dear Jacob, what you write about staying together ... has moved me. It has always been my wish, for I feel that no-one else is so fond of me as you are, and I love you equally well.” (‘Sonst, lieber Jacob, was Du schreibst von Zusammenbleiben ist recht schön und hat mich gerührt. Das ist immer mein Wunsch gewesen, denn ich fühle, dass mich niemand so lieb hat als Du, und ich liebe Dich gewiss ebenso herzlich.’ (Letter 10 August 1805))

In the summer of 1805, the family, including their mother and sister, were finally united in Kassel under the same roof. From then on the brothers lived together, sharing the same study, even after Wilhelm married Dorothea Wild on 15 May 1825. In 1806, Wilhelm graduated from university in Marburg.

Jacob was the breadwinner and early in 1806 he obtained a minor clerical post as ‘Kriegssekretariatsaccessist’ at the Hesse ‘Kriegskollegium’, but resigned after the French occupation.⁴ Shortly after his mother’s death, Jacob experienced a stroke of good fortune. Thanks to a recommendation by the historian Johannes von Müller and to his own knowledge of French, he was engaged as private librarian to the French King Jérôme of Westphalia in Kassel in July 1808.

In a private audience on 17 February 1809, King Jérôme informed Jacob Grimm that he was also appointed ‘auditeur au conseil d’état’. Jacob saw this as another unexacting post which brought in additional money, enough to make him feel that he no longer had financial problems.

By his own standards, Jacob’s duties were light: he attended meetings at the Council of State and at the library, but was, by and large, free to spend time studying Old Germanic poetry and language, as he now had easier access to books;⁵ he also had time to publish the occasional review.⁶ “I cannot really say anything bad about the King; he was always very friendly and decent towards me.” (‘von dem König kann ich nicht übel reden; er benahm sich gegen mich immer freundlich und anständig.’)⁷

King Jérôme’s reign - and Jacob’s librarianship - ended abruptly when the French were ousted in late 1813. Immediately after, in December 1813, Jacob Grimm became a ‘Legationssekretär’ for the reinstated Hesse administration. In this capacity, he went to Paris to retrieve rare books and manuscripts which the French had removed from Hesse; later, as the secretary to the Hesse Minister of Foreign Affairs, he participated in the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815), the European summit meeting which settled the division of spoils and losses in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars. While he was there, in a subordinate position and representing one of the innumerable minor and largely unimportant nations, he had plenty of time to found a folklore society in the name of which he published a *Circular* appealing to the élite among the Germanic peoples to collect folkloristic material.

Meanwhile, Wilhelm, whose health was poor, stayed at Kassel, apart from a prolonged visit between late March 1809 and January 1810 to the spa town of Halle where he consulted the prominent physician Johannes Christian Reil (1759-1813).

The brothers were appointed librarians, Wilhelm in 1814 and Jacob in 1816, under the reinstated ruler of Hesse, Prince Wilhelm. The library was open only three hours a day, so they had ample time for pursuing their scholarship. This work on German (and general) philology gained momentum and wide acclaim and saw numerous publications.

They worked jointly on the *Children and household tales* (*Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (1812)); on the scholarly journal *Altdeutsche Wälder* (1813-15); on an edition of songs from Norse mythology (*Lieder der alten Edda* (1815)); on German local legends (*Deutsche Sagen* (2 vols. 1816-1818)); etc. Wilhelm's work focused on the *Tales* and on Germanic, including Scandinavian, literature; his very first publication was actually a collection of translated Danish ballads (*Altdänische Heldenlieder* (1811)); he further produced a study of runes (*Über deutsche Runen* (1821)), and concentrated on manuscripts with a Pan-Germanic background. Jacob's work took on a more linguistic bent, especially with his German grammar *Deutsche Grammatik* (3 vols. 1819-1831) and numerous works on general and Germanic linguistics.

Although the brothers' work was internationally respected, the princes of Hesse were not impressed, and the brothers were passed over for promotion in 1829.

The following year, they were summoned to Göttingen in the German Kingdom of Hannover to take up positions as librarians and professors. After nearly eight years, however, they incurred the displeasure of the newly appointed King Ernst August of Hannover when they signed a petition protesting against his annulment of incipient democratic reforms. They were dismissed and returned to Kassel.

In 1841, they were installed in professorial chairs in Berlin, Prussia, on favourable and honourable terms. These appointments assured the continuation of their work, among which their dictionary of German, *Das Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (first volume 1854), loomed large.

Despite their scholarly studies, they were never insensitive to the winds of democratic change which swept Europe; they were liberals from the days of their youth and, for a brief while, in 1848, Jacob Grimm was a member of the Frankfurt National Assembly. Inspired to democracy by the French Revolution of 1848, this assembly represented an important milestone on the road towards the unification of Germany. In it, Jacob Grimm spoke out for democracy and German unity. Nevertheless, he soon withdrew in disaffection, and returned to Wilhelm in Berlin. There, recognised throughout Germany and Europe for their contributions to scholarship, the brothers continued their studies until they died, Wilhelm in 1859 and Jacob in 1863.

THE HISTORICAL SETTING

The brothers Grimm lived in an epoch of change. They were affected by their own society and culture and by political upheaval. Their book of tales came into existence

in a specific historical context which serves to explain some features about those tales. Furthermore, in a study focusing on the relationship between the Grimm tales and their Danish translations, it is not only European history, but also the histories of the two countries which had a bearing on events.¹

During the lifetime of the brothers Grimm, the fates of Denmark and Germany underwent radical changes. At the beginning of the brothers' lives, Denmark-Norway loomed large in northern Europe, whereas Germany was split up into scores of small states, including Hesse. Towards the end of their lives, Denmark was divested of its power and a strong Germany was in the process of unification.

The lives of the brothers also spanned the period from the French Revolution (1789), with its ideals of equality, solidarity, and individual liberty, through the Napoleonic Wars (1800 to 1815), with their carnage and the beginning of nationalism largely propelled by the historically short-lived French domination of Europe, to the Revolution of 1848, which enfranchised the masses and broadened the power base. It was an epoch which saw industrialisation and the beginning of urbanisation in most European countries, great improvements in national infrastructures, and an enormous advance in the general level of education for all citizens that virtually swept away illiteracy.

The decline of Denmark

When the brothers Grimm were born, on the eve of the French Revolution of 1789 and the Napoleonic Wars, Denmark comprised Greenland, Iceland, the Faeroese Islands, Norway, and the German Duchies of Slesvig and Holsten. It was a major, predominantly neutral, naval power. However, the Battle of Copenhagen in 1801 forced the Danes to abandon their Alliance for Neutrality with Russia and Sweden; the Bombardment of Copenhagen (1807) led to the British takeover of the Danish navy and, consequently, to Danish entry into the Napoleonic Wars on the French side. In due course this alliance brought upon Denmark a crushing defeat, which was cemented at the Congress of Vienna: after a union with Denmark of more than four hundred years' standing, Norway was ceded to Sweden.

Danish foreign trade was disrupted as the Danish navy was captured and the merchant fleet destroyed. The country went bankrupt (1813) and the price of corn fell, to the detriment of Danish agriculture. German nationalism, which the Grimms, and Jacob in particular, supported, gained ground in the Duchies of Slesvig and Holsten and a party demanding unification with Germany was founded. Inspired by the French Revolution (February 1848), German nationalists took up arms against the Danes in a three-year revolt (1848-50). This insurrection was put down, but hostilities were resumed in 1863-64. This time the Danes lost, and ceded Slesvig and Holsten to Austria and to Prussia under Bismarck's rule.

The rise of Germany

The brothers Grimm were only about twenty years old when the Holy German Roman Empire (founded in 962) was quietly dissolved in 1806, and they died shortly before Bismarck created the second German Empire in 1871. The brothers' careers thus

coincided with the movement from a divided to a united Germany (a development with which they sympathised); from government in many small kingdoms, principalities and so on, to central administration in one capital. The brothers were born in a Germany fragmented into many different states, with only Prussia and Austria prominent in international politics; they were born in a small provincial town, attended school in a petty provincial capital, and went to a modest provincial university. Then, almost by accident, Jacob Grimm paid a transient visit to cosmopolitan Paris. This was followed by a period of more than six years when their home town of Kassel was the capital of the French-dominated Kingdom of Westphalia.

After the disappearance of French sovereignty, Kassel lapsed back into dormancy as the seat of an autocratic, small-state government averse to the brothers' liberal ideas. From there they moved to more lustrous positions in yet another small German kingdom, but ended their lives in Berlin, which was establishing itself as the grand capital of the German Empire.

The Kingdom of Westphalia (1807-13)

Emperor Napoleon held sway over the Europe in which the brothers Grimm first published their *Tales*. His decisions, his military strength, and his actions affected the lives of millions of Europeans, including the brothers Grimm. One of these actions, the creation of Westphalia, indirectly set the stage for the Grimm's interest in tales, and the ravages of the Napoleonic Wars provided a direct reason for their collection. The vast majority of Grimm tales were first collected in the years 1807 to 1813, when Kassel was the cosmopolitan capital of Westphalia.²

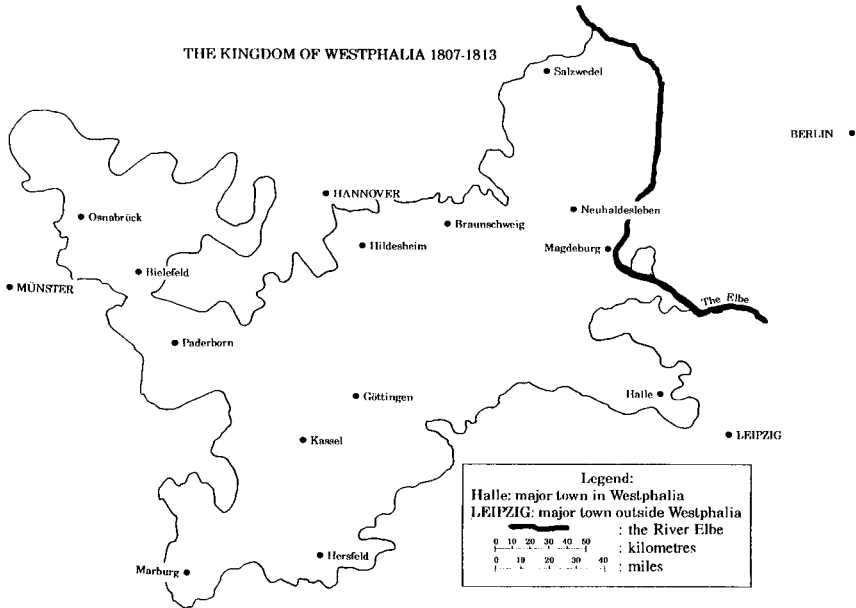
The Hesse in which the brothers were born was undistinguished. If known at all, it was mostly because of the ruling Landgraves' infamous practice of leasing their army to fight British wars in Europe as well as overseas, for instance in the American War of Independence.

Landgrave Wilhelm, ruler from 1785 to 1806, and again from 1813, was ambitious. He built himself a magnificent palace which he modestly named after himself, 'Wilhelmshöhe', just outside Kassel (1796). He also craved the title of Prince ('Kurfürst'), which was eventually bestowed upon him by Napoleon in 1803, at which time he was also more than recompensed for the loss of Hesse lands west of the Rhine to the French in 1797.

Despite the territorial gains of 1803, Hesse was no larger and no more prominent than many other petty German states. Its lands were literally scattered. They amounted to 8,250 square kilometres (3,200 square miles) with half a million inhabitants.³

Like most other German princes at the time, Wilhelm was content with French vassalage, so it came as a surprise that Napoleon invaded Hesse at the start of his campaign against Prussia in 1806. Prince Wilhelm fled the country. When the Peace of Tilsit was concluded in July 1807, Napoleon established the Kingdom of Westphalia with Kassel as the capital.

Although ungainly of shape, the new kingdom was geographically united. With two million inhabitants and 38,000 square kilometres (14,500 square miles), it was one of



the largest German states.⁴ It comprised a number of major towns, such as Halle, Magdeburg, Hildesheim, Paderborn, and Osnabrück. With c. 20,000 inhabitants, Kassel was only the third largest town, but, thanks to the existence of Wilhelmshöhe, it had a castle fit for a king.⁵

Napoleon appointed his youngest brother, Jérôme, King of Westphalia. Jérôme was married to Princess Katharine of Württemberg and took up residence at Wilhelmshöhe, aptly renamed ‘Napoleonshöhe’, 6 kilometres from the centre of Kassel. Although he never learnt German, King Jérôme initially took his duties as a ruler seriously, but gradually he tired of them. Despite his own modest habits, his court emphasised pomp and circumstance, and soon the Westphalian court at Napoleonshöhe was known as one of the most glamorous places in Europe.

There were scattered uprisings even as late as 1809, but the unending series of Napoleonic victories made the prospects of a return to the old rule unlikely. The new Kingdom of Westphalia was therefore a rising star in Napoleonic Europe. Comprising the very heartland of Germany, it was, in the words of a biased contemporary, “one of the most beautiful and strongest realms that rose from the ruins of Germany.” (‘dieser Name einem der schönsten und kräftigsten Reiche, das aus den Ruinen Deutschlands hervorging.’)⁶ It was intended to be a showpiece of French rule and administration.

The Westphalian court and government inevitably attracted fortune-hunters. Nevertheless, the majority of the King's ministers and counsellors were competent German or French aristocrats or bilinguals (for instance from Alsace). The administration was openly modelled on France, and to most inhabitants this was an improvement: despite war taxes and censorship, it also promoted trade and industry. It was based on the democratic ideas of equality of the French Revolution and instigated the abolition of serfdom. It also opened up the prospects of promising careers in the administration for the middle classes.



Jérôme, King of Westphalia 1807-1813

Jacob Grimm became eligible for such a career when he was appointed King Jérôme's personal librarian in July 1808.

Jacob Grimm's niche did not embroil him in policy making. He was primarily the King's private librarian. Jacob and (under his brother's direction) Wilhelm Grimm were suddenly in a position from which they could acquire new books and manuscripts for the greater glory of the Westphalian King. Jacob found that the post also provided him with good connections, especially in France, for his scholarly work.⁷

However light Jacob found his duties, his promotion to 'auditeur' in February 1809 was a sign that his services were appreciated. As an 'auditeur', Jacob was, as previously noted, present at meetings of the King's Council. He had no vote, but, like other 'auditeurs', he was expected to procure information relating to, one assumes, library and scholarly matters: hardly a taxing occupation.⁸ Since he knew French and German, his main duty was presumably to act as a linguistic middleman for the King in the bilingual Westphalian administration. In other words, Jacob functioned as the King's interpreter: Jacob mentions that he need not be present unless the King chaired the meetings.⁹

Jacob Grimm's librarianship enabled him and his brother to legitimately address scholars throughout Europe - mainly in nations under French rule or allied to Napoleon - in the interests of Westphalia. His presence at meetings of the King's Council, which discussed both national and international affairs, also provided the young Jacob Grimm with a unique vantage point for keeping abreast of general European developments. Jacob Grimm was thus a man of promise in one of the nations created by Emperor Napoleon. In his fifteen years of war, Napoleon seemed invincible, and therefore his creations were also expected to endure: there was no reason to doubt that Westphalia had come into existence for a long time to come.

Fate, however, would have it otherwise. Napoleon's campaign against Russia came to a disastrous end in late 1812 and his empire began to crumble. The Battle of Leipzig

16-18 October 1813 was decisive: a week later King Jérôme fled Westphalia for ever. The Kingdom of Westphalia ceased to exist.

Prince Wilhelm of Hesse returned to power in Kassel. He reintroduced the rule of reactionary pre-Westphalian days and reinstated people in their old (usually inferior and more poorly paid) posts.

Nevertheless, Jacob's services were, as noted above, called upon again by the Hesse administration to help recover books and art treasures and to act as a secretary at the Congress of Vienna.

The Congress of Vienna accepted Prince Wilhelm's claim to the Principality of Hesse. Lands were exchanged for others, so that, in 1816, the post-Napoleonic Hesse was much the same size as in 1803: 570,000 inhabitants and 9,600 square kilometres (3,700 square miles), only now its possessions were not scattered but made up one contiguous land.¹⁰ Hesse quietly slid back into obscurity and Kassel lost its international standing and splendour.

In terms of the specific relations between Denmark and Westphalia, it must not be forgotten that, in 1807, Denmark-Norway joined France because of the British attack on Copenhagen. The only free nation to voluntarily join Napoleon, Denmark-Norway waged its war independently of the French. Nevertheless, the alliance meant close cooperation. As the capital of Westphalia, which promoted internal European trade during the blockade of shipping from overseas, Kassel attracted foreigners, including Danes and Norwegians who carried out business transactions in Westphalia, or who just found the town a convenient stopover point on, for instance, one of the many axes from Napoleon's Paris: Paris-Kassel-Copenhagen. It was not a route for imperial commands but for messages, for news, for trade.

The cultural context

It was in Westphalia, in Kassel, that the brothers Grimm worked when they collected their tales in the heyday of the Romantic period.

Romanticism stressed individual freedom in public politics and private emotions and believed in the benevolent, empathic and animate character of nature: pantheism. In relation to the brothers Grimm, the most important feature about Romanticism was its intense concern with the historical perspective, in particular with the 'olden days' as a key to an understanding of contemporary - usually national - identity.

Interest in the German past thus prompted the Swiss critic J. J. Bodmer to edit minstrel ballads, *Fabeln aus den Zeiten der Minnesänger* (1757), the very book which was crucial in awakening Jacob Grimm's interest in medieval German. When the first tales were published in 1812, this coincided with a virtual flood of older works; they included editions and translations of the famous German *Nibelungenlied*, dealing with the exploits of Siegfried and the quest for the Nibelungen hoard, published by, for instance, Friedrich von der Hagen (1810), J. von Hindsberg (1813), A. Zeune (1813), and others.¹

Interest in the past was in the air: Johann Gottfried Herder propounded the idea that the collective consciousness of the people ('Volksseele') found its expression in different

languages and in 'folk literature' ('Volksdichtung'), notably ballads. The past contributed to the contemporary identity, and it could be used for influencing the fine arts: Goethe and his circle were interested in folk poetry as a universal phenomenon, as a common denominator, and last, but not least, as a source of inspiration. This is the case, for instance, in their deliberately artificial fairytales, 'Kunstmärchen', such as Johann Karl August Musäus' *Volksmärchen der Deutschen* (1782-85) and Johann Ludwig Tieck's *Volksmärchen* (1797).²

The German defeats in the first stages of the Napoleonic Wars contributed substantially to the awakening of German national consciousness. This is exemplified by the philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte's speeches to the German nation (*Reden an die deutsche Nation*) of 1807/8 (which the patriotic Jacob Grimm described as one of the finest books ever written³), and patriotism found splendid expression in the Romantic circle centred in Heidelberg, which included the orientalist Joseph Jacob von Görres, and the poets Clemens Brentano and Achim von Arnim.

In 1806 the two latter began publication of their three-volume collection of German folk ballads *Des Knaben Wunderhorn: Alte deutsche Lieder* (1806-1808). Its contents were culled from literature and informants, and adapted to von Arnim's taste.

Karl von Savigny had married Brentano's sister Kunigunde in 1803.⁴ This established a link between the brothers Grimm and the Romantic poets: accident thus placed the brothers close to the hotbed of German Romanticism.

By way of Karl von Savigny, Clemens Brentano contacted Jacob Grimm in 1806 to commission him to find ballads for *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*;⁵ Jacob began with zest and enrolled the services of his brothers Wilhelm and Ludwig for help with excerpting. The following year Brentano stayed at Kassel with his (new) wife, whose brother was King Jérôme's chief banker. While in the Westphalian capital, Brentano directed the brothers' efforts towards a general compilation of Old German material; he also introduced them to Achim von Arnim.⁶ By proposing that the brothers collect Old German material - leaving out poetry (which von Arnim and he himself published) - Clemens Brentano gave the brothers' collection of ancient material a nudge towards prose. He and people like him inspired them with the Romantic idea that the enterprise would shed light on a glorious mystical past.

Brentano's idea was the catalyst needed. It is almost certain that the brothers had collected one or two tales by 1807, and, in April 1808, Wilhelm Grimm started to send copies of texts to Savigny's daughter.⁷ The brothers Grimm had been collecting since early childhood, so they needed no special spur for recording material from the German past: they copied manuscripts for their own use. It was part of the 'Zeitgeist' to collect the relics of German and Pan-Germanic grandeur. Herder had already published his comparative collection of ballads and there had been several previous collections of folktales in German.⁸

In these years, when the brothers Grimm were still young hopefuls in their early twenties, Brentano's influence should not be underestimated;⁹ it was, for instance, Brentano who asked Jacob Grimm to make the detailed draft of an appeal for the general collection of folklore material in January 1811.¹⁰

However, it was not until 1810 that their poet friends noted that the brothers possessed a collection of tales, of ‘Märchen’. Clemens Brentano wanted to publish ‘authentic German Märchen’ adapted to his taste, and asked for their manuscripts. Ever obliging, Wilhelm sent the tales, but took the precaution of copying the manuscripts before dispatching them to Brentano.

Brentano’s plans never materialised, but the manuscripts sent to him by the Grimm brothers were miraculously preserved at a monastery in Alsace and were eventually published as ‘the Ölenberg manuscripts’ (e.g. by Johann Lefftz (1927)).

In the spring of 1811, the brothers decided to bring out the *Tales*; Achim von Arnim saw the manuscripts in January 1812, shortly after his marriage to Bettina Brentano, whom the Grimms already knew as Savigny’s sister-in-law. Achim von Arnim was delighted and recommended that the tales be published; later he even put the brothers in touch with a publisher. The foreword was finished on 18 October 1812 in Kassel, and, just before Christmas 1812, the first collection of 86 numbered tales was published in Berlin with its dedication to Elisabeth and Achim von Arnim’s newborn son:¹¹ “To Mrs Elisabeth von Arnim for little Johannes Freimund” (‘An die Frau Elisabeth von Arnim für den kleinen Johannes Freimund’).

The publication will be discussed in more detail at a later point; for the present, it suffices to mention that the second volume of the *Tales* was seen to the press in 1814 and came out in 1815.

THE DANISH CONNECTION

The general interest

In Kassel, then, there was, for political reasons, some interest in Danish matters. However, the interest of the German élite was primarily directed towards Nordic literature and Norse language and mythology.

German interest in the Norse past had been mounting for some time: in the 1750s, the then Danish prime minister Count J.H.E. Bernsdorff invited a number of European intellectuals to Denmark.¹ One of the Germans in Danish service, Heinrich Wilhelm Gerstenberg, introduced Norse mythology in German letters with his poem *Gedicht eines Skalden* (‘the song of a bard’) (1766). During his prolonged stay in Denmark, the German poet Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724-1803) became acquainted with Danish history and Norse mythology primarily through the works of another resident foreigner, the Swiss historian Paul Henri Mallet. Mallet wrote books about Denmark in French including *Histoire de Dannemarc* (Copenhagen 1758-1777. 3 vols). A German translation of the two first volumes appeared in 1765-1766. Gottfried Schütze, who wrote the introduction, noted with satisfaction that now the most important part of the *Edda* had been translated first into French and subsequently into German and would thus fill a gap in European knowledge about old Norse literature (b3.verso).

It was widely recognised that the Nordic languages were Germanic, so it was reasonable to assume that they held the key to German in terms of ancient language, lore, mythology, and culture. This applied particularly to Icelandic with its old language and its

wealth of medieval manuscripts including the *Edda*. It was also eddic material that was translated; J. Schimmelman published a translation in 1777 (from a Latin edition by Peder Hansen Reesen); and in the first decades of the nineteenth century, there was an abundance of translations, such as those of Friedrich Ruhs (1812), Friedrich von der Hagen (1812), the brothers Grimm (1815), etc.

Since Slesvig-Holsten, constituted one third of southern Denmark, it is no surprise that the cultural ties between Denmark and Germany at the beginning of the nineteenth century were close; the Danish poet Jens Baggesen published works in German. The German philosopher Johann Fichte fled to Copenhagen when the French conquered Berlin; and, conversely, the works of Danish poets were published in both Danish and German: until fledgling German nationalism made German anathema to Danes, German and Danish culture and letters were closer than ever.

The brothers' specific interest

Nevertheless, the brothers' interest in Danish went beyond what was normal in Germany: both Wilhelm and Jacob Grimm had a working knowledge of Danish. Wilhelm, who, according to Jacob found it difficult to learn languages, was working with Danish in 1807, and Jacob's knowledge of it is attested by 1812.²

They may, in fact, have known Danish much earlier, for there were surprisingly close dynastic relations between the Hesse rulers and the royal family in Denmark. Prince Wilhelm (1743-1821) who ruled the Hesse in which the brothers lived (1785-1806 and again 1813-1821), had been brought up at the Danish court under the supervision of King Frederik V during the Seven Year War (1756-63). Wilhelm married Frederik V's daughter Princess Wilhelmine-Caroline in 1764 in Copenhagen; it has been noted that the aunt who saw to it that the brothers Grimm came to Kassel to attend school was the Princess's principal woman of the bedchamber. This connection may have provided the brothers Grimm with some knowledge of Danish.³ Prince Wilhelm's brother Karl, Landgrave of Hesse, who had also been brought up in Copenhagen, remained in Danish service and eventually became a general, while in 1790 a niece of Wilhelm married the Danish Crown Prince who subsequently became King of Denmark as Frederik VI in 1808.⁴ Under these circumstances, even a smattering of Danish might be an advantage.

At all events, the brothers Grimm were familiar with Danish by 1810, and they never forgot it: Jacob Grimm put his knowledge of Danish to use as late as 1844, when he read a lecture on 'Old Norse names in a list of pilgrims in Reichenau from the ninth and the tenth century' in Danish to 'Det Nordiske Oldskriftselskab' in Copenhagen, one of the two attested instances when he is known to have expressed himself in a foreign language.⁵

In his work on Old Norse from 1814 (printed 1818), the outstanding Danish linguist Rasmus Rask put the case for Old Norse, i.e. Icelandic, in the following terms:

"There is no other European nation but Denmark [i.e. including Iceland] which can pride itself of having preserved within its boundaries the ancient living tongue with its plentiful and excellent literature. Old Greek, Latin, and Old English died out many centuries ago and no other European people has an ancient literature which is comparable in content and presentation." ('Neppe har heller nogen anden Stat i Evropa den Ære, som den danske, at have et

Oldsprog med saa rig og fortræffelig Litteratur, bevaret levende til den Dag i Dag inden for Statens Grændser selv. Den gamle Græsk, Latin og Angelsaksisk ere allerede siden mange Hundrebaar for evig forsvundne, og intet andet evropæisk Folk har nogen betydelig Oldlitteratur at fremvise, der har Værd baade i Henseende til Indhold og Foredrag.’ (Rask: 8))

Apart from the patriotic fervour in Rask’s statement, it concurs with what the brothers Grimm had been saying ever since 1808. In his 1812 review of Rasmus Rask’s *Introduction to Icelandic* (1811), Jacob Grimm declared that:

“A treasure which ought to please the world, is buried. Old Norse is a thing of the past, and the poetry of the Edda is no longer understood; a language which reflects [Pan]-Germanic language clearly; a poetry which must be considered as being of the finest order and in the first rank of all times; the contents of both open up to the richest historical and poetical results.” (‘Ein schatz, der die welt erfreuen sollte, liegt in der erde vergraben. die altnordische sprache is verstummt, und die poesie der Edda unverstanden; eine sprache, worin die germanische zunge rein gespiegelt hat, eine poesie, die zu dem höchsten und ersten aller zeiten gehalten werden musz, in beiden ein inhalt, der die reichsten historischen und poetischen resultate aufschlieszt.’)⁶

Throughout his life Jacob Grimm upheld the view that:

“For the German scholar, Scandinavia is the classical soil and basis, as is Italy for those who research the traces of the ancient Romans.” (‘Für den deutschen forscher ist Scandinavien classischer grund und boden, wie Italien für jeden, der die spuren der alten Römer verfolgt.’ (1844. *Reiseindrücke*: 79))

He also considered Danish necessary for the understanding of Icelandic: “whoever studies Icelandic, cannot bypass Danish.” (‘... wer das isländische studiert, das dänische nie vorbegehen kann.’ (1812))⁷

Nevertheless, the main thrust in their study of the Nordic languages was ultimately, of course, the understanding of the Germanic past:

“The study of Nordic languages, dead as well as living, which has hardly begun and must last long, will resolve for us the strengths and weaknesses in our own.” (‘ein kaum begonnenes und noch lange fortzusetzendes studium des nordischen, sowohl todten als lebendigen sprachstandes wird uns über tugenden und mängel unseres eignen aufklären.’ (1844. *Reiseindrücke*: 79))

This was similar to the motive force underlying Wilhelm’s interest in Old Danish and Norse. It also grew out of his interest in the *Nibelungenlied*. The development of his views can be traced in letters to Savigny dated 10 April 1808:

“I have now found that these genuine [Danish] folk ballads have such depth, beauty and grandeur as those of few other nations; in this respect and in terms of purity they are far superior to the English Percy.” (‘nun habe ich gefunden dass dies ächten Volks Gedichte, eine solche poetische Tiefe Schönheit und Grösse haben, wie wenige anderer Nation; sie übertreffen darin, und an Reinheit weit die englischen Percy.’ (Schoof 1953: 43))

And in the preface to the Danish ballads (1811: vi), Wilhelm refers to the:

“wealth of epic poetry which is surprising in such a relatively small people: among the deepest and most moving poetry which ever sprang from the human soul. They all have something primeval, crude: the form is often unpolished, harsh and rigid ...; on the other hand, they still have all the force and power of a young, unfettered and uninhibited life, which relinquishes externals.” (‘... so erscheint ein Reichthum an epischen Dichtungen, welcher bei dem verhältnissmässiger kleinen Volk verwunderungswürdig ist: Dichtungen, welche zu den tiefsinnigsten und gewaltigsten gehören, welche je durch die Seele eines Menschen gegangen. Sie haben alle etwas uranfängliches, rohes: die Form is oft ganz vernachlässigt, hart und streng ...; dagegen aber haben sie noch all die Kraft und die Gewalt eines jugendlichen unbeschränkten und ungezähmten Lebens, das alles Aeusserliche verschmäh’t.’)

The main point is, then, that in the period from c. 1808-1815 the brothers took a very keen interest in Norse works and Danish publications. They retained this interest, albeit not at the same level. In the early period, it led to several (detailed) reviews, to the publication of *Danish ballads* (1811) and the *Edda* (1815).

The Old Norse of Iceland was close to the Danish found in runic inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries, so Jacob's claim for the proximity between Danish and Icelandic was sound from a scholarly point of view. There were, however, also pragmatic reasons for studying Icelandic manuscripts by way of Danish. First, most of the work on the manuscripts had been published in Danish, and, secondly, thanks to the diligent and careful activities of the Icelandic scholar Arni Magnússon (1663-1730), the vast majority of Icelandic medieval manuscripts - nearly 3,000 - were at the University Library of Copenhagen.

Contacts

The creation of the Kingdom of Westphalia in 1807 temporarily put an end to the dynastic ties between Denmark and the rulers in Kassel until 1813; on the other hand, the new alliance between Denmark and France made relations between Copenhagen and Kassel close in terms of commerce and politics. Although Westphalia was not a major player on the international scene, there must occasionally have been tidings of Denmark at meetings of King Jérôme's Council.

There was also a steady trickle of messengers, merchants, scholars, soldiers, and politicians between the two capitals. These travellers might well pay courtesy visits to the Westphalian court or have contacts with Westphalian administrators.

Given the brothers' keen interest in Norse material, they were bound to make contact with Danes at some point. However, we shall presumably never know whether Jacob Grimm met any Danes in person at Napoleonshöhe.

Wilhelm used Danish publications from 1807 onwards, although they were hard to come by, and it seems as if he had contacts with a bookseller in May 1808, as he was then expecting material from Copenhagen.⁸ From 1810/1,1 Wilhelm Grimm (and to some extent Jacob Grimm) corresponded regularly with Danish scholars, primarily Professor Rasmus Nyerup (1759-1829) and the linguist Rasmus Rask (1787-1832).⁹

We know that most letters exchanged between Danish scholars and Wilhelm Grimm were delivered by hand in, respectively, Copenhagen and Kassel: there are many references to middlemen, named and unnamed, who carried manuscripts, books, and letters from Copenhagen to Kassel and vice versa. Certainly, personal delivery was prudent in times of general unrest: on one occasion, for instance, a parcel of books from Copenhagen was intercepted by a French privateer and sent on only when it was established that it was destined for a French ally, Westphalia. However, like regular letters of introduction, direct delivery also served to establish contact with locals. The result would be genteel conversation between the parties, and, perhaps, further invitations.

In his letters to both Rasmus Nyerup and Rasmus Rask, Wilhelm was prompted by a wish to obtain scholarly material, but he contacted the two men in radically different ways. The coincidences leading to these contacts depended on the above-mentioned

close ties between the German and Danish intelligentsia, as well as on the political alliance between Denmark and Westphalia.

Rasmus Nyerup was Professor of Literary History (“Literairhistorie”) at the University of Copenhagen. Nyerup was a recognised authority, a man of wide learning with an impressive range of bibliographical and biographical knowledge. He was also the head of the University Library and hence in charge of the Arnamagnæan collections which were of prime interest to the brothers Grimm in their scholarly work. Even when we make allowance for politeness, there is overt respect for the collection in the following words written by Wilhelm to a Danish scholar:

”This keenness concerning ancient times is pleasant, and it cannot be nourished and furthered better than in [Copenhagen] with its long famous collections. I have in mind in particular the eddic corpus for which you have done so much and from which we may primarily expect the second and third parts of the Latin Edda. I assure you that we Germans will be happy to receive it; all told I see it as a good thing in our epoch that there are closer ties with the Nordic countries, especially with Denmark, and that there is a mutual friendship on many points which finds expression in literature where it is beneficial.”

(‘wie schön ist dieser Eifer für das Altertum, und wie kann er besser genährt u. gefördert werden als in Ihrer Stadt mit den längstberühmten Sammlungen. Vor allem denke ich hierbei an das corpus eddicum; für welches Sie so vieles getan, und was wir daraus zuerst zu erwarten haben: den zweiten u. 3^{ten} Teil der latein. Edda. Ich darf versichern, dass es mit offener Freude von uns Deutschen wird aufgenommen werden; überhaupt sehe ich es als eine erfreuliche Wirkung unserer Zeit an, dass nähere Verbindung mit dem Norden, bes mit Dänemark entstehen u. eine freundliche Annäherung sich an vielen Punkten u. namentlich, wo sie so wohlthätig ist, in der Literatur sich zeigt.’ (Letter in March 1817, probably to Børge Thorlacius. From Schoof 1960: 63-64))

When Wilhelm Grimm first contacted Rasmus Nyerup in 1810, the latter had been publishing ancient Danish literature for more than twenty-five years; he had just finished his work on the *Edda* in Copenhagen, and, fighting the paper shortage resulting from the Napoleonic Wars, was preparing an edition of medieval Danish ballads, including the *Kæmpe Viser*.

The contact was established by Henrik Steffens (1773-1845), a Danish/Norwegian/German naturalist and philosopher who had introduced German Romanticism in Copenhagen in a series of lectures held in 1802-3; during his stay, he encouraged the young Danish poet Adam Oehlenschläger (1779-1850) to embrace this new thinking.

From 1805 to 1809, Oehlenschläger, by then acknowledged as the leading young Danish poet, made a tour of Europe. He enjoyed a considerable vogue in Germany, with translations being made of his works such as the Romantic drama *Aladdin* (orig. 1805; German translation 1808 (Weimar)). During his travels he published dramas like *Axel og Valborg* (Danish 1810; German same year), and even wrote a tragedy *Correggio* in German (it appeared in 1816) which he himself translated into Danish. In Germany, Oehlenschläger visited the most prominent intellectuals, such as Tieck, Schleiermacher, and Goethe. He also paid a visit to his former mentor Henrik Steffens, who lived in Halle, shortly before Wilhelm Grimm’s arrival at the resort in 1809. Since he did not meet Oehlenschläger personally, Wilhelm consoled himself with reading Oehlenschläger’s poetry and translating some of it from Danish into German.¹⁰

Towards the end of his stay in Halle, Wilhelm Grimm was invited to the Prussian

capital of Berlin by Achim von Arnim, so, for a brief two months, he associated with the German cultural élite in the town which he found otherwise somewhat desolate and depressing.¹¹ Thanks to an introductory letter from Achim von Arnim, he also paid a visit to Goethe in Weimar.¹² On this occasion, Goethe discussed *Nibelungenlied*, Nordic poetry, and Oehlenschläger, who (elusive to Wilhelm as ever) had made a call a short time previously. Wilhelm Grimm showed Goethe his translation of Peder Syv's *Danske Kæmpeviser* with the ulterior motive of persuading the Grand Old Man of German literature to write a preface to this ballad collection. He failed in this, but the ballads were published two years later (*Alddänische Heldenlieder, Balladen und Märchen* (1811)).

Wilhelm Grimm knew Henrik Steffens before he went to Halle, a university and resort town in eastern Westphalia, for Steffens was acquainted with Clemens Brentano, Achim von Arnim, and Goethe, and had, furthermore, previously checked Wilhelm Grimm's translation of the Danish ballads.¹³

In Halle, Wilhelm Grimm stayed at the same place as Henrik Steffens.

Wilhelm was lonely and in these circumstances Steffens' company was not always encouraging:

"I live with Steffens who is well-meaning but vain, unbalanced and restless, so that daily he alternatively cries and laughs, and it is not good to associate with him." ('Ich wohne bei Steffens, der es brav meint, aber ohne Gleichgewicht und Ruhe ist, dass er täglich etlichmal weint und lacht, dazu eitel, und es ist nicht gut mit ihm umgehn.' (Letter to Savigny, August 1809. Schoof 1953: 82))

Wilhelm also complained to Jacob about Steffens' emotional instability - especially after a glass or two - and about not liking to be alone with him (letter 13 May 1809), but his feelings were not unfriendly: when Jacob was in Paris in 1814, Wilhelm repeatedly asked him to visit Steffens.

In his memoirs, Steffens described his association with Wilhelm Grimm in somewhat different terms:

"A heart ailment had brought him to Halle to consult [Doctor] Reil. He took up lodging in the house where I stayed and which belonged to Reil's sister. I saw him daily for nearly a year. His quiet, calm, and mild demeanour attracted me. He translated 'Peder Syv's Kämpfe ballads' from Danish, and I was pleased to help him out with many doubtful passages. His work attracted me greatly; this was a school of literature which had already seemed important to me during my previous stay in Germany, and it was a great pleasure for me to be introduced to it by means of the quiet work and thorough research of this kindly young man with whom I was in friendly association and daily shared scholarly conversation. Wilhelm Grimm was there at the same time as Brentano, and of course old German poetry was the main object of our conversation." ('Ein Herzübel hatte ihn nach Halle gebracht, um Reil zu consultiren. Er miethete sich in dem von mir bewohnten Hause ein, deren Besitzerin Reils Schwester war, und ich sah ihn fast ein Jahr lang täglich. Sein stilles, ruhiges und mildes Wesen zog mich an. Er übersetzte Peder Syv's Kämpenlieder (Kiämpfe=Wiiser) aus dem Dänischen, und es freute mich, das ich ihm bei manchen zweifelhaften Stellen behülflich sein konnte. Seine Beschäftigung hatte für mich etwas sehr Anziehendes, und es war mir angenehm, durch freundliches Zusammenleben und täglichen lehrreichen Umgang, durch die stille Beschäftigung und durch das gründliche Forschen eines liebreichen jungen Mannes mit einer Richtung der Literatur, die so weit von meinen eigenen Studien entfernt lag, und die schon seit meinen ersten reichen Aufenthalt in Deutschland mir so bedeutend erschien, auf die bequemste Weise bekannt zu werden. Wilhelm Grimm war mit Brentano zugleich da, und natürlich bildete die alte deutsche Poesie den Hauptgegenstand unserer Gespräche.' (Steffens VI: 116-117))

Most of their talks concerned Steffens' work, but, early in their relationship, they had discussions about legends and mythology which Wilhelm found so fascinating that he described it in considerable detail to Jacob:

"Steffens is a sensible man with whom one can have a reasoned and instructive conversation. He also knows something about German poetry ... and takes pleasure in many things which I have told him about the early life of legends and their wanderings, because they are in line with his own views. He also thinks that, like mythology, poetry can also in the last analysis be traced back to a direct godly revelation and originates from it. In this way, the deep natural significance of many legends is eminently obvious, for instance as late as in the story of the chained Prometheus in Aeschylus and still bright in the very strange Melusina. Her father lived in the mountains from which she (who symbolises water) came forth and then united with light, which union created the manifold beings of the world, such as the strangely built sons etc, for the whole earth has undoubtedly been created from sediments in water. It is strange how old mythology often describes the early state of the earth when everything was still mostly islands (like in very old maps), as for instance in the voyage of the Argonauts. It goes without saying that, as with mythology, this significance is not recognised and conscious. Steffens says that it is really frightening how the things which he has found by persistent study and speculation have already been stated simply and clearly in mythology."

("[Steffens] ist ein gescheidter Mensch, mit dem man ein vernünftiges und erbauliches Gespräch halten kann. Er weiss auch einiges von den deutschen Poesie ... und freut sich über manches, was ich ihm von dem frühen Leben der Sagen und ihren Wandrungen gesagt, weil dies mit seiner Ansicht übereinstimmend. Er meint, dass auch so die Poesie, wie Mythologie, zuletzt auf eine unmittelbare göttliche Offenbarung zurückgeführt werden könne und aus dieser ausgegangen. So sei die tiefe Naturbedeutung mancher Sage unverkennbar, z. B. des gefesselten Prometheus, wie sie sich noch in Aeschylus in erhalten und noch hell in der gewiss sehr merkwürdigen Melusina. In den Bergen habe ihr Vater gewohnt, aus denen sie, selbst das Wasser bedeutend, hervorgegangen, wie in den so seltsam gebildeten Söhnen etc., denn die ganze Erde hat sich als Niederschlag aus dem Wasser ohne Zweifel gebildet. Merkwürdig ist, wie die alte Sage oft auch den frühen Zustand der Welt darstellt, wo noch fast alles Insel (wie ganz alte Landkarten) erscheint, so im Zug der Argonauten. Es versteht sich, dass diese Bedeutung unschuldig und bewusstlos darin ist, wie auch in der Mythologie. Steffens sagt, es sei wahrhaft zum Erschrecken, wie, was er durch anhaltendes Studium und Speculation gefunden, schon einfältig und klar in der Mythologie gesagt werde." (Letter 14 April 1809))

In the course of their talks, Wilhelm clearly convinced Steffens of his sincere interest in Norse material. Steffens in turn promised Wilhelm to contact Nyerup, and Wilhelm was delighted to inform Jacob of this: "Steffens knows Nierup quite well, and in addition he has another friend in Copenhagen who studies the old sagas, and he will



write to both” (‘Steffens kennt den Nierup sehr gut, ausserdem har er noch einen Anhänger in Kopenhagen, der sich mit den alten Sagen abgiebt, und beide will er schreiben’ (28 August 1809)). When Wilhelm left for Berlin, on 6 October 1809, Steffens indeed wrote to Rasmus Nyerup; he urged Nyerup to procure all the books and manuscripts Wilhelm Grimm requested. He also called Nyerup’s attention to Wilhelm’s incisive review of von Hagen’s modernisation of the *Nibelungenlied* (*Heidelberg Jahrbuch* 1809). Nyerup in turn told Steffens that he had already read it and that he was favourably impressed with “such erudition, good taste and critical sensibility in somebody of whom I had not previously heard.” (‘saa megen Erudition, Smag og Kritik hos et mig tilforn ganske ubekjendt Navn.’ (Letter 29 October 1809))¹⁴

Wilhelm Grimm asked Steffens to pass on his first letter to Nyerup, but somehow it got lost; undeterred, Wilhelm wrote directly to Nyerup. In this letter, dated “Cassel in Westphalia 7 March 1810”, Wilhelm asked Nyerup questions about Danish words and passages in the ballads. He also asked Nyerup to send him books, and he cited his financial credentials both at the opening and at the end of the letter: the books would be paid for and addressed to “Mr Grimm, Auditeur of State Council, librarian to the King.” (‘M. Grimm, Auditeur au Conseil d’Etat bibliothecaire du Roi.’)

Nyerup received the letter on 16 March and posted his detailed answers two days later. He assured Wilhelm Grimm that he would do his best to get the books requested. This then, was the first of many missives in which Wilhelm Grimm asked Nyerup to procure books and copies of manuscripts for the Royal Westphalian Library and for his own studies of Danish, Swedish, and Old Norse, particularly eddic material to which Nyerup would have easy access in the Arnamagnæan collection.

Given the Grimm brothers’ knowledge of Danish, it follows that the correspondence from Denmark was written in Danish (while the brothers continued to write in German).

The frequent letters reflects Nyerup’s willingness to meet Wilhelm’s demands and the speed with which they were delivered, the improved connections and the increased number of travellers between Copenhagen and Kassel. Wilhelm’s letter also shows that, thanks to Jacob’s position, he had some pull and did not hesitate to use it.

In December 1810, Wilhelm Grimm approached the Westphalian Ambassador to Copenhagen, Baron (‘Freiherr’) Hans von Hammerstein while he was in Kassel and asked him to take a letter to Nyerup. The next year von Hammerstein’s services were enlisted for procuring Norse material, and, since the ambassadorial duties in parochial Copenhagen (with c. 100,000 inhabitants)¹⁵ cannot have weighed heavily on his shoulders and he himself was interested in historical studies, von Hammerstein was delighted to oblige. He began a correspondence with the brothers which was to last until 1830.¹⁶ The Grimms appreciated his assistance and dedicated their edition of the *Edda* (1815) to him.

Wilhelm Grimm - erroneously - informed Baron von Hammerstein that the Danish linguist Rasmus Rask (1787-1832) withheld eight eddic poems from him for his translation of Danish ballads. Despite his youth, Rasmus Rask was the outstanding Danish specialist in Icelandic (and Old Norse); he had helped Nyerup publish Snorre’s *Edda* (1808) and in 1811 he authored an *Introduction to Icelandic*, so it was conceivable that he had some Icelandic material. On 2 April 1811, Baron von Hammerstein stormed up

to Rasmus Rask's student lodgings at 'Regensen', a prestigious student hall of residence in Copenhagen, and severely castigated Rask for not handing the poems over to Wilhelm Grimm.

The misunderstanding was cleared up, and Baron von Hammerstein then spoke to Rask about Wilhelm Grimm's impending publication of Danish ballads and about languages in general in a way that impressed even Rasmus Rask. The same day, Rask wrote Wilhelm Grimm (whom he had not previously known) and noted in a postscript that "I am surprised at [von Hammerstein's] zeal, his interest in, and his knowledge of the old lore." ('Ich verwundere mich über den Eifer, das Interesse und die Kenntnisse, die er besitzt in den Älterthümern.')

From then on, there were many letters between Rasmus Rask and the brothers Grimm, on a common edition of the *Edda* (which never materialised) and, most of all, on their shared interests in Germanic, that is, Pan-Germanic languages.

Baron von Hammerstein continued to procure manuscripts and, when Wilhelm's *Danish ballads* came out in July 1811, he sent von Hammerstein two copies, one for himself and another which von Hammerstein might give to the King of Denmark if he thought it a good idea.¹⁷

Given the fact that Professor Rasmus Nyerup, the authoritative figure in Danish humanistic scholarship, respected the young Grimms, it is small surprise that the Danish scholarly community took the brothers to heart at an early stage. On the other hand, it must also be noted that the fast and frequent exchange of letters between the brothers and various Danes was confined to three years, namely 1810 (at least 13 letters), 1811 (20), and 1812 (13): after Kassel's downfall from cosmopolitan splendour in 1813, it was no longer on the highroads of Europe - even to Danes.

The connection was not broken: the brothers continued to acquire works from Denmark, e.g. *Kæmpeviser*, Nyerup's *Antiquarische Reise*, books on Icelandic, and N.F.S. Grundtvig's *Mytologi* (Letter from Wilhelm to Jacob 19 March 1815); the correspondence with Danes was not discontinued, but became sporadic. Jacob noted in a letter from Paris dated May 1814 that there was little news from Denmark: "It is not good that neither Nyerup nor Rask write." ('Es ist nicht gut, dass weder Nyerup noch Rask schreiben') However, as soon as the first part of the brothers' translation of the *Edda* came out, copies were sent to Danish friends according to Jacob's instructions: "Three copies should be sent as soon as possible to Denmark to Rask, Nyerup and Thorlacius." ('Nach Dänemark wären doch baldmöglich drei Exemplare an Rask, Nyerup und Thorlacius zu senden;') (Letter to Wilhelm 11 May 1815)).

The only surprising feature in the above series of events was perhaps that Nyerup noted Wilhelm Grimm's scholarly activities at so early a stage. In the first place, Rasmus Nyerup was very well read and, thanks to his position as one of the keepers of the Arnamagnæan collection, he would be cognizant of any edition of eddic material and consequently the reviews it received. Nevertheless, in addition to the political and historical realities of the relationship between Westphalia and Denmark, it should be borne in mind that the world of letters and scholarship was small. The art (and craft) of reading, let alone writing, was practised by a select few: it was limited to the well-educated

aristocracy, to administrators, to clerks, to clerics, to scholars, and to the growing bourgeoisie; mostly, however, in all walks of life, to men.

The intelligentsia corresponded, kept abreast of the cultural and literary activities in their respective countries, exchanged news internationally, and, if the occasion arose, visited one another, as did the Danish poet Oehlenschläger on his European tour in 1805-9, and the German philosopher Johann Fichte when he fled the French invasion and stayed with the juridical philosopher A. S. Ørsted in Copenhagen. Although they were affected by the European unrest, these men left military affairs to the generals, making only sporadic complaints about the disruptive effects of war.

Rasmus Nyerup and the *Tales* in 1812

In a letter to Rasmus Nyerup dated July 1812, Wilhelm mentioned the impending publication of tales; this appears to be the first time Wilhelm mentions the matter outside a German context.¹⁸

“My brother and I are just about to publish a collection of folk and nursery/children’s tales (*‘Volks- und Kindermärchen’*)”,¹⁹

and he continues:

“The oral tradition has been our only source, and has proved fruitful, as we have brought together about sixty rather fine pieces from various sources; in so doing we shall present much that is unknown.” (*‘Mein Bruder und ich sind eben im Begriff eine Sammlung von Volks- und Kindermärchen drucken zu lassen ... Unsere einzige Quelle dabei ist mündliche Ueberlieferung gewesen, die uns nicht ganz arm geflossen, da wir an sechzig etwa, recht schöne Stücke zusammengebracht haben; wir werden auf diese Weise manches unbekannte geben.’*)

One of the Danish travellers to Kassel, Mr Bech,²⁰ who delivered several letters from Copenhagen, apparently told Wilhelm that he thought Rasmus Nyerup had published some tales; therefore Wilhelm explained the plan to Nyerup because he wanted some if not all of these Danish tales for the forthcoming German volume. He assured Nyerup that collecting tales was only a pleasant sideline and that the brothers’ main efforts were still directed towards the *Edda*.

Nyerup sternly emphasised in two letters, one in Danish and one in German (respectively 14 September 1812 and 26 December 1812) that he had not published any nursery tales (*‘Ammestuefortællinger’*), folk legends or tales for children (*‘Volkssagen und Kindermärchen’*); but that Mr Bech might have mistaken his reading for the common folk (*‘Almuelæsning’* (*‘Volksbücher’*)) for tales.

Nyerup respected the folk tradition. Nevertheless, his comments on the news of the Grimm *Tales* were somewhat dampening compared to Achim von Arnim’s enthusiasm; to Wilhelm, Nyerup’s attitude must have seemed typical of the low esteem in which tales were held. Of course Wilhelm Grimm was aware of this, and it was presumably only Bech’s accidental information which made him show his hand at this stage.

It does not appear from his letters that Wilhelm Grimm sent a copy of the 1812 *Tales* to Rasmus Nyerup; at least, neither of the two mentioned the book, although they referred to other publications forwarded.

Nevertheless, Nyerup did obtain a copy. He also got a copy of the second volume of the *Tales* in 1815. Nyerup was favourably impressed: he had published some folkloristic

material in 1795-96; this was known to Wilhelm Grimm who referred to it in his annotations to the *Tales*.

The Grimm *Tales* was only one of many German books on the common German heritage; in 1807 Joseph von Görres published an annotated bibliography of German folk books with the subtitle: “an assessment of the entertaining stories, almanacks, and medical booklets which partly because of their intrinsic worth, partly by accident, have been preserved through centuries to the present day” (*‘Die teutschen Volksbücher’*). Görres, who also contributed to *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, had compiled the book from material in Clemens Bretano’s library at Heidelberg, and wrote a dedication to Clemens, a long (untitled) preface (1-26), a long (untitled) assessment (262-306), and a postscript (307-311). In his flowery, enthusiastic, and emotive ramblings, which moved in grand but somewhat superficial sweeps, Görres emphasised that ‘the folk’ should not be mistaken for ‘the mob’ which the French Revolution had catapulted into power, but that it was the collective folk soul which sifted and returned to the literature of past generations, such as ballads, legends, and folk books; passing by word of mouth, folk poetry had been the property of all classes and derived from, as well as reached, all peoples, with its heyday in the age of chivalry.

Görres’ (rather unprofessional) bibliography of folk books inspired Nyerup to return to his own old material, which had “met with the approval of some readers who supplemented my notes” (*‘[de] fandt hist og her nogle Læseres Bifald i den Grad, at Somme af dem indsendte Bidrag til mine leverede Notitsers supplerings’* (xxi)). Nyerup therefore published a bibliography ‘of books and pamphlets for reading entertainment in Denmark and Norway through the centuries’ (*Almindelig Morskabslæsning i Danmark og Norge igjennem Aarhundreder*). In this description of items of popular literature, Nyerup brought his full bibliographical experience to bear.

In his preface, Nyerup mentioned that the original recording and publication in 1795-96 had been undertaken to procure “a list of the tales and humorous stories which have entertained the common people in Denmark and in Norway during the long winter evenings for the last two or three hundred years.” (*‘en Liste paa de Eventyrer og Kortvilligheder, som menige Mand i Danmark og Norge nu tildels i 3de Aarhundrede har havt sin Glæde af de lange Vinteraftner.’* (xx))

As Nyerup saw it, the new German works showed that this undertaking was part of a common European effort to which he contributed with his bibliographical expertise, since he could by no means hope to vie with Görres’s enthusiasm (xxi-xxii):

“The literature for the entertainment of the common man ... is a genre which is not specifically Danish and Norwegian, nor limited to Scandinavia only. On the contrary: it is common throughout Europe. The same writings that have been read and provided food for thought to townspeople and peasants in the Nordic countries in the past, indeed to the present time, have also entertained peasants and craftsmen, fishermen and sailors, shepherds and miners in Germany and the Netherlands, in England and France, in Spain and in Italy.

From ancient times these books have appealed to a large audience. In each of these countries, this audience has consisted of the whole nation from the highest to the lowest ranks. The reason is that this material which today, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, has sunk to providing amusement for the common folk used to provide entertainment for kings and

princes in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries". ('Menig Mands Morskablæsning, som her foran er opstillet i Geled, og som der i Bogens følgende Blade skal holdes Mynstring over, udgjør en Litteratur, som ikke er ejendommelig for Danmark og Norge alene, ej heller indskrænket blot til Skandinavien. Tvertimod - Æmnet er ganske og aldeles et almen europæisk Anliggende. Hvad der fordem, og indtil de allerseneste Tider, er bleven læst og begrundet af Borgere og Bønder her i Norden, de samme Skrifter har ogsaa sysselsat Bønder og Haandverksfolk, Fiskere og Matroser, Hyrder og Bergverksarbejdere, i Tydskland og Holland, i Engelland og Frankerige, i Spanien og i Italien.

Og, gaaes til de ældre Tider, hvor stort har da fra første Færd af disse Bøgers Publicum ikke været? I ethvert af disse Lande har dette Publicum udgjort hele Nationen fra den Højeste til den Laveste. Hvad der nemlig er nedsjunket til, ved det 19de Seculi Begyndelse blot at være Tidsfordriv for Almuesmanden, det har i det 13de, 14de og 15de Aarhundrede været en kongelig og fyrstelig Morskab'. (xi-xii)

Nyerup cited Görres (1808): "The genuinely good is preserved through the centuries and keeps its natural garb", and Friedrich Schlegel (1802): "these ancient poems and stories ... have an indestructible poetic basis" ('Det virkelige Gode holder sig igjennem alle Aarhundreder, og tyer til Naturens rene Søn' and 'disse ældgamle Digtninger og Historier ... have alle unægtelig et uforgjængeligt poetisk Grundanlæg').²¹

In his book, Nyerup also refers to several Grimm *Tales*. His chapter on 'tales' ('Eventyrer') has the following opening:

"The term 'tale' as used by the common folk is identical with a nursery story, and nearly a dozen have been printed in Denmark. From the very interesting collection of such stories published by the brothers Grimm under the title of *Children and household tales*, Vol. I-II, Berlin 1812 and 1815, we learn that they have nearly all been common throughout Europe. Among the stories from the literature of the common folk listed in this chapter, one or two might equally well have been placed under 'Facitiae' in my next chapter, but since the Grimms have made them part of nursery inventory, I shall let their authority be the norm for my classification." ('Navnet Eventyr er, efter Almuens Talebrug, synonym med Ammestuefortælling; og af den Slags har man i Danmark omtrent et helt Dosis paa Prent. At de næsten alle enten mundtlig eller skriftlig har havt Cours Europa rundt, det lærer man af den højst interessante Samling af deslige Fortællinger, som Brødrene Grimm har udgivet under Titel af *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. I-II Theil. Berlin 1812 og 1815.

Af de i den danske Almuelitteratur indlemmede Historietter, som i dette Capitel bliver at opregne, kunde vel en eller anden ogsaa passende have faaet sin Plads under Facitiae i næste Kapitel, men da Grimmerne har givet dem Rang og Sæde i deres Barnestue, vil jeg lade deres Autoritet gjælde for Norm ved denne Klassificering.' (227))

The real accolade was bestowed on Wilhelm Grimm by Nyerup in his printed dedication of the book to:

"Professor F. H. von der Hagen
i Breslau,
Bibliothekar C. W. Grimm
i Cassel,
Archivar J. G. Büsching
i Breslau,"

It was an undreamt-of recognition from abroad at the age of thirty to be publicly referred to as one of:

"The famous German critics. This work is dedicated to them for their indefatigable endeavours and thoroughly scholarly studies, which have contributed extensively and significantly to comparative literary history and which have contributed to give this book its *present* form" ('Tydsklands berømte Litteratorer, [new page:] hvis utrættelige Bestræbelser og grundlærde

Forskninger denne Gren af Litterairhistorien skylder saa stor en Udvidelse og saa rig en Fylde, og hvis mange didhørende Arbejder har bidraget til at give dette Skrift sin *naerhverende* Skikkelse, tilegnes Bogen/ Kjøbenhavn, d.1 Junii 1816./ af sammes Forfatter/ R. Nyerup.' (Original italics)²²

Wilhelm Grimm was gratified and thanked Nyerup within a couple of days of receiving the book (6 September 1816).

Rasmus Nyerup and the second *Edition* of the *Tales* (1819)

Given Nyerup's praise, it is no surprise that when the German second *Edition* of the *Tales* was about to appear in 1819, Wilhelm Grimm wrote a proud letter to him:

"I hereby send you a copy of a new edition of the *Tales*. Please receive it kindly. In case you should consider it worthy of closer examination you will find much that has been improved in it, indeed, the first part has been completely redone. The third part, the annotations to the individual tales and a bibliography, will come out in a year's time." ('Ich übersende Ihnen hierbei ein Exemplar der Kindermärchen nach der neuen Auflage. Nehmen Sie es gütig auf; Sie werden, wenn Sie es einer nähern Betrachtung werth halten, vieles darin verbessert, ja den ersten Theil gänzlich umgearbeitet finden. Der dritte Theil, der Anmerkungen zu dem Einzelnen und eine Übersicht der Literatur liefern soll, wird in einem Jahr erscheinen.')

This letter was dated 24 September 1819, the same day that Wilhelm also wrote a letter to Karl von Savigny about the new *Edition*. This was some time before the book appeared, for Wilhelm did not see it until 22 November, but it shows that Wilhelm wanted Nyerup and Savigny to be among the first to receive the new *Edition*.²³

There is no doubt that Wilhelm Grimm was sure of his footing as far as the *Tales* were concerned, as he could now send them without hesitation to Nyerup, the first international figure to accept Wilhelm as an authority on tales. What is more, Wilhelm took up the line of enquiry that Nyerup had carried on in a more sober tone than Görres, namely the question of the history of traditional oral material, in this case, tales. This he did in the "Introduction: on the nature of fairytales" (rpt in Appendix 2, below). Arguing that the tales are common relics from the Pan-Germanic (Indo-European) past, Wilhelm Grimm also cites Norse mythology to the virtual exclusion of all others.

Coming at a time when Denmark was smarting under the wounds of the Napoleonic Wars and their aftermath, Wilhelm Grimm's glowing reference to the Nordic past must have been singularly soothing to the Danish national ego, although it was, primarily, a statement of intent. It expounds one of the important assumptions underlying Wilhelm Grimm's work on tales, and why he was sure that he had carried out a successful restoration of them, an undertaking which he felt met the demands of contemporary international scholarship. In that context and at that stage, the Danish scholarly community loomed large to the brothers Grimm.

In order to understand Wilhelm's views, we need to delve into the history of the publication of the tales and of Wilhelm Grimm's editorial work in German. The angle will primarily be based on 'close reading', but also take into account Danish linguistics. This approach is one of the elements necessary to bring to light the contradictions in the Grimm *Tales* in both German and translational contexts.

THE PUBLICATION HISTORY OF THE TALES

Printing the *Tales*

It will be recalled that it was Achim von Arnim's encouragement which led to the publication of 86 tales in 1812; they were not an instant success, for it took more than three years for 900 copies of the book to sell out.¹

The second volume of the *Tales*, with 70 additional tales, was published in 1815.²

In 1819, the second *Edition* of the *Tales* came out in two volumes. The third volume, containing the annotations ('Anmerkungen') which Wilhelm Grimm had mentioned in his letter to Nyerup, was not published until 1822. These annotations had no sales worth the name: in 1950 the volume was still available.³

New *Editions* of all the tales, the so-called *Complete Edition* (*Die grosse Ausgabe*), appeared in 1837, 1840, 1843, 1850; finally, the 1857 *Complete Edition* (*Die Ausgabe letzter Hand*⁴) brought the number of *Complete Editions* supervised by Wilhelm Grimm to seven. From 1819, all 'Prefaces' to the *Complete Editions* were published in subsequent *Editions*. Furthermore, a shortened and unannotated collection, the *Small Edition* (*Die kleine Ausgabe*) comprising 50 tales appeared in 1825, 1833, 1836, 1839, 1841, 1844, 1847, 1850, 1853 and 1858.⁵ This selection was the sole work of Wilhelm Grimm; it was inspired by the success of an illustrated English collection of stories selected and translated from the German 1819 *Complete Edition* by Edgar Taylor and David Jardine in 1823-26.⁶

The German *Small Edition* was illustrated in black-and-white:

"The selection ... also has in mind those who do not think all the tales in the Complete Edition are suitable for children." ('Eine Auswahl ... wobei zugleich die Bendenklichkeit derer berücksichtigt ist, welche nicht jedes Stück der grösseren Sammlung für Kinder angemessen halten.' (From the 'Preface' to the 1837 *Complete Edition*))

The existence of the *Small Edition* is the source of much confusion: since it is only the subtitle that distinguishes it from the *Complete Edition*, many critics and translators have, in the course of time, erroneously assumed that this fifty-tale collection contained all the Grimm tales.⁷

Matters are complicated further because Wilhelm Grimm made editorial changes to the tales continuously, with, it appears, Jacob's tacit approval.⁸

Chronological periods

The editorial work on the tales can be cautiously divided into six different stages or periods.⁹

The first period lasted from 1807 to 1810, i.e. from the point at which the brothers began to collect tales until they sent their manuscripts to Brentano (17 October 1810). In this period both brothers collected tales from written sources, from other recorders, and from friends, especially their sister's companions. Information about the sources is rarely available.

The second period was from 1810 to 1812, namely from the Ölenberg manuscripts to the publication of the first volume of the first *Edition*. It comprised 86 tales (some

of them fragments). In this period the tales already collected were expanded and a few more included. Both brothers collected and edited tales. From March 1811, they also began to note the identity of the narrators. The recordings were mostly taken down from within their own social circles in Kassel.

The third stage was from 1812 to 1815, i.e. until the publication of the second volume of the first *Edition*. This volume contained 70 tales. Still inside the Kingdom of Westphalia, the brothers, particularly Wilhelm, had found yet more sources of tales, notably the von Haxthausen family in Bökendorf near Paderborn and a 'peasant woman', Dorothea Viehmann. In 1814-1815, Jacob was at the Congress of Vienna; he found time to collect some tales and to write the *Circular* about the collection of folklore material (Appendix 1). From now on, however, Wilhelm took responsibility for the *Tales*.

The fourth period lasted from 1815 to 1819, that is, until the publication of the second German *Edition* which contained 161 tales. At this stage criticism of earlier stories was heeded and a few cruel stories were omitted or changed for this *Edition*.

The fifth period, from 1819 to 1825, spanned from the printing of the second *Complete Edition* to the first publication of the *Small Edition* directed towards a child audience, which identified the tales as stories for children.

The final phase from 1825 to 1857, i.e. from the first printing of the *Small Edition* to the final authorial *Complete Edition* of 200 numbered tales and 10 religious stories for children marked the establishment in German culture. In the course of this period there were general 'improvements', a few suppressions, and some new material added to the *Tales*.

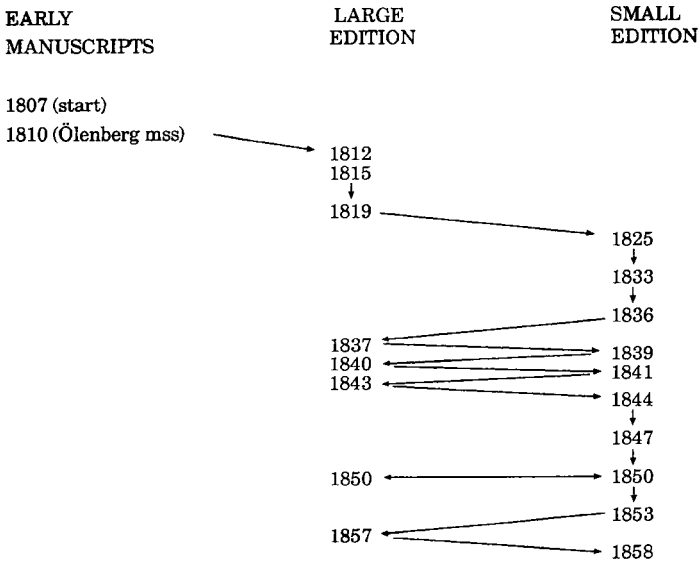
Without going into major detail, it must be stressed that Wilhelm Grimm was, if nothing else, open about his editing: the title page of the second *Edition* of the tales of 1819 proclaims it to be "enlarged and improved" ('vermehrt und verbessert'), and whenever the *Complete Edition* was published, the 'Preface' contained the information that new tales had been added and some improved. The point is that there are different phases coinciding with different approaches to tales.

It must also be borne in mind that Wilhelm Grimm saw all collections of the tales (both *Complete* and *Small Editions*) through the press; we know that he did in fact edit stories for the latter.¹⁰

Accordingly, there may be - in principle - as many as seventeen different versions of specific tales, all edited and 'authorised' by Wilhelm Grimm himself.

The hypothetical mutual editorial influence between these *Editions*, and hence between the texts is illustrated on the drawing at the top of the opposite page. The drawing presupposes that Wilhelm Grimm at no stage reverted to older versions of his tales than the last one printed. If he did, the task of disentangling the editorial filters is truly daunting. The only detailed textual study of the history of Wilhelm Grimm's editorial practice is confined to a single tale; nevertheless, it suggests that Wilhelm Grimm did in fact use the most recently printed text for the next edition.¹¹

One stabilising, and to some readers reassuring, factor is that in terms of titles, the *Small Edition* continued to comprise virtually the same fifty tales; the only ones to be replaced were 'The faithful animals' (Anh 18; no 39 in the 1825 *Small Edition*) and



An illustration of (hypothetical) influence between the German *Editions*

‘The three brothers’ (KHM 124; no 44 in the 1825 *Small Edition*). In 1858, they were supplanted with ‘The clever people’ (KHM 104) and ‘Snow White and Rose Red’ (KHM 161).

It will be appreciated that the history of the *Tales* is complicated. In subtle (as well as in not-so-subtle ways) features in the genesis of the *Tales*, the mode of recording, the societal setting, and the brothers’ convictions about tales, have affected Danish translations as well as Danish cultural and societal response to the *Tales*. This alone is reason enough for examining the social background, the informants, and the methods of recording, both in general and in specific terms, and to study the editorial filters and the ideologies concerning their provenance and import in German society. This will also reveal the extent to which translation can reflect, indeed realise, potentialities and factors from source language texts and cultures. However, in order to make for cogency, it is also necessary to establish an ontological ground for the discussion.

‘IDEAL TALES’ AND ‘FILTERS’

Only about 60 of the more than 200 narratives in the last authorial *Complete Edition* which Wilhelm saw to the press in 1857, are, fairytales in the what we now ‘traditionally’ term ‘Zauber Märchen’, that is, tales listed as numbers 300 to 749 in the international Aarne-Thompson *Type Index*. Since the fairytales constitute only about 30

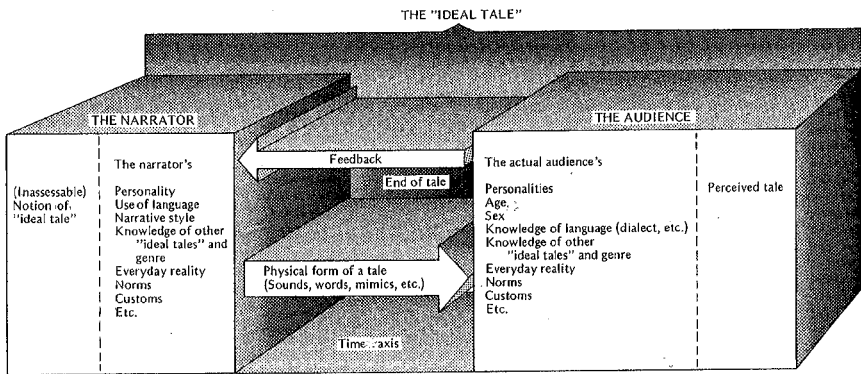
per cent of the *Complete Tales*, it means that the large majority of Grimm stories are tall stories, sketches, punning exchanges, fables and the like, a fact that must be borne in mind in generalisations about the Grimms' work, especially that of Wilhelm Grimm.

The main crux is that most scholarly studies deal with tales as if they had an objective existence and are identical with, for instance, tales printed by recorders. This view makes it hard to discuss editorial work. We have suggested elsewhere,¹ that in order to discuss folktales and fairytales 'told by the common folk' and the work of collectors and editors meaningfully we should introduce the concept of 'ideal tales'. This concept is developed from a model of communication which, in its simplest form, has three components:

A sender - a message - a recipient.

The model assumes that behind each tale there is somewhere an 'ideal tale' told by a narrator to an audience.² Such 'ideal tales' have had an existence; all renditions of tales, including printed versions, have indissoluble ties with original 'ideal tales'. These ties are, however, circumscribed by a number of limitations because of the subjectivity of the observer and it is often difficult to uncover these relations because of 'filters' both in the recording and at later stages. Editorial changes constitute one type of 'filter'.

The below illustration shows some components of an 'ideal tale':



The figure illustrates an 'ideal tale' existing in a 'narrative contract' between narrator and audience for the duration of the narration

An 'ideal tale' is defined as a unique timespan of story-telling during which the audience listens to the narrator and affects the narration by its reactions; the audience may, for instance, inspire a narrator to dwell on certain episodes and items which are appreciated, and be brief about others which are not. The telling of an 'ideal tale' is thus circumscribed by a 'narrative contract' between the narrator and the audience: that is, an agreement that a tale with a beginning, a middle, and an end, is being told. No recording of an 'ideal tale' can cover all aspects of the narrative contract of that specific moment

in space and time. In the recording of a tale, some factors, such as the notation technique, will impose limitations on the recording compared to the 'ideal tale'. In committing 'ideal tales' to writing, as the Grimms did, there is, furthermore, a transition from the linguistic, auditive, and visual medium in the narrative contract to another medium, i.e. to written language, that is to literature in a broad sense.

Any written recording of an 'ideal tale' will be 'edited' in some way and will therefore differ from the 'ideal tale'. On the other hand, an edited recording of an 'ideal tale' will release new experiences of tales in new continua. In so far as the medium is language and the tale is printed, these continua are released in individual readings rather than in the shared experience of the 'ideal tale' that occurs in the oral tradition.

Both editors and translators impose filters on tales in the course of their work; this may be due to ignorance, to a deliberate orientation towards specific audiences, or to the wish to pass on something which is reminiscent of authentic material.

In principle, an 'ideal tale' may, once it is finished in a 'narrative contract', disappear for ever (that is, 'cease to exist in the oral tradition'), it may lead to new 'ideal tales' ('become part of the oral tradition'), or be recorded ('have filters imposed on it, for instance, by changing the medium, by becoming the object of folkloristic study'). This also applies to the 'ideal tales' behind the Grimm *Tales*.

In other words: an 'ideal tale' consists of three major components: a narrator (sender) - a tale (message) - and an audience (recipients). Once a tale is recorded or passed on, there is a new situation: the 'audience' (e.g. another narrator or an editor) takes over the tale and reorients it to reach another audience within or beyond the original sphere (ranging from 'the folk' to researchers).

STRATA OF STORY-TELLING TRADITIONS

Sources

It has been mentioned briefly that some Grimm stories derived from literary sources and some from other recorders (especially after the 1812 'Preface' had exhorted other collectors to send in tales). Since the manuscripts were destroyed when the *Tales* were printed, we have little idea of the exact relationship between an 'ideal tale' told to one of the brothers and the first written recording of it. Nonetheless, the question can be approached cautiously by viewing the narrators of the Grimm *Tales* from a socio-historical perspective.

The living oral tradition

Expressing the same views that Jacob had done in an unpublished statement of intent ('Appeal to all friends of German poetry and history') in 1811, but without the same degree of explicit patriotic fervour, the brothers' 'Preface' to the 1812 *Tales* claimed that the tradition of oral narratives in Germany was dying out. Since they lived in French-dominated Westphalia, they could only indirectly hint that the ravages of the Napoleonic Wars had contributed substantially to this decline:

“When storms or other acts of God have beaten down a field, we often find that, protected by low hedges or bushes standing in the way, small spots have been kept safe and a few ears of corn have remained standing.” (‘Wir finden es wohl, wenn Sturm oder anderes Unglück, vom Himmel geschickt, eine ganze Saat zu Boden geschlagen, dass noch bei niedrigen Hecken oder Sträuchen, die am Wege stehen, ein kleiner Platz sich gesichert und einzelne Ähren aufrecht geblieben sind.’ (1812: v))

The brothers stated expressly that they had collected the tales “from the oral tradition” (‘nach mündlicher Überlieferung’) where this still existed:

“The places by the hearth, the kitchen stoves, the attic stairs, special days which are still celebrated, quiet meadows and woods, and, above all, the imagination running free have been the hedges which have protected them and passed them on from one generation to the next.” (‘Die Plätze am Ofen, der Küchenherd, Bodentreppen, Feiertage noch gefeiert, Triften und Wälder, vor allem die ungetrübte Phantasie sind die Hecken gewesen, die sie gesichert und einer Zeit aus der andern überliefert hat.’ (1812: vi))

In the second volume of the *Tales* (1815), Wilhelm Grimm reinforced this impression by describing Dorothea Viehmann, a peasant woman (‘eine Bäuerin’), who preserved the old stories in her memory (‘Sie bewahrte die alten Sagen fest im Gedächtniss’). She had supplied him with a considerable number of stories for this volume. He describes her delivery in these terms:

“She narrates carefully, confidently, and in an unusually lively manner, taking pleasure in it. At first, she speaks spontaneously, then, if one asks, she repeats what she has said slowly, so that, with a little practice, it can be transcribed. In this way much was taken down verbatim and no one will fail to recognize its authenticity.” (From Tatar: 212)¹ (‘darbei erzählt sie bedächtig, sicher und ungemein lebendig mit eigenem Wohlgefallen daran, erst ganz frei, dann, wenn man will, noch einmal langsam, so dass man ihr mit einiger Übung nachschreiben kann. Manches ist auf diese Weise wörtlich beibehalten, und wird in seiner Wahrheit nicht zu verkennen seyn.’ (1815: v))

It takes a careful reading to catch the point that a verbatim recording is the exception rather than the rule and that Dorothea Viehmann has been singled out because she is the only major contributor of tales to represent a living oral tradition among the folk. Despite her alleged reliability as a narrator, there is evidence that the brothers changed her phrasing: by chance, there happens to be an extant recording of one of her tales. It was taken down by Jacob and the wording was changed by Wilhelm.²

By and large, then, both Wilhelm and Jacob Grimm implied that their stories were collected from the oral tradition. At first glance this tallies poorly with the now widely recognised fact that the informants who made the most lasting impression on the *Tales* were young women from the middle and upper classes.

The two oral traditions

The main point to note is that - apart from the ‘literary texts’ - the stories used by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm derived from narrators from two different social classes. One comprised ‘the common folk’; the other, circles of (mostly) young women in Kassel and in Bökendorf near Paderborn, who told stories to one another and to the brothers Grimm.³ A look at a map of Westphalia (above, p. 8) reveals that virtually all material was culled in that kingdom during its brief existence (1807-1813).

The 'living oral tradition of the common folk'

There must have been fairly accurate written renditions of 'ideal tales from the common folk' among the tales which other recorders forwarded to the Grimms. It is impossible to prove this, since only the recorders' names are given (and the recorders may have censored the tales). It seems likely, though, that this applies to, e.g. 'The griffin' (KHM 165), 'Strong Hans' (KHM 166), and 'The peasant in heaven' (KHM 167), which were passed on by the Germanist Wilhelm Wackernagel from Swiss recorders.

There are three narrators in the Grimm Canon who may be classified as 'humble folk' and who supplied the brothers with tales:

First there was an old woman in Marburg (the 'Marburger Märchenfrau'). Clemens Brentano had obtained six to eight tales from her, so Jacob Grimm sent his sister Lotte to see her in 1809. Much to Jacob and Wilhelm's chagrin, Lotte did not succeed in winning the old woman's confidence and returned empty-handed. The next year Wilhelm Grimm managed to get two stories from her, one of them the first version of 'Cinderella' (KHM 21), but the operation involved considerable effort, first in allaying the old woman's suspicions and, subsequently, in persuading her to tell the tales.⁴

Secondly, there was a pensioned major of the dragoons ('Dragonerwachtmeister'), Johann Friedrich Krause. In some measure or other, he contributed to 'Old Sultan' (KHM 48), a story about a superannuated dog and its doings, to 'The queen bee' (KHM 62), in which the youngest of three brothers insists on behaving decently towards animals and is appropriately rewarded, and to various other tales. All told, Krause narrated eight 'ideal tales'. He was given used clothes for his efforts. Heinz Rölleke suggests that he is the storyteller with the best narrative profile and points out that he seems to be virtually the only representative of a male narrative tradition.⁵

Dorothea Viehmann was the third narrator. She contributed thirty-seven 'ideal tales', among these the first version of 'The twelve brothers' (KHM 9), and 'The Devil with the three golden hairs' (KHM 29).⁶ She was of French extraction and the daughter of an inn-keeper, so she may have heard many tales in her youth. Although her family suffered in the general unrest, her social background was above the average. She came to the brothers to narrate her stories; by way of thanks she received a cup of coffee, a glass of wine, occasionally money, and assistance in general.⁷ She died in late 1815.

There are at least two significant points here.

The first is that, with the exception of the woman from Marburg, the tellers of the tales came to the Grimms, not vice versa. The second is that these people were from the middle or the lower middle classes. They may have been hit by misfortune, but they were not low class.

Simple mathematics show that even when we include tales of uncertain origin (from recordings forwarded by other collectors) these (none-too-typical) representatives of the 'common folk' were in the minority among the tellers of the *Tales*.

The oral tradition of the upper middle classes

The brothers Grimm, then, heard most of their stories in the form of 'ideal tales' in circles of friends, most of whom were young unmarried girls and women.⁸

These young women were from comfortable middle-class families. They gathered for mutual entertainment, by happenstance, not as a formal circle; their number would vary from time to time, as a new arrival or a younger sister was welcomed, or a participant was married, or people left the district as on visits or travels.⁹

The first circle upon which the brothers lighted was in Kassel.¹⁰ It comprised Wilhelm and Jacob's sister, Lotte Grimm; the wife of Apothecary Johann Rudolf Wild and her six daughters (among them, Dortchen Wild, who became Wilhelm Grimm's wife in 1825); and the daughters of the Hassenpflug family, which had moved from Hanau to Kassel in 1798 to hold high government office.

The Hassenpflug daughters were educated and widely read. Since the Grimm family were fairly recent arrivals in Kassel (1805) and Lotte cannot have failed to give a favourable account of Jacob and Wilhelm's knowledge of Old German language and literature, it is no surprise that they should have been invited, perhaps tentatively, to join the circle in 1807 for mutual benefit.

In 1809-10, while he was living in Halle, Wilhelm Grimm also established contact with the von Haxthausen family.¹¹ They lived in Bökendorf near Paderborn. He paid them a visit in 1811 and again in the summer of 1813. On both occasions, he recorded tales and other oral material; he also enjoined everybody to send him whatever tales they came across.

In these two circles - as in numerous others - people would discuss contemporary literature and Old German poetry, sing ballads, and tell tales. It appears from a contemporary account of the Kassel circle that Jacob and Wilhelm contributed their share on these occasions, with tales, and with literature.¹² They were *the* experts on German ballads which they were collecting for Clemens Brentano and Achim von Arnim, and they would also recount Norse, Pan-Germanic myths from Denmark and Iceland: this would be their, in particular Wilhelm's, special field.

As part of the audience, everybody present would affect the 'ideal tales' in the 'narrative contracts'; stories might be repeated with new features. It is obvious that some participants would be better storytellers than others, and that the material used might derive from every conceivable source, including literature, such as Perrault's *Contes de fée* (this is especially likely in the Hassenpflug family who spoke French). A case in point is 'Puss in boots' (Anh 5), which appeared only in the Grimm collection of 1812, to be left out of all subsequent *Editions*, because it smacked too much of the French.

The interplay between lower-class and middle-class oral traditions

It is usually said, or at least implied, that these narrators knew their stories from childhood. Of course this may be true. I suggest, however, that their repertoires were also supplemented with 'ideal tales' told in the oral tradition of the lower classes. Wilhelm mentions the inclusion of such narrations from the 'common folk' during a stay at Bökendorf:

"I have had a pleasant time here. They know a lot of tales, ballads, legends and proverbs; I have taken down quite a few, including a new one from August [von Haxthausen] which he will write out clearly; even the children have told me tales. Similarly *a tailor and a maid*

have been questioned. I might stay here for four or six weeks to write up everything accurately in peace and quiet.” (‘Ich habe die Zeit angenehm zugebracht, Märchen, Lieder und Sagen, Sprüche usw. wissen sie die Menge; ich habe eine ganz gute Partie aufgeschrieben, eine andere der August die er uns ins Reine erst noch schreiben will; selbst die Kleinen haben mir erzählt. Sodann ist *ein Schneider und ein Dienstmädchen* abgehört worden. Ich müsste etwa 4 bis 6 Wochen dasein, um alles ruhig und genau aufschreiben zu können.’ (Letter to Jacob 28 July 1813. From Weishaupt: 66. My italics))

It is, surely, not unreasonable to assume that there were actually two stages in the early tale collection period of 1807 to 1810. In the first phase, the brothers Grimm found tales in literature; in the second, they had the opportunity to listen to stories told by young women. This latter procedure was less dusty and more agreeable; understandably enough, Jacob and Wilhelm preferred to tap ‘natural repertoires’ among their acquaintance. I suggest, furthermore, that the brothers’ great interest in recording tales also prompted these informants, as they visited family or friends in the countryside, to collect tales by listening to ‘ideal tales’ told by narrators from the lower classes: it is always gratifying to be the object of interest and study.

There is, indeed, ample evidence that the Bökendorf circle collected tales from the mouths of the common folk.¹³ It is harder to prove that this also applied to the Kassel storytellers because most of their narratives dated from before 1810 when the brothers began to take down dates and names of informants systematically. It is also evident that because the girls lived just around the corner in small-town Kassel, they would not write letters to the Grimms about new findings because they knew they could quickly deliver the goods by word of mouth. This is a simple and satisfactory explanation for the brothers Grimm appearing to have friends with inexhaustible repertoires of tales; it also explains why Dortchen Wild and Marie Hassenpflug supplied new stories in spurts.¹⁴ It may even be the reason why tales rendered in dialects made their way into the Grimm collection: these sounded authentic because they had been garnered very recently.

There was nothing unusual about the bourgeoisie using material from the oral tradition for their own entertainment; Low German renderings of ‘The fisherman and his wife’ (KHM 20) and ‘The juniper tree’ (KHM 47) by the Hamburg painter Philipp Otto Runge were widely acclaimed party pieces, as witnessed to by the following description of the ‘narrative contract’ and the ‘ideal tale’ by his friend Henrik Steffens:

“When Runge was among friends, he turned out to be a child in the true sense of the word. The smallest everyday events assumed a poetic hue, and insignificant details seemed fairytale-like to him. In this fashion I have been present on evenings when the entertainment he gave was so wonderfully elevated that, if it were possible to pen it, it would constitute a poetry belonging to the most eminent that has ever existed. The imaginative and childlike features of Low German appeared with such irresistible charm; I heard the two well-known and highly celebrated tales rendered by him on such nights before they were printed, indeed written down. They seemed the more significant for not taking the form of a finished and delivered poem, which enters the prosaic world as something alien; and because we were all enchanted by the mysterious horror of life, the fairytale seemed almost natural to us, whereas the usual approaches seemed to be unreal and vain.” (‘Wenn Runge unter seinen Freunden sass, erschien er im wahrsten Sinne kindlich. Die geringsten, gewöhnlichsten Ereignisse erhielten einen dichterischen Anstrich, und das Unbedeutendeste erschien ihm märchenhaft. Ich habe auf diese Weise Abende erlebt, durch die Unterhaltung, die von ihm ausging, so seltsam gehoben, dass, wäre es möglich, sie, wie sie waren, darzustellen, eine Dichtung zum Vor-

schein kommen würde, die zu den vorzüglichsten gerechnet werden müsste, die jemals erschienen sind. Das Phantasiereiche und Kindliche in der plattdeutschen Sprache trat dann mit einem unwiderstehlichen Zauber hervor; die beiden, in der deutschen dichterischen Literatur allgemein bekannten und geschätzten Märchen hörte ich an solchen Abenden von ihm erzählen, als sie noch nicht gedruckt, ja noch nicht aufgeschrieben waren; und sie erschienen da um so bedeutender, weil sie nicht isolirt etwa als ein verfertigtes vorgelesenes Gedicht fremdartig in eine prosaische Welt hineintrafen, weil wir vielmehr sämtliche als Kinder von dem wunderbaren Grauen des Lebens ergriffen waren, so dass die Märchen uns fast wie das Natürliche, die gewöhnliche Reflexion aber als etwas Unwahres und Nichtiges erschien.' (Steffens V: 338-339)

Philipp Otto Runge died in 1810, but he had committed the stories to paper in 1806; 'The juniper tree' appeared in the Romantic journal *Zeitung für Einsiedler* in July 1808. The brothers Grimm considered Runge's tales exemplary of the way the German national heritage of oral traditions, notably tales, should be approached; Jacob explicated this point in the above-mentioned draft for an 'Appeal' which he sent to Clemens Brentano in 1811:

"With respect to fidelity and to excellence of recording, we know of no better example than the Low German story 'The juniper tree' published by the late Runge in *Die Einsiedlerzeitung*, which we must definitely hold forth as a model from which one may see what can be anticipated of our field." ('Sowohl in Rücksicht der Treue, als der trefflichen Auffassung wüssten wir kein besseres Beispiel zu nennen, als die von dem seligen Runge in der *Einsiedlerzeitung* gelieferter Erzählung vom Wacholderbaum, plattdeutsch, welche wir unbedingt zum Muster aufstellen und woran man sehen möge, was in unserm Feld zu erwarten ist.' (Sent with letter of 22 January 1811 (rpt Rölleke *Einführung*: 66))

This statement of intent from Jacob is also specific about the ways in which authentic folkloristic material could be found and recorded:

"[For the recording] we count on the assistance of honest and knowledgeable clergymen and schoolteachers, on the truth of the memory of old people and, above all, on the inward-looking *minds of German women*, whereas we rely on men's quill pens which women are shy of using and unaccustomed to." ('Anlangend jenen ersten Zweck, so rechnen wir auf die Beihilfe rechtschaffener und einsichtiger Pfarrer und Schullehrer, auf die treugehaftete Erinnerung des Alters, am meisten aber doch auf den einwärts gewandten *Sinn deutscher Frauen*, wogegen wir der Männer Feder, welche jene zu führen scheu und ungewohnt, desto mehr in Anspruch nehmen.' (Rpt Rölleke *Einführung*: 67. My italics))

In other words, by 1811 Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm were convinced that it was the women who preserved the traditional lore.

The two strata of oral tradition: a discussion

The brothers did not collect their stories by plodding patiently around the countryside locating narrators of German tales and sitting down to hear them. In fact, there is no simple picture of the Grimms taking down stories from the 'common folk' at all nor unambiguously from the middle classes. Sometimes the brothers Grimm heard 'ideal tales' close to 'ideal tales' told in the oral tradition among the common folk; in most cases, however, the 'ideal tales' were renderings of tales passed on - and repeated - in an oral tradition existing in the upper middle classes in Westphalia.

Even though the high-class oral tradition was relatively short-lived, the fact that it co-existed with the low-class oral tradition, sheds considerable light on the activities of the brothers Grimm. Notably so, when we take into account the continuous interplay

between them: the high-class oral tradition was reinforced by the authentic folk tradition.

The first and most important point is that the brothers did not realise that there were two strands and consequently they did not distinguish between them: they considered the 'oral tradition' in the von Haxthausen household to be identical with and therefore just as authentic as the 'oral tradition' in the village; in the brothers' eyes, the tales narrated were all folktales. This, I suggest, is clearly illustrated by the inclusion of dialect tales recounted by aristocratic narrators, as well as the frequent introduction of snippets of information about humble living conditions (poverty, hunger, and abuse) which would be unfamiliar to the bourgeoisie.

However, by accepting stories from a high-class oral tradition, the brothers Grimm unwittingly permitted the exertion of a sociological censorship in the tales. Censorship is inevitably operative in any retelling;¹⁵ it does not matter whether the Grimms' narrators were conscious of changes in relation to 'ideal tales' they had heard in the country, or whether they thought they rendered the stories 'exactly as told'.

In retellings, the young women would have no reason to adhere strictly to the 'ideal tales' of the folk. It would be in their interest that the stories be elaborated and refined. Doing just this, using new features from any source, literate as well as oral, and even including previous narrations and deliveries in their own circle, was all part of the fun. The citing of, for instance, Wilhelm Grimm's Norse mythology was fair game.

In so far as the women storytellers felt that 'ideal tales' which they told were inspired by stories they had heard in specific places and at specific times (in childhood or in well-defined localities), this served as evidence to the brothers Grimm that the stories derived from well-defined districts in contemporary Germany (and that they could confidently cite the regions from which the tales derived).

According to this thesis, Wilhelm and Jacob Grimm had no special inducement to collect their stories from the 'common folk', as would be done by generations of subsequent folklorists who thought they were following in the footsteps of the brothers Grimm. It is prosaic, but pertinent, to point out that Jacob had to be present at King Jérôme's library and Council and, later, in the Hesse administration; he would have had little time for collecting, much less than Wilhelm. On the other hand, it will be remembered that Wilhelm suffered from poor health: by having what he considered 'authentic tales retold' in his immediate surroundings, he avoided the hardships of travelling around collecting them. The difficulties he had in wringing a sorry two tales from the old woman in Marburg compared unfavourably with the ease with which he could acquire numerous examples from his sister and her friends in Kassel.

There is one all-important, often overlooked reason why the Grimms preferred to have stories *told* by women, rather than have them take stories down: women's illiteracy. There were women recorders in the Grimm corpus, but Jacob Grimm was explicit about the division of labour between men and women in the 'Appeal' (1811) just cited: literacy was primarily a men's preserve. This even applied to the Grimm's own household, where Jacob knew it would be useless to send his sister Gretchen to Marburg to collect tales from the old woman as she was ashamed of her spelling errors (Letter to Wilhelm 24 September 1809). Conversely, by using a method involving a secondary

string of ‘narrative contracts’ where young women retold stories they had heard by word of mouth from the common folk in the country, they would not be forced to reveal poor orthography and other humiliating displays of female unfamiliarity with writing.

Furthermore, the fact that most of the tales derived from ‘ideal tales’ told by a fairly small circle from much the same area, much the same social standing, and much the same gender, has indubitably also contributed to a homogeneity in the tale material.¹⁶

The ‘ideal tales’ and the recordings

By the rigorous standards of today’s folklore research, the methods used by the Grimms to obtain their tales were questionable.

Nevertheless, the method of having tales told to recorders as new ‘ideal tales’ has something to be said for it. Such tellings of tales establish ‘narrative contracts’ in which narrator and recorder feel convinced that they are dealing with ‘ideal tales’ - especially if there is a real audience.

Given the admiring reference to Fischart’s “wonderful retention” in the brothers’ ‘Preface’ of 1812 (fn 5), it is obvious that they must normally have tried to recollect the ‘ideal tales’ told on specific occasions for subsequent recording. Tales could rarely be taken down on the spot. This sheds new light on Wilhelm Grimm’s delight with Dorothea Viehmann, the one ex-



Wilhelm Grimm (1815)



Jacob Grimm (1815)

ception who could be recorded almost word-by-word. There were simple practical reasons why this could be done: she came to Wilhelm Grimm's home where he would have had paper and pen for writing. He would ask her to dictate - and even repeat - passages verbatim. Small wonder that she was singled out. This practice would also work with Major Krause and with the old woman in Marburg, who was hospitalised.

In other social contexts, the same procedure would never work: no young woman could visit young unmarried (and good-looking!) scholars without ruining her reputation. Similarly, it is inconceivable that the brothers turned up for feasts of tales, rustling bundles of blank paper: they would usually have to rely on memory (and possibly occasional notation).¹⁷

It is clear from the records that they would frequently hear several tales on the same occasion and would then write them down from memory afterwards; this will be appreciated from the above 1813 description from Bökendorf. In Kassel, there were days on which much storytelling took place. Examples of these 'feasts of tales', as it were, include 10 March 1811 (two tales by Marie Hassenpflug, one by Dortchen Wild); 19 January 1812 (three tales by Dortchen Wild); 29 September 1812 (Hassenpflug family, two; Jeanette Hassenpflug, one); even Dorothea Viehmann delivered more than one tale on 19 June 1813, 23 June 1813, and 7 July 1813. It is evident that, on these occasions, the brothers simply had no time for penning what they heard word-by-word. Secondly, it is doubtful that they wanted to, for, in defending the editing of the tales, Jacob wrote in a letter to Achim von Arnim that mathematical fidelity was impossible anyway.¹⁸ This also implies, of course, that there are tales which were imperfectly remembered and consequently not taken down until retold in another narrative contract. That all the stories recounted at these 'feasts of tales' were ascribed to places other than Kassel (which was, in reality 'the place of recording') also illustrates that the brothers did not distinguish between the two strata of story-telling.

At the same time, there was a growing awareness on the brothers' part of the demands for exactitude. After they had sent their manuscripts to Clemens Brentano in October 1810, Jacob wrote the 'Appeal' of 1811, in which he demanded that all external circumstances, such as "the dialects, styles, and idioms of the narrators" be noted, and that "all names of districts, towns, and people ... be recorded".¹⁹ This demand for precision was followed by the brothers themselves. As of 10 March 1811, they began to note the identity of the narrator (which they also tried to backtrack on), the date, and, occasionally, the place. They did this for their own use in Jacob's copy of the printed *Tales*.

Telling tales: a discussion

A restatement of the facts of the case is in order.

Since there was no previous folktale collection as a yardstick for 'authenticity' for the brothers Grimm, it was not obvious to them - nor to contemporaries - that their stories represented different narrative traditions, ranging from that of the common folk to that of the higher middle classes. In addition, this picture was blurred because some stories used for entertainment in bourgeois circles would be lifted directly from the 'living oral tradition of the lower classes'.

The young women who supplied the brothers with most of their tales gathered together for mutual entertainment. They discussed literature and the fine arts; they sang and told all sorts of stories, jokes, and so on. It stands to reason that the stories they told one another were rarely recounted just once. Given the informal character of the circles, there would always be new members in the audience who could be impressed with a marvellous tale, and those who 'knew it' were connoisseurs who would appreciate new shades and features in the delivery of the new 'ideal tale'. In other words: when Wilhelm and Jacob Grimm began to credit various narrators with specific tales, they often referred to a particular rendition of a tale which they had heard in other versions before. This is evident from the 'Preface', in which there is a reference to "the usual kind of variants". The point is, however, also obvious in a remark which Wilhelm wrote to Jacob from Halle: "I have heard some nursery tales again, but I already knew them." ('Von einigen Kindermärchen habe ich wieder gehört, allein es waren schon bekannte.' (Letter 1 July 1809))

In the process of retelling, stories would be refined and attuned more closely to the audience, to the way of life of young, well-bred and unmarried European women from the middle classes. Of course, some stories came to focus on their expectations, their hopes, and their anxieties, most spectacularly on the social elevation from middle-class society to royal splendour in the ultimate magnificent, romantic wedding with Prince Charming and the subsequent perennially happy marriage.

There have been numerous social gatherings in European history during which young women told tales. Some of these meetings have lasted a few hours, others have been repeated for years. Usually they have left little trace, except perhaps as happy memories. Conspicuous proof of this is provided by Charles Perrault, whose stories (1695) were told in a French family circle. Nevertheless, the scarcity of similar volumes (as opposed to the artificial Märchen popular with *litterati*) suggests that, at least as far as the middle classes were concerned, Jacob Grimm was right in claiming that the telling of tales for amusement was a favoured pastime for women (in the 1811 'Appeal'). The reason for this is not hard to find: men would be engaged in trade, academe and serious literature, and it was they who discussed politics, money, and other weighty matters.

Apart from children and the occasional old man who liked to tell a yarn or listen benignly to his grandchildren's stories, the male members of a family would rarely be present, let alone indulging in the telling of tales and similar fanciful stuff.

The brothers Grimm were an exception. They were accepted in the Kassel circle because their sister vouched for them, because they, too, contributed to the fun and lent it scholarly substance and status, and because, at least in the eyes of the older generation, they were respectable and eligible bachelors. That is, Jacob was. For they had remarkably different positions in and views of the world. Jacob could follow international events from the cosmopolitan King's Council in Westphalia and go to the capitals of Europe, to Paris and Vienna. Conversely, frail of health, Wilhelm moved around, almost exclusively, in the Kingdom of Westphalia: in Kassel, in Halle, in Paderborn, with only brief visits to German towns outside Westphalia (Weimar, Berlin).

Wilhelm had no permanent employment, whereas Jacob's position as the King's private librarian and as 'auditeur' was of no negligible standing in Westphalian society. Jacob's name could open doors. Nevertheless, Jacob had attained this position, not only by his own merits but also thanks to the French, and hence Westphalian, policy of promoting middle-class meritoriousness.

There is no doubt that by the beginning of the nineteenth century the time was ripe for preserving the 'cultural heritage' throughout Europe. Nevertheless, as a result of strong international and national forces as well as pure coincidence, the brothers Grimm were placed at a unique crossroads in the history of narrative traditions.

The French Revolution gave rise to democratic ideals. Napoleon created Westphalia, where Jacob Grimm became a prominent hopeful. The brothers were also closely acquainted with the young German Romantics and imbued with patriotic fervour. Their sister then by chance introduced them to women who told one another tales, not, it is true, by the stoves in humble dwellings, but in the bourgeois drawing rooms of Kassel.

The recording of stories began in 1807 and by autumn 1813, most Grimm tales had been taken down in their initial form. The dates coincide precisely with the existence of the Kingdom of Westphalia: virtually all tellers of Grimm tales lived in Westphalia.

The Grimm *Tales* therefore mirror a wish to preserve the legacy of the past, and they seem to reflect the merging of French and German narrative traditions (emphasising respectively delivery and contents). They also attest to an oral tradition which existed in middle-class homes among young women whose destiny and highest ambition was to be married. It was a tradition whose finest hour fell at the point before mass education made reading and reading aloud popular domestic activities.

TEXTS AND GENESES OF SELECTED TALES

Regardless of whether the printed stories derived from literature or from informants, from the brothers themselves or from other recorders, most Grimm tales were, in fact, edited and 'contaminated' with passages taken from other recordings over the years: in their 'authoritative' form, most are more than one remove from genuine 'ideal tales'

This is an attested fact and well-known to Grimm scholars. On the other hand, their studies tend to focus on the stylistic level, for the very reason that they generally accept Wilhelm Grimm's claim that the stories were only 'enlarged and improved'. Conscientious critics and editors of the tales inform readers that the Grimms made stylistic and linguistic changes over the years, but usually stress that the contents of the tales remained unchanged, thus accepting the brothers' claim that this is the case.¹

However, in order to assess the editorial principles which ultimately involved realisations in translations into other cultures, I shall present three texts, in German or in an English summary, whichever is more pertinent. Their genesis and their relation to 'ideal tales' will then be described. I shall discuss the 'editorial filters' at the textual level, and the 'editorial filters', or better, 're-orientations', which were influenced by other factors, such as the underlying ideology of the brothers concerning the nature of tales, their

mutual relationship and the nature of the audience for tales. I am concerned with factors which influenced the stories and with the ideology's impact (which we would expect to be on the filters and orientations). This will make it easier later to see whether these factors have been realised in translations or not.

It will suffice to cite the three landmark versions.

The first version is taken from the so-called 1810 Ölenberg manuscripts, the original manuscripts which, it will be recalled, the brothers Grimm sent at his request to Clemens Brentano when he planned to 'publish' some tales.² However, before sending the originals, the brothers Grimm copied these recordings, for on 12 September 1810 Jacob Grimm wrote:

"He wants our fairytales and would render them freely in his own way and we cannot avoid it. We must definitely do it, but I think it is necessary to copy our collection, or otherwise it will be lost." ('Unsere Kindermärchen verlangt er, wolle sie nach seiner Art frei behandeln, dardurch entgehe uns nichts. Dass muss man gewiss thun; doch halte ich es für nöthig von unserm Gesammelten vorher Abschrift zu nehmen, denn sonst gehts verloren.')³

The second version is from the first *Edition* (1812), and the third one is from the last *Complete Edition*, published in 1857.

The three tales (or parts of them) selected for the analysis have also been chosen to convey an idea of the comprehensive character of the Grimm *Tales*. The stories are, respectively, 'The straw, the spark, and the bean' (KHM 18), the opening of one of the best known tales, 'Hansel and Gretel' (KHM 15), and 'All fur' (KHM 65).

The first specimen: 'The straw, the spark, and the bean' (KHM 18)

In the 1810 papers, this story is "about the little straw, the little spark, and the little bean" and it goes:

"The little straw, the little spark, and the little bean lived together, and once wanted to go travelling. When they had gone far they came to a river and did not know how they should cross it. They then decided that the little straw should lie down across it, the little spark would go first and the little bean would follow. The little straw lay down across it, and the little spark slowly went out on it, and the little bean tripped after the spark. But when the little spark had reached the middle of the little straw, it began to burn and burnt the little straw to pieces and fell into the water and died. The little bean also fell in but floated along, eventually bursting with the water it had swallowed. Then it floated to the shore of the river where a tailor was sitting. He sewed it together again. Since then all beans have a seam.

According to another rendition, the bean went over the straw and reached the other side successfully. The spark followed, burned through the middle of the straw and hissed in the water. When the bean saw this, it laughed so hard that it burst. A tailor sat at the bank and sewed it together again, but he had only black thread, for which reason all beans have a black seam."

('Das Strohählmchen, das Kölchen [sic] und das Böhnchen die lebten zusammen in Gesellschaft, und wollten einmal eine Reise machen. Als sie nun schon weit gegangen waren, kamen sie an einen Fluss und wussten nicht wie sie [addition: hinunter] hinüber gelangten. Da beschlossen sie das Strohählmchen sollte sich drüber legen und dann das Kölchen vorangehn und das Böhnchen ihm folgen. Das Strohählmchen legte sich quer über, und das Kölchen ging langsam drauf, und das Böhnchen trippelte ihm nach. Wie aber das Kölchen mitten auf das Strohählmchen kam, fing es an zu brennen und brannte das Strohählmchen durch und fiel ins Wasser und starb, und das Böhnchen fiel auch hinein, schwamm aber oben, musste aber endlich zerplatzen von dem vielen Wasser, das es getrunken. Da trieb es der

Fluss ans Ufer, da sass ein Schneider, der nähte es wieder zusammen. Seit der Zeit haben alle Bohnen eine Naht.

‘Nach einer andern Erzählung ging die Bohne zuerst über den Strohalm und kam glücklich hinüber, die Kohle ging nach, mitten auf dem Halm brannte sie durch und zischte im Wasser. Wie das die Bohne sah, fing sie an zu lachen, dass sie platzte. Ein Schneider sass am Ufer, der nähte sie wieder zu, er hatte aber gerade nur schwarzen Zwirn, daher alle Bohnen eine schwarze Nath haben.’)

In **1812**, the above double ending is retained, but the body of the story (renamed ‘The straw, the spark, and the bean on their travels’) is now told at greater length:

“A straw, a spark, and a bean joined forces and wanted to journey together. They had travelled through many countries when they came to a rivulet without a bridge and could not cross it. At last the straw had a good idea: he would lie down across the rivulet and then the others would cross over him, first Spark and then Bean. Spark strutted slowly across, whereas Bean came tripping behind.” (‘Ein Strohalm, eine Kohle und eine Bohne schlugen sich zusammen, und wollten gemeinschaftlich eine grosse Reise machen. Sie waren schon durch viele Länder gezogen, da kamen sie an einen Bach ohne Brücke und konnten nicht hinüber. Endlich wusste Strohalm guten Rath, er legte sich quer über und die andern sollten über ihn hingehen. erst Kohle, dann Bohne. Kohle ging breit und langsam darauf, Bohne trippelte nach.’ (1812: 67))

In **1857**, the story has been expanded to more than twice the length of 1812 and now begins in a humble cottage; it may be noted in passing that this change was introduced with the third *Complete Edition* of 1837, which also dropped the double ending of the story. In the 1857 *Complete Edition*, the tale begins as follows:

“In a village there was a poor old woman who had collected some beans for a meal and wanted to cook them. So she laid ready a fire on her hearth, and, in order that it would catch faster, she lit the fire with a handful of straw. When she shook the beans into the pan, she did not notice one which fell to the ground close by a straw; soon after a glowing spark jumped down to them from the hearth. Then the straw began asking ‘Dear friends, where do you come from?’ The bean answered: ‘I luckily jumped out of the fire and, if I had not done it forcefully, I would definitely have died: I would have been burnt to ashes.’ ...” (‘In einem Dorfe wohnte eine arme alte Frau, die hatte ein Gericht Bohnen zusammengebracht und wollte sie kochen. Sie machte also auf ihrem Herd ein Feuer zurecht, und damit es desto schneller brennen sollte, zündete sie es mit einer Hand voll Stroh an. Als sie die Bohnen in den Topf schüttete, entfiel ihr unbemerkt eine, die auf dem Boden neben einen Strohalm zu liegen kam; bald danach sprang auch eine glühende Kohle vom Herd zu den beiden herab. Da fing der Strohalm an und sprach: “Liebe Freunde, von wannen kommt ihr her?” Die Bohne antwortete: “Ich bin zu gutem Glück dem Feuer entsprungen, und hätte ich das nicht mit Gewalt durchgesetzt, so war mir der Tod gewiss: ich wäre zu Asche verbrannt.”... (Rölleke (rpt 1857): 117-118))

The second specimen: ‘Hansel and Gretel’ (KHM 15)

‘Hansel and Gretel’ is too long to be printed in its entirety. Instead, I limit the presentation to the opening lines of the German text.

In **1810**, the opening of ‘The small brother and his small sister’ (‘Das Brüderchen und das Schwesterchen’) runs as follows:

“Once upon a time there was a poor woodcutter who lived by a large forest. Things went from bad to worse, so that he hardly had enough food for his wife and two children. Once he did not even have any bread left and was deeply troubled, and then in bed at night his wife said to him: ‘take the two children to the forest early tomorrow, give them the bread left, and make a big fire for them and then go away and leave them.’ For a long time, the

man would not, but his wife did not leave him in peace until he agreed.

But the children had heard all that their mother had said. The little girl began to weep much, but her brother told her to be quiet and consoled her."

('Es war einmal ein armer Holzhacker, der wohnte vor einem grossen Wald. Es ging ihm gar jämmerlich, dass er kaum seine Frau und seine zwei Kinder ernähren konnte. Einmal hatte er auch kein Brod mehr und war in grosser Angst, da sprach seine Frau Abends im Bett zu ihm: "nimm die beiden Kinder morgen früh und führ sie in den grossen Wald, gib ihnen das noch übrige Brod und mach' ihnen ein gross Feuer an und darnach geh weg und lass sie allein." Der Mann wollte lange nicht, aber die Frau liess ihm keine Ruh, bis er endlich einwilligte.

Aber die Kinder hatten alles gehört, was die Mutter gesagt hatte. Das Schwesterchen fing an gar sehr zu weinen, das Brüderchen sagte ihm, es solle still seyn, und tröstete es.')

In the first *Edition* (1812), 'Hansel and Gretel' ('Hänsel und Gretel') goes:

"A poor woodcutter lived close to a large forest. He eked out a livelihood and hardly had the daily bread for his wife and his two children, Hansel and Gretel. Once he could not even provide this, and in these dire straits, he did know which way to turn. At night when he anxiously tossed and turned in bed, his wife said to him: 'Now listen, husband. Tomorrow you take the two children, give each a little bit of bread, then take them into the forest, right into the middle where it is densest, make a fire for them and then go away and leave them there. We cannot feed them any more.' 'No, wife, said the man, I do not have the heart to take my own beloved children into the forest to the savage animals which will soon tear them apart.' - 'If you don't do it, said the wife, then we must all die together from hunger.' She did not leave him in peace until he said Yes.

The two children were also awake with hunger and heard everything their mother had said to their father. Gretel thought now this will be the end of me, and began to weep pitifully, but Hansel said: 'Be quiet, Gretel, and don't worry, I'll manage.'"

('Vor einem grossen Walde wohnte ein armer Holzhacker, der hatte nichts zu beissen und zu brechen und kaum das tägliche Brod für seine Frau und seine zwei Kinder, Hänsel und Gretel. Einmal konnte er auch das nicht mehr schaffen, und wusste sich nicht zu helfen in seiner Noth. Wie er Abends vor Sorge im Bett herumwälzte, da sagte seine Frau zu ihm: "höre Mann, morgen früh nimm die beiden Kinder, gieb jedem noch ein Stückchen Brod, dann führ sie hinaus in den Wald, mitten inne, wo er am dicksten ist, da mach ihnen ein Feuer an, und dann geh weg und lass sie dort, wir können sie nicht länger ernähren." "Nein Frau, sagte der Mann, das kann ich nicht über mein Herz bringen, meine eigenen lieben Kinder zu den wilden Thieren im Wald zu führen, die sie bald in dem Wald zerrissen würden." - "Wenn du das nicht thust, sprach die Frau, so müssen wir alle miteinander Hungers sterben"; da liess sie ihm keine Ruhe, bis er Ja sagte.

Die zwei Kinder waren auch noch wach von Hunger, und hatten alles gehört, was die Mutter zum Vater gesagt hatte. Gretel dachte, nun ist es um mich geschehen und fing erbärmlich an zu weinen, Hänsel aber sprach: "sey still, Gretel, und gräm dich nicht, ich will uns helfen.'" (1812: 49-50)

In the last authorial *Complete Edition* (1857), 'Hansel and Gretel' begins:

"A poor woodcutter lived close to a large forest with his wife and his two children. Their small son was called Hans and the little girl Gretel. He eked out a livelihood, and once, when there was general dearth in the country, he could not even provide the daily bread. As he was mulling this over in his mind at night and was tossing about in bed with worry, he sighed and said to his wife: 'What will happen to us? How can we get food for our poor children when we don't even have any for ourselves.' 'You know, husband,' the wife answered, 'tomorrow, quite early, we will take the children out into the forest where it is densest. There we will make a fire for them and give them each a piece of bread, then we go to our work and leave them alone. They won't find their way back home, and then we are rid of them.' 'No, wife,' said the man, 'I won't do that; how can I have the heart to leave my children alone in the forest, the wild animals would soon come and tear them apart.' 'O, you fool,'

she said, 'then all four of us must die from hunger, you can only plane the boards for the coffins,' and she did not leave him in peace until he agreed. 'But I pity the poor children,' said the man.

The two children had been unable to sleep from hunger and had heard what their stepmother had said to their father. Gretel wept bitterly and said to Hans: 'This will be the end of us.' 'Quiet, Gretel,' said Hansel, 'don't worry, I'll pull us through.'

('Vor einem grossen Walde wohnte ein armer Holzhacker mit seiner Frau und seinen zwei Kindern; das Bübchen hiess Hänsel und das Mädchen Gretel. Er hatte wenig zu beissen und zu brechen, und einmal, als grosse Teuerung ins Land kam, konnte er auch das tägliche Brot nicht mehr schaffen. Wie er sich nun abends im Bette Gedanken machte und sich vor Sorgen herumwälzte, seufzte er und sprach zu seiner Frau: "Was soll aus uns werden? Wie können wir unsere armen Kinder ernähren, da wir für uns selbst nichts mehr haben?" "Weisst du was, Mann", antwortete die Frau, "wir wollen morgen in aller Frühe die Kinder hinaus in den Wald führen, wo er am dicksten ist: da machen wir ihnen ein Feuer an und geben jedem noch ein Stückchen Brot, dann gehen wir an unsere Arbeit und lassen sie allein. Sie finden den Weg nicht wieder nach Haus, und wir sind sie los." "Nein, Frau", sagte der Mann, "das tue ich nicht; wie sollt' ich's übers Herz bringen, meine Kinder im Walde allein zu lassen, die wilden Tiere würden bald kommen und sie zerreißen." "O du Narr", sagte sie, "dann müssen wir alle viere Hungers sterben, du kannst nur die Bretter für die Särge hobelen", und liess ihm keine Ruhe, bis er einwilligte. "Aber die armen Kinder dauern mich doch", sagte der Mann.

Die zwei Kinder hatten vor Hunger auch nicht einschlafen können und hatten gehört, was die Stiefmutter zum Vater gesagt hatte. Gretel weinte bittere Tränen und sprach zu Hänsel: "Nun ist's um uns geschehen." "Still, Gretel", sprach Hänsel, "gräme dich nicht, ich will uns schon helfen.'" (Rölleke (rpt 1857) I: 15))

The third specimen: All fur (KHM 65)

In the Ölenberg manuscript (1810), this story was called 'Allerlei Rauch'. In translation, the whole fragment goes:

"Allerlei Rauch is chased away by her stepmother because her own daughter is slighted by a suitor ['ein fremder Herr'] who has given the stepdaughter a ring as a token of love. She runs away and comes to the duke's court where she polishes shoes; secretly and unrecognised she goes to the ball and eventually makes a soup for the duke and places the ring under the white bread in it. Thus she is discovered and marries the duke."

The 1812 'All fur' ('Allerlei-Rauh') can be summarised as follows:

Once upon a time there was a king who was married to the most beautiful woman in the world, whose hair was pure gold. Their daughter was as beautiful as her mother. Before the king's wife died she asked her husband only to marry someone who was as beautiful as herself and who had hair as golden as her own. After a long period of mourning, the king's councillors asked him to marry again. No messenger could find a princess equal to the late queen. One day, however, the king looked at his daughter. Realising that she looked like her mother, he felt he must marry her and told her and the councillors so. The councillors vainly tried to dissuade him. The wise princess demanded that he should procure her three gowns: one as golden as the Sun; one as white as the Moon; and one as sparkling as the stars - in addition to a coat made of thousands of furs. The coat was then made of fur from animals whose hides were stripped off. The king brought her the things she had requested. She told him she would marry him the next day. However, during the night she collected the gifts from her fiancé: a gold ring, a little gold spinning-wheel, and a little golden reel, put the gowns in a nutshell, darkened her face with soot, put on the fur, and walked out into a big forest where she fell asleep in a hollow tree.

The next day the king, her fiancé, was hunting in the forest. His dogs found the girl in the coat of fur. She was caught and taken home with him. She was called Allerlei-Rauh and she

was told that she was well suited for kitchen work. She had to sleep without light under the staircase. She did all sorts of unpleasant menial work very well, so the cook often gave her some of the leftovers. But before the king went to bed she had to go and take off his boots, which he then threw at her head.

Once there was a ball. Allerlei-Rauh wanted to see her fiancé and asked the cook for permission to go upstairs to look at the splendour. This being granted, she washed off the soot, took off the coat of fur, and put on the sun-gown. When she entered the ballroom everybody stepped aside for this princess. The king at once danced with her and thought that the unknown princess looked like his fiancée and wanted to question her. But she curtsied and left. She changed her clothes and returned to the kitchen where the cook asked her to make bread-soup, and to take care to drop no hair in it.

She made the bread-soup and finally put in the gold ring which the king had given her. When the ball was over the king had his bread-soup. He thought it had never tasted so good, and then saw his engagement ring at the bottom. He wondered how it had got there and called the cook, who was angry with Allerlei-Rauh and threatened to beat her if she had dropped a hair in the soup. The king, however, praised the soup and was told that Allerlei-Rauh had made it. When she was questioned about her identity and her knowledge of the ring, she answered that she was only good for having boots thrown at her and knew nothing of the ring. Then she ran off.

At the next ball Allerlei-Rauh washed and dressed in her moon-gown. This time the king was convinced she was his fiancée, as nobody else in the world had such golden hair. But she disappeared, and back in the kitchen she put the golden spinning-wheel in the bread-soup. The king liked the soup even more, and was surprised to find the spinning-wheel he had given his fiancée. First the cook and then Allerlei-Rauh were called, but the king got no better answer than the previous time.

Hoping that his fiancée would turn up, the king arranged for a third ball. This time she put on her star-gown. During the ball the king put a ring on Allerlei-Rauh's finger. The dance was prolonged, but in the end she disappeared and quickly changed her clothes for the coat of fur, but forgot to blacken one finger. In the kitchen she made the bread-soup and put the reel in it. When the king found it, he called for Allerlei-Rauh. The king saw her white finger, clasped it and found his ring; he then tore off the coat of fur, and her golden hair appeared: she was his fiancée. The cook was rewarded. And they were married.

A summary of the **1857** 'Allerleirauh' runs:

There was once a king who had a wife with golden hair. She was so beautiful that she had no equal. When she was about to die she called for the king and made him promise only to marry somebody who was as beautiful as herself and who had golden hair like hers. The king mourned, but in the end his councillors said that it was necessary for the king to re-marry so that they would have a new queen. Messengers searched in vain for an equal to the late queen. The king had a daughter who was as beautiful as her mother and who had similar golden hair. When she grew up, the king looked at her and suddenly felt an overwhelming love for her. He told his councillors he wanted to marry his daughter. Alarmed, the councillors said that a father must not marry his daughter; that no good would come from sin; and that the realm would be drawn into ruin. The daughter was even more alarmed but hoped to make her father give up his designs by posing him an impossible task: she demanded three gowns, one as golden as the Sun, one as silvery as the Moon, and one as sparkling as the stars, as well as a coat made of thousands of pieces of fur. So maidens wove the gowns and hunters caught animals and removed small pieces of their hides. The king had the clothes taken to his daughter and said they were to marry the next day.

Then the princess decided to run away. During the night she picked up her valuable possessions: a gold ring, a gold spinning-wheel and a golden reel; she put the gowns in a nutshell, donned the coat of fur and blackened her face. She committed herself to God and went far away into a large forest where she felt safe and fell asleep. She slept long into the next day and it so happened that the king who owned the forest was hunting in it. His dogs sniffed

at the tree and his hunters were asked to investigate. When they seized her, she said she was an orphan and begged for mercy. Calling her *Allerleirauh*, they put her to all sorts of kitchen work and gave her a small sty to sleep in at the royal castle.

Once there was a ball at the castle. *Allerleirauh* asked the cook for permission to watch it from outside the doors. When permission was granted she went to her sty, took off the coat of fur, washed her hands and face, and put on the sun-gown. She entered the ballroom where the king approached her, put forth his hand and danced with her, thinking that he had never seen anybody as beautiful as her. At the end of the ball she curtsied and disappeared. She had not been seen by the guards outside the castle, as she had put on her disguise again and returned to the kitchen. Wishing to see the ball, the cook then asked her to make the soup for the king. She then made a bread-soup as best she could and put the gold ring in the tureen in which the soup was served. The king had never tasted such a good soup, and when he had finished it, he found the gold ring. As he had no idea how it had happened there, the king ordered the frightened cook to come up. The king asked him who had made the soup and he answered he had - but the king brushed aside his lie as the soup was superior to his. So then the cook had to admit that *Allerleirauh* had made it. When she was called in, she said that she was an orphan who was good for nothing but to have boots thrown at her, and that she knew nothing of the ring. So the king had to send her away.

After some time there was another ball and *Allerleirauh* once more asked for permission to watch it. This was granted, provided she made the king's bread-soup. This time she put on the silvery moon-gown, danced with the king, left without a trace, and then made the bread-soup in which she put the spinning-wheel. When the king found it, he called first the cook and secondly *Allerleirauh*, but was informed that she could be used only for having boots thrown at her and that she knew nothing of the spinning-wheel.

At the third ball, she was again permitted to watch; this time she put on her star-gown. She danced with the king who thought she was more beautiful than ever. He slipped a ring on her finger. The dance was prolonged, so on leaving for the kitchen she had only time to put the coat of fur over her gown and she did not have time to blacken one finger. This time she put the reel in the soup. When the king found it, he called *Allerleirauh*. He saw her white finger, took her hand, and as she tried to pull away, the coat of fur opened so that the star-gown could be seen. The king pulled off the coat of fur, her hair spilled forth, and she stood in all her beauty. And then they were married.

The printed tales and 'ideal tales'

It should be stressed at once that the traditional folkloristic approach to Grimm stories refers extensively to the 'genesis of the tales', taking into account all the changes simultaneously and, until the studies by Heinz Rölleke, usually without referring to the specific time at which they were first recorded by the brothers Grimm. These discussions are also frequently obscured by references to analogues and other versions (often those quoted by Wilhelm Grimm in 1857). In general, they fail to relate the findings cogently to factors above the textual level.⁴ In my discussion below, the perspective will be different in that I relate the tales to narrative, social, and historical contexts.

The three tales selected have similarities and dissimilarities in so far as their relationship to 'ideal tales' is concerned.

'The straw, the spark, and the bean' is one of the few stories to derive 'from Kassel', and it has been assumed that it was told to Wilhelm Grimm by the mother of the Wild sisters in 1808.⁵ However, the double ending reveals that there must have been at least two 'ideal tales' behind the story Wilhelm Grimm passed on to Brentano in 1810. On

the other hand, there are no later additions which might derive from 'ideal tales' told directly to the brothers.

It is assumed that the 1810 version of 'Hansel and Gretel' derives from the Wild family,⁶ but although Wilhelm Grimm's phrase "from several stories in Hesse" ('Nach verschiedenen Erzählungen aus Hessen') might refer to narrations in the Wild household, it also shows that the story is based on several 'ideal tales'. One of these can be dated: on 15 January 1813, Dortchen Wild added an answer from the lost children when the witch addresses them: "The wind, the wind, the child of heaven" ('Der Wind, der Wind, das himmlische Kind'). This instance documents that the narrators in the Kassel circle would add or omit features in deliveries, and it also proves that the stories continued to be favoured by the Kassel girls even after publication. This example differs from 'The straw' in that it is a passage from a later 'ideal tale' which was added to the story.

On the other hand, both tales were later influenced by printed stories. 'The spark' acquired its new opening from Burkard Waldis' *Esopus* (originally published in 1548).⁷ 'Hansel and Gretel' was influenced by a collection from Alsace published by A. Stöber in 1842, notably in having the wife tell her husband to make the coffins for their burial.⁸ This is not the place to discuss the relationship between printed sources and the realisations of 'ideal tales', but it is, of course, obvious that at some level even printed versions do, in turn, reflect other 'ideal tales'. Nevertheless, from the perspective I have chosen, these versions and the changes they wrought must be considered 'literature', rather than legitimate 'ideal tales' which the brothers Grimm heard.

The 1810 'Allerlei Rauch' shows the case in reverse. This story derives from a literary source: it is Jacob Grimm's summary of a tale, 'Allerley-Rauch', from Carl Nehrlich's novel, *Schilly* (Jena 1798. I: 144-154).⁹ The 1810 text was thus a far cry from an authentic 'ideal tale'. Conversely, the 1812 'Allerlei-Rauh' was recorded from an 'ideal tale' which Dortchen Wild told Wilhelm on 9 October 1812. The circumstances are tolerably clear.¹⁰ On the same day, Dortchen told Wilhelm one more tale, 'The three little gnomes in the forest' (KHM 13). At this stage, the brothers had good reason to record tales as faithfully as possible. Wilhelm believed that Brentano was about to publish tales in his own free and poetic rendering, so it must have seemed a godsend to suddenly hear Dortchen Wild tell a superb 'ideal tale' which he and Jacob knew only from a printed source (the 1810 version). Wilhelm was also working under time pressure: the first instalment of the manuscripts of the tales had been sent to the printers ten days before, i.e. on 29 September 1812; by 30 October, eleven sheets were set; by 14 November, Jacob assumed that the book was printed; it finally came out on 20 December.¹¹ The 1812 'Allerlei-Rauh' was thus, literally speaking, told, recorded and rushed to press. There was no time for editorial work, and little wish for it in view of the impending publication of Brentano's tales. In this case, Wilhelm heard later of one or two more 'ideal tales', which he classified as variants, but neither of which had any influence on the 1812 version.¹²

The editorial changes ('filters') in the texts

Since content and form fuse in our responses to literature, and since interpretations are also individual, it is ontologically unsound and in practice impossible to distinguish between form and content as the brothers Grimm did in their programmatic statements: form, content and reading are indivisible.¹³ However, in discussions, in presentation, and in teaching, a division is a convenient expedient. Wilhelm Grimm was explicit that, by making 'stylistic changes' and by using features from other 'ideal tales', he could reconstitute the tales in a stylistically superior form without changing their content. Perhaps he never assumed that he attained perfection, but since he uses the word "improve" ('verbessern'), it is clear that he believed that he was setting up, if not simulacra, at least approximations of some kind of 'perfect tales'. Such tales existed above and beyond the actual narrations; specific 'ideal tales' might be inferior in their overall execution (as frequently pointed out by the brothers in their notes on variants of individual stories), and the stories would usually be deficient in some passages (cf. Appendix 2: xxv). Accordingly, the editor's work was to re-establish a 'more perfect tale' (which is not necessarily *the* 'perfect tale').

For a brief assessment of this point, I shall distinguish between four overlapping layers within the tales, namely,

- the structural (the textual order of elements, passages, and episodes),
- the linguistic (including words, word order, phrases, repetitions of words, sounds, assonance, euphony, and 'style'),
- the content (the points in the structural and linguistic layers which can interrelate for interpretations), and
- the intentional layers.

The content layer, relating to points or segments in the texts, generally allows for interpretation in the sense of text-internal, consistent meta-understanding of specific texts; the intentional layer will usually allow for an external meta-understanding of the text as related to human experience (ranging from morals to universal transitions in life).¹⁴ I emphasise again that this is merely a simple and comprehensive tool for ensuring a reasonably consistent discussion of the tales, and that it has been used in other contexts. There is, to the best of my knowledge, no theoretical model which would serve that purpose.

The structural layer

Over the years, Wilhelm Grimm introduced new episodes into some tales. He also changed the order of the individual elements in some stories. In 'The straw, the spark, and the bean', a new opening was added and one of the original endings omitted. In 'Hansel and Gretel', for instance, the motive of hunger is introduced at a slightly later stage in 1857 than it was in 1812. In 1857, the woman points out that he must prepare coffins against their collective death by hunger, an idea she did not have in 1812. In 'All fur', the beautiful daughter is not mentioned until after the king has given up hope of finding a wife by the traditional way.

The linguistic layer

Most folkloristic critics of the Grimm *Tales* note that the language of the tales have been changed (although they fail to accept the content implications),¹⁵ so it will suffice to mention a few instances from the 1812 and 1857 texts: the titles were changed in all three stories discussed. Some phrasings were replaced by others: thus Hansel and Gretel in 1819 “were awake” and in 1857 “could not sleep”, but in both cases for the same reason: they were hungry. Wilhelm Grimm openly admitted that he inserted idioms and so on in the tales (‘Preface’ 1850). Over the years, he introduced numerous repetitions, proverbs, and alliterations, and substituted obvious loan-words with less obvious ones; spelling was brought up to date; there was more direct speech in the newer versions than in the old ones, as evidenced in all the above tales. Descriptions were expanded, often with superfluous words (“the castle” became “the royal castle”; words like ‘böse’ and ‘schön’ were added, it seems, indiscriminately). ‘Indecent’ expressions were toned down: in 1812 the king’s incestuous lust in ‘All fur’ was described as “this ungodly enterprise” and “impetuous”; by 1857, the counterparts, if any, were “from his wicked designs”, “impetuous love”, and “wicked plans”. The flow of the tales was changed: in 1810 and 1812 there were long sections and run-on sentences, connected paratactically with “and”, “but”, and commas. In 1857, the sections were shorter, with more full-stops and hypotactical constructions which make for a smoother flow of the narrative.

The most striking feature was the use of German dialects in some of the stories. As early as the 1812 ‘Preface’, the brothers professed that they would have preferred to present the tales in dialect, had it been possible:

“We are in no doubt that if we had been so lucky as to be able to tell [the tales] in one pure and authentic dialect, they would, no doubt, have gained much; in this case education, sophistication and art in language admit defeat, and one feels that literate writing, no matter how appropriate it is for other purposes, is lighter, more transparent as well as less savoury and no longer closing around the kernel.” (‘Wären wir so glücklich gewesen, sie in einem recht bestimmten Dialect erzählen zu können, so zweifeln wir nicht, würden sie viel gewonnen haben; es ist hier ein Fall, wo alle erlangte Bildung, Feinheit, und Kunst der Sprache zu Schanden wird, und wo man fühlt, dass eine geläuterte Schriftsprache, so gewandt sie in allem andern seyn mag, heller und durchsichtiger aber auch schmackloser geworden, und nicht mehr fest an den Kern sich schliesse.’ (1812: xx-xxi))

It is doubtful that the general reader would have applauded the book had all tales been in dialect. As the stories stand, the dialectal renderings reinforce the impression that the *Tales* represent a German ‘oral tradition of the folk’, thus adding a national and patriotic flavour to the tales.

The content layer

Hovering between the linguistic and the content layer is the pronounced use of diminutives, such as ‘-lein’, ‘-chen’, and so on.

Although there were a number of these in the 1810 Ölenberg manuscripts (witness ‘The little straw, the little spark, and the little bean’), their number increased over the years, as evidenced by ‘Hansel and Gretel’ in which we meet a ‘Stückchen’ of bread in 1812, while, in 1857, it is stressed that Hansel is a ‘Bübchen’ and Gretel a ‘Mädchen’.

As diminutives, these lend a sugary tone to the tales. In addition, German has three

genders (masculine, feminine, and neuter); the addition of diminutive endings make neuter, and they therefore endow the stories with a strikingly asexual tone: Gretel and Hansel are both neuter, Snow White is neuter, The Sleeping Beauty is neuter. The German *Tales* have a pervasive asexuality in the linguistic layer which I posit must affect German readings and interpretations of the contents.

There were further content changes over the years. They concern, for instance,¹⁶

- emotions expressed by the characters: Gretel cries in 1857 while in 1812 she is only sad when she overhears the woman's designs. In 'All fur', the king-father's councillors are "alarmed" when informed of his incestuous wishes. Similarly there is more motivation: in 'Hansel and Gretel', the father protests his love at more length than previously;

- attempts to make plot and actions more consistent in the framework of the tales: in 1812, the order of events in both 'Hansel and Gretel' and 'All fur' differs considerably from the 1857 version. In both cases, this contributes to a more orderly progression of the narrative, but, also in both cases, it means that key elements, respectively, the prevailing theme of 'hunger', and the existence of a beautiful and attractive daughter, are played down in thematic terms;

- an overall introduction or reinforcement of religious sentiment: in 'All fur', the 1857 princess considers her father's incestuous wishes as an "ungodly enterprise" and she also commits herself to God before fleeing from her father's home, thus leaving the eventual outcome of the story to God, not to her own wits: these religious features are thus thematically important. This is obvious in 'Hansel and Gretel'. There is no trace of religious sentiment in the 1810 version which presents us with intrepid and independent children acting on their own. Most of the religious features were introduced in 1812, and in 1857 the pattern is as follows: every time they overhear the stepmother's plan, Hansel assures Gretel that the God will help them. Hansel calls the pancake house "hallowed" ('gesegnete') when they find it. As Gretel is carrying water from the well at the witch's house, she asks for God's help, "Lieber Gott, hilf uns doch". In effect, this makes God the real executioner of the old "godless" witch;

- although some explicit violence was omitted or toned down, the final visitation on the wicked may actually be expanded upon: in the 1857 'Hansel and Gretel', the witch is thus no longer simply screaming in her pain ("zu schreien und zu jammern"), but the focus has subtly shifted to the effect on others ("Hu! da fing sie an zu heulen, ganz grauslich") in 1857; similarly, the eyes of the wicked stepsisters are picked out in 'Cinderella'. In this respect, the editorial filters were therefore not entirely consistent. One possible explanation (which falls beyond the present study) is society's attitude to violence in everyday life: the *Tales* first appeared, after all, during the Napoleonic Wars which, like all wars, resulted in meaningless suffering, individual pain, and mass slaughter, whereas the *Tales* became popular in a less sanguinary epoch, when physical punishment could be visited only on villains, a handy umbrella term for all wicked characters, including those in fairytales.¹⁷

Some of the editorial changes affect the understanding of the tales. This is illustrated by the opening of 'Hansel and Gretel': in the early version the father appears to be a regular ne'er-do-well. He cannot even see a way out of their quandary, so his wife has

to identify the problem and come up with the ‘rational’ solution. By 1857, he declares that he loves his children at greater length. The main differences between 1812 and 1857 concern the woman: she is the children’s mother until the fourth *Complete Edition* (1840). Since 1843, she has been a stepmother. She also becomes more cunning and wicked. In ‘All fur’, the 1812 father wants to marry his daughter and overcomes all the obstacles she puts in his way. She flees, but is found in the wood by the king, her fiancé (‘der König, ihr Bräutigam’). The only king we have heard about in the story is her own father, whom she promised to marry, so obviously she is taken back to her father’s court. As the tale stands it is the theme of incest fulfilled, when the humiliated girl finally bows to paternal authority. The girl regains her status by taking along gifts which the king will later recognise as his own gifts. Conversely, the 1857 ‘Allerleirauh’ portrays incest averted: the princess escapes to the court of another king (“der König, dem dieser Wald gehörte”) whose love she succeeds in winning. This princess therefore successfully revolts against paternal authority and marries a king, who appears not to have known her before, since the precious things he finds in the soup arouse only curiosity. In this story, the girl is accepted by the king because of her beauty and she is considered a princess because of her wonderful gowns.

In the content layer, ‘All fur’ contains a number of unsolved internal inconsistencies in the 1857 version.

The intentional layer

Except for those tales which were rewritten completely (such as ‘A tale of a boy ...’ (KHM 4)), their underlying intentionalities survive the ‘textual filters’ surprisingly well; this supports Wilhelm Grimm’s claim that there is a constant kernel to which the stories revert (Appendix 2: xxv). ‘The straw, the spark, and the bean’ is still a funny and fairly good yarn; ‘Hansel and Gretel’ is still about a weak father, abandonment of children and solidarity between siblings. ‘All fur’, however, has been changed substantially: we can only point to humiliation, the importance of being a good cook and the desirability of getting married, as common features in the tales of 1810, 1812, and 1857. To which we could add that in all *Editions*, it is story number 65. But this story is an exception, for most other tales retain their themes.

Societal and ideological reorientations

There are few tales in the Grimm Canon which were not changed in the layers of ‘style and content’. A number of other reorientations relate to society and culture.

It has been argued that the tales were adapted to bourgeois norms, because the bourgeoisie became increasingly powerful and influential in nineteenth century Germany (and Europe).¹⁸ Some middle-class norms were unquestionably introduced into the tales; this is not surprising, since the Grimms lived in a specific time and age and they themselves belonged to the middle classes. Yet it is far-fetched to argue that Wilhelm Grimm deliberately changed the tales over the years to cater for the bourgeoisie in the *Tales*.¹⁹ In the first place, pandering to ‘popular taste’ would hardly be in keeping with the scholarly ambitions of the collection. Secondly, there was no motive, financial or otherwise

for doing this: although the brothers were not wealthy, Jacob was idealistic enough to forgo an honorarium for the collection activity.²⁰ The brothers did not depend for their income on the *Tales*, which between 1812 and 1825 were neither a commercial hit nor a disastrous flop. Yet, we can see the introduction of such norms in the religious features discussed above. Some points, especially in ‘All fur’, also seem to reflect middle-class norms: in 1857, the soup is taken to the king in a ‘tureen’; the princess ‘curtseys’; similarly the fur coat in 1812 was made from animals which were caught and flayed whereas in 1857 it is made by removing only a fraction of the skin of various animals, a procedure which can only have seemed humane to urbanised people unfamiliar with hunting. The 1857 king is considerably more well-behaved than the 1812 boor who throws his boots at the maid (as symbols of sexual abuse) when he goes to bed.

There are still traces of other mores, other life styles, other norms in the stories: in ‘Hansel and Gretel’ one of the main themes concerns hunger (and the voracious eating of sweets) in humble homes. In ‘All fur’, the theme is marriage and symbols from country life remain in the story: the reel and the spinning-wheel, odd at a royal court, represent the ability to make clothes, just as the princess proves herself to be worthy of marriage by producing a superior version of what is, after all, a fairly humble meal.

Thus, although there are undoubtedly bourgeois norms, they are not introduced systematically.

The brothers’ assumptions about tales

Beyond these textual and norm orientations, there were others which were determined by the brothers’ ideas concerning the nature of tales, their mutual coherence, the nature of the audience for tales, and the place of the tales in German society and culture. This ideology can be approached in terms of its relations to sender, audience, and national heritage. It is impossible to disentangle these ideas from the brothers’ assumptions about the origin of tales, but it is not impossible to draw some conclusions.

In my discussion, I shall rely mostly on three key documents, viz.:

(1) The ‘Prefaces’ to the 1812 and 1815 volumes of the first *Edition*. The ‘Preface’ to the 1812 *Edition* (rpt by e.g. Panzer (1953); Rölleke and Marquart (1986); and translated into English by Tatar (204-211)).

2) The ‘Prefaces’ to the *Complete Editions* from 1819 *et seq.* The ‘Preface’ to 1819 is translated into English by Tatar (215-222).

3) Wilhelm Grimm’s ‘Introduction: on the nature of fairytales’ published in the 1819 (second) *Edition*. This is reproduced as Appendix 2 below.

The points discussed are interconnected, but for an overview they are best dealt with individually.

Sender orientations

The history of poetry

The Grimms’ beliefs concerning folktales were in keeping with more general Romantic feelings about the glory of the past. However, within that framework, the brothers (and especially Wilhelm, who was the curator of the tales) became more focussed in the

overall consistency of their views, albeit not in the editorial outcome.

In the beginning, the brothers frequently voiced the view that tales would be particularly interesting for establishing a history of German poetry. In the unpublished 'Appeal' which he sent to Brentano, Jacob Grimm wrote:

"We will collect material for the sort of history which German poetry deserves ... " ('Wir wollen Materialien zusammentragen zu einer Geschichte deutscher Poesie, wie diese Poesie eine solche Geschichte verdient ...' ('Appeal' 1811 (rpt Rölleke *Einführung*: 67)))

For this work, tales were crucial:

"[We have] in mind particularly the stories of nurses and children, the evening chats and the tales from the spinning room." ('Wenn wir hiermit ganz besonders die Märchen der Ammen und Kinder, die Abendgespräche und Spinnstubengeschichten gemeint haben, so wissen wir ...' ('Appeal' 1811 (rpt Rölleke *Einführung*: 63)))

It will be remembered that the same year saw the publication of Wilhelm's translation of Danish ballads and, in the preface to that collection, Wilhelm also referred to the important role of tales:

"These tales deserve more attention than they have usually been accorded, not only for their poetry, which has a particular charm and which has imparted lifelong golden morals and beautiful memories to all who heard it in their youth, but also because they belong to our national poetry, as it can be proved that they have lived in our people for several centuries." ('Diese Märchen verdienen eine bessere Aufmerksamkeit, als man ihnen bisher geschenkt, nicht nur ihrer Dichtung wegen, die eine eigene Lieblichkeit hat, und die einem jeden, der sie in der Kindheit angehört, eine goldene Lehre und eine heitere Erinnerung daran durchs ganze Leben mit auf den Weg gegeben hat; sondern auch, weil sie zu unsrer Nationalpoesie gehören, indem sich nachweisen lässt, dass sie schon mehrere Jahrhunderte durch unter dem Volk gelebt.' (xxvi-xxvii))

In the 'Preface' to the 1812 volume of *Tales*, the brothers stressed that the stories were relics from the ancient past:

"... when we consider the riches of German poetry in early times and note that so little has survived; even the memory of it has been lost and only ballads and these innocent tales remain." ('So ist es uns, wenn wir den Reichtum deutscher Dichtung in frühen Zeiten betrachten, und dann sehen, dass von so vielem nichts lebendig sich erhalten, selbst die Erinnerung daran verloren war, und nur Volkslieder, und diese unschuldigen Hausmärchen übrig geblieben sind.' (1812: v-vi))

This view is reiterated several times in the 'Preface' to the second volume (1815):

"[variant forms] belong to the book, since it is a contribution to the history of German folk poetry." (From Tatar: 214) ('[Abweichungen] gehören zum Buch insofern es ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Volksdichtung ist.' (x))

Wilhelm's 'Preface' to the second *Edition* (1819) alluded only briefly to these perspectives: "we wanted, through our collection, first of all to serve the cause of the history of poetry and mythology" (Tatar: 217). Yet it appears from Wilhelm Grimm's forty-page 'Introduction: on the nature of fairytales' to the same volume, that there is in tales an uneasy balance between the 'kernel' and the 'epic elements' (see Appendix 2: for instance xxvi, xlv).

Over the years, the brothers became less sure that the *Tales* represented traces of old German poetry, and Wilhelm Grimm found it increasingly difficult to use them for establishing a history of poetry, since many peoples throughout the world had tales.

The Danish ballads Wilhelm translated in 1807-1811 had not presented any problem since it was acknowledged that Germans and Danes were closely related peoples.

The tales as Pan-Germanic mythology: the impact of Rasmus Rask

Wilhelm Grimm concluded that the tales represented the remains of ancient mythology, a theory which had long been in the offing and which may well have lain behind his interest in Henrik Steffens' views of mythology which I had occasion to cite earlier (above, p. 18).

In the foreword to his translations of Danish ballads, Wilhelm touched only briefly upon myths and included a passing reference that:

"From Asia, the Scandinavians preserved the secrets of divine revelations about the nature of things; their first heroes were gods who still lived in Asia and who stepped down among men in the fables of a beautiful and elaborate mythology." ('Aus dem Mutterlande her bewahrten die Scandavier die Geheimnisse göttlicher Offenbarungen über die Natur der Dinge; ihre ersten Helden waren schon Götter geworden, dort in Asien noch wohnend, und traten auch wieder in den Fabeln einer schön ausgebildeten Mythologie in den Kreis der Menschen herab.' (1811: vii))

In the 'Preface' to the first *Tales* published in 1812, the similarities between tales and mythology were also noted:

"Also, as in the myths that describe the Golden Age, all nature is alive: the sun, the moon, and the stars are approachable, offer gifts, and can easily be woven into dresses ..." ('Auch, wie in den Mythen, die von der goldene Zeit reden, ist die ganze Natur belebt, Sonne, Mond und Sterne sind zugänglich, geben Geschenke, oder lassen sich wohl gar in Kleider weben ...' (x)).

The 'Preface' to the second volume of the *Tales* (1815) compares the Sleeping Beauty to the old Norse Brunhilde, Snäfridr, the loveliest of women, and states directly that:

"these folktales have kept intact German myths that were thought to be lost, and we are firmly convinced that, if a search were conducted in all the hallowed regions of our fatherland, long neglected treasures would transform themselves into fabulous treasures and help to found the study of the origins of our poetry." (From Tatar: 213) ('in diesen Volks-Märchen liegt lauter urdeutscher Mythos, den man für verloren gehalten, und wir sind fest überzeugt, will man noch jetzt in allen gesegneten Theilen unseres Vaterlandes suchen, es werden auf diesem Wege ungeachtete Schätze sich in ungeglaubte verwandeln und die Wissenschaft von dem Ursprung unsere Poesie gründen helfen.' (vii-viii))

This view crystallised in 1818 and 1819, so that in 1819 Wilhelm Grimm could state that the kernels of tales:

"preserve thoughts about the divine and the spiritual in life: old beliefs and mythology in the epic element, which develops in the history of a people, immersed and shaped in it." (Appendix 2: xxv)

Wilhelm Grimm's views had been refined and clarified thanks to a Danish treatise on linguistics, *Undersögelse om det gamle Nordiske eller Islandske Sprogs Oprindelse* (*A Study of the Origins of Old Norse or Icelandic*), a cornerstone in comparative linguistics. Written by the brothers' long-standing Danish acquaintance, Rasmus Rask, it was a prize essay completed in 1814 and published in 1818. Like all other studies by the patriotic Rask, the book was written in Danish, and, accordingly, it found few readers outside Denmark.

In 1818, Rasmus Rask had gone to Russia and Asia to explore the relation between

his ‘Thracian’ (i.e. Indo-European) and other languages, so it was Professor Rasmus Nyerup who saw the volume to press and who sent Wilhelm Grimm a copy in the summer of 1818. Wilhelm Grimm acknowledged receipt of the book and (somewhat cattily, one feels) wrote to Nyerup that “Rask’s prize essay contains many fine and subtle points.” (‘die Preisschrift von Rask enthält viel feines und scharfsinniges.’ (Letter 28 August 1818))

The book was based on many years of study and is still a classic. Rask tried to establish the source of Old Norse by means of comparisons and correspondences between syntax and word forms in an impressive array of languages. He thought that although, for instance, Persian and Indian must be related to Old Norse, they were not the source of it (pp. 304-305). He concluded that, like the source of Latin and Greek, Old Norse derived from Indo-European (‘Thracian’) and which he connected geographically with ‘Scythia’, a region in southern Russia. He stressed that, within that framework, the Nordic and German peoples had a common background.

It will be recalled that the brothers Grimm lived together and also that both knew Danish (above, p. 13). It is inconceivable that they did not discuss Rask’s book. It had a tremendous impact on them both.

As a historical linguist of German, Jacob Grimm appreciated the importance of Rask’s “excellent study” and hailed his new insights into the history and relationship of languages in the preface to his own *German Grammar* (*Deutsche Grammatik*), which he finished in September 1818 (xviii-xix). Jacob

recognised that, in his study, Rask shed light on many of the language-bound variations between Indo-European and Pan-Germanic: “He read Rask’s study when most of his own German grammar was in the press (1819), realised its implications and was in time to say so in his preface, and rewrote relevant parts for a re-edition of 1822.”²¹ Jacob Grimm’s refinements of Rask’s observations led to the set of rules for sound shifts between Indo-European and Pan-Germanic which have, since then, been known as ‘Grimm’s Law’.



Rasmus Rask (1787–1832)

Similarly, Rask's level-headed establishment of a common tongue for the Indo-European languages, his emphasis on similarities between the Nordic and Germanic peoples and languages, and his extensive use of Old Norse material, offered Wilhelm Grimm an up-to-date, scholarly and sound parallel to the existence of 'similar' tales among different nations.

Inspired by Rasmus Rask, who is mentioned by name and whose terms 'Thracian' and 'Scythia' he adopted, Wilhelm therefore wrote the long 'Introduction: on the nature of fairytales' for the second *Edition* (1819). Wilhelm stated his conviction that tales had a common mythological origin. Just as Rask had pointed to the Icelandic language as a key, Wilhelm Grimm used old Norse mythology preserved in the abundant Icelandic literature as the closest extant approximation to their common Indo-European narrative origin. One of Wilhelm's best pieces of evidence was the striking similarity between the punishment of the wicked stepmother in his own tale 'Brother and sister' (KHM 11) and the visitation on the treacherous Loki in Norse mythology (Appendix 2: xxxv); he did not realise that, in all likelihood, this unforgettable feature had originally been introduced by himself or by his brother in the narrative circle in Kassel when they told the ancient story of Baldur; there, I suggest, it had been picked up, recycled in a new story and thus brought to Wilhelm's attention once more by one of the adept storytellers in the Kassel circle (above, p. 35).

Wilhelm Grimm confidently stated that:

"The relationship which pervades the language of all these peoples and which Rask has recently demonstrated so brilliantly, is also evident in their traditional poetry, which is, really, only a more exalted and freer language of Man." (Appendix 2: xxvii)

According to Wilhelm's new hypothesis, the epic elements of the tales are constantly at war with the underlying mythology, but, because of the common mythological origin, the kernel remains the same. Although the threads "are tied together in a different fashion", it is "not merely a cloth woven together by whimsicality": "a close analysis does indeed reveal traces from the earliest times." This point was reiterated in the 'Preface' to the third *Edition* (1837; rpt Rölleke: 26), while Wilhelm also promised that the 'Introduction' would appear in a third volume with annotations to the stories. The third volume was not reissued until 1857, and then Wilhelm incorporated in it passages from the 'Introduction'.

He started his overview with a triumphant statement:

"How lonely was our collection when it first appeared, and what a rich harvest it has had." ('Wie einsam stand unsere Sammlung, als sie zuerst hervor trat, und welche reiche Saat ist seitdem aufgegangen.' (III: 360; (rpt Rölleke III: 372)))

Towards the end of the 'Preface' of the volume, Wilhelm presented his views after more than forty years in the fairytale business:

"The close correspondences which are found between tales from different peoples, in spite of the barriers of time and space, and independent of whether they live wide apart or close to one another, can be explained partly by means of the original basic idea and of the presentation of stereotyped characters, partly by means of the specific complication and solution of the plot. But there are [human] conditions which are so simple and common that they will recur everywhere, in the same way that there are thoughts which come spontaneously; accordingly, the same or at least similar tales might grow up in different countries independent

of one another. They could be likened to the single words which unrelated languages bring forth in a similar, or nearly identical, form by imitating the sounds in nature. There are indeed tales of this kind in which correspondences are coincidental; however, in most cases the specific, often surprising, indeed persistent, presentation has gained a form for the common concept behind it which does not allow for coincidence.” (‘Die Übereinstimmung zwischen Märchen durch Zeit und Entfernung weit getrennter nicht minder als nahe an einander gränzender Völker beruht theils in der ihnen zu Grunde liegenden Idee und der Darstellung bestimmter Charactere, theils in der besondern Verflechtigung und Lösung der Ereignisse. Es gibt aber Zustände, die so einfach und natürlich sind dass sie überall wieder kehren, wie es Gedanken gibt, die sich wie von selbst einfinden, es konnten sich daher in den verschiedensten Ländern dieselben oder doch sehr ähnlichen Märchen unabhängig von einander erzeugen: sie sind den einzelnen Wörtern vergleichbar, welche auch nicht verwandte Sprachen durch Nachahmung der Naturlaute mit geringer Abweichung oder auch ganz übereinstimmend hervor bringen. Man begegnet Märchen dieser Art, wo man Übereinstimmung als Zufall betrachten kann, aber in den meisten Fällen wird der gemeinsame Grundgedanke durch die besondere, oft unerwartete, ja eigensinnige Ausführung eine Gestalt gewonnen haben, welche die Annahme einer bloss scheinbaren Verwandtschaft nicht zulässt.’ (III: 405 (rpt Rölleke III: 417)))

Wilhelm Grimm continues:

“You may ask where we find the outermost boundaries of the common in tales, and how the relationship gradually becomes weaker. The boundary is defined by the large race which is usually termed the Indo-European, and by degrees the relationship grows closer and closer around the lands of the Germans, approximately to the same extent that we find something common and something individual in the languages of these peoples.” (‘Man wird fragen wo die äusseren Grenzen des Gemeinsamen bei den Märchen beginnen und wie die Grade der Verwandtschaft sich abstufen. Die Grenze wird bezeichnet durch den grossen Volksstamm, den man den indogermanischen zu benennen pflegt, und die Verwandtschaft zieht sich in immer engern Ringen um die Wohnsitze der Deutschen, etwa in demselben Verhältnis, in welchem wir in den Sprachen der einzelnen dazu gehörigen Völker Gemeinsames und Besonderes entdecken.’ (III: 411 (rpt Rölleke III: 423)))

And he once again repeats that tales are remnants of old beliefs:

“All tales have in common the fact that they are remnants of beliefs stretching back to the oldest of times, expressing supernatural phenomena in images. This mythic element is like the fragments of a splintered jewel, scattered on the ground overgrown with grass and flowers, visible only to the sharpest eyes.” (‘Gemeinsam allen Märchen sind die Überreste eines in die älteste Zeit hinauf reichenden Glaubens, der sich in bildlicher Auffassung übersinnlicher Dinge ausspricht. Dies Mythische gleicht kleinen Stückchen eines zersprungenen Edelsteins, die auf dem von Gras und Blumen überwachsenen Boden zerstreut liegen und von dem schärfer blickenden Augen entdeckt werden.’ (III: 409 (rpt Rölleke III: 421)))

Thus, until his last days, Wilhelm Grimm propounded the view that folk tales had an Indo-European origin and that they were remnants of the common mythology.

Audience orientation

Scholarly audiences

In the unpublished 1811 ‘Appeal’, Jacob stressed that “Our intention is to produce a serious scholarly work which may yet be entertaining to the general reader” (‘so wie unsere Unternehmung ... ein gänzlich gelehrtes ernstes Ziel vor Augen hat, das sich nicht desto weniger von jedermanns Ergötzlichkeit nicht entfernen kann’ (rpt Rölleke *Einführung*: 67)). The tale collection thus had an inbuilt duality from the moment of inception.

It is obvious from the above that Wilhelm never wavered in his belief that the tales

were worthy of scholarly attention, both in terms of a history of German poetry and because they were remnants of an ancient mythology. This is borne out by his careful comments in the third volume (1819, 1857) in which he cited parallels, analogues, and variants of specific tales.

The collection was indeed taken seriously by scholars, who also appreciated Wilhelm's annotations. However, as previously noted, only few scholars and libraries actually acquired the volume of annotations (printed in 1,500 copies) (above, p. 25).

Juvenile audiences

In Germany, there were two stages in the *Tales*' establishment as children's literature. The first was constituted by the brothers' awareness that 'tales were for children', and the second by the pragmatic exploitation of this awareness in an *Edition* produced specifically for a juvenile audience. This development is quite clear.

From the very beginning, the Grimms were in no doubt that children liked to listen to tales. In a letter to Achim von Arnim, Jacob stressed that:

"The purpose and nature of children's tales ... is based on an inner urge to *listen* in both children and adults." ('Den Zweck und das Wesen der Kindermärchen ... gründen sich auf die innere Lust zu *hören*, die Kinder wie Erwachsene haben.' (Letter of 29 October 1812. From Bolte-Polívka IV: 427. My italics))

The brothers always termed the stories 'tales for children' ('Kindermärchen') in letters to Brentano, to Nyerup, and most importantly, in the title of the collection itself. The first volume is dedicated *to* a mother but *for* her son (above, p. 12). The 'Preface' to the 1812 volume stresses that the tales echo the 'purity' of children ('Innerlich geht durch diese Dichtung dieselbe *Reinheit*, um deretwillen uns Kinder so wunderbar und seelig erscheinen'. My italics); that other literary treatments of tales "[have] pulled what belongs to the children out of their hands and given them nothing in return." ('... doch immer den Kindern das Ihrige aus den Händen rissen, und ihnen nichts dafür gaben'); and that the telling of stories for children is practised widely, by other peoples, including Negroes of West Africa.

In Germany, the response to the first volume of *Tales* was mixed. In our context it suffices that Achim von Arnim, to whose wife and son the book was dedicated, considered 'How some children played at slaughtering' (Anh 3) unsuitable for a child audience. He also thought that the stories should be illustrated and the 'Preface' and annotations be relegated to a scholarly magazine. These changes would turn the *Tales* into a genuine children's book. Joseph Görres informed the brothers that his children were absorbed in the *Tales* and Karl von Savigny enjoyed reading them aloud to his.²²

In the 'Preface' to the second volume, Wilhelm defended the inclusion of tales which might embarrass parents or be unsuitable for children. Parents who felt that this was the case could always make a selection for their children; essentially it was not a criticism that he would accept:

"Children interpret stars without fear, while others, so superstition has it, insult angels by doing the same thing." ('Kinder deuten ohne Furcht in die Sterne, während andere nach dem Volksglauben Engel damit beleidigen.' (1815: x))

Nevertheless, the second *Edition* (1819) omitted the tale that Arnim had objected to

and drastically changed others of the same ilk without further ado.²³ In other words: Wilhelm ultimately bowed to parental wishes. The brothers did not converse with children; therefore the omission of offensive tales is proof that Wilhelm was willing to take the advice of parents.

The Small Edition of 1825: the child audience

Containing only fifty select *Tales*, with illustrations and no *apparatus criticus*, the *Small Edition* represents a clear audience-orientation towards children by means of its 'editorial filters.' Stories considered particularly suited for children were selected for this edition and, in the process, some were rewritten with ensuing implications for the textual history of the *Complete Edition*.

The publication of this volume for children was the logical development of the view that tales were for children, in so far as it was a book meant for children. The *Small Edition* gained popularity and was subsequently reissued in 1833, 1836 and from then on with ever increasing frequency (above, p. 27 (table)).

Wilhelm Grimm himself chose the stories for the children's book. By means of this selection, he also changed the contents of the Canon of Grimm *Tales* in a way that is nothing short of sensational. It will be recalled that fewer than a third of the tales in the *Complete Edition* are fairytales ('Zaubermärchen') in the Aarne-Thompson sense (above, p. 27). The *Small Edition* offers a radically different picture: two-thirds (32/33²⁴) of the tales are fairytales as listed in Aarne-Thompson categories 300-749. Since the *Small Edition* is more popular, this selection has therefore had an indelible influence on the public's understanding of the nature of tales way beyond the Grimm collection.

Grimm scholarship overlooks the fact that the *Small Edition* is a book and a collection in its own right and that in terms of its content and its explicit orientation towards a child audience, it is a far cry from the *Complete Edition*. True, in the sense that any recorded tale has a relationship to an 'ideal tale' in some way or other (above, pp. 28-29), the two Grimm books are closely related. In relation to the genesis of the tales and in terms of textual developments, they were both edited by the same man, even to the extent that editorial changes in a tale in either *Edition* would be reproduced in the 'same' tale in the parallel *Edition*. In other respects, however, they are two radically different collections. This applies to the two collections in terms of contents, and it also applies to their respective popularity, where the *Small Edition* has always been the one to sell best. Consequently, they have had a different collective impact on their readers. The two collections must not be confused.

From the point of view of audience orientation, the appearance of the *Small Edition* also ended the schizophrenic audience orientation towards both scholars and children which troubled readers of the Grimm's *Complete Edition*. It must, however, be stressed that to the Grimms there may never have been any self-contradiction in this dual orientation: they intended their folkloristic collections to be contributions to scholarship which might well, at the same time, be entertaining to other readers, including children.

Complete Editions: educated adult readers

Sales of the *Complete Edition* gradually improved and it was reissued repeatedly, too. Since there were no corresponding sales of volume three, with its analogues and learned discussions, it was clearly not just scholars and scholarly libraries who bought the *Complete Edition*;²⁵ indeed, the scholarly audience must have been quite small.

The large audience consisted of ‘general readers’ who were not bothered with footnotes and scholarship, but simply craved for more stories like those in the *Small Edition*: tales which could be consumed for personal gratification or read aloud in the family circle. To such an audience the *Complete Edition* would be an obvious choice: the increased sales of the *Complete Edition* from 1837 onwards, are evidence of the popularity of the *Small Edition*, rather than of the *Complete Edition*. It was the *Small Edition* that prompted people to buy the *Complete Edition*, which would appeal to an educated audience of grandparents and parents who, like Karl von Savigny, read (or retold) the tales to children. That these were the purchasers of the *Tales* illustrates that the specific goals of reconstituting German poetry, ancient mythology and ‘fidelity’ towards the oral tradition of the folk are irrelevant to the status and placement the *Tales* ultimately achieved in the German cultural heritage.

Telling the Tales

In the 1812 ‘Preface’, the brothers referred to the tradition of telling stories in intimate togetherness in “the places by the stove, the hearth in the kitchen,” etc.

The increasing popularity of both the *Small Edition* and the *Complete Editions* of Grimm tales is thus connected with a slow change in society: small intimate working communities, for instance the spinning rooms and the kitchens, were disappearing, or at least becoming rarer, as a result of the incipient urbanisation and industrialisation of society (above, p. 6). At the same time, extended families gave way to the nuclear family. This, in turn, reduced the natural audiences for tellers of tales. The *Tales* were eminently suitable for filling this gap; they compensated for the lack of stories told from one generation to the next in middle-class households in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The reading aloud of tales, especially to children, fulfilled a need for legitimised social intimacy and togetherness.²⁶ Wilhelm Grimm himself used to read aloud to the family circle from the *Tales*.

The tales as a collective national heritage

In the German historical context, this intimate rendition was, of course, seen as the continuation of a process which had existed since the beginning of time, as an integral part in the formation of *German* culture. The increased popularity of the *Tales* in Germany coincides not only with the rise of democracy and the middle classes, but also with the unification of all the petty kingdoms and principalities into a large and powerful German Empire. The professed antiquity of the Grimm tales made them part of the cultural heritage common to all Germans, on a par with other great German literature, and very true to the German nation for deriving from the collective folk tradition.

At the same time, the collection entailed not only the preservation of a national heritage.

It was also salvaged thanks to a national effort by German elitist scholars (the brothers Grimm and all their fellow recorders): in the 1811 'Appeal', Jacob envisioned this communal gathering of tales by literate men. In the 'Preface' of 1812, the brothers Grimm exhorted people to send in additional material, while 'Prefaces' from 1819 onwards refer to new contributions. This aspect complements the picture of tales as something essential to Germans which was endangered by the Napoleonic Wars.

'Editorial filters': a discussion

Wilhelm Grimm was honest about the filters he applied to the tales, in so far as changes and additions were noted in the 'Prefaces'. He also provided readers with a volume of annotations, so that they would be convinced that they were reading the best approximations to *Urforms*, of the tales; the problem was that the third volume never appealed to general readers. In his editorial work there were so many conflicting trends that we can hardly speak of the imposition of his views, censorship, or a consistent overall ideology.

There are changes, and radical ones at that, in the vast majority of the tales. It is, however, doubtful whether Wilhelm Grimm moved the tales away from their original forms. In the first place, the versions used for the editorial work, renditions of 'ideal tales', were mutable, as they referred to different narrative traditions in two distinct social strata and were subject to change in various renditions. Furthermore, many additions came from new renditions of 'ideal tales' in either stratum. As he assumed that the tales once had a more perfect form than the one they embodied in the early nineteenth century, it is immaterial whether he was aware of *the way* in which he changed the texts. The concept of an 'Urform', without any well-defined ideas about it, without a unifying ideology or some ultimate goal which the editor can strive towards and *achieve*, is so vague that it will allow for any rephrasing, any addition and any omission, so that stories may equally well be directed towards an indeterminate 'Urform', an indeterminate narrator, or the audience and norms, values, and views governing any society.

It is our attitudes and knowledge of *textual criticism* that make this problematic. In his own lifetime, Achim von Arnim, and, for that matter, even Jacob Grimm, accepted the impact of Wilhelm Grimm's work. It is in the twentieth century that we find outspoken criticism of Wilhelm's editorial filters and even then it was slow in accumulating. It is no coincidence that, by and large, criticism has increased in the same measure that 'close reading' has been gaining ground; true, there is no exact step-by-step correspondence, but there is, surely, an overall connection. In 1913, after publishing the 1812 and 1815 volumes of the first *Edition*, Friedrich Panzer pointed out in passing (in a journal article) that the tales were not authentic folktales, but his comments caused no stir.²⁷ Johann Lefftz's publication of the Ölenberg manuscripts in 1927 inspired only cautious and guarded comments. Criticism was muted until 1975, when Heinz Rölleke made all the evidence accessible in critical editions. Until then, most readers (and researchers) took it for granted that the Grimm tales represented the 'genuine oral tradition among the common folk'.²⁸ This misapprehension has sometimes been

compounded by the use of the *Tales* for studies of folklore.

In terms of comparative folklore, the *Tales* is indeed a pioneering work because of the annotations, in themselves impressive achievements, but not because of the texts. The *Tales* is also a pioneering work because it was taken for granted that the tales were collected among the common people. It is an impression to which Wilhelm Grimm contributed. He did this by idealising Dorothea Viehmann's delivery and by using dialects; by emphasising the humble origin for his tales ("shepherds" (1812), "peasants" ('Prefaces' 1815, 1840, 1850)); and by claiming that they were 'morsels of the poetry of the poor and humble' (in the 1819 'Preface' and subsequent *Complete Editions*), although this could only be true if his young female storytellers picked up tales from country folk. Wilhelm Grimm also claimed that many stories derived from the Kinzig region (1812, 1819 *et seq.*), where the brothers had spent their early childhood, although this comment can only relate to their general atmosphere and, possibly, to tales told by the Hassenpflug family, who had lived there as well (above, see p. 32).

Wilhelm Grimm created his own fairytale style in German. In addition, he created a genre which was so successful that, since then, Germans have considered the Grimm *Tales* to be part of their ancient literary heritage. His main achievement is therefore his superb transference of 'ideal tales' from the oral medium to the written medium, which in readings could release simulacra of 'ideal tales'; and Wilhelm did this at a crux in social, cultural, and educational history when the written medium gradually became the carrier of literature for the masses. Part of his success may well be that his editorial filters were not imposed by one unified and lofty ideology.

The explanation is probably down to earth and very human: the changes were introduced by Wilhelm Grimm in the course of his repeated readings aloud from the *Tales* to children, for increased fluency, and in the process he introduced his own views and took into account the audience response. He introduced repetitions in order to reinforce the reading aloud and to bow to the joy of recognition and anticipation in children's enjoyment of tales; as a parent he would learn to frown at children's wilfulness, so out went the independence of the heroes and heroines to be replaced by religious guidance; and the religious snippets were also part of this, just as topics that were not openly spoken of, were discreetly changed. He made the stories longer in order to prolong the enjoyable 'narrative contracts' between children and persons reading the stories aloud.

It may even be that the publication of the *Tales* was not conceived as part of a major plan.²⁹ However, numerous forces, such as his own increased stylistic sensitivity (for want of a better term), criticism from parents, and the idea that he was rewriting the tales to a form reminiscent of their original splendour as part of the grand canvas of ancient Indo-European mythology, contributed to the introduction of many changes which were in harmony with their fluency and the ease in reading aloud and thus recreated simulacra for 'narrative contracts'. Against this background, it is obvious that Wilhelm Grimm was sure of his footing in 1819 to a degree which had been impossible in 1812; by 1819 he felt that he had made a good job of restoring the tales, a work he took pride in when, as we have seen (above, p. 24), he had the second *Edition* sent directly from the press to Professor Rasmus Nyerup in Copenhagen.

Cultural and content reorientations

Given the lack of consistent editorial filters, a truly unifying ideology, and the obvious (but largely undocumented) adaption to fluency in reading aloud and preservation of narrative contracts in the Grimms' own family circle, there is no reason to assume that the brothers Grimm wilfully violated the 'fidelity' which they professed towards the oral tradition of the folk.

It is true that Wilhelm Grimm changed his view of tales, so that, instead of seeing them as remnants of old poetry, he thought the stories derived from a common mythology. Given the impact of Rasmus Rask's 1818 findings (based on an analysis of Icelandic) of a common original language, it is hardly surprising that Wilhelm Grimm tapped Norse rather than other common mythologies for his evidence. However, the belief in a mythological origin of tales allows for great flexibility towards the specific expressions the myths get as 'ideal tales' in the oral tradition; particularly with an editor who believes that mythological elements are fighting a losing battle with epic plots. Wilhelm Grimm's restoration work on the tales was at no stage inconsistent with these ideas. It seemed to him legitimate to supplement 'deficient' recordings of 'ideal tales' with snippets from other 'ideal tales', for they would all be incidental compared to the mythology which the 'oral tradition' simply reflected in an imperfect form. In his editing, Wilhelm Grimm merely 'corrected' the oral tradition.

There are slight indications that Wilhelm Grimm's belief that the tales represented the surviving parts of an ancient and coherent mythological fabric made him try to restore some of the threads. There are references between stories and details which recur: the queen at the beginning of 'Snow White' (KHM 53) is watching the snow created when 'Mother Holle' (KHM 24) shakes her eiderdowns. 'The Virgin Mary's child' (KHM 3) is hemmed in by the thorns of 'The sleeping beauty' (KHM 50) and spends her nights in a hollow tree like 'All fur' (KHM 65).

Wilhelm also attempted to align stories possessing other similarities; KHM 82-84 deal with the luck of Hans; KHM 138-140 are all brief dialectal punning stories.³⁰ There are two sequences of animal fables, namely KHM 72-76, and KHM 171-174; this is suggestive, for, in his 1819 'Introduction', Wilhelm points out that animals speak and that nature is animate according to the ancient mythology (Appendix 2: xxix-xxx, xlix-1). It is also in keeping with pantheism, the Romantic ideas of the benign natural forces (above, p. 10).

For these reasons, it is tempting to assume that at one stage Wilhelm Grimm envisioned a rearrangement of the stories as part of his editorial restoration work, so that there would be more obvious interconnections between the tales. This, however, was impossible for practical reasons: even when the *Small Edition* with its new numbering was cut loose from the 'Scholarly Edition', the numbering of the tales in the *Complete Edition* remained fixed because the learned part, the third volume, never sold out: accordingly Wilhelm Grimm's hands were tied; even if he had wanted to, he could not rewrite and rearrange the tales so that they constituted a single continuum.

It is true of virtually all the tales that some middle-class norms, especially those connected with sentimentality (the diminutives), with religion, and with behaviour, made

their way into the collections published in the period from 1812 to 1857. It is also obvious that some features were changed to make stories more comprehensible to increasingly urbanised middle-class societies unfamiliar with the hardships of life, such as hunger and living conditions in which parents might turn against their own children in order to survive ('All fur', 'Hansel and Gretel'). In the same vein, the central figures in the nuclear family, mothers, are replaced with stepmothers in 'Hansel and Gretel' and 'Snow White'. Nonetheless, these norms were not systematically introduced and they did not necessarily suppress other norms.

There is nothing in the stories that points towards a specifically national element in the collection: this element was primarily imposed by the readership, although the brothers' views contributed to the effect.

Over the years, the content and the stylistic changes made the *Tales* eminently suitable for reading aloud. By 1857, we see what Heinz Rölleke terms Wilhelm Grimm's "unmistakable poetic fairytale tone" ('unverwechselbaren märchenpoetischen Ton').³¹ It is the totality of the filters in different layers which gives *Tales* their special 'Märchen' style in German and turns them into a genre of their own in German. All native speakers of German insist on this and there is no point in questioning it.

We may, however, define what constitutes this Grimm style: texts which are eminently suited for reading aloud. In this respect alone, the tales convince readers (and listeners) that they are receiving an accurate rendition of the 'German oral tradition among the common folk'.

Linguistically, this is achieved by the inclusion of dialect stories in the German collection; in the individual tales it is achieved by, for instance, euphony, alliteration, repetition, and, not least, a style which is more simple and abrupt than that of 'normal' written literature.

In terms of contents, the tales do not offend adult intelligence. They rely on a register of stock characters, some of whom Wilhelm Grimm discussed in his 'Introduction' (Appendix 2: l-liv), and also include "old women", "old men", brothers and sisters, etc.; the tales also present morals such as decent behaviour that were taken for among the middle classes in the Western world.

The *Tales* are true children of the Romantic age. As such they reflect an idealised view held by the Romantic age of primitive rustic life in idyllic surroundings and in close contact with the unspoilt world of nature. The stories are set in a largely agrarian society where people have rustic names (Heinz, Gretel) and represent a limited number of trades (hunters, farmers, shepherds).

Most importantly, the *Tales*, taken as a whole, seem to offer a broad reflection of society, spanning from punning exchanges between neighbours (KHM 140), via jokes (151), riddles (160) and tall stories (112), to narratives; from royalty to social realism (78 and 185); from Thumbings (37) to giants (90); from crass (77) and blasphemous (81) stories to religious legends for children (KHM 201-210). Nevertheless, in so far as we discern a picture of common folk in the tales, it is not flattering; they are so rustic, so dumb that they would have no chance of survival in the real world. At best they make city-dwellers shudder at their slow wit. More often, they are best seen as a child's

view of insensitive adults: unless they mete out justice and reward (for example, as kings), they are usually silly or wicked, or both, while their behaviour is erratic and incomprehensible.

I suggest that this is the main unifying feature of the *Tales*, namely that events are observed from a child's angle, and that they represent a child's view of society: the hero has easy access to the kings and queens of the tales, just as the child turns to its parent, who then sees that everything is put in order. There are no middle-classes in the world of the child, because there is no need for them. This also means that the society of the Grimm *Tales* never existed: it is not a feudal society, for there is no true social hierarchy. True, it has a tang of agriculture, but never to the extent that readers are really troubled by the smells and the daily chores.

The *Tales* present us with children's hopes and fears: good will prevail in the end; heroes are lucky, sometimes even insolent, and, as in a daydream, usually triumph in society. The frightful stories of parents who deliberately abandon their offspring ('Hansel and Gretel'), who eat their entrails ('Snow White', 'The juniper tree'), of evil enchantments and paralysis ('The Sleeping Beauty'), are explicable as externalised fears experienced by children. For all we know, some of these may have had their origin in traumatic experiences from Wilhelm Grimm's own childhood after his father's death.³²

In their 1857 German form, the *Tales* successfully achieve a balance between orality and literariness; between a dualistic audience orientation towards children and adults; between realism and magic. At the centre there are themes and intentionalities which are common human concerns seen from a childhood perspective.

Wilhelm Grimm imprinted his own narrative voice in the stories. His norms, values, his likes and dislikes, his religious feelings and his sentiments left a linguistic and structural impact on the *Tales*, whereas, as previously noted, the underlying intentionality of a tale was rarely changed. There was no cogent ideology for the editorial filters except for a brief period when Wilhelm believed that the tales were fragments of ancient mythology. Wilhelm Grimm's principles of revision were not guided by a consistent thrust but by a wish to accommodate readability and to prolong moments of family intimacy in reading aloud. This implied that the linguistic layer became increasingly fluent and more adapted to semi-spontaneous reading aloud for children and a family audience. It was most probably the response, the feedback that Wilhelm received from his audience which directed his revisions: the linguistic changes must have been guided by the beliefs that Wilhelm's middle-class audiences held during the late Romantic age about typical features (such as repetitions, euphony, the figure three) in the 'oral tradition of the folk'. The editorial filters were introduced imperceptibly, even to Wilhelm Grimm himself, as individual tales were adapted over the years to audiences he knew.

Contemporaries like Achim von Arnim, acquainted with Wilhelm Grimm, divined his personal tone in the tales as early as 1815:

"You have had good luck in collecting, and you have frequently improved it even more, although you did not really tell Jacob so; yet you should do it more often." ('Du hast glücklich gesammelt, hast manchmal recht glücklich nachgeholfen, was du dem Jacob freilich nicht

sagtest, aber du hättest es noch öfter tun sollen.’ (Letter 10 February 1815. From Bolte-Polívka IV: 448)).³³

In the 1819 ‘Preface’, Wilhelm Grimm readily admitted to the language of the tales: “we need hardly emphasize that the phrasing and filling in of details were mainly our work” (‘dass der Ausdruck und die Ausführung des Einzelnen grossentheils von uns herrührt, versteht sich von selbst ...’ (1857 (rpt Rölleke I: 21))).

In his commemorative speech for Wilhelm, delivered in 1860, Jacob Grimm also acknowledged the mark that Wilhelm had made on the tales:

“The tale collection was closest to his heart and he never lost sight of it ... Every time I now take up the collection in my hand, it moves me, for on every page his image stands before me and I recognise his unmistakable touch.” (‘von allen unsern büchern lag ihm die märchensammlung zunächst am herzen und er verlor sie nicht aus dem augen ... so oft aber ich nunmehr das märchenbuch zur hand nehme, rührt und bewegt es mich, denn auf allen blättern steht vor mir sein bild und ich erkenne seine waltende spur.’)³⁴

DANISH CONNECTIONS AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS

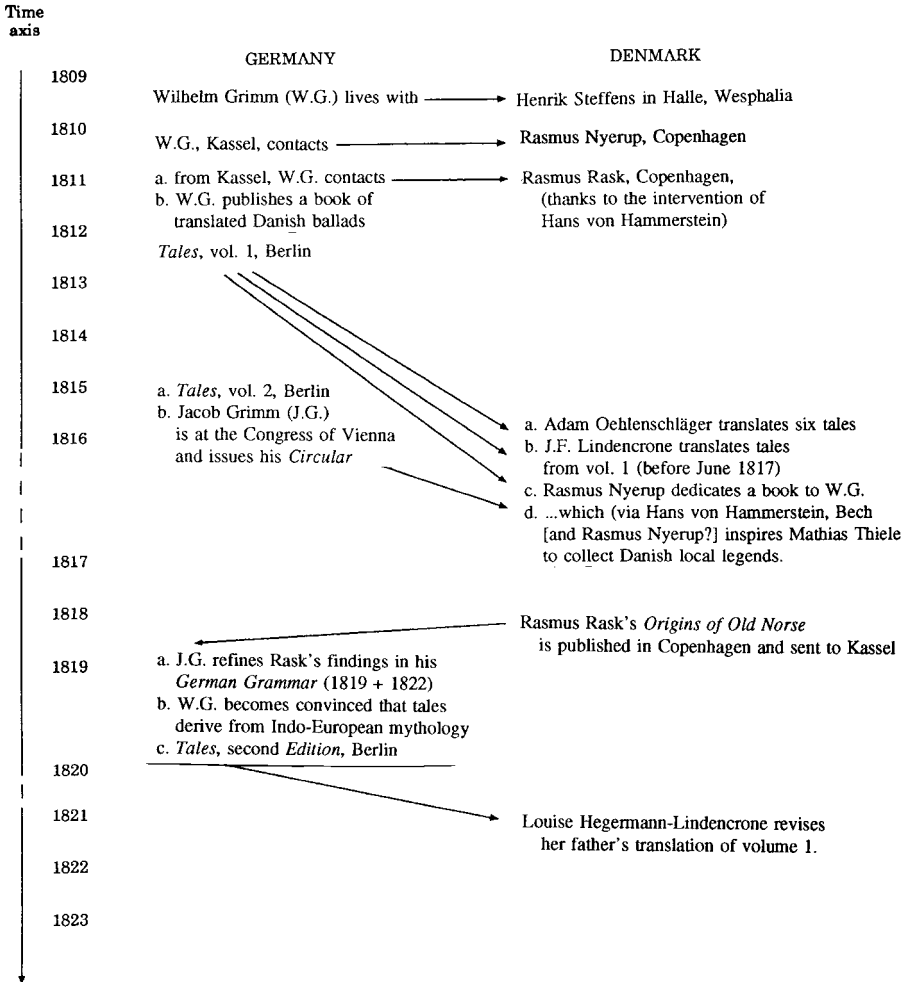
The connection with Danish intellectuals initiated by Wilhelm Grimm in 1810, during the heyday of the Kingdom of Westphalia, continued after Kassel’s fall from international grandeur in 1813 but at a sharply reduced rate, for Kassel became once more a provincial backwater. On the other hand, the table on the next page demonstrates the important influences that Danes had on the brothers Grimm and on their work (and vice versa) in the period from 1811 to 1823.

Wilhelm Grimm’s correspondence with Nyerup petered out in the 1820s (Nyerup died in 1829); the correspondence with Rasmus Rask came to a bitter end as Rask resented the increasingly aggressive approach in the brothers’ nationalistic appropriation to Pan-Germanic linguistics and culture.¹

In the next scholarly round, the Grimm brothers had the upper hand: as early as 1818, Wilhelm told Nyerup to encourage his assistant Mathias Thiele’s recording of legends among the common folk. The brothers Grimm became authorities to whom Nordic scholars such as Professor Børge Thorlacius (letters 1812-1818) and Professor Peter Erasmus Müller (letters 1816-1830) reported their own work on Nordic topics in tones of subdued admiration. In 1817, P.E. Müller informed the brothers that they had become corresponding members of the ‘Skandinavisk Literaturselskab’ because of their work in Nordic language and literature; and, in 1823, still well ahead of other nationals, he followed Nyerup’s example in dedicating a book to Wilhelm Grimm, only the second foreigner to do so. Later, Professor Carl Christian Rafn (letters 1824-1862) politely and steadfastly argued the Danish cause with Jacob Grimm during the first Slesvig-Holsten rebellion of 1848-50, since Grimm, as a true German liberal, was in favour of a unification of Slesvig and Holsten with Germany (above, p. 5).

Christian Molbech (1783-1858) met the brothers in 1819 and referred to this meeting in his first letter to Jacob (1826) when he forwarded some of his works.

SIMPLIFIED TABLE OF THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN JACOB AND WILHELM GRIMM AND DANES (1809-1823)



Many well-known Danish intellectuals, such as N.F.S. Grundtvig, sent copies of their books, often with a handwritten dedication, to the Grimms. (See Denecke 'Bibliothek').

Occasional Danish visitors to Kassel would usually call on the Grimms. The poet Adam Oehlenschläger called on the brothers in Kassel in 1817.

In due course the Danish fairytale-writer Hans Christian Andersen also contacted the

brothers Grimm. Andersen had begun to publish fairytales in 1835. The first ones were translated into German in 1837, and he thought they would be well-known to the Grimms. In 1844, when the brothers held professorial chairs in Berlin and Andersen visited the city, he went to see the brothers Grimm, happily anticipating a meeting of kindred spirits.² When he arrived at their house and the maid asked him which of the brothers he wanted to see, he answered that he wished to see the one who had written the most. He was introduced to Jacob Grimm, who did not even know Andersen by name. Crestfallen, Andersen declined the offer to meet Wilhelm and went back to his lodgings in dejection. Within a fortnight, however, Jacob Grimm was in Copenhagen on a tour of Scandinavia. In the meantime, he had read some of Andersen's fairytales, so he paid a visit on the Danish writer and apologised, for now he knew who Andersen was. The following year Andersen also met Wilhelm and sent him a copy of his newest collection of fairytales in Danish (Copenhagen 1844). The handwritten dedication ran:

“To Germany's noble fairy tale poet Grim [sic] as a friendly memento of H. C. Andersen” (“Tysklands ædle Eventyr Digter Grim en venlig Erindring om H.C. Andersen” (From Denecke ‘Buchwidmungen’ 3: 202)).

Although Germans and Danes are equally quick to point out that the Grimm *Tales* and Hans Christian Andersen's fairytales are worlds apart, the Danish poet did, in this clumsy dedication, pay tribute to the creative side of Wilhelm Grimm's editorial work. For this reason, Andersen's simple phrases are more to the point than scholarly tomes on the respective dissimilarity and unique character of the Grimm *Tales* and Andersen's *Fairytales*. The poet Hans Christian Andersen intuitively divined that, in the final - human and international - analysis, the Grimms' tales and his own were of the same kith and kin. Internationally, the Grimms' and Andersen's stories constitute the central core of one of the most successful literary genres of the nineteenth century: the fairytale. The first beginnings were in Germany. The next step was the translation of the Grimm *Tales* into Danish.

It is no coincidence that the most resonant literary response to the German tales should come from Denmark, for the brothers' tales were translated into Danish before any other foreign language. From then on the tales continued to be regularly translated into Danish.



The French Empire in Northern Europe (1810)

**TRACKING
DANISH TRANSLATIONS**



*Map of Denmark with large cities mentioned
in the bibliography and main text*

Introduction

The resounding response to the Grimms in Denmark is illustrated by means of a systematic identification of Danish translations of the *Tales* in the Danish bibliographical heritage (excluding periodical literature) up to 1986, the bicentennial of the birth of the brothers Grimm and hence a fitting conclusion.¹ In the Danish linguistic and cultural universe, these translated texts constitute a chain of communication comprising a sender, whom the Danes have always called ‘the brothers Grimm’, a message, namely the *Tales*, and recipients consisting of Danish readers. I shall make a distinction between the period until 1859 when the original sender (Wilhelm Grimm) was alive and the period after his death in order to assess the extent to which he was aware of Danish translations. In the latter period, I have not attempted to identify Grimm tales in collections, unless the brothers are listed as authors: this study focuses on the propagation of the Grimm tales in Danish culture, and should therefore be limited to what others, that is, translators, editors, and, above all, the real preservers of the cultural heritage, librarians, have considered, listed and stored separately as ‘Grimm tales’ (*Grimms eventyr*) in *Dansk Bogfortegnelse (DB)*, the Royal Library in Copenhagen (*RL*) (the Danish national copyright library), and its catalogues (*RLC*).

The prompt Danish response to the *Tales* was not confined to Rasmus Nyerup and other scholars. The German book was available in Copenhagen, and, since there were four copies the existence of which can be attested, namely those of Nyerup, Adam Oehlenschläger, Johan Lindencrone and Mathias Thiele, we may safely assume that there were others which went unrecorded. These four persons represent academe (Nyerup and his student Thiele), literature (Oehlenschläger), and the aristocracy (Lindencrone). They all believed that the Grimm collection commanded attention. The best evidence of the Danish respect accorded to the *Tales* is that some of them appeared in Danish translation as early as 1816. They were the first translations of Grimm tales worldwide.

Most years since then have seen the publication of Grimm stories. In order to impose some order, I have, at each year, listed the largest collections first; these, in their turn, are listed before single-tale books whose titles are given in alphabetical order. Series are listed alphabetically at the end of each year.²

Year: 1816

Title: *Eventyr af forskellige Digtere*

Texts: A collection of ‘Eventyr’ of which 6 are from the Grimms’ 1812 volume of the first Edition: ‘The frog king’ (KHM 1); ‘The fisherman and his wife’ (KHM 19); ‘The brave little tailor’ (KHM 20); ‘Thumbling’s travels’ (KHM 45); ‘The juniper tree’ (KHM 47); and ‘The stolen pennies’ (KHM 154; no. 7 in the 1812 German volume).

Translator/editor: Selected and translated with commentary (‘sammendragne og oversatte med Bemærkninger’) by Adam Oehlenschläger

Preface, etc.: Preface by Oehlenschläger Vol. 1: iii-xiv + annotations of individual stories (Vol. 1: xv-xxxii; and vol. 2: iii-xxxii)

Illustrations: None

Format: Vol. 1, xxxii + 320 pp; vol. 2, xxxiii + 300 pp; 18x10 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal

Printer: Græbe

Edition/printing: 1st

Typography: Gothic letters

Rpts: The two volumes were reissued in 1847-1848 in Christiania (present-day Oslo, Norway), and in Oehlenschläger’s collected works.

Subsequent issues in Norway (whose urbanites spoke Danish until c. 1900) are not listed.

Year: 1821

Title: *Folke-Eventyr samlede af Brødrene Grimm*. Oversatte af Johan Frederik Lindencrone, Kammerherre. Gjennemseete og udgivne efter anden forøgede og forbedrede Udgave.

Texts: 1-42; 44-86; Anh 7 'The strange feast'

Translator/editor: "Translated by Kammerherre Johan Frederik Lindencrone. Revised and printed according to the second enlarged and improved Edition".

Illustrations: None

Preface, etc.: "Dedication to the readers" ('Tilegnelse til Læserne') + The 1819 'Preface' by Wilhelm Grimm (translated into Danish) + A translation of the "Introduction: on the nature of fairytales" ('Over Eventyrenes Natur' (from the German 1819 *Edition*)) + A table of contents.

Format: xxxvii + 412 pp, 18x10 cm.

Publisher: C. H. Nøers Forlag

Printer: Boas Brünnich

Typography: Gothic letters

Comment: This is a complete translation of volume 1 of the German 1819 *Edition* with 86 'Märchen'. KHM 1, KHM 19, and KHM 47 are reprinted from Oehlenschläger's collection with an acknowledgement.

There are two copies of the book in the Royal Library, Copenhagen. One is slightly damaged (The title page and pages v-vi are missing).

The translation is attributed to Johan Frederik Lindencrone. He was born into the landed aristocracy in 1746 and owned the estate of Gjorslev, c. 60 kilometres south of Copenhagen, which he sold in 1793. Lindencrone was appointed 'Hofjunker' in 1766, 'Etatsraad' in 1774, and finally 'Kammerherre' (i.e. Chamberlain) in 1780. The latter title is given on the front page of this translation of Grimm *Tales*.

The ascription to Lindencrone is generally accepted (Erslew, Salmonsens, *DBL*). However, it cannot be correct, since Johan Frederik Lindencrone died 4 June 1817, long before the 1819 "enlarged and improved" German *Edition* was published: the Danish title page states that it translates the 'improved *Edition*'.

Nevertheless, the "Dedication to the readers" seems to confirm the traditional ascription since it refers to the old man ('Olding') who translated the tales as his departing gift as he was facing death. Among the readers, the poem addresses in particular P.O. Bülow (1751-1828), a prominent patron of the arts and a friend of Lindencrone.

At first glance, there seem to be many potential candidates for the honour of being the 'real translator' of the Grimm tales: numerous Danish academics and writers were indebted to P.O. Bülow. Nevertheless, given the intimate tone of this poem there can be no doubt that the Grimm tales were actually translated by Johan Lindencrone's only surviving daughter, Louise Hegermann-Lindencrone (1778-1853). The most telling piece of evidence is that in 1837 Christian Molbech attributes the 1821 translation to 'Hegermann' (letter to Jacob Grimm 30 January 1837). This is taken up by Wilhelm Grimm, who therefore credits 'Hegermann-Lindencrone' (without a first name) with a Danish translation in "1820 or 1821". Molbech's and Grimm's ascriptions are, as far as I can see, the only explicit ones: Oehlenschläger never mentions Louise's translation, but, of course, we have no way of knowing whether he was aware that she had translated most of the stories herself.

In 1797 Louise Lindencrone married an army officer, Johan Henrik Hegermann (born 1765 in Norway). After her father's death, she inherited the family settlement and in 1818 her husband was ennobled, taking the name of Hegermann-Lindencrone.

Louise wrote affectionate poems about her parents, and three poems about her father were published in 1813. By the time the Grimm tales were translated, she was a poet in her own right and one whose *oeuvre* included two plays (1817 and 1820). Contemporaries noted Louise's modesty and reticence concerning her own work, perhaps, it appears from her letters to Peder Hjort, because she did not want to be slighted as "simply another woman writer" whose work was not to be taken seriously. She and her family socialised with a small circle of distinguished Danes, which included Adam Oehlenschläger, Henrik Steffens, and a future bishop, J. P. Mynster. Mynster notes Louise's modesty about her writings, her lack of pride in them, and her amiable

reception of criticism. Oehlenschläger terms her: “perhaps the most poetic female soul Denmark ever had” (‘maaske den meest poetiske qvindelige Sjæl, Danmark har eiet’ (*Erindringer* IV: 4)). The book refers to Oehlenschläger who permitted the use of his translation: he started seeing the family in 1817 - the year Johan Lindencrone died.

Even when the volume was reprinted, Louise Hegermann did not take credit for her translation of the Grimm *Tales*: at that time Mathilde Reinhardt and her family met Louise and her husband at the theatre, an event described in her memoirs:

“this was a family about whom we had heard from our childhood and whose adopted name of Lindencrone, from the Grimm tales which were translated by Mrs Hegermann’s father, was just as familiar to us as the book itself.” (‘det var denne Familie, som vi havde ... hørt omtale fra vor Barndom, og hvis tilføjede Navn Lindencrone, fra Grimms Æventyr, som vare oversatte af Fru Hegermanns Fader, var os ligesaa bekjendt, som Bogen selv.’ (*Familie-Erindringer*: 58))

Given the long life in store for the translation credited to her father, there can be few more touching monuments in Danish literature to daughterly love.

From another point of view, it can be argued that Louise Hegermann-Lindencrone only revised her father’s translation, incorporating the improvements which Wilhelm Grimm himself made between the publication of the 1812 and the 1819 *Editions*. There is, in fact, no doubt that Lindencrone translated stories from the 1812 volume. On receiving the new ‘enlarged and improved’ German 1819 *Edition*, his translations of those stories which had not been subjected to major editing by Wilhelm Grimm, were retained by his daughter (a feature to be touched upon below).

Year: 1822

Title: *Moersomme og lærerige Eventyr*

Texts: Four of the 11 tales are by Grimm, viz. ‘Little Red Riding Hood’ (KHM 26), ‘The spirit in the glass bottle’ (99), ‘The clever little tailor’ (114), and ‘The donkey’ (144)

Editor: J. A. C. Løhr. Translators: Ludvig Fasting & N. T. Bruun

Preface: None

Illustrations: 5 black-and-white copperplates, after H. Ramberg; one of ‘The clever tailor’, another of ‘The donkey’

Format: 154 pp, 19x15 cm.

Publisher: Fr. Brummer

Printer: Græbe

Comment: The two pictures for the Grimm tales are the first illustrations of Grimm tales in the world, since Edgar Taylor’s illustrated English translation did not come out until the following year.



‘The donkey’
Copperplate after H. Ramberg
1822

Year: 1823

Title: *Folke-Eventyr samlede af Brødrene Grimm*. Oversatte af Johan Frederik Lindencrone, Kammerherre. Gjennemseete og udgivne efter anden forøgede og forbedrede Udgave.

Texts: 1-42; 44-86; Anh 7 'The strange feast'

Translator/editor: "Translated by Kammerherre Johan Frederik Lindencrone. Revised and printed according to the second enlarged and improved Edition".

Illustrations: None

Preface, etc.: [As in 1821] "Dedication" + The 1819 'Preface' by Wilhelm Grimm + "The Introduction" + A table of contents.

Format: xxxvii + 412 pp, 18x10 cm.

Publisher: Boas Brännich [New]

Printer: Gyldendal [New]

Later eds: 1839, 1844; (rev.) 1853, 1857, 1863, 1869; (rev.) 1875, 1881; (rev.) 1891, 1899, 1909; (rev.) 1916/18, 1921

Comment: This is identical to the 1821 book, except for a slight change in the layout of the title page, in the publisher given and the year of publication; the quality of the paper is fractionally poorer, and the format is slightly smaller.

This is the 'official' year of publication as listed in *DB*, *Erslew*, and elsewhere. There must have been some problems in printing or publishing the collection. At all events, it is obvious that in 1823 Boas Brännich acquired the right to publish it. The books from 1821 may be early sample copies. Their existence is proof that the German 1819 *Edition* was translated as early as 1821, although the translation was not on sale to the public until 1823.

Year: 1825

Title: *Eventyr for Ungdommen. Til uskyldig Moro og Hjertets Dannelse*

Text: 'The fisherman and his wife' (KHM 19) and numerous other stories (see 'Comment')

Editor: Ludvig Fasting

Translator: Adam Oehlenschläger

Preface: 2 pp

Format: 210 pp, 12x10 cm.

Publisher: C. Steen

Printer: S. A. Nissen

Comment: The editor informs us that the source was the *Märchenbuch für die Jugend* (GV: Nürnberg 1819). The Danish translations were edited because of the poor form in the German original, but Fasting had found a genuine version of 'The fisherman and his wife' in Grimm and this story was therefore rendered in Oehlenschläger's translation.

Later eds: There was a reprint (undated). Not available

Year: 1832

Title: *Dansk Læsebog i Prosa til Brug ved Sprogunderviisning i Modersmaalet, særdeles for Mellemklasser i Skolerne*

Texts: KHM 10, 73, 75, 87, 152, 206

Translator/Editor: Christian Molbech

Preface: 2 pp. There are additional prefaces in the reprints

Illustrations: None

Format: 256 pp, 17x10 cm.

Publisher: C. A. Reitzel

Printer: Det Brännichske Bogtrykkeri

Typography: Gothic letters

Edition/Printing: 1

Later eds: 1837, 1842, 1845, 1848, 1852, 1856, 1861, 1869

Comment: This edition was produced for teaching schoolchildren Danish in the first classes in grammar school (secondary school); it is therefore the earliest example of the use of the *Tales*

for instructional purposes in Denmark. The volume contains 106 fairytales, legends and sketches from numerous sources, and includes six tales by Grimm. Three of these (10, 73, and 75) had appeared in Lindencrone's translation.³

Christian Molbech (1783-1857) was a Danish historian and linguist, who, it will be remembered, corresponded with the Grimms (above, p. 66). He was appointed professor of literary history in 1829 and edited a number of older Danish works. He was active in his efforts to improve Danish language usage; he also published a dictionary of Danish (1828-1833).

Year: 1835

Title: *Julegave for Børn* ('Christmas gift for children')

Texts: KHM 91, 121, 123, 134, 149, 151, 153, 154, 200

Translator/Editor: Christian Molbech

Postscript: Two pages about Christmas, addressed to children

Illustrations: None

Format: 128 pp, 16x11 cm.

Publisher: Reitzel

Printer: Bianco Luno

Typography: Gothic letters

Comment: This is a collection of verses and stories from various sources.

Year: 1836

Title: *Julegave for Børn 1836*

Texts: KHM 93, 97, 102, 130, 157

Translator/Editor: Christian Molbech

Preface: Heavily sermonising address to children, 4 pp

Illustrations: None

Format: 128 pp, 16x11 cm.

Publisher: Reitzel

Printer: Bianco Luno & Schneider

Typography: Gothic letters

Comment: This is another collection of stories for children; it contains verses about the life of Christ, and ten tales, five of which are by Grimm.



Christian Molbech (1783–1857)

Year: 1837

Molbech's *Læsebog*, orig. 1832, is reissued; slightly rev.
Grimm texts as in 1832: KHM 10, 73, 75, 87, 152, 206⁴

Year: 1838

Title: *Julegave for Børn 1838*

Texts: KHM 52, 96, 113, 122

Translator/Editor: Christian Molbech

Preface: None

Illustrations: None

Format: 138 pp, 16x11 cm.

Publisher: C. A. Reitzel

Printer: Bianco Luno

Typography: Gothic letters

Comment: The contents are verses about God, two versified tales, including one rendition of 'King Thrushbeard' (KHM 52), and 14 prose stories from various sources, including Grimm.

Year: 1839a

Title: *Folke-Eventyr, samlede af Brødrene Grimm*

Texts: [As in 1823:] KHM 1-42; 44-86; Anh 7

Translator: Oversatte af J. F. Lindencrone

Preface, etc.: Same as in the 1823 edition

Illustrations: None

Format: lviii + 4 pp (contents) + 487 pp, 15x9 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal

Printer: Bianco Luno

Typography: Gothic letters. New layout

Edition: 2nd

Previous ed: 1823

Later eds: 1844; (rev.) 1853, 1857, 1863, 1869; (rev.) 1875, 1881; (rev.) 1891, 1899, 1909; (rev.) 1916/18, 1921.

Year: 1839b

Title: *Julegave for Børn*

Text: 'The sleeping beauty' (KHM 50), versified

Translator: Christian Molbech

Format: 160 pp, 16x11 cm.

Comment: Among the nineteen Grimm stories in Molbech's *Christmas gifts* (1835-1839), only 'The sleeping beauty' and 'King Thrushbeard' (which Molbech versified), had been translated by 'Lindencrone'.

[Year: 1839c

Title: *Den danske Børneven. En Læsebog for Borger- og Almueskoler*

Text: Among numerous texts from other sources, there is a versification of 'The poor man and the rich man' (KHM 87); in the 1858 edition the source is quoted as 'C. Winther'.

Translator/Editor: Peder Hjort

Format: 578 pp, 16x10 cm.

Typography: Most of the book is set in Gothic letters, but the versification of KHM 87 is set in roman letters

Later eds: (Not listed below; some revision) 1840, 1842, 1845, 1850, 1852, 1858, 1869, 1879.

Comment: This is a primer covering all disciplines, with a few short works of literature thrown in for good measure. Some editions include only part of the contents.

Peder Hjort (1793-1871) was a teacher, a well-known author and a scholar of philosophy. Louise Hegermann-Lindencrone corresponded with him (see 'Comment' 1821). Christian Winther (1796-1876) was a prominent Danish poet.]

Year: 1841

Title: *Tyske Stiløvelser for Danske eller Dansk Læsebog for Tyske med tilføjet tysk Oversættelse af de vanskeligste Ord og Talemaader, til Brug for Begyndere*

Texts: KHM 19, 23, and 66 (and numerous stories from other sources)

Translator: (of the three Grimm tales) J. F. Lindencrone

Author: Frederik Bresemann

Preface: 4 pp. It discusses German grammar

Illustrations: None

Format: xii + 152 pp, 17x11 cm.

Publisher: Andreas Frederik Høst

Printer: H. G. Brill

Typography: Gothic letters

Later eds: 1843, n.d., 1851; (rev.) 1857, 1868

Comment: This is the first instance of the use of Danish translations for instruction in German (German versions had been used for teaching German from 1831 onwards (see 'Introccion', fn

1)). This book is a primer of German for Danish beginners, and, at the same time, a primer of Danish for Germans. In addition to a thorough drilling in German grammar, it also contains 'instructive stories', 'anecdotes', and six 'fairytales' in Danish, for translation into German. Among these are three from the 'Lindencrone' translation. It is surprising that Bresemann used two stories narrated in dialect in the German original (KHM 19 and 66): perhaps he never saw those.

It appears from the *RLC* that Bresemann was a prolific writer of textbooks and phrasebooks (Danish, English, French).

Year: 1842

Molbech's *Læsebog* orig. 1832; 3rd ed., slightly rev.
Grimm tales as in 1832: KHM 10, 73, 75, 87, 152, 206

Year: 1843a

Title: *Udvalgte Eventyr og Fortællinger: En Læsebog for Folket og for den barnlige Verden* ('Selected fairytales and narratives: a reader for the common man and young people'). The book is dedicated to Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm.

Texts: KHM 2, 9, 10, 15, 16, 19, 20, 23, 27, 31, 40, 44, 60, 73, 77, 83, 87, 91, 96, 102, 113, 121, 134, 153, 154, 169 [1840], 177 [1840], 204, 206

Translator/editor: Ved C. Molbech

Illustrations: None

Preface: Molbech's views on 'Eventyr'

Format: xxiv + 488 pp, 19x12 cm.

Publisher: C. A. Reitzel

Printer: Bianco Luno Typography: Gothic letters

Edition/printing: 1st = 1,000 copies

Later ed: (rev.) 1854b, *q.v.*

Comment: In this collection of 73 tales, Professor Christian Molbech published 29 by Grimm (the source of no. 38 is not cited in the table of contents (it is KHM 96), but, since the Grimms were cited when it first appeared in the 1838 *Christmas gift*, this is probably a slip).

Molbech used only 11 of the 24 tales he had published previously; he apparently omitted some because their brevity would stand out among the rather long stories in this volume. 16 tales had been previously translated by 'Lindencrone'. All told, Molbech published translations of 45 tales by Grimm, including two versifications (1838 and 1839), and the three tales translated in 1854b, *q.v.*

In his foreword (and in a letter to Wilhelm Grimm), Molbech states that 'Hegermann's' translation is not good; in this foreword, he also mentions that the author Sille Beyer (1803-1861) had helped him translate some stories for the *Christmas gifts* (but it is not clear whether she translated Grimm).

Some of Molbech's translations must be based on the German 1819 *Edition*; this applies to the stories published in the 1835 and 1836 *Christmas gifts*; these stories were printed nearly *verbatim*, so it is obvious that Molbech did little revision on the translations. He may have referred to the German 1837 *Edition* for one or two tales. He used the German 1840 *Edition* from which he picked 'The house in the forest' (169) and 'The messengers of death' (177).

Year: 1843b

Bresemann's *Stiløvelser*, orig. 1841; 2nd ed

Comment: The (undated) 3rd edition but was published in the period between 1843 and 1851 (4th ed).

Year: 1844

Title: *Folke-Eventyr, samlede af Brødrene Grimm*

Texts: [As in 1823:] 1-42; 44-86; and Anh 7

Translator: Oversatte af J. F. Lindencrone

Preface, etc.: As in the 1823 edition

Illustrations: None

Format: lxxii (including table of contents) + 394 pp, 14x9 cm

Publisher: Gyldendal

Printer: Bianco Luno

Typography: Gothic letters

Edition/printing: 3rd. New layout

Previous eds: 1823, 1839

Later eds: (rev.) 1853, 1857, 1863, 1869; (rev.) 1875, 1881; (rev.) 1891, 1899, 1909; (rev.) 1916/18, 1921

Year: 1845

Molbech's *Læsebog*, orig. 1832a; 4th ed

Texts: 10, 73, 75, 87, 152, 179, 206, and Anh 27 'The pea test'

Comment: Molbech revised this edition of his *Reader* by inserting three new texts. Two of these are from the German 1843 *Complete Edition*, which was the only one to feature 'The pea test'.

Year: 1848

Molbech's *Læsebog*, orig. 1832; slightly rev., 5th ed.

Grimm texts as in 1845: 10, 73, 75, 87, 152, 179, 206, and Anh 27 'The pea test'

Year: 1849

Title: *Snehvide. Et Børne-Æventyr* (53)

Translator/Editor: Anon.

Preface: None

Illustrations: 17 black-and-white woodcuts (anonymous artist)

Format: 31 pp, 17x10 cm.

Publisher: C. Steen

Printer: Thiele

Typography: Gothic letters

Comment: This is the first single-tale book to appear in Danish. It is also the first Grimm book in Danish to be 'lavishly illustrated' by the standards of the age.

Year: 1851

Bresemann's *Stiløvelser*, orig. 1841, 4th ed.

Year: 1852

Molbech's *Læsebog*, orig. 1832; slightly rev., 6th ed.

Grimm texts as in 1845: 10, 73, 75, 87, 152, 179, 206, and Anh 27 'The pea test'

Year: 1853a

Title: *Folke-Eventyr, samlede af Brødrene Grimm*

Texts: [As in 1823:] 1-42; 44-86; Anh 7

Translator/editor: Oversatte af J. F. Lindencrone

Preface and Contents: As in the 1823 edition

Illustrations: None

Format: xxxix + 360 pp, 17x11cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal

Printer: Thiele

Typography: Gothic letters. New layout

Edition/printing: 4th

Previous eds: 1823, 1839, 1844

Later eds: 1857, 1863, 1869; (rev.) 1875, 1881; (rev.) 1891, 1899, 1909; (rev.) 1916/18, 1921

Comment: The spelling has been modernised: for instance, ‘eengang’ and ‘faae’ are now spelled ‘engang’ and ‘faa’.

[Year: 1853b

Title: *Tydske Elementarbog*

Texts: 50 and 152 (not credited to Grimm)

Translator/Editor: H. C. F. Lassen

Preface: 5 pp

Format: x + 160 pp, 17x11 cm.

Publisher: Hempel, Odense

Printer: J. D. Qvist, Copenhagen

Typography: Gothic

Later ed: [Not listed below] 1863

Comment: This primer for learning German uses the two tales contrastively: parts are printed in Danish for exercises and retroversion into German.]

Year: 1854a [1855]

Title: *Grimms Eventyr: Ny samling* [: Anden samling] (Companion volume 1870)

Texts: KHM 88, 90, 93, 94, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 106, 107, 110, 111, 114, 116, 118, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 127, 129, 130, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136 [as of 1843], 142, 146, 151a, 152, 153, 160, 161, 162, 164, 167, 168 [1840], 169 [1840], 179 [1843], 180 [1843], 182 [1850], 183 [1843], 184 [1843], 185 [1843], 186 [1843], 189 [1843], 192 [1843], 193 [1843], 199 [1850], Anh 18 [1815-50], Anh 28 [only 1843 and 1850]

Translator: Oversatte af J. B.

Preface: 2 pp

Illustrations: None

Format: 102 + 104 + 120 pp [= 326 pp], 14x9 cm.

Publisher: Gandrup

Printer: Flyvepostens Officin ved J. Davidsen

Typography: Gothic letters

Edition/printing: 1st

Later eds: 1865, 1868, 1874, 1882

Comments: This originally appeared in three parts in 1854-1855: the first volume was ready for printing by Christmas 1853 (cf. preface in the first booklet).

Ehrencron-Müller (1940), Munch-Petersen (1976), and some of the index cards and catalogues at the *RLC* ascribe the translations of both this and the companion volume (of 1870) to ‘Jørgen [Henriksen] Borre’.⁵ I find this doubtful and consider it more likely that the translations were the work of Jakob Davidsen, who is credited with them in the 4th edition of 1874. Using various pseudonyms, Jakob Davidsen (1813-1891) translated numerous works from German, English, and French. He edited a right-wing journal, ‘Flyveposten’ (founded in 1852), whose press printed the Grimm *Tales*, but the translation of humble tales might weaken his prestige with readers: this is probably why he is not credited in the first translations. When ‘Flyveposten’ folded (1865), Davidsen edited other (short-lived) right-wing journals. He supplemented his income by publishing fiction. He also issued four volumes in a ‘library for young people’ (‘Bibliothek for Ungdommen’, 1872-1873). These contained numerous informative and narrative stories, ranging from ‘The flowers in the tropics’, and ‘James Watt, inventor of the steam engine’, to ‘Spring song’, and ‘How children learn languages’. He was well-known for his amiability and is unlikely to have taken the credit for something he had not done. The ascription of the Grimm translations to him was accepted by Davidsen himself and by contemporaries (namely in other index cards at the *RLC*). It also tallies with the fact that, in 1878 at least, his name in a book for young people would carry a certain weight.

The title of the book, ‘[a] new collection’, shows that it was intended as a supplement to the ‘Lindencrone’ edition, rather than as a completely new translation meant to supersede it.

The tales are translated from the second volume of the German *Complete Edition* of 1850, because ‘The gifts of the little folk’ (KHM 182) and ‘The boots of buffalo leather’ (199) were not published until then. KHM Anh 28, ‘The robber and his sons’ appeared only in the German *Complete Editions* of 1843 and 1850.

Year: 1854b

Title: *Udvalgte Eventyr eller Folkedigtninger. En Bog for Ungdommen, Folket og Skolen* (‘Selected fairytales or folk narratives. A book for young people, the common man, and school’)
 Texts: 2, 9, 10, 14, 15, 19, 20, 23, 27, 32, 40, 44, 60, 61, 73, 77, 83, 87, 91, 102, 113, 121, 134, 153, 154, 169, 177, 179, 204, 206

Translator/Editor: Christian Molbech

Preface: 2 pages and the preface from 1843

Illustrations: None

Format: xvi + 406 pp, 20x12 cm.

Publisher: Reitzel

Printer: Bianco Luno

Typography: Gothic letters

Edition/Printing: This is numbered the 2nd edition, thus emphasising the link with Molbech’s 1843a collection, the title of which was different.

Later eds: 1873, 1882; (rev.) 1906; (rev.) 1942-43

Comment: This volume is dedicated to the Norwegian folklorists P. C. Asbjørnsen, J. Moe, and M. B. Landstad.

There are now 82 ‘Eventyr’, 30 of them by Grimm. Molbech has dropped ‘The three snake leaves’ (16) and ‘The three little birds’ (96), and in their place included ‘The three spinners’ (14), ‘Little farmer’ (61), and ‘The goose girl at the spring’ (179); the latter story is taken from his 1845 *Reader*.

Year: 1854c

Title: *Det gamle Æventyr om Fiskeren og hans Kone* (KHM 19)

Translator: Peter Grimmig

Format: 12 pp, 18x11 cm.

Illustrations: None

Publisher: Eibe

Printer: Bianco Luno

Comment: ‘Grimmig’ is a pseudonym for Peder Hjort (see ‘1839’). The title page runs “told in German by Councillor Jakob Grimm and here retold in Danish” (‘Fortalt paa Tydsk af Hofraad Jakob Grimm og efter ham paany gjentaget her paa Dansk’).

Year: 1856a

Molbech’s *Læsebog*, orig. 1832; 7th ed.

Grimm texts as in 1845: KHM 10, 73, 75, 87, 152, 179, 206, and Anh 27 ‘The pea test’

Year: 1856b

Title: *Phantásus eller Folke-Eventyr for Gamle og Unge*

Texts: Vol. 2 ‘Thumbling’ (KHM 37); vol. 3 ‘The brave little tailor’ (KHM 20)

Translator/Editor: E. Winther

Preface: None

Illustrations: A black-and-white frontispiece to a tale by Tieck

Format: 130 + 130 + 122 pp, 16x10 cm.

Publisher: R. P. Mørch

Printer: H. G. Brill

Typography: Gothic letters

Comment: The other tales are from various sources, e.g. Tieck, Musäus *et al.*

Year: 1857a

Title: *Folke-Eventyr, samlede af Brødrene Grimm*

Texts: [As in 1823:] 1-42; 44-86; Anh 7

Translator/Editor: Oversatte af J. F. Lindencrone

Preface: None

Illustrations: 1 = frontispiece: "Grandmother narrating", a black-and-white illustration

Format: Table of contents vi + 360 pp, 17x11 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal

Printer: Thiele

Typography: Gothic letters

Edition/Printing: 5th. Same layout as in the 1853 edition

Previous eds: 1823, 1839, 1844; (rev.) 1853

Later eds: 1863, 1869; (rev.) 1875, 1881;

(rev.) 1891, 1899, 1909; (rev.) 1916/18, 1921

Comment: This is a reprint of the 4th edition, except that the Danish "Dedication", Wilhelm Grimm's 'Preface', and his 'Introduction', are all omitted.

Year: 1857b

Bresemann's *Stiiløvelser*, orig. 1841, is reissued, 5th ed. rev. by M. Meyer; Grimm tales as in 1841a.

[Year: 1858

Title: *Tysk Læsebog for Begyndere*

Texts: 72, 73 (Grimm not credited)

Translator/Editor: S. Povelsen

Preface: 2 pp

Illustrations: None

Format: 228 pp, 20x13 cm.

Publisher: Reitzel

Printer: Thiele

Typography: Gothic letters

Comment: This primer is bilingual. The German text is printed on the left hand side, facing Danish translations on the right-hand side.]

Year: 1861

Molbech's *Læsebog*, orig. 1832; 8th ed.

Grimm texts as in 1845: 10, 73, 75, 87, 152, 179, 206, and Anh 27 'The pea test'

Year: 1863

Title: *Folke-Eventyr, samlede af Brødrene Grimm*

Texts: [As in 1823:] 1-42; 44-86; Anh 7

Translator: Oversatte af J. F. Lindencrone

Preface, etc.: None

Illustration: 1 = frontispiece: "Grandmother narrating"

Format: v (table of contents) + 360 pp, 17x11 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal



Frontispiece 'Lindencrone Translation' 1857

Printer: Wibe

Typography: Gothic letters

Edition/Printing: 6th. The layout is the same as in the 4th edition (of 1853)

Previous eds: 1823, 1839, 1844; (rev.) 1853, 1857

Later eds: 1869; (rev.) 1875, 1881; (rev.) 1891, 1899, 1909; (rev.) 1916/18, 1921

Year: 1865

Title: *Grimms Eventyr. Ny Samling* [:Anden Samling]

Texts: [As in 1854a:] KHM 88, 90, 93, 94, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 106, 107, 110, 111, 114, 116, 118, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 127, 129, 130, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136 [as of 1843], 142, 146, 151a, 152, 153, 160, 161, 162, 164, 167, 168 [1840], 169 [1840], 179 [1843], 180 [1843], 182 [1850], 183 [1843], 184 [1843], 185 [1843], 186 [1843], 189 [1843], 192 [1843], 193 [1843], 199 [1850], Anh 18 [1815-50], Anh 28 [only 1843 and 1850]

Translator: Oversatte af J. B.

Preface: 2 pp. A reprint of the 1855 preface without details about the production of the book

Format: 236 pp, 18x11 cm.

Publisher: Gandrup

Printer: Fjeldsøe & Gandrup

Edition/printing: 2nd printing of the collection first published in 1855. New layout

Previous ed: 1854

Later eds: 1868, 1874, 1882

Year: 1868a

Title: *Grimms Eventyr. Ny Samling* [:Anden Samling]

Texts: [As in 1854a:] KHM 88, 90, 93, 94, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 106, 107, 110, 111, 114, 116, 118, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 127, 129, 130, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136 [as of 1843], 142, 146, 151a, 152, 153, 160, 161, 162, 164, 167, 168 [1840], 169 [1840], 179 [1843], 180 [1843], 182 [1850], 183 [1843], 184 [1843], 185 [1843], 186 [1843], 189 [1843], 192 [1843], 193 [1843], 199 [1850], Anh 18 [1815-50], Anh 28 [only 1843 and 1850]

Translator: Oversatte af J. B.

Format: 236 pp, 18x11 cm.

Publisher: Gandrup

Printer: Gandrup

Edition/printing: 3rd, a reprint of the 2nd edition (from 1865)

Previous eds: 1854, 1865

Later ed: 1874, 1882

Year: 1868b

Bresemann's *Stiløvelser*, orig. 1841; 6th and last edition

Year: 1869a

Title: *Folke-Eventyr, samlede af Brødrene Grimm*

Texts: [As in 1823:] 1-42; 44-86; Anh 7

Translator: Oversatte af J. F. Lindencrone

Preface, etc.: None

Illustration: 1 = frontispiece: "Mother with children"

Format: Table of contents v + 360 pp, 18x11 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal

Printer: G. S. Wibe

Edition/printing: 7th of the 'Lindencrone' translation

Previous eds: 1823, 1839, 1844; (rev.) 1853, 1857, 1863

Later eds: 1875, 1881; (rev.) 1891, 1899, 1909; (rev.) 1916/ 18, 1921

Comments: This is a reprint of the 4th edition, except for the frontispiece which shows a mother with her children.

Year: 1869b

Molbech's *Læsebog*, orig. 1832; 9th and last edition. Grimm texts as in 1845: 10, 73, 75, 87, 152, 179, 206, and Anh 27 'The pea test'

Year: 1870

Title: *Grimms Eventyr. Tredie Samling* (Companion volume 1854a)

Texts: 87, 89, 91, 92, 96, 98, 101, 108, 109, 112, 113, 115, 126, 128, 138, 141, 143, 144, 145, 147, 148, 154, 155, 156, 157, 163 [1837], 165 [1837], 170 [1840], 171 [1840], 172 [1840], 173 [1840], 174 [1840], 176 [1840], 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, and Anh 19 [1819-1840], Anh 23 [1819-1843]

Translator: Oversatte af J. B. [Jakob Davidsen, see 1854]

Preface: 2 pp

Illustrations: None

Format: 246 pp, 17x11 cm.

Publisher: Gandrup

Printer: Fjeldsøe and Gandrup

Typography: Gothic letters

Edition: 1st

Later ed: 1878/82

Comment: This new collection includes stories from Grimm

volume 2 which had not been rendered into Danish previously by either 'Lindencrone' or Davidsen himself. The collection includes nine supernumerary religious tales ('Kinderlegenden') at the end of the German *Complete Editions* (the tenth was added in the 1850 *Edition*). The translator expressly adds seventeen stories from other sources not given. Since he includes 'The three crows' (Anh 19), and 'The wild man' (Anh 23), in addition to KHM 101 in the version from 1840 and previous *Editions*, Davidsen must have used the German 1840 *Edition* for this translation.

The type is noted because of the ministerial regulation of 1875 that roman type was to be used instead of Gothic in school books.

Year: 1873

Molbech's *Udvalgte Eventyr*, orig. 1854, 2nd = 3rd of 1843

Texts: [As in 1854b:] 2, 9, 10, 14, 15, 19, 20, 23, 27, 32, 40, 44, 60, 61, 73, 77, 83, 87, 91, 102, 113, 121, 134, 153, 154, 169, 177, 179, 204, 206

Year: 1874

Title: *Grimms Eventyr. Ny Samling. Anden Samling*

Texts: [As in 1854a:] KHM 88, 90, 93, 94, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 106, 107, 110, 111, 114, 116, 118, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 127, 129, 130, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136 [as of 1843], 142, 146, 151a, 152, 153, 160, 161, 162, 164, 167, 168 [1840], 169 [1840], 179 [1843], 180



Frontispiece 'Lindencrone Translation' 1869

[1843], 182 [1850], 183 [1843], 184 [1843], 185 [1843], 186 [1843], 189 [1843], 192 [1843], 193 [1843], 199 [1850], Anh 18 [1815-50], Anh 28 [only 1843 and 1850]

Translator: Oversatte af Jakob Davidsen

Preface: As in 1865

Illustrations: None

Format: 264 pp, 17x11 cm.

Publisher: Eibe/Gandrup/M.P. Madsen (see 'Comment')

Printer: Fjeldsøe og Gandrup

Typography: Gothic letters

Edition/printing: 4th edition. New layout

Previous eds: 1854, 1865, 1868

Later ed: 1882

Comment: There are two title pages, both dated 1874:

The first title page runs 'Grimms Eventyr. Anden Samling. Oversat af J. B. [Publisher:] Eibe'.

The second title page has 'Grimms Eventyr. Ny Samling. Oversat af J. Davidsen. [Publisher:] Gandrup' (the latter also listed in *DB*).

DB further cites M. P. Madsen as the publisher.

The copy in the *RLC* proffers the handwritten information that the Gandrup title page was printed in 1882.

Year: 1875

Title: *Folke-Eventyr, samlede af Brødrene Grimm*

Texts: [As in 1823:] 1-42; 44-86; Anh 7

Translator: Oversatte af J. F. Lindencrone

Preface: None

Illustration: 1 = frontispiece: "Mother with children"

Format: v + 368 pp, 18x11 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal

Printer: J. Jørgensen

Typography: Gothic letters

Edition/printing: 8th. The layout is new

Previous eds: 1823, 1839, 1844; (rev.) 1853, 1857, 1863, 1869

Later eds: 1881; (rev.) 1891, 1899, 1909; (rev.) 1916/18, 1921

Comment: There are minor modernisations in the spelling, e.g., "kølig", "Vejret", and "fløj", instead of 'kjølig', 'Vejret', 'fløi' (p. 1).

Year: 1878 (*DB* 1877)

Title: *Grimms Eventyr. Tredie Samling*

Texts: [As in 1870] 87, 89, 91, 92, 96, 98, 101, 108, 109, 112, 113, 115, 126, 128, 138, 141, 143, 144, 145, 147, 148, 154, 155, 156, 157, 163 [1837], 165 [1837], 170 [1840], 171 [1840], 172 [1840], 173 [1840], 174 [1840], 176 [1840], 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, and Anh 19 [1819-1840], Anh 23 [1819-43]

Translator: Oversatte af J. B./Oversatte af J. Davidsen

Format: 264 pp, 17x11 cm.

Publisher: Gandrup/Eibe/M.P. Madsen (*DB*)

Printer: Gandrup

Typography: Gothic letters

Price: Dkr 1.70

Edition: 2nd. New layout

Previous ed: 1870

Comment: This edition has two printed title pages:

The first title page runs: 'Grimms Eventyr. Tredie Samling. Oversatte af J. B. [Publisher:] Gandrup'.

The second title page is ‘Grimms Eventyr. Tredie Samling. Oversatte af J. Davidsen. [Publisher:] Eibe’.

DB further gives the publisher as M.P. Madsen.

The first title page in the *RL* copy has a hand-written note to the effect that it was printed in 1882. The cardboard-cover has the date 1877.

Year: 1881

Title: *Folke-Eventyr, samlede af Brødrene Grimm*

Texts: [As in 1823:] 1-42; 44-86; Anh 7

Translator: Oversatte af J. F. Lindencrone

Illustration: 1 = frontispiece: “Mother with children”

Format: v + 368 pp, 18x11 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal

Printer: J. Jørgensen

Price: hb Dkr 2.75; pb Dkr 1.75

Edition/printing: 9th edition of the Lindencrone translation

Typography: Gothic letters. New layout

Previous eds: 1823, 1839, 1844; (rev.) 1853, 1857, 1863, 1869; (rev.) 1875

Later eds: (rev.) 1891, 1899, 1909; (rev.) 1916/18, 1921

Comment: Archaic terms have been gently replaced: a man who forced his dog to “lide Hunger” (i.e. suffer hunger), ‘lod den sulte’ (let it go hungry) (p. 247).

Year: 1882a

Title: *Grimms Eventyr. Anden Samling*

Texts: As in 1854, 1865, 1868, 1874 *q.v.*

Translator/Editor: Oversatte af J. Davidsen

Preface: As in 1870

Illustrations: None

Format: 264 pp, 17x11 cm.

Publisher: Eibe

Printer: Nielsen & Lydiche

Typography: Gothic letters

Price: Dkr 1.70

Edition/Printing: 5th. Same layout as in 1874

Previous eds: 1854, 1865, 1868, 1874

Comment: This edition is listed in *DB*, but seems to be identical with the 1874 edition. It might have been provided with a new front page in order to make purchasers believe it was a new edition in the new typography (roman letters).

Year: 1882b

Molbech’s *Udvalgte Eventyr*, orig. 1854 (1843); 3rd = 4th ed.

Texts: [As in 1854b:] 2, 9, 10, 14, 15, 19, 20, 23, 27, 32, 40, 44, 60, 61, 73, 77, 83, 87, 91, 102, 113, 121, 134, 153, 154, 169, 177, 179, 204, 206

Typography: Gothic letters

Year: 1882c. See above ‘1878’, Davidsen’s *Grimms Eventyr: Tredie Samling*. *DB* lists no new issue of this edition.

Year: 1884

Title: *Grimms Æventyr*. I. Bind (‘Volume 1’; companion volume 1890)

Texts: 1, 5, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 19, 21, 24, 26, 27, 37, 47, 52, 53, 55, 58, 83

Translator: Oversatte af Ferdinand C. Sørensen

Illustrations: Black-and-white illustrations by V. André

Format: 123 pp, 19x14 cm.

Publisher: Levison; Mackeprang (*DB*)

Printer: Qvist

Typography: Roman letters

Price: Dkr 1.00 (also Dkr 1.25 and Dkr 2.00 *DB* (for hb editions))

Comment: The collection of tales may be based on the German *Small Edition*. If so, it is unique among Danish collections of the *Tales*.

Year: 1887a

Title: *Hansemænd og Grethelil* (KHM 15)

Translator: 'J. F. Lindencrone' (Not credited)

Illustrations: 6 coloured pictures by Alfred Schmidt

Format: 12 pp + vi tables, 27x21 cm.

Publisher: H. Hagerup (Eventyr og Historier for Børn illustrerede af danske Kunstnere)

Printer: Trier

Typography: Gothic letters

Price: Dkr 1.25

Year: 1887b

Title: *Konen i Muddergrøften eller "Fiskeren og hans Kone"* (KHM 19)

Translator: Adam Oehlenschläger

Illustrations: 6 coloured pictures by Frederik Hartvig

Format: 12 pp + vi tables, 27x21 cm.

Publisher: H. Hagerup (Eventyr og Historier for Børn illustrerede af danske Kunstnere)

Printer: Trier

Typography: Gothic letters

Price: Dkr 1.25

Comment: The full-page pictures follow after the text in this and the above edition by the same publisher.

As early as 1857a, the Lindencrone edition had (accidentally) stopped crediting KHM 19 to Oehlenschläger. This suggests that this is a reprint from an early edition.

Year: 1890

Title: *Grimms Æventyr. Ny Samling* (companion volume 1884)

Texts: 6, 17, 25, 34, 38, 49, 50, 51, 59, 62, 69, 76, 89, 98, 106, 114, 129, 130, 135, 160, 161, 179, 182

Translator: Oversatte af L. Stange

Illustrations: Black-and-white by Victor André

Format: 123 pp, 19x14 cm.

Publisher: Wulff; Mackeprang (*DB*)

Printer: Cohen

Typography: Roman letters

Price: Dkr 1.00 (*DB* also lists prices Dkr 1.25 and Dkr 1.75)

Comment: This is a companion volume to the 1884 collection. The format and the illustrator are the same as in 1884. It seems as if these volumes were originally intended to have only stories from the German *Small Edition* but that this idea was abandoned when the second volume was translated, since it contains stories which are found only in the *Complete Edition*.

Year: 1891

Title: *Folke-Eventyr, samlede af Brødrene Grimm*

Texts: [As in 1823:] 1-42; 44-86; Anh 7

Translator/revisor: Oversatte af J. F. Lindencrone; Gennemseet ('revised by') af H. J. Greensteen

Illustration: 1 = frontispiece: "Mother with children"

Preface, etc.: 1 p.

Format: v + 424 pp, 18x11 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal

Printer: Jørgensen

Typography: Roman letters

Price: Dkr 1.75

Printing/edition: 10th edition of the 'Lindencrone' translation. New layout

Previous eds: 1823, 1839, 1844; (rev.) 1853, 1857, 1863, 1869; (rev.) 1875, 1881

Later eds: 1899, 1909; (rev.) 1916/18, 1921

Comment: In his preface, H. J. Greensteen says that he was asked to revise the stories after Denmark's new spelling reform, and that some of them were revised by Professor H. V. Rasmussen. Greensteen claims that, in several places, he "consulted the German edition, and could thus correct translation errors" ('Paa adskillige Steder, hvor den gamle Oversættelse forekom mig mistænkelig, har jeg raadspurgt den tyske Udgave, derved er det lykkedes mig hist og her at rette Fejl i Oversættelsen'). By and large, his corrections were only stylistic: "hvi ynker du dig saa?" becomes 'hvi klager du dig saa?' He did not check the German collection carefully, for KHM Anh 7 'The strange feast' (found only in the 1812 and 1819 *Editions*) survives this revision; so does the double ending of 'The straw, the spark, and the bean' (18) which disappeared in German in 1837 (above, p. 41).

Year: 1892

Title: *Snehvide og Rosenrød* (161)

Translator/Editor: Probably Nils Wivel

Illustrations: 21 drawings by Nils Wivel

Format: 28 pp, 33x23 cm.

Publisher: Jydsk Forlagsforretning

Printer: Br. Backhausen, Aarhus

Typography: The text is illustrated and has roman letters drawn by hand.

Price: Dkr 1.50

Year: 1894

Title: *Grimms samtlige Eventyr*. Pragtudgave ('Complete edition. Edition de luxe')

Texts: All tales, KHM 1-210

Translator/Editor: Paa dansk ved J. F. Daugaard

Preface: There is a four-page postscript which introduces the brothers Grimm and the two artists.

Illustrations: C. 200 black-and-white etchings (and some red ones on the title-page) by Philip Grot Johann and R. Leinweber

Format: 460 pp, 31x24 cm.

Publisher: R. Stjernholm

Printer: Grafisk Institut, Nicolai Cohen

Price: Dkr 6.00 (*DB*: also Dkr 15.00)

Comments: This is a complete translation of all tales from the *German Folk Edition* (*Deutsche Volksausgabe*) which appeared in Germany the year before (*GV*). It was illustrated by P. Grot Johann and R. Leinweber. This collection is magnificent and does full justice to the German illustrations. Although the order varies from the German, it comprises the 200 tales from the last German authorial *Complete Edition*, which Wilhelm Grimm saw to the press in 1857, as well as the 10 religious tales for children.⁶

Jacob Faber Daugaard was an actor and journalist (1844-1897) (cf. Munch-Petersen).

Year: 1897

Title: *Grimm. Udvalgte Eventyr*

Texts: 1, 3, 4, 6, 11, 12, 15, 17, 21, 26, 29, 36, 37, 40, 45, 49, 50, 52, 53, 60, 61, 81, 97, 134, 169

Translator/Editor: Paa dansk ved Ingvor Bondesen

Preface: None

Illustrations: 50 black-and-white illustrations by Hans Nikolaj Hansen, Louis Moe and others

Format: 314 pp, 14x9 cm.

Publisher: Hagerup (Børnenes Bogsamling)

Printer: Rasmussen & Olsen

Typography: Roman letters

Price: Dkr 1.60

Later eds: (rev.) 1904; (rev.) 1922

Comment: Ingvar Bondesen (1844-1911) was prominent among the schoolmasters and educationalists who wrote works of fiction based on the lives of farmers and smallholders. He also published some extremely popular reading primers.

Year: 1899 (DB 1900)

Title: *Folke-Eventyr, samlede af Brødrene Grimm*

Texts: [As in 1823:] 1-42; 44-86; Anh 7

Translator/revisor: Oversatte af J. F. Lindencrone; Gennemseet af H. J. Greensteen

Publisher: Gyldendal

Edition/printing: 11th edition. It is a reprint of the 10th edition published in 1891

Previous eds: 1823, 1839, 1844, 1853, 1857, 1863, 1869; (rev.) 1875, 1881; (rev.) 1891

Later eds: 1909; (rev.) 1916/18; 1921

Price: Dkr 1.75

Year: 1900

Title: *Grimms eventyr*

Texts: 5, 10, 19, 24, 27, 37, 49, 51, 53, 59, 71, 76, 87, 102, 114, 161, 182

Translator/Editor: Samlede og udgivne af M. Markussen

Preface, etc.: None

Illustrations: Vignettes and four full-page black-and-white illustrations (anonymous artist)

Format: 103 pp, 19x14 cm.

Publisher: E. Jespersen

Printer: I. Cohen

Price: Dkr 1.00

Edition: 1st edition = 3,000 copies

Later eds: (rev.) 1909, (new title 1919)

Comment: It has been impossible to identify the 7th story, 'Dyrenes Venskab', i.e. 'The friendship of the animals'. The translations are free but identifiable.

M. Markussen was in all likelihood Mrs Maren Markussen (1851-1928). Crippled as a child, she was known for her wide reading, her talent for narrating fairytales, and her rich imagination; she wrote a number of stories of farming life and contributed to a newspaper in Odense (cf. *Foreningen 'Ankerhus' Aarskrift* 1928: 13-14).

Year: 1900, Folke-Eventyr. See '1899'

Year: 1904

Title: *Grimm. Udvalgte Eventyr*

Texts: [As in 1897, except 'Brother Lustig' (81):] 1, 3, 4, 6, 11, 12, 15, 17, 21, 26, 29, 36, 37, 40, 45, 49, 50, 52, 53, 60, 61, 97, 134, 169

Translator/Editor: Ved Ingvar Bondesen

Illustrations: Portrait of the brothers Grimm and 48 drawings by Hans Nikolaj Andersen, Louis Moe and others, as in 1897

Format: 312 pp, 14x9 cm.

Publisher: Chr. Erichsen (Børnenes Bogsamling)

Price: Dkr 1.00

Edition/printing: 2nd edition = 21,000-26,000. New layout

Previous ed: 1897

Later ed: (rev.) 1922

Comment: The none-too-edifying ‘Brother Lustig’ (81) has been omitted. The title of ‘The devil with the three golden hairs’ (29; ‘Djævelen med de tre Guldhaar’) has been changed to ‘The troll with the three golden hairs’ (‘Trollden med de tre Guldhaar’), possibly in order to avoid jarring young sensibilities.

Linguistically, the plural forms of the verbs have been modernised: “var” has replaced ‘vare’.

The quality of the paper is much poorer than in 1897; this must account for the lower price.

Year: 1905

Title: *Grimms samlede Eventyr: Standard Udgave*

Texts: 1-210

Translator/editor: Ved Carl Ewald

Illustrations: C. 200 illustrations, mostly black-and-white (a few brownish) by P. Grot Johann and R. Leinweber

Format: 580 pp. 29x19 cm.

Publisher: A. Christiansen

Printer: Hoffenberg

Price: Dkr 9.00 (25 øre per issue); hb Dkr 12.00

Edition/printing: 1st printing by this publisher (see below) = 4,500 copies

Later eds: 1911, 1913, 1914; (rev.) 1975, 1976, 1982, 1983, 1985

Comments: Carl Ewald (1856-1908) was a successful author of contemporary and historical fiction.

This edition originally came out as a serial (36 issues). The cover claims that it is identical to the original ‘i nøje Udgave af Originalen’. The volume also claims to be the first *Complete Grimm* in Danish (this is untrue, cf. above year 1894).

Although the format is smaller than Daugaard’s (1894), paper and printing are good. However, there is no information about the brothers Grimm or the illustrators.

[Year: 1906

Title: *Udvalgte Eventyr og Folkedigtninger*

Texts: 14, 15, 19, 20, 27, 44, 60, 77, 83, 87, 91, 169, 177

Translator: Christian Molbech. “Fifth revised and shortened edition”

Illustrations: None

Format: 2 vols. 160 + 160 pp, 21x13 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal

Printer: Gyldendal

Price: hb Dkr 2.00

Edition: 5th edition of 1854 (1843)

Previous eds: (1843); 1854, 1873, 1882

Comment: The number of tales has been reduced to 40, of which 13 are by Grimm. This edition coincides with the expiry of Molbech’s copyright (the previous editions were published by Reitzel).]

Year: 1907

Title: *Udvalgte eventyr. Af brødrene Grimm*

Texts: Vol. 1: 5, 9, 10, 12, 19, 24, 27, 36, 37, 49, 51, 53, 55, 59, 61, 71, 76, 87, 102, 114, 161, 182

Vol. 2: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 15, 20, 21, 25, 26, 50, 60, 92, 97, 144

Translator/Editor: Ved M. Markussen

Illustrations: ‘Illustreret Pragtudgave’ = 2 full-page pictures in colour and 11 full-page pictures in black and white.

Format: 1 clothbound volume, or 2 vols, 126 + 128 pp, 20x14 cm.

Publisher: E. Jespersen

Printer: I. Cohen

Price: Dkr 3.00 (Dkr 1.50 per volume)

Edition/printing: 1st of this edition

Later ed: 1912

Comment: The first volume contains the stories printed in 1900, including the unidentified ‘Dyrenes Venskab’, as well as five other Grimm tales (KHM 9, 12, 36, 55, 61). The second volume is totally new.

Year: 1908

Title: *Lille Rødhætte*. Brdr. Grimm (26)

Translator/Editor: Anon.

Illustrations: Black-and-white on cover by Heinrich Dohm

Format: 8 pp, 15x10cm.

Publisher: Børnenes bøger (No. 3). These are mostly books for colouring.

Printer: Løvgreens Bogtrykkeri

Year: 1909a

Title: *Folke-Eventyr, samlede af Brødrene Grimm = Ny Folkeudgave*

Vol. 1: “Første Samling” with cover title: “Den lille Rødhætte og 41 andre eventyr.” Vol. 2: “Anden Samling” with cover title: “Konen i Muddergroften og 37 andre Eventyr.”

Texts: Vol. 1: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 41, 44, 48, 49, 50, 51, 64

Vol. 2: 19, 20, 36, 45, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86

Translator/revisor: Oversatte af J. F. Lindencrone; Gennemsete af H. J. Greensteen

Preface, etc.: None

Format: 176 + 190 pp, 20x13 cm.

Illustrations: None

Publisher: Gyldendal

Printer: Græbe

Price: Dkr 1.75 (Dkr 1.00 per volume)

Edition/printing: 12th. New layout

Previous editions: 1823, 1839, 1844; (rev.) 1853, 1857, 1863, 1869; (rev.) 1875, 1881; (rev.) 1891, 1899

Later eds: (rev.) 1916/18, 1921

Comment: Linguistically, this is a reprint of Greensteen’s revision in 1891; ‘The straw, the spark, and the bean’ retains its double ending. However, some tales have been expurgated: ‘The strange feast’ (Anh 7), printed in German only in 1812 and 1819, was finally dropped after having been part of the Danish Grimm Canon for nearly ninety years. In addition, ‘The singing bone’ (28) with its necrophile revenge; ‘The robber bridegroom’ (40) and ‘The juniper tree’ (49) with their cannibalism; ‘The godfather’ (42) with its grotesquely dismembered bodies; ‘Mother Trudy’ (43), with its parental rejection and burning of the curious girl; and ‘Fitcher’s bird’ (46), with its arson and slaughtered women, are all omitted. These stories have been dropped in the Danish standard edition without reference to the German authorial *Edition*.

Greensteen’s foreword is not reprinted, and the stories have been rearranged (Vol. 1 opens with ‘Little Red Riding Hood’ (26) and ‘The Bremen town musicians’ (27), then goes on to KHM 1, 2, 3. Vol. 2 opens with ‘The fisherman and his wife’ (19), ‘Snow White’ (53), ‘King Thrushbeard’ (52), etc.). Overall, it appears that somebody at the publishing house was uneasy about the contents of certain tales, but did not want his expurgation to be obvious to the public.

Year: 1909b

Title: *Grimms Eventyr*

Texts: 5, 10, 19, 24, 27, 37, 45, 49, 51, 53, 59, 71, 76, 87, 102, 114, 161, 182

Translator/Editor: Ved M. Markussen

Preface: None

Illustrations: Vignettes and 4 full-page black-and-white illustrations

Format: 96 pp, 20x15 cm.
 Publisher: E. Jespersen
 Printer: De forenede Trykkerier, Aarhus
 Typography: Roman letters
 Price: Dkr 1.00
 Edition/Printing: 2nd = 4,000-7,000 copies.
 Previous ed: 1900, with the addition of 'Thumbling's travels' (45)
 Later ed: (New title) 1919a

Year: 1909c

Title: *Hanefar og Hønemor og andre Eventyr af Brødrene Grimm*

Texts: 10, 19, 24, 27, 37, 45, 49, 76, 114, 182

Translator/Editor: Samlet og udgivet af M. Markussen

Preface, etc.: None

Illustrations: Frontispiece: A full-page black-and-white picture. Vignettes

Format: 48 pp, 20x15 cm.

Publisher: E. Jespersen (Børnenes bøger)

Printer: De forenede Trykkerier, Aarhus

Price: Dkr 0.50

Edition/Printing: Listed as the 2nd. It is a separate volume, consisting of pp 49-96 of Markussen's *Grimms Eventyr* from this year.

Later ed: 1919b

Year: 1909d

Title: *Snehvide og andre Eventyr af Brødrene Grimm*

Texts: 5, 51, 53, 59, 71, 87, 102, 161 and the unidentified 'Dyrenes venskab'

Translator/Editor: Samlet og udgivet af M. Markussen

Preface: None

Illustrations: None

Format: 48 pp, 20x14 cm.

Publisher: E. Jespersen (Børnenes Bøger)

Printer: De forenede bogtrykkerier, Aarhus

Price: Dkr 0.50

Edition/printing: 2nd edition = 4,000-7,000. This is a separate volume made up of the first 48 pages of Markussen's *Udvalgte Eventyr*, same year.⁷

Later ed.: 1919d

Year: 1911a

Title: *Grimms samlede Eventyr*

Texts: 1-210

Translator: Udgivet ved Carl Ewald

Illustrations: Black-and-white etchings by Philip Grot Johann and R. Leinweber

Format: Vol. I-III, 184 + 224 + 172 pp; or one volume 580 pp, 26x17 cm.

Publisher: Chr. Flor

Printer: Hoffenberg

Price: Dkr 3.75

Edition: 2nd

Previous ed: 1905

Later eds: 1913, 1914; (rev.) 1975, 1976, 1982, 1983, 1985

Comment: Except for the table of contents, now divided into three parts, this is an exact reprint of the edition of 1905; both printing and paper are poorer.

[Year: 1911b

Title: *Hans og Grete og andre Eventyr*

Texts: 15, 21 (the other stories are not Grimm)

Editor: M. Markussen

Later ed: 1920a

Comment: This volume is not credited to Grimm anywhere. The appearance of an 'Anhang', which was not reprinted in German *Complete Editions* after 1819, shows that the ultimate source text (of that story) must be one of the first two *Editions*.]

[Year: 1911c

Title: *Den lille Rødhætte og andre Eventyr*

Texts: 4, 20, 25, 26, 36, 50, Anh 5

Editor: M. Markussen

Later ed: 1920b

Comment: This volume is not credited to Grimm anywhere.]

Year: 1912a

Title: *Brødrene Grimm. Udvalgte Eventyr. Illustreret Pragtudgave* ('Selected tales. Illustrated de luxe edition')

Texts: As in 1907

Translator/Editor: Samlet og udgivet af M. Markussen

Illustrations: Vignettes. Cover and frontispiece have full-page illustrations in colour; there are 10 full-page black-and-white pictures (anonymous artist)

Format: 1 vol. clothbound; or 2 vols: 128 + 128 pp, 20x14 cm.

Publisher: E. Jespersen

Price: Dkr 3.00 (Dkr 1.50 per volume)

Edition/Printing: 2nd. New layout

Previous ed: 1907

Year: 1912b

Title: *Grimms Eventyr*

Texts: 3, 6, 11, 13, 15, 17, 20, 21, 24, 29, 31, 40, 49, 50, 52, 53, 57, 60, 74, 87, 94, 161

Translator/Editor: I udvalg ved ('selected by') P. Jerndorff-Jessen

Illustrations: None

Format: 142 pp, 20x14 cm.

Publisher: John Martin (Martins Junior Bøger)

Printer: Martin

Price: Dkr 0.50

Year: 1913

Carl Ewald's *Grimms samlede Eventyr*, orig. 1905, 3rd ed.

Same as 1911, except for format and publisher:

Format: (3 parts as in 1911) 26x18 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal

Year: 1914

Carl Ewald's *Grimms samlede Eventyr*, orig. 1905, 4th ed.

Otherwise as 1913 (only cover available)

Year: 1916 (Companion volume 1918a)

Title: *Grimms Folke-Eventyr. 1. Samling* (Cover title: 'Den lille Rødhætte og 41 andre Eventyr') (*Grimms' Tales, volume 1*)

Texts: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 44, 48, 49, 50, 51, 64

Translator/Editor: Oversat af Carl Ewald

Preface, etc.: None

Illustrations: None

Format: 176 pp, 20x13 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal

Price: Dkr 1.50

Edition/Printing: 13th edition = 16,000 copies

Previous eds: 1823, 1839, 1844, 1853, 1857, 1863, 1869; (rev.) 1875, 1881; (rev.) 1891, 1899, 1909

Later eds: (1918), 1921

Year: 1918a (Companion volume 1916)

Title: *Grimms Folke-eventyr. 2. Samling* (Cover title: 'Konen i Muddergrøften og 37 andre Eventyr') (*Grimms' Tales, volume 2*)

Texts: 19, 20, 36, 45, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86

Translator/Editor: Oversat af Carl Ewald

Preface, etc.: None

Illustrations: None

Format: 176 pp, 20x13 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal

Price: Dkr 1.50

Edition/Printing: 13th edition = 16,000-18,000 copies; see companion volume 1916

Comment: The 1916 companion volume and this selection represent the merging of Carl Ewald's translations (of the German texts) and 'Lindencrone' (in terms of the tales actually selected) under the aegis of the publishing house of Gyldendal. It is limited to stories translated by 'Lindencrone', that is, to those appearing in the first volume of the German 1819 *Edition*. The stories are identical with the 80 from 'Lindencrone' 1909, except that 'The singing bone' (28) has been reinstated and 'Herr Korbes' (41), with its pointless cruelty, has been dropped: the anonymous editor (censor) presumably considered it unwise to reduce the number of tales given in the title and printed on the cover since 1909a.

Year: 1918b

Title: *Grimm's Eventyr* (Cover in colour, by Viggo Bang: 'Grimm's Æventyr')

Texts: 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 34, 37, 49, 50, 64

Translator/Editor: Genfortalt for danske Børn af Axel Larsen

Preface: None

Illustrations: None

Format: 168 pp, 20x15 cm.

Publisher: Vilhelm Prior

Printer: Duplex

Price: Dkr 2.75

Comment: Some copies are dated 1919.

Year: 1918c

Title: *Konen i Muddergrøften* (19)

Translator/Editor: Genfortalt af Onkel Axel

Preface: None

Illustrations: Reddish and dark greenish colour, drawn by Peter Wiene

Format: 16 pp, 23x22 cm.

Publisher: Carl Stender

Typography: The letters are dark green

Price: 2.00

Year: 1919a

Title: *Udvalgte Eventyr*

Texts: As in the 1909 volume by the same editor, i.e. 5, 10, 19, 24, 27, 37, 45, 49, 51, 53, 59, 71, 76, 87, 102, 114, 161, 182, and the unidentified 'Dyrenes Venskab'

Translator/Editor: M. Markussen

Preface, etc.: None

Illustrations: Vignettes and 3 full-page black-and-white pictures

Format: 96 pp, 20x14 cm.

Publisher: E. Jespersen

Printer: A. Rosenberg

Price: Dkr 2.00

Edition/Printing: Listed as the 4th = 11,000-21,000 copies. New layout

Previous eds: 1900; (rev.) 1909

Comment: This can only be the fourth edition by considering the books 1901b-c as the 'third ed.' But, as noted, those were not credited to Grimm.

Year: 1919b

Title: *Hanefar og Hønemor og andre Eventyr*

Texts: 10, 19, 24, 27, 37, 45, 49, 76, 114, 182

Translator/Editor: Samlet og udgivet af M. Markussen

Illustrations: Vignettes and 3 full-page black-and-white illustrations

Format: 48 pp, 20x14 cm.

Publisher: E. Jespersen

Printer: A. Rosenberg

Price: Dkr 1.00

Edition/Printing: Listed as the 4th = 11,000-21,000 copies.

Previous ed: 1909

Comment: This book is made up of pp 49-94 of the above *Udvalgte Eventyr* (1919a) bound separately.

Year: 1919c

Title: *Snehvide og andre Eventyr*

Texts: 5, 51, 53, 59, 71, 87, 102, 161, and the unidentified 'Dyrenes venskab'

Translator/Editor: Samlet og udgivet af M. Markussen

Illustrations: 1 full-page black-and-white picture

Format: 48 pp, 20x14 cm.

Publisher: E. Jespersen

Printer: A. Rosenberg

Price: Dkr 1.00

Previous ed: 1909

Edition/Printing: Listed as the 4th = 11,000-21,000 copies

Comment: This is pp 1-48 from the above *Udvalgte Eventyr* (1919a) from the same year bound separately.

[Year: 1920a

Title: *Hans og Grete og andre Eventyr*

Texts: 15, 21 (the other stories are not Grimm)

Translator: M. Markussen

Illustrations: Vignettes and two full-page black-and-white pictures

Format: 48 pp, 20x14 cm.

Publisher: E. Jespersen (Copenhagen and Kristiania (present-day Oslo, Norway))

Price: Dkr 1.00

Previous ed: 1911a

Edition/Printing: Listed as the 4th = 12,000-22,000 copies

Comment: This and the following volume, same format etc., are nowhere credited to Grimm. The copy deriving from the now defunct University Library has the hand-written date 1919.]

[Year: 1920b

Title: *Den lille Rødhætte og andre Eventyr*

Text: 4, 20, 25, 26, 36, 50, Anh 5

Translator: M. Markussen

Illustrations: Vignettes, two black-and-white (greyish) photographs (?)

Previous ed: 1911b

Edition/Printing: Listed as the 4th = 12,000-22,000 copies

Comment: The same format and number of copies as 1920a. Nowhere credited to Grimm. It is also dated 1919 in the University Library copy.]

Year: 1921a

Title: *Folke-Eventyr samlet af Brødrene Grimm*

Also published in two volumes as follows:

Vol. 1 Brødrene Grimm: *Den lille Rødhætte og 41 andre Eventyr*;

Vol. 2 Brødrene Grimm: *Konen i Muddergrøften og 37 andre Eventyr*

Texts: [Vol. 1, as in 1916:] 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 44, 48, 49, 50, 51, 64

[Vol. 2, as in 1918:] 19, 20, 36, 45, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86

Translator/Editor: Oversat af Carl Ewald

Illustrations: None

Format: 176 pp per volume, 20x13 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal

Printed: In Berlin

Price: Dkr 3.75; as separate volumes: Dkr 2.00

Edition/Printing: 14th

Previous eds: 1823, 1839, 1844; (rev.) 1853, 1857, 1863, 1869; (rev.) 1875, 1881; (rev.) 1891, 1899, 1909; (rev.) 1916/18

Comment: This is a reprint of the collection published in 1916 and 1918. It is the last edition to be linked with the selection of tales originally published in Denmark in 1823 as 'J. F. Lindencrone's translation'. Since sample copies were issued in 1821, the Lindencrone selection continued to be popular for one hundred years.

Year: 1921b

Title: *Eventyr for Børn*. Af H. C. Andersen og Brdr. Grimm

Texts: [by Grimm:] 1, 9, 13, 26, 27, 75

Translator: Carl Ewald (not credited)

Illustrations: None of the Grimm tales

Format: 12 parts, 84 pp, 14x11 cm.

Publisher: H. Steensen

Printer: Ekspres-Trykkeriet, Aalborg

Typography: Brownish letters

Comment: These slim leaflets advertised margarine ('H. Steensens AGA Plantemargarine'); they were probably handed out to the children of customers. There are several full-page advertisements; at the top of each page is a two-line verse promoting the product, e.g. "Steensen's margarine is wonderful to eat/ so say both Lise and Pete" ('Steensens Magarine er herlig spise/ det siger baade Peter og Lise'). Some stories are continued from one leaflet to the next.

Year: 1922a (companion volume 1924. See '1924')

Title: *Grimms Eventyr. Første Samling*

Texts: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 92, 126, 127, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 142, 143, 146, 157, 201

Translator/Editor: Ved Carl Ewald

Illustrations: Black-and-white woodcuts by Philip Grot Johann and R. Leinweber
 Format: 1 volume 212 pp, 25x18 cm.
 Publisher: Gyldendal
 Printed: In Odense
 Price: Dkr 4.50
 Comment: The quality of the paper is poor.

Year: 1922b

Title: *Grimm. Udvalgte Eventyr*

Texts: 1, 3, 4, 5, 17, 21, 29, 36, 37, 40, 50, 53, 60, 97, 134

Translator/Editor: Paa dansk ved Ingvor Bondesen

Illustrations: A portrait of the brothers Grimm and 32 black-and-white drawings by Danish artists: Hans Nikolaj Hansen, Louis Moe and others

Format: 152 pp, 19x12 cm.

Publisher: Chr. Erichsen (Christian Erichsens Børnebøger)

Printed: In Berlin

Price: Dkr 1.00; hc Dkr 1.50

Edition/printing: Listed as the 3rd edition of the 1897 collection. New layout

Previous eds: 1897, 1904

Comments: Nine tales published in the 1904 edition have been omitted. The number may have been cut down to keep the price of the volume at the same level as its predecessor, for (contrary to the situation in 1904) there is nothing objectionable about the tales omitted this time.

Year: 1923a

Title: *Udvalgte Eventyr*

Texts: Vol. 1: 5, 9, 10, 12, 19, 24, 27, 36, 37, 49, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 59, 61, 70, 71, 76, 87, 100, 102, 114, 161, 182, and the unidentified 'Dyrenes venskab'

Vol. 2: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 15, 20, 21, 26, 40, 50, 60, 91, 92, 122, 136, 144, and 172

Translator/Editor: M. Markussen

Illustrations: Billedbilag efter Akvareller af Gustaf Tenggren. The magnificently coloured full-page illustrations are hand pasted onto black pages: 17 in Vol. 1; 15 in Vol. 2.

Format: 2 volumes: 128 pp + 128 pp, 22x16 cm.

Publisher: E. Jespersen

Printer: E. Jespersen

Price: Dkr 4.00 each

Later ed: Vol. 1 was reissued in 1929

Comment: Most stories were also printed in 1907. Volume 1 includes five new tales: 'The knapsack, the hat, and the horn' (54), 'Sweetheart Roland' (56), 'The three sons of fortune' (70), 'The rich man and the poor man' (87), and 'The Devil's sooty brother' (100). In volume 2 'The marvellous minstrel' (8) and 'The water of life' (97) are omitted, whereas 'The robber bridegroom' (40), 'The gnome' (91), 'The lettuce donkey' (122), and 'Iron Hans' (136) are new.

This edition was also printed in Swedish (*SNB*).

Year: 1923b

Title: *Askepot og andre Æventyr af Brdr. Grimm*

Texts: 4, 5, 21, 22, 36, 73, 83

Translator/Editor: Anon.

Preface, etc.: None

Illustrations: 5 coloured full-page glossy illustrations (anonymous artist)

Format: 80 pp, 15x12 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal (Gyldendals Æventyrbøger)

Price: Dkr 1.00

Year: 1923c

Title: *Hans og Grete og andre Æventyr af Brdr. Grimm*

Texts: 11, 13, 15, 19, 20, 24, 34, 75

Translator/Editor: Anon.

Illustrations: 5 coloured full-page glossy illustrations (anonymous artist)

Format: 80 pp, 15x12 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal (Gyldendals Æventyrbøger)

Price: Dkr 1.00

Year: 1923d

Title: *Lille Rødhætte og andre Æventyr af Brdr. Grimm*

Texts: 1, 26, 27, 53, 54, 57, 89

Translator/Editor: Anon.

Illustrations: 5 coloured full-page glossy illustrations (anonymous artist)

Format: 80 pp, 15x12 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal (Gyldendals Æventyrbøger)

Price: Dkr 1.00

Year: 1923e

Title: *Tornerose og andre Æventyr* (Not credited to Grimm)

Texts: 2, 7, 37, 48, 50, 71 + 'Puss in boots' (Perrault) and 'The pied piper of Hamelin'

Translator/Editor: Anon.

Illustrations: 5 coloured full-page glossy illustrations (anonymous artist)

Format: 80 pp, 15x12 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal (Gyldendals Æventyrbøger)

Price: Dkr 1.00

Year: 1924 (companion volume 1922a)

Title: *Grimms Eventyr. Anden samling*

Texts: 60, 61, 63, 64, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 81, 83, 87, 90, 93, 94, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 109, 110, 114, 116, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 166, 167, 170, 171, 172, 174, 176, 177, 179, 182, 183, 186, 187, 188, 189, 191

Translator/Editor: Ved Carl Ewald

Illustrations: Philip Grot Johann and R. Leinweber

Format: 164 pp, 25x18 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal

Printed: In Copenhagen

Price: Dkr 4.50

Edition/Printing: The edition is not numbered. The circulation figure cited, 22,000-24,000 copies, must therefore include the 'Lindencrone' translations among the predecessors of this edition.

Previous eds: 'Lindencrone' was published 1823-1909 and Ewald came out in 1905-1921

Comment: This is not a complete edition, but the companion volumes of 1922 and 1924 by Carl Ewald represent a merging of the illustrations by Grot Johann and Leinweber from the German *Folk Edition* of 1893 and the traditional high-status translation of the tales brought out under the aegis of Gyldendal, a prestigious publishing house in Denmark.

Year: 1925a

Title: *Grimms Eventyr*

Texts: 10, 19, 24, 27, 37, 45, 49, 51, 53, 59, 71, 76, 97, 102, 114, 161, 182

Translator/Editor: Samlet og udgivet af M. Markussen

Illustrations: 1 table in colour, and new full-page black-and-white illustrations by [Axel Mathiesen]

Format: 94 pp, 20x13 cm.

Publisher: Jespersen og Pio

Printer: Specialtrykkeriet

Price: Dkr 2.00

Edition/Printing: 5th edition = 22,000-29,000 copies. New layout

Comment: Listed as the 5th edition. Apparently the 1900, 1909 (twice), and 1919 books which include much the same stories are considered previous editions.

Year: 1925

Series: START of *OTAs Boggave*

Translator/Editor: (when given) C. E. Falbe Hansen

Preface: None

Illustrations: 5 glossy full-page pictures in colour in each volume (anonymous artist)

Format: 80 pp, 15x12 cm.

Publisher: OTAs Boggave

Printer: P. Christiansen

Price: Not for public sale, see 'Comment' below

Year: 1925b

Title: *Askepot og andre Æventyr af Brdr. Grimm*

Texts: 4, 5, 21, 22, 36, 73, 83 (as in the 1923 edition with the same title)

Year: 1925c

Title: *Den fattige Møllerdreng og andre Æventyr af Brdr. Grimm*

Texts: 32, 51, 64, 76, 103, 106, 130, 134, 135, 171

Year: 1925d

Title: *Hans og Grete og andre Æventyr af Brdr. Grimm*

Texts: 11, 13, 15, 19, 20, 24, 34, 75 (as in the 1923 edition with the same title)

Year: 1925e

Title: *Jernhans og andre Æventyr af Brdr. Grimm*

Texts: 12, 30, 34, 70, 87, 121, 136, 174, 187

Year: 1925f

Title: *Lille Rødhætte og andre Æventyr af Brdr. Grimm*

Texts: 1, 26, 27, 53, 54, 57, 89 (as in the 1923 edition with the same title)

Year: 1925g

Title: *Pak og andre Æventyr af Brdr. Grimm*

Texts: 10, 55, 61, 102, 114, 124, 127, 166, 182, 201

Year: 1925h

Title: *Tornerose og andre Æventyr af Brdr. Grimm*

Texts: 2, 7, 37, 48, 50, 71 ('Puss in boots' (Perrault) and 'The pied piper of Hamelin' (cited as an old legend ('et gammelt Sagn')) are not kept separate). The stories are identical with those of 1923e by Gyldendal. In that book, however, the stories were not attributed to Grimm

Year: 1925i

Title: *Ulven og Ræven og andre Æventyr af Brdr. Grimm*

Texts: 49, 76, 92, 132, 133, 142, 144, 172

Comment: The OTA cereal company sent an *OTA book*, '*OTAs Boggave*', to customers who collected 15 tokens packaged in the firm's products. The series continued to be published until 1942 (when legislation prohibited gifts in connection with sales). The company published 160 different books for a juvenile audience in the series' seventeen years of existence. It had an enormous impact. Each Grimm collection was issued in 15,000 copies (Jensen and Linneballe: 248-249).

OTA bought the '*Æventyrbøger*' of 1923 from the publishing house of Gyldendal. These four books were given new (and cruder) illustrations and were all ascribed to Grimm (including the '*Tornerose*' volume).⁸ OTA supplemented them with four new collections of stories translated by C. E. Falbe Hansen, a college teacher ('adjunkt'). (For a more detailed description of the *OTA books*, see Gjedsted; Jensen and Linneballe.)

Year: 1927

Series: *Sevaldsens Børnebøger*

Translator/Editor: Anon.

Illustrations: Richly coloured on half the glossy pages, the other half with vignettes by E. Linge

Format: 16 pp, 28x22 cm.

Publisher: Knud Sevaldsen

Printed: In Eskilstuna, Sweden

Typography: Blue or black letters

Price: DKr 1.85

Year: 1927a

Title: *Askepot* (21)

Year: 1927b

Title: *Snehvide* (53)

Year: 1927c

Title: *Tornerose* (50)

Comment: This is a magnificent edition. The corners of the pages are rounded.

Year: 1929a

Title: *Udvalgte Eventyr*

Texts: As in volume 1 (1923)

Translator/Editor: Ved M. Markussen

Preface: None

Illustrations: 17 full-page illustrations in colour pasted on black interleaves by Gustaf Tenggren (as in 1923)

Format: 128 pp, 22x16 cm.

Publisher: Jespersen og Pio

Printer: Sophus Petersen & H. P. Hansen

Price: Not found

Edition/Printing: A reprint of volume 1 of the 1923 edition, using slightly altered type

Year: 1929b

Title: *Askepot og andre Eventyr*

Texts: 1, 4, 21, 24, 27, 37, 71, and the unidentified 'Dyrenes venskab'

Translator/Editor: Samlet og udgivet af ('collected and edited by') M. Markussen

Illustrations: Vignettes in black-and-white and 2 full-page illustrations in colour pasted on black inserted leaves, after watercolours by Gustaf Tenggren

Format: 48 pp, 22x16 cm.

Publisher: Jespersen og Pio

Printer: Specialtrykkeriet

Price: Dkr 1.50

Edition/Printing: This volume and the two following ones are 'cheap versions' with Tenggren's watercolours. They are 'composite editions' in so far as the tales are from both volumes 1 and 2 of the artistic 1923 edition by Markussen.

Year: 1929c

Title: *Hans og Grete og andre Eventyr*

Texts: 5, 15, 19, 36, 55, 59, 76, 87, 161

Translator/Editor: M. Markussen

Illustrations: Black-and-white vignettes, and 2 full-page illustrations in colour pasted on black inserted leaves, reproducing watercolours by Gustaf Tenggren

Format: 48 pp, 22x16 cm.

Publisher: Jespersen og Pio

Printer: Specialtrykkeriet

Price: Dkr 1.50

Year: 1929d

Title: *Den lille Rødhætte og andre Eventyr*

Texts: 2, 3, 6, 7, 20, 26, 92, 144

Translator/Editor: M. Markussen

Illustrations: Black-and-white vignettes, and 2 full-page illustrations in colour pasted on black inserted leaves, reproducing watercolours by Gustaf Tenggren

Format: 48 pp, 22x16 cm.

Publisher: Jespersen og Pio

Printer: Specialtrykkeriet

Price: Dkr 1.50

Year: 1929e

Title: *Grimms Eventyr*. 1. og 2. Samling ('First and second collections')

Texts: Vol. 1: 60, 70, 106, 114, 118, 119, 166. Vol. 2: 4, 15, 21, 52, 59, 81

Translator/Editor: E. Bjørnbak

Preface, etc.: 1 p. The Grimm tales are immortal and will be in demand for coming generations, hence, the translator starts with this selection from 'the great German fairytale writer'.

Illustrations: One full-page black-and-white picture per volume by H. C. [No further name]

Format: 2 vols. 80 + 80 pp, 18x13 cm.

Publisher: Randers Amtstidende (a newspaper published in the town of Randers, Jutland)

Printer: Same

Price: Not for public sale

Comment: Available only at Statsbiblioteket, Aarhus

Year: 1930

Title: *Eventyr efter Grimm*

Texts: 11, 15, 20, 21, 26, 36, 50, 53, 89 + Hans Christian Andersen 'The Christmas tree' ('Juletræet') (Andersen is not credited)

Translator/Editor: Retold by A. Hansen

Preface, etc.: None

Illustrations: None

Format: 32 pp, 20x13 cm.

Publisher: Den kongelige Døvstummeskole, Nyborg

Price: Not for public sale

Comment: This is adapted for the instruction of the deaf and dumb.

Year: 1931

Series: START and END of *Eventyrbogen*

Translator: Anon. The texts are condensed

Illustrations: Large illustrations in colour on pp 3, 6-7, 10-11, 14-15, 18, and on the cover (this implies that, during the printing process, only one side of the sheets was printed in colour). The coloured pictures are by 'H. S.', and the black-and-white drawings by (two?) other artists.

Format: 20 pp, 30x23 cm.

Publisher: Edelmann

Price: Dkr 1.25

Year: 1931a

Title: *Askepot. Hans og Grete. Rødhætte* (15, 21, 26)

Year: 1931b

Title: *Tornerose. Snehvide* (50, 53)

Year: 1941a

Title: *Grimms Eventyr*

Texts: 2, 4, 6, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 29, 30, 32, 34, 36, 37, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 60, 61, 64, 71, 76, 77, 78, 81, 83, 87, 94, 100, 101, 104, 106, 107, 116, 120, 122, 126, 127, 130, 134, 136, 143, 146, 166, 167, 176, 182, 187, 188, 189, 191

Translator/Editor: Carl Ewald; revised by Jesper Ewald

Preface, etc.: None

Illustrations: Black-and-white drawings by Anton Hansen

Format: 346 pp, 20x14 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal

Printer: Gyldendal

Price: pb Dkr 4.50; hb Dkr 6.75; Dkr leather 10.00

Later ed: 1956

Comment: This edition refers explicitly to Carl Ewald's translations, but is not a reprint of any of his editions, rather a new collection, presumably selected from his translation of all the tales.

The slight revision was undertaken by Carl Ewald's son, Jesper Ewald (1893-1969), journalist, author, and prolific translator.

Year: 1941b

Title: *Grimms Eventyr*

Texts: 5, 10, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 26, 27, 30, 34, 36, 37, 50, 53, 55, 57, 62, 64, 70, 71, 77, 87, 89, 98, 152, 164, 171, 187

Translator/Editor: Otto Gelsted

Preface, etc.: 2 pp. On the Grimms and their preservation of fairytales from the oral tradition.

Illustrations: Black-and-white drawings by Svend Johansen

Format: 182 pp, 21x15 cm.

Publisher: Athenæum

Price: Dkr 5.00

Comment: Otto Gelsted (1888-1968) was a prominent Danish poet.

Year: 1942-43

Title: *Udvalgte Eventyr*

Texts: Vol. 1: 20, 27, 102, 169. Vol. 2: 60, 87

Translator/Editor: C. Molbech

Illustrations: Black-and-white by Louis Moe, cover by Axel Mathiesen

Format: 2 vols. Vol. 1: 128 pp. Vol. 2: 140 pp, 20x14 cm.

Publisher: H. Hagerup

Printer: Pedersen & Lefevre

Price: Pb Dkr 2.75; hb Dkr 3.75

Previous editions: 1843; (rev.) 1854, 1873, 1882; (rev.) 1906

Comment: 4 of the 14 stories in vol. 1, and 2 of the 10 stories in vol. 2 are by Grimm. The number of tales has been reduced over the years (1843-1943), but it is hopeless to speculate whether this was due to expurgation, changes in popularity, or to keep down the price.

Year: 1943

Title: *Konen i Muddergrøften*, af Grimms Eventyr (19)

Translator/Editor: Not given, but presumably A. Danielsen

Epilogue: An eight-line poem about the New Year by A. Danielsen

Illustrations: Black-and-white by Povl Christensen

Format: 18 pp, 20x13 cm.

Publisher: Privately printed

Printer: Berlingske

Comment: An edition of 100 copies produced for private circulation by Povl Christensen and Axel Danielsen as a New Year's gift.

Year: 1944a

Title: *Brdr. Grimm: Eventyr*

Texts: 15, 19, 20, 21, 26, 36, 37, 49, 50, 52, 53, 89, 113, 130, 176, 186

Translator/Editor: Ellen Kirk

Preface, etc.: The back cover comments on tales in general

Illustrations: Full-page black-and-white by Kirsten Hoffmann; cover, in colour, by Svend Johansen

Format: 192 pp, 16x6 cm.

Publisher: Arthur Jensen

Printer: Dyva & Jeppesen

Price: Dkr 2.85

Comment: Ellen Kirk (1902-1982) was a prominent translator of fiction, with several masterpieces of world literature to her credit. She does not mention this translation in her entry in *Kraks blå bog* [The Danish 'Who's who'], which (according to the practice of Krak's) she wrote herself.

Year: [1944b-e]

Series: START of *Lems Billedbøger*

Texts: See '1944-e'; they are credited to Grimm

Translator: Not credited: Anon., possibly a draught or a revision of Ellen Kirk's translation for the same publisher, same year (1944a)

Illustrations: The cover and one side of each sheet is coloured, facing pages show the texts. By various artists (listed below).

Format: 16 pp, 24x22 cm.

Publisher: Arthur Jensen

Orthography: Capitalised nouns

Price: Dkr 1.50

Year: [1944b]

Title: *Askepot* (21)

Illustrator: Ellinor Askvold

Year: [1944c]

Title: *Hans og Grete* (Cover: *Hans og Grethe*) (15)

Illustrator: Viggo Eriksen

Year: [1944d]

Title: *Rødhætte* (26)

Illustrator: Viggo Eriksen

Year: [1944e]

Title: *Snehvide* (53)

Illustrator: Kirsten Hoffmann

Series ctd: 1945

Comment: A spelling reform of 1948 did away with the use of capitals for nouns. Accordingly, the orthography is noted by the books around 1948.

Year: [1945]

Series: CONTINUATION of *Arthur Jensens Kunstforlag* [= *Lems Billedbøger*], see above 1944

Format: 16 pp, 24x22 cm.

Publisher: Arthur Jensen

Printer: P. Christiansen

Typography/Orthography: New layout of previous titles, same illustrations. Capitalised nouns

Year: [1945a]

Title: *Hans og Grethe* (15)

Illustrator: Viggo Eriksen

Year: [1945b]

Title: *Konen i Muddergrøften* (19)

Illustrator: Oskar Jørgensen

Year: [1945c]

Title: *Rødhætte* (26)

Illustrator: Viggo Eriksen

Series ctd: 1948

Year: 1946

Title: *Grimms eventyr. Udvalg for mindre Børn* ('A selection for young children')

Texts: 2, 5, 10, 15, 20, 27, 37, 48, 50, 73

Translator/Editor: P. Morsing

Preface, etc.: None

Illustrations: Black-and-white by Kaj Thorning-Madsen

Format: 100 pp, 20x14 cm.

Publisher: Ungdommens forlag

Printer: Hafnia

Typography/Orthography: The letters are large for easy reading. Capitalised nouns

Price: Dkr 4.00

Edition: 1st

Later eds: 1948, 1951, 1952, 1954, 1960, 1963, 1966, 1967

Comment: This collection is explicitly targeted towards small children.

Year: 1947a

Title: *Grimms Eventyr*

Texts: Vol. 1: 4, 9, 15, 19, 21, 26, 27, 30, 37, 50, 58, 78, 81, 89, 94, 105 (part 1), 166 [1837]

Vol. 2: 5, 6, 10, 20, 24, 29, 32, 34, 36, 39, 52, 53, 57, 69, 87, 100, 106, 136

Vol. 3: 1, 3, 11, 13, 14, 51, 80, 83, 98, 102, 104, 110, 129, 130, 134, 161 [1837], 163 [1837]

Translators/Editors: K. F. Hasselmann and Jørgen Hæstrup

Preface, etc.: None; the back cover comments briefly on the universality of fairytales

Illustrations: Black-and-white drawings by Kai Christensen

Format: 3 vols as follows: 198 + 198 + 182 pp. There was also a two-volume edition. 14x9 cm.

Publisher: Flensted's Forlag, Odense

Printer: Fyens Stiftsbogtrykkeri, Odense

Orthography: Capitalised nouns

Price: Dkr 2.00 per volume

Later ed: 1959 (this reissue includes only 10 tales)

Comment: This is part of a series, 'Alverdens Eventyr' ('Tales from all over the world'), Vols 5, 6, 7.

The source texts derive from the German third *Complete Edition* of 1837 (a feature to be discussed at a later stage).

Year: 1947b

Title: *Eventyret om Rødhætte* (26)

Translator/Editor: Efter brødrene Grimm ved Aage Børresen

Preface, etc.: Text on the blurb

Illustrations: 7 full-page illustrations in colour, by Ingrid Nyman

Format: 16 pp, 20x19 cm.

Publisher: Illustrationsforlaget

Printer: F. E. Bording

Typography/Orthography: The letters are large for easy reading. Capitalised nouns

Price: Dkr 3.00

Comment: The colours are bright and the illustrations humorous, thus living up to the blurb's claim that this edition is different from all previous ones.

Year: 1948a

Title: *Grimms Eventyr. Udvalg for større Børn* ('A selection for older children')

Texts: 6, 11, 19, 21, 36, 53, 72, 103, 169, 187, 201

Translator/Editor: Translated and edited ('Oversat og bearbejdet') by P. Morsing

Preface, etc.: None

Illustrations: Black-and-white full page illustrations by Kai Thorning-Madsen

Format: 90 pp, 20x14 cm.

Publisher: Ungdommens forlag
 Printer: Hafnia
 Typography/Orthography: Normal size letters. Capitalised nouns
 Price: Dkr 3.50
 Later eds: 1951, 1952, 1953, 1956, 1959, 1964, 1968
 Comment: This is a counterpart to the same editor's selection for small children published in 1946, the success of which is attested by numerous reprints.

Year: 1948b

Title: *Grimms eventyr. Udvalg for mindre Børn*

Texts: [As in 1946:] 2, 5, 10, 15, 20, 27, 37, 48, 50, 73

Translator/Editor: Oversat og bearbejdet af P. Morsing

Format: 90 pp, 20x14 cm.

Orthography: Capitalised nouns

Price: Dkr 3.50

Printing/Edition: 2nd of Morsing's 1946 collection for young children. Same layout as in 1946; the number of pages has been reduced by omitting the blank pages found in the first edition.

Previous ed: 1946

Later eds: 1951, 1952, 1954, 1960, 1963, 1967



'The fisherman and his wife' 1946a
 (illustration Kai Thorning-Madsen)

Year: 1948c-d

Series: CONTINUATION and END of *Arthur Jensens Kunstforlag*. See above '1944' and '1945'
 Translator/Editor: Anon.

Illustrations: Full-page drawings on every page; the cover, pp 3, 5, 8-9, 12, 14 are coloured, the others black-and-white and red. The drawings are by Svend Otto S.

Format: 16 pp, 30x22 cm.

Typography/Orthography: The text is framed by the pictures. There is no capitalisation of nouns. This means that the text has been revised according to the new spelling. The revision has been so thorough that Little Red Riding Hood's name is printed in lower case.

Year: 1948c

Title: *Hans og Grete* (15)

Year: 1948d

Title: *Rødhætte* (26)

Year: 1948e-h

Series: START and END of *Eventyr-Serien*

Translator/Editor: Anon.

Preface: None

Illustrations: In colour on half the pages, by various artists, see below.

Format: 40 pp, 25x21 cm.

Publisher: Grafisk forlag

Printed: In Stockholm, Sweden

Orthography: Lower case for nouns

Price: Dkr 3.00

Year: 1948e

Title: *Askepot*. Efter Grimms eventyr (21)

Illustrations: By Nils Hansson

Year: 1948f

Title: *Hans og Grete*. Efter Grimms eventyr (15)

Illustrations: By Nils Hansson

Year: 1948g

Title: *Rødhætte*. Efter Grimms eventyr (26)

Illustrations: By Nils Hansson

Year: 1948h

Title: *Tornerose*. Efter Grimms eventyr (50)

Illustrations: By Björn Landström

Comment: These are sentimentalised wanderings through the Grimm tales.

Year: 1949

Title: *Samlebog for Æventyrbilleder*. Udvalgte Æventyr af H. C. Andersen og Grimm

Translator/Editor: Not given

Illustrations: By Poul E. Johansen

Format: 31 pp

Published: In Copenhagen

Comment: *RLC* information. Not available

Year: 1951a?

Title: *Grimms eventyr. Udvalg for større børn*

Texts: [As in 1948a] 6, 11, 19, 21, 36, 53, 72, 103, 169, 187, 201

Translator/Editor: P. Morsing

Format: As in 1948

Price: Dkr 3.75

Edition/Printing: 2nd of Morsing's 1948 collection for older children

Comment: See '1953'

Year: 1951b

Title: *Grimms eventyr. Udvalg for mindre børn*

Texts: [As in 1946:] 2, 5, 10, 15, 20, 27, 37, 48, 50, 73

Translator/Editor: P. Morsing.

Format: As in 1946

Orthography: Nouns in lower case

Price: Dkr 3.75

Edition/Printing: 3rd edition of Morsing's 1946 collection for young children

Previous ed.: 1946, 1948

Later eds: 1952, 1954, 1960, 1963, 1966, 1967

Year: 1952a?

Title: *Grimms eventyr. Udvalg for mindre børn*

Texts: [As in 1946:] 2, 5, 10, 15, 20, 27, 37, 48, 50, 73

Translator/Editor: P. Morsing

Format: As in 1946

Price: Dkr 3.75

Edition/Printing: 4th of Morsing's 1946 collection for young children

Comment: See '1953'

Year: 1952b?

Title: *Grimms eventyr. Udvalg for større børn*

Texts: [As in 1948a] 6, 11, 19, 21, 36, 53, 72, 103, 169, 187, 201

Translator/Editor: P. Morsing

Format: As in 1948

Price: Dkr 3.75

Edition/Printing: 3rd of Morsing's 1948 collection for older children

Comment: See '1953'

Year: 1953

Title: *Grimms eventyr. Udvalg for større børn*

Texts: [As in 1948a] 6, 11, 19, 21, 36, 53, 72, 103, 169, 187, 201

Translator/Editor: P. Morsing

Format: 90 pp, 20x14 cm.

Price: Dkr 3.75

Orthography: Nouns in lower case

Edition/Printing: 4th of Morsing's 1948 collection for older children = 34,000 copies

Previous eds: 1948, 1951?, 1952?

Later eds: 1956, 1960, 1964, 1968

Comment: There is no trace of the 2nd and 3 editions of Morsing's collection for older children and the 4th for small children in the *DB*, the *RL*, the *RLC*, or *Det danske bogmarked*, which carries news of all publications, including re-issues. The most likely explanation is that Morsing's collection enjoyed brisk sales and the publisher could not be bothered to forward copies until the book was printed in accordance with the spelling reform of 1948. The sales figure given in the book is impressive.

Year: 1954a

Title: *Grimms eventyr. Udvalg for mindre børn*

Texts: [As in 1946:] 2, 5, 10, 15, 20, 27, 37, 48, 50, 73

Translator/Editor: P. Morsing

Format: 90 pp, 20x14 cm.

Price: Dkr 3.75

Edition/Printing: 5th of Morsing's 1946 collection for young children

Previous eds: 1946, 1948, 1951, 1952? (see 1953)

Later eds: 1960, 1963, 1966, 1967

Year: 1954b

Title: *Hans og Grete* (15)

Translator/Editor: Carl Ewald (not credited)

Illustrations: By Ebba Schultz. Half the pages have full-page pictures in colour

Format: 12 pp, 22x24 cm.

Publisher: Adolph Holst

Orthography: Nouns in lower case

Price: Not for public sale

Later ed: 1956

Year: 1954c

Title: *Rødhætte* (26)

Translator/Editor: Carl Ewald (not credited)

Illustrations: By Anni Lippert. Half the pages have full-page pictures in colour

Format: 12 pp, 22x24 cm.

Publisher: Adolph Holst

Orthography: Nouns in lower case

Price: Not for public sale

Later ed: 1956

Year: 1954d

Title: *Snehvide* (53)

Translator/Editor: Carl Ewald (not credited)

Illustrations: Half the pages have full-page pictures in colour (anonymous artist)

Format: 12 pp, 22x24 cm.

Publisher: Adolph Holst

Orthography: Capitalised nouns

Price: Not for public sale

Later ed: 1956

Year: 1955

Title: *Grimm's fairytales*⁹

Comment: Unless specifically noted, all subsequent books follow the new spelling.

Year: 1956a

Title: *Grimms eventyr*

Texts: [As in 1941a:] 2, 4, 6, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 29, 30, 32, 34, 36, 37, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 60, 61, 64, 71, 76, 77, 78, 81, 83, 87, 94, 100, 101, 104, 106, 107, 116, 120, 122, 126, 127, 130, 134, 136, 143, 146, 166, 167, 176, 182, 187, 188, 189, 191

Translator/Editor: Carl Ewald, revised by Jesper Ewald

Illustrations: Black-and-white drawings by Anton Hansen

Format: 341 pp, 14x20 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal

Price: Dkr 12.50; bd Dkr 20.75

Edition/Printing: 2nd of the 1941 ed. New layout

Comment: The statement "2nd edition: 30,000 copies" suggests that this figure includes the Lindencrone editions. The cover claims that the first Danish edition was published by Gyldendal in 1821; this is not entirely correct (See '1821').

Year: 1956b (companion volume 1959b)

Title: *Eventyr for børn og voksne samlede af brødrene Grimm*. Vol. 1 ('Tales for children and adults, collected by the brothers Grimm')

Texts: The texts are from the German first *Edition* (1812): 1, 2, 3, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 69, 78, 86, 154, 157. This collection includes 'The nightingale and the blind-worm' (Anh 1), 'Death and the gooseboy' (Anh 4), 'Puss in boots' (Anh 5), and 'Simple Hans' (Anh 8) which were all dropped in subsequent German *Editions*. There are also early versions of 'Clever Else' (KHM 34; namely as 1812: 'Hansens Trine'), 'The dog and the sparrow' (KHM 58; 1812: 'Vom treuen Gevatter Sperling'), 'The iron stove' (KHM 127; 1812: 'Prinz Schwan'), and 'Little farmer' (KHM 61; 1812: 'Von dem Schneider, der bald reich wurde'). KHM 138 'Knoist and his three sons' is the only story from the German second volume (1815).

Translator/Editor: Martin N. Hansen

Preface: Foreword (2 pp) in which the translator informs us that this collection is translated from the Grimm volumes published in 1812 and 1815 which he claims are the 'originals'.

Illustrations: Black-and-white by Ludwig Richter (1803-1884)

Format: 175 pp, 23x14 cm.

Publisher: Nyt bogforlag, Odense

Price: Dkr 17.50; bd Dkr 24.50

Later ed: 1964

Year: 1956c

Title: *Grimms eventyr. Udvalg for større børn*

Translator/Editor: P. Morsing

Texts: [As in 1948a] 6, 11, 19, 21, 36, 53, 72, 103, 169, 187, 201

Price: Dkr 3.85

Previous eds: 1948; 1951, 1952, 1953. 5th reprint

Year: 1956d

Title: *Hans og Grete*. Af brødrene Grimm (15)

Translator/Editor: Carl Ewald (not credited)

Illustrations: By Ebba Schultz

Format: 12 pp, 22x24 cm.

Publisher: Adolph Holst

Price: Dkr 2.00

Edition/Printing: 2nd. A reprint of 1954b. Nouns are still capitalised.

Year: 1956e

Title: *Rødhætte*. Af brødrene Grimm (26)

Translator/Editor: Carl Ewald (not credited)

Illustrations: By Anni Lippert

Format: 12 pp, 22x24 cm.

Publisher: Adolph Holst

Price: Dkr 2.00

Edition/Printing: 2nd. A reprint of 1954c. Nouns are still capitalised.

Year: 1956f

Title: *Snehvide*. Af brødrene Grimm (53)

Translator/Editor: Carl Ewald (not credited)

Illustrations: Anonymous artist

Format: 12 pp, 22x24 cm.

Publisher: Adolph Holst

Price: Dkr 2.00

Edition: 2nd. A reprint of 1954d; nouns are still capitalised.

Year: 1957-58

Title: *Hans og Grete*. *Rødhætte* (15, 26)

Illustrations: By Anni Lippert. Half the pages have full-page pictures in colour.

Format: 27x20 cm.

Publisher: Adolph Holst

'Hans og Grete' in one volume: 16 pp.

'Rødhætte' in one volume: 16 pp.

Fire eventyr af Brdr Grimm og H. C. Andersen (= 'Hans og Grete', 'Rødhætte'; 'Tommelise', 'Fyrtøjet') in one volume: 64 pp.

Mine eventyr (= 'Hans og Grete'; 'Tommelise') in one volume: 32 pp.

Year: 1959a

Title: *Grimms eventyr*

Texts: 15, 19, 21, 26, 27, 29, 51, 94, 130, 166

Translators/Editors: K. F. Hasselmann and Jørgen Hæstrup

Illustrations: Black-and-white drawings by Kai Christensen

Format: 197 pp, 14x9cm.

Publisher: Flensted's forlag, Odense

Price: Dkr 2.50; hc Dkr 3.50

Orthography: New spelling

Edition/Printing: This is a reissue of ten tales from the 1947a selection of tales. The whole collection, i. e. the three volumes (boxed), is still for sale at Dkr 9.50.

Year: 1959b (companion volume 1956b)

Title: *Eventyr for børn og voksne samlede af brødrene Grimm*. Vol. 2.

Texts: Most texts are from the second volume of the German first *Edition* (1815): 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102, 103, 106, 112, 114, 115, 116, 123, 124, 125, 126, 131, 134, 140, 141, 144, 146, 149, 151, 159, 160, 200. This also applies to 'The faithful animals' (Anh 18 (= number 18 in 1815)), which was suppressed in subsequent German *Complete Editions*; and to the two early versions of, respectively, 'Bearskin' (KHM 101; 1815: 'Der Teufel Grünrock') and 'The lettuce donkey' (KHM 122; 1815: 'Die lange Nase'). In addition, Hansen adds four tales from the 1812 volume, namely KHM 1 'The frog king'; 'Gut Kegel- und Kartenspiel', that is the episode about a boy's nightly wake which was later incorporated into KHM 4: 'A tale about the boy who went forth to learn what fear is'; the early version of 'The star coins' (KHM 153 (translated with the 1812 title 'Das arme Mädchen')); and Anh 14 'The pear refused to fall' (from 1812). Furthermore, the collection contains 'The Bremer town musicians' (27), and 'The rose' (203), neither of which appeared until the German second *Edition* of 1819; the postscript says they were included for "other reasons."

Translator/Editor: Martin N. Hansen

Postscript etc.: 1 p. in support of the decision to return to the texts first printed by the Grimms

Illustrations: Black-and-white by Ludwig Richter

Format: 160 pp, 23x14 cm.

Publisher: Nyt bogforlag, Odense

Price: Dkr 17.50; bd Dkr 24.50

Year: 1959c

P. Morsing's *Grimms eventyr. Udvalg for større børn*

Texts: [As in 1948a] 6, 11, 19, 21, 36, 53, 72, 103, 169, 187, 201

Edition/Printing: This is the 6th reprint.

Year: 1959d

Title: *Hans og Grete*. Af brødrene Grimm (15)

Illustrator: Anni Lippert. Colour illustrations on half the pages

Format: 16pp, 27x20 cm.

Publisher: Adolph Holst

Price: Dkr 2.00

Year: 1959e

Title: *Rødhætte*. Af brødrene Grimm (26)

Illustrator: Anni Lippert. Colour illustrations on half the pages

Format: 16 pp, 27x20 cm.

Publisher: Adolph Holst

Price: Dkr 2.00

Year: 1960a

Title: *Grimms eventyr. Udvalg for mindre børn*

Texts: [As in 1946:] 2, 5, 10, 15, 20, 27, 37, 48, 50, 73

Translator/Editor: P. Morsing

Edition/Printing: 6th

Year: 1960b

Series: START of *Eventyr-panorama-serien*

Translator/Editor: Not given. Free renderings

Preface: None

Illustrations: Designed and illustrated by K. Kubašta. All pages in colour. See 'Comment'

Format: Single tales. 7-9 double cardboard pages, including cover. 21x26 cm.

Publisher: Fremad

Printer: Artia, Czechoslovakia

Typography: The text is set in 8-9 lines in double columns within frames depicting an opened book.

Year: 1960b

Title: *De fire spillemand* (27)

Price: Dkr 6.75

Reprinted: 1965

Series ctd: 1963c-f

Comment: The tales are attributed to Grimm in *DB* and *RLC*, but not in the books. The series continued to 1976a-h with other titles and reprints.

These are pop-up books. Some of these illustrations have moveable parts: in 'Hansel and Gretel', the witch can thus be made to appear in the doorway of her house and to slide into the oven. There is also transparent paper over Snow White's glass coffin. The texts are condensed and rendered very freely.

Furthermore, prior to joining forces with 'Fremad', the Czech printers apparently had the publishing house of 'Illustrationsforlaget' as their Danish distributor. The following books were bought in a provincial Danish town in 1960 (and presumably distributed to booksellers before that year):¹⁰

[Year: Before 1960

Series: *Not given*

Translator/Editor: Not given. The texts are also free renderings, but they are not identical to those in the *Eventyr panorama serien*. This means that there are two Danish texts for at least four of the books printed in Czechoslovakia illustrated by Kubašta, namely those listed below (and for sale in 1960 (or before)), and those of the 'regular' *Eventyr panorama serien*.

Preface: None

Illustrations: Designed and illustrated by K. Kubašta. All pages in colour. Pop-up-books, with the same pictures as those used in *Eventyr-panorama-serien*.

Format: Single tales. 7-9 double cardboard pages, including the cover: 20x26 cm. The cover is about 1 cm larger than the rest of the leaves and also has moveable parts (unlike the *Eventyr-panorama-serien*). The back is strengthened with cloth. Overall the quality of these books is therefore higher than that of the 'registered' series.

Publisher: Illustrationsforlaget

Printer: Artia, Czechoslovakia

Typography: As in the *Eventyr-panorama-serien*

Price: Dkr 7.85 (this is handwritten in one of the four books inspected)

Title: *Hänsel und Gretel* (15). German title, Danish text

Title: *Rotkäppchen* (26). German title, Danish text

Title: *Snehvide* (53)

Title: *Tornerose* (50)

Comment: The books are not connected with the name of Grimm by the publisher, and are therefore not properly speaking part of the Danish Grimm heritage. In addition, they are not listed in the *DB* and not found in the *RLC*. This suggests that these books were never submitted to the Danish copyright libraries.]

Year: 1963a

Title: *Grimms eventyr. Udvalg for mindre børn*

Texts: [As in 1946:] 2, 5, 10, 15, 20, 27, 37, 48, 50, 73

Translator/Editor: P. Morsing

Price: Dkr 6.25

Edition/Printing: 7th of Morsing's 1946 collection for young children = 33,000 copies

Year: 1963b

Title: *Spillemandene* (27)

Translator/Editors: Bearbejdet af Claire Audrix. Oversat fra fransk af Ivan Rønn ('Retold by Claire Audrix, translated from French by Ivan Rønn')

Illustrations: In colour, by Pierre Nardin

Format: 16 pp

Publisher: Adolph Holst

Price: Dkr 1.25

Series: Piccolo-bøgerne

Comment: *DB* data. Not available

Year: 1963c-f

Series: CONTINUATION of *Eventyr-panorama-serien*, see 1960b

Price: 6.75

Year: 1963c

Title: *Askepot* (21)

Reprinted: 1965

Year: 1963d

Title: *Rødhætte* (26)

Reprinted: 1968

Year: 1963e

Title: *Snehvide* (53)

Reprinted: 1969, 1976

Year: 1963f

Title: *Tornerose* (50)

Reprinted: 1965

Series ctd: 1964d-e

Year: 1964a

Title: *Eventyr for børn og voksne samlede af brødrene Grimm*. Vols. I and II.

Texts: Vol. I as in 1956a. [Most texts refer to the German first volume (1812):] 1, 2, 3, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 69, 78, 86, 138, 154, 157. Anh 1, Anh 4, Anh 5, Anh 8. Early versions KHM 34, KHM 58, 61, KHM 127. Vol. 2: As in 1959b. [Most texts are from the German 1815 volume:] 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102, 103, 106, 112, 114, 115, 116, 123, 124, 125, 126, 131, 134, 140, 141, 144, 146, 149, 151, 159, 160, 200. Anh 18; and early versions of KHM 101, 122. Four tales are from the 1812 volume, namely KHM 1, 4, 153, and Anh 14. Furthermore, the collection contains KHM 27, and 203 from the second *Complete Edition* (1819).

Translator/Editor: Martin N. Hansen

Preface, etc.: As in 1956 and 1959

Illustrations: Black-and-white by Ludwig Richter

Format: 2 vols. 174 pp + 162 pp

Publisher: Hasselbalch (Hasselbalchs billigbøger)

Price: Dkr 8.00 (per volume)

Comment: This is a reprint of Martin N. Hansen's collections published in 1956b and 1959b.

Year: 1964b

Title: *Grimms eventyr*

Texts: 1, 4, 6, 7, 12, 14, 15, 20, 21, 24, 26, 27, 32, 34, 36, 37, 38, 44, 49, 50, 52, 55, 69, 77, 87, 89, 94, 97, 99, 101, 104, 106, 119, 122, 125, 129, 130, 136, 146, 152, 153, 154, 161, 165, 167, 181, 186, 187, 191, 192, 195

Translators: Carl Ewald og Jørgen Daugaard

Preface, etc.: On the dust jacket to the effect that, ever since the tales were collected from the oral tradition by the brothers Grimm, they have been popular with 'children of all ages', and that the illustrations in this particular volume are fairytales in their own right.

Illustrations: Black-and-white drawings and some full-page illustrations in colour, by Jirí Trnka

Format: 237 pp, 28x20 cm.

Publisher: Fremad

Printer: Printed in Czechoslovakia. © 1961 by Artia, Czechoslovakia

Orthography: Modern spelling

Price: Dkr 24.75

Comment: The texts are based on the translations by Jørgen Daugaard, orig. 1894, and Carl Ewald, orig. 1905.

Year: 1964c

Title: *Grimms eventyr. Udvalg for større børn*

Texts: [As in 1948a] 6, 11, 19, 21, 36, 53, 72, 103, 169, 187, 201

Translator/Editor: P. Morsing

Price: Dkr 6.75

Edition/Printing: 7th of Morsing's 1948 collection for older children

Year: 1964d-e

Series: CONTINUATION of *Eventyr-panorama-serien*, see 1960b, 1963c-f

Year: 1964d

Title: *Den bestøvlede kat* (Anh 5; credited to Grimm in *DB*)

Year: 1964e (This is the date given in the book)

Title: *Hans og Grete* (15). Rpt. 1968, 1976

Series ctd: 1965a-c

Year: 1965a-c

Series: CONTINUATION of *Eventyr-panorama-serien*, see 1960b, 1963c-f, 1964d-e

Price: Dkr 7.00

Year: 1965a

Title: *Askepot* (21). Reprint from 1963

Year: 1965b

Title: *De fire spillere* (27). Reprint from 1960

Year: 1965c

Title: *Tornerose* (50). Reprint from 1963

Series ctd: 1968f-i

Year: 1965d-k

Series: START and END of *Eventyr* (credited to Grimm in *DB*)

Translator/Editor: Anon.

Preface, etc.: None

Illustrations: All pages in colour including seven full-page illustrations (anonymous artist)

Format: 16 pp, 25x21 cm.

Publisher: Andreasen & Lachmann

Typography: Text in double columns

Price: Not for public sale

Year: 1965d

Title: *Askepot* (21)

Year: 1965e

Title: *Frøkongen* (1)

Year: 1965f

Title: *Hans og Grete* (15)

Year: 1965g

Title: *Rumleskaft* (55)

Year: 1965h

Title: *Rødhætte* (26)

Year: 1965i

Title: *Stadsmusikanterne fra Bremen* (27)

Year: 1965j

Title: *Den tapre skrædder* (20)

Year: 1965k

Title: *Ulven og de syv gedekid* (5)

Comment: The texts are meanderings through the tales.

Year: 1966a

Title: *Grimms eventyr. Udvalg for mindre børn*

Texts: [As in 1946:] 2, 5, 10, 15, 20, 27, 37, 48, 50, 73

Translator/Editor: P. Morsing

Illustrations: Kai Thorning-Madsen

Edition/Printing: 8th edition of the 1946 collection for young children = 37,500 copies

Year: 1966b

Title: *Konen i muddergrøften* (19)

Translator: Oversat fra tysk efter 'Von dem Fischer und seiner Frau' af Anine Rud ('Translated from German')

Illustrations: Black-and-white and colour, by Karen Westman, on most pages

Format: 44 pp, 23x21 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal

Printer: Grafodan, Værløse

Price: Dkr 22.50

Year: 1967a

Title: *Grimms eventyr. Udvalg for mindre børn*

Texts: [As in 1946:] 2, 5, 10, 15, 20, 27, 37, 48, 50, 73

Translator/Editor: P. Morsing

Illustrations: [As in 1946] Black-and-white drawings by Kai Thorning-Madsen

Format: 90 pp, 20x14 cm.

Publisher: Ungdommens forlag

Printer: Hafnia

Price: Dkr 10.75

Edition/Printing: 9th and last of the 1946 collection for young children

Previous eds: 1946, 1948, 1951, 1952, 1954, 1960, 1963, 1966

Year: 1967b

Title: *Fiskeren og hans kone* (19)

Translator/Editor: Anon.

Preface, etc.: 3 pages, containing a comprehensive and correct description of the narrative and cultural context of the tale by Erik Dal

Illustrations: Drawings in black-and-white, plus two in red, by Lars Bo

Format: 27 pp, 27x17 cm.

Publisher: Winklers eft. a/s, Kolding (a town in Jutland)

Price: Not for public sale

Comment: 500 copies; sent to friends on the 75th anniversary of the founding of the firm.

Year: 1967c-68a

Series: START and END of *Grimms eventyr*

Translator/Editor: Anon.

Format: Volumes containing three tales each. 24 pp per volume; 21x20 cm.

Publisher: Litas

Printed: In Helsingborg, Sweden

Price: Dkr 2.75 (a book club choice, not for public sale)

Year: 1967d

Title: *Rapunzel. Rumleskaft. Frøprinsen* (12, 55, 1)

Illustrations: In colour on most recto pages (anonymous artist)

Year: 1968a

Title: *Hans og Grete. Guldgåsen. De syv ravne* (15, 64, 25)

Illustrations: Mostly in colour (anonymous artist)

Year: 1968b

Title: *Grimms eventyr. Udvalg for større børn*

Texts: [As in 1948a] 6, 11, 19, 21, 36, 53, 72, 103, 169, 187, 201

Translator/Editor: P. Morsing

Illustrations: As in 1948: black-and-white drawings by Kai Thorning-Madsen

Format: 92 pp, 20x14 cm.

Publisher: Ungdommens forlag

Printer: Hafnia

Price: Dkr 8.75

Edition/Printing: 8th and last issue of the 1948 collection for older children

Previous eds: 1948, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1956, 1959, 1964

Year: 1968c

Title: *Grimms eventyr. Udvalg for store børn* ('A selection for adolescents')

Texts: 4, 12, 29, 55, 57, 63, 71, 93, 97, 99, 147, 166

Translator/Editor: 'Oversat og bearbejdet af Carl Ewald'

Illustrations: Black-and-white drawings by Oscar Knudsen

Format: 94 pp, 20x14 cm.

Publisher: Ungdommens forlag

Printer: Hafnia

Price: Dkr 10.75

Comment: Explicitly catering for 'adolescent' readers, this volume supplements the publisher's two other books targeted towards 'small children' (orig. 1946) and 'older children' (orig. 1948). The 'new' stories are modernised from Jesper Ewald's edition (orig. 1946; they, in turn, derived from his father's translations (1905)).

Year: 1968d

Title: *6 eventyr af brødrene Grimm*

Texts: 15, 21, 26, 27, 50, 53

Edited/Translated: All stories are explicitly retold by Grete Janus Hertz ('bearbejdet' or 'genfortalt efter brødrene Grimm')

Preface, etc.: None

Illustrations: All in colour, by various artists; see below 1968k-p, for individual stories 1968k-p

Format: 128 pp, 21x17 cm.

Publisher: Illustrationsforlaget = Carlsen = Carlsen, if

Printed: In West Germany

Price: Dkr 12.75

Reprinted: 1972a, 1976b, 1980a, 1985b

Comment: This is the one-volume selection of the single-tale books in the *Ælleballe-serien*, see below 1968k-p

Year: 1968e-h

Series: CONTINUATION of *Eventyr-panorama-serien*, see 1960b, 1963b, 1964d

Price: Dkr 8.20

Year: 1968e

Title: *Frøkongen* (1)

Year: 1968f

Title: *Hans og Grete* (15). Rpt 1964, 1976

Year: 1968g

Title: *Rødhætte* (26). Rpt 1963

Year: 1968h

Title: *Ulven og de syv gedekid* (5)

Series ctd: 1969a

Year: 1968i-j

Series: START and END of *Den lille bogsamling*

Translator/Editor: Anon.

Illustrations: Black-and-white illustrations by Nina Aae

Format: 12x8 cm.

Publisher: Notabene

Printer: Modersmålselskabet, Haderslev, Jutland

Price: Dkr 2.00

Year: 1968i

Title: '*Askepot*' og '*Sødgrøden*' (21 and 103) (credited to Grimm in *DB* and *RLC*). 32 pp

Year: 1968j

Title: *Snehvide* (53) (credited to Grimm in *DB* and *RLC*). 30 pp

Comment: '*Rødhætte*' og '*Hans og Grete*' (*KHM* 26 and 15) which are also in the series, are nowhere credited to Grimm.

Year: 1968k-p

Series: START of *Ælle-bælle-bøger* (Single-tale books of the above '6 eventyr', 1968c)

Translator/Editor: Genfortalt efter brødrene Grimm ('retold after Grimm') (by Grete Janus Hertz: not credited)

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by various artists

Format: 20 pp, 21x17 cm.

Publisher: Illustrationsforlaget = Carlsen = Carlsen, if

Printed: In West Germany

Price: Dkr 2.00

Later eds: (Not all) 1971, 1976, 1980, 1985

Year: 1968k

Title: *Askepot* (21)

Illustrations: By Margaret Rettich

Year: 1968l

Title: *De fire spillemænd* (27)

Illustrations: By Eberhard Binder

Year: 1968m

Title: *Hans og Grete* (15)

Illustrations: By Eva Wenzel-Bürger

Year: 1968n

Title: *Rødhætte* (26)

Illustrations: By Iben Clante

Year: 1968o

Title: *Snehvide* (53)

Illustrations: By Rolf Rettich

Year: 1968p

Title: *Tornerose* (50)

Illustrations: By Iben Clante

Comment: The back cover advertises the series as "funny picture books for children aged three to eight. Sit the children on your lap and read the stories aloud to them. Good children's books enrich you." ('en festlig række billedbøger for børn i alderen 3-8 år. Tag børnene på skødet og læs højt - gode børnebøger virker berigende.')

Year: 1969

Series: CONTINUATION of *Eventyr-panorama-serien*, see 1960b, 1963c-f, 1964d-e, 1965a-c,
 Price: Dkr 8.85
 Title: *Snehvide* (53). Rpt 1963
 Series ctd: 1976

Year: 1970a

Title: *Grimms eventyr*
 Texts: 1, 4, 5, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 24, 26, 27, 34, 37, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 62, 64, 77, 78, 87, 94, 98, 100, 104, 142, 167, 169, 187. And Anh 5
 Translator/Editor: Selected and translated by Anine Rud ('udvalgt og oversat af Anine Rud')
 Preface, etc.: None
 Illustrations: Black-and-white by Svend Otto S.
 Format: 205 pp, 24x17 cm.
 Publisher: Gyldendal
 Printer: Grafodan, Værløse
 Price: Bd Dkr 58.00; pb Dkr 43.50
 Later ed: 1984
 ISBN 87-00-02352-3 (pb 87-00-02351-5)
 Comment: The appearance of Anh 5 is baffling.

Year: 1970b

Title: *Rødhætte* (26)
 Translator/Editor: Anine Rud
 Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Svend Otto S.
 Format: 28 pp, 21x17 cm.
 Publisher: Gyldendal
 Printed: In England
 Price: Dkr 9.85
 Later ed: (Larger format) 1985h
 SBN [87]-00-03412-6

Year: 1970c

Title: *Rødhætte* (26)
 Translator/Editor: Told by Eva Hemmer Hansen
 Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Bernadette
 Format: 28 pp, 31x24 cm.
 Publisher: Lademann. © Nord-Stüd Verlag, Switzerland
 Price: Dkr 9.75
 ISBN 87-15-03048-2

Year: 1970d (date on cover)

Title: *Tornerose* (50)
 Translator/Editor: Carl Ewald (not credited)
 Illustrations: Black-and-white drawings
 Format: One red sheet, printed on both sides in double columns
 Publisher: Brugsen (= The Danish national cooperative stores) (Julens godnathistorie nr. 4 ('Christmas bedtime story'))

Year: 1970e

Series: START of *Daxi-bøger*

Year: 1970e

Title: *Snehvid og Rosenrød* (161)

Translator/Editor: Anon. from English 'Snow-white and Rose-red'
 Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Marjorie Cooper
 Format: 20 pp, 23x18 cm.
 Publisher: Illustrationsforlaget (= Carlsen). © Rand McNally & Co., 1967
 Printed: In Germany
 Price: Dkr 5.90
 ISBN 87-562-0099-4
 Series ctd: 1980e-f

Year: 1971a

Title: *De bedste eventyr fra brødrene Grimm*
 Texts: 1, 12, 24, 27, 29, 55, 64, 129, 161, 181
 Translator/Editor: Anon. from a Dutch collection
 Preface, etc.: None
 Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Nans van Leeuwen
 Format: 93 pp, 28x19 cm.
 Publisher: Litas
 Printed: In The Netherlands
 Price: Dkr 8.00
 No ISBN

Year: 1971b

Title: *Bord dæk dig*. En fortælling af brødrene Grimm (36)
 Translator/Editor: Anon.
 Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Gerti Mauser-Lichtl
 Format: 20 pp, 9x12 cm.
 Publisher: Litas (*Topsy-serien*)
 Printed: In West Germany
 Price: Dkr 8.50
 No ISBN

Year: 1971c

Title: *Hans og Grete* (15)
 Translator/Editor: Ved Søren Christensen
 Preface, etc.: None
 Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Svend Otto S.
 Format: 28 pp, 21x17 cm.
 Publisher: Gyldendal
 Printed: In Italy
 Price: Dkr 10.50
 Later eds: (Enlarged format) 1984d
 ISBN 87-00-51521-3

Year: 1971d

Title: *Snehvide* (53) (credited to Grimm *RLC*)
 Translator/Editor: Anon. from Dutch
 Illustrations: All pages in colour (anonymous artist)
 Format: 4 pieces of cardboard, i.e. 8 pages with pictures (6 with text); 26x19 cm. Round corners
 Publisher: Litas
 Printed: In The Netherlands
 Price: Not available
 Comment: The text is rhymed in halting verse:
 ... Snow White was placed in a coffin of glass -
 then a prince by that coffin came to pass.

He took up Snow White. That very hour
 fell from her mouth that apple sour,
 She woke with a smile, and the young man
 took her as his bride to his own land.
 (‘... Snehvide bliver lagt i en kiste af glas -
 da kommer en kongesøn forbi kistens plads.
 Han løfter Snehvide. I samme stund
 falder æblestykket fra hendes mund.
 Hun vågner med et smil, og den unge mand
 fører hende som brud hjem til sit eget land.)

Year: 1971e

Title: *Tornerose* (50)

Translator/Editor: Anon. from Dutch

Illustrations: All pages in colour (anonymous artist)

Format: 4 pieces of cardboard, i.e. 8 pages with pictures (6 with text); 26x19 cm. Round corners

Publisher: Litas

Printed: In The Netherlands

Comment: This is a companion to ‘Snehvide’, 1971d above. It is also rhymed.

Year: 1971f

Title: *Yorik og Yorinda* (69)

Translator/Editor: Retold by ‘Poeten’

Illustrations: Illustrations in colour on most pages by Bernadette

Format: 26 pp, 32x24 cm.

Publisher: Lademann. © Nord-Süd Verlag, Mönchaltorf, Switzerland

Typography: Double columns on some pages

[I]SBN [87]-15-03230-2

Year: 1971g-l

Series: REPRINTS of *Ælle-bælle-bøger*, orig. 1968k-p

Printed: In Germany

Price: Dkr 2.00

Year: 1971g

Title: *Askepot* (21)

Year: 1971h

Title: *De fire spillemænd* (27)

Year: 1971i

Title: *Hans og Grete* (15)

Year: 1971j

Title: *Rødhætte* (26)

Year: 1971k

Title: *Snehvide* (53)

Year: 1971l

Title: *Tornerose* (50)

Series ctd: 1976i-n

Comment: All are listed as third editions, presumably because the collection and the corresponding single-tale books (both published in 1968) are counted as two separate editions. The one-volume collection was published in 1972a.

Year: 1972a

Title: *6 eventyr af brødrene Grimm*

Texts: As in 1968d

Translator/Editor: Rewritten (‘bearbejdet’) by Grete Janus Hertz

Illustrations: Various artists, as in 1968
 Format: 128 pp, 21x17 cm.
 Publisher: Carlsen, if
 Printed: In Oldenburg, Germany
 Price: Dkr 17.50
 Edition/Printing: 2nd ed of the 1968 volume
 Later eds: 1976b, 1980a, 1985b.
 Comment: Individual volumes appeared as *Ælle-bælle-bøger* in 1971g-l.

Year: 1972b

Title: *Den bestøvlede kat*. Af Grimm (Anh 5)
 Translator/Editor: Anine Rud
 Illustrations: Illustrations in colour on every page by Svend Otto S.
 Format: 24 pp, 26x21 cm.
 Publisher: Gyldendal
 Printer: Grafodan, Værløse
 Price: Dkr 22.50
 Later ed: 1984c
 [I]ISBN [87]-00-34571-7

Year: 1972c-g

Series: START of *Eventyr-fortalt-for-dig* ('Fairytale told to you')
 Translator/Editor: Rewritten ('gendigtet') from Italian by Mona Giersing
 Preface, etc.: None
 Illustrations: All pages lavishly illustrated in colour, by various artists, see below
 Format: 24 glossy pages, 32x24 cm.
 Publisher: Lademann. © For the whole world by Fratelli Fabbri Editori, Milan: 'Fiabe sonore'
 Price: Bd Dkr 14.75

Year: 1972c

Title: *Bord dæk dig* (36)
 Illustrations: By Pikka
 ISBN 87-15-03258-2

Year: 1972d

Title: *Klokkeblomst* (12)
 Illustrations: By Sergio
 ISBN 87-15-03256-6

Year: 1972e

Title: *Rumleskaft* (55)
 Illustrations: By Sani
 ISBN 87-15-03257-4

Year: 1972f

Title: *Den tapre lille skrædder* (20)
 Illustrations: By Lima
 ISBN 87-15-03259-0

Year: 1972g

Title: *Ulven og de syv gedekid* (5)
 Illustrations: By Pinardi
 ISBN 87-15032-53-1
 Series ctd: 1973g-l

Comment: The back cover advertises single-story books by other authors in this series.

Year: 1973a

Title: *Eventyr*. Told ('fortalt') by the brothers Grimm
 Texts: 1, 5, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 20, 21, 25, 26, 27, 36, 50, 52, 53, 55, 57, 130, 142, 161, 181

Translator/Editor: Rewritten ('gendigtet') by Eva Hemmer Hansen

Preface, etc.: 4 pp. An incisive critique of the Grimm stories. Eva Hemmer Hansen sees the underlying norms as lower-class and male. She also stresses that the tales sprang from the Grimms' patriotic fervour. She comments ironically on the suppression of cruel details: "Nowadays we sometimes omit these cruel endings for the children's sake. Or for our own. So that the children can fall asleep when we have told fairytales and not have nightmares. Afterwards the darling child may perhaps switch on the bedside lamp to get a nightcap's worth of serial magazines relating even more horrible stories." ('I vore dage piller vi somme tider disse grusomme slutninger ud for børnenes skyld. Eller for vores egen skyld. Fordi børn gerne skal falde i søvn, når vi har fortalt eventyr, og ikke få onde drømme. Bagefter tænder det søde barn måske sengelampen og tager sig en godnatdosis af seriehefter med endnu mere gruelige hændelser.')

Illustrations: Coloured and black-and-white pictures by Janusz Grabianski

Format: 206 pp, 25x17 cm.

Publisher: Lademann

Printed: Probably in Austria (as a co-print)

Price: Dkr 19.75

ISBN 87-15031-64-0

Comment: In her foreword, Eva Hemmer Hansen quotes the opening lines of Wilhelm Grimm's 'Introduction: on the nature of fairytales' published in the 1819 *Edition*. It will be remembered that this essay was never reprinted by Wilhelm Grimm. On the other hand the tales are from the last German authorial *Complete Edition* (1857). In all likelihood it is therefore an Austrian editor/publisher (of the source volume serving for the co-print) who referred to the 1819 essay.

Eva Hemmer Hansen translated 'Little Red Riding Hood' in 1970. She revised that translation slightly for this volume.

Year: 1973b

Title: *Grimms eventyr*

Texts: 1, 11, 12, 14, 15, 25, 27, 34, 36, 39 (part 1), 52, 55, 64, 69, 71, 83, 92, 129, 161, 179

Translator/Editor: Rewritten ('gendigtet') by Mogens Cohrt

Preface: Dust jacket

Illustrations: Most pages in colour, by Benvenuti

Format: 134 pp, 31x24 cm.

Publisher: Lademann. © 1970 by Edition de deux coqs d'or, Paris et Montadori, Vérone; Publié en accord avec Western Publishing Int., Zug, Switzerland

Typography: Printed in two columns

Price: Dkr 58.00

ISBN 87-15033-65-1

Year: 1973c

Title: *Udvalgte eventyr*. Af brødrene Grimm

Texts: 20, 21, 26, 27, 50, 61, 78, 86, 143, 153

Translator/Editor: Selected ('udvalgt') by Rikard Ljungdahl

Preface, etc.: None

Illustrations: A few black-and-white illustrations by Grot Johann and Leinweber

Format: 126 pp, 21x15 cm.

Publisher: Saturn, Sønderborg, Jutland

Typography: Large print for readers with weak eye sight

Price: Dkr 34.50

Comment: The texts are condensed; since the pictures are by Grot Johann and Leinweber, it is tempting to believe that the texts are abbreviated from Carl Ewald's translations, which used these illustrations, orig. 1905 (Rpt 1911, 1913, 1914). The appearance of 'The star coins' (KHM 153) shows that the collection from 1922a/24a was not used. In this series there is also a collection of *Selected tales* by Hans Christian Andersen for readers with weak eye sight.

Year: 1973d

Title: *Guldfuglen* (57)

Translator/Editor: Søren Christensen

Illustrations: Full-page illustrations in colour on all recto pages by Lilo Fromm

Format: 32 pp, 26x27cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal. © Illustrations 1966, Verlag Heinrich Ellermann, Munich

Printed: In Germany

Price: Bd Dkr 32.50

ISBN 87-00585-41-6

Year: 1973e

Title: *De seks svaner* (49)

Translator/Editor: Eva Glistrup

Preface, etc.: Back cover: "A real fairytale book, especially by virtue of its wonderful and artistic drawings. A book which will give you an opportunity thoroughly to enjoy wonderful pictures together with children." ('En rigtig eventyrbog - ikke mindst i kraft af de vidunderlige og kunstnerisk meget fine tegninger. En bog, der giver muligheder for megen dejlig billedkiggeri sammen med børnene.')

Illustrations: Magnificent pictures in colour on all pages by Adrie Hospes

Format: 27 pp, 39x21 cm.

Publisher: Høst

Printed: In The Netherlands

Price: Bd Dkr 24.50

ISBN 87-14-17305-0

Year: 1973f

Title: *Tornerose* (26)

Translator/Editor: Anine Rud

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Svend Otto S.

Format: 24 pp, 26x21 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal

Printer: Grafodan, Værløse

Price: Dkr 26.00

Later ed: 1982e

[I]ISBN [87]-00-91501-7

Year: 1973g-l

Series: CONTINUATION of *Eventyr-fortalt-for-dig* ('Fairytale told to you'). See 1972

Price: Dkr 19.75

Year: 1973g

Title: *Hans og Grete* (15)

Illustrations: By Sergio

ISBN 87-15033-41-4

Year: 1973h

Title: *Kong Drosselskæg* (52)

Illustrations: By Pikka

ISBN 87-15033-42-2

Year: 1973i

Title: *Lykkehans* (83)

Illustrations: By Sergio

ISBN 87-15033-44-9

Year: 1973j

Title: *Mor Hulda* (24)

Illustrations: By Pinardi

ISBN 87-15033-45-7

Year: 1973k

Title: *Snehvid og Rosenrød* (161)

Illustrations: By Lima

ISBN 87-15033-40-6

Year: 1973l

Title: *Snehvide* (53)

Illustrations: By Pikka

ISBN 87-15033-43-0

Series ctd: 1976e-f

Comment: The series also includes stories attributed to other writers such as Charles Perrault's 'Den bestøvlede kat' ('Puss in boots').

Series ctd: 1976

Year: 1974a

Title: *Gode gamle eventyr*: 6 udvalgte eventyr af brdr. Grimm og Charles Perrault ('Good old tales: 6 selected tales by the brothers Grimm and Charles Perrault')

Texts: 1, 14, 24, 94, 106 (and 'Puss in boots', correctly attributed to Perrault)

Translator/Editor: Edited ('bearbejdet') af Inge-Lise Hauerslev

Preface, etc.: None

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by various artists listed below at Series *Ælle-bællebøger* 1974d-h

Format: 130 pp, 21x17 cm.

Publisher: Illustrationsforlaget = Carlsen, if

Printed: In Bilbao, Spain

Price: Bd Dkr 22.50

Comment: The back cover lists this as the second volume. It is thus a kind of companion volume to *6 eventyr af brødrene Grimm* by Grete Janus Hertz, orig. 1968e, rpt 1972a. The stories from this selection are also issued as single-tale volumes in the *Ælle-bælle-bøger* (1974d-h).

ISBN 87-562-0682-8

Year: 1974b

Title: *Kong Drosselskæg*. Et eventyr af brødrene Grimm (52)

Translator/Editor: Retold by Edgar Taylor ('King Grisly Beard'). In Danish by Anine Rud

Illustrations: In colour on all pages by Maurice Sendak

Format: 24 pp, 22x14 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal

Printed: In Finland

Price: Dkr 22.50

ISBN 87-00-92241-2

Comment: The coloured drawings include bubbles for simplified comments, e.g. "Out" ('Ud'). Before the story begins there are two pictures of children dressing up as King Thrushbeard and his bride. The children then play these roles in the illustrations. When the story finishes they take off their costumes and congratulate each other on the performance.

Year: 1974c

Title: *Stadsmusikanterne fra Bremen* (27)

Translator/Editor: Af Grimm. På dansk ved Anine Rud

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Svend Otto S.

Format: 24 pp, 26x21 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal

Printer: Grafodan, Værløse

Price: Dkr 29.50

Later ed: 1981d

ISBN 87-00-532-71-1

Year: 1974d-h

Series CONTINUATION of the *Ælle-bælle-bøger* (cf. 1968k-p, above); these are single-tale versions of the stories from the above collection by Inge-Lise Hauerslev (1974a)

Translator/Editor: Re-written ('bearbejdet') by Inge-Lise Hauerslev

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by various artists, see below.

Format: 20 pp, 20x16 cm.

Publisher: Illustrationsforlaget = Carlsen, if

Printed: In Bilbao, Spain

Price: pb Dkr 3.00.

Year: 1974d

Title: *Den kloge dronning* (94)

Illustrations: By Iben Clante

Later ed: 1984

Year: 1974e

Title: *Frøkongen* (1)

Illustrations: By Christina Ringsberg

Year: 1974f

Title: *Mor Hulda* (24)

Illustrations: By Ulla Fredsøe

Year: 1974g

Title: *Møllerdrengen og den lille hvide kat* (106)

Illustrations: By Elsie Wrigley

Year: 1974h

Title: *De tre spindersker* (14)

Illustrations: By Christina Ringsberg

Year: 1974i-j

Series: START and END of *for småbørn* ('for toddlers'). (Not elsewhere listed as a series)

Illustrations: Colour photographs of dolls by Tadasu Izawa and Shigemi Hijikata

Format: 16 glossy cardboard pages, 22x15 cm. Round corners. A holographic picture on the cover.

Publisher: Lademann. By arrangement with Grosset-Zokeisha Int., USA. © Tadasu Izawa and Shigemi Hijikata

Printed: In Tokyo, Japan

Price: Dkr 12.75

Year: 1974i

Title: *Askepot* (21) (credited to Grimm in *DB*)

Translator/Editor: In Danish from American by Mogens Cohrt

ISBN 87-15034-41-0

Year: 1974j

Title: *Snehvide* (53) (credited to Grimm in *DB*)

Translator/Editor: Text by Birgit Erup

ISBN 87-15034-43-7

Comment: The series comprises four other (non-Grimm) stories for toddlers.

Year: 1974k-o

Series: START of *DODO-bøgerne*. Credited to Grimm in the Danish books available and *DB*

Preface, etc.: None

Illustrations: In colour, by Paul Durand

Format: One to three stories. All volumes 12 pages. 27x23 cm.

Publisher: Sesam = Lademann, but different foreign sources

Typography: Two columns

Price: Dkr 1.00

Year: 1974k

Title: *Den bestøvlede kat. Den kloge bondemand*. Told ('fortalt') from Grimm (the first is Anh 5, which is from Perrault; the second story has no connection with Grimm at all)

Translator/Editor: Not given

Illustrations: In colour, by Paul Durand

Publisher: Sesam. © Edition des deux coqs d'or, Paris 1968; published by arrangement with Western Publishing Int., Geneva

ISBN 87-1503476-3

Year: 1974l

Title: *Diamanter og skrubbudser. Tommelise* (the first is presumably from Charles Perrault; the second is a Hans Christian Andersen fairytale)

Translator/Editor: Not given

Illustrations: In colour, by Paul Durand

[I]ISBN [87]-1503477-1

Comment: *DB* data. Not available

Year: 1974m

Titles: *Den flyvende skildpadde. Den tapre lille skrædder*. Told by the brothers Grimm (respectively non-Grimm and KHM 20)

Translator/Editor: Not given

Illustrations: In colour, by Paul Durand

Publisher: Sesam. © Editions des deux coqs d'or, Paris 1968 et Montadori, Verona. Published by arrangement with Western Publishing Int., Geneva

ISBN 87-15034-75-5

Year: 1974n

Title: *Den lille Rødhætte. De tre ønsker. Prinsessen på ærten* (the first story is KHM 26; the second appears to be either KHM 19 or KHM 87. The third is by Hans Christian Andersen)

Translator/Editor: Not given

Illustrations: By Paul Durand

Publisher: Sesam

[I]ISBN [87]-1503474-7

Comment: *DB* data. Not available

Year: 1974o

Title: *Den lille Idas blomster. Ulven og de syv gedekid* (Hans Christian Andersen and KHM 5, respectively)

Translator/Editor: Not given

Illustrations: By Paul Durand

SBN [87]-1503479-8

Comment: *DB* data. Not available

Series ctd: 1975f-h

Year: 1975a

Title: *Grimms samlede eventyr*

Texts: KHM 1-210

Translator/Editor: Ved Carl Ewald

Illustrations: Black-and-white illustrations by Philip Grot Johann and R. Leinweber (from the German *Folk Edition* (1893); used previously by Daugaard 1894 and Carl Ewald 1905)

Format: 501 pp, 28x21 cm.

Publisher: Nyt Nordisk Forlag

Printer: S.L. Møller, Skovlunde

Price: Bd Dkr 129.50

Edition/Printing: 1st edition (*DB*). The publisher later counts the 1905 edition as the first and this as the second: it is the 5th edition in fact.

Comment: This is a modernised version of Carl Ewald's translation published in 1905.

Previous eds: 1905a, [1911a, 1913a, 1914a]

Later eds: 1976a, 1982a, 1983a, 1985a

ISBN [87]-17-02018-2

Year: 1975b

Title: *Grimms eventyr*

Texts: 1, 2, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 32, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 42, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 59, 60, 61, 65, 69, 71, 77, 78, 83, 88, 89, 90, 94, 97, 98, 100, 101, 103, 108, 116, 119, 124, 129, 130, 131, 133, 134, 156, 158, 159, 161, 164, 165, 169, 174, 175, 178, 179, 183, 185, 187, 188, 189, 191, 192, and Anh 5

Translator/Editor: Edited ('bearbejdet') by Ingerlise Koefoed from Carl Ewald's translation Preface, etc.: Dust jacket, mostly on the illustrator, but also: "... the book has been read by innumerable children all over the world, or read aloud, and in many homes it has stood out conspicuously on the shelf. Countless generations have listened to the magic and deep truths of these folk tales." ('... bogen [er] blevet læst af utallige børn verden over eller er blevet læst op, og den har i mange hjem været et fast holdepunkt i reolen. Generation efter generation har lyttet til disse gamle folkeeventyrs trylleri og dybe sandheder.')

Illustrations: 400 black-and-white and twelve colour plates by Werner Klemke

Format: 435 pp, 28x18 cm.

Publisher: Notabene

Printed: In East Germany

Price: Bd Dkr 75.00

ISBN 87-74900-70-6

Comment: Anh 5 is not found in Carl Ewald's translation (1905) which shows that the source texts, not the German (and Danish Canon), dictated the contents of this collection.

Year: 1975c

Title: *Rapunsel*. Et eventyr af brødrene Grimm (12)

Translator/Editor: Edited ('Dansk bearbejdelse') by Edith Kjær

Illustrations: By Bernadette. Magnificent, brightly-coloured illustrations which cover both pages; the text is tucked away in a corner.

Format: 30 pp, 33x24 cm.

Publisher: Bierman & Bierman, Grindsted, Jutland. © Nord-Süd Verlag Mönchaltorf, Switzerland

Printed: In Switzerland

Price: Bd Dkr 35.00

Comment: The format is almost identical to *Yorik and Yorinda* (1971f), with the same illustrator and the same Swiss publisher.

Year: 1975d

Title: *Snehvid og Rosenrød* (161)

Translator/Editor: Mona Giersing

Illustrations: In colour on all pages. Illustrations cover both pages

Format: 12 cardboard pages, 42x20 cm. Round corners

Publisher: Sesam

Printed: In The Netherlands

Price: Dkr 15.85

Edition/Printing: The same translator brought out this story in 1973k as part of the series *Eventyr-fortalt-for-dig* ('Fairytale told to you').

ISBN 87-73240-93-1

Year: 1975e

Title: *Snehvide* (53)

Translator/Editor: Anine Rud

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Svend Otto S.

Format: 24 pp, 26x21 cm.
 Publisher: Gyldendal
 Printer: Grafodan, Værløse
 Price: Dkr 32.50
 Edition/Printing: 1st
 Later eds: 1979c, 1981c
 [I]SBN [87]-00-16211-6

Year: 1975f-h

Series: CONTINUATION of *DODO-bøgerne*, see 1974k-o

Price: Dkr 1.00

Year: 1975f

Title: *Guldgåsen* (64)

Translator/Editor: Mona Giersing

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by [Antonio] Lupatelli

Publisher: Sesam. © 1973 Worldwide by L'Esperto, Milan, and Octopus Books, London
 ISBN 87-73240-42-7

Year: 1975g

Title: *Hans og Grete* (15)

Translator/Editor: Mona Giersing

Illustrations: By Rizzato

ISBN 87-15033-41-4

Comment: *DB* data. Not available

Year: 1975h

Title: *Rødhætte* (26)

Translator/Editor: Mona Giersing

Illustrations: By Rizzato

ISBN 87-73240-05-2

Comment: *DB* data. Not available

Year: 1975i-l

Series: START and END of *Stjerneeventyr* ('*Star fairytales*')

Translator/Editor: Danish text by Karl Nielsen, based on American texts. They are credited to Grimm in *DB*.

Illustrations: By various artists, see below.

Format: Pop-up books, 5 double pages, 13x17 cm. See 'Comment' below

Publisher: Carlsen. © 1975 Intervisual Communications Inc., Los Angeles, USA

Printed: In Columbia

Price: Dkr 16.50

Year: 1975i

Title: *Den bestøvlede kat* (Anh 5)

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Karen Avery

ISBN 87-56207-32-8

Year: 1975j

Title: *Hans og Grete* (15)

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Mary McClain

ISBN 87-56207-33-6

Year: 1975k

Title: *Rødhætte* (26)

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Linda Griffith

ISBN 87-56207-13-1

Year: 1975l

Title: *Tornerose* (50)

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Karen Avery

ISBN 87-56207-15-8

Comment: The books are meant to be opened out to 360° degrees. When the front cover is tied to the back cover, there are five three-dimensional vistas depicting scenes from the tales. The books are then to be suspended (from the ceiling) for display and (one assumes) gasps of enraptured admiration. The text is framed at the bottom of each page, allowing for 5 or 6 lines of print on each of the 5 pages.

Year: 1976a

Title: *Grimms samlede eventyr*

Texts: 1-210

Translator/Editor: Carl Ewald

Illustrations: Black-and-white illustrations by Philip Grot Johann and Carl Leinweber

Format: 500 pp, 28x20 cm.

Publisher: Nyt Nordisk Forlag

Price: Dkr 129.50

Previous eds: 1905a, [1911a, 1913a, 1914a,] 1975a

Later eds: 1982a, 1983a, 1985a

Year: 1976b

Title: *6 eventyr af brødrene Grimm*

Texts: (As in 1968) 15, 21, 26, 27, 50, 53

Translator/Editor: Grete Janus Hertz

Illustrations: All in colour, by various artists (as in 1968d). There are, however, two exceptions:

‘Askepøt’ (21) is now illustrated by Iben Clante, and ‘Snehvide’ (53) by Nora Axe Lundgaard.

Format: 128 pp, 21x17 cm.

Publisher: Carlsen, if

Printed: In Germany

Price: Dkr 38.50

Edition/Printing: 4th, previously 1968d and k-p (twice), 1972a

Later eds: 1980a, 1985b

ISBN 87-56203-22-5

Year: 1976c

Title: *Krystalkuglen* (197). En billedbog af Inka Pučmer fra Grimms eventyr (‘A picture book from the Grimm tales by Inka Pučmer’)

Translator/Editor: Carl Ewald (not credited)

Illustrations: Magnificently coloured pictures, with the text in contrasted colours, centred, on every second page

Format: 38 pp, 29x24 cm.

Publisher: Verlag Walter Keller, Dornach, Switzerland

Printer: Photolitho Sturm, Switzerland

Orthography: The Danish ‘æ’ is given as ‘ae’. The text is set from Carl Ewald’s translation, which originated long before the spelling reform of 1948. Accordingly it retains a number of hopelessly outdated features such as ‘aa’ for ‘å’ and capital letters for nouns.

Price: Dkr 75.00

Comment: The book contains the information that it is also printed in ‘English, French, and German’, and there was also a Norwegian edition. These editions were printed simultaneously in Switzerland. Clearly, the Swiss publishers did not consult a native speaker of Danish. The Danish edition of c. 600 copies had brisk sales at ‘Antroposofisk bogstue’ in Copenhagen. From an anthroposophical point of view the tale deals with the development of Man.

Year: 1976d

Title: *Tommeliden* (37)

Translator/Editor: Anine Rud

Illustrations: All pages in colours by Svend Otto S.
 Format: 24 pp, 26x21 cm.
 Publisher: Gyldendal
 Printer: Grafodan, Værløse
 Price: Dkr 32.50
 Later ed: 1982d
 ISBN 87-01221-72-8

Year: 1976e-f

Series: CONTINUATION of *Eventyr-fortalt-for-dig* ('*Fairytales told to you*'). See above 1972cg, ctd 1973g-1

Translator/Editor: Retold ('gendigtet') by Mona Giersing from Italian 'Fiabe sonore' © Fratelli Fabbri Editore, Milan, 1966

Format: 24 glossy pages, 32x24 cm.

Publisher: Sesam, Lademann

Price: Not available

Year: 1976e

Title: *Frøprinsen* (1)

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Una

ISBN 87-7341-120-2 [DB: 1976-80]

Year: 1976f

Title: *De tre små mænd i skoven* (13)

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Lima

ISBN 87-73241-21-0

Comment: See also 1977a

Year: 1976g-h

Series: REPRINTS of *Eventyr-panorama-serien*, see 1960b, 1963c-f, 1964d-e, 1965a-c, 1968f-i

Translator/Editor: From Czech by anonymous translator (DB)

Illustrations: K. Kubašta

Format: 9 double pages, 21x26 cm.

Publisher: Fremad

Price: Dkr 14.85

Year: 1976g

Title: *Hans og Grete* (15). Reprint from 1964, 1968

ISBN 87-557706-77-0

Year: 1976h

Title: *Snehvide* (53). Reprint from 1963, 1969

ISBN 87-55706-73-8

[Year: 1976i-n

Series: REPRINT and CONTINUATION of *Ælle-bælle-bøger*, 1968k-p, 1971g-l

Translator/Editor: (Attributed neither to Grimm nor to Grete Janus Hertz)

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by various artists

Publisher: Carlsen

Price: Dkr 4.80

Year: 1976i

Title: *Askepot* (21)

Illustrations: By Iben Clante (These are new)

Year: 1976j

Title: *De fire spillemænd* (27)

Illustrations: By Eberhard Binder

Year: 1976k

Title: *Hans og Grete* (15)

Illustrations: By Eva Wentzel-Bürger

Year: 1976l

Title: *Rødhætte* (26)

Illustrations: By Iben Clante

Year: 1976m

Title: *Snehvide* (53)

Illustrations: By Nora Axe Lundgaard (These are new)

Year: 1976n

Title: *Tornerose* (50)

Illustrations: By Iben Clante

Series ctd: 1980g-l

Comment: Not available. *DB* data for the whole series. The *RLC* gives the date of publication as 1977. No reliable ISBNs.]

Year: 1976o

Series: START of *Pixi-bøgerne*

Translator/Editor: Anon. or Grete Janus Hertz

Format: 24 pp, 10x10 cm.

Publisher: Carlsen

Year: 1976p

Title: *Snehvide* (53)

Translator: From American by anonymous translator

Illustrations: By Rene Cloke

Price: Dkr 1.75

ISBN 87-562-0894-4 (cassette 87-562-0877-4)

Series ctd: 1977c-f

Comment: *DB* data. Not available. It is cited as the 2nd edition of orig. 1969.

[Year: 1977a

Title: *Bord dæk dig og andre eventyr fortalt for dig*

Texts: 'Rapunzel' (12), 'Mother Holle' (24), 'The magic table' (36), 'King Thrushbeard' (52), 'Snow White' (53), 'Rumpelstiltskin' (55), 'Snow White and Rose Red' (161); and 'Puss in boots' (Anh 5)

Translator/Editor: Retold by Mona Giersing from Italian 'Fiabe sonore'

Preface, etc.: None

Illustrations: Lavishly illustrated in colour on all pages

Format: 218 glossy pp, 32x24 cm.

Publisher: Lademann

Price: Dkr 29.75

ISBN 87-15-03621-9

Comment: The colophon cites this as the first collection. It is a selection from the *Eventyr-fortalt-for-dig* series, cf. years 1972c-g and 1973g-l. This collection of the individual '*Fairytales told to you*' is nowhere attributed to Grimm.]

Year: 1977b

Title: *Ulven og de syv gedekid* (5)

Translator/Editor: Anine Rud

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Svend Otto S.

Format: 24 pp, 26x21 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal

Printer: Grafodan, Værløse

Price: Dkr 34.50

Edition/Printing: 1st

Later ed: 1984g

ISBN 87-01-22181-7

Year: 1977c

Series: CONTINUATION of *Pixi-bøger* (DB data. Not available), cf. 1976o

Year: 1977c

Title: *Nisserne hos skomageren* (39 part 1)

Translator/Editor: Grete Janus Hertz

Illustrations: By Iben Clante

Price: Dkr 2.00

Comment: This is given as the 3rd ed, orig. 1970

ISBN 87-56200-09-9 (cassette 87-56200-14-5)

Year: 1977d

Title: *Rødhætte* (26)

Translator/Editor: Anon.

Illustrations: By E. Mauritius

Price: Dkr 1.75

ISBN 87-562-1284-4 (Cassette 87-562-1290-9)

Year: 1977e

Title: *Snehvide* (53)

Translator/Editor: Grete Janus Hertz

Illustrations: By Gerti Mauser-Lichtl

Price: Dkr 1.75

ISBN 87-562-1282-8 (Cassette 87-562-1290-9)

Year: 1977f

Title: *Ulven og de syv gedekid* (5)

Translator/Editor: Grete Janus Hertz

Illustrations: By E. Wallenta-Delignon

Price: 1.75

ISBN 87-562-1287-9 (Cassette 87-562-1290-9 (same as 26 'Rødhætte'))

Series ctd: 1981e-p

Year: 1977. See 1976i-n *Ælle-bælle-bøger* 'Comment'.

Year: 1978a

Title: *Gode gamle eventyr af brødrene Grimm og Ludwig Bechstein*

Text: Only KHM 40 'The robber bridegroom'; the other stories are by Ludwig Bechstein

Translator/Editor: Bent Carlsen

Preface, etc.: None

Illustrations: Various old etchings, in their entirety, or focussing on details. No source given

Format: Brown paper; 56 pp, 24x32 cm.

Publisher: Bent Carlsens forlag

Typography: Printed only on every second page

Price: Dkr 32.50

ISBN 87-85216-36-4

Year: 1978b

Title: *Askepot* (21)

Translator/Editor: Anine Rud

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Svend Otto S.

Format: 24 pp, 26x23 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal

Printer: Grafodan, Værløse

Price: Dkr 36.50

Later ed: 1982b

ISBN 87-14178-05-2

Year: 1978c

Title: *Askepot* (21)

Translator/Editor: Not given

Illustrations: Full-page illustrations in colour on every second page, painted by ('malet af') Ruth Elsässer

Format: 22 pp, 23x33 cm.

Publisher: Hernov. © Ch. Mellinger Verlag, Stuttgart, West Germany

Printed: In Portugal

Price: Dkr 49.75

ISBN 87-7215-851-4

Year: 1978d

Title: *Bord dæk dig* (36)

Translator/Editor: Translated into Danish by Karl Nielsen from an English version retold by Paul Galdone

Preface, etc.: Back cover with the information that the book is for children aged four or more and that "Grown-ups will enjoy rereading the story with their children" ('Voksne vil nyde at genlæse historierne med børnene').

Illustrations: Coloured drawings on all pages by Paul Galdone

Format: 40 pp, 27x20 cm.

Publisher: Carlsen. © 1976 Paul Galdone

Printed: In Italy

Price: Dkr 35.50

ISBN 87-562-1492-8

Year: 1978e

Title: *Konen i muddergrøften* (19)

Translator/Editor: Edited from Carl Ewald's translation (orig. 1905) ('tekstgrundlag Carl Ewald's danske oversættelse')

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Monika Laimgruber

Format: 24 pp, 28x25 cm.

Publisher: Høst

Printed: In Switzerland

Price: Dkr 56.00

ISBN 87-14-17805-2

Year: 1979a (companion volume 1983b)

Title: *Den store eventyrbog*. Vol. 1

Texts: 5, 27, 37, 53, Anh 5 ('The wolf and the seven young kids', 'The Bremen town musicians', 'Thumbling', 'Snow White', and 'Puss in boots')

Translator/Editor: Anine Rud

Preface, etc.: None

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Svend Otto S.

Format: 125 pp, 26x21 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal

Printer: Grafodan, Værløse

Price: Bd Dkr 66.50 (Dkr 39.50 for members)

ISBN 87-01836-22-6 (book club: 87-01836-22-6)

Comment: This edition was also offered by the publisher's book club for children, 'Gyldendals Børnebogklub'. All stories, including Anh 5 (1970b), had previously appeared as single-tale books with the same publisher.

Year: 1979b

Title: *Pigen og guldæbletræet* (after KHM 130)
 Translator/Editor: Free rendering of Grimm's tale by Carsten Andreassen
 Preface, etc.: Back cover, giving the history of the book
 Illustrations: The illustrations are colour stills from a Danish puppet film
 Format: 20 pp, 26x20
 Publisher: Unisets pædagogiske forlag, Roskilde
 Printer: Fair-print
 Price: Dkr 48.75
 ISBN 87-87758-04-0

Year: 1979c

Title: *Snehvide* (53)
 Translator/Editor: Anine Rud
 Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Svend Otto S.
 Format: 24 pp, 26x21 cm.
 Publisher: Gyldendal
 Printer: Grafodan, Værløse
 Price: Dkr 39.50
 Edition/Printing: 2nd
 Previous ed: 1975
 Later ed: 1981
 ISBN 87-00-16211-6

Year: 1979d

Title: *Den tapre skrædder* (20)
 Translator/Editor: Anine Rud
 Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Svend Otto S.
 Format: 24 pp, 26x21 cm.
 Publisher: Gyldendal
 Printer: Grafodan, Værløse
 Price: Dkr 39.50
 Edition/Printing: 1st
 ISBN 87-01543-51-2

Year: 1980a

Title: *6 eventyr af brødrene Grimm*
 Texts: [As in 1968:] 15, 21, 26, 27, 50, 53
 Translator/Editor: Grete Janus Hertz
 Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Iben Clante and others
 Format: 128 pp, 21x17 cm.
 Publisher: Carlsen
 Printed: In Denmark
 Price: Bd Dkr 38.50
 Edition/Printing: 4th
 Previous eds: 1968d, 1972a, 1976b
 Later ed: 1985b
 ISBN 87-56203-22-5

Year: 1980b

Title: *Tornerose* (50)
 Translator/Editor: Rewritten ('gendigtet') by Marie Svendsen
 Preface, etc.: None
 Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Errol le Cain, see 'Comment'

Format: 32 pp, 19x25 cm.
 Publisher: Centrum, Viby Jutland
 Printed: In England
 Price: Dkr 69.00
 ISBN 87-58300-48-1

Comment: Every second page is a detailed full-page illustration; facing it, the text is set in frames which match the contents. In the first frame there is a crab, namely the crab which tells the queen that she will have a child. This crab has survived Wilhelm Grimm's attempts to replace it with a frog ever since the two first German *Complete Editions* (1812 and 1819).

Year: 1980c

Title: *Kom skal vi spille Tornerose?* (50)

Translator/Editor: Monika Laimgruber; in Danish by Eva Glistrup, who has used the translation by Anine Rud (1973f) as the basis for the text of the script, see 'Comment'

Illustrations: By Monika Laimgruber. Full-page and double page illustrations in colour. The story of 'The sleeping beauty' is set in frames, mostly full-page black-and-white ones, interspersed with drawings (in colour) of children in costumes.

Format: 28 pp, 25x27 cm.
 Publisher: Høst & søn
 Printed: In Switzerland
 Price: Dkr 64.00
 ISBN 87-14180-05-7

Comment: The book describes some children's preparations for a performance of 'The sleeping beauty'. The story itself is printed on four black-and-white pages with 'handwritten' notes on the performance and costumes.

Year: 1980d

Title: *Æselprinsen* (144)

Translator/Editor: Retold by M. Jean Craig ('The donkey prince') from Grimm, in Danish by Karl Nielsen

Illustrations: In colour, by Barbara Cooney

Format: 44 pp, 26x20 cm.

Publisher: Carlsen, if. Published by agreement with Doubleday & Co., New York, USA. © 1977 text by M. Jean Craig. © 1977 illustrations by Barbara Cooney Porter

Printed: In Italy
 Price: Dkr 49.75
 ISBN 87-56217-53-6

Year: 1980e-f

Series: CONTINUATION of *Daxi-bøger*, see 1970e

Translator/Editor: Grete Janus Hertz from French originals. © Librairie Hachette, 1979

Format: 24 pp, 24x19 cm.

Publisher: Carlsen, if

Printed: In Denmark

Price: Bd Dkr 17.50

Year: 1980e

Title: *De fire spillemænd* (27) (orig. 'Les musiciens de la ville de Breme')

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Gerda Muller

ISBN 87-562-1823-0

Year: 1980f

Title: *Rødhætte* (26) (orig. 'Le petit chaperon rouge')

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Gerda Muller

ISBN 87-562-1821-4

[Year: 1980g-l

Series, REPRINTS of *Ælle-bælle-bøger*, cf. 1976i-n

Translator/Editor: (Grete Janus Hertz not credited; Grimm not credited)

Format: pb 20 pp, 20x16 cm.

Publisher: Carlsen, if

Price: Dkr 4.80

Printed: In Italy

Year: 1980g

Title: *Askepot* (21)

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Iben Clante

ISBN 87-562-0142-7

Year: 1980h

Title: *De fire spillemand* (27)

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Eberhard Binder

ISBN 87-562-0140-0

Year: 1980i

Title: *Hans og Grete* (15) ('by Grimm' in *DB*)

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Eva Wentzel-Bürger

ISBN 87-562-0142-7

Year: 1980j

Title: *Rødhætte* (26)

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Iben Clante

ISBN 87-562-0144-3

Year: 1980k

Title: *Snehvide* (53)

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Nora Axe Lundgaard

ISBN 87-562-0143-5 (same number as in 1976)

Year: 1980l

Title: *Tornerose* (50)

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Iben Clante

ISBN 87-56201-45-1

Comment: Following the publisher's information, *DB* lists this as the 4th ed. It is the 5th: orig. 1968d, k-p (twice), 1971g-l, 1976i-n.

Later ed: 1983]

Year: 1981a

Title: *Doktor Alvidende* (98)

Translator/Editor: Danish text 'after Grimm' by Bodil Kildegaard

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Ripoll

Format: 28 pp, 28x20 cm.

Publisher: Skandinavisk Press (Bogklubben børnenes bogpakke)

Printed: In West Germany

Price: Dkr 39.85 (members only)

No ISBN

Year: 1981b

Title: *Gåsepigen* (89)

Translator/Editor: Danish text 'after Grimm' by Bodil Kildegaard

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Ripoll

Format: 28 pp, 28x20 cm.

Publisher: Skandinavisk Press (Bogklubben børnenes bogpakke)

Printed: In West Germany

Price: Dkr 39.85 (Members only)

No ISBN

Year: 1981c

Title: *Snehvide* (53)
 Translator/Editor: Anine Rud
 Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Svend Otto S.
 Format: 24 pp, 26x21 cm.
 Publisher: Gyldendal
 Printer: Grafodan, Værløse
 Price: Bd Dkr 54.50
 Edition/Printing: 3rd
 Previous eds: 1975e, 1979c
 ISBN 87-00162-11-6

Year: 1981d

Title: *Stadsmusikanterne fra Bremen* (27)
 Translator/Editor: Anine Rud
 Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Svend Otto S.
 Format: 24 pp, 26x21 cm.
 Publisher: Gyldendal
 Printer: Grafodan, Værløse
 Price: Bd Dkr 54.50
 Edition/Printing: 2nd, orig. 1974c
 ISBN 87-00532-71-1

Year: 1981e

Title: *De syv ravne* (25)
 Translator/Editor: Translated from German by Jacob Gormsen
 Illustrations: Full-page illustrations in colour on every second page, alternating with text, by Lisbeth Zwerger
 Format: 24 pp, 22x24 cm.
 Publisher: Centrum. © 1981 Verlag Neugebauer Press, Salzburg, Austria
 Printed: In Austria
 Price: Bd Dkr 67.25
 ISBN 87-58300-25-2

Year: 1981f-p

Series: CONTINUATION of *Pixi-bøger*, see 1976o, 1977c-f
 Translator/Editor: Retold from Grimm by Grete Janus Hertz
 Illustrations: Every second page is a full-page picture facing the text, which has vignette-like pictures in colour; all are by G. Mauser-Lichtl.
 Format: 16 pp, 10x10 cm. Also cassette (all stories: ISBN 87-56220-75-8)
 Publisher: Carlsen
 Printed: In Italy
 Price: Dkr 2.50
 Edition/Printing: 1st

Year: 1981f

Title: *Bord dæk dig* (36)
 ISBN 87-56220-58-8

Year: 1981g

Title: *Broderlil og søsterlil* (11)
 ISBN 87-56220-67-7

Year: 1981h

Title: *De fire spillemænd* (27)
 ISBN 87-56220-62-6

Year: 1981i

Title: *Frøkongen* (1)
 ISBN 87-56220-64-2

Year: 1981j

Title: *Guldgåsen* (64)
 ISBN 87-56220-55-3

Year: 1981k

Title: *Konen i muddergrøften* (19)
 ISBN 87-56219-41-5

Year: 1981l

Title: *Prinsessen og tiggeren* (52)
 ISBN 87-56220-59-6

Year: 1981m

Title: *Rødhætte* (26)
 ISBN 87-56220-66-9

Year: 1981n

Title: *Snehvid og Rosenrød* (161)
 ISBN 87-56220-63-4

Year: 1981o

Title: *Snehvide* (53)
 ISBN 87-56220-56-1

Comment: This is not identical with the booklet from 1977e.

Year: 1981p

Title: *De syv ravne* (25)
 ISBN 87-56220-65-0

Year: 1981q

Title: *Den tapre skrædder* (20)
 ISBN 87-56220-68-5

Year: 1981r

Title: *Ulven og de syv gedekid* (5)
 ISBN 87-56220-61-8

Series ctd: 1982f

Comment: The cover has the information: "There are always at least 80 'Pixi books' to choose from. For the 2 to 8-year olds" ('Der er altid over 80 forskellige Pixi-bøger at vælge mellem. For de 2-8 årige')

Year: 1982a

Title: *Grimms samlede eventyr*
 Texts: 1-210

Translator/Editor: Carl Ewald

Illustrations: Black-and-white illustrations by Philip Grot Johann and R. Leinweber

Format: 500 pp, 28x21 cm.

Publisher: Nyt Nordisk Forlag

Price: Not available

Edition/Printing: Given as the 4th

Previous eds: 1905a [not included as previous eds: 1911a, 1913a, 1914a]; (rev.) 1975a, 1976a

Later eds: 1983a, 1985a

ISBN 87-17020-18-2

Year: 1982b

Title: *Askepot* (21)

Translator/Editor: Anine Rud

Illustrations: Svend Otto S.

Format: 24 pp, 26x21 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal
 Printer: Grafodan, Værløse
 Price: Bd Dkr 54.50
 Edition/Printing: 2nd, orig. 1978b
 ISBN 87-01543-62-8

Year: 1982c

Title: *Rapunsel* (12)
 Translator/Editor: Translated and retold ('Oversat og gendigtet') by Jørn E. Albert, translated from English
 Illustrations: Most pages in colour, by Jutta Ash
 Format: 28 pp, 23x20 cm.
 Publisher: Forum
 Printed: In Verona, Italy
 Price: Dkr 69.75
 ISBN 87-55322-18-0

Year: 1982d

Title: *Tommeliden* (37)
 Translator/Editor: Anine Rud
 Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Svend Otto S.
 Format: 24 pp, 26x21 cm.
 Publisher: Gyldendal
 Printer: Grafodan, Værløse
 Price: Dkr 58.50
 Edition/Printing: 2nd, orig. 1976d
 ISBN 87-00-91501-7

Year: 1982e

Title: *Tornerose* (50)
 Translator/Editor: Anine Rud
 Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Svend Otto S.
 Format: 24 pp, 26x21 cm.
 Publisher: Gyldendal
 Printer: Grafodan, Værløse
 Price: Dkr 58.50
 Edition/Printing: 2nd, orig. 1973d
 ISBN 87-00915-01-7

Year: 1982f

Series: CONTINUATION of *Pixi-bøgerne*, see 1976o; 1977c-f, 1981f-p

Year: 1982f

Title: *Tornerose* (50)
 Translator/Editor: After Grimm by Anon.
 Illustrations: Kazuko Takeda
 Format: 24 pp, 10x10 cm
 Publisher: Carlsen
 Printed: In Italy
 Price: Dkr 3.50
 ISBN 87-56223-57-9 (cassette 87-562-2358-7)

Year: 1982g

Series: CONTINUATION of *Ælle-bælle-bøger*, see 1968k-p, 1971g-l, 1974d-h, 1976i-n, 1980i-l

Year: 1982g

Title: *Snehvid og Rosenrød* (161)

Translation: Retold from the American version
 Illustrations: Majorie Cooper
 Format: 20 pp, 20cm.
 Publisher: Carlsen
 Price: Dkr 7.50
 Later ed: 1983
 Comment: *DB* data. Not available

Year: 1983a

Title: *Grimms samlede eventyr*
 Translator/Editor: Carl Ewald
 Illustrations: By Philip Grot Johann and R. Leinweber
 Format: 500 pp, 28x20 cm.
 Publisher: Nyt Nordisk Forlag
 Price: Not available, c. Dkr 150.00
 Edition/Printing: 4th of 1975a. The book says 5th, because the issues of 1911, 1913 and 1914 are disregarded.
 Previous eds: 1905a, [1911a, 1913a, 1914a]; (rev.) 1975a, 1976a, 1982a
 Later ed: 1985a

Year: 1983b (Companion volume 1979a)

Title: *Den store eventyrbog*. Vol. 2
 Texts: 15, 20, 21, 26, 50 ('Hansel and Gretel', 'The brave little tailor', 'Cinderella, 'Little Red Riding Hood', and 'The sleeping beauty')
 Translator/Editor: Anine Rud and Søren Christensen
 Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Svend Otto S.
 Format: 131 pp, 26x21 cm.
 Publisher: Gyldendal (and Gyldendals Børnebogklub)
 Printer: Grafodan, Værløse
 Price: Bd Dkr 85.00 (Dkr 65.00 for members of Gyldendals Børnebogklub)
 ISBN 87-00515-32-9 (book club 87-01118-11-0)
 Comment: This is a companion to the 1979a collection, which was issued by the same publisher and accompanied by Svend Otto S.'s watercolours. All stories previously appeared in single-tale volumes.

Year: 1983c

Title: *Frøprinsen* (1)
 Translator/Editor: Translated and retold ('Oversat og gendigtet') by Jørn E. Albert from the English edition
 Illustrations: Full-page colour illustrations by Jutta Ash on all recto pages. The text is set in double columns within frames with a black-and-white drawing on the left hand side.
 Format: 28 pp, 23x20 cm.
 Publisher: Forum. © 1983 Andersen Press, GB
 Printed: In Italy (Typeset in Copenhagen, Denmark)
 Price: Dkr 79.75
 ISBN 87-553-1182-2

Year: 1983d

Title: *Frøkongen* (1)
 Translator/Editor: Text adapted for sign language [for deaf readers] by Tyge Salvig. Translation and transcription by Anne Hårdell and Britta Hansen
 Preface, etc.: Explanation of the sign language
 Illustrations: Tyge Salvig

Format: 3 parts. Part 1: Adapted text and drawings by Tyge Salvig, Part 2: Translation and transcription 32 pp, 29x21 cm. Part 3: Video with sign language narration by Anne Hårdell
 Publisher: Døveskolernes Materialelaboratorium

Printer: Same
 Price: Dkr 29.30

No ISBN

Comment: The text is reduced to 3 lines per page; the other lines give instructions for sign-language narrators.

Year: 1983e

Title: *Hans og Grete* (15)

Translator/Editor: Søren Christensen

Illustrations: Full-page illustrations in colour on the middle and on all recto pages by Lisbeth Zwerger

Format: 24 pp, 21x23 cm.

Publisher: Centrum. © Verlag Neugebauer Press, Salzburg, Austria

Printed: In Austria

Price: Bd Dkr 90.00

ISBN 87-583-0029-5

Year: 1983f

Title: *Rakkerpak: Kantate efter Grimms eventyr* (10)

Translator/Editor: Orig. 1938 by Cesar Bresgen. Rendered in Danish by Inga Haugland

Preface: On how to perform the cantate

Illustrations: None

Format: Pb 32 pp, 27x19 cm.

Publisher: Musik i skolen. Egtved, in Jutland. © 1953 Bärenreuter Verlag, Kassel, Germany

Typography: Musical score

Price: Dkr 19.75

Comment: The text is abridged for singing by a choir led by a conductor.

No ISBN

Year: 1983g

Title: *Rødhætte* (26)

Translator/Editor: Søren Christensen

Back cover: "There are many games in which children challenge their fears and overcome them. Grimms' story of Little Red Riding Hood and the wolf is a mental game. Children aged four to eight will be thrilled by the horror of it, until they know it by heart. Later they will keep it in mind as a treasured gem." ('I mange lege udfordrer børn angsten og overvinder den. Grimms historie om Rødhætte og ulven er en åndelig leg. Børn fra fire til otte år vil fryde sig over gysen i den, lige til de kan historien udenad. Siden vil de bevare den i sinnet som en kostbar skat.')

Illustrations: Full-page pictures (watercolours) on all recto pages, by Lisbeth Zwerger

Format: 24 pp, 22x24 cm.

Publisher: Centrum, Danish rights. © Verlag Neugebauer Press, Salzburg, Austria

Printed: In Austria

Price: Bd Dkr 98.00

ISBN 87-583-0117-8

Year: 1983h-n

Series: REPRINTS of *Ælle-bælle-bøger*, orig. 1968

Format: Pb 20 pp, 20x10 cm.

Price: Dkr 7.50

Reprints: 6th edition; previously 1968d and k-p (i.e. twice), 1971g-l, 1976i-n, 1980

Year: 1983h

Title: *Askepot* (21)

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Iben Clante

ISBN 87-562-042-7

Year: 1983i

Title: *De fire spillemænd* (27)

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Eberhard Binder

ISBN 87-562-0140-0

Year: 1983j

Title: *Hans og Grete* (15)

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Eva Wentzel-Bürger

ISBN 87-562-562-0141-9

Year: 1983k

Title: *Rødhætte* (26)

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Iben Clante

ISBN 87-562-0144-3

Year: 1983l

Title: *Snehvide* (53)

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Nora Axe Lundgaard

ISBN 87-562-0143-5

Comment: The text is from 1968; the pictures are from the 4th edition of 1976

Year: 1983m

Title: *Tornerose* (50)

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Iben Clante

ISBN 87-562-0144-1

Year: 1983n

Title: *Snehvid og Rosenrød* (161)

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Kazuko Takeda; 2nd ed. of 1982g orig.

ISBN 87-562-2235-1

Year: 1984a

Title: *Grimms eventyr*

Texts: [As in 1970a:] 1, 4, 5, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 24, 26, 27, 34, 37, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 62, 64, 77, 78, 87, 94, 98, 100, 104, 142, 167, 169, 187. And Anh 5

Translator/Editor: Selected and translated by Anine Rud

Illustrations: Black-and-white drawings by Svend Otto S.

Format: 202 pp, 24x17 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal

Price: Bd Dkr 98.00

Edition/Printing: 2nd of the 1970 ed

ISBN 87-00-02352-3

Year: 1984b

Title: *Den hvide og den sorte brud*. Grimms eventyr i udvalg

Texts: 11, 16, 28, 31, 39 (1-3), 54, 59, 76, 88, 94, 135, 181

Translator/Editor: Edited by Hugo Hørlych Karlsen from Carl Ewald's translation

Illustrations: Black-and-white illustrations by P. Grot Johann and R. Leinweber, but reduced in number, size, and quality

Format: 88 pp, 20x13 cm.

Publisher: Dansk lærerforeningen

Printer: Varde, Jutland

Price: Pb Dkr 46.00

ISBN 87-587-0057-9

Comment: This anthology is designed for teaching Danish in schools. In Denmark this is done by focussing on content areas. The book is intended for classwork on the theme of 'marriage in fairytales' with the companion book, Hugo Hørlych Karlsen: *Eventyr og ægteskab*.

Year: 1984c

Title: *Den bestøvlede kat* (Anh 5)

Translator/Editor: Anine Rud

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Svend Otto S.

Format: 24 pp, 26x21 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal

Price: Bd Dkr 78.00

Edition/Printing: 2nd of 1972b

ISBN 87-00-34571-7

Year: 1984d

Title: *Hans og Grete* (15)

Translator/Editor: Søren Christensen

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Svend Otto S.

Format: 24 pp, 26x21 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal

Price: Bd Dkr 78.00; pb Dkr 24.00

Edition/Printing: 2nd; previously 1971c (smaller format, same text and pictures). *DB* lists an issue from 1983, but it has not surfaced.

ISBN 87-00-41092-6 (pb: 87-00-77867-2)

Year: 1984e

Title: *Hans og Grete* (15)

Translator/Editor: Not given

Format: 28 pp, 15x18 cm

Publisher: Vejen Bogtrykkeri, Vejen, Jutland

Printer: Same

Price: Sent to business connections. Dkr 20.00 (net)

Comment: *DB* data. Not available

Year: 1984f

Title: *Jorinde og Joringel* (69)

Translator/Editor: Retold ('gendigtet') by Jørn E. Albert; translated from English

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Jutta Ash. The illustrations cover 3/4ths of the double pages.

Format: 25 pp, 24cm.

Publisher: Forum. © Andersen Press, London, England

Printed: In Verona, Italy

Price: Dkr 85.00

ISBN 87-553-1267-5

Year: 1984g

Title: *Ulven og de syv gedekid* (5)

Translator/Editor: Anine Rud

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Svend Otto S.

Format: 24 pp, 26x21 cm.

Publisher: Gyldendal

Printer: Grafodan, Værløse

Price: Bd Dkr 78.00

Edition/Printing: 2nd of 1977b

ISBN 87-01-22181-7

Year: 1984h

Series: CONTINUATION of *Ælle-bælle-bøger*, REPRINT of 1974d

Year: 1984h

Title: *Den kloge dronning* (Cover: Den kloge pige) (94)

Translator/Editor: Genfortalt efter brødrene Grimm [af Inge-Lise Hauerslev]

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Iben Clante

Format: 20 pp, 21x17 cm.

Publisher: Carlsen

Price: Dkr 7.75

Edition/Printing: 2nd of 1974

ISBN 87-562-2732-9

Year: 1984i

Title: *Rødhætte* (26)

Translator/Editor: Anon.

Illustrations: All pages in colour

Format: 8 pp, 24 cm.

Publisher: Serieforlaget (*Pusli-bog*)

Price: Dkr 6.95

Comment: *DB* data. Not available

Year: 1984j-1

Series, START of *Tumli-bøger*

Translator: Anon. from Spanish

Illustrations: All pages in colour

Format: 64 pp, 10x7 cm.

Publisher: Serieforlaget. © Susaeta Ediciones (Spain)

Printed: In Spain

Price: Dkr 6.95

Year: 1984j

Title: *Rødhætte* (26)

Year: 1984k

Title: *Snehvide* (53)

Year: 1984l

Title: *Tornerose* (50)

Comment: The series is formatted with an illustration allowing for a 2-3 story line on each page.

Every recto page ends ... to indicate that there is a continuation: Cf. 'The sleeping beauty':

"Once upon a time there was a king and a queen who were unhappy because they had no children... [Next two pages:] "Our castle is depressing without little princes and princesses", said the

king to the queen... [Next two pages:] But one fine day the queen did bear a daughter, and they

were very happy... " ('Der var engang en konge og en dronning, der var så kede af, at de ikke

havde nogen børn... // "Vort slot er så trist uden små prinser og prinsesser", sagde kongen til

dronningen... // Men en dag fik dronningen alligevel en lille datter, og deres lykke var stor... ')

Year: 1985a

Title: *Grimms samlede eventyr*

Text: 1-210

Translator/Editor: Carl Ewald

Illustrations: Philip Grot Johann and R. Leinweber

Format: 500 pp, 28x21 cm

Publisher: Nyt Nordisk Forlag

Price: Dkr 168.00

Edition/Printing: 6th printing

Previous editions: 1905a, [1911a, 1913a, 1914a]; rev. 1975a, 1976a, 1982a, 1983a

Later eds: 1988 (after 1986)
ISBN 87-17-02018-2

Year: 1985b

Title: *6 eventyr af brødrene Grimm*

Texts: As in 1968

Translator/Editor: [Edited ('bearbejdet') by Grete Janus Hertz]

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Iben Clante and others

Format: 128 pp, 21x17 cm.

Publisher: Carlsen

Price: Bd Dkr 38.50

Edition/Printing: 3rd edition, 1st printing of orig. 1968

Previous editions: 1968d, 1972a, 1976b, 1980a

ISBN 87-562-2953-4

Comment: *DB* data. Not available

Year: 1985c

Title: *Djævelens tre guldhår (29)*

Translator/Editor: Retold ('gendigtet') by Jørn E. Albert from an American edition ('The devil with the three golden hairs')

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Nonny Hogrogian

Format: 32 pp, 28x23 cm.

Publisher: Forum. © Random House, New York, USA

Printed: In Denmark

Price: Bd Dkr 115.00

ISBN 87-553-1329-9

Year: 1985d

Title: *Findefugl eller Kokkepigen der var en heks (51)*

Translator/Editor: Edited for children ('bearbejdet for børn') by Bente Dahl

Illustrations: Black-and-white pictures, covering both pages and allowing for the text, by Orla Klausen

Format: 30 pp, 30x20 cm.

Publisher: Stavnsager, Odense

Printer: Scanprint, Aarhus

Price: Bd Dkr 98.50

ISBN 87-88455-45-9

Year: 1985e

Title: *Guldgåsen (64)*

Translator/Editor: Retold by Frithiof Hansen

Back cover: "Together, both adults and children will be amused by the wonderful drawings and the edifying story." ('Både børn og voksne vil sammen more sig over de herlige tegninger og den lærerige historie.')

Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Martin Ursell

Format: 27 pp, 30x22 cm.

Publisher: Sesam. © 1983 Hodder & Stoughton

Printed: In Italy

Price: Bd Dkr 108.00

ISBN 87-7258-058-5

Year: 1985f

Title: *Hans og Grete (15)*

Translator/Editor: Anon.

Illustrations: All in colour
 Format: 16 pp, 26 cm.
 Publisher: Serieforlaget (*Læs og leg/ Leg med i historien!*)
 Price: Dkr 9.95
 Comment: *DB* data. Not available

Year: 1985g

Title: *Prinsesse Hurtigfod* (71)
 Translator/Editor: Retold from Grimm by Orla Klausen
 Preface, etc.: None
 Illustrations: Black-and-white, covering both pages, by Orla Klausen
 Format: 28 pp, 28x21 cm.
 Publisher: Joker, Odense
 Printer: Scanprint, Århus
 Price: Bd Dkr 98.00
 ISBN 87-88455-96-3

Year: 1985h

Title: *Rødhætte* (26)
 Translator/Editor: Anine Rud
 Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Svend Otto S.
 Format: 28 pp, 26x21 cm.
 Publisher: Gyldendal
 Price: Bd Dkr 78.00
 Edition/Printing: 2nd, enlarged format of 1970b
 ISBN 87-00-86356-4

Year: 1985i

Title: *Snehvid og Rosenrød* (161)
 Translator/Editor: Carl Ewald
 Illustrations: Recto pages full-page pictures; verso pages with vignettes; all in colour, by Lilo Fromm
 Format: 24 pp, 29x22 cm.
 Publisher: Sesam
 Printed: In Germany
 Price: Bd Dkr 108.00
 ISBN 87-7324-605-0

Year: 1985j

Title: *Snehvide* (53). Et eventyr af brødrene Grimm
 Translator/Editor: Carl Ewald
 Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Bernadette
 Format: 28 pp, 33cm.
 Publisher: Centrum
 Price: Bd Dkr 98.00
 ISBN 87-583-0291-3
 Comment: *DB* data. Not available

Year: 1985k

Title: *Stadsmusikanterne fra Bremen* (27)
 Translator/Editor: Carl Ewald
 Back cover: Paraphrase and advertisement
 Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Martin Ursell
 Format: 28 pp, 30x22 cm.

Publisher: Sesam. © Hodder & Stoughton
 Printed: In Italy
 Price: Bd Dkr 98.00
 ISBN 87-7324-606-9

Year: 1985l

Title: *Stjemedalerne* (153)
 Translator/Editor: Carl Ewald
 Illustrations: Full-page and double-page illustrations in colour, by Eugen Sopko
 Format: 27 pp, 29x21 cm.
 Publisher: Centrum. © Nord-Süd Verlag, Mönchaltorf, Switzerland
 Printed: In Germany
 Price: Bd Dkr 98.00
 ISBN 87-583-0295-6

Year: 1986a

Title: *Hans og Grete* (15)
 Translator/Editor: Translated from English by Karl Nielsen, retold by Rika Lesser from Grimm
 Illustrations: Paul O. Zelinsky
 Format: 34 pp, 30cm.
 Publisher: Carlsen
 Price: Bd Dkr 129.50
 ISBN 87-562-3169-5
 Comment: *DB* data. Not available

Year: 1986b

Title: *Nisserne* (KHM 39. Part 1)
 Translator/Editor: Anon.
 Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Bernadette
 Format: 24 pp, 33x24 cm.
 Publisher: Centrum. © 1985 Nord-Süd Verlag. Mönchaltorf, Switzerland
 Printed: In Germany
 Price: Bd Dkr 98.00
 ISBN 87-583-0315-4

Year: 1986c

Title: *Ulven og de syv gedekid* (5)
 Translator/Editor: Retold from English by Frithiof Hansen
 Back cover: "Martin Ursell's drawings are in themselves fairytales, a world of phantasy and gay colours which will enrapture and entertain readers long after reading the story" ('Martin Ursells tegninger er et eventyr for sig, en fantasifyldt og farvestrålende verden, der vil begejstre og holde én underholdt længe efter, at historien er læst til ende')
 Illustrations: All pages in colour, by Martin Ursell
 Format: 27 pp, 30x22 cm.
 Publisher: Sesam. © Hodder and Stoughton Ltd. © Illustrations Martin Ursell
 Printed: In Italy
 Price: Bd Dkr 98.00
 ISBN 87-7258-160-3

Discussion

This then is as close as we can get to a complete list of translations of the Grimm tales into Danish prior to the bicentennial of the birth of the brothers Grimm. I have imposed order on chaos by listing the translations in chronological order and by describing them in the terms of the same features.

The observant reader will undoubtedly have noticed that the above list, culled from Danish bibliographical sources, comprises books that have been found only by accident (e.g. the books costing Dkr 7.85 listed at 1960b), books which are listed only in one source (e.g. 1971d), books which have disappeared and are no longer available even at the Royal Library in Copenhagen (1953, 1963b), books overlooked (1911b, 1911c), books printed outside Denmark and tales by Grimm which are translated from languages other than German or confused with those of Perrault and Hans Christian Andersen (e.g. 1974k-o).

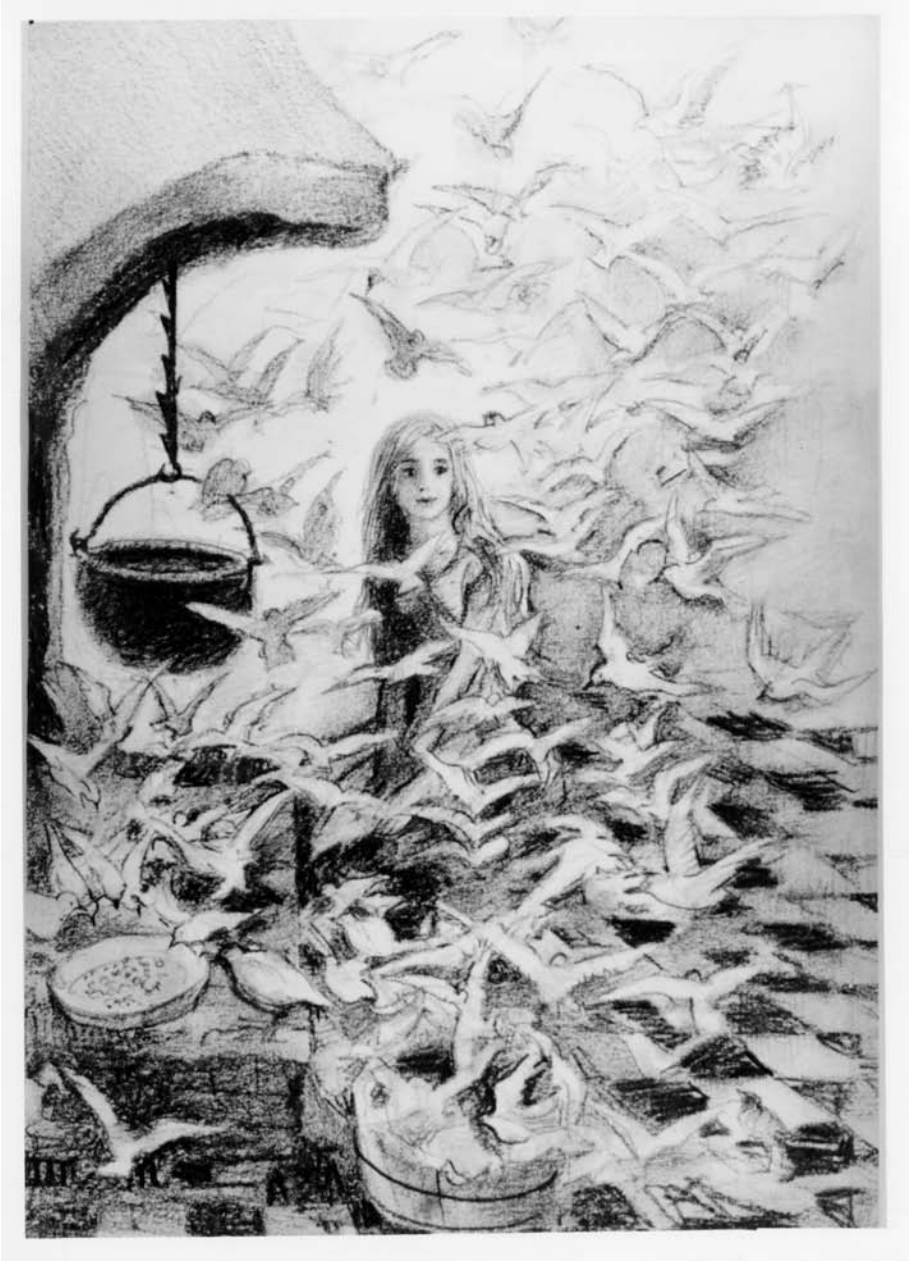
Above all, the list shows that, since they were first translated, it seems unlikely that the Grimm *Tales* were ever out of print in Denmark: they have enjoyed tremendous popularity. The list covers translations over a period of 170 years, and illustrates the way in which the Grimm *Tales* have been the most translated foreign literature into Danish throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: daunting numbers of translators have tried to render the Grimm *Tales* in Danish. These translations are thus a singular record of intercultural exchange and of translational activity in a specific society, namely Denmark. This is the topic which will be addressed in the following sections.



'Rumpelstiltskin'

(illustration: Philip Grot Johann and R. Leinweber, 1893)

**DENMARK:
RECEPTION, IMPACT, AND SALES
OF THE *TALES***



'Cinderella'
(illustration: Svend Otto S., 1970)

INTRODUCTION: THE TALES IN DANISH SOCIETY AND CULTURE

Once translated, the Grimm tales entered the Danish literary world. They came to exist in another culture. They were severed from the German senders, but, at first glance, the severance is not quite obvious because of the close ties between the brothers and Denmark. The brothers studied Norse and were inspired by Danish scholars, and, conversely, the brothers' work was taken seriously in Denmark from its very beginning. Accordingly, we shall consider Danish attitudes to the universality of tales, realisations of the brothers' collection activities in Denmark, and then turn to a brief overview of the history of the Grimm translations, and the first translators of the German tales.

The universality and scholarly value of the *Tales*

At one stage, Wilhelm Grimm believed that the tales were relics of a common mythology rather than relics of ancient poetry and this view was propagated in Danish because the 'Introduction: on the nature of fairytales' was reprinted in each new edition for more than thirty years.

A number of Danish translators and scholars accepted the Grimms' belief that tales were universal, that they originated in the untrammelled imagination, and that they might illuminate the history of poetry as suggested in the 'Prefaces' of the German first *Edition* (1812 and 1815). There was widespread agreement with the brothers Grimm that the folktales, too, must be dim reflections of former grandeur in a Pan-Germanic past shared by Germans and the Nordic peoples.¹ Nonetheless, the conviction that they were part of the old mythology, propounded most emphatically by Wilhelm Grimm in his 1819 'Introduction', in which he detailed parallels and analogues from Norse mythology, has never been widely accepted.²

Given the Romantic background of the *Tales*, it is fitting that Adam Oehlenschläger, the most prominent Danish poet of the Romantic age, who was admired and translated into German by Wilhelm Grimm (above, p. 16), was the first Dane to translate Grimm stories. This he did in a collection of fairytales (*Eventyr* 1816). Oehlenschläger was familiar with medieval German literature and made the none-too-kindly remark that:

"the best imaginative poetry that remains from the German past comprises German *traditional folk tales* and *folk ballads*; in my opinion, they are infinitely superior to the 'Minnesongs' and to the long rhymed or unrhymed medieval romances on whose oceans of superfluous circumlocutions one may sail for several weeks, like Cook in the South Seas, before arriving at a beautiful island where one may gain new vigour. I make an exception of the *Nibelungenlied*, which has grand epic resonance and wonderful, forceful and graceful descriptions expressed in fine language. But even that poem is often verbose and boringly repetitive" ('Det bedste den tydske Oldtid har levnet af poetiske Opfindelser er uden Tvivl deres *Folkesagn* og *Folkeviser*; hvilke i mine Tanker staae langt over den tidligere Middelalderes *Minnesange*, og over de lange rimede eller urimede *Ridderromaner*, i hvis *Vidløftighed* man ofte maa seile flere Uger, ligesom Cook i Sydhavet, før man treffer en lille smuk Ø, hvor man kan forfriske sig. Jeg undtager *das Lied der Nibelungen*, i hvilket virkelig hersker en stor episk Tone, og herlige Skildringer med Kraft og Gratie, udtrykt i et skjønt Sprog. Men selv dette Digt indeholder overordentlig megen *Vidløftighed* og trættende *Gientagelse*' (2: xxiv)).

Oehlenschläger's 1816 collection of the "best stories from sundry sources" comprised stories from Tieck, Ottmar, Heinrich von Kleist, and six Grimm tales. In his foreword,

Oehlenschläger stressed the “fantastic nature and innate beauty” of fairytales; he emphasised that the tales were so intense because they were connected with the Nordic past; and he argued that they had a value of their own.

Oehlenschläger was aware of the existence of an ‘oral tradition’ among the middle classes. In his notes on ‘The fisherman and his wife’ (KHM 19) and ‘The juniper tree’ (KHM 47), he mentioned that he himself had heard Philipp Otto Runge render these authentic fairytales in Low German. However:

“although the pronunciation of Danish is closer to Low than to High German, it has proved impossible in translation to imbue these stories with the pervading naive colour which they have in the original. Even written Low German is deficient compared to an oral rendition. I have heard these fairytales narrated by [Philipp Otto] Runge, presented with deep emotion and enthusiasm.” (‘Skiøndt det danske Sprog nærmer sig mere det Plattyske i Udtalen end det Høitydske, har det dog ikke været muligt i Oversættelsen at give disse Fortællinger saa aldeles naiv en Colorit, som de eje i Originalen. Selv det skrevne Plattyske staaer tilbage for den mundtlige Meddelelse. Jeg har hørt disse Eventyr af Runges egen Mund, foredraget med al mulig Følelse og Begeistring.’ (1: xix))

It is worthy of note that Oehlenschläger regarded ‘ideal tales’ as authentic folklore when rendered in dialect. He was aware that a story is different according to whether it is heard or read: in other words, he was cognizant of the fact that, to use my terminology, the ‘continua’ released in telling are different from those in reading.

Oehlenschläger was not uncritical of the Grimm collection. He talked of it as:

“a collection which, in addition to the stories given here, contains many good fables mixed with more base material which merits interest only as part of the history of poetry.” (‘en Samling der indeholder, foruden disse anførte, adskillige gode Fabler, mellem meget af mindre Værd, der kun fortjener poesihistorisk Opmærksomhed.’ (1: xxii))

Oehlenschläger did thus not deny that some of the poorer tales in the 1812 Grimm collection might shed light on the history of poetry as the brothers suggested, but he was far more enthusiastic about the idea that tales were creations of pure imagination (‘Phantasieens Selvskabning’) based on nature. Even so, he did not believe that they were particularly old; in his annotation of the tales he was willing to accept only that they might be examples of medieval folk poetry.



Adam Oehlenschläger (1779–1850)

In 1843, Christian Molbech also stressed that:

“The essence and the dominant characteristic of the fairytale is the fact that it is the freest creation of the imagination in the world of poetry” (‘Det er overhovedet Eventyrets Grundvæsen og mest almindelige Egenskab, at det er den frieste Skabning af Phantasien, som Digtningens Verden kan fremvise’ (vii)).

Molbech emphasised that genuine folktales (‘det egentlige Folke-Eventyr’) may be national or, in terms of contents, may have been transferred from one people, indeed from one continent, to another, then to be moulded according to the national character. He abstained from ascribing them to a common origin, but rather to “prehistoric times, i.e. an unknown age, older than any certified, written, historical information” (v-vii); and he concluded his preface:

“So now, you old and eternally young creations of the imagination, go out among the people! and find companionship in the world where belief, poetry and nature are not yet superseded by a devouring urge for knowledge, earthly possession and a more glittering than truly invigorating art. (‘Saa vandrer da ud blandt Folket, I Phantasien gamle og evig unge Skabninger! og søger eders Selskab i den Verden, hvor Tro, Poesie og Natur endnu ikke ere fortrængte af fortærende Higen efter Kundskab, jordisk Erhverv, og en mere glimrende, end qvægende Konstdannelse.’)

Molbech’s collection was reviewed in the nationalistic newspaper *Fædrelandet* (IV (1843): 1106, columns 8882-8884). The reviewer noted that the book might be useful to “professional aesthetes” (‘Skønaander af Profession’), implying that there were still people who believed that the Grimm collection could serve as a contribution to the history of poetry.

This view, however, was on the wane; in his second collection of tales, published in 1870, Jakob Davidsen added 17 stories from other (unacknowledged) sources to supplement those translated from the Grimm volumes. He did this without scruples, for, in his eyes, tales were universal property:

“it is a well-known fact that, no matter whether they are from the oral tradition or are written by poets, they are the creations of the imagination whose real worth is found in their content and form.” (‘Oversætteren har saameget mindre fundet Betænelighed ved at supplere Samlingen paa den nævnte Maade, som jo alle Eventyr, hvad enten de hidrøre fra Traditionen eller ere digterisk nedskrevne, ere Phantasien Fostre, hvis egentlige Værd maa søges i Indhold og Form.’)

Davidsen added that some Grimm tales were culled from written sources, and he also refrained from identifying the origins of the non-Grimm tales, since his book was primarily directed at juvenile readers. This can hardly be said to reflect the scholarly approach employed by the Grimms.

There was then a hiatus of more than 70 years before Otto Gelsted (1941b) claimed, with justice, that the brothers Grimm founded comparative folklore with their collection. He also argued for the universality of fairytales:

“The fairytale will stretch its green foliage just as far into the future as its roots stretch down into the past and primordial ages of Man./ We have records of fairytales as far back as 4,000 years in Egyptian papyrus manuscripts ... They belong to no one people, they have the same origin among all European peoples, and individual tales can be found over large tracts of Asia and Africa.” (‘Lige saa langt Eventyrene strækker deres Rødder ned i Menneskets Fortid og Urtid, lige saa langt ud i Fremtiden vil Eventyrets Træ strække sin grønne Krone./ Vi har Optegnelser af Eventyr saa langt tilbage som for 4000 Aar siden i ægyptiske

Papyrshaandskrifter ... De er ikke et enkelt Folks Særeje, Grundstammen er hos alle europæiske Folk een og den samme, og de enkelte Eventyr kan genfindes over store Dele af Asien og Afrika.' (11))

All told, the brothers' belief that tales were universal and of scholarly value has been accepted at one level or other. It has not stirred the kind of debate in Danish scholarly life that it has in, for instance, Germany and (recently) in the US. The idea has not been contested outright, and, once again, it seems reasonable to assume that the Danes have been largely satisfied with their own produce, that is specifically Norse mythology and, later, Danish folklore collected by, for instance, Svend Grundtvig and Evald Tang-Kristensen. In that context, Danish scholars - and the general public - have merely considered the Grimm *Tales* to be a supplement.

Gaining ground

In nineteenth century Denmark, Germany, and other European countries, the Grimm collection hit the groundswell of improved educational systems which made for larger reading audiences, at the same time that elitist leadership gave way to broad democracy. Consequently, the deceptively 'folk' atmosphere of the *Tales* became more palatable, indeed authentic, to the public.

The Danish response to the *Tales* was by far the most prompt outside Germany. For a number of years the Danish Grimm Canon was also the most extensive one: the first six stories were translated in 1816; in 1823 the entire first volume of the *Tales* was available in Danish (and would also be sold to Norwegian readers). There were at least two reasons why this was so.

In the first place, Danish and German Romanticism arose concurrently. In both countries, the spirit of collection, and visions of the glorious past were in the air, as were many ideas implicit in the *Tales*, such as the pantheistic notions of animate nature with a soul of its own imbued with sympathy for the human condition, manifested most obviously by speaking animals. This point is amply demonstrated by the translation of Wilhelm Grimm's 'Introduction' (1819; Appendix 2).

Secondly, the Danish response resulted from close political, commercial and cultural relationships between Copenhagen and Kassel in the period



Rasmus Nyerup (1759–1829)

1807-1813. The relationship between the brothers Grimm and Danish scholars flourished, with Professor Rasmus Nyerup as the key person in the favourable Danish response to the Grimms' *oeuvre*, including the *Tales* (above, p. 21-24).

When the *Tales* were published in Berlin just before Christmas 1812, nobody could have foreseen the full historical and geopolitical consequences of Napoleon's disastrous Russian campaign and nobody could have predicted that within a year the Napoleonic Empire would be disintegrating. In our context this does not even matter, for despite the post-Napoleonic restoration of the reactionary Prince Wilhelm in the small Kurfürstentum of Hesse, Baron Hans von Hammerstein continued to be the ambassador to Copenhagen for the ruler in Kassel.³ Notwithstanding the dissolution of Westphalia, the brothers Grimm could therefore count on supporters in Copenhagen: as previously noted, they dedicated their edition of the *Edda* to von Hammerstein (1815) and Jacob Grimm also sent him a copy of the *Circular* exhorting readers to collect folk material.

Rasmus Nyerup dedicated his *Morskabslæsning* to Wilhelm Grimm in 1816 (above, p. 23) as an indication of his approval of Wilhelm's activities, such as the translation of Danish ballads, his scholarly articles, and the brothers' joint publication of the *Edda*. But Nyerup also thought that Jacob and Wilhelm were striking fresh ground in collecting material from the common folk. He was not the only one who knew of the stories, for the German *Edition* of the tales was available at the bookseller's in Copenhagen.⁴

The most striking proof of Danish acceptance of the Grimm *Tales* is that publication of the stories (and, we may rest assured, the corresponding sales figures) remained unaffected by Danish wars with Germany: during the first Slesvig-Holsten War of 1848-50, many Danes resented Jacob Grimm's outspoken support of the Slesvig-Holsten rebels and his vote at the Frankfurt Assembly against armistice (above, p. 5). Yet Davidsen's first translation appeared shortly after that and saw three issues before the disastrous second Slesvig-Holsten War of 1863-64. Within six years of the humiliating Danish defeat, tales not previously published appeared in a new collection. The same remarkable pattern was repeated during the Second World War, when Denmark was occupied by the Nazis (1940-45): there were three major new translations of Grimm tales (1941a; 1941b; 1944a).

In sum, it seems as if the general reading public in Denmark bore Wilhelm Grimm no grudge for the doings of his fellow countrymen. This contrasts sharply with Danish reaction to the British attacks during the Napoleonic Wars: no British book for children book was translated for more than a quarter of a century after 1807, when 'Perfidious Albion' took up arms against the nice Danes and defeated them.⁵

In reader response research carried out in the early 1980s, my colleagues and I met a number of Danish 16 to 18-year olds at the 'gymnasium' (sixth-form/college/Lycée/A-level/gymnasiale Oberstufe) who believed the brothers Grimm were Danes.⁶ To many Danish readers, the brothers Grimm are part of the Danish national literature. Excepting the Bible, this must, surely, represent one of the most successful assimilations of translation into another culture in the history of literature.

The realisation of the collection activity

The earliest manifestation in Danish culture of activities inspired by the brothers Grimm is due to familiarity with the *Tales* and possibly (but indirectly) with Jacob's *Circular* from Vienna. There is no evidence that Jacob Grimm sent the *Circular* to Nyerup. It would have been surprising had he done so, for, to the Danish patriot Rasmus Nyerup, Jacob Grimm's easy switch of alliance from the French to the German ruler of Hesse must have smacked of political opportunism. On the other hand, Nyerup must have been familiar with the *Circular* no matter whether he enquired for it or not: not only was it sent to von Hammerstein, but also to Mr Bech, the very man who had told Wilhelm in 1812 that Nyerup had published a collection of stories (above, p. 21).⁷ The best proof that Rasmus Nyerup knew of the *Circular* is the encouragement he gave to one of his librarians, Just Mathias Thiele (1795-1874), to collect Danish local legend (Danish: 'Sagn', German: 'Localsagen'), for this was one of the genres singled out by Jacob Grimm in his *Circular* (Appendix 1, point 2).

In his memoirs, Thiele reports that in late 1817, Nyerup asked him to contribute to a small collection of poems. He promised to do so, but also mentioned to his brother that he would prefer to contribute twelve sonnets, one about each month. Thiele's brother, who was also the publisher of the book, thought this was a splendid idea and promised to give him the Grimm *Tales* - which Thiele ardently coveted - as his fee. So, on 28-30 November 1817, Thiele wrote the sonnets and won his reward. At this time, Thiele had reached a crossroad in his life; he had decided to give up his studies at university and was employed at the Royal Library in Copenhagen. Browsing through old books, he felt an urge to collect old Danish legends. He readily admits that this undertaking was



Mathias Thielew (1795-1874)

inspired by the example of the brothers Grimm, and he also stresses that their collection endowed his endeavours with a legitimacy they would otherwise not have had: previously most people in Denmark would have considered the undertaking frivolous. In late May 1818, he began collecting local legends ('Sagn'), and spent the next six summers travelling on foot all over Denmark in order to record these, directly from the oral tradition among the folk; Nyerup wrote a foreword for the prefatory volume (1817), which Thiele issued partly as an advertisement and partly to make it clear that he was looking for historical legends, not nursery tales ('Ammestuehistorier').⁸ The collection

met with instant recognition by well-known Danish writers and by the brothers Grimm. In August 1818, Wilhelm wrote to Nyerup:

“We welcome Thiele’s ‘Specimens of local legend’, so please encourage the author to continue the work to which you have already introduced him. We would be particularly happy to see a work like that as a counterpart to our own. My brother has reviewed and recommended it in a journal in Göttingen.” (‘Thieles Probe von Volkssagen ist uns sehr willkommen, muntern Sie den Verf., da Sie ihn doch schon eingeführt haben auf in dem Sammeln fortzuführen. Wir würden ein solches Werk als ein Gegenstück zu dem unsrigen mit besonderer Vorliebe empfangen. Mein Bruder hat es in einer Göttinger Zeitschrift (Wünschelrute 1818, No. 50, S. 100) angezeigt und empfohlen.’)⁹

In July 1819, Wilhelm asked Nyerup to pass on a letter to Thiele, whose address he did not have; furthermore, when he sent the 1819 *Edition* of the *Tales* to Nyerup, he enclosed a copy for Thiele. Thiele took pride in the brothers’ recognition of his work in Denmark and noted in the preface of the third volume that:

“I have been pleased that my work has been encouraged by highly judicious people in Denmark, as well as in Sweden, Germany and England ...” (‘Imidlertid har det ret quæget mig at dette mit Arbeide har fundet saa opmuntrende Bedømmere, foruden i Danmark, ogsaa i Sverrig, Tydskland og Engeland ...’).

Thiele published nearly 600 legends in the period 1817-1823. Voicing the same sentiment as the brothers Grimm in their first ‘Preface’, namely that the oral tradition of the folk was dying out, he did not consider his six-year effort a waste of time (IV: vi), although he had often found the exercise repetitive:

“By now I have ferreted out and brought [my readers] more than four hundred legends, and I hope they will recognise how difficult it is to find something new. When an honest farmer begins to tell me something, I can, in most cases, say to him at the opening words: ‘Stop, my brave man, and I shall tell you the rest!’ and he will be surprised that I know it as well as he does.” (‘Jeg har nu sammenskrabet og forebragt Dig [Læseren] over firehundrede Sagn [per bind III] og Du vil vel indsee, hvor vanskeligt, det nu bliver at finde noget Nyt. Naar nu en ærlig Bondemand begynder at fortælle, kan jeg oftest, naar jeg blot har hørt ham begynde, sige til ham: “Ja, tie nu, Fa’r! saa skal jeg fortælle Jer Resten!” og han undres over, at jeg veed ligesaa god Beskeed, som han.’ (III: v-vi))

A few of Thiele’s earliest legends derived from literary sources, and, when he finished his collection, he had some qualms about having included these legends (IV: iv). A few others, especially in the second volume, derived from other recorders. Nevertheless, the vast majority were collected by Thiele in person and taken down directly from Danish country folk.

Thus, Just Mathias Thiele became the first person, not only in Denmark but in the whole of Europe, who systematically scoured the countryside recording stories from the authentic oral tradition of the lower classes. So far, he has not been duly credited for his pioneering effort. On the one hand, this is ironic, but, on the other, not entirely unjustified, for he would not have started his collecting work had it not been for the appearance of the Grimm *Tales*, which certainly seemed to have been culled from the oral tradition of the common folk, and for Jacob’s *Circular* from Vienna, which encouraged others to do likewise.

Thiele’s effort prompted Matthias Winther in Odense, on the island of Funen, who had supplied Thiele with legends, to publish a volume of *Danish Fairytales* (*Danske Folkeeventyr*).¹⁰ This volume came out in 1823, and, like the Lindencrone translation

(1823), it was dedicated to Johan von Bülow. It comprised 20 annotated folktales. A few - such as 'Pandekagehuset' - had elements in common with Grimm tales (in this case 'Hansel and Gretel') but are genuinely Danish (Nyerup and Thiele also knew Danish versions of this tale). Ten tales were collected by Matthias Winther from the oral tradition on Funen ('Mundtligt'), eight were passed on from others ('Meddelt') and two were from Nyerup's publications. Winther said his sources were old women and farmers ('[jeg hørte] adskillige af dem, saaledes som en ærlig Bondemand eller gammel Matrone kunde fortælle mig det.') He accepted that not all stories were equally good, but he argued that some of them held a deeper meaning ('at der laae en dyb Betydning i adskillige gamle Sagn'). He stressed that he had not tampered with the language, but had recorded what he had heard: "for I have not dared meddle, or change or improve anything significant in what I have heard." ('thi det er langt fra at jeg har turdet vove at forandre eller forbedre noget betydeligt, i hvad jeg har hørt.') Stylistically, the narratives leave much to be desired and this probably explains why the book met with little success.¹¹ Nevertheless, clearly referring to the brothers Grimm, who are mentioned in the introductory poem together with, for instance, Oehenschläger and Musäus, Winther says he was prompted to publish the stories because similar collections had met with a favourable reception in other countries ('da jeg fornå, at boglærde Mænd i andre lande havde samlet noget Lignende, og at det var vel optaget saa tænkte jeg paa, at byde Dig, kjære Læser! hvad jeg havde, i det Haab, at du af et ærlig Hjerte og uden Haan eller forudfattet Had til det Gamle og det Eenfoldige modtager min Gave.') He stresses that he is sure the tales are about to disappear due to the hostility of the contemporary educational system ('Du kan ogsaa tro, kjære Læser! at det nuværende Skolevæsen slet ikke mener det godt med dem.'). At all events, the stylistic crudeness of Winther's collection shows that the transfer from the oral to the written mode demands changes if folktales are to be made readable.

The belief that the brothers Grimm had collected their tales by plodding around the German countryside persisted in Denmark. It was accepted among editors and translators for a long time. Wilhelm Grimm's 'Preface' from 1819 - which hinted that this was the case - was published in all editions of 'Lindencrone's translation' until 1853 and therefore contributed to the belief that the stories are verbatim renderings of 'ideal tales from the oral tradition of the folk'.

Yet, as early as 1843, Christian Molbech made no bones about the necessity of linguistic editing in translation. He openly said that in a successful transfer of tales from the common folk to the written medium:

"it is the spirit, the character, and the unity of the national stylistic form which should be preserved, not deficiencies and formlessness in the rendition." ('det er Aanden, Charakteren og Heelheden i den nationale stilistiske Form, som skal bevares, ikke Mangler og Formløshed i Foredraget.' (xiv))

In the same preface he stated that:

"a tale may be told in its essentials alone, in the strictest epic prose form; this is the old naive narrative which condenses everything, excludes all embellishment, omits any kind of personal engagement on the narrator's part, and limits itself to the pure epic kernel: one may cite numerous Grimm tales as examples ..." ('Men et Eventyr kan enten fortælles allene i sit

væsentlige Stof, i den strengeste episke Prosaform; det er den gamle, naive Sagnfortælling, der sammentrænger Alt, udelukker enhver Udmaling, bortkaster enhver personligt deeltagende Indblanding af Fortælleren, og indskrænker sig til den rene episke Kiærne. (Som Exempler kunne nævnes en stor Deel af de Grimmske Eventyr, og et Par af de her meddeelte magyarske eller ungerske).’ (xiv-xv)

Although the idea is reminiscent of Grimm’s insistence on the ‘narrative kernel’, Molbech’s distinction between the epic kernel and the stylistic form undoubtedly related to his own practice rather than to a scrutiny of Wilhelm Grimm’s editorial filters.

In 1894, Daugaard also claimed that the contents of the tales were narrated by peasant women, notably Mrs Viehmann, and that the brothers Grimm had merely introduced stylistic changes. In 1941, Otto Gelsted informed his readers that the brothers:

“had the excellent idea of taking down the tales as they heard them from the narrative tradition among the common folk.” (‘de fik den gode Idé at skrive Eventyrene op, saadan som de hørte dem fortalt af Almuens egen Mund.’(11)).

Similarly, Martin Hansen (1956b) stressed that the stories were:+

“simply collected and taken down in the form in which they existed in the oral tradition a century and a half ago” (‘de har blot samlet dem ind og nedskrevet dem, sådan som de levede i folkemunde for halvandet hundrede år siden’ (5)).

Unlike Gelsted, Hansen was, however, fully aware that Wilhelm Grimm had changed the tales over the years and he therefore translated the ‘original versions’ published in 1812.

The sketchy character of these comments shows that Danish editors and translators (and hence the general public) have not worried too much about this matter, but have vaguely taken it for granted that on the whole the stories were authentic. It is much more important in a Danish context that the brothers’ indications that they had collected the stories verbatim from the common folk led to the first genuine effort of collecting folklore in Europe, and subsequently to collection work by Danish folklorists such as Svend Grundtvig and Evald Tang-Kristensen later in the nineteenth century.

Danish translations

Severance

Wilhelm Grimm had little idea of the popularity of the *Tales* in Denmark, for in a footnote first appearing in the German 1837 *Edition* and later revised in the German last *Complete Edition* (1857) he stated that:

“A Dutch [book] comprises a selection, and so does a Danish [selection] by Hegermann-Lindencrone (*Börne Eventyr*, Copenhagen 1820 or 21). There are also three pieces translated by J. F. Lindencrone in *Dansk Læsebog for Tydske* by Frederik Bresemann (second edition 1843, 123-133). Oehlenschläger has translated a few pieces, and C. Molbech a fairly large number (*Julegave for Børn* 1835-39 and *Udvalgte Eventyr og Fortællinger*, Copenhagen 1843).” (‘Eine holländische (*Sprookjesboek vor Kinderen*, Amsterdam 1820) enthielt einen Auszug, wie eine dänische von Hegermann-Lindencrone (*Börne Eventyr*, Kopenh. 1820 oder 21). Auch in *Dansk Læsebog for Tydske* af Frederik Bresemann, zweite Auflage 1843, S. 123-133, sind drei Stücke von J. F. Lindencrone übersetzt. Einzelne Stücke hat Öhlenschläger übertragen, eine grössere Auswahl C. Molbech (*Julegave for Børn* 1835-39 und *Udvalgte Eventyr og Fortællinger*, Kopenhagen 1843).’)¹²

My list shows that most Danish translations were unknown to Wilhelm Grimm. It is true that this fact reflects translational and publishing practices before the concept of copyright was introduced internationally. But it is equally proof that, once translated, texts are severed from the sender, and, for that matter, also from the 'sending culture'.

In sum

The poet Adam Oehlenschläger was, then, the first translator of Grimm tales in the world. In a Danish context, he is the founding father of the Danish Grimm translational tradition. Nevertheless, he did have an ideological view of the *Tales* and was, as noted, openly critical and consequently selective in his use of the stories.

Not so Chamberlain Johan Lindencrone who translated more tales from the first volume (1812). His daughter revised these, so that they corresponded to the texts of the second "enlarged and improved" *Edition* (1819). Accordingly, 'Lindencrone's translation' (1821 or 1823) was an 'exact' Danish translation of the first volume of the German 1819 *Edition*. It included the 'Preface' to the German *Edition* and Wilhelm Grimm's scholarly essay on fairytales.

The volume was reviewed in the literary journal *Dansk Litteratur-Tidende* (1823: 624-628). The reviewer noted that old 'Chamberlain Lindencrone' had done a fine translation of the German tales which were vouchsafed by two eminent German scholars and he accepted that the linguistic expression might owe something to the Grimms; he was sure that they had recorded the stories with fidelity and without embellishment, omitting whatever was impure and deviant, and contracting stories to complement one another.

The reviewer compared the *Tales* to Mathias Thiele's *Sagn* and was struck by the latter's brevity. He ascribed this to several reasons, one being that:

"Thiele wanted to collect local legend among the common folk, but in busy daily lives the narrative cannot be detailed. Conversely, speech is the most important occupation in the life of children, so among them, the narrator will take his time." ('Thiele vilde samle Sagn blandt Folket, men i det travle Liv kan Fortællingen ikke blive udførlig; i Barnets Verden er derimod Talen den vigtigste Syssel; der giver Fortælleren sig Tid.')

The reviewer cited another reason, namely that fairytales were universal creations of the imagination, independent of space and time, thus embracing the Grimms' beliefs about the universality of tales.

At another level, however, it is obvious that both translator and reviewer accepted that the Grimm tales were edited only in word and not in deed: in their eyes, Wilhelm Grimm's editorial filters were acceptable. Louise Hegermann-Lindencrone incorporated changes into the revision of her father's translation, and the reviewer took the style to represent the oral rendition of 'ideal tales'. Neither had reason to ponder whether these realisations would be different in German and Danish.

Lindencrone's collection was frequently reprinted for nearly ninety years and his translations were used by others, for instance in a book of translation exercises (1841).

By 1841, new translations had already been published by Christian Molbech, who, it will be recalled, corresponded with the brothers Grimm. In a letter (1837) to Wilhelm Grimm he termed the 'Lindencrone translation' mediocre ('die Übersetzung ... von *Hegermann* ist ziemlich mittelmässig und vergriffen'). He began publishing his own

renditions in 1832 in his *Reader* used for teaching Danish in grammar school. He included other Grimm tales in a slender volume of seasonal *Christmas gifts* for children (1835), and published additional selections in subsequent years. In a personal letter, Molbech assured Wilhelm Grimm that even though a colleague had translated some tales, he, Molbech, had personally checked these translations.

In 1843, Molbech published *Selected fairytales*. The work contained 75 stories from various parts of Europe, including Denmark (Jutland), Hungary, Poland, and Great Britain; there were stories by Tieck and Walter Scott but, above all, from the Grimm collection which was represented by 29 tales. The volume was, quite justly, dedicated to the Grimms.

Molbech's stories were taken from both volumes of the German *Complete Edition*. Molbech's success inspired Jakob Davidsen to translate 56 stories from Grimm's volume 2 in 1854; Davidsen cited the popularity of the 'Lindencrone translation' (which had then been reprinted four times). In turn, Davidsen's own collection was so successful that he was prompted to issue even more tales from Grimm's volume 2 in 1870. In his selections, Davidsen shied short only of the briefest stories and those relying on punning for their effect.

By 1870, Danish readers therefore had access to an almost complete repertory of the German *Complete Edition*.¹³ This Danish Grimm Canon was based on different German *Editions* and it was issued in several books, rather than one; nevertheless, it is one of the most comprehensive foreign language editions of the Grimm tales published in the nineteenth century, and it is tempting to believe that this fact paved the way for the speedy Danish publication (in 1894) of the magnificent German 1893 *Folk Edition* with illustrations by P. Grot Johann and R. Leinweber.

The first and only Danish collection which may have been based on Wilhelm Grimm's popular and non-scholarly *Small Edition* did not appear until 1885. It was issued by the publishing house of Mackeprang and comprised 20 stories; when a companion volume was called for, the (new) translator resorted to the German *Complete Edition* for several tales (1890).¹⁴

The *Tales* enjoyed continued popularity. By the 1890s, several publishers were competing, each offering their own collection, including 'de luxe editions' ('Pragtudgaver'), a term which at that time meant that there was a single picture in colour. Gradually more and more illustrated editions appeared in a complex welter of collections, series, and single-tale books (which will be discussed in detail below).

The respectability of the translators

The status of the brothers Grimm as luminaries in Nordic and Germanic scholarship ensured the *Tales* acceptance by the Danish intelligentsia. The high social status of the first Danish translators as poets (Oehlenschläger), noblemen ('Chamberlain Lindencrone'), and academics (Professor Christian Molbech) imbued the early translation of the Grimm tales with an enviable aura of authority and gained them a foothold in educated Danish households. There must have been a snob appeal in the insistence on ascribing the translation to 'Lindencrone' even after Greensteen's revision in 1891,

although it is naive to overlook the point that this insistence also permitted the publisher to claim high, if not astronomical, sales figures for this venerable classic. At all events, until 1891, both the price and the leather binding of 'Lindencrone' suggest that it was produced to last and to take its place on the bookshelves of educated upper-class and middle-class homes. Its leather binding would signal respect for the common cultural heritage, and it would be taken down to be read aloud to children. This was not the case with Davidsen's translation, which was, from the very beginning, sold in cardboard-bound editions only. Until we find the cheap international co-prints in the 1960s, there is, furthermore, no tradition for anonymity among Danish translators - unlike the case in England where anonymous translation abounded from the beginning, a fact amply documented by Sutton (1996). In Denmark it has always been highly respectable to translate the brothers Grimm, even for men:

It is significant that until 1944, when Ellen Kirk's collection came out, the full first names give the impression that all Danish translations were made by men. Louise Hegermann-Lindencrone (1823) took no credit for her work; Sille Beyer's translation work is mentioned by Molbech only in passing and may not refer to Grimm at all (1843); Maren Markussen (if it was, indeed, her) hid behind the initial of her first name (1900). It is interesting, but ultimately futile, to speculate whether the Danish response to the Grimm *Tales* would have been different had it been known that their first Danish translator was a woman and not an old Chamberlain. But no matter how we may interpret these factors, there is no denying that male domination in the world of letters told, not only in the methods used for recording the Grimm *Tales* (above, pp 35-36), but even in the ascriptions of Danish translations.

It must be stressed that, in contrast to Edgar Taylor's English translation, many Danish translators of Grimm (Oehlenschläger, 'Lindencrone', and Molbech) also had in mind an educated audience witness the lengthy prefaces on the nature of folk poetry. In Denmark, it was taken for granted that, like Norse literature and Danish ballads, the Grimm tales were valuable relics of the past (at least until Jakob Davidsen published his translations in 1853). Adam Oehlenschläger, Chamberlain Lindencrone, Professor Rasmus Nyerup, Professor Christian Molbech, as well as the 1823 reviewer, emphasised the authenticity of the tales. They accepted their orientation towards a juvenile audience but stressed that the stories should not be slighted by adults. The best proof of the respect accorded in Denmark to the Grimm collection has been alluded to already: it is the inclusion of Wilhelm Grimm's forty-page essay on the Pan-Germanic and mythological origin of fairytales. In addition to being scholarly and respectable, this essay was, as already noted, a solace to Danish culture and nationalism after the country's crushing defeat in the Napoleonic Wars.

THE GRIMM SOURCE TEXTS AND DANISH TRANSLATIONS

In the process of translation, translators make (I believe, largely unconscious) choices between various readings of the original and various renditions in the target language.

This includes the rejection of certain solutions, phrases, and renditions which they find less adequate than the ones they finally choose. Furthermore, translators may give preference to particular stories, especially if they are to edit collections of tales. In addition to these banal considerations, the Grimm *Tales* present an interesting problem, since the original German sender, Wilhelm Grimm, changed the *Tales*: the source texts were not ‘physically stable’ but were repeatedly changed by means of editorial filters over a period of more than forty years.

Most Danish translators were unaware of these changes; they had no reason to pore over German *Editions* and make a comparative textual analysis. The translators took at face value Wilhelm’s claim that nothing had been changed in the stories except their style. It is, however, only fair to assume that H. J. Greensteen (preface in 1891) found errors in the ‘Hegermann-Lindencrone’ translation for the simple reason that he compared it to German texts which Wilhelm Grimm had changed after the 1819 *Edition*.

I have already pointed out that the *Small Edition* had no appreciable impact in Denmark: nearly all Danish translators have referred to the *Complete Edition*. What is more, tales from *all* the seven *Complete Editions* which Wilhelm Grimm himself saw to the press were translated into Danish. This is evidence of the popularity of the *Tales* and to the geographical proximity which made it easy to obtain the newest German books in the capital of Denmark at a time when one third of the kingdom, namely Slesvig-Holsten, was German-speaking. Even English does not boast of similar coverage of the Grimm Canon.¹⁵ Historical and cultural bonds have thus left a singular imprint in translation. As such it is a unique feature which deserves to be described in some detail.

The first German Complete Edition (1812 and 1815)

I have already touched upon the favourable response to the first *Edition*, its availability in Copenhagen, and how Oehlenschläger translated six tales from the 1812 volume. Three stories ‘The frog king’ (KHM 1), ‘The fisherman and his wife’ (KHM 20) and ‘The juniper tree’ (KHM 47) were reprinted in the ‘Lindencrone translation’ and accordingly reissued until 1909a. One of these tales (‘The fisherman and his wife’) was also reprinted by Ludvig Fasting (1825), and, much later, as a single-tale book (1887b). So, in a linguistic form ultimately deriving from Oehlenschläger’s translations of the Grimm tales published 1812, these tales were passed on for nearly a hundred years.¹⁶

At the same time, the retired Chamberlain Johan Frederik Lindencrone also translated stories from the Grimm collection. He may have translated just a few, but, since we are short of evidence, it is equally likely that he translated the whole Grimm repertory from the first *Edition* in the years before his death in 1817.¹⁷ When the second *Edition* appeared in 1819, Lindencrone’s daughter, Louise Hegermann-Lindencrone, revised his translation and incorporated Wilhelm Grimm’s editorial alterations, except for those passages or stories that had been edited only a little in the new German *Edition* of the *Tales*. This is evident from an analysis of ‘Riffraff’ (KHM 10), a tall story about a hen and a cock enjoying an outing. In German it remained virtually unaltered, except for a few changes in vocabulary: in 1812 a goose is pulling the cart containing the hen and the cock at a “Gallop”, and an innkeeper is disinclined to believe that his guests are

“vornehme Passagiere”. In 1819, in accordance with his principle of replacing obvious loanwords with ‘genuine German words’, Wilhelm Grimm substituted these words with ‘genuine German expressions’, namely “in einem Jagen” and “vornehme Herrschaften”, respectively (see above, p. 48). Louise Hegermann-Lindencrone seems to have accepted her father’s translation of the story as a whole, for in Danish the words are rendered as ‘Gallop’ and ‘fornemme Passagerer’, the closest linguistic equivalents to the phrases in the German first *Edition*.¹⁸ So, in some measure or other, the old chamberlain’s translation was, like Oehlenschläger’s, to enjoy a life of nearly a hundred years.

After the demise of this venerable translation, the German first *Edition* was translated once more: the German scholarly debate about Wilhelm Grimm’s editorial filters started by Friedrich Panzer in 1913 (above, p. 60), eventually prompted Martin N. Hansen to revert to the German first *Edition* (mostly 1812) in 1956b. His translation was so successful that a companion volume was issued in 1959b (mostly containing tales from the 1815 second volume), and both volumes were reprinted in 1964a. By going back to the German first *Edition*, Martin N. Hansen resurrected ‘Puss in boots’ (Anh 5) and thus once more incorporated this story in the Danish Grimm Canon, although the brothers themselves discarded it (above, p. 32): it is included as a Grimm tale in large collections (1970a, 1975b) and ascribed to Grimm in *DB* in single-tale books (1974, 1975).

The second Complete Edition (1819)

The first volume of the German second *Edition* (1819) had an impact on the Danish conception of the Grimm *Tales* which should not be underestimated: in the first place, it served for Louise Hegermann-Lindencrone’s revision and translation work which was to constitute the Danish ‘standard edition’ for the rest of the century. Linguistic vestiges of her endeavours were preserved for nearly ninety years. The fact that it was a translation of all 86 tales from the first volume had a durable impact on the Danish concept of ‘tales by Grimm’: all the stories in the first German volume were retained when ‘Lindencrone’s translation’ was revised (slightly) by Greensteen in 1891; accordingly the hegemony of the first German volume remained largely unchallenged as representing the Grimm Canon in Danish as late as 1921a.

A few stories by Molbech, namely those he translated for his *Reader* (1832) plus the *Christmas gifts* of 1835 and 1836, also derive from the 1819 German *Edition*. Molbech’s *Reader* remained in print for forty years.

The third Complete Edition (1837)

Christian Molbech may have translated some stories from this *Edition* for his 1838 *Christmas gift*.

A substantial part - more than fifty tales - of this *Edition* was translated over a hundred years later when it provided the original for the collection issued by Hasselmann and Hæstrup in 1947a. In all probability, the translators did not have access to the old *Edition* itself, but rather some German reprint of it (a point I shall discuss below).

The fourth Complete Edition (1840)

Molbech, however, relied extensively on the German fourth *Edition* for his Danish translations, supplemented by his own previous translations for *Selected fairytales* published in 1843. Jakob Davidsen similarly turned to volume 2 of this *Edition* for the majority of the Grimm tales used in his collection of 1870. This *Edition*, therefore, also had a long-term impact, especially in Molbech's selection, namely a hundred years, whereas Davidsen's collection was destined for a short ten-year career (until 1878 or 1882).

The fifth Complete Edition (1843)

Molbech included 'The pea test' from this *Edition* in his *Reader* (1845). 'The pea test' was dropped from subsequent German *Editions*, but it continued to have a life of its own in Denmark for more than twenty years (until 1869) independent of the German source text.

The sixth Complete Edition (1850)

Jakob Davidsen used the German sixth *Edition* for his *Collection* of 1854a, which continued to enjoy popularity for more than twenty years (1878 or 1882).

The last 'authorial', seventh Complete Edition (1857)

The *Complete Edition* which Wilhelm Grimm saw to the press is the 'standard *Edition*' in Germany. It did not provide the basis for a Danish translation until 1890 (Sørensen). Greensteen seems to have consulted it for his revision of 'Lindencrone' 1891, and it was subsequently used by Daugaard (1894) and Carl Ewald (1905) for their translations of the *Complete Grimm*. In all likelihood it is, furthermore, the (ultimate) source text for most translations for collections comprising Grimm tales since then, not as a matter of deliberate fidelity towards the original, but for the simple reason that it usually supersedes previous German *Editions*. In some translation or other, it has therefore been part of Danish literary culture for more than a hundred years.

The time lag between German *Editions* and Danish translations

One reason why nearly all Danish translators have used *Complete Editions* seems to be that, thanks to the 'Lindencrone translation', educated Danes always knew that the Grimm Canon comprised more than the fifty tales of the *Small Edition*. Nevertheless, studies of the Grimm *Tales* translated into other languages will have to face the problem that internationally most translators have believed that the German *Small Edition* was identical with the complete Grimm Canon.

My discussion shows that national histories of translations of the *Tales* cannot disregard the editorial filters Wilhelm Grimm imposed on the stories in German. In this respect, I believe that the Danish case is exceptionally complex, since all German *Complete Editions* have served as source-texts for translations. The table overleaf illustrates the time lag between publication in Germany and Danish translations.

It is readily seen that translators have normally used the latest German *Edition* of the *Tales*.

| THE TIME LAG BETWEEN PUBLICATION IN GERMANY AND THE FIRST DANISH RESPONSE AND TRANSLATION | | |
|--|-----------------|---|
| YEAR | DANISH RESPONSE | DANISH TRANSLATION |
| 1812 (volume 1) | 1816 (Nyerup) | 1816 Oehlenschläger Before 1817: Lindencrone |
| 1815 (volume 2) | 1816 (Nyerup) | (1956b) 1959b |
| 1819 (second <i>Edition</i>) | | 1821 Louise Hegermann |
| 1837 (third <i>Edition</i>) | | 1947 Hasselmann & Hæstrup |
| 1840 (fourth <i>Edition</i>) | | 1843 Molbech's <i>Selection</i> |
| 1843 (fifth <i>Edition</i>) | | 1845 Molbech's <i>Reader</i> |
| 1850 (sixth <i>Edition</i>) | | 1854 Davidsen |
| 1857 (seventh <i>Edition</i>) | | 1890 Sørensen |
| 1893 (<i>Folk Edition</i>) | | 1894 Daugaard |

The table also shows that the briefest time lags between a German *Edition* and a Danish response are between 1815 and Nyerup's response in 1816, and between the German *Folk Edition* and the Danish translation in 1893 and 1894, respectively. Most other *Editions* were also used for Danish translations within a few years of publication in Germany.

Two long intervals catch the eye. The first, between 1837 and 1947, is an anomaly. It can only be explained by assuming that the translators acquired a German reprint of the 1837 *Edition* issued in the 1930s or 1940s by a German publisher who did not know that this was not the 'standard *Edition*'.

The other time lag, namely that between 1857 and 1890, is also striking, but less odd. There are probably several reasons why the *Tales* were not speedily translated. The first is in all likelihood the general chill in relationships between Denmark and Germany, specifically, between patriotic Danish intellectuals and the Grimm brothers. In 1854, after the Danish victory in the first Slesvig-Holsten War, Danes continued to patronise the Grimms despite Jacob's support of the idea of including Slesvig-Holsten in Germany. After the Danish defeat in 1864, there was no corresponding magnanimity. An interwoven explanation is that around the middle of the nineteenth century, the Danish élite gave way to more broadly democratic rule with the introduction of the New Danish Constitution (of 1849). The bourgeoisie turned to the familiar editions of the Grimm *Tales*: Molbech at school and 'Lindencrone' at home. It was, in other words, up to new translators to make the *Tales* appeal to new readerships. This, Jakob Davidsen did while acknowledging deference to 'Lindencrone' and Molbech.

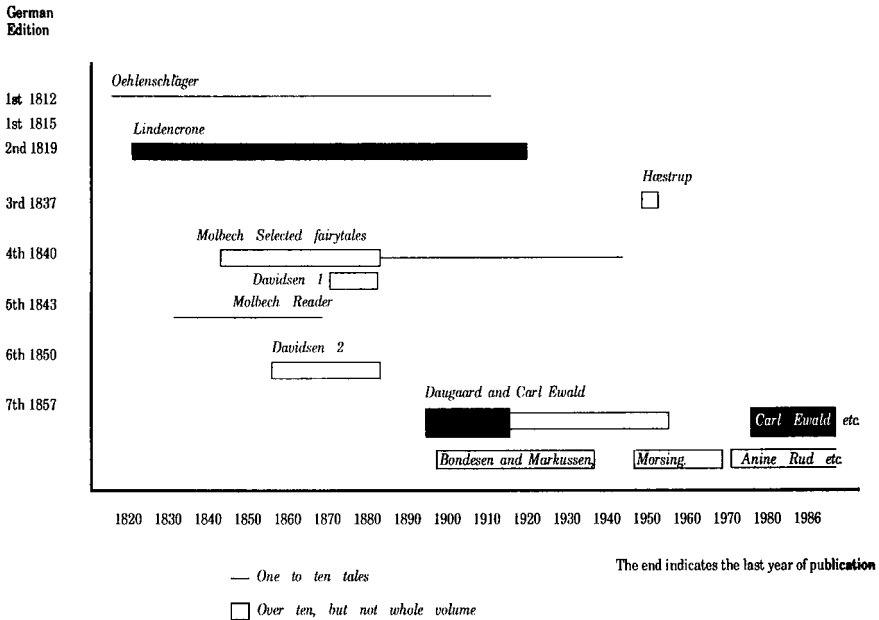
The table also bears witness to the surprising vitality of even early versions of the *Tales*: they easily jump more than a century. The leaps from 1812 and 1815 to 1956b and 1959b, represent a deliberate choice on the translator's part. That of 1837 to 1947

was a coincidence, but much more telling: Grimm tales from all *Editions* are good narratives and in translation *per se* Wilhelm Grimm's stylistic filters do not matter.

The life-span of German Editions in Danish translation

This point is also clear if we have a look at 'life-span' of Danish translations of various German *Editions* in the following illustration of these life-spans.¹⁹

GERMAN EDITIONS AND THEIR LIFE-SPANS IN DENMARK



The figure vividly shows how most German *Editions* have been relatively long-lived in their individual Danish translations - the shortest was the 1837 *Edition*, which had a life-span of twelve years (1847a to 1859a).

The figure also brings out graphically the monolithic presence of 'Lindencrone' from 1823 to 1921, which, I have suggested, made an indelible imprint (in terms of selection) on the Danish conception of 'Grimm tales': stories from the German first volume are vastly overrepresented in Danish selections of the *Tales*. Sørensen (1884), Bondesen (1897), Markussen (1907), Axel Larsen (1918b), Otto Gelsted (1941b), Hasselmann and Hæstrup (1947a) and even Anine Rud (1970a) are heavily biased in favour of tales which first appeared in German in 1812.

Examples of a fair balance of stories from the whole Grimm repertory are few and far between; yet these are arguably found in Molbech (1843), Stange (1890), Carl Ewald (1922a and 24b), and Jesper Ewald (1941a).

The emergence of an audience

As hinted above, the Grimm *Tales* appeared at a time when the reading public exploded, as education for the élite gave way to instruction for the masses.

In this context, four societal factors (over and above the success of specific publishers and translators) affected the Grimm texts, and, consequently, the response to them in Denmark. These factors were (a) the status of the early translators of the Grimm *Tales* (above, pp 159-160), (b) the establishment of Danish linguistic norms, (c) the introduction of educational reforms, and (d) the ensuing creation of a large reading public.

Language norms

When new translations are made, it is often claimed that the previous ones are ‘old-fashioned’. The demise of certain Danish Grimm translations reveals that occasionally the forces outmoding a translation are tangible. One of these is directly connected with the educational system in terms of ‘correct language usage’ as discussed by Christian Molbech, and ‘objectively’ most evident with the introduction of spelling reforms.

In the sixteenth and at the beginning of the seventeenth century, there was no standard Danish spelling, although a certain uniformity was slowly establishing itself.²⁰ However, in the middle of the seventeenth century, Peder Syv and other scholars proposed norms for spelling which were generally accepted. 1775 saw a government regulation to the effect that pupils at Danish schools should be taught Danish spelling along the lines of a reader describing laudable human characteristics (Ove Malling’s *Store og gode Handlinger*) which appeared two years later. In 1800, it was once more stressed that “the spelling of Danish classics should be used” (‘som af Fædrelandetets bedste og meest klassiske Prosaister bruges’ (*Salmonsens*)). In the course of the nineteenth century there was much discussion about the matter, in which the linguist Rasmus Rask and Christian Molbech (his opponent in this matter) featured prominently. Molbech emerged the (short-lived) victor, since his dictionary of Danish - and the official hymn book of the Danish State Church) - were recommended as guidelines in 1865.

Discussions continued and led to the introduction of ‘standard spellings’. The first official Danish orthographical dictionary was Svend Grundtvig’s *Dansk Haandordbog*. This was superseded by Viggo Saaby’s *Ordbog* (1891), which became the official Danish orthographical dictionary (‘Retskrivningsordbogen’) under ministerial regulations issued in 1889 and 1892.

A more sweeping change was introduced with the government decree of 1875 which stated that school books should be in roman instead of Gothic lettering. Two minor reforms in 1900 and 1902 concerned plural forms of verbs and the conjugation of adjectives. The next major reform took place in 1948, when it was decided that the (Nordic) letter ‘å’ should replace ‘aa’, and that, as in most other European languages, nouns should be spelled with small letters instead of capitals.

All these spelling reforms have affected the Grimm repertory in Danish, and, in a number of cases, brought about the demise of popular translations. Slight spelling corrections in the 1853 and 1875 ‘Lindencrone translations’ reflect some of the minor

changes. Conversely, the radical change to Gothic letters put an effective end to Davidsen's collection. The confused picture of issues (1874, 1876, 1882a and 1882b) makes sense only in the light of this reform in lettering: Davidsen targeted an audience of juvenile readers, and they were quick to reject the old-fashioned letters. The changes of the title pages of the 1874 and 1878 collections probably reflect the publishers' desperation with the existence of a stock of books which were hard to sell. Appealing to adults, Gothic letters survived for a few years in the 'Lindencrone translation' and in Molbech's *Selected fairytales*. The last Gothic letter tales by Grimm (1887) marked a divide in another way as well: they were the first books to be printed in colour. These large de luxe editions would appeal to the adult purchasers. Now they happened to be accustomed to Gothic letters from childhood and unwilling to accept the new letters.

It has been noted that the change in plural forms is reflected in Bondesen's second edition (see '1904'). The reforms of 1948 affected the publishing house of Arthur Jensen which reissued its series the same year in accordance with the new spelling. Conversely, the publisher Adolph Holst's version of 'Snow White' was an old-spelling die-hard which made its appearance as late as 1956. Morsing's popular editions for children (1946a and 1948a) may have had such brisk sales that they were reprinted with the old orthography for three years before being reset with the new spelling (see '1951b'). The Swiss publication of 'The crystal ball' (1976c) using a spelling dating back nearly thirty years is a curiosity at best - a linguistic derelict in space and time bearing witness to ignorance of language change.

In other cases, the introduction of new spellings shows the ways in which prestigious translations are, as it were, quietly and reverently lifted from outmoded to new orthographies by new generations of editors and publishers. This happened several times to 'Lindencrone' and the Oehlenschläger translations embedded in it (e. g. 1875, 1891); it happened to Molbech's *Selected fairytales* (1904); it happened to Jørgen Daugaard's 1894 translation in 1964b. It also happened to Carl Ewald's translations, which were gently modernised on several occasions by different people (for instance, 1954b; 1964b; and 1975a). So, surveying the bibliography, we see traces of many an anonymous hand stretched forth to help a revered - or profitable - translation continue life.

The school system and the new readerships

The Danish state school system was established in the first half of the eighteenth century. It was not, however, until 1814 that all children were obliged to attend school from the age of seven to their confirmation (namely when they would traditionally enter service as farm hands in the predominantly agricultural society); despite its shortcomings, the centralised school system ensured that illiteracy was virtually non-existent by the middle of the nineteenth century.

The Grimm *Tales* thus appeared at a time of transition when there was a limited audience of children as well as relatively few books for them. The appearance of the *Tales* in Germany and their translation into Danish coincided with the improvement in literacy and consequent enormous expansion in the potential readership. The enlargement of the market for juvenile books called forth many works specifically intended for these new

audiences. Initially, competition was mostly from collections of tales by Madame Jeanne Marie de Beaumont (from the 1760s), Perrault (translated 1820), and numerous other French and German writers (Tieck, Bechstein, and Musäus).²¹ Perhaps Thiele and Matthias Winther had these readers in mind, too, although neither says so; from 1835 Danes could enjoy home-made produce: Hans Christian Andersen published his first *Eventyr*, and, as the century progressed, the range of books catering for children widened considerably (Captain Marryat, Jules Verne, etc.).

The increased popularity of children's books must also be ascribed to a general improvement in the standard of living, while, in the wake of improved literacy, book consumption increased. The Grimm *Tales* coincided with this explosion, and followed it through many ramifications in the school system, first in the teaching of Danish (Molbech 1832), and then in the teaching of German (Bresemann 1841).

The use of tales for educational purposes

The present study is limited to books that librarians accept as 'Grimm'. There is one exception to this: I have tried to track down all translations of the Grimm *Tales* that appeared during Wilhelm Grimm's lifetime (i.e. until 1859). This approach reveals that tales were also used for instruction. The main point about this usage is that the Grimm tales satisfied a demand for short pieces of prose narratives, always a favourite genre among authors of textbooks.

The stories were used for the teaching of German from 1841, when Bresemann printed three tales from the 'Lindencrone translation' for his book of translation exercises.

Even before that date, Christian Molbech had used six Grimm tales to illustrate norms and models of correct language usage in his collection for teaching Danish in grammar school (1832). He described what he had done:

"After much vain search, yielding a lean harvest, I was convinced that I would have to produce a reader largely by myself, with a content, a correct language usage, and an easy ... style which I intended to be useful for the instruction in the mother tongue of the younger, adolescent age ... The contents are mostly pieces which I have partly made up myself, partly translated, so that the linguistic expression is mine." ('Ved megen forgieves Søgen, der kun gav lidet Udbytte, blev jeg overbevist om, at jeg for en stor Deel selv maatte bringe en saadan Læsebog tilveie, som den, jeg tænkte mig, ved Indhold, ved et correct Sprog og en jævn ... Stiil, tienlig til Brug ved Veiledning i Modersmaalet for den yngre, men dog alt noget fremrykkede Alder ... Det Meste af dens Indhold bestaaer imidlertid af Stykker, som jeg deels selv har udarbejdet, deels saaledes oversat, at Sprogformen og Udtrykket tilhører mig.' (iii))

In his 1843 *Selected Fairytales*, Molbech detailed his method of translation:

"I have dealt with the foreign language material in this book in the following fashion: whenever I found it correct, I limited myself to a faithful, but never slavish, translation; however, sometimes I rendered the Danish version in a much abbreviated, summarised, or even freer form. Accordingly, I hold sole responsibility for the external form of these tales and stories; but I can only hope that my careful work will be as unobtrusive as possible. I have, everywhere, striven for the Danish language to be as pure and as characteristic as possible. [I intended to make] a book in which a *careful and correctly treated form of Danish* might prove profitable and affect the language usage, at least of young people." ('Overalt i den hele Bog, er ... det af forskellige udenlandske Kilder øste Stof, paa den Maade af mig behandlet, at jeg snart, hvor jeg fandt dette rigtigt, indskrænkede mig til en tro, men aldrig slavisk

Oversættelse; snart lod det danske Eventyr fremtræde i stærkt forkortet, sammendraget, eller med endnu større Frihed behandlet Form. Den ydre Skikkelse, som disse Eventyr og Fortællinger her have faaet, maa jeg derfor ganske være ansvarlig for; men man kan tillige ikke andet end ønske, at det omhyggelige Arbejde, jeg har anvendt herpaa, maa være saa lidet synligt som mueligt. Overalt har jeg bestræbt mig for, at lade det danske Sprog fremtræde i dets Reenhed og fulde Eiendommelighed ...' [xix]; 'det har været min ... Hensigt, baade at give hiin Læsekreds, en ved sit Indhold tiltrækkende og underholdende Bog i Hænderne; og tillige en saadan Bog, hvori en *omhyggeligt og rigtigt behandlet Sprogform* skulde virke fordelagtigt og sprogdannende, i det mindste hos Ungdommen.' (xviii))

Molbech succeeded in this enterprise; the review of the book, previously cited, noted a few misprints but the overall assessment was that "The language is pure and in good taste through and through" ('Sprogformen er i det Hele reen og smagfuld'), and his collections were frequently reissued. His example was followed extensively in later Danish textbooks that used Grimm tales (although it falls beyond the scope of this study to chart such usage).

Danish translations of the Grimm stories have at no stage been used for forging national or cultural identity. The cultural heritage of Denmark has always been firmly anchored in a Danish and Norse past; as mentioned, the Grimm tales were a welcome supplement but no more. Nor is there any Danish usage of the *Tales* for edifying purposes. The explanation is simply that, except for the Christian touches introduced over the years by Wilhelm Grimm, there is no consistent edifying principle behind the *Tales*. In Denmark, the monolithic authority of 'Lindencrone', which was, it must be remembered, a non-selective calquing of all stories from the first volume of the German 1819 *Edition*, would have made it impossible for a Danish editor to select didactic tales, let alone argue that the Grimm tales were edifying, without creating an uproar.

Oehlenschläger noted this lack of edifying features in his comments on his own translations (1816):

"Pedagogues of the Rousseau and the Salzmann types would probably object to the immoral character of these tales, and say that we should not deprave children by describing a pleasant little thief like Tom Thumb or a boasting liar like the bloated tailor, etc. Our forefathers thought otherwise. They thought it more important, by means of clever invention, to offer the children entertaining images of the clever and the stupid than to present them with abstract morality (which is both *above* and *below* their sphere)." ('De rousseauske og salzmanske Optragere vilde vist have meget at indvende mod det U moralske i disse Eventyr; og anmærke, at man ikke burde fordærve Børn, med at skildre en elskværdig lille Tyv, som Tommeliden, eller en pralende Løgnhals, som den stortalende Skrædder etc. - Vore Forfædre tænkte anderledes. De fandt det vigtigere, i sindrige Opfindelser, at give Børn morsomme Billeder af det Kløgtige og Dumme, end (hvad der baade er *over* og *under* deres Sphære) at abstrahere dem det Moralske.' (2: xxix-xxx))

Juvenile audiences

The vast majority of Danish translators have had no qualms about accepting the orientation of the Grimm *Tales* towards children.

This, we have just seen, was Oehlenschläger's view. Similarly, Louise Hegermann-Lindencrone's 'Poem to the readers' has no fewer than three passages referring to the fact that her father's translation was intended for children: "Suffer the little children to come unto me" - "Little children, he is waving you to smiles and tears, delight and

terror”; and “the child’s delight” (“Lad Smaabørn komme til mig kun!”/ Vor Frelser monne sig’ (verse 8), ‘Smaabørn! han vinker Eder nu/ Til Smiil og Taarer, Fryd og Gru.’(v.9), and ‘Barnets Lyst’ (v.14)). Thus, despite the inclusion of Wilhelm Grimm’s learned essay, the translator of the ‘Lindencrone translation’ clearly signalled that (s)he had another target audience in mind.

In his *Christmas gift* (1835), Christian Molbech was explicit: “It is for you, my dear little friends, that this book has been written and printed” (‘Det er for Eder, mine kiære smaa Venner og Veninder! at den er skrevet og trykt’ (127)).

Davidson’s first volume of 1854 had no defined audience, although it seems fair to assume that it was intended to be read for or by children; but, as already noted, Davidson was in no doubt in 1870 that his readers were young people.

The target audience was not defined in subsequent collections, but the dropping of all pretence of scholarship is evidence enough: the stories appeared with illustrations, and then, from the end of the nineteenth century, the names of the series to which the books belong revealed the audience that the publishers had in mind: *The children’s book collection* (1897), *Martin’s junior books* (1912). In addition, the low price, the cheap and slender editions, and the increasingly poor binding, all point to a quick turnover, a rapid consumption, appealing, one feels, to young boys and girls with a penny to spare and to adults buying presents for children.

The 1940s saw the appearance of books targeted towards special age groups: Morsing’s collection for ‘little children’ (1946) was printed in large letters using a simple vocabulary and must have been intended for children at elementary school (aged 7 to 11), thus harking back to the educational use made of the *Tales* since Molbech’s day in numerous textbooks. Together with his collection for ‘young children’, Morsing’s book was published regularly for the next twenty years or so by *The publishers for young people*. By 1968c the success may have overreached itself with the first - and only - appearance of a selection for ‘adolescents’.

By this time, series of single-tale books had long been in existence. The first uniform volumes appeared as early as 1887; but, from the 1940s onwards, many such have appeared, for example, the *Eventyr series* from 1948e, the *Eventyr panorama series* (1960b), and the *Ælle bølge books* for children aged 3 to 8 (1968k).

The adult audience

Unlike the situation in Germany, there never was a large scholarly audience for the *Tales* in Denmark, for the simple reason that during the nineteenth and until the middle of the twentieth century, German was the first foreign language known to educated people; furthermore, those who studied folklore would either read the stories in German, or turn to the Danish oral tradition, as reflected, for instance, in Mathias Thiele’s Danish local legends, or Svend Grundtvig’s and Evald Tang Kristensens’s folktales.

In Danish editions, there are, however, occasional references to adults in general; thus in 1823, the early reviewer of ‘Lindencrone’s translation’ (above, p. 158) thought the tales were not exclusively for children, but, in saying this, he may have been biased by the Grimms.

Molbech intended his 1843 collection to serve for the instruction and entertainment of, not only adolescents, but also common folk, who were improving year by year in their education and desired to read “without having lost their sense of a pure and healthy natural poetry”. (‘Jeg vilde ... tilveiebringe en Bog, der med Lyst kunde læses af Børn, helst i den noget fremrykkede Overgangsalder, og af en stor Deel af Folket og Almuen, saaledes som den, uden at have opgivet Sands for den rene og kiærnefulde Naturdigtning, tillige Aar for Aar skrider frem i en vis Grad af Dannelse og Læselyst.’ (xiii)).

In this passage, Molbech points specifically towards the new reading public slowly establishing itself thanks to national educational reforms; in referring to this audience, Molbech echoed views already propounded by Rasmus Nyerup (above, p. 23). Nevertheless, there is a long gap before we encounter the next translator to suggest that fairytales are for adults as well as children. This is Martin N. Hansen (1956b), whose title is *Fairytales for children and adults*; in his preface he asks wistfully:

“They say that nowadays fairytales are only for children and childish people and that the present age is not for dream and fabulation. But is there anything healthier to the mind, even of wise men, than the fruitful dream?” (‘Man siger, at eventyr nu om dage kun er for børn og barnlige sjæle, og at vor tid ikke er til drøm og fabel. Men findes der noget sundere for sindet, selv hos de kloge, end den frugtbare drøm?’ (6)).

Molbech and Hansen had another point in common: they both encouraged oral renderings. Although they are not explicit about the reason, part of it must be that they felt that Wilhelm Grimm had transferred the tales from the oral to the written medium, and that the stories would become yet more ‘authentic’ by being rendered in an oral form. At all events, Molbech (1843) discussed the taste demanded to select fairytales “appropriate for being retold to children, in an oral or a written form,” (‘... skikket til at fortælles Børn, mundtlig eller skriftlig’). Furthermore, Martin N. Hansen (1956b) claimed that he had given the tales their idiomatic form to make:

“some parents retell them to their children. For it must not be forgotten that, if possible, fairytales should be heard.” (‘i håb om, at [den mundrette oversættelse] også vil friste nogle forældre til selv at genfortælle dem for deres børn. For det må ikke glemmes, at eventyret helst skal høres.’)

These two translators explicitly strive for an idiomatic rendition as part of their translation strategy: I have already cited Molbech, who was frank about suppressions and additions and who discussed his practice briefly in 1832 and more extensively in 1843. Martin N. Hansen’s solution was simply to revert to the 1812 German volume and thus to “restore prose and poetry to their idiomatic and simple form” (‘Jeg har derfor ... ført tekst og vers tilbage til den mundrette og simple form’ (5)).

The reorientation in Danish ‘Grimm’: a discussion

Translation into Danish represented a severance from the German source culture and from many of the ideas of the brothers Grimm. Translation was even a deviation from the senders’ ‘intentions’ at the linguistic level, since many tales - once translated - derived from earlier German versions of the tale currently authorised. A few indeed existed longer in Danish translation than in authorial German versions; examples include ‘The pea test’ and ‘Puss in boots’. In so far as most Danish translators and editors have

presented only a selection of the Grimm tales, they have established their own Canons of Grimm for their respective readerships. The influential 'Lindencrone translation', has shaped the Danish conception of Grimm tales to the present day. The popularity of the German stories, the prestige of the brothers Grimm, the high status of the Danish translators, Denmark's proximity to Germany, and the shared cultural background are the main reasons why every *Complete Edition* to come out in Germany during Wilhelm Grimm's lifetime contained texts which were subsequently rendered into Danish.

One intentional realisation, at a higher level than that of text and tale, was that the Grimm brothers' professed collection activity led to Danish imitations - or so it seemed. For as we have seen, it was really the Danes Mathias Thiele and Matthias Winther who were pioneers in folklore collection. In most other ways, Wilhelm's ideas met a certain acceptance. This applies to the belief that tales were universal, although such ideas have always remained vague among Danish translators and editors.

The Danish translations hit the market just as the educational system was being expanded and improved, and, by dint of being short prose narratives, the desideratum of most textbook exercises, they soon reached textbooks, to be used for teaching Danish as well as German. In forms modified by translators (such as Molbech), Grimm tales formed part of the material used to teach young Danes to read and to express themselves.

There were a few half-hearted attempts to convince audiences that tales were also for adults, but they often contradicted themselves by adding that the material offered some historical interest, or weakened the argument by suggesting that grown-ups should retell or read the stories aloud to children. Nevertheless, even in doing this, they were also returning to one of the bourgeois ideas that eventually caused European audiences to embrace the *Tales*: that the nuclear family was united in telling and listening to them, and, when they reached the right age, children might read the tales on their own. In other words, the Danish translations never experienced any problem with their orientation, unlike the triple orientation, namely towards scholars, children, and the educated élite, which bedevilled the German *Complete Edition* and which was solved by the publication of the *Small Edition*.

The high social status of the early Danish translators also imbued the *Tales* with an aura of respectability: parents could feel well informed by Wilhelm Grimm's 'Preface' and gratified by his interest in Norse mythology. This educated nuclear family audience remained a target-group for the 'Lindencrone' translation, and subsequently of Carl Ewald's. It was a conservative audience, which is best exemplified by the fact that Carl Ewald was permitted only slowly and discreetly to supersede the venerable 'Lindencrone' (1916-1924).

However, around the middle of the nineteenth century, a new audience made its appearance. This comprised a less prosperous readership who approached the stories without any scholarly interests and pretensions. This audience grew during the last part of the nineteenth century; it consisted mainly of children who read the *Tales* (and other children's books) for fun and entertainment.

It is clear from the illustration above (p. 165) that these different audiences coexisted, for one type of edition continued to be issued alongside the other type. The main point to note is that Danish translations of the Grimm *Tales* were firmly oriented towards children.

SELLING THE TALES

Since the point might otherwise be too easily forgotten: Grimm tales have been published first and foremost because there is money in it; whatever the other determinants, hard cash is never far away.

It is not translators but publishers who either reap the profits or take the losses that arise in printing a book. This mundane observation should not be made, however, without recording in the same breath the fact that many of the Grimm books inspected are evidence of high professional standards and of pride in doing a good job.²²

Publishers are indispensable mediators of the Grimm legacy. True, translators and editors may occasionally be identical with the publisher (1978a), and quite often the publisher may also own the printing establishment. Nonetheless, in most cases, the publishing houses are separate companies.

The publishers select or at least accept a Grimm tale, or a tale collection, for publication; they commission a translator to render it into Danish; they enter into a contract with the printer; and they distribute the product. However fascinating this may be in its own right, I shall here focus only on the interplay between publishers, editors, translators, purchasers, and audiences.

The Danish publishing house of Gyldendal, founded in 1770, looms large in this part of my study, since it has been responsible for a high-class version of the Grimm repertory since the earliest days. This involvement began in 1839 with the second edition of the 'Lindencrone translation', which Gyldendal continued to publish largely unchanged until 1909; four years later, in 1913, Gyldendal took over Carl Ewald's collection of all the tales (previously published by A. Christiansen (1904) and Chr. Flor (1911)) and brought them out in their entirety (1913); later the stories appeared with (nearly all) titles from the traditional 'Lindencrone translation' (1916-1918, and 1921), but using Carl Ewald's texts. The circulation figures cited in the last edition imply that it is a regular reissue of the venerable old translation.

In 1923, Gyldendal launched a series of books, *Gyldendal's Æventyr books*, which had impressive, glossy illustrations. Despite this innovation, one further edition connected with the established 'Lindencrone translation' was issued in 1924 (with Lindencrone tales but in Carl Ewald's translation). The *Æventyr books* were sold to OTA, a cereal company which used the series for sales promotion from 1925 onwards. Since Gyldendal issued no more Grimm stories for the next sixteen years, it appears that the deal with OTA comprised a pledge not to publish any Grimm tales for a number of years. In 1941, Gyldendal brought out a new (revised) edition of Carl Ewald's translations; although this book was prised loose from the 'Lindencrone' selection in terms of language and content, its prestigious predecessor was included to produce a high

circulation figure. The book was reprinted in 1956a, the last in a string of collections stretching back to 1821. The tenuous strand was broken: 1966a saw a single-tale edition in colour of 'The fisherman and his wife' published by Gyldendal. In 1970a this was followed by a completely new selection, translated by Anine Rud and illustrated in black-and-white by Svend Otto S. This collection was reprinted in 1984a.

At the same time, Gyldendal continued to publish single-tale books, in a few cases translated by Søren Christensen ('Hansel and Gretel' 1971c; 'The golden bird' 1973d), but mostly by Anine Rud.

Of course, Gyldendal has never had a monopoly of publishing Grimm translations: the absence of copyright protection for the the brothers Grimm ensured that there have been numerous other publishers of Grimm tales over the years.

Hagerup was the first to successfully include the tales in a series, namely in the *Children's book collection* (1897). E. Jespersen struck gold with M. Markussen's translations, which enjoyed huge sales from 1900 to 1929a-d. Similarly, *The publishers for young people* found a profitable niche with Morsing's translations for 'small' and 'young' children from 1946 to 1968b-c. Various publishers tried their luck, sometimes successfully, with single-tale books. In this field, the publishing house of Lademann catered for a public who favoured de luxe editions in magnificent colours, such as its *Fairytales told to you* (1972c-g). Conversely, Carlsen (= *Illustrationsforlaget*, If) published innumerable Grimm tales in relatively cheap series, such as the *Ælle bølge books* (1968e-i) and others.

Many publishers have had just one attempt at Grimm. This was the fate of several publishing houses that issued the *Complete Grimms*: R. E. H. Nøer (1821; complete first volume); Stjernholm (1894); A. Christiansen (1905); and Christian Flor (1911). One hopes this does not imply bankruptcy, and that there were only mergers behind the publishers' disappearance.

Most books containing Grimm tales have been printed only once; it goes without saying that this applies to all privately circulated publications, such as Christensen and Danielsen's 'The fisherman and his wife' (1943), and to Winklers eft.'s edition of the same story in 1967b. In other cases, the publishers have not considered reprints worth the risk, or perhaps have already incurred losses on the first edition.

Printing establishments

In the period under review, there is evidently a trend away from Danish printing establishments towards foreign ones. The employment by Gyldendal of a Berlin press in 1921a and 1922a may only indicate that German labour was cheap after World War I. However, in 1927, a minor series was printed in Sweden. The first major series produced abroad was the *Eventyr panorama series* (1960b, published in Czechoslovakia), and the *Ælle bølge books* followed suit (1968i, published in West Germany). A wholesale desertion of Danish establishments started with Litas' use of Swedish printers in 1967c-68a; from then on books for the Danish market might be printed anywhere, including such distant countries as Japan (1974i-j) and Columbia (1975i-l). The Danish printing industry apparently became too costly in terms of labour; perhaps the country

was just too small to allow investment in machines needed to produce special books, such as pop-up books (Czechoslovakia and Columbia): in sum, despite the cost of transport, it became more profitable for publishers to have the work carried out abroad, especially in the case of illustrated books in international co-prints, a topic to be considered below.

Generally speaking, publishers were loyal to printers. This was very much the case all throughout the nineteenth century and until the 1960s. From then on, however, alliances have changed with greater frequency. There is more competition, in so far as publishers tested various printers before finally settling for one; Gyldendal did not team up with the (independent) Danish printing establishment of Grafodan until 1972b. Before then, Gyldendal had had single-tale books printed in England ('Little Red Riding Hood' 1970b) and in Italy ('Hansel and Gretel' 1971c). This cooperation was brought about by the illustrator Svend Otto S. and has continued since then.

Conversely, there are examples showing that publishers shift to new printers with texts and illustrations that were previously produced by others. This happened with the *Ælle bølge* books, which were printed in West Germany in 1976i-n and subsequently transferred to an Italian firm in 1980g-l.

Copyright

I mentioned that Grimm *Tales* must be the works translated most frequently into Danish. The sheer number of translations is overwhelming: nearly all translations are 'genuine'. There is very little copying (although it is not unheard of). There is one explanation which accounts for the enormous translational effort, namely 'copyright'.

The origins of copyright in Denmark were licenses for printing specific books; these were in use from the beginning of the sixteenth century (as a consequence of the introduction of new printing technology). Following the example of England, the author's rights concerning publications written in Danish were established by law in 1742. The law did not apply to foreign authors whose works were translated, so the brothers Grimm received no royalties from Denmark, and, as noted (above, p. 157), were even ignorant of the identity of all stories that had been translated. It is obvious that the only books forwarded to Wilhelm Grimm were the second edition of Bresemann's *Exercises* and Molbech's *Selected fairytales* (1843), the latter being, after all, dedicated to the Grimms. Molbech may also have sent the Grimms one or two of his *Christmas gifts*, but even he did not bother to forward his *Reader* (1832).²³ Conversely, in Denmark, Danish translations were protected by copyright throughout the nineteenth century, long before the implementation of the international Berne Convention of 1886. Then, as now, publishers took care to ensure that there was no infringement of the copyright, which in Denmark obtained for fifty years after the translator's death.²⁴ New translators have therefore always, at least in principle, been forced to start from square one.

There were, of course, violations; more often than not, these were committed by people ignorant of the letter of the law. There are several instances of unlicensed (indeed unacknowledged) reprints of the translations by Carl Ewald (1856-1908) in 1921b and 1954b-d. Given their popularity, it is fair to assume that the revision by his son Jesper

Ewald in 1941a was primarily undertaken to retain copyright within the family; nonetheless Jesper Ewald's collection evidently appealed sufficiently to readers in its own right to justify a reissue in 1956a.

More than fifty years after Carl Ewald's death his translations appeared again under the aegis of new publishers: 1964b (Notabene); 1968c (Ungdommens forlag); in single-tale books by Centrum (1985i *et seq.*); yet the greatest accolade bestowed on his 1905 translation was a reissue of the *Complete Grimms* by Nyt Nordisk Forlag in 1975a. The orthography was gently modernised, and the edition was frequently reprinted.

The same honour was bestowed on J. F. Daugaard, for some of his translations from 1894 were also resuscitated in 1964b - after seventy years in oblivion.

Prices

It is obvious from the bibliography that, as a result of inflation, prices have steadily increased over the years. The two Danish companion volumes of 1884 and 1890 register price rises from Dkr 1.25 to Dkr 1.75, respectively. In 1946 Morsing's translation cost Dkr 4.00 vs Dkr 10.75 in 1967a. Anine Rud's 'The sleeping beauty' cost Dkr 26.00 in 1973f and Dkr 58.50 in 1982e; and so the litany - a reflection of inflation in Denmark - might go on.

The one exception is Bondesen's selection: it cost Dkr 1.60 in 1897; this was reduced to Dkr 1.00 in 1904, but, as noted, this reduction must primarily be due to the use of poor-quality paper. The price was kept at the same level as late as 1922b, but only because the volume had been drastically cut.

Circulation and 'influence'

By originally commissioning (or accepting) translations, by having them printed, sold, and possibly even reissued, it is the publishers who make all decisions about production and, consequently, about circulation figures. These are not always above suspicion. In evaluating sales figures, it must also be kept in mind that, in the period under review, the population of Denmark steadily increased from c. 1 million (1810), to over 2.5 million (1901), and to c. 5 million in 1980.²⁵

Cautious extrapolation of figures cited in certain editions (the years in parentheses) produces the estimates given in the table on the opposite page, for the period until 1970, and the one below for series which are still 'active'.

In the latter table, the colour editions are popular and show most variation. By 1986 the collection of five tales (1979 and 1983) by Anine Rud and Svend Otto S. sold 6,000 copies and was still 'active' at my *terminus ad quem*. The de luxe single-tale books issued by Gyldendal (especially Anine Rud and Svend Otto S.) had first editions of 3,000 copies and subsequent reprints of 2,000. The series continued to be published even after 1986. Conversely, de luxe single-tale books issued by most other publishers had circulations of c. 2,000 books, but with great variations from 4,000-5,000 to 600 (1976c). These books were rarely reprinted because they were international co-prints with only one press run. Small chapbooks made in international co-prints and sent to bookstalls and the like had only one press run of 4,000-5,000 copies.

| ESTIMATES OF NUMBER OF COPIES IN POPULAR EDITIONS | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|---|--|
| Year of publication | Edition | Number of copies | Source for estimate |
| 1823 | 'Lindencrone' | 14,000 (possibly much higher) ²⁶ | 1918a |
| 1905 | Ewald | 14,000 | <i>DB</i> gives the first print as 4,500 |
| 1913 | 'Lindencrone' and Ewald | 16,000 | 1956 |
| 1897 | Bondesen | 38,000 | 1904 |
| 1900 | Markussen, various editions | 29,000 | 1925 |
| 1925 | OTA-books | 90,000 (6 volumes, each of 15,000) | Jensen and Linneballe (1977) |
| 1946a | Morsing | 36,000 | 1963 |
| 1948a | Morsing | 55,000 | 1953 |

Most publishers consider circulation figures a trade secret, but a few have kindly furnished me with figures from the 1970s and 1980s:

| NUMBER OF COPIES IN BLACK-AND-WHITE COLLECTIONS ²⁷ | | | | |
|---|------------|--------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| First published | Translator | Copies per edition | Total (in 1986) | Status (in 1986) |
| 1970 | Anine Rud | 6,000 | 12,000 | Still active |
| 1975 | Carl Ewald | 4,500 | 22,500 | Still active |

When we turn to the identity of translators, the picture is even more complicated: ten tales by Anine Rud had three different outlets, namely (a) a black-and-white collection, (b) a de luxe collection, and (c) de luxe single-tale books. Her version of 'Little Red Riding Hood' came out in 1970a (6,000), 1970b (3,000), 1983h (6,000), 1985h (2,000), thus totalling 17,000 copies. She is not the only one: Markussen (1900-1929) also published her stories in different volumes.

Statistically, Danes are among the most avid readers in the world, but since the number of books published is high, circulation figures for individual works tend to be small. Overall the sales figures for Grimm tales are high by Danish standards. On the other hand, they are by no means sensationally high: *Struwelpeter*, another book

translated from German into Danish (in 1847), had been published in 280,000 copies as of 1986. The most pertinent conclusion is therefore that the Grimm *Tales* have always been available to the Danish reading public ever since 1822. Even so, some editions have been preferred to others, as shown in the below table of the number of copies of printed collections.

| NUMBER OF COPIES OF PRINTED COLLECTIONS | |
|--|------------------|
| Morsing 1948a | 55,000 |
| Ewald 1905/1975 | 52,500 |
| Bondesen | 38,000 |
| Morsing 1946 | 36,000 |
| Markussen | 29,000 |
| Anine Rud | 18,000 |
| OTA | 15,000 |
| 'Lindencrone' | 14,000 (or more) |

The table illustrates that Morsing was the most popular editor in terms of the number of volumes published. The figure for Carl Ewald includes the translations connected with 'Lindencrone'. Bondesen and Markussen also rank high.

My inspection of the books revealed that the above editions fall into two categories. The first comprises the selections of Carl Ewald, Anine Rud, and 'Lindencrone', plus Markussen's de luxe edition published in 1923a: they are printed on high quality paper, with a solid binding, and the illustrations (if any) are fine. The other group is made up of Morsing, Bondesen, OTA, and most of Markussen's editions. They are not really cheap, but they lack class: the paper is often poor, and the illustrations black-and-white.

The two types of books indicate the different target groups that lay behind these circulation figures. The first group of consumers invested in 'durable books' and purchased Grimm tales in quality editions (by 1986: the Carl Ewald reprint or Anine Rud's collections). The second readership would buy books for immediate reading and not bother overmuch about keeping them from one generation to the next. This latter audience was large from the beginning of the century to the 1920s, and was still found at the end of the 1960s. The same publisher might print books for both groups; this was the case with E. Jespersen, the publisher of Markussen's collection. But since these observations are generalisations it should be stressed that there is no doubt that in many humble homes, 'cheap editions' have been cherished just as much - or even more - than the de luxe versions were in middle-class families.

The next table - on the opposite page - is an estimate of the total number of copies by individual translators/editors.

Although figures for Molbech (1832, 1843 *et seq.*), Davidsen (1854a), the *Eventyr panorama series* (1960b), and Grete Janus Hertz (1968d) are not available, the table brings out the prominence of the *OTA books* from 1925 onwards. They outdistance any other publisher of Grimm tales in terms of popularity.

| NUMBER OF COPIES OF COLLECTIONS BY TRANSLATORS, EDITORS, ETC. | |
|---|---------|
| <i>OTA books</i> | 90,000 |
| Morsing | 81,000 |
| Ewald | 52,500 |
| Bondesen | 38,000 |
| Markussen | 29,000 |
| Anine Rud | 24,000+ |
| 'Lindencrone' | 14,000+ |

However, the above table lists only collections, not the number of translations published. This is shown below:

| NUMBER OF TALES BY EACH TRANSLATOR IN COLLECTIONS OF STORIES ²⁸ | | | |
|---|------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Translator (publisher) | Average number of stories | Number of copies | Total number of stories published |
| Ewald (only complete reprints) | 210 | 36,000 | 7,560,000 |
| 'Lindencrone' | 86 | 14,000 | 1,204,000 |
| <i>OTA books</i> | 10 | 90,000 | 1,200,000 |
| Morsing | 10 | 81,000 | 810,000 |
| Markussen | 20 | 29,000 | 580,000 |
| Anine Rud | 18 | 24,000 | 430,000 |

Yet this table only shows the supply of stories available in collections. Since all the books have been reprinted, the figures also give some indication of the demand. It is readily seen that Carl Ewald clearly holds pride of place as far as popular consumption is concerned. Even if circulation figures for the 'Lindencrone translation' were three times higher than my estimate, Carl Ewald's translation would still be the most popular, only 'Lindencrone' would not be so far behind. There are a few additional comments to be made: one is that C. E. Falbe Hansen, the translator of at least half of the *OTA books*, must be one of the five most popular translators of Grimm tales. It is a crude, but nevertheless true observation that the target groups for the *OTA books*, Morsing, and Markussen were youngsters who could read the stories on their own, whereas the other four translators had in mind an educated public. We may also assume that the latter translators have had more readers per story than those responsible for the cheaper editions.

Another measure of translators' popularity (or longevity) is indicated in the number of years that their renditions have been published. This is shown in the next table:

| AVAILABILITY OF TRANSLATIONS | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|-----------------|
| Edition/translator | Period | Number of years |
| Molbech's <i>Selected Fairytales</i> | 1843-1943 | 100 |
| Oehlenschläger | 1816-1909 | 93 |
| Carl Ewald | 1905-1992 | 87 |
| 'Lindencrone' | 1823-1909 | 86 |
| Daugaard | 1894-1964 | 70 |
| Molbech's <i>Reader</i> | 1832-1860 | 37 |
| Markussen | 1900-1929 | 29 |
| Dauidsen | 1854-1882 | 28 |
| Bondesen | 1897-1922 | 25 |
| Morsing | 1946-1968 | 22 |
| Falbe Hansen | 1923-1940 | 17 |
| the <i>Eventyr panorama series</i> | 1960-1976 | 16 |
| Hasselmann & Hæstrup | 1947-1959 | 12 |
| Hauerslev | 1974-1984 | 10 |

We could add to this list those translators whose editions continued to be printed beyond the *terminus ad quem* at the time of writing (1998), namely:

| TRANSLATIONS WHICH ARE STILL BEING REPRINTED | | |
|--|-------|----------|
| Anine Rud | 1966- | 22 years |
| Grete Janus Hertz | 1968- | 30 years |
| Søren Christensen | 1971- | 27 years |

It must be stressed that translations *do not* continue to be in print only by dint of their intrinsic merits: it is often factors such as 'copyright', translator's fees, and other elements in production (e.g. co-printing) that determine a publishers' decision to reissue an old translation rather than commission a new one.

We can make distinctions here. Daugaard's longevity is specious, in so far as there are only two collections by him, of which the second appeared seventy years after the first: it was clearly an attempt to revive an excellent old translation as well as to avoid the cost involved in commissioning a new one. Conversely, the longevity of 'Lindencrone' is more real, in so far as the collection continued to be printed in what is - from a pragmatic point of view - virtually the same form for over eighty years.

Discussion

It is difficult to determine consumption. In terms of the number of books published, the most popular series of tales was issued by a cereal company. Perhaps it is just as much a sign of successful promotion (and of the popularity of other *OTA books*) that this series has the highest circulation. However, different collections do not comprise the same number of stories, and when correction is made for this, Carl Ewald is indisputably

the most popular translator. When we add the parameter of longevity, his dominant position is even more obvious. Nevertheless, the translations by Morsing, Bondesen, and Markussen have also enjoyed popularity although it has been relatively short-lived.

I noted that their books lacked class. When we examine the availability of translations (as we do in the last table), it is evident that there is a dividing line somewhere around forty years of translational life: books beyond that age have always been edited or tampered with at some stage or other, while normally those 'younger' have not.²⁹ The latter have had their turn in the limelight and then have quietly ceased to be published. I have already pointed out that the status of the translators played an important part in the initial response to the *Tales* in Denmark. To this we can now add that all translations that have continued beyond some invisible line are high-status editions with good bindings and, what is more, containing substantial selections of the *Tales*. This includes Dauggaard's translation of 1894.

Target groups

Circulation and sales figures are good yardsticks of a publisher's success in selling a book to the public. It is therefore important to establish the kind of consumers that Danish publishers have had in mind. There are no ready statistics and no unassailable conclusions. Nonetheless, up to a certain point, the books themselves, their prefaces, and their blurbs permit a number of cautious inferences.

This is not intended to be a study of the Danish socio-literary system, so, for the purposes of this discussion, it will suffice to make a distinction between three overlapping groups of people: the audience (mostly children), the decision makers, and the buyers of the books.³⁰

Children

There has been occasion to mention that, from the very beginning (1816), the vast majority of translators and editors have targeted Grimm *Tales* towards children. It is prosaic but pertinent to stress that it is not children that have purchased the books; prices would have been prohibitive. Clearly children may sometimes have taken a fancy to a book or two at the bookshop, so that a parent has felt obliged to buy it. Sales of this type are, beyond doubt, most common among the cheap paperback series which first appeared in the 1970s. They were (and still are) sold mainly at supermarkets and on bookstalls, and include the *Pixi books* (of 1981f-p) and the *Tunli books* (of 1984j-l); the prices of these were Dkr 2.50 and Dkr 6.95, respectively, as opposed to the Dkr 78.00 of the hb versions of the same tales issued by Gyldendal (e. g. 1984c-d).

The distribution system of the chapbook series differs from that of the 'traditional' book market and therefore deserves a note: the books were (and still are) made abroad in co-prints of 4,000-5,000 copies.³¹ In Denmark, the publisher sends these to supermarkets and news agents together with regular weeklies. The books can be returned or sold, at the proprietor's discretion. They are rarely included in official lists, since publishers are disinclined to have their publications catalogued: such registration leads

to requests from (copyright) libraries which, in turn, call for manpower and resources not easily mustered by small firms operating within slim financial margins.

Decision makers

In addition to booksellers, who decide what to exhibit in their displays and what to make available in their shops, critics and librarians are professionals who, by dint of their recommendations and decisions, exert enormous influence on the fate of new issues of Grimm tales. In general, new editions of Grimm stories have rarely been reviewed in newspapers and magazines because the availability of the *Tales* has been taken for granted by the Danish public since the 1830s.

75% of all Danish children borrow books from the public library.³² All c. 275 municipalities have libraries, including children's libraries, and so have the c. 2,000 schools, which lend c. 60 books per child annually (figures 1976/77 (Rauber)). Accordingly, libraries are an important element in book consumption in Denmark. The libraries purchase most books according to the recommendations of expert reviewers (the so-called 'lektørdtalelser' from the 'Indbindingscentralen' which are produced specifically for libraries). The 'Indbindingscentralen' places retail orders for children's libraries with publishers and produces bindings for the books. 'Indbindingscentralen' tendered the information that an edition of an unfamiliar Grimm tale with magnificent illustrations might sell up to 1,000 copies to children's libraries, whereas a rehash of a well-known story would entail sales of as low as 100 copies.

Most publishers interviewed, however, emphasised that, since the 1980s, children's libraries have not been one of the major target groups for publishers of Grimm. Libraries could be counted on to buy some books, but they did not affect the consumption-production cycle in any appreciable way; in the 1970s, when public funds were ample, it seems that publishers of de luxe editions of rare stories could count on basic sales to libraries of 700-1,000 copies.³³ The point to note is, then, that, except for the 1960s and 1970s, when public spending on libraries was high, publishers could not rely on automatic purchases by children's libraries: they must always have counted on private sales. In the 1990s, these may be no more than 500 at the list price for a de luxe book, but some of the margin up to the break-even point of c. 1,000 to 1,500 copies can be recouped in the annual sales.³⁴

Children's libraries seldom buy cheap paperback editions which would be the books which, as I have suggested, are most likely to be picked up by children.

Convincing adults

Since libraries rely on their own system of recommendations by experts, they are not likely to be affected by publishers' sales talk. Instead, publishers, editors, and translators must appeal to adults and persuade them that the books are worth buying and that the children will enjoy the stories: the obvious targets are therefore parents, aunts, uncles, and grandparents.

Publishers use a wide range of sales arguments.

One method is **to specify the age of consumers**, e.g. “small children”, as P. Morsing did successfully for nearly twenty years (orig. 1946); “toddlers” (the photographic series from Japan of 1974i-j); or “children aged 3 to 8” (the *Ælle balle books* (1968k-p)). This explicit targeting towards fairly young children corresponds to the idea behind the early ‘Lindencrone translation’, which was also meant to be read aloud to small children, whereas most translations from 1822 to 1929 appear to have been intended for ‘juveniles’, i.e. children who could read on their own.

In other words, the intended target audience has fluctuated over the years. Initially, it was an audience of listening children. Then, as reading instruction improved, it comprised children who could tackle books on their own. In the last fifty years or so, it has consisted of small children once again.

Late twentieth century issues of Grimm hint that children will either look at the illustrations alone or discuss them with an adult. Accordingly, books may be promoted **by praising the illustrations**:

“The artist Werner Klemke is an internationally renowned lithographer ... in addition, he is a professor at the German Academy of Fine Arts. Klemke’s main work as a draughtsman has comprised the illustrations of the *Grimm Tales*, as here offered to Danish readers. In a marvellous and unpretentious manner he presents the tradition, as well as the humour, in these immortal tales.” (‘Kunstneren Werner Klemke er internationalt kendt som grafiker ... Han ... er desuden professor ved det tyske akademi for bildende kunst. Klemke’s største opgave som illustratør har været tegningerne til Grimms Eventyr, som hermed tilbydes danske læsere. På en vidunderlig uhøjtidelig måde gengiver hans streg både traditionen og humoren i disse udødelige eventyr.’ (Dust jacket 1975b)).

Publishers may stress **the respectability** and general acceptance of the tales. I mentioned the snob value of ‘Lindencrone’ above, but evidently the elusive concept of ‘artistic value’ hovers somewhere behind certain magnificent de luxe editions. The popularity of tales with past generations vouchsafes the acceptability of the *Tales*:

“Since they were recorded, these fantastic and marvellous stories of princes and princesses, good and evil fays, poor and rich people, smart and dumb guys, witches, trolls, dwarfs and speaking animals, have been beloved reading for children of all age groups throughout the world.” (‘Og siden da [dvs. da eventyrene blev nedskrevet] har disse fantastiske og vidunderlige historier om prinser og prinsesser, gode og onde feer, fattige og rige, fiffige fyre og dummeperere, hekse, trolde, dværge og talende dyr været elsket læsning for børn i alle aldre verden over.’ (Dust jacket 1964b))

Publishers may emphasise that tales **entertain children**:

“No matter whether adults view the tales in terms of politics, psychology or pedagogics, they have vitality, since children listen to them.” (‘Hvadenten de voksne ser politisk, eller psykologisk eller pædagogisk på [historierne], har de den livskraft, at børn hører efter, når de får dem fortalt.’ (Eva Hemmer Hansen 1973a))

This entertainment value may be subconscious - at least in the case of ‘Little Red Riding Hood’:

“There are many games in which children challenge their fears and overcome them. Grimm’s story of Little Red Riding Hood and the wolf is a mental game. Children aged four to eight will be thrilled with the horror of it, until they know it by heart. From then on they will treasure it in their minds.” (‘I mange lege udfordrer børn angsten og overvinder den. Grimms historie om Rødhætte og ulven er en åndelig leg. Børn fra fire til otte år vil fryde sig over gysen i den, lige til de kan historien udenad. Siden vil de bevare den i sindet som en kostbar skat.’ (Back cover 1983h))

The use of tales to **improve reading** (and language) was implied in Molbech's *Reader* (1832) and explicit in his *Selected fairytales* (1843); this is also obvious from the titles of serials such as *The children's book collection* (Bondesen (1897, 1904, 1922)) and *Martin's junior books* (Jerndorff-Jessen (1912b)). In the same vein Carl Ewald's *Complete Grimm* (1905) claimed that:

"The time is gone when they were told to children. Nowadays, the children read them themselves." ('De tider er forbi, hvor de fortæltes Børnene. Nu læser Børnene dem selv.' (Cover of serials))

Although this looks like an authoritative statement, it is really sales talk promoting Ewald's edition. The original came out in 36 instalments, making it easy for children to handle and hence to read each issue. Morsing's large-print collection (1946) was clearly meant for easy reading; but since then, improvement in reading skills has not been adduced for the promotion of Grimm tales.

The most pervasive sales argument is that the *Tales* offer **good reading aloud to children**. This argument was touched upon above. By citing children who cannot yet read as the audience, publishers convince adult purchasers that the books can promote togetherness in families, creating happy moments when enraptured children listen to a parent (or grandparent) reading stories aloud to them, while everybody enjoys the pictures. In those minutes, there is a 'narrative contract', just as there was in the oral tradition of the folk discussed previously: true, there are some conspicuous new contextual and situational factors, such as the illustrations (in colour) as well as the repeated reading aloud from the 'same' text. But the essential ingredients of a 'narrative contract' are there: the willingness to tell and to hear a story and the feedback, namely, the children's and the adults' comments on the tale. For the duration of the storytelling, there is a semblance of an 'ideal tale'. This, surely, is the best example that (like other literature for children) the Grimm stories are utilised for strengthening the values, the family ties, indeed the existence, of the nuclear family, and enjoyed in the process.

This is a sales argument of old standing in the annals of the *Tales*. In his collection of 1816 Oehlenschläger brought stories from 'sundry sources'; in other words, he selected fine tales from a variety of books which were not equally accessible to his readers. There was no reason to publish Danish translations for adults who could read Grimm in the original. Nevertheless, Oehlenschläger included tales from Grimm, for, despite their somewhat doubtful morals, he assumed that they had been intended for children in the ancient days. He termed them "tales for children" ('Børneeventyr'). It will be remembered that Oehlenschläger had attended 'ideal tales', namely Runge's renditions of 'The juniper tree' and 'The fisherman and his wife' (above, p. 150); he knew that the stories should be rendered orally, i.e. be read aloud.

Subsequent Danish editors have been in little doubt that the books were meant for entertaining children. The case of the 'Lindencrone translation' is suggestive. As already noted, Louise Hegermann-Lindencrone's poem expressly says: "Suffer the little children to come unto me" (1823, 1837, 1844, 1853a). It was supplanted with a frontispiece of a 'grandmother narrating' (1857a and 1863) as the embodiment of the oral tradition, of the handing down of the ancient stories in new narrative contracts and 'ideal tales'. In

turn, from 1875 to 1899, the revered Danish Grimm collection depicted on the frontispiece a mother with her children, as the pinnacle of family unity.

The reading aloud tradition is implied in the heavy unwieldiness of Daugaard's and Carl Ewald's *Complete Grimms* (1894 and 1905/1975) which call for being handled by adults; it is alluded to overtly in Martin N. Hansen's foreword in 1956b. Reading aloud is encouraged on the back of the *Ælle bølge* books of 1968k: "Sit the children on your lap and read the stories aloud to them. Good children's books enrich you." ("Tag børnene på skødet og læs højt - gode børnebøger er berigende.") Similarly, 'The magic table, the gold donkey, and the club in the sack' by Paul Galdone (1978d), for children aged four or more, claims that "Grown-ups will enjoy rereading the story with their children" ('Voksne vil nyde at genlæse historien med børnene' (Back cover)). These are good quality books, which are targeted towards sophisticated consumers. The idea of reading the stories aloud to children must also lie behind the reissue and success of Carl Ewald's translation in 1975, 1976, etc.

In addition to explicit sales arguments, there are obvious appeals to adult assumptions about children's treatment of books. These underlying perceptions may be light-years apart: at one extreme there are well-behaved children who can enjoy and handle the *Eventyr panorama series* (1960b-1976g) with its pop-up illustrations and fragile moving parts, or the *Star fairytales* (1975i-l), which were designed to be suspended from the ceiling and marvelled at from a distance and which will probably fall apart if actually read. At the other extreme are 'books' consisting only of massive cardboard or plastic coated pages with round corners which can withstand at least the initial assaults of bawling and drooling infant monsters ('Snow White' and 'The sleeping beauty' (1971d-e); and 'Cinderella' and 'Snow White' (1974i-j)). These extremes are of non-Danish provenance. The typical Danish copy of the tales is moderately durable, more often than not in cardboard or hard cover.

Discussion: publishers and audiences

There are, in other words, no uniform sales arguments. It is usually grown-ups who ultimately purchase the books for children, so it is not surprising that a great variety of adult sentiments, attitudes, and tastes are catered for. There is concern about the children's ability to read, the wish to entertain them, the longing to be with children and to discuss the tales in a spirit of family togetherness. There are even different views of children, spanning the abyss from angels to devils.

The age of the target group among children has been lowered perceptibly from the beginning of the nineteenth century, when nearly all collections had *young readers* with some years of schooling in mind, to the present day at the end of the twentieth, when many editions are directed at a pre-school or beginner's level. On the other hand, this may just reflect a growing awareness of early childhood and its need for fantasy, or, more cynically, its consumer potential.

In my discussion of the number of copies published of various translations, I identified two target groups, namely beginners and those children who could read the stories on their own. When, as in this section, we focus on the publishers, the actual presentation

of the books, and the distribution networks, we become aware of a third audience, because in the twentieth century, publishers' blurbs and advertisements draw attention to it: pre-school children. They have always been part of the audience for Danish translations, but they have not been targeted with similar precision. One might perhaps go so far as to say that the *Tales* are imposed on such children by educated adults, were it not for the fact that children like Grimm tales (but not all of them). The targeting takes the form both of ads directed at the adult purchasers, for example, in de luxe editions, and in chapbooks clearly meant to appeal directly to children. In both cases, the children's consumption of the Grimm tales has less and less to do with reading and more to do with looking at the illustrations - a feature to be discussed at a later point.

Boosting sales

Circulation revisited

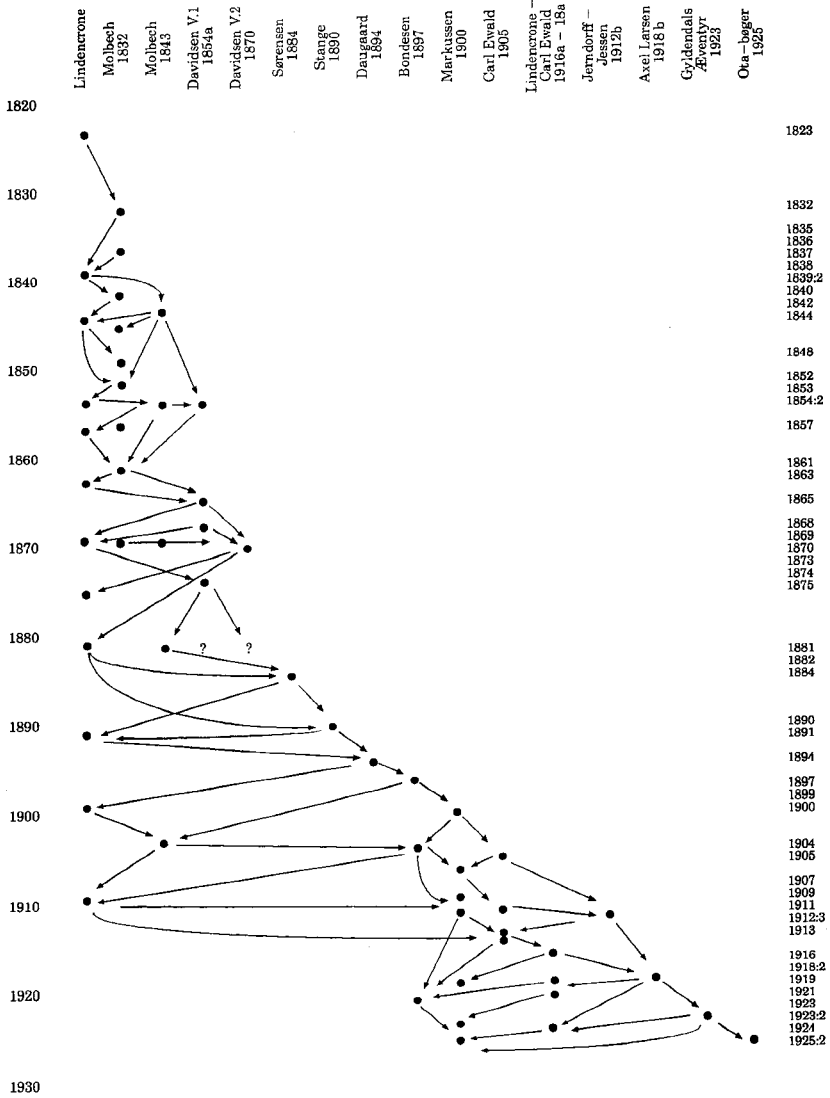
In Denmark, books containing Grimm tales must appeal to all tastes and age groups (including adults). In order to drive home the arguments of respectability and enjoyability, publishers can cite the satisfaction of previous customers.

The easiest way of proving this is to quote past sales, such as the circulation figures which occasionally surface. Yet, since exact figures are often trade secrets, many publishers prefer to cite the number of previous editions. Publishing houses are human institutions, so in the process they make errors. Hence we get the 13th edition of 'Lindencrone's translation' (in 1916/18) although the texts are now translated by Carl Ewald; the 5th of Molbech's *Selected fairytales* in 1906, though the collection is radically reduced; and there are two 4th editions (1976 and 1980) of the *Ælle bølge* books. At all events, in Denmark, citing the number of previous editions is a time-honoured practice in promotion of sales of single-tale books as well as collections.

There are, indeed, indications that success is not only a matter of sales of books by individual publishers, but, at a level above and beyond the individual publication, of all tales connected with the name of 'Grimm'.

The illustration on the opposite page is a chronological plotting of major Danish translations of Grimm in the period from 1823 to 1925. The illustration highlights several factors.

First of all, and despite the fact that it is simplified, the chart shows that, in the period covered, publication of one collection increased the overall demand for Grimm tales. It led to reprints of old collections as well as to the appearance of new ones. After reading the stories in Molbech's *Reader* (1832) and in his *Christmas gifts* (not in the chart, but 1835, 1836, 1838, 1839), readers demanded more tales which they were given in a reissue of the 'Lindencrone translation' (1839). This made Molbech bring out his *Selected fairytales* (1843), which, in turn, contributed to a new demand for 'Lindencrone' (1844, 1853). This prompted a new edition of Molbech's selection (1854b). It also inspired Davidsen to publish a new translation of Grimm *Tales* (1854a), in the preface of which he referred to the brisk sale of 'Lindencrone'. Davidsen, too, met with



success and pursued it with a new selection (1870). But the introduction of roman letters put a temporary end to Molbech's *Selected fairytales* and a permanent one to Davidsen's collections. This immediately led to new translations by Sørensen (1884) and Stange (1890) as well as to a new and revised edition of 'Lindencrone' printed in roman letters (1891). There was more than room enough for Bondesen's collection (1897). In turn, this prompted a reprint of 'Lindencrone' (1899) and numerous editions by M. Markussen (from 1900), and so on.

There are lessons to be learnt: if Molbech had not brought out Grimm tales in his *Christmas gifts* of 1835, the 'Lindencrone' translation might well have passed into oblivion after its first appearance in Denmark.

It is clear that this Danish scenario is only a reenactment of what happened in Germany, where, I suggested that if Wilhelm Grimm had not published the *Small Edition* in 1825, there would probably not have been any rekindled interest in the Grimm *Tales* at all (see above, p. 59). The book would not have become a classic, but a curiosity arising from Romantic interest in folktales.

At this stage, I must deviate from this sustained discussion of the Grimm *Tales* alone: the Grimm stories have never existed in limbo. They were affected by what happened in society at large, especially in the world of literature. There are several factors at work in the process described in the graphs. Whatever its circulation, the 'Lindencrone translation' had not sold out as late as 1837, for, on 30 January that year, Christian Molbech offered to send Wilhelm Grimm a copy if he wanted to have it. The lacklustre sales performance of the 'Lindencrone translation' is easy to explain. Compared to the artificial tales by Tieck, Musäus, Perrault and others, the Grimm stories as a whole were still primitive: too close for comfort to the striving middle-class artisans and tradespeople, and too crude for the genteel and educated. In 1832, after having investigated many books, Christian Molbech selected some of the most polished Grimm stories for his *Reader*. He apparently began to realise the potential of these brief prose narratives. Following the time-honoured Danish custom of issuing small books of stories for children at Christmas and New Year, he turned to the Grimm repertory for inspiration in 1835. Since he published new *Christmas gifts* in the four consecutive years, his book must have been a commercial success: the Grimm stories clearly struck a chord.

Equally successful were the fairytales which Hans Christian Andersen began to write and to publish in his own *Christmas gift* from the same year (1835). Andersen was inspired by stories he had heard as a child in Odense, he was inspired by the Grimms, and, in all likelihood informed about 'folkloristic literature' by Mathias Thiele, whom he lived next door to that winter and for whose daughter he wrote one of the fairytales, 'Little Ida's flowers'. In addition, he must also have known Matthias Winther's *Fairytales* (1823) since he used a story in it for his 'The wild swans',³⁵ which in turn bears a considerable similarity to the Grimm tale 'The twelve brothers' (KHM 9). From 1835 onwards Andersen regularly wrote fairytales; in all likelihood sales of these fairytales were promoted by Molbech's selections; in turn, readers purchased more 'Eventyr', including those by the Grimms. In other words, Hans Christian Andersen's success furthered sales of Grimm *Tales* (and vice versa). Thanks to this interaction the

'Lindencrone translation' sold out and the publisher could issue a new edition. Danish translations of the Grimm tales thus contributed substantially to the creation of a new genre in Danish letters, 'eventyr', fairytales.

Another feature shown in the graph is that eventually all translations cease to be published, a sure sign of loss of favour with the reading public. There are two time axes in the chart; the vertical axis maps chronological time, the regular passage of the years. Determined by the years of publication, the horizontal time axis progresses at irregular intervals. There is a white void in the bottom left-hand corner. This is an empty space which means that even popular Grimm translations eventually cease to be issued; they die, as it were, and are replaced with new renditions. This is a gap rarely bridged. It is, for instance, clear that the 'Lindencrone translation' was kept alive until 1909 only by virtue of modernisations over the years (e.g. 1853, 1875). Faced with updated competition from Daugaard (1894) and Carl Ewald (1905), it was doomed to disappear.

The first point about the illustration, namely that the public will demand more stories of the same type, if they are satisfied with the first ones they read, means that publishers may not have been competing, but promoting overall sales of Grimm. I suggest that this mutual support has continued throughout the period, up to and including the present day. This is borne out by the below simplified list of collections of at least five Grimm tales:

| PUBLICATION OF COLLECTIONS OF GRIMM TALES | | |
|---|-----------------------|--|
| Period | Number of collections | Translators/Editors/Publishers |
| 1820-1839 | 2 | 'Lindencrone', twice |
| 1840-1859 | 4 | 'Lindencrone', three times Davidsen1, once |
| 1860-1879 | 7 | 'Lindencrone', three times Davidsen1, three times. Davidsen2, once |
| 1880-1899 | 7/9 | 'Lindencrone', three times. Davidsen1, 2, both once(?) Sørensen, Stange, Daugaard, Bondesen |
| 1900-1919 | 14 | Carl Ewald, six times. Markussen, five times. 'Lindencrone', Jerndorff-Jessen, Bondesen, all once |
| 1920-1939 | 19 | <i>OTA books</i> , eight times. <i>Eventyr books</i> , four times. Carl Ewald and Markussen, three times. Bondesen, once |
| 1940-1959 | 19 | Morsing, eleven times. Carl/Jesper Ewald, Hæstrup & Has- selmann and Hansen, all twice. Gelsted, Kirk, both once |
| 1960-1979 | 19 | Morsing, seven times. Hertz, three times. Carl Ewald, Rud, twice. Hansen, Hemmer Hansen, Cohrt, Hauerslev, Anon.(- 1971), all once |
| 1980-1986 | 8 | Carl Ewald and Hertz, both three times. Rud, twice |

It is easy to see that the number of collections increased steadily during the nineteenth century; it reached its zenith by the second decade of this century, and stayed at the same level until at least 1980. Roughly speaking, there has been one collection from the Grimm repertory every year since 1900. This seems to indicate that the circuit of supply and demand is stable at this figure.³⁶

The average number of tales in the collections is high. To some extent, this is because the list includes editions attempting completeness, viz. Daugaard, Carl Ewald, and 'Lindencrone' (although only completeness of the first volume). When these museum pieces are excluded, the average number of tales per collection declines steadily, from fifty-six tales in 1840-59 to twenty tales in the last twenty-year period, 1960 to 1979.

Prices revisited

When buyers choose one particular book rather than another, price is an important factor. Even the most cursory check of the bibliography of translations reveals enormous differences in price between books printed at the same time. Some publishers put high prices on their artistic editions, and have, presumably, had lower sales. 'The golden goose' and 'Snow White and Rose Red' (1985) from Sesam (Lademann) priced at Dkr 108.00 are cases in point. Conversely, other publishers specialise in low-budget books. This applies to Serieforlaget, with its 'Little Red Riding Hood', 'Snow White', and 'The sleeping beauty' all published in 1984 and priced at a modest Dkr 6.95.

As a third possibility, publishers may offer a variety of books to cater for audiences with different budgets. There were three instances of this in the 1980s: in 1984 Gyldendal issued 'Hansel and Gretel' in a hard-cover and a paperback edition, priced respectively at Dkr 78.00 and Dkr 24.00. There can be little doubt that purchasers had different motives in buying either edition. The two different prices cited for *The large fairytale-book* volumes 1 and 2 (1979a and 1983b), one price for the general public and a lower for book-club members, is a well-known marketing gimmick to increase sales; in this particular case, however, the publisher emphasises that the number of copies was not augmented for book-club consumption.³⁷

It is no surprise that, in accordance with the widespread publication practice in the last century, Davidsen's selection of 1854 originally came out as a serial in three instalments, and Carl Ewald's collection of 1905 in thirty-six. Although the overall price is higher, purchasers have to pay only a small sum for each instalment and feel that the expense is manageable. This, in turn, leads to increased sales.

Markussen's editions of 1909 and 1919 appeared in one volume as well as under two separate covers: the aim must have been to offer something to both the tolerably prosperous and less-well-off parents who wanted to give something to their children. The three books published in 1909b-d were apparently counted as two separate editions; accordingly, the 1919a-c books were termed the 4th edition and flaunted the circulation figures 11,000-21,000. The baffling publication in 1957-58 of 'Hansel and Gretel' and 'Little Red Riding Hood' under separate covers, or together, or in combination with one or two Hans Christian Andersen tales, was probably prompted by a similar wish to appeal to as many buyers as possible.

Carlsen is the *primus inter pares* among publishers covering a wide spectrum of prices. In 1980-1981, for instance, Carlsen's prices ranged from Dkr 2.50 (for the *Pixi books* (1981e)); via Dkr 4.80 (for the *Ælle bølge books* (1980g)) and Dkr 17.50 (for the *Daxi books* (1980e)); to Dkr 49.50 for an artistic book, 'The donkey prince' (1980d).

Series

The concept of a 'series' is problematic and, since it is not central to this study, I have tackled it on a one-to-one basis. The main parameters for citing a book as part of a series have been (a) whether the publisher claimed or a librarian has concluded that it belonged to a series (and has noted this in the book or in the *DB*, respectively), (b) whether the same publisher issued other books in the same format, and (c) the price. The last factor shows that I am not above subscribing to the general assumption in Denmark that normally series are for mass distribution and hence subliterary.³⁸

Series appear in different ways in the publishing history of the Grimm *Tales*:

1. Grimm stories are introduced only once or twice in a publisher's series. This is, for instance, the case with 'The magic table', credited to Grimm in the *Topsy series* in 1971b; it was issued with ten other books in the same format and appealing to the same audience.

2. The publisher's series comprises many stories, including some by Grimm. This applies to *Den lille bogsamling* (1968i-j). This series consisted of six slim volumes of tales; some are by Hans Christian Andersen, who is credited with his fairytales; in addition there are tales by Grimm, who are not credited in the books themselves (e.g. 'Cinderella' and 'The sweet porridge'), but only in *DB*.

3. There are series which include many Grimm tales. This applies to the highly successful *Ælle bølge books*, in which six tales that originally appeared in 1968 as numbers 67-72 are frequently reprinted. In 1976 and 1980 the back cover informs the buyer that "There are more than 100 different *Ælle bølge books* and they are full of funny drawings" ('Der er mere end 100 forskellige *Ælle-bølge-bøger*, og de er fulde af festlige tegninger' (My italics)). Another example is found in *Arthur Jensens Kunstforlag* (1944b-e, 1948c-d).

4. There is a series comprising only tales by Grimm. This appears to be the case with the *Sevaldsens Børnebøger* (1927).

Volumes in series are usually uniform, a feature to which I shall return below. This uniformity is also found in books not listed as series; there are numerous borderline cases. Thus two uniform books with pictures 'for children, with illustrations by Danish artists' were published in 1887. It is less obvious that, from 1972 onwards, the publishing house of Gyldendal formatted all its single-tale editions on 24 pages, measuring 26x21 centimetres, with watercolours on every page by Svend Otto S., and usually a translation by Anine Rud. Such uniformity keeps the production price down for publishers and, indubitably, makes for brisker sales. Once a new book in the series is displayed at a bookshop, it will signal familiarity to customers who are thus assured that this book will not be totally amiss as a gift for children if previous purchases in the same format were appreciated.³⁹

Single-tale books and collections

I argued above that one Grimm collection will usually promote sales of others. I believe that in the same fashion single-tale books will promote sales of collections and vice versa, up to a saturation point.⁴⁰ I am not arguing that publishers are always aware of this, but the fact is that some single-tale series are also printed as collections. We can consider two cases, namely the *Ælle bølge* books, and some of the Gyldendal tales.

The official records list five issues of six single-tale paperbound books and five bound collections (comprising all six tales) credited to Grimm and to Grete Janus Hertz in the *Ælle bølge* books. The below table offers an overview of the interplay between these single-tale books and the collections:

| SINGLE-TALE ÆLLE BØLLE BOOKS AND SIX TALES | | |
|--|------------------------------|----------------------|
| Year of publication | Tales in single-tale volumes | Tales in collections |
| 1968 | KHM 15, 21, 26, 27, 50, 53 | All six tales |
| 1971 | KHM 15, 21, 26, 27, 50, 53 | |
| 1972 | | All six tales |
| 1976 | KHM 15, 21, 26, 27, 50, 53 | All six tales |
| 1980 | KHM 15, 21, 26, 27, 50, 53 | All six tales |
| 1983 | KHM 15, 21, 26, 27, 50, 53 | |
| 1985 | | All six tales |

The above table reveals a simple pattern of collections published more or less at the same rate as the corresponding single-tale books. The rhythm of publication was in keeping with the publisher's general policy of offering prospective buyers a wide range in prices. Even though the reprints appear at regular three or four year intervals, reissuing was not uncritical and automatic: two tales had all their illustrations from 1968 replaced with drawings by new artists in 1976. It should be recorded that the selection of tales from 1968 was more successful than another one in the same series brought out by the same publisher in 1974d, using the same format. Although the difference in the response from readers is striking, it probably only goes to show that some Grimm tales are more popular than others.

The other example of the interplay between series and collections is from Gyldendal's production line. It is shown in the graph on the opposite page.

The publisher's issues of single-tale books began with Anine Rud's translation of 'The fisherman and his wife' (1966b). The start was inauspicious, for this book was never reprinted. However, in 1970 Gyldendal published a collection translated by Anine Rud and illustrated in black-and-white by Svend Otto S. The same year saw Anine Rud's translation of 'Little Red Riding Hood' (1970b) with watercolours by Svend Otto S. The next year, Svend Otto S.'s coloured pictures graced 'Hansel and Gretel' trans-

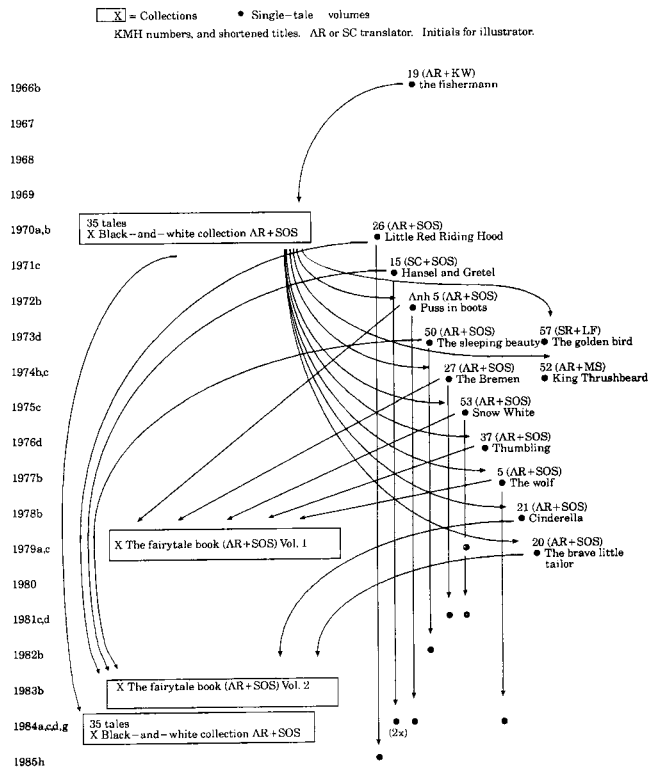
lated by Søren Christensen. Apparently there was a market for this type of book, for, from now on, Gyldendal published one new tale a year until 1979; in addition, most of these were issued in five-tale collections in 1979a and 1983a.

It is immediately obvious that the books illustrated by artists other than Svend Otto S. were printed only once (in 1966b, 1973d, 1974b). Conversely, the products by ‘the winning team’, namely

the translator Anine Rud and the draughtsman Svend Otto S., were produced regularly and they reigned supreme from 1971 onwards. The last single-tale book, ‘The brave little tailor’, was brought out in 1979, which year also saw the appearance of a five-story collection. Stories from this collection were reprinted individually (1979c, 1981c-d, 1982d); the second collection appeared in 1983, and two stories from it, namely ‘Little Red Riding Hood’ and ‘Hansel and Gretel’, were even published under separate covers the same year.

I believe that there are two factors at work: one is the process whereby publication of one book promotes other books of the same type; the second was touched upon in my discussion of Carlsen’s policy, namely an appeal to different purses as well as to different audiences: although all books contain illustrations, single-tale books are cheaper than five-story collections. Purchasers in need of a gift will be most likely to opt for a single-tale book.

Conversely, collections offer more stories and therefore appeal to those who prefer reading stories aloud to children rather than leaving them to admire the drawings on their own.



The interplay between collections and single-tale books published by Gyldendal

At all events, the interplay between collections, series and single-tale books is complex; the fundamental similarity between series and collections is that they both market tales from the Grimm repertory in a uniform fashion.

Formatting books

A discussion of uniform series brings to the fore the formatting of books, that is, the production of different stories in much the same format, for instance, identical typography and size, the same number of pages, or illustrations and translations by the same people. There is clearly a convergence between the publisher's wish to promote sales and to keep prices at a tolerable level, and the convenient certainty felt by the (mostly adult) purchasing public of not making a bad bargain.

The existence of 'Lindencrone's translation', with its fidelity to the German original of 1819, obscures the fact that, in some way or other, many Danish translations of Grimm tales are formatted physically, linguistically or typographically. Such formatting applies to the selection of texts, notably in terms of their length, and, more obviously, to the books in which they are printed.

This trend was dominant in the 1970s and 1980s, when nearly all books, except those made for special purposes ('Riffraff as a cantate' (1983g)) or produced privately ('Hans and Gretel' by the printing company in Vejen (1984e)), were adapted to a particular format, witness the case of Gyldendal.

Gyldendal's quest for a 'winning format' is illustrated in the table on the opposite page.

Before the successful match between Anine Rud, Svend Otto S., and the printing establishment of Grafodan, Gyldendal's de luxe single-tale books were slightly smaller; when these ('Little Red Riding Hood' 1970; and 'Hansel and Gretel' 1971) were reprinted in 1983, the only change was that the pages were enlarged to fit the established format.

Other publishers follow similar patterns in terms of regularity. The trend towards uniformity is, however, broken by deviations, notably with a 'new' draughtsman (and, less obviously, when a different translator is used). Such deviations are eminently obvious in the table (1973d; 1974b).

Uniform formats are, however, old in the annals of Grimm publications in Danish. They were first used for the two companion volumes by Davidsen (1854 and 1870); these were produced with the same typography and measures (but not the same number of pages). This also applied to the two collections translated by Sørensen and Stange (1884 and 1890); these had the same typography, the same overall measurements, and the same illustrator. The two earliest artistic volumes of 1887 marked one more step towards uniformity, since they were identical in binding, quality of paper, number of pages, and number of illustrations. So there is, really, little new under the sun.

| GYLDENDAL'S QUEST FOR A WINNING FORMAT | | | | | | |
|--|------------------|-----------------------------|------------|-------------|--------------|----------|
| Year | Tale (shortened) | Pages and measurements (cm) | Translator | Draughtsman | Colour or BW | Printer |
| 1966b | Fisherman | 44pp 23x21 | A.R. | K.W. | C | Grafodan |
| 1967 | None | | | | | |
| 1968 | None | | | | | |
| 1969 | None | | | | | |
| 1970a | Collection | 205pp 24x17 | A.R. | S.O.S | BW | Grafodan |
| 1970b | Little Red | 28pp 21x17 | | | | British |
| 1971c | Hansel | 28pp 21x17 | A.R. | S.O.S | C | Italian |
| 1972b | Puss in boots | 24pp 26x21 | A.R. | S.O.S. | C | Grafodan |
| 1973d | Golden bird | 32pp 26x27 | A.R. | L.F. | C | German |
| 1973f | The sleeping | 24pp 26x21 | A.R. | S.O.S. | | Grafodan |
| 1974b | Thrushbeard | 24pp 22x14 | A.R. | M.S. | C | Finnish |
| 1974c | The Bremen | 24pp 26x21 | A.R. | S.O.S | C | Grafodan |
| 1975e | Snow White | 24pp 26x21 | A.R. | S.O.S. | C | Grafodan |
| 1976d | Thumbling | 24pp 26x21 | A.R. | S.O.S. | C | Grafodan |

Discussion: interacting market forces

As the focus has shifted towards publication, distributing networks, and market forces, we see that, once the tales are published, their severance from the source language and culture becomes more obvious. Publishers need not observe loyalty to the authors or senders, and can thus reorient their product, as indeed they do: it is repackaged for at least four types of consumers: adults, children for enjoyment, children for reading, and - increasingly - even children as purchasers. The publishers want to promote sales and make production easier, so they have always tended towards some degree of uniformity; this has become more and more pronounced in the history of the production of the Grimm *Tales* in Denmark.

At another level, market forces, plus the Danish publication of the Grimm *Tales*, had another effect. They promoted other translated French and German fairytales ('Eventyr'). There was also a tenuous local tradition of fairytales but it was the tales by the brothers and their success on the market (as promoted by Christian Molbech) that ultimately inspired Hans Christian Andersen to write his own fairytales. In terms of national backgrounds and national uses, the German and the Danish stories were originally far apart. In Andersen's Danish fairytales, there was no asexual linguistic layer; there was no balancing act between dialects and accepted literary style; there was no attempt to pretend that the fairytales derived from the common folk. There was humour, wit, and stylistic

elegance. Yet both the Grimm and the Andersen narratives stemmed from the same kind of bourgeois attitudes inspired by patriotism and a general Romantic sentiment. Once severed from these respective origins, the German and Danish genres merge into a malleable common genre thanks to market forces which inform buyers that they belong to the same type of literature: fairytales. All's well that sells well.



'The brave little tailor'
(illustration: Svend Otto S., 1970)

**EMBEDDING THE *TALES*
IN DENMARK**



'The brave little tailor'
(illustration: Svend Otto S., 1970)

Defining the *Tales* in Denmark

The present study is privileged in terms of cultural, social and educational similarities between Denmark and Germany, by the immediacy of contemporary Danish response to the *Tales*, and, last but not least, by the bibliographical apparatus at its disposal.¹ Denmark has had no civil war and suffered no major damage in the World Wars: the Danish bibliographical heritage is safely enshrined at the Royal Library in Copenhagen where the books can be inspected. Since the first volume of Grimm *Tales* was received, these books have been catalogued with care in Danish libraries. In turn, library shelves register, if only indirectly, an impact on the community of readers, both children and adults, who have enjoyed the stories over the years.

In tracking the Danish translations, I have relied on *Dansk Bogfortegnelse*, on the catalogues at the Royal Library, on information from the library staff, and, more than anything else, on personal inspection of the books. In order to set straight the record which is otherwise based on Wilhelm Grimm's footnote in the last German *Complete Edition* (1857), I have, furthermore, tried to identify those Grimm *Tales* which appeared in Danish books in Wilhelm Grimm's lifetime, that is until 1859.

I shall gladly leave it to those who consider it a worthwhile pursuit to go through all Danish books printed since 1859 to find other publications of the Grimm *Tales*. There are many. This is not because I want successors to be smothered in dust, but merely to emphasise that the bibliographical heritage which I have relied on, is based on human judgement, as is my own decision to shy away from a complete coverage as a hopeless undertaking and instead to limit the study to tolerably well-defined boundaries. Even so, some librarians are more familiar with the Grimm *Tales* than others and will therefore be more inclined to ascribe a tale to Grimm, although it may not be credited to Grimm in the book. Making a bibliography like the above is like walking a tight-rope. The official Grimm entries are all on my list, but in the case of stories that are anonymous or ascribed to others, I have consulted the texts to see if they are indeed Grimm. I have few scruples about this because, as previously mentioned, severance from the Grimm name is an ongoing process.

In order to set down systematic limits to what I have done, I have not delved into journal publications at all and I have not dipped into the treasury of 'analysesedler', that is, the lists and tables of contents compiled in local libraries that enabled librarians to identify the contents of anthologies and ascribe items, including, of course, the Grimm stories, to their 'real authors'.²

Here I shall briefly discuss some of the fringe editions I have omitted, emphasising that they have all been published since 1940, and that consequently, although there must have been others in previous epochs, this is when the flood of 'doubtful' cases really begins. The first is the *Eventyrserien*, which I found by accident as I was rummaging through the shelves of the Royal Library in Copenhagen. These were comics in colour which appeared in 1957-59, priced at Dkr 1.00-1.50 and formatted to 28 pages. They were printed in Hälsingborg in Sweden by 'Illustrerede klassikere' ('Illustrated Classics') under a license from Classics International, Gilberton Co, New York. In this series, there is, indeed, conspicuous inspiration from Grimm, as witnessed by the following titles (in order of appearance): 'Rumpelstiltskin' (KHM 55), 'The golden goose' (64), 'Rapunzel' (12), 'The worn-out dancing shoes' (133), 'Snow White' (53), 'Little Red Riding Hood'

(26), ‘Cinderella’ (21), ‘The brave little tailor’ (20), ‘The frog prince’ (1), ‘Snow White and Rose Red’ (161), ‘The poor miller’s apprentice and the cat’ (106), ‘The golden bird’ (57), and ‘The house in the forest’ (169). Nevertheless, these comics are nowhere ascribed to Grimm, either in the magazines, or in the *DB*, or in the *RLC*. They are excluded from my list because there is little doubt that serendipity will bring to light numerous instances of this type, and it would therefore be misleading to list these. In addition, they are not books in the traditional sense - even though they were found in a library.

The same applies to the following entry in the *RLC*: *Snehvide og de syv små dværge. Eventyrkomedie i 5 akter*. 4. udg. 1969 (‘Snow White and the seven little dwarves. A fairy comedy in five acts’. 4th edition. 1969). This leaflet was published by a respectable toy theatre firm, ‘Priors dukketeatre’, but its provenance is unclear and editions previous to the 4th have gone unrecorded in the Grimm heritage. Its appearance in the catalogues is due to the diligence of a conscientious librarian: this must be acknowledged but not necessarily bowed to.

Series intermittently ascribed to Grimm are all listed in the bibliography in so far as I have been able to trace them.

Finally, even though the stories must at some level be related to tales from Grimm, I have also disregarded those which are not ascribed directly to Grimm or whose connection is so slender that it can be established only by bending the rules considerably: this explains why series such as *Godnat-historier* (1977) and *Paradis-serien* (1978) are not included. The former, translated from German by Alice Bay, illustrated by J. Lagarde, and printed by the optimistically named ‘Forlaget bedre bøger’ (‘The publisher: Better books’), is not included despite its ‘The goose girl’, ‘Hansel and Gretel’, and ‘Snow White’. The second series also has the only story that the *DB* ascribes to Grimm, namely ‘Puss in boots’: “Danish text by Uno Krüger in a free rendering of a German fairytale translated from English” (‘Dansk tekst af Uno Krüger frit efter tysk eventyr oversat fra engelsk’). The story opens with the sentence:

“When John, the old honest miller, died, he left a donkey, a windmill, and a cat to his three sons. Here [i.e. in this picture] we see how they divided his possessions.” (‘Da den gamle, ærlige møller, John, døde, efterlod han sine tre sønner et æsel, en vindmølle og en kat. Her ser vi, hvordan de delte arven.’)

In the bibliography, I have, furthermore, left out Grimm tales published in languages other than Danish (mostly editions issued in Slesvig-Holsten or in German primers); the bibliography is limited to translations into Danish.

Let us then turn to these translations and examine them more closely.

A critique of three specimen translations

Instead of undertaking the impossible task of discussing all translations of the *Tales*, I have chosen three tales (or their openings) for a detailed analysis. In the selection of the tales, I have continued to keep in mind the comprehensive character of the Grimm *Tales*. For this reason the stories chosen are, respectively, a sketch which has been translated only for connoisseurs (KHM 140); a story which has been translated six times (78); and the opening of the tale most frequently translated into Danish, ‘Hansel and

Gretel' (15). Furthermore, I have also tried to cover the spectrum from tales containing none of Wilhelm Grimm's editorial changes (140), via a tale containing a few (78), to a tale containing numerous alterations in all layers (15).

The analysis will apply the same simple method that I have used above, which, it will be remembered, operates with *overlapping* layers in texts, namely:

- a structural layer,
- a linguistic layer (including euphony, sounds, words, word order, and 'style'),
- a content layer, and
- an intentional layer.

To make for smoother reading, I bracket all instances of violence and the like at the content layer. Since my discussion of the translations may appear to be harsh, I must stress at the outset that the majority of the translations cited are good by ordinary standards.

The first specimen: 'The domestic servants' (KHM 140)

'The domestic servants' consists of a humorous exchange between two women. Wilhelm Grimm took it down from the von Haxthausen family on 25 May 1812 (Rölleke (rpt 1857) III: 497). Grimm cites his source as "from the Paderborn area and dialect" ('Aus dem Paderbörnischen'). He enumerates many variant forms, including mythological ones, of "this ancient tale which is also an exchange with an echo" ('Die vielerlei Abweichungen dieses alten Märchens (gleichsam ein Gespräch mit dem Wiederhall) anzuführen würde hier zu weitläufig sein ...') (Rölleke (rpt 1857) III: 235-237; also Bolte-Polívka III: 129-136). There are no textual changes in the tale between the first and the last printing by Wilhelm Grimm (1815 and 1857).

In the German *Edition* of **1857** the dialogue is as follows:

DAS HAUSGESINDE

"Wo wust du henne?" "Nah *Walpe*." "Ick nah Walpe, du nah Walpe; sam, sam, go wie dann." "Häst du auck 'n Mann? Wie hedd din Mann?" "*Cham*." "Min Mann Cham; sam, sam, goh wie dann."

"Häst du auck 'n Kind? Wie hedd din Kind?" "*Grind*." "Min Kind Grind, din Kind Grind: min Mann Cham, din Mann Cham: ick nah Walpe, du nah Walpe; sam, sam, goh wie dann."

"Häst du auck 'n Weige? Wie hedd dine Weige?" "*Hippodeige*." "Mine Weige Hippodeige, dine Weige Hippodeige: min Kind Grind, din Kind Grind: min Mann Cham, din Mann Cham: ick nah Walpe, du nah Walpe; sam, sam, goh wie dann."

"Häst du auck 'n Knecht? Wie hedd din Knecht?" "*Machmirsrecht*." "Min Knecht Machmirsrecht, din Knecht Machmirsrecht; mine Weige Hippodeige, dine Weige Hippodeige: min Kind Grind, din Kind Grind: min Mann Cham, din Mann Cham: ick nah Walpe, du nah Walpe; sam, sam, go wie dann."

The story was translated into Danish by Jacob Faber Daugaard (1894), Carl Ewald (1905), and Martin N. Hansen (1956).

Daugaard's translation (1894) runs:

NABOKONERNE

"Hvor skal du hen? " "Til Flend." " Jeg skal til Flend, du skal til Flend, elle belle ni ti."

"Har du ogsaa en Mand? Hvad hedder din Mand?" "Jan." "Min Mand Jan, din Mand Jan, du til Flend, jég til Flend, elle belle ni ti."

“Har du ogsaa et Barn? Hvad hedder dit Barn?” “Skarn.” “Mit Barn Skarn, dit Barn Skarn; min Mand Jan, din Mand Jan; jeg til Flend, du til Flend, elle belle ni ti.”

“Har du ogsaa en Gris? Hvad hedder din Gris?” “Lækkerpris.” “Min Gris Lækkerpris, din Gris Lækkerpris; mit Barn Skarn, dit Barn Skarn; min Mand Jan, din Mand Jan; jeg til Flend, du til Flend, elle belle ni ti.”

“Har du ogsaa en Karl? Hvad hedder din Karl?” “Ikkegal.” “Min Karl Ikkegal, din Karl Ikkegal; min Gris Lækkerpris, din Gris Lækkerpris; mit Barn Skarn, dit Barn Skarn; min Mand Jan, din Mand Jan; jeg til Flend, du til Flend, elle belle ni ti.” (p. 383)

Carl Ewald’s translation (1905) goes like this:

NABOFOLKENE

“Hvor skal du hen?” “Til Byen.” “Jeg skal til Byen, du skal til Byen, snip, snap, snurre, kom saa.”

“Har du ogsaa en Mand? Hvad hedder han?” “Hans.” “Min Mand Hans, din Mand Hans, jeg til Byen, du til Byen, snip, snap, snurre, kom saa.”

“Har du ogsaa et Barn? Hvad hedder det?” “Skam.” “Mit Barn Skam, dit Barn Skam, min Mand Hans, din Mand Hans, du til Byen, jeg til Byen, snip, snap, snurre, kom saa.”

“Har du ogsaa en Gris? Hvad hedder den?” “Lækkergris.” “Min Gris Lækkergris, din Gris Lækkergris, mit Barn Skam, dit Barn Skam, min Mand Hans, din Mand Hans, jeg til Byen, du til Byen, snip, snap, snurre, kom saa.”

“Har du ogsaa en Karl? Hvad hedder han?” “Pasnupaa.” “Min Karl Pasnupaa, din Karl Pasnupaa, min Gris Lækkergris, din Gris Lækkergris, mit Barn Skam, dit Barn Skam, min Mand Hans, din Mand Hans, du til Byen, jeg til Byen, snip, snap, snurre, kom saa.” (p. 82)

Finally there is Martin N. Hansen’s version (1956):

TJENESTEFOLKENE

Hvor skal du hen?

Til *Varde*.

Jeg til *Varde*, du til *Varde*. Det kan pass’, så går vi, alt vi kan!

Har også du en mand? Hvad hedder han?

Mads!

Min mand *Mads*, din mand *Mads*. Jeg til *Varde*, du til *Varde*. Det kan pass’, så går vi, alt vi kan!

Har også du et barn? Hvad hedder dit barn?

Skarn!

Mit barn *Skarn*, dit barn *Skarn*. Min mand *Mads*, din mand *Mads*. Jeg til *Varde*, du til *Varde*. Det kan pass’, så går vi, alt vi kan!

Har du også en vugge? Hvad hedder din vugge?

Nepomukke!

Min vugge *Nepomukke*, din vugge *Nepomukke*. Mit barn *Skarn*, dit barn *Skarn*. Min mand *Mads*, din mand *Mads*. Jeg til *Varde*, du til *Varde*. Det kan pass’, så går vi, alt vi kan!

Har også du en knægt? Hvad hedder din knægt?

Vis respekt!

Min knægt *Vis respekt*, din knægt *Vis respekt*. Min vugge *Nepomukke*, din vugge *Nepomukke*. Mit barn *Skarn*, dit barn *Skarn*. Min mand *Mads*, din mand *Mads*. Jeg til *Varde*, du til *Varde*. Det kan pass’, så går vi, alt vi kan! (p. 47)

These translations can be discussed meaningfully in terms of their component words in the structural and linguistic layers in German and in the Danish translations.

GRIMM: DAS HAUSGESINDE (1857)

Section I

| | | |
|--------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| I.1 "Wo wust du henne?" | a | Question 1 |
| I.2 "Nah <i>Walpe!</i> " | b | Answer |
| I.3 "Ick nah Walpe, | b | Processing the information |
| I.4 du nah Walpe; | b | |
| I.5 sam, | c | 'Basic' refrain |
| I.6 sam, | c | |
| I.7 go wie dann!" | d | Exhortation [a-vowels] |

Section II

| | | |
|------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| II.1 "Häst du auck 'n Mann?" | d | Question 1 |
| II.2 wie heddd din Mann?" | d | Question 2 |
| II.3 " <i>Cham!</i> " | e | Answer |
| II.4 "Min Mann Cham, | e | Processing the information |
| II.5 din Mann Cham; | e | |
| II.6 ick nah Walpe, | b | 1st repetition: 'New' refrain |
| II.7 du nah Walpe; | b | |
| II.8 sam, | c | 'Basic' refrain |
| II.9 sam, | c | |
| II.10 go wie dann!" | d | [a-vowels] |

Section III

| | | |
|-------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| III.1 "Häst du auck 'n Kind?" | f | Question 1 |
| III.2 wie heddd din Kind?" | f | Question 2 |
| III.3 " <i>Grind!</i> " | f | Answer |
| III.4 "Min Kind Grind, | f | Processing the information |
| III.5 din Kind Grind; | f | |
| III.6 min Mann Cham, | e | 1st repetition: 'New' refrain |
| III.7 din Mann Cham; | e | |
| III.8 ick nah Walpe, | b | 2nd repetition: 'Accepted' refrain |
| III.9 du nah Walpe; | b | |
| III.10 sam, | c | 'Basic' refrain |
| III.11 sam, | c | |
| III.12 go wir dann!" | d | [a/i-vowels] |

Section IV

Weige - Hippodeige (g - g)

Section V

Knecht - Mach mirs recht (h - h)

DAUGAARD: NABOKONERNE (1894)

Section I

| | | |
|--------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| I.1 "Hvor skal du hen?" | a | Question 1 |
| I.2 "Til Flend." | a | Answer |
| I.3 "Jeg skal til Flend, | a | Processing the information |
| I.4 du skal til Flend, | a | [non-existent village] |
| I.5 elle | b | 'Basic' refrain: two |
| I.6 belle | b | Jingles; no exhortation |
| I.7 ni | c | |
| I.8 ti." | c | [Light vowels in Danish] |

Section II

| | | |
|------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| II.1 "Har du ogsaa en Mand?" | d | Question 1 |
| II.2 Hvad hedder din Mand?" | d | Question 2 |
| II.3 "Jan." | d | Answer |
| II.4 "Min mand Jan, | d | Processing the information |
| II.5 din mand Jan, | d | [a-vowels] |
| II.6 du til Flend, | a | 1st repetition: 'New' refrain |
| II.7 jeg til Flend, | a | |
| II.8 elle | b | 'Basic' refrain |
| II.9 belle | b | |
| II.10 ni | c | |
| II.11 ti." | c | [Light vowels] |

Section III

| | | |
|-------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| III.1 "Har du ogsaa et Barn?" | e | Question 1 |
| III.2 Hvad hedder dit Barn?" | e | Question 2 |
| III.3 "Skarn." | e | Answer |
| III.4 "Mit Barn Skarn, | e | Processing the information |
| III.5 dit Barn Skarn; | e | |
| III.6 min Mand Jan, | d | 1st repetition: 'New' refrain |
| III.7 din Mand Jan; | d | |
| III.8 du til Flend, | a | 2nd repetition: 'Accepted' refrain |
| III.9 jeg til Flend, | a | |
| III.10 elle | b | 'Basic' refrain |
| III.11 belle | b | |
| III.12 ni | c | |
| III.13 ti." | c | [Light vowels] |

Section IV

En gris - Lækkerpris (f - f)

Section V

En karl - Ikkegal (g - doubtful rhyme)

CARL EWALD: NABOFOLKENE (1905)

Section I

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| I.1 "Hvor skal du hen?" | a Question 1 |
| I.2 "Til Byen." | b Answer |
| I.3 "Jeg skal til Byen, | b Processing the information |
| I.4 du skal til Byen, | b (unspecific 'to town') |
| I.5 snip, | c 'Basic' refrain: start of |
| I.6 snap, | d jingle |
| I.7 snurre, | e |
| I.8 kom saa." | f Exhortation |

Section II

- | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| II.1 "Har du ogsaa en Mand?" | g Question 1 |
| II.2 Hvad hedder han?" | g Question 2 |
| II.3 "Hans" | h Answer: word 'han'='Hans' |
| II.4 "Min Mand Hans, | h Processing the information |
| II.5 din Mand Hans, | h |
| II.6 jeg til Byen, | b 1st repetition: 'New' refrain |
| II.7 du til Byen, | b |
| II.8 snip, | c 'Basic' refrain |
| II.9 snap, | d |
| II.10 snurre, | e |
| II.11 kom saa." | f Exhortation |

Section III

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| III.1 "Har du ogsaa et Barn?" | i Question 1 |
| III.2 Hvad hedder dit Barn?" | i Question 2 |
| III.3 "Skam." | j Answer |
| III.4 "Mit Barn Skam, | j Processing the information |
| III.5 dit Barn Skam, | j |
| III.6 min Mand Hans, | h 1st repetition: 'New' refrain |
| III.7 din Mand Hans, | h |
| III.8 du til Byen, | b 2nd repetition: 'Accepted' refrain |
| III.9 jeg til Byen, | b [inverted order 'I' and 'you'] |
| III.10 snip, | c 'Basic' refrain |
| III.11 snap, | d |
| III.12 snurre, | e |
| III.13 kom saa." | f Exhortation |

Section IV

- | | |
|-------------------|---------|
| Gris - Lækkergris | (k - k) |
|-------------------|---------|

Section V

- | | |
|----------------|------------------|
| Karl - Pasnupå | (l-m [no rhyme]) |
|----------------|------------------|

MARTIN N. HANSEN: TJENESTEFOLKENE (1956)

Section I

- | | | |
|----------------------------|---|--|
| I.1 Hvor skal du hen? | a | Question 1 |
| I.2 Til <i>Varde</i> . | b | Answer |
| I.3 Jeg til <i>Varde</i> , | b | Processing the information |
| I.4 du til <i>Varde</i> . | b | (<i>Varde</i> = large town vs <i>Walpe</i> = nowhere) |
| I.5 Det kan pass', | c | 'Basic' refrain: Statement |
| I.6 så går vi, | d | + statement |
| I.7 alt vi kan! | e | + statement [a(â)-vowels in Danish] |

Section II

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| II.1 Har også du en mand? | e | Question 1 |
| II.2 Hvad hedder han? | e | Question 2 |
| II.3 <i>Mads!</i> | c | Answer ('mand' = 'Mads') |
| II.4 Min mand Mads, | c | Processing the information |
| II.5 din mand Mads. | c | |
| II.6 Jeg til <i>Varde</i> , | b | 1st repetition: 'New' refrain |
| II.7 du til <i>Varde</i> . | b | |
| II.8 Det kan pass', | c | (!) 'Basic' refrain |
| II.9 så går vi, | d | |
| II.10 alt vi kan! | e | [a(â)-vowels in Danish] |

Section III

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| III.1 Har du også et barn? | f | Question 1 |
| III.2 Hvad hedder dit barn? | f | Question 2 |
| III.3 <i>Skarn!</i> | f | Answer |
| III.4 Mit barn <i>Skarn</i> , | f | Processing the information |
| III.5 dit barn <i>Skarn</i> . | f | |
| III.6 Min mand Mads, | g | 1st repetition: 'New' refrain |
| III.7 din mand Mads. | g | |
| III.8 Jeg til <i>Varde</i> , | b | 2nd repetition: 'Accepted' refrain |
| III.9 du til <i>Varde</i> . | b | |
| III.10 Det kan pass', | c | 'Basic' refrain |
| III.11 så går vi, | d | |
| III.12 alt vi kan! | e | [a(â)-vowels in Danish] |

Section IV

- | | |
|-------------------|---------|
| Vugge - Mepolukke | (h - h) |
|-------------------|---------|

Section V

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------|
| Min knægt - 'Vis respekt' | (i - i) |
|---------------------------|---------|

The story comprises five main sections, namely (I) an introduction, (II) an exchange about a man/husband, (III) an exchange about a child, (IV) an exchange about a “Weige”, and (V) an exchange about a “Knecht”. Each section consists of three speeches, viz, a question, an answer giving a name, and a refrain summing up the information so far. In the above, I have broken down the first three sections.

All Danish translations follow the Grimm **structure**: a direct and simple-minded question (I.1; II.1-2) and a correspondingly simple answer (I.2; II.3). The answer is picked up and, as it were, mentally digested by the original speaker. She then proceeds to the refrain. This refrain becomes longer and longer as previously novel information is accepted in the universe of the dialogue. The three translations differ from the German rhyme scheme in the basic refrain: Daugaard has a-a-b-b; Ewald has four different endings but compensates by having three ‘sn-’ words which produces a kind of alliteration; and Hansen’s pattern is a-b-c, with the refinement that I.7 rhymes with II.1 (as in German).

In the **linguistic layer** there are differences. In terms of *phonetics*, the dominant vowel in the German tale is [a]; the first four segments are dominated by the consonant ‘w-’; and nasals, notably [n], are found in all segments except IV.3 (‘Hippodeige’). Hansen’s translation is also dominated by [a]-vowels, whereas Daugaard has light vowels in the two first sections. Hansen’s choice, which makes for a certain uniformity, seems to be deliberate whereas Daugaard’s appears to be coincidence.

There is some sonority in the exchange in German because there are similar *syllable endings*, but no rhyme in a traditional sense. The pattern in Grimm is: questions a-(a), answer and processing b-b-b in Section II.3-5 with c-c for preceding information. In sections III-V there are five segments a-a-a-a-a for question, answer, and processing, before the beginning of the refrain, which picks up information previously offered. The basic refrain goes c-c-d. All told, the German tale has eight different syllable endings.

In his translation, Hansen follows this pattern in the exchanges; however, his refrain has three endings, so that ultimately there are nine segmental endings. Conversely, Daugaard employs the same segmental ending for most of the exchange and uses only seven different ones; Carl Ewald is not economical until section IV and since his last exchange does not rhyme (‘Karl’ - ‘Pasnupaa’), he chalks up no less than twelve different endings.

The *word order* is largely the same. Hansen’s openings II.1 and III.1 imply that the speaker, too, has a husband and child. On the other hand, there seems to be no rational explanation for Ewald’s reversing the order of ‘you’ and ‘me’ in III.8-9.

In terms of **content**, there are differences in the basic refrain, the localisation, and referents.

The *basic refrain* carries considerable weight because it is repeated three times. The German original consists of three segments: two identical monosyllabic nonsense words (or, possibly, derivations from ‘zusammen’) and an exhortation. This is not followed in Danish.

Daugaard’s basic refrain comprises the first four words of a formulaic jingle used by children to count one another out of a game: “Ælle bælle ni ti [du slap fri].” It does not imply any exhortation.

Daugaard's simple refrain is therefore:

“Elle,
belle
Ni
Ti.”

Carl Ewald also chooses a basic refrain of four segments. The first two words are also taken from a jingle, in this case the formulaic ending to children's stories: “Snip, snap, [snude, nu er historien ude]” (approximately ‘That’s the end, folks’). But Ewald gives this a twist by replacing the third word (‘snude’ (snout, nose)) with ‘snurre’ (turn, whirl),³ and then adding an exhortation, as in Grimm. Ewald's refrain is thus:

| | |
|--------------|-------------------------------|
| “Snip, | Jingle |
| snap, | jingle continued |
| snul[*de]rre | Twist to the jingle |
| kom så. | Exhortation: ‘Come on, then.’ |

Hansen's refrain does not resort to nonsense words and jingles; instead he turns the basic refrain into three statements, which make sense in context and which easily translate into:

“[that] suits me fine.
So we go
as fast as we can.”

Ewald is thus the only translator to follow the German original in closing the exchanges with an exhortation.

In terms of *localisation*, the interpretations differ: in Section I, the German exchange takes place at “Walpe”, a locality not identifiable on existing maps.⁴

Daugaard (1894) chooses “Flend” which does not exist in Denmark although it sounds deceptively authentic (cf. real names ‘Flensburg’, ‘Flensted’, ‘Flenstofte’); linguistically the name has the advantage that it allows for Daugaard's rhyme scheme of a-a-a-a. We are, indeed, far out in the countryside where the local clodhoppers are off to yet another insignificant place.

Carl Ewald (1905) opts for “i byen”, a non-committal ‘to town’ which, however, implies that there is, in fact, a town within reach.

Martin N. Hansen's “Varde” must be partially inspired by the spelling and pronunciation of Grimms' “Walpe”, but whereas “Walpe” is in the middle of nowhere in Germany, Varde is a Danish provincial town of considerable importance. In this way, Hansen's story is located in southern Jutland, Denmark.⁵

There is little difference in the *Christian names*: the Grimms' “Cham” smacks of the Bible (Genesis 6: 10), although this is hardly pertinent in the context. Daugaard and Ewald have picked common names “Jan” and “Hans”, whereas Hansen's “Mads” in Section II may have a country flavour for some Danes, but not enough to make it deviate substantially.

The child is called “Skarn”, “Skam”, and “Skarn”, all of which render the same overall view as the German (“Grind”). In the context of the sketch, they fall into the same semantic sphere.

In Section IV, there is nothing less than a major difference of opinion between the Danish renditions of “Weige”. Daugaard translates this as ‘pig’ (which is completely

unattested); this has obviously been copied by Carl Ewald, whereas Hansen suggests ‘cradle’ (an attested variant of German “Wiege”).⁶

There is a translational disagreement about lexical equivalents of “Hausgesinde”, which normally means ‘the servants’, as in Hansen’s translation, and not ‘the (women) neighbours’, as first suggested by Daugaard and subsequently copied by Carl Ewald. It is worth noting that the translators appear to fit the word “Knecht” (Section V) into their respective overall interpretations. Daugaard, and with him Ewald, opt for the lexical equivalent “Karl” which fits the general idea of slow-witted peasants who have a ‘farm-hand’ as well as a ‘pig’. Conversely, Hansen’s ‘domestics’ might well have a ‘knægt’ (a son, a boy), and could therefore refer to a ‘cradle’.⁷

As far as the **intentional layer** is concerned, it is necessary to distinguish the one which most German readers see in the story, namely an incongruous and punning exchange, rather than the heavily historical and mythological analogues Wilhelm Grimm conjured forth in his notes. Danish translators have cheerfully disregarded the latter; indeed, I have the impression that they were blissfully unaware of them and that this is a dimension which nobody has tried to transfer into Danish. However, in so far as the sketch is a dialogue full of echoes and comprising largely nonsensical speeches, Danish translations have successfully rendered it in Danish. There is a degree of individual interpretation in the translations, mostly so in Martin N. Hansen’s version, which was, surprisingly enough, closest to German in the linguistic layer, but never enough to distort the dialogue’s general meaninglessness.

With the possible exception of Hansen’s use of “knægt” and “Det kan pass” (which may have been prompted by a wish to rhyme), there is no sustained attempt in these translations, nor in any other Danish translations, to render dialect stories by Grimm in anything but standard Danish. As early as 1816, Adam Oehlenschläger concluded that translation into Danish dialects was impossible (above, p. 150). All subsequent translators have agreed in deed: transfers of these dialects do not work in Danish.

In sum, the most obvious oral feature in many German Grimm *Tales*, the use of dialects, is given up. It is ‘lost’ in translation.

The second specimen: ‘The old man and his grandson’ (KHM 78)

This is a story about an ungrateful son. The Grimm version is from Johann Heinrich Jung-Stilling’s autobiographical novel *Heinrich Stilling’s Jünglings-Jahre* (Berlin and Leipzig 1778, 8. (Rölleke (rpt 1857) III: 476)). In his comments, Wilhelm Grimm quotes Stilling as the source and cites a number of parallel tales (Rölleke (rpt 1857) III: 139-140; also Bolte-Polívka II: 135-140).

Today the story qualifies as sentimentalised social realism: an aged grandfather lives with his son and daughter-in-law in humble circumstances; the family eat, sit, and play in the room containing the stove that supplies heat for the household.

The German texts

The story first appeared in the **1812 Edition**. It was changed in the German fourth *Edition* (1840). By **1857** the story ran as follows:

“DER ALTE GROSSVATER UND DER ENKEL

Es war einmal ein steinalter Mann, dem waren die Augen trüb geworden, die Ohren taub, und die Knie zitterten ihm. Wenn er nun bei Tische sass und den Löffel kaum halten konnte, schüttete er Suppe auf das Tischtuch, und es floss ihm auch etwas wieder aus dem Mund. Sein Sohn und dessen Frau ekelten sich davor, und deswegen musste sich der alte Grossvater endlich hinter den Ofen in die Ecke setzen, und sie gaben ihm sein Essen in ein irdenes Schüsselchen und noch dazu nicht einmal satt; da sah er betrübt nach dem Tisch, und die Augen wurden ihm nass. Einmal auch konnten seine zitterigen Hände das Schüsselchen nicht festhalten, es fiel zur Erde und zerbrach. Die junge Frau schalt, er sagte aber nichts und seufzte nur. Da kaufte sie ihm ein hölzernes Schüsselchen für ein paar Heller, daraus musste er nun essen. Wie sie da so sitzen, so trägt der kleine Enkel von vier Jahren auf der Erde kleine Brettlein zusammen. ‘Was machst du da?’ fragte der Vater. ‘Ich mache ein Tröglein’, antwortete das Kind, ‘daraus sollen Vater und Mutter essen, wenn ich gross bin.’ Da sahen sich Mann und Frau eine Weile an, fingen endlich an zu weinen, holten sofort den alten Grossvater an den Tisch und liessen ihn von nun an immer mitessen, sagten auch nichts, wenn er ein wenig verschüttete.”

This differs somewhat from the **1812 Edition**, which had the following opening lines: “Es war einmal ein alter Mann, der konnte kaum gehen, seine Knie zitterten, er hörte und sah nicht viel und hatte auch keine Zähne mehr. Wenn er nun bei Tisch sass, und den Löffel kaum halten konnte ...”

Four more points were changed between **1812** and **1857**:

1812 has “Die junge Frau schalt, er aber sagte nichts und seufzte nur. Da *kauften* sie ihm”, where the plural form implies that the entire family (agreed to) buy the wooden bowl for the old man; the **1857** sentence “... Da *kaufte* sie ihm” uses the singular and implies that the woman is a shrewish daughter-in-law acting on her own.

The three other changes are minor: **1812** has “wie sie *nun* da sitzen”, **1857** “wie sie *so* da sitzen”; **1812** has the present tense in “*fragt* der Vater”, which **1857** changes to the preterite “*fragte* der Vater”; and finally the boy starts his speech with an exclamation “Ei” in 1812; this is omitted in **1857**.

The Danish translations

There are six translations of this story into Danish, viz, those of ‘Lindencrone’ 1823; Daugaard 1894; Ewald 1905; Hasselmann and Hæstrup 1947 (subsequently shortened to ‘Hæstrup’); Martin N. Hansen (following the German 1812 volume) 1956; and Anine Rud 1970.

Since this story was not changed between the German first *Edition* and the second of 1819, the earliest Danish translation was in all likelihood made by Johan Frederik Lindencrone from the 1812 text and not revised by his daughter (above, pp 161-162). The ‘Lindencrone translation’ would thus mirror late eighteenth-century rather than early nineteenth-century Danish usage.

The first translation, by Lindencrone, is as follows:

‘DEN GAMLE BEDSTEFADER OG SØNNESØNNEN.

Der var engang en gammel Mand, som neppe kunde gaae, Knæerne skiælvede, han hørte og saae kun lidet, og havde ingen flere Tænder i Munden. Naar han nu sad ved Bordet, og kunde knap holde Skeen, spildte han Suppe paa Dugen; og noget rendte ham ogsaa ud af Munden igjen. Hans Søn og Svigerdatter væmmedes derved, og derfor maatte gamle Bedstefader tilsidst sætte sig i en Krog bag Ovnen, og de gav ham sin Mad i en Leerskaal, og saa lidet at han ikke engang blev mæt; saa saae han bedrøvet hen til Bordet og Taarerne kom ham i

Øinene. En dag faldt Skaalen af hans kraftsløse Hænder ned paa Gulvet og gik i Stykker. Den unge Kone skændte, men han sagde intet og sukkede blot. Da købte hun ham en Træ=Skaal for et Par Skilling, af den maatte han nu spise; som de nu saaledes sidder, saa samler den lille, fire Aars gamle Sønnesøn smaa Stykker Bræder sammen paa Gulvet. "Hvad bestiller Du der?" spørger Faderen. "Ih! svarede Barnet, jeg gjør et lille Trug, deraf skal Fader og Moder spise naar jeg bliver stor." Da saae Mand og Kone nogle Øieblikke på hverandre, begyndte endelig at græde, bragte strax den gamle Bedstefader til Bordet og lod ham nu, fra det Øieblik af, spise med sig, og sagde heller intet naar han kom for Skade at spille noget af Maden.' (1823: 376)

Daugaard's translation is:

'DEN GAMLE BEDSTEFADER OG HANS SØNNESØN.

Der var en Gang en ældgammel Mand; høre og se kunde han aldeles ikke, og Benene rystede under ham. Naar han nu sad ved Bordet og næppe kunde holde paa Skeen, spildte han Suppe paa Dugen, og Maden løb ud af Munden paa ham igen. Hans Søn og Svigerdatter væmmedes derved, og tilsidst maatte gamle Bedstefader sætte sig hen i Krogen bag Kakkellovnen, og de gav ham hans Mad i en Lerskaal og ikke engang saa meget, at han kunde spise sig mæt. Bedrøvet skottede han hen til Bordet, og Taarerne stod ham i Øjnene. Tilsidst kunde han ikke engang holde Skaalen fast med sine skælvende Hænder; den faldt på Gulvet og gik itu. Den unge Kone skændte paa ham; han tav stille og sukkede blot. Hun købte nu en Træskaal til et Par Skillings Penge; den maatte han for Fremtiden spise af. Som de nu en Gang sad sammen inde i Stuen, gav den lille fireaars Purk, Sønnesønnen, sig til at samle smaa



Illustration by Philip Grot Johann and R. Leinweber, 1893

Stykker Brænde sammen paa Gulvet. "Hvad er det, du bestiller?" spurgte Faderen. "Jeg laver et lille Trug," svarede Barnet; "Det skal Fa'r og Mo'r spise af, naar jeg bliver stor." Mand og Kone saa lidt paa hinanden, saa begyndte de at græde, hentede straks den gamle Bedstefader hen til Bordet og lod ham fra nu af spise sammen med dem og sagde heller ikke noget, naar han undertiden kom til at spille på Dugen.' (1894: 193-194)

Ewald's translation goes:

'BEDSTEFAREN OG SØNNESØNNEN.

Der var engang en meget gammel Mand. Han var baade blind og døv, og hans Knæ rystede under ham. Naar han sad ved Bordet, kunde han næsten ikke holde paa Skeen, men spildte tit paa Dugen, og mange Gange savlede han ogsaa. Hans Søn og Svigerdatter syntes, at det var væmmeligt at se paa, og den gamle Bedstefar maatte derfor sætte sig i Kakkellovskrogen, og de gav ham Mad i en Lerskaal. Han fik ikke engang saa meget, at han kunde spise sig mæt, og med Taarer i Øjnene saa han hen til Bordet, hvor de andre sad. En dag rystede han saadan paa Hænderne, at han tabte Skaalen, og den gik itu. Den unge Kone skændte paa ham, men han sukkede blot og sagde ikke noget. Hun købte nu en Træskaal til et Par Øre, og den maatte han spise af. En Dag, da de sad derude, saa de, at deres lille Dreng paa 4 Aar slæbte nogle Brædder sammen. "Hvad bestiller du?" spurgte Faren. "Jeg laver et Trug," svarede han, "det skal Far og Mor spise af, naar jeg bliver stor." Manden og Konen saa paa hinanden og begyndte at græde. Og øjeblikkelig førte de den gamle Bedstefar hen til Bordet og lod ham fra nu af altid spise med dem og sagde heller ikke noget, selv om han spildte lidt.' (1905: 100-101)

Hæstrup's translation runs:

'DEN GAMLE BEDSTEFADER OG HANS SØNNESØN

Der var engang en meget gammel Mand. Han var baade blind og døv, og hans Knæ rystede under ham. Han havde heller ingen Tænder mere. Naar han sad ved Bordet, kunde han næsten ikke holde paa Skeen, men spildte tit Suppe paa Dugen, og mange Gange løb Maden ud af Munden paa ham igen. Hans Søn og Svigerdatter syntes, at det var væmmeligt at se paa, og den gamle Bedstefar maatte derfor sætte sig i Kakkellovskrogen, og de gav ham Mad i en Lerskaal. Han fik ikke engang saa meget, at han kunde spise sig mæt, og med Taarer i Øjnene saa han hen til Bordet, hvor de andre sad.

En Dag rystede han saadan paa Hænderne, at han tabte Skaalen, og den gik itu. Den unge Kone skændte paa ham, men han sukkede blot og sagde ikke noget. Hun købte nu en Træskaal til et Par Øre, og den maatte han nu spise af.

En Dag, da de sad og spiste, saa de, at deres lille Dreng paa 4 Aar slæbte nogle Brædder sammen.

"Hvad bestiller du?" spurgte Faderen.

"Jeg er ved at lave et Trug," svarede han, "det skal Far og Mor spise af, naar jeg bliver stor."

Manden og Konen saa paa hinanden og begyndte at græde. Og saa hentede de den gamle Bedstefader hen til Bordet og lod ham fra nu af altid spise med dem og sagde heller ikke noget, selv om han spildte lidt.' (1947. I: 104-105)

In 1956 Hansen renders the story as follows:

'BEDSTEFADEREN OG SØNNESØNNEN.

Der var engang en gammel mand, han kunne næsten ikke gå, for knæene rystede under ham, høre og se kunne han snart heller ikke mere, og tænderne var gået til.

Når han nu sad ved bordet og dårligt nok kunne holde på skeen, så spildte han suppe på dugen, og noget af den løb også ud af munden på ham igen.

Sønnen og svigerdatteren syntes, det var ækelt at se på, og derfor måtte den gamle bedstefar til sidst sidde i krogen bag ovnen, og maden gav de ham i en lerskål, oven i købet knapt tilmålt, så han ikke engang blev mæt. Og når skålen var tom, så han langt efter bordet og fik tårer i øjnene.

En dag kunne hans rystende hænder heller ikke holde fast på skålen, så den faldt på gulvet og gik itu.

Den unge kone skældte ud, men den gamle sagde ingen ting og sukkede bare.

Så købte de ham en træskål for et par skilling, og nu måtte han spise af den.

Bedst som de nu sidder sådan, kommer den lille sønnesøn på fire år med nogle bræddestumper, som han prøver at sætte sammen nede på gulvet.

Hvad laver du der? spørger faderen.

Å - svarede drengen - jeg laver et lille trug. Det skal du og mor spise af, når jeg bliver stor.

Da så manden og konen en stund på hinanden, så begyndte de at græde og hentede straks den gamle bedstefar tilbage til sin plads. Fra nu af lod de ham altid spise med ved bordet og sagde heller ikke noget, selv om han spildte en smule.’ (169)

Finally, in 1970 Anine Rud translated the story as follows:

‘DEN GAMLE BEDSTEFAR OG HANS SØNNESØN

Der var engang en meget gammel mand. Hans øjne var blevet matte, hans ører døde, og hans knæ rystede under ham. Når han sad ved bordet og knap nok kunne holde på skeen, spildte han suppe på dugen, og tit savlede han også.

Hans søn og svigerdatter syntes, at det var ækelt at se på, og derfor måtte den gamle bedstefar til sidst sidde henne i ovnkrogen. De gav ham mad i en lerskål, og han fik ikke engang så meget, at han kunne spise sig mæt. Der sad han nu og så bedrøvet hen til bordet, hvor de andre spiste, og hans øjne løb fulde af vand.

Engang rystede han sådan på hånden, at han ikke kunne holde fast på skålen, der faldt på gulvet og gik i stykker. Den unge kone skændte på ham, men han sukkede kun og sagde ikke noget. Så købte hun for et par ører en træskål til ham, og den måtte han nu spise af.

En dag, da sønnen og svigerdatteren sad ved bordet, så de, at deres lille dreng på fire år havde travlt med at sætte nogle små bræddestykker sammen.

“Hvad laver du der?” spurgte faderen.

“Jeg laver et trug,” svarede barnet. “Det skal far og mor spise af, når jeg bliver stor.”

Da så manden og konen længe på hinanden og til sidst kom de til at græde. De hentede straks den gamle bedstefar hen til bordet og lod ham fra nu af altid spise sammen med dem. Og de sagde aldrig mere noget, selv om han kom til at spilde lidt.’ (86)

A step-by-step comparison

Linguistic, structural, and intentional approaches are unrewarding. A linear, feature-by-feature *comparison (in English) of points at which we meet divergent translations in the content layer* is an obvious means by which to bring out variant shades of meaning in the Danish renditions. In the following analysis, the translations are compared with one another.

An old man (Grimm 1812): Lindencrone, Hæstrup, Hansen

A very old man (Grimm 1857): Daugaard, Ewald, Rud

He could hardly walk (Grimm 1812): Lindencrone, Hæstrup, Hansen

[No information] (Grimm 1857): Daugaard, Ewald, Rud

He has trembling knees: all

He was almost blind (Grimm): Lindencrone, Hansen, Rud

He was blind: Daugaard, Ewald, Hæstrup

He was almost deaf (Grimm 1812): Lindencrone, Hansen

He was deaf (Grimm 1857): Daugaard, Ewald, Hæstrup, Rud

He had no teeth (Grimm 1812): Lindencrone, Hæstrup, Hansen

[No information] (Grimm 1857): Daugaard, Ewald, Rud

He spilled some soup from his mouth (Grimm): Lindencrone, Hansen

He spilled food from his mouth: Daugaard, Hæstrup

He slavered: Ewald, Rud

The son and his wife (Grimm):

The son and the daughter-in-law: Lindencrone, Daugaard, Ewald, Hæstrup

His son and daughter-in-law: Hæstrup, Rud

Old Granddad: Lindencrone, Daugaard

The old grandfather (Grimm): Ewald, Hæstrup, Hansen, Rud

in the end (Grimm): Lindencrone, Daugaard, Hansen, Rud

Omitted]: Ewald, Hæstrup

sit, move to [actively] (Grimm): Lindencrone, Daugaard, Ewald, Hæstrup

sit, be placed [inactively]: Hansen, Rud

behind the stove in the corner (Grimm):

in a corner behind the stove: Lindencrone

in the corner behind the stove: Daugaard, Hansen

in the corner by the stove (one word): ‘Kakkelovnskrogen’: Ewald and Hæstrup; ‘ovnkrogen’:

Rud

Grimm: a little bowl. All Danish translators: a bowl

And so little [food] that he would not be full: Lindencrone, Daugaard, Ewald, Hæstrup, Rud

And so exactly measured: Hansen

Then he looked towards the table (Grimm): Lindencrone, Hæstrup

He was (always) looking towards the table: Daugaard, Ewald, Rud

When his plate was empty he looked towards the table: Hansen

- where the others were seated: Ewald, Hæstrup

- where the others were eating: Rud

sadly (Grimm): Lindencrone, Daugaard

[No information]: Ewald, Hæstrup, Hansen, Rud

his eyes filled with tears (Grimm): Lindencrone, Hansen, Rud

his eyes were full of tears: Daugaard, Ewald, Hæstrup

One day (Grimm): Lindencrone, Ewald, Hæstrup, Hansen, Rud

In the end: Daugaard

His shaking hands (Grimm): Daugaard, Hansen

His hands (suddenly, once) shook so much: Ewald, Hæstrup, Rud

His weak hands: Lindencrone

Grimm: “Hände konnten nicht festhalten -” (i.e. ‘his hands could not hold’)

He dropped the plate (by accident): Ewald, Hæstrup

The plate fell: Lindencrone, Daugaard, Hansen, Rud

to the floor (Grimm): Lindencrone, Daugaard, Ewald, Hansen, Rud

[No floor mentioned] (implied): Hæstrup

She scolded him: Daugaard, Ewald, Hæstrup, Rud

She scolded (Grimm): Lindencrone, Hansen

He said nothing and sighed (Grimm): Lindencrone, Daugaard, Hansen

He sighed and said nothing: Ewald, Hæstrup, Rud

They bought (Grimm 1812): Hansen

She bought (Grimm 1857): Lindencrone (i.e. a translation error); (correct:) Daugaard, Ewald, Hæstrup, Rud

Grimm: a small wooden bowl. All translators: a wooden bowl

- for a couple of skilling: Lindencrone, Hansen

- for a couple of øre: Rud

- priced at a couple of skillings: Daugaard

- priced at a couple of øre: Ewald, Hæstrup

They are sitting (Grimm): Lindencrone, Hansen

They were sitting: Daugaard, Ewald, Hæstrup

The son and the daughter-in-law: Rud

- (together/in their respective places): Grimm, Lindencrone, Hansen

- eating: Hæstrup

- at table: Rud

- in the room: Daugaard

- out there: Ewald

The little four-year-old boy, the grandchild: Daugaard

The little four-year-old grandson (Grimm): Lindencrone, Hansen

Their little four-year-old son/boy: Ewald, Hansen, Rud

While they are sitting, the boy begins to play, etc.: Lindencrone, Daugaard, Hansen,

They become aware that the boy is playing: Ewald, Hæstrup, Rud

[The Grimm text is ambiguous]

The boy was putting together: Ewald, Hæstrup

The boy was trying to put together: Hansen

The boy began to put together: Daugaard

The boy is successfully putting together: Lindencrone, Rud

[All renditions are acceptable.]

He puts together small little boards: Grimm

He pulls together boards (wrong equivalent): Ewald, Hæstrup

He puts together small boards: Lindencrone, Hansen, Rud

He puts together wood (wrong equivalent): Daugaard

Comment: Grimm has "kleine Brettlein" ('small little boards'). There is agreement among translators that there can be only one diminutive. Daugaard's phrasing may have been an attempt to render the double diminutive but is not felicitous, as 'Brænde' means 'wood for fuel'.

The father asks (Grimm 1812): Lindencrone, Hansen

Asked the father (Grimm 1857): Daugaard, Ewald, Hæstrup, Rud

None of the translations of 'Was machst du da?' are wrong, but they show an increasing degree of idiomatic correctness: "Hvad bestiller du der?" (Lindencrone); "Hvad er det, du bestiller?" (Daugaard); "Hvad bestiller du?" (Ewald; Hæstrup); "Hvad laver du der?" (Hansen; Rud).

"Oh" (for German 'Ei'; Grimm 1812): Lindencrone, Hansen

I am making a small trough (Grimm): Lindencrone, Daugaard, Hansen

I am making a trough: Ewald, Hæstrup, Rud

Man and wife: Grimm, Lindencrone, Daugaard

The man and the wife (more idiomatic in Danish): Ewald, Hæstrup, Hansen, Rud

looked -

- for a little, for a while (Grimm): Daugaard, Hansen

- for a long while: Rud

- some moments: Lindencrone

No information given: Ewald, Hæstrup

Began to weep -

- then (Grimm): Lindencrone, Hansen,

- in the end: Rud

No information given: Daugaard, Ewald, Hæstrup

At once: Grimm and agreement among the translators

they led the old grandfather - : Ewald; the others 'took' or similar

- back to his place: Hansen

- to the table: 'Lindencrone', Daugaard, Ewald, Hæstrup, Rud

They let him

- from now, this very moment (Grimm): Lindencrone

- from then/now on: Daugaard, Ewald, Hæstrup, Hansen, Rud
- always: Ewald, Hæstrup, Hansen, Rud
 - eat (with them: 'spise med'): Hansen
 - eat with them ('spise med sig'): Lindencrone
 - spise med dem: Daugaard, Ewald, Hæstrup, Rud

When he occasionally spilled some food: Lindencrone, Daugaard

Even if he happened to spill

- a little (Grimm): Ewald, Hæstrup, Hansen, Rud
- on the cloth: Daugaard

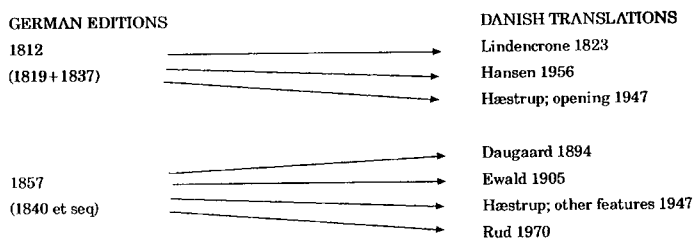
The overall view

The errors in the linguistic layer have been noted; apart from these, the translations are all good and move within I consider acceptable limits of interpretation. There is no problem at all with the *structural* layer: the narrative progresses evenly in all Danish translations, and we do, indeed, have the 'same story'.

The 'influence' of previous translations

The above perusal reveals that we are dealing with two German source texts, namely that of **1812** (1819 and 1837), which is realised in Danish in Lindencrone, Hæstrup, and Hansen; and that of **1857**, used by Daugaard, Ewald, Hæstrup, and Rud.

This relationship is shown in the below illustration:

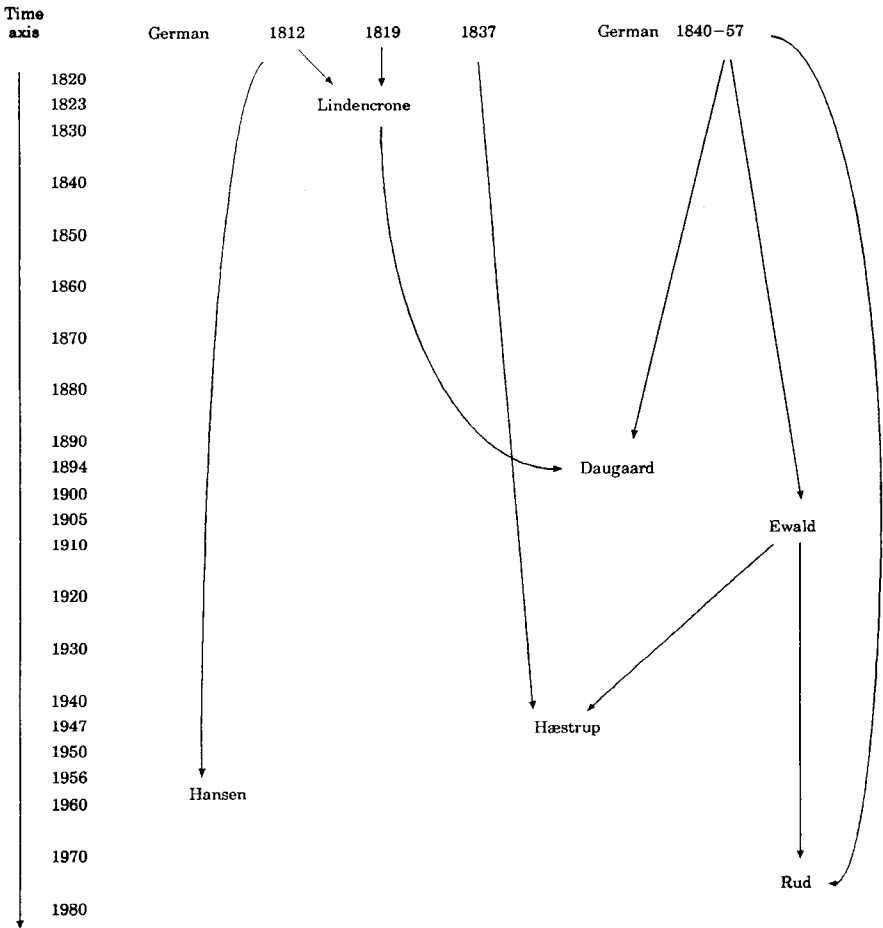


The analysis of the content layer makes it abundantly clear that all the translators referred to a German source text. It is also obvious that some translators must have known previous translations: Daugaard knew Lindencrone's translation; Ewald's translation has influenced Hæstrup, and must have been known to Anine Rud. These debts to previous translations are obvious in verbal parallels (for instance, Daugaard seems to have copied Lindencrone's version of the third full segment). Hæstrup has numerous parallels to Ewald. Anine Rud seems to have used Carl Ewald only as a control for the correctness of her translation: there are few verbal parallels.

Hæstrup's debt to Ewald is the most obvious. It is, however, obscured because Hæstrup and his co-translator clearly used the opening lines from the early German *Editions*. Their source text must have derived from a German *Complete Edition* of the *Tales* published before 1840, since the German 1837 *Edition* is the last source text to use the 'old opening' of the tale. This is corroborated by the fact that Hasselmann and Hæstrup's repertory of Grimm comprises only German tales printed by 1837 (see '1947a').

This throws a most interesting light on Grimm scholarship and on translations of the Grimm stories: it stands to reason that there must be numerous ‘unauthorised’ editions of the *Tales* even in German. Naturally, printers and publishers in Germany have been just as ignorant as most Danish translators of Wilhelm Grimm’s editorial changes, of his omissions and additions. It is therefore not surprising that early *Editions* of the Grimm *Tales* surface in later translations,⁸ but the point complicates studies of the Grimm *Tales* no end since any grand international statement must now identify its textual basis.

However, we must return to the Danish translations of the story under discussion and address the question of ‘influence’ between Danish target-language texts. This is shown graphically below:



‘Influence’ is an ambiguous phenomenon: we have just seen how Carl Ewald used Daugaard’s translation of KHM 140, but Daugaard’s translation of ‘The old man’ never

affected any subsequent translations into Danish, so his effort with this story was lost to the Danish translational heritage.

Nevertheless, overall readings as well as the above detailed discussion of individual features of Danish translations reveal that all translators impose their own interpretation on the source-language text and consequently their individual differences on the target-language tales; this applies to linguistic elements as well as to the content.

Daugaard, for one, takes liberties with the German text; in the linguistic layer he applies a pervasively condescending and sugary tone: “den lille fireaars Purk”; on the content side he exaggerates: “og Maden løb ud af Munden paa ham igen”.

Other translators make their own imprint, too, somewhere or other: Lindencrone has the grandpa’s ‘weak hands’; Ewald says the grandfather is ‘led’ (“ført”) back to the table; Hæstrup refrains from mentioning ‘the floor’ on which the bowl is smashed (which is not, of course, a ‘mistake’); Hansen has the old man look at the table when he has ‘finished his bowl’; and Rud thinks the man and wife look at one another ‘for a long while’.

One striking example of individual interpretations in translation concerns the geography of the room, that is, the relative location of the table and the German “hinter den Ofen in die Ecke”. Lindencrone has the grandfather relegated to one (of several) corners behind the stove (“i en Krog bag Ovnem”); Daugaard and Hansen assume it to be a familiar nook behind the stove (“i Krogen bag Kakkellovnen” and “i krogen bag ovnen”); however, their use of the preposition ‘behind’ leads to problems when we attempt to visualise the old man looking wistfully for the table (a problem which is, to be fair, present even in the German text; it is not really solved in Grot Johann’s illustration of 1893 either (above, p. 211)). Hæstrup (“i Kakkellovnskrogen”) and Anine Rud (“i ovnskrogen”) present the place as a cosy alcove with a clear view of the table. In so doing they are inspired by Carl Ewald. He suggested “i Kakkellovnskrogen”; but he also changed the social standing of the household in his subsequent suggestion that ‘One day, as they were sitting *out* there’: the educated Danish middle-class author and translator (who was himself head of a large household) apparently believed that the old man’s place was *outside* the dining-room normally used by the family (i.e. in the kitchen).

Yet this discussion should not obscure the fact that, by and large, the translators are consistent in their renderings: all translators are agreed that - given the old man’s decrepitude - the family must take him to the table in triumph at the end (“hentede”, “bragte”; Carl Ewald: “førte”).

On the other hand, this discussion demonstrates, once again, that it is difficult to make clear-cut distinctions between the linguistic and the content layers.

There are additional points to note concerning the *linguistic* layer. They are connected with the etymological proximity between the source language, German, and the target language, Danish, as well as with the story’s integration into the Danish linguistic system, that is, the attempt to make the story run smoothly in standard Danish. These factors intermingle. Nevertheless, I shall attempt a distinction.

It is no surprise that in 1817 (or before), Lindencrone is close to the German original, which is followed word-by-word except in cases of German syntactical circumlocutions;

similarly the punctuation calques the German original. It is pertinent to an assessment of this style that we recall that Denmark then included Slesvig-Holsten, and that German was the first foreign language for most Danes. German influenced Danish orthography, notably written Danish, in terms of the acceptance of long sentence structures.

Eighty years later, Daugaard takes considerable liberties in rendering the German text, sometimes at the expense of 'fidelity', and with an unsurpassed mastery of Danish punctuation. It may not constitute a faithful translation, but it is excellent narration. Ewald's rendering (1905) is standard Danish. His punctuation is affected by the German original and therefore not entirely free. This lead is followed by Hæstrup (1947). Hansen's translation (1956) is a compromise between 'fidelity' and a fluent rendition in Danish. He uses a modern layout comprising numerous brief paragraphs. Rud's rendering (1970) is an improvement on Ewald's; she also uses a modern layout.

When we consider the particulars, it is noteworthy that (with the exception of Lindencrone, who was the Grimm's first translator, and Hansen, who is committed to 'fidelity' in these details), Danish translators supplant the present tense with the past when the parents are seated on the fateful evening; similarly, the translators reject the excessive use of diminutives in German. In other words, there are points on which there is a consensus among Danish translators about the rendering of the German original in Danish.

The use of Danish idioms is significant.

Daugaard's narrative style is fine and, despite flaws (such as the mass of information heaped on the boy), his choice of words is unusually idiomatic for a translation: "aldeles", "skottede", "Som de nu en Gang sad sammen inde i Stuen", etc. Hansen also uses idioms, but stylistically they are far-fetched, compared to the standard Danish he otherwise uses: "tænderne var gået til", "Bedst som de nu sidder sådan".

In my analysis of the previous tale, I called attention to the overall movement in translations towards more idiomatic dialogue (and language usage). Roughly speaking, the number of paratactical conjunctions is increasing and becoming more Danish ("og", "så"). Yet, like so many texts translated into Danish, this Grimm tale lacks modifying particles ("jo", "da", etc.); as long as usage of these particles is not aligned to everyday Danish usage, the stories are subtly alien to linguistic sensitivities.

Nevertheless, it is clear that - in the course of the century and a half under discussion - there has been an indisputable increase in the collective agreement and consequent knowledge gradually amassed by the 'body translational' in Denmark. This implies that, over the years, the text has been developing into an integrated Danish tale: whereas the first translator, Lindencrone, followed the German text carefully, Rud musters a series of idiomatic and precise expressions: "matte øjne", "ækelt", "ikke engang", etc.

Despite their linguistic and (minor) content differences, all Danish translations preserve the structural layer intact, and they accurately render the intentional point of ingratitude. The variations are primarily linked to the linguistic layer of the tale.

We may therefore conclude that it requires several generations of translation effort and assumedly the influence of translations on each other, to integrate a literary text, a tale, satisfactorily into the target language system.

The third specimen: 'Hansel and Gretel' (KHM 15)

The two previous discussions could cite all Danish translations in their entirety. This is impossible with 'Hansel and Gretel'. It has been translated too often; furthermore it is too long to be printed in its complete form. Accordingly, my analysis will be limited to the opening lines of the German version, which I have discussed previously (above, pp. 41-51), and to a representative number of Danish translations.

Since Wilhelm Grimm edited 'Hansel and Gretel' drastically over the years, we are dealing with different source texts as well as different translations. In the analysis this calls for a detailed examination of the elements in the tale in the two crucial *Editions*, namely those of **1819** (mostly followed in 1837 and 1840) and **1857** (mostly following the 1843 and 1850 texts).

In my discussion of the genesis of the tale in German, I focussed on the **1812 Edition** (above, pp 41-43). However, since there are differences between the 1812 and the 1819 versions of 'Hansel and Gretel', we must also examine the **1819** version, which was the earliest German one to serve as a source text for extant Danish translations.

The **1819** version goes:

“HÄNSEL UND GRETHEL

Vor einem grossen Walde wohnte ein armer Holzhacker, der hatte nichts zu beissen und zu brechen und kaum das tägliche Brot für seine Frau und seine zwei Kinder, Hänsel und Gretel. Endlich kam die Zeit, da konnte er auch das nicht schaffen, und wusste keine Hülfe mehr für seine Noth. Wie er sich nun Abends vor Sorge im Bett herumwälzte, sprach seine Frau zu ihm: 'Höre Mann, morgen früh nimm die beiden Kinder, gieb jedem noch ein Stückchen Brot, dann führ sie hinaus in den Wald, mitten inne, wo er am dicksten ist, da mach ihnen ein Feuer an, und dann geh weg und lass sie dort allein, wir können sie nicht länger ernähren.' - 'Nein Frau', sagte der Mann, 'das kann ich nicht über mein Herz bringen, meine eigenen lieben Kinder den wilden Thieren im Wald zu bringen, die sie bald würden zerrissen haben.' - 'Nun, wenn du das nicht thust', sprach die Frau, 'so müssen wir alle miteinander Hungers sterben'; und liess ihm keine Ruhe, bis er einwilligte.

Die zwei Kinder waren auch noch vor Hunger wach gewesen, und hatten mit angehört, was die Mutter zum Vater gesagt hatte.”

The content of the German versions

It appeared in my earlier discussion that there were major changes in the German versions in the content layer. This is reflected in the translations, which, furthermore, show more latitude than those of the two previous specimen tales. There is a need for staples in dealing with these translations; in this case they will be the content elements of the German source text because content takes precedence over the linguistic and structural layer in interpretation of literature (and translation).

The **1857** version will serve as our basis: it contains most elements because, like virtually all other Grimm tales, it was expanded over the years. Accordingly, each element in the content layer in the last *Complete Edition* is listed in the two left hand columns (the first a number, and the second the element). The third column lists the corresponding element in the **1819 Edition** and indicates whether it is absent (-), the same (+), or a different one. The right hand column notes the general contents and deviations, if any.

**First stratum:
Single elements**

**Second stratum:
Actions, relations,
overall impression**

Exposition

| 1857 | 1819 | 1857 vs 1819 |
|---------------------------------|------|------------------------------|
| 1 outskirts of wood | 1 | |
| 2 poor | 2 | Both 1819 and 1857: |
| 3 woodcutter | 3 | Overall poverty |
| | 10 | |
| | 11 | |
| | 16 | 1819: hardly the daily bread |
| 4 wife | 4 | |
| 5 his two children | 5 | |
| 6 a little boy | - | |
| 7 'Hansel' | + | 1857: diminutives |
| 8 a little girl | - | |
| 9 'Gretel' | + | |
| 10 little food | + | |
| 11 idiom ('beissen u. brechen') | + | |

The exposition ends and the action begins

| | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 12 Once | At last | 1857: general |
| 13 hard times | - | hard times |
| 14 in the land | - | |
| 15 He had not even | He did not earn | |
| 16 the daily bread | the daily bread | |
| 17 - | He saw no way out | 1819: the man is desperate |
| 18 In the evening | + | |
| 19 in bed | + | |
| 20 he thought | - | |
| 21 he turned around | + | |
| 22 full of worries | + | |
| 23 he sighed | - | |
| 24 he said to his wife | - | 1857: the man starts a discussion |
| 25 'What will happen | - | |
| 26 We cannot feed the children | - | |
| 27 we have no more' | - | |
| 28 'You know what, man' | She said | 1819: the woman |
| 29 she answered | 'Hear man' | orders him around |
| 30 'Tomorrow | + | |
| 31 early | + | |
| 32 WE | YOU | 1857: SHE is willing to do |
| 33 take the children | + | do part of the job |
| | 39 | |
| 34 into the wood | + | |
| 35 - | right in the midst | |
| 36 where it is densest | + | |
| 37 we make a fire | + | |
| 38 we give each | + | |
| 39 a bit of bread | + | |

| | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| 40 then | + | |
| 41 we go to work | you go away | |
| 42 and leave them alone | + | |
| 43 They will not find back | - | |
| 44 and we are rid of them | - | |
| 45 - | 26 we cannot feed them' | |
| 46 'No | + | |
| 47 wife' | + | |
| 48 said the man | - | |
| 49 'that I will not do | - | |
| 50 I do not have the heart to | + | |
| 51 LEAVE ALONE | BRING | 1819: the father |
| 52 my | my | speaks of it |
| 53 - | own dear | as a sacrifice |
| 54 children, | children | |
| 55 - | to | |
| 56 the beasts | the beasts | |
| 57 - | in the wood | |
| 58 they would soon come | - | |
| 59 to tear them apart' | + | |
| 60 - | 'Well | |
| 61 'Oh, you fool, | - | |
| 62 - | if you do not do it | |
| 63 we shall die of hunger | + | |
| 64 all four | all together' | |
| 65 You may plane the boards | - | 1857: The wife |
| 66 for our coffins' | - | speaks of coffins |
| 67 She left him no peace | + | |
| 68 until he conceded | + | |
| 69 'Poor children' | - | 1857: the father's |
| 70 He said | - | qualms are verbal |
| 71 The two children | + | |
| 72 also | + | |
| 73 could not sleep | + | |
| 74 - | were still awake | |
| 75 from hunger | + | |
| 76 and had heard | + | |
| 77 what | + | |
| 80 their STEPMOTHER | their MOTHER | 1857: STEPMOTHER |
| 81 had said | + | |
| 82 to their FATHER | + | |

Some features stand out.

As noted above (p. 49-50), the father is different. In 1819 he is a good-for-nothing who is incapable of making money, cornered by events (elements 10, 11, 15, 16, 17) and pushed around by his wife (elements 28, 29); he cannot see any remedy (element 17), whereas his wife identifies the problem (26) and spontaneously suggests a pragmatic, although cruel, solution (32-34, 42). In the 1857 version, the man is a victim of general hard times (12, 13, 14); he protests his care and love for his children at more length (26, 50-52, 54, 56, 69) if much less intensely than in 1819 (50-57), when his objection had sinister overtones of a pagan sacrifice in the woods.

The most momentous differences, however, concern the woman in the story. Until the German fourth *Complete Edition* (1840), she was the children's mother. In the fifth *Complete Edition* (of 1843), she became their stepmother, a position she then held in all of Wilhelm Grimm's *Editions*, including that of 1857.⁹ There are more extenuating circumstances in 1819 than in 1857, in that she is motivated by fear of starvation (16 (twice), 45, 63). Conversely, the idea of abandoning the children is hers alone since her husband does not seek her counsel (1857: 23-27). In the 1857 version, she appears to be more scheming (43, 44) and gratuitously unpleasant (61, 65-66). She is also willing to take part in the abandonment of the children (32). In 'objective' terms, we are hard put to decide which of these women is worse, unless we accept that a basic egotistical drive to survive condones crime. From the point of view of the bourgeois nuclear family, it is unthinkable that a *mother* can be capable of committing such an atrocity.

Danish translations

The Danish translations I have selected will be discussed in order of publication, with brief comments on salient points.

Lindencrone's translation (1823) runs as follows:

'HANSEMAND OG GRETHELL.

Foran en stor Skov boede en fattig Brændhugger, som intet havde at bide eller at brænde, og neppe det daglige Brød for sin Kone og deres to Børn, Hans og Grethelil. Engang kunde han slet ikke skaffe noget tilveie, og vidste aldeles intet Raad. Da han nu om Aftenen af Bekymring kastede sig fra en Side til en anden i Sengen, sagde hans Kone til ham: "hør, Mand, tag Du i Morgen tidlig begge Børnene med Dig, giv dem hver et Stykke Brød og bring dem midt ud i Skoven, der hvor den er tykkest. Tænd saa Ild an, gaee fra dem, og lad dem blive allene tilbage; vi kan jo dog ikke længere føde dem." - "Nei Kone, sagde Manden, jeg kan ikke bevæge mig til at bringe mine egne kiære Børn til de vilde Dyr, som snart vilde rive dem ihjel." - "Gjør Du det ikke sagde Konen, saa maa vi jo alle sulte ihjel." Og hun lod ham ingen Roe have førend han maatte love det. Men de to Børn vare ogsaa endnu vaagne, og kunde ikke sove for Sult; de havde hørt alt hvad Forældrene talte sammen [om.] (1823: 73-74)

This translation is more fluent than that of 'The old man'. I assume that Louise Hegermann-Lindencrone revised her father's translation stylistically (provided he had translated the story, that is), since element 45 has 'jo dog'. There is a substantial clarification in element 5: Hansel and Gretel are 'their' children. In 80-82, 'the parents' speak to each other, a feature which may lessen the shock that the woman is their *mother*.

The next translation is undertaken by Christian Molbech (1843):

'HANSEMAND OG GRETHE.

Der var engang en fattig Brændhugger, som boede nær ved en stor Skov. Han var saa fattig, at han knap havde det daglige Brød for sig og sin Kone og sine to Børn, Hansemænd og Grethe. Tilsidst vidste han ikke engang mere hvor han skulde faa Brødet fra, og var reent ude af sig selv over al den Jammer og Nød, som han saae for sine Øine. Da han nu laae om Aftenen og ikke kunde sove for bare Sorg, sagde hans Kone til ham: "Hør, Mand! i Morgen tidlig skal Du tage begge Børnene, og endnu engang give dem hver et Stykke Brød; bring dem så ud i Skoven, ret dybt inde, hvor der er allertykkest; der skal du tænde et Baal for dem, og lad dem saa blive der allene tilbage; vi kan dog ikke føde dem længere." - "Nei, Kone! sagde Manden, det nænner jeg aldrig, at bringe mine egne, kiære Børn ud i Skoven, hvor de vilde Dyr snart ville finde dem, og rive dem ihjel." - "Ja, gjør du ikke det", sagde Konen, "saa maa vi allesammen sulte ihjel", og hun plagede ham saalænge, til han endelig sagde ja.

De to Børn laae ogsaa vaagne af Sult; og de hørte hvad deres Moder sagde til Faderen.’ (1843: 40)

It will be remembered that Molbech was prepared to rephrase stories and that he paid particular care to Danish usage (above, p. 168). In this passage, however, his Danish is not superior to ‘Lindencrone’s’.

Molbech relied on the **1840** German text. He renders the ‘false friend’ ‘Sorge’ (‘troubles’ 22) as ‘Sorg’ (‘sorrow’). He expands 17: ‘In the end he did not even know how to get bread *and was desperate about all the laments and woes confronting him*’. He preserves the phrasing ‘his children’ in 5, but later leaves us in no doubt in 80 that the woman is ‘*their mother*’.

Daugaard’s version of 1894 stands out as a magnificent and independent narration: ‘HANSEMAND OG GRETELIL.

Ved udkanten af en stor Skov boede der en fattig Brændehugger med sin Kone og sine to Børn; den lille Dreng hed Hansemand, og den lille Pige hed Gretelil. Manden havde det meget smaat, saa at sige hverken vaadt eller tørt, og da der saa en Gang kom Dyrtid i Landet, kunde han heller ikke skaffe det daglige Brød mere til sig og sin Familie. Da han nu en Aften var gaaet i Seng og laa og tænkte og tænkte og i sin Sorg kastede sig fra den ene Side til den anden, sukkede han og sagde til sin Kone: “Hvad skal der dog blive af os? Hvorledes skal vi kunne føde vore stakkels Børn, da vi ikke en Gang har noget til os selv?” “Ved du hvad, Mand,” svarede Konen, “vi vil i Morgen ganske tidligt føre Børnene ud i Skoven, hvor den er tættest; der tænder vi saa et Baal for dem og giver dem hver et Stykke Brød, og derpaa gaar vi til vort Arbejde og lader dem være alene. De kan ikke finde Vejen hjem og saa er vi dem kvit.”

“Nej, Kone,” sagde Manden, “det gør jeg ikke; hvorledes skulde jeg kunne bringe over mit Hjerte at lade mine Børn blive alene i Skoven; de vilde Dyr vil jo snart komme og sønderrive dem.” “Aa, du Nar,” sagde Konen, “saa maa vi jo alle fire dø af Sult, du behøver saa kun at høvle Brædderne til Kisterne,” og hun lod ham ingen Ro, inden han sagde “ja”. “Men det gør mig dog ondt for de stakkels Børn,” sagde Manden.

De to Børn havde heller ikke kunnet sove for Sult, og de havde hørt alt, hvad Stedmoderen havde sagt til Faderen.’ (1894: 80)

Daugaard commits the same translation error as Molbech in translating “Sorgen” with the false friend ‘sorg’. He adds some emotive features, notably in the diminutives and terms of endearment associated with the children. He follows the **1857 Edition**, so the woman is the children’s *stepmother*.

Ewald’s translation (1905) opens:

‘HANS OG GRETE

Ved Udkanten af en stor Skov boede der en fattig Brændehugger med sin Kone og sine to Børn. Drengen hed Hans og Pigen hed Grete. De havde kun lidt at bide og brænde og engang, da der var Dyrtid i Landet, vidste Manden slet ikke, hvordan han skulde skaffe det daglige Brød. Om Aftenen, da han var kommen i Seng og laa og tænkte over sin Ulykke, sukkede han og sagde til sin Kone: “Hvad skal der dog blive af os. Vi har slet ingen Mad til Børnene, knap nok til os selv.” “Ved du hvad,” sagde Konen, “i Morgen tidlig følger vi Børnene ind i den tætte Skov, og tænder et Baal der. Vi giver dem hver et Stykke Brød, og saa gaar vi paa Arbejde. De kan ikke finde hjem igen, og saa er vi af med dem.” “Nej, det gør jeg ikke,” sagde Manden, “jeg kan virkelig ikke nænne at lade mine Børn blive ganske alene i den store Skov. De bliver jo ædt af de vilde Dyr.” “Du er et rigtigt Tossehovede,” sagde hans Kone vredt, “vi dør jo allesammen af Sult. Du kan saamænd godt begynde at tømre Kisterne sammen.” Hun blev ved at plage ham, til han gav efter. “Men det gør mig dog skrækkelig ondt for de stakkels Børn,” sagde han.

De to Børn havde ikke kunnet sove af Sult og havde hørt, hvad deres Mor havde sagt.' (1905: 50)

This rendering is also idiomatic. As opposed to the German **1857 Edition**, the names have no associated diminutives; the man is not restive in bed (element 21). His wife tells him to make coffin boards but not to make the boards for them (65); and there is a colourful addition in that she speaks angrily to him (60-61). In this household, it is the man's turn to mention that they have food enough for himself and his wife, but not for the children (26-27): the woman's proposal is therefore more of a rational, albeit cruel, solution to the quandary. The woman is '*their mother*' (80). The only explanation to make sense is that Ewald has bowed to a Danish tradition harking back to Lindencrone rather than to the authority of the German text.

Markussen's 'Hansel and Gretel' from 1907 goes:

'HANS OG GRETE.

Der var en Gang en fattig Brændhugger, som boede ved en stor Skov. Han var saa fattig, at han knap havde det daglige Brød for sig, sin Kone og sine to Børn, Hans og Grete. Tilsidst vidste han ikke en Gang mere, hvor han skulde faa Føden fra og var rent ude af sig selv over al den Jammer og Nød, han saa for sine Øje. Da han nu laa om Aftenen og ikke kunde sove for bare Sorg, sagde hans Kone til ham: "Hør Mand! I Morgen tidlig skal du tage begge Børnene og endnu en Gang give dem begge et Stykke Brød; bring dem saa langt ud i Skoven, hvor der er aller tættest; der skal du lade dem blive alene tilbage; vi kan dog ikke føde dem længere." "Nej Kone!" sagde Manden, "det nænner jeg aldrig, at bringe mine egne, kære Børn ud i Skoven, hvor de vilde Dyr snart vilde finde dem og rive dem ihjel." - "Ja, gør du ikke det," sagde Konen, "saa maa vi alle sammen sulte ihjel," og hun plagede ham saa længe, til han endelig sagde ja.

De to Børn laa ogsaa vaagne af Sult; og de hørte alt, hvad deres Moder sagde til Faderen.'

It will be immediately recognised that, in the main, Markussen's translation is calqued from Molbech. There are minor cuts (Molbech: "ud i Skoven, *ret dybt inde*, hvor der er allertykkest; der skal *du tænde et Baal for dem*, og lad dem *saa* blive alene tilbage."). By means of Markussen's editing the narrative has become more fluent. On the other hand, Markussen takes over the false friend 'Sorg' and it is also the children's own *mother* who proposes to abandon them. Markussen is thus not a translator in her own right, but a copyist of a previous translator. This explains why Anh 7 makes its appearance in her collection: she found it, not in Grimm, but in the 'Lindencrone' translation: she has drawn up her collections from translations by others.

Conversely, in 1912, Jerndorff-Jessen offers nothing less than a completely new translation:

'HANSEMAND OG GRETILIL

Lige udenfor en stor Skov boede en fattig Brændhugger med sin Kone og sine to Børn, en Dreng, som de kaldte Hansemænd, og en pige, som hed Gretelil. Brændhuggeren var meget fattig, han havde knap det tørre Brød til sig og sin Familie, og engang, da der blev Dyrtd i Landet, kunde han slet ikke skaffe dem, hvad de behøvede, og vidste intet Raad til at faa mere Fortjeneste.

Da han nu en Aften laa og kastede sig fra den ene Side til den anden i Sengen, fordi han var fuld af Bekymring og derfor ikke kunde sove, sukkede han dybt og sagde til sin Kone: "Hvad skal der dog blive af os? Hvorledes skal vi kunne ernære vore stakkels Børn, naar vi ikke engang har noget til os selv?"

“Véd du hvad, Mand,” sagde Konen, “i Morgen meget tidlig vil vi tage Børnene med ud i Skoven dér hvor den er tættest, dér vil vi saa gøre Ild og give dem endnu et Stykke Brød, derefter vil vi gaa til vort Arbejde og lade dem blive alene tilbage.”

“Nej, Kone,” sagde Manden, “det vil jeg ikke indlade mig paa; jeg kan ikke bringe det over mit Hjerte at lade mine stakkels Børn blive alene tilbage i Skoven; de vilde Dyr vil jo snart finde dem og rive dem ihjel.”

“Aah, din Nar,” sagde hun, “saa ender det jo blot med, at vi alle dør af Sult, og du kan lige saa godt tage fat paa at høvle Brædderne til vore Ligkister med det samme.”

Hun lod ham ikke have Ro, men blev ved med sine Overtalelser, saa at han til sidst gav efter. “Men det gør mig saa inderlig ondt for de stakkels Børn,” sagde han.

De to Børn havde heller ikke kunnet falde i Søvn, fordi de var saa sultne, og derfor havde de hørt, hvad deres Stifmoder sagde til Faderen.’ (1912b: 105-106)

Compared to the previous translations, this opening is very laboured. Despite its attempts to include all elements of the **1857** German story, the rendition is imprecise and convoluted: element 1 locates the dwelling as ‘just outside a large wood’; 6 is ‘a boy whom they called Hansel’; the woodcutter’s poverty is mentioned in 2 and repeated in 10-11: ‘he was very poor and he hardly had dry bread for his family’; 17 becomes ‘he did not see how to make more money’. The woman is the children’s *stepmother* (80).

Axel Larsen’s rendition from 1918 runs:

‘HANS OG GRETE.

Ved Udkanten af en stor Skov boede en fattig Brændehugger med sin Kone og sine to Børn, en Dreng og en Pige. Drengen hed Hans, og Pigen hed Grete.

Saa skete det, at der kom Dyrtilid i Landet, og den stakkels Brændehugger vidste ikke, hvordan han skulde skaffe Føden til sig og sin Familie.

En Aften, da han og hans Kone var gaaet i Seng, laa de og talte med hinanden om de tunge Tider.

“Hvad skal det blive til,” sagde Manden. [“]Vi har knap nok Mad til os selv endsige til Børnene.”

“Ved du hvad,” sagde Konen, “i Morgen tidlig tager vi Børnene med i Skoven. Naar vi kommer ind, hvor der er tættest, tænder vi et Baal. Saa giver vi dem hver et Stykke Brød og gaar paa Arbejde, men vi henter dem ikke igen. De er for smaa til, at de selv kan finde hjem, og saa er vi af med dem.”

Manden blev vred og sagde: “Det vil jeg ikke være med til. Tror du, jeg kan nænne, at mine Børn skal være ganske alene i den store Skov. De vilde Dyr vil straks komme og æde dem.”

“Du er et rigtigt Fæ,” sagde Konen, “er det maaske bedre, at vi alle dør af Sult? Værsaa-god, begynd du bare at tømre vore Ligkister sammen, vi faar nok Brug for dem.”

Hun blev ved at plage sin Mand, til han lovede, at han skulde gøre, som hun havde foreslaet, men græsselig ulykkelig var han, det gjorde ham saa ondt for hans to flinke Børn.

Hans og Grete havde været saa sultne, da de gik i Seng, at de ikke kunde falde i Søvn, derfor havde de hørt alt, hvad deres Mor havde sagt.’ (1918b: 24)

This is explicitly ‘retold’ for Danish children, which fact allows for deviations, so it is small surprise that we are twice informed that there are a girl and a boy (6, 8). We are not told that there is usually little food (10). The man and wife just discuss matters in bed (20-24). They have food enough for themselves. This time the man is active in so far as he is angry at his wife’s advice (48). She pesters ‘her husband until he promised to do what she suggested’ (67-68). She is ‘*their mother*’ (80), once again indicating the Danish translational tradition as such, rather than a specific source text. The wording of 42-44 is reminiscent of children being left at a day nursery: ‘Then we give each of them a piece of bread and go to work, but we will not pick them up. They

are too little to find their way home themselves, and then we are rid of them.’ There are also additions that provide explanations (‘the children are so small that ...’, ‘Hansel and Gretel had been so hungry when they went to bed that ...’. In other words, Axel Larsen paraphrased (and adapted) the story.

Otto Gelsted offers the following translation (1941):

‘HANS OG GRETE

Ude i en stor Skov boede en fattig Brændehugger med sin Kone og sine to Børn. Drengen hed Hans og Pigen hed Grete. Han havde ikke ret meget Arbejde og endnu mindre Mad, og da alting i Landet blev meget dyrt, kunde han ikke længere skaffe det daglige Brød. Som han nu en Aften laa og vendte og drejede sig i Sengen og ikke kunde sove for bare Bekymring, sukkede han og sagde til sin Kone:

“Hvad skal der blive af os? Hvordan skal vi skaffe Føden til vores stakkels Børn, naar vi ikke engang har nok til os selv?”

“Ved du, hvad vi gør, lille Mand,” svarede Konen. “I Morgen tidlig tager vi Børnene med ind i Skoven, hvor den er allertættest. Der tænder vi et Baal til dem og giver dem et lille Stykke Brød hver, og saa gaar vi paa Arbejde og lader dem blive alene tilbage. Paa den Maade bliver vi af med dem, for de kan bestemt ikke finde hjem igen.”

“Nej,” sagde Manden, “det gaar jeg ikke med til. Hvordan skulde jeg kunne bringe det over mit Hjerte at lade mine Børn være alene i Skoven, hvor de vilde Dyr snart vilde sønderrive dem?”

“Du er et rigtigt Fæ,” sagde hun. “Hvis du ikke gør som jeg har sagt, dør vi alle fire af Sult, og du kan lige saa godt med det samme begynde at høvle Brædder til Kisterne.”

Og hun undte ham hverken Rist eller Ro, før han gav efter.

“Men det gør mig nu saa ondt for de arme Unger,” sagde Manden.

De to Børn, der heller ikke havde kunnet sove for Sult, havde hørt alt, hvad Stedmoderen sagde til deres Far.’ (1941b: 57-58)

Gelsted’s translation surpasses those of his predecessors in his use of idiomatic Danish: ‘Som han nu en Aften laa’, ‘Ved du, hvad vi gør’, ‘Hun undte ham hverken Rist eller Ro’. On the other hand, he changes some content features: the woodcutter lives *in* the wood (1) and will not let the ‘children be alone in the wood’ (51), while in the content layer, there is a grammatical slip which makes Hansel, not his father, the breadwinner. The woman is the children’s *stepmother* (80).

Morsing’s rendition (1947a) goes like this:

‘HANS OG GRETE

Ude i den store Skov boede en fattig Brændehugger med sin Kone og sine to Børn. Drengen hed Hans, og Pigen hed Grete.

Han var meget fattig, og engang da alting blev saa dyrt, kunde han ikke skaffe Føden til dem alle fire.

En aften laa han i sin Seng og kunde ikke falde i Søvn, fordi det hele var saa sørgeligt. Han sagde da til sin Kone:

“Hvordan vil det gaa os? Vi kan ikke skaffe Mad baade til os selv og Børnene.”

“Ved du hvad, kære Mand,” svarede hans Kone. “I Morgen tidlig tager vi Børnene med ind i Skoven, hvor den er rigtig tæt. Der tænder vi et Baal til dem at varme sig ved, giver dem et Stykke Brød og forlader dem saa. De kan ikke finde hjem alene, og så bliver vi dem kvit.”

“Nej, du,” svarede Manden. “Det vil jeg ikke være med til. Jeg kan ikke nænne at lade mine Børn være alene i den mørke Skov. Saa kommer de vilde Dyr og river dem ihjel.”

“Du er en Dumrian,” sagde hun. “Vi kan lige saa godt lægge os til at dø allesammen.”

Hun blev ved med at plage ham saa længe, at han til sidst gav efter.

“Men det gør mig alligevel saa ondt for de ulykkelige Børn,” sukkede den stakkels Fader.

De to Børn var saa sultne, at de heller ikke kunde sove. Derfor kunde de ikke undgaa at høre, hvad deres Stedmoder sagde til deres Fader.' (1947: 41-45)

There are several content changes. The family lives in the wood; the children are not little (8, 10); the action starts one evening (18) when their father is in *his* bed (19) and he is not restive (21); he cannot get food for the four of them (27?). The woman is their *stepmother* (80). Morsing's text is idiomatic and reduced and the vocabulary is clearly based on high-frequency words. The letters are relatively large: this is a translation which is targeted towards an audience of early readers.

The anonymous rendering for *Eventyr* 1965f goes:

'Der var engang en fattig brændehugger, der boede med sin kone og to børn tæt ved en stor skov. Den lille dreng hed Hans og den lille pige Grete. De havde kun lidt at spise, og engang da der blev stor nød i landet, kunne manden ikke længere tjene til det daglige brød. Da de nu en aften talte om det, sukkede han og sagde til sin kone: "Hvad skal der dog blive af os? Hvordan skal vi kunne føde de stakkels børn, når vi ikke længere har nok til os selv?" - "Ved du, hvad vi gør," sagde konen, "i morgen tidlig tager vi børnene med ud i skoven, hvor den er tættest. Der tænder vi bål og giver hver af dem et lille stykke brød, og så går vi fra dem. De kan ikke finde tilbage til huset, og så er vi fri for dem." - "Nej," sagde manden, "Det går jeg ikke med til!" - "Så må vi alle fire dø af sult," sagde konen og plagede ham, til han alligevel gik med til det.

De to børn havde ikke kunnet sove for bare sult og havde hørt det hele.'

Although there is considerable reduction (elements 21-22; 29; 41; etc.), the main points are well-preserved. Compared to previous translations there are more diminutives throughout (6, 8, 39). The woman is just 'the wife'.¹⁰

The translation by Anine Rud from 1970 runs as follows:

'Hans og Grete

Ved udkanten af en stor skov boede der en fattig brændehugger med sin kone og sine to børn. Drengen hed Hans, og pigen hed Grete. Brændehuggeren havde ikke ret meget arbejde og endnu mindre mad, og engang, da der kom hårde tider for landet, kunne han ikke engang skaffe det daglige brød.

Som han nu en aften lå og vendte og drejede sig i sengen og ikke kunne falde i søvn for sine bekymringer, sukkede han og sagde til sin kone:

"Hvad skal der dog blive af os? Hvordan skal vi skaffe mad til vore stakkels børn, når vi ikke engang har nok til os selv?"

"Ved du hvad," svarede hans kone, "i morgen tidlig tager vi børnene med ud i skoven, der hvor den er allertættest. Der tænder vi et bål til dem og giver dem et lille stykke brød hver, og så går vi på arbejde og lader dem blive alene tilbage."

"Nej," sagde manden, "det går jeg ikke med til. Jeg kan ikke bringe det over mit hjerte at lade mine børn være alene i skoven, hvor de vilde dyr hurtigt vil sønderrive dem."

"Dit fæhoved," sagde hans kone, "så dør vi alle fire af sult. Du kan lige så godt begynde at høvle brædder til kisterne med det samme." Og hun lod ham hverken få rist eller ro, før han sagde ja. "Men det gør mig nu så ondt for de stakkels børn," sagde han.

Også børnene var så sultne, at de ikke kunne falde i søvn, og de havde hørt alt, hvad stedmoderen sagde til deres far.'

Containing numerous sections, the layout is modern. The language is idiomatic ('ikke ret meget arbejde', 'Som han nu en aften lå ...'). There are some omissions or changes compared to the German *1857 Edition*: the woodcutter has little work and less food (cf. 10-11). The action starts 'one evening' (18). Elements 43-44 are omitted. Conversely, Anine Rud is the first translator to translate the diminutive form of 'loaf' (39). The woman is Hansel and Gretel's *stepmother*.

Søren Christensen's rendering from 1971 opens:

'Ude ved en stor skov boede en brændehugger med sin kone og sine to børn, en dreng, der hed Hans, og en pige, der hed Grete. Brændehuggeren var meget fattig, og engang, da der kom onde tider i landet, kunne han ikke længere skaffe det daglige brød.

Som han nu en aften lå og vendte og drejede sig i sengen og ikke kunne sove for tunge tanker, sukkede han og sagde til sin kone: "Hvad skal der blive af os? Hvordan skal vi bære os ad med at skaffe mad til vore stakkels børn, nu da vi ikke længere har noget til os selv?"

"Ved du hvad, mand," svarede konen, "lad os i morgen tidlig føre børnene ind i skoven, hvor den er tykkest. Der tænder vi et bål og giver dem hver et stykke brød. Så går vi til vort arbejde og lader dem blive alene tilbage. Børnene kan ikke selv finde vej hjem igen, og så er vi fri for dem."

"Nej, kone," svarede manden, "det gør jeg ikke. Hvordan skal jeg få mig selv til at forlade mine børn i skoven? Der er så mange vilde dyr, der vil æde dem."

"Å, du nar," sagde konen, "så dør vi jo alle fire af sult. Du kan lige så godt straks begynde at lave ligkisterne." Hun lod ham ingen ro, før han sagde ja. "Men," sukkede manden, "det gør mig alligevel ondt for de stakkels børn."

Hans og Grete var så sultne, at de heller ikke kunne falde i søvn, og de hørte alt, hvad den onde mor sagde til faderen.'

Anine Rud and Søren Christensen's translations have features in common ('han lå og vendte og drejede sig i sengen'), so there seems to have been some reciprocal influence (especially, elements 25-28). They worked for the same publishing house, and their translations appeared within a year of one another. It would therefore have been odd if they had been totally ignorant of each other's work.¹¹ Their renderings are by no means identical in terms of style. Søren Christensen leaves out or changes elements 10-11; 18 ('one evening'); and 56-59 ('there are so many beasts that will eat them'). Anine Rud seems to be slightly more emotive: 39 ('a small piece of bread'); and 55-59 ('wild animals which will soon tear them apart'). Most momentous of all: Rud's 'stepmother' is a 'wicked *mother*' in Christensen's translation (80).

The translations discussed so far have been tolerably faithful to the German original(s).

The *Ælle balle* books are targeted at 3-8 year olds, and the series also includes 'Hansel and Gretel' (orig. 1968). This is how the story goes:

'Der var engang en brændehugger. Han havde to børn, som hed Hans og Grete, og en kone, som var børnenes stedmor.

Brændehuggeren var meget fattig, og tit måtte de alle fire gå sultne i seng.

En aften sagde konen til manden: "I morgen tager vi Hans og Grete med langt ind i skoven. Derinde går vi fra dem, så de ikke kan finde hjem. På den måde bliver der mere mad til os to."

Brændehuggeren syntes, det var synd for børnene; men konen plagede ham så længe, at han til sidst sagde ja.

Hans og Grete havde hørt det hele. De kunne nemlig ikke sove for sult.'

This linguistically simplified paraphrase omits many elements in the tale. What remains are elements 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10 + 16 + 27 (hunger), 19, 28, 30, 32, 33, 34, 42, 43, 67, 68, 69, 80. The action starts 'one evening' (18) when the woman decides of her own accord that they should abandon the children in the wood the following day. The father only *thinks* it is a pity for the children (70). The woman says that 'there will be more food for the two of us.' She is the children's *stepmother*, a feature introduced early in the story.

It was the publisher rather than the (uncredited) translator who connected this story with the Grimm name (in 1968m).

This was also the case with Mona Giersing's translation in the *Fairytales told to you* (1973g):

'Engang for mange, mange år siden boede der i udkanten af en stor skov en brændehugger med sin kone og sine to børn, en dreng og en pige. Drengen hed Hans og den lille lyslokkede pige hed Grete. Brændehuggeren var meget fattig, og det skete tit, at de ikke kunne spise sig mætte.

En aften, da faderen ikke vidste sine levende råd for at skaffe sin familie noget at spise, sukkede han dybt af bekymring og sagde til sin kone:

"Ak, kone, hvad skal vi dog gøre? Jeg har ikke en eneste skilling at give dig til at købe brød for."

Hans kone, som kun tænkte på sig selv, svarede straks: "Ved du hvad, mand. I morgen tidlig tager vi børnene med os ud skoven, der hvor den er allertættest. Der holder vi hvil, og når børnene er optaget af noget andet, går vi fra dem. De kan umuligt finde vej hjem helt alene."

Manden blev helt forfærdet og udbrød: "Jamen, kone, det kan vi da ikke gøre! De er dog vore børn! Vi må finde en anden udvej."

"Der er ingen anden udvej," svarede hans kone. "Vil du måske have at vi alle sammen skal dø af sult?"

Men Hans og Grete havde været så sultne, at de ikke kunne falde i søvn, og de havde hørt hvert et ord, der blev sagt, selv om moderen havde talt meget sagte.'

This version preserves much of the German text. There is also some embellishment: Hansel is older than Gretel. Gretel is a blonde (because she is shown as a blonde in the illustrations). The family pattern is patriarchal; the man gives his wife money to buy bread. We are told that the wife, the children's *mother*, is egotistical. She does not suggest that they actually lie to the children about returning to them when they abandon them, but proposes that they leave when the children are absorbed in playing (?) in the wood. She also speaks 'softly' about the plan.

It was a *DB* librarian who listed Karl Nielsen's translation from 1975j as a Grimm tale. It will be recalled that the text is printed in frames at the bottom of the five pages. The first page reads

'Hans og Grete boede hos deres far og stedmoder i udkanten af en stor skov. Faderen var brændehugger og meget fattig. "Nu har vi kun det tørre brød at spise," sagde stedmoderen, "i morgen må du tage børnene med ud i skoven og lade dem blive der, ellers vil både du og jeg dø af sult." Men Hans hørte, hvad den onde stedmoder sagde og han prøvede at lægge en plan, så de kunne redde sig hjem igen.'

Elements 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 10 are preserved, followed by a flat statement comprising 16-27: 'We have only dry bread to eat', and an order to leave the children, 30, 32 YOU, 34, 42, 63 ('or you and I shall die of hunger'). The woman is their *stepmother*.

It was also *DB* that listed 'Hansel and Gretel' in the *Eventyr panorama series* (orig. 1964) as a Grimm tale. The story begins:

'I udkanten af en skov boede en fattig brændehugger og hans kone med deres to børn, Hans og Grete. En dag blev børnene sendt afsted med en frokostkurv til faderen, der var på skovhugst. Hans og Grete fandt deres far i færd med at hugge grene af et stort træ. Da han så dem komme, lagde han øksen og gik dem i møde. Han tog kurven, satte sig straks ned og gav sig til at spise, for han var meget sulten. Det var en smuk varm dag, så børnene bad om lov til at løbe omkring i skoven, og de fik den tomme madkurv og mælkekande med sig, så de kunne samle vilde hindbær og skovjordbær. Glade og fornøjede begav de sig afsted efter

de søde, saftige bær. [p. 2:] Hans og Grete var så ivrige efter at finde de største og rødeste bær, at de efterhånden forvildede sig dybere og dybere ind i skoven.'

This is by far the freest paraphrase in Danish of 'Hansel and Gretel'. It retains elements 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9. Otherwise we hear of a happy nuclear family with children taking a lunch basket to their father, who is working, and losing their way in the wood as they go merrily in search of berries.

The three last versions were all printed outside Denmark. The space allotted to the text was limited, a feature to be discussed at a later point.

The overall view of 'Hansel and Gretel'

Structurally, the story is the same in all versions, unless we argue that the 'blonde hair' (1973g), the 'berries' and the merrymaking in the wood (1964) are changes in this layer. Even so, the changes are minor.

As far as the *linguistic layer* is concerned, it must, first of all, be stressed that we cannot be sure that all translators of this tale pored over a German text at all. We are certain that M. Markussen, who edited and shortened Molbech's translation, did not. Anine Rud must have been familiar with Søren Christensen's translation, but, again, she appears to have used it only as a control (just as she did with Ewald's 'The old man'). Apart from these examples, there is no obvious and tangible influence from previous translations in the linguistic layer.

On the other hand, a bird's eye view of the translations from a linguistic perspective highlights significant points.

First, there are translation errors of which the most striking is the false friend "sorg" for "Sorgen" (Molbech 1843; Daugaard 1894), but these are not important in terms of content.

Secondly, translations register language changes: today, for instance, few people would know the term 'Dyr tid', which appears in translations made from 1894 to 1918; it is replaced with 'hard times' or something similar.

Thirdly, many translators add or omit something. Among those who have added to the story are Molbech (1843). There are many additions, including totally different ones: Ewald's woman becomes angry, whereas Axel Larsen (1918) has the man become angry. International co-prints have the largest number of omissions.

Fourthly, there are indeed instances of translators introducing 'typical narrative features', such as 'Once upon a time' (Molbech 1843; Grete Janus Hertz 1968m) and repetitions of words 'tænkte og tænkte' (element 20: Daugaard 1894), but these are few and far between.

Fifthly, despite completely independent attempts, such as Jerndorff-Jessen's laboured translation (1912b), there is an overall movement towards an increasingly idiomatic Danish, so that complicated renditions are supplanted with more fluent ones, best exemplified in element 21: han 'kastede sig fra en Side til en anden i Sengen' (1823); '[da han var gaaet i Seng] kastede [han] sig fra den ene Side til den anden' (1894); han 'kastede sig fra den ene Side til den anden i Sengen' (1912b); han 'laa og vendte og drejede sig i Sengen' (1941b); han 'lå og vendte og drejede sig i sengen' (1970b, 1971c).

Sixthly, there is a clear trend against rendering the diminutives: the one associated with 'bread' is realised in only one Danish translation (1970b), and those in the children's

names gradually disappear: 'Den lille Dreng hed Hansemand og den lille Pige Gretelil' (1894); 'en Dreng, som de kaldte Hansemand, og en Pige, som hed Gretelil' (1912) became 'Drengen hed Hans og Pigen hed Grete' (1905; 1918b; 1941a), a practice adopted by all translations since then with minor variations (except for 1965f).

In subtle ways, translations (especially those unaccompanied by illustrations) thus become increasingly 'Danish'. Since there is little direct influence from translation to translation, it is tempting to ascribe this to a heightened consciousness among translators of Danish style, that is an improvement of the Danish target text in the linguistic layer. But this would be naive; the linguistic layer is affected by contents; both are fluid, and yet there is clearly some consensus in the collective translational tradition. This in turn springs from the translators' familiarity with the tale. They have known it since childhood, long before they had to translate it. Some may have been surprised when they read the 'original' German text, yet the essentials of 'Hansel and Gretel' are known to every Dane as part of the national cultural heritage.

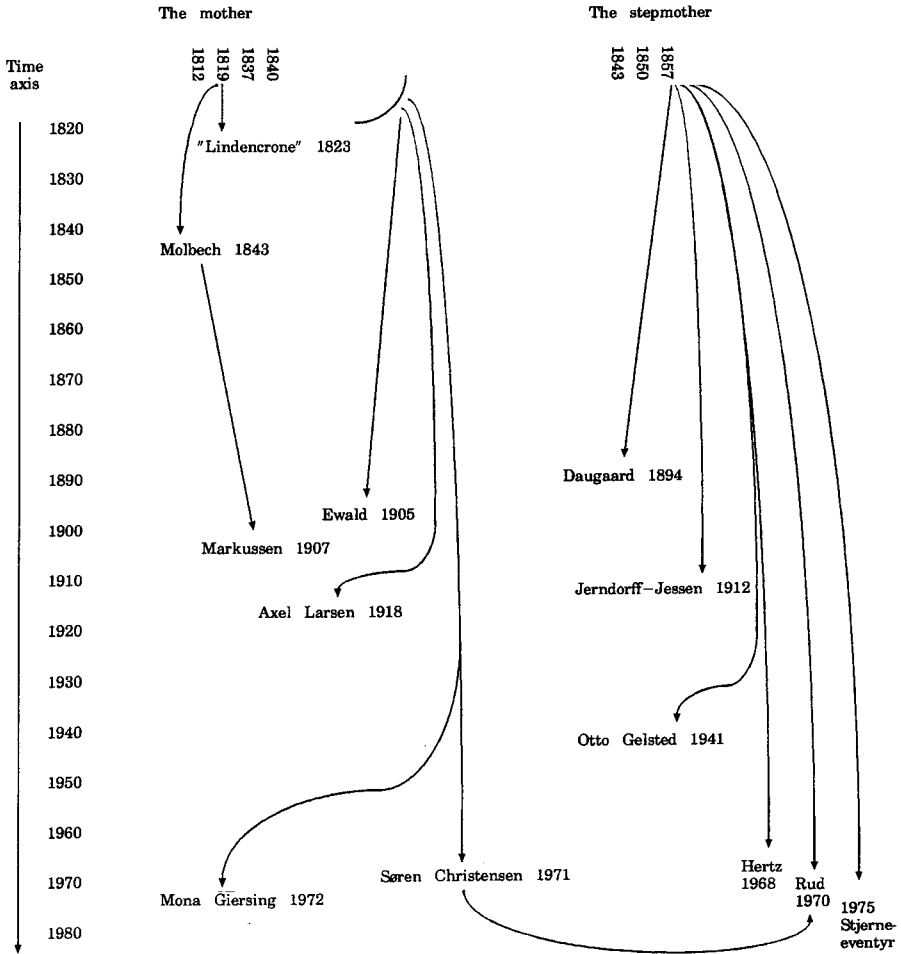
I suggested that this 'familiarity factor' explains why Ewald adhered to the 'mother' interpretation, but it would also explain why many translators take freedoms and add something of their own to the tale, with Jacob Daugaard, Axel Larsen, and Otto Gelsted as the most obvious Danish examples. This implies that translators adapt the story in subtle ways so that the translations come to reflect changes in society: each epoch adds (or omits) something of its own. It is no coincidence that in Wilhelm Grimm's later *Editions*, the father and his wife discuss their problems; this reflects a growing awareness of the equality between men and women. It is no coincidence that the man gets a bed of his own in 1947b, if we consider it a sign of an improved standard of living. It also follows that each nationality supplies (or omits) something of its own. It is no accident that we encounter a little blonde girl and a patriarchal family pattern in a translation from Italian (1973g): these are culturally determined features. The same goes for the fact that there is no marriage bed, with its implied sexuality, in the translations from, for instance, Czech and Italian.

When we turn to the *structural layer* involving individual elements in the tale, the opening is surprisingly stable: we are nearly always given elements 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 15-16. Once again, they may not be quoted in that exact order, but they still make for instant recognition of 'Hansel and Gretel'.

Most translations follow the Grimm **1857** text in having the father initiate the discussion with the mother; but abbreviated texts may leave out the parental discussion and have the mother explode in a sudden outburst. Virtually all translations (except those based on the **1819** (1837, 1840) *Editions*) have the mother use a collective 'we' when she proposes that the children should be abandoned.

All translators attempting to adhere to the tale of **1857** preserve the two 'cruelty' factors, namely the reference to the savage sylvan beasts (56-59), and the wife's speech about making coffins (66). It is only radically shortened texts that leave these details out.

In the *content layer*, there is one odd and important detail: the identity of the woman. There are simply two co-existing traditions. One tradition believes she is the children's mother. The other believes she is their stepmother. The distribution in the translations discussed is shown in the graphs:



The graphs show the strength of the tradition which assumes that Hansel and Gretel are rejected by their own mother, despite Wilhelm Grimm's attempt to replace this 'mother' of 1812 (1819, 1837) with a 'stepmother' by 1840. Since the graphs do not take into account reprints, especially of Ewald, the 'mother' tradition is even stronger than it seems at first glance. When the present illustration is compared with the tables illustrating the popularity of various translations (above, pp 179-180), it is obvious that this point is vital indeed: to this day at the end of the twentieth century, many Hansels and Gretels in Danish are left in the wood by their own mothers.

There is no one single and simplistic explanation for this but there is a number of possible reasons.

One reason is that the ‘mother’ identification has been entrenched in Denmark by means of authoritative and respected translations by ‘Lindencrone’ and Molbech. Hence, subsequent translators like Ewald have preserved her identity, simply because she was Hansel and Gretel’s mother in their translational cultural heritage. Another reason may be that, given the enormity of the woman’s crime, some translators consider her identity immaterial.¹²

The appearance of a ‘mother’ in Mona Giersing’s translation from Italian proves that the mother-identification is not confined to Danish translations. In this case, the explanation is simply that ‘Hansel and Gretel’ was translated (reprinted and retranslated) into numerous languages before Wilhelm Grimm deposed the ‘mother’ in favour of a ‘step-mother’. This means that there is, indeed, an international tradition of having a mother in the story. Of course, this tradition is strengthened by German reprints of early Grimm *Editions* by printers and publishers who have no idea that certain tales had been changed; it will be recalled that this was reflected in the Hæstrup and Hasselmann translation of ‘The old man’ (above, p. 216).

This brings us to the *intentional layer*: no matter whether Wilhelm Grimm intended it or not, the story strongly communicates a child’s fear of losing parental care. This even applies to the Czech version, which is so far away from the original that it is otherwise hard to argue that we are, indeed, talking about the same tale.

I am not at all in favour of out and out psychoanalytic interpretations of texts which are as fluid as the Grimm texts. Nevertheless, in various ways and dependent on specific features, all translations (as well as the German ‘originals’) reveal disturbing vistas, traumatic experiences, a terrifying fear of loss of parents, of being abandoned, indeed rejected by parents: despite superficial protestations, even the children’s beloved and ostensibly caring father participates in the act of leaving his children to an uncertain fate in an unknown and dangerous wood. Interpreted from a psychoanalytic angle, the father’s betrayal begins in sexuality, externalised by the bed in which, in the German original and the vast majority of translations, husband and wife discuss their problems.

The basic theme in ‘Hansel and Gretel’ is a universal anxiety experienced by children, and it is a masterly stroke to have both genders represented. It does not really matter whether Wilhelm Grimm introduced this or whether it was already there in the ‘ideal tales’ the Wild and Hassenpflug families told to Wilhelm Grimm in the first decade of the nineteenth century. This theme is loud and clear in Danish translations.

Discussion

Depending on the specimen tale discussed, the approaches by means of the linguistic, structural, content-oriented and intentional layers have had to be bent and expanded upon. My distinctions were set up to provide a manageable tool for discussions of translation and therefore had to be flexible. However, they have served as guiding lights by means of which I have drawn attention to certain points; the detailed analysis of three specimen tales in Danish reveals features, many of which apply to the translation of the *Tales* into any language.

In the *linguistic layer*, we may note the following points:

First, the most important feature in German, namely the use of dialects, cannot be preserved in translation, at least never in Danish. Translated Grimm tales never present Danish readers with a fine balance between (regional) orality and literacy.

Secondly, it is impossible to render the German linguistic asexuality (arising from the diminutives) in Danish. Similarly, the sugary linguistic features associated with many diminutives have frequently never been realised in Danish translations; in most cases, the diminutives have gradually disappeared over the years.

Thirdly, there are indisputable errors in the translations discussed, but they do not affect the overall meaning.

There is, furthermore, a very wide range of linguistic renditions which all qualify as 'legitimate' translations in so far as their relationship with the source is not questioned by readers, critics, and librarians.

Proximity, or 'fidelity', to the linguistic layer of the source texts seems to be an ideal which is difficult to realise: 'precise rendition' in one respect (e.g. phonetics or rhyme in Specimen 1) normally implies deviation with respect to other features. So even with closely related languages such as German and Danish, the 'perfect translation', which renders all features of the original on a one to one basis in all layers, is unattainable - which is hardly surprising. It is found in brief segments only, and even then translations will show considerable latitude in the rendition of the 'same source text (segment)'.

Every translation bears the imprint of the translator's own interpretation. The methods used may occasionally be dubious (e.g. 'loans' from previous translations), and there may be errors, awkward phrases and, in particular, choice of words (even 'wrong' equivalents) but overall, virtually all translators succeed in producing translations which are holistic and internally consistent (e.g. Specimen 1). Within texts universally accepted as translations, translators will omit and interpret features, select from various legitimate options, and add something of their own (Specimens 1, 2, and 3); they may vary in the degree they impose their imprint, but they all do it.

At the same time, the analyses indicate that the tales gradually become more integrated into the target-language as a result of transmission by several generations of translators (Specimen 2), although individual translations may fail to influence subsequent ones and leave no trace in the translational heritage.

There were slight deviations between the *structural layers* in the translations of Specimen 1, and many differences in those of Specimen 3, but these differences did not pose obstacles to the recognition of the tales. To some extent this is presumably because narrative traditions in Danish and in German are not very different. However, it is more pertinent that 'Hansel and Gretel' (the best example) has a title and certain elements which allow instant recognition.

The same goes for the *content layer*, although there are deviations in all three texts, the most striking being the mother vs stepmother identification in 'Hansel and Gretel'. In this respect, there are two conflicting points: the fluid nature of the source text as a result of Wilhelm Grimm's editorial work and the existence of 'authoritative' and revered translations which have established a 'translational tradition' in the target language independent of the source text.

Lastly, the analyses illustrate that the *intentional layer*, namely the 'meaning', survives in Danish with tolerable exactitude (Specimens 1, 2, and 3) despite the omission

(or addition) of numerous elements, indeed whole passages. The most striking feature is that these intentionalities survive even in texts, most readers do not consider 'translations at all'.

Translators leave their imprint in the linguistic layer and in individual interpretations. In terms of content, they may select certain features, but they rarely change the structures and underlying intentionalities of Grimm tales. Some translations may affect those that follow. This influence ranges from complete calquing to recycling words, terms, and features suggested by predecessors. At the same time, the sheer quantity of translations illustrates the fact that there are still many realisations which have not yet emerged. In national contexts, translations establish traditions of their own. Overall, these translational traditions move towards a better integrated message in the target language system.

The analyses also illustrate certain features about the severance which takes place in translation: On the one hand, Wilhelm Grimm's editorial work has left indelible traces on the international translational heritage of the *Tales*, so that features from earlier German *Editions* than the last one to be 'authorised' by Wilhelm are still circulating: for instance, the description of the grandfather in KHM 78, the crab in 'The sleeping beauty' (1980b), and the keenly competing traditions for having Hansel and Gretel abandoned by their own mother or by a stepmother, respectively. On the other hand, the relationship to the source text is linked to the translator's attitude towards it. The three translators of Specimen 1 have all referred to the German texts, albeit with different degrees of 'fidelity', and the same applies to the six translations of Specimen 2. In Specimen 3, however, many of the texts, especially those published since the 1940s, have been prised loose from Wilhelm Grimm's German source texts. The severance is almost complete: they are disappearing from the German Grimm Canon and becoming part of a shared international pool of narratives.

SELECTION: THE COLLECTIVE CONSENSUS

However, the linguistic integration of individual tales in the target culture undertaken by translators is only one facet of the process of embedding the Grimm *Tales* in Danish culture. Another is the selection of tales undertaken by individual translators and editors, choices which in their entirety come to constitute the collective Grimm Canon in the Danish cultural heritage. This selection, too, will refer to the intentionalities and to the linguistic layer, but the main thrust will be on content.

'Cruelty'

It will be recalled that the first adult German readers of the Grimm *Tales* objected to the violence and cruelty described in them; Wilhelm Grimm defended this feature but also omitted the worst offender in his second *Edition* (see above, p. 57-58). Nevertheless, the view that the stories are cruel is still widely held: witness Eva Hemmer Hansen's claim (1973a) that vengeful and sanguinary endings are often suppressed in modern editions. It is a well-known response to the *Tales*, and it is, therefore, an issue

one must tackle. I shall begin by focussing on cruelty in the Grimm tales, and consider ways in which this is treated.

'Cruelty' is a complex entity which is not confined to endings. In 'Hansel and Gretel', the mother's vile proposal is preserved in most Danish translations. So, too, is the fact that, lost in the wood, Hansel and Gretel happen upon an old witch who wants to eat them. This is cannibalism pure and simple; this menace to life and insult to humaneness is retained in all translations cited. Perhaps some of my readers will claim that these features are part and parcel of 'Hansel and Gretel' and, as indivisible parts of the story, do not count. Instead of losing ourselves in a discussion about this point, we may turn to three other examples:

In 'The twelve brothers' (KHM 9), the wicked stepmother is tortured for her crimes in a way which - as Wilhelm was not slow to point out (Appendix 2: xxxv) - had venerable antecedents in ancient Norse mythology, a feature I suggested ultimately derived from himself and his brother (above, p. 35):

"The wicked stepmother was sentenced and put into a vat filled with boiling oil and poisonous snakes and she died a horrible death." ('Die böse Stiefmutter ward vor Gericht gestellt und in ein Fass gesteckt, das mit siedendem Öl und giftigen Schlangen angefüllt war, und starb eines bösen Todes.' (Rölleke (rpt 1857) I: 77))

This ending is preserved in the following Danish translations:

'Lindencrone' (1823 *et seq.*, including 1909),
Sørensen (1884),
Daugaard (1894),
Carl Ewald (1905 *et seq.* (also 1921); including 1975 *et seq.*), and
Axel Larsen (1918).

Only Markussen (1907, 1912, 1923, and 1929) has toned down this ending: "The wicked stepmother was sentenced to death" ('Den onde stedmoder blev dømt til døden').

The ending of 'Cinderella' (KHM 21) offers another instance of bodily harm gleefully inflicted on the wicked. At Cinderella's wedding, her stepsisters go to church:

"... then the doves picked one eye out of each of them. Later ... the doves picked out the other eye of each of them. In this fashion they were punished with blindness for the rest of their lives for their wickedness and falseness. ('Als die Brautleute nun zur Kirche gingen, war die Älteste zur rechten, die Jüngste zur linken Seite: da pickten die Tauben einer jeden das eine Auge aus. Hernach, als sie herausgingen, war die Älteste zur linken und die Jüngste zur rechten: da pickten die Tauben einer jeden das andere Auge aus. Und waren sie also für ihre Bosheit und Falschheit mit Blindheit auf ihr Lebtag bestraft.' (Rölleke (rpt 1857) I: 144))

This visitation was not, incidentally, part of the tale in the first volume of 1812. It was added in the German second *Edition* (1819) and has been the standard ending ever since.

Many Danish translators have considered this fair punishment; it is found in, for instance,

'Lindencrone' 1823-1909,
Sørensen 1884,
Daugaard 1894,
Bondesen 1897-1922,
Carl Ewald, 1905 etc.; 1975, etc.
Jerndorff-Jessen 1912,
Axel Larsen 1918,
Hasselmann & Hæstrup 1947,

Anine Rud 1970, and
Eva Hemmer Hansen 1973.

A few translators have had reservations. The earliest is Markussen (1907-29), whose paraphrase conveys the same thing as the German original, except that the punishment is meted out by “a little bird.” Gelsted (1941) has “they had to flee.” Kirk (1944) has the doves “pick at them so that they had to flee.” In an *Ælle bølge* book (1968o), Grete Janus Hertz has the following ending:

“The stepmother and her two daughters were black with envy when the prince rode away with Cinderella.” (‘Stedmoderen og hendes to døtre var gule og grønne af misundelse, da prinsen red bort med Askepot.’)

Diluted endings are found in profusion in co-prints and outside the Grimm Canon proper. The *Godnathistorier* (which I have chosen to disregard (above, p. 200)) has “The wicked queen was not heard of again”. The Japanese book intended for toddlers (1974i) just has Cinderella and the prince marry.

The third example is from ‘Brother and sister’ (KHM 11) when the wicked stepmother, or sorceress, is burnt for her wrongdoings; at that moment the enchantment is lifted from the brother so that he returns to his human form. In this tale, then, the brutal punishment connects organically with the end of the rule of evil.

The original ending is rendered in Danish in,

‘Lindencrone’ 1823-1909,
Sørensen 1884,
Daugaard 1994,
Carl Ewald 1905 *et seq.*; 1975, etc.
Jerndorff-Jessen 1912,
Axel Larsen 1918,
Hasselmann & Hæstrup 1947, *et seq.*,
Eva Hemmer Hansen 1973, and
Mogens Cohrt 1973.

In 1981, the story appeared in the *Pixi books* with these final words

“The false queen was chased out, the stepmother was imprisoned; when she died in a fit of bad temper, the enchantment was lifted, so that Brother was again transformed into a man.” (‘Den falske dronning blev jaget væk, stedmoderen kom i fængsel, og da hun døde af arrigskab, hævedes trolddommen, så Broderlil blev til et menneske igen’).

In the established Danish cultural heritage, bodily harm and cruelty, especially physical punishment visited on the wicked, thus appears to be part of the Grimm tradition.

Popular stories

It will have become clear to the attentive reader that ‘The twelve brothers’ and ‘Brother and sister’ have not been translated very often. The latter, for instance, did not appear in Markussen’s collections (1900-1929), nor in the collections by Gelsted (1941b), Ellen Kirk (1944a), and Anine Rud (1970a).

In specific cases, exclusion may be a coincidence; yet I suggest that usually translators and editors censor the Grimm repertory by simply not translating stories, rather than rewriting passages and endings of specific tales; this is not difficult, as most Danish collections include only a fraction of the tales in the German *Complete Edition*.

This hypothesis can be checked by identifying the stories Danish translators and editors

have picked for their readers from the complete Grimm repertory.¹³ By focussing on such deliberate and critical selection, we get a list that looks as follows.

The two most popular stories have been selected more than thirty-five times:

'Hansel and Gretel' (KHM 15); and
'Little Red Riding Hood' (26).

The next group, selected between thirty and thirty-five times, comprises three tales:

'Cinderella' (21); and
'The Sleeping Beauty' (50); and
'Snow White' (53).

The third group has been selected more than twenty-five times; it comprises three tales:

'The frog king' (1);
'The fisherman and his wife' (19);
'The Bremen town musicians' (27).

Two tales have been selected more than twenty times, namely:

'The wolf and the seven young kids' (5); and
'The brave little tailor' (20).

They finish last among the magic top ten.

The following stories have been selected more than fifteen times:

'Rapunzel' (12);
'Mother Holle' (24);
'The magic table' (36);
'Thumbling' (37);
'Rumpelstiltskin' (55); and
'Snow White and Rose Red' (161).

The tales below have been selected ten to fourteen times:

'The companionship of the cat and the mouse' (KHM 2); 'A tale about a boy who went forth ...' (4); 'Faithful Johannes' (6); 'Riffraff' (10); 'Brother and sister' (11); 'The three little gnomes in the forest' (13); 'The three spinners' (14); 'The seven ravens' (25); 'The devil with the three golden hairs' (29); 'Clever Else' (34); 'The six swans' (49); 'King Thrushbeard' (52); 'The golden bird' (57); 'The golden goose' (64); 'Lucky Hans' (83); 'The poor man and the rich man' (87); 'The goose girl' (89); 'The clever farmer's daughter' (94); 'The water of life' (97); 'The poor miller's apprentice and the cat' (106); 'One-Eye, Two-Eye, and Three-Eye' (130); and 'The six servants' (134).

There is a fuzzy line between tales selected six and eight times. Accordingly, I shall content myself to boldly move on and include only the fourteen tales which have been selected eight or nine times:

'The twelve brothers' (KHM 9); 'The white snake' (17); 'The louse and the flea' (30); 'Clever Hans' (32); 'Foundling' (51); 'The knapsack, the hat and the horn' (54); 'The two brothers' (60); 'Little farmer' (61); 'Jorinda and Joringel' (69); 'How six made their way in the world' (71); 'Clever Gretel' (77); 'The Devil's sooty brother' (100); 'The wren and the bear' (102); 'The lettuce donkey' (122); 'The goose girl at the spring' (179); and 'The hare and the hedgehog' (187).

The above tales are, then, the German tales selected most often for a Danish audience by Danish translators and editors. Needless to say, the figures are not identical with the number of translations: including reprints, the most popular story ('Hansel and Gretel') has been published more than 100 times in Denmark.¹⁴

'Unpopular' stories

Since the discussion has moved from the question of 'cruelty' to one of 'popularity', we may continue this line of enquiry in order to see if there are any obvious reasons why some stories are unpopular with the Danish audience.

By the same token that was used to identify the most popular tales, the following stories have been *selected* only once or twice:

'The marvellous minstrel' (KHM 8); 'The three languages' (33); 'The tailor in heaven' (35); 'Herr Korbes' (41); 'The godfather' (42); 'Mother Trudy' (43); 'Fitcher's bird' (46); 'Sweetheart Roland' (56); 'The three feathers' (63); 'All fur' (65); 'The hare's bride' (66); 'The twelve huntsmen' (67); 'The thief and his master' (68); 'The fox and his cousin' (74); 'The water nixie' (79); 'The death of the hen' (80); 'Gambling Hans' (82); 'Hans gets married' (84); 'The golden children' (85); 'Old Hildebrand' (95); 'Tales about toads' (105); 'Hans my hedgehog' (108); 'The little shroud' (109); 'The expert huntsman' (111); 'The flail from heaven' (112); 'The bright sun will bring it to light' (115); 'The stubborn child' (117); 'The lazy spinner' (128); 'Knoist and his three sons' (138); 'The maiden from Brakel' (139); 'The domestic servants' (140); 'The little lamb and the little fish' (141); 'The ungrateful son' (145); 'The rejuvenated little old man' (147); 'The animals of the Lord and the Devil' (148); 'The beam' (149); 'The old beggar woman' (150); 'Choosing a bride' (155); 'The leftovers' (156); 'The tale about the land of Cockaigne' (158); 'A tall story from Ditmarsh' (159); 'The clever servant' (162); 'The glass coffin' (163); 'Lean Lise' (168); 'Sharing joys and sorrows' (170); 'The bittern and the hoopoe' (173); 'The moon' (175); 'Master Pfriem' (178); 'Eve's unequal children' (180); 'The nail' (184); 'The crumbs on the table' (190); 'The drummer' (193); 'The ear of corn' (194); 'The grave mound' (195); 'Old Rinkrank' (196); 'The crystal ball' (197); 'Maid Maleen' (198); and 'The boots of buffalo leather' (199).

Given the years that have elapsed, changes in taste and the number of translators involved, there may be a variety of reasons why these stories have been rejected - or to be more precise, not been selected. The following hypotheses are therefore offered for what they are worth.

There are three stories (138, 140, 159) which rely heavily on language (puns, euphony, etc.), a fact which probably discourages translation.

Another group includes presentations of Saint Peter, Paradise and God in humorous and prosaic terms (35, 82, 112, 139, 145, 147, 175, 178, 180, 194); here exclusion is undoubtedly prompted by a wish to avoid blasphemy, that is, largely for cultural reasons, since Danes tend to be shy of such down-to-earth approaches to religion. It is interesting that the same feature seems to apply to English translations of the *Tales*.¹⁵

The intentionalities of some unpopular stories are rendered much better in other Grimm tales: 'Riffraff' (10) is less cruel than 'Herr Korbes' (41) and 'The Devil with the three golden hairs' (29) has more humour than 'The griffin' (165). Most elements in four others (63, 111, 163, 193) are presented in better forms in other and more popular stories such as 'The sleeping beauty' and 'The brave little tailor'.

There are stories concerning some odd matchmaking involving deception (84, 196) and animals (66); they seem to present rural norms and phenomena and values which are not easily understandable to urbanised children (128, 155, 173, 188).

There are tales which have doubtful or conflicting ethics, such as punishment for revealing sorcery (149), rewards for sorcery (68), adultery (95), and incestuous feelings (65).

Finally, there are a few stories which contain shocking or cruel features: anti-Semitism (115), the death of a child (109), deformed humans or animals in symbiosis with humans (108, 145), cannibalism (141), gratuitous cruelty or punishment (108, 147), mutilation (56), murder (115), murder and arson (46), and murder of children (43, 56).

In sum, although ‘cruelty’ may have been a motive for excluding some tales, it cannot have been the sole reason why these stories were not favoured by Danish translators and editors. This also bolsters the assumption that the Danish audience has not taken offense to the cruelty of the Grimm *Tales*.

‘Popularity’: a discussion

It must be stressed that even the most ‘unpopular’ stories have in no way been completely rejected by Danish readers; the existence of Daugaard’s and Carl Ewald’s *Complete Grimms* (1894 and 1905), as well as eight reprints of the latter, means that even the ‘least attractive’ Grimm story has been printed at least ten times in Danish. With a few exceptions (cf. 1909), all tales translated by Louise Hegermann-Lindencrone were printed thirteen times. This means that KHM 1-86 (minus KHM 43) have been published twenty-one times in Danish.

I am not going to embark on a fruitless debate about ‘taste’. The list may indicate something about changes of ‘taste’, but the variations over the years are so small that we cannot generalise from these tales, which are, after all, only a fraction of the literature which, in its totality, mirrors the literary ‘taste’ of a society.¹⁶ In this case, we are also faced with the fact that individual tales may have been published in Denmark from at least five sources, namely any one of the German *Complete Editions*, the *Small Edition* (although the figure is probably not high), one of the Danish *Complete Grimms* (e. g. ‘Lindencrone’, Daugaard, or Carl Ewald), other Danish collections, or some non-German source text (such as Mona Giersing’s translations from Italian (e. g. 1972c-g)).

The German vs the Danish ‘*Small Editions*’

The two lists set up above do, however, provide us with something comparable with the most stable element in the whole of the Grimm Canon, namely, Wilhelm Grimm’s *Small Edition*, which first appeared in 1825 and has remained by far the most popular version in German and has in all likelihood been the source text for most translations globally. In the following list, the fifty-two German tales which appeared in the *Small Edition* are juxtaposed with the fifty-four tales which have been selected most often in Denmark and related to their indexing in the Aarne-Thompson typology, with a (Z) if they are ‘Zaubermärchen’ (Nos. 300-749):

| KHM Title (shortened) | In German | In Danish | AaTh-type |
|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1. The frog king | Yes | Yes | 440 (Z) |
| 2. The ... cat and the mouse | - | Yes | 15 |
| 3. The Virgin Mary’s Child | Yes | - | 310 (Z) |

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----|----------|
| 4. A tale of a boy ... | Yes | Yes | 326 (Z) |
| 5. The wolf and the ... kids | Yes | Yes | 123-124 |
| 6. Faithful Johannes | Yes | Yes | 516 (Z) |
| 7. The good bargain | Yes | - | 1642 |
| 9. The twelve brothers | Yes | Yes | 451 (Z) |
| 10. Riffraff | Yes | Yes | 210 |
| 11. Brother and sister | Yes | Yes | 450 (Z) |
| 12. Rapunzel | - | Yes | 310 (Z) |
| 13. The three little gnomes | Yes | Yes | 403 (Z) |
| 14. The three spinners | Yes | Yes | 501 (Z) |
| 15. Hansel and Gretel | Yes | Yes | 327 (Z) |
| 17. The white snake | - | Yes | 670 (Z) |
| 19. The fisherman and his wife | Yes | Yes | 555 (Z) |
| 20. The brave little tailor | - | Yes | 1049 |
| 21. Cinderella | Yes | Yes | 510a (Z) |
| 24. Mother Holle | Yes | Yes | 480 (Z) |
| 25. The seven ravens | Yes | Yes | 451 (Z) |
| 26. Little Red Riding Hood | Yes | Yes | 333 (Z) |
| 27. The ... town musicians | Yes | Yes | 125 |
| 29. The devil ... golden hair | - | Yes | 461 (Z) |
| 30. The louse and the flea | - | Yes | 2027 |
| 32. Clever Hans | - | Yes | 1006 |
| 34. Clever Else | Yes | Yes | 1383 |
| 36. The magic table ... | - | Yes | 563 (Z) |
| 37. Thumbling | Yes | Yes | 700 (Z) |
| 45. Thumbling's travels | Yes | - | 700 (Z) |
| 46. Fichter's bird | Yes | - | 311 (Z) |
| 47. The juniper tree | Yes | - | 720 (Z) |
| 49. The six swans | - | Yes | 451 (Z) |
| 50. The sleeping beauty | Yes | Yes | 410 (Z) |
| 51. Foundling | Yes | Yes | 313a (Z) |
| 52. King Thrushbeard | Yes | Yes | 900 |

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------|-----|---------------|
| 53. Snow White | Yes | Yes | 709 (Z) |
| 54. The knapsack, the hat ... | - | Yes | 566 (Z) |
| 55. Rumpelstilskin | Yes | Yes | 500 (Z) |
| 57. The golden bird | - | Yes | 550 (Z) |
| 58. The dog and the sparrow | Yes | - | 248 |
| 59. Freddy and Kathy | Yes | - | 1791 |
| 60. The two brothers | - | Yes | 303, etc. (Z) |
| 61. Little farmer | - | Yes | 535 (Z) |
| 64. The golden goose | - | Yes | 571 (Z) |
| 65. All fur | Yes | - | 510b (Z) |
| 69. Jorinda and Joringel | Yes | Yes | 405 (Z) |
| 71. How six made ... | - | Yes | 513a (Z) |
| 77. Clever Grete | - | Yes | 1741 |
| 80. The death of the hen | Yes | - | 2021 |
| 83. Lucky Hans | Yes | Yes | 1415 |
| 87. The poor man ... | Yes | Yes | 750 (Z) |
| 89. The goose girl | Yes | Yes | 403a (Z) |
| 94. The clever ... daughter | Yes | Yes | 875 |
| 97. The water of life | - | Yes | 551 (Z) |
| 98. Doctor Know-it-all | Yes | - | 1641 |
| 100. The Devil's grimy brother | - | Yes | 475 (Z) |
| 102. The wren and the bear | Yes | Yes | 222 |
| 104. The clever people | Yes: 1858- | - | 1384 |
| 105. Tales about toads | Yes | - | 672, etc. (Z) |
| 106. The poor ... apprentice | Yes | Yes | 301b (Z) |
| 110. The Jew in a thornbush | Yes | - | 592 (Z) |
| 114. The clever little tailor | Yes | - | 850 |
| 122. The lettuce donkey | - | Yes | 566 (Z) |
| 124. The three brothers | Yes till 1844 | - | 654 (Z) |
| 129. The four ... brothers | Yes | - | 653 (Z) |
| 130. One-Eye, Two-Eyes ... | Yes | Yes | 511 (Z) |
| 134. The six servants | - | Yes | 513 (Z) |

| | | | |
|------------------------------|----------------|-----|------------|
| 135. The white bride ... | Yes | - | 403a (Z) |
| 151. The three lazy sons | Yes | - | 1950 |
| 153. The star coins | Yes | - | not listed |
| 161. Snow White and Rose ... | Yes after 1850 | Yes | 426 (Z) |
| 179. The goose girl ... | - | Yes | 566 (Z) |
| 187. The hare and hedgehog | - | Yes | 1074, etc. |
| Anh. 18. The animals | Yes till 1854 | - | 560 (Z) |

These two *Small Editions* are far from identical and comprise seventy-four tales between them.

The German *Small Edition* was the work of Wilhelm Grimm, who - once we disregard the editorial filters - made only two changes in the repertory explicitly destined for children over a period of more than 30 years. His selection has never been questioned as the legitimate core of the 'Grimm heritage' in Germany. The Danish 'Small Edition' comprises almost the same number of stories, but it is the outcome of a collective selection process spanning 170 years, thus adding a diachronic angle to the making of the Canon. In a way, the comparison is therefore lopsided: there is no *collective* sifting to be easily discerned in the German Canon.¹⁷

On the other hand, I have pointed out that in the selection of the tales for the *Small Edition* in 1825, Wilhelm Grimm redirected the contents completely, not only towards a child audience, but also so that the majority of stories were now mostly 'Zaubermärchen', tales containing magic. In German, 66-68% of the tales in the *Small Edition* are 'fairytales' as opposed to a mere third in the *Complete Edition*. This trend is followed by Danish translators and editors: in the Danish core Canon, the percentage has increased marginally, to 72%. The point to note is that out of the large repertory represented in the *Complete Edition*, independently of one another, both Wilhelm Grimm and the Danish body translatorial have turned the Grimm *Tales* into a repertory of 'fairytales'. The selections have come about in different ways, and the Danish process also involves a cultural and linguistic transfer, but, at some intentional meta-level, the outcome has been the same.

However, there are other features which become evident in comparisons between the most popular and the least attractive stories.

The first point is that the unattractive stories are often only sketches without a narrative strand of their own, and certainly without a rational story-line. The unpopular stories also tend to be relatively short. A rule of thumb shows the average one to be of 400 words or less; with the exception of 'The sleeping beauty', the popular stories are usually more than a thousand words long.

Secondly, it is noteworthy that tales from the first volume of *Tales* by the Grimms in 1812 greatly surpass later stories in popularity. I suggested above that this is partly because of the dominant role of 'Lindencrone's translation' in the Danish cultural heritage

(above, p. 165). But this cannot be the only explanation; other reasons that readily offer themselves are that the stories in volume 1 (KHM nos. 1-86) are simply superior narratives. In addition, even the most diligent editors in search of new tales will reach a saturation point. In other words, the German volume 2 is just not read as frequently as volume 1.

Thirdly, there is little similarity in the themes of the unattractive stories. Conversely, nine of the ten most popular tales have happy endings (the exception being the moralistic 'The fisherman').

In addition, most of the protagonists in the ten most popular stories are females: five stories deal with murky dangers they face before they find prince charming ('Cinderella', 'The sleeping beauty', 'Snow White', 'The frog king'), or the safety of their families ('Little Red Riding Hood'). There are four gender neutral stories, two of which deal with children's anxiety about losing parental protection ('Hansel and Gretel' and 'The wolf and the seven young kids', plus 'The fisherman and his wife' and 'The Bremen town musicians'). There is only one story with a male protagonist in this top-ten group: 'The brave little tailor'.

The dominant female slant is not limited to these stories, but is found in the majority of the stories which have, over the years, been selected most often for translation into Danish.¹⁸ It is noteworthy, however, that the 'Danish core Canon' redresses some of this gender imbalance. The number of stories about females is the same (compared to the German *Small Edition*, three stories are dropped and three new ones introduced: KHM 3, 65, 135 and 12, 49, 77, respectively), but there are ten more stories featuring male protagonists (six 'male' stories have been dropped (KHM 45, 110, 114, 124, 129, 151) while sixteen have been added (KHM 17, 20, 29, 32, 36, 54, 57, 60, 61, 64, 71, 97, 100, 122, 134, 179)). In sum, the fifty-four tales most popular in Denmark comprise more male-dominated stories than the fifty-two tales in the German core Canon. The feminine slant apparent in the Grimm repertory is due to its origin among female storytellers; it has continued to appeal to translators, although they have, collectively, tried to compensate for the imbalance. The feminine bias is so pronounced that the contents of the tales, as well as their success with readers, is a major, if muted and oblique, reflection of the changing role of women in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

'Censorship'

Exclusion

This discussion of selection began as an analysis of the suppression of 'cruelty', because this theme is often discussed in Grimm scholarship and folklore studies.¹⁹ It appears that there is no support for the view that Danish translators have systematically suppressed 'cruelty' although they may have refrained from translating stories containing too much gratuitous 'cruelty'; if this is so, it was not the only feature to doom a German tale to be excluded from the Danish Canon. In literary criticism and Translation Studies, this and similar phenomena are termed 'gate-keeping', 'censorship' or 'imposition of societal norms'. If we assume that these are the forces at work, then censorship is not normally a question of wielding scissors and rewriting passages; it is exclusion which

is the most obvious and widespread form of censorship.

However, if we scrutinise the conclusions we could draw, exclusion seems to be based on the intentional layers of the tales, not really on their contents in the Danish context.

This calls for a closer analysis.

There are a few cases in which it is obvious that stories have been rejected, namely when they are expurgated in a reprint: this applies to the reprints of Bondesen (1904) which discarded an immoral story and changed the ‘devil’ into a ‘troll’, as well as to ‘Lindencrone’ (1909a) in which several dubious stories were left out. There may also be other instances, which have taken place beyond the ken of the translation scholar (e.g. in co-prints).

My contrastive list shows that four of the best-known stories in German are among the least popular in Danish, viz. ‘Fichter’s bird’ (46), ‘All fur’ (65), ‘The death of the hen’ (80), and ‘Tales about toads’ (105). If we turn to the tales which the Danish tradition has rejected from the Grimm Canon, we can readily see that some (but not all) of the criteria that I posited for ‘unpopularity’ apply to these tales, too. Animal tales fare differently in German and in Danish: whereas ‘The companionship of the cat and the mouse’ (2), ‘The dog and the sparrow’ (58), ‘The death of the hen’ (80), ‘Tales about toads’ (105), and ‘The faithful animals’ (Anh 18) are popular in German, it is ‘The louse and the flea’ (30) and ‘The hare and the hedgehog’ (187) which are favoured in Denmark. Two anti-Semitic stories in German, namely ‘The good bargain’ (7) and ‘The Jew in the thornbush’ (110), are dropped in Danish. A general Danish wariness of religion explains the non-popularity of ‘The Virgin Mary’s child’ (3); otherwise, there are no obvious overall criteria, but rather a certain arbitrariness of choice.

The above list may indicate that Danish editors have selected stories in which cruelty is absent. This may be true in the *content layer* as regards some obvious vindictiveness at the end of some stories. Nevertheless, integral parts of the most popular tales are features like cannibalism (‘Hansel and Gretel’, ‘Snow White’), being eaten by animals (‘Little Red Riding Hood’), rejection by parents (‘Hansel and Gretel’, ‘Cinderella’ (her father), ‘Snow White’ (her mother in the early German *Editions*)), etc. These elements are, of course, abhorrent, shocking, and revolting, but there is, unquestionably, an abundance of cruelty in many of the most popular tales. At the same time, it is clear that Danish translators have been equally hesitant about tales revealing dubious morals, the breaking of taboos, and excessive cruelty.

Inclusion

Censorship and the imposition of societal norms are, however, just as variegated entities as the actual realisations of a genuine translation: stories which were both ‘unpopular’ and cruel were selected in Denmark by the following translators:

- 1870 (Davidsen): KHM 108 (deformed humans and gratuitous violence), 109 (the death of a child), 115 (anti-Semitism and murder), 141 (potential cannibalism and murder of children), 145 (mutilation or deformation), 147 (gratuitous pain and cruelty)
- 1909a (Anon., from Ewald): 56 (mutilation)
- 1922a (Anon., from Ewald): 145 (mutilation or deformation)

- 1923 (Markussen): 56 (mutilation)
 1924 (Anon., from Ewald): 109 (the death of a child)
 1959b (Hansen): 115 (murder and anti-Semitism), 141 (potential cannibalism)
 1968c (Anon., from Ewald): 147 (gratuitous pain and cruelty)
 1975b (Koefoed, from Ewald): 108 (gratuitous cruelty)

When we combine these with the list of translations preserving cruel endings in 'The twelve brothers' and 'Brother and sister', it is evident that cruel endings tended to appear in 1870-1884; somewhat obliquely in (1909) 1912-1924; and then in 1947-1975. These periods coincide or follow at the heels of, respectively, the second Slesvig-Holsten War, which the Danes lost (1864), the epochs leading up to and immediately following the First World War (1914-1918), and the period after the Second World War (1939-1945): these events cemented an impression formed by Danes, including translators, editors, and readers, that cruelty was appropriate in German tales. I suggest that this is not a series of coincidences, but actually represents something like a deliberate, indeed, national Danish view of Germany in those epochs. The best proof is that the collections of 1941a, 1941b and 1947 are the only ones in the whole corpus which have pictures by Danish artists showing blood, mutilation and murder.

If this interpretation is correct, even seemingly innocent fluctuations in the translation of tales and fairytales reflect the collective sentiment of a country and establishes literary translation as an activity which also embraces the option of exposing the barbarity of the source culture.



Svend Johansen's drawing for 'How six made their way through the world' (1941a)



Anton Hansen's drawing for 'Rumpelstiltskin' (1941b)

Rewriting

Once we have defined ‘exclusion’ as the omission of undesirable intentional elements from target language realisations and ‘inclusion’ as realisations of unpleasant intentionalities, we can take a closer look at the rewriting of segments as a strategy in translation. Rewriting can then be considered as a deliberate change at the structural, linguistic, and even content layer. It is sometimes argued that it is a course frequently taken in translated texts in order to impose societal norms on them.

Rewriting: suppression

We shall discuss the provenance of international co-prints below, but here it suffices to point out that, since most of these have not come directly from German, we cannot argue that Danish translators have censored them in the linguistic layer.

Among Danish translators, we may note that both Otto Gelsted (1941b) and Ellen Kirk (1944a) rewrote sanguinary endings, but it is hard to tell whether this was determined by their knowledge of their target audiences, by self-imposed political censorship or by actual political censorship exerted by the Nazis who occupied Denmark at the time. It is obvious that there was rewriting in the collections edited by Markussen (1900-1929). More often, however, rewriting cannot be proved, since the picture is blurred.

Rewriting: cultural incompatibility

I have noted that certain stories favoured in the German tradition fall flat with Danes. I have also noted repeatedly that, in the linguistic layer, the German dialects are not rendered in Danish. Terming this non-realisation ‘Danish censorship’ is, surely, to go too far. It is not rewriting either. We need another approach to the phenomenon of non-realisation: I suggest that we introduce a concept of linguistic and cultural incompatibility to account for them.

The non-realisation of dialects easily fits such a model: there is no adequate Danish approximation to the German dialects, and consequently the dialectal mode of rendition is impossible for linguistic and cultural reasons.

The same applies to other features which are obliterated, or, as some would have it, which are ‘not rendered faithfully’ in translation; a few such features have already been discussed, and all have been touched upon before. Hovering between linguistic and content layers, the diminutives are slowly squeezed out of Danish translations, but, in this case, I have pointed to both the translational tradition and the general language usage in Danish. The consequent asexuality and sugary tone have also largely faded in Danish translation. Once again, this is not to be confused with censorship.

It will be recalled that Wilhelm Grimm introduced religious sentiment into the content layer of the *Tales* as part of his editorial filter (above, p. 49). I have also noted that religious stories are among the least popular with Danes. We may try to see how the religious strands are rendered by respectable translators in two tales: ‘Hansel and Gretel’ and ‘Snow White’.

In the 1857 version of ‘Hansel and Gretel’, we find religious references as follows:
 (1) When Hansel has collected stones the first time he and his sister are to be abandoned,

he tells Gretel that God will remain with them (“Gott wird uns nicht verlassen”). (2) The second time they are about to be abandoned, Hansel cannot get out to find stones, but he is still sure God will help them (“der liebe Gott wird uns schon helfen”). (3) Having wandered for three days, Hansel and Gretel find the pancake house and Hansel terms it ‘a hallowed meal’ (“eine gesegnete Mahlzeit”). (4) The children are put to bed and feel that they have come to heaven (“[sie] meinten, sie wären im Himmel”). (5) When the witch finally decides to cook Hansel, Gretel invokes the help of God (“Lieber Gott, hilf uns doch”). (6) Eventually the godless witch (“die gottlose Hexe”) is burnt to death.

In selected translations, we see the following picture:

| Feature | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----------|
| Sørensen | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| Daugaard | + | + | - | + | + | ond |
| Ewald | + | + | - | - | + | - |
| Jerndorff-Jessen | + | + | - | + | + | grusomme |
| Larsen | + | + | - | + | + | - |
| Gelsted | + | + | - | + | + | ond |
| Eventyr (1923) | + | + | - | + | + | - |
| Kirk | + | + | - | + | + | ond |
| Morsing | - | + | - | + | + | - |
| Rud | + | + | - | + | + | ond |
| Hemmer Hansen | + | + | + | + | + | ond |
| Christensen | + | + | - | + | + | + |

In ‘Snow White’, the slender religious strand begins when (1) Snow White’s mother wishes intensely that she can have a daughter as she watches the snow fall from heaven (“vom Himmel”). (2) In the dwarves’ cottage, Snow White goes to bed and commends herself to God. (3) She is found in bed by the seventh dwarf who exclaims ‘Oh my God’ (“Ei, du mein Gott”). (4) The first time the queen attempts to kill her, by tightening her laces, the dwarves warn her against the ‘godless’ woman. (5) As the seemingly dead Snow White is carried along by the Prince’s men and suddenly wakes up, she asks ‘Dear God, where am I?’ (“Ach Gott, wo bin ich?”). Finally, (6) the ‘godless’ stepmother is invited to the wedding. In Danish, these features are realised as follows:

| Feature | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|------------------|---|---|---|--------|---|-----------|
| Sørensen | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Daugaard | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Ewald | + | + | + | onde | - | onde |
| Jerndorff-Jessen | + | - | + | + | + | ond |
| Eventyr (1923) | + | + | + | onde | - | onde |
| Gelsted | + | - | - | ond | - | onde |
| Kirk | + | - | - | onde | - | onde |
| Morsing | + | + | + | slemme | + | onde Heks |
| Rud | + | - | - | onde | + | onde |
| Hemmer Hansen | + | + | - | onde | - | djævelsk |

In this case, four translators have individualistic versions. Sørensen and Morsing use a strong expression for the girl's evening prayer, "befalede (gav) sig Gud i Vold" ('committed herself to God'), and the seventh dwarf's exclamation is equally emphatic "Du min Gud og Skaber" ('My God and Creator'). Ewald has toned the same phrases down as Snow White 'says her prayer' and the dwarf exclaims "Du gode Gud, hvor er hun dejlig" ('By god, isn't she beautiful'). Kirk, Morsing and Hemmer Hansen apparently felt that ultimately the stepmother's wickedness, not godlessness, should be stressed, so Kirk tells us that "Hun bandede højt af Raseri" ('She swore aloud with anger'). Morsing turns her into a wicked witch and Hemmer Hansen into a diabolic woman.

Allowing for accidental omissions, we can, nevertheless, still form an overall picture of what is happening: it is too much for Danish translators to have children eating their fill of sweets and pancakes and calling this a 'hallowed meal'. In 'Snow White', from the 1940s onwards, translators become uneasy about the combination of a young girl abandoning herself to God and then being found by a delighted man (except in the translation intended for 'small children' who are not old enough to see any potential harm). There are slight indications in 'Snow White' that the heroine is not completely willing to trust God (5). The most striking feature in both tales is that the Danish translators take exception to the overtones of religious damnation of the two older women.

There is thus a slow, but nonetheless visible, erosion of the religious strands. The erosion varies and thus even 'inclusion' and 'exclusion' turn out to be individual translators' strategies. It can be argued that translators who 'exclude' these features are deliberately unfaithful to the tales, and that they are exerting censorship and imposing their own norms on the stories. I do not think this is the case. I believe that we are dealing with individuals who are competent in their intercultural profession of transferring tales, mostly for children, and who are aware that whereas the religiosity of the *Tales* may have worked well in religious homes in Germany, it can easily sound like strident and hollow sermonising in Denmark. The translators have not exerted censorship, but, just as they do not render sentimental diminutives, they recognise that too much religion in the *Tales* is culturally incompatible with the target language audience. If they retained the strong religious aspects in the original texts, they may be 'faithful' to the author, but they would be 'unfaithful' to the tale and 'unfaithful' to the audience that wishes to hear a tale, not a sermon. They would weaken the appeal of the *Tales*. So translators tone down the religious aspect and reduce it: God is still taking care of Hansel and Gretel and Snow White, but the protagonists are not devoutly religious.

Conclusion: the Grimm repertory in Danish

We recall that it was possible to identify three types of books: durable ones for 'elitist' audiences, slender books targeted towards readers, and chapbooks for quick consumption (above, pp. 178, 186). It should be obvious that translations in the first category do not suppress cruel endings. The books in the second category normally preserve cruel features as well, although there are exceptions (e.g. Markussen). The third category, namely anonymous editions and international co-prints, dilutes or discards cruelty; this becomes increasingly obvious as time goes by and the stories become

ever more internationalised.

By and large, it seems that both cruelty integrated into the stories in the intentional layer and vindictive endings are clearly accepted in the middle-class Danish translation tradition of the Grimm *Tales*. On the other hand, it is clear that abhorrent features, such as cruelty, imply that certain stories are rarely selected by editors and translators. There is little rewriting in respectable translations, but some omission, especially of religious features. It may also be noted that stories with cruel features are selected more often during periods when there has been some German aggression; it tells both immediately after such acts when the purchasers are just nationalistic, and later when those of an impressionable age become grandparents and consequently buy the tales to read them aloud.

Collectively, Danish translators have re-directed the original German repertory towards the ‘Zaubermärchen’ or ‘fairytales’ and placed the stories squarely in that genre. So did Wilhelm Grimm himself when, in 1825, he published a smaller repertory which immediately became the most popular one in Germany.

The German and the Danish Grimm Canons are far from identical. The Danish translators have, for instance, introduced more tales with male protagonists for their editions and thus directed the Grimm Canon in Danish towards ‘equality’. Even so, those tales which are by far the most popular among Danish translators (and their readers) are indeed central stories in the German as well as the international Grimm Canon. These stories have a pronounced bias towards female protagonists, thus allowing a new view of the Grimm *Tales*. The central and most popular stories did not originate in the mythological past; their connection with the ‘oral tradition among the folk’ was tenuous. Although they may ultimately have come from the ‘folk’, their form and character, both as individual stories and as part of a (fluid) repertory, were developed, refined and attuned to feminine tastes and themes in numerous retellings by bourgeois women storytellers in the burgeoning middle classes of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Kassel, Westphalia.



*The murder of the young queen in
'The three little men in the forest'
drawn by Kai Christensen (1947a)*



'The wolf and the seven young kids'
(illustration: Sven Otto S., 1970)

**NEW TELLERS OF TALES:
INTERNATIONALISATION**



'Cinderella'

(illustration: Philip Grot Johann and R. Leinweber, 1893)

THE TALES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

It lies outside the scope of the present study to discuss fully the new carriers of Grimm tales.

It would, however, be an oversight not to mention briefly that tales connected with the name of Grimm are thriving in Denmark by means of other media than the printed page. There are tapes for loan in public libraries, including some with readings from Carl Ewald's translation;¹ there are serials based on the Grimm corpus on television; and there are films (see 1979b). The tales have made it to CD-ROMs: the Grimm repertory will be passed on even in as yet undreamed-of media. However, in studying the tales as literature in the traditional sense, we need only dwell on the illustrations in books, and even then only on the way these illustrations affect the texts. I shall therefore begin by discussing the appearance of illustrations and then go on to analyse the impact they have had on the *Tales*.

The appearance of illustrations

A simplified list which gives prominence to books marking turning points in terms of illustrations and new techniques, will serve for a discussion of the history and impact of pictures in the Danish Grimm Canon. The list disregards 'books for special purposes' (such as 1930, 1983d, 1983g):

1816: The first translations of Grimm *Tales* appear in Danish in an anthology which includes stories from other sources. There are no illustrations.

1822: Another anthology. The four black-and-white etchings comprise the first illustrations of Grimm tales in the world.

1823 (1821): The first *Complete Grimm* ('Lindencrone' = Grimm volume 1 in its entirety) is published. There are no illustrations.

1849: The first single-tale book appears in Danish. It has numerous black-and-white illustrations.

1853: The last 'Lindencrone' edition without illustrations (4th ed).

1856b: The first anthology with a (black-and-white) frontispiece.

1857a: The first 'Lindencrone' edition (5th) with a black-and-white frontispiece.

1884: The first collection of Grimm *Tales* with several black-and-white illustrations.

1887a&b: Single-tale books with several illustrations in colour.

1894: The first lavishly illustrated black-and-white *Complete Grimm* (with pictures by German artists).

1907: The first collection of Grimm with black-and-white as well as two colour pictures.

1921: The last collection without any illustration (Ewald).

1923: The first 'lavishly illustrated' colour selection. This is a co-print with Sweden. From now on, collections are always illustrated, either in colour or in black-and-white, but there is no clear-cut trend towards colour alone.

1927: A series (KHM 21 + 50 + 53) of lavishly illustrated single-tale books, possibly a co-print with Sweden. From now on, single-tale books are almost exclusively in colour.

1960b: The first 'fancy' book (in this case a single-tale pop-up book).

1968b-c: Apart from *Complete Grimms* translated by Ewald (resumed 1975) and collections by Anine Rud illustrated by Svend Otto S. (1970, 1984), subsequent selections are always in colour.

1968k-p: From now on, single-tale books are usually 'lavishly illustrated' or at least illustrated in colour on all pages (the exceptions, 1985d and 1985g, have extensive black-and-white pictures).

In sum: pictures become more and more frequent in the Grimm *Tales*, and, following developments in reproduction techniques, these illustrations gain in sophistication during the more than 160 years in question.

The first 'illustrated Grimm' in the world was found in a Danish book appearing in

Denmark in 1822, a year before David Jardine and Edgar Taylor's English collection. This example was not followed and Grimm stories were not illustrated as frequently in Denmark as they were in Germany (where illustrated editions were commonplace by the 1850s).² There are no pictures in Danish collections at this time, and the frontispiece of the 'Lindencrone translation' included from 1857 onwards, is only a signal to the audience that it is a collection of stories for children, not an illustration of a specific tale.

Roughly speaking, there is an overall movement from the unillustrated publication of many tales in one volume towards a single-tale book containing illustrations in colour. Similarly, there is a trend that innovations are first introduced in a single-tale book; they then appear in serialised single-tale books, and finally, in some cases at least, they tend to be used in collections.

This is largely the case with stories featuring black-and-white illustrations (except for the early 1822 anthology). The first black-and-white illustrated single-tale book appeared in 1847; the first similarly illustrated collection in 1884; and, shortly after the publication of the *Folk Edition* accompanied by the Grot Johann and Leinweber illustrations, there was a corresponding Danish translation. It was both the first thoroughly illustrated edition in Denmark and the first one to feature all 210 tales.

The first single-tale colour books came out in 1887, whereas the first 'real' colour collections did not appear until 1923 (Markussen and the *Æventyr-bøger* (same year)).

As previously noted (above, p. 193), books were printed outside Denmark with increasing frequency during the twentieth century. The Sevaldsen illustrated single-tale books were printed in Sweden in 1927 (there were earlier ones, which were not, however, explicitly connected with the name of Grimm).³ The first collection printed abroad was the Czech *Eventyr panorama series* in 1964 (with the first officially registered single-tale book in 1960b).

Editions whose breadth is comparable to the German Grot Johann and Leinweber work (from 1893) were produced in Eastern Europe in 1964b, 1973b, and 1975b, and contained illustrations by Jirí Trnka, Janusz Gabrianski, and Werner Klemke, respectively.

The first collection to feature home-produced Danish pictures of a comparable standard was published at much the same time. This is the 1970a collection, containing Svend Otto S.'s large black-and-white drawings.

Black-and-white vs colour

Illustrations - and their absence - relate to different target audiences.

The puritanical tradition of unadorned tales is best exemplified by the 'Lindencrone' and Ewald translations and continues until 1921 (except for a frontispiece). From then on, however, there is no collection without illustrations apart from 'books for special purposes'.

There is a change of status for books with black-and-white pictures. Disregarding the lavishly decorated editions for what we may term 'respectable households' using Grot Johann and Leinweber, the black-and-white collections printed from the 1890s to the 1960s (Bondesen, Markussen, up to Morsing 1968) were clearly intended for children

who could read on their own. However, when Martin N. Hansen revived the ‘original’ 1812 German stories in 1956, black-and-white illustrations were meant to strike an authentic chord, and it is eminently obvious from his foreword that the book is intended for adults who will buy the ‘genuine’ stories in order to read them aloud to children. This also applies to subsequent collections featuring black-and-white illustrations, such as Anine Rud and Svend Otto S.’s 1970 collection, and the reissue of Ewald in 1975 accompanied by Grot Johann and Leinweiber pictures. This is a tradition that endures: although falling outside the period under scrutiny, it is telling that the new *Complete Grimm* by Villy Sørensen published 1995, which supersedes Ewald (but not the collection by Anine Rud), also retains this black-and-white purity. In other words, for more than seventy years, black-and-white illustrations have appealed to both young readers and to adults who used the stories for reading aloud (or as gifts), but are now almost exclusively confined to adult purchasers (the only customers with money enough to buy these expensive collections).

Conversely, it is obvious from the quality, formats, and prices that books in colour have a dual audience: the cheap series and collections, such as the *Ælle balle books* and the *Tumli books*, are meant for pre-school children and can be left to their merciless handling, whereas the most expensive ones are destined for a discriminating adult audience. This latter audience may wish to enhance children’s enjoyment by discussing the illustrations; or they may simply regard these editions as art books (‘The crystal ball’ (1976c) may have appealed to such readers).

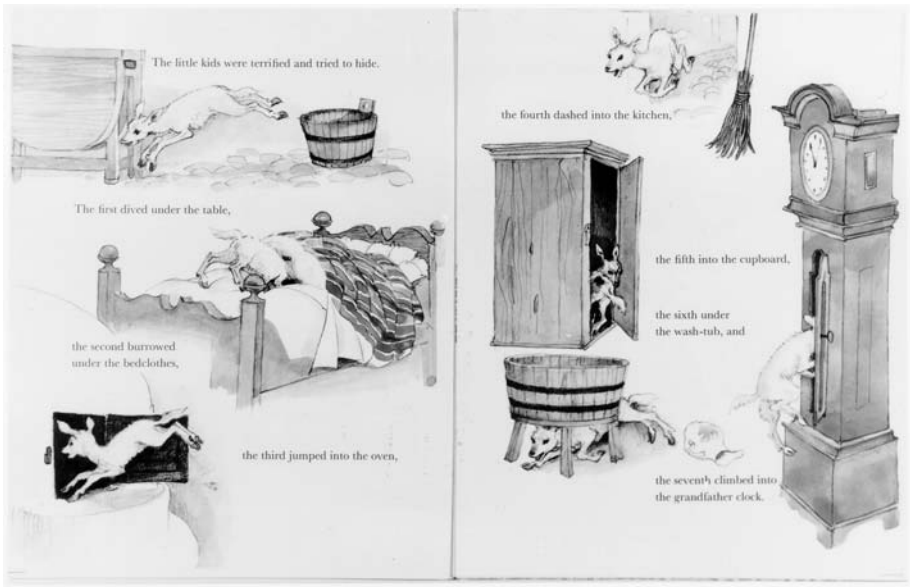
At all events, it must be stressed that the dual audience exists only in the eyes of the publishers and the socio-literary scholar: independent of their social class, most families probably acquire both types of books.

This shift in patterns of consumption has been brought about slowly in an interplay between purchaser expectations and improvements in the methods of reproducing art books. Heightened consumer demands are in evidence throughout the history of the publication of Grimm in Danish. *The Tales* have been promoted by pictures, and it took 200 fine illustrations by Grot Johann and Leinweber to make the truly *Complete Grimm* a success on the Danish market. These illustrations were so successful that they were published in no less than three spurts, namely in 1894, 1905, and in 1975; whatever the financial fate of Daugaard’s edition (1894), the numerous reprints of the two latter ventures show that they fared well.

Illustrators as co-narrators

It would demand major empirical studies to establish the exact ways in which illustrations in books, including the Grimm tales, affect the readers’ response to a story. Yet there is no shadow of a doubt that illustrations influence responses. No matter whether they expand or restrict the response to tales, illustrations become part of some kind of ‘ideal tales’ released in readings and they contribute substantially to narrative contracts today. Colour illustrations, in particular, constitute an integral, indeed dominant, part of the narrative. We may cite one page from the Danish illustrations by Svend Otto S. of ‘The wolf and the seven young kids’ (1975). The new storyteller, the illustrator, has

become an integral part of the narrative. There is an interplay between text and pictures and each sentence (in this case in English) is given a picture of its own:



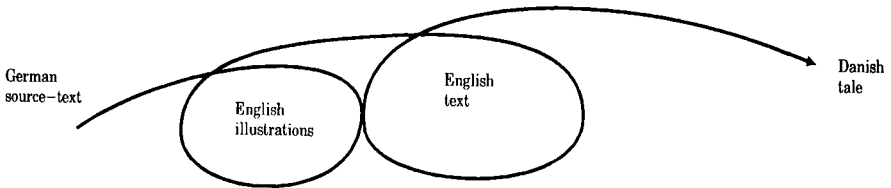
I have already made the point that the draughtsmen become the equals of the translators. They take over part of the narrative contract and become co-narrators. This is eminently obvious when we trace the success of certain illustrators. Since the publication of books, including the Grimm *Tales*, is driven mostly by money, it is obvious that artists who have had a resounding success in illustrating one Grimm tale will be commissioned to do others as well; this for instance, goes for the repeat performances by Bernadette (e.g. 1970c, 1971f, 1986c). Many illustrations are not confined to one country alone, but are international and thus contribute to the internationalisation of the Grimm *Tales*.

Bernadette also serves to demonstrate that, as of the latter half of the twentieth century, successful international illustrators often contribute to co-productions which use the same illustrations with texts in various target languages. In addition to Bernadette, we can point to Maurice Sendak (1974), Paul Galdone (1978), Lilo Fromm (1973, 1985), and Lisbeth Zwerger (1981, 1983) as 'international' illustrators.

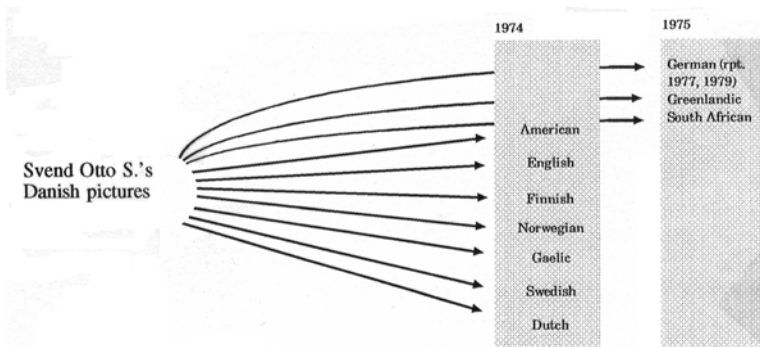
In some cases, there may be what we could call 'plurilingual winning teams', that is, combinations of illustrators (publishers) and translators into Danish who hit the jackpot. One such team includes the translator Jørn E. Albert; in his 'Rapunzel' (1982c) and 'The frog king' (1983c), he combined translations of English texts with pictures by the Englishwoman Jutta Ash so successfully that he repeated the procedure with an

American illustrator in 'The Devil with the three golden hairs' (1985).

This manoeuvre is depicted in the drawing:



Danish is not exclusively a receiving culture: the illustrations of Svend Otto S. have been published with texts in many languages. His watercolours for 'The Bremen town musicians' (1974c), for instance, have carried this tale to audiences in other countries, a feature shown in the below illustration which covers 1974 and 1975:



Summary

It appears that worldwide, the first Grimm tales to be illustrated were published in Denmark (1822), but otherwise, illustrations were slow in making their appearance in Danish publications of Grimm.

Generally speaking, all new techniques in illustration first appeared in single-tale books and, then after a considerable interval (twenty to forty years), in collections.

Initially, black-and-white illustrations were intended for children, but gradually they became the dominant pictures in the respectable collections, that is, the repertoires primarily intended to be read aloud to children or to be read by them. This tradition continues in Denmark until this very day.

At the same time, Grot Johann and Leinweber's German illustrations are the earliest example in Danish of the internationalisation of pictures accompanying the Grimm stories, as well as an instance of the carrying power of pictures.

The earliest books in colour are from the 1880s. The first collections to feature coloured pictures (if only one) are from the turn of the century. By the 1920s, they are

gaining the upper hand, and by the 1950s they dominate completely. Today the market is dominated by colour books in international coprints, the topic of the next section.

INTERNATIONALISATION: MULTIPLE TELLERS

Co-prints and formatting

The interaction between text and pictures is clearly relevant to translation and to a discussion of the translational heritage. Since this is most obvious now at the end of the twentieth century, the present situation will serve as the basis for an analysis of the internationalisation of the tales, beginning with the role of illustrations and co-printing. The process of producing Grimm translations before the middle of the twentieth century cannot be reconstructed. Even today, details of production are often considered trade secrets by publishers, and it is therefore often impossible to tell which came first, the illustrations or the textual realisations, notably so in the case of modern co-prints.

We may assume that earlier pictures used in collections, from those of Victor André (1884 and 1890) and subsequent illustrators until the demise of Morsing's collections (1968b-c), were based on the text of the translation, not the original.

The German illustrations by Grot Johann and Leinweber are early examples of pictures which became well-known internationally, but there are no indications in the Danish translations using them that the pictures affected the linguistic and content layers of any tale.⁴ There are no obvious instances of pictures affecting texts until we encounter international co-prints from the latter half of the twentieth century. Yet, the Grot Johann and Leinweber illustrations are the first to be used outside the country of origin after the signing of the Berne Convention (above, pp 175-176). Since the illustrators are unlikely personally to have mounted a sales campaign, this is, in all likelihood, also an early case of international sales promotion by a publishing house, namely the German firm which commissioned the pictures for the German *Folk Edition*.

In co-prints, books *with the same illustrations* are produced by one publishing house or printing establishment (usually the one which has commissioned the artist to produce the pictures) in a specific country, but for international distribution: if, for instance, this establishment is Austrian, it may contact Danish publishers. Should there be sufficient interest, the Danish publisher will order a specified number of copies with Danish texts for distribution in Denmark. In the same fashion, publishers or distributors in other countries sign contracts for books in their target languages.

The highest number of Danish books to appear in international co-prints in the period under review was that of the *Tumli books* (4-5,000), the lowest that of *Centrum* (2,000), which allowed for a break-even point around 1,000-1,300 copies (above, p. 182). Co-printing keeps down prices, for instance of books which are in colour or produced with special techniques. The first example of this was the pop-up *Eventyr panorama series*; it was produced in Czechoslovakia from 1960 to 1976, and was also published in French, English, and German.

Co-printing often implies that the tales are formatted, i.e. made uniform.

National formatting

It will be remembered that there is an important, if rarely explicit, formatting in the very *selection* of tales for single-tale books; this means that, whatever their merits, very short tales are not printed separately, indeed, are rarely translated. This feature is obvious throughout the history of the Danish translation of Grimm.

For his mode of *publication* of Grimm tales (1835), Christian Molbech chose an established format; at the time it was the rage among literary people in Denmark to publish *Christmas gifts* or *Gifts for New Year's Eve*; the forewords show that these books were mostly bought by grown-ups as gifts for children. It has been noted previously that Molbech's first volume came out in the same year that Hans Christian Andersen published a similar *Christmas gift* comprising his first five fairytales.

In his *Selected fairytales* (of 1843), Molbech favoured tales of an (almost) uniform length, and this model was followed by subsequent translators and editors.

Early examples of the *production* of uniform volumes appear to have been made for the Danish home market only: there is no doubt that this applies to the 1887 books illustrated 'for Danish children'. And it also seems to be the case with the early series, that is Sevaldsen's three tales of 1927, the *Eventyr* of 1931, the series by Arthur Jensen of 1944-48, and the *Eventyr series* (1948). It is, indeed, curious that Sevaldsen's tales and the *Eventyr series* appear not to be co-prints although they were produced in Sweden, but the *SNB* lists no Swedish counterparts.⁵

International formatting

Conversely, the *SNB* reveals that the major step forward for illustrated series in Denmark, namely the 1923 publication of the two-volume Markussen edition accompanied by Gustav Tenggren's magnificent watercolours, was a co-production with the Swedish publisher Bonnier's in Stockholm. This co-production applied to the pictures only, whereas the Danish texts were by Markussen. In other words, the illustrator and the two publishing houses have taken care, as it were, of the visual side, while the textual layer is still the undisputed province of the translator (if in principle only, since Markussen copied texts from Molbech and Lindencrone).

Even a cursory glance at the chronological listing of Grimm translations shows that, as of the 1960s, it is co-prints that dominate the market for single-tale books in colour. The few black-and-white books are intended for private circulation (1967c and 1984e), or are expressly 'retold' and accompanied by highly individualistic (and humorous) illustrations (Orla Klausen 1985d,g).

International co-prints define the constitution of the international Grimm Canon, since they reinforce the retelling of tales which are already among the chosen few to have the appropriate length for narration. This does not preclude innovations: 'The seven ravens' formatted and co-printed in 1981e, is relatively unknown. Nonetheless, the emphasis is on publication of 'safe bets', on well-known 'hits'.

Co-prints also dictate the length of tales. Clearly it is impossible to use the same number of words as the original when a story must be told in five six-line frames (as in the *Star fairytales* 1975i-l). It is less obvious that stories of varying length in the original

Grimm version (from the more than 2,000 words of ‘Snow White’ to the 500 of ‘The sleeping beauty’) are rendered in virtually the same number of words, especially in internationally formatted and drastically abridged serial co-prints, such as the *Tumli books* (1984).

From the 1920s onwards, we see a large increase in the number of collections in colour. At the same time, co-printing, especially with Sweden, begins to gain ground. From the middle of the 1960s, co-prints clearly involve more than two target cultures. They are made in order to bring down production costs, and their central feature is the internationalisation of the illustrations. The illustrations become the main carriers of the tales and the artists are now part of the narrative contracts. The illustrations’ carrying power adds momentum to the tales and helps to make the Grimm repertory and the Grimm name yet more familiar throughout the world.

Illustrations as textual constraints

At the same time that these illustrations thus help the stories jump language barriers, they also affect the texts: they are constraints, that is, external forces imposing themselves on the texts and leaving an indelible imprint on the final product in the target language.⁶ They do this both by determining the selection of stories and by affecting the linguistic and content layers: the publishers’ formatting and the illustrations impose constraints which set narrow limits to the translator’s (and editor’s) textual realisations.

Sometimes the illustrations make it impossible for translators to ‘revert to a more traditional Grimm’ should they wish to do so: in the ‘Hansel and Gretel’ from the *Eventyr* (1965f), there is a picture showing the parents discussing their problems at a table, so, in this case, the translator would be hard put to have them discuss their plight in bed as in the Grimm versions. In Mona Giersing’s ‘Hansel and Gretel’ (1973g), Gretel has blonde hair because she is a blonde in the colour picture, whereas no Grimm version tells us the colour of Gretel’s hair. Furthermore, in her translation of ‘The sleeping beauty’ (1980b), which was based on an English translation, Marie Svendsen must have a crab tell the queen that she is pregnant in accordance with the corresponding frame.⁷ The two latter texts have not been abridged in obvious ways: it is the illustrations which impose information on the translators.

However, the most conspicuous constraint imposed by illustrations is that typographically they often allot little space to the text, which must, for this reason, be abridged.

It is normally impossible to determine the origin and the history of a specific co-printed Grimm tale; this would demand access to publisher’s correspondence, contracts, and archives (which are often non-existent or incomplete) or access to all national bibliographies in the world (with the added proviso that they must be updated and complete). The discussion must therefore be limited to the data available, that is, information from reliable firms, published material, and to my inspection of the books.

The colophons in the books normally give the name of the publisher responsible for the production of the book, and sometimes state the source language. However, it is the inspection of the books which yields the most fascinating findings and reveals variations, notably between co-prints, which we shall now address.

Co-prints and texts

Same story, same translator, different texts

Occasionally, the same translator has translated a story more than once. Eva Hemmer Hansen provides an example of this: in 1970c she published 'Little Red Riding Hood' in a Swiss co-print. The narrative was also included in her collection of Grimm *Tales* 1973a for the same Danish publisher in an Austrian co-print. In the latter collection, Eva Hemmer Hansen - or the publisher's editor - made some minor corrections to her previous translation but otherwise recycled it.⁸ The typography is different, so the text must have been reset, and accordingly it must have been easy to introduce these revisions. Even if it had been a reprint, her corrections would be within the contractual rights of Danish translators to revise their own work.⁹

There are (a few) deviations ascribable to similar procedures in Anine Rud's translation of the same story. This appeared in her black-and-white collection published in 1970a and in a single-tale colour book from the same year (1970b). A few sentences are different (Collection (1970a): "Du må hellere gå med det samme ..." (1970a) vs "Tag hellere af sted ..." (1970b); "inden du får travlt med alt muligt andet" (1970a) vs "og stå ikke først og se dig om" (1970b); and "Hendes hus ligger under de tre store egetræer ved nøddehegnet" (1970a) vs "Hendes hus ligger under de tre store egetræer, du ved nok, der hvor nøddehækken er" (1970b)).

One cannot object to such revision in practice. In principle, it shows that a translation, a passage, or a phrase which is considered adequate at one intersection in space and time may indeed be improved by its own author - or an in-house editor - at a later point. Eva Hemmer Hansen and Anine Rud were both privileged translators in the sense that they were able to use Grimm originals for their renditions. And they have had a (largely) free hand in their treatment of the story as they were working for conscientious publishers, who, incidentally, are also those that most often 'revise' translations.¹⁰

Grete Janus Hertz also rendered the 'same' stories more than once. She retold 'The Bremen town musicians' (KHM 27) for the popular *Six tales from Grimm* in 1968d, for the *Daxi books* of 1980e, and for the *Pixi books* of 1981g. They are illustrated by three different artists, namely Eberhard Binder in 1968 (4th rpt 1980h); Gerda Muller in 1980e; and Gerti Mauser-Lichtl in 1981g. All were produced by the same Danish publisher (Carlsen, Illustrationsforlaget).

This story is about an old donkey which is no longer of use and therefore decides to become a town musician in Bremen. Along the way the donkey picks up a dog, a cat, and a cock. The animals happen upon a robbers' house and succeed in chasing the robbers away. One of the robbers returns, but in the dark he is frightened away for good.

Three passages from the tale will serve for the discussion, namely the opening description of the donkey; the animals' sighting of the house; and their surprise attack on the robbers:

1968: "En mand havde et æsel. I mange år havde det slæbt sække til møllen for ham; men nu var det gammelt. Det kunne ikke slide så hårdt som før, og derfor jog han det væk. Æslet bestemte sig til at gå til Bremen, for der kunne det måske blive spillemand." ...
 "Men der var langt til Bremen, og om aftenen nåede de en skov, hvor de ville overnatte. Æslet og hunden lagde sig under et træ, katten sprang op på en gren, og hanen fløj helt op

i toppen. Før den skulle sove kiggede den sig omkring og fik øje på et lys langt inde i skoven. Den regnede med, at hvor der var lys, var der også et hus, og den råbte ned til de andre, hvad den havde set.”...

“Æslet stillede sig med forbenene i vindueskarmen, hunden sprang op på æslets ryg, katten sprang op på hunden, og hanen satte sig på kattens hoved. Æslet talte til tre, og så begyndte de at larme. Æslet skreg, hunden gøede, katten mijauede, og hanen galede. I det samme styrtede de sig gennem ruden ind i stuen, så glasskårene røg om ørerne på dem.”

1980: “En mand ejede et æsel, som i mange år havde slæbt sække til møllen for ham. Nu var æslet blevet gammelt. Det kunne ikke slide så hårdt som før, og derfor talte manden om at slå det ihjel.

Men æslet forstod, hvor det bar hen, og derfor løb det hjemmefra.

Det slog ind på vejen til Bremen. Der regnede det med, at det kunne blive spillemand.” ... “Men der var langt til Bremen. De kunne ikke gå derhen på en dag, og om aftenen kom de til en skov, hvor de måtte overnatte.

Æslet og hunden lagde sig under et stort træ.

Katten sprang op på en gren, og hanen fløj helt op i toppen, for der følte den sig mest sikker. Før den satte sig til at sove, kiggede den sig godt omkring og fik øje på et svagt lys inde i skoven. Den regnede med, at hvor der var lys, var der også et hus. Og den råbte til de andre, hvad den havde set.”... (p. 8)

“Æslet stillede sig med forbenene i vinduet, hunden hoppede op på æslets ryg, katten sprang op på hunden, og hanen fløj op på ryggen af katten.

Æslet talte til tre, og så begyndte de at larme:

Æslet skrydede, hunden gøede, katten mijauede og hanen galede.

I det samme styrtede de sig gennem vinduet, så glasskårene fløj til alle sider.” (p. 13)

1981: “Der var engang et æsel, som var for gammelt til at arbejde. Det fik ingenting at spise, og derfor gik det hjemmefra. Det ville til Bremen og være spillemand.”...

“Men de måtte overnatte i en skov, for de kunne ikke nå til Bremen på én dag. Æslet og hunden lagde sig under et træ, katten sprang op på en gren, og hanen satte sig i træets top. Deroppe fra så den et lys længere inde i skoven. “Der må ligge et hus,” råbte den til de andre.”...

“Æslet stillede sig med forbenene i vinduet. Hunden sprang op på dets ryg. Katten hoppede op på hunden, og hanen fløj op på ryggen af katten. Så begyndte de at larme: æslet skrydede, hunden tudede, katten mijauede og hanen galede. Og i det samme lod de sig falde ind gennem ruden, så glasskårene fløj til alle sider!”

These three renderings are closer to one another than any individual one is to the Grimm text of 1857, which they represent in a greatly abridged form.

Although the 1980 version is allegedly translated from French, there are only four points which suggest that it has an origin different from that of the versions of 1968 and 1981. First, there is a somewhat cliché-like precision in certain features: the man talked about ‘killing’ the donkey; the animals went to sleep under a ‘big’ tree; the cock saw a ‘dim’ light. Secondly, in 1980, there are more explicit causal connections: the donkey runs away *because* it gets wind of what is up; the animals had to spend the night in the wood *because* they could not reach Bremen in a day. The cock flew to the top of the tree *because* there it felt most secure’. Thirdly, this rendition has a modern layout, being divided into fairly brief sections. Fourthly, it is fractionally longer than the other texts: e.g., the man ‘has designs on’ the donkey and ‘the donkey gets wind’ of his plans.

The minor differences between these three versions are all explicable in terms of translational constraints, the dominant one being the translator’s own previous translations (as was the case with Eva Hemmer Hansen and Anine Rud), and another being

the constraint imposed by the pictures. For chronological reasons, it is most likely that Grete Janus Hertz retold the story in 1968 in c. 800 words and that the illustrations were produced afterwards. In subsequent books, the illustrations also forced her to render the story at a specific (but slightly greater) length. At the same time, she relied on her own previous translations with slight revisions. This is nowhere more obvious than in her description of the animals' assault on the robbers' home. There is increasing drama and 'realism' in the description of animal sounds from 1968 via 1980 to 1981: the ass which 'screams' in 1968 is 'braying' in 1980 and 1981, whereas the dog is 'barking' in 1968 and 1980, but 'howling' in 1981. In 1968 the animals dash through the window so that glass splinters fly around their ears; in 1980 they also dash through the window, but this time the splinters fly everywhere; and in 1981 they fall through the pane so that the splinters fly in all directions: this last description seems to be a visualisation of the scene, possibly influenced by the illustration which shows the animals standing on each other's backs outside the house, facing a large single-pane window.

All told, we must once again conclude that, even when there are constraints, the translator's narrative voice will make itself heard, and that, individually and over the years, even individual translators are working towards a better integrated message.

However, this need not invariably apply: Mona Giersing translated 'Snow White and Rose Red' (KHM 161) twice. The first time was in 1973m, when the story appeared in the expansive Italian co-print *Fairytales told to you*; the second time was in 1975d for a Dutch co-print whose large and magnificent layout shows that this book was meant for little children. The two texts are radically different.

The 1973 translation runs as follows:

"Der var engang en fattig enke, som boede i en hytte ude i skoven med sine to døtre. Den ene hed Snehvid og den anden Rosenrød, og de var begge flittige og gode piger. Snehvid var den af dem, som var mest stille. Hun sad gerne på en skammel foran den blussende kaminild og læste, mens moderen broderede. Rosenrød derimod ville hellere springe omkring på engen og plukke blomster end sidde inde i huset. Ude i haven stod der to meget smukke rosenbuske; den ene med snehvide blomster, den anden med blodrøde. Næsten hver dag spadserede de to piger rundt i haven, hånd i hånd, og tit, når de stod og betragtede de kønne roser, sagde Rosenrød til sin søster: 'Vi to vil aldrig skilles, vel Snehvid?'

Og Snehvid svarede altid: 'Aldrig, kære Rosenrød, så længe vi lever.' De to piger gik ofte ud i skoven for at samle bær og kviste, og dyrene gjorde dem aldrig fortræd. Tværtimod: de kom dem tillidsfuldt i møde. Haren spiste kålblade, som de gav den, og rådyret græssede fredeligt videre, selv om de gik tæt forbi det. Der var så vidunderligt i skoven om sommeren. Fuglene sad i træernes kroner og sang, og Snehvid og Rosenrød tilbragte næsten hele dagen ude i det fri."

Mona Giersing's 1975 translation from Dutch goes:

"Der var engang en fattig enke, som boede i en hytte ude i skoven. I hendes have voksede to meget smukke rosenbuske, og hvert år bar den ene snehvide blomster og den anden blodrøde - og efter disse opkaldte konen sine to døtre. Den ene hed Snehvid og den anden Rosenrød.

En aften, da det sneede voldsomt udenfor, og de sad og hyggede sig ved kaminen, bankede det pludselig på døren.

'Skynd dig at lukke op, Rosenrød,' sagde moderen. 'Det er sikkert en vandringsmand, der søger ly for stormen.'

Rosenrød sprang straks hen og åbnede døren, men hvor blev hun dog forskrækket, da hun

så, at der stod en stor, brun bjørn udenfor.

‘Hjælp! Det er en stor bjørn!’ råbte begge pigerne skrækslagne.

Men til deres store overraskelse begyndte bjørnen at tale: ‘Vær ikke bange, småpiger. Jeg vil ikke gøre jer fortræd. Men jeg er næsten stiv af kulde og vil blot varme mig lidt ved ilden.’”

It will be immediately noted that the second version (1975) is reduced to a brief presentation of the mother who has named her two daughters after the rose bushes. It then plunges into the main plot with the advent of a bear, the charmed prince.

At first glance, the 1973 edition appears to be close to the original. Yet there are quite a few deviations from the German 1857 *Edition*: the elements are introduced in a different order, and there is no hint that the girls are named after the rose bushes. They are characterised only as “diligent and good”, not as ‘devout and good, so industrious and unperturbable’ (Grimm: “so fromm und gut, so arbeitsam und unverdrossen als je zwei Kinder auf der Welt gewesen sind”). We are told that the sedentary Snow White liked to read ‘in front of the blazing fireplace while her mother was embroidering’ (Grimm: “Schneewitchen aber sass daheim bei der Mutter, half ihr im Hauswesen oder lass ihr vor wenn nichts zu tun war”), activities of a middle-class nature, where reading books (apparently for her own entertainment) and embroidering are held in higher esteem than the homely chores described by Wilhelm Grimm. The Danish Rose Red of 1975 does not catch butterflies. Similarly, the sisters’ mutual vow not to part, comes while they are admiring roses; there is no motherly blessing of it.

There is, in other words, so great a difference between the two Danish translations, indeed between the Danish translations and the German original, that it is hard to argue that they are the ‘same’ story at all. Nevertheless, there is one striking correspondence between the Danish renditions: the first fourteen words are the same. They include the information tendered nowhere else (not even in Grimm) that the cottage is situated in a wood.

There are thus variations attributable to the space allowed for text and illustrations and yet some similarity which is specific to the translator: the two translations refer to two different (immediate) source texts.

The most striking example of a rendition by the same translator is, however, Søren Christensen’s ‘Hansel and Gretel’ (KHM 15), whose 1971 translation has already been discussed (above, pp 228-229). In 1983f, his rendition is as follows:

“Tæt ved en stor skov boede en fattig brændehugger med sine to børn. Drengen hed Hans og pigen Grete. De havde kun lidt at leve af, og engang kom der dyrtid i landet. Da kunne han ikke længere skaffe penge til det daglige brød.

En aften lå han i sengen og tænkte over deres ulykke. Han vendte og drejede sig og kunne ikke falde i søvn. ‘Hvad skal der dog blive af os?’ sukkede han, ‘hvor skal vi hente mad til børnene, når vi ikke har noget til os selv?’

‘Ved du hvad, mand,’ svarede konen, ‘lad os i morgen tidlig tage dem med i skoven, ind hvor den er tykkest. Der tænder vi et bål og giver dem hver en stump brød. Så går vi på arbejde og lader dem blive. De kan ikke selv finde hjem, og på den måde slipper vi af med dem.’

‘Nej, kone,’ sagde manden, ‘det gør jeg ikke. Du får mig aldrig til at forlade mine børn i skoven. Der bliver de snart ædt af de vilde dyr.’

‘Din nar,’ sagde konen, ‘så dør vi jo af sult. Så må du hellere gå i gang med at høvle brædder til ligkisterne.’ Sådan sagde hun, og hun blev ved at plage ham, lige til han gav efter.

‘Men jeg har så ondt af de arme børn,’ sagde manden.

De to børn var så sultne, at de heller ikke kunne falde i søvn, og de hørte hvad stedmoderen sagde til deres far.”

The 1971 translation has left out the word ‘poor’ (the superfluous element 2) and the ‘boards’ for the coffins, but retained ‘the four of us’, which is omitted from the 1983 translation. Nevertheless the source text for both translations seems to have been the same, namely the last authorial German *Edition*, since all translational variations are within the frame of adequate rendition, including the differences in punctuation at the beginning. Although one may argue that there are echoes of the same personality, there are no strings of words or sentences which are similar, so Søren Christensen clearly made a new translation. He may have, or just have felt, that he had ceded his copyright to the 1971 translation to the publisher (Gyldendal). The main difference is in the *content layer*: in 1971, Søren Christensen’s woman was the children’s mother, whereas, in 1983, she is their stepmother. Presumably, in 1971, with a Danish draughtsman and publisher, Søren Christensen dared follow the Danish translational tradition harking back to Lindencrone, while in 1983, with a new publisher and a foreign draughtsman, he followed the source text provided by the Austrian co-printing publisher.¹¹

Same tale, same typographical space, different languages

The importance of co-prints for texts published in different languages is best demonstrated by a discussion of three examples.

The first is ‘The poor miller’s apprentice and the cat’ (KHM 106). It is the story of a young man who goes in search of a horse. He enters into service with a princess who has been transformed into a cat. He is given a horse which will earn him his master’s mill, but, since he also lifts the spell from the princess, he marries her instead.

The Grimm ending goes like this:

“When the miller saw [Hans’s horse], he said that he had never seen the like of it; ‘and this is for miller’s third apprentice,’ she said. ‘Then he must have the mill,’ said the miller. But the princess said that he might keep both the horse and his mill. And she took her true Hans in her coach and drove off with him. First they went to the little house which he had built with the silver tools. It was now a large castle and everything in it was silver and gold. And then she married him and he was so rich, so rich that he had enough for the rest of his days. So nobody should say that he who is simple-minded will not make it in the world.” (“Wie der Müller das sah, sprach er, so ein wär ihm noch nicht auf den Hof gekommen; ‘und das ist für den dritten Mahlbursch’, sagte sie. ‘Da muss er die Mühle haben’, sagte der Müller, die Königstochter aber sprach, da wäre das Pferd, er sollte seine Mühle auch behalten: und nimmt ihren treuen Hans und setzt ihn in die Kutsche and führt mit ihm fort. Sie fahren zuerst nach dem kleinen Häuschen, dass er mit dem silbernen Werkzeug gebaut hat, da ist es ein grosses Schloss, und ist alles darin von Silber und Gold; und da hat sie ihn geheiratet, und war er reich, so reich, das er für sein Lebtag genug hatte. Darum soll keiner sagen, dass, wer albern ist, deshalb nicht Rechtes werden könne.” (1857 (rpt Rölleke) II: 105)

The Danish 1974 translation by Inge-Lise Hauerslev runs as follows:

“‘Det er den smukkeste hest, jeg nogensinde har set,’ sagde mølleren, ‘så Hans skal have møllen.’

Men prinsessen sagde til ham, at han kunne beholde både hesten og møllen.

Derpå tog hun Hans ved hånden og satte sig op i kareten sammen med ham og kørte af sted. De kørte hen til det lille hus, som Hans havde bygget, men det var blevet til et pragtfuldt

slot, hvor alt var af guld og sølv. De holdt bryllup og fik en masse børn og levede lykkeligt til deres dages ende.”

The Danish rendering is noticeably shorter than the German original: there is no ‘first’ and ‘then’; there is no reference to silver tools; there is no reference to riches; and there is no proverb-like ending. There are additions: the princess took Hans ‘by the hand’; the castle was ‘magnificent’. They got married and ‘had lots of children and lived happily ever after.’

The Danish publisher issued a Swedish edition (1974). It follows the Danish translation almost word-for-word:

“ - Det var den vackraste häst jag någonsin har sett, sa mjölnaren, så Hans ska ha kvarnen. Men prinsessan sa att mjölnaren kunde behålla både hästen och kvarnen. Därpå tog hon Hans vid handen och satte sig opp i vagnen och körde bort. De åkte till det lilla hus som Hans hade byggt, men det hade blivit till et praktfullt slott, där allt var av guld och silver. De höll bröllop och fick en massa barn och levde lyckliga i alla sina dagar.”

It will be appreciated that the space allowed by the pictures forces translators to use more or less the same number of words, at least in closely related languages like Danish and Swedish (because this is the easiest way of making sure that they will not have to reduce the text at a later point).

In 1980 Grete Janus Hertz also translated ‘Little Red Riding Hood’ for the *Daxi books*. In this translation, the wolf eats the old grandmother in her own bed and hides in it while Little Red Riding Hood is picking flowers:

“The wolf swallowed [the grandmother]. Then it donned her clothes, put on her bonnet, got into her bed and drew the curtain.

Meanwhile Little Red Riding Hood had been picking flowers, and when she had collected so many that she could carry no more, she came to think of her grandmother, and she went on her way.”

(“Der Wolf ... verschluckte sie. Dann tat er ihre Kleider an, setzte ihre Haube auf, legte sich in ihr Bett und zog die Vorhänge vor.

Rotkäppchen aber war nach den Blumen herumgelaufen, und als es so viel zusammen hatte, dass es keine mehr tragen konnte, fiel ihm die Grossmutter wieder ein, und es machte sich auf den Weg zu ihr.” (1857 (rpt Rölleke) I: 158))

The Danish translation allegedly from French describes the wolf’s arrival at the cottage in this way:

“Den bankede på døren.

‘Hvem er det, som banker?’ råbte bedstemor inde fra sengen.

‘Det er mig, den lille Rødhætte,’ svarede ulven, ‘jeg kommer med kage og vin! Luk mig ind!’

‘Tryk selv på klinken! Jeg er syg og ligger i sengen!’ sagde bedstemor.

Ulven trykkede på klinken.

Døren gik op, ulven var i et spring henne ved sengen, hvor den slugte bestemor i en eneste mundfuld.

Bagefter tog ulven bedstemors tøj og nathue på.

Den lagde sig i hendes seng og trak forhængen for alkoven, så der blev halvmørkt derinde. Og så lå den der og ventede på, at Rødhætte skulle komme.

Mens alt dette skete, havde Rødhætte plukket en buket, der var så stor, at hun dårligt nok kunne bære den.

Hun fandt tilbage til stien og skyndte sig videre med raske skridt.”

In Danish the wolf draws the curtains of the alcove ‘so that it becomes dark.’ It ‘lies

waiting for Little Red Riding Hood to arrive.’ Meanwhile Little Red Riding Hood has ‘picked a bunch of flowers so large that she could hardly carry it.’ We are not told that she suddenly remembers her grandmother but she ‘found the path again, picked up the basket, and hurried on briskly. She soon reached Grandmother’s house.’ (p. 15)

The Danish publisher also issued a Swedish co-print translated by Mirjam Fritz-Crone. She renders the passage as follows:

“Han knackade på dörren.

‘Vem är det som knackar?’ ropade mormor från sin säng.

‘Det är jag, lilla Rödluvan’, svarade vargen, ‘Jag kommer med vin och kaka! Släpp in mej!’

‘Tryck ner klinkan själv! Jag är sjuk och ligger i sängen!’ sa mormor.

Vargen tryckte ner klinkan.

Dörren gick upp och med ett språng var vargen vid sängen och slukade mormor i en enda munbit.

Sen tog vargen på sej mormors kläder och nattmössa och la sej i hennes säng. Han drog förhänget för alkoven, så det blev halvmörkt därinne. Där låg han och väntade på att Rödluvan skulle komma.

Under tiden hade Rödluvan plockat en bukett som var så stor så hon knappt kunde bära den. Hon hittade lätt tillbaka till stigen, tog upp korgen og skyndade sej iväg.”

In the main, the Swedish translation follows the Danish leads, including all additions, although there are minor linguistic variations: the two first sentences in Danish are syncoped into one in Swedish. Little Red Riding Hood ‘easily’ finds the path, and she just hurries on (“Hon ... skyndade sej iväg”).

There are two major content differences: like the German original, this Swedish story has a masculine wolf, while the Danish beast is neuter. Furthermore, the Danish ‘grandmother’ is a “mormor” [the mother’s mother] in Swedish. These two features emphasise the characters’ genders in Swedish: it is infinitely easier to interpret the Swedish version as a conflict between female and male principles than it is to interpret the Danish one in this way.

As regards these two features, the translators are adhering to translational traditions which differ in Denmark and Sweden. All the same, the similarities in the linguistic layer vastly outnumber the differences in the two versions: co-printing means that translators must keep an eye on the source-language text which corresponds to the illustrations rather than concerning themselves with the German original (which they may not know). Once again it can be seen that translators are not free to narrate stories in their own way or to translate them ‘according to the German originals’.

Co-prints and their originals: ‘relay’ in translation

The radically different Danish translations produced by Mona Giersing (1973 and 1975) and Søren Christensen (1971 and 1983) draw attention to the original texts of co-prints. I have also pointed out that in the international Grimm Canon, German *Editions* prior to the last one may still serve as the basis for translations into Danish (either by accident, e.g. 1947a, or deliberately, e.g. 1964a). This also applies to other languages (most obviously in the mother-stepmother split in ‘Hansel and Gretel’). The tales clearly traverse language barriers. Accordingly it is impossible to formulate precise generalisations concerning these interlingual movements.

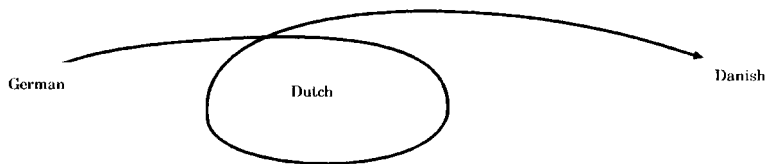
This does not preclude the possibility of making some observations about general trends, however.

In the first place, it seems that *Complete Grimms* are translated directly from German. Although the present study is only exhaustive as far as Danish editions are concerned, this appears, worldwide, to be the general pattern for *Complete Grimms*:¹² no matter whether they contain only the c. 150 tales of the first *Edition* or the 250 which Jack Zipes includes, they will, as noted, comprise so many objectionable stories that they must be directed towards an audience looking for ‘authenticity’, the *Complete Grimm*, or even ‘genuine folkloristic material’. In all likelihood, *Complete Grimms* are normally commissioned by publishing houses.¹³ In many cases they are not even directed towards a child audience: the linguistic complexity of the Japanese *Complete Grimm* (1924) means that the book can be appreciated only by a scholarly audience.¹⁴

It will be recalled that unwary translators and editors may mistake the *Small Edition* for the *Complete Grimm* because the title is largely the same. In such cases, translations of the *Small Edition* may well make it to target cultures via ‘relay’ translations.

Before the advent of large-scale co-printing, collections were national. In co-printing, the picture becomes blurred, albeit not totally confused. Some collections which are produced as co-prints combine magnificent new illustrations with old translations (e. g. 1964b which uses Daugaard and Ewald’s translations; and 1975b employs a revision of Ewald’s translation). But they may also combine new illustrations with new translations (e.g. Eva Hemmer Hansen (1973a)). These books are clearly aimed at an audience interested in ‘quality’ of some sort. This point is supported by the fact that they include informative forewords or blurbs.

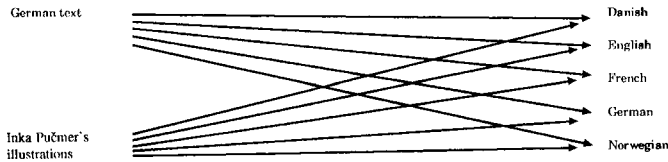
Collections may be translated into Danish from languages other than German, but this is rare. The collection rewritten by Mogens Cohrt in 1973b may have been translated from Italian or French, but we cannot be certain. The volume *The magic table and other tales told to you* (1977a), translated from Italian, hardly qualifies as it was first published as single-tale books. The only clear-cut case is therefore *The best tales from Grimm* of 1971a which came via Dutch as follows:



Nevertheless, most collections ascribed to Grimm in Denmark are normally drawn from German texts. This applies not only to *Complete Grimms* and to issues by prestigious publishing houses, but also to the three collections printed in central Europe (1964b, 1973a, and 1975b). I suggest that a direct link to German is a prerequisite if collections in Denmark are to reach the sophisticated and educated audience for which they are intended, and that this is due to the proximity of the languages, and the respectability of the *Grimm Tales* in Danish culture.

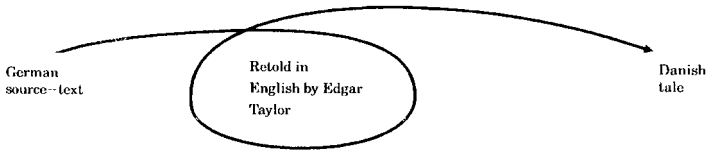
However, as soon as we move on to single-tale books in co-print, most source texts

are non-German. It is, indeed, rare to meet ‘standard translations’ in co-prints. There are exceptions: ‘The crystal ball’ (1975c) with Inka Pučmer’s illustrations used a Danish ‘standard translation’ but the publisher failed to realise that there had been changes in orthography. Provided that the publishers also used well-known target-language translations for the other languages in this co-print, a model of the interplay between text and pictures would look like this:

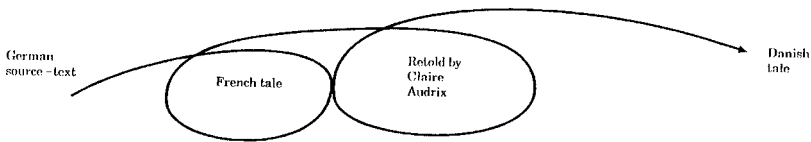


Such a procedure would be exceptional; more often than not, translations of illustrated tales involve complex interlingual moves.

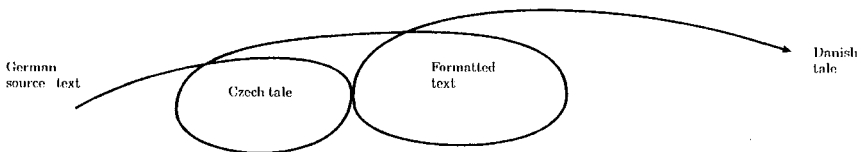
‘King Thrushbeard’ of 1974b, which was explicitly translated from English into Danish, had a simple pattern:



The publisher Adolph Holst’s 1963b edition of ‘The Bremen town musicians’ went as follows:

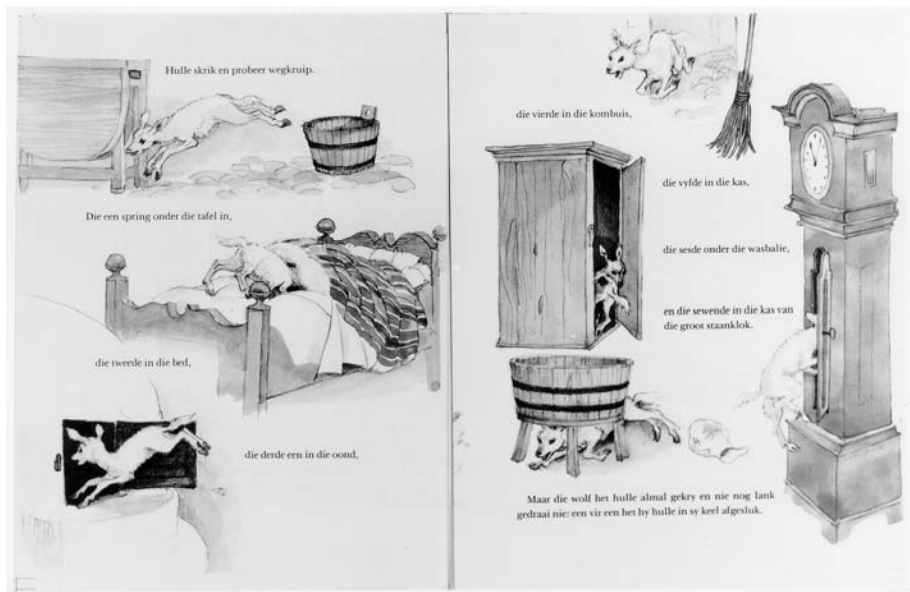


The Czech *Eventyr panorama series* can be described as follows:



This last model also applies to ‘Cinderella’ (1963c), ‘Hansel and Gretel’ (1964e), and other tales; in these cases, there is no doubt that the illustrations carry the texts, as it were, across linguistic boundaries.

‘The wolf and the seven young kids’ can be used for demonstrating the type of realisation we get in printed editions. I shall refer to the very page previously employed for demonstrating an interplay between the text and the illustrations (above, p. 258). In this case, there is no doubt that the illustrations carry the text, so it will suffice to show the Afrikaans (South African) translation and edition of ‘The wolf and the seven young kids’:



The texts are remarkably similar, a feature which also applies to other translations of Grimm tales accompanied by Svend Otto S.’s magnificent colour illustrations.

There are several points worthy of note.

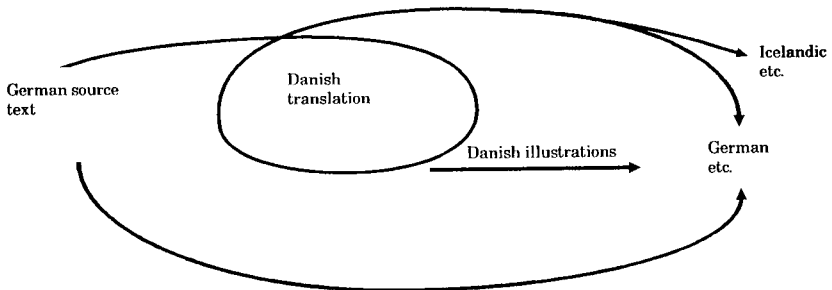
The first - and by far the most important - is that tales with Svend Otto S.’s watercolours show a considerable textual fidelity towards the German original. This is a far remove from most co-prints mentioned in the bibliography: textual fidelity is apparently so ingrained in the Danish translational heritage that it is found even in single-tale books which sell mostly by dint of their graceful pictures.

Independent of the target language, all co-prints using Svend Otto S.’s pictures were produced in Denmark by the publishing house of Gyldendal and its printer, Grafodan. This means that copies of these books are available for inspection at the Royal Library in Copenhagen. Despite the fact that all books are produced in Denmark, each national book is, however, also directed towards the target culture: the German and the English

editions have widely differing blurbs. Taking the entire production of illustrations of Grimm tales by Svend Otto S. as it appears in the *DB* and in the colophons of the books available, we can indeed see a pattern in the international translations.

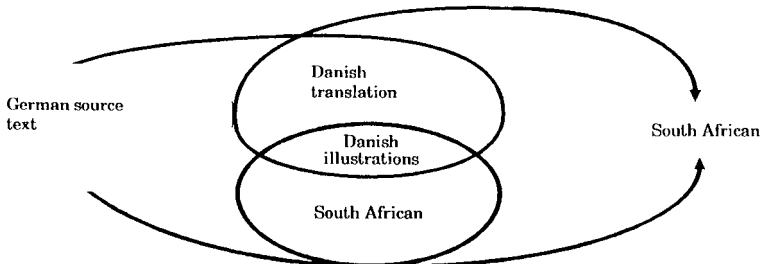
Some translators use the Danish translations from German as their originals. There is nothing wrong with this, for, as noted, translators are not supposed to carry out research in textual criticism. These translators are thus at a second remove from Grimm (and yet much closer to the original than most others). This pattern seems to apply to languages like Icelandic, Faroese, Greenlandic (all former parts of the Danish realm) - and, I imagine, in specific cases to other languages as well.

The German edition of this Danish production of 'The wolf and the seven young kids' claims in the colophon that it is modernised from the German original. In other words, the German book is indebted only to the Danish pictures, a feature which can be illustrated in the following way:



The above illustration demonstrates the way in which co-prints using Svend Otto S.'s watercolours of Grimm texts may derive from Danish or from previous translations from German into the target language. In the latter case, it is not only the pictures that are transferred from Denmark, but also the typography and layout, as well as the selection of these specific tales.

The South African edition claims to be based on a national translation of Grimm's *Tales*. In other words: the pictures, the typographical formatting and the selection of the tales have taken place in Denmark, whereas the linguistic layer allegedly derives from a national translational tradition. This is thus a concrete example of the use of a 'standard translation' with illustrations from abroad:



All told, the relationships between illustrations, texts, and co-prints are complex and hard to untangle. It will be appreciated that I have been able to trace the international dissemination of Svend Otto S.'s illustrations and the consequent use of source texts only thanks to the coincidental existence of the publishing house in Denmark.

Illustrations, texts, and co-prints

There is often a world of difference between colour and black-and-white illustrations: black-and-white pictures signal age, authority, and respectability to readers. The stories they carry are usually close to the narratives which, at some point or other, were published by Wilhelm Grimm.

To be sure, colour editions may also be translated directly from 'authorised' *Editions*; it suffices to trace the tradition of such single-tale books from the texts by Oehlen-schläger and Lindencrone published in 1887 to the single-tale books using Carl Ewald's translations of 1905.

Co-prints are more complex. Those in the higher price range normally translate Grimm stories in their entirety. Such co-prints have been made, for instance, by Gyldendal in Denmark and by the Nord-Süd Verlag in Switzerland (e.g. 1985I, 1986b). These co-prints obviously cater for an audience that demands unadulterated stories with fine illustrations. This audience is fairly small, but the existence of textually 'faithful' co-prints means that these appeal to audiences in many countries. In Denmark, the extensive children's libraries must surely feature prominently among potential customers, but they cannot account for all sales of quality co-prints. In all likelihood it is among purchasers of these books that we also find consumers of the *Complete Grimm*; they will use them as gifts, for reading aloud to children and possibly also for personal enjoyment. These users consider the Grimm legacy to be sacrosanct and will not tolerate blatant omissions at the linguistic layer. In the Danish Grimm tradition, high-quality co-prints do not level the tales so as to unite at the lowest common denominator.¹⁵

In terms of production and consumption, however, these quality co-prints constitute a minority. In the above discussion of 'Hansel and Gretel', I noted that severely abridged, inexpensive co-prints enjoy the widest popularity. Normally the pictures in colour are crude and do not compensate for the textual reduction in any obvious way. The cheap co-prints thus smooth and reduce the texts. It is hard to tell whether this is due to simple excision and omission because of reduction in space, or whether it is due to deliberate suppression of cruelty features in the tales. There is no doubt that, in addition, the chapbooks keep to a limited number of tales which have been selected by generations of editors and translators, and have been polished in retelling, in a process which up to a point resembles the one used in the original 'narrative circles' in Kassel around 1810.

In other words, in the internationalisation of the tales, we can discern two trends. One is to adhere closely to the original, the other to level the linguistic layer considerably (the language thus becoming standardised and uncontroversial but usually still easy to read aloud), while the content layer is cleansed of surface cruelty and, presumably, religion. It is the intentional layer which is preserved as the ultimate 'kernel', to use Wilhelm

Grimm's own expression. It is tempting to believe - but impossible to prove - that the tradition of remaining close to the Grimm text is strongest in the nations closest to Germany: it is significant that all the high-quality single-tale books I have acclaimed for their linguistic fidelity are co-printed in Austria and Switzerland, both German-speaking, and in Denmark. It is suggestive that the English translations of the last century deviate much more from the originals than do the Danish translations.¹⁶ Nevertheless, there are also many abridged co-prints of Danish origin. It would, however, be interesting to know whether there was more reduction outside the Pan-Germanic area than within it.

Most co-prints suffer constraints at the linguistic layer and especially so where the typographical space is limited; this means that the linguistic middlemen must not exceed the typographical limitations of the source-language stories, namely the typographical texts forwarded by the publishers producing the co-printed books.¹⁷

The co-prints represent a major step in lifting the transfer process out of the hands of the translators. Communication of the stories is co-narrated by the illustrators, and the conveyance and the contents of the stories, the establishment of the Grimm Canon and the selection of it has been taken away from the body translational by the publishing world: it is completely free of any original 'intention' on the part of the Grimms and to a large extent does not even constitute part of the original source culture.

On the other hand, the pleasure and enjoyment to be had in reading the tales is intact. They are still narratives with a considerable appeal. Thanks to co-prints, the tales also reach more readers - and viewers - than they would if costly colour editions could break even on their own and in only one language.

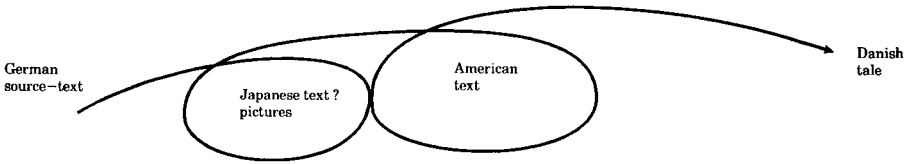
INTERNATIONALISATION: THE 'LEAPING' TALES

The twentieth century: co-prints and the 'leaping' Tales

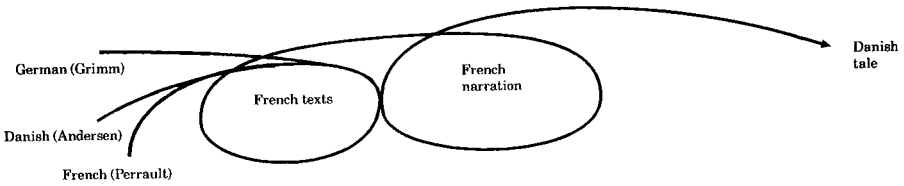
The above discussion focused on the texts. A less restrictive view is to argue that thanks to the illustrations by numerous draughtsmen, such as Bernadette, Maurice Sendak, and the Danes Kay Nielsen¹⁸ and Svend Otto S., the tales find a home in many national cultures. At a level beyond the translation of mere words, the illustrations become part of the supranational legacy connected with the Grimm *Tales*.

Illustrations and co-prints are the major carriers of the Grimm *Tales* in today's world and explain the tales' ability to jump language barriers in, as it were, the same garb. Thanks to the carrying power of the illustrations, they bound from one language to another in complete and erratic freedom.

This, of course, explains many of the leaps which were discussed on the previous pages. Some of the jumps across language barriers have been complicated. Thus the two Japanese books illustrated with photographs and published in 1974i-j must have had Japanese (and American) texts hovering in the background. Like this:

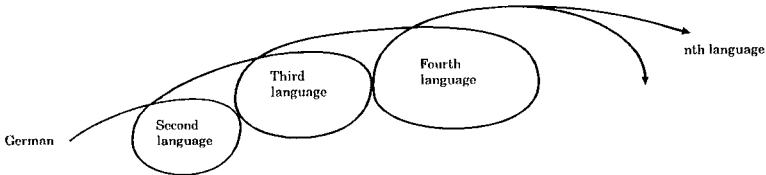


Although the *Dodo series* of 1974k-o is covered only imperfectly in the bibliography, it is easy to see that the stories had followed the routes shown below:



In this case, Danish and French stories by Hans Christian Andersen and Charles Perrault, respectively, are linked to the name of Grimm.

In principle, the number of textual jumps behind picture editions may be unlimited:



In other words, the tales come to exist in a multinational, indeed international, world. There is a 'tale', but it exists far beyond any authorial province and control. The responsibility for target text realisations of the tales in specific languages is still due to the efforts of translators. Source-texts and translations jump easily from one language to another. But the identity of the 'tale' and the specific realisations of source-texts are determined at a meta-level closer to the international publishing world, literary agents, and book fairs than to Wilhelm Grimm and the narrators in Westphalia: publishers have taken over the telling of the tale. The linguistic transfer is subsumed to their will. As communication, as a message, the source text and its translation(s) have been prised completely loose from the original author and the source culture.

The flexible tales

The most striking feature of the tales by the brothers Grimm is their flexible nature, the way they adopt various shapes and forms, most notably in co-prints, but also to some extent in other ways:

The slippery tales

Above, I have discussed some of the transformations the linguistic layer of the tales have undergone. However, they also change in other ways. Even when we approach the tales from a simple-minded and naive point of view that assumes 'sameness', it is clear that they have a striking ability to appear in all sorts of combinations within the parameters I used for charting the Grimm heritage in Danish. A brief description, focusing on only one parameter, reveals:

- Differences in prices, other factors stable: 'Grimms eventyr' 1970a (58 Dkr), 1984a (98 Dkr).
- Differences in printers, other factors stable: *Alle bælle books* 1968: Germany; 1980: Italy.
- Differences in publishers: 'Lindencrone' 1821 and 1823; Carl Ewald 1905, 1913, and 1975.
- Differences in typography: 'Lindencrone' Gothic letters: 1881; roman letters: 1891.
- Differences in orthography: 'Lindencrone' 1821 and 1853, 1875; Carl Ewald 1905 and 1975; also Morsing 1946b and 1954a.
- Differences in format: in the number of pages: 'Lindencrone' 1823 and 1839. In measurements: 'Hansel and Gretel' 1971c and 1983d.
- Differences in illustrations: 'Cinderella' 1972g: Margaret Rettich; vs. 1976i: Iben Clante.

At the other extreme, only one parameter is stable: the Verlag Neugebauer Press (in Salzburg, Austria) published both 'Hansel and Gretel' (1983f) and 'Little Red Riding Hood' (1983h) in different formats by different translators and draughtsmen.

International publishers may use different publishing houses for distribution in Denmark: thus Nord-Süd Verlag in Switzerland cooperated with Lademann in issuing 'Little Red Riding Hood' (1970b), and with Bierman & Bierman in issuing 'Rapunzel' (1975c).

Same illustrator, 'same tale', different illustrations: examples of this include Gerti Mauser-Lichtl: 'The magic table' 1971b and 1981e; and Svend Otto S.: 'Little Red Riding Hood' 1948c (single-tale book), 1970a (a collection with black-and-white illustrations) and 1970b (a single-tale book in colour).

There are numerous instances of the 'same translation' in different packages: Carl Ewald's *Complete Grimm* 1905 vs single-tale books of 'The Bremen town musicians' (1985k), 'Snow White' (1985j), and 'Snow White and Rose Red' (1985i).

Finally, there are two examples that different translations have been used with the 'same illustrations': Daugaard's vs Ewald's *Complete Grimms* and the Czech books issued by Illustrationsforlaget before 1960 and those issued by Fremad in the *Eventyr panorama series* (see '1960').

The most monumental example of the 'same book' is, however, the reissue of Carl Ewald's *Complete Grimm* by the publishing house of Arnold Busck in 1975. This coincided with the publication of a collection of Carl Ewald's translations with new illustrations by Werner Klemke by the publisher Notabene. It takes little imagination to see that Notabene counted on a market for an updated selection of Carl Ewald's translations, only to be confronted with formidable competition in the form of a reissue of the *Complete Grimm*.

The tales, thus, slip in and out of different guises, past publishers to readers.

The Grimm repertory in Denmark revisited

At a much higher level, beyond the levels of the text and the externals of books, translators, and publishers, there is a question about what constitutes the Grimm Canon

even in terms of stories.

In the first place, there is the multiplicity and variation in titles: there are, for instance, more than 400 different titles used by Danish translators and editors for the 200 Grimm *Tales* (even disregarding numerous minor variations (for instance ‘Eventyret om drengen/en/ham, der ...’ (KHM 4)).

Secondly, there is a problem concerning tales that Wilhelm Grimm omitted in the course of his editing career (1812-1857). The fact that Danish translations followed close at the heels of most new German *Editions* of the *Tales* meant that stories dropped in subsequent German *Editions* came to exist, even to be reprinted, in Danish translation; by far the most long-lived one, ‘The strange feast’ (Anh 7 (Grimm 1812 and 1819)), remained part of the authoritative Grimm collection in Danish for nearly eighty years. Molbech picked up ‘The pea test’ (Anh 27 (Grimm only 1843)) in 1845 for his *Reader* and it remained there until that textbook was last issued in 1869. Similarly Davidsen gave ‘The robber and his sons’ (Anh 28 (Grimm 1843 and 1850)) and others a lease of life in Danish from 1854 to 1882. More than any other feature, such instances serve as evidence of the fact that translations can exist autonomously in the target cultures.

Thirdly, there is a problem with the translation of the 1812/1815 first *Edition* which Martin N. Hansen published in 1956 and 1959. Although Hansen’s work was reprinted in 1964, it had no lasting effect as far as the *Tales* were concerned, except that, from then onwards, ‘Puss in boots’ was frequently attributed to Grimm. *DB* records it as Grimm in 1964; in 1970 and 1972, the Perrault version, in which the cat’s master is the “Count of Carabas”, received the *imprimatur* of the name of Grimm in the translation by Anine Rud with illustrations by Svend Otto S., first appearing in a collection and then in a single-tale book.¹⁹

In the bibliographical heritage in *DB* there is not really any major doubt as to what constitutes the Grimm repertory, although there is the occasional story whose relationship to it is unclear. However, we must bear in mind that this bibliographical work is carried out by librarians who are experts in precise ascription. At the other extreme, there are readers who enjoy the stories but know nothing about the Grimms. In between these groups are the translators, editors and publishers who, by publishing and ascribing Danish single-tale books and collections to the Grimms, continually change the Grimm repertory available to the Danish public.

Internationalisation in the past: the creation of the fairytale

Although the Grimm tales are the most frequently translated works of German literature, they have often travelled linguistically by means of other languages, notably English, rather than by means of German. Thus the Chinese translations from 1903 until the first *Complete Grimm* by Wei Yi-Hsin in 1934, were, in those cases where the language of ‘origin’ is clear, translated from English.²⁰ In the same way, six out of seven Thai collections (from 1944 to 1963) were translated from English.²¹ The Japanese edition of 1887 was similarly translated from English.²² I also had occasion to mention above that a Danish text may well have served as the basis for target language versions in the Nordic countries. The phenomenon of ‘relay’ is quite common. Translators and publishers

have little interest in specifying that a translation is not direct. Consequently it is overlooked that a translation which is used for 'relay' is also a source text which is functioning adequately and has an audience of its own in the 'relay' language and culture. In addition, it is unwise to overlook the fact that it was created without any thought of the 'final target text' in hand. However, the existence of 'relay' in translation has implications for all contrastive studies which argue that they study translation of texts: if there are intervening versions in languages other than the 'original' and target languages, such studies rest on sand unless they take heed of the 'relay' realisations as well.²³

The selection of tales

In earlier epochs, Danish translators clearly had a larger say in the selection of the tales they translated, for the simple reason that, until well into the nineteenth century, literary translation was carried out *con amore* and brought little or no remuneration: it is doubtful that Louise Lindencrone received a penny (1823), while there is no doubt that Christian Molbech found the production of his *Christmans gifts* (1835-39) worth his while. Molbech had in mind the growing market resulting from an increased number of children at school when he put together his *Reader*, which must have brought in a profit, whereas the *Selected fairytales* (1843) may have been more idealistic in being targeted towards the population as a whole and, consequently, adding mostly to his prestige.

The selection of Grimm *Tales* for translation has therefore been swayed by numerous considerations. The choice made by Danish translators (editors and publishers) of tales that are 'Zauber märchen' (fairytales) apply to other nations as well: it goes for a Dutch translation (1820) which also comprises 70 per cent fairytales.²⁴ The tendency also applied to Edgar Taylor and David Jardine's English translation of 1823 in which 50% of the stories were fairytales.²⁵ This is particularly significant since Taylor's success ultimately inspired Wilhelm Grimm to select fifty tales for the *Small Edition* (1825) which, it will be remembered, is also characterised by a similar preference of fairytales rather than for folktales.

Given the fact that early Chinese translations were often based on English translations and collections, representing a first (and second) filtering of the tales, it is therefore not surprising that approximately 80 per cent (18 of the 22 tales) which were translated twice into Chinese before the first direct translation from German in 1934 are also fairytales.²⁶ The Japanese similarly appear to have favoured fairytales if less markedly so: seven of the thirteen tales which Tsuneshige Ashiya cited as the best known Grimm tales in Japan are fairytales.²⁷ An incomplete count of Grimm tales published in Japan before 1915 indicates that two thirds (twelve out of eighteen tales) of the tales chosen were fairytales.²⁸

The first leap: from German into Danish

In Denmark, the German *Tales* had repercussions which I have briefly touched upon (above, pp. 154-157). As early as 1816 these repercussions led to translations by Oehlen-schläger, to Nyerup's dedication of a book to Wilhelm Grimm and to Thiele's collection of Danish legends. Thiele's activities were supported by Matthias Winther, who, in turn,

was inspired to collect tales in Denmark. Winther's effort would have been in vain, were it not for the fact that, together with the Grimm *Tales* and his childhood memories of folktales from Odense, they inspired Hans Christian Andersen to write his first successful fairytales in the winter of 1834-35 when he lived next door to Thiele.²⁹ He published them as a 'Hefte' (small collection) in 1835, the same year that Molbech brought out the first of his *Christmas gifts*, a volume which contained Grimm stories. Andersen used the word 'Eventyr', the word intimately connected with the Grimm translation, 'Folke-Eventyr'. Of the four stories, 'Little Ida's flowers' was of his own making and written for Thiele's daughter, but 'The tinder box' and 'Little Claus', and possibly also 'The princess on the pea' were based on folkloristic material. From then onwards, Andersen published fairytales (and 'stories') regularly. He wrote a total of 156 'Eventyr and historier' in his lifetime.³⁰

Citing the year of first publication of a volume, the emergence of the fairytale genre in Danish can be traced in the publication of the most influential collections, those of Andersen often containing about five each. The list looks as follows until 1859, which, as the year of Wilhelm Grimm's death, I have chosen as my major *terminus ad quem*.³¹

- 1816: Grimm/Oehlenschläger
- [1817: Thiele (local legends)]
- 1821/23: Grimm/Lindencrone. 1st ed
- [1823: Winther (Danish tales)]
- 1832: Grimm/Molbech (*Reader*. 1st ed)
- 1835: Andersen (*Fairytales*)
- 1835: Grimm/Molbech (*Christmas gift*)
- 1836: Grimm/Molbech (*Christmas gift*)
- 1837: Grimm/Molbech (*Reader*. 2nd ed)
- 1838: Grimm/Molbech (*Christmas gift*)
- 1838: Andersen (*Fairytales. First collection*. 1st ed)
- 1839: Grimm/Lindencrone. 2nd ed
- 1839: Grimm/Molbech (*Christmas gift*)
- 1842: Grimm/Molbech (*Reader*. 3rd ed)
- 1842: Andersen (*Fairytales. First collection*. 2nd ed)
- 1843: Grimm/Molbech (*Selection*. 1st ed)
- 1844: Andersen (*New fairytales. Second collection*. 1st ed)
- 1844: Grimm/Lindencrone. 3rd ed
- 1845: Grimm/Molbech (*Reader*. 4th ed)
- 1845: Andersen (*Fairytales. First collection*. 3rd ed)
- 1846: Andersen (*Fairytales. New collection*. 2nd ed)
- 1848: Grimm/Molbech (*Reader*. 5th ed)
- 1849: Andersen (*Collection* (of 45 fairytales from previous collections))
- 1852: Grimm/Molbech (*Reader*. 6th ed)
- 1852: Andersen (*Stories*)
- 1853: Grimm/Lindencrone. 4th ed
- 1854: Grimm/Davidsen. 1st ed
- 1854: Grimm/Molbech (*Selection*. 1st ed)
- 1855: Andersen (*Collected works*. Volumes 19 and 20 contain fairytales)
- 1856: Grimm/Molbech (*Reader*. 7th ed)
- 1857: Grimm/Lindencrone. 5th ed
- 1858: Andersen (*New fairytales and stories*)
- 1858: Andersen (*New fairytales and stories*).

Although small collections (apart from the crucial 1835 books) and reprints of Andersen are disregarded, this list illustrates the way in which the interplay between Andersen and Grimm led to increased sales of collections of ‘tales’ (above, p. 186-189). There is reason to stress that this interplay was furthered by external circumstances. One such circumstance is that Danish translators of Grimm and Hans Christian Andersen all used the word ‘Eventyr’ (or ‘Folke-Eventyr’) in Danish for the tales; secondly, both the Grimm and the Andersen tales used the paraphernalia of traditional folktales, such as animate nature, talking animals and plants, kings and queens, princes and princesses, witches and magic; and, thirdly, the tales were all avowedly addressed to children (Grimm: ‘*Kinder- und Hausmärchen*’; Andersen: ‘Eventyr, *fortalte for Børn*’ (My italics)). The interplay by means of which one collection of ‘Eventyr’ satisfied readers and therefore made them purchase other collections, is also indirectly borne out by the disappearance of the dedication, the introduction and the scholarly essay from the 1857 Grimm/Lindencrone reprint: in addition to other reasons, there was no longer any need to refer to the venerable but ancient past when the contemporary present was so rich in ‘Eventyr’. These stories indeed constituted a new popular genre: the genre formed a part of, and the finest expression of an emergent literature for children which came into being, partly because improved schooling created a new mass readership among young people, partly because parents and grandparents considered reading aloud to children a useful tool for retaining the close intimacy of the nuclear family. In this latter context, it is noteworthy that the Grimm/Lindencrone of 1857 was provided with a frontispiece showing ‘Grandmother narrating’, noteworthy because Hans Christian Andersen’s collection of 1849 had signalled the same message by using a drawing of somebody reading aloud from a fairytale book on the last leaf.³²

Andersen responded to translations into Danish and was thus inspired to contribute to the development and the refinement of the fairytale genre.

Rebounding to Germany

It has been mentioned repeatedly that there were close and reciprocal intellectual relations between Germany and Denmark at the time. Hans Christian Andersen was also familiar with German.³³ As a child in Odense he had spent happy hours at the theatre where some of the plays were performed in German. He read Heinrich Heine and E.T.A Hoffmann and both influenced his early writings. The only poem he published while he received private tuition as an adolescent and adult, ‘The dying child’ (1827), was translated into German by a friend and published anonymously in Libau in 1828. When the poem was reprinted in 1831, Andersen was named as the author. In 1833, he was, as it were, formally introduced to the German literary establishment by Adelbert von Chamisso. German acquaintance with Andersen was thus early and comprehensive: most of his works, including his fairytales, were translated into German shortly after their appearance in Danish.

Andersen’s first Danish collection of fairytales was completed in 1837 and a German collection (of nine tales) was published in 1839. This was reprinted the following year, so commercially it was a success; also four of the six reviews identified by Ivy Möller

Christensen (1992) were favourable. These reviews stressed that Andersen's stories were for children. The second collection of translated fairytales appeared in 1844-1845 and was soon reprinted. Andersen promoted his work in Germany personally, for instance by giving public readings in German. The tales were popular with the public although the reviews were mainly negative. Clearly influenced by misconceptions about the Grimm stories, the critics complained that Andersen's tales were "constructed". However, less than a year later, the mood changed when the third collection appeared (1845): critical assessment was influenced by a knowledge of Andersen's personality and his fairytales were described as "touching", later "naive", and, occasionally, as having a tone meant for adults rather than children.

A list of the publication of 'Märchen' in Germany looks as follows:³⁴

- 1812: Grimm
- 1819: Grimm
- 1825: Grimm (*Small Edition*)
- 1833: Grimm (*Small Edition*)
- 1836: Grimm (*Small Edition*)
- 1837: Grimm
- 1839: Andersen/von Jenssen
- 1839: Grimm (*Small Edition*)
- 1840: Grimm
- 1841: Grimm (*Small Edition*)
- 1843: Grimm
- 1844: Grimm (*Small Edition*)
- 1844: Andersen/Reuscher
- 1845: Andersen/Petit
- 1845: Andersen/von Jenssen (rpt)
- 1846: Andersen/von Jenssen (rpt)
- 1846: Andersen/Zeise
- 1847: Grimm (*Small Edition*)
- 1848: Andersen/Anon. (Publisher: Lorck)
- 1850: Grimm
- 1850: Grimm (*Small Edition*)
- 1850: Andersen/Anon. (Publisher: Lorck)
- 1850: Andersen/Anon. (Publisher: Teubner)
- 1850: Andersen/Reuscher (rpt)
- 1851: Andersen/Reuscher (rpt)
- 1853: Grimm (*Small Edition*)
- 1854: Andersen/Anon. (Lorck)
- 1857: Grimm
- 1858: Grimm (*Small Edition*)
- 1859: Andersen/Reuscher (rpt)

In Germany, the *Tales* by the brothers Grimm had a head-start of more than 25 years. They had their breakthrough in the middle of the 1830s whereas Andersen had his in the mid-1840s. There was clearly some kind of fusion in the minds of the readers, as is abundantly proved by the fact that reviewers compared Andersen to Grimm. Small surprise then that, just as in Denmark, Andersen tales promoted the Grimm tales in Germany and vice versa from the 1840s onwards. Despite problems of dating in the *GV*, the reprints of Andersen after 1848 indicate that in Germany the political chill between Denmark and Germany over Slesvig-Holsten did not affect Andersen's popularity with

the general public, a pattern which would correspond to events in Denmark concerning the Grimm *Tales* (above, pp 186-190).³⁵

Internationalisation

The international breakthrough is hard to trace, and what follows is merely a brief and incomplete outline based on various sources, mostly national bibliographies. Using a chronological framework, sketches of the Dutch, English, Swedish, American and French scenarios will be offered for the simple reason that the National Bibliographies are reasonably comprehensive.

Unlike the first Danish translations, which were all made *con amore*, the early Dutch translation of the *Grimm Tales* of 1820 was commissioned by a publisher. However, it met with relatively little success and, just as Danish publishers tried to keep Davidsen's editions going in the 1880s, the publisher seems to have issued it with a new title page in 1826.³⁶ Hans Christian Andersen was translated into Dutch in 1847, 1848, and 1853.³⁷ The Grimm *Tales* were not retranslated until 1866 and 1873-1875. In this case, then, there is a considerable time span before interaction occurs.

In England, the list pieced together from various sources looks as follows:³⁸

- 1823: Grimm/Edgar Taylor
- 1823: Grimm/Taylor (rpt)
- 1824: Grimm/Taylor (rpt)
- 1825: Grimm/Taylor (rpt)
- 1826: Grimm/Taylor (vol. 2)
- 1828: Grimm/Cunningham
- 1834: Grimm/Thoms
- 1839: Grimm/Taylor ('Gammer Grethel')
- 1843: Andersen/Peachy
- 1843: Grimm/(Publisher: Burns)
- 1845: Grimm/(Publisher: Burns)
- 1846: Grimm/John Edward Taylor
- 1846: Andersen/Boner
- 1846: Andersen/Howitt (*NUC* also 1846 Publisher: Pickering)
- 1847: Andersen/Lohmeyer
- 1847: Andersen/Speckter
- 1847: Andersen/Anon.
- 1847: Andersen/Boner
- 1849: Grimm/Anon. (*NUC* also 1849/Howitt)
- 1851: Grimm/Chatelain
- 1852: Andersen/Peachy
- 1852: Andersen/Chatelain
- 1853: Grimm/Anon. (Illustrations: Wehnert. Publisher: Addey & Co)
- 1853: Andersen/Bushby (*NUC* also 1853 Peachy)
- 1855: Grimm/Davis
- 1857: Grimm/Taylor

Incomplete as it is, the list suffices to show that in this country we find a reenactment of the Danish scenario: were it not for the publication of Andersen tales in 1843, the Grimm *Tales* might well have ended as a cultural and translational derelict. The most interesting feature in terms of leaping is, however, that the earliest English translations of Andersen (Mary Howitt, Charles Bone, and Caroline Peachy) are based on

German translations rather than on the Danish source texts, so there was relay translation already in between European languages at this early stage in the formation of the fairy tale genre.³⁹

The picture in Sweden is complex but seems to bear some similarity to the Danish situation as far as Grimm is concerned. During 1824-1848 at least 28 Grimm stories were translated and published in booklets.⁴⁰ A tentative comparative list based on bibliographies looks as follows:

- 1837: Grimm and others/Reutherdahl (*A Christmas gift*)
- 1838: Grimm and Hey/Reutherdahl (*A Christmas gift*)
- 1838: Andersen and Grimm/Liffmann (*A collection for children*)
- 1840-42: Reprint of 1838
- 1852: Andersen/Anon.

The *Norwegian National Bibliography* lists only translations of Grimm (in 1841 and in 1864), but this cannot be taken as proof that the Grimm *Tales* were more popular than Andersen, since, using a sociolect close to Danish, the middle classes in the cities would buy Andersen's stories in Danish.

For the USA, the listing looks as follows:⁴¹

- 1846: Andersen/Howitt
- 1847: Andersen/Howitt
- 1849: Andersen/Howitt
- 1849: Grimm/J. E. Taylor
- 1850: Andersen/Anon. (Publisher: Francis)
- 1851: Andersen/Anon. (Publisher: Francis)
- 1851: Andersen/Howitt (Publisher: Francis)
- 1852: Andersen/Boner (Publisher: Francis)
- 1854: Grimm/J. E. Taylor (US)
- 1855: Andersen/Howitt
- 1857: Andersen/Anon. (Publisher: Francis)
- 1859: Andersen/Howitt (Publisher: Francis)

At first glance, it appears that Andersen dominated the scene in the USA. On the other hand, the *NUC* lists several British translations, so it is likely that British translations were available to American purchasers.

In France, the Grimm's headstart tells in the beginning:⁴²

- 1836: Grimm/Gérard
- 1846: Grimm/Martin & Pitre-Chevalier
- 1848: Grimm/Martin (2nd series)
- 1848: Andersen/Caralp
- 1849: Grimm/Martin
- 1853: Andersen/Anon. ('traduction nouvelle')
- 1855: Grimm/Baudry
- 1856: Andersen/Soldi
- 1859: Grimm/Baudry (rpt)

It must be emphasised that the above sketches are not exhaustive. They do not try to trace translations in peripheral journals and in books where the names of Andersen and Grimm do not appear. This is not possible, given the sketchy character of many national bibliographies, the fact that many books have been printed without dates, the problem that national bibliographies may give conflicting dates of publication and numerous other cruxes which could only be solved by inspection of all potentially

relevant books. It is in order to bring some end to this otherwise never-ending tale that I have set the *terminus ad quem* at 1859.

Conclusion

Despite all the weaknesses, the lists convey an impression of the propagation of the *Tales* of the brothers Grimm and the *Fairytales* of Andersen. It is a movement in which translation of some tales prompts new translations in target languages, and do so, it seems, in ever expanding circles from their countries of origin in northern Europe.

The 1887 translation of Grimm tales in Japan was immediately followed in 1888 by a translation of Hans Christian Andersen,⁴³ and the first publications of both Andersen and Grimm in South Africa were published in 1918 (and translated by the same person).⁴⁴ These are just two out of numerous instances which show that translation of tales from one of the two sources leads to translation of the other one, perhaps at some distance in time, but nevertheless (one is tempted to say) with the inexorable inevitability of a law of Nature. The painstaking work of tracing this phenomenon must be left to others, possibly taking the form of national studies with access to the totality of translated material, not limited to books which are registered under the names of Andersen and Grimm in national bibliographies, but also including magazines, journals, and readers for schoolchildren.⁴⁵ Two points become clear: the first is that the bourgeois fairytale genre began to form in Germany in 1812 because two young idealists believed that the ravages of the Napoleonic Wars were destroying German national cultural treasure: oral narratives. In the rescue operation they unwittingly - because they had no 'objective guidelines' - came to reflect more on their own methods of collection, both in terms of informants and in terms of sophistication of the goods delivered. Their material was accepted as emanating from the authentic folk tradition in Germany, and to some extent also in Denmark. In Germany, the heritage remained largely unchallenged and was ultimately looked upon as a national literary treasure. In Denmark, two strands appeared right from the start: one uncritically accepted all Grimm *Tales* as palatable, and yet argued that they were for children (and probably selected tales to be read aloud); another selected some German stories for the Danish audience by publishing only a collection of tales.

Internationally, and despite the protests of the respective scholars of Grimm and Andersen, the tales fuse into an international genre which is primarily considered 'for children' but which is still in a way 'for adults', since the tales are best realised in the context of family togetherness. In the process of translation, tales are selected for target cultures; in target cultures they increase a demand for new tales which is met by translation of other 'tales', most often either by Andersen or Grimm.



'The Bremen town musicians'
(illustration: Philip Grot Johann and R. Leinweber, 1893)

**THE END OF THE TALE:
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**



'The sleeping beauty'
(illustration: Svend Otto S., 1970)

Preliminary remarks

This book is a study of the history, the diffusion, and the impact of the translations into Danish of the Grimm *Children and household tales*. It has focused on the forces affecting the translations, notably from a diachronic and societal perspective. There is more to it: the Grimm *Tales* are the works most frequently translated into Danish from, not only German, but any language. Today, they are “the most widely, translated, and diffused work of *German literature*” (My italics).¹

In a translation context there is more to it: thanks to their translation into Danish, the Grimm *Tales* inspired the Danish author Hans Christian Andersen to write his *Fairytales*, which are the most translated *Danish* works in world literature. Both Germans and Danes posit that their respective authors are the most translated literary writers in the world apart from Shakespeare. Whichever view is correct, Andersen and the brothers Grimm go hand in hand in their success and international diffusion. There are considerable similarities between their tales in terms of elements such as magic, view of the world and so on; essentially and ultimately, they were also inspired by the oral tradition of the folk to create a new literary genre which their titles clearly proclaimed were for children, an ever-expanding audience given the improved education available to the middle classes in 19th century Europe and subsequently in other continents.

Germany and Denmark are among the ten leading countries in the world in terms of the quantity of literary translations, both as source and as target languages.² On a per capita basis, Denmark is also one of the most translating societies in the world.³

Given these circumstances, this study should be able to offer conclusions about ‘translation’: indeed it does, but translation being a complex form of interlingual and crosscultural communication, other questions in relation to translation also arise. There are, furthermore, overall reservations to be kept in mind: although Hans Christian Andersen promoted his own work in Germany, translation problems were not uppermost in his mind when he wrote his *Fairytales*. Similarly, the brothers Grimm collected their *Tales* first and foremost in order to preserve a precious part of the *German* cultural heritage before it was lost beyond recovery in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars and not because they intended to have the tales translated. For socio-cultural, geographical, and historical reasons, the Grimm and Andersen tales fused into an international genre as a result of translation. This translational activity related to societal changes involving educational and political systems, family patterns, and other national and international developments throughout Europe. This, of course, was not obvious to contemporaries, and, even now, these comments of mine constitute only one interpretation of this tale about tales. Before I venture upon an overview of the results of the above discussion, it would therefore be useful to summarise the history of the *Tales*.

The history

We have seen the brothers Grimm in their historical, cultural and social setting. I described their methods in penning German folktales in Napoleon’s Europe. They took these down in the small, short-lived, and French-dominated Kingdom of Westphalia in 1807-1813. Most were told to the brothers in narrative contracts (as ‘ideal tales’) by upper-middle-class girls and women. The brothers confused these tales with ‘ideal tales’ from the oral tradition of the common folk, and presented their tales as such.

I have traced the transition of the tales from the oral to the written medium and proceeded to discussions of the brothers' beliefs about the origin of these tales. We have followed the metamorphoses imposed on the tales by Wilhelm Grimm's editorial filters.

In a scholarly, literary, and cultural context, the close relation between the brothers Grimm and prominent Danes in the then powerful Kingdom of Denmark-Norway is significant. This relationship started in 1809, attained a high point in the exchange of letters in 1810-1812, but reached its apex in terms of mutual influence on scholarly work in the period from 1811 (Wilhelm's publication of *Danish ballads*) until 1819, when Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm read Rasmus Rask's *Origins of Old Norse*. They put its findings to use for, respectively, the development of 'Grimm's law' of linguistic change, and the hypothesis that, in the same way that linguistic features of Old Norse mirrored the Pan-Germanic (Indo-European) language, the tales represented the sorry remnants of a magnificent canvas of narratives in a shared Pan-Germanic past. The Grimms' Danish friends included Professor Henrik Steffens, the linguist Rasmus Rask, the poet Adam Oehlenschläger, and, most important of all, Rasmus Nyerup, professor of literary history and head of the library of the University of Copenhagen which then housed the Icelandic manuscripts, notably the *Edda*, which was central to the brothers' scholarly work at the time. Nyerup thought highly of Wilhelm and even printed a public dedication to him in a bibliography of folk literature in 1816, thus bestowing by far the first international accolade on Wilhelm.

In the last *Edition of the Tales* which he saw to the press (1857), Wilhelm Grimm listed five instances of translations of tales in Danish; he had little idea of the tales' penetration and popularity in Danish during his own lifetime: the first six tales were translated in 1816, by the foremost Danish Romantic poet, Adam Oehlenschläger. There was a privately circulated translation of the *Tales* intended to be read aloud to children by 1817. Parts of this were incorporated into a translation of the German first volume printed in 1821 and available to the public in 1823. Attributed to Chamberlain Johan Frederik Lindencrone, this translation was prestigious and regularly issued under Lindencrone's name until 1909. The first illustrations of Grimm *Tales* in the world appeared in a Danish anthology in 1822. From the 1830s and 1840s onwards tales were used for the teaching of Danish and German. Collections and anthologies comprising tales by Grimm appeared from the 1840s. The first single-tale book was published in the 1849. The first single-tale colour books appeared in 1887.

In 1875, roman letters supplanted Gothic in Danish orthography. This transition sounded the death knell for all preceding translations except 'Lindencrone's' (from 1823) and Molbech's collection (from 1843). From 1884 onwards, new collections (and anthologies) vied for public favour. The number of Grimm collections increased over the years and reached its culmination from the 1890s to the 1920s when many collections competed for attention simultaneously. There was a lull until 1941 when new, translated collections were published.

Colour appeared in Danish collections in 1907. This heralded international co-printing (1923), in which editions with identical illustrations were published in different

languages. During the 1960s this became the dominant vehicle for single-tale illustrated Grimm books published in Denmark and has remained so ever since.

The activities of the brothers Grimm

In a broad sense, translation is not only a transfer of linguistic signals, but also action in the source culture leading to parallel activity in the target culture. Such transfer came to have a bearing on the outcome of 'traditional translation' of the *Tales* in the long run.

The collecting activity

This activity was the collecting of tales. The brothers Grimm expressly stated that the ancient German folktales were dying out. Couching their message in metaphors typical of people in an occupied country, they intimated that the Napoleonic Wars were threatening the existence of the German oral tradition. Initially they took some effort to collect stories drawn from narrators from the common folk by resorting to lower-middle or middle-class informants (the old woman in Marburg, Major Krause, Dorothea Viehmann). They also searched for material in books. They found a treasure-trove in their sisters' friends. They traded scholarly lore about Norse mythology and old German literature with them in return for participation in informal get-togethers where the girls would tell 'ideal tales' for mutual entertainment. In subsequent *Editions* (seen to the press by Wilhelm Grimm), this fairly homogenous collection of stories was edited and influenced by Wilhelm's unifying consciousness, in some measure affected by audience response but above all by the wish to make for fluency in reading aloud. In this way, he imposed his personal style on a large number of recordings of 'ideal tales', which he believed derived from the authentic 'oral tradition among the folk', and thus created a literary genre the German form of which he defined. In that epoch, the tales' avowed age, poetic ancestry, and general pantheistic and narrative contents were accepted as harking back to a glorious Pan-Germanic period. It is true that, with the wisdom of hindsight, we can see that Wilhelm Grimm was not quite honest about the indirect origin of most of the tales; the brothers listed the primary informant only in their own copy of the first *Edition*. Nevertheless, firstly, they had no yardstick for comparison, and it is hard to see how two bookish men in their twenties could have had the experience to recognise the indirect origin and bourgeois garb of most of their tales. Secondly, the fact that they believed the tales to be authentic, contributed substantially to the stories' popularity later on. Thirdly, it is doubtful that the *Tales* would have been accepted so widely had this origin been recognised at the beginning.

It is evident from the response of subsequent generations, both in Germany and abroad, that in the *Tales*, Wilhelm Grimm managed to present the form and contents of tales so that people in many countries have been convinced that readings are (almost) identical to 'ideal tales in the oral tradition'.

In this context, it is more important that, within five years, the German collection of tales and Jacob's *Circular* exhorting the collection of folkloristic material (1815), inspired Mathias Thiele in Denmark to follow the trail blazed by the Grimms in recording 'authentic' local legends by listening to the narratives of ordinary folk. For Thiele, for

the fairytale collector Matthias Winther on the Danish island of Funen, and for other folklorists, the Grimms' careful annotations became exemplars for comparative folklore. The *Tales* led to the collection of much material in Denmark. This parallel collection activity does not constitute a translation, but without intercultural communication it could not have taken place. As it is, there were two results in Denmark: firstly, Danes such as Mathias Thiele, Matthias Winther, and, subsequently, Svend Grundtvig and Evald Tang-Kristensen were prompted to collect Danish folklore. Secondly, the success of the *Tales* inspired Hans Christian Andersen to write his *Fairytales*.

Reconstructing 'ideal tales' and 'narrative contracts'

The brothers Grimm implied that they faithfully rendered 'ideal tales', a feat which is impossible (above, p. 27-29). Instead, they created a splendid literary base for 'narrative contract' in their transfer from the oral to the written medium.

Creating the narrators

The narrators the brothers Grimm created were, first and foremost, the common folk, embodied particularly by the expert narrator, Dorothea Viehmann, whom Wilhelm praised in his 'Preface' to the second volume of the first *Edition* (1815). In Europe, it was accepted that, as the British translators David Jardine and Edgar Taylor put it in their foreword, the tales were collected "from the mouths of German peasants" (1823: vi). This belief was shared by generations of Danish readers, children, and translators, for example Gelsted (1941b) and Hansen (1958).

In German, many Grimm tales are rendered in dialects, a feature which lends credence to the fact that they were taken down from 'authentic narrators from the oral tradition'. It was a masterstroke to have dialects represented because it strengthens the impression that 'the entire German people' contributed to the *Tales*.

However, there is also an oral aspect to the *Tales* which is relevant in this context: in Germany, the tales were read aloud to children and in the same fashion Hans Christian Andersen read aloud his fairytales to children in households he visited in Denmark and to audiences in Germany. Even today, the tales are often released in reading aloud to an audience. Provided that such an audience is satisfied with the narration, it may ask for repeat performances, that is, at one level, rereadings, at another level, reprints, and, at a third level, new translations of tales.

In relationship to the 'collectors', 'tellers' and audiences, the tales are thus in a fluid boundary area between orality and literacy; they are echoes of 'ideal tales' which are changeable both for the nonce as well as for future retellings. When tales are penned and eventually published, however, the 'ideal tale released in the reading' is a literary experience, bereft of the visual and auditory aspects which are indivisible components of the 'ideal tale' in a 'narrative contract' in the oral tradition.

Making a repertory

The brothers collected more than 200 tales, which constituted the 'Grimm repertory', the complete Grimm Canon. As in the oral tradition, tales were added (from 86 to 210),

and tales were lost (like the ‘Anhangs’ which were dropped). As in the oral tradition, all tales were part of ‘the common good’ and did not ‘belong to’ anybody in particular. As in the oral tradition, this repertory could be taken over by another narrator without acknowledgement of the Grimms in collections based on Grimm tales (e. g. Markussen (1911a-b); Mona Giersing (1977a); and Grete Janus Hertz (1980g-l)). Or it may fuse with stories from other repertories, from Andersen, Perrault, and other sources (e. g. Oehlenschläger 1816; Molbech (1832; 1843; 1853b); E. Winther (1856b); Anon. (1949)).

Sifting the repertory

Before most tales were recorded by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, they had, then, been selected for telling and refined in retelling, that is, adapted to their circumstances, by adolescent girls and young women in Westphalia. Even so, the most comprehensive repertory, the *Complete Edition*, proved too large (and perhaps also too crude) for most readers in German. The repertory selected for the *Small Edition* (1825) was more popular and called for more reprints. It should be emphasised that Wilhelm Grimm *himself* edited the *Small Edition*; this means that the *Small Edition* was as ‘authorised’ as the *Complete Edition*. Wilhelm Grimm’s selection was a response to feedback from readers and, first and foremost, to the selection of stories made by David Jardine and Edgar Taylor for their English collection (1823). This early sifting and selection changed once and for all a motley collection of mostly undistinguished narratives smacking of the folk, to one which the general readership saw as a book dominated by ‘Zauber-märchen’, fairytales involving supernatural events, magic and wonder.

This sifting began in earnest when the tales were translated. From then on the Grimm Canon has been a gold mine from which translators, editors, and publishers have extracted what they fancied most. The choices made in this process have been overwhelmingly in favour of the tales which describe animate nature, transformations, marvellous castles, kings, queens, princes, princesses, happy marriages, deservedly lucky youngest sons and daughters, and clear distinctions between good and evil.

The translators’ preference for fairytales was accepted by the ‘author’. It was the English translation of 1823 which clarified and distilled the overall intentions and directions of the *Tales*. It was thus translation which put an end to the uncomfortable dual audience orientation of the first and second *Editions* of the *Grimm Tales* and provided instead two well-focused works: the *Small Edition* for children and the *Complete Edition* for those who wanted more. Similarly, it is evident that the *Grimm Tales* were translated because the target cultures favoured those aspects catering for children. Accordingly, both the source and the target cultures contributed to the new audience orientation of the *Tales* and ultimately led to their international success.

The individual imprint

At the same time, each collection made by an editor, translator or publisher has constituted yet another individual repertory presented to the public. These repertories fluctuate in size, vary over the years and may change even in the hands of the same translator (e.g. Christian Molbech 1832, 1835, 1843). Like ‘tales in the oral tradition’

and Wilhelm Grimm's stories, they do, however, in relation to the 'ideal tales behind them', show addition, omission, and acceptance of cultural incompatibility in varying degrees dependent on situational and contextual factors. These factors include, for instance, the format of the publication and the composition and age of the intended audience. In reorienting the tales, translators and editors continue a narrative tradition which Wilhelm Grimm himself used and which is as old as narrative itself: the tellers' adaptation of the tale to the circumstances of time and space. But there is a difference. The oral narrator may, in principle, repeat the exact words and story of his predecessor (however impossible in practice).⁴ Although any translation of a tale (the translational product) can be read (aloud or silently) repeatedly, translational processes leading to identical results (exact repetition) represent copyright violation.

At the same time, however, translators are influenced by a 'translational heritage' and, as a body, they become more fluent narrators in their collective consensus.

The 'narrative contracts'

Tales make for 'narrative contracts': both Wilhelm Grimm and Hans Christian Andersen were aware of this, and so were numerous publishers, editors and translators who referred to intimate family situations in sketches (1857; 1869) and in sales arguments (1978d).

'Narrative contracts' are found between audiences and narrators or texts: The audience may be the individual silent reader absorbed in a tale, or it may be children listening to someone who is reading a tale aloud. The latter is speciously similar to an authentic 'narrative contract', but the link with the written letters is the feature which defines it as something different: these 'narrative contracts' involve a repeatable reading of the 'same text', not a rendition of an 'ideal tale' called into existence only once.

The transition to the printed page took place at a time when the nuclear family was being established in Europe, and the fairytale was eminently suited for keeping middle-class families together, no matter whether it was the father, the mother, or a grandparent who read aloud to children in the intimacy of the family. Most Danish translators have adhered to principles of readability suitable for such 'narrative contracts'. Small wonder, for, like in other countries in northern Europe, the tradition of reading aloud to children is still an integral part of Danish culture.⁵

From the earliest days, the tales' content layer has praised and rewarded decent behaviour, and, over the years, Wilhelm Grimm also toned down the importance of independence and free will. So, 'narrative contracts' based on the Grimm *Tales* also convey middle-class norms which are approved of by most adults.

Translations and tales

At this stage many translators may feel that they have been reduced to the status of mere 'raconteurs'. True, there are many similarities between translating a tale and telling one,⁶ but there are also differences. Let me, however, sum up the similarities, the better to focus on the differences and thus discern the characteristics of a translation.

Translators, editors and publishers assemble their own repertoires from the ‘Grimm repertory’, which we can, for the moment, liken to the ‘oral tradition’ in the sense that it yields material for subsequent narration. Translators have thus continually selected and sifted the realisations of the Grimm Canon. Translation - at least of tales for children - is also a form of narration.

Nevertheless, no Danish translator has fulfilled all the explicit Grimm goals of the collection. In English, Edgar Taylor translated notes to some tales and, in 1884, Margaret Hunt translated all annotations.⁷ In Denmark, Louise Hegermann-Lindencrone, who translated the ‘Introduction: on the nature of fairytales’ in addition to the foreword, Oehlenschläger, who made his own notes, and Molbech, who provided a preface, may have tried to reach out towards the ambitious aim of preserving the cultural heritage. Yet this goal was attained more successfully at a pragmatic level by the collection of authentic folkloristic material by Mathias Thiele and others.

No Danish translator has rendered the most characteristic oral feature, the use of dialects, into Danish. In this respect, the translators have ‘failed.’ A few translators have rendered the tales into awkward Danish, with Jerndorff-Jessen (1912b) as the *primus inter pares*, but the vast majority have rendered them into highly readable Danish. ‘Lindencrone’, Daugaard, and Carl Ewald are the only translators to have ‘uncritically’ passed on the totality of the Grimm Canon: the others have selected from it.

Sender, message, and recipient

At an early stage of this study, I referred to a simple model of communication (above, p. 28). Many theoretical models of translational communication imply that, in order for translation to be successful, the realisation of the message in the target language should be ‘identical’ with the message the sender intended in the source language.⁸ It is untenable to uphold this fiction with relation to the Grimm *Tales*. The sender, Wilhelm Grimm, clearly had no opportunity to ensure that his and Jacob’s intention ‘of preserving German folktales’ would be retained in translation even if he had wanted to: there was no copyright protection and translators had no incentive to inform him when tales were translated.

The present study has avoided the phantom of ‘identical messages’ explicated in the concept of ‘equivalence’. This concept has bedeviled Eurocentric translation studies since the first teacher of Latin or some other Indo-European foreign tongue gave his pupils the exact lexical ‘equivalent’ in the mother tongue (or vice versa).

The chimera of equivalence is linked to wishes to convey divine messages faithfully (without distortion), with Romantic ideas of the sacrosanct moments of inspiration and creation, and with beliefs that messages can be rendered ‘accurately’ in another language. It is also nourished by a European belief in the objectivity of the natural sciences, in the possibility of being ‘neutral’. The problem is that, using the fluid medium of language to express emotions, human life, and culture, such neutrality is not possible in translation. It does not really matter whether the equivalence is ‘formal’, ‘dynamic’, or ‘functional’.⁹ Whatever its usefulness in classroom settings, it is not attainable for translation between unrelated languages and cultures and, surprisingly enough, often irrelevant

to the intra-European translations discussed here. We may focus on ‘The domestic servants’, which, whatever its contents, has a tight form allowing for comments. The three Danish translators rendered this sketch in different ways. No translator rendered the all-pervasive dialectal features in the linguistic layer. In minor points of assonance, and phonetics, Hansen (1959b) is ‘better’ than the others in so far as he retains a vestige of formal similarity with the German text. On the other hand, his rendition is stilted and less fluent. In the content layer, he localises the exchange to a well-known town in Denmark, thus evoking associations for Danish readers which are totally different from those of the German original. None of the three translators succeed in rendering the intentional layer so that the exchange is amusing to a Danish audience. The audience who would consider peasants idiots and for whom this text could attain dynamic or functional equivalence has long disappeared; perhaps it never existed.

On the other hand, Martin Hansen seems to have had a vague idea of ‘equivalence’ as a goal to be reached in all layers, including that of (cultural) intentionality and of ‘fidelity’ to the ‘original’ narrators: his translation was to convey the oral tradition of the German folk back in 1812-1815. Needless to say, this goal was impossible, notably so since most tales were collected from middle-class narrators and not the ‘folk’.

Hansen aimed at a small-unit, local correspondence. He failed to reach substantial, all-comprehensive equivalence at the meta-cultural level. Daugaard and Ewald were closer to this overall idea, but both made ‘errors’ at the linguistic level (lexis).

Ontologically, complete equivalence is also impossible given the response of the reader. Instead, I gladly use the term of ‘adequacy’ (Even-Zohar (1975) and Toury (1980) as cited in Toury (1995: 56; 84-85))¹⁰ as a tool embracing the many situational factors which have a bearing on any given translational realisation: it is a fiction to believe that, say, both the ‘Lindencrone translation’ and the *Ælle balle* book of ‘Snow White’ can be discussed sensibly in terms of ‘equivalence’. They cannot be assessed by the same criteria.

Adequacy, sifting, and ‘loss’

In the process of editing and translating the stories, translators have omitted details. At this stage we might therefore ponder the generally accepted tenet that there is a ‘loss’ in adequate translation.¹¹ Thanks to the present historical survey of Danish translations, we can approach this allegation using firm evidence, resorting once again to the layers which I have used as staples in this book.

There are, indeed, differences in the *structural layer*, especially in co-prints. Occasionally we find minor additions of arbitrary provenance. More often, there are omissions or changes, which may be radical, in the order of elements, passages and episodes. The majority are due to abridgement and to constraints (mostly pictures and co-printing). Nevertheless, the stories are surprisingly robust: structural changes rarely pose a danger to a story’s identity.

The *linguistic layer* is the most fluid and allows for most variation. There is no need to belabour the point that here we meet translation errors. Employing alliteration, euphony, proverbs, repetition, diminutives, and a general sugary tone, the ‘style’ of the

German original has - by any comparative study - suffered greatly in translation. In translations, there are no dialects, there are only occasional appearances of the sugary tone, and rarely of the asexuality imposed by the neuter gender in German. However, an 'equivalent' rendition of these linguistic features would have presented problems in terms of fluency (lexis, syntax) and proved counterproductive in terms of the *Tales'* popularity. In this case, 'loss' is an indivisible component in an interlingual translation process leading to a successful translational product. At the same time, similarities in the linguistic layer between translational products in Danish allow us to identify reprinted translations, even when these are updated in terms of orthography (e. g. Molbech, Daugaard, Ewald, and Morsing), reprinted without acknowledgement in violation of the 'droit morale' (1954b-d, 1970d, and 1976c), or copied (or edited) from previous translations, and thus infringing on copyright (e. g. in 1907). In a more innocent vein, it is also in this layer that we can detect translators furtively peeping over the shoulders of predecessors to check their own solutions. Furthermore, as shown in the analyses of 'The old man' and 'Hansel and Gretel', the linguistic layer is where we can easily see a translational tradition at work, since the stories become increasingly well integrated into the target language system. In brief, it is in this layer that we see mutual influence, 'inter-textuality' among translations, at its most distinct.

It is also in international co-prints that we encounter major deviations in the *content layer*, such as the presentation of a happy nuclear family in 'Hansel and Gretel' instead of a starving woodsman with a spiteful wife, and, in KHM 11, a stepmother queen who dies from (internal) fury at hearing the news of the children's happiness and not as a result of (external) punishment by being burnt alive. Overall, the main elements in the tales which are crucial to the interpretation, are preserved in the vast majority of cases. It is the religious features which seem to have suffered most in the hands of Danish translators, as they, rightly, considered them culturally incompatible. They are usually completely absent in abridged versions. Nevertheless, I find it hard to see that this is a 'loss' in a culture which is not permeated by religious values. Finally, there is the 'loss' of cruelty which is not an integral part of the stories and the omission of the violent punishment of the wicked. But is the omission of the disproportionate retribution of having pigeons to pick out the eyes of Cinderella's stepsisters really a 'loss'? True, in some stories (e. g. 'Brother and sister' (KHM 11)), an 'eye-for-an-eye' justice may not be meted out. Yet, is it not so that 'purged' stories reflect the real-life fact that it does not matter how the wicked fare, as long as they are incapable of exerting any influence over one's future?

I have already pointed out that the overall *thematic intentionalities* are normally preserved, with the exception of certain general concepts hovering over the *Tales* as a whole: German patriotism, a mythological ideology, and the like. These intentionalities are culture-specific, and, consequently, culturally incompatible in other languages. Otherwise, the most popular Grimm tales have remained largely the same. They are closely linked with children's and adolescents' fears and anxieties and they are combined with a feminine slant: the Grimm *Tales* and their popularity reflect changes in people's views of children and changes in the roles of women.

It is worth noting that the sender himself, Wilhelm Grimm, exerted his greatest efforts in the linguistic layer, and that it is generally agreed that this is where he left his most distinct imprint in German. But, *in translation* it is the layer furthest away from the 'original' German. We could ask for no better proof than this that the tales are severed from the sender in the translation process. It is interesting to note that over the years, through translations and retellings, the *Tales* apparently divest themselves of individual imprints of the type Wilhelm Grimm introduced. Yet no tales have returned to the form they had when they were told 'among the German folk': the medium, the linguistic register, has changed with the changed societal status of the teller and the audience. It can be argued that this is a 'loss', but this is to disregard the fact that we cannot recreate the society of the source culture in a distant epoch.

There is, of course, also a 'loss' at a higher level, in so far as most translators take upon themselves the conscious or subconscious duty of selecting tales from the entire repertory, and thus impose censorship, a 'loss' to the realisation of the Grimm Canon in target cultures, in this case Danish. However, we must ask ourselves: is it really an irreparable 'loss' to target cultures that there are not a hundred translations of 'Herr Korbes' (KHM 41), 'Frau Trude' (KHM 43) and 'Der Gevatter Tod' (KHM 44)?

No matter whether my reader agrees or not, these comments illustrate the point that any discussion of 'loss in translation' is much more complex than facile statements about its 'inevitability' imply: 'loss' is a choice and a strategy on the part of the translators in terms of selecting specific stories and of adapting texts to the target language, the target audience, and the target culture. All of these choices are determined by situational constraints which may seem individual but ultimately relate to societies.

'Loss' can only be meaningfully discussed in the linguistic layer, and therefore it derives from a rigidly lexical and 'equivalence-oriented' understanding of 'translation'. The belief that there is a 'loss' implies that translation is static and tightly linked to the original. If this were true, it would in deed, be possible to produce 'perfect translations': we should have found at least one, perhaps even a few 'perfect translations' in this longitudinal study. We have not: we have found equally valid translations co-existing.

Defining translation

At the beginning of this study I stressed that I was describing a state of affairs. Many items which teachers and critics of translation would refuse to term 'translation' have been identified as translations in the eyes of others. In my listing of Danish translations I have even identified a few not noted by anybody else. These have been shown in brackets, for, of course, my listing does not turn these texts into 'translations' in the judgement of other people, and to argue that they are 'translations' would interfere with a natural process determining that they are not. They are included in my list because other items in the Danish national bibliography made it meaningful to do so: just for the record, so to speak.

Even without my additions, the Grimm listing shows that there is no one definition of translation which holds good for the entire Danish nation. Gideon Toury has argued that labelling a text a translation is ultimately up to the target culture (1995: 32-33).

According to the findings of the present study, I would go further. In the case of Danish translations of the brothers Grimm, we can put forward a cautious taxonomy implying that there are differences in attitude within a society according to people's background knowledge and position in the socio-literary system:

1. There is a broad-minded definition of translation used by the meritorious librarians who create order out of chaos. They define a translation in their situationally-determined way according to ascriptions, be they ascriptions by translators, publishers, or themselves on seeing a title or a story with recognisable intentionalities from the Grimm Canon. I find that they have gone too far in terming a puppet drama, some picture books and abridged chapbooks as Danish translations of Grimm, but this is, surely, a point which is open to dispute.¹²

2. A second group comprises publishers, whose definition is also broad, although they must have some kind of support, possibly personal memories, possibly advertisements, book fairs, and so on, and who feel that the Grimm name will sell. There are examples that publishers have vacillated between ascribing translations to Grimm and entirely disregarding (or being ignorant of) the Grimm connection.

3. A third group comprises illustrators, editors and translators. If we assess translators according to their own (or their editors') words for, respectively, 'translated' ('oversat') vs 'rewritten' ('genfortalt', 'gendigtet', etc.), some translators, and editors must have fairly strict yardsticks, whereas others, clearly, have not: one (wo)man's 'translation' is another (wo)man's 'retelling'.

4. A fourth group comprises people who know both Danish and German (e.g. language and translation teachers and scholars). Their views are fairly intolerant: there is no doubt that the better the assessors' ability to straddle both the source- and target-language texts, the less liberal their views of 'legitimate translation'.¹³

The setting up of this taxonomy implies that the same text is interpreted as a translation in one societal context and rejected as such in another. Faced with this fluid state, we may feel tempted to accept that anything goes in translation. But the fact that translation is situationally and contextually determined and relativistic, does not necessarily imply that we are faced with chaos, provided that we accept that in the humanities we cannot operate with the precision of the natural sciences, and that scholars "do not 'handle' stable realities but communicatively stabilised distinctions and descriptions in the experiential world of a specific society."¹⁴

The unstable source text

It could be argued that the *Tales* are unique in the annals of literature because Wilhelm Grimm changed them over the years. This argument does not hold water. Many poets and writers have made changes in their works in the course of their lives. In other cases, for instance that of Shakespeare, there is an ongoing debate about 'what Shakespeare really wrote' and 'whether he changed (some) plays or not'. It is a problem for the textual critic to establish a reliable, if not the ultimate, text. Yet many source texts change even while they are being translated, more so in today's world than ever before: for instance, many international best-sellers are translated before the authors have finished

the manuscript, and manuals (e. g. for computers) are changed only fractionally as new models are marketed.¹⁵ No sensible person would criticise an adequate translation of Shakespeare based on a Bad Quarto, but the choice of it as a source text is certainly open to challenge. This corresponds to what Hansen thought he did when he chose to translate the 1812-1815 Grimm *Edition* in 1956-1959 in order to render the 'authentic original'. Within the Grimm Canon, translations of older German *Editions* still surface: Hasselmann and Hæstrup (1947) unwittingly translated the German *Edition* of 1837, and the longevity of the 'stepmother tradition' in 'Hansel and Gretel' must also somehow or other be linked to translations of German *Editions* from 1840 or before.

Relays

From a purely linguistic and contrastive point of view, many of the Grimm translations into Danish are, by ordinary standards of translation, 'diluted'. Many of these tales are co-printed internationally, some even far away from Europe (1975i-l). On the other hand, there are respectable co-prints which are translated directly and adequately from German into Danish, so we cannot simply claim that co-printing leads to (over)loose translation.

Co-prints have not entirely escaped the notice of the scholarly world: they have been discussed, often in somewhat condescending tones, by scholars of children's literature.¹⁶ Paying little heed to market forces, scholars have tended to foreground the translator's work and importance. A title like 'Children's books in the hands of the translators' is fairly typical of this attitude.¹⁷ There is little awareness that, in most cases, *translators* are severely constrained and have little or no say as far as the realisations in the structural and content layers are concerned. It is also often taken for granted that *translation scholars* can undertake contrastive textual comparisons directly between the original source language and the ultimate target language and reach some general conclusions.¹⁸ Relay translation will make for a cumulation of errors rather than do away with previous ones: the translator who uses relay will rarely, if ever, return to the original or, for that matter, the original of the relay.¹⁹ In discussions of 'translation', relay is not considered a feature which *by definition* makes a text a 'non-translation'. On the contrary, many relay translations are accepted as legitimate translations, which is understandable since they have been produced by translational activity. But relay has been used not only in translations listed in this study, but also in most translations of Hans Christian Andersen, indeed, in many masterpieces of world literature which have first been translated into one major language (usually English), which has from then on functioned as a 'gateway' language to many cultures speaking minor languages ('languages of small diffusion').

The existence of a source text

At this juncture we must look for some staple in a discussion of translation, apart from the fact that we are dealing with stories in writing. There is such a staple: the above discussion has taken for granted that there was indeed a Grimm source text. This is the one point which has remained unchallenged. We can question its form, both in

terms of the linguistic layer in German and as the source text for translation (in relay), but we cannot challenge its existence. An extremist view might question the reality of time, but I am not willing to do so: the Grimm *Tales* existed before any translation of them. The sequentiality from the first text (the 'original') to the subsequent one (the 'translation') is the main constituent of 'translation'. I would also stress that, although the translation will be reoriented, there must still be contrastively identifiable units in the intentional, structural, linguistic and, to some extent, the content layers.

The quality of the translation

Another extremist view is that any text following upon the first text ever committed to stone, bark, parchment, or whatever, is the text of which all others are merely 'translations'.²⁰ This is to mistake translation for intertextuality, in which there is an undeniable interplay between previous texts and subsequent ones and in which, independent of the time of their conception, our response to both is affected by the texts we have previously responded to. Whatever the validity of this approach in other contexts, it will challenge the identification and specificity of all texts. Consequently, it is, in my view, inapplicable to translation because translation presupposes sequentiality, i.e. a chronological relationship to an identifiable 'original'.

The existence of a translation therefore depends on the possibility of identifying an 'original'. In the discussion of 'loss', I intimated that this 'original' is not by definition superior to the translation in terms of 'quality'. As a text in its own right within the target culture, a translation is usually assessed by a set of criteria prevailing in the target culture and not subsumed to those of the source culture. These criteria include the translation's ability to perform an intercultural interplay with target-culture intertextualities and its success within the target culture and language. The criteria may differ from person to person, but the point is also that translations are not always equally 'good' in the target culture. I have mentioned both good and poor translations in this book.

But is this judgment mine alone? As a critic of translation, I consider Daugaard's translation of Grimm the best in terms of narrative, yet I am not alone in doing so: the first publisher of Daugaard, and the publisher and the editor who resuscitated Daugaard after nearly eighty years must have felt the same way, too.

There is, then, judgement shared with others, intersubjective agreement at some level. In this context, there is apparently a connection with the taxonomy proposed before: my judgement is influenced by the fact that I know the source text, and I therefore belong to the 'intolerant' group, the minority which straddles both source and target texts. The 1964b publisher who used Daugaard's text did so for a German co-print, so he, too, must have been swayed by considerations about 'textual adequacy'. I need hardly argue that, at the other extreme, librarians should not pay heed to 'quality' when they register books as translations, although they and I may amiably disagree.

However, the second and the third group (the publishers and the readers) merge in a democratic assessment of 'quality'. Their verdict is reflected in the sales figures which make it clear that in the eyes - and ears - of readers, certain renditions, certain translations, are superior to others. So it is not only publishers who have kept, for instance,

'Lindencrone' and Carl Ewald at the forefront for nearly a hundred years: in these cases, where the purchasers have indeed had numerous alternatives (in other translations), it is also in some oblique way the clamour of the public, a kind of general acceptance of 'quality' in translation. If we applaud textual proximity, we might even conclude that 'fidelity' towards the source text is tantamount to a good translation. We could adduce the long life of 'Lindencrone' and Carl Ewald to support this claim. This would be the view espoused by all prescriptive translation scholars and by most teachers of translation. We could find evidence that 'quality wins in translation' in the fact that single-tale books which render the source text reasonably adequately in all layers are reprinted, for example, the Gyldendal series (by Anine Rud or Søren Christensen and Svend Otto S.) which was published both as single-tale books and as a collection (1972b-1985h).

By one token, then, 'quality' in the target culture is not a gaugeable and objective entity, but is defined collectively in specific social and spacial reading contexts by critics, purchasers, vicarious storytellers, readers and listeners.

Author and translation

In order to make this point clearer, we must return to the communication between author and translator in the chain of translational communication. In most cases, authors of literary works do not communicate directly with translators and *vice versa*.²¹ In the 'ideal tale' there is dynamic communication between the narrator and the audience, because the narrator can take audience response into account during the 'narrative contract'. Conversely, once printed, texts, including tales, are stable and fixed. Like other literature (in the broadest sense of the term), texts are no more than black squiggles on a white page. It is not until they are read that the squiggles come alive and form messages, in this case narratives, in the mind of the reader. In the moment of creation, authors are writing for readers who share their frame of reference and, since authors are embedded in their own society, their readership is, no matter whether they are aware of it or not, an audience drawn from their own culture.

The reader approaches a text which is static and which springs to life in a dynamic linear reading with a beginning, a middle, and an end. Yet a reading does not entail a concomitant coming to life of the author. No two readings of the same text are identical, and, accordingly, no two translations could be rendered in an identical way in the target language even if there were no copyright legislation prohibiting this. This was clearly brought out in my discussion of the translations into Danish of three tales. In other words, there is no inherent connection with the original sender simply because a text is translated.

Translators, messages, and choices

It may be that some translators are aware from the very beginning that they will have to translate the text they are reading and that this makes their reading particularly empathetic.²² This may have been the case for some professional Danish translators, such as Anine Rud. But we can be tolerably sure that Oehlenschläger and the old Chamberlain

Lindencrone, for example, first read (and enjoyed) the German stories without having translation in mind.

Be that as it may, the readings of translators are, in principle, no different from any other readings in terms of process, but the readings of literary translators are, nonetheless, different: they read the text in a (source) language which is normally not their mother tongue, and thus they stand apart from most other readers in the source culture. They usually belong to a different culture, namely the target culture, the language, literature, culture and history of which is intimately familiar to them, and they are dominated by its norms, values, and physical realities.²³ For these social reasons, they are therefore, at some level or other, bound to reorient the texts; even if they do not (which I find unlikely), the target culture response will, at least by rejection. We are here discussing the root of a number of theoretical as well as concrete flaws in the models of translational communication involving authors (senders) and their readers (recipients) in target cultures: there is no direct communication on the author's part and there is virtually no possibility of feedback from the target language reader to the author. At best such feedback reaches the translator, the editor, and the publisher in the target language.²⁴

Previously, Danish translators of innocent material such as fairytales, would choose tales for their collections on their own, and they would rarely have had to explain their translation strategies. At first glance, it may seem that translators were entirely free to do anything, which, to some extent, they clearly still are, especially in terms of the linguistic rendition. On the other hand, we have seen that the selections made by Danish translators and editors tended towards a collective consensus which established a Danish core of Grimm tales which was different from the German one, and which must therefore reflect Danish values and have resonance with Danish audiences.

The impact of the audience

In real life, however, the professionals of translation are not the only people to determine what constitutes a translation, since literary translations are made to be printed in books, and books are products made to be sold. It is undeniably true that some high-quality co-prints are reprinted, but most are not, since they were never intended to be more than one-off publications. Sometimes it is publishers alone who decide that a translation should be made. Ewald's translation may serve as an example: first issued in 1905 by a small publisher, it became a Gyldendal product in 1913. As such, it was gradually diluted in terms of completeness (1916-1918). In 1923, it was replaced by precursors of the *OTA books*. There was a Gyldendal reissue of Ewald's translation after it had been revised by Ewald's son (1941; 1956), but eventually it was abandoned. Once the copyright of Ewald's original translation had expired, publication of 'the real Grimm, translated by Ewald', was then resumed in 1975 by another publishing house, Arnold Busck: Nordisk Forlag. Unique as it appears, this chain of events is based on no small degree of coincidence and serendipity: if Gyldendal had not taken over Carl Ewald's translation lock, stock, and barrel in 1913, it would probably not have seemed to be the 'standard translation' to generations of Danes, which fact paved the way for its new lease of life

in 1975. It might seem as if Daugaard's could have become the 'standard translation' if coincidental factors had favoured him instead.

Publishers have to take into account what sells, and in this fashion it is therefore ultimately purchasers who determine, perhaps not the identity of the specific translators (although the existence of 'winning teams' and very popular translators seems to indicate this), but which translations are going to be long-lived among those with a potential for continuation (e.g. Sørensen (1884) vs Markussen (1900-1929)).

In this context, the choice made by the early Danish translators and, subsequently, more and more obviously by publishing houses, not only of texts, but also of the age group to be targeted by the translator/editor/rewriter of a tale or a collection, has had an enormous impact on the *Tales*' realisation in Danish. One major difference between the brothers Grimms and their Danish translators is that the latter have always had a fairly good idea of the age and educational background of the readers they were writing for - and that they have 'translated' according to this knowledge.

In sum: most translations do not exist in intimate communion between the author and a translator who faithfully conveys the author's views to the readers. The strongest bond in translations exists between texts and readers, and, as part of this chain, in communication between translators and readers. In most cases, there is a clear break in the chain of communication from 'sender' (author) to 'recipient' (reader) in translation. Whatever may be the case in intralingual communication, in which the sender is often accessible, translational communication - especially in the case of literary 'classics' - usually has two separate and independent components. In the first component, the author communicates to an audience, including the translator, in the source language. In the second, the translator communicates with a new audience in a target language. The more intense the interplay between translation and audience (e.g. by new translations and the consequent establishment of a translational tradition), the less important the author. Translational communication is not linear but bisected communication: in the target language, a translation is autonomous. It exists independently of the source language communicational chain, and only the audience response determines the nature of the message.²⁵ The literary 'communication' between the original and the audience in the source culture may go on independently and yet simultaneously with the communication between the translation and the audience in the target culture. 'Originals' and 'translations' are thus potentials for co-existing, related multiple communication in two or more cultures, each strand of which is oriented and targeted towards a culture-specific audience.

Beyond the pale of 'translation'

The choices made in terms of the linguistic realisation of the German texts in Danish show much legitimate variation, illustrated, for instance, by most of the translations of the opening lines of 'Hansel and Gretel' cited above. Even when they differ substantially from the source text, most choices affecting the content layer are neither arbitrary, nor impermissible if we allow for a reorientation towards a particular audience.

Yet translators are not free to treat a text in completely arbitrary ways. There are limits, and at their broadest these limits can be specified as follows: when even the most

liberal keepers of the Danish national bibliographical heritage fail to term a text a 'translation', it is not a translation. Whereas translational activity (that is, interlingual transfer) is an important ingredient, the truly crucial factor for the inclusion of a translation in the Danish bibliographical heritage is the association of a tale with the name of Grimm. This is why I have insisted on stressing that some of the realisations I identified have not changed their status and 'become translations': they fall beyond the pale of my definition of 'translation'.

No matter what criterion had been selected as to what constitutes 'translation', there would have been cases falling both inside and outside the borderlines.

It will be remembered that I listed all works that I could connect with the Grimm Canon until 1859, but in my discussion, I have largely abstained from terming tales used in Danish primers 'translations'. Even when tales are credited to the brothers Grimm, their pedagogical purpose overrides the stories as traditional translations. In my view, the intentionalities of the stories have been moved beyond acceptable limits.

Another factor which causes stories to fall beyond the pale is a shift in channel. I mentioned briefly that there are films connected with the name of Grimm, but the cartoons based on Grimm stories and the puppet show which I rejected, illustrate that a shift in semiotic channel is dangerous: the Grimm *Tales* are primarily accepted as translations in written versions.²⁶ This disappearance is not only due to the shift in channel, but also to an increased number of differences from the 'original' in all layers, including the intentional one.

The third factor is the linguistic and intentional proximity to the German text. Terms like 'fidelity' and 'loyalty' (which I have nonetheless referred to) are inappropriate and rarely applicable in studies of translations of tales. This is amply illustrated by the Markussen editions which are not ascribed to Grimm (1911a-b, 1920a-b), and by others, such as Grete Janus Hertz, which move in and out of the official Canon (1968k-p and 1976i-n). There are numerous factors which exert an influence on this proximity.

One factor is the (number of) retellings between the German original and the 'final' work registered by Danish librarians. The crucial point being whether the 'translator' or a librarian connects the Danish text to a German original, it does not matter whether the intermediate versions are (a) relay translations, (b) retellings in the source language, (c) retellings in the target language, or (d), any combination of these. Wilhelm Grimm himself 'retold' the stories every time he added or omitted something, but authorial tradition and copyright legislation both allow writers to do so - scholars have no right to be howling over Wilhelm's editorial filters just because he led them to believe that the stories were 'authentic folktales'.²⁷ There have, in all likelihood, been many retellings in German, but it falls beyond the scope of this study to locate them. Conversely, it falls within its scope to demonstrate that there are retellings which are based on previous Danish translations (such as Markussen's edited renditions of earlier translations) and translations which are partial retellings of previous translations (Hæstrup and Hasselmann's of Carl Ewald). There are differences, for the latter team consulted a German original, which Markussen did not. In addition, Markussen's text of 'Hansel and Gretel' is reduced, that is, farther away from the original than Hæstrup

and Hasselmann. These are murky waters, for relay translations or retellings between the authorial version and the final version in the target language may also render a text a non-translation in other ways, namely by making it unrecognisable to librarians. This is particularly obvious in well-known tales which have been through numerous retellings: in the Danish national bibliography, 'Hansel and Gretel' first appears without ascription to Grimm in 1873. With less known tales the severance from the Canon may take place whenever the tale is found outside established formats.

Abridgement or reduction may also influence the definition of a text as a translation. Real-life translators are sometimes asked to give only the gist of the text, and, while we are still within the area of language transfer in such instances, the line to translation is not clear. In the present context, where we discuss fiction, I posit that publishing houses rarely send the original text of 'Hansel and Gretel' to translators of children's books and request them to reduce the length to one third. The reduction is more likely to happen gradually in a series of retellings, or in consecutive retellings based on translations in relays. This makes sense both in terms of linguistic fluency (Markussen's language is more fluent than Molbech's), and of adaptation to the non-linguistic constraints, e.g. illustrations in co-prints. In all likelihood, translators who 'retold' Grimm tales in a reduced form, used previous Danish translations rather than German originals. This strategy is quite transparent in Grete Janus Hertz's recycling of more or less the same text for different editions. It is noteworthy that, on the one hand, a story may continue to be eminently suitable for being read aloud, and, on the other one, it may be reoriented so much that there are not sufficiently many contrastively identifiable units for it to be recognised as a Grimm tale.

For it is a prerequisite for retention within the Canon (and hence the identification as a translation of Grimm by one or more of the categories listed above) that a tale has some recognisable features which identify it with Grimm. With the modification which is particularly applicable to the Grimm *Tales*, that mechanical ascription may be based on the title alone, I suggest that a translation must always preserve the intentionality ('the gist') to be accepted as a translation by readers in the target culture. There are thus limits to the dilution acceptable if a text is to be seen as a translation.

There are renditions which I, as a scholar, can identify as part of the Grimm Canon in some way or other, but which are rejected as translations by everybody else. When we allow for all possible permutations of words and their multiplicity in any target language, the number of versions of a given 'original' which a specific society will recognise as 'translations' may be very high indeed. Yet, despite the indeterminacy of interpretation and the relativism imposed by the sheer mathematics of permutations in the linguistic layers, the number is not infinite.

It may disturb some readers that translations within these limits will contain errors. First, the occurrence of 'errors' has never deterred teachers from correcting translations. But in a more sophisticated vein, errors that make recognition of the intentionality impossible will automatically exclude the target text from being a translation. The fact that *adequate* translations contain errors is irrelevant to our discussion of the definition of a translation. Ontologically, as well as in practice, errors that do not affect the overall

consistency and coherence of the target language text will normally not be registered by most readers of target language versions and therefore do not affect the societal definition of a text as translation. Personally I doubt that most readers are alert to stylistic infelicities. True, readers cognizant of the source language (and who, it must be stressed, always constitute a minority of the audience) may notice ‘transparency’ in the linguistic layer when the target language text displays obvious source language characteristics, especially in terms of syntax.²⁸ In other respects, errors in these layers are revealed only by collation. This study has touched upon (but not discussed) numerous examples of errors of this type: usually they have not influenced the content or intentional layers. In practice as well as in principle these errors belong to the universes of the translation process, contrastive linguistics and linguistic description (notably of language change); they are meaningful only in the contexts of translation exercises in the classroom or contrastive analysis in the scholar’s study.²⁹

Book types and translational continua

The translator is not the passive recipient of the author’s message and not in intimate communion with him, but works with a text which is subject to specific interpretations which spring from the translator’s self and societal background so that the rendition is according to self and surrounding world. Thus the translator is bound by other commitments than the text, especially those towards the target audience.

The translator’s audience is, of course, not an amorphous collective body, but comprises individuals forming groups which (in some respects) display identical behaviour, in the case of the Grimms’ Danish audience, that of purchasing the same type of books.

It will be remembered that I identified various types of books destined for different audiences. These audiences also relate to different types of translations and translational traditions in the period under discussion.

First, there is the tradition to possess a respectable Grimm comprising all tales, a tradition beginning with ‘Lindencrone’ in 1823, continuing via Daugaard (1894) and Carl Ewald (1905; 1975) to the present day. For the last hundred years, books in this tradition have been illustrated with black-and-white pictures. They appeal to an adult middle-class and upper-middle-class audience which feels it appropriate for the household to have one bound copy of the *Complete Grimm*. These editions have been translated directly from German authorial versions.

Secondly, there is a fairly high-level tradition to own a collection, presumably also directed towards an audience interested in a ‘fine’ Grimm, but unaware of the actual number of Grimm *Tales*. Collections in this tradition are respectable, have good binding, and are relatively expensive. Books in this category were slow in adopting pictures (1941) and were not lavishly illustrated until 1970. This tradition begins with Oehenschläger’s translation (1816). It moves via Molbech’s *Selected fairytales* (1843), the watered-down versions of ‘Lindencrone’ (1909) and Carl Ewald (1916-1918), Jesper Ewald (1941), Gelsted (1941), and Hæstrup and Hasselmann (1947) to Anine Rud (1970) and the reprints of Daugaard and Ewald translations with Werner Klemke’s illustrations (1975). These books also use translations referring to authorial German versions.

Whereas the types of book referred to so far are meant to span generations and be handed down through the family, the anthologies and collections that we are now turning to are more in the vein of transitory consumer goods: these are books, normally priced in the medium range, which were meant to be read by children and adolescents. They overlapped with a respectable collection in Molbech's *Selected fairytales* (1843). This tradition began in 1822 with Fasting's anthology for young people; it is represented by Molbech's *Christmas gifts* (1835-39), Davidsen (1854; 1870), Sørensen and Stange (1884; 1890), Bondesen (1897), Markussen (1900), Jerndorff-Jessen (1912), Larsen (1918), Falbe-Hansen (1925), Kirk (1944), Morsing (1946). Despite the title of the last edition in the Morsing series ('for adolescents' 1968), there is, over the years, a subtle and almost imperceptible lowering in the age of the children for whom they are intended, a feature most obvious in Morsing's first collection with its large typography and simplified vocabulary. This tradition adopted illustrations at a relatively early stage (1884). Most translators of books in this category also refer to authorial German *Editions*, although there is a certain loosening of the bond by Markussen and Morsing. This tradition ceased to exist in the mid-1960s. We can speculate that this coincided with the advent of television or that these books were squeezed out of the market by other well-targeted reading material for children, but it is up to others to explain the demise of this tradition. In the present context, it suffices to acknowledge its existence.

At the next level are the collections based on either intralingual retelling or interlingual relays. There may, of course, be many unattested cases, but from the evidence available in the colophons in the books, such works are not strongly represented in the Danish tradition. With illustrations which are occasionally magnificent (Giersing 1977), books in this category are biased more towards illustrations than towards the Grimm Canon. The target audience appears to comprise parents and grandparents who will buy a book on impulse without relating it to any kind of historical tradition. The translators are named, but the mediations cause the linguistic layer to be fairly free in relation to authorial German versions: the structural layer has much omission and occasional addition; the content layer shows considerable variation; the intentional layer is nearly intact.

Single-tale books are usually dominated by illustrations as additional tellers of the stories. The earliest single-tale book with black-and-white pictures is from 1849 and the earliest with colours from 1887. There is a veritable flood by 1960.³⁰

It will be recalled that single-tale books can be broadly divided into three categories: the expensive, the medium-range, and the cheap ones.

The expensive books produced by prestigious publishers in Denmark or in German-speaking countries are translated from authorial or near-authorial German versions. Otherwise, the texts of even expensive co-printed books may show variations, especially in the linguistic layer, because of intralingual retelling or relay translation. The dividing line is thus not nearly as well-defined as it is in collections of the *Tales*.

Medium-priced books may be translated directly from a German source text, again most obviously so by Danish or German-speaking publishers, but, even in these cases, texts have, more often than not, been handled by several middlemen.

The co-printed chapbooks which began to appear in c. 1960 have a tenuous relationship with German ‘authorial versions’, and usually fall outside the pale of ‘translation’.

However, the erratic and confused picture allows only for these superficial comments about the texts in single-tale books. There are no discernible trends, let alone distinct patterns. We saw that Grete Janus Hertz’s versions of ‘The Bremen town musicians’ are nearly identical in single-tale books ranging from the expensive to the cheap. There are versions of a story by the same translator which vary although the German source-text appears to be the same (Søren Christensen 1971a and 1983f), and there are versions of the same story by the same translator which are totally different and must derive from radically different (non-German) source-texts (Giersing 1973k; 1975d) which must have been through various relays and mediations.

Far be it from me to hint that these traditions are strictly tied to education and social class, for there is no doubt that many socially low-ranking families in Denmark may possess *Complete Grimms* and educated and wealthy parents acquire chapbooks, but there is undoubtedly a correlation, although its precise nature is beyond definition.

There is, then, a broad canvas against which we can see Danish realisations which span from reasonably close proximity to the German Canon in all four layers, to one in which there is so little linkage with the Grimm Canon that no librarian notices it and even the mediators seem to be unaware of it. Thus, from our overview, we see tales falling out of the ‘province of Grimm’ and becoming part of a new tradition of telling written stories in which the individual mediator has more or less the same role as the largely anonymous narrator in the ‘oral tradition of the folk’.

The single-tale books are hard to classify (presumably because of their one-off nature); not so the collections, which, despite some overlapping, can be divided into different ‘continua’, each with its own chronology and its own socio-literary characteristics in terms of translator, editor, publisher, the format and physical features of the book, the audience it is directed towards, the purchasers it appeals to, and, most importantly in this context: its relationship to an authorial German version.

These continua occasionally merge. The most interesting feature is their symbiotic relationship. I pointed out that, in all likelihood, purchasers of the German *Complete Editions* must often have been prompted by the wish to acquire ‘more Grimm’. In Danish translations, we find a corresponding movement towards purchase, publication, and translation of comprehensive editions, for which reason they continue to be marketed successfully. Less comprehensive editions have a parasitic relationship to the larger ones: in some form or other stories tend to drop from the most prestigious and comprehensive editions to the lower ones. Carl Ewald’s *Complete Grimm* led to derivative collections under the aegis of Gyldendal (1916-1918) including one by another ‘translator’ (his son (1941)), as well as to collections in which his translations were blended with others (1975b). His translations were taken over without change for expensive single-tale books (1976c), modernised for expensive single-tale books (1985i), retold for single-tale books (1978e), and used for cheap editions (1921b). In this and other cases (concerning ‘Lindencrone’, Molbeck, Daugaard) we see the way in which, first translated in its entirety, the Grimm Canon is recycled in derivative repertoires. It is rare for books to

move from a lower to higher continuum, but three of Oehlenschläger's translations were reprinted by 'Lindencrone' as befitting his status and prestige as a poet.

Each translator contributes to a continuum and expands or restricts it in terms of the selection of tales, in terms of content features (e.g. the omission or retention of cruelty), and, occasionally (but as far as I can see only in relation to audiences of children) also restricts the translation in the linguistic layer. As noted in the discussion of inclusion and exclusion, each epoch adds or omits something specific to the stories and to the Canon. The continua last longer than any given translation, but as previously noted, the continuum of books for adolescent readers (starting with *Fasting* and ending with *Morsing*) has come to an end, whereas another, the chapbooks which began in 1917 and became widespread in co-prints by 1960, is very much alive. The fact that these continua of translations can be related to different audiences corroborates my contention that they represent different societal views of translational activity. The appearance and the disappearance of continua also indicate that they reflect changes in society at large.

Original and translation

I stated previously that, by being translated, the translated text is severed from the author. However, to the vast majority of readers, it is also an autonomous work of literature in the target language. I described how some Danes believe the Grimm stories to be Danish (above, p. 153). However, this is merely evidence of the impact the *Tales* have had on Danish literature and culture, and in the minds of those readers, the tales do not derive from another culture. The translated stories exist in the dynamics of being read, of being read aloud and of being responded to by readers. This is distinct from the static existence of the stories as black squiggles on white paper, yet, even as such, the tales have existed in Denmark independently of the originals. We can note that some translations have been carried across barriers by means of new typography ('Lindencrone' (1891)), and new orthography (Carl Ewald (1975), *Lems billedbøger* (1948c-d)). These changes have been undertaken exclusively in target language environs without reference to the German stories.

Like the quality of a translation (in relation to both the 'original' and to other translations), the *existence* of translated tales is therefore not completely subsumed under a 'superior' original. In the target language, translations are characterised by their relationship with specific texts in the source language, namely (a) that they follow them in time, (b) that the relationship to the original is based on a translation process which is acknowledged in the target culture,³¹ and (c) that they must have enough features in common with the original to be recognisable and recognised as translations, that is, as texts which relate more intimately to one identifiable text in the source language than to *any* other text in any language. In practice, it means that translated tales follow the original in the intentional and content layers, to some extent in the structural layer, and with considerable liberty in the linguistic layer. Provided they entertain, charm and appeal to readers in the target language and are accepted as literature, they are, of course, literature in their own right and not inferior to the 'original'. Philological comparisons of texts between languages have nothing to do with readers' responses to

the interrelated texts in the two cultures, for, unlike the texts, the readers' responses in the two cultures are not organically interrelated. A definition of a successful translation based on a comparison straddling languages is an assessment of *a translation process and of translational competence*. Conversely, the definition of *a successful translation as an (aesthetic) product* is determined by audience response in the target language. These definitions are worlds apart.

One noteworthy characteristic of even successful translational products is that they eventually cease to exist, that is, cease to be read, sold and produced, and thus 'die'. Conversely, the 'original' which becomes a 'classic' continues to exist in these senses - in the source language. My study presents a 'speeded-up' picture of the history of translations of classics, because the Grimm *Tales* are so frequently translated. We can therefore see new translations spring to life, doomed, sooner or later, to fade away.

As mentioned, most translations discussed have been published only once. Longevity has been the exception, but is found in 'Lindencrone', Molbech, Daugaard, and Ewald. The umbrella explanation for longevity is that these have been venerable, high-status, easily recognisable translations belonging to the top two continua, the audience of which would be the 'upper-classes among readers'. But there is more to it than this. Daugaard is the easiest one to explain: quite simply, the copyright had expired and the translation needed little linguistic revision when it was reprinted and thus given a new life (1975). I have whispered 'snob value' at 'Lindencrone' and noted that his translation went through several minor linguistic revisions, including substitution of words (1881), change to a new type of lettering (1891), and omission of some tales (1909). I believe that the reissue of Ewald in 1975 was prompted by a combination of publisher and readership loyalty to the 'old standard translation', the convenient expiry of copyright, and the enormity of the task of producing a new translation. At all events, it ensured Ewald's translation of an impressive 'longevity'. Prestige is important, as is amply evidenced by the fact that the 'new standard translation' by Villy Sørensen published in 1995 (after my *terminus ad quem*) was officially prompted by the 225th anniversary of the publishing house of Gyldendal which looms large in the history of the Grimm Canon in Denmark.

Although I find the sentimentality Daugaard took over from Grimm excessive, I have repeatedly hailed his translation (1894) as superior narration, because narration is, in my subjective opinion, what should count most in the assessment of translations of the Grimm *Tales*. However, except for the 1975 resurrection, Daugaard has never been the 'standard translation'. It was Carl Ewald's translation eleven years later which became the 'standard translation' in Denmark, primarily due to the fact that it was taken over by the publishing house of Gyldendal.

The rise and fall of Carl Ewald's translations - and to a lesser degree those of the other two Danish *Complete Grimms* - illustrates that *complete translations* will gradually erode in the target culture. The process takes place independently of the source text and thus illustrates the autonomy of the *Tales* in Danish. It is infinitely more difficult to follow similar attrition in other cases of intralingual mediation or interlingual relay which have moved through publishers' offices, over editors' desks, illustrators' drawing-

boards and the like. Except for the information in the colophons and the occasional attribution on the front page, these traces are obliterated. Yet such attrition is one explanation why a translation has a limited life-span. Ultimately, it will move from a higher to a lower continuum in which its relationship to the 'original' in another language is no longer recognised in the target culture.

The normal life-span of a 'good' translation created under circumstances allowing for reprinting appears to be 20 to 40 years in Denmark. The life of a translation can be extended beyond this period only by means of intervention by outsiders, such as editors, publishers, or printers. Within individual tales, such intervention will usually be confined to the linguistic layer (orthography, lexis),³² whereas the totality of the translator's oeuvre may be subjected to selection and expurgation. In brief, translations fall from grace. Despite wholehearted efforts to save a translation from oblivion, it is, nevertheless destined for ultimate demise. It is particularly obvious in the case of long-lived 'standard translations' (e. g. 'Lindencrone', Ewald), that the language in which they exist and are read will change inexorably and independently of the translation: there will be a growing gap between the translation's linguistic layer (originally phrased with readability in mind) and the target culture's actual language use. Consequently the translation becomes less fluent and readable: the translation loses its appeal.³³

It is also in the linguistic layer that all new translations *must* differ from other translations of the 'original', for otherwise they are not translations proper, but merely copies of translations and therefore copyright violations. In the analysis of specific tales, it was noted that the variations between translations were mostly in the linguistic layer, sometimes in the structural layer, and seldom in the content layer. The linguistic layer is the place where translators make their own imprint and exert their permissible creativity. Impermissible creativity would affect the content and intentional layers and therefore annihilate the text as translation.

It is therefore the linguistic layer which, from the moment the translation is created, dooms it to ultimate oblivion. The translation is created in a specific linguistic form at one intersection in space and time. If circumstances allow and audiences consider it 'good', the translation may live on for a period of time. If a translator or publisher decides that a reorientation is necessary, this calls for a new translation.

It is at such moments that translational activity - not to be confused with the end-product, a translation - commences: unlike its product, translational activity is an exercise which can be repeated. A translator or a client in the target culture can request a new translation which refers to the original. This reference to the original is, in the case of a classic, such a Grimm tale, not to the original sender, but to the communicational situation in the source language between the producers/publishers and/or the literary tradition and the readership at the time when the translation is undertaken.³⁴ For the duration of the translational activity, a chain of translational communication is established: the source and the (new) target language come to co-exist in the reading and the writing of the act of translation.

When the translational activity finishes, the product slides back into the translational tradition of the target culture. It does not affect the author/producer-message communication

in the source culture: it only renews the message within the act of message-audience communication of the target culture.

If we relate this demand for another translation to the continua outlined above, it will be readily appreciated that it is at the two uppermost continua and concerning expensive single-tale books that readers, editors, and publishers clamour for a reference to the 'original', for a new translation. At the lower continua, there may be new translations, but there is nothing like the same demand for them to refer directly to the original (e.g. Markussen 1900-1928, *Lems billedbøger* 1944-1948, Morsing 1946-1968, the *Ælle bølge books* 1968-1985). Another factor which therefore, from its very creation, challenges the form and menaces the life of a translation, is the co-existence of the 'original' in the source language, because this can at any stage be used to make a new translation.

The making of a new translation, however, also represents a return to the source text, possibly even to the author (as attempted by Hansen (1956-1959)). The new translation confirms its own justification to exist by examining the source text for interpretation and subsequent confirmation of its own validity. It is invigorated by reference to the original and 'updated' in relation to preceding translations and contemporary language usage in the target language.

The forces behind translation

I pointed out that formerly translators were presumably free to select stories they liked for Danish collections of Grimm and that the first time a publishing house interceded (by obtaining the copyright for the pictures) took place in 1893 when the German *Folk Edition* was published and that Daugaard's (and Ewald's) translations were therefore commissioned. Since the advent of large-scale international co-printing, the illustrations have taken pride of place in the process of selection. Accordingly, most tales are selected for publication by the illustrator/publishers in the country of origin and offered to publishers in the target language cultures for approval or rejection. These translations must be commissioned by national publishers. Thus the selection of the tales has been largely taken away from the translators and has become the province of publishers, who select by 'shopping around' in an international circuit. The international illustrations, however, also affect translation by constraining the texts, for instance, in terms of typographical space available in the target language version. The illustrations also imperil translations in so far as they are connected with specific vogues. They may date rapidly, and consequently jeopardise a translation. In this respect, however, the opposite may be the case in the two upper continua, in so far as the Johann and Leinweber illustrations have been used for two translations (1894, 1905) and a revival (1975).

Copyright is another force to be reckoned with: it obliges publishers to commission new translations or to have editors retell and rewrite tales intralingually in a process which is not translation in any prescriptive sense, but the end-product of which is still recognised as 'translation' by segments of society in the target culture (e.g. 1978e).

I have argued that publication of tales may result in a craving for more tales: the appearance of the *Small Edition* in 1825 prompted new *Complete Editions* in Germany. Christian Molbech's translations of Grimm tales and Hans Christian Andersen's *Fairy-*

tales created a Danish market for tales after 1835; translations of Andersen into German gave new impetus to reissues of Grimm (and Andersen) around 1845, and, subsequently, in other countries: translations of fairytales from one of these Canons prompted translation of fairytales from the other Canon.

However, competition is a negative force in the context of the demise of translations. This is especially obvious when several single-tale versions of the same story or near-identical collections are published in the same or two adjacent continua (where the price will also be a parameter). In the case of single-tale books, this may be hypothetical speculation, for even the finest will probably soon cease to be read (as the children grow older, the books become worn or put on shelves where they gradually fade into near-oblivion like other childhood memorabilia). At all events, the most obvious example of competitive publication in which only one version survived is that of two large and expensive collections in 1975(a and b).

So a translation leads a precarious life: in order to live beyond its first appearance, it must command the goodwill of the readers and the publisher. It is protected by copyright, but this will not keep the publisher or other publishers from challenging its supremacy by putting out new translations. Even the illustrations which helped it gain its first popularity may suddenly pose a threat if they somehow appear outmoded. It is constantly threatened by new translations or by editions based on translations coming from higher continua. Finally, orthographical changes imposed on publishers and readers, the inevitable language changes which make for a jarring gap between the translation and up-to-date language usage, or changes in societal values bring about the end. Perhaps we can now also explain why Daugaard never became a success: his rendition of the sugary German tone (and the religious features) alienated his translation from the Danish public and caused it to fall easy victim to the first full-scale challenge: Ewald's translation of 1905. A translation survives by performing a balancing act, with the constant threat of being brought down by the conspiracy of circumstance.

The Grimm Canon in international translation

Danish folklorists were not the only ones to respond favourably and actively to the Grimm *Tales*. Other European cultures also used the Grimms' exemplary notes in patriotic contexts. The *Tales* inspired collection of national folklore and served as guiding lights in folkloristic research. In that sense, the *Tales* were pioneering.

It is likely that the perception of the tales in Germany differs from the perception of them in German-speaking Switzerland and possibly also in Austria; it was only in Germany that the stories were used to forge German cultural unity and identity because of their status as part of the common literary and *linguistic* legacy of a glorious German past.³⁵ However, it is a misnomer to speak of one unambiguous Grimm Canon.

In its consistency in referring to the last authorial *Edition* (1857) and in terms of sheer numbers, the Canon is undoubtedly larger in the German-speaking countries (Germany, Austria, Switzerland) and in Denmark (because the tradition of translating the *Tales* is so strong) than in other parts of the world.

The German Grimm Canon is chronologically imprecise. It changed during the course of the seventeen editions Wilhelm Grimm published from 1812 to 1857, in terms of structural and linguistic features, and in some cases even in contents and intentionalities. This mutability affects specific tales even today.

The Canon is unstable in terms of the tales it comprises: the simultaneous publication of a *Small Edition* for juveniles and a *Complete Edition* for an educated public of adults, with the same title (*Kinder- und Hausmärchen*), has added immeasurably to the confusion. Few cultures have complete translations of the German *Complete Editions* which have continued to be in print for many years, since they tend to be aimed at scholarly audiences. It is also doubtful whether all tales in such *Complete Grimms* are often realised for even the most avid readers: some stories are too crude to most people's taste and will hardly be read all through, at least not more than once. Parents who have inadvertently read a revolting tale to their children are unlikely to repeat the experiment.

The Grimm Canon is also diffuse in so far as Grimm stories are blended with tales, fables, tall stories and so on from numerous other sources. I call attention to the *Dodo books*, in which stories by Hans Christian Andersen and Perrault were termed 'Grimm', as well as to all the Danish issues of tales attributed to the Grimms in *DB* and in *RLC* only by those Danish bibliographers who know the Canon (1929; 1963b; 1960b; 1970d, etc.). The international confusion is caused not only by Wilhelm Grimm's editing and to the co-existence of the *Small* and the *Complete Editions*, but also, first and foremost, by the fact that the Andersen fairytales and the Grimm tales fused as a result of translation, and created an international genre of literature explicitly directed towards children. This genre hospitably accommodates stories by Aesop, Perrault, and others, as well as stories from many nations throughout the world. This is an adaptable, malleable and collective genre: Canonical tales by Andersen and Grimm are perpetually intertwined with others. They are being lost from the respective Canons, returning, as it were, to the common narrative tradition or they are being lifted from the tradition and credited to 'Grimm' or Andersen. These fluid Canons differ year by year from country to country, according to the selections of editors, the retellings of translators, and the output from publishing houses all over the world. Still, I suggest, the main reason why they continue to be immensely popular is that they strengthen the nuclear families which, in nineteenth and twentieth century Europe, replaced extended families and working communities, in which the older generations used to tell tales to children.

I have pointed out that since there may have been numerous relays in the process, some realisations of the tales have become so diluted they cannot be recognised as 'translations' in any target culture. Relays, however, also involve sifting. The omissions from the Canon and the changes in the content layer of the stories that have come within the scope of the present study show that there is a movement towards less gratuitous violence, vindictive bodily injury, and punishment. Although they are 'losses' in the structural or content layer and some would say that the stories thus become less 'controversial', there is another interpretation which sees this as a hopeful sign that cruelty is on the wane in the international Grimm heritage, since, as I have noted, it is sufficient that the evil-doers cannot disrupt the future life of the good protagonist(s). The religious

overtones also disappear. I have argued that, by modern standards, the original is excessive in this respect and that translators in the two top continua are tackling cultural incompatibility by reducing the religious references; but it could be interpreted as catering for an international audience, and it could reflect an increased secularisation. In the lower continua it is most likely to be the outcome of consistent reduction, possibly over several relays and mediations.³⁶

Throughout the Western world - and possibly the whole world -, the best-known Grimm tales are, by and large, identical with the handful of stories which are most popular in Germany and Denmark, although there may be slight variations (for example, 'Rapunzel' seems to be exceptionally popular in the English-speaking world).

Internationally, there are various traditions in terms of linguistic proximity to the German original. At one extreme, the complete Canon is translated nearly word-for-word for a narrow, scholarly audience. At the other extreme, the largest audiences are reached by means of cheap international co-prints whose texts leap over language barriers thanks to the carrying power of illustrations. This state of affairs might seem to be pure anarchy. Tales, fairytales, and folktales constitute an area which, if not neglected, is at least not always treated with the reverence accorded to 'established literature'. Confronted with this muddle we have a choice between being paralysed by the relativistic chaos or attempting to say something which applies to the facts of the case.

All translations, including those of a highly technical nature, bow to external factors, to constraints which depend on the intentions of the clients and the senders, on the contents of the message, and on audience orientation. True, in absolute terms, the tales under discussion are far more malleable than technical texts; yet this is only a difference of degree, not of essence. If some of my readers find that many renderings discussed are not 'translations' at all, it is because they apply ideal classroom standards to real life or to bend the facts to fit a model. The present study is based on the premise that Danish renderings ascribed to Grimm by Danish librarians, are 'translations'. This decision is not arbitrary, for it is not translators and scholars, but librarians who are the appointed custodians of the Danish national literary heritage which, of course, also includes translations.

By this token, it is not the craftsmanship of individual translators, nor the decisions of critics about the quality of translations that ultimately determine whether a specific text is a translation at all. It is publishers, translators, and readers who determine so, for the librarians reflect the views of the society for which they work and in which they, too, are embedded.

The large number of texts qualifying as translations proves that the Grimm collection struck a chord with the Danish audience and still continues to do so. This resonance represents the tales' impact on the readers' response, be this gratification, appreciation, or rejection. If a Grimm tale has been subjected to interlingual transfer, and it can, by means of contrastively identifiable units, be connected closer to an original by Grimm than with any other text in the world, it is a translation of that story. True, sometimes pure accident determines whether a text is accepted as a translation or not. The acceptance is not universal, but will vary from culture to culture and in accordance with individual

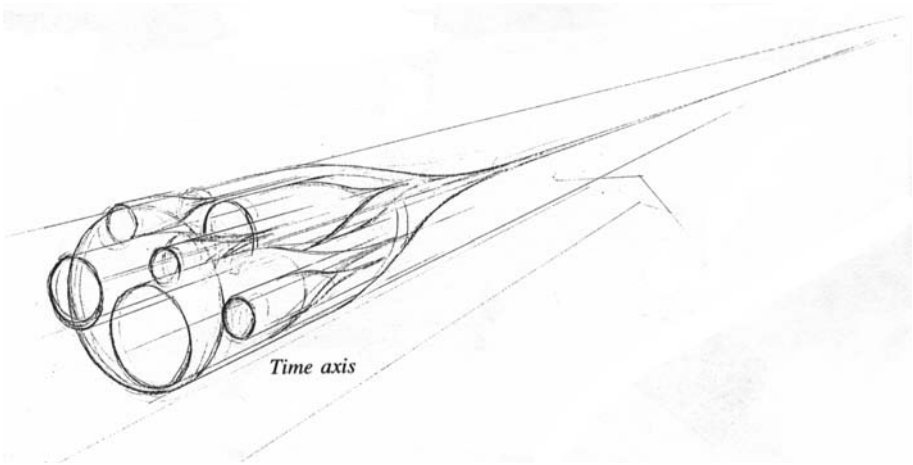
judgements dependent on social stratum, education, and general cultural knowledge. It may be that ultimately we shall have to formulate different definitions of 'translation' for different text types and perhaps even for different epochs in human history, but it falls beyond the scope of this study to explore these problems.

One striking feature about the translations is the accidental character of their existence. There have been translations that were never printed, the most obvious being some by Chamberlain Johan Frederik Lindencrone in the second decade of the nineteenth century. Conversely, there are translations that have been reissued many times and survived spelling reforms. Yet time will eventually put an end to all translations. Beyond a certain point, they cannot release dynamic reading experiences of the tales. A translation is constrained in time, it has a limited span of life, it has an end.

In the target-language culture, the translation (which is situationally defined) suddenly comes into existence (having been selected and translated by a handful of people) by being published for many. From then on the translation is read until, being read less and less, it gradually peters out and finally merges with other unidentified and submerged components of the cultural heritage. Some of the factors which originally brought it into existence have changed and the translation is no longer adapted or adaptable to the new linguistic, social or historical circumstances.

However, it is only the individual translation that has a limited existence. As long as there is an 'original' worth translating, there will be moments of co-existence of the source language text and the target language system in which new translations are created and spring to life in target languages. Translational activity may even connect (co-exist) with 'originals' which differ from the 'original source-language'. This was the case with the Grimm tales translated via Dutch into Danish, and into Greenlandic via Danish. Translations are made for audiences which crave new nuances, new styles and new orientations in the telling of tales. The translations depend on the vitality, the life-blood, the intentionality of the 'original' for their content and intentional layers. For their linguistic layer and occasionally their structural layer they depend on the target-language translator and on the target-culture genres, socio-literary systems, etc. The translations relate to and merge with previous and subsequent translations in the target culture and come to constitute a translational heritage which connects primarily with other translations of the original, with previous and subsequent translations in the target-language culture, and, perhaps, with translations in other languages. They establish their national translational tradition and this may even divide into translational continua with finite life spans. In turn, the translational continua become part of the national, supranational, and international heritage. All translations have an existence, during which they affect not only other translations, but even human acts, most obviously those of reading or listening. So although specific translations are individual acts with individual imprints, all individual translations make their impact socially, and contribute to national, indeed sometimes even directly to the international cultural contexts.

Individual translations collectively merge with and add to the translational heritage, in a way which can be visualised as follows:



The translational tradition and heritage in a culture

In Denmark the high-status heritage of the Grimm *Tales* was promoted by high-status translators and intellectuals but was still oriented towards children.³⁷ Translations fused with work produced by Hans Christian Andersen and created a new literary genre in Danish culture. Andersen was translated into German and prompted additional interest in Grimm. In turn, Andersen and Grimm were translated into other languages in which audiences also took to fairytales. This fact called for more translation of tales, thus creating the international fairytale genre, possibly the greatest success story ever within literary translation. Andersen and Grimm stories continue to leap language barriers. They move nimbly from one language to the other. Relay plays a prominent part: Chinese editions of Grimm have been based on Japanese translations. Even today, Icelandic, Faroese, and other language editions are based on Danish texts. Conversely, there are Danish versions translated from edited French, English, German, and Italian texts. You mention them, we've got them.

Societal forces in Denmark

It will be appropriate in this context to focus on the response to the *Tales* in the countries where it is best known.

It will be recalled that one of the first responses to the *Tales* in Denmark was the collection of folklore. As in Germany, this was linked to a general Romantic harking back to the past and to the recognition that societies were undergoing rapid change.

The German 'Märchen' and the Danish 'Eventyr' were far apart. The few contemporary Danish folkloristic 'Eventyr' are cruder than the German tales: there was little balancing between the orality of the common folk and accepted literacy. Among the intelligentsia, there was little belief that tales were a valuable part of the ancient culture

of the same calibre as, for instance, the Icelandic *Edda*. Nevertheless, the German tales inspired Hans Christian Andersen, who added a humorous, ambiguous, and amiable tone to the genre. Both German and Danish narratives stemmed from the same kind of bourgeois attitudes inspired by patriotism and general Romantic sentiment. Once severed from their respective spheres of origin, the German and Danish genres merged.

The Grimm *Tales* have been translated regularly since their first appearance in Denmark. 'Good', 'established', 'recognised' Danish translations are eminently suited for being read aloud. They tend to be adequate renditions of the German source texts. However, the Danish translational tradition avoids dialects, rejects most religious references and the excessive use of sentimental diminutives in German and the consequent asexuality of the stories. They do retain shocking phenomena such as cannibalism, rejection by parents and so on: these seem to serve a purpose, perhaps particularly in the haven of the family circle where children may shudder safely at the idea of loss of parental care.

Especially in the two top continua in Denmark, cruelty in the originals is usually retained in Danish translations as part of a Danish tradition of accepting cruelty in the Grimm *Tales*, independent of whether it is gratuitous or organically part of the individual tale. A partial explanation may be that the German tales took root in Denmark at a time when the carnage of the Napoleonic Wars was fresh in people's minds and when executions were still public spectacles. The cruelty retained in the Danish Grimm tradition may therefore well reflect a past historical and social reality. But I noted above that there also appeared to be a tendency for Danish translators to select 'cruel' stories when the Danes had reason to object to German aggression: virtually all translators and editors who have chosen such stories belong to the second continuum (which, unlike the top one, involves selection).

The *Tales* have enjoyed considerable popularity and respectability as they were initially translated and propagated by high-status personalities in society or in academe. It is perhaps irreverent, but probably not entirely incorrect, to assume that Hans Christian Andersen, himself a social climber, would hardly have felt inspired to write the fairytales which brought international fame to himself and to the brothers Grimm, if tales were merely associated with peasants and the agrarian proletariat. It is also tempting to believe that adults in European households found Andersen's fairytales less sanguinary and consequently less problematic to read aloud than the Grimm *Tales*.

The Grimm *Tales* reached the height of their popularity in the period between 1885 and 1965, when the continua of translations published for children and adolescents reading the tales on their own was large. With due caution, we could perhaps relate this to the gradual urbanisation and industrialisation of Denmark, which ultimately turned the country into a middle-class nation. In addition to their presentation of transformations, magic, and rural settings, the Grimm *Tales* also involve a healthy element of social climbing: there must be a connection between the reading of tales, mostly fairytales, and adolescent dreams of making good, perhaps thanks to supernatural intervention, and of timely rewards for decent behaviour crowned by marriage and everlasting bliss. These wishes have, of course, not disappeared, but, especially since the advent

of television, there have been many other channels for shared, indeed collective, daydreaming.

The first translations also began the process of selecting and sifting the Grimm tales; this excluded some of the cruder stories and gradually identified those most popular with the audience. The ten most popular tales in Danish translations show a female bias, mirroring the fact that the Grimms heard the stories from girls and young women; it is interesting to note that two highly successful translators and editors, Louise Hegermann-Lindencrone (1823) and M. Markussen (1900), hid, respectively, their identity and gender. Perhaps some of the (few) anonymous translators were also women: nevertheless, until c. 1960, the translation of fairytales in Denmark was dominated by men.

At a higher level than literary systems, indeed as some meta-pronouncement on European societies and their developments, it is a fitting tribute to the original narrators in Kassel that since then, within the genre, women have come to dominate the transmission process: like the original telling of the tales, the translations and retellings have come to follow changes in the role of women in European societies, from enforced orality resulting from deficient education to interlingual and intercultural mediation of literature.

Grimm in Britain vs Denmark

As I was finishing this study, Martin Sutton published *The Sin-Complex* (1996). Sutton's book is subtitled 'A Critical Study of English Versions of the Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* in the Nineteenth Century'. The perspective on translation is predominantly philological and accordingly of minor interest in the present context which takes in socio-literary as well as societal factors. Nevertheless, some of Sutton's findings can be related to this study, whereas others can be interpreted in the light of my conclusions.³⁸

Like other scholars, I have tended to believe that (with due acknowledgement of slight differences) my findings were generally applicable to at least the European response to the *Tales*. Sutton's book will similarly be taken to represent the typical European response. However, a comparison between the Danish and the British translations brings out so many dissimilarities in the socio-literary and translational response to the *Tales* in countries that one would normally consider 'close to identical', that it becomes obvious that studies of national responses to the *Tales* will uncover major cultural differences even within Europe, and that scholars will continue to find translations of Grimm in Europe a fertile hunting ground.

There are similarities between Britain and Denmark. Sutton finds censorship of offensive and religious features in the United Kingdom in the same fashion that I also registered a toning down of the latter in Denmark, but, interpreting this as due to cultural differences, I have termed the non-realisation 'cultural incompatibility'. Like Danes, British translators have also avoided stories with profaneness, anti-Semitism, and dialect stories.³⁹

There are striking dissimilarities between Britain and Denmark: Sutton repeatedly remarks (in passing) that British translations have taken into account, translated or edited the German notes and even made their own to the tales.⁴⁰ This was not the case with

Danish translations. Many British translations have been recycled by subsequent 'translators', an extremely rare occurrence in Denmark. British translators were anonymous from the very beginning (Jardine and Taylor's names do not appear on the cover of the 1823 translation), whereas, as noted above, Danish translators were usually well-known intellectuals. Unlike their British colleagues, Danish translators have taken few liberties with the texts and usually rendered cruelty and violence dispassionately (the first obvious changes were found at the beginning of the twentieth century, whereas rewriting occurred from the very beginning in the British tradition). Meandering renditions and additions of the type Sutton amply attests from 1828, are not found in Danish until 1948(e-h).

These differences are not arbitrary or haphazard. They are associated with societal factors in the receptor cultures. The treatment of the genre is different: in Denmark there was still a living tradition for telling folktales and the Romantic interest in the 'folk' endowed the genre with prestige. In Britain there was no strong tradition for oral narratives and if it existed, it was held in low esteem. The absence of regular notes in Danish presumably indicates that Danes needed no background information about a kind of folk literature which was alive and thriving at the time. The Danish omission of religion never amounted to the bowdlerisation found in Britain. But the main reason why the Danish translations reflect the German originals more adequately than the British is simple: the Danish tradition for translating the Grimms began at a time when nearly one-third of Denmark (Slesvig-Holsten) was German-speaking. Until the second World War (1939-1945), German was the dominant foreign language in Danish education, letters, and science: woe betide the translator who did not know his German. In Britain, conversely, there is no intellectual of any societal, cultural, or national stature among the British translators of the brothers Grimm. It is eminently obvious that many of the early translators of the brothers Grimm had only a scanty knowledge of German. This has a bearing on any discussion of adequate rendition of the original, and it is small wonder that British translations abound in contrastively identifiable 'errors'. Most British translations are clearly hack work.⁴¹ At all events, translations in Denmark were largely made *con amore* by translators who themselves selected the tales, whereas the British ones were mainly undertaken by translators who were commissioned to translate Grimm although they may, sometimes, have been allowed to choose the stories themselves. Ignorance of German must have been a strong motive for recycling previous translations in Britain, but there is at least one more reason why copyright has been upheld much more rigidly in Denmark than in Britain: the small size of Denmark means that publishers can easily check on all other national publications - a less likely (but not impossible) occurrence in the United Kingdom. Overall, it is clear that in Britain the selection and production of the *Tales* was a publishers' affair from the very beginning. The interaction between publisher and reading public in the target culture thus becomes obvious much earlier in the British socio-literary system than in the Danish one. Since the early Dutch translation (1820) was also commissioned, it seems safe to assume that the Danish translation scene where the translators play an important role, is anomalous.

The fact that there is a gender difference in so far as Grimm translations were dominated by women in Britain since 1855, but not until 1960 in Denmark, also illustrates the remarkable differences in the national scenes.

Translations of tales and Translation Studies

Translation scholars and students will be aware of the implications of my discussions for the field and, also, that some conclusions are largely confined to translation of children books (for instance, massive condensation), others to books produced in international co-prints (usually popular, illustrated books). Others again, however, apply to translation theory as such:

The present book has discussed the literary works most often translated into Danish; at the same time they are also the most translated German literature in the world. The present book has dealt with a large number of factors in a consistent way, ranging from the genesis, the linguistic and intentional layers of the source texts and changes in these layers, to a thorough analysis moving from individual realisations to the societal imprint on translations. The study therefore documents that a huge number of factors have a bearing on translation, both in relation to 'originals' and as textual products in target cultures where, in the process of reading, they are no longer primarily considered translations. Previous studies have focused on individual texts, occasionally on a body of texts, but rarely, if ever, and at least not to this extent, related them to other factors in the socio-literary, cultural or historical system. The depth and breath of this study therefore reaches far into the theory of translation.

The study shows that as far as the translation of tales is concerned, the target text is taken over as an autonomous entity by the target culture and remodelled in its image according to a multiplicity of purposes of its own, in an interplay with the audiences it appeals to, and the needs of these audiences as perceived by editors, publishers, and, perhaps, translators. This process is independent of the source text. It implies that any model of translation which posits a primary bond between sender ('author') and recipient ('reader') is seriously flawed. In my view, this also applies to many other types of translation and to many other translational contexts (*but not to all*). There is no translation theory which takes into account the complete transformations some texts which are still termed translations, undergo in receptor cultures. There is no translation theory which accounts satisfactorily for the strong feedback effect a receptor culture may have on a translated text, let alone the effect the dynamic interaction between several receptor cultures has on the linguistic realisations of the same originals, and in which these cultures create translations, or perhaps more aptly, 'literary artefacts', of their own making. In the case of the Grimm and Andersen tales, target languages and cultures may create their different realisations with different audiences in a process fine tuned over the years and targeted to meet specific needs which are unrecognisable in the 'original'. The interplay shows the translator's individual imprint at the linguistic level, in the individual text created and possibly even those moulded by teams. But at the meta-cultural level, there is no imprint from any sender, not even the translator, but a text created by cultures in contact, in a process impossible to pin down. This is most obvious

in the collective national and international selection of material in translation which is ultimately founded on national readerships of specific translations.

No existing theory or school in Translation Studies is entirely wrong and completely inapplicable, but at the same time none covers the facts of this case completely and exhaustively.

Although I have been explicit that a discussion of 'equivalence' is a wild goose chase, there is no denying that it is one prop (out of several) for discussing the relationship with the source text, and it is therefore pertinent when we consider the existence of an original (no matter how elusive) a *sine qua non* for terming a text in another language a translation. Equivalence is rarely defined even abstractly, but in its clearest forms it is (a) a one-to-one correspondence between a source text and a target text in all layers, which, in sum lead to the same result, or (b), avowedly different linguistic artefacts producing the 'same' effect with readers in different cultures. These definitions are much too precise, but make it obvious that the concept is inapplicable to most concrete translations; it has turned out to be weak with even 'close' texts, and it is incapable of generating a meaningful discussion, of say, the relationship between 1973m and 1975d, 1971c and 1983f, although all these texts are the outcome of 'translation' and even intersubjectively refer to the same 'originals'.

The 'Skopostheorie' of Hans Vermeer (e.g. 1982 (and Katharina Reiß (1984)) has more to be said for it, especially with the adjunct of functionalism. There is, indeed, a strong cultural factor in translation, notably in the selection and in the non-realisation of features which individual translators consider culturally incompatible. There is hardly one Danish translation the 'function' of which is 'identical' with that of Wilhelm Grimm, and we may argue that translators have had a say in targeting the tales with more precision towards children of a specific age or educational background. On the other hand, it is clear that the translator's importance and consequently the translator's influence on the 'scope' of a translation dwindles into nothingness in the larger context where publishing houses and the translation's success with the audience are the factors which really count. In this respect, there has been a change in the larger context. Dates probably vary from country to country: early Christian Bible translation was prompted by missionary zeal, early literary translation by *con amore* amateurs, but with the nineteenth century, we do, to some extent in Denmark and to a large extent in Britain, meet with the commissioned translation which is nowadays the dominant form. Literary agents, publishers' scouts, book fairs, international cooperation and the like, severely constrain the work of the translator: the focus on the translator in the 'Skopostheorie' is out of proportion with the translator's say on the end product of translation.

In his study of translations of more about 1,800 Nordic ballads into English, Larry Syndergaard (1995) points out that it is a major undertaking to bring a large body of translations under bibliographical control, which he did in tracking the ballad translations and I have done in the present work on translations of Grimm *Tales*. He finds that what he terms "the Translation Studies paradigm" and handbooks refer to as the Manipulation School or the Low Countries group, does not supply him with the appropriate tools for describing his findings.

I believe the problems are deeper: Translation Studies tends to generalise from far too little material, and it does not really matter whether the approach is philological, contrastive, or receptor-oriented; it does not even matter whether the studies are confined to one work, one genre, or one language pair. Although references to ‘literary systems’ may apply to some translations in a given situational context, it may not apply to the ‘same’ translations at other intersections in space and time: a tenuous case can be made that the first translations of Grimm into Denmark were part of a subsystem in Danish literature, but this line of thinking then has to tackle the problem that, in Denmark, translations have never been looked down upon compared to national produce. At all events: when the Grimm stories began to interact with Hans Christian Andersen’s tales in translation, we are no longer dealing with a local national genre, but with an international meta-genre.

As I have shown in my discussion of the Danish scene and stressed it by referring briefly to differences from the British scene, translation is an activity closely connected with the specific circumstances of translational situations in the society and culture in which it takes place. Translation Studies is in need of rethinking. But this must be another story.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

We bid adieu to the story which began when the brothers Grimm collected tales in Napoleonic Europe in the Kingdom of Westphalia in Germany. The tales they penned preserve obliquely a child’s eye view of the world. In the *Tales*, adults are, at best, well-meaning and frequently stupid; more often, they behave in erratic, indeed cruel, ways. The world is full of fears of rejection come true, of bereavement, of sudden death, of incomprehensible and dimly understood traumatic experience. Nonetheless, loyalty between brothers and sisters, cunning, virtue, and above all, decent behaviour towards man and beast will in some hopeful and magic way prevail to be rewarded by social advancement.

At a higher level, we encounter over and over again in the best known Grimm tales, the themes of coming of age and recognition of the worth of the individual, both socially and personally.

Even though we see his achievement as a far cry from the goal he set himself when he ‘restored the Pan-Germanic tales’, Wilhelm Grimm succeeded in giving the world a shared international heritage. This is truly a fine legacy, a splendid gem from a European period when the brothers Grimm were steeped in Norse lore, recognised by the Danish scholarly and literary élite and associated with the inner circle of patriotic German Romanticism.

It is, surely, no coincidence that the Grimm repertory was conceived, first recorded and first published at the one (by our present understanding ephemeral) crux in European history when Kassel was a cosmopolitan capital to be reckoned with, and when Jacob Grimm had a vantage point on the King’s Council from which to view international

affairs. But it was Wilhelm Grimm who stayed at home and travelled nearly exclusively in Westphalia, who continued to record tales, edited them, and passed them on in a written form and thus became a focal point in international storytelling.

The *Tales* were the brothers' seminal contribution to some of the most frequently translated literature in the world. It is therefore appropriate to note that they have also been standing on the sidelines of the emergence of professional translation: the librarian Jacob Grimm was an early professional since he functioned as an interpreter, first for King Jérôme of Westphalia, and subsequently for the Hesse administration. At the most important moment in that career, during the Congress of Vienna, he sent out a *Circular* which inspired Danes to collect folkloristic material. Later Jacob Grimm exchanged practical work for an academic career as a prominent linguist. The *Tales* which he and his brother published, were, in the early days, often translated *con amore* by enthusiastic readers, but gradually more and more translation was commissioned by publishers and undertaken for money by translators. Being translated so often, the *Tales* have thus provided much remunerated work essential for the emergence of professionals who gained a living from translation, first as literary and generalist translators, but, since the middle of the twentieth century, as specialists: translators of children's books.

By recording tales, Jacob Grimm, and, more particularly, Wilhelm Grimm, showed a unique talent for adapting the teller's tale to time and circumstance. The present book has described the way in which their tales fared in translation. Like the telling of a tale, a text is translated only when the contextual constellations are propitious and is successful only if it adapts to the circumstances of time and space. Once the linguistically static translation stands out from the dynamic changes of society, in terms of its language, its values and even its views of other nations, new translations are called for. At such moment only a chain of translational communication is established: in the mind of the translator the source and the target language texts co-exist. After the translational activity, they are bisected as the target text is oriented towards the target culture. They then recede into their respective, separate, and simultaneous existences in the source and target cultures.



'The gnome'
(illustration: Philip Grot Johann and R. Leinweber, 1893)

NOTES

WORKS CITED

APPENDIXES 1 AND 2: TRANSLATIONS OF

JACOB GRIMM: *CIRCULAR* (1815)
WILHELM GRIMM: 'INTRODUCTION' (1819)

**KHM-NUMBERS AND TITLES IN GERMAN,
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'Hansel and Gretel'
(illustration: Philip Grot Johann and R. Leinweber, 1893)

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GERMANY: TELLING THE TALES

The life of the brothers Grimm

1. Dates and information have been checked with national bibliographies, biographies, and major encyclopedias (without further reference). In so far as the brothers' careers are concerned, the primary sources are: their respective *Selbstbiographien* and the collections of letters between Jacob and Wilhelm (Eds Grimm & Hinrichs); the brothers and Karl von Savigny as well as the supplement of *Unbekannte Briefe* with various people (both Ed Schoof); and Gerstner's handy collection (1952); for Jacob (Ed Wyss) is often used. Otherwise, I have found Denecke (1971); Rölleke *Einführung*; and Weishaupt useful. Seitz is good for an overview and is extensively illustrated.
2. The other children were Carl Friedrich (1787-1852); Ferdinand Phillip (1788-1845); Ludwig Emil (1790-1863); Charlotte Amalie ('Lotte') (1793-1867; married Hassenpflug 1822). Three other boys died within a year of their birth: this is why Jacob describes himself as "the second son" in his autobiography.
3. Wilhelm's *Selbstbiographie*: 6. Quotations from Danish and German are translated by me. Most quotations from the brothers' letters are either from Gerstner (1952) or Schmidt (1885; Denecke (rpt) 1974).
4. Jacob left his post because his knowledge of French obliged him to undertake the commission of procuring provisions for the French troops.
5. Letters 15 March 1809 and 22 March 1811 to Savigny. Schoof 1953: 64, 96.
6. For some of these see *Kleinere Schriften* IV. In 1811, he thus reviewed Rasmus Rask's *Introduction to Icelandic* (*Kleinere* IV: 65-73).
7. *Selbstbiographie* (Ed Wyss): 31.

The historical setting

1. Generally speaking, this chapter is based on my own general knowledge of European, German, and Danish history. Dates have been checked.
2. There seems to have been no discussion of the importance of the Kingdom of Westphalia for the formation of the Grimm *Tales* anywhere in the scholarly Grimm industry. Germans appear to resent the existence of a French-dominated kingdom in the heart of Germany, and foreigners have never heard of the place. In all fairness, it took me quite some time to notice its existence at all, and it proved a major undertaking to find out about life in Westphalia, let alone to find a reliable map of it. The kingdom is usually written off as ephemeral, but this, surely, is to disregard Napoleon's importance in the more than fifteen years when he seemed invincible and completely dominated European affairs.
3. The information on Westphalia is from Hassel; Kleinschmidt; and Losch.
3. The size is given by Losch: 8-9.
4. Hassel, especially 20-22. The figures do not include Hannover, which was part of Westphalia for a brief period in 1810-1811, before it was incorporated into the French Empire.
5. Hassel (p. 191) gives the size in 1807 as 18,700 'bürgerliche Einwohner' and 500 Jews.
6. Hassel: 5.
7. Letter to Savigny 31 July 1808. From Schoof 1953: 55.
8. Hassel describes the position and functions of an 'auditeur' (p. 111). As noted, Jacob did not find his tasks demanding. *Selbstbiographie* (Ed Wyss): 31.
9. *Selbstbiographie* (Ed Wyss): 31.
10. Losch: 98.

The cultural context: Romanticism and the collection of tales

1. Bobjerg's study covers the general European background comprehensively, but is inexact. Publication dates given are from the *GV*.
2. For other German collections, see e.g., Rölleke *Einführung*: 19-20.
3. Letter to Savigny 31 August 1809. From Schoof 1953: 73.
4. *ADB* gives the year as 1803. Weishaupt (p. 23) says 1804.
5. Rölleke *Einführung*: 31-33.
6. This is discussed in detail by Rölleke *Einführung*: 30-33.
7. For 1807, see Panzer: 11; Rölleke *Einführung*: 34. On 25 March 1808, Wilhelm Grimm writes to Savigny that he will not forget about sending tales and on 10 April he encloses some, promising to send more (Schoof 1953: 40, 42).
8. See the 'Preface' to the 1812 *Edition*.
9. See Rölleke (rpt 1837): 1156.
10. For this early 'Appeal', see Bolte-Polívka IV: 424; Panzer: 12. It is reprinted in Rölleke *Einführung*: 63-69.
11. The circumstances surrounding the printing are described by, e.g., Panzer: 13-14.

The Danish connection

1. J. H. E. Bernsdorff/Bernstorff (1712-1772) had an international background. He was a Hannoverian count and his uncle was one of George I of England's ministers.
2. Denecke makes passing references to the Grimms' knowledge of Danish (1971: 130 and 162). Wilhelm mentioned in a letter to Savigny that he was reading Danish (18 December 1807. Schoof 1953: 33). For Jacob, see his review of Rask's *Introduction to Icelandic (Kleinere Schriften IV: 65-73)*; Jacob makes occasional comments on Danish before 1812, but in my view, they are so general that they do not prove that he knew Danish. Jacob's comment about Wilhelm is found in his *Rede* (Ed Wyss): 75.
3. Denecke speculates that the brothers' knowledge of Danish dates from this connection (Denecke 1974: 1-2). We cannot be sure: Princess Wilhelmine-Caroline was not happy in her married life. Her husband, Landgrave Wilhelm of Hesse ('Kurfürst' 1803) had several mistresses and enraged Caroline's family by taking one of them with him into exile in Slesvig when he was dethroned by Napoleon. On his return to Kassel in triumph on 21 November 1813, he was accompanied by his wife. On the other hand, Wilhelm states that when he was in Berlin (1809), he - as a Hesse himself - made a point of paying respects to Wilhelmine-Caroline who, after the reinstatement (1813) was always gracious to him and his family. Denecke also assumes that Henrik Steffens spoke Danish to Wilhelm Grimm in Halle. I consider this unlikely, for at that time Steffens (a university professor in Halle) was well versed in German. It is impossible to draw any firm conclusions from this evidence.
4. For these dynastic ties see *Histoire généalogique de la maison souveraine de Hesse, depuis les temps le plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours*. 1820. Strasbourg: Levraut. 'Table généalogique'.
5. Denecke 1971: 130 points out that Jacob made only two contributions in languages other than German, namely Latin and Danish. The Danish lecture is reprinted in *Kleinere V: 349-354*: 'Om oldnordiske egenavne i en i Reichenau skreven necrolog fra det 9^{de} og 10^{de} aarhundrede.' It is impossible to find out whether the lecture was revised by a Danish editor (it was first printed in Denmark), but the retention of Jacob's idiosyncratic use of lower case for nouns indicates that he had a say in the publication of the article.
6. *Kleinere IV: 65*.
7. *Kleinere IV: 65*.
8. Schoof 1953: 49-50.
9. This Grimm correspondence with Danish scholars is reprinted in Schmidt (1885). It is supplemented by Clausen (1907), and by Denecke's *Reprint* of Schmidt (1974). Not all letters have been preserved.
10. Oehlenschläger's connections with Wilhelm Grimm in particular have been discussed by Steig and by Dietrich-Lipstadt.
11. Cf. Gerstner 1952: 44-45. Also *Selbstbiographie: 18*
12. Wilhelm visited Goethe on 11 December 1809 (Dietrich-Lipstadt: 839). Wilhelm described the conversation to Jacob on 13 December 1809.
13. Steffens was apparently consulted before Wilhelm came to Halle, but the means by which this was done are not clear.
14. Greverus discusses the ideas behind Wilhelm's interest in and translation of Danish ballads.
15. Schmidt 1885: 2. Subsequent quotations in this section are from Schmidt (1885).
16. Figure from Salmonsens, 'Købstæder'.
17. Letter to Nyerup from Wilhelm 1 December 1809. Also Schmidt (1885): 85 (fn).
18. It seems that von Hammerstein did not pass the book on to the Danish King, since there is no copy of the Ballads in the Danish Royal Family's 'Håndbibliotek' (This has been checked by Captain Kjöllsen).
19. Jacob had contacted Joseph Dobrovsky and Tydeman about Czech and Dutch animal tales, respectively (Bolte-Polívka IV: 445).
20. It will be noted that the word 'Haus-', i.e. household, does not appear at this stage.
21. Denecke (*Reprint: 5*) identifies him as Herman Bech (1789-1842). Herman Bech was on a study tour in Germany in 1811 and became a civil servant in 1812; he quickly rose through the ranks and was famed for his diligence and administrative talent (*DBL*).
22. Nyerup gives the sources of the quotations: Görres, Recension in *Hallische Literaturzeitung*; Friedrich Schlegel in *Europa 2*, 1803. Both references are thoroughly Danished.
23. After finding Nyerup's dedication, I realised that Denecke has listed it in 'Buchwidmung. Zweite Sammlung': 462. It is not given the prominence it deserves: the next book with a printed and public dedication to Wilhelm Grimm was from another Dane, namely Professor P.E. Müller. It was not until 1828 that other nationalities responded to the Grimms' scholarly work with a printed dedication (which was

Irish (Denecke 'Buchwidmung': 467)). It might seem to be only a handwritten, personal dedication from the way it is referred to in Nyerup's letter of 24 July 1816 and Wilhelm's response of 6 September 1816. 23. The date of the letter to Nyerup is striking when we realise that it is long before Wilhelm Grimm himself received a copy of the *Tales* (See Rölleke (rpt 1819): 553). The explanation seems to be that Wilhelm Grimm first forwarded the letter to Nyerup to his brother Ferdinand Grimm. Ferdinand was employed by the printer in Berlin and could therefore send one of the first copies of the book directly to Nyerup.

The publication history of the *Tales*

1. The information in this brief chapter is largely well-known. For further information see, e.g., Rölleke (rpt 1857); Weishaupt. There was some problem in the printing process, so that one tale dropped out and had to be inserted in the book. The first volume contained c. 100 tales because some stories had alternative endings and one title sometimes comprised several tales.
2. The second volume came out in late 1814, but in order to avoid confusion, I use the date 1815, as given on the title page.
3. See Rölleke (rpt 1819): 556.
4. This is a misnomer, for the last *Edition* Wilhelm Grimm saw to the press was actually the *Small Edition* of 1858. To complicate matters further, volume III, with annotations, came out in 1856. Below, I cite the date of the last authorial German *Complete Edition* uniformly as 1857.
5. For the printing history of the *Small Edition*, see e.g. Weishaupt; Rölleke *Einführung*.
6. For David Jardine, see Sutton: 11.
7. In general, international scholarship should pay serious attention to the *Small Edition*. I suggest that the Danish case, where the *Complete Edition* has served as the source version for nearly all collections, is unique. This is also borne out by titles such as the Italian *Cinquanta novelle per i bambini e per le famiglie* translated by Fanny Vanzi Mussni (1897).
8. Ginschel's discussion (219-221) proves convincingly that there was no major difference in the brothers' views. Cf. also Jacob's letter to Wilhelm of 11 May 1815: "...I do not think the [first volume of the *Tales*] should be reissued in the same form, but that much should be improved and added ..." ('Wegen der neuen Auflage des ersten Theils der Kindermärchen ist sich miteinander vielfach zu besprechen. Ich denke nicht, dass er ebenso darf wieder gedruckt werden, sondern vieles ist zu bessern und zu vermehren ...').
9. Clearly most revision work was done when the tales were prepared for the press. 1812, 1814, 1819, 1825, etc. would thus be 'tale' years.
10. See Rölleke (rpt *Kleine*): 294-295.
11. See Bottigheimer.

'Ideal tales' and 'filters'

1. In Dollerup & Holbek & Reventlow & Rosenberg Hansen (1984).
2. Apart from our own ontological approach, I call attention to Holbek's detailed descriptions of narrative settings (1988, various places). Tatar discusses what I term 'ideal tales' in relation to the brothers Grimm (especially pp 25-26). She suggests that the brothers influenced the narration more than I believe they did (given the identity of the storytellers and the usual composition of the audience): "[The brothers'] social standing, age, sexual identity, and body language worked in concert on their informants." (p. 25). I admit that these factors must have influenced the 'ideal tales', but, given the bourgeois background of most of the women storytellers, their familiarity with the brothers, and the facts that they were (mostly) adept storytellers whose audience were largely other women, the *method* of recording (the nature of the storytellers and the possibilities of taking down the stories) must have been much more important (and virtually impossible to assess).

Strata of story-telling traditions

1. I use Tatar's translation into English for easier reference.
2. See Denecke 'Grabhügel'.
3. The background information about the identity of the informants is based mainly on Rölleke's updated list of narrators (rpt 1857) III: 559-574. In the present work, Rölleke's list is used for a documentation of the narrative contracts (including what I term 'feasts of tales') and the actual collection of tales, an approach which, to the best of my knowledge, is novel.
4. The story is told in detail in Rölleke 'Die Marburger'; see also Bolte-Polívka IV: 421; Kolditz: 23.
5. *Einführung*: 74-75.
6. Rölleke lists thirty-seven tales to which she contributed (rpt 1857) III: 571-572. To this we may add 'Der Grabhügel' uncovered by Denecke.

7. Denecke (1971): 68; cf. Gerstner (1952), letter of 5 December 1811. 'Preface' 1819 fn.
8. In *Einführung*, Rölleke tenders the following information about the provenance of the tales. The [48] Ölenberg manuscripts derived from the following sources (including variants): the painter Philipp Runge (two stories); the Hassenpflug family (Kassel: sixteen); the Wild family (Kassel: fourteen); Friederike Mannel (six); the old woman in Marburg (two); the Ramus siblings (one); literary sources (sixteen). Two thirds of the first 86 *Tales* of 1812 come from these informants, who included Major Krause. Three fourths of the second volume of *Tales* (1815) derive from Dorothea Viehmann (fifteen); the Haxthausen family (thirty-three); and the theologian Ferdinand Siebert (seven). There are, as I note later, reasons for believing that ascriptions based on the Grimm notes in the copies of the first *Edition* (as are Rölleke's) may not reflect the reality. My assumption is that the brothers are most likely to have listed only the rendition they considered best or which they remembered most vividly, although they are likely to have listened to several renditions of the 'same' tale.
9. It is impossible to prove who was present on each occasion, but, of course, members of the circle of storytellers might be away or ill. Age also determined membership: Dortchen Wild does not appear to have joined the circle until she was fifteen (in 1810), and Amalie Hassenpflug not until she was ten.
10. The earliest record (by Gretchen Wild) is from 1807.
11. The connection was established by Werner von Haxthausen, who knew Jacob Grimm (presumably from the Westphalian administration).
12. Ludwig Hassenpflug's description of the activities, which started in 1807. It is quoted in Rölleke (rpt 1857) III: 600.
13. See Bolte-Polívka IV: 440; Bystrup amply documents this (31-32); also Rölleke *Einführung*: 83-84.
14. This hypothesis was aired in Dollerup & Reventlow & Rosenberg Hansen 1986. It cannot be proved because we lack dates for most recordings in the Kassel circle. Nevertheless, it is possible to use Rölleke's list of contributors to identify 'spurts of storytelling' as follows: Marie Hassenpflug, two tales on 10 March 1810, two tales on 13 October 1812, two tales on 8 March 1813; Dortchen Wild four tales 29 September-13 October 1811, three tales 19 January 1812, two tales 9 October 1812, four tales 5-15 January 1813 (also above, p. 37).
15. The concept of censorship derives from Bogatyrev and Jakobson. Rölleke discusses filters in *Einführung*: 72, 84; and in (rpt 1837): 1159. I doubt that the Grimm tales were 'censored' in terms of content by the women narrators. They are more likely to be selected as being potentially genteel although they were from the 'common folk'. They would then be refined by repeated telling.
16. This pertinent point is made by Rölleke (rpt 1837): 1161, respecting volume 2. I suggest that it applies to the *Tales* as a whole.
17. Tatar's picture of "The Grimms' physical presence alone, with eyes alert and pens poised..." (37) is, I believe, out of touch with social mores in Europe at the time.
18. See Bolte-Polívka IV: 448.
19. See Rölleke's reprint in *Einführung*: 66.

Texts and geneses of selected tales

1. The folkloristic-cum-textual approach to the editorial changes (which are termed 'Stilentwicklung') was first covered (uncritically) by Tonnelat, and later (incisively) by Freitag and others. Their treatments are overshadowed by the work carried out since 1975 by Heinz Rölleke, who, generally speaking, adheres to the view that little has been changed. I find that these traditional discussions fail to confront the problem of the content changes which I deal with. Although most of the textual changes are registered, there is an overall failure to assess the implications: thus, for instance, it is implicitly assumed that (in general) the Ölenberg manuscripts are more 'original' than subsequent versions. The only conclusion I agree with wholeheartedly is that gradually Wilhelm Grimm developed a 'Märchen style'. These 'improvements' to the tales relate exclusively to their usefulness as literature read aloud, i.e. for establishing 'narrative contracts' based on tales in writing - a point which appears to be overlooked. But they are certainly not 'improvements' by making the tales approximations of renditions closest to 'ideal tales'.
2. See Dollerup & Reventlow & Rosenberg Hansen 1986: 13 for pertinent references.
3. Quoted from Schoof 1959: 21-22.
4. For such studies see, e.g., Bystrup; Kolditz Hansen; Rörich (76-77); Tatar (Chapter 1); Rölleke *Wo*: 75-87; *Einführung*: 43-47, 80, 88 (and many other places); Seitz: 84-89; Zipes 1992: xxvi-xxviii; etc.
5. Information about the source from Rölleke (rpt 1857) III: 39, 449. The reason that it is 'from Kassel' is probably that the brothers had no further information about old Ms Wild. In addition, the story is a bit more urbanised than many others.
6. Rölleke (rpt 1857) III: 448. Wilhelm Grimm's information, same volume: 37.

7. Rölleke (rpt 1857) III: 449, with further references.
8. Rölleke (rpt 1857) III: 448, with further references. For a detailed discussion, see Rölleke 1983.
9. Rölleke (rpt 1857) III: 471-472. Also Rölleke 1972.
10. They are discussed in Dollerup & Reventlow & Rosenberg Hansen 1986: 13-14
11. Details about the printing are given in Bolte-Polívka IV: 426; Panzer: 13-14.
12. For these deliveries, see Rölleke (rpt 1857) III: 472.
13. A more detailed discussion of literature as experience is found in Dollerup & Reventlow & Rosenberg Hansen 1989: 7-13. The ontological status of literature was discussed in Dollerup 1969.
14. I have developed this tool for discussing texts and translations over the years, first in Dollerup 1985, then in Dollerup *et al.* 1986.
15. See, for instance, Freitag: 96; Schoof 1959: 190; Rölleke (rpt 1819) II: 566-578; *Einführung*: 87-90 (“Zwar hat er Sinn und eigentlichen Inhalt nirgends angetastet, wenn man davon absieht, dass ein leicht hagiographischer Ton ... die Akzente ein wenig versetzt ...”); Tatar: 35: “Yet closer inspection of the changes introduced by the Grimms into the tales shows that the brothers did not change beyond recognition the substance of the tales.” One problem with the Grimm tales (as will be noted in my discussion of translations) is that some tales are recognisable by the title only.
16. In general, I have chosen the few reasonably consistent editorial changes over the years. I have found the discussion in Bystrup most lucid, but I wish to stress that, in my opinion, searching for consistency on other points is a wild-goose chase. This point is made later.
17. In other words, I suggest that cruelty in the tales may be viewed in three different ways: as introduced for fun by the women narrators (for instance, the visitation on Loki); as part of the ‘ideal stories in the oral tradition of the folk’ (in which case the explanation should be found in folklore and/or psychoanalysis); or from everyday life (and indirect information) in Napoleonic Europe.
18. See Dégh; Tatar: 48. Rölleke (rpt 1857) III: 612-613 sees this as part of a major development of the tales, a view which tallies quite well with my own.
19. Ellis.
20. See ‘Appeal’ 1811 (rpt Rölleke 1975: 68); and Bolte-Polívka IV: 426, fn. Tatar discusses the financial aspects but does not reach any convincing conclusion.
21. Collinge: 64.
22. Bolte-Polívka IV: 428 and 449.
23. See Rölleke (rpt 1819): 556-578.
24. There are 32 ‘Zauber märchen’ in the 1825 edition and 33 in the 1858.
25. These observations about the audience of the *Large Edition* in Germany (and Europe) are inferred from my analysis of the Danish response to the tales discussed later in this study.
26. Rölleke *Einführung*: 25-26 makes similar observations but refers to the need of mothers to read aloud to children; he also seems to assume (implicitly) that the audiences for the *Small* and the *Complete Grimm* were identical throughout Europe. This is not only unlikely but also impossible since the *Tales* were translated into different languages at different times.
27. Panzer actually published three comments on the *Tales*. His introductory comments to the 1913 reprint of the 1812-1815 *Edition* were fairly uncritical. The article which appeared the same year hinted that the *Tales* were not authentic folkloristic material. However, in the 2nd edition (no date [1948]) the foreword (named ‘Zum Geleit’ as in 1913) is a withering attack on Wilhelm Grimm’s work. I refer to the 1953 edition of Panzer (which was the only one available to me).
28. For the record, it should be mentioned that in 1838 the Norwegian Jørgen Moe, himself an experienced collector and a correspondent of Wilhelm Grimm’s, suggested to his colleague Peter Asbjørnsen that the Grimms had edited their tales substantially: “I have a suspicion about the tales of the Grimms which I am writing to you about so that you can check it, and tell me what you think. By reading several of them, one after the other, ... it has struck me that they have a more complete form than they could possibly have had when they flowed to the pen of the brothers from the mouth of the folk. I wonder if the Grimms have taken the liberty, terming it the ‘expression’, to which they admit, to narrate something in more words and with longer descriptions in passages (although I think this is a suspicion which would be unworthy of two champions of the good cause.)” (‘En Tvivl mod de Grimmske Eventyr kan jeg ikke unnlade at nedskrive dig, for at du kan prøve den og sige mig din Mening om den. Ved at gjennemlæse flere af dem efter hverandre ... er det faldet mig ind, at de have en fuldkommere Afrundethed, end de, da de strømmede fra Folkets Mund i Grimmernes Pen, kunne have ... Mon ikke snarere, de gode Grimmer have tilladt sig, under Navnet ‘Udtrykket’, som de jo vedkjende sig som sit eget, ogsaa for at udføre Eet og Andet med flere Ord og - skjønt dette rigtignok igjen forekommer mig en disse den gode Sags Kjempere uværdig Beskyldning med en og anden Udmaling af en Omstændighed?’ (From Bø: 38)).

29. Rölleke terms the publication of volume 1 a 'Pilotprojekt' (*Einführung*: 77-78). I agree.
30. Rölleke discusses the order of tales by contents (rpt 1837): 1168-1169, but does not relate this to the idea of an origin from a common mythology propounded on the basis of Rask's findings.
31. Rölleke (rpt 1819): 568.
32. I picked up this idea from somebody else, but have been unable to locate the source again. It is obvious that Wilhelm Grimm's childhood experiences affected the tales: loss of parents and loyalty among brothers and sisters are frequent intentionalities in the stories. When we note that there is, in addition, a feminine bias in most tales, we discover a happy hunting ground for psychoanalytical interpretation.
33. It is probably a statement like this that makes scholars search for a disagreement between Jacob and Wilhelm in their attitude to tales (See also above, p. 331, fn 8).
34. From *Rede* (Ed Wyss): 77 (The last part of the speech is missing in the version printed in *Kleinere Schriften*).

Danish connections and subsequent events

1. Jacob Grimm was serious about incorporating the whole of Jutland into the German Reich, a view guaranteed to make him unpopular with Danes. For the correspondence with Danish scholars see Schmidt (1885), whose discussion is fairly exhaustive, although Denecke adds some points in his *Reprint* (1974). There is also valuable information in Denecke 'Bibliothek', as well as in his 'Buchwidmungen'. Doubtless a full exploration of the connection by means of Danish sources would yield much interesting material.
- As previously noted, Borberg discusses the Scandinavian connection inexactly and without much detail. Klingberg (1984) gives broad outlines of the influence of the brothers' work on folkloristic themes in Scandinavia as a whole, while Henning discusses the relationships with Scandinavia in general.
2. Hans Christian Andersen tells the story himself (translated 1952): 165-167. It is also told in Bredsdorff: 171.

TRACKING DANISH TRANSLATIONS

1. The bibliography is divided into two parts: the first lists all translations and derivations of Grimm tales to appear in Danish prior to Wilhelm Grimm's death in 1859 and which I have been able to track down. This part therefore supplements Wilhelm Grimm's information about Danish translations of the tales given in a footnote to his 'Preface' to the *Children and household tales*. The second part of the list covers the period from 1860 to 1986. The latter list is based exclusively on what is considered 'tales by Grimm' (*Grimms eventyr*) in the Danish cultural and bibliographical heritage. It excludes periodicals and anthologies in which Grimm tales appear on a par with other stories. However, there are two exceptions: for the sake of completeness, (a) I continue to record new editions of Grimm tales listed in the first part, and (b), series and collections ascribed to Grimm at one stage, are also listed when they are not credited to Grimm. They are given in brackets to indicate that they are not, as it were, 'officially' part of the Grimm heritage.

In my search for Danish translations of *Tales* published in Wilhelm Grimm's lifetime, I first checked all books listed under 'Grimm' at the *UCL* and *RLC* catalogues (then separate entities). I then checked all books called *Julegave* and *Nytaarsgave* ('Christmas' and 'New Year's gifts'), *Læsebøger* ('readers'), *Eventyr* ('Fairytale'), *Fortællinger* ('Narratives'), *Historier* ('stories') and *Samlinger* ('collections', 'anthologies'). Nevertheless, I may have overlooked some tales. It is indicative of the difficulties in tracking tales that Munch-Petersen excludes tales from his bibliography of translations of foreign fiction into Danish in the nineteenth century.

Otherwise the list was compiled from (in declining order of importance) the books themselves, *DB*, *RL*, and *RLC*. Information found in the books (sometimes including datings in hand in some library copies) usually supersedes all other sources.

When there is no danger of misunderstandings, I have felt free to move between Danish and English. Otherwise I have observed the following guidelines: (1) the information must be unambiguous, hence a standardisation has taken place. Wherever needed, translations into English are supplied; (2) the list should be informative. For this reason, the title is given first; if there is more than one title, the most informative one is invariably cited; new lines in titles are not indicated. Old conjugated forms have usually been modernised.

In order to convey a fairly precise picture of the impact, not only of the Grimm Canon, but also of the individual stories, there is a listing of the tales by numbers (abbreviated as KHM from the German last authorial *Complete Edition* (1857); or the 'Anhang' number from Rölleke (rpt 1857), if the story had been discarded by Wilhelm Grimm by 1857. Irrespective of the order of the tales in the Danish collection under discussion, their numbering follows that of the 1857 German *Complete Edition* and Rölleke's *Reprint* of it to facilitate reference.

The years quoted in brackets indicate the date when the tale in question was first published in German by Wilhelm Grimm; if there is only one year, it means that the story was included for good. Stories that were expurgated are cited with the years of, first, their inclusion in, and, secondly, their last appearance in the German *Complete Editions*.

This entry is followed by the name of the Danish translator or editor, as appropriate. The word(s) used for the activity are usually one of the following: "oversat" = 'translated'; "gendigtet", "genfortalt" = 'retold'; "udvalgt" = 'selected'; "af" and "ved" = 'by'.

Prefaces and statements of intent are noted. Whenever it has been possible to identify the 'origin' of a text, this is also indicated.

This entry is followed by information on illustrations, if any.

I then list the measurements of the books: the number of pages may vary within 4 pages (depending on whether blank pages and covers have been included); I usually follow the *DB* or the library information. The size gives an idea of the type of edition with which we are dealing, such as de luxe vs common; the measurements may vary by 1 centimetre (i. e. the difference between the size of the cover/binding and the pages).

The publisher and the printer have been identified primarily from the books themselves. Information about these two points, especially the latter, is often deficient (sometimes because the publishing house has its own press; or (as in modern co-prints) the printer cooperates with the foreign publisher). The map of Denmark (above, p. 70) shows places of publication in Denmark.

Whenever pertinent, the list contains information about typography and orthography.

There is a note on the relationship with previous editions and translations if relevant. Since terminology in this field is not quite clear, I have chosen to use the word 'edition' for (near) repetition of contents. 'Reprint' usually means that the typography and layout of a previous edition are preserved in complete (or at least great) detail.

The price, usually the lowest (pb), also serves to give an impression of the book (de luxe vs ordinary) under discussion; it is taken from the *DB* and only since 1875, when the Danish 'krone' was introduced. The price is not always available, since older editions of the *DB* cite only the price of the last issue before the *DB* itself was printed; in addition, the *DB* does not list prices of books out of print. The number of copies printed are those noted in *DB* or in the books themselves: they are not above suspicion.

Some information is not repeated in the listing of reprints of collections.

Works published in series present a problem for uniform listing, so there are slight variations in the way I have treated these. In some cases, especially that of series issued in the 1960s and later, overall information is tendered first, and only variations in stories, translators, etc. are specified. Internal numbering within series is disregarded because it leads to chaos in the listing (yes, it was attempted). In some series, there may also be deviations from the chronological order. The Danish names of series are uniformly hyphenated for clarity.

With these exceptions, the listing is chronological. Prolonged experimentation with other methods has convinced me that this was by far the superior method. References to previous editions allude to the year, to the name of the editor or to the publishing house, whichever seems most appropriate. This does make for some arbitrariness, but so will any listing.

Each publication has a letter after the year to allow for easy identification.

Quotation marks, apostrophes and parentheses are used for quotations. Brackets indicate information supplied from sources other than the books themselves. In so far as it has been impossible to procure information on a point (for instance, publisher or printer) it is omitted. Books not available for inspection have been noted as such.

2. The list is limited to Grimm tales translated into Danish. It therefore excludes publications in German: neither books printed in German in Slesvig-Holsten, nor Grimm tales in German in primers of German for Danes are listed. These primers have been checked. I have identified the following tales from 1812 to 1859:

1831: H. J. Blom: *Tydsck Chrestomathie, indeholdende Prøvestykker af de navnkundigste tyske Prosa-ister*: KHM 10 (credited to Grimm). - 1835: Peder Hjort: *Tydsck Læsebog for Danskitalende*: 10 (not credited). - 1837: G. F. F. Rung: *Tydsck Læsebog for Børn*: 2, 10, 53 (credited to Grimm), new ed: 1841. - 1839: Friedrich Bresemann: *Deutsches Lesebuch*: 24 (only the opening passage), 27, 52, 72, 78, 83 (credited to Grimm). - 1843: F. Bresemann: *A B C- und Lesebuch*: 10, 77, 102 (credited to Grimm). - 1853: P. H. Leonhard: *Tydsck Læsebog for de første Begyndere*: 152 (credited). - 1856: H. C. F. Lassen: *Tydsck Læsebog i to Parallel-Kurser for Mellemklasser*: 98, 102 (not credited). - 1858: P. H. Leonhard: *Tydsck Læsebog for de øverste Klasser i borgerlige Realskoler*: 72, 73 (not credited).

3. Cramer & Jakobsen & Klingberg call attention to Molbech's importance as a mediator of the Grimm tales (p. 61).
4. Molbech's *Christmas gift* of 1837 contains no stories from the *Tales*.
5. I have been unable to trace any translations by 'Jørgen Borre', or indeed any information about him.
6. There are actually more than 200 tales: KHM 151 includes two stories, namely 'The three lazy sons' and 'The twelve lazy servants'; and some tales comprise more than one story, e.g. 'The wedding of Mrs Fox' (KHM 38), and 'The elves' (KHM 39).
7. The volumes *Længe, længe siden* and *Tommeliden og andre Eventyr* edited by M. Markussen and credited to Grimm (DB) 1909 are not Grimm tales.
8. Although the books are otherwise identical, the illustrations differ in the Gyldendal *Æventyrserien* and the *OTA books* available at the *RL*.
9. The *RLC* and *DB* list *Grimm's fairy tales* from 1955. This collection is printed in English. Strictly speaking, it therefore falls outside the scope of the present study. Nevertheless, the publication is so unique that it deserves a note: the stories are in a box measuring 6(depth)x13x16 cm. Placed upright, this box shows a book case inside a castle, covered with two doors. These two flaps open to the shelf containing twelve miniature volumes, measuring 8x5 cm. Each one contains one tale. The tales are edited and have been translated from Danish into poor English: "'Good day, comrade,' said he, 'there you sit at your ease, and look the wide world over; I have a mind to go and try my luck in that same world; what do you say to going with me?'"
10. The collection was published by Nordisk Papir Industri, Viby, Jutland, presumably as a present for the firm's customers. It was also for public sale, priced at Dkr 6.75.
11. Ms Anne Loddegaard called my attention to this unrecorded series and permitted me to inspect her own copies of the books.

Denmark: reception, impact, and sales of the *Tales*

1. Thiele was probably inspired by the brothers Grimm when he voiced the same idea about his legends, although he also stressed that they were 'peasant stuff' (III: vi).
2. It has not been widely accepted since the middle of the nineteenth century. See e.g. Holbek (1987: 17-18, 119, and other places).
3. His continued ambassadorship might be seen as a dynastic courtesy, since the Danish Queen was the niece of the Prince of Hesse (above, p. 13).
4. Both Johan Lindencrone and Mathias Thiele's brother acquired the book in Copenhagen. In addition, Wilhelm Grimm seems to have sent a copy to von Hammerstein (Letter to Jacob 13 February 1815).
5. For this reaction, see Pedersen & Shine. According to Nielsen (1977), there was no corresponding delay in translating adult literature, such as Walter Scott.
6. See Dollerup, Cay & Iven Reventlow & Carsten Rosenberg Hansen. 1988. *Report on the selection procedure based on readers' responses to the original nine tales in Denmark*. ERIC (Educational Resources Information System) ED: 248 477 Bloomington, IN. (e.g. 29, 45, 46)
7. Letter to Jacob, 30 January 1815.
8. The prefatory volume was called 'Prøver' and is dated 1817. It must either have been predated sometime in the spring 1818 when Thiele's plans matured, or Thiele suffered a slip of memory when he told the story in his memoirs; alternatively, these may all be stories which he culled from literary sources.
9. Jacob's review is rpt in *Kleinere* VI: 292-293.
10. Thiele II: iv cites "M. Winther" as an informant.
11. Matthias Winther's tales are discussed in depth in Holbek (1990).
12. The footnote in 1837 referred to only 'Hegermann-Lindencrone', 'Öhlenschläger', and 'Molbech's *Christmas gifts*' from 1835 and 1836.

It is obvious that Wilhelm Grimm had not seen the 'Lindencrone' translation himself, since he distinguishes between the translations by J. H. Lindencrone and Lindencrone-Hegermann. Similarly he had no first-hand knowledge of Oehlenschläger's translation from 1816.

In his *Selbstbiographie* (orig. 1831), Jacob Grimm also cites the *Tales* ((Ed) Wyss: 38). He refers only to the Dutch and English translations. The explanation is probably that in 1831 the brothers did not know of the Danish translations at all; this would not be surprising. Molbech was the only person we know who mentioned Danish translations to the Grimms, and he and Bresemann were the only ones to send copies of translations. There was also a striking lack of Danish translations of the *Tales* in the brothers' own library (cf Denecke 'Bibliothek').

The Dutch translation is discussed by Zijpe (1975). The Dutch collection comprised twenty stories.

13. The first *Complete Grimm* in English appeared in 1884 (Margaret Hunt *Grimm's Household Tales* (See

Sutton: 261-304)). Objectively, I would assume that in all likelihood the Danish translations of the Grimm *Tales* must be among the most numerous and the most widely disseminated in any nation outside the German-speaking world; this claim must, however, remain unsubstantiated as long as there are no studies resembling the present one of all the other languages in which Grimm tales are popular.

14. I am referring to direct translations since, in the nature of things, it is impossible to be sure about single-tale books: some of these must derive from *Small Editions*, but it would be more than a study in its own right (and often a futile one at that) to trace their textual and printing histories.

15. Sutton has unearthed English translations of the *Editions* from 1815 (p. 162), 1819 (e.g. 61, 65, 140), 1837 (113, 118), 1843 (140), 1850 (162-163, 201), 1857 (186, 201).

16. This depends on the thoroughness of Greensten's 1891 revision. I believe it was superficial.

17. In principle Lindencrone may have started translating tales as early as 1812; by 1815 he would also have had access to volume 2. However, since his daughter stuck to volume 1, it seems likely that he had translated stories from this volume only. I am inclined to believe that Johan Lindencrone actually translated the whole of volume 1, but it cannot be proved beyond a doubt. The arguments in favour of my view are as follows. First, the tales which seem to be translated by him according to my study (KHM 10, KHM 82; above, pp 161-162 and p. 210, respectively) are too far apart to believe that they were selected. Secondly, Louise Hegermann would be unlikely to use her father's translations if there were a few stories only (it would hardly have been worth her while to collate them with the German second *Edition*). Thirdly, the two stories in which I see Lindencrone's hand, are among the least 'popular' stories: of course he would, first and foremost, translate the 'popular' stories for his grandchildren.

18. I imagine that she collated something like half the first page of this story, concluded that it had not been changed by Grimm and therefore let her father's translation stand.

19. In my text I refer to the life-span in round figures, but use precise figures in the illustration, namely the first and last year of publication. Of course books do not pass out of circulation the year they are last printed. They may continue to be read for a long time afterwards.

20. The information on orthography is taken from Salmonsens; from Galberg Jacobsen; and from private information (Henrik Galberg Jacobsen of 'Dansk Sprogæavn').

21. For expanded discussions see e.g. Cramer *et al*; Simonsen; and Stybe.

22. Much subsequent information in this chapter about the Danish socio-literary system derives from my interviews with publishers and librarians. I wish to acknowledge their kindly response to my blunt questions.

For comprehensive descriptions of the Danish socio-literary system, see Hertel; Winge.

23. It was not found in the Grimms' library. See Denecke 'Bibliothek'.

24. On 1 January 1995, this became a 70 year period.

25. The population figures were 930,000 (1801); 1.3 million (1840); 1.8 million (1870); 2.2 million (1890); 2.5 million (1901); 3 million (1916); 4.5 million (1950); 5 million (1970).

26. This figure may err on the low side, since it is based on fairly recent editions of 'Lindencrone'. My assumption is that each printing consisted of 1,000 copies (cf. 1854b). If figures from other editions from the turn of the century provide any guidelines, there may, however, have been 3,000 to 4,500 copies per edition. This would treble the number of copies of Lindencrone but would not wreak havoc with my comments.

27. According to the *RLC* and the publisher, Anine Rud's translation was issued in 1992 and 1995 in 13-15,000 copies. Carl Ewald was issued in 1987, 1991, 1992, adding 13,500. His translation is unlikely to be reissued since 1995 saw a new translation of the *Complete Grimm* by Villy Sørensen.

28. Carl Ewald's primacy is supported by the editions appearing after my *terminus ad quem*, whereas Anine Rud moves up to become the fourth most popular translator of Grimm.

29. Bondesen also revised his collection linguistically in 1904, seven years after the first issue: this was done to conform with the new norms concerning verb conjugation and is therefore not typical.

30. Winge also repeatedly makes the point that children do not buy books themselves.

31. The books are offered by an international publisher to Danish (and numerous other national) publishers in batches of four to eight at a time as a co-print. If accepted, the Danish publishers will employ a translator on the open market or do the translation themselves. The translation is based on the source-language of the original of the co-print. International formatting (i.e. the illustrations) imposes severe limitations on translations in terms of, for instance, the number of pages and lines available for text. The translations are returned to the international publisher. All the books are then produced at a printer's (which may not be in the same country) using identical illustrations, but with texts in different languages. The finished books are sent to the national publishers, who then distribute them nationwide (in Denmark: using the procedure described in my main text).

32. Hertel: 290.

33. The information from publishers is conflicting. Most publishers clearly consider the break-even point a trade secret (which is fair enough). Nevertheless, it appears as if publishers could count fairly accurately on a sale of c. 600-700 books to children's libraries in the 1970s when funds were ample. Cuts in public spending since the mid-1980s meant that children's libraries were more critical in their purchase of books. The disappearance of this safety net apparently made the publication of de luxe editions a risky undertaking. One publisher interviewed was outspoken about the Danish market for de luxe editions after the cutbacks at children's libraries: "It doesn't pay." The profits and losses are therefore borne increasingly by international companies. The result is inevitably that numerous co-prints are simply not published in Danish at all.

34. In Denmark, there is an annual nationwide sale of books at a discount (and sometimes auctions to authors and booksellers) in order to get rid of old stock and surplus books. On these occasions, some bookshops acquire, for example, Grimm de luxe volumes, so that they can be offered at bargain prices to customers in need of gifts later on.

35. Bredsdorff: 308-311; and Holbek (1990) both discuss Hans Christian Andersen's debt to folklore.

36. Excluding the *Ælle balle* books, the following list of series with five or more stories shows that these would add little to the picture of collections published: Period 1900-1919: no series. - 1920-1939: one series (1931b-e). - 1940-1959: no series. - 1960-1979: three series (1972 (1973), 1974). - 1980-1986: one series (1981).

37. Gyldendal assured me that there had been no such deliberations in the two cases discussed: many other books had been marketed in the same fashion.

38. Escarpit: 116.

39. See also Escarpit: 92.

40. The saturation point probably varies. Following OTA's and Markussen's publication of more than 1.5 million tales in the 1920s, there seems to have been a glut of the market in the 1930s. At that time, the population of Denmark was slightly more than three million. Another implication is that Grimm tales have not been equally popular in all epochs.

EMBEDDING THE TALES IN DANISH

1. Sutton's study of the English translations is a welcome supplement to the present study; the overall approach is totally different from mine. It is limited to a sixty-year period (1823-1884) and focuses on textual criticism. Most of the comprehensive studies of the reception of Grimm tales seem to center on the Far East (e.g. Yea-Jen Liang, and Yoshiko Noguchi). There are more studies of national response, but they seem to be unpublished theses (cf. Liang's bibliography).

2. These 'analysesedler' were made locally by librarians in their spare time (computerisation put an end to the practise in the 1970s). They served to identify texts of specific tales in epochs where there were fewer single-tale books. In order to get an idea of what they reveal, I checked my local children's library (Frederiksberg Hovedbibliotek). For 1953 and 1966 they yield the following harvest:

Mit skatkammer (1953): 'The wolf and the seven young kids' (KHM 5), 'Little Red Riding Hood' (26), 'The Bremen town musicians' (27), 'The sleeping beauty' (50), 'Snow White' (53). *Alle tiders dyrefabler* (1966): 'The wren' (171), and 'The wren and the bear' (102). The depth of the analysis must have varied according to local resources. Furthermore the analysis has been limited to collections available in libraries, thus excluding all educational collections, primers and the like.

3. Viggo Hjørnager Pedersen informs me that Hans Christian Andersen used 'Snip, snap, snurre' in one of his less known fairytales.

4. Bolte-Polívka III: 129, fn., suggest that "Walpe" in German is a shortened place name, or an abbreviation of "Walpurgistage" (1 May).

5. Arnt Lykke Jakobsen discusses localisation in Danish in translations of English works in *3 studier i oversættelse, Ark: Sproginstututernes arbejdspapir 24* (1985: 5-16). These are fairly elaborate examples compared to what we meet with in the Grimm translations. There are examples of attempts to locate Grimm tales in Denmark: the title of KHM 119 is nearly always 'De syv molboer' (the Danish equivalent of 'the wise men of Gotham'). It is more curious to record that the Danish title of 'The Bremen town musicians' was once given as 'De Køge sangere' (1918b)).

6. Bolte-Polívka cite a version of the exchange where the word is "Wiege", i.e. 'a cradle' (III: 129). Daugaard's "pig" is an unauthorised (but understandable) guess which was calqued by Ewald.

7. 'Knægt' is used dialectically for 'boy, son' in Danish.

8. Barring the serendipitous appearance of the book actually used by Hasselmann and Hæstrup for their

selection (I have tried to trace it, unsuccessfully, but it may be somewhere in the Odense area), I do not know how this book can be identified. The problem is that most index cards of large German collections of the Grimm *Tales* do not detail the exact contents of the collections.

9. Snow White also has a mother in 1812, but she had been dethroned by a stepmother in 1819. Since this happened before the first published Danish translation, there was never any translational tradition for having a mother in 'Snow White'.

10. I suspect that this book is actually a German co-print. This would account for the appearance of diminutives which were rejected by most Danish translators heritage at that time.

11. The chronology suggests that Søren Christensen was influenced by Anine Rud, but Anine Rud's translation was made after Søren Christensen's (personal information). Anine Rud was a consultant at the publishing house of Gyldendal.

12. But outside the present study there are also other explanations, e.g. "Psychoanalysis has long recognised that in these tales powerful unconscious emotional relations with a real mother strive for expression. Elaboration and masking transform the "wicked" mother into the wicked stepmother. The splitting of the mother figure into the beloved tender mother (usually dead) and the hated evil stepmother, follows the same mechanism as the theme of the witch. In the Hänsel and Gretel story this splitting goes one step farther: the wicked stepmother is developed into an even more wicked witch, and also serves to project the girl's own mother hatred." (Deutsch 1945 II: 436). I am indebted to Silvana Orel for this reference.

13. The selection discussed below may have been both from the Grimm tales in German or from previous translations into Danish. The principles are as follows. *Complete Grimms* ('Lindencrone', Daugaard, and Ewald) and reprints (e.g. Markussen 1919a) are left out because there is no new selection involved. The reduced reissues of Molbech and Bondesen are disregarded because the omission of tales does not seem to be based on a real selection. Conversely, the selections made in the 'Lindencrone'-Carl Ewald fusion are counted and so are reprints of stories from Molbech's *Reader, Christmas gifts* and his *Selected fairytales*. The same applies to the use of Carl Ewald's translations in subsequent books (e.g. 1964b, 1970d).

14. 'Hänsel and Gretel' has been reprinted most, namely 97 times, in the works covered in the bibliography. The figure is higher since the story has been printed in readers and anthologies which are not included in the present analysis, as well as anonymously (see 1911b; 1920a).

15. Sutton notes repeatedly that English translators have excluded stories mixing profaneness and religion (e.g. 70-71, 164, 192; he discusses one example in detail 193-199).

16. The only shifts concern 'The fisherman and his wife' (19) which was the most popular story in Denmark until 1920, and which has dropped from this position. In recent years, presumably because of good layout in co-printed editions from the English-speaking world, 'Rapunzel' (KHM 12) appears to have gained ground.

17. As pointed out in footnote 8, above, there is, unfortunately no easy way of finding out what tales have been reprinted in German selections made by editors other than Wilhelm Grimm. A thorough analysis of such collections might show changes in the popularity of some tales, even with German readers.

18. Using Rölleke's table (rpt 1857 III: 441-543), we get the following list of narrators for the 'ideal tales' recorded by the Grimm brothers:

'Hänsel and Gretel'. The Wild family (?), by 1810. - 'Little Red Riding Hood'. Jeanette Hassenpflug, autumn 1812. - 'Cinderella'. From the old woman in Marburg, by 1810. - 'The sleeping beauty'. Marie Hassenpflug, by 1810. - 'Snow White'. Marie (?) Hassenpflug, by April 1808. - 'The frog king'. The Wild family, by 1810. - 'The fisherman and his wife'. Told and written down by Philipp Otto Runge, by 1806. - 'The Bremen town musicians'. Literary source and the von Haxthausen family. First printed 1819. - 'The wolf and the seven young kids'. Hassenpflug family, by 1810. - 'The brave little tailor'. Literary source.

Zipes (1988: 23-24) argues that fairytales are a male domain and quotes all the writers active in the field. In so doing, he disregards male supremacy in literacy. I believe that this must be taken into account, too. It may be that 'artificial fairytales' turn out to be predominantly male, but it falls beyond the scope of this study to examine that tenet.

19. Cf. titles such as Maria Tatar. 1992. *Off with their heads: Fairytales and the culture of childhood*. Princeton U.P. Sutton points out that until 1855, all English translations left out violent features.

NEW TELLERS OF TALES: INTERNATIONALISATION

1. For instance *Eventyr-serien*: **Tape 1**: 'The fisherman and his wife' (KHM 19); 'The sleeping beauty' (50); 'Snow White' (53); 'The sweet porridge' (103). **Tape 2**: 'Rapunzel' (12); 'Little Red Riding Hood' (26); 'The six swans' (49); 'One-Eye, Two-Eyes, and Three-Eyes' (130).

2. See Uther; Steiz: 66-68, 75, 77.
3. It will be a study of its own to chart the advent of illustrations outside the main bibliographical heritage. *DB* thus lists colour editions of 'Hansel and Gretel' which are not ascribed to Grimm as follows before 1920:
 'Hans og Grete. Et Eventyr for Børn'. Med 6 Billeder i Farvetryk. 1873. - 'Hans og Grete.' *Danske Billedbøger*. 1891. - 'Hans og Grete.' Tegnet af John Dorph. 1905. - 'Hans og Grete.' *Stenders Æventyrbøger*. Stuttgart, Germany. 1916.
 The last book is presumably a co-print. If so, it is the earliest example cited in this study.
4. Although Ewald's translation and the illustration for 'The old man and his grandson' are both ambiguous, there is no obvious interaction between text and picture.
5. It may be that the *SNB* is simply incomplete.
6. I have discussed this in 'Constraints'.
7. The German 1812 *Edition* has 'Krebse', that is a crayfish. This was changed to a frog in German by Wilhelm Grimm. Edgar Taylor's English translation (1823) has 'a fish'. So it must be yet another English translation which served the draughtsman for inspiration.
8. For examples of house-editing, see Bush and Kinga. The system (according to which an employee or an editor 'revises' a translation) is not unheard of in a Danish context, but it is far from common.
9. The standard contracts for Danish translators state that the translators are entitled to make corrections in new editions of a book (Dollerup 1987: 188, fn). Nida (1964: 251) mentions this as a principle of translation, but I see no substantiation in practice. The present study has yielded no obvious examples of revision by Danish translators except those I deal with and even these may be the result of in-house revision or editing rather than a translator's own changes. Informal talks with publishers confirm that Danish translators rarely avail themselves of their right to introduce revisions. Of course there are exceptions: the Danish translator Mogens Boisen revised his translation of James Joyce's *Ulysses* all through his career.
10. See Dollerup 1987: 178-179.
11. Actually the 'stepmother' may have been introduced by a in-house editor or even somebody hired to check translations. Before I found this example, I had a long interview with Søren Christensen who was quite outspoken that it was Hansel and Gretel's own mother who abandoned them in the wood.
12. For instance *The Complete Illustrated Stories of the Brothers Grimm* orig. 1853, redesigned 1984. Translator not given, black-and-white illustrations by E. H. Wehnert. Chancellor Press. This edition is not complete since it was made before 1857. *The Complete Grimm's Fairy Tales*, orig. 1944, renewed 1972, rpt. 1975. Translator and illustrator not given. Routledge and Kegan Paul: London & New York. And *The Complete Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm*. 1987. Translated by Jack Zipes and illustrated by John B. Gruelle. Bantam Books: New York.
13. See e.g. Liang: 58-63 for the Chinese *Complete Grimm* of 1934. The mechanism is the same which prompts, for instance, *Complete Shakespeares*.
14. For the Japanese *Complete Grimm*, see Noguchi: 1.
15. Weinreich claims that international co-prints always use the lowest common denominator: 152-154.
16. See Sutton.
17. In theory publishers of co-prints could reduce the size to allow for longer renditions. I have met with no examples of this in my research and I doubt that the finances of co-printing would allow for this possibility.
18. Kay Nielsen's drawings originally appeared in French in 1929 in *Fleur-de-niege et d'autres contes de Grimm*. © 1925 by the English firm of Hodder & Stoughton. The book was reissued as *Fairytales of the Brothers Grimm* by the same publisher in 1979.
19. In all likelihood, Anine Rud's source text may derive from a German collection which was not pure Grimm. The "Count of Carabas" is found in Perrault's story, not in the Grimm tale.
20. Liang: 43, 47.
21. Otrakul: 7, 71-73.
22. Noguchi: 34, 45-46, 87.
23. I find the term 'indirect translation' misleading because it implies that the ultimate target language is the goal to be reached from the very beginning of 'translational activity'. The term 'indirect translation' does not make it clear that the translation 'indirectly involved' has been realised and used in 'intermediary languages'. The term relay (from interpreting) recognises that there are users of translations in all languages. Relay translation is normally touched upon only briefly (e.g. Nabokov 1969: 97-99). Gideon Toury devotes a chapter to relay (1995: 129-146), concluding that it is being phased out in translation into Hebrew. Pollard (1998) has several contributions touching upon relay translation into Chinese from Japanese. It is dealt with *per se* Dollerup (forthcoming), and its role in cultural mediation is discussed by Xu.

24. Namely KHM 1, 3, 4, 6, 9, 17, 62, 88, 91, 97, 107, 122, 129, 134; but not 7, 90, 98, 143, 145, 173.
25. Namely KHM 1, 15, 19, 29, 37, 50, 53, 55, 57, 64, 69, 88, 92, 110, 133, Anh 18; but not to 8, 10, 27, 38, 39a, 41, 48, 52, 58, 59, 70, 80, 83, 102, 132, 146. As it is, 10, 41, and 81 have only one title, so the percentage could arguably be 53.
26. There are fairly few translations into Chinese, which is why I content myself with only two translations. The count is problematic since some anthologies and collections have not been available to Liang. From Liang: 37-50, 88-89, I get the following series: KHM 1, 8, 9, 11, 20, 24, 26 (4x), 29, 39, 50, 53, 55, 57, 61, 77, 88, 90, 92, 101, 110, 133, 161, 193.
27. Ashiya's list is quoted by Takano: 167 (but it is not dated). According to the incomplete listing I distilled from the tales discussed by Takano, KHM 3, 6, 13, 15, 17, 53, 54 are from among the Aarne-Thompson types 300-749 and popular; but KHM 5, 7, 20, 27, 32, and 94 which were issued just as often, are not.
28. The list is KHM 1, 6, 9, 15, 24, 25, 26, 37, 50, 53, 55, 69; but not KHM 5, 10, 11, 27, 94, 150 (distilled from Takano). Unfortunately, most of these are only indications and no more. There are some collections the contents of which are not given (see Takano: 161).
29. Holbek 1990: 169. Holbek's study deals with the relation to folktales. It can be supplemented with Bredsdorff: 308-313.
30. See Bredsdorff: 308; Holbek 1990: 165.
31. As far as Grimm is concerned, the listing is based on the present study. The publication of Andersen has been distilled from Nielsen (1942).
32. The picture was on page 523 in Andersen's book of 1849 (Nielsen 1942: 157).
33. The description of Andersen's relations with Germany is based on Möller-Christensen.
34. The list is based on Möller-Christensen and on *GV*.
35. Möller-Christensen claims that there was a chill in the reception of Andersen in Germany, but then her study stops in 1850. As far as I can see, such a chill was only momentary.
36. Brinkman dates the book to 1826, but Zijpes shows convincingly that the date was 1820. The book had poor sales and was still available as late as 1865.
37. There was also 'vertellingen' in two parts in 1857. The information about Grimm and Andersen publications is from Zijpes and Brinkman. Brinkman seems to be incomplete (since Zijpes found more editions of Grimm).
38. Sources: *BLC*, *NUC* and Bredsdorff. Sutton's study lists a number of 'major collections', many of which cannot be traced by the methods I have used: the lists can undoubtedly also be supplemented with individual tales in anthologies.
39. For documentation of the relay, see Bredsdorff: 333-336.
40. For further reference, see Bolte-Polívka IV: 476. Some of these early stories may be found in the books cited by Klingberg (1967) and *NUC* which are used for the subsequent list.
41. The US publication list has been set up on the basis of the *BLC* and the *NUC* and is probably incomplete.
42. The list is set up from the *Catalogue*.
43. See Tanaka p. 145 (Grimm: 1887) and p. 151 (Andersen: 1888).
44. See *A South African*.
45. See, for instance, Otrakul: 3.

THE END OF THE TALE: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

1. Blamires. See also Sutton: 1.
2. Koller (26-34) and Gottlieb (16-18) have checked *The Statistical Yearbook (UNESCO)* for certain years in the 1980s and 1990s. Of course English is the dominant source and target language, but both German and Danish still appear among the top ten, regardless of the direction of translation. I refer to Gottlieb and to Koller for further discussion. These statistics, however, fail to take into account translations via relay: in many cases these translations of Danish and German classics are not direct translations from Danish and German into the target languages.
3. Referring to the statistics discussed by Gottlieb and Koller, only Icelandic is higher on the list than Danish in this respect and Swedish is a close third. The official lists do not include unregistered and transitory translations (e.g. business letters and manuals). I would assume that most translation work in Denmark belongs to this category, which would therefore indicate that per capita, translation activity is very high. This point is impossible to prove, but it is significant that the Danish professional translators' association has more than 10,000 members, second only to China worldwide.

4. The assumption that narrators could retell stories must have been widespread in former epochs, since nobody questioned Wilhelm Grimm's claim concerning Dorothea Viehmann's excellent retention. The assumption also disregards the fact that, theoretically at least, language and culture will subtly change so that even if the tale as a stimulus should be the same, the listener's response may differ ever so slightly.
5. In summer/autumn 1996, for example, the Danish national newspaper *Politiken* carried (a) an admonition for adults to read aloud to children and adolescents from both children's books and Danish classical literature (8 July. Section 2: 4, cc. 1-5); (b) an editorial exhorting parents to read aloud to children (4 September. Section 2: 2, c. 1, "Children become both better human beings and better at using their language if their early years are full of reading aloud..."); (c) an article about a custodian at the National Museum reading aloud to children (11 October, 'I byen': 9, cc. 4-6); and (d) a series about authors of children's books reading aloud their work to children in the newspaper's lobby (16 October. Section 2: 5, c.1). Even reviews may contain comments on whether books are good for reading aloud to children (e.g. *Weekendavisen* 26 July-1 August. 'Bøger': 12, c.1-4)
6. Tymoczko repeatedly makes the case that in oral translation (often interpreting or oral rendition) in another culture ("in translation"), an oral tale will have to be changed. Syndergaard incisively points out that the fluctuations in the source material in borderline canonical forms (in his case, ballads) are not matched adequately in Translation Theory (54-55).
7. Taylor's annotations are edited. For Hunt, see Sutton: 262.
8. See e.g. Wilss (57; 81); Levý (33). Nida implies this sequentiality in his diagram of the transfer of translation (146). Models implying that the chain of translational communication includes the sender are not exclusively European, witness Mohanty (194) and Uwajeh (247).
9. See e.g. Nida (159-160; and various other places). The discussion continues in most European works.
10. My use of the concept is looser than that of Reiß and Vermeer, esp. 133-140. Toury also introduces the notion of 'acceptability' (56-57). This does not seem to be relevant to the present study, presumably because all translations discussed have been published and have thus been considered acceptable in the target culture (by the publisher) before publication.
11. Kelly cites other scholars, and himself adduces examples of what he considers loss (1979: various places). Bidin (211). The key words in the general discussion are 'loss' and 'sacrifice'. Bassnett seems to be the only scholar who discusses 'loss' without being disturbed about it (30-31). Space will simply not allow for a discussion of possible gains, but some additions (e.g., above, p. 262) might arguably be 'gains'.
12. I refer to the discussion on above, pp 199-200. Danes are surprisingly liberal about what constitutes 'Grimm'. Thus the critic Søren Vinterberg had no problems in terming comic books, such as 'Snow white' and 'The brave little tailor' translated from French, 'Grimm stories' (*Politiken* 26 December 1996. Section 2: 1, cc. 1-6).
13. Readers of children's books are hardly bothered with the origin of the reading material and take the ascriptions of the books at face value. However, readers of other literature sometimes are: in one reader response study we conducted (1967-1969), two readers smelled translationese in a translated story.
14. From Schmidt (1995): 111.
15. Today many publishers (especially in the English-speaking world) pay advances for books yet to be finished and even sell them for publication in other countries. In such cases, authors send out draft manuscripts for translation so that the book appears more or less simultaneously in several languages (this is imperative to publishers in small language communities where many readers who know the language of the original may otherwise feel tempted to buy the book in the original language). At all events, many bestsellers are translated from different versions. Conscientious publishers and translators revise according to new versions, but many others do not. Bidin (212) reports that Malay legal texts are changed in Parliament while they are being translated.
16. Weinreich's attitude is fairly typical: we get books which are "anonymous" and do "not deal with children's primary experiences" (p. 152).
17. The title of Göte Klingberg's study (1986) which, to be fair, deals mostly with direct and hence often inexcusable translation errors. However, co-prints are not dealt with as the most obvious point in, for instance, Klingberg (1986) and Oittinen (1993).
18. This is quite often the case, e.g. Noguchi (47-87) who compares the German original with the Japanese translations without paying heed to the English relay (pp. 34-35).
19. Dollerup (forthcoming).
20. Paz: 154.
21. There are, of course, exceptions: the Italian writer Umberto Eco provides a commentary on his work for translators and the German writer Günter Grass used to ask his publisher to invite translators for a

discussion of the text before they proceeded to work. In Denmark, it is customary for literary translators to write to authors to resolve obscure points (Dollerup 1987).

22. For this view, see Oittinen (1992).

23. There have been (and are still) numerous attempts by translators to translate their native literature into other languages. I know of no successful examples (Dollerup 1997). There are many successful translations into non-mother tongues outside the literary field.

24. Authors' meetings with the public are a different cup of tea. The fact that readers may also write authors and that authors may respond, is irrelevant to this discussion which concerns only the relationship between a model of communication and a model of translation: I know of no instance where a reader in another language than the author's original language has written the author and had a work changed in the original text. In Dollerup 1987, I cite Vladimir Nabokov's suppression of a translation, but again, this was because parts of the 'original' were allegedly omitted. In non-literary work, translators may often communicate objections to authors of the originals, which may be changed accordingly (e.g. Christine Pagnouille (in a review). 1997. *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology* 5: 288)

25. The idea of bi-section is ultimately inspired by Brian Harris as quoted by Toury 1995: 96-97.

26. It is indicative that the puppet show text registered was the fourth edition (above, p. 200) which means that there have been three previous editions which were not considered a 'Grimm' tale.

27. Ellis.

28. See e.g. Schytte.

29. Lefevere: "Translations can only be judged by people who do not need them." (p. 7)

30. Several series were published around 1945: they were of Danish provenance, but I fail to see a rational explanation for their appearance.

31. The point that a translation process must be involved is due to Vermeer (e.g. 48); otherwise, as Toury points out, the relationship becomes a postulate. The definition cuts out pseudotranslations from the domain of translation and relegates them to other disciplines than Translation Studies (as opposed to the paradigm espoused in Toury: 34).

32. Normally tampering the structural and content layers will make most people assume that they are faced with a new translation by a new translator (e.g. Markussen 1907).

33. It will be recalled that new translations of Grimm tales are rarely reviewed. However, being a translation of all the tales, the 1995 *Complete Grimm* by Villy Sørensen was reviewed extensively in the Danish press, e.g. in *Politiken* 27 October 1995, Section 2: 1; and *Weekendavisen*, 3-9 November, 'Bøger': 7. The reviews of this book fall after my *terminus ad quem*, but they are still relevant in this context. The Danish reviewers had reservations, but came out in favour of the new translation. In *Politiken*, Søren Vinterberg compared Sørensen's translation to Ewald's, e.g. "... the difference is in the choice of words. Sørensen is, naturally, more modern than Ewald ... but definitely with revitalising creativeness ... It is the new translation, not the illustrations, which will make the tales popular ('folkeudgaver')". Damian Arguimbau in *Weekendavisen* concluded: "... but all told the new translation is undoubtedly better than the old one, among other things because it is new. For this simple reason, the language is more fluent than in a ninety-year-old narrative style."

34. There are, of course, many parameters involved in this. One could be the wish to use archaic terms (there are none in the present study). Another might be the translator's disregard for source-culture traditions (Shakespeare must be translated according new annotated editions, not as if he wrote A.D. 2000; but it is impossible to translate *Hamlet* as if the plot is unknown).

35. Jacob Grimm wanted the collection of folkloristic material to take place in the whole 'Pan-Germanic' area, including Switzerland, Austria, and the Nordic countries (Letter to Wilhelm 10 February 1815). There are actually a few stories of Austrian and Swiss provenance in the *Tales* (Rölleke (rpt 1857): 559-574).

36. The disappearance of religious features may be worth investigating at more length, even outside the Danish context. Wentzel (1995) cites one example of the disappearance of religious features but they are (almost) systematically left out of Ewald's translation. Jones discusses one case involving Hans Christian Andersen (Jones: 76-77). Sutton gives numerous examples of omission of religious features in English translations of Grimm from 1823 to 1884. Religious elements may be suppressed all over the world in fairytales. It seems as if religion is not favoured globally. I am not inclined to take this view of international conspiracies against religion seriously. It seems to me that the levelling corresponds to the similar disappearance of important aspects of the 'originals' in books that have become children's classics, such as the religious side of *Robinson Crusoe*, the political satire of *Gulliver's Travels*, and the moralising tone in the stories by Charles Perrault.

37. In terms of the thinking of Even-Zohar (which is purely theoretical), this study shows how dynamic

the literary (poly)system is: the tales in Germany were intended for a diffuse audience. The Danish translators intended them for children, that is a 'peripheral audience'. At the same time the translators were people in the 'centre' of the literary system. According to his title, Hans Christian Andersen also intended children to be the primary audience and would therefore be peripheral. When his fairytales were translated, we meet with something new: a supranational meta-genre, the international fairytale which is 'central' to literature (but not part of any central national genre (except, perhaps, in Denmark and Germany)).

38. I discuss Sutton's study in a longish review article in *Target* 1998: 371-377. His study is limited to anthologies with a number of Grimm tales in them and is therefore not quite as exhaustive as the present study of the Danish scene. There are, in my view, a few debatable points, so the present discussion is limited to the conclusions I am convinced are right.

39. In 1978 Brian Alderson "gave a regional English colouring to a few of the tales which the Grimms printed in Low German dialect" (Luke: 43). David Luke therefore had colleagues translate two stories into "a genuine Dublin idiom" and six into "a genuine north-east-Lowland Scots still spoken in Banffshire" (Luke: 43). The blurb claims that it gives "authenticity" to the translations. Whatever one thinks of the idea and execution, it proves that the 'no dialect' translation may apply to some nations (including Denmark) and not to others.

40. See Sutton: 116, 140, 185, 260 (262).

41. Sutton does not take into account sufficiently the translators' ignorance of German; and despite his occasional reference to anonymity and even several translators of Grimm tales for one and the same anthology, he fails to draw the inference that it is hack work, commissioned by publishers.



'Rapunsel'

(illustration: Svend Otto S., 1970)

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This list excludes the books in 'Tracking Danish translations' (above, pp 71-145), books, and articles which have been consulted but not used (although some may appear in the notes), as well as the largest reference works. Many reprints are cited with the year of the first publication if I consider this less ambiguous than the orthodox dating. There is some overlapping in order to make for easy identification. Unfortunately this cannot always combine smoothly with consistency. Books by the same authors are ordered chronologically. References in the text are usually to editions accessible to the international scholarly community, even when I have consulted the original.

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS TO THE TRANSLATIONS

In the book, I have argued that Jacob Grimm's (1) *Circular concerning the collection of folk poetry* which he composed in Vienna in 1815 and sent to people, including Danes, in the Pan-Germanic area, as well as (2) Wilhelm Grimm's *Introduction: on the nature of fairytales* for the 1819 second *Edition*, are important in order to understand the relationship between Danes and the brothers Grimm. Jacob's *Circular* prompted Mathias Thiele to collect folklore in Denmark, and Wilhelm's *Introduction* illustrates the influence of Rasmus Rask on Wilhelm's beliefs about tales. To the best of my knowledge, they have not been translated into English; Wilhelm Grimm's *Introduction* is difficult to access even in German since it is not reprinted in the modern reprint of the second *Edition* (Rölleke 1982: 512). It is reprinted in German in Rötzer, Hans Gerd (Ed). *Märchen*. Bamberg: C.C. Buchner (not seen).

In translating the two texts, it is only in Wilhelm's 'Introduction' that I consistently use the term 'fairy tale' for German 'Märchen' because he discusses mostly the subgenre of 'Zaubermärchen'. German 'Sage' is rendered uniformly as 'legend'.

It is hard to render the references of the German genders in a translation, but in many cases variations between the singular and the plural are tolerable substitutes; this sleight of hand is used extensively. Misspellings are corrected without any ado. Mythological names follow the usage in Davidson and in Everyman's *Dictionary of Classical Names*. If the names are not found in these works, they are spelled as in the German text. I have not glossed the text. Most parentheses derive from the German original, but in some cases they are used giving the original German words in quotation marks. Roman numerals in brackets refer to the page numbering in the German *Edition*. Otherwise the system of notation is the same as elsewhere in this book.

In his *Circular*, Jacob clearly intended to write the name of the person addressed, the name of the region to be explored, and his own signature in hand.

APPENDIX 1

Jacob Grimm: *Circular concerning the collection of folk poetry* (1815)

Dear Sir,

An association which is to comprise all Germany has been founded with the objective of saving and collecting everything in terms of ballads and legends which is extant among the common German country folk. Throughout our fatherland there is still a large treasure which our honest ancestors have passed on to us, which, despite all the derision and contempt hurled upon it, lives on, in concealment and unconscious of its own beauty, sustained by its own unchangeable core. Unless it is carefully scrutinised, it will not be possible to understand the ancient and true origin of our poetry, our history and our language in depth. For this purpose, we consider it wisest to track down assiduously the following items and record them accurately:

1) *Ballads and rhymes*, which are sung on seasonal occasions, at festivities, in spinning-rooms, on dancing floors and during work in the fields; in addition those which are epic, that is, which describe an event; whenever possible with their own phrasing, tunes, and notes.

2) *Legends* in oral renditions, in particular the multitudinous *nursery and children's tales* about giants, dwarfs, monsters, princes and princesses enchanted and set free, devils, treasures and wishing things, as well as *local legends* which were recounted and were known to explain specific localities (such as mountains, rivers, lakes, swamps, ruined castles, towers, stones and all ancient monuments). Special attention should be paid to *animal fables* which usually feature the fox and wolf, cock, dog, cat, frog, mouse, raven, sparrow, etc.

3) *Ostlers' humorous tricks and jokes*; puppet plays in the venerable tradition, with a vulgar clown and Devil.

4) *Festive gatherings, customs, usages and games*; rituals at births, weddings, and burials; ancient legal customs, special taxes, dues, possession of land, correction of boundaries, etc.

5) *Superstitions* about spirits, ghosts, witches portending good or evil; apparitions and dreams.

6) *Proverbs, peculiar phrases, similes, and word combinations*.

In so doing it is important that the items be taken down without elaboration and addition with the greatest fidelity and authenticity from the mouths of the narrators, and, whenever possible, in and with their own words in the most accurate and most comprehensive manner; whatever could be collected in extant local dialects would then serve two valuable purposes, and even incomplete fragments should not be rejected out of hand. For any deviation, repetition, and description of the individual element in one and the same legend may be important, and even when you have the specious impression that it has already been collected and taken down, you should never be led to reject a story; to which must be added that

even much which seems modern has only been modernised and retains its unchangeable core underneath. Intimate familiarity with the contents of this folk poetry will gradually teach us to be more reticent in our judgement of speciously simple and crude features, nay even those in bad taste. But in general one can adduce that, although essentially hardly any district is without it, it is, beyond a doubt, above and beyond big cities and provincial towns and villages, especially the quiet and isolated villages in woods and in mountains which hold the greatest treasures. In the same fashion it is rooted more strongly among certain occupations such as shepherds, fishermen, miners, and it is preferable to enquire among them, as well as among old people, women and children in general, who have kept them fresh in memory.

In full confidence that, by dint of the usefulness and the urgent need of our objective which because of the present ever more encroaching demise and erosion of country custom, cannot be put off any more without great loss, you, dear sir, will be moved to lend us a hand in our effort and you have been selected for membership of the above association in order to search the region of [*name*] accordingly with this in mind since you live in the district. The association wishes to collect discreetly and assiduously and to further its activities, but not to have anything known of its laudable efforts in the newspapers, as it takes it for granted that it can only take strong root and be firmly established without pretentiousness, preferably for the sheer joy of it and by avoiding all vainglorious sensationalism. It is also part of the scheme that no participant is expected to send in his contributions for specific deadlines, but that everybody does this when, where, and the best manner he can; those who find no spare time at home, may find some occasion on their travels.

In order to keep a systematic record of the material received, we ask you, finally, to forward each item on a separate page, as well as to put the place, region and time where it was collected, and, beside your own name, if necessary, that of the narrator.

In the name and on behalf of the association

[*Signature*]

Postscript: We specifically ask you not to forget to try to trace old German books and manuscripts in archives and monasteries in your region, and to inform us of their whereabouts by way of the undersigned.

APPENDIX 2

Wilhelm Grimm: *Introduction: on the nature of fairytales* (1819)

Fairytales for children ('Kindermärchen') are told in order to rouse and nurture the first thoughts and virtues of the heart, but, since their simple poetry may please and their truth may enlighten anyone and because they live and are passed on in the homes, they are also called household fairytales ('Hausmärchen').¹ The historical legend mostly connects something unusual and surprising, including the supernatural, with the ordinary, well-known, and present, in a direct and serious fashion; for this reason it often seems awkward, incisive and strange; whereas the fairytale stands apart in the world in a protected, undisturbed place and hardly looks beyond its own province. Therefore it has no name or place, not even one specific home, because it is something common to the whole fatherland. [xxii]

Most of the occurrences of life described here are so simple that many will recognise them from their own experience, but, like everything completely genuine, they are new and moving every time. Parents have no more bread, and in this extremity they must abandon their children in the wood, or a harsh step-mother lets them go hungry and suffer and would like them to perish;² yet God sends his assistance: he dispatches his pigeons to bring food or to pick the peas out of the ashes for the poor children. Now the brother and sister are left in the loneliness of the wood, the wind frightens them and they are afraid of the wild beasts, but they remain loyal to one another; it is the brother who knows how to find the way back home, or it is the sister who leads him when the witch has transformed him into a roe fawn and she finds plants and moss for his lair: the delight of this secret life in the wood which every sentient human must certainly have longed for once! Or she sits for years, quietly, busily sewing a shirt which will break the spell. [xxiii] This is, certainly, a limited world; kings and their offspring, loyal servants and honest men of professions known to the narrator: fishermen, millers, charcoal-burners, and shepherds, those who are closest to nature, make their appearance in them; they are not familiar with other kinds of excellence. Furthermore, everything is still alive as in some golden age: the sun, the moon, the stars can be approached and offer gifts. Dwarfs mine the ore of the mountains, mermaids lie asleep in the water; animals, birds (among which the doves are the most beloved and helpful), plants and stones speak and

express their compassion; blood calls and speaks; thus this poetry exerts powers which that of a later age can only attempt. This coexistence of all nature and this innocent intimacy between the greatest and the smallest have an inimitable loveliness about them, so that we would rather listen to the conversation between the stars and a poor, abandoned child, than to the music of the spheres. Disaster is a sinister power, an enormous man-eating giant, who is nevertheless vanquished with the assistance of good wives or daughters and who only highlights the joy of happiness without end which then ensues. Wickedness is not insignificant, close at hand, and bad, because, if it were, one might grow accustomed to it; it is something terrible and isolated, not to be approached. The punishment is equally awful: snakes and poisonous worms devour their victims or they must dance to death wearing red-hot iron shoes. All of this goes straight to the heart and needs no explanation, but soon we see a deeper meaning [xxiv]: the moment the mother can make the changeling she received from her domestic sprites laugh, she will have her own child back in her arms: the life of the child begins with the smile and is preserved in joy, and therefore the angels speak to it when it smiles in its sleep. The power of the spell is broken for a quarter of an hour every day; in this time the human form steps forward because there is no power which can dominate us completely: every day has moments when men may shake off all falsehood and look beyond themselves, free and untrammelled. On the other hand, the spell is not completely broken: there is a mistake so that one arm remains a swan's wing, or a tear is shed, so that one eye is lost with it. Worldly wisdom is humiliated by Dummling who alone attains happiness because he is pure of heart. All true poetry lends itself to multiple interpretations as it arises from the life to which it ever returns; it strikes us like sunlight where ever we stand; this is the reason why it is so easy to distil a moral, an application for the present time, from these fairytales; they were not so intended and, with some exceptions, they were not so conceived, but such usage grows without human intervention like a good fruit out of a healthy flower.³ [xxv]

There is an appreciable but often very delicate strand of humour in many of the tales which should not be mistaken for the superimposed irony of modern narrators. In some stories it is expanded upon in particular and with grace, such as in 'Clever Else', 'The tailor in heaven', and 'A tale of the boy who went forth to learn what fear is', the boy who attains this knowledge in the end not by causing terror but by natural means. The young giant's heavyhandedness is counterbalanced by his humour, in the same fashion that Siegfried softens the austere chivalry in the Nibelungenlied by his jokes. The fantastic 'Hans my hedgehog' is redeemed by humour from savagery and bestiality, and 'Brother Lustig' from his sins. This feature is particularly German and will not easily be found in this vein in the fairytales of other nations.

The narrative may be considered deficient in some places, in so far as parts of the contents are merely touched upon briefly or hinted at, in order to dwell the longer on others; sometimes it also omits something without severing the threads, only to tie them in a different fashion; on the other hand, it often relates to other legends and takes over passages from them. It is like a plant whose shoots and twigs grow in new directions every spring, yet which never changes its form, its flowers, and fruits; or it is the lively breath which passes over this poetry, moving and pushing its waves. [xxvi] Sometimes the ending appears unsatisfactory because the whole has not led towards it and some details have stood out in relation to others; yet everything that is epic stands within a firm circle which, for this very reason, it is not always necessary to name precisely.

The meaning as tradition.

It would be possible to speak of the nature of fairytales in this way, if we merely regarded them as something existing to-day. But if we ask about their origin, nobody knows of a poet or an author who invented them; they appear everywhere as *traditional material* and, as such, they are odd in several respects. In the first place there is no denying that they have existed in our midst for centuries; although their externals have changed, their inner essentials have endured. If, for the sake of argument, we assume that they originated in one specific locality in Germany, this cannot be so because of their diffusion through so many widely separated districts and counties, and the peculiarities and independent forms which they almost invariably have; they would have had to be recast anew in every place. For this very reason, communication in writing can be ruled out - furthermore, this hardly exists among the common folk. Besides, they are found not only in the most diverse areas where German is spoken, but also among our racially related northern neighbours and the English; [xxvii] they exist in various more or less related forms even among Romance and Slav peoples. The correspondences with the Serbian fairytales are particularly striking, for nobody could seriously believe that Serbians had planted the narratives in an isolated Hesse village, or vice versa. And, finally, individual features, idioms as well as the cohesion of

the whole, correspond with Eastern, Persian and Indian fairytales. The relationship which pervades the language of all these peoples and which [the Danish linguist Rasmus] Rask has recently demonstrated so brilliantly, is also evident in their traditional poetry, which is, really, only a more exalted and freer language of Man. This factor can only point unambiguously to a common period before the peoples were divided; but if we search for this origin, it recedes into the distance and remains in the dark as something unexplored and hence shrouded in mystery.

As far as the contents proper are concerned, a close analysis reveals not merely a cloth woven by whimsicality, drawing together motley colours according to changing moods or needs, but a ground, a meaning, a kernel which is easy to discern. *They preserve thoughts about the divine and the spiritual in life: old beliefs and mythology in the epic element*, which develops with the history of a people *immersed and shaped in it*. [xxvi] Despite this, they have not been influenced by intentions and consciousness, but have developed on their own, based on the essence of the tradition; for this reason they also have the natural inclination to explain and clarify the contents once received and yet only partially understood, in the fashion of the present age. The more the epic element gains the upper hand, the more shrouded the true meaning.

There are numerous proofs of the above lines in the annotations in which we have, to the best of our ability, collected all that has a bearing on them; and we hope that from now on there will not be anyone who takes exception to our contention that we have here to do with old German myths which were believed to be lost, but which remain in this form. Those who are familiar with the nature of myths, know that among the ancients they were often presented as fairytales, and sometimes, according to the prevailing spiritual climate in certain periods, could be grasped only in that form.⁴ [xxix]

Traces of pagan beliefs.

Constant change has, of course, introduced much that is new; conversely, the old beliefs behind the stories would gradually disappear and, as it were, dry out, as they became unfamiliar and incomprehensible. The poetic urge recreated it as something which was understood and grasped by the senses but whose meaning would only glimmer forth occasionally and then obliquely, involuntarily; or to put it metaphorically: the sun-eye of the soul was laid out on the colourful palette of poetry. Nevertheless, it is possible a priori to assume that what was forced into the background was not totally lost; and as this assumption seems likely, if hard to prove, a close analysis does indeed reveal traces from the earliest times. True, they are few, because the intertwined green foliage of the epic has long hidden or destroyed the connections.

The very fact that *all nature is animate* can be considered a feature surviving from that age.⁵ We do not find this view surprising, [xxx] since we know that all pagan beliefs take this for granted (in Lucan's words: *Juppiter est quodunque vides, quocunque moveris*); but it would certainly be so to the common folk, if they were presented with it. There is, above all, a spiritual nature in the sun, the moon, and the stars; when they speak to people in distress and give presents to those they save, they appear as divine beings and objects of worship (*quorum opibus aperte juvantur*. *Cæsar de B.G.* 10), as was the case amongst the Germans in ancient times. *Trees* and *wells*, the worship of which was long preserved, are also animate. The juniper, that is the invigorating and rejuvenating tree (*juniperus*), is obviously a good spirit whose fruits grant the mother's wish for a child; the collected bones of the murdered boy are revived anew under its sprigs, which move and embrace them like the arms of a human being, and the soul it has absorbed rises from the bright but not scorching flames of the branches in the form of a small bird. This is also the case, only expressed differently, when the child tossed into the river or the white bride rise again as birds; here the river is the animate spirit. In other places the twigs themselves soften and embrace the grief-stricken that rest beside the tree. There is also a small tree growing forth from the mother's grave; Cinderella turns to it in her need and it sheds gifts upon her. Or, from the buried entrails (the heart) of a beloved animal, [xxxi] burgeons a tree with golden apples which only obey and follow the person to whom they rightly belong. And the well springs glistening over the stones (like holy water running from the mountains in the Edda), telling the children not to drink from it because if they do they will be transformed. - The exalted nature with which the animals are imbued extends even further: the horse Fallada speaks (like Mimir's head) after death to its mistress. The ravens prophesy; like Odin's ravens Huginn and Muninn (which means those endowed with intellect and memory) they know what is happening in the world. On the whole *birds* are often looked upon as *spirits*. Doves come to sort the peas from the ashes for the poor children and pick out the eyes of wicked sisters; a little bird throws a golden chain around the father's neck and a grindstone onto the head of the godless stepmother. Whoever eats the heart, the liver, of a bird, receives supernatural powers. - One of the oldest traces of the pagan and

symbolic blending of animal and human features are the swan maidens, who here make their appearance in the form and art in which they are presented in the *Wölundlied* and the *Nibelungenlied*.⁶ [xxxii]

The change into another form is also closely connected with this view of an animate nature, and essentially all the transformed stones, trees, and plants are endowed with a soul. In the same fashion all nature, not only trees and birds but also fire, water, iron, ore, stones, and trees, vouchsafe Baldur's safety against all dangers and later they also mourn his death. Even *sorcery*, the power of which turns out to be so strong, is based on this belief of an animate spirit in all things and over which one may obtain and execute mastery.

The contrast of *good* and *evil* is often expressed in *black* and *white*, *light* and *darkness*. The good spirits are almost exclusively *white birds* and, whenever the species is mentioned: the pure, bileless doves. Conversely, *black ravens* are evil and herald calamity. They are the *black* and the *white* elves of Norse mythology which by means of these contrasts attempted to distinguish between the highest gods: thus Heimdall, the light of the world,⁷ is explicitly called *the white As* and Balder is *the broadly shining*. The terms are also used for this contrast with humans. The pious girl becomes white as *day*, and the godless one black as sin (*night*). The Edda also knows the *sons of day* (*Dags-synir*, megir) and the *daughters of night* (*Sigurdriifa's Song*, no. 4, and *Greenl. Atli's songs* no. 61); [xxxiii] the eddic name 'Dagr', which appears even more emphatic in our 'Dagobert', the brilliant day, may also be based on this concept. In yond castle everything is black and in the beginning the three sleeping (deadly paralysed) princesses have only a little white (life) in their faces, for sorcery is a black art. Someone else returns to the colour of light by degrees: on the first day his feet become white and pure, on the second day it is his body to his hands, and on the third day, finally, his face becomes so too; not until then have the sinister powers been overcome. The prince who sleeps by day and wakes only by night and must be *touché by no ray of light* if he is to remain happy, is similarly one of the black elves; they, too, fled the light and became stone when struck by sunlight. For this reason the sun is called the lament, the woe of the elves (*grá-álfa*. *Hamdismal stanza 1*). The fairytales about 'The goose girl' and 'The black and the white bride' also belong to this category; it is really the old myth about the true and the false Bertha. The very name bespeaks her radiance; she is combing her hair, which shines like gold, like the naked princess she cloaks herself in her golden hair: she is a shining sun,⁸ a lightgiving elf, or a white swan maiden, which is the same thing. Snow White appears originally to have been one of this species, too; [xxxiv] she remains white and beautiful even in death and is venerated and protected by the good (white) dwarfs. This brings to mind the two worlds of Norse mythology, the one of light and bliss (*Muspellheim*) and the other of night and bleakness (*Niflheim*).

Good is rewarded by God and evil punished. He comes down to earth and visits the rich and the poor man: the first He finds corrupt, the latter pious and living by His laws. Then He distributes His gifts, which bring ruin to the former and bliss to the latter. Or, on His wanderings He meets a good and a bad sister; the former He endows with heavenly beauty and the latter He punishes with ugliness. The contrast finds a strange expression in the creation by the Devil, as an anti-god, of his own animals; his goats gnaw all the fertile trees, damage the excellent vines, and ruin the delicate plants, so that the master must have them torn apart by his wolves. He is the *black one*, the Norse *Surtr*, who is fighting the broadly shining, benevolent gods (in *suasu god*) (see *Vafthrúdnismál*, 17 & 18).

Indeed, there is often something thoroughly pagan about the concrete *behaviour of God, Death, and the Devil*. Like Odin, God moves around in human shape and He appears to be duped; finally, like a Jotunn or a Giant, Gambling Hans even starts a war against heaven to force his way into it. [xxxv] Furthermore, the *descent into hell* (the lower world, Norse *Hel*) is undertaken by the man born with a caul and he succeeds in taking out the Devil's three golden hairs (the stolen hoard). In this story, as well as in another fairytale in the course of which he is duped by three soldiers to whom he presents riddles, the Devil has through and through the character of a naturally powerful Jotunn dwelling in rocky caves who is tricked by a representative of the weaker but nobler species of man, helped, furthermore, by the Devil's own daughter, wife, or mother, just as Thor fetches Hymir's magic cauldron (the drinking vessel of the gods). The punishment of the wicked, to be thrown into a barrel with adders, is reminiscent not only of the snake caves of the legends but specifically of *Náströnd*, the abode of the goddess; according to the Edda, it is beset with snakes emitting venom from mouths turned inwards. In the same way, a snake is tied above the head of Loke, the evil god, so that its poison will drip down upon him.

The belief in the existence of a treasure ensuring all-encompassing bliss on earth and which can be won by the lucky person fate smiles upon is pagan in its origin. Heathen beliefs elevate the person who makes his way to the well of all worldly splendour to become high master and lord of life. In various forms, this is the idea behind the *wishing things*, such as hats, cloths, tables, etc. which grant wishes, bestow invisibility, respect no limitations of place, in brief, surmount all physical barriers. [xxxvi] This

is why the wishing rod, the magic wand, is significantly included in the Nibelungen hoard, and it illustrates the point that the fight for the possession of the highest goods forms the essential tenor of the old legend. In Titurel, verse 4751, there is a curious passage: "wande sich der gral gelichtet dem *paradis mit siner wunschelruoten*."⁹ The *white*, that is the shining, *snake which rests on the gold* (Fafner) which has its counterpart in the crowned toad which has collected a treasure, is also a symbol of that hoard; this is why those who eat from it (that is, become part of its essence)¹⁰ attain a higher insight into the nature of things, understand the language of the birds, and are ensured good luck. In turn, the heart of the *bird with the golden feathers*, sitting on *golden eggs*, is also identical with the heart of that snake, and gold will appear *in sleep* under the head of the person who has devoured it; this is a significant picture of strong powers working independent of the will. [xxxvii] The *golden goose* buried in the earth, and sitting under the roots of an oak, also belongs to this category: the person who succeeds in lifting it forth attains good luck and boons. In the story this is expressed by having all that touch it, be it ever so slightly, stick to it as if to a magnet. - Another metaphor which is equally well-known in Norse and Greek mythology is the tree on which the *apples of life* grow: without them all life becomes old and withers away; they can reinvigorate and rejuvenate all that is half dead. The well creating the *water of life* has the same meaning; the diseased king longs for it since it alone can save him; it heals wounds and restores people turned to stone by sorcery.

The story of the *king* who has *three sons* and who does not know to which he should pass on his crown and realm is related to it in different ways. The father sets a task which is hard to undertake, for instance fetching something rare and precious, or learning some difficult craft; whoever carries it out will be the heir. So they go out into the world and try their luck. It is a traditional idea (to which we shall return below) that it is usually the youngest son, to all appearances the least talented, who comes out victorious. Herodotus (IV, c. 5) tells a similar fairytale from the Scythians about their origin; [xxxviii] it deserves a closer scrutiny in order to illustrate the kinship between Germanic and Scythian [i.e. the 'original Indo-European']. Targitau, who has been brought up by the highest god, was the first man in Scythia; he left three sons. During their reign golden tools once fell from heaven, namely a plough, a yoke, a double-edged battleaxe [name given in Greek] and a bowl [name given in Greek]. When the eldest brother tried to lift them, the gold was glowing hot; at this the second came, but he, too, was burnt. When these two had given up because of the heat, the youngest approached and found the gold cold, so that he could carry home the implements. Then the two others left the realm to him alone. The flat bowl is probably a metaphor for the land itself, the plough and the yoke signify agriculture, and the battleaxe the warrior class; thus the heavens made use of symbols of national domination to select one of the three brothers. In the *Völuspá* (St. 7) the Ases themselves cut gold when they created the world, making tongs and tools. The glowing of the implements points to a Germanic belief behind the ordeal by fire, during which red-hot iron which can only be carried without danger by the innocent and by those in the right. - However, the three sons in the fairytale are simply the *Trimurti* into which the highest god splits when the final world is created; yet one of the three obtains supremacy, so that the idea of a sole god is preserved. [xxxix] The Scythian Targitau is identical with the son of the god Thuisco, Tacitus' Mannus (Germ. 3.) after whose three sons Germany was thrice named or divided. In Norse mythology Bure was the first god created and his three sons Odin, Wili and We (Har, Jafnar and Thridi, or according to *Völuspá* Odin, Hæner, and Loder¹¹) ordered and peopled the world. Later Odin gained supremacy.

The *gold or glass*, i.e. the shining, *mountain* which is virtually inaccessible and which can be found only with the assistance of the sun, the moon, and the stars or other supernatural forces, is guarded by savage monsters and contains the wishing things; it appears from the old myths to be a *mountain of the gods*. It is identical with the one on which the twelve giants (gods) guard the Nibelungen hoard, as well as with Brunhilde's Norse castle of flames whose Isenburg in the German poem means 'ice/glass castle'. In the Norse countries we find the centre of the world, Asgard, covered with gold shields. And in 'The Virgin Mary's child' Heaven is described as a magnificent golden house with its twelve doors and the thirteenth, forbidden one, which reminds us specifically of the Gladshheim, shining with gold and with twelve seats for Ases and its throne for Odin. [xl] There is also Gimli, more brilliant than the sun, which remains after the end of the world as the abode of the good ones. Furthermore, we can point to the golden house of Sindri on the Idagebur and the one which was shown to the Frisian Duke Radbot according to the German legend (B. II, St. 447). And, finally, the Norse Gläsisvölur also belongs here; it was the pre-Odinian paradise where the field of immortality (*udainsakur*) was found. *Holy and heavenly mountains* in both our and the Old Norse poetry remind us of the name, although they are often elevated only in a metaphorical sense.¹²

Mother *Holle* or *Hulda* has rarely preserved her name from prehistoric times in Germany, except in the regions of Hesse, Thuringia, and Franconia. She is a goddess, at the same time merciful and friendly,

terrible, and fearful. She inhabits the deep and the high, the seas and the mountains, and distributes ruin, blessings and fertility according to her judgement of human deserts. She encompasses the whole world, and when she *makes her bed* so that the feathers fly around, it *snows* in the world of the humans. Similarly thaw and rain come to the land, fertilising it, when the cloudy horses of the Valkyries shake themselves. [xli] Her *hair is combed (currycombed)*, that is, she *distributes the sunrays* over the earth, for the Norse earth goddess Sif also had a wonderful golden wig made by dwarfs. By Christmastide, as the *sun starts to be in the ascendant*, she goes through the world meting out reward and punishment; in particular she looks after *spinning maids* who are, as we shall see below, the elfin virgins spinning the fates. All told she is the great mother of the mountains, an earth goddess like Hertha worshipped on Rugen and the Greek Ceres. It is, however, better to explain more about her in the commentary on her legend (vol. 1, pages 6-10) where she appears in her dual character, terrifying to look at, yet mild and well-disposed towards the pious child.

The fairytale of 'The three *spinning women*' also contains pagan beliefs, since they *spin* the golden *threads of fate*, just like the Norns, the Valkyries, and the Parzen.¹³ It is easy to recognise the semi-supernatural swan virgins in them; the Valkyries are also described in this fashion: they still have the flat feet, the broad thumbs, and the proboscis-like lips. They spin day and night *without rest*, the threads well forth; [xliii] similarly the Edda says of the Valkyries that they were restless, *longing* (for their work, to direct, weave the fate orlog drygia); and the Wölundlied relates the way in which they dip into the water by the sea to take off their feathers and *weave costly flax*. Although this seems insignificant, it is, in fact, the epic, concrete expression of the ancient deep meaning: to spin and to weave fate. Since the spinning wheel turns, there is yet another picture, already complete in the eddic song of the mill, a song about the grindstone of fate which produces everything one may wish for (for which reason it is also a wishing wheel): gold, peace, and war. This leads to the corresponding, and still recognised, idea of fortune's wheel, which continually turns (like the one belonging to the king of Wigalois). The *goldspinnners* are usually also *shepherdesses* tending ducks or swans, that is, another symbol of fate being directed and guarded.

Thumbling (pollux) is another image of divinity from the past. He is the guardian of the home, the saviour of his brothers and sisters in need, and undoubtedly related to the Cabiri and Penates, who were also thought to be small and dwarfish. [xliii] The goblins, the cave dwellers ('Haulmänner'), small trolls, and dwarfs also belong in this category. Similarly, they are the elves of Norse mythology and either good and friendly or angry and mean. They do not live in the upper world, and they too are called subterranean people as they penetrate the hidden and secretive earth where they have the most splendid houses; they are the spirit of life, distributed along the finest veins of the earth.

As opposed to the forces of nature, the images picturing the wild and furtive workings of the giants and dwarfs are still passed on in the forms and concepts in which they are preserved in the old, original German poetry. Their supernatural and yet crude character is presented by means of naive but unmistakable features: the slyness and subterfuges, as well as the helpfulness and readiness of the little folk of the elfin tribe, whose spiritual nature is continually shown in their wonderful and secret powers.

By piecing together these fragments, it appears that the following features of old beliefs are still to be discerned: the animation of all nature, pantheism, Fate, the principles of good and evil, the Trimurti, elevated and high gods on their mountains, as well as the worship of specific, minor gods. [xliv]

A survey of the contents.

These fairytales show an epic multifacetedness and each of them has a specific theme. Relationships and correspondences with other tales are discussed in the pertinent annotations. Nevertheless, it is to some extent possible to classify them all and thus to achieve an overview.

The fight between good and evil, discussed specifically above, is presented with many complications and variations, often in the relations between brothers and sisters. The brother has fallen victim to evil powers: his sister hears of this and goes in search of him. Through forests and deserts, she braves all dangers, completes the most difficult tasks and finally breaks the charm, for in the end only goodness and purity are true and everlasting and will vanquish evil. And human nature is intertwined with many beautiful features: oftentimes the charm is not entirely broken, for the warnings of benevolent spirits are forgotten and the work must start all over again.

We can see how, in assisting goodness, the pure gods accompany humans, hence all the myths and legends about those elevated humans with whom the gods associated, as well as the fairytales about individuals with special talents and characteristics. [xlv] One is born in a caul and all adversity turns to his advantage; he even goes to Hell to wheedle secrets out of the Devil. Gold appears under the pillows

of the two sleeping brothers; they never miss a target; the animals run to serve them, and sorcery is impotent against them. Snow White, Cinderella and the girl eloping with her dearest Roland are all under some special protection.

Although its kernel remains the same, every fairytale is narrated in four or five fashions which differ in terms of circumstances, so that it can be considered a different story if we judge by its exterior form. In dire need, the father promises the good and innocent, and usually the youngest, daughter to a monster, or she surrenders herself to it. Patiently she endures her fate; she frequently falls victim to human frailty and must atone for it; eventually, she grows to love the monster, and at that moment the ugly form of a porcupine, a lion, or a frog vanishes and he appears in purified, youthful handsomeness. Familiar to the Indians, and with obvious connections with the Roman story of Amor and Psyche and the Old French one of Parthenoper and Meliure, this legend points to the enchanted *transformation to the earthly form* and the *breaking of the spell by love*. Purity works by degrees, but if its development is disturbed it gives way to all worldly misery and hardship: the earthly body falls away only by contact of souls, by the realization of love. [xlvi]

It has already been noted that this poetry relies on its vivaciousness to communicate a good moral; it is not its main purpose and it was never invented to highlight some specific moral truth. It is true that some fairytales teach a *lesson*, but this is the case only if they connect with current beliefs among the common folk and if the legend originates from these beliefs; it is not told in contrived art in the course of a narrative, where it would always call for a note. This applies to the fairytale of the mother lamenting God's providence and seeing the sad fate she avoided in a nocturnal image; for the fairytale of the child which cannot find rest in its grave because of the stolen pennies; for the child that stretches its hand from the grave; for 'Choosing the bride', and 'The leftovers', which praise industry and domestic virtues; for 'The grandfather and the grandchild'; for 'The ungrateful son'; and for the sun that sees all secrets and eventually brings them to light.

Quite a few are *Christian* and stand out from the monotonous religious tales by means of their wealth and multifacetedness. First and foremost, there is 'The Virgin Mary's child': she lives among the angels in pure innocence, and then, having been led to sin by curiosity, is cast out of heaven. Hereafter, she must experience the pain of the flesh as long as she perseveres in her sin; the moment her heart reverts to God, He again shows His grace and all tribulations come to an end. [xlvii] There is a beautiful expression of how all evil tricks are brought to naught by innocence in the fairytale about 'The maiden without hands' and how God makes the cut-off limbs grow again; in the same way He suffers the eyes of a pious blind man, praying under a gallows which he takes for a cross, to be restored by a beneficent dew. In the fairytale about 'The pink flower', God's angels also bring food to the innocent queen in her prison; since she has tasted the heavenly food she touches no earthly food when she is freed, and consequently dies. The boy who goes onward to find Heaven, confident in his trust in God's word, implies that, despite misunderstandings, firm belief will lead to salvation. Some religious tales formed as fairytales have been added at the end.

The connection between a series of the fairytales and German heroic legends is demonstrated in the commentary on each of them and here we shall, therefore, only touch upon it in general terms. The legends of the oral tradition usually depict either the historical content or the minds of the people described; if either is considered more important, the other is neglected. In the perfection and zenith of an epic period both are, indeed, equally strong and interdependent, but later one of the two trends predominates. So-called artistic poetry usually neglects the fable in order to elaborate on the emotions, whereas the tradition of the common folk tries to preserve the former at any cost. [xlviii] In our fairytales the main correspondences are with the fable, although characters have been preserved. Above all, this applies to Siegfried as presented in the *Nibelungenlied*: he is recognisable in the young giant by the typical mixture of a brave and pure heart with a jovial and jocular turn of mind. Siegfried acts unconsciously, but with the certainty of his magnanimity of nature and his zest for life. As far as the relationship with the fable is concerned, it would be too close if we thought that there had originally been a complete correspondence and that the deviations are only completions of the gaps by means of the imagination. On the other hand, it might be argued that the correspondences which now exist are merely accidental and spring from the same or related thoughts emanating from the mind which returns to the same themes; but this would be even more erroneous: it is far too striking, and there are far too many specific features to allow for such a coincidence. It is true that the German legend has by and large sprung from the German spirit, and this it must present. But its life springs from the interplay between the necessity of the tradition and the liberty of poetic creation, so we must also presuppose such dialectics here. There is yet a resemblance to the Norse legend, most obviously so with respect to Aslaug, a fact which does not emerge in other traditional material; it is, however, quite important because it shows that the whole was only

present and complete in the consciousness of the folk, and that the characteristics, albeit organic, which stood forth and were elaborated upon in the single pieces of poetry, must be considered as fragments only. [xlix] Elements that have disappeared almost without trace in traditional written poetry, such as the songs of Saurle and Hamder, whose existence is explicitly proved, have lived on among the folk. This is another way in which legend resembles language which also exists in its entirety only in the consciousness of the people as a whole.

The *animal tales* ('Thiermärchen') open up another world. The secret life of animals in woods, pastures, and fields is highly significant. There is an order among them, in the building of their homes, in their departure, in their homecoming, in the feeding of the young ones, in their preparations against winter; their memories seem great, they communicate, and their language is powerful and earnest, albeit not varied. They unite in flocks, fly away, have leaders and fight. It is only natural to ascribe to them a customary, human-like life which they appear to hide from us. But the eye of poetry sees everything which is secret and hidden: it reveals this household management among the animals, and, since it also endows them with the human language which by itself contributes much to human thinking, they seem closer to us. In addition, the constant intermingling of the animal and the human elements is a delight: one could believe that they were humans who took delight once in amusing themselves in that animal form. It follows that legends have moved back and forth in this interplay; [I] even the completely inanimate is drawn into it, so that the straw, the coal, and the bean make a journey together. The evil in trickery and cunning is embodied in the fox whose relation to the disloyal Sibich in the German heroic legend is documented elsewhere; in terms of violence and crudeness it is the wolf. The weak animals, in particular the birds, are friendly and persecuted. The two are contrasted, like dwarfs and giants elsewhere: the fairytale of 'The wren and the bear' describes the victory of the small creatures over the large and clumsy; and the wolf coaxing Little Red Riding Hood and the goat kids symbolise the man-eater overthrown in the end thanks to his own bungling. Much of the story belongs to the cycle of fables concerning Reynard the Fox, and is best explicated in that context. When men encounter animals, the former are usually hard and unjust; they are punished for this, as in the fairytale of 'The dog and the sparrow'.

Stock characters.

Poetry usually recollects the individual peculiarities of a whole people one by one, so that features hidden, weakened, or undefined in the throng, are strengthened and united in a whole: in other words, it permits us to see only complete and finished specimens in full colours. Although such a character represents what is common, it is also a precisely drawn individual personality; [li] comedy with its clumsiness and exaggeration is particularly rich in stereotyped masks. However, the more such characters are founded on the nature of a people, on its virtues and weaknesses, the more durable and unforgettable will they be, and they will be recreated anew despite all external changes. No epic with heroes like Achilles or Ulysses can do without the humour and jokes of its wise men of Gotham or of Till Eulenspiegel. In all their shades, they are free to move within the natural forms and boundaries of poetry. In the above, we spoke of *Siegfried's* personality which describes the German character in particular. But there is in it a certain shade of somebody different, somebody called Dummling, who makes frequent appearances here. Stunted in youth and incapable of all things demanding wit and agility he must undertake common labour (just as Siegfried works as a smith) and suffer gibes; he is the ash child who has his couch by the hearth or under the stairs; yet he has a pervasive inner happiness and an exalted power; he is aptly termed the *dumbclear*¹⁵ in Parsifal. In actual deed, he rises quickly like a plant long in germ which is finally touched by the sunlight, and then, alone among many, he succeeds in attaining the goal. Here he is described in various circumstances, usually as the youngest of three brothers where the others are contrasted with him for their pride and arrogance; [lii] when they are all sent out to solve a task which is to give one of them favour over the others, Dummling's brothers laugh contemptuously at him. However, his childish trust prevails, and when he thinks he is quite forsaken, a higher power helps him and gives him victory over the others. On another occasion he has disregarded worldly knowledge and only learnt the language of nature; accordingly, he is rejected, but this very knowledge soon elevates him beyond all others. If an unkind fate has him murdered, the bleached, washed-out bones will, long after the event, bear witness to the misdeed so that it does not go unpunished.

Dummling is despised, insignificant, and puny, and he will only become strong when nurtured by giants; in this respect he is close to Thumbling ('Däumling'). The latter is only as big as a thumb at birth and grows no taller. He represents, however, undiluted cleverness; he is all tricks and sleights of hand, so that he knows how to get out an advantage of any misfortune brought about by his smallness. He apes everybody and shows a disposition to good-humoured teasing in the vein of dwarfs; indeed this might

reflect old legends about the latter. He is frequently presented as a clever tailor who frightens giants with his sharp and ready wit, kills monsters, and wins the princess; he alone is capable of solving the riddle.

The peasant who sends a wooden calf to the meadows and who from then on knows how to obtain riches by all sorts of wily tricks represents a stage between Thumbling and the wise men of Gotham. [liii] The latter appear in various gradations, most obviously in the tomfoolery of 'Fredy and Katy' and 'Clever Else'; the silliness is often kept moving under the pretence of general insights, considerable smugness, and a low degree of awareness; this also applies to 'The seven Swabians', who go in search of adventure with only one lance between them, chase a hare as a monster, and perish thanks to a frog. There are some mixed forms in which stupidity is turned to advantage, such as 'Doctor Know-It-All' and in the marriage of the 'Clever Hans'; contrariwise, wisdom is always abused, as by the boy who insisted on travelling.

A fourth character is *Brother Lustig*. He is not worried about anything, but leads a happy life; he makes no distinction between good and evil, and is not credited with either: when the Lord stays with him he is ready to share his last penny with Him, and yet he gambles away the penny with which he was to buy something to drink. He gives his last penny to Saint Peter who in the form of a poor man asks him for alms; but when Peter joins him in the belief that he has found a pious man, he soon tricks him out of the heart of the grilled lamb and is cross that the mighty apostle does not demand more money. As a bear-leader he serves the Devil, but is sent out of Hell. [liv] He long mocks Death; eventually he must follow it, but now neither Heaven nor Hell will let him in, until he gains entrance to the former thanks to a good idea. His counterpart is the tailor who, allowed into Heaven as an act of grace, sets himself to judge the sins and is consequently evicted. This legend has shaped the religious tale about the holy Christopher who seeks a master, serves the Devil, and leaves him in contempt because he is afraid of the Christ Child.

And then, finally, there is the braggart. He has the pure and, since it is not hidden, innocent inclination to lie. Human imagination has a natural craving once in a while to stretch its arms and to use the knife which cuts through all barriers. This is the intention underlying the fairytale about 'The fleshing flail collected in Heaven'; putting together absolute contradictions and uniting contrasts, as in 'The tale about the land of Cockaigne', is to go only one step further. There may also be remnants of old legends about giants in the wonderful abilities of the six servants, and who might still be represented in this humorous fashion after all belief in them had been lost. At all events, just as in the old legends and ballads, the feats of giants are described, such as their leaps, their shooting, their ball-throwing, the explosive power of their eyesight, their enormous appetite for food and drink, are described in earnest.

Notes [Given as footnotes in the original]

1. 'Hausmärchen' in Rollenhagen. 'Abendmärchen', see "Oberlin v. Belgen" and "das Gedicht von Häselin" B.7. - 'Rockenmärlein' in Aventin Bair. Chr. 169 a 406 a.

[Note by the Danish translator:] in Danish we also have nursery tales and so on ('I dansken har man ogsaa Ammestueeventyr o.s.v.')

2. This is often the case in this collection. It is probably the first cloud to rise in the sky of the child forcing out tears not seen by humans but counted by the angels. A beautiful Danish ballad recounts that, in her grave, a mother hears the weeping of her children who are abandoned by their stepmother; she asks God for permission to rise from the grave, goes to them and nurses and suckles the baby in the night. Even flowers have been named after this idea: the viola tricolor is the stepmother's flower; this is because every yellow petal has a narrow green leaf which supports it: these are the chairs which the mother gave to her own, happy children; above them, the two stepchildren stand without chairs in dark violet mourning.

3. "The true presentation has no didactic goal. It does not approve, it does not blame, but it develops the faculties and the acts following it, and by this means it illumines and instructs." (Goethe's *Life*, III, 350)

4. To give only one example out of many: the important myth of Perseus, whose constellation glimmers among the stars, corresponds closely to one of our fairytales. It would also be easy to show a reflection of our Siegfried in it. Like Siegfried, Perseus was put to sea in a small chest. Spurred by cunning deceit, he soon undertakes the brave deed with the Gorgon's head, just as Siegfried did with Fafner's. For this he needs the invisible helm of the Aide which corresponds to the Norse Ægirshelm, the cloak of mists, and Hermes' diamond sickle, which in turn corresponds to Siegfried's Valmungen. The effects of the Medusa's head can be compared to those of the skin of horn: from now on, no enemy can resist the hero. The golden apples which Perseus picks in Atlas's garden are the treasures of the hoard which Siegfried obtains. However, once he frees Andromeda, who has been chained to the rock by the monster, she appears as Krimhild, who is liberated from the dragon's rock by Siegfried. Thus the chain of reborn ideas is without end.

5. In the German and Norse languages this has a strange expression in the word 'Wicht', 'Vættur' which means, first: every being, nature, all creation; and, then: a spirit, the divine; and, furthermore, signifies: no thing, nothing.
6. A passage from Gregor de Tours *hist. franc.* II. 10, deserves to be quoted here: Sed haec generatio fanaticis semper cultibus visa est obsequium præbuisse nec prorsus agnovere deum; sibi que *silvarum* atque *aquarum, avium bestiarumque* et aliorum quoque elementorum finxere formas, ipsasque ut deum colere eisque sacrificia delibare consueti.
7. Cf. *gloss. edd.* I. 553.
8. The Valkyrie Sigrun is termed the sun-shining, solbiört, in the second Song of Helge, St. 44.
9. It is noteworthy that Valhalla (the abode of the souls of those killed in battle) is termed the splendid, the *Hall of Wishes* in the Lay of Atla (St. 2. 14): here 'wish' is taken to imply everything desirable, as in the old sense of the wishing things. In the same poem (St. 30.) the hoard to be sunk in the billowing Rhine is termed *val bangar*, primarily magnificent, selected rings; but also *wishing rings* since the person who has the choice can have his wishes fulfilled. - This phenomenon also appears under other names in the Edda: Gamban-trinn, wishing wand (Skirnisd. 32) and Gamban-sumbl, wishing table (Ægisd. 8).
10. Thus Loke first acquires his evil nature when he eats the roasted heart of a wicked woman. Hyndiuliod St. 37.
11. In the *Schriften der skand. Lit. Gesellsch.* 1810, Scherling suggests, with good reason, that Loder and Loke are the same. At all events it is certain from the Lokasenna St. 9, that Loke used to live in close acquaintance and *brotherhood* with Odin.
12. See the Notes to the first Song of Helge p. 37 in our edition. - On the summit of high mountains in Scotland, one may still see the ruins of real glass mountains (vitrified forts), whose walls were covered artificially with glass. They are very old. Cp. *glossar. ed.* II. p. 879, notes. In Wigalois, walls glitter like glass and there is a house built of bright crystal.
13. The Edda (first Song of Helge st. 3.) also uses the terms 'the *threads of fate*' (aurlaug tháttir) and 'golden threads' (gullin simar); the norms fasten them under the Moon Hall, i. e. in the sky.
14. *Thráða*, desiderio teneri, is the expression in Wölundaquida St. 3. Thrávalkyrior terms it 'the dark Hrafnagalldr at the entrance'.
15. Cp. *Altdeutsche Wälder* I.



KHM-NUMBERS AND TITLES IN GERMAN, ENGLISH, AND DANISH

This index is made for easy identification of tales by means of their KHM-numbers. The title is first given in German with the KHM title of 1857; earlier titles which have been used for Danish translations are also listed. Then follows the English title as given by Jack Zipes, but alternative titles crop up with very well-known tales ('Cinderella', 'Little Red Riding Hood', and 'The sleeping beauty') (because my early readers objected to Zipes innovations). Then I list the most frequent Danish titles (from Carl Ewald) in alphabetical order. I indicate the identity of editors who have deviated from Carl Ewald's titles in the parentheses as follows: D1 = Davidsen 1854; D2 = Davidsen 1870; Dau = Daugaard 1894; Ha = Hansen 1956; L = 'Lindencrone' 1823; M1 = Molbech 1835; Ma = Markussen 1900.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. Der Froschkönig oder der eiserne Heinrich The frog king, or Iron Heinrich Den forvandlede frø (Ma); Frøkongen eller (og) Jernhenrik; Frøprinsen (Ha); Prinsessen og frøen</p> | <p>little sister Brorlil og søsterlil</p> |
| <p>2. Katze und Maus in Gesellschaft The companionship of the cat and the mouse En kat og en mus i selskab; Katten og musen</p> | <p>12. Rapunzel Rapunzel Klokkeblomst; Rapunzel</p> |
| <p>3. Marienkind The Virgin Mary's child; The Mary child Jomfru Mariæ plejebarn; Mariebarnet</p> | <p>13. Die drei Männlein im Walde The three little gnomes in the forest De tre små mænd i skoven</p> |
| <p>4. Märchen von einem, der auszog, das Fürchten zu lernen (1812: Gut Kegel- und Kartenspiel) A tale about the boy who went forth to learn what fear was; The boy who left home to find out about the shivers Eventyret om en, der drog ud for at lære frygt at kende; Hvorledes Hans lærte at gyse (Ma); En køn pot kegler (Ha); based on 1812 Ed)</p> | <p>14. Die drei Spinnerinnen (1812: Vom bösen Flachsspinnen) The three spinners De tre spindersker; Om det slemme hørspinderi (Ha; based on 1812 Ed)</p> |
| <p>5. Der Wolf und die sieben jungen Geisslein The wolf and the seven young kids Ulven og de syv gedekid</p> | <p>15. Hänsel und Gretel Hansel and Gretel Hans og Grete; Hansemænd og Grethelil</p> |
| <p>6. Der treue Johannes Faithful Johannes Den tro Johannes</p> | <p>16. Die drei Schlangenblätter The three snake leaves Die tre slangeblade</p> |
| <p>7. Der gute Handel The good bargain Den fiffige bonde (Ma); Den gode handel; Det gode købmandsskab</p> | <p>17. Die weisse Schlange The white snake Den hvide orm; Den hvide slange</p> |
| <p>8. Der wunderliche Spielmann The marvellous minstrel Den forunderlige spillemænd (Dau); Spillemanden (Ma); Den sælsomme spillemænd (L); Den underlige spillemænd</p> | <p>18. Strohalm, Kohle und Bohne The straw, the spark [Zipes: the coal], and the bean Halmstrået, gnisten (gløden) og bønnen</p> |
| <p>9. Die zwölf Brüder The twelve brothers De tolv brødre</p> | <p>19. Von dem Fischer un syner Fru The fisherman and his wife Fiskeren og hans kone; Konen i muddergrøften</p> |
| <p>10. Das Lumpengesindel Riftraff Hanefar og hønemor kører gennem skoven (Ma); Det lumpne pak (L); Pak; Prakkerfolket (M1); Rakkerpak</p> | <p>20. Das tapfere Schneiderlein The brave little tailor Syv i et hug (Dau); Den tapre lille skrædder</p> |
| <p>11. Brüderchen und Schwesterchen Brother and sister; Little brother and</p> | <p>21. Aschenputtel Cinderella, Ashputtle Askepot</p> |
| | <p>22. Das Rätsel The riddle Gåden</p> |
| | <p>23. Von dem Mäuschen, Vögelchen und der Bratwurst The mouse, the bird, and the sausage Eventyret om musen, fuglen og medisterpølsen; Om musen, fuglen og medisterpølsen</p> |
| | <p>24. Frau Holle Mother Holle Mor Helle (Ma); Mor Hulda</p> |
| | <p>25. Die sieben Raben</p> |

26. The seven ravens
De syv ravne
Rottkäppchen
Little Red Cap; Little Red Riding Hood
27. Lille Rødhætte (Dau); Rødhætte
Die Bremer Stadtmusikanten
The Bremen town musicians
De Bremer stadsmusikanter; Bymusikanterne; De fire Bremer-stadsmusikanter (Dau); De fire spillemænd; De Køge sangere; Stadsmusikanterne i Bremen
28. Der singende Knochen
The singing bone
Det syngende ben
29. Der Teufel mit den drei goldenen Haaren
The devil with the three golden hairs
Djævelens tre guldhår; Trolden med de tre guldhår
30. Läuschen und Flöhchen
The louse and the flea
Lusen og loppen
31. Das Mädchen ohne Hände
The maiden without hands
Pigen uden hænder
32. Der gescheite Hans
Clever Hans
Den kloge Hans; Den kløgtige Hans (Dau)
33. Die drei Sprachen
The three languages
De tre sprog
34. Die kluge Else (1812: 'Hansens Trine')
Clever Else
Den kloge Else; Hans'es Trine (Ha; based on the 1812 Ed)
35. Der Schneider im Himmel
The tailor in Heaven
Skrædderen i himlen
36. Tischendeckdich, Goldesel und Knüppel aus dem Sack
The magic table, the gold donkey, and the club (cudgel) in the sack
Bord dæk dig, guldæslet og knippenen i sækken; Om bord dæk dig ...;
37. Daumesdick
Thumbling
Tommeliden
38. Die Hochzeit der Frau Füchsin
The wedding of Mrs Fox
Fru Rævs bryllup; Om fru rævinden
39. Die Wichtelmänner
The elves (*three stories*)
Nisserne; De underjordiske (L); Nisserne hos skomageren (1); Om en skomager, hvis arbejde de havde gjort (1; L); Skomagernisserne (2); Om en tjenestepige, som stod fadder hos dem (2; L); Om en kone, hvis barn de havde forbyttet (3; L)
40. Der Räuberbräutigam
The robber bridegroom
Røverbrudgommen; Røveren
41. Herr Korbes
Herr Korbes; Mr. Korbis
Hr. Korbes
42. Der Herr Gevatter
The godfather
Gudfaderen; Hr. Gudfaderen (L); Den slemme fadder (Dau)
43. Frau Trude
Mother Trudy; Frau Trude
Heksen
44. Der Gevatter Tod
Godfather Death
Døden som gudfader (L); Dødens gud-
søn
45. Daumerlings Wanderschaft
Thumbling's travels
Skrædderen Svend Tomlings vandring (L); Tomling på rejse; Tommeliden på vandring (Dau)
46. Fitchers Vogel
Fitcher's bird; Fowler's fowl
Fitchers fugl; Rynke Ris' fugl (Dau)
47. Von Dem Machandelboom
The juniper tree
Enebærtræet; Historien om enebærbusken (Dau)
48. Der alte Sultan
Old Sultan
Den gamle Sultan
49. Die sechs Schwäne
The six swans
De hvide svaner (Ma); De seks svaner
50. Dornröschen
Brier Rose; Briar Rose; The sleeping beauty
Prinsesse Tornerose; Tornerose
51. Fundevogel
Foundling; Fledgling
Findefugl; Hittefugl (Dau); Kokkepigen der var en heks; Om Findefuglen (L); Ørn (Ma)
52. König Drosselbart
King Thrushbeard
Kong Drosselskæg; Prinsessen og tiggeren
53. Schneewittchen
Snow White
Snehvide
54. Der Ranzen, das Hütlein und das Hörnlein
The knapsack, the hat, and the horn
Ranslen, hatten og hornet; Tornistret, hatten og hornet (Dau)
55. Rumpelstilzchen
Rumpelstiltskin

- Lille Rumleskaft; Rumleskaft
 56. Der Liebste Roland
 Sweetheart Roland; Darling Roland
 Rolands kæreste
57. Der goldene Vogel
 The golden bird
 Guldfuglen; Om guldfuglen (L)
58. Der Hund und der Sperling (1812: 'Vom treuen Gevatter Sperling')
 The dog and the sparrow
 Hunden og spurven; Den trofaste spurv (Ha; based on 1812 Ed)
59. Der Frieder und das Catherlieschen
 Freddy and Kathy
 Freder og Karenlisbeth (L); Frederik og Katrine; Frits og Lise; Henrik og Lise; Peter og hans kone (Ma)
60. Die zwei Brüder
 The two brothers
 De to brødre
61. Das Bürle (1812: Von dem Schneider, der bald reich wurde)
 Little farmer
 Bondeknolden; Den lille bonde; Stoderen (Ma); Om skrædderen, der hurtigt blev rig (Ha; based on 1812 Ed)
62. Die Bienenkönigin
 The queen bee
 Bidronningen; Dronningen for bierne (L)
63. Die drei Feder
 The three feathers
 De tre (trende) fjer
64. Die goldene Gans
 The golden goose
 Guldgåsen
65. Allerleirauh
 All fur; Thousandfurs
 Alskenslåd; Tusindskind
66. Häsichenbraut
 The hare's bride
 Harebruden
67. Die zwölf Jäger
 The twelve huntsmen
 De tolv jægere
68. De Gaudelf un sien Meester
 The thief and his master
 Heksemesteren og hans lærer (L); Lærling og mester
69. Jorinde und Joringel
 Jorinda and Joringel
 Jorinde og Joringel; Yorinde og Yoringel
70. Die drei Glückskinder
 The three sons of fortune
 De tre (trende) lykkebørn
71. Sechse kommen durch die ganze Welt
 How six made their way in the world;
 Six who made their way in the world
 Historien om seks, der kommer gennem
- verden; Hvorledes seks kommer gennem verden; Prinsesse Hurtigfod (Orla Klausen); Seks kommer nok igennem verden (L)
72. Der Wolf und der Mensch
 The wolf and the man
 Ulven og mennesket
73. Der Wolf und der Fuchs
 The wolf and the fox
 Ulven og ræven
74. Der Fuchs und die Frau Gevatterin
 The fox and his cousin
 Ræven og dens nabomor; Ræven og fru ulv
75. Der Fuchs und die Katze
 The fox and the cat
 Ræven og katten
76. Die Nelke
 The pink flower; The carnation
 Den hvide nellike; Nelliken
77. Das kluge Gretel
 Clever Gretel
 Den kloge Grete; Den snilde Grete
78. Der alte Grossvater und der Enkel
 The old man and his grandson
 Bedstefaderen og sønnesønnen; Den gamle bedstefar og sønnesønnen
79. Die Wassernixe
 The water nixie
 Havfruen; Nøkken
80. Von dem Tode des Hühnchens
 The death of the hen
 Den lille hønes død; Om hanens død (Dau); Om hønes død
81. Bruder Lustig
 Brother Lustig
 Bror Lystig
82. De Spielhansl
 Gambling Hans
 Spillehans
83. Hans im Glück
 Lucky Hans; Hans in luck
 Hans som havde lykken med sig (L); Hvordan Hans blev lykkelig (M2); Lykehans
84. Hans heiratet
 Hans gets married
 Hans gifter sig
85. Die Goldkinder
 The golden children
 Guldbørnene
86. Der Fuchs und die Gänse
 The fox and the geese
 Rævene og gæssene
87. Der Arme und der Reiche
 The poor man and the rich man
 Den fattige og den rige
88. Das singende springende Löwenecker-

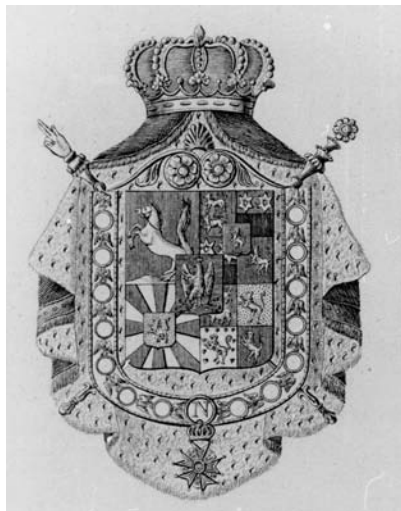
- chen
The singing, springing lark; The liltling,
leaping lark
89. Den syngende og hoppende lærke
Die Gänsemagd
The goose girl
Gåsepigen
90. Der junge Riese
The young giant
Den unge kæmpe
91. Dat Erdmänneken
The gnome
Jordånderne (Ma); Den lille underjordi-
ske mand (M2); De tre jægersvende
(D2); Den underjordiske
92. Der König vom goldenen Berg
The king of the golden mountain
Kongen af det gyldne bjerg
93. Die Rabe
The raven
Ravnen
94. Die kluge Bauerntochter
The clever farmer's daughter; The pea-
sant's clever daughter
Den kloge bondepige; Den kloge dron-
ning
95. Der alte Hildebrand
Old Hildebrand
Den gamle Hildebrand
96. De drei Vögelkens
The three little birds
Fuglen (D2); De tre fugle (M2); De tre
små fugle
97. Das Wasser des Lebens
The water of life
Livets (Livsens) vand
98. Doktor Allwissend
Doctor Know-it-all
Doktor Alvidende
99. Der Geist im Glas
The spirit in the glass bottle
Ånden i flasken
100. Des Teufels russiger Bruder
The Devil's sooty (grimy) brother
Djævelens snavsede bror; Fandens sorte
broder (D1)
101. Der Bärenhäuter (1815-1840: Der Teufel
Grünrock)
Bearskin
Bjørnemanden (D1); Bjørneskindsman-
den; Djævelens grønne frakke (Ha: from
1815 ed); Fanden i den grønne frakke
(D2)
102. Der Zaunkönig und der Bär
The wren and the bear
Fuglekongen og bjørnen; Fuglenes konge
og bjørnen; Gærdesmutton og bjørnen
103. Der süsse Brei
The sweet porridge
Den søde grød; Sødgrøden
104. Die klugen Leute
The clever people
De kloge folk
105. Märchen von der Unke
Tales about toads (Three sketches)
Eventyr om skrubtudsen; Fabler om tud-
sen (Dau); Klokkefrøen (1)
106. Der arme Müllerbursch und das Kätz-
chen
The poor miller's apprentice and the cat
Den fattige møllersvend og katten; Møl-
lersvenden og katten
107. Die beiden Wanderer
The two travellers
De to vandringmænd
108. Hans mein Igel
Hans my hedgehog
Hans pindsvin
109. Das Totenhemdchen
The little shroud
Ligskjorten
110. Der Jude im Dorn
The Jew in the thornbush (brambles)
Jøden i tornebusken
111. Der gelernte Jäger
The expert huntsman; The hunter
Den ferme jæger; Den flinke jæger; En
udlært jæger
112. Der Dreschfliegel vom Himmel
The fleshing flail from heaven
Plejlen fra himlen; Tærskeplejlen fra
himlen
113. De beiden Königekinner
The two kings' children
Kongesønnen og kongedatteren; De to
kongebørn
114. Vom klugen Schneiderlein
The clever little tailor
Den kloge lille skrædder
115. Die klare Sonne bringt's an den Tag
The bright sun will bring it to light
'Guds klare sol bringer alt frem for da-
gens lys' (Dau); Den klare sol bringer
alting for en dag; Solen skal nok bringe
det for en dag (Ha)
116. Das blaue Licht
The blue light
Det blå lys
117. Das eigensinnige Kind
The stubborn (naughty) child
Det egenrådige barn; Det uartige barn
118. Die drei Feldscherer
The three army surgeons
De tre feltskærere (D1); De tre læger;
De sår læger (Dau)
119. Die sieben Schwaben

- The seven Swabians
De syv molboer; De syv schwabere
120. Die drei Handwerksburschen
The three journeymen
De tre håndværkssvende
121. Der Königssohn, der sich vor nichts fürchtet
The prince who feared nothing
Kongesønnen, som ikke var bange for-noget
122. Der Krautesel (1815: Die lange Nase)
The lettuce donkey
Kålæselet (Dau); Salatæselet; Æselsalaten (D1); Den lange næse (Ha; based on 1815 ed)
123. Die Alte im Wald
The old woman in the forest
Den gamle (kone) i skoven
124. Die drei Brüder
The three brothers
De tre brødre
125. Der Teufel und seine Grossmutter
The Devil and his grandmother
Djævelen og hans bedstemor; Fanden og hans oldemor (D1)
126. Ferenand getrü und Ferenand ungetrü
Faithful Ferdinand and unfaithful Ferdinand
Ferdinand tro og Ferdinand utro; Den tro Ferdinand og den utro Ferdinand (D1)
127. Der Eisenofen (1812: Prinz Schwan)
The iron stove; The cast-iron stove
Kakkelovnen (Dau); Jernovnen; Prins Svane (Ha; based on 1812 Ed)
128. Die faule Spinnerin
The lazy spinner
Den dovne spinderske
129. Die vier kunstreichen Brüder
The four skillful brothers
De fire kunstfærdige brødre
130. Einäuglein, Zweiäuglein und Dreiäuglein
One-Eye, Two-Eyes, and Three-Eyes
Enøje, Toøje og Treøje
131. Die schöne Katrinelje und Pif Paf Poltrie
Pretty Katrinelya and Pif Paf Poltree
Den kønne Katrine og Per Spradebas (Ha); Skøn Karen og Gi-Ga-Gyvel (Dau); Den smukke Katrine og købstadstampen
132. Der Fuchs und das Pferd
The fox and the horse
Hesten og ræven; Ræven og hesten (Dau)
133. Die zertanzten Schuhe
The worn-out dancing shoes
De fordansede sko (D1); De hullede sko; De udslidte sko
134. Die sechs Diener
The six servants
- De seks tjenere
135. Die weisse und die schwarze Braut
The white bride and the black bride
Den hvide og den sorte brud
136. Der Eisenhans
Iron Hans
Jernhans; Vildmanden (D1)
137. De drei schwatten Prinzessinnen
The three black princesses
De tre sorte prinsesser
138. Knoist un sine dre Söhne
Knoist and his three sons
Fæster og hans tre sønner (Dau); Knoist og hans tre sønner
139. Dat Mäken von Brakel
The maiden from Brakel
Pigen fra Brakel; Pigen fra Brasted (Dau)
140. Das Hausgesinde
The domestic servants
Nabofolkene; Nabokonerne (Dau); Tjenerestefolkene (Ha)
141. Das Lämmchen und Fischchen
The little lamb and the little fish
Lammet og fisken
142. Simeliberg
Simelei mountain
Semsibjerget (D1); Sesambjerget; Sime-libjerg
143. Up Reisen gohn
Going travelling
På rejse
144. Das Eselein
The donkey; The donkey prince
Æselprinsen; Det lille æsel
145. Der undankbare Sohn
The ungrateful son
Den utaknemmelige søn
146. Die Rübe
The turnip
Guleroden (D1); Historien om en roe
147. Das junggeglühte Männlein
The rejuvenated little old man; The fires of youth
Den fornygede mand (Dau); Manden, der blev ung igen; Tiggeren i smedessen (D2)
148. Des Herrn und des Teufels Getier
The animals of the Lord and the Devil
Guds og Djævelens dyr (Dau); Vorherres og Djævelens dyr
149. Der Hahnenbalken
The beam
Hanebjælken; Hanen med bjælken (D2)
150. Die alte Bettelfrau
The old beggar woman
Den gamle tiggerske
- 151a Die drei Faulen

- 151b. The three lazy sons
Den downeste; De tre dovne (Dau)
Die zwölf faulen Knechte
The twelve lazy servants
Den downeste; De tolv dovne (tjeneste)-
karle
152. Das Hirtenbüblein
The little shepherd boy
Hyrdedrengen (M1); Den lille hyrdedreng
153. Die Sterntaler (1812 title: Das arme
Mädchen)
The star coins
Dalerne fra himlen (D2); Stjernerdalerne;
Den fattige pige (Ha)
154. Der gestohlene Heller
The stolen pennies
Den stjalne skilling (M2); Den stjalne
toøre
155. Die Brautschau
Choosing a bride
Brudeskuet; Brudevalget (D1)
156. Die Schickerlinge
The leftovers; The odds and ends
Affaldet; Hørskæverne
157. Der Sperling und seine vier Kinder
The sparrow and his four children
Spurven og dens fire unger (børn)
158. Das Märchen vom Schlauraffenland
The tale about the land of Cockaigne
Eventyret om Slaraffenland
159. Das Diethmarsische Lügenmärchen
A tall tale from Ditmarsh
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The heavenly wedding
Det himmelske bryllup
210. Die Haselrute
The hazel branch
Hasselgrenen
- ANHANG ('Anh' + number from Rölleke (rpt 1857)) = OMITTED TALES (number from Jack Zipes)
- In order to permit of an easy overview, the below list comprises all tales first printed and subsequently omitted from *Large Editions*, including those which have not been translated into Danish. If there is no German Anhang, this is because the story is considered a variant of the tale which supplanted it. It is very much a matter of judgement so disagreements are understandable.
- Anh1 Von der Nachtigall und der Blindschleiche
211. The nightingale and the blindworm
Nattergalen og stålormen (Ha)
- Anh2 Die Hand mit dem Messer
212. The hand with the knife
213. Herr Fix-it-up (no Anhang; 1812; since then paraphrased in the notes of KHM 62 'The queen bee'; Rölleke (rpt 1857) III: 448 and 470; Grimm (1857) III: 110-111)
- Anh3 Wie Kinder Schlachtens miteinander gespielt haben
214. How some children played at slaughtering
- Anh4 Der Tod und der Gänschirt
215. Death and the goose boy
Døden og gåsehryden (Ha)

- Anh5 Der gestiefelte Kater
 216. Puss in boots
 Den bestøvlede kat (Ha; Rud)
- Anh6 Von der Serviette, dem Tornister, dem
 Kanonenhütlein und dem Horn
 217. The tablecloth, the knapsack, the cannon
 hat, and the horn
- Anh7 Die wunderliche Gasterei
 218. The strange feast
 Den underlige Gæstering (L)
- Anh8 Hans Dumm
 219. Simple Hans
 Hans Dum (Ha)
- Anh9 Blaubart
 220. Bluebeard
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- Anh11 Der Okerlo
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 223. Princess Mouseskin
- Anh13 Das Birnli will nit fallen
 224. The pear refused to fall
 Da pæren skulle ned (Ha)
- Anh14 Das Mordschloss
 225. The castle of murder
- Anh15 Vom Schreiner und Drechsler
 226. The carpenter and the turner
 227. The blacksmith and the Devil (no Anhang, but paraphrased in the note to KHM 82 'Gambling Hans' by Grimm as of 1822 (See Rölleke (rpt 1857) III: 477; Grimm (1857) III: 148-150)).
- Anh16 Die drei Schwestern
 228. The three sisters
 229. The mother-in-law (no Anhang, but listed as a 'fragment' (number 5) after the annotations in the Volumes of 1822 and 1857 (See Rölleke (rpt 1857) III: 543))
- Anh17 Fragmente: a) Schneebliume, b) Vom
 Prinz Johannes, c) Der gute Lappen
 230. Fragments
- Anh18 Die treuen Tiere
 231. The faithful animals
 De tro dyr (D1)
- Anh19 Die Krähen
 232. The crows
 De tre krager (D2)
- Anh20 Der Faule und der Fleissige
 233. The lazy one and the industrious one
 234. The long nose (no Anhang: The story is given as a variant of KHM 122 'The lettuce donkey' in a note by Grimm, (1857) III: 201-204; Rölleke (rpt 1857) III: 213-216)
 Den lange næse (Ha)
- Anh21 Der Löwe und der Frosch
 235. The lion and the frog
- Anh22 Der Soldat und der Schreiner
 236. The soldier and the carpenter
- Anh23 De wilde Mann
 237. The wild man
 Vildmanden (D1)
- Anh24 Die Kinder in Hungersnot
 238. The children of famine
- Anh25 Die heilige Frau Kummernis
 239. Saint Solicitous
- Anh26 Das Unglück
 240. Misfortune
 Ulykken (D2)
- Anh27 Die Erbsenprobe
 241. The pea test
 Ærteprøven (M1, as of 1845)
- Anh28 Der Räuber und seine Söhne
 242. The robber and his sons
 Røverren og hans sønner (D1)



*The coat-of-arms
 of the Kingdom of Westphalia*



*The brothers Grimm
A picture from Daugaard's translation (1894)*

INDEX

The present index is not exhaustive. In cases where this is quite obvious there is a (-). Given the mass of detail discussed, it is readily appreciated that the majority of *passim* references are not listed. The number of entry words has been reduced and entries may therefore refer to discussions in which the exact entry word is not found. Nevertheless, many features are indexed several times in order to make the index easy to use. The lists of translations (pp 71-146) and the notes (pp 329-347) are indexed only for special features. The appendixes are indexed only by their titles. Entry words are abbreviated to the first letter. The following abbreviations are used: d = definition or discussion; i = illustration, picture, graph; l = background or biographical information; n = the index refers to a note; q = quotation; t = table; tr = translated, translation, translator.

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