Shifting meanings: Translating Grimms' Fairy Tales as Children's Literature

The first volume of the Brothers Grimm collection of German traditional tales was published in 1812 as *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (Children and Household Tales), a second volume was produced in 1815. Claimed to be the best-known work of German literature, the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* had seven editions of the two-volume collection (*Große* Ausgabe) and ten editions of the selected tales (*Kleine* Ausgabe) during the lifetime of the brothers.[1] Translated variously as *German Popular Tales*, *Children's and Household Tales* or *Home Stories*, the collection is best known in English as *Grimms' Fairy Tales*. This title foregrounds the role of the brothers and the status of the tales as authored or children's stories in a way which Jacob and Wilhelm would not have entirely agreed with.[2]

The Grimms understood themselves as collectors and guardians of traditional folk stories which they perceived to be under threat of extinction. As such, the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* were conceived as a collection of source material with an extensive scholarly apparatus giving information on mediators, sources, regional variants etc. The brothers defined the *Märchen* as the poetry of the people, seeing folktales as diluted remnants of myths and Wilhelm compared them in a famous quotation to half-remembered 'coloured glass pieces, scatttered fragments of the once whole diamond of divinely inspired poetry.'[3] Both Wilhelm and Jacob had noted the close affinity between *Märchen* and Nordic myth, carefully demonstrating their similarities in world view and in detailed comparisons of narrative motifs. Their mythic origin meant, as the brothers argued, that the *Märchen* were also remnants of ancient religion and tribal customs. As proof of a once existing German epic literature, they were evidence of the existence of a German cultural heritage. All this was instrumental in the formation of a German identity.[4] The importance of this claim needs to be seen in its historical context. In the same year that the brothers started collecting old German material in 1806, Napoleon was at the summit of his career and German territory was occupied. Turning towards the German language and evidence of its history and cultural validity allowed for a self-identification which resisted the occupying force. Collecting tales which were

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[1] Martin Sutton, *The Sin-Complex, A Critical Study of English Versions of the Grimms' Kinder- und Hausmärchen in the Nineteenth Century* (Kassel: Brüder Grimm Gesellschaft, 1996), p.1

[2] The German term *Märchen* refers to a much wider type of traditional material, while 'fairy tales' are closely linked to the authored contes des fées, popular at the end of the seventeenth century at the French court and widely translated into English in the eighteenth century.

[3] Wilhelm Grimm, *Brüder Grimm Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, Ausgabe letzter Hand mit den Originalanmerkungen der Brüder Grimm, 3 vols, ed. by Heinz Rölleke, (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1982), vol 3, p. 409 [421]

[4] Christa Kamenetsky, *The Brothers Grimm and Their Critics: Folktales and the Quest for Meaning*. Athens: Ohio UP, 1992), pp. 55-9, Ruth Michaelis-Jena, *The Brothers Grimm*. London: Routledge & Kegan, 1970), pp. 50-1

evidence of a uniquely German literature had a clear political function and the *Kinder- und* Hausmärchen were a consciously conceived contribution to the resistance against Napoleonic occupation.[5] But the need to assert a German identity went beyond this and also played an important role in the struggle to create a German nation state. Even before the establishment of French rule in artificially created kingdoms, Germany did not exist as a political entity but consisted of over 300 principalities. Each of these states was fully independent, with a unique dialect, its own customs and regional identity. After Napoleon's defeat in 1814, occupied territories were mostly reconstituted as their previous principalities, and Germany returned to its political fragmentation.

The efforts for unification - an idea to which the Grimms were deeply committed - were based on a perception that the only commonality was a shared language and a shared cultural heritage. Despite regional variation and pride, German as a national language provided a bond across dialects and customs in its opposition to the French or Latin still widely used in aristocratic and academic circles. The hope was that the cultural community could develop into a political nation, and here again the *Märchen* provided proof for the existence of this allegedly shared culture. In the introduction to the second volume of the *KHM* in 1815, Wilhelm declared*:* 'in these tales we find much original German myth, which had been believed lost.'[6] Constructed as historical evidence of the origins of a German community, the *Märchen* prove the possibility of a German nation in the present. Even more importantly, the tales transcend the fragmentation of contemporary Germany because there are no local references. According to Wilhelm, the *Märchen* are removed from the actual world and their essence expresses something uniquely German.

The authentication of the folktales as myth and their validation as cultural inheritance requires, as the Grimms argued, that their textual status must be respected and that they should be recorded, contrary to existing practice at the time, without editorial interference.[7] However, the actual publishing history of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* quite clearly shows that substantial editing did take place. Between 1812 and 1857 there were seventeen editions of the *Complete Tales* and the *Selected Tales*; these were continuously revised and changed, both in terms of language as well as content and the Grimms quite consciously gave the tales a particular shape. While much of the editing took place as part of a

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[5] Wilhelm Grimm, 'Selbstbiographie,' in *Kleinere Schriften*, 4 vols, ed. by Gustav Hinrichs (Berlin: Dümmlers Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1881), vol 1, pp. 3-25 (p.12), Gabriele Seitz, *Die Brüder Grimm, Leben, Werk, Zeit* (Munich: Winkler, 1984), p.43

[6] Wilhelm Grimm, 'Vorrede zum zweiten Band,' in *Kleinere Schriften*, 4 vols, ed. by Gustav Hinrichs (Berlin: Dümmlers Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1881), vol 1, pp. 328-32 (p.330)

continuous work-in-progess - as the brothers received new stories, these were included or used to revise existing material, editorial input changed over the years partly in response to contemporary critical response. The Romantic poet Clemens Brentano, for example, sharply condemned the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* for aesthetic reasons. He categorically disapproved of the Grimms' refusal to modify the language and composition of the tales, arguing that their professed loyalty to tradition had resulted in 'careless, soiled, ragged' language and 'boring' tales.[8]

Perhaps more serious was the criticism that the language and subject matter of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* were morally inappropriate. Critics objected to the cruelty of many tales, in particular if it was committed in the family and against family members. Offense was taken at the depiction of the devil, and situations which had sexual overtones.[9] The language was criticised as vulgar by educators precisely because the Grimms had refused to adapt the simple vernacular of the tales to conform to the norms of educated and cultured German. Wilhelm responded and introduced morally motivated changes. In the introduction to the second edition in 1819 he reassures readers: 'we have carefully excised any expression not suitable for children.'[10] Editorial changes have been documented extensively and the folklore scholar Heinz Rölleke identifies as the main trends an increasing use of diminutives together with a toning down of extreme motifs, an interpretation of family roles which conforms to bourgeois values and an increasingly Christian outlook. Instances of interfamily violence and of incest are edited out, as is pre-marital sex and pregnancy.[11]

Thus there is a move away from the original purist approach to accommodate the needs of the children's literature market. Nevertheless, many aspects which critics had objected to and which were features typical of oral material were retained: treatment of profane matter, crude language and jokes, or a less

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[7] Wilhelm Grimm, 'Vorrede zum ersten Band,' in *Kleinere Schriften*, 4 vols, ed. by Gustav Hinrichs (Berlin: Dümmlers Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1881), vol 1, pp. 320-28 (p. 327)

[8] Letter to Achim von Arnim in 1813, quoted in Irma Hildebrandt, *Es waren ihrer fünf, Die Brüder Grimm und ihre Familie* (Cologne: Diederichs, 1985), p. 106

[9] Heinz Rölleke, 'Nachwort,' in *Brüder Grimm Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, Ausgabe letzter Hand mit den Originalanmerkungen der Brüder Grimm, 3 vols, ed. by Heinz Rölleke (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1982), pp. 590-617 (p. 573)

[10] Wilhelm Grimm, 'Vorrede,' in *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, zweite vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage, 3 vols (Berlin: Reimer, 1819), vol 1, pp. v-xx (p. viii)

[11] Heinz Rölleke, 'Nachwort' and 'Zur Biographie der Grimmschen Märchen', in *Brüder Grimm, Kinder- und Hausmärchen,* Nach der zweiten vermehrten und verbesserten Auflage von 1819, textkritisch revidiert und mit einer Biographie der Grimmschen Märchen versehen, ed. by H. Rölleke (Munich: Diederichs, 1989), pp. 521-582, Maria Tatar, *Off With Their Heads! Fairy Tales and the Culture of Childhood*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton UP, 1992). pp. 15-19, Ruth Bottigheimer, *Grimms' Bad Girls & Bold Boys:The Moral & Social Vision of the Tales*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1987), Wilhelm Schoof,   'Zur Geschichte des Grimmschen Märchenstils', *Der Deutschunterricht*, 15:2 (June 1963), pp. 90-99

pronounced sensitivity to hints of sexuality and erotic desire, the representation of violence, cruelty, base instincts and intense emotion, the mythic detachment, ambiguous characters and a validation of values in contradiction of didactic considerations (laziness, dirtiness, disrespect of authority, etc). Wihelm had defended this by using one of the central tenets of Romantic literary theory: the celebration of nature and its inherent innocence. His argument was that as the offending language and content resulted from loyalty to tradition, it followed that these features were entirely natural. Any perceived corruption in the material was in the eye of the civilised beholder.[12] Thus some of the authority and integrity of the traditonal texts was protected even though the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* were appropriated as children's texts and the collection retained a substantial number of distinctly non-didactic features.

This was not the case when the tales were translated into English, where they were received entirely as children's literature. The *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* are inserted into an existing tradition of moral and didactic tales within which and against which they posit themselves and many of the features which Wilhelm had retained cause problems for the translators.[13] In addition, the fairy tale genre had to contend with a very negative reputation in England in contrast to Germany where the Romantic poets had elevated it into one of the highest art forms. [14] The history of children's reading (especially in England) is characterised by the split into acceptable texts - those aimed at instruction - and unacceptable texts - those read for entertainment. The fairy tale was historically perceived as unacceptable children's reading due to its entertaining and imaginative aspects and objected to on rational, moral and religious grounds; a key objection was that its non-factual and non-spiritual nature exposes children to moral and intellectual corruption. The *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* were instrumental in overcoming the fairy tale's negative inflection because the scholarly function allowed the texts to be received within the tradition of reading for instruction.[15] But it meant that English translators had to adapt the texts not only to the conventions of children's literature but also had to negotiate the negative reputation of the genre.

Thus the didactic and morally charged context of English reception determines the translation choices and all but one of the nineteenth century translations examined show consistent shifts on the

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[12] Wilhelm Grimm, 'Vorrede zum zweiten Band', p. 331

[13] Peter Butts, 'The Beginnings of Victorianism (*c.*1820-1850)', in *Children's Literature, An Illustrated History* Hunt, ed. by Peter Hunt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 77-101

[14] F. J. H. Darton, *Children's Books in England, Five Centuries of Social Life,* rev. by Brian Alderson, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3rd edn 1982), p. 99

[15] Michael Kotzin, *Dickens and the Fairy Tale*, (Bowling Green: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1972), pp. 8-10, Katharine M. Briggs, 'The Influence of the Brothers Grimm in England', in *Brüder Grimm Gedenken 1963*, vol. 1, ed. by Ludwig Denecke (Marburg: Elwert, 1963) pp. 511-24 (pp. 514-5)

microstructural level and on the macrostructural level.[16] These result in at times substantial changes in motivation, characterisation, and narrative logic often with explicit additions on the German source texts. Translation and editing choices are strongly influenced by the ideals disseminated in children's literature of the time and many of the strategies and conventions employed in the translations are determined by a defensiveness caused by the continued debate over the fairy tale throughout the nineteenth century. Areas which remain sensitive throughout the century are 1) the treatment of profane matters, 2) the relationship between the real and the imagination and children's capacity to differentiate between them, and 3) quite strongly enunciated moral sensitivities. In addition, the socialising function of the texts also influences representations of femininity and masculinity. The attributes, behaviour, actions and motivations of male and female characters in the story are didactically adapted to become role models conforming to prescriptive notions of gender roles.

1) Concern over the profanity of some of the material in the German collection is expressed by the majority of the translations and explicitly addressed in their prefaces. Stories about divine characters are either not translated at all or reference to God and the devil has been omitted where it occurs, or the offensive passages have been altered. Taylor famously translated the 'devil' as a 'giant', other generalising choices are the very descriptive 'evil spirit' or 'diabolical agency'. A consistently used strategy is to transpose Christian references to classical or nordic myth. This translates the devil as 'Pluto' and his grandmother as 'Hecate', while God becomes 'Jupiter', the archangel is 'Mercury' and heaven is 'Olympus' while 'hell' has been translated as the 'Scandinavian hell' or even a cave.[17] Sensitivities exist not only where explicit irreverence is shown to religious topics or characters, but also with regard to more general narrative motifs which could be interpreted as blasphemy. So, for example, when the dead Snow White is re-awakened at the end of the story, this could be seen as resurrection which should only be performed by God or his Son. Consequently, some translations ensure with additional comments that the girl is not in fact dead, or edit out passages which describe the wonder that her body does not decay, allowing by this omission the interpretation that she is not really dead.[18] Similarly, in Sleeping Beauty, several translation add to the description of the princess falling lifeless to

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[16] I examined ten nineteenth century translations of 'Sleeping Beauty' in detailed textual analyses. 'Transculturations: Making 'Sleeping Beauty'; The Translation of a Grimm *Märchen* into an English Fairy Tale in the Nineteenth Century' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1998) My findings with regard to one particular story are borne out by *the Sin*-Complex, Martin Sutton's similar study into nineteenth-century translations of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* which deals with the same translations but investigates a different story in each collection.

[17] Sutton, p. 35, Seago, p. 311

[18] Sutton, p. 46

the ground when she pricks her finger on the spindle, that she is not dead but only appears so.[19] How sensitive this aspect is becomes apparent when one considers that the added comment is actually not necessary because the curse at the beginning of the story states quite explicitly that the princess will fall asleep (and not die).

2) The suspect status of fairy tales as imaginative texts: There are two main strategies in which translations negotiate the negative inflection of the fairy tale. The first is by establishing the usefulness of fairy stories by claiming allegiance with established traditions of endorsed texts of children's literature. This includes giving fairy tale collections titles which explicitly link them to the approved genre of the moral and didactic tale. Examples are *The Fairy Token* (1840) which quite consciously trades on James Janeway's influential Puritan *Token for Children*, a conduct book for religious children still widely read in the nineteenth century, or Edgar Taylor's revised 1839 translation *German Popular Stories and Fairy Tales As Told by Gammer Grethel* which links to Joseph Ritson's *Gammer Gurton's Garland*. Alternatively, features are introduced which cast the text in the tradition of instructive reading matter. Several translations, for example, expand the descriptions of the sleeping castle in Sleeping Beauty by adding specifications in a way which is typical of instructional reading matter designed to teach the child about language and the world. So, we have 'the dogs in the yard', 'the cook in the kitchen', the king by the throne' etc or a mediating narratorial voice explains narratorial gaps and reassures the reader about the predictability of the world. [20]

The second strategy is by engaging directly with the question of reality and the imagination. Such translations introduce a shift in the management of fictive reality and its relationship to the reality of the narrator's/reader's world. In the traditional tale, magical events and those which could happen in reality are described in the same way, existing side by side without any clear boundaries between the possible and the impossible. In the translations, clearly demarcated domains for the real and the supernatural are set up. An 1855 translation of Sleeping Beauty, for example, introduces markers into the story to warn the reader/listener when this line is crossed. When the magically transformed thorn-hedge moves apart for the prince, this is presented as a subjective impression and a similar grammatical shift qualifies the magical effect of the prince's kiss: '*As if* awakened by this, Rosaline opened her eyes.'[21]

A more subtle marker is the way the story-telling process is emphasised, calling attention to the fact that there are stories within the story and consequently highlighting that the text the child is hearing or

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[19] Seago, p. 215 & 282

[20] Seago, p. 277 and 242-3

[21] Seago, p. 247

reading is fictional as well. One translation conspicuously raises the question whether the tale of the sleeping princess which 'was reported through all lands' is fact or fiction by changing the reason why the princes come to the castle hidden by the hedge. In the German text, the aim of the princes is a typical fairy tale task of overcoming an obstacle in order to rescue the princess. In the English text, the princes are instead motivated by a wish to verify the truth of the story they have heard: 'and from time to time kings' sons would arrive for the purpose of discovering for themselves if the history of the sleeping Rosaline were true'.[22]

Such strategies ensure that the supernatural is separated and textually marked as non-real while the belief in the narrator's reality is linked to those scenarios which are non-magical. At the same time, the translations introduce dramatic tension and narrative devices which draw the reader into the story inviting identification and participation by directly addressing the reader or setting up comparable experiences which can occur in real life. Thus in an 1872 translation, grammatical shifts in pronoun and tense mean that the prince has been hearing the story of the sleeping princess all his life and was told about it by his own grandfather.[23] The same text also draws on established literary tropes such as the adventure story by shifting the attributes of the prince and his preparation for entering the castle so that it mirrors descriptions of expeditions in boys' stories popular at the time.[24]

3) Moral objections cover a very wide area. Instances of overt sexuality, references to conception, birth and even death are omitted or paraphrased. In fact, most aspects relating to the body, its fluids, or even mention of body parts are censored in some way. When Sleeping Beauty pricks her finger on the spindle, or when Snow White coughs up the poisoned apple from her throat, this is omitted.[25] (Interestingly, though, not all translations have a problem with the disenchanting kiss in Sleeping Beauty and quite a few texts eroticise the sleeping girl.) All bodily functions or scatological matters are highly problematic. When not absolutely essential to the narrative any such references are omitted; if they are a central motif, they are paraphrased which often leads to narrative inconsistency. Sensitivities around the body's natural processes goes so far that the 'pisspot' in which a couple live in one story has only been translated in the twentieth century, and even here with stylistic shift (as chamber pot) and in the nineteenth century is rendered as 'hut', 'hovel' 'ditch' 'lowly chamber'. Even a 'heap of dung' appears to be too offensive and

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[22] Seago, p. 248

[23] Seago, pp. 273-4

[24] Seago, pp. 281-2

[25] Seago, p. 261, Sutton, pp. 47-8

is translated as a 'pile of hay or straw' while bird-droppings become 'falling leaves' or 'hail'.[26] References to 'dirt', to 'lice' or 'fleas', or to personal grooming are omitted or paraphrased.[27] In the story of Sleeping Beauty the associative meanings of 'crab' with 'crab lice', or sexual disease' are apparently so strong that the queen hears the prophecy of her pregnancy from a fish instead (Taylor 1823, Taylor 1839). There is a great reluctance in the translations to deal with intense emotion or base instincts: great joy, rage, envy, revenge, pride or vanity are all tempered or even omitted[28] and great care is taken to show authority figures in non-compromising situations: so for example, all translations (except Hunt) exonerate the king in Sleeping Beauty from any carelessness in looking after his child and the blame is shifted either onto servants or his actions are presented in the passive or in an impersonal, abstract manner so that he cannot be identified as the agent. The sanctity of the family is protected to such a degree that even negative figures such as the evil stepmother in Snow White are not referred to as 'stepmother' but only as 'queen', obscuring her (actually very loose) familial relationship with the girl.[29]

4) The construction of appropriate gender roles evolves very much around a disambiguation in characterisation. This introduces flat characters who are either good or bad and through this clear dichotomy of good and evil, unambiguous values and behavioural norms are promoted and I will demonstrate this using the story of Sleeping Beauty as an example.

The polarisation of good and bad is particularly clear-cut in the way the translations have developed an umabiguous opposition between the twelve fairies and the thirteenth one. This is achieved by stressing the benevolent character of the well-wishing fairies whose nature is shown to be womanly and attuned to children by adding explicit descriptions of how good and nurturing they are. Every single translation with the exception of Hunt introduces adjectives such as 'good' (Paull), 'benevolent' (Gillies), 'friendly' (Taylor 1839). In two translations in the 1850s, the wise women are described as 'good and kind to children' (Davis, 1855) and as 'kind and affectionate to children' (Wehnert, 1853) where the source text foregrounds their mythic power and suggests that the king's invitation is motivated by a desire to propitiate them (*damit sie dem Kind hold und gewogen wären* - so that they were disposed favourably to the child *KHM* 1850). In contrast, the thirteenth fairy slowly evolves into a witch-like figure whose unjustified rage and revenge are entirely unmotivated so that the curse is the result of her evil nature. All translations, except for Hunt, add modifiers which explicitly identify her as bad: she is 'evil' (Wehnert,

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[26] Sutton, pp. 219-22

[27] Sutton, pp. 229-30

[28] Sutton, pp. 27-9

[29] Sutton, pp. 29 & 35-6

Gillies), 'spiteful'(Gillies, Paull) and 'wicked' (Paull). Such a characterisation substantially affects the narrative motivation, shifting the story's meaning away from a contemplation of human destiny (the fact that everybody has to die) to a text with clear social implications. In the source text, the thirteenth fairy and her pronouncement of the princess's death retain their links to the third godess of fate who cuts the thread of life, while in the translations her curse is no longer presented as an inevitable part of life, but comes about because of the witch's evil nature. Where the source text to some extent justifies her reaction and gives her motivation as 'revenge' for her exclusion, in the English texts, the contextualisation of her behaviour is omitted and instead her high emotions are exaggerated: she is 'greatly incensed' (Gillies), in a 'tremendous passion' (Wehnert), 'burning to revenge herself' (Crane). Furthermore, her behaviour is presented as entirely unjustified because the majority of the translations also introduces shifts in the motivation for her exclusion which exonerate the king (see above) and shift responsibility to herself. Because she threatens the human community for no apparent reason,her actions are presented not only as evil but also as without purpose. Since the translations also introduce negative consequences in explicit actions undertaken by the queen and the princess, female activity evolves in the English translations into a signifier of femininity which is clearly negatively inflected. This is particularly stressed with respect to the princess for whom the witch operates as a a negative foil and a warning. It is also evident that in passages dealing with the princess, the use of the active and the passive in the translations is distributed in clear patterns which associate activity with narrative disapprobation while the passive is used in a much more pronounced way to promote narrative episodes which are rewarded. So, for example, the translations favour active constructions with the princess as the agent in the passages leading up to the fulfilment of the curse. Her curiosity and active involvement in finding the spindle and her express intention to touch it are stressed thus implicating her and making her at least partially responsible for the disaster. The underlying model of success and rejection in the narrative construction in the translations can be linked to dogmatic ideals of femininity and this again introduces a shift in narrative motivation towards a prescriptive socialising impetus instead of the more descriptive German tale.

While the promotion of normative gender roles focusses on the paradigm of activity-passivity as a benchmark for acceptable and unacceptable female behaviour in the translations, the model of manliness centres on rationality and unimpeachability. This means that the majority of translations enforce a representation of the male figures in the story which shows them to be faultless even if the German text is ambiguous. This is primarily developed around the figure of the king, but is also associated with the prince, especially in later translations where the focus shifts onto a more elaborate characterisation.

Behavioural attributes are chosen which match those of contemporary conduct manuals.[30] Patience, planning, authority and rational decision-making are qualities which are added to the description of the prince and are also used for the king instead of the emotionality and impetuousness of the source text. For example, where the German king loses control of his faculties in his joy over his daughter's birth, the translations are insistent in a portrayal which expresses his delight in a more tempered manner stressing his self-restraint. Male control is an issue which is central in all translations both in terms of self-control, as in the example above where the king is not overwhelmed by his emotions, but also control over others. The king's authority over his family, his servants and his subjects, is stressed in at times elaborate additions when he, for example, enforces the destruction of the spindles, or ensures that servants obey orders. (Davis, Paull)

My final observation links back to the German *Märchen*'s postulated origin as myth. The mythic world-view was one of the defining features of the *Märchen's* authenticity and according to the Grimms, it was evident in the representation of nature as a sentient being. Wilhelm had identified as the distinguishing mark of their texts that they made no difference between the various manifestations of nature, be they human, animal, plant or even the elements. Throughout his editing, Wilhelm had retained, and even strengthened, this integrative world-view, evident in passages where natural features such as the branches of the hedge of thorns, the fire on the hearth, or the wind in the trees outside the castle are described in terms which ascribe to them the same faculties of will and intent as is normally only accorded human beings. It is this humility which conceives of humanity in the same terms as the natural world that presents a problem in the English translations. Instead they present a more traditionally Christian world-view where nature is separate from and subservient to mankind, and, according to Genesis, only created to serve man's needs. This view is implicit in all translations and manifests itself on two levels. Firstly, nature is returned to its non-sentient status, manifesting neither independent will nor intent, and secondly, man is elevated and his perspective becomes the central focus through which the world is interpreted. From the moment the prince enters the story, events are linked to him and relayed through his perception, making his subjectivity the general view. While the prince's passage through the hedge of thorns is only one instance of this androcentric organisation, it serves as a particularly useful example because it demonstrates the double movement of devaluation (of nature) and elevation (of man/kind). In the example, mobility and choice are passed from the hedge to the prince and nature serves as a backdrop to man's activity rather than as an equal participant in the events. In the passage below, the source text in

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[30] Claudia Nelson, 'Sex and the Single Boy: Ideals of Manliness and Sexuality in Victorian Literature for Boys', *Victorian Studies*, 32:4

the left column is the second edition of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, the middle column is a literal translation by me, and the right column is a translation of 1855. The shifts in perception have been italicised:

Grimm (1819)	Literal	Gillies (1855)
Und als er sich der Dornenhecke näherte,	And as he approached the hedge of thorns	And when the prince came to the spot which the old man had described, instead of a dreadful and impenetrable thicket, *he beheld* nothing but the most beautiful flowers and shrubs through *which he made his way* with great ease,
waren es lauter große, schöne Blumen, *die thaten sich von selbst aus einander*, daß er unbeschädigt hindurch ging	*they were* all beautiful flowers, *which came apart of their own* so that he passed through unharmed	

The assertion of the male as the definition of human experience and his place in nature in a position of mastery is particularly evident in a late translation by Mrs. Paull which develops an explicit framework of a biblically based male superiority. In contrast to the source text where the princess's name is generic, in this text it is the prince who names her just as Adam named Eve. Biblical analogies were a commonly employed trope, particularly so in handbooks on 'the etiquette of flowers', a popular convention where lovers conveyed their emotions through a complicated symbolic alphabet of flowers. In order to authenticate the purity and innocence of this language of the flowers, these handbooks draw on Genesis and often identify Eve as a flower herself.[31] Since the prince names the princess 'May Blossom', nature and woman are conflated in a similar move by Paull, who inserts her translation into an established framework of Biblical reference and association.

Textual analysis of the ten nineteenth century translations of Sleeping Beauty has revealed that the cultural, historical and ideological context can be traced to specific meanings in individual texts and close examination has demonstrated how minor shifts in lexis and syntax accumulate and cohere to express particular patterns which can be related to specific concerns. Thus, larger cultural patterns and changes can be traced through the translations in the course of the nineteenth century and this historicity is one feature that removes the tales from their folkloric background and inserts them into the framework of children's literature. Other aspects typical of the genre shift are the foregrounding of a narrator who mediates the text's reality to the reader, summarises or expands as deemed necessary for a child's understanding. A change in narrative mode introducing suspense, the at times direct addressing of the

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(Summer 1989), pp. 525-550

[31] See for example James Bertram (ed.), *The Language of Flowers, An Alphabet of Floral Emblems* (London: Nelson, 1861), p. iii

readers to pull them into the text, the use of identificatory textual strategies are all features which are alien to folkloric texts.[32] Instead, these narratorial strategies have been identified as typical of children's literature and all of them have been introduced into the nineteenth century translations of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, fully inserting Grimms' fairy tales into the genre of children's reading.

List of translations referred to:

Taylor 1823: *German Popular Stories*, trans. from the Kinder- und Hausmärchen Collected by M.M. Grimm from Oral Tradition, trans. by Edgar Taylor (London: Baldwyn, 1823)

Taylor 1839: *German Popular Stories and Fairy Tales As Told by Gammer Grethel*, trans. by Edgar Taylor (London: Bell, 1839)

Gillies: *German Stories: Being Tales and Traditions Chiefly Selected from the Literature of Germany.* (Edinburgh: Fullarton, 2nd edn 1855 [182?])

Wehnert: *Household Stories*, Collected by the Brothers Grimm, Newly trans., with two hundred and forty illustrations by Edward H. Wehnert, 2 vols (London: Addey, 1853)

Davis: *Home Stories*, Collected by the Brothers Grimm. Newly trans. by Matilda Louisa Davis, Illustrated by George Thompson. (London: Routledge, 1855)

Paull: *Grimms' Fairy Tales*. A New translation, by Mrs. H.H.B. Paull, Translator of "Hans Andersen's Fairy Tales," and Author of "Lucy West," "Mary Elton," "Pride and Principle," etc. Specially Adapted and Arranged for Young People. With sixteen Original Illustrations by W. J.Weigand. (London: Warne, [1872(?)])

Hunt: *Grimm's Household Tales*, with the Author's Notes, trans. from the German and ed. by Margaret Hunt, with a Preface by Andrew Lang, M.A. (London: Bell, 1884)

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[32] Dan Ben-Amos, 'Foreword', in *Folklore and Reality*, ed. by Lutz Röhrich, trans. by P. Tokofsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), pp. ix-xii (p. x)