Göte Klingberg

Facets of children's literature research

Collected and revised writings

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Preface by Sonja Svensson

Started in 1971 the series "Studies published by the Swedish Institute for Children's Books" now comprises 100 books put out in cooperation with commercial publishing houses. In Sweden it is probably the most extensive of its kind within the field of Humanistics. Considering the late start of Swedish children´s literature research this is remarkable.

Noteworthy, too, is the fact that the author of the present study has signed nine of the books in the series including an extensive bibliography on his writings 1931–1999. Göte Klingberg's innumerable contributions to children´s literature research published in several parts of the world are framed by his *debut* at the age of 13 with a story about foxes (!) published in a Sunday School paper and this learned study in electronic form.

For a biography and a survey of Klingberg's most important books follow this link http://www.irscl.com/fellow2003.html to the web site of the International Research Society of Children´s Literature, an organisation of which he was one of the "founding fathers" where he served as the chairman for several years and by which he was appointed an honorary "fellow" in 2003.

It is indeed sad that, passing away in 2006 a few days before his 88th birthday, Göte Klingberg didn't live to see this book in print, which of course was the original intention of the Institute. But at the same time he would in all probability have been pleased by this new way of making the results of his research endeavours public. Göte Klingberg was – I believe – one of the few academic writers of his generation to use a computer as early as in the late 1980's, and he hang on to his *Amstrad* and his floppy disks (so hard to get by as time passed!) to the end of his long life in research. A fact that presented problems, since these rather antique disks had to be converted in several steps. But the reader will surely discover that the result has amply compensated the trouble.

As the editor of the series for many years I was happy and thrilled to see the manuscript grow from the first synopsis presented to me around the turn of the millennium till its conclusion and conversion into a more manageable, computerized form in 2004. To discuss the material with its author was a privilege. The admired, internationally

renowned, researcher was also a friend exercising his very special kind of dry humour. Göte Klingberg knew exactly what he was doing and what he wanted to achieve, but at the same time he was always ready to consider suggestions and even extensions and so, for example, the chapter on Carl Gustaf Tessin was added to my great joy.

Together with this manuscript Göte Klingberg submitted a unique study of the handling of children's books illustrations on the 19th century international market, which the Institute also intends to publish. Thus, after the dedicated efforts of several professionals, both these studies will be presented to an international public in a highly accessible form. A good and fitting way of honouring a great Swedish scholar in our field.

Sonja Svensson, Ph D
Director 1983–2005

Preface by Göte Klingberg

A researcher in a minor language area is met with the difficulty to take part in the international dialogue. Even when he succeeds in getting some of his writings published in a major language, his continued research in a field – strengthening his arguments or changing his views – will seldom be taken regard to internationally, i.e. if this continued research is presented in his own language. In fact, the incitement to this book was a recently published treatise in German, where a detailed discussion is found of a chapter in one of my books which had the good fortune to be available in German but was thirty years old. I had surely wished that the author in question had had access to later treatments of my own of the subject. This was not to be hoped for, however, since they had only been printed in Swedish.

In the main the writings collected in this book have not previously been available in English, but there are some which have been published in German or French. There are also linguistic barriers between the major European languages. Utilised is also a paper read in English but never printed, as well as some unpublished manuscripts in Swedish.

That the writings are said to be revised means that I have not found it meaningful to reproduce old writings for their own sake. Usually they are shortened, also supplemented in different ways. A great deal of new writing is thus presented. Sometimes new research of others may be mentioned, but I have not had the ambition or indeed the possibility to re-write with regard to recent research.

The chapters represent such research fields that have interested me especially. One such field is the history of children's literature, its literary kinds as well as individual authors in some way of importance. I have also been interested in more general methodological aspects, however.

The first section deals with some such general aspects, for example the use of constructs, i.e. clearly defined concepts aimed to function as research tools, and the best ways to establish bibliographies of children's literature. In the second and third sections the historical aspect dominates. There are chapters about how the moral ideas changed over time, the use of poetry from oral tradition, and an inventory of such elements that characterise and define moral wonder tales, fantastic and absurd tales. Some individual authors from the 16th century onwards are also treated.

To do research in a minor language area does not only have drawbacks, it also has an advantage, since it will stimulate comparative research. This explains why a comparative perspective characterises the book. In the first section one will find a chapter about comparative bibliography. The second section is headed "Historical studies in a comparative perspective". Even the chapters in the third section dealing with individual authors will often include a comparative outlook.

At the end there are two chapters of a special kind. One treats the use of geographical settings in children's novels. The other deals with the conditions under which a researcher in a minor language area has to work, stressing the two aspects referred to above, the problem of how to be known in foreign parts, but also the advantage of easily becoming engaged in comparative research. Unlike the others this chapter is not a revised version but written for this book and based upon my own experiences.

General aspects

Theories, constructs and terminology

Theory and construct

There are different definitions of theory. One can find its function described as the selecting of subjects to be investigated or as the detailed structuring of questions at issue. Usually, however, a theory means a systematic arrangement of assumptions as to how phenomena are related to each other. Theories explain. The theories used in children's literature research try to explain what children's literature is or what kind of literature matters to children.

From the theories the working hypotheses are developed. They are thus also meant to explain. Research using working hypotheses has the aim to corroborate, revise or falsify them and consequently also the theories behind them.

To research work concepts belong, which do not try to explain but are only constructed or adapted as research tools for practical purposes. They are called constructs here. Constructs are justified only so far as they can further research work. This means that there is no reason why all researchers should use the same constructs, nor even that a researcher has to use the same construct in all investigations.

Examples of constructs

One example of a construct is the concept of children's literature as used in a bibliographical work. The term children's literature can refer to different concepts, such as literature recommended to children, literature read by children and literature published for them. The bibliographer has a free choice (although the choice can be discussed as is done in a chapter below), but one of the possible concepts has to be chosen so that one knows what is to be included.

Other constructs are the genre concepts. (The term "genre" is used here only as an equivalent to literary kind.) To be sure, in several connections it may not be important to place a literary work in a certain genre. Sometimes this can be useful, however. The most common occasion is when one needs to structuralize a large number of books. Thus one

often finds some genre system in historical surveys of children's books that deal with longer periods.

Further examples of constructs are given in the following chapter: Adaptation, didactisizing and purification.

Definition of constructs

A construct must be strictly defined. This may be illustrated by the problems put by such vague genre designations as German "Märchen", English "fairy tale", Danish "Eventyr" and Swedish "saga", terms used as translations of each other. The problem is not so much the original empty meanings of these traditional terms ("Märchen" means a little story, "fairy tale" is a translation of the French "conte des fées", i.e. a story told by the "fées", "Eventyr" is the same word as adventure, and "saga" is only something told), since the original meanings of terms used for constructs are not especially important. The real problem is that "Märchen", "fairy tale", "Eventyr" and "saga" can mean very different things. For research purposes it becomes necessary to introduce genre concepts which can be strictly defined.

Around 1960 something in this way was proposed when two German researchers (Ruth Koch and Anna Krüger) emphasised that there were stories which were separate from the usual "Märchen" and thus should be brought to a group of their own. Koch termed them "phantastische Erzählungen", Krüger "phantastische Abenteuergeschichten". In these stories, it was said, the wonderful occurs in a real world, whereas the "Märchen" is set in an unrealistic world only.[1]

There are stories called "Märchen", however, which neither belong to the "fantastic tales" in the meaning of Koch and Krüger, nor to the "Wundermärchen". An example is E.T.A. Hoffmann's "Mährchen von der harten Nuss" (included in Nussknacker und Mausekönig), which is an absurd story. All in all "Märchen" etc. must for research purposes be divided into separate clearly defined genres.

Operationalization of constructs

The methods applied when using constructs must be described, i.e. they have to be operationalized. If books published for children (and, for example, not books recommended for them or read by them) is chosen as the concept of children's literature in a bibliographical work, an example of operationalization would be a list of criteria telling the bibliographer whether the publishers meant the books to be children's books or not. Operationalization of genres could mean a list of elements typical of the different genres.

Mixing up of constructs and theories

That theories and constructs should not be mixed up can be illustrated by the two constructs mentioned here. Thus a choice of literature published for children on the book market as a bibliographical construct does not mean that a theory of what children's literature is has been proposed, a theory about how children's literature began or about the function of this literature.

Neither does the use of genres as constructs constitute theories. If one thinks that one ought to hold stories with absurd traits apart from the "fantastic tales" in the meaning of Koch and Krüger, this does not imply a theory that there are no books with absurd traits which at the same time are fantastic tales. Instead it is useful to demonstrate that there are texts that mix disparate elements. It is not remarkable that a literary work can be said to belong to more than one genre, if the genre concepts are used only as constructs.

Of course, nothing prevents us from using constructs as theories. One could for example hold that an author writing a fantastic tale in the meaning of Koch and Krüger has to adhere to certain rules, and that the introduction of absurd traits in an otherwise fantastic tale impairs the homogeneity of the story and by that its quality, since the credibility that characterises the fantastic tale disappears. The literary theory would thus be that a mixing up of genres (or at least of some genres) destroys the literary criterion of unity.

Such a theory may be rejected. But since the genre concepts are constructs and not theories, a researcher who rejects the theory does not for this reason need to avoid concepts such as fantastic and absurd tales, if they in some way can be useful.

Terminology

An increased terminological interest is needed in children's literature research. A minor interest in terms is in reality a minor interest in strictly defined concepts, upon which true scholarship is always based. In fact nothing makes an account more clear than a consistent use of terms denoting strictly defined concepts. It cannot be helped that it may give some trouble to master the concepts and terms used by a researcher.

Perhaps one could wish that researchers were agreed on the contents of the concepts used. Communication between them would surely be easier. The difficulty is to agree on the definitions, however, and perhaps this is not always necessary, if it would obstruct a researcher's work on a store of more exact defined concepts.

In any case it would be beneficial if researchers told their readers the meaning of their terms and strived to uphold their definitions throughout an investigation. In this respect much is sinned. (In the next investigation the researcher can of course change concepts and terms.)

Which terms to use is of no special importance – it is the conceptualisation that is important. Still the choice of suitable terms offers problems.

As has already been pointed out it lacks significance what meaning a term was originally used in or what its meaning is from a philological point of view. But there are practical considerations, not least the risk of misunderstandings. It would also be desirable if a term could be used in as many languages as possible.

The common way to find a term for a concept is to use one already known in other connections but giving it a new meaning. The problem is that previous uses of the term easily will exert a disturbing influence.

If one wants to avoid such misunderstandings there is the possibility to create a completely new term. This is a very difficult undertaking, however. If the new term seems strange, it may be hard to market. Besides, even in this case misunderstandings may arise.

The only real option is to give a very strict and clear definition, and to uphold the definition throughout this investigation.

Note

1 Ruth Koch: "Phantastische Erzählungen für Kinder." *Studien zur Jugendliteratur,* 5, 1959, pp. 55–84. – Anna Krüger: "Das fantastische Buch." *Jugendliteratur* 1960, pp. 343–363. – The early history of the genre concept "fantastic tale" is described by Helmut Müller in the article "Phantastische Erzählung" in *Lexikon der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*. Weinheim, Basel 1975–82 (Sonderausgabe in Kasette 1984), 3, pp. 37–40.

The chapter is a shortened and revised version of a paper, „Teorier, arbetsbegrepp och terminologi i barnlitteraturforskningen", read in Swedish at three Finnish universities in 1981 and later printed, also in Swedish, in Sininen lamppu... The blue light. Aspects of children's literature and its study. *Publications of The Finnish Institute for Children's Literature, 3. Tampere 1983, pp. 33–45.*

Adaptation, didactisizing, and purification

In this chapter three constructs are defined: adaptation, didactisizing and purification. They are not always clearly separated from one another.

Adaptation

That children's literature preferably is written with regard to the readers' interests and limited knowledge is, of course, an old idea in the history of this literature. It can be exemplified by the shortened versions of Samuel Richardson's novels *Pamela*, *Clarissa* and *The History of Sir Charles Grandison*, published in London in 1756 in a combined text, which on the title page are said to be "adapted to the capacities of youth".

In this case, adaptation means that texts not originally aimed at young readers had been revised. In 1966 the German Theodor Brüggemann proposed a use of the term ("adaptation") in a more general way, also including and first and foremost stressing the regard taken by an author or publisher when creating original texts meant for young readers.[1] This more general use of the concept was accepted in 1967 by another German researcher, Malte Dahrendorf [2], and by me in several publications since 1968.

Adaptation can, of course, be used with receivers other than children and young people in mind. More generally the construct may be defined as the adjustment of products for special consumer groups so that they become suitable with regard to real or assumed characteristics of the addressees. In children's literature research the concept is used for studying the ways in which one has tried to adapt texts and illustrations to the young readers.

Some objections to the concept are met with 1) the term is unsuitable, since the word is used in so many other ways. It is for example found in literary research in the sense of the transfer of a literary work from one medium to another, such as the making of a novel into a play.

It must be acknowledged that adaptation is an especially difficult term, since, also in children's literature research, it is encountered in several other meanings than that which was proposed in the late 60s. Wise after the event one could say that it perhaps had been better to create a wholly new term. But this method also has it drawbacks, as pointed out in the previous chapter.

In 2000 Hans-Heino Ewers, from Germany, suggested "accommodation" as a better term.[3] Even accommodation is a word with more than one meaning, however. Since the term adaptation has been widely used in

the last thirty years, at least in Scandinavia and Germany, it may not be easy to replace it. I can only suggest that adaptation be kept. It is, however, necessary to use it with a strict definition. Thus it should be clearly distinguished from didactisizing and purification (see below).

2) The concept itself has also been criticised , and in more than one respect. It has been held that it depicts products for children as simplified and inferior to what is created for adults and furthermore that in an unfortunate way it separates children from adults. It has also been said that the regard for the child's situation (its social environment) is more important than its psychological traits. It is further pointed out that the historical perspective shows that the characteristics of the child have not always been the same. To some extent, children are what the adults make of them, and because of that the need for adaptation may change. Lastly it has been stressed that all children's literature is by no means adapted.[4]

Surely adapted literature is not always of minor literary value than unadapted literature. The literary value naturally varies from case to case. The other objections are important, and it is fitting that they are discussed. All the objections mentioned are however regarding adaptation as a theory that children's literature is or has to be adapted. In fact, the researchers of the late 1960's regarded adaptation as something that distinguished children's literature from adult literature.

I am only regarding adaptation here as a construct (cf. the first chapter in this book), i.e. a tool in empirical investigations testing whether one has tried to adapt or not, and if adaptation has been tried, as to how it was done. It is possible that such an investigation shows that the adaptation in a certain case is very slight or is indeed lacking.

To be used in empirical investigations constructs must be operationalized. In the case of adaptation one could think of distinguishing between different types of adaptation (the choice of matter, of form, of style etc.) and suggestions as to how the occurrence of these different types could be studied. Also the degree of adaptation ought to be investigated.

Types of adaptation

Both Brüggemann and Dahrendorf pointed out that there were different types of adaptation. About 1970 I tried a division in a) matter-choosing (some things may for example be more interesting or comprehensible than others), b) form-choosing (a presentation with a less number of digressions from the main story may for example be easier to follow), c) style-choosing (perhaps expressing itself in an avoidance of difficult

words), and d) medium-choosing adaptation (regard taken to length, format, frequency of illustrations etc.). This division has during the years been taken over by several other researchers. It has however also been the object of discussion and suggestions for changes. In 2000 Ewers devoted a whole chapter to the question and distinguishes between no less than nine different types of "accommodation".[5]

Researchers may use their own taxonomies. The essential thing is that a division into separate types makes it possible to investigate the occurrence or non-occurrence of adaptation in a systematic way. Adaptation may have been used in some ways but not in others.

Degree of adaptation

Another way to operationalize the construct of adaptation is to investigate the degree of adaptation. If, for example, a text is made easier to read or more interesting to children than another text, it can be said to have a higher degree of adaptation; if, on the other hand, it is more difficult to read or less interesting to children, it can be said to have a lower degree of adaptation. There is the possibility that adaptation has been effected to an unnecessary extent; on the other hand it may have been undertaken far too little.

It is true that investigations into the degree of adaptation offer methodological difficulties. This ought to be an object for further research. Experiments in which children are given texts with different degrees of adaptation may perhaps offer some general ideas. Different books by the same author may be compared.

Cultural context adaptation

A field in which the degree of adaptation is of special interest is the translation of children's books. It has – and rightly – been held that a target text should preserve the same degree of adaptation as the source text. To effect this is however not an easy task for the translator. The readability can be investigated with the help of existing methods of readability testing (for example measuring such things as word and sentence length). Since different languages have different characteristics, the difference found between the original and the translation must be of a certain magnitude, however, and how big this difference should be is open to discussion. Another method, but also with considerable difficulty, is to use existing frequency lists in the two languages.[6]

Not only the difficulty of the language is of importance in this connection, however. A problem when children's books are translated

is that some elements of cultural context are not known to the same extent to the readers of the target text as to the readers of the source text. If nothing is done about this the degree of adaptation will be less in the translation than in the original, i.e. the translation will be more difficult to understand or less interesting. In order to retain the degree of adaptation the translator may have to make further adaptations to the new readers. For such an adaptation effected in translation I have suggested the term cultural context adaptation.[7]

Didactisizing

Didactisizing can be defined as the introduction of an intention to instruct, i.e. to teach knowledge or/and moral attitudes and behaviour. This intention is understandably enough an old tradition in children's literature, since it from the beginning had instructional aims. A typical example of didactisized children's literature is the moral wonder tale, created by the educationalists of the Enlightenment (a genre treated in detail in a chapter below). The didactic intention is however still very much in vogue today, for example in trying to implement religious or political ideologies.

The expression didactisizing may easily be interpreted as an introduction of a didactic element into a text, which did not originally have this aim. Many such examples are also found in the history of children's literature. However, didactisizing will also show itself in originals.

It has been argued that there may be difficulties in distinguishing between the concepts of adaptation and didactisizing. This is hardly the case, however. Adaptation is based upon a psychological analysis of the receiver; didactisizing is something else altogether. A children's book may be adapted without any introduction of an instructional aim. On the other hand an instructional aim may have been introduced without any adaptation. In many cases one will of course find adaptation as well as didactisizing.

Purification

Purification may be defined as something undertaken with regard to the real or assumed set of values of the addressees. As far as children's literature is concerned, the regard is mainly taken to the set of values of the adult intermediaries. In children's literature research this clearly distinguishes purification from adaptation, which is effected only with regard to the child readers.

The term purification is especially well known in translation research. In this case it means that changes have been made in the target text.[8] This is of course also valid in the case of translated children's books. The concept of purification may however be used in a wider sense. Thus, purification may be found when texts are revised in order to be published for children in the same language as the original work. Further purification may be present when a text is written directly for children. In such cases the authors or the publishers have effected changes in the original manuscript or simply in what in the author's mind had been a possible but rejected way of writing.

It has been pointed out above that the view of what ought to be adapted may have changed over time. To a greater extent something similar is true with regard to purification, since the taboos prevalent in society may change rapidly. Not so long ago even slight touches of the erotic were feared in the Western community. Today taboos concerning discrimination of people with handicap, from foreign cultures etc. are much stronger. Obviously there are also divergent opinions in different parts of the world as to what has to be purified.

Theory and construct

As mentioned above the objections against the concept of adaptation regard the concept as a theory that children's literature is or should be adapted. Seen only as a construct, however, adaptation is not such a theory but only a research tool.

In the same way the construct didactisizing is not a theory that children's literature always is didactisized or ought to be didactisized, and purification as a construct does not imply that children's literature always is or should be an object of purification.

Notes

1Theodor Brüggemann: "Literaturtheoretische Grundlagen des Kinder- und Jugendschrifttums. Einführung in den Problemkreis." Bericht der Jubiläumstagung des Deutschen Jugendschriftenwerkes e.V. in Verbindung mit der Tagung des Arbeitskreises für Jugendschrifttum. Frankfurt am Main 1966, pp. 45 f., 49 f. Reprinted in Ernst Gottlieb von Bernstorff, ed.: Aspekte der erzählenden Jugendliteraur. Eine Textsammlung für Studenten und Lehrer. Baltmannsweiler 1977, pp. 22, 27 f.

2 Malte Dahrendorf: „Dichtung und Jugendliteratur. Didaktischer Versuch einer Wesensbestimmung." *Zeitschrift für Jugendliteratur*, 1, 1967, pp. 385–400.

3 Hans-Heino Ewers: *Literatur für Kinder und Jugendliche. Eine Einführung in grundlegende Aspekte des Handlungs- und Symbolsystems Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*. München 2000, pp. 205 f.

4 Examples of objections to the concept of adaptation are for example found in Malte Dahrendorf: *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur im bürgerlichen Zeitalter*. Königstein/Ts 1980, passim (despite the fact that he in 1967 was one of them who introduced the concept).

5 Ewers, op. cit., pp. 207–228.

6 The degree of language adaptation in the translation of children's books is treated in Göte Klingberg: *Children's fiction in the hands of the translators*. Malmö 1986, pp. 63–67.
7 For a detailed study of cultural context adaptation cf. Klingberg, op. cit., pp. 14–55.
8 For examples of purification in translated children's books cf. Klingberg, op. cit., pp. 58–62.

The chapter is based upon a report in Swedish, Adaptation av text till barns egenskaper – en lägesrapport om ett begrepp (Adaptation of text to the characteristics of children – a report on the state of a concept). Pedagogiska uppsatser 4. *Lund: Pedagogiska institutionen 1981. – In a slightly revised form it was later printed in Danish as "Begrebet adaptation" (The concept of adaptation), in* Lyst og lærdom – debat og forskning om börnelitteratur *(Pleasure and learning – debate and research on children's literature). Ed.: Torben Weinreich. Copenhagen 1996, pp. 142–161.*

Interdisciplinary research

There are two reasons why children's literature research often becomes interdisciplinary. One is the diversity of the subject matter; nearly everything can be treated in a children's book. Another is the interplay between text and reader, which allows the use of psychological, sociological and educational methods.

Diversity of subject matter

An example of a genre of children's books is the religious tracts of the 19th century. When published in Sweden they were mostly taken from the British revivalist movement. This means that they may have been strongly influenced by Calvinism, although the readers belonged to a Lutheran community. There were also tracts taken from Germany, however, in which case one may expect a more clear Lutheran message. A complication is that there was considerable co-operation between the revivalist movements in Britain and Germany. If one wants a thorough analysis made of the dogmatic content of the tracts published in Sweden the children's literature researcher obviously has to work together with a theologian.

Individual books, for the understanding of which one has to go outside the scope of purely literary research, can be exemplified by two treated in other chapters below.

In 1580, a book for girls was published in Prague, *Der christlichen Jungfrawen Ehrenkräntzlein*, i.e. The Christian maidens' little garland of flowers. The author was a German Protestant clergyman, Lucas Martini. Using nature symbolism, he let the flowers found in the maidens' garlands symbolise their virtues. To understand this, one has to refer to the history of science, in this case botany. From this branch of learning one learns that it was equally important to the naturalists of the time to account for nature's messages to man as to describe the natural phenomena themselves. An immediate background to Martini's book is the garden allegories, where a garden symbolised the Christian church. Such allegories were written as early as during the Middle Ages. In this latter case one has to acquire the help of theologians.

The other example is found in *La fée des nuages, ou La reine Mab*, a book published in 1854 by the French author Laure Surville. Here some of the heroines' seemingly supernatural experiences are said to be "dioramas". This concept alludes to something well known in Paris in the decades before 1850, the Diorama theatre. In order to understand the meaning of a "diorama" one has to have the help of experts in the history of picture performances.

Interplay between literary research, psychology, sociology and educational research

Individual children's books, their genres and so on can of course be studied without regard to the readers. However, many questions of a basic nature cannot be answered without considering the text-reader interplay.

Thus, the occurrence of adaptation (in the meaning used in the foregoing chapter) will be explored through the study of texts, but its necessity will also have to be investigated, that is, to what extent adaptation may influence the understanding, the emotions and the reading preferences of the children.

Another example is the studies of pedagogical, religious, political and social ideas presented in the books, which will have to be supplemented by studies into which effects such ideas presented in books – if any – have on the attitudes of the readers.

Encyclopaedists or teamwork

When children's literature research becomes interdisciplinary, difficulties

arise for the individual researcher. That is not to say that there may not be some possibilities, since there are books, and other informative material, presenting results already achieved.

When I became interested in Martini's book I could learn from works treating the history of botany as well as from such theologian writings which treated the horticultural allegories. Of the Diorama theatre alluded to in Surville's book there were descriptions to be found. In the matter of Martini's sources I was indeed able to make my own research, since some of the herbals from the 16th century were available in Swedish libraries. I could establish that what Martini had used seemed to be Georgius Handsch's German translation of Mattioli's commentary to Dioskorides, a book published in 1563, like Martini's in Prague.

The interplay between literary research, psychology, sociology and educational research offer great problems, however. It is easy to find shortcomings, for example occurring when literary preferences or consumption of children is studied. Investigations undertaken by experts of children's books may lack methodical sophistication, since there are many behavioural methods to be taken into consideration. Psychologists, sociologists and so on may on the other hand base their studies upon theories current in their branches of learning, which may seem doubtful to the historians of children's literature. In fact they often lack sufficient knowledge of the history and complexity of children's literature.

An example is the attempts of psychologists to describe stages in the preferences for different kinds of literature. One stage often put forward is the wonder tale stage (German: "Märchenalter"). Psychologists speaking of such a stage are building upon a view that the child grows in hereditarily conditioned stages, each with its own mental structure. From the point of view of the historian of children's literature this literature is however created in accordance with current streams in educational theory and literature for adults. The idea that wonder tales are especially suited for children seems to have been created by the speculative child psychology in the beginning of the 19th century, a psychology that held that children belonged more to the "night" than to the "day". At the same time one looked upon the wonder tales as having their origin in the "dawn period" in the history of mankind, a period when the mental structure of the adults resembled that of the modern child.

Another example is that *Der Struwwelpeter* by some psychologists and psychiatrists has been regarded as a bizarre product of a sick brain.

To the historian of children's literature the stories in this picture book are examples of the cautionary tales of the decades around 1800, although with more streaks of humour.
In order to shed light on all aspects of such questions it seems advisable to recommend teamwork.

The chapter is based upon some pages in a book in Swedish, Barnlitteraturforskning *(Children's literature research). Stockholm 1972, pp. 26–30 (in the German version Kinder- und Jugendliteraturforschung. Wien, Köln, Graz 1973, pp. 28–32), but is partly newly written.*

National bibliography

Bibliographies of children's books are fundamental for all research on this literature. There are many such bibliographies, and of different kinds. Here the way to establish bibliographies of children's books in a certain country will be discussed.
Several problems can be solved as the bibliographer likes, for example

* the time span of the bibliography
* to which languages used in the books the bibliography should be limited; usually there is only one obvious language, but countries such as Belgium and Finland have more than one official language
* if a limitation to publishing under a country's jurisdiction should be made or if books published abroad are also to be included; a bibliography of Swedish children's literature could for example also list books published in Swedish in Finland or in the USA
* whether a chronological or alphabetical sorting should be chosen
* what should be used as the leading word in the case of signatures, pseudonyms and when the author's identity is wholly unknown.

There are also some more fundamental problems, however:
* how to define children's literature
* if the bibliography ought to be complete, for example, if it should include translations
* in what manner to account for the contents of the books
* in which language the bibliography should be written.

The definition of children's literature to be chosen

Since the concept of children's literature used in a bibliographical work is a construct only, it can be defined as the bibliographer chooses (cf. the first chapter in this book).

Types of books

There are several types of books aimed at children and young people. Thus there are textbooks for schools and teaching materials for church and for instruction at home. Such books could be included in a children's literature bibliography, but very often they are not, children's literature being thought to be something for free reading. A special problem when textbooks for schools are concerned are the primers (ABC-books), since there are many such books in the shape of picture books, not seldom with the explicit aim to entertain. Even with a limitation to books for free reading the problem further arises if only "entertaining" books are to be included or if also informative books (what the Germans call "Sachbücher") should be included. Lastly there are the periodicals for children, which of course are children's literature but possibly could be given bibliographies of their own.

Read by, recommended for or published for young people

The concept of children's literature in a bibliographical work can be defined as literature read by children, literature recommended to them, literature published for them, as well as with the three definitions used together. The latter way was adhered to by Markus Brummer-Korvenkontio in his in 2000 published bibliography of children's books in Finland 1799–1899. He even includes scholarly collections of folk-tales.[1]

The primary aim of a bibliography of children's books is of course simply to give the user information of the books themselves. It can also have more general aims, however, which will influence the choice of construct. Thus the wide definition used by Brummer-Korvenkontio was obviously chosen in order to present all texts which could be useful to a children's literature researcher.

In other cases one could want to answer specific questions with the help of the bibliography. Thus one could wish to study the quantitative development of children's literature production during specific time spans, to what extent the production consisted of translations, which publishers took part in the production, how the prices developed etc. To form a basis for this type of questions the only suitable definition of children's literature is the books which were published for children.

This definition has for this reason been used in the bibliographical work carried through in Sweden and which up to date has been brought forward to the end of the 19th century. The following discussion is based on this Swedish work and accounts for the guidelines put up for it.

Criteria trying to establish the intention of the publisher

As has been said in the first chapter of this book a construct has to be operationalized. When books published for children is chosen as the bibliographical concept of children's literature, the method of operationalization can be a list of criteria telling the bibliographer whether the publishers meant the books to be children's books or not. The criteria used in the Swedish work for the years 1840–99 are given in the following. With some changes owing to different circumstances they may be used in other countries as well.

Criteria of the first order (The intention is in some way stated by the publisher)

1. Title or serial title contains the words "for children", "for young people" or synonyms.
There are many possible synonyms: "for boys", "for girls", "for the little ones", "for my young friends", "for the nursery" etc. This criterion is the most important one but it is not without problems. Words as "children" or "young people" may be combined with other words diminishing the strength of the criterion. Thus, "for old and young" cannot alone be regarded as a synonym of "for young people". "For school children" indicates a certain age group but may also refer to a schoolbook.
2. Preface, postscript or the like states that the work has been published for children or young people, is intended to be read by children, or – even if it may be read by adults, too – is especially suited as reading for children or young people.
3. Publisher's catalogue or publisher's advertisement recommends the work as reading for children or young people.
4. Advertisements in the work itself for other publications *solely* lists literature which is said to be for children or young people or can be defined as such by other criteria applied.

Criterion of the second order

5. Title is found under an appropriate heading in a systematic register of a national bibliographical work published in near connection with contemporary publishers and booksellers.
In the listing of 19th century children's literature in Sweden a yearly

catalogue for the Swedish book trade published 1861–65 and from 1867 onwards could be used. Here there are systematic registers with such headings as "Writings for children and young people", "Stories for children and young people", "Children's books". In similar catalogues for other years children's books are brought together with other writings under headings such as "Instructive books", "Works for children and young people and chap-books". When a title is found under one of the latter headings certain caution if of course required.

Since these bibliographical works had been put together in near connection with publishers and booksellers, the placing of titles under the headings mentioned demonstrates the publishers' intention. The criterion must however be considered to be of the second order, because all the titles found are open to questioning. Several of the titles listed obviously do not belong to a bibliography of children's books. Nor were far from all books which in the end were inserted in the new bibliographies found under the headings mentioned. Otherwise the work of the project would have been easier than it in fact was.

The use of this criterion has been exemplified with the Swedish situation. Conditions may differ in other countries but similar catalogues may be found.

Criteria of the third order

(These criteria are all unreliable, but when two or more of them are applicable, they can strengthen the placing of a title under one of the bibliographical headings mentioned in Criterion 5, or they can corroborate the bibliographer's opinion that the title refers to a children's book.)

6. Title or serial title contains an expression which may be equivalent to "for children" or "for young people". An example is "for home and school". The word "school" indicates the supposed age of the readers, but it must be examined if the title is not meant to be a schoolbook. Another example is when the author is mentioned in a way that relates him or her to children, e.g. "a story adapted by Uncle X", "tales of a grandmother".

7. The work is a translation from a foreign original published as literature for children or young people. Yet, the publisher of the translation may have thought of other readers.

8. The title seems to be formulated in order to attract young readers.

9. Purification is found (i.e. getting the text to correspond to the values of the readers or rather to the supposed values of parents and other adults). Purification may of course occur with regard to other target

groups as well, but surely one was especially attentive where young readers were concerned.
10. The content seems to be of a type usually to be expected in literature for children and young people: genres as wonder and moral tales, stories with children or young people as heroes, and so on. Without support from other criteria this criterion is however fairly unreliable.
11. Cover or pictures seem to be aimed at children or young people.
12. Advertisements in the work itself for other publications partly list literature stated to be for children or young people or possible to define as such by the help of other criteria.

It should be stressed that some other conceivable criteria were not applied:
* Classification as a children's book in the catalogue of a national or university library, since, at least in Sweden, such classifications are not contemporary.
* Classification as a children's book in second-hand booksellers' catalogues, since the definitions used there are often fairly loose, including for example books of adventure, which were surely read by children although not published for them.
* Presence in catalogues of school libraries or children's libraries, since the books there are recommended by the educational establishment rather than by the publishers.
* Low price, which must be regarded as too unreliable a criterion.

Complete bibliographies

When, as already has been pointed out above, the definition of children's literature applied in a bibliography is the books that were published for children, it can be used in a number of ways; to study the quantitative development of children's literature production, the extent to which translations occur, which publishers took part in the production, the development of prices, and so on. For such studies it is desirable that the bibliographies are as complete as possible, also, for example, including translations from other languages. Of course studies of this type can be carried through with the help of samples. With complete bibliographies the studies will be more accurate, however. An example is the studies of Swedish scholars of the importance of different source languages in 19th century children's books translated into Swedish, especially the question when the English language became more important than German. There are two studies made with the help of samplings, but only the new bibliographies from the 1980s and 1990s, which were aimed

at being as complete as possible, could produce a more definite answer.

The importance for comparative research of a thorough study of the translations should be stressed, since the annotations of them form the basis of a mapping of the translation streams. Not only should foreign originals when possible be accounted for, it is also to be observed that translations may have been made from intermediary languages. In such cases it is the intermediary languages that are of interest for the study of the translation streams. A difficulty is further that many children's books in older times were published anonymously or with authors' names which only are the names of translators or editors. When it is not possible to identify the foreign originals, there may still be some hints in texts or pictures, which indicate the original language. From the viewpoint of the translation streams such possibilities should also be taken into consideration.

It has to be acknowledged that the establishing of complete bibliographies will be easier in some countries than in others. The Swedish work dealing with 19th century bibliography had the advantage that mandatory copies fairly regularly were sent by the Swedish printers to a couple of libraries, which also took care of them, even if they did not always catalogue them. Contrary to this Germany is an example of a country, where during the 19th century the academic libraries were not interested in children's literature.[2]

In countries where many books are lost one may have to accept bibliographical samples.

Accounts of contents

Some notes of the contents of the books are sometimes found in existing bibliographies, but usually only by chance. This is a drawback since it diminishes their usefulness. Researchers may for example wish to know which books exemplify different literary kinds. Certainly, the titles may sometimes give information about the type of books; adventure stories, school stories, wonder tales, and so on. This is not always the case, however.

A method could be to define the books by way of a genre classification scheme. I tried this in my earlier bibliography of children's books published in Sweden between 1591 and 1839. The problem is however to find a classification scheme that is accepted and understood by all users. There are also other aspects than the genre characteristics, for example religious or political ideologies.

It will thus seem that a summary of the contents, although necessarily short, will be the best solution to the problem.

The language of the bibliography

The language in which the annotations of the books are given in children's literature bibliographies is practically without exception the language in which the catalogued books are written. This seems not to have been experienced as a problem, and it has for example to be acknowledged that the new Swedish bibliographies for the time span 1840–99 are presented in Swedish.

Presumably one has to accept that children's literature researchers will have to master such major languages as English, German and French. When bibliographies are presented in minor languages, say in Finnish, Hungarian, Czech, and so on, it will mean a diminishing of their use for comparative research, however. It would therefore be highly desirable that such bibliographies were written in a major language, at least giving translations of the titles as well as annotations of the contents in such a language.

Notes

1 Markus Brummer-Korvenkontio: *Lapsuuden kirjat Suomessa 1799–1899*. Helsinki 2000

2 "For more than a hundred years", i.e. during the 19th century, "children's literature was considered unworthy of being collected by academic libraries. In consequence, children's books of the past are, to a great extent, no longer available." Hans-Heino Ewers: "Children's literature research in Germany." *Children's Literature Association Quarterly,* 27, 2002, pp. 158–165 (quotation p. 159).

The chapter is based upon the guidelines governing the new Swedish bibliographies for the time span 1840–99. They were first presented in a booklet from 1981 and later accounted for in the introduction (in Swedish and summarised in English) to my and Ingar Bratt's Barnböcker utgivna i Sverige 1840–89. En kommenterad bibliografi *(Children's books published in Sweden 1840–89; an annotated bibliography). Lund 1988 (Studies published by the Swedish Institute for Children's Books, 30). Some additions are made here, however.*

Comparative bibliography

For a comparative study of children's literature comparative bibliographies are needed. Some comparative bibliographies are concerned with translations, some with the international dissemination of literary kinds.

Translation bibliography

Bibliographies listing translations can be:
1. Documentation of translations of a certain literary work or of a certain author.
2. Listings of foreign sales from a certain publisher or printer.
3. National bibliographies of children's literature, also taking regard to translations and stating the foreign originals or at least the source languages.

1. A documentation of the translations of a certain literary work or of a certain author can be limited to one other country, but there are also attempts to pay attention to larger regions, perhaps to the whole world. An example of a listing of the translations of one literary work into just another language is Sonia Marx's bibliography of the translations into German of Collodi's *Le avventure di Pinocchio*.[1] A catalogue of the translations of a certain author all over the world is given by Lena Törnqvist treating the children's books by Astrid Lindgren. There are two bibliographies, one of works published up to and including 1975, the other of works between 1976 and 1986. Translations into 54 languages are accounted for.[2]

2. There are many examples of publishers and printers with a wide distribution net. There are also many histories of publishing and printing houses, but in a peculiar way they as a rule do not pay any regard to the foreign sales of the firms. At most one finds an enumeration of countries into which sales were made. An early example is already from 1852, in a book by Christian Scholz, owner of the German printing and publishing house of Joseph Scholz in Mainz. He tells how the firm's travellers went to Holland, Switzerland and Italy and that there were further contacts with England, France, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Russia, the Cape, East India, New Holland (Australia) and North America.[3] Scholz's output was not limited to children's books, but they were surely an important part of the production.

3. The importance of national bibliographies for comparative research

has already been stressed in the foregoing chapter. It goes without saying that a listing of the originals in such bibliographies, even the source languages of translations, offer great difficulties. Certainly, the foreign original is sometimes easily identified, but in many instances this is not the case. This is especially true when older children's books are studied. They were often published anonymously. A native writer may be stated as author but in fact only be a translator or an adapter of a foreign work. On the other hand there may sometimes be hints in text or pictures of the source language, even if nothing is known about the original or the author.

To be of use for comparative research it is desirable that national bibliographies are complete. As pointed out in the foregoing chapter the difficulties to establish complete bibliographies are greater in some countries than in others, however. To a certain extent also limited lists (samplings) may have to be used.

One of the aims of comparative research is to study *the international dissemination of children's books*, in other words from which languages the translations were undertaken. Documentation of translations of a certain literary work or a certain author, as well as listings of foreign sales from publishers or printers deal with book export, whereas national bibliographies are concerned with book import. Used together the different types of bibliographies can however contribute to the mapping of the geographical dissemination.

As already pointed out in the foregoing chapter translations may not have been undertaken from the original language but from a translation into another language. Thus classic children's books in English have often been introduced into Spain by way of French translations.[4] In Sweden children's books in English were often issued via German translations. Published in 1861, for example, was *Beduinerne i öknen Sahara* (The Bedouins in the desert Sahara), in the title said to have been adapted after Fenimore Cooper. There is no indication other than that the original was an English one, but what was translated was in fact a German book by Philipp Körber. Still between 1890 and 1899 twelve of Cooper's books were issued by way of German adaptations for the youth.[5] In modern times books by Astrid Lindgren published in languages used within the Soviet Union were usually translated via Russian, and many translations of her books into non-European languages were presumably undertaken via English.[6]

In such cases the intermediate languages are of special interest for the study of the dissemination ways. Listings of translations of a certain

literary work or of a certain author will also in many cases be used for the study of the changes effected in translation, illustrating *the views of different societies of what is suitable reading for children*. The mentioned book by Marx listing translations of Collodi into German does itself present such a study. Concerning the works of Astrid Lindgren there are several studies, even by the author herself. Thus Birgit Stolt scrutinised books by Lindgren and another Swedish writer, Edith Unnerstad, translated into French, German and American English. Found are taboos, prejudices and preconceived opinions about the child readers. Besides, Stolt points out that also new illustrations produced for a translation can change the character of a book.[7]

Genre bibliography

"Genre" is used here (as in the first chapter of this book) in the sense of a literary kind, defined by its content and as a construct, the definition of which is arbitrarily determined.

For comparative research *the international spreading of the genres* is of considerable interest, how they were taken up by the authors of children's books, as well as how they were received by the child readers.

A genre in the sense used here is exemplified by the stories with fantastical elements that were written by German Romanticists in the beginning of the 19th century. The same genre is found in later British "fantasy" literature. The question arises whether the genre was spread from Germany to England, although the historians of English children's literature only place the forerunners of the "fantasy" genre in the second half of the 19th century.

An embryo of a comparative genre bibliography could be to look for the first translations in different countries of the two early German stories most referred to in this connection, E.T.A. Hoffmann's "Nussknacker und Mausekönig" and "Das fremde Kind", originally published in 1816–17 in his, Contessa's and Fouqué's collection *Kinder-Mährchen*. The translation history of these tales is with some but not all too great trouble possible to map by way of general national bibliographies and printed library catalogues.

In France both "Nussknacker und Mausekönig" and "Das fremde Kind" were translated in 1832, as "Le casse-noisette" and "L'enfant étranger", in a book with the simple title *Aux enfans*.[8] A new version of "Nussknacker und Mausekönig" then came in 1844, with the title *Histoire d'un casse-noisette* and with Alexandre Dumas given as

author.[9] In the main it is a true translation but Dumas had enlarged the tale with a frame story, changed some personal names and somewhat strengthened the absurd traits in the inserted story about the hard nut. Hoffmann is not mentioned in the title, but in the frame story it is told how the author once came to a family, where he was asked to tell the children a story and remembered Hoffmann's Nutcracker.

England also first got a translation of "Nussknacker und Mausekönig" by way of Dumas's version, in 1847 when *The history of a nutcracker. By Alexandre Dumas* was published.[10] Another translation, this time presumably directly from German, was issued in New York in 1853: *Nutcracker and Mouse-king*.[11] A London edition of "Das fremde Kind" was published in 1852: *The strange child. A fairy tale*.[12]

In the Netherlands "Nussknacker und Mausekönig" was issued in 1841 as *Notenkraker en muizenkoning. Eene vertelling voor groote en kleine kinderen*.[13]

A Danish edition with both „Nussknacker und Mausekönig" and „Das fremde Kind" came in 1856: *Nøddeknækkeren og Musekongen og Det fremmede Barn. To Eventyr* (Two adventures, meaning two wonder tales).[14]

In Sweden lastly "Das fremde Kind" was translated already in 1821 as "Det främmande barnet" in a collection with the title *Barn-sagor, hwilka äfwen kunna läsas af fullwuxna* (Wonder tales for children which also can be read by grown-ups).[15] "Nussknacker und Mausekönig" had to wait until 1848, when *En nötknäppares öden* (The fortunes of a nutcracker). *Af E.T.W. Hoffmann. Bearbetade för ungdom och utgifna af d:r A. Diezmann* (Adapted for youth and edited by ...) was published (besides, also in the same year, as a serial in a journal for children).[16] As seen Hoffmann's name is mentioned ("E.T.W." means that it was known that his third name really was Wilhelm before he changed it to a "Mozart-Amadeus"), but like the first version in English the book is Dumas's *Histoire d'un casse-noisette*, although not translated from French but from German. In 1846 A. Diezmann had edited *Geschichte eines Nussknackers nach A. Dumas*.[17] One wonders if he did not know that there was already an original German text. Lacking knowledge seems evident in the words of the Swedish title, "adapted for youth", since both Hoffmann's original and Dumas's translation were written for children.

The English choice in 1847 of Dumas's version of "Nussknacker und Mausekönig", and presumably Diezmann's in 1846, too, may be due to the international fame that Dumas enjoyed at this time (*Histoire d'un casse-noisette* was practically simultaneous with *Les trois mousquetaires* and *Le comte de Monte-Cristo*).

That "Das fremde Kind" was translated so early as 1821 into Swedish surely is connected with the fact that the publisher was the publisher of the Swedish Romanticists and also saw it as his mission to translate the works of their German models. The translation of the two tales into French in 1832 came only a couple of years after 1828, when Hoffmann's "Fantasiestücke" for adults were translated into French as "contes fantastiques". One could therefore be inclined to think that the 1840s and 1850s was the first time when a general interest in fantastic tales for children developed outside Germany. This is of course in no way certain, however. There may be many earlier more or less unobserved works. When seeking for translations of Hoffmann's tales it is possible to look for the author's name and plausible titles.[18] There are not always such possibilities when using existing bibliographical works, however. Description of contents only seldom occurs. Many tales for children – translations or original works – were published anonymously. Often they are short stories placed together with other material in collections, the titles of which do not tell anything.

The only way to get reliable knowledge of the spreading of genres is to build upon national bibliographies of children's literature of the type described in the foregoing chapter, i.e. as complete as possible, also listing translations and giving short summaries of the contents. Even if limited to the countries of North-Western Europe a comparative bibliography of literature with fantastic elements has to pay attention to literature in German, French and English, perhaps also in Dutch and in the Nordic languages. This is necessary even in view of the fact that authors do not have to be dependent on translations at all, but may have access to literature in foreign languages. Such a bibliography may seem like a dream, but it should once be undertaken, and to the right persons it would be a stimulating task.

A special problem for comparative genre bibliographies is whether they should be limited to literature published for children or contain literature for adults, too. Children's authors are of course not influenced only by works for children but also by adult literature. Further, the same stories may in fact have been published both for children and adults. "Nussknacker und Mausekönig" and "Das fremde Kind" were originally published for children, but in 1819 Hoffmann placed them in his *Die Serapions-Brüder*. Inversely Ludwig Tieck's "Die Elfen" was published in 1812 in the first volume of *Phantasus*, but by an editor issued in a collection for children in 1822.

The arranging of the material in a comparative genre bibliography can be made in different ways, chronologically, alphabetically or with

a division into sub-genres. Models can be found in some listings of literary kinds that also have been of importance to children's literature, for example in the bibliographies of Ruth Kelso cataloguing courtesy literature from the Renaissance[19], of Philip Babcock Gove listing imaginary voyages in prose fiction between 1700 and 1800[20], and in Hermann Ullrich's bibliography of Robinsonades[21].

The bibliographies mentioned contain a great number of works, also in different languages. Gove, for example, states 67 of his 215 originals to be English, 65 French, 59 German, 10 Dutch, 5 Danish, 5 Swedish, 2 Italian, one Japanese and one written in Latin. Including new editions and translations about 1000 issues are listed.

Gove's 215 originals are found in chronological order without regard to the linguistic frontiers. Later editions and translations follow under the originals.

In Kelso, on the other hand, the listing is alphabetical and not chronological. But also here works in the same language are not placed together. Translations come under the originals when the author is known.

Ullrich has made a division into sub-genres: a) English editions of the original *Robinson Crusoe*, b) translations of the original, c) adaptations of the original, d) imitations of the original. The first and fourth sections are arranged chronologically, the second and third according to languages but chronologically within the languages. In the third and fourth sections there is also a "genealogical" arrangement: a certain imitation can thus be followed by translations, adaptations, translations of the adaptations and continuations of the imitation, at which the linguistic frontiers are crossed.

Notes

1 Sonia Marx: *Le avventure tedesche di Pinocchio*. Pescia, Scandicci 1990, pp. 231–245.

2 Lena Törnqvist: "Astrid Lindgren i original och översättning" (... Original works and translated versions). *En bok om Astrid Lindgren*, ed. by Mary Ørvig. Stockholm 1977 (Studies published by the Swedish Institute for Children's Books, 3), pp. 181–244; *Duvdrottningen* (Queen of the doves), ed. by Mary Ørvig, Marianne Eriksson, Birgitta Sjöquist. Stockholm 1987 (Studies published by the Swedish Institute for Children's Books, 27), pp. 116–179.

3 Christian Scholz: *Actenmässige Darstellung meiner gerichtlichen Verfolgung ... wegen angeblichen Nachdrucks des Struwelpeter...* Darmstadt 1852, p. 82.

4 Carmen Bravo-Villasante: *Libros infantiles espanoles. Catálogo histórico de 1544 a 1920*. Madrid 1968, p. 3.

5 Göte Klingberg: *Den tidiga barnboken i Sverige* (Early children's books in Sweden). Stockholm 1998 (Studies published by the Swedish Institute for Children's Books, 64), p. 109.

6 Törnqvist, op. cit. (1977), p. 182.

7 Birgit Stolt: "How Emil becomes Michel – on the translation of children's books." *Children's books in*

translation. The situation and the problems, ed. by Göte Klingberg, Mary Ørvig, Stuart Amor. Stockholm 1978 (Studies published by the Swedish Institute for Children's Books, 9), pp. 130–146.
8 *Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque nationale. Auteurs*. Paris 1897–1981, 72, col. 850.
9 Ibid., 44, col. 60. The publication year is here given as 1845, but that the right year is 1844 can be seen in *Catalogue général de librairie française*, 2. Paris, p. 190.
10 *The Osborne collection of early children's books 1476–1910. A catalogue*. Volume 2. Toronto 1975, p. 895.
11 *British Museum. General catalogue of printed books*. London 1959–66, 105, p. 96.
12 Ibid., 105, p. 94; 38, p. 345.
13 *Brinkman's Catalogus van boeken 1833–1849*. Amsterdam, p. 299.
14 *Dansk Bogfortegnelse for Aarene 1841–1858*. København 1861, p. 69.
15 Göte Klingberg: *Kronologisk bibliografi över barn- och ungdomslitteratur utgiven i Sverige 1591–1839*. Stockholm 1967, p. 142.
16 Göte Klingberg & Ingar Bratt: *Barnböcker utgivna i Sverige 1840–89. En kommenterad bibliografi*. Lund 1988 (Studies published by the Swedish Institute for Children's Books, 30), p. 708 (No. 1900).
17 Wilhelm Heinsius: *Allgemeines Bücher-Lexikon*. 1 ff. Leipzig 1812 ff, 10:1, p. 418.
18 There may be difficulties even with the authors' names. Thus the translation in 1841 into Dutch of „Nussknacker und Mausekönig", *Notenkraker en muizenkoning*, is in Brinkman's catalogue (see Note 13) attributed to F. Hoffmann, i.e. the prolific children's author Franz Hoffmann. The mistake is more funny than serious, since researchers in the field will know that "Nussknacker und Mausekönig" is by E.T.A. Hoffmann. In other cases such mistakes may be serious, however.
19 Ruth Kelso: *The doctrine of the English gentleman in the sixteenth century*. University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 14, Nos. 1–2. Urbana 1929. – *Doctrine for the lady of the Renaissance*. Urbana 1956.
20 Philip Babcock Gove: *The imaginary voyage in prose fiction... with an annotated check list of 215 imaginary voyages from 1700 to 1800*. Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature, 152. New York 1941.
21 Hermann Ullrich: Robinson und Robinsonaden. I. *Bibliographie. Literaturhistorische Forschungen,* 7:1. Weimar 1898.

The chapter is based upon some pages in the book in Swedish mentioned in the foregoing chapter, Barnlitteraturforskning *(Children's literature research), Stockholm 1972, pp. 41–45 (in the German edition, Kinder- und Jugendliteraturforschung. Wien, Köln, Graz 1973, pp. 42–45). The text is however revised and enlarged.*

Historical studies of European children's literature in a comparative perspective

Moral principles in children's books: changes over time (16th–20th century)

In older times the word used to denote morality, purity, goodness was what the Romans had called 'virtus' (originally manliness). In French it became 'vertu' and in English 'virtue'. The German equivalent was 'Tugend' ('dygd' in Swedish), originally something efficient and valuable. A person's virtue showed itself in a number of virtues.

The views of what should be regarded as the basis for the development of the virtues changed with the times, however. When literature for children first appeared in print the ideas belonged to an old heritage, the natural law from classical antiquity, an ethical code inherent in man, the revealed law, which the Christian church had taken over from the Jewish tradition, and the doctrine of original sin, which made it necessary to trust the grace of God.

The heritage from classical antiquity: natural law and the children's literature of the Humanists

The Humanists admired the mythology and history of classical antiquity, and in order to implant virtue among the young, one often used material from this time. Thus there were collections of sentences. Most known was the so-called *Disticha Catonis* emanating from some Roman pedagogue. Many editions in Latin were used in the schools, among them one edited by the great Humanist Erasmus Roterodamus (first published in 1514). There were also many translations into the vernaculars.

Newly written stories could use motifs from classical antiquity, too. An example is *Prolusio academica de insula fortunata* (around 1682), written by the German university professor Magnus Daniel Omeisius. As seen from the title it was aimed at academy students, but the Swedish translation from 1735 presents itself as being for such youth of both sexes who do not master Latin. The story is allegorical, telling of Aretophilus (the lover of virtue; 'aretæ' is the Greek equivalent of 'virtus') who

travels on the steep and thorny way to the Island of Bliss, i.e. the abode of virtue. Among his companions is Hercules. The authorities quoted are the philosophers of classical antiquity.

The moral principle of the Humanists was the natural law, also taken over from classical antiquity. In *Disticha Catonis* there is "a moral optimism that as a matter of course assumes that man by himself is able to act in a moral way".[1] In Omeisius one reads that "a tendency to something good in a natural way is implanted in all human minds".[2]

The Old Testament heritage in Protestant books for children: revealed law

The Old Testament presented the Ten Commandments, revealed by God to the children of Israel and later taken over by the Christian church. A German Protestant book for girls from 1580 by Conrad Porta, a Lutheran pastor in Eisleben, is an example of moral teaching built upon them. Already the title mentions the commandments: Jungfrawen Spiegel. Aus Gottes Wort, vnd D.M. Lutheri Schrifften, nach Ordnung der heiligen zehen Gebot, mit vleis zugerichtet (The maidens' mirror. With much work put in order from the word of God and the writings of Doctor M. Luther, arranged after the holy Ten Commandments).

A special influence from Luther appears in the book in a liberal view of what girls could do, for example dress up, wear jewellery, go to parties and dance, but the presentation is throughout based upon the Ten Commandments. The most extensive chapter deals with virtuous maidens in the Bible. First it is spoken of Eve and Mary, who both followed all the commandments. When in the following other god-fearing Biblical maidens appear, the examples given by them are arranged after the commandments, one after the other. There is also a chapter telling of such Biblical maidens who were inclined to evil. Even in this case the examples are given in the order of the commandments.[3]

The New Testament heritage in Protestant books for children: moral based upon the grace of God

In a collection of proverbs included in a book for Swedish children published in 1624 by Petrus Johannis Rudbeckius, with the title *Insignis pueritia* (An excellent childhood) but written in Swedish (the collection is further treated in the following chapter), one of the proverbs tells that Christians are "evil by their own nature". A commentator from 1677 explains that "man is by nature inclined to what is evil". This is thus directly in contrast to Omeisius's maintaining that something

good in a natural way is implanted in all human minds. In the proverb one encounters the doctrine of original sin, the result of the Fall of Adam and Eve, a doctrine found in different shapes in the Christian Church. In consequence Luther – following St. Paul – stressed that it was impossible to develop a moral life of one's own accord, but only by being transformed by the grace of God.

This posed a problem to the theologians, however, who also meant that one should keep the Ten Commandments, which seems to imply a possibility to do good out of one's own free will. In addition to this one could regard man's conscience as created by God when he created man, which looks very much like natural law.

That the problem was real and worth discussing even with the young is seen in another book for girls by a German Lutheran pastor, Lucas Martini. Like Porta's book it was printed in 1580. The title is *Der Christlichen Jungfrawen Ehrenkräntzlein. Darinnen alle jhre Tugenten durch die gemeine Kräntzblümlein abgebildet vnd erklert werden* (The Christian maidens' little garland of honour. Wherein all their virtues are depicted and explained with the help of the common little garland flowers). (The book is further treated in a chapter of its own below, where however the emphasis is on its portrayal of contemporary children.)

Martini's work is in the tradition of the medieval garden allegories. His message is symbolically presented with the help of the flowers used by the maidens in their garlands and the garden in which they grow. In this garden there are three beds which are the teachers of the virtues. Here the natural law is acknowledged, since it is said to be the first bed in the garden. The natural law made it possible for the pagans, who could not trust the grace of God, to develop a moral life, and „still in this day all sensible women can by nature direct themselves to good order and honesty".

At the Fall the natural law became contaminated, however, and „the flowers and plants of all the virtues withered, in the intellect, the heart and the will". Here it thus was room for Luther's doctrine about the grace of God as the basis of moral. Through the Holy Ghost God has by his grace refreshed the bed of natural law. In the baptised, who are born anew, the roots can slowly grow and man once again be inclined to do good.[4]

Children's literature of the Enlightenment: natural law but founded on reason

Virtue was still the central aim for the educationalists of the

Enlightenment. "It is virtue then, direct virtue, which is the hard and valuable part to be aimed at in education. All other considerations and accomplishments should give way, and be postponed, to this" as John Locke says in his *Some thoughts concerning education* (1693).

Even for the Enlightenment the basis for a moral education was the natural law. New was however the confidence placed in reason. Only if reason prevails can man be virtuous. Once again to quote Locke: "And the great principle and foundation of all virtue and worth is placed in this, that a man is able to deny himself his own desires, cross his own inclinations and purely follow what reason directs as best."[5]

This is the background to the efforts to teach children moral with the help of reason typical of the children's literature from the 18th century.

The principle is explicitly stated in some children's books. An example is Jeanne Marie Leprince de Beaumont's *Magasin des enfans* from 1756, a work written in French but published in England and soon translated into English and other languages. In her preface she writes that, instead of trying to implant the moral code in the children's memory one should impress it in their reason. Her aim is to teach the girls to think (her book was written for girls), and to think rightly, in order to be able to live rightly. One of the girls appearing in the book is also called lady Sensée. Of the stories that one hears this girl utters that one should *investigate* the virtues and follies of the characters, so that one does not make the same mistakes but practises their virtues.

The concept of natural law occurs in children's books, too. Thus there are two Swedish books from the 18th century, where the concept is found in the titles. One of them is an example of science fiction, issued by a jurist, Martin Pletz, in 1762, *Then engelske flygarens rese-beskrifning* (The English aviator's account of his journey). The sub-title explains that the book is devoted to the principles of natural and international law. In the story the aviator on a dark evening in 1752 leaves England with his aircraft. In the morning he has lost his bearings but discovers four small islands in a big sea. Landing on one of them he encounters a population of Swedish origin, whose ancestors once came to the island after a shipwreck. In the tradition of the utopian Robinsonades they have developed a "natural" moral. Incidents on the island illustrate the natural law. When there is war with a neighbouring island the international law is brought to the fore.

The other book is a book of non-fiction, a treatise with the title *Den naturliga lagen, i korthet sammanfattad för Sveriges ungdom* (Natural law, summarised for the Swedish youth). It was published in 1742 (with

a reprint in 1761) and written by a Lutheran pastor in Stockholm, Johan Göstaf Hallman. It can be noted that he was a clergyman, and that the Church still acknowledged the natural law. This law is also said to be a divine law, since the whole of nature is created by God. But Hallman also belonged to the Age of Enlightenment and thus seems to take a greater interest in reason as the decisive factor. Conscience, he says, is the result of reason examining how acts tally with law. Typically one of the virtues enumerated is to clear reason from false beliefs, another one to govern a hasty temper, a manner of speaking which reminds one of Locke's words about denying oneself one's own desires and inclinations.

Of special interest is the preface by the Stockholm publisher Lars Salvius. To give the children the Catechism to read is no good idea, since its truths can only be received by reason. The Catechism will only be a lesson learnt by heart. It is better to first introduce natural law, since it can be grasped by the children and, besides, since "its duty is to make men sensible".

Children's literature of the Romanticism: moral growing from the child's own resources

The great borderline in the history of children's literature is generally seen to be between Enlightenment and Romanticism. The educationalists of the Romanticism were not interested in teaching neither knowledge nor moral. Thus, in the preface to the Swedish translation in 1839 of the German Gustav Benjamin Schwab's *Die schönsten Sagen des klassischen Alterthums* it is said that one no longer thinks that such tales can be used as an instruction in moral. The young reader should only be given a pleasant pastime.

Yet the Romanticists' view upon children's literature was more complicated than that it only should function as something entertaining. Their view can be exemplified by two German educationalists in the beginning of the 19th century, Ernst Moritz Arndt (*Fragmente über Menschenbildung*, 1805) and the well-known founder of the kindergarten Friedrich Fröbel (*Die Menschenerziehung*, 1826).[6]

These writers had nothing against moral as such. What they opposed was the belief of the Enlightenment that one could become a moral person with the help of one's reason. Man's real essence does not lie in reason but in instinct and feeling. Although the expression "the unconscious" is not found before the middle of the 19th century, one could say: not in the light of consciousness but in the darkness of the unconscious.

Instead of trying to influence the child it should be allowed to grow through its own power and develop in conformity with its own laws. Man is good from the beginning, and if left in peace will turn towards the good. According to Fröbel the evil that regrettably can be found in children is due to disturbing influences from the outside and that they have not been permitted a free development.

The aim of the literature for children is thus to support the development of instinct and feeling, in the words of Arndt to let them live in "the room of wonder" (one often thought of old and newly written wonder tales). In this way the child would also develop morality.

There seems to be a similarity between the belief in the good child held by the Romanticists and the belief in the conscience given to man by the Creator, a belief that also corresponds to the doctrine of natural law. But the attachment to reason, adhered to by the educationalists of the Enlightenment, had been changed into its opposite.

Fröbel once said that some see children as little wicked devils, whereas others only regard their devilish behaviour as jokes carried too far, or as the effect of a joy of life let too loose. Despite the qualifications "carried too far" and "let too loose", it seems that he is in favour of the latter interpretation. There is nothing wrong with a "joy of life let loose". A possibility had thus appeared for the children depicted in children's books to give proof of such a joy of life, a possibility that could be expressed in pranks and mischief.

Pranks in the eyes of Enlightenment and Romanticism

As a cultural epoch succeeding the Enlightenment Romanticism is in general seen to end after the first decades of the 19th century. But from the viewpoint of the history of education and children's literature the ideas of the Romanticism as well as of the Enlightenment survived side by side during the whole 19th century and in fact up to our time. Pranks and mischief could still be seen as expressions of disobedience and bad behaviour but also as harmless amusements.

To interpret the message in children's books can for this reason meet with difficulties. Interpretation is not made easier by the fact that the meanings of such words as prank and mischief changed with time. From English lexicography one learns that 'prank' developed from "mischievous trick" to "mad frolic", 'mischief' from "harm" and "injury" to "playful maliciousness". A Swedish word, which can be mentioned in this connection, is 'odygd', the opposite of 'dygd', i.e. virtue (answering to German 'Untugend' and 'Tugend'). In the translation of Porta's

Jungfrawen Spiegel, 1591, 'odygd' is placed together with "sins" (the German original from 1580 has "Sünden vnd Vntugenden"[7]). During the 19th century 'odygd' got a softened meaning, however. Thus in 1855 it is told how children's "odygd" could take the form of playing with mirrors reflecting the sun in the face of the schoolmates.

A Swedish poem in *Tidsfördrif för mina barn* (Pastimes for my children), issued in 1799 by Jacob Tengström, tells of Lisette who used to exercise thousand "pojkstreck", i.e. boys' pranks (in German "Jungenstreiche"). Hot from running around she drank cold water despite having been warned, got ill, refused to take the doctor's medicine and died after eight days. This is thus, although in poetic form, a cautionary tale of the type often written in the decades around 1800 by children's authors adhering to the ideas of the Enlightenment. We do not get to know what the thousand boys' pranks further consisted of except that she "flew, made much noise and shouted". She is however said to have been a girl "without manners who did not do her parents any credit". There is hardly any doubt that the author takes exception to the "boys' pranks".

Incidentally the survival of these ideas is illustrated by the fact that the poem (although with the girl's name changed to the more up-to-date Sophie-Sofi) appeared in other Swedish children's books as late as in 1863 and 1865.[8]

Another view of children's pranks is met with in an anonymous book, probably a translation, published in Sweden in 1828, *Barnsliga nöjen, eller gravyrer, föreställande åtskilliga lekar* (Childish amusements or engravings, showing various plays). Here one finds snapshots of the life of two brothers and their sister. They are said to be "good children loving each other, but all the same they were little rogues taking every opportunity to do each other a harmless "puts". "Puts" is also to be translated as prank. Since the pranks are "harmless", we have to assume that the author took a benevolent view of them and like Fröbel looked upon them as manifestations of a "joy of life".

During the 19th century the cautionary tales were transformed into an absurd picture book genre, mainly in France and Germany, the outstanding example being (parts of) Heinrich Hoffmann's *Struwwelpeter* (first edition 1845, complete 1847). The behaviour of the children in these books is mainly a result of thoughtlessness and disobedience, but also real pranks are found. In *Histoire comique et terrible de Loustic L'Espiègle* (about 1861), illustrated by the French caricaturist Bertall (Charles Albert d'Arnoux), the mischief-maker

frightens his sister by pretending to be a bear and his mother by smearing himself with cherries and calling out that he is bleeding. He fastens a copper cooking-pot to the cat's tail, steals raisins from the shopkeeper etc. The word "éspiègle" in the title means rouge, mischief-maker (in the Swedish translation from 1863 he is called a maker of "odygd").

The sad endings illustrate that the stories are cautionary tales. In Hoffmann the girl who plays with the fire is burnt to death, and the boy who refuses to eat his soup also dies, in Bertall the boy cuts his throat. At the same time the stories, and not least the pictures, are grotesque and absurd in a way which shows that something new has been introduced. The absurdities ought to have their origin in a Romantic view of children's literature; the absurd tales for children were created by German Romanticists in the 1810s (cf. the chapter below about absurd elements in 19th century children's literature). This ambiguity has led to different interpretations of these books. Perhaps they had a double message in that one wanted to warn the children at the same time as they were entertained.

Something entirely new is encountered at this time, however, as in the German artist Wilhelm Busch's picture story about two little honey-thieves: *Die kleinen Honigdiebe*, published in 1858 as one of the *Münchener Bilderbogen* and later in 1861 together with another story as one of the *Münchener Bilderbücher*.

The boys are going to plunder the neighbour's beehive. They get their punishment immediately, since the bees sting them. Even in this story there is an absurd trait: the boys' noses swell in a grotesque way. The interesting thing is the attitude of the adults, however. The father does not think that the swollen noses were what the boys had deserved. He only worries that they will prevent them from eating their favourite food, a dish of steaming "Knödel", and he tries to help them, at first by placing them under the water pump, later by taking them to the smith and to the doctor. And when the boys in the end sit and help themselves to the steaming dish, they do not look too repentant. Neither is the warning given to the readers especially serious: The bees sting equally badly all days, and one must remember that there is not always a resolute man like the smith at hand.

There is what Fröbel called a "joy of life" here, and the aim of the story is only to amuse. This aim is explicitly expressed in the sub-title of the edition in the *Münchener Bilderbücher*: "Two stories for children who like to laugh."

The moral mischief-maker

In Busch's picture story, as well in his more well known and widely spread *Max und Moritz* (1865)[9], there is nothing left of the moral teaching of the Enlightenment. Nor is there anything of the goodness, however, towards which the children, according to the Romantic ideas, ought to turn when left in peace. But in other stories about pranks the inherent moral of the child is stressed. An example is already given above, *Barnsliga nöjen* from 1828, where the three children, although "little rogues" are said to be "good children loving each other".

Another example, interesting since the word "mischief" is found in the title, is *In mischief again* by the American children's author Elizabeth Prentiss. A book with this title was issued in London in 1880 (in the Swedish edition from 1883 "mischief" is translated with "odygd": *Odygd om igen*). The date of the story is somewhat earlier, however, since Prentiss had died in 1878 and the title of the book from 1880 announces that the story was taken from *Little Folks*, a British magazine for small children issued since 1871.

To be sure Nanny is at a loss how to keep the 7–8-year old boy, who is the leading figure, from mischief. It begins with a great hullabaloo when it seems that half a dozen ponies rush down the stairs. "One of these days the boy will make away with himself", says Grandma. Grandpa is not alarmed, however, since boys are tough. He only urges him not to dash in this way, almost frightening Grandma out of her wits. The boy is also allowed to play with an ill-mannered boy, since Grandma does not want him to become gloomy and sad. The interpretation is made easier by the fact that the boy is ready to help, honest and wants to improve. It is only that it is so difficult for him to remember. According to the title of the book he is a mischief-maker, but it seems justifiable to look upon the mischief as an expression of the joy of a child good by nature. We have to do with a basically moral mischief-maker.

Barnungar (Kids) was published in 1924 by the Swedish lady Disa Holberg. The book is said to have an autobiographical background and tells of a gang of rowdy girls in a country town. They bother women who have scolded them for something or other. When coming across a dead cat – to take an example – they get the idea to place it in a brook running down through a wash-house, where a number of washer-women are rinsing clothes. The effect is brilliant. The women come running like a shot, shouting to high heaven, and the girls have a good time.

When it is taken for granted that the originator must have been the dyer's boy, their consciences prick them, however. They are ashamed

that an innocent is suspected, and it seems necessary to make amends to the boy. "At heart we were honest." This is a good example of the moral mischief-makers.

The evil

The moral stories which were written by the authors of the Enlightenment have more and more been regarded as out-of-date, made fun of and maybe been called "Sunday-school stories". This does not mean that there is no moral in the children's books of today. In fact the moral principles behind them are easily recognised from history.

Thus there are a lot of books in the manner of the authors of the Enlightenment, books advocating ideas of a religious, political (etc.) nature. Other books teach their readers how to come to terms with themselves. Interpersonal relationships are another recurrent theme.

The view of Romanticism is not only found in books telling of children with a robust joy of life. It is also met with in the psychological and basically optimistic belief in the role of childhood experiences for an unfortunate character building. This is Fröbel's explanation, the reference to disturbing influences from the outside and the obstacles placed in the way of the child's free development.

In this way there is little room for a serious consideration of evil, however. To be sure, evil is also a theme treated in modern children's books, but in general it is not the child heroes who are evil. Instead they are the protagonists contesting evil, often personified as in some well-known books from the "fantasy-fantastic" field. One remembers for example the White Witch in Clive Staples Lewis's *The lion, the witch and the wardrobe*, the Queen of Underland in *The silver chair* and Jadis in *The magicians's nephew*, as well as the powers of the Dark in Susan Cooper's cycle *The dark is rising*.

In some rare instances the book for young people from the last decades does not avoid speaking of a fundamental evil, however. In an article about such books that do not only tell of violence against children but also of the violence of young people themselves a Swedish scholar says that these pessimistic stories approach the old doctrine of original sin.[10]

Here the historical perspective goes a long way back. In Martini's *Ehrenkräntzlein* from 1580 we heard how the natural law became contaminated at the Fall and how "the flowers and plants of all the virtues withered, in the intellect, the heart and the will". Porta's *Jungfrawen Spiegel*, also from 1580, lists not only god-fearing Biblical

maidens but also such who were inclined to evil as well. There is for example the daughter of Herodias who asked for the head of John the Baptist. One could object that she only did what her mother asked her to do, but Porta does not hesitate to describe her behaviour as devilish. "It is abominable and pitiful", he says, "that a young little maid is so devilishly daring and tyrannical."[11] Nor could she avoid her punishment. Quoting an authority Porta informs us that when out for a walk she went through the ice, knocked her head and drowned.[12]

Notes

1 Otto Brunken in his article about *Disticha Catonis* in *Handbuch zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur. Vom Beginn des Buchdrucks bis 1570*, ed. by Theodor Brüggemann and Otto Brunken. Stuttgart 1987, column 545. The article, columns 537–559, gives a good survey of the history of the *Disticha*.

2 According to the 1735 Swedish translation, *Ett nätt och kort begrep af hela sedo-läran* (A nice and short concept of the whole moral philosophy), p. 15.

3 Porta's book is available in a modern facsimile reprint: *Jungfrawenspiegel. Nachdrucke deutscher Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts*, 76. Bern, Frankfurt am Main, New York, Paris 1990. The reprint has an introduction by the editor Cornelia Niekus Moore. See further Moore: *The maiden's mirror. Reading material for German girls in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Wolfenbütteler Forschungen*, 36. Wiesbaden 1987, passim, and Moore's article about Porta in *Handbuch zur Kinder und Jugendliteratur. Von 1570 bis 1750*, ed. by Theodor Brüggemann and Otto Brunken. Stuttgart 1991, columns 82–91, 1679 f.

4 Quotations according to the Swedish translation of 1608.

5 Sections 70 and 33 in the numbering of 1714. Used here is the text of *Some thoughts concerning education* in *The works of John Locke, in ten volumes*. The tenth edition, 9. London 1801, pp. 1–205.

6 About the educational ideas of the Romanticists see for example. Otto Friedrich Bollnow: *Die Pädagogik der deutschen Romantik von Arndt bis Fröbel*. Stuttgart 1952.

7 Porta, op. cit. (1580, 1990), leaf 80, verso.

8 The reprints of Tengström's poem are found in *Taflor ur lifvet för snälla gossar och flickor* (Pictures from life for good boys and girls) 1863 and in *Vackra taflor för snälla barn* (Nice pictures for good children) 1865. – Tengström's text is reproduced (although with modernized modernised spelling) in my anthology of older European children's literature, *Läsning för ungt folk* (Reading for young people). Stockholm 1966, pp. 182 f.

9 There are pranks enough in *Max und Moritz. Bubengeschichte in sieben Streichen*. The widow Bolte's four hens are made to kill themselves, and when she roasts them they are angled via the chimney and eaten. A footbridge sawed off brings Tailor Böck to fall into the water. Gunpowder is put into Teacher Lämpel's pipe with an explosion as result. Cockchafers are brought to Uncle Fritz's bed. When trying to steal cakes through the baker's chimney the boys fall into the dough, however, and are put into the oven. To be sure, although baked, they succeed in eating themselves free. But when they cut open Farmer Mecke's corn sacks, he brings them to the mill, where the miller without any hesitation grinds them to fragments, then the pieces are eaten by the ducks. This is no cautionary tale, however. The boys do not receive any warnings. Their taste for mischief as well as the burlesque depiction of the adults have amused generations of children and adults alike. Cf. Burkhardt Lindner's article "Max und Moritz" in *Lexikon der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*. Weinheim, Basel 1975–82 (1984), 2, pp. 450 f.

10 Ying Toijer-Nilsson in *Bookbird* Vol. 27, 1989, pp. 4–6.

11 "Diss ist ja grewlich/ vnd erbermlich/ das solch ein junges Medlein/ also Teufelisch kühne vnd Tyrannisch ist." Porta op. cit. (1580, 1990), leaf 71, verso.

12 Ibid., leaf 80, recto + verso.

The chapter is based upon texts in Swedish, an unprinted lecture held in Stockholm in 1996 and chapters dealing with the moral of classical antiquity and Christianity, the Enlightenment and the Romanticism in Den tidiga barnboken i Sverige *(Early children's books in Sweden). Stockholm 1998 (Studies published by the Swedish Institute for Children's Books 64), pp. 28 f., 52–54, 74–79.*

Poetry from oral tradition in children's books

Belonging to that branch of learning called ethnology is the study of literature from oral tradition, comprising of prose as well as poetry.

Such literature includes stories and poems especially aimed at the young. There are for example, tales of warning, which tell of the dangers that await incautious children. One should not let strangers into the house, unlike the boy who carelessly went with an old woman and was put in her sack (the story type, "The boy in the sack"). Neither should one visit unknown people or talk to such persons when walking through the woods (the "Hansel and Gretel" and "Red Riding Hood" story types).[1]

There are also children's rhymes, some of which transmitted by adults, like the lullabies and rhymes used when an adult plays with little children, and some of which transmitted by children themselves – teasing and reproving rhymes used in play.

Stories and poems from oral tradition have found their way into printed children's literature, both those stories and poems aimed especially for children as well as those not especially meant for them. The most well known example is of course "folk tales" (the "Märchen" in German terminology).

The study of how stories and poems from oral tradition have been brought into printed children's literature is an example of interdisciplinary research, since ethnological findings must also be taken into consideration. Research into orally transmitted literature is not without complications, however, and which can be illustrated by the following facts.

1. Stories and poems found in oral tradition appear in different variants or versions. In order to be able to study them they have to be categorised according to text types. But since this is a purely inductive procedure, different researchers may decide to make different divisions.
2. It is often difficult to deduce the age of a story or poem recorded from oral tradition. The Romanticists of the early 19th century looked upon folk tales, as well as popular children's rhymes, as emanating from a dim and distant past. Certainly, many *text types* are very old, which is made evident by their worldwide distribution, but individual stories need not necessarily be so old. Stories and poems recorded from oral tradition may have a known author, with an origin in printed literature – perhaps even printed children's literature.
3. One cannot always be certain that printed recordings of texts from

oral tradition are accurately rendered. Complete faithfulness can be expected from modern folkloristic works, but earlier, as in the Romantic period, editors were first and foremost interested in making a text useful to the readership. This not only implies linguistic revision, but even censorship of things thought improper to pass on.

4. Much the same is true of folk tales and popular poetry found in printed children's literature, and therefore any changes made have to be examined. Such changes could be adaptations, i.e. to the readers' supposed interests and limited knowledge; or purification of texts, i.e. with regard to the set of values of the addressees, or of the adult intermediaries. To find out about such changes one must have access to the oral versions.

There is a wealth of studies on folk tales, both by ethnologists as well as children's literature researchers, and more studies will certainly follow. Here however, poetry from oral tradition and its introduction into children's literature is brought to the fore. Some rhymed proverbs from a Swedish children's book from the 17th century are examined. The use of Swedish popular children's rhymes, and other popular poetry from children's literature, in the 19th and 20th centuries is also treated. Finally the dissemination of English nursery rhymes into foreign countries is examined.

Alphabetum proverbiale Bureanum-Rudbeckianum

As pointed out in the previous chapter, collections of sentences aimed at moral education were valued by the Humanists. These collections often had their origin in classical antiquity, but newer proverbs were also collected, including those originating from oral tradition. One rather peculiar example of a proverb collection in verse, which possibly had its origin in oral tradition, can be found in a children's book from 1624 published in Stockholm. The proverbs are in Swedish, although they are captioned in Latin, „Alphabetum proverbiale", and the book's title is in Latin, *Insignis pueritia* (An excellent childhood).

The book was published by Petrus Johannis Rudbeckius and dedicated to three boys, eight to twelve years of age, to whom Rudbeckius in the first half of the 1620's served as a private tutor. Their father was Johan Skytte, an important statesman and promoter of culture. He had himself once been the tutor of the future Swedish king, so did not hire just any ordinary young teacher. Rudbeckius was already in his forties, had been a professor at Uppsala University, and would later on make a career within the Church.

Forty two-line stanzas make up "Alphabetum proverbiale". Arranged in alphabetical order there are two stanzas for each letter of the alphabet, which means that only twenty letters are taken into account. The first line of all the stanzas contains only three words, all of them beginning with the same letter. Two examples:

Barn bedes Brödh/
Säll är then något hafwer i nödh
(Children ask for bread, blissful is one in need)

Fick fack finnes/
När lögnen medh sanningen binnes
(Fraud is what is found when lies with truth are bound)

A modern reader has difficulty understanding several of the stanzas, in particular the first lines. According to one commentator the first lines are just arbitrary collections of words beginning with the same letter. However, even if some passages are unclear, there is always a meaning behind the words.

In the 1910's to the 1930's the alphabet was the focus for three Swedish scholars, two of them discussing whether alliteration can be said to have been used in the first lines or not, and the third one presenting *Insignis pueritia* in its entirety in facsimile as an example of how the nobility was educated. All three regard Rudbeckius as the author, despite the fact that he himself writes of it as being "printed from a manuscript".

That Rudbeckius was not the author would seem evident from the fact that the alphabet appears in two other places. In both cases it emanates from a man who, like Skytte, had been involved in educating the future Swedish king, Johannes Thomæ Bureus. Bureus' interests were mainly language and folklore, and he often travelled the country making recordings of runic inscriptions, dialects and so on.

One of the places where the alphabet is presented by Bureus is in an extensive manuscript of varying content now in the Royal Library in Stockholm. The greater part of the manuscript has been dated to 1600–01, but the alphabet appears so late in it that its date is uncertain. The stanzas are the same as in Rudbeckius' book, although in another order. Minor linguistic differences make it less probable that this is the manuscript mentioned by Rudbeckius however. The other place is in a book from 1621 printed in Stockholm. The book itself is lost, but was fortunately quoted, in 1677 (almost entirely) and again in 1716, and

could be reconstructed. The lost book was called a "Proverb ABC" by these writers.

The proverbs are not of a type generally known in Sweden. It could therefore be tempting to assume that they did not come from oral tradition. However, such an origin is not improbable since there exist more examples than the forty from the Bureus-Rudbeckius alphabet of stanzas of this type. In the book from 1621, seven of the proverbs are not the same as those in Rudbeckius' book and Bureus' manuscript. Three more are found in the first collection of Swedish proverbs, which was printed anonymously in 1604, and one appears in 1641 in a Swedish translation of Petrarca sentences. If we also take into account proverbs with only two words in the first line beginning with the same letter, then there are also five very similar stanzas in the collection of 1604 mentioned above and one more in a proverb collection from 1678. In total there are 51 or 57 examples preserved.

It may be of course that Bureus, or some of his contemporaries, shortened the first lines of those proverbs known to them so that they only had three words, and new proverbs may have been constructed if there was a shortage in the case of some letters. On the whole, however, I am inclined to believe that most of the material was recorded from oral tradition, presumably by Bureus working as a folklorist.

If this is the case then Rudbeckius' alphabet is the first known example of the use of poetry from oral tradition in Swedish children's literature. Not until 1843 with the printing of an edition of popular children's rhymes did a similar thing occur.

Popular children's rhymes and other popular poetry in printed children's books from the 19th and 20th centuries

A rhyme has to possess two characteristics to be called a popular children's rhyme. On one hand it has to be (or have been) "popular" in the sense of having been recorded from oral tradition. On the other hand it must have had a "children's rhyme function", i.e. have been told or sung to children or been used by them.

These requirements cause problems for the study of poetry in children's books. Information of a recording from oral tradition may be lacking. In such cases the existence of variants can speak for a life in oral tradition, however. Another problem is that poetry only to a limited extent was created especially for children. It is therefore often difficult to know whether an editor for children in using a rhyme actually knew it to have a children's rhyme function.

The publication of English "nursery rhymes" for children in Britain and the USA back in the middle of the 18th century was an early undertaking. From the 19th century onwards, however, the interest shown by the Romanticists for "folk literature" led to many such collections on the Continent.

Two collections in Sweden, from 1843 and 1855 respectively, were the first of their kind that were evidently meant to be used together with children. The first one is a chapbook with sixteen popular children's rhymes, the other a collection of lullabies, which among other poems contains seventeen popular rhymes, which by that time were likely known to have a children's rhyme function.[2] Subsequently, the number of children's publications of popular children's rhymes, and other popular poetry, were multitudinous, both with and without pictures. Such publications have continued into our time; in fact the last decades of the 20th century have seen a renewed interest.

The *aim* of these publications for children certainly stems from the view of children's literature held by the Romanticists, i.e. its role as a stimulator of feeling and imagination. This aim was evident – in Sweden as elsewhere – in the beginning of the 19th century, and even at the turn of the 20th century and later.

In the decades around 1900 popular poetry was also used to promote patriotism. Three well-known Swedish picture books from 1882, 1885 and 1886–87 respectively, illustrating popular Swedish children's rhymes, all emphasised that the texts therein were purely Swedish and belonged to the people's literary heritage.[3]

Yet another reason for publishing popular children's rhymes for children emerged in Sweden in the latter part of the 20th century; a desire to save the cultural heritage. This was even expressed in official reports. One feared that the lore of children – contained within games and also oral tradition – was on the way to extinction. It became in fact an objective of the Swedish kindergarten to preserve this heritage in order to "bind the generations together".

A special task for children's literature research is to examine the *changes* that are undertaken when popular poetry is published for children.

Adaptation (in the sense defined in earlier chapters of this book) can for example be found with regard to children's limited knowledge of words, where particular words are exchanged or explained. The words may be dialectal or old and obsolete. Adaptation with regard to children's presumed manner of experiencing may have led to a comforting addition

(a once lost cat is said to have returned, for example[4]). Adaptation to the children's interests can be seen in the tendency of illustrators to draw children, even when the texts actually speak of adults.

Purification (also in the sense defined in earlier chapters) is an old custom, found for example in Heinrich Smidt's *Kinder- und Ammen-Reime* from 1836, where it is said that foul language and obscenities may seem rather harmless in the mouths of children, but in print are only suited for scholars and not for the nursery. A similar opinion is expressed by Otto Salomon, Sweden, when in 1905 he wrote his preface to a collection of singing games: Children may be more interested in performing the games than in the words, but still a careful polishing is no sacrilege, since "caution is a virtue in education".[5] Purification of popular poetry intended to be presented for children is first and foremost effected by suppressing texts. Therefore when Alice Tegnér, a Swedish composer of songs for children, in 1928 used two ballads from a songbook from about 1600, a stanza was deleted in each of them.[6] In both cases they told of how the lovers went to bed. In addition to a fear of the erotic, deletion and change of words regarded as low language unsuitable for use by children can be found.

Gradually, however, the caution of which Salomon spoke of in 1905 abated. When one of the ballads used by Tegnér in 1928 reappeared in 1985 in an anthology of verse for children, the deleted stanza was included.[7] Low language has become more and more tolerated.

In fact one can speak of a tendency towards *anti-purification* in Sweden, beginning in the 1970's when dirty rhymes from children's oral tradition made their way into books. The reason for this may perhaps be found in the spirit of the age, a wish to widen the concept of culture from elite culture only. The placing of such rhymes in Swedish children's books seems to have declined however, and it may be observed that the dirty rhymes brought from the lore of children into children's books were never those rhymes with sexual allusions. Here the demand for purification appears to have survived.

The international dissemination of English nursery rhymes

It was observed early on that many popular children's rhymes are known in different parts of Europe and have a long history behind them, i.e. the national versions are variants of text types. How this came about is mostly unknown, although it must be supposed that a spreading by word of mouth was the usual way. Today such a spreading, especially of rhymes used by children themselves, is even easier when international

communication has become extensive, and even children often visit foreign countries.

Investigations into how the spreading of oral poetry is effected is a task for ethnology. Belonging to children's literature research on the other hand is the international dissemination of that popular poetry which has been printed for children. This research may later become interdisciplinary however, since there is a possibility that printed translations are introduced into oral tradition. As an example of this field of research the international dissemination of English nursery rhymes will be examined here.

One can hardly expect to find English nursery rhymes published for children on the Continent before the outset of Romanticism. But in the 1830's "Old Mother Hubbard and her dog" appeared in German, though partly in prose. A French version was also published in Germany at this time. Swedish editions, presumably with a German origin, came in the 1830's and 1840's. From the 1860's, versions in Dutch and Danish are known of.[8]

"Who killed Cock Robin?" was translated into German in 1843 by Clemens Brentano, a translation which was partly brought to Sweden in 1847.[9] "This is the house that Jack built" was published in Danish about 1856, and (presumably with an origin in this Danish version) in Sweden in 1859.[10]

There may have been other similar publications of English nursery rhymes on the Continent during these decades, but research into this question is lacking.

From the 1860's onwards an increased international dissemination of nursery rhymes was effected through the export of British toy books with colour-printed pictures.

Toy books with nursery rhymes

The term toy books has a long tradition in Britain, but usually one thinks of books published in series with the word toy books in their titles. These books were thin but could have a rather large format. They often had six plates and six text pages, or six to eight pages with both text and illustrations. The contents were fairly similar in different toy book series, tales by Perrault and d'Aulnoy, English traditional stories from chap books, poems and stories by later British authors, illustrated alphabets, and even just nursery rhymes.

The illustrations play a dominant role in the toy books. For a long time they were hand-coloured, but around 1865 colour-printed illustrations were introduced by chromolithography or chromoxylography. These

pictures could be produced in big numbers, and publishers and printers became interested in selling them to foreign markets.

Very little research has been undertaken into the international dissemination of toy books, but one exception is the bibliographical study of 19th century Swedish books for children undertaken in the 1980's and 1990's. The results of this study will be used here.

A great number of colour-printed British toy books were published in Swedish editions from 1869 and up to the end of the century. Among them are seventeen editions which had British originals using nursery rhymes. Seven books presented collections, ten books individual rhymes. Most of them published in the 1870's. The usual method was to buy the plates in sheets from Britain, supplementing letterpress in Sweden, but there are also a number of books, where text as well as pictures were produced in Britain. Even in these cases, however, it must be assumed that the Swedish texts were provided by the Swedish publishers.

In this way pictures illustrating thirty-three nursery rhymes were brought to Sweden (there may even have been some more, since no copies of two of the collections could be found during the bibliographical work).

True translation, describing of pictures, localization

How Swedish texts were presented is of special interest. The commissioned text writers met with difficulties.

One obstacle was that the original texts could be hard to understand. English nursery rhymes contain many oddities of a "nonsense" type. While English speaking children may have heard such rhymes from an early age and not wondered so much about them, children abroad could find them bewildering. Even the text writer may have felt bewilderment.

In 1872, the Swedish publisher Albert Bonnier bought the plates to one of *Routledge's New sixpenny toy books* (No. 62 called 102), issued in the same year with the title *Nursery rhymes*. Bonnier published the book as *Daddas visor* (Nanny's songs). The plates illustrated six rhymes, "Little boy blue", "There was an old woman who lived in a shoe", "Little Bo-peep has lost her sheep", "Little Jack Horner sat in a corner", "Baa, baa black sheep, have you any wool?" and "Hey diddle diddle, the cat and the fiddle". The latter rhyme in particular is hard to understand:

Hey diddle diddle, the cat and the fiddle,
The cow jumped over the moon;
The little dog laughed to see such sport,
And the dish ran after the spoon.

The Opies reject all attempts to explain the meaning. At the same time they say that it probably is the best known nonsense verse in the language.[11] But it was not known to the Swedish translator, who, though anonymous, was no less than August Strindberg. In a letter to the publisher he excuses himself for not having been able to render "the strange madness of the original, which, candidly speaking, I do not understand the meaning of". He adds that "no absurdity of this type is met with among my childhood memories".[12] Strindberg was a young man at the time, and the lacking memories would have been from the first half of the 1850's. Despite his bewilderment, however, Strindberg tried to translate "Hey diddle diddle" more or less word for word.

Another difficulty was that the illustrations were the essential part of a toy book. It was therefore necessary that the text corresponded with the pictures. The original of *Nya barnkammars rim* (New nursery rhymes), issued by the publisher Oscar L. Lamm in 1875, probably *Nursery ditties* from 1874, No. 23 among *Routledge's Threepenny toy books*, a.o. contained "See-saw, Margery Daw":

See-saw, Margery Daw,
Jacky shall have a new master;
Jacky shall have but a penny a day,
Because he can't work any faster.

This rhyme is supposed to have been a wood-cutters' working song. Later, it became a play rhyme sung by two children swing against each other on a board. A typical place for this game is in the woods using a sawed plank placed over a felled log. The illustrator of the British toy book has drawn such a situation: a boy and a girl swing over a log while a woodcutter works in the background. The illustration also shows a woman with a little child in her arms sitting on the log.

The difficulties for the foreign text writer are obvious, since the rhyme about Jacky does not give a child outside the English-speaking world any associations to a swinging game. The Swedish (anonymous) text writer simply described the picture, telling about the boy and the girl playing in the woods and swinging on the log, as well as about "old Lisa with the red coat" lulling the little girl.

When Strindberg met with "Little Bo-peep" in the book from 1872 mentioned above, he chose to describe the picture in a similar way. The English rhyme is about a girl who has lost her sheep and waits for them in vain. This can hardly be made out from the picture however, which

only shows a girl with a shepherd's crook sitting at a gate, and a man leaning on the gate speaking to her. Strindberg described the girl and her clothes, and said that the man at her side was her father telling her a story before going out hunting.

Still another way to master the translation problems was to try a localisation, i.e. to replace the foreign rhyme with a traditional rhyme from the own country. This is possible when the two rhymes have the same function. "Ride a cock-horse to Banbury Cross" can, for example, be replaced by another dandling rhyme, provided that the picture only illustrates a child riding on the knee or foot of an adult and not a woman with rings on her fingers and bells on her toes.

Localisations were tried in a systematic way by Strindberg, when the publisher Jos. Seligmann commissioned him to provide Swedish text to three of Warne's *Aunt Louisa's London toy books* from 1878. Two of them, No. 67, *Childhood's delight*, and No. 69, *Tottie's nursery rhymes*, were issued by Seligmann in 1879. The first one became *Bilder och visor* (Pictures and songs), the second one *Barnens fröjder* (Childrens' delights). The English books had six nursery rhymes each. Strindberg (in co-operation with his wife Siri) replaced them all with oral poetry taken from folkloristic publications (but in fact only in two cases using rhymes with a "children's rhyme function", in these cases counting-out rhymes).

This method is not an easy one, however, when illustrations have to be taken into consideration. The procedure followed by the Strindbergs was to look for key concepts in the picture and try to find them in Swedish rhymes. This was partly but not completely possible. In the picture belonging to "I had two pigeons, bright and gay" for example, two pigeons are shown, and even though the rhyme states that it is not known why the pigeons flew away, the illustrator showed a cat as explanation. In Strindberg's text both a pigeon and a cat occur, but it was first necessary to change a hawk into a cat.

Since Strindberg was behind the texts they have been studied by Swedish scholars. The comments are critical, and for example, accuse the writer of slovenly work. This is hardly fair however, and probably due to ignorance of the English texts. Strindberg seems in fact to have gone to a great deal of trouble. He presumably wanted to present oral poetry of Swedish origin to Swedish children; at that time this had only been done to a very little extent. Of course it would have been a much better idea to publish Swedish children's popular poetry with pictures by Swedish illustrators, but such picture books were not published before the 1880's, however.[13]

Mixing of the methods used in text writing

There was also a mixing of methods in order to provide Swedish text to the pictures. In *Nya barnkammars rim* from 1875 mentioned above, the first line in "Ride a cock-horse to Banbury Cross" has been replaced by a well-known Swedish dangling rhyme, but later the English rhyme comes through when bells, ringing and musicians are mentioned.

Mixing of true translation and describing a picture is found in Strindberg's rendering of the text to "Baa, baa black sheep" in *Daddas visor,* 1872. He translated the two first lines word for word but wrote "dear children" instead of "sir". The reason for this was obviously the picture, which came from *Nursery rhymes*, the British original mentioned above. Here the sheep is shown together with two children instead of with a "sir". In the following lines, the bag for the master and the one for the dame are replaced by a bag containing a holiday jacket for father and a Sunday skirt for mother. The jacket and skirt are most likely also derived from the picture, where the children are dressed up (even though they are not a father and mother). In the last line the bag is said to contain two pairs of stockings for little brother. Here the translator seems again to be influenced by the original, that is by "the little boy down the lane", but here also giving him some woollen garments from the bag.

From translation to oral tradition

Since popular poetry has at least sometimes an origin in printed texts, one can ask as to what extent the translations of English nursery rhymes influenced Swedish oral tradition. This may seem rather unlikely, but in fact there were such instances.

In 1873 the publisher C.H. Fahlstedt issued *Huset som John byggde* (The house that John built) with the pictures from *The house that Jack built, Routledge's Threepenny toy books* No. 17, published in the same year. The Swedish text is fairly true to the original, but some changes had to be made in order that it should rhyme. "Corn", "morn", "shorn", "torn", "forlorn" and "horn" were replaced by three-syllable Swedish words, e.g. "tokiga" (silly), "brokiga" (gaudy), "krokiga" (crooked"). This means that the Swedish text is easily recognizable. It can therefore be no coincidence that these end-rhymes appear in three recordings from oral tradition made in 1902 and 1907 respectively at three different places in the Swedish speaking region in the south of Finland.[14] They do not wholly tally with one another nor with the printed version of 1873, but this in itself is proof that we are dealing with oral tradition.

A similar case is that of a recording of Strindberg's version from 1872 of "Baa, baa black sheep" made in 1898 by a school teacher in a parish in Uppland, the county north of Stockholm. It is found together with a number of children's rhymes.[15]

At this time the version from 1872 had been taken over in other children's books, in 1890 in *Ängsblommor* (Meadow flowers), a picture book by the artist Ottilia Adelborg, and, with the text taken from there, in 1892 in a collection of songs, *"Sjung med oss mamma!"* (Sing with us, Mummy!) by Alice Tegnér, the Swedish composer of songs for children already mentioned. Adelborg had however changed the "dear children" into "little child" and, more striking, the "black lamb" into a "white lamb". Tegnér made very slight changes in Adelborg's version.

Since the recording in 1898 from oral tradition has the dear children and the black lamb, it is not dependent on these new versions, but must have its source in the toy book of 1872 or possibly in an undated cheap booklet, an "A.B.C. and picture book", probably produced in Germany, where four of the rhymes in *Daddas visor* were introduced. The version with the "white lamb" however can also be said to have got a life of its own in oral tradition. This is due to the fact that Tegnér's text has been reprinted over and over again both with and without the music, and is very well-known today.

Notes

1 About the tales of warning see Gottfried Henssen: „Deutsche Schreckmärchen und ihre europäischen Anverwandten." *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 50, 1953; Marianne Rumpf: „Ursprung und Entstehung von Warn- und Schreckmärchen." *FF Communications*, 160, 1955; Marc Soriano: "From tales of warning to formulettes: the oral tradition in French children's literature." *Yale French Studies*, 43, 1969, pp. 24–43.

2 *Twenne mycket wackra nya wisor* (Two very beautiful new songs; in fact 16 children's rhymes). Lund 1843. – Axel Ivar Ståhl (a pseudonym for Ludvig Theodor Öberg): *Vid vaggan! Barnsånger och verser* (At the cradle! Children's songs and verses). Stockholm 1855.

3 *Barnkammarens bok* (The nursery book), text editor unknown, illustrations by Jenny Nyström. Stockholm 1882. – *För mamma och småttingarne* (For mother and the little ones). Cover title: *Barnens julbok* (The children's Christmas book), text editing and illustrations by Ottilia Adelborg. Stockholm 1885. – *Svenska barnboken* (The Swedish children's book) *I, II*. Text editing by Johan Nordlander, illustrations by Jenny Nyström. Stockholm 1886, 1887.

4 Elsa Beskow: *Sagan om den lilla, lilla gumman* (The tale of the little, little old woman). Stockholm 1897. This very well-known picture book with many later editions is about a woman's cat that at the end was shooed away. In the second edition from 1909 a picture was introduced with a text stating that the cat in fact ran into the woods and never came back. In the 1950 edition however, Beskow added a line of her own: Perhaps he all the same came home at last.

5 Otto Hellgren: *Sånglekar från Nääs* (Singing games from Nääs). Stockholm 1905. Preface by Otto Salomon.

6 Alice Tegnér: *"Sjung med oss, mamma!"* ("Sing with us, Mummy!"), 8. Stockholm 1928. The texts Tegnér found in a hand-written book of ballads from around 1600 (in the Royal Library, Stockholm) were given a modern printing by Adolf Noreen and J.A. Lundell in *1500- och 1600-talens visböcker* (Books of ballads from the 16th and 17th centuries), 5. Uppsala 1900.

7 *På vers. Från ramsor till lyrik*. (In verse. From doggerel to lyrics.) Stockholm 1985.
8 *Komische Abentheuer der Frau Hubbard mit ihrem Hunde*. – *Unterhaltende Geschichte der Madame Kickebusch und ihres Hundes Azor*. – *Aventures plaisantes de Madame Gaudichon et de son chien.* – *Mor Märta och hennes hund Zozos löjliga äfventyr* (... and the comical adventures of her dog Zozo). – *Mormor Spitsnas och hennes hund* (Grandma Sharpnose and her dog). – *Moeder Hubbard en haar Hond*. – *Gamle Mo'er Hubbard og hendes Hund* (Old Mother...). – For the history of these editions cf. Lena Törnqvist: "Old Mother Hubbard och Old Dame Trot." *Vällingsäck och sommarvind* (Gruel sack and summer wind), ed. by Vivi Edström and Märta Netterstad. Malmö 1987, pp. 63–81.
9 *Rothkehlchens, Liebseelchens Ermordung und Begräbnis*. – *Domherrns död och begrafning* (The death and burial of the bullfinch). These editions are treated in the following chapter about "Cock Robin".
10 *Den mærkværdige Historie om det Huus som Hans har bygt* (The curious story of the house that Hans built). – *Huset som Hans byggde* (no copy seems to have survived however). The Danish edition goes back to an English book from 1856. Cf.Vibeke Stybe: *Fra billedark til bilderbog* (From picture sheet to picture book). KÝbenhavn 1983, pp. 53 f., where also a reproduction from the Danish book is given.
11 Iona and Peter Opie, ed.: *The Oxford dictionary of nursery rhymes*. Oxford 1951 with later reprints, No. 213.
12 Letter from Strindberg to the publisher, probably from 5 August, 1872. Cf. Margareta Brundin: "Vita lamm och svarta får" ((White lambs and black sheep.) *Strindbergiana. Tredje samlingen* (The third collection). Stockholm 1988, pp. 96–105. The letter is quoted on p. 97. The text of "Hey diddle diddle" (with "after the spoon" instead of "away with") is given here from the copy in Cambridge University Library, a photocopy of which through Brundin is available in the Royal Library in Stockholm.
13 For example in the three picture books from the 1880's mentioned in Note 3.
14 V.E.V. Wessman: *Lekar och spel* (Games and plays). *Finlands svenska folkdiktning* (Swedish popular literature in Finland), 8. Helsingfors 1962, Nos. 20 a-c, pp. 696 f.
15 The dialect and folklore archives in Uppsala (ULMA 303:942, p.92).

*The first part of the chapter is based upon an article in Swedish: "Alphabetum proverbiale Bureanum-Rudbeckianum". Arv. T*idskrift för Nordisk Folkminnesforskning. Journal of Scandinavian Folklore*, 17, 1961, pp. 140–156, the second part upon some pages in a comprehensive book in Swedish:* Folklig vers i svensk barnlitteratur *(Poetry from oral tradition in Swedish children's literature). Stockholm 1994 (Studies published by the Swedish Institute for Children's Books 49), the third part upon some chapters in* Denna lilla gris går till torget och andra brittiska toy books i Sverige 1869–79 *(This little pig went to market and other British toy books in Sweden 1869–79). Stockholm 1987 (Studies published by the Swedish Institute for Children's Books 26), as well as upon the book from 1994 mentioned, where the dissemination into Sweden of six English nursery rhymes, including "This is the house that Jack built", "Hey diddle diddle" and "Baa, baa black sheep", is described on pp. 317–336.*

The overseas flights of Cock Robin

Among subjects treated in the preceding chapter are aspects on the spreading of English nursery rhymes through translations of books for children. The following chapter gives a more detailed treatment of four versions of the nursery rhyme "Who killed Cock Robin?", which during the 19th century were published in picture books for Swedish children. Two were brought to Sweden via Germany, two directly from Britain.

"Who killed Cock Robin?" tells of how the animals perform the various offices at the robin's funeral. The first known printing was in a book for children, *Tommy Thumb's pretty song book*, issued by the London publisher Mary Cooper in 1744. Only the first four stanzas are found there, however:

Who did kill Cock Robbin?
I, said the Sparrow,
With my bow & Arrow,
And I did kill Cock Robbin.

Who did see him die?
I, said the Fly,
With my little Eye,
And I did see him die.

And who did catch his blood?
I, said the Beetle,
With my little Dish,
And I did catch his blood.

And who did make his shroud?
I, said the Fish,
With my little Needle,
And I did make his shroud.[1]

Some decades later the entire poem was published, i.e. fourteen stanzas. In the later versions of the third and fourth stanzas the beetle and the fish have changed places. Thus it is the beetle who made the robin's shroud. After that the owl dug his grave, the rook served as parson, the lark as clerk, the linnet carried the link (i.e. the torch), the dove was the chief mourner, the kite carried the coffin, the wrens bore the pall, the

thrush sang a psalm, and the bull tolled the bell. All the birds sighed and sobbed when they heard the bell.[2]

As usual in the history of the English nursery rhymes there are different hypotheses about the origin and history of this rhyme.[3] It has for example been held that it has a political 18th century origin. No earlier printing than in the children's book of 1744 is known, however. It is therefore difficult to know whether it then was a popular children's rhyme in the sense defined in the preceding chapter, belonging to the oral tradition and having a children's rhyme function, i.e. being used for or by children. But this is of course not unlikely.

For children's literature research the rhyme is of interest as giving examples of added embellishments when printed in children's books. One type of such embellishments is found in some illustrated editions, where an extra two lines referring to the pictures have been added to the stanzas. An example is *An elegy on the death and burial of Cock Robin. Ornamented with cuts*, issued about 1820 by J. Kendrew at York. It begins

Who killed Cock Robin?
I, says the Sparrow,
With my bow and arrow,
And I kill'd Cock Robin.

This is the Sparrow,
With his bow and arrow.[4]

Another type of embellishment is the combining of the traditional rhyme with a story explaining how the shooting came about. Perhaps the first example was in a book with fourteen hand coloured plates issued in 1806 by the London publisher John Harris: *The happy courtship, merry marriage and pic-nic dinner, of Cock Robin and Jenny Wren. To which is added, alas! the doleful death of the bridegroom*. It has been held that Harris had commissioned someone to write a poem to be placed before the traditional rhyme.[5]

Rothkehlchens, Liebseelchens Ermordung und Begräbnis (1843)
Domherrns död och begrafning (1847, 1861)

The first time the rhyme about Cock Robin was issued for Swedish children is in a picture book with eight leaves from the Stockholm publisher P.G. Berg: *Domherrns död och begrafning* (The death and

burial of the bullfinch). The year of publication was 1847 and a new edition, called the fourth one, came in 1861 (presumably there were also a second and a third edition, but no traces of them have been preserved). Each leaf as well as the front cover has a picture for hand colouring and text. There is an introductory stanza telling that the bullfinch is dead and one at the end explaining that the song was made by a shepherd who had heard the birds lament. For the rest one recognises seven of the stanzas belonging to "Cock Robin". A bullfinch is introduced instead of the robin, there are also other departures from the traditional rhyme, like the names of the animals. The owl now digs the grave and the turtledove is the mourner. But a beetle makes the shroud, a raven serves as parson, a hawk carries the coffin, and an ox tolls the bell.[6]

In a Ph.D. thesis presented at Stockholm University in 1965 Ingeborg Willke pointed out that the text emanates from the German Romantic author Clemens Brentano. However, she only knew it as it was reproduced in Brentano's *Gesammelte Schriften*, published in 1852 by his brother Christian. Thus she does not give the right title of the original, and since the text in *Gesammelte Schriften* has no illustrations, she has nothing to say about the pictures.[7] Obviously the editor of 1852 did not know of them either, only writing "to a drawing" ("Zu einer Zeichnung") (since it was easily seen from the poem itself that it referred to a least one picture).

In her history of German children's literature Irene Dyhrenfurth knows the original, however, a picture book, published posthumously in 1843 (Brentano died in 1842) with the title *Rothkehlchens, Liebseelchens Ermordung und Begräbnis*. She mentions it as a bibliophile rarity but knows it from a facsimile reprint from 1921 provided with a preface by Franz Graf Pocci (Enkel). In this preface a family tradition is told, that the drawings behind the fifteen lithographs were made by Brentano himself. The Brentano bibliography by Mallon, issued in 1926, also maintains that Brentano was the illustrator as well as the writer.[8]

Obviously Brentano created the stanzas at the beginning and at the end. For the rest he was translator, however. Curiously enough that does not seem to have been observed. Willke does in fact mention "Cock Robin", but only as a parallel. Dyhrenfurth regards the poem as an original by Brentano (she quotes two stanzas but these are the newly written opening ones). This is a typical lack of comparative insight.[9]

Brentano's version belongs to the type where two lines referring to a picture are added to the four in the traditional stanzas. The English original used by Brentano could in fact have been the *Elegy* issued by

Kendrew about 1820. It must at least have been a very similar text. The similarity can be illustrated by the fifth stanza in *An elegy* and the corresponding stanza in Brentano:

Who shall dig the grave?
I, said the Owl,
With my spade and shov'l,
And I'll dig his grave.

This is the Owl so brave
That dug Cock Robin's grave.

Sag wer hat das Grab gemacht
Rothkehlchen, Liebseelchen?

Sprach die Eule: Wohlbedacht
Grub ich's Grab mit dem Grabscheid,
Nicht zu schmal und nicht zu breit.
Rothkehlchen, Liebseelchen.

Dies is die Eule, die mit Bedacht
Rothkehlchen hat das Grab gemacht.

Rothkehlchen is the German name for the robin („Kehle" means throat), and the bullfinch thus is created by the Swedish translator. The Swedish translation also differs from Brentano by being shorter; six of the stanzas have been deleted, which also has caused seven of Brentano's pictures to be missing. The pictures are copied in Sweden and not signed, but the illustrations presented are very similar to the originals.

Die Geschichte vom lieben Hänschen Rothbrüstchen (1865)
Historien om den snälla lilla bofinken (1866)

The next time Cock Robin appeared in Sweden was in another picture book with a German origin. The full title reads *Historien om den snälla lilla bofinken i prydliga bilder och text här beskrifves och eder, j små den till julgåfva gifves* (The history of the good little chaffinch is described here in neat pictures and text and presented as a Christmas gift to you, you little ones). There are six plates printed in colour with added hand colouring. The book was issued "on commission" by a provincial publisher, G. P:son Beijer in Karlstad, but the whole book, pictures as

well as text, was produced by the publisher and printer J.F. Schreiber in Esslingen (today within the town of Stuttgart). It is post-dated in 1867, but contemporary Swedish sources show that it was published already for Christmas 1866.

Schreiber's original also had a long title: *Die Geschichte vom lieben Hänschen Rothbrüstchen in zierlichen Reimen und lieblichen Bildern, die treulich diesen Vorfall schildern*. It had been published as *Schreiber's Kinderbücher* 2 (presumably like No. 1 in 1865).[10] On the last plate the robin's grave is marked as "Rothkehlchens Grab", but also "Rothbrüstchen" (redbreast) is a true translation of "robin". Even in this case the Swedish translation thus introduced another bird.

I have not seen the German original. Judging from the Swedish translation the text seems however in the main to have been of the traditional type with stanzas of four lines. The Swedish translation has three stanzas of six lines, but the middle thirteen have four lines and answer to Opie's stanzas 1–7, 10, 8–9 and 12–14.

Old Mother Hubbard and Cock Robin (1867)
Den stackars lilla Rödbrösts död och begrafning (1869)

The next Swedish version of Cock Robin was issued by the Stockholm publisher Oscar L. Lamm in 1869: *Den stackars lilla Rödbrösts död och begrafning* (The poor little Redbreast's death and burial). This time there was no detour via Germany; the original was the latter part of an English toy book: *Old Mother Hubbard and Cock Robin*, published in 1867 by George Routledge & sons as *Routledge's Shilling toy books* 26.[11] This book has six colour-printed plates, each one with two pictures. Three of the plates illustrate Old Mother Hubbard and three Cock Robin.[12] In the Mother Hubbard part the name J.B. Zwecker appears on one of the pictures, which presumably means that Johann Baptist Zwecker, a German who from about 1850 lived in England, had illustrated the whole book. One of the pictures in the Cock Robin part is on the other hand signed "Dal-" in the manner typical for pictures engraved and printed by Dalziel Brothers in London.

That the Swedish book is limited to Cock Robin is due to the fact that the Swedish publisher cut the plates of the English toy book horizontally, and in this way created two books in oblong formats. In each case six plates were made of the three in the original.

Beside the plates *Den stackars lilla Rödbrösts död och begrafning* three leaves with text has been printed by a Swedish printer. But the plates, printed in England, must have been bought by Lamm in sheets.

There is no trace in Lamm's archives of such a purchase from Routledge, but it can be deduced from a letter to Routledge of July 11, 1870 from another Stockholm publisher, Albert Bonnier (preserved in the Bonnier archives). In this letter Bonnier complains that Routledge's "traveller" had sold too many similar children's books to his competitors for Christmas 1869. This year was the first year of British toy books directly imported to Sweden, all from Routledge.

The Swedish text consists of twelve stanzas of six lines: only the last stanza is limited to four lines. The two last lines of the stanzas of six lines refer to a picture (as seen there are twelve pictures). "The sparrow, see, here he is, arrow and bow he carries", "Owl and spade, both you can see here" etc. This means that the text type corresponds to Kendrew's *An elegy on the death and burial of Cock Robin*, mentioned above, as well as to Brentano's German translation. In fact the order in which the animals appear is more in accordance with Kendrew's than with the traditional version given by Opie.

Cock Robin's courtship, marriage, death, and burial (1871)
Rödvinge-trastens frieri, giftermål, död och begrafning (1877)

The last of the four Swedish versions is *Rödvinge-trastens frieri, giftermål, död och begrafning* (The courtship, marriage, death and burial of the redwing). The book, with six plates and text on four leaves as well as on the inner sides of the cover, was published in 1877 by Percy F. Luck as one of the fourteen issues in his series *Tant Hildurs barnbibliotek* (Aunt Hildur's children's library).

Luck was not a publisher in the usual sense. No other books than the fourteen toy books from 1877–78 were issued by him. He was born in England, had come to Sweden in order to do business in timber but got the idea to open a teashop. By and by a big assortment of English products came on sale, obviously also the fourteen books in the "children's library". The issues in the series have identical covers with the series title. There is no numbering, however, and the individual titles only appear heading the text.

The text as well as the covers was printed in Sweden, but the plates were, as for the treated book from Lamm, obviously bought from England, not from Routledge, however, but from Frederick Warne & co. Eleven of the books in the "children's library" belonged to *Aunt Louisa's London toy books*, three to *Aunt Louisa's Sunday books*. Although I have not seen the English original, there can be no doubt that the book about Cock Robin was *Aunt Louisa's London toy books*

31: *Cock Robin's courtship, marriage, death, and burial*, published in 1871.[13] Presumably the British printer of the plates was J.M. Kronheim & co.

The title discloses that the book is related to the John Harris book from 1806, where the story about the marriage of the robin to the wren had been placed before the traditional rhyme. The Swedish translation begins with a poem of fifteen stanzas with eight lines each, and with another metrical form than the following thirteen stanzas of four lines. These latter stanzas reproduce the traditional rhyme about Cock Robin, although in an order somewhat different from Opie's version.

The opening poem describes how the redwing (as was seen the Swedish translators called the robin a bullfinch as well as a chaffinch and now he was made into a redwing; only in 1869 was he more rightly presented as a redbreast) falls in love with the wren, proposes and is accepted. He visits the parents of the bride, and the father invites to the wedding. The parson, who is a rook, turns up together with Miss Lark, who will perform the duties of the parish clerk and sing a hymn. To the ceremony the bride is attended by a linnet, the bridegroom by a finch. The marriage is sealed with a ring. After this the wedding dinner is eaten in the open. There is wine and there is song. The happiness is crushed, however, when a cuckoo abducts the wren. The sparrow catches his arrow and shoots at the cuckoo, but he misses, and it is the robin that is killed.

Among the pictures in this toy book from Warne the centre spread may be mentioned, since episodes separated in time are shown together. The marriage is performed in a tree in the upper link corner, in the middle one sees the marriage dinner, and the tragedy occurs in the upper right corner, where the sparrow comes flying with his arrow.

Comments

From the viewpoint of the different methods of translation used when English nursery rhymes were introduced into foreign languages, one can notice that all translations treated are true ones, at least as far as this is possible when a poem with rhyme and metre is produced. Only in the question of the bird species presented one can talk of localisation, i.e. context adaptation, since there is hardly any other explanation why the Swedish translators should have introduced a bullfinch, a chaffinch and a redwing, that the Swedish children presumably were more familiar with than the robin.

The two books with pictures from English toy books, issued in 1869 and 1877, illustrate the importance of the sales to foreign countries of

English toy books with colour-printed pictures for the international spreading of the nursery rhymes. The two books with a German origin on the other hand show that the nursery rhymes printed in English children's books were also, and earlier, observed in other countries.

Notes

1 The rhymes in *Tommy Thumb's pretty song book* are reproduced with notes in William S. & Ceil Baring-Gould: *The annotated Mother Goose*. New York 1962, pp. 24–43. The four stanzas of "Who did kill Cock Robbin?" are found on p. 36. The editors have however completed the poem with the later published stanzas, presenting fourteen in all as No. 22, the latter ten possibly taken from Opie (see Note 2), with which the text wholly corresponds. Only the spelling "Robbin" has been introduced in the last stanza, in accordance with the first stanza of 1744.

2 The customary text is for example found as No. 110 in Iona & Peter Opie: *The Oxford dictionary of nursery rhymes*. Oxford (1951) 1973, pp. 130 f.

3 Cf. for example Humphrey Carpenter & Mari Prichard: *The Oxford companion to children's literature*. Oxford 1984, p. 122 (the article "Cock Robin") and Opie, op. cit., pp. 131–133. The Opies enumerate a number of English picture book editions but say nothing of translations into other languages.

4 *An elegy* is reproduced in Victor E. Neuburg: *The penny histories*. London 1968, pp. 145–160.

5 About Harris's book from 1806 and other newly created texts see Opie, op. cit., pp. 129 f. and *The Osborne Collection of early children's books*. Toronto 1958, pp. 91 f; 1975, p. 675.

6 The text in *Domherrns död och begrafning* is reproduced in Lars Furuland, Örjan Lindberger & Mary Orvig: *Ord och bilder för barn* (Words and pictures for children). Stockholm 1979, pp. 205–207 and in the revised edition Lars Furuland & Mary Orvig: *Barnlitteraturen* (Children's literature). Stockholm 1990, pp. 247 f. (although from the edition of 1861 and with modernised spelling).

7 Ingeborg Willke: *ABC-Bücher in Schweden*. Stockholm 1965, pp. 172–176 (pages also numbered 208–212). Willke partly quotes Brentanos's text after the *Gesammelte Schriften* of 1852.

8 Irene Dyhrenfurth: *Geschichte des deutschen Jugendbuches*. Zürich, Freiburg i.Br. 1967, p. 104. – The facsimile reprint of 1921 was published in Berlin-Wilmersdorf by Bibliophiler-Verlag O. Goldschmidt-Gabrielli. – Otto Mallon: *Brentano-Bibliographie*. Berlin 1926, p. 107.

9 It may be observed that the 6-column article about Brentano in *Lexikon der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*. Weinheim, Basel 1975–82 (1984), 1, pp. 204–207 does not treat *Rothkehlchens, Liebseelchens Ermordung und Begräbnis* at all.

10 *Gesamtverzeichnis des deutschsprachigen Schrifttums (GV) 1700–1910*. München etc. 1979 ff., 129, p. 311 (no. 1–7 of *Schreiber's Kinderbücher* published between 1865 and 1868). Also three other of these picture books were issued by Beijer, a fact that helps to identify the original.

11 The Routledge Catalogue of January 1868 lists no. 22–26, which means that they had been issued for Christmas 1867. A confirmation of this is that the British Library copy of No. 24 has the British Museum accession date December 21, 1867.

12 The English original was identified by the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, comparing the museum's copy with copies of the pictures in the Swedish book.

13 No. 29–32 were advertised in *The Athenaeum* November 11, 1871. No. 31 and 32 are mentioned in the list of new books in *The Athenaeum* September 16, 1871.

The chapter is based upon a chapter in Swedish, "Cock Robin", in Denna lilla gris går till torget och andra brittiska toy books i Sverige 1869–79 *(This little pig went to market and other British toy books in Sweden 1869–79). Stockholm 1987 (Studies published by the Swedish*

Institute for Children's Books 26), pp. 55–59, as well as upon the description (in Swedish) of the Swedish versions in Göte Klingberg & Ingar Bratt: Barnböcker utgivna i Sverige 1840–89. En kommenterad bibliografi *(Children's books published in Sweden 1840–89. An annotated bibliography). Lund 1988 (Studies published by the Swedish Institute for Children's Books 30), pp. 301–304 (no. 806–810). The dating of the two British toy books are according to the bibliography (in English) in the 1987 book mentioned above, pp. 136, Note 4 and 156, Note 7.*

A typology of the fantasy-fantastic field

Classification schemes or typologies belong to all branches of learning. In children's literature research one can for example think of typologies of genre constructs. Such classification schemes can be used for bibliographical purposes, but clear distinctions between different literary types may also be of help in other connections.

A typology of the fantasy-fantastic field will be tried in the following, since this is a field that offers many difficulties.

The terms fantasy and fantastic

"Fantasy" and its adjective "fantastic", French: "fantaisie" and "fantastique", German: "Phantasie" and "phantastisch" – or how the words are rendered in different languages – are words from classical Greek, "phantasía" and "phantastikós". In medieval Latin one finds "phantasia" in the meaning of image of the mind and power of imagination, but also in the sense of vision, dream, nightmare, illusion, delusion, phantom, ghost, apparition and magic.

The ambiguity was transferred to the vernaculars. In modern dictionaries of the English language, for example, one finds "fantasy" in the meaning of imagination but also of illusion, queer notion, and so on, "fantastic" in the meaning of existing in the imagination, but also of strange, weird or grotesque, capricious and eccentric. The word "fantasy" at least is also recorded by the English dictionaries as a literary term. One dictionary speaks of an imaginative poem or play, another one presents it as referring to a story, a film etc., not based on realistic characters or setting.

If "fantasy" is defined as imaginative literature on the whole, we get a very extensive concept. Trying to master this difficulty several researchers have formulated more precise definitions of fantasy. But the only result is that we are left with too many notions of what fantasy is. In fact, as a term for a literary genre concept fantasy must be regarded as unfit. There is also the question of international comprehension. All languages that use the word "fantasy" do not use it in the enlarged sense of illusion, queer notion and so on. In the Swedish language, for example, "fantasi" has, at least today, really no other sense than just imagination. It may be for this reason that one in Sweden finds the English word "fantasy" used unchanged as a literary term.

"Fantastic literature" or "fantastic tale" might be considered a better

term than "fantasy", since the confusion with imagination does not appear as easily in this case. The term seems to originate from the French translation in 1828 of some stories by E.T.A. Hoffmann, which he in German had called "Fantasiestücke". The French translator chose the title "contes fantastiques". It has been said that he found the French word "fantaisie" too idyllic to represent such gloomy stories[1], and he thus seems to have experienced a distinction between "fantaisie" and "fantastique". One can notice that the title of Berlioz's *Symphonie fantastique*, first performed two years later in 1830, was chosen to emphasize the weirdness of the contents.

On the other hand also "fantastic literature" and "fantastic tale" are terms used in widely different meanings today. There are narrow definitions such as a frightening story, or a story which forces the reader to make up his own mind as to whether the events are susceptible of a natural explanation or not. There are also wide and indistinct definitions. Thus, in French and German children's literature research "conte fantastique" and "phantastische Erzählung" are often used just as indistinctly as English "fantasy".

The variables

Trying to build a typology of the fantasy-fantastic field I have used three variables:

1. Conceivableness to modern science. Conceivable – inconceivable
2. Setting. Everyday surroundings – places beyond time and space
3. Credibility. Credible – not credible

Using the variables it is possible to construct genre concepts, also to place individual literary works somewhere in the scheme of variables. The place of a literary work may coincide with the place of a genre concept, but it is also possible to demonstrate how a literary work can be a mixture of different genre types (which in the individual case can be a weakness but perhaps also signify a masterpiece).

That the variables of an individual work do not always coincide with the "ideal" genre is of course again due to the fact that genres are nothing else than constructs.

The terms used to denote different literary types are of no real importance (cf. the first chapter in this book). But since it is practical to call them something designating terms are proposed here. These terms can be exchanged, however, without any effect on the distinctions

between the types as such. It is the conceptualisation that is of primary importance here.

The wonder tale
– Phenomena inconceivable to modern science
– Setting in undated and diffusely formed surroundings
– Credible

This type is of course what we usually have in mind when we speak of "fairy tale" in English, "conte de fées" or "conte des fées" in French[2], "Märchen" in German. But for research purposes these terms are unsuitable, since they are all too loosely defined (cf. the first chapter in this book). Once I used the term "chimeric tale", borrowing the adjective from the Swedish folklorist von Sydow (writing in German in 1934).[3] Wonder tale can suffice as a term, however.

The tales appear as editions or retellings of stories from the oral tradition or are newly written. The phenomena inconceivable to modern science include magic, witches, dragons and so on. The diffuse settings are illustrated by the usual opening "Once upon a time", that the countries have no real geographical names, and that real personal names are lacking (when personal names occur they are of a very common type).

Concerning the credibility one can find authors who diminish it by warning their readers not to believe in the supernatural. Thus the educators of the Enlightenment repudiated all forms of superstition. In 1749 Sarah Fielding writes in *The governess* that "giants, magic, fairies, and all sorts of supernatural assistances in a story, are only introduced to amuse and divert. Therefore, by no means let the notion of giants or magic dwell upon your minds." But this seems to be quibbling; to have its effect a wonder tale shall surely be credible.

Subtype – The moral wonder tale
When the wonder tale was used in children's literature of the Enlightenment, it had to be the bearer of a moral message. Examples of this are the two wonder tales introduced by Sarah Fielding in the above mentioned *The governess*. There are also earlier as well as later examples. That one can speak of a subtype is demonstrated by special elements which only appear in tales of this type, for example talismans with a moral purpose and moral merits given as baptismal gifts by "fées". This subtype will be treated in one of the chapters below.

The fantastic tale
– Phenomena inconceivable to modern science.
– Setting in everyday surroundings
– Credible

The first appearance in children's literature of credible tales with events in everyday surroundings, but with phenomena inconceivable to modern science, is often said to be E.T.A. Hoffmann's two stories for children from 1816–17, "Nussknacker und Mausekönig" and "Das fremde Kind". For this reason the term fantastic tale seems appropriate, as it emanates from the name, "contes fantastiques", given to Hoffmann's tales in the French translation of 1828.

Perhaps the Hoffmann tradition should be held apart as something of its own kind. An example of the tradition is a children's book from 1962, the American Jane Langton's *The diamond in the window*. As children the aunt and uncle are caught in a crystal ball, a motif found in Hoffmann, although not in a story for children but in "Der goldne Topf". That Hoffmann has played some role here is corroborated by the fact that Langton's characters are living in the world of ideas of the German Romantic philosophy, i.e. in its American Transcendentalist version. I am however using the term fantastic tale here for all examples of this nowadays very widely spread genre. In 20th century children's literature it has been especially cherished by English-speaking authors. As representatives of the "ideal" type one can for example mention Nesbit's *The house of Arden* and *Harding's luck*, Pearce's *Tom's midnight garden*, Garner's *The owl service*, Mayne's *Earthfasts* and *It*.

Subtype – The "Sagen"-based geographically located fantastic tale
There are a number of folk-tales or legends, where supernatural beings of popular belief appear in the everyday world. The Germans speak of "Sagen", which may be a better word than "legend", since this latter word also means a story about a saint. Although inconceivable to modern science the phenomena may not have been wholly inconceivable to the science of earlier times. Still these tales can be seen as forerunners of, or indeed as fantastic tales. Many have been retold in editions for children. Examples are found already in the early 19th century period of Romanticism. There are also modern imitations in children's literature. Examples of the latter type are, from Britain Hunter's *The haunted mountain* (1972), from Germany Preussler's *Krabat* (1971).

Subtype – The fantastic tale with strange events tied to some psychic faculty

Sometimes the strange phenomena are explained in a psychological way, which puts forth the question whether the stories really are inconceivable to modern science, since psychological phenomena in principle are conceivable. It is not a question of stories, where the explanation is a simple dream or a hallucination. Such stories do not belong to the fantasy-fantastic field at all. But there are borderline cases. The dreams of Willow in Arthur's *Requiem for a princess* (1967) and of Clare in Lively's *The house in Norham Gardens* (1974) are something more than ordinary dreams. The queer psychic faculty held by the boy Davy in Dickinson's *The gift* (1973) consists of his ability to see the thoughts of others as stereoscopic pictures, sometimes also to experience the feelings accompanying them. This may be thought to be a case of "extrasensory perception". Even if theoretically possible, the faculties mentioned are unknown to modern science, however.

Subtype – The tales with undetermined explanation

The special token of this subtype is that, although strange phenomena at least seem to appear in everyday surroundings, the reader (and maybe also the hero of the story) is obliged to make up his own mind as to whether the events are susceptible of a natural explanation or not. Often the author deliberately leaves the question open. As was said above the definition is one of the narrow definitions of the "fantastic tale". But the type only exists as long as the reader or the hero has not made up his mind. If he decides upon a natural explanation, the story falls outside the fantasy-fantastic field, if he decides that no natural explanation is possible the story becomes a real fantastic tale.

Examples in children's literature are Porter's *Nordy Bank* (1964) and Robinson's *When Marnie was there* (1967).

The fantastic tales will be further treated in one of the chapters below.

The tale of mythical countries

– Phenomena inconceivable to modern science
– Setting beyond time and space but with a wealth of geographical detail
– Credible

Like in the wonder tale the setting is not in an everyday world, but it has nothing of the vagueness typical of the wonder tale. Instead the environment is clearly described, as often as not illustrated by maps.

Unlike in the wonder tale the characters further have real personal names – in the fictitious languages spoken in the mythical countries. In general phenomena inconceivable to modern science occur, as for example magic and dragons in Le Guins Earthsea trilogy, *A wizard of Earthsea* (1967), *The tombs of Atuan* (1969) and *The farthest shore* (1972).

Subtype – Mythical countries as an element in a fantastic tale
Sometimes a mythical country appears in an ordinary fantastic tale, i.e. a story with an everyday setting. In such cases persons from the everyday world are transferred to a mythical country in a magical way. Later, at least as a rule, they return to the everyday world. Well-known examples are Lewis's Narnia books.

Science fiction
– Phenomena at least in some way conceivable to modern science
– Setting in everyday surroundings or beyond time and space
– Credible

Although the phenomena described are strange, they are not wholly inconceivable to modern science, at least not future science, i.e. they are hereto unknown applications of real scientific discoveries or technical inventions, or a discovery or invention which seems improbable to us (say a time machine) but is still of a scientific-technical nature. The stories thus differ from wonder and fantastic tales in that there is no place for magic in them. The type, common as well in literature for adults as in literature for children, is generally known as science fiction.

The absurd tale
– Phenomena inconceivable to modern science
– Setting in a world turned upside-down
– Incredible

Stories of this type are also sometimes labelled "fantasies". They have nothing to do with the fantastic tales or any other of the types described above, however. Used as children's literature they as a rule are meant to be funny. The strange phenomena are sometimes described as nonsense, sometimes as surrealism. Since there are different views upon how to define "nonsense literature", one could suggest the term "the surrealistic-comical tale" or simply "the absurd tale".

The absurd tales are further treated in one of the chapters below.

Notes

1 Dorothea Schurig-Geick: Studien zum modernen „conte fantastique“. Heidelberg 1970, p. 11.

2 About the distinction between „conte de fées“ and „conte des fées“ see Philip Babcock Gove: The imaginery voyage in prose fiction. Columbia University studies in English and comparative literature 152. New York 1941, p. 89, Note 141.

3 C.W. von Sydow: *Kategorien der Prosa-Volksdichtung. Volkskundliche Gaben John Meier zum siebzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht.* Berlin, Leipzig 1934, pp. 253–268.

The chapter is based upon a keynote address, ”‘Fantastic literature’. Concepts and history“, read in English at the 7th IRSCL Symposium in Montreal in 1985. The symposium proceedings were never printed, however.

The moral wonder tale (18th–20th century)

The wonder tales with supernatural elements were long thought by the educationalists to be unsuitable for children, but of course young people often heard such tales with interest. Thus it came about that some writers thought it a good idea to use these tales, provided that they were didactisized in order to contribute to moral education.

The first to take advantage of this idea seems to have been Fénelon when he, at the end of the 17th century, worked as teacher for a prince at the French court.[1] Referring to Fénelon as his forerunner, the Frenchman François Augustin Paradis de Moncrif in 1738 placed five tales, calling them "contes des fées", at the end of his pedagogical work *Essais sur la nécessité et sur les moyens de plaire*. Moncrif, since 1733 a member of the French Academy, spent his days among the aristocracy of the court, wrote novels, plays and poetry and was a musician, an actor and the writer, too, of the treatise mentioned. The five tales were to be seen as model examples of how one could tell stories to children. In his preface Moncrif says that the stories will establish one or more moral truths, and that he believes that the enchanting scenery will make the maxims more attractive. From this time on one can speak of a special sub-genre of the wonder tale.[2]

As moral wonder tales eleven stories by seven authors are brought to the fore here, three written in French, two in English, one in German and five in Swedish. The stories are summarised in chronological order.

The first two tales are written by the mentioned de Moncrif.

The third is by Sarah Fielding, a sister of the English novelist Henry Fielding. In 1749 she published *The governess; or, little female academy. Being the history of Mrs. Teachum, and her nine girls. With their nine days amusement. Calculated for the entertainment and instruction of young ladies in their education*. In this book there are two moral wonder tales.

The fourth, fifth and sixth tales are by the Swedish author Olof von Dalin, who between 1750 and 1756 was the tutor of the Swedish crown prince. Six moral wonder tales are preserved, thought to have been written in 1751 or 1752, when his pupil was five-six years old. They were never printed for children but are nevertheless children's literature.

The seventh tale is by the French educationalist Jeanne Marie Leprince de Beaumont, who in her *Magasin des enfans* from 1756 published no

less than thirteen moral wonder tales. She wrote in French but lived in England, and her book was very soon translated into English.

The eighth tale is taken from the German August Jakob Liebeskind. It is found in the first part of his *Palmblätter. Erlesene morgenländische Erzählungen für die Jugend*, anonymously published in 1786.

The ninth and tenth tales, in dramatic form, were written by the Finno-Swedish author Zacharias (Zachris) Topelius. The first of the two was originally published in 1862 in a journal for children, *Eos*, but is later found in the first part of Topelius's *Läsning för barn* (Reading for children) 1865. The second appeared in 1871 in the fourth part of *Läsning för barn*.

The eleventh tale, lastly, forms a whole book from the 20th century, *Nurse Matilda*, published in 1964 by the English author Christianna Brand.

In these tales one finds one or two of three elements typical of this literary kind. These elements do by no means appear in all moral wonder tales, but when they are found they show the presence of this genre construct. The fact that they recur during a long period of time and in different countries makes them interesting from a comparative point of view. The three elements are the following (the third one appears in three variants):

(1) Talismans with a moral purpose.
(2) Gifts of a moral character presented by "fées".
(3) Changes in the physical appearance in consequence of changed moral traits. Variants:
(3a) The appearance is changed in the person whose moral is to be improved.
(3b) The appearance is changed in a person whose moral is investigated.
(3c) The appearance is changed in someone else than the person whose moral is to be improved.

de Moncrif: "Les dons des fées, ou le pouvoir de l'éducation" (1738).
A princess in Arabia is about to die. She has two sons and turns to two "fées", whom she knows. A "fée" gives one son intellectual ability, courage and honesty. The other "fée" gives the other son magic potions that give rise to these virtues.
Gifts of a moral character presented by "fées" (2).

de Moncrif: "Les ayeux, ou le merite personnel" (1738).
The Persian king has a talisman made by the genii. This he uses when

someone is to be appointed to an important post at the court. The applicants have to write their merits on the talisman with a diamond. If they boast of something contrary to the truth, the letters change their colours when the monarch gets the talisman in his hands.
Talisman with a moral purpose (1).

Fielding: "The princess Hebe" (1749).
A widowed queen is forced to flee from the court together with her daughter Hebe but is taken charge of by the fairy Sybella. She is a good "fée", whereas her sister Brunetta is an evil one. Sybella endows Hebe with the wisdom to see and follow what is her own true good, to know the value of every thing around her, and to realise that following the paths of goodness and performing her duty is the only road to content and happiness. When Sybella is away Hebe is enticed by Brunetta, but the gifts help her to understand that she acts wrongly.
Gifts of a moral character presented by a "fée" (2).
Sybella is called a "fairy" – according to English tradition she is even said to be small as a little child – but she gives her gifts in the same way as a "fée" of French tradition.

Dalin: "Sagan om Adonis" (The tale of Adonis) (1751 or 1752).
The goddess Minerva gives a baby boy the "gift" of becoming deformed as soon as he utters a folly. Then his nose is prolonged, he gets a horn in the forehead, scales like a perch etc. Grasping the connection he begins to think and is gradually spared his defects. But when he has success at court and begins to flatter the empress, he gets a couple of long ears. When he perceives that this was foolish the ears recover their natural size. He marries the empress, but when he praises himself his lips become as big as those of an ox. In this way he becomes an enemy of boasting and stubbornness.
Gift of a moral character presented by a "fée" (2).
Changes in the physical appearance in consequence of changed moral traits occurring in the person whose moral is to be improved (3a).
In his tales Dalin does not use the word "fée", which at this time was a relatively unknown word in Sweden. Instead he speaks of "goddesses", but in fact all his "goddesses" are "fées".

Dalin: "Sagan om Dyrbar" (The tale of Precious) (1751 or 1752).
An old man and an old woman find a boy in the woods and make him their foster-child. He is very ugly, flat-nosed, with humps on his back

and chest, bad skin, crooked hands and feet, a shrill voice etc. The foster-parents turn to the goddess Hulda who says that all things are beautiful when the heart is beautiful. So they begin to teach him. When he learns to revere the one who rules heaven and earth he gets beautiful eyes, when he does not do to someone else what he does not want to be done to himself he gets a beautiful nose, when he learns to love truth his lips are changed, when he becomes respectful and ready to render service to all the hump on the back disappears, when he does good in secret the hump on the chest disappears, when he learns to be silent he gets fair skin, when he shuns idleness his legs, arms and feet become straight, etc.
Changes in the physical appearance in consequence of changed moral traits occurring in the person whose moral is to be improved (3a).

Dalin: "Kärlekens nytta" (The benefit of love) (1751 or 1752).
An undisciplined prince is educated by the goddess Grädda (Cream), but the prince only makes fun of her. A pigeon comes flying and takes refuge with the prince. In her book of magic Grädda discovers that the pigeon is an enchanted princess who cannot be transformed unless someone who loves her is willing to transform his own habits. When one day Grädda succeeds in making the prince cease making faces the pigeon gets two beautiful hands at the end of its wings. The prince agrees to continue to listen to Grädda in order to see what will happen to the pigeon. It gets bigger, developing the head of a woman. When the prince shows generosity the pigeon gets a fair neck and chest and beautiful arms. Through checking his vanity he succeeds in making the pigeon into a complete woman, with the exception of one foot. When he realises that this depends on his taste for finery the pigeon foot disappears as well.
Changes in the physical appearance in consequence of changed moral traits occurring in someone else than the person whose moral is to be improved (3c).

Leprince de Beaumont: "Le prince Chéri" (1756).
A prince gets a ring from the "fée" Candide. As soon as he does something bad the ring pricks him in the finger. He throws the ring away, but then Candide intervenes and punishes him by transforming him into a monstrosity between a lion, an ox and a serpent. When his bad life dawns upon him he tries to mend and becomes a dog. He continues to do good

deeds and is transformed into a pigeon and at last into a human being.
Talisman with a moral purpose (1).
Changes in the physical appearance in consequence of changed moral traits occurring in the person whose moral is to be improved (3a).

Liebeskind: "Die vier goldenen Kugeln" (1786).
A beneficial spirit gives a wise and good magician four golden balls. They can be given life, fly anywhere and inform the magician about everything that happens, even about the thoughts of men. They do not work, however, if the user does not have mastery over himself. Arrogance, envy, greed and anger destroy their harmony. The magician is prince of a small nation and uses the balls to the advantage of his people, not to his own benefit. On one occasion he allows the Persian king to use the balls, which causes the king to repent and improve.
Talisman with a moral purpose (1).

Topelius: "Sanningens perla" (The pearl of Truth) (1862).
The poor children Rote and Vera are accused by the other children, Katte and Calle, the gardener's children Axe and Skida and by the miller's boy Funtus of having broken the tulip saved for the king's coronation. Later Rote and Vera are blamed for a theft on the market committed by Katte and Calle. The queen has lost a pearl, which she has got from the "Fée" of Truth. All go to the town to search for the pearl, also the man-eating magician Bumburrifex and his wife. The king's herald proclaims that all have to go down into the well to look for the pearl. The "Fée" of Truth has power over the well. She is a good "fée", thinking of the welfare of the kingdom and has given the king the ability to distinguish the good from the bad. When getting up from the well anyone who has lied once will have a mark around the mouth. The most truthful will on the other hand find the pearl. Rote and Vera find the pearl at the same time and come up with a small black spot on the cheekbone. Funtus has got half a black ring around the upper lip, the gardener is blurred about the mouth, his children Axe and Skida have big black rings around the whole mouth. Calle is quite brown and Katte quite black in the face. Rote and Vera become the king's and queen's children. Bumburrifex, who has several black lines but does not belong to the worst, is allowed to take Katte and Calle with him in order to have them for breakfast.
Talisman with a moral purpose (1).
Changes in the physical appearance in consequence of moral traits occurring in persons whose moral is investigated (3b).

Topelius: "Prinsessan Törnrosa" (i.e. Sleeping Beauty) (1871).
One prepares for a banquet at the christening of the princess Törnrosa. Six "fées" are invited, but the seventh one, Mörköga (Dark Eyes) has not been invited, since there is a shortage of gold plates. After the christening the six "fées" touch Törnrosa with their magic wands and give her gifts. One gives her kindness, tenderness and childish obedience, one brains, one beauty, one wealth (so that she has gold to give to the poor in need), one a long life (so that she for a long time can make the needy happy), one love (to virtue and honour). Mörköga comes uninvited, however, and says that she had intended to give Törnrosa eternal life but that her gift now is that she will die at the age of fifteen. The "fée" Ljusöga (Bright Eyes) transforms this into a sleep for a hundred years, however. Before Törnrosa is wounded by the distaff the maids of honour tell of how the gifts of the "fées" have made Törnrosa good and wise.
Gifts of a moral character presented by "fées" (2).

Brand: Nurse Matilda (1964)
Some naughty children drive nurses and nannies away with their bad behaviour. At last they get Nurse Matilda. She is extraordinary in that she arrives without anyone seeing that the door has been opened, and she uses magic in her education. Her drastic lessons make the children good. Matilda then leaves them in order to dedicate herself to the next family needing her help.

When she first appears in this new family she strikes everyone as being very ugly. But when the children improve the mother does not understand why Matilda was thought to be ugly. Now she thinks that she is pretty.
Changes in the physical appearance in consequence of changed moral traits occurring in someone else than the persons whose moral is to be improved (3c).

In the eleven stories summarised here one thus finds fourteen examples of the elements listed, four of type 1, four of type 2, three of type 3a, one of type 3b and two of type 3c.

Stories with traits of the genre construct can of course contain other components, too. All the gifts from "fées" mentioned above are not moral. The two plays by Topelius are decidedly humorous. Thus the dialogues in "Prinsessan Törnrosa" between the master cook, the cup-bearer and the marshal of the court on one side and the kitchen boy

Sam on the other are absurd. That Bumburrifex in "Sanningens perla" is allowed to eat Katte and Calle "with a good conscience" seems to be a barbarity in the spirit of Hoffmann's *Struwwelpeter*. The everyday nature of the homes in which Nurse Matilda uses her magic powers could be seen as a token of a fantastic tale. But as was emphasised in the first chapter of this book there is nothing remarkable about a story mixing several genres, if the genre concepts are regarded as constructs only.

As was said above the story examples given here were chosen to demonstrate the long period of time during which elements of the moral wonder tale have been used in children's literature, as well as the fact that they appear in different language areas.

How the international dissemination came about is a question for future comparative research. It is reasonable to suppose that the early influences came from France. Thus Count Carl Gustaf Tessin, Dalin's superior at the Swedish court, had been the ambassador in France, and even Dalin had visited Paris in 1739–40, when he was invited by one of Fénelon's followers. Both admired French culture. Leprince de Beaumont herself did recommend Fénelon as reading for educators.[3] In her introduction to the facsimile reproduction of *The governess* Jill E. Grey maintains that Leprince de Beaumont's *Magasin des enfans* was a copy of *The governess*.[4] This may be true concerning the general outline, a small group of girls assembled around a female teacher, discussing and telling stories. Gill's short statement, "as in *The Governess*, moral fairy-tales were included", is not further discussed, however, and Leprince de Beaumont surely did not need to seek inspiration from Sarah Fielding for introducing "fairy tales" in her book, well versed in "contes des fées" as this literate Frenchwoman must have been.

Notes

1 Among Fénelon's *Fables*, printed in 1718 but written already in the beginning of the 1690s, there are four stories which in fact are moral wonder tales. Cf. my book *Svensk barn- och ungdomslitteratur 1591–1839*. Stockholm 1964, pp. 119 f.

2 The life and writings of de Moncrif are described in *Biographie universelle*, 29, 1821, pp. 352–355. The tales and the fact that de Moncrif was inspired by Fénelon were mentioned by Albert Cherel: *Fénelon au XVIIIe siècle en France* (1715–1820). Paris 1917, p. 569, only in a short passage, however, with slight errors in the statement and with no analysis as to what the influence from Fénelon may have meant. I have used the original edition 1738 of the *Essais*, which was available in the Göteborg University Library. That this is the original edition is seen by the permit to publish inserted at the end of the book, which is dated September 30, 1737.

3 The recommendation of Fénelon is found in Leprince de Beaumont's introduction to her *Éducation complète* (1753), available for example in Leprince de Beaumont: *Éducation complette*. 1. Berlin 1777, p. XVII.

4 Sarah Fielding: *The governess or, Little female academy*. A facsimile reproduction of the first edition of 1749, with an introduction and bibliography by Jill E. Grey. London, Oxford 1968, pp. 64 f.

The chapter is based upon a part of the article "Litterära mönster i barnlitteraturen" (Literary patterns in children's literature), published in Swedish in the collection Barnbok och barnboksforskning. *Ed.: Lena Fridell. Stockholm 1972, pp. 9–30.*

Fantastic elements in 19th century children's literature

The definition given in the chapter above about the typology of the fantasy-fantastic field of the genre construct "fantastic tale" is that it is a tale in which supernatural events appear in an otherwise everyday surrounding, and which, despite the supernatural contents, is meant to be seen as credible. The everyday surrounding – often illustrated by a real, or seemingly real, place and personal names – as well as the fact that the characters do not take supernatural events as something to be more or less expected, distinguishes the genre construct from the wonder tale. The credibility that the reader is meant to accept distinguishes it from the absurd tale.

In the 20th century the fantastic tale in the meaning used here has above all belonged to the English language area, represented by authors such as Edith Nesbit at the turn of the century 1900, via C.S. Lewis, Mary Norton and Philippa Pearce during the 1950s, to Penelope Farmer, Penelope Lively, Pauline Clarke, Helen Cresswell, Peter Dickinson, Alan Garner, William Mayne, Susan Cooper and many others. As for the earlier history of English children's literature historians point to some "fantasy" books from the 19th century. No one does seem to go further back than to the middle of the century, however.

In German research one on the other hand refers to the so-called "Kunstmärchen" of the German Romanticism, or at least to some of them. Thus, for example, Ludwig Tieck's "Die Elfen" and E.T.A. Hoffmann's "Das fremde Kind" and "Nussknacker und Mausekönig" are mentioned. Comparative studies are lacking, but already in the second decade of the 19th century German literature presented many of the fantastic elements which in the 20th century became common in English children's books.

The aim of this chapter is to exemplify the occurrence of fantastic elements in the children's literature of the 19th century.

A source of the fantastic tale, which does not seem to have been observed very much in this connection, is the popular legend with local colour. As mentioned above the German word "Sagen" is perhaps a better term than "legends", since the latter word is also used in another meaning. The "Sagen" with a local colour is enacted in a real world. Local names are often given. At the same time they speak of supernatural events. The mixing of an everyday and a strange world is in accordance with the definition of the genre construct fantastic tale given here. I have therefore included two renderings of "Sagen" from oral tradition

as well as two newly written stories, which can be said to be "Sagen"-based.

However, the six stories, which the German Romanticists Carl Wilhelm Contessa, Friedrich Baron de la Motte Fouqué and E.T.A. Hoffmann published in two volumes in 1816–17 with the title *Kinder-Mährchen* are of special interest. They can all be said to be fantastic tales, and the title makes them into children's literature from the beginning.

Some of the stories treated in the following were not originally written for children, but I have included tales that later during the 19th century were published for children.

The 19th century sample consists of the following nine tales:

Renderings of "Sagen" which can be regarded as fantastic tales
Ernst Moritz Arndt: "Die Neun Berge bei Rambin"
Thomas Crofton Croker: „Legend of Bottle Hill"
"Sagen"-based fantastic tales
Ludwig Tieck: "Die Elfen"
Carl Wilhelm Contessa: "Das Gastmahl"
Other fantastic tales from the 1810s
Johann Wolfgang von Goethe: "Der neue Paris"
E.T.A. Hoffmann: "Das fremde Kind"
Friedrich Baron de la Motte Fouqué: „Die Kuckkasten"
Fantastic tales published in the 1850's
Nathaniel Hawthorne: "The snow-image"
Friedrich Gerstäcker: *Der erste Christbaum*

Fantastic elements treated

To what extent the following "elements" can be placed together as being of the same type (motifs, devices, functions etc.) may be questioned. By using only the expression "fantastic elements" I have tried to avoid this difficulty. The "elements" are simply conceptualisations of such passages which I found in my reading of 19th century texts and which seemed related to passages in the 20th century fantastic tales.

(1) Visitors from a strange world appearing in the everyday one as
  (1a) supernatural beings from popular tradition ("Sagen", "legends") differently shaped than humans
  (1b) such beings who by magical means appear as ordinary humans
  (1c) similar beings created by the author

(1d) beings with supernatural powers and knowledge appearing as helpers in a quest or otherwise
(1e) supernatural helping animals
(1f) "strange children" from a foreign world
(1fa) characterized by being luminous
(1fb) with the power to fly
(1fc) giving this power to persons in the everyday world

(2) Magic appearing in the everyday world
(2a) performed by supernatural beings
(2b) as toys that come to life
(2c) as magic means of transport
(2d) as other objects with magic powers
(2e) as plants with magic powers

(3) A strange world visited by persons from the everyday one
(3a) appearing as a garden
(3b) surrounded by a barrier which can be opened through a magic door
(3ba) door in the form of a picture of a scenery, into which the spectator can go

(4) Different dimensions of time existing at the same time

(5) Psychological experiences such as
(5a) queer psychic faculties, for example extraordinary dreams merging with real events
(5b) fascination for the life in a strange world
(5c) dread when encountering the supernatural
(5d) intellectual uncertainty when encountering the supernatural

Renderings of "Sagen" which can be regarded as fantastic tales

Arndt: Die Neun Berge bei Rambin (1818, Swedish translation for children 1822, in German for children 1848)

The Romanticist Ernst Moritz Arndt used popular "Sagen" from Rügen in "Die Neun Berge bei Rambin", published in 1818 in the first volume of his *Mährchen und Jugenderinnerungen*. According to Arndt's preface to the second edition, published in 1842, the whole manuscript had been written in 1817. The book is not a children's book, but Arndt may have

thought the stories to be suitable for children; in the dedication in the second edition – addressed to "Adelheid" – he says that she can now tell the old tales to her own children. "Die Neun Berge bei Rambin" contains several stories, the main one is however a story about the shepherd boy Johann Dietrich who descended to the underground people.

"Die Neun Berge bei Rambin" was published for children already in 1822, when it was translated for Swedish children in the second volume of *Barn-sagor, hwilka äfwen kunna läsas af fullwuxna* (Wonder tales for children, which can be read by adults, too). In 1848 there was a publication for German children of the main story, when *Abenteuer des Johann Dietrich. Märchen von der Insel Rügen* was issued as Volume 7 of the series *Die Bibliothek für meine Kinder*.

That the content is based on the oral tradition is seen by the naming of the original storyteller, Hinrich Vierk, "unser alter Statthalter zu Grabitz (our old bailiff at Grabitz), from whom Arndt says that he heard the stories in his boyhood. The setting is real, the village Rambin and the ridge Neun Berge are situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Grabitz in south-west Rügen, and for his wedding Johann Dietrich sends for wine, sugar, coffee and other things from Stralsund and Greifswald. The names of the characters are such as belong to the region: Johann Dietrich, the cowherd Klas Starkwolt, the parson at Rambin Friedrich Krabbe and his daughter Lisbeth Krabbin. The events are however placed in an undefined past.

At the age of eight Johann Dietrich hears from a cowherd about the underground people under the Nine Hills. One becomes their servant when kidnapped or losing one's way. In such a case one has to stay with them for fifty years. Only those who get hold of one of their caps, become their master instead. The day after midsummer the boy sneaks away to the place where the cowherd has said that the underground people dance, gets hold of a cap and becomes the master of the cap's owner. He follows him into the hill, through a door like a mine lift, which however is hidden. At the place of the dance a peak of glass rises, and when stepped on it opens but closes again so that nothing else than the green hill can be seen.

Inside the hill there is of course no sun or moon, but there is artificial light as well as meadows, fields and lakes. The life of the subterranean people is very similar to that of prosperous humans, although the adults are barely an ell tall. Johann goes to school and there is even talk of "fairy tale books with pictures". He lives in the hill without thinking of time. But then he falls in love with one of the captive girls, who is the

daughter of the parson at Rambin. Both begin to long for home. Johann can leave the hill when he wants to, but only after many attempts he succeeds in making the people let the girl go. At that time they have spent ten years in the hill. Other captives also come with them, and they bring three wagons with silver, gold and jewels. These treasures enable Johann to buy so many towns, villages and estates that he becomes the owner of almost the whole of Rügen.

Fantastic elements

Visitors from a strange world appear in the everyday one (1). They are *supernatural beings from popular tradition* (1 a), when they, although invisible, dance on the hill. In other stories in "Die Neun Berge bei Rambin" they *visit the everyday world in the shape of ordinary humans* (1b). One of them, who has lost a glass shoe, takes the shape of a merchant and comes to a farmer in order to try to buy it back. Another one, having lost a cap bell of silver, arrives in the shape of an old woman and gives the boy who has found it a magic wand in exchange.

Magic appears in the everyday world (2) in the form of *magic objects* (2d). The cap that Johann finds on the hill has power over one of the underground people. As said a boy is given a magic wand, and a farmer gets a plough from one of the underground people, so light that a dog can be put before it.

A strange world is visited by persons from the everyday one (3). *If not really a garden, there are meadows, fields and lakes in this strange world* (3 a). To this world a *magic door* leads (3b).

Dread when the supernatural is encountered (5c). When Johann first goes to the hill to see the underground people dance, "he didn't lie down without fear" and "his heart beat like a hammer and his breath went like a strong wind". When the little people arrive and he can hear but not see them "a shudder took him". When the old woman mentioned above disappears, floating away like a mist, the boy's "every hair stood on end".

Croker: Legend of Bottle Hill (1825, later published for children as seen by three Swedish editions 1837, 1845, 1862)

In 1825 the Irish folklorist Thomas Crofton Croker published the first volume of his *Fairy legends and traditions of the South of Ireland*. It became a well-known work, and a translation into German was made already in 1826 by the Brothers Grimm: *Irische Elfenmährchen*. Croker did not write for children, but later illustrated editions are said to have been read by many British children.[1]

One of Croker's stories is "Legend of Bottle Hill" (called "Die Flasche" by Grimm). This story was obviously later published for children, which is shown by three Swedish versions, all three in collections, in *Julläsning för barn* (Christmas reading for children) 1837, in *Balder. Kalender för svenska ungdomen* (Annual for the Swedish youth) 1845, and in *Skepparfarmors sagor* (The tales of the sailor's grandmother) 1862. The first one has been morally didactisized, but the two others render the original. The 1845 version is ascribed to the Grimm Brothers; in 1862 the source seems to have been Croker himself, even if both author and editor are anonymous.

Mick Purcell rents a farm thirteen miles from the Irish town of Cork. He has become very poor and is on his way to the town to sell his only cow. On a hill he encounters a small, very strange man, who, for example, seems to glide over the road without noise or effort. Mick does not like him – in fact he feels quite cold when he looks at him. The stranger offers to buy the cow for a bottle, which he pulls from under his coat. Mick laughs at first, but in the end he is persuaded to bargain.

At home he and his wife does what the little man has told them, they place a clean cloth over the table and put the bottle on the ground with the words: "Bottle, do your duty." Immediately two tiny little fellows rise from the bottle and cover the table with food on plates of gold and silver. Mick sells the plates in Cork. But when his landlord finds out the secret he buys the bottle for the farm. Although Mick is now rich, the family spend the money, and once again they have only one cow left.

Even this time Mick takes his cow to Cork and meets with the strange man. A new exchange takes place, but now two big men with cudgels come out and give the whole family a beating. Mick finds a solution in bringing the bottle to his old landlord who is knocked about together with his guests. He is persuaded to give the first bottle back to stop the beating. Mick becomes richer than ever, but when he and his wife die, the servants fight and break the bottles.

Friendly as well as punishing creatures coming out of a magic container of course belong to the wonder tales (well known from Grimm's "Tischchen deck dich, Goldesel und Knüppel aus dem Sack"). But the geographical setting makes Croker's story into something other than a wonder tale. Mick lives thirteen miles from Cork and three from Mallow (a town north of Cork). The doctor attending his little boy is said to come from Ballydahin. The story is thus a "Sagen" with a local colour, but it can also be said to be a fantastic tale.

Fantastic elements

A visitor from a strange world appears in the everyday one (1), a *supernatural being of popular tradition* (1a), i.e. the strange man that Mick meets with who glides over the road without noise or effort. Mick declares that he cannot "belong to this earth".

Magic appears in the everyday world (2) in the form of *magic objects* (2d), i.e. the two bottles with the little fellows and the stout men.

Dread when the supernatural is encountered (5c). The man who overtakes Mick makes him "feel quite cold".

"Sagen"-based fantastic tales

Tieck: Die Elfen (1812, for children 1822)

The tales by Arndt and Croker treated above emanated from oral tradition. Other stories may also be of such an origin, though as to what extent this is the case can be difficult to ascertain. Where stories reveal an obvious influence of the "Sagen" of oral tradition however, they undoubtedly belong to this same literary category.

An early example of this is Ludwig Tieck's „Die Elfen". In Volume 4 of Tieck's *Schriften*, published in 1828, the story is dated 1811 but was published in 1812 in Tieck's *Phantasus. Eine Sammlung von Mährchen, Erzählungen, Schauspielen und Novellen*. *Phantasus* was not a book intended for children, but "Die Elfen" was later issued for them. The first copy is from as early as 1822, when it was used in the first part of a collection, *Der Mägdlein Lustgarten*, published by Heinrich Dittmar.[2]

The influence of the "Sagen" is seen by the occurrence of supernatural beings from popular tradition, elves and dwarfs, and the fact that the heroine does not understand that more than a day and a night have passed during the years when she was spirited away by the elves. The "Elfen", translated here as "elves", may – both with regard to the word form and their behaviour – have their nearest counterpart in European folklore in the popular tradition of Denmark, where they speak of "Elverfolket" (elf people). There are no geographical names in "Die Elfen", but ordinary first names are used, and the story can be said to be situated in an everyday surrounding.

On a farm in a village, above which a count's castle rises, Martin lives with his wife Brigitte and their only child Marie. Marie plays together

with the neighbour's son Andres. The surrounding landscape is green and pretty, but on the other side of the river the land is arid and gloomy, and the view is impaired by a dark spruce forest, in which one can make out a smoke-laden cottage and outbuildings in disrepair. The people living there are not known to the villagers; they never go to church and nobody visits them. But some ugly women and children, even a man, have been seen, and it is assumed that they are gipsies.

One day Marie decides to take a short cut through the forest. To her surprise she suddenly finds herself in a beautiful garden. Children in white dresses, with golden curls and light blue eyes, run around. Instead of a decayed cottage there is a big fine house. A girl called Zerina, mentioned as "the shining child" ("das glänzende Kind"), says that they have often seen Marie run about, and suggests that she stay with them for a while. When Marie eats a piece of fruit from the garden she completely forgets that she was playing with Andres.

The children play strange games. Zerina sows seeds from a box and they rapidly grow into flowers. Trees are made in the same way and which the children can then climb. The estate seems big to Marie, although she knows that the surrounding area is very small. Inside the house there is a big hall and a spiral staircase that leads to a room with tapestry with moving figures, fire spirits, in fact. There also is a subterranean vault with gold, silver and precious stones, in which dwarfs work, and a pond below the ground from which the water that warms up the earth comes and makes the area so flourishing.

Zerina accounts for all this by explaining to Marie that they are elves. The bird Phoenix then arrives in order to warn them that the king of the elves is coming. Marie is not allowed to see him and in a friendly way is asked to leave. As a parting gift she gets a ring, but also has to promise not to tell anyone about the elves. If she does they would have to run away, and the district would lose their neighbours' beneficial influence.

When Marie sets out for home it strikes her that her parents must be worried since she stayed the night with the elves. It is however more serious than that. Two men who pass her on the way wonder who the beautiful girl might be. Her parents' house has changed. She recognizes her father but not his wife, and there is also a young man unknown to her. At her cry of surprise they understand that she is the long lost Marie. The seemingly new wife is her mother, and the young man is Andres. Seven years have passed and Marie is now fifteen years old. She does not dare tell what has happened to her, but the parents make

up their own explanation, that she had lost her way and been taken care of by strangers.

Not to be with the elves makes Marie sad, and it hurts her that people, even Andres, speak ill of "the gipsies", whom she knows to be their benefactors. The next year she marries Andres however, and they get a daughter whom she, in thinking of the elves, calls Elfriede.

While Elfriede is growing up, she walks about alone and often sits lost in thought talking to herself. Marie is surprised to find that her daughter has a gold coin of the type that she had seen in the underground vault. Elfriede says that she just found it, but one day Marie sees her playing with Zerina in the arbour. Even this time Zerina is described as shining, "the little shining elf". Marie hears Zerina tell Elfriede that she had once played with her mother (elves age slower than humans). Marie has nothing against Elfriede and Zerina being friends, and she often steals away to secretly watch the playmates. In so doing she finds out that the elves still have their king amongst them, and that because of this Zerina cannot invite Elfriede home but has to visit her instead. This is possible since she can fly like a bird without being seen. She also invites Elfriede to fly, and they fly up to the top of the arbour. Elfriede does not know that her mother has seen them, but Zerina gives Marie a sign to behave as if nothing were the matter.

Andres at last decides to drive away "the gipsies". Then Marie tells him what she knows and shows him Elfriede and Zerina playing with one another. Since the secret has been revealed, however, the elves are forced to leave. Zerina flies away in the form of a raven. In the night she visits Elfriede for the last time, angry that she must now undergo a painful punishment. The ferryman speaks of a stranger that hired his ferry the whole night on condition that he stay at home. In spite of this he has seen many beings, big and small, go on board. In the morning the stone in Marie's ring has grown paler. The buildings in the forest are deserted and inside they look like they belong to poor people. The very same year the harvest is bad. The district is laid waste, and the count moves from his castle, which stands as a ruin. Elfriede fades away and dies, and her mother, mourning the lost happiness, follows her after a couple of years.

Fantastic elements

A strange world is visited from the everyday one (3). It appears as a garden (3 a) and is surrounded by a barrier which can be opened (3 b). It is true that no door in a literal sense leads there, but there is a boundary

which Marie can see is guarded and which she is allowed to cross.
Visitors from the strange world also *appear in the everyday one* (1), as *supernatural beings from popular tradition* (1a), i.e. Zerina and the elves seen by the ferryman when they leave. When visiting Elfriede Zerina can also be interpreted as a *"strange child" from a foreign world* (1 f). She is described as *luminous* (1fa), has the *power to fly* (1fb) and *can teach Elfriede to do this* (1fc).
Magic appears in the everyday world (2) in the form of *magic plants* (2 e), i.e. the miraculous seeds which Zerina brings with her.
Different dimensions of time exist at the same time (4). Seven years have passed in the everyday world, while Marie thinks that she only has spent a day and a night with the elves.

Contessa: Das Gastmahl (1816)

Carl Wilhelm Contessa's „Das Gastmahl" was published in 1816 in the first volume of the collection *Kinder-Mährchen*, mentioned above, and thus pronounced to have been written and issued for children.

Arnold, owner of an estate in the neighbourhood of a forest, has become poor and must leave his property. He wishes to give a farewell party and sends his children Wilibald and Anna to invite two families living in "Reimershau". This means a walk of about one hour but the children lose their way. The woods become thicker and darker, the sun begins to set, and the children are frightened. But then they meet a man dressed as a miner, although only three feet tall, and with an enormous head with eyes like plates and a scarlet nose with big warts. He tells them that there is not enough time left in the day to go to Reimershau. Instead he shows them the way home and promises to come to the party. On the way back, the children encounter more people, a stately woman at a mountain lake, a pale little man first seen as a wandering light, a man with a mantle and crown who comes out of a tree, a horseman in foreign clothes, and a stout man who shines like a glow-worm. All these people too, want to come to the party.

Since the children are not allowed to tell their parents about the strange guests, their arrival comes as a surprise. They speak with one another in an unknown language and use a bit of magic when needed. When there is no water on the table the lady from the lake squeezes some out of her veil. Another of the guests, who calls himself Fireman, lights a candle with his finger. The party gets out of hand but when Anna brings in the cock to crow the guests disappear. They leave three bags full with money, and gold and silver coins scattered all over the room, however,

and Anna finds a pearl necklace round her neck. Once again Arnold has become a rich man and does not have to leave his estate.

The story thereby uses elements from the "Sagen" but can also be regarded as a fantastic tale. Despite the supernatural elements an ordinary world is accentuated by the geographical name of Reimershau, which has a true German ring (it has been claimed to be based upon Schreiberhau in the Riesengebirge, not far from Contessa's birthplace[3]), and further by the nearness in time expressed when it is told that Arnold lived "not so long ago", that Anna's pearl necklace is preserved in the family, and that the miner's periwig still hangs from the ceiling.

Fantastic elements

A strange world is visited by people from the everyday world (3), i.e. when the children meet the strange people in the woods.
Visitors from a strange world also appear in the everyday one (1) as *supernatural beings from popular tradition* (1a).
Magic appears in the everyday world (2) *performed by supernatural beings* (2a).
Dread wen encountering the supernatural (5c). The word uncanny ("unheimlich") is used when the children meet with the rider in foreign clothes in the forest, as well as when the father sees his unexpected guests. The mother looks upon the lady conjuring up water with horror ("Schrecken"), and when the trick with the candle is performed she gets a sudden fright ("plötzliches Grauen"). When the children are invited to take part in the wild dance begun by the guests, they weep and scream.

Other fantastic tales from the 1810s

Goethe: Der neue Paris (1811, for children 1845)

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's "Der neue Paris. Knabenmährchen" was published in 1811, in the first part of his autobiography *Aus meinem Leben. Dichtung und Wahrheit*. The story is presented as an example of how he used to tell stories to his school-friends. He says that he had to reiterate the story so many times that it still was very clear in his memory.

Modern Goethe research does not always take this statement seriously. But one can find a certain vacillation among researchers. Emil Staiger even presents what he thinks to be a proof of the story's authenticity, pointing out that figures from it were to be found on wallpaper painted for the boy's room in Frankfurt in 1759–61. Staiger speaks of a twelve-

year-old boy, which means a date about 1761.[4] It seems difficult, wholly to disregard Goethe's explicit statement, although it may be that the sixty-year-old author gave the story a somewhat revised form.

If really a story from the 1760s, the word "Knabenmährchen" in the title may be interpreted, not as "a story by a boy" but as "a story for boys". In any case the story was later published as children's literature, presumably for the first time in 1845 in *Märchenbuch. Zusammengetragen auf dem Felde der deutschen classischen Literatur*, a book which according to its foreword was meant for the hearts of the children. In 1919 the story is found in the series *Konegens Kinderbücher*. Since it was thus published for children, it is curious to note that it is clearly overlooked in the histories of German children's literature.[5]

The story is told in the first person. It begins with a dream, which the storyteller had the night before Whit Sunday. While he tries on the new clothes for the festival, Mercury appears and gives him three big gems shaped as apples, one red, one yellow and one green. He is asked to present them to the three most beautiful young men in the town, who will then find such wives as they wish to have. The gem apples are changed into three little ladies in the size of dolls, who soon vanish, however. Instead a pretty little girl appears, who dances on his fingertips. He is charmed and tries to catch her, but then he feels a blow on his head, is stunned and tumbles down. After that he does not know of anything until he wakes up and it is time to go to church.

The dream forebodes the following events. After dinner he goes out to look for his friends and comes to a place which generally is thought to be a bit uncanny and which is called "the ugly wall" ("die schlimme Mauer"). In the wall he discovers a gate which he has never noticed before. The wooden door is elaborately worked out, but there is no door handle, not even a keyhole. While he admires the door it is opened by a man with a long imposing beard, who invites him in. He feels ill at ease, but enters and comes to a marvellous garden behind the wall. After putting on clothes from a room at the wall, he is allowed to go to the innermost part of the garden, where there is a temple from which beautiful music is heard.

Here the storyteller in real life encounters the persons whom he at a reduced scale had seen in his dream. The porter Alerte is the girl who had danced on his fingertips, and the three ladies, who are performing the music, are dressed in the different colours of the gem apples. After music, dance and refreshments Alerte proposes that she and the visitor should play together. There is a great amount of toys. The storyteller

and Alerte each have a box with soldiers on horseback; Alerte has the Amazon queen at the head of a woman army, and the storyteller has Achilles with a Greek troop of horsemen.

The riders are no tin soldiers but provided with well-made bodies. Polished agate balls are used as ammunition. The players throw the balls on the riders, and the fight becomes more and more violent. At last the storyteller throws so hard that several of his opponent's little horsewomen are smashed to pieces. But – and the storyteller becomes quite petrified when he sees it – horses and Amazons become whole and alive again by themselves. They break into a gallop and disappear. The storyteller throws balls even against the queen and her aides, who until then have not taken part in the fight. But like the others they become whole again and gallop away.

Now the storyteller gets a box on the ear by Alerte, the ground begins to tremble and rumble and he loses consciousness. When he wakes up he is annoyed at Alerte's laughter and sneers. He takes his own Achilles and throws him against a tree. But like the other soldiers also Achilles becomes whole again and flees. When the storyteller wants to throw all his Greeks against the tree, water begins to spout out of the ground. He gets so wet that he has to pull off his clothes. When he stands there undressed the gatekeeper arrives and scolds him but gets the answer that the storyteller is the favourite of the gods and that it depends on him whether the three ladies will get worthy husbands. The gatekeeper then gives him his clothes back and lets him out of the garden.

As soon as possible the storyteller goes back to "the ugly wall". But he cannot find the gate any more, and other things at the wall have changed too. He does not know what to believe. Perhaps his experience was a dream after all. There is still something peculiar about the place, however. Every time he comes there it seems like the hazel-trees, the table of stone and the well have changed their positions. Because of that he hopes that the gate will be visible again one day, and that he then will be able to renew his adventures.

There are several traits in this story, which reminds one of a modern fantastic tale. We encounter a boy in normal bourgeois surroundings, who has got new clothes for the festival, who goes to church on Whit Sunday and later to dinner at his grandparents. Also the geographical setting is realistic: "die schlimme Mauer" belongs to the neighbourhood of what today is the Stiftsstrasse in the northern part of Frankfurt's Old Town. But in the city wall the boy encounters a strange world beyond the everyday one.

Fantastic elements

A strange world is visited by a person from the everyday one (3). This strange world *appears as a garden* (3 a) and a *magic door* serves as the way into it (3b).

The dream, which the storyteller has before his adventures forebodes what follows, and thus seems to be such a *dream that transcends commonplace dreaming and merges with real events* (5a).

Dread when encountering the supernatural (5c). When the boy enters the garden he feels ill at ease, and when the toys become alive he stands petrified.

Intellectual uncertainty when encountering the supernatural (5d). After his adventure the boy wonders if his visit to the garden may have been a dream of the same kind that started his adventures. On the other hand, the peculiar phenomena that still seem to occur at the wall make him sure of the reality of his experiences.

Of interest in the connection is the occurrence of *toys that come to life*. However, this device does not belong to the fantastic elements regarded here, since the toys are found only in the strange world and do not have the function to introduce the strange world into the everyday one, i.e. element 2b above.

Hoffmann: Das fremde Kind (1817)

The two stories that E.T.A. Hoffmann published in *Kinder-Mährchen* 1816–17, "Nussknacker und Mausekönig" and "Das fremde Kind", have generally been regarded as the earliest fantastic tales published for children. Because of this they have been paid much attention to in children's literature research and are rather well known, especially "Nussknacker und Mausekönig".

However, "Nussknacker und Mausekönig" is hardly a good example of the genre construct fantastic tale as it has been defined here. The credibility of the events described is mostly lacking; Marie's experiences may mostly be interpreted as ordinary dreams. The credibility is further diminished by the introduction of the story about the hard nut Krakatuk and the princess Pirlipat, which is an absurd story (in fact an important one in the history of this latter genre construct).

Still there is a passage, which belongs to the fantastic tale. The event does not occur in the night but one morning when Marie is awake. She stands before the glass cupboard, where the children keep their toys, and takes down the nutcracker. To her surprise he begins to move in her hand. She immediately puts him back on

the shelf. He talks to her, but only after several vain attempts, in a way very different from his behaviour in Marie's dreams, where he has no difficulty to express himself. After a short request for a sword his words become indistinct and his eyes immobile and expressionless. This is a good example of the fantastic element of *toys that come alive* (2 b). At the same time Marie's hurry to put the living toy back on the shelf also demonstrates the *dread experienced when encountering the supernatural* (5c).

Concerning the fantastic elements one will of course observe the magic door to the Sweets or Dolls Country, which has the form of a wardrobe, where the father's fur coat hangs, a passage which probably may be the inspiration to the wardrobe door in C.S. Lewis's first book about Narnia. *The magic door* is a fantastic element (3 b) but not in this case, since it does not exist in the everyday world, but in a dream only.

"Das fremde Kind" is however a fantastic tale according to the definition given here to this genre construct.

The story tells of a poor nobleman, Thaddäus von Brakel, his wife and his children, the boy Felix and the girl Christlieb. They live a peaceful country life. But the father has a distinguished relative, Count Cyprianus von Brakel, whom one day calls on them bringing with him his wife and children. Contrary to Felix and Christlieb these children have got an education in the "sciences", of which Felix and Christlieb have no understanding. The toys that the guests have brought with them as gifts they throw away in the woods, where they prefer to play.

A strange world is also described, however. Felix and Christlieb at first get in contact with it when they encounter "the strange child" in the woods. A wonderful light gleams in the shadows, and when the child appears it is with a dazzlingly luminous face. Felix regards this child as a boy, Christlieb as a girl. They play together in the woods. Seemingly the strange child has got magic powers, since he-she can transform grass and twigs into living dolls and hunters, and by kissing the flowers get them to grow rapidly. The child also takes Felix and Christlieb on flying trips. At first the father does not know if he can believe what the children tell him. They must have dreamt, he says to his wife. On the other hand he finds it unlikely that both children had the same dream.

Another part of the strange world is later met with. The count sends a private tutor, Master Ink, in order to do something about the education of Felix and Christlieb. The children have only disgust for this tutor. They find his teaching an agony and yearn for the woods. Also the father and the mother find the tutor repulsive. When first meeting him both parents

and children are seized by a gruesome feeling ("ganz unheimlich zu Mute"). In the woods the children again encounter the toys which they had thrown away. They have now become alive, they utter abusing remarks and state that they are Master Ink's faithful servants. When Felix and Christlieb see them moving and speaking they are frightened.

What lies behind all this is explained by the strange child. The tutor is none other than Pepser, a disguised evil force, king of the gnomes. The strange child on the other hand is the child of the "fairy" queen – with a kingdom three thousand ells above in the sky. Into this kingdom Pepser had insinuated himself, but he had been hurled down to earth.

The climax comes when Master Ink transforms into a big fly (with his human face kept) and the father chases him away with a fly swatter. Shortly afterwards the father dies, but not before he remembers that he too had played with the strange child in his childhood. When becoming aware that Pepser is Felix's and Christlieb's tutor the strange child leaves them, but he appears one last time and promises to always help them, although invisible.

"Das fremde Kind" can be seen as a pedagogical pamphlet, where the pedagogical theory of the Romanticism is put forward. It is significant that it is a tutor who represents the evil. The goal of the pedagogues of the Enlightenment had been to further knowledge, but children have no use for the "sciences". What children need is to live in the world of imagination together with "the strange child". In this way one can regard the story as symbolical. But it is also a very concrete one and thus a fantastic tale telling of two worlds existing side by side.

Fantastic elements

Visitors from a strange world appear in the everyday one (1), as a *supernatural being from popular tradition*, i.e. the gnome Pepser dressed up as a tutor (1b) but keeping something of his own looks (1 a). There is also a *strange child* (1 f). The strange child is characterised by being *luminous* (1 fa), has the *power to fly* (1fb) and can *give this power to persons from the everyday world (1fc).*

Magic appears in the everyday world (2). It is *performed by a supernatural being* (2a), i.e. by the strange child. Further *toys come to life* (2b), i.e. the toys thrown away in the woods. (One can observe that the toys have first been destroyed, a device that may point to an influence from Goethe's "Der neue Paris".)

Fascination for the life in the strange world (5b), i.e. the children's longing for the woods and the strange child.

Dread when encountering the supernatural (5c). When meeting the tutor both parents and children are seized by a gruesome feeling, when the children see the toys come to life they take fright.

Intellectual uncertainty when encountering the supernatural (5d) experienced by the father when he does not know whether he should believe his children or not.

Fouqué: Die Kuckkasten (1817)

In 1817 the second volume of *Kinder-Mährchen* Friedrich Baron de la Motte Fouqué contributed with "Die Kuckkasten" (The peep shows).[6]

The hero is Karl Grünbaum, the son of a wealthy merchant. He has gone to a fair where he is drawn to a man with a peep show, who, because of his red boots, is called Rothstiefel. Karl looks into one of the peep-holes, and it seems to him that he is on board a ship. When he catches sight of a hill planted with vines and wants to pick some grapes, the ship sails to the shore. Since Karl is talking to the showman at the same time, he thinks the whole thing to be a trick, but it seems very queer indeed. He eats of the grapes and sleeps on vine leaves. Later Rothstiefel shows him Constantinople and asserts that they really are there, which Karl can hardly believe.

A child now enters the story, a little blond boy with a pale face, "like a little white light". He tells Karl that it is true that he has come to Turkey, and he makes him look into his own peep show instead, where Karl sees his father and mother weeping. The boy also explains who Rothstiefel is. In the interior of Asia there are still people who serve evil spirits. In order to get hold of the gold, silver and jewels in the ground they have to kill people, especially happy children. Rothstiefel has thrown out a "peep show net" in order to make Karl into such a sacrifice.

The pale boy becomes Karl's rescuer, bringing him through caves and passages underground. They are helped by two uncommonly big moles, who turn up when the boy stamps on the ground, and also by little black men, not bigger than rats, who live deep in the ground with heaps of gold and silver. When Rothstiefel hurries by, one can see that his red boots are nothing else than abominable people. At last the fugitives have come all the way under Hungary to Karl's home in Germany, where Rothstiefel does not have much power.

Karl's rescuer once lived in the medieval castle, which was situated where the house of Karl's father now stands. In those days he was the

domestic brownie guarding the house, "the good Kobold Hütchen or Gutchen". Since the castle was destroyed he tried in vain to play with the children in the new house. Still he stayed on in the hope of being able to be of help now and then. He gets a job in the shop, but one day he disappears. It is in "the year Thirteen", when Karl is already twenty years old and has become a lieutenant. But even later, when Karl is in trouble, a little sullen man calling himself the "tirailleur" ["skirmisher", ed. note] Hut may come to his help.

"Die Kuckkasten" begins by mentioning the "Sagen" about the Rat-catcher of Hameln. Karl's father fears that something similar could happen to his little son. Fouqué's story has really nothing to do with this "Sagen". There are elements from the popular tradition, however. The little black men underground may be looked upon as the subterranean dwarfs of the "Sagen", and such an origin has the guarding brownie called Kobold Hütchen or Gutchen got as well. But in the main "Die Kuckkasten" is not a rendering of a "Sagen" but a fantastic tale of a modern type. The everyday surrounding is demonstrated by the personal name Karl Grünbaum, by the travels to real countries – Turkey, Hungary and Germany – , as well as by the exact date year "Thirteen", which must refer to 1813, suggesting that Karl was born around 1793.

Fantastic elements

Visitors from a strange world appear in the everyday one (1), with evil powers, i.e. Rothstiefel, but also with good powers, i.e. the dwarfs and the "Kobold", the latter being *supernatural beings from popular tradition* (1a). The "Kobold" has developed into a *strange child* (1f), who is characterised by being *luminous* (1fa). Thus there are several examples of *helpers with supernatural powers and knowledge* (1d), among them also *supernatural helping animals*, i.e. the moles (1e).

Magic appears in the everyday world (2) in the form of *magic objects* (2d), i.e. the two peep shows. Rothstiefel's peep show is also a *magic means of transport* (2 c). When Karl embarks the ship through the peephole of the peep show one can speak of a variant of *the magic door through a picture* (3ba), although the spectator in this case does not go to a strange world.

Intellectual uncertainty when encountering the supernatural (5d). When Karl embarks the ship through the peephole he regards this as a trick of the showman but at the same time finds it very odd.

Fantastic tales published in the 1850s

Hawthorne: The snow-image (1850, for children 1854)

The American Nathaniel Hawthorne's short story "The snow-image. A childish miracle" was first printed in a magazine in 1850 and later published in Hawthorne's collection *The snow-image, and other twice-told tales*, dated 1852 but issued for Christmas in 1851.

Hawthorne's books for children about Greek myths and about history are mentioned in the histories of English children's literature, but references to "The snow-image" seem to be rare. Nor were the first printings intended for child readers. There is a statement, however, that the story "remained popular with children for many years".[7] Possibly there were also more than one publication for children, if five separate and illustrated editions mentioned in American bibliography had this audience in mind (1864, 1866, 1868, 1930, 1944). In any case the story is already found in a Swedish children's book from 1855, which obviously is a translation of a British one from 1854 with exactly the same title: *A home book for children of all ages*. "Children of all ages" may be a bit ambiguous, but the content clearly speak for an intended child audience.

The story tells of the Lindsey family, father, mother and two children, a girl Violet and her little brother called Peony. The children play in the new-fallen snow, and Violet gets the idea to make a snowgirl, who could be their sister and play with them. They succeed very well in giving the figure a human likeness, so well that their mother, who sits working by the window and time after time looks out, becomes more and more surprised. At first she is amused that her children believe that a snowchild can be a playmate, but when the children cry out that their snowsister is now completed, and that she is running about in the garden, she sees that they are right and that it indeed is a girl dressed all in white.

The mother's first thought is that the girl must be the daughter of some neighbour. But she does not remember any girl with this face, and it seems very unlikely to her that a mother on a winter day would have sent her girl outside in such a flimsy dress and with such thin slippers, and she "almost doubted" that it is a real child. She wonders "how a little girl could look so much like a flying snowdrift, or how a snowdrift could look so very much like a little girl". When she asks her children what the girl's name is, they laugh and answer that it is their own snowsister, whom they have just made. When she looks towards

the spot where the snowgirl have been sculptured, she is surprised to see that there is nothing left there at all.

The father is equally surprised to find a strange girl in his garden. The neighbours wonder why Mr. Lindsey is running about chasing a snowdrift, but Mr. Lindsey himself only sees an ordinary girl. Mrs. Lindsey suggests to him that the girl is a neighbour's girl, but later she becomes "more perplexed than ever". "There is something very singular in all this", she says to her husband. "You will think me foolish – but – but – may it not be that some invisible angel has been attracted by the simplicity and good faith with which our children set about their undertaking? May he not have spent an hour of his immortality in playing with those dear little souls? – and so the result is what we call a miracle." She "thought it strange, that good Mr. Lindsey should see nothing remarkable in the snowchild's appearance". "After all, she does look strangely like a snow-image! I do believe she is made of snow!"

But Mr. Lindsey only laughs. He thinks it necessary, however, to bring the girl into the house and to give her a warm supper. He pays no attention to his children's objection that a snowgirl cannot live in a hot room. He takes the girl by the hand, leads her into the house, places her in front of the stove and goes to look for her parents among the neighbours. Mrs. Lindsey, however, takes "another long, earnest, almost awe-stricken gaze at the little white stranger", and then she sees that the snowgirl is melting. "Showing her horror-stricken face through the window-panes", she cries to her husband that there is no need to go looking for the child's parents.

There is now no child left, only a heap of snow. But since people like Mr. Lindsay will not recognise a phenomenon beyond their outlook on life, he gets the last word. The children have brought in so much snow, he says, that there is a puddle before the stove, which the maid must wipe up.

In Britain "The snow-image" has been called an allegory. The author himself says that the story is "capable of being moralised in various methods". For example, one should well consider the consequences before acting in a philanthropic way. But from the viewpoint of the history of children's literature one could reasonably talk of a fantastic tale.

Thus the background is realistically depicted. The father is a dealer in hardware, the grandfather is coming by railway in the morning. The names are ordinary. But in this everyday world the strange snowgirl enters.

One could compare the story to Hoffmann's "Das fremde Kind". The snowgirl is in fact once called "the strange child". Hoffmann's

distinction between the values of knowledge and imagination is found in the difference between the father's and the mother's characters. The father is called "an exceedingly matter-of-fact sort of man", whereas the mother has got "a strain of poetry" in her character "that had survived out of her imaginative youth". She "had kept her heart full of childlike simplicity, and faith, which was as pure and clear as crystal; and, looking at all matters through this transparent medium, she sometimes saw truths so profound, that other people laughed at them as nonsense and absurdity".

Fantastic elements

A visitor appears as a "strange child" (1f), a girl who is *luminous* (1fa). Mrs. Lindsey is "wonder-struck to observe how the snowchild gleamed and sparkled, and how she seemed to shed a glow all about her, and how, driven into the corner, she positively glistened like a star!"

Even if one does not usually call a snowman a toy, the snowgirl in a sense is a manufactured toy for the children to play with. She is thus an example of a *toy that comes to life* (2b).

Dread when encountering the supernatural (5c). The mother takes an "almost awe-stricken" gaze at the stranger, later she shows her "horror-stricken" face through the windowpanes.

Intellectual uncertainty when encountering the supernatural (5d). The mother several times hesitates whether the snowgirl comes from some neighbour or if she is really made of snow.

Gerstäcker: Der erste Christbaum. Ein Märchen (1858)

Friedrich Gerstäcker was a prolific writer for both adults and children, and is mostly known for his travel books and exotic novels. *Der erste Christbaum. Ein Märchen* was published in 1858. There seems to be six or seven editions up to the year 1907, assuming that *Wie der Christbaum enstand. Ein Märchen*, listed in German bibliography, is the same book. A third edition 1892, a fourth 1900 and a fifth 1907 are mentioned (no information is given about the first two editions but perhaps the 1858 original was regarded as the first one). There was also an edition with the new title published in 1905 as nos. 4–5 in the series *Münchener Jugendschriften*. A Danish translation was issued in 1860, a Swedish in 1867.

When cursorily mentioned in German children's literature research the book is dismissed as being rather uninteresting and of low literary quality. The reason for introducing it here is not its literary quality,

however, but to give a further example of rather unnoticed stories using fantastic elements.

The story is placed "long ago", when there were no Christmas trees, but the setting is still realistically depicted. We hear of a town where children amuse themselves with toboggans and skates, and it is probably a German town, since the hero has an uncle living in Hamburg. The geographical setting also includes Norway.

A widowed mother lives with her thirteen-year old son. She is blind and all remedies have been tried in vain. An old physician, who pass through the town but whom no one knows, tells her about a magic flower, however. According to him it grows in a remote place, which no mortal knows and to which the way is hazardous. The boy wants to be the one who finds it.

At night he is dazzled by a light. A boy stands in mid-air dressed in a white garb and is mentioned as "the strange boy", "the strange child" and "the angel". He tells the widow's son that God has heard his prayers, that he has to find the flower himself, but that he will have good use of a little box shining like gold, in which there is a steel arrow pointing in the direction he has to go.

In the morning the boy thinks that he must have dreamt but is frightened when he finds the box on the table. The mother explains that it is nothing else than a compass owned by his father, but she cannot understand how it landed up in his room. The boy becomes convinced that the compass could not have got there on its own and that his nightly experience was no dream. His mother tries to persuade him not to set out on a journey but promises that he can go to his uncle in Hamburg in the spring, hoping that the uncle will be able to dissuade him from further travels.

He leaves for Hamburg in an ordinary way, in a carriage. The night before his departure he is visited, however, by some of the little people that have been asked by the strange boy to help him. They give him two objects with splendid qualities, a stick of oak and a burning-glass. One of the little people, who is so small that he can sit on the knapsack, comes with him.

The uncle, a well-to-do merchant, wants him to stay in Hamburg but he runs away. He has to walk but this is made easy thanks to the stick of oak. His feet hardly touch the ground. When his companion takes him to the little people in the woods they are given a powder that can be of help against the mermaids. After two weeks the sea is reached. The stick of oak then grows into a boat. The mermaids try to detain them but

the powder is effective, and they reach Norway. Here the gnomes are a new danger, but the boy's dog saves the travellers. From the Laplanders he buys a reindeer for riding (he still has some of the money he got from his mother), but no flower is found and the steel arrow leads them to a new sea. The stick is once again made into a boat and he realises how fast it is. A new shore is reached but this time there is only ice with penguins (!), walruses and polar bears.

The burning-glass now proves useful, burning a hole in the ice, drying moss and making hunted game tender. The next obstacle is a knight with armour and arms of ice, who tries to prevent them from proceeding to the North Pole, where the snow-king and his knights rule. But the stick breaks the knight's lance and sword. The snow-king admits that he owns the flower, but he will not give it away. With the help of the burning-glass they get past him, however.

Finally the travellers come to the foot of a mountain of ice. The way uphill is hard going, but the compass urges them on. Below the top they find a lovely green valley. In the garden there are wonderful trees and bushes with fruits such as chocolate apples and gingerbread cakes. There is also a small waterfall of chocolate. In the pond below one can go fishing cakes and biscuits.

Among the people living here there is an old man with white hair. He congratulates the boy to have stood the test – he is the travelling physician who told the boy's mother about the magic flower. It is a low plant with sky blue flowers and a little eye in the middle, twinkling in the sunshine. The boy is only allowed to take one flower, and since its power works only once he must use it solely on his mother.

With the flower in hand the dangers on the way back are diminished. But the boy forgets that he is not allowed to say anything about the magic objects. For this reason he loses them one after another, and on the last part of the journey he is left without help. During the last hour he loses his way in the snow. But suddenly the storm dies down, a clear light shines in the forest, and "the friendly child" shows himself once again. Also the little people come, climb a tree and adorn it with sweets. "The child" floats in the clear light at the top of this tree, which is the Christmas tree.

When the mother has been cured with the help of the flower, she and her son enter a room where the glittering tree stands on the table with toys, sweets and fruits. Under it there are several things, among others a walking stick, a burning-glass, a reproduction of the cave where the boy spent a night with the little people, and the faithful reindeer neatly cut

out in wood. “The friendly child” explains that these things are meant to remind him of the journey, but the stick and the burning-glass are the real ones, although they have lost their power. Suddenly the child disappears, but the tree remains and a new tree will be given every year.

On the whole the story is a quest story. Surely it is all too overburdened to be regarded as a masterpiece but it is a fantastic tale. Like the beginning the end is rendered in a realistic fashion. Also the journey is placed in a fairly realistic setting. There is a sea to cross to Norway, and a new sea before reaching the northern ice. A reindeer is bought in Norway with real money, and a whaling ship is met with. In this setting a multitude of supernatural elements are however entered.

Fantastic elements

Visitors from a strange world appear in the everyday world (1),

as *supernatural beings from the popular tradition* (1a), i.e. the little people and the mermaids,

as *similar beings created by the author* (1c), i.e. the knight with armour and arms of ice and the snow-king,

as *a “strange child” from a foreign world* (1f) appearing the night before the journey and re-appearing at the end, a boy who is *luminous* (1fa), i.e. dressed in white and shining like the sun, and *has the power to fly* (1 fb) since, when he first appears, he is seen in the air, only supported by a tiny cloud, and at his re-appearance “floats” in the top of the Christmas tree. (Sometimes called an “angel” and placed at the top of the Christmas tree, he is perhaps to be interpreted as “das Christkind” of German Christian tradition, whom one can find depicted as luminous.)

Both from popular tradition and from the author’s own invention there are also examples of *helpers in a quest with supernatural powers and knowledge* (1 d), i.e. the companion from the little people as well as the travelling physician, who tells the mother of the magic flower and turns out to be the keeper of this flower in the garden at the North Pole.

Magic appears in the everyday world (2),

as a *magic means of transport* (2c), i.e. the stick of oak which helps its owner to walk easily, hardly touching the ground, and which can be transformed into a boat with extraordinary speed,

as *other magic objects* (2d), i.e., the burning-glass and the case with powder useful against mermaids and whales, as well as the box with the steel arrow showing the way. (To be true, the magic character of these objects as well as of the stick of oak sometimes may seem a bit

questionable, but the stick of oak, the burning-glass and the case with powder are gifts from the little people, and the compass from the strange child.) as a *plant with magic power* (2e), i.e. the magic flower.

A strange world is visited by a person from the everyday world (3), i.e. the habitations of the little people and the valley at the North Pole, the latter being depicted as a *garden* (3a) with wonderful fruits.

Dread when encountering the supernatural (5c). When the hero finds the golden box with the steel arrow he stands "frightened".

Intellectual uncertainty when encountering the supernatural (5d). In the beginning the hero is not sure whether what happened in the night was not a dream after all, but he "becomes more and more convinced" that the compass could not have come into his room by its own accord.

Comments

The impact on later children's literature by the fantastic elements described above is illustrated by many English fantastic tales from the 20th century. It is hardly necessary to exemplify such elements as the supernatural beings from popular tradition, the helpers in a quest having supernatural powers and knowledge, the magic door to a strange world, the magic means of transport, the dread and the intellectual uncertainty experienced when encountering the supernatural.

Some more direct parallels may be pointed out, however. Thus the supernatural helping animals in Fouqué, i.e. the two moles, are easily associated with the helping moles in Edith Nesbit's *The house of Arden* (1908) and *Harding's luck* (1909).

The luminous strange children have a modern counterpart in the strange boy in Helen Cresswell's *The outlanders* (1970), who has "shining white skin" and is "blazing like a young king". Cresswell's illustrator Doreen Roberts gave him a halo.

Children given the power to fly by a strange child have a modern parallel in Penelope Farmer's *The summer birds* (1962), where a strange child teaches a school class to fly.

The toys that come to life have counterparts in Pauline Clarke's *The Twelve and the genii* (1962), where the wooden soldiers suddenly come to life but also suddenly become stiff again like Hoffmann's nutcracker.

Fouqué's peep show, from which Karl embarks a ship through the peephole, can be interpreted as a magic picture into which persons from the everyday world can step. The episode reminds one of the instance in C.S. Lewis's *The voyage of the Dawn Treader* (1951), when Edmund,

Lucy and Eustace stand before a picture of a Narnian ship and are drawn down into the sea before being heaved up onto the ship.

The magic plant, which Gerstäcker tells that the boy finds in the garden at the North Pole and brings home to cure his mother, has its counterpart in Lewis's *The magician's nephew* (1955), although Digory does not have to look for a flower but for an appletree. The box in the same book by Gerstäcker, which shines like gold and contains a compass arrow, brings in mind Cresswell's *The outlanders* (1970), where we encounter an arrow of gold given by the strange child and pointing the way to him.

Strange worlds visited by persons from the everyday one are of course very well known in modern fantastic tales. A close parallel to Gerstäcker is also in this respect found in Lewis's *The magician's nephew* (1955). Lewis's garden is not situated at the North Pole, but it lies very high up in big snowy mountains, where the travellers find a green valley and a blue lake. It is not a Sweets Country to the same extent as in Gerstäcker, but when resting in the valley his travellers plant a toffee, and a tree grows up, offering juicy fruit reminding of toffee.

The importance of 19th century German literature for the development of the fantastic tale for children is obvious. On the other hand; to what extent 20th century writers in the English language were directly influenced by older German literature will demand further research. Translations may have been of importance, of course not only of literature for children. Other languages may have played a role as intermediate links.

To some extent the development may have been parallel in different countries. Thus the "Sagen" with local colour were recorded in several places. Arndt's stories of this type have their origin in German folklore, but as seen above Croker's "Legend of Bottle Hill" came from the Irish tradition.

Notes

1 Humphrey Carpenter & Mari Prichard: *The Oxford companion to children's literature*. Oxford, New York 1984, p. 136. Cf. Mary F. Thwaite: *From primer to pleasure in reading*. Boston 1972, pp. 107 f.: "These tales would have strong appeal for the young mind."

2 Hans-Heino Ewers: *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur der Romantik. Eine Textsammlung*. Stuttgart 1984, p. 194. Cf. Theodor Brüggemann: *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur 1498–1950. Kommentierter Katalog der Sammlung Theodor Brüggemann*. Osnabrück 1986, pp. 67 f. (No. 188) and *Lexikon der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*. Weinheim, Basel 1975–82 (1984), 1, pp. 319 f. (Dittmar).

3 Hans-Heino Ewers, ed.: *Kinder-Märchen. Von C.W. Contessa, Friedrich Baron de la Motte Fouqué und E.T.A. Hoffmann*. Stuttgart 1987, p. 313.

4 Emil Staiger: *Goethe 1749–1786*. Zürich, Freiburg i. Br. 1952, p. 15. Hanna Fischer-Lamberg, in *Der junge Goethe*, 1, Berlin 1963 (p. 451) says that the tale can only have its origin in Goethe's childhood "in stofflicher Hinsicht".

5 Nothing is for example said about "Der neue Paris" in the seven column article about Goethe in *Lexikon der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*. The first time the story seems to have been treated as a fantastic tale is in a booklet from 1985 by Lydia Frankenstein and later in her *Ausgewählte Werke der deutschsprachigen fantastischen Jugendliteratur*. Stockholm 1993, works written in German but published in Sweden.
6 The title is in modern literature sometimes rendered as "Der Kuckkasten". The original has "Die Kuckkasten", however. There are in fact two peep shows mentioned, Rothstiefel's, but also Hütchen's. – There has been some confusion about the authorship of "Die Kuckkasten". Thus, in Ewers's commentary to his in Note 3 above mentioned 1987 edition of *Kinder-Mährchen* (p. 291, Note 10) he quotes the monograph on Fouqué by Arno Schmidt, published in 1960 and 1975, where Contessa is stated to be the author of "Die Kuckkasten" and Fouqué of Contessa's "Das Schwerdt und die Schlangen", adding that his footnote is not the place to give a definite answer to the question of the authorships. In other places in his edition Ewers does not seem to be in any doubt that Fouqué was the author of "Die Kuckkasten", however. Thus he refers to two letters from Hoffmann (printed by him as Documents 18 and 20, pp. 287 f.), which clearly speak against Schmidt. To this may be added that Houwald in 1828 presented "Das Schwerdt und die Schlangen" in his edition of Contessa's *Schriften*. As a friend of Contessa, who, besides (according to Ewers's statement in his in Note 2 above mentioned book from 1984, p. 575), had lived in his house between 1816 and 1824, he must have known that Contessa was the author. The cause of the confusion is obviously the fact that the authors' names were not given together with the titles in the second part of the *Kinder-Mährchen*.
7 Carpenter & Prichard, *op. cit*. 1984, p. 243.

The chapter is based upon an unprinted lecture held in German at Köln in 1996: Von Goethe bis C.S. Lewis. Aus der Geschichte der phantastischen Erzählmuster, in its turn based upon a more comprehensive unprinted manuscript also used here.

Absurd elements in 19th century children's literature

In children's literature research the expression "nonsense literature" is often found. A difficulty is that the concept of nonsense is interpreted in different ways. The problem can be illustrated by the varied opinions on Thackeray's *The rose and the ring*. In the contemporary review in *The Athenaeum* of December 16, 1854 the book is called "a most sensible piece of nonsense", and a hundred years later, in 1955, Annemarie Schöne says that from a formal point of view it completely follows the "Nonsense-Dichtung" – or that it at least belongs to the confines of nonsense. Heinz Bergner in 1967 and Dieter Petzold in 1981 on the other hand disagree with Schöne. Bergner goes so far as to say that it is incomprehensible that Schöne placed the story in the borderland of nonsense writing; only "charming changes" ("reizvolle Umschlagsituationen") are found. Petzold maintains that Thackeray's book does not, "strictly speaking", belong to nonsense literature.[1]

In 1970, Rolf Hildebrandt described three different types of nonsense:

a) Popular nonsense, akin to folk-song and folk-tale, and primarily refers to the nonsense of nursery rhymes,

b) Ornamental nonsense, i.e. puns and witty jokes which try to reach a comic effect without creating a literary genre of its own,

c) Literary nonsense, where the nonsensical elements give a unity in form and contents to structure and details. Classic examples of this are Lear's *A book of nonsense* and Carroll's Alice books. In these books there is a synthesis of popular and ornamental nonsense. Such examples are so rare however, that it is impossible to speak of an independent genre of nonsense literature.[2]

A particular problem is the relationship between satire and nonsense. On the one hand, it has been maintained that they cannot belong together since the aim of nonsense is to entertain only. On the other hand, it has been said that nonsense may very well have a satiric aim, for example, to criticize society.[3] In several of the texts treated below one encounters nonsensical jests about the system of orders. They can easily be interpreted as satire against state authority. In an early thesis dealing with Brentanos's "Gockelmärchen", Schellberg emphasizes that it contains sharp satire against the "order mischief", and thinks that the author may have had crowned heads in mind, though without being able to prove this.[4] Of *Hood's Petsetilla*'s *posy* Petzold says that it has a trait of satire to a greater extent than the prototype, Thackeray's *The*

rose and the ring.[5] When literature of this kind is published for children one can only assume, however, that it is merely intended for comic and entertaining effect.

Avoiding the term nonsense I write here of absurd elements. In one of the chapters above I described the absurd tale as a genre construct, defining it as an incredible story set in a world turned upside-down. Hildebrandt does not class nonsense literature as an independent genre, but even so there may exist literary works which represent the "ideal" absurd tale. On the other hand, since I am speaking of a genre construct, an individual literary work may be an absurd tale only to a major or minor extent.

My interest here is to follow, at least in some way, the development during the 19th century of the absurd tale in children's literature. The method used being to look for the recurring occurrence of some absurd elements.

I will not be dealing with the much treated books of Lear and Carroll. Some of the works here however are also rather well-known, whereas others are more or less unknown. Like the fantastic tale, the absurd tale for children may have its origin in the German Romanticism of the 1810's and 1820's. Since translators seem to have a tendency to increase the absurdities I have also compared three originals with translations of them, one French and two Swedish; one of the latter only in the concluding Comments however. The following tales are treated:

Tales of the German Romanticism of the 1810's and 1820's
Clemens Brentano: *Gockel und Hinkel* (1847, but written already some time between 1806 and 1816)
E.T.A. Hoffmann: "Das Mährchen von der harten Nuss" (1816) (inserted in *Nussknacker und Mausekönig*)
August Wilhelm Zachariä: *Kronprinzchen von Kinderland* (1821)
August Wilhelm Zachariä: *Das neue Schattenspiel aus Kinderland* (1821 or 1822)
A French contribution from the 1840's
Alexandre Dumas: "Histoire de la noisette Krakatuk et de la princesse Pirlipate" (1844) (adapted translation of Hoffmann's "Das Mährchen von der harten Nuss")
English tales from the 1850's and 1870's
William Makepeace Thackeray: *The rose and the ring* (1854)
Tom Hood: *Petsetilla's posy* (1870)
A Swedish contribution from the 1870's

Herman Annerstedt: *Rosen och ringen* (1878) (adapted translation of Thackeray's *The rose and the ring*)
Thirteen shadow plays published in Swedish between 1850 and 1875 (anonymous, some or all of them possibly adapted translations)

Absurd elements treated

Absurd tales contain, of course, many different kinds of absurdities. Here however, I will only be focussing on a few absurd elements, doing so with an aim to follow the development of the tradition from a comparative perspective.

(1) The absurd court. Linked to such a court one can find
(1a) the childish king, childish for example by having a very hearty appetite or by behaving in an irresponsible way
(1b) jests about the system of orders
(2) Absurd names and titles
(2a) absurd personal names
(2b) absurd titles
(2c) absurd geographical names
(3) Absurd use of numbers, i.e. of exaggeratedly large or precise figures

Tales from the German Romanticism of the 1810's and 1820's

Brentano: Gockel und Hinkel (written at some time between 1806 and 1816, revised version with the title *Gockel, Hinkel, Gackeleia* printed in 1838, the original version in 1847; published for children as *Gockel, Hinkel und Gackeleia*)

Clemens Brentano's "Gockelmärchen" has a complicated history. The first version, *Gockel und Hinkel*, was never published during the author's lifetime, and there are different opinions on when it was written. In any case no one seems to date it before 1806 and no one after 1816.[6] Around 1835–37 Brentano revised and extended the story, and in this form he published it in 1838 as *Gockel, Hinkel, Gackeleia. Mährchen wieder erzählt*. A few years after Brentano's death in 1842, however, in 1847, "Urgockel" was printed in the second volume of the collection of Brentano's tales edited by Guido Görres.[7]

There is reason to regard the first manuscript as children's literature. In 1805 Brentano talked of a plan to adapt the Italian wonder tales of Giambattista Basile for German children.[8] Basile's collection, *Lo cunto*

de li cunti, usually called *Il pentamerone*, had been published in 1634–36. The "Gockelmärchen" is built on one of the tales in this collection (Day 4:1), a relatively short story about a magic stone in the head of a cock, the only property still belonging to the hero. Brentano also used other sources however. Thus the name of his cock, Alektryo, comes from *Alectryomantia*, written and published in Latin by the German author Johann Praetorius in 1680, known for his odd and grotesque humour.

The 1838 version cannot be regarded as children's literature. There are, however, later editions for children. These use the text of "Urgockel" – but with the title from 1838, lengthened with an "and": *Gockel, Hinkel und Gackeleia*.

Gockel is a count, Hinkel his wife and Gackeleia his daughter. They are very poor since their castle was destroyed by the French way back in the days of Gockel's great grandfather. The counts have since served as pheasant and poultry ministers to the king of Gelnhausen (Brentano uses the name of a real town not far from Frankfurt am Main here), but the present count has been dismissed and banished from the court. The reason being that he opposed the king's large consumption of eggs, which had led to no chickens being hatched.

The family now live in their poultry-house. Hinkel and Gackeleia are not especially interested in poultry, however, and allow the cat to take them. They are punished by Gockel for this, who gives them a hen-bone and cat-leg in their coat of arms. The family cock, Alektryo, who is still alive, has Solomon's ring in his crop, a ring which can fulfil wishes. Gockel is unaware of this, but finds out when three seal engravers start hunting for the ring. Alektryo sacrifices himself and Gockel's castle is rebuilt with the help of the ring. The family can once again visit the royal personages, who live in a luxurious palace in the neighbourhood.

However, the three engravers present Gackeleia with a living doll and succeed in enticing her to give them the ring, and the palace disappears. But a mouse princess imprisoned in the doll is liberated by Gackeleia, whom the mice then thank by bringing her the ring back.

The story may be seen as a parody of the wonder tale. Turning to the absurd elements studied here we find an *absurd court* (1). There is at least a trace of a *childish king* (1a) in that the king of Gelnhausen has the healthy appetite of these kings; he was an "immoderate lover of eggs". Further there are *jests about the system of orders* (1b). These are tied to eggs. At Easter, which was "the big festival of the Easter Egg Order", the king bestows two Easter Egg Orders, one red and one golden. When the two "chamber Moors" take their leave – they had

been sent by Gockel to teach the king to eat peewit eggs according to the latest fashion – he hangs "the red Easter Egg Order of the third class around their necks". Gockel himself gets an even more notable order when he invites the king home. "Eifrasius hanged the Grand Egg of the Easter Egg Order with two Yolks around his neck." (Brentano's liking for this type of jest is further exemplified by improvements made in the 1838 version. Here it is stressed that the third class of the Easter Egg Order was without Yolk, and that the two "chamber Moors" did not have to pay anything. On the other hand the Grand Egg is provided, not only with two Yolks but also with Parsley: "mit zwei Dottern und Petersilie".)

Absurd personal names (2a) appear both in the king's and the count's families. The king's name is Eifrasius, which can be understood as a glutton of eggs, and the queen is called Eilegia, i.e. a layer of eggs. The names in the count's family allude to poultry. Gockel and Gackeleia are onomatopoetic words. Gockel means cock and Gackelei cackle. Hinkel is a young hen but has also become a word of abuse.

Pheasant and poultry minister may be seen as an *absurd title* (2b). *Absurd geographical names* (2c) are also connected with poultry. The king's luxurious palace is called "Kastelovo, in German Eierburg", i.e. egg castle. (The palace is said to have been built of blown up eggs and the walls had stars made of Easter eggs. The roof had the shape of a laying hen and consisted of nothing but poultry feathers. On the inside the walls were coated with yolk.) Gockel's estates have similar absurd names. He is introduced as Count of "Hanau, Hennegau und Henneberg" (Hahn is "cock", Henne is "hen) and as "Erbherr" to "Hühnerbein und Katzenellenbogen" (heir to Hen-bone and Cat-elbow). As mentioned above mother and daughter received a hen-bone and a cat-leg in their coat of arms.

Hoffmann: "Das Mährchen von der harten Nuss" (1816)

In the middle of the 1810's Clemens Brentano and E.T.A. Hoffmann belonged to the same artists' circle in Berlin.[9] A mutual influence seems therefore probable. In any case, Hoffmanns's "Das Mährchen von der harten Nuss" also contains an absurd court.

The story is found in Hoffmann's *Nussknacker und Mausekönig*, published in 1816 in the first volume of Contessa's, Fouqué's and Hoffmanns *Kinder-Mährchen*. Its function is to explain the nutcracker's background, without knowledge of which Marie would not be able to set the son of Drosselmeier's cousin free from his nutcracker shape.

The story is told to Fritz, Marie and their mother by Drosselmeier, the children's godfather, when Marie is in bed after her first strange experience. Hence, the story-telling belongs to the everyday bourgeois environment, where we meet Fritz and Marie. But the story itself is an independent one, with a setting far away from the home of these children.

As readers we are taken to a court where a princess has just been born. The queen is worried about little Pirlipat, since she has fallen out with Mrs. Mauserinks, the rat queen of Mausolien, who regards herself to be related to the royal house and keeps court underneath the range. The princess is therefore guarded at night by six nurses, each one with a cat on her knee. One day when the queen is preparing for the king's sausage party Mrs. Mauserinks asks to taste a bit. The kindness of Pirlipat's mother results in the arrival of a great many of the rat queen's relatives, and most of the pork disappears.

The king gets angry and sends for the court watchmaker Christian Elias Drosselmeier (with the same name as the story-teller). He makes mouse-traps and kills off nearly all the rats, though not Mrs. Mauserinks however, who threatens that the little princess will suffer for the killings. Despite the presence of the cats she arrives when everyone is asleep, and when she is chased away the princess becomes disfigured.

Once again Drosselmeier is sent for. To begin with he is at a loss. The princess having been born with teeth, however, delights in cracking nuts. With the help of the court astronomer's horoscope Drosselmeier finds out that what Pirlipat needs in order to get her earlier looks back is the sweet kernel of the Krakatuk nut. This nut is so hard that it cannot be destroyed even if run over by a cannon of 48 pounds. But according to the horoscope it can be cracked by a man who has not yet had a shave or worn high boots, and who can walk seven steps backwards with his eyes shut without stumbling. The problem is that no one knows where to find the nut or the young man.

When the king is first told this he wants to behead Drosselmeier, but on the queen's advice Drosselmeier and the court astronomer are permitted to set out into the world to look for both the nut and the young man. For fifteen years they have no success, but when Drosselmeier returns to his home town Nuremberg he finds the nut at the home of his cousin, the doll-maker, lacquerer and gilder, Christoph Zacharias Drosselmeier. Outside his shop a nut seller had once got all his nuts run over by a wagon. The cousin had then bought one of the nuts that had not cracked and gilded it. When the gilding is scraped away the word Krakatuk appears written

in Chinese characters. Many try in vain to crack the nut but at last the task is successfully performed by the son of Drosselmeier's cousin. By placing a wooden plait on him and connecting it with his lower jaw a bite strong enough to master Krakatuk is established.

The princess gets her beauty back but when the young man steps backwards with his eyes shut he happens to trample Mrs. Mauserinks to death. As a punishment he has to keep his wooden plait and also becomes as disfigured as Pirlipat had been. In other words, he is turned into a nut cracker. Because of this Pirlipat does not want to marry him. The court astronomer confirms however that the stars foretell the nut cracker ending up as both prince and king, although only on condition that he kill the son of Mrs. Mauserinks, and that a lady fall in love with him in spite of his looks.

The tale is built on a current expression. At the end Drosselmeier explains that it can now be understood, not only why nut crackers are so ugly, but also why people use to say: "Das war eine harte Nuss!" (This, for example, brings the story together with Kipling's "How the leopard got his spots" in *Just so stories* from 1902, built as it is on the Bible passage: "Can the Ethiopian change his skin or the Leopard his spots?".)

Like Brentano's *Gockel und Hinkel,* "Das Mährchen von der harten Nuss" could be regarded as a parody of the wonder tale. This impression is strengthened by absurdities, exaggerations and comical wordings.

Thus the court depicted is an example of *an absurd court* (1). It is a court where the king stirs the sausage soup with his golden sceptre, the secret cabinet try to punish Mrs. Mauserink's pork-eating people by bringing an action against them in order to confiscate all their property (notwithstanding that they are rats), where the court mathematician is summoned to divide, in a scientifically precise way, the pork that the rats have left, and where the court watchmaker Drosselmeier unscrews Pirlipat's hands and feet in order to examine her, and when this does not give any answers puts her back together again.

The king of this court is a *childish king* (1a), i.e. he behaves in an un-kingly, childish way. In delight of his newborn daughter, and also when she fifteen years later gets her beauty back, he hops on one leg and entices his ministers, generals, presidents and staff officers to do the same. When Pirlipati loses her looks, however, the king in a seizure of despair starts banging his head against the wall, resulting in his study being covered with wadded tapestry. In an equally impulsive way he is on a whim ready to behead a person who annoys him. Another childish

trait is his hearty appetite. He dashes off from a council meeting upon smelling the odours from the sausage boiling-pot. It is said that he was so enraptured that he could not restrain himself. Since there is too little pork in the sausages, however, he turns pale. Upon tasting the liver sausage he raises his eyes to the sky and sighs, and after tasting the blood sausage he drops back in his armchair, puts his hands up to his face and only recovers when he is treated with burnt quills. In fact, the reason Drosselmeier escapes beheading is that the food on that day had been extremely tasty.

There may also be a *jest about the system of orders* (1b). When Drosselmeier appears with the good news that he knows how to cure Pirlipat's disfigurement, the king embraces him and promises him a diamond sword, *four* orders and two new Sunday coats.

Zachariä: Kronprinzchen von Kinderland (1821); Das neue Schattenspiel aus Kinderland (1821 or 1822)

Only a couple of years after Brentano's and Hoffmann's stories another absurd court appeared in two shadow plays by August Wilhelm Zachariä. *Kronprinzchen von Kinderland. Ein Schattenspiel* was published in 1821. Of the second play, *Das neue Schattenspiel aus Kinderland*, no copy seems to have been preserved, and the publication year is not given in German bibliography. It must however be from 1821 or 1822, since it is called a "new" one, and a translation into Swedish appeared in 1822.

Zachariä was a teacher in mathematics and modern languages at a convent school at Rossleben.[10] In the preface to the first play he expresses a Romanticist's view of children's literature. The aim of his play is only to entertain.

The two plays are rather unknown, obviously because copies are rare. Of *Kronprinzchen von Kinderland* there is at least a copy in a German library (in the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek at Göttingen, the copy I have used), but *Das neue Schattenspiel aus Kinderland* seems only to be available in the Swedish translation of 1822.[11] (The Swedish version exemplifies the possibilities that studies of translated children's literature sometimes offer.)

In *Kronprinzchen von Kinderland* it is told how the crown prince and his companion Jakob, who is the court jester's son, return from a journey around the world. Nothing has been heard from them for two years, and the king and queen are very worried. A reward is offered,

and many children are brought to the court. When the travellers arrive they come incognito. Jakob is dressed up as a showman who wishes to demonstrate a "camera optica" to the king. He has it in a case, and with the help of the pictures he shows the travellers' tour via the Atlantic, the Panama isthmus, the Pacific, Siberia and Russia. At last the prince steps out of the case.

The events in *Das neue Schattenspiel aus Kinderland* are obviously placed earlier than in the first play. The crown prince is still occupied with such childish things as to toboggan down the castle hill. An important character is the court jester Hanswurst, who makes fun of the king and is imprisoned because of an unbecoming joke. He dupes the "chamber hussar" to take his place in the prison, but the princess gets worried and persuades the carpenter and the smith to open the prison door. Furious at this interference the king puts everyone in jail, also the princess, but is convinced by a peasant to let them loose again.

There are several absurd traits in these shadow plays. In *Kronprinzchen von Kinderland* the description given of the lost prince is that he has "red cheeks, red hair and a small nose", which does not prevent that children with black hair and hook-noses are dragged to the court. When the governor gives a boy a coin with the admonition not to eat too much, the boy answers: "No, I will drink it away." ("Da hast du einen Dreyer, aber verfriss ihn nicht. – Nein – ich will ihn versaufen.") In *Das neue Schattenspiel* Hanswurst and the king discuss what happened during the last months. What might it have been in November? At that time was the big total solar eclipse that did not come about.

Among the absurd elements is an *absurd court* (1) with a *childish king* (1 a). In fact this time he is a real child. In both plays it is spoken of the Children's Country, and both the royal town and a village have the word "Children's" in their names. The Swedish translation of *Das neue Schattenspiel* has the title "The child king", and possibly this title may also have belonged to the lost original.

The childlike interest in food appears in *Das neue Schattenspiel*. Already in his third line the king says that he "begins to get an appetite". When Hanswurst goes to see what the queen is cooking, the king calls out after him: "You can bring my morning cake at once", and he addresses the "chamber hussar" with the words: "As soon as you have lighted the fire, you will go to my wife and tell her that she sends me a jar of raspberry jam." When the jester happens to mention rice sausage, he puts in delightedly: "Do you know, Hanswurst, it is my best food! A sensible idea! Rice sausage!" Seeing the chance to get the sausage

– "only tell them in the kitchen not to make them to small, and rather too much than too little" – he realizes realises that he cannot first eat the cake and agrees to give it to a poor old man who stands by the castle gate. He will confine himself to "nothing else but a little cherry jam and a French roll". But when he catches sight of the cake, which Hanswurst has had behind his back, he at least wants to smell it a little, and when he is not allowed to do so, he accuses Hanswurst of being a cake thief. That the king listens to the peasant and frees the prisoners is because the peasant had brought delicacies to the royal kitchen.

In *Kronprinzchen von Kinderland* there is also a suggestion of an *absurd use of numbers* (3). The reward promised for the finding of the lost prince is fixed to 99 000 Reichstaler, later to be put up to 100 000. The difference is absurdly low, ; also when the governor at first deplores that the sum was not quite a hundred thousand.

A French contribution from the 1840s

Dumas: "Histoire de la noisette Krakatuk et de la princesse Pirlipate" (1844, in Histoire d'un casse-noisette)

The French translation of Hoffmann's "Nussknacker und Mausekönig", published in 1844 by Alexandre Dumas père, is essentially a true one. For the comparative history of the absurd tale for children it is however of interest that, although some of the absurd traits in the story of Pirlipat have been omitted, others have been strengthened.

Drosselmeier (Dumas: "Drosselmayer") not only unscrews Pirlipat's hands and feet, he also removes her head and other limbs. Hoffmann told that Drosselmeier and the court astronomer during their travels had visited the society of naturalists at Eichhornshausen; Dumas made the naturalists into squirrels and added the famous Academy of the Green Monkeys. Another addition is that the travellers had found a fifth continent, which afterwards was called New Holland, "since it was discovered by two Germans".

The healthy appetite of the *childish king* (1a) is emphasized with his words: "When the dinner is at an end, we will set about with the work." The beheading of Drosselmeier is changed into imprisonment for life, not much less absurd, however.

Whereas there was only a glimpse of the *jests about the system of orders* (1b) in Hoffmann's text – when the king promises Drosselmeier four orders –, Dumas created the Order of the Golden Spider, "l'ordre de l'Araignée d'or, qui était le grand ordre de l'État". Further he provided

the court astronomer with "une lunette d'honneur". The Order of the Golden Spider appears once again when the persons wanting to try to crack the nut Krakatuk arrive at the court. To the successful the king promises the post as president for life in the country's academy, "as well as the Order of the Golden Spider". There is also an addition mentioning an order when the court watchmaker is sent for the first time. Since the king was fully convinced that he would take care not to obey the king's summons, if he had him called to the court in order to be hanged or beheaded, he sent for him with the promise of a new order that he had just founded as an award to authors, artists and mechanicians.

Some examples of an *absurd use of numbers* (3) are also introduced. Hoffmann tells that the rats killed in Drossselmeier's mouse-traps were "alle sieben Söhne und viele, viele Gevattern und Muhmen der Frau Mauserinks". Dumas has made this into „les sept fils de dame Souriçonne, dix-huit de ses neveux, cinquante de ses cousins, et deux cent trente-cinq de ses parents à différents degrés, sans compter des milliers de ses sujets". Another example is found when it is told of the many whom wanted to crack the nut. Hoffmann only speaks of "viele hübsche Leute, unter denen es sogar Prinzen gab". Dumas changed this into a big procedure. A committee with the court dentist as chairman repeatedly advertises for candidates and examines their teeth. To the first examination 3 500 persons were admitted, to the second 5 000. When the third examination is brought to an end, in all 11 374 competitors have tried their fortune and got their jaws and teeth ruined. Drosselmeier's successful relative is number 11 375.

English tales from the 1850s and 1870s

Thackeray: The rose and the ring (1854)

William Makepeace Thackeray's *The rose and the ring; or, the history of Prince Giglio and Prince Bulbo. A fire-side pantomime for great and small children. By Mr. M.A. Titmarsh* has the printing year 1855. It was however one of Thackeray's so-called Christmas books, in fact the last one, and issued for Christmas 1854. The pseudonym is the one that Thackeray used in these Christmas books. The preface, dated in December 1854, tells that the text was revised from a "pantomime" played for English children in Rome on Twelfth Night, in other words in January 1854. "Pantomimes" were played for English children at Christmas following a traditional pattern, where for example a wonder tale was put together with a concluding harlequinade.[12]

The scene in *The rose and the ring* is laid in two kingdoms, Paflagonia and Crim Tartary. In Paflagonia King Savio had left a son, Giglio, but the throne had been usurped by Savio's brother under the name of Valoroso XXIV. The queen thinks that matters will arrange themselves if Giglio later marries his cousin Angelica, the daughter of Valoroso and the queen. But Valoroso plans a marriage between Angelica and Prince Bulbo, the son of King Padella I of Crim Tartary, this to end the perpetual wars between the two countries.

Padella is also an illegitimate ruler, a duke who has revolted against his king Cavolfiore. The legitimate heir to the throne is Cavolfiore's daughter Rosalba. She is missing but turns out to be the girl Betsinda, who has come to Paflagonia and is chambermaid to Angelica. The happy ending – after many complications – is that Giglio becomes king of Paflagonia and Rosalba queen of Crim Tartary and that they marry. The rose and the ring mentioned in the book title are two presents from the Fairy Blackstick to the wives of King Savio and Duke Padella. These gifts only bring misfortunes, however.

Like Brentano's *Gockel und Hinkel* and Hoffmann's "Das Mährchen von der harten Nuss" *The rose and the ring* can be regarded as a parody of the wonder tale. To the parodic features belongs the fact that the Fairy Blackstick after two or three thousand years becomes sick of her tasks. She begins to think that it would be just as well if events were allowed to take their natural courses. The parody is strengthened by a number of absurd turns.

Thus, although the events are said to take place some ten or twenty thousand years ago, money is counted in pounds, shillings and pence, a herald has the name Elephant and Castle, and orders are given to take Giglio to Newgate for execution. Angelica learns French, English, Italian, German and Spanish (besides Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Cappadocian, Samothracian, Ægean and Crim Tartar). When the king thinks that it is time that his queen gets a new necklace, he is thrifty enough to suppose that it does not need to cost more than a hundred or a hundred and fifty thousand pounds. The queen, who had planned to visit the sick Giglio, then instead drives to the jeweller's with the words: "Business first; pleasure afterwards." According to Giglio there is no one like Betsinda either in Europe, Asia, Africa or America, "nay, in Australia, only it is not yet discovered". (As we have seen the undiscovered Australia was used as an absurdity already a decade earlier by Dumas.) Valoroso has death-warrants in the pocket of his dressing -gown. When Angelica faints, she is gradually revived with boiling water. Without any preparation Giglio

talks to his troops in blank verse for three days and three nights; only once in nine hours he pauses to suck an orange. The lions that who are going to eat Rosalba are very hungry, since they "had been kept for three weeks on nothing but a little toast-and-water".

All the absurd elements especially focussed on here are found. Thus no less than two *absurd courts* (1) appear. The *childish king* (1a) is seen in Valoroso's interest in food. Once it is told that he thought so much of his dinner and also caused such a terrible noise when eating that he was not able to hear what anyone said. When Bulbo is about to be executed, the Prime Minister tries to intervene but is rebuked by the king; "Breakfast first, business next." While Angelica makes her best to get an order signed that can stop the execution, the king eats all the time.

There are a number of *jests about the system of orders* (1b). Paflagonia has the Order of the Cucumber, Crim Tartary the Order of the Pumpkin. The latter order has different classes. Prince Bulbo is Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Pumpkin, Rosalba appoints Lord Spinachi Knight of the second class of this order (it is remarked that the first class was reserved for crowned heads), whereas the Court Painter is decorated with the Order of the Pumpkin (sixth class). After the big battle between Giglio and Padella the Crim Tartar Order of the Pumpkin and the Paflagonian decoration of the Cucumber are "freely" distributed by their majesties to the members of Giglio's army. Queen Rosalba wears the Paflagonian Riband of the Cucumber on her riding- habit, and King Giglio does not show himself without the grand Cordon of the Pumpkin. Another mark of honour that can be mentioned in this connection is "the wooden spoon", which is the highest distinction given by the university where Giglio studies.

Absurd personal names (2a) are represented, in Paflagonia by the Prime Minister Glumboso, the governess Countess Gruffanuff, her husband with the same name and by the Captain of the Guard and Fencing Master Kutasoff Hedzoff, in Crim Tartary by Bulbo's chamberlain Baron Sleibootz and Count Hogginarmo. To a certain extent interpretations of Thackeray's absurd names have been offered by Annemarie Schöne[13], suggesting Glumboso = glum, Gruffanuff = gruff enough, Kutasoff Hedzoff = cuts off, heads off, Sleibootz = sly boots, Hogginarmo = to hug (hinting at strangling).

Absurd titles (2b) found in Paflagonia are First Lord of the Billiard Table and Groom of the Tennis Court. In Crim Tartary Lord Spinachi has been First Lord of the Toothpick and Joint Keeper of the Snuffbox.

Absurd geographical names (2c), also partly interpreted by Schöne,

are Blombodinga, the capital of Paflagonia (Schöne: "the plum-pudding town") and the battle-field of Blunderbusco. According to Schöne the latter name contains the word "blunder" in the meaning of a big mistake, but to me it seems more probable that the likely association is to "blunderbuss", which once referred to a very big cannon, originally a "thunder bus" (bus = gun). Two other battle-fields are called Rimbombamento and Bombardaro. These names are not treated by Schöne, but ought to be based on "bombardment". When Giglio has become king of Paflagonia he calls himself Grand Duke of Cappadocia, Sovereign Prince of Turkey and the Sausage Islands. Schöne interprets "Turkey" as alluding to the bird, not the country, which seems reasonable enough, since Turkey is placed together with the Sausage Islands. Bulbo is not only Crown Prince of Tartary, but also Duke of Acroceraunia and Marquis of Poluphloisboio.

The suggested modest price of the queen's new necklace, "not more than a hundred or a hundred and fifty thousand pounds", is, especially since the book was written in the 1850s, exaggerated enough to be an example of an *absurd use of numbers* (3). The amount of money left to Prince Giglio by his "poor dear father" is too precise at the same time as it is exaggerated, "two hundred and seventeen thousand millions, nine hundred and eighty-seven thousand, four hundred and thirty-nine pounds, thirteen shillings, and sixpence halfpenny". In a later chapter the amount is written in figures: "£ 217,000,987,439, 13 s. 6 ½ d." Possibly the number of King Valoroso, Valoroso XXIV, is meant to be

Hood: Petsetilla's posy (1870)

Tom Hood, son of the English poet Thomas Hood, is known as a publisher of a comic magazine and of comic albums, but he also wrote children's books. *Petsetilla's posy: a fairy tale for young and old* was published in 1870.[14]

Lost in a mathematical problem, King Rumti of Aphania rejects a poor woman's request for bread for herself and her starving children. The woman being a fairy cannot help but punish the king, even though she feels sorry doing so. She turns the king into a statue, as which he is destined to stay until such time as an honest person touches him. The throne is taken over by his brother Bungo, who is not too anxious to save Rumti, but once a year he makes the court parade before the statue and touch it. Nothing happens, since there are no honest people at the court.

When Bungo gets a daughter, Petsetilla, a witch appears at the christening. She decrees that the princess will marry a beggar. The first

godmother, however, the fairy Felicia, gives a bunch of flowers, i.e. the title's posy, which will make the princess content as long as she keeps it. The posy is put in a locket which the princess always carries about.

The rag-collector Ragatti's son, Remsky works in the royal garden and is in love with the princess. One day when leaning out of the window, she drops the now withered posy out of the locket. She doesn't bother about it since she has not realized that it is the locket's contents that are important. Remsky takes care of the posy, but Petsetilla's feeling of content vanishes.

The duchy of Nexdorea then goes to war against Aphania, but its armed forces are defeated thanks to Ragatti's and Remsky's inventiveness. The war is fought with drums, which keeps alive a war industry of making bigger and bigger drums and more ingenious devices for noise protection.

The mob want to make Ragatti king, but the only thing he wants is for his wife to get the royal washing, and that he be left to collect rags all over the castle. One day when collecting rags, he enters the dark cellar and happens to touch Rumti, who becomes alive again since Ragatti is an honest man. Bungo does not own anything any more, but Remsky gives him the gold and jewels which he has taken from the enemy. He also gives the posy back to Petsetilla. By giving these gifts he becomes as poor as a beggar. The fairy Felicia turns up and points out that the witch's condition can now be fulfilled, if Remsky marries the princess.

Like other stories mentioned above, *Petsetilla's posy* can be seen as a parody of the wonder tale. In addition to the unconventional way of waging war there are numerous other absurd traits. Salaries are only paid to such people who do not do anything, since it is feared that those who do real work might otherwise be motivated by greed instead of sense of duty. A plagiarist ends up in the treadmill for three years. Damage to grammar and syntax results in the death penalty without the presence of a priest. All adjectives are kept in the National Library, and an author is only allowed a certain number each day. The dining-table at Petsetilla's christening is so big that the guests at the bottom of the table cannot see even with the help of a telescope. Hence, the reason why the king weeps has to be wired to them. In Nexdorea, forms for declarations of war can be bought in the nearest kiosk. There is also an example of Latin-imitating word nonsense: in the declaration of war issued by Nexdorea, Bungo is requested to leave his throne immediately, "hei presto cockalorum ad libitum, and in twinkelinguio bed-postii".

With regard to the particular absurd elements studied here both the courts of Aphania and Nexdorea are *absurd courts* (1). When Bungo

has to rush to the throne room, we see him "slipping on his dressing-gown and diadem, and putting his sceptre under his arm". Furthermore, he has a habit of eating dessert first and soup last. Such behaviour at least touches upon the element of the *childish king* (1a).

There are many *absurd personal names* (2a) such as those of the kings, Rumti and Bungo, and that of the rag-collector, Ragatti. Especially typical of the book are the *absurd titles* (2b), which also illustrate the absurd court: First Caudle-cup-in-Waiting, Gold Papboat-in-Waiting, Bottlebearer-in-Chief, Rubber-of-the-Royal-Gums, First and Second Lady Bib, First Rocking Lady of the Bedchamber, Princess's Husher-in-Chief, First Lord Puller-of-the-Pursestrings, Assistant Under-Warmingpan, First Lady Back-comb of the Chamber, Lord High Pigeoner, and Gold Brush-and-Comb in Waiting. A court official who has the duty of reminding the king is called Royal Remembrencer. The first holder of this office was appointed by King Buffo LXI after an incident where a giant cut off his head, including the seat of memory. In addition to these personal titles, the title of a journal can be mentioned, The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society for the Promulgation of Apparent Absurdities.

Even the names of the two kingdoms, Aphania and Nexdorea, can perhaps be seen as *absurd geographical names* (2 c). Aphania, for example, may have something to do with Greek "aphanés", i.e. hidden, lost etc.

An *absurd use of numbers* appears when the months of Aphania are described. There are only four months: Growsy, Rosy, Blowsy and Snowsy. The first three have 91 days each, but Snowsy has 92 1/4. In this way the leap-year is avoided. A competition announced for the best draft for the locket, which is to hold the posy, promises a prize of "two thousand eight hundred pounds nineteen shillings and elevenpence three farthings". This is surely an absurd use of numbers, despite the added explanation that the amount is a conversion by the author into English money, since the decimal system of Aphania is so complicated it would require a very long time in order to explain it. Likewise one must regard the extremely high numbers given to kings as absurd: Buffo the Sixtyfirst, and Rumti the One Hundred and Ninetieth.

A Swedish contribution from the 1870's

Annerstedt: Rosen och ringen (1878)

Thackeray's *The rose and the ring* was translated into Swedish in 1878: *Rosen och ringen. Saga för små och stora barn* (Wonder tale for small

and big children). Thackeray is stated as the author, not the pseudonym M.A. Titmarsh. The translator is credited with the letters H. A-dt, which are to be interpreted as Herman Annerstedt, a naval officer who wrote about his travels to foreign countries but also published a fictional work of his own.[15]

Annerstedt's translation is rather free, but he obviously tried to create something in the spirit of Thackeray that would suit Swedish children. He changed the name of the university town of Bosforo to Uplunda, presumably alluding to the Swedish university towns of Up(p)sala and Lund, and Giglio is renamed Petro, perhaps meant to be an easier name to remember. Some sections have been moved to new chapters, and the text is overall somewhat shortened. There are also additions, for example the use of direct address toward the young readers, an indication by the way that the translation was meant for them.

Annerstedt obviously found absurd elements to be suitable for literature for children. He not only made efforts to find Swedish equivalents to Thackerays's absurdities, he also added several of his own.

So, when Hedzoff excuses himself before Bulbo, explaining that he has got orders to hand him over to the executioner, Annerstedt adds "and cut off Your Highness's head, if it is not inconvenient". The great battle between Giglio and Padella is not described in detail by Thackeray. Annerstedt narrates that Petro (i.e. Giglio) formed his army in a "svinfylking" (a V-shaped phalanx), whereas Padella used the Macedonian phalanx. "What this is we don't know for sure, and for that reason we cannot say where he himself stood, probably behind."

Annerstedt's numerous additions to the *jests about the system of orders* (1b) are of particular interest. The names of the orders have been lengthened with precious metals. In the same way as Dumas in 1844 introduced a Golden Spider Order at the court described by Hoffmann, Annerstedt changed the Order of the Cucumber into the "Golden Cucumber", and the Order of the Pumpkin into the "Imperial Silver Turnip", also called the "Golden Silver Turnip". Queen Rosalba, "who did not have anything to give" (a parodic addition), was so grateful to those who had remained faithful to the old royal house that she "made them all into Golden Silver Turnips, with extra grades for all the counts".

Annerstedt also comments on the special embellishments accompanying the orders, and by way of which strengthens the jests. Bulbo is not only provided with the Grand Cross of the Order of the Pumpkin as in Thackeray, he gets the "Grand Cross of the Imperial

Silver Turnip, second class, with Star". In the following parenthesis we can read that, "the small crosses of the second class are without a star, whereas all kinds of crosses of the first class have stars both in front and at the back, the finest grade of all even on the waistcoat, two inches inwards on the facing, three and a half inches over the link waistcoat pocket". Without any equivalent in Thackeray, Annerstedt makes the Court Painter in Paflagonia into a "Knight Commander of the Golden Turnip, third class, with the cross at the back".

Annerstedt also increases the number of orders at the Paflagonian court. A cook, who does not appear in Thackeray's version, is presented as a "Riddare af Saltgurkan", i.e. a Knight of the Salt Pickled Gherkin, which was an order of its own, reserved for men of genius and taste, and much more splendid than "Ätticksgurkor, Syltgurkor, Vesteråsgurkor, Kahns gurkor" and the like (different types of gherkins, mentioned here in the plural: gherkins pickled in vinegar, preserved gherkins, and the third and fourth kinds being variants known to the Swedes – Västerås is a Swedish town famous for its cucumbers). One of the less splendid orders is used by Petro (Giglio), when he appoints two of his fellow-students Knights of the Preserved Gherkin.

The distribution of orders after the great battle, which by Thackeray is done "freely", occurs in barrels and buckets. "At first orders were distributed: whole barrels of the Silver Turnip, and buckets full of Golden Cucumbers. Finally, when all were decorated, someone got the idea that it was not enough to just be Single Turnips, it had to be Double; and once more buckets and barrels were rolled out."

Some of the *absurd personal names* (2a) in Thackeray have been kept, for example Gruffanuff and Hedzoff. Other such names are omitted, but Annerstedt also took trouble to find equivalents suitable to Swedish readers. Thus Doctor Pildrafto became "Doctor Olio Ricini" (the Swedish word "ricinolja" means castor oil) and Baron Sleibootz, "Baron Suggfot" (sow foot). The fact that German was regarded as a more intelligible language than English is evident by the use of names in pure German. Count Hogginarmo appears as "Menschenschreck" and Lord Spinachi, who was appointed Marquis of Spinachi, is first called "von Ertzenfressen" and later "von Ertz von Fleischenfresser".

More families than Spinachi are given vegetable names by Thackeray, for example, Broccoli and Sauerkraut. Annerstedt replaces these with more pitiable names instead: Count Giktbruten (gout-ridden), Count Andtäppo (short of breath), Prince of Krämpe (of illness), Baron Fattigdom af Elände (poverty of misery) (as distinct from Fattigdom

af Gröna Nöden, i.e. poverty of the green need), Count von Utsvulten (starving), and Count Magerman (skinny man).

Annerstedt created an *absurd title* (2b) of his own when he substituted Lord Spinachi's titles, First Lord of the Toothpick and Joint Keeper of the Snuffbox, with Chamberlain of the second class, with two keys at the back.

Some of the *absurd geographical names* (2c) in Thackeray are found in Bulbo's titles: Prince of Crim Tartary, Duke of Acroceraunia and Marquis of Poluphloisboio. Annerstedt renders these titles as Prince of Samothracien, Duke of Getapulien and Dalmasien, and Count of Samogetien. If none other, then at least Getapulien and Dalmasien are new ventures into the absurd. In Sweden, Getapulien is a jocular name for the county of Småland, especially its barren parts, where goat-breeding was common ("get" means goat). Dalmasien is seemingly built on "dalmasar", a disrespectful designation of the inhabitants of the county of Dalarna (Dalecarlia).

The number of King Valoroso XXIV was seen above as an *absurd use of numbers* (3). Annerstedt must have regarded it in the same way since he improved it into Valoroso LXXVI, and called Cavolfiore, who was not given any number by Thackeray, Cavalfiore (as he spells the name) XXXVIII.

Thirteen shadow plays published in Sweden between 1850 and 1875

The two shadow plays by Zachariä, mentioned above and translated into Swedish back in the 1820's, were followed by 32 other plays between 1844 and 1875. Taking into account reprintings up to the year of 1885, there are 78 editions in all. One or more pages with cut-out figures are to be pasted onto cardboard, or treated in some other way, and there also follows a book of accompanying text. Several claim to be intended for children, and undoubtedly this is the case with them all.

Of the 32 plays 13, with first or only editions between 1850 and 1875, present some absurd elements. Like the others they are anonymous. Contemporary bibliography ascribes four to Swedish authors (two to Wilhelm Olof Anders Bäckman, two to Frithiof Raa), but it could be that all are translations or adaptations from foreign originals, in so case from German or French presumably.

As will be seen in the following list already the titles have an absurd ring in several cases. Where there is more than one edition only the date of the first is given.

Röfvarehålan i de mesopotamiska bergen (The den of robbers in the Mesopotamian mountains) (1850)

Familjen Gnatenberg (The family G.; Sw. "gnata" means "to nag"), said to be by Bäckman (1851)
Den lyckliga jagten eller Fröken Laura hos fru Ettertagg (The happy hunt or Miss L. at Mrs E.s; "Ettertagg" means "poisonous thorn"), said to be by Bäckman (1853)
Gamle herrn på Uggleborg eller Bröllopet som icke blef af (The old master of Owl Castle or The wedding which did not happen) (1856)
Jerusalems skomakare (The shoemaker of Jerusalem) (1856)
Skogskonungen på Djurgården eller Den första maj 1856 (The king of the forest of D. or May day 1856; "Djurgården" was an entertainment park in Stockholm, if translated the play has therefore been localised) (1856)
Maskeraden på Mosebacke (The masquerade at M.; "Mosebacke" was also a place of entertainment in Stockholm; if translated even this play has therefore been localised) (1856)
Bonden och hofnarren eller Någon skall hänga (The peasant and the court jester or Someone has to hang), said to be by Raa (1860)
Vilddjuret i Kråkvinkel (The wild beast at K.; Sw. "Kråkvinkel" is the name of a "one-horse town") (1860)
Don Quixote af La Mancha eller Riddaren af den sorgliga skepnaden (... or The knight of the sorrowful countenance), said to be by Raa (1861)
Prins Fidibuss och den sköna Pepparmynta, eller "Den som söker, han finner!" (Prince F. and the beautiful Peppermint or "Seek and ye shall find!"; even "Fidibuss" is an absurd personal name) (1873)
Klosterrofvet i Nådendala (The convent robbery at N.; Sw. "Nådendala" means "The valley of Grace") (1873)
Herr Pumpernickels äfventyr i Kråkvinkel (Mr P.'s adventures in K.; about "Kråkvinkel" see above) (1875)

An *absurd court* (1) appears in two of the plays, *Bonden och hofnarren* (1860) and *Prins Fidibuss och den sköna Pepparmynta* (1873). The story in the first one centres around a complaint made by a peasant to the king that the court jester frightened off all his pigs into the woods. In the latter play there is no king and no royal palace, since the prince is out looking for Pepparmynta, the lost friend of his childhood. But he brings part of the court setting with him, for example when he strikes the innkeeper's servant with his sceptre.

When the king in the first play hears of the peasant's complaint he thinks that somebody should hang, either the jester or the peasant. The jester and peasant reconcile their differences, but the king still wants to hang somebody since it looks good when such a case gets a solemn end:

"So I am going to order a gallows – this will be real fun." The queen puts in a good word for the jester, so it will have to be the peasant who hangs, as a warning to all who lose their pigs. But when a sow enters the stage, the king gets a better idea. He sentences the sow to be hanged as a warning to all "swine and other pigs" who get it into their heads to do something unsuitable.

The preposterous conduct of this king makes him into a *childish king* (1a). This is further illustrated by his hearty appetite. When the peasant first arrives he is warned to be brief since the king's stomach aches. In order to listen to the appeal the king has chosen to put off his supper. The king then promises to hang either the court jester or the peasant, but only first when he has satisfied his hunger.

Among absurd traits in *Prins Fidibuss* one can mention Pepparmynta's "No, 'dank mutter!' as the Englishman said", and "her fair features – one blue and one brown eye" which allow Fidibuss to recognise her. Here we also find an example of *jests about the system of orders* (1b). Because of the innkeeper's great merits the prince promises him his "big Potato medal with Iron chain-cable".

Fidibus is an old Swedish, originally German, student's word for a bit of paper used to light a cigar or a pipe. For a prince it is an absurd name, and so is the girl's name Peppermint. *Absurd personal names* (3a) are in fact found in twelve of the thirteen plays, in all about fifty names. To mention some examples, there is: the robber chief Rysandrino (Sw. "rysa" = to shudder), the forester Bomskott (a miss by shooting), the lieutenant Latgranat (lazy grenade), the town clerk Pundhufvud (blockhead), Messrs Hästfot (horse's foot) and Lillekomsist (Little-came-last), Mrs Sladderqvist (Sw. "sladder" = gossip), Mrs Pratmeier (Sw. "prat" = chatter), Mrs Ettertagg (poisonous thorn), the astronomy professor Stjernsmäll (verbatim: star bang; giving somebody a "stjärnsmäll" means making somebody see stars), and the patron saint of the gardeners, St. Tullpanius (Sw. "tulpan" = tulip). Even the family name Gnatenberg is absurd (Sw. "gnata" = to nag).

In two plays Spanish names are imitated in an absurd way. *Don Quixote af La Mancha* presents the student Don Brasco di Colorum and the barber Don Bullero Buffalo (Sw. "buller" = noise), and in *Klosterrofvet i Nådendala* one encounters Don Alfonso de Pikardillo and Don Carotto de Castrullo del Balsamino (Sw. "karott" = deep dish, "kastrull" = saucepan, "balsamin" = balsam).

There are also two examples of an *absurd use of numbers* (3). When Fidibuss finds Pepparmynta he exclaims: "Yes, there she is! It is my

beloved Pepparmynta whom I have looked for, for 15 years, 8 months, 19 days, 20 hours, 35 minutes and 2 seconds." In *Röfvarehålan i de mesopotamiska bergen* the witch says that in her youth "5 princes, 10 counts, 25 barons, 52 noblemen and 7 111 squires" had kneeled to her.

Comments

Four years after Annerstedt's translation of *The rose and the ring* in 1882, a Swedish translation of *Petsetilla's posy* followed: *Prinsessans faddergåfva. En fésaga* (The princess's christening gift. A fairy tale). Both the author and the translator are mentioned, the latter being Cecilia Cederström. Wife of an estate owner and member of the Swedish parliament, Cecilia Cederström also made other translations, among them two more English children's books.[16]

In Cederström's translation some of the absurd statements are of course kept. Salaries in Aphania are paid only to those who do not do anything. The literary justice there, the big dining table at the christening party and Bungo's attire with crown and sceptre while wearing his dressing gown, can be mentioned. The Latin-like words and the 92 1/4 days of the month of Snowsy are also there.

Many absurd traits have disappeared, however. Thus, First Caudle-cup-in-Waiting is rendered as "First mistress of the court", Assistant Under-Warmingpan as "the kitchen boy", First Lady Back-comb of the Chamber as "one of the ladies in waiting". The appointment of the Royal Remembrencer after the seat of memory in the king's brain had been cut off has been omitted. The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society for the Promulgation of Apparent Absurdities has only become "The Philosophical Journal of Afania". The death penalty "without a priest" for damage to the syntax has been reduced to corporal punishment. Nothing is said about the absurd fact that forms for declaration of war can be bought in the nearest kiosk. The absurd use of numbers when the prize for the best locket is mentioned has been deleted.

Translation difficulties may in some cases have been the reason for the omitted absurd traits. But one can observe that Cederström, in contrast to Annerstedt, did not try to introduce any such new passages of her own. One gets the impression that she did not share the same liking of this type of humour.

Of course absurdities were not common in children's literature of the time. How the situation was in Sweden can be exemplified by a letter sent in 1872 from August Strindberg to his publisher, who wanted him

to write a Swedish text to an English toy book with nursery rhymes. Strindberg writes that he does not understand the meaning of the crazy original. Such absurdities did not belong to his childhood memories.[17] In the case of Annerstedt on the other hand one can assume that he was in contact with university wit, in a similar way perhaps as Carroll's two Alice books from 1865 and 1871 had a connection with the English university wit. At this time the students' farce, the so-called "spex", was cultivated at Swedish universities.[18] To be sure Annerstedt did not himself study at a university, but his father was the head of the grammar school in Uppsala and he had two brothers with a university career. If this hypothesis has any foundation then something similar may possibly be the case with the absurdities in the shadow plays published in Sweden in the latter part of the 19th century.

Notes

1 The review in *The Athenaeum* according to Dudley Flamm: *Thackeray's critics*. Chapel Hill 1967, p. 93. – Annemarie Schöne: *W.M. Thackeray, The rose and the ring. Feenmärchen oder Nonsense-Dichtung?* Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen 191. Braunschweig etc. 1955. pp. 273–284. – Heinz Bergner: *Die Kurzerzählungen W.M. Thackerays*. Erlangen-Nürnberg 1967, p. 26 with Note 2. – Dieter Petzold: *Das englische Kunstmärchen im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*. Buchreihe der Anglia 20. Tübingen 1981, pp. 250 ff.

2 Rolf Hildebrandt: *Nonsense-Aspekte der englischen Kinderliteratur*. Internationale Untersuchungen zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur 8. Weinheim etc. 1970, pp. 68 f; 185.

3 Cf. Vivi Edström and Carina Lidström in Vivi Edström & Märta Netterstad, ed.: *Vällingsäck och sommarvind*. Malmö 1987, pp. 19 f. (Edström) and 48, 56 f. (Lidström).

4 Wilhelm Schellberg: *Untersuchung des Märchens „Gockel, Hinkel un Gackeleia" und des „Tagebuchs der Ahnfrau" von Clemens Brentano*. Münster i.W. 1903, pp. 72 f.

5 Petzold, op. cit. 1981, p. 263.

6 *Kindlers Literaturlexikon*. Zürich 1965–74, 3, pp. 911 f. states that *Gockel und Hinkel* was written in 1811, *Lexikon der Weltliteratur*. Stuttgart 1968, 2, pp. 38 f. 1811 and 1815/16, *Lexikon der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*. Weinheim etc. 1975–82 (1984), 1, p. 205 about 1815/16. Schellberg, op. cit. 1903, p. 8 maintains that the story was not written before 1806 and not later than 1810.

7 As text of „Urgockel" I have used *Brentano's Werke*, edited by Max Preitz. Nachdruck: Bern 1970, 2, pp. 380–462. Brentano's own manuscript is lost, and the source used by Preitz is a transcript arranged in 1831 by Brentano's friend Johann Friedrich Böhmer. For *Gockel, Hinkel, Gackeleia* of 1838 I have used the reprint published in 1905 by the Insel-Verlag in Leipzig.

8 Editor's introduction in *Brentanos Werke* (see Note 7) 2, p. 84.

9 "Brentanos Leben und Werke", in *op. cit.* 1970, pp. 1, 73*.

10 About Zachariä's biography see *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*. Leipzig 1875 ff., 44, pp. 615–17; the shadow plays are not mentioned, however. The two titles are stated in *Gesamtverzeichnis des deutschsprachigen Schrifttums (GV) 1700–1910*. München etc. 1979–87, 159, p.49 and in Georg Jacob: *Geschichte des Schattentheaters im Morgen- und Abendland*. 2 Aufl. Hannover 1925, p. 248, but nothing is said about the contents. *Kronprinzchen von Kinderland* was in shortened and revised form and with the title *Die Reise um die Welt* used by Leo Weismantel in his *Schattenspielbuch* from 1930, but these revisions cannot be used for the study of the original play.

11 An extensive search for *Das neue Schattenspiel* by the German library service has failed. The Swedish translation of 1822, *Skuggspelet. Nytt tidsfördrif för barn, jemte anwisning till dess begagnande* (The

shadow play. New pastime for children with instruction how to use it) has an extra title page: *Barnkungen, lustspel i sex akter* (The child king. A comedy in six acts). There is no mention of the author or the translator.

12 *The rose and the ring* is for example treated by Petzold, *op. cit.* 1981 (see Note 1), pp. 249–258, by Humphrey Carpenter & Mari Prichard: *The Oxford companion to children's literature.* Oxford etc. 1984, pp. 460 f. and of course in the extensive Thackeray literature. The pantomimes are described in Carpenter-Prichard, pp. 394 f. Thackeray's book is generally dated 1855, but is stated as being issued Christmas 1854 in F.J. Harvey Darton: *Children's books in England*. 3rd ed. edited by Brian Alderson. Cambridge etc. 1982, p. 263 and in Petzold, *op.cit*., p. 249. The dating is evident by the publishing on 16 December 1854 of reviews both in *The Athenaeum* and in *The Spectator* (Petzold, p. 250, Note). I have used the text in *The Centenary biographical edition*, Vol. 15, London 1911, pp. 301–430.

13 Schöne, *op. cit*. (see Note 1) 1955, pp. 276 f. Schöne quotes these names as evidence of a shifting from the fairy tale genre towards nonsense literature.

14 About Hood see Stanley J. Kunitz & Howard Haycraft, ed.: *British authors of the nineteenth century*. New York 1936, pp. 303 f. and especially about *Petsetilla's posy* Petzold. *op.cit.* 1981, pp. 261–265. I have used the text of *Petsetilla's posy* presented in the anthology *Beyond the looking glass*, edited by Jonathan Cott. New York etc. 1973, pp. 39–146 (copy of the 2nd printing in the Danish Pedagogical Library, Copenhagen). The bibliographies give 1871 as the date of *Petsetilla's posy*, but the book was obviously published for Christmas the year before (this is stated by Kunitz & Haycraft, Cott and Petzold).

15 The translator's signature is interpreted in Leonard Bygdén: *Svenskt anonym- och pseudonymlexikon*. Uppsala 1898–1915. (Facsimile ed. Stockholm 1974), 2, p. 369. About Annerstedt see *Svenska ättartal för år 1890*. Stockholm 1890, p. 38 and *Svenskt porträttgalleri*, 15. Stockholm 1900, p. 11.

16 About Cederström see Bygdén, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 736; 2, pp. 429, 714, 733, and in the Corrections and additions, 1974, p. 30. About the family Cederström see Gustaf Elgenstierna: *Den introducerade svenska adelns ättartavlor*. Stockholm 1925–36, 1, p. 821 (Table 43).

17 Cf. Göte Klingberg: *Denna lilla gris går till torget och andra brittiska toy books i Sverige 1869–79*. Stockholm 1987 (Studies published by the Swedish Institute for Children's Books 26), p. 63.

18 About the Swedish "spex" tradition cf. Göte Klingberg: *Den tidiga barnboken i Sverige*. Stockholm 1998 (Studies published by the Swedish Institute for Children's Books 64), pp. 89–91 with Note 15 p. 200.

The chapter is based upon a paper read in German at Bonn in 1990 and later printed as "Die west-nordeuropäische Kinderliteraturregion im 19. Jahrhundert" in the conference proceedings Kinderliteratur im interkulturellen Prozess. Studien zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Kinderliteraturwissenschaft*. Ed.: Hans-Heino Ewers, Gertrud Lehnert and Emer O'Sullivan. Stuttgart, Weimar 1994, pp. 65–71. The treatment of the absurd tales in this paper was based on a more comprehensive unpublished manuscript however, which also has been used here.*

Individual authors

Lucas Martini and the portrayal of the ordinary child (1580)

In the decades around 1600 there was an interest among German Protestant clergymen to write books for girls. One of these books is Lucas Martini's *Der christlichen Jungfrawen Ehrenkräntzlein. Darinnen alle jhre Tugenten durch die gemeine Kräntzblümlein abgebildet vnd erklert werden* (The Christian maidens' little garland of honour. Wherein all their virtues are depicted and explained with the help of the common little garland flowers), published in Prague in 1580. Martini was at that time living at Zeitz south-west of Leipzig. The book got a rather wide distribution. New editions were issued in Prague in 1581, 1585 and 1602. An anonymous Catholic revision was printed in Hungarian in Slovakia in 1591, and in 1604 a Low German version was published in Hamburg. In addition there were also eleven editions in Nordic languages, seven in Danish and four in Swedish. The first Danish edition is from 1594, the first Swedish one from 1608.

Around 1990 the book attracted the attention of no less than four researchers. Two treated it in a wider context, Cornelia Niekus Moore at the University of Hawaii in a book from 1987 about reading material for German girls in the 16th and 17th centuries (written in English although issued in Germany), and Bengt Arvidsson from the University of Lund in a book in Swedish from 1991 about the use of horticulture in works of piety around 1600. Arvidsson gives extensive quotations. The two other contributions, also from 1991, are solely devoted to Martini. One is in German, Susanne Barth's article about him in the 1570–1750 volume of *Handbuch zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*, the other was written by myself in Swedish as one of the essays in a collection aimed at marking the 400th anniversary of the first book for children in Sweden, a translation issued in 1591 of another one of the German Protestant books for girls.[1]

Nature symbolism

Martini's book is a book of nature symbolism. The flowers used by the maidens for their garlands illustrate the maidenly virtues. The fact

that flowers are used to symbolize virtues is an example of the "figura" doctrine, known i.a. from the emblematists, a tradition from classical antiquity and the Middle Ages. The "figures" were pictures of reality, but at the same time conveyed symbolic messages. For the naturalists of the time it was equally important to account for nature's messages to man as to describe the natural phenomena themselves.

Thus Martini also gives an account of the botanical features and medicinal efficacy of the twenty plants he mentions. Cowslips, for example, strengthen the heart; as a distillation they remove stains. Symbolically they illustrate that a lover of the word of God feels comfort and strength in the heart and that the evil desires are removed.

The treatment of the flowers is up to date. Martini himself mentions Dioskorides and Mattioli, i.e. the foremost botanist of classical antiquity and a leading Italian botanist in the 16th century respectively. This must mean that he used the commentary to Dioskorides, published in Latin by Mattioli in 1554 and later issued in many editions and translations. The correlation between the Latin plant names in Martini and Mattioli's Latin original is not very great, however. On the other hand, Martini's Latin and German names are both found in nearly exact forms in the German translation by Georgius Handsch from 1563: *New Kreüterbuch. Mit den allerschönsten vnd artlichsten Figuren aller Gewechsz* (New herbal. With the most beautiful and neat pictures of all the plants). I have therefore supposed that this was the book Martini used. It is a big-sized book with more than 1 200 pages, like his own published in Prague.[2]

Martini's book is illustrated by woodcuts, among other things of all the twenty flowers. Plant illustration had made big progress in Germany during the 16th century, and the wood engravings in the botanical works were copied for other purposes, for example to illustrate books like Martini's.

Martini's inventiveness also exceeds the interpretation of the qualities of the plants. The framework of the garland and the strings in different colours which are used in the binding illustrate the reasons that make the maidens strive to attain the virtues. The binding itself and the carrying of the garland are made to represent the ways and means which lead the maidens to the virtues.

Garden allegories had been fairly common in the late Middle Ages, especially within Mysticism. As in Martini's book the garden could symbolize the Christian church. Examples of medieval plant symbolism are for example found in literature about the Virgin Mary. She was often compared with a flower, and certain plants were seen as symbols of her and her virtues. It also occurred that she carried a garland as a symbol of her virginity.

The fact that Martini was influenced by the literature about the Virgin Mary is stressed by Barth in her article from 1991. She studied a woodcut depicting a garden with a young lady, or perhaps older girl, binding a garland helped by a young girl. According to Barth this woodcut reminds one of numerous pictures of Mary from the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, which show her in a walled garden demonstrating her untouched purity.

At the same time Barth acknowledges that there are novelties in Martini's book. The virtues depicted are not only of a religious kind, they include the virtues of the bourgeois housewife in the age of the Reformation. She also observes that Martini touches upon the lives of contemporary children.

The maiden's garden and the maiden's garland

Without doubt Martini worked in the tradition of the medieval garden allegories. His account is more concrete than these allegories, however. The maiden's garland of which Martini writes belongs to an existing custom among girls. This is also illustrated by the woodcut mentioned by Barth. Although it seems very possible that as a composition it could have been based on pictures of Mary in her garden, it does not show Mary, but real people in work binding a garland. In addition, all the plants mentioned were not found in medieval gardens. The "Indian carnations" (i.e. Tagetes patula) had an American origin and were only recently imported to Europe.

Much older children's literature can only be understood with the help of specialized knowledge of the peculiarities of the time. Conversely, children's literature can also be used as a source of knowledge of old ways of life. From the viewpoint of the history of children's literature Martini's book is perhaps most interesting in so much as it gives some evidence of the lives of children, in this case girls, in 16th century Europe. Even in this connection the woodcut discussed above can be brought to the fore. Pictures showing the activities of children were very unusual in children's books of the 16th and 17th centuries.

In his treatise of horticultural symbolism in works of piety around the year 1600 the above mentioned Arvidsson observes that many such works were written for women and points out that this may be due to the fact that the gardens were often worked by them. He has no example of a special garden for girls, but it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that they often had their own flower beds.

Maidens' gardens are also in fact mentioned by at least two of the authors of horticultural works from the 16th century, Hieronymus Bock in his *Kreüter Buch* (Herb book), first printed in Strasbourg in 1546,

and Georgius Handsch in his German Mattioli translation from 1563 mentioned above.[2] Both speak of how the girls cultivate the garland flowers in *their* gardens. In these two books one also finds technical details of how the girls attend to the flowers. Evergreens are given special importance since material for garlands were also required during the winter. The evergreens could be placed in flower pots in the windows, although some had to be put in the cellar. When the weather improved they were placed in the sun and watered, but then once again put in the cellar so as not to freeze.

Martini's book gives supporting evidence testifying that the girls had their own gardens. Each day when the girls have to make new garlands, Martini writes, they do not search for flowers in the fields but in their gardens, where they are near at hand. There is also a description of how the girls take care of the flowers during the winter.

As a head-dress for girls the garland of flowers is known from the Middle Ages. It belonged to all circles and marked that the girl was unmarried and sexually intact. At the wedding the bride for the last time wore the maiden's garland which showed that she was a chaste bride.

A more detailed treatment of the maidens' garlands as a profane custom seems to be lacking, but they are mentioned in places. Pictures of them are encountered in books about the visual and horticultural arts. In a household book produced in Northern Italy at the end of the 14th century there are pictures of ordinary scenes, and among them one which shows two girls, one gathering flowers and the other binding a garland. Both girls have garlands on their heads. In a Boccaccio manuscript from about 1470 there is a picture of Emilia sitting in her rose garden binding a garland on a similar kind of ring as described by Martini and which is shown in the woodcut mentioned above. In the German Friedrich Dedekind's *Grobianus*, in Latin, 1549, and translated into German in 1551, it is written that a garland of pretty little flowers usually adorns the maiden, especially made of rosemary, which gives really beautiful little garlands.[3] The maiden's garland was obviously also something well-known to 16th century botanists. Bock and Handsch's German Mattioli edition name the kinds of flowers that were used by the girls. Bock mentions, among others, marjoram, rosemary, daisy and pansy, while Handsch names sweet violet, of which the maidens are said to make garlands and posies. In the herbal by Otto Brunfels, *Contrafayt Kreüterbuch* (Herb book with pictures), printed in Strasbourg in 1532, it is written that the carnations are known to everyone, since they embellish the gardens and the maidens make them into garlands.[2]

In ethnology the maiden's garland is described as belonging to a

festive attire worn at divine services and processions. Evidence of this is found as early as 1684 in a German text by Balthasar Schupp describing how mothers on Sunday morning put garlands on their daughters, presumably before going to church. Later, in 1715 and 1739, a "women's dictionary" (*Frauenzimmer-Lexicon*) was published in Germany, in which it is written that maidens "in some places", at weddings and other ceremonies, wear a garland twined of laurel or other leaves as well as of natural or imitated flowers.[4]

In Martini, however, we find maidens' garlands to be a more ordinary custom. In one place he writes that maidens can feel ashamed if they are not wearing a garland of blue (i.e. sweet) violets or cowslips in those times when one can wear these flowers. At the end of his book he compares the virtues of maidens to the flowers and spices they use all throughout the year for their garlands. He also gives a list of plants which should be used during different months.

In fact he describes the binding of garlands as something repeated every day. He writes of the maidens' "daily garlands", and of their liking to "wear newly made garlands every day".

How much Martini knew of the use of the maidens' garlands and how widespread the custom was is difficult to deduce. He does seem to have been familiar with the garlands, however. He gives aesthetic advice about which colours are best suited to put together, and writes that Tagetes (the "Indian carnations") cannot be placed whole in the garlands, since they then would be disfigured. He also knows that substitutes for garlands could be made (as was written about in the "women's dictionary" of 1715 mentioned above). He does not like painted flowers cut out of paper or made by wax however.

At any rate he tried to find a subject that could be thought to interest his young readers. The book gives an example of a portrayal of contemporary children, a theme so very common in later children's literature. In this way Martini made use of matter-choosing adaptation in the sense proposed in an earlier chapter of this book.

Notes

1 Cornelia Niekus Moore: *The maiden's mirror*. Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 36. Wiesbaden 1987, pp. 34, 99–101 (with a picture of the title-page of the first edition from 1580); Bengt Arvidsson: *Själens örtagård*. Lund 1991, passim; Susanne Barth in *Handbuch zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur. Von 1570 bis 1750*. Stuttgart 1991, columns 59–82 (with a picture, taken from the second Prague edition 1581, of the woodcut which shows girls binding a garland in a garden); Göte Klingberg: *Till gagn och nöje. Svensk barnbok 400 år*. Stocholm 1991 (Studies published by the Swedish Institute for Children's Book 38), pp. 40–61 (reproducing eight of the woodcuts, also from the 1581 edition). – Both Barth and myself have tried to give modern botanical names to the twenty plants, not a wholly easy task. Some uncertainty remains.

2 I have had access to the German Mattioli translation from 1563 in the Botanical Library in Göteborg University Library. The later mentioned herbals, different editions of Bock's book, were found in the Göteborg Botanical Library and in the Library of the Forestry and Agriculture Academy in Stockholm. Brunfels's work from 1532 was found in Lund University Library.

3 Pictures of medieval maidens' garlands in Lottlisa Behling: *Die Pflanze in der mittelalterlichen Tafelmalerei*. Weimar 1957, p. 54, in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* 5. New York 1985, p. 359, and in Frank Crisp: *Mediaeval gardens*. London 1924, 1, pp. 45, 109 and Figure 78; 2, pictures XCV and XCVI. The quotation from Dedekind in Marion Widmann: *"De coronis"*. Artes populares 12. Frankfurt am Main 1987, p. 49. Widmann has also other information of garlands.

4 Accounts of the maidens' garlands in the German area are given in *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 5. Berlin 1932–33, columns 408–410 (Kranz, 13). The quotation from Schupp in Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm: *Deutsches Wörterbuch* 5, 1873, column 2051. In the second edition of *Nutzbares, galantes und curiöses Frauenzimmer-Lexicon*. Franckfurt, Leipzig 1739, the article "Jungfern-Crantz" is found column 793 (copy used in Lund University Library).

The chapter is based upon the essay about Martini mentioned above and in Note 1, "Natursymbolik för flickor" (Nature symbolism for girls), published in Till gagn och nöje – svensk barnbok 400 år *(For instruction and delight – the Swedish children's book – 400 years). Stockholm 1991 (Studies published by the Swedish Institute for Children's Books 38), pp. 40–61.*

Carl Gustaf Tessin and children's literature as amusing instruction (1750s)

In 1744, the Swedish Crown Prince Adolf Fredric married the Prussian Princess Luise Ulrike (in Sweden, Lovisa Ulrica), a sister of King Friedrich II. They had four children, three boys and one girl, of whom Gustaf was the eldest, born in 1746. When in 1751 Adolf Fredric acceded to the throne Gustaf became Crown Prince.

The Crown Princess, later the Queen, was Gustaf's first teacher. But the education of a future king was a very important task, so the boy of course had other teachers too. As their head and with the title of governor Count Carl Gustaf Tessin was appointed back in 1747, but first took up his duties in 1749. He was at that time held in high regard by the Queen. They later fell out, however, and in 1754, Tessin was forced to resign from his post.

Tessin was an important political figure, active in government and parliament, and had held posts of ambassador in Vienna and, around the year of 1740, in Paris. In 1744, he had been in Berlin to arrange the royal wedding, and brought the new Crown Princess to Sweden. He had, however, also extensive interests in the arts, as well as in the natural sciences. Even before his years as ambassador he had visited France and was strongly influenced by French culture.

Responsible for the education of the young prince, Tessin adhered to distinct pedagogical ideas. One was that knowledge should be made lifelike by observation, of nature or of pictures. This explains his frequent use of copper engravings. He also held that instruction would have its best effects if given in an entertaining way. In a letter to the prince from 1751 he expresses this thought by the words that "the moral is the nourishment of the mind and thus it also demands to be seasoned and sugared, otherwise it becomes dry, distasteful and loses its taste".

The idea to instruct through play was certainly no new idea in the history of education but had been strengthened by the influence of two prominent writers at the end of the 17th century, John Locke in England and François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon in France. In 1684 (printed in 1693 as *Some thoughts concerning education*) Locke said that learning could be made a game and recreation for children, and Fénelon said the same, probably also in 1684 (printed in 1687 as *Traité de l'éducation des filles*): a usual mistake in education is to make the studies boring and only recreation amusing.

Both writers also stressed that an entertaining story could be a good means of instruction. As many before them they alluded to the fables.

The Aesop fables had long been used as reading for children, but even the great French fabulists, such as Jean de La Fontaine, on the whole published their collections as children's literature. Locke also recommended *Reynard the Fox*, i.e. the French epic *Roman de Renard*, which in revised editions had the moralizing character of the animal fable. Fénelon, however, went further and wrote children's literature himself.

Between 1689 and 1697 he had been teacher to the grandson of Louis XIV, and for his pupil he wrote his famous *Les avantures de Télémaque,* and also fables in prose. Of the latter there are four, which are in fact no ordinary fables but moral wonder tales. All of these writings had an educational aim.

Both Locke and Fénelon were known in Sweden in the first half of the 18th century. Being mainly influenced by French culture, it may be assumed, however, that Fénelon and the heritage from him had the greatest importance for Tessin. One of Fénelon's followers was Charles Rollin, whose history of classical antiquity Tessin read to his young pupil in the mornings.

Common educational ideals may have been the reason why Tessin in 1750 recommended the Swedish writer and historian Olof von Dalin as "preceptor" (tutor) to Prince Gustaf. He taught history and geography. As early as 1734 Dalin had stressed the importance of instruction through play, when he wrote that children should be taught to think with the help of games and amusements. In 1739–40 he visited Paris and met the Scotsman Andrew Michael Ramsay who was a warm admirer of Fénelon and a publisher of his works. In a letter from Paris he mentions Ramsay as well as Rollin.

Instruction through play was not alien to the prince's parents. In a letter from 1749 the mother boasts that her son, still only three years old, knew all the letters in the alphabet and could spell. This he had learnt "tout en badinant", wholly in play. She further writes of a new invention from France by which children can learn to read while playing. This was the "bureau typographique" created by the Frenchman Louis du Mas, in which one could pick out the letters and put them together into words. This "toy" had been enthusiastically described by Rollin.

The idea of using entertaining children's literature as a means of instruction was also realized by both Tessin and Dalin. Thus Dalin wrote fables, in verse as well as in prose, but also six moral wonder tales, which are surprisingly early examples of this new children's literature genre. (The contents of three of them have been summarized above in the chapter on the moral wonder tale.)

In the beginning Tessin presented his tuition verbally when the prince had his breakfast ("the breakfast hour was in general the fable hour" as he writes in his diary on December 18, 1757). Towards the end of February 1751 he was taken ill, however, and became unable to fulfil this duty. Instead, he wrote letters to his pupil, 25 in all dated between February 25 and March 22. That he really was ill is confirmed by words such as sleepless nights, a sick head, pains, new ailment and indisposition.

Thanks to Lovisa Ulrica, who at that time was still on the best of terms with the governor, these letters were printed in the same year as *Utkast af en gammal mans dageliga bref, under dess sjukdom, til en späd prints* (Edition of the daily letters of an old man, during his illness, to a tender prince). (The "old man" was 56 at the time.) In 1753 Tessin himself in a small edition printed a further series of letters written sporadically between June 1, 1751 and September 6, 1753, *En äldre mans bref til en stadigare prints* (Letters of an elderly man to a more steady prince). These letters are considerably longer than the ones in the first series. They are also real letters, however, since they are dated in different places in the country.

During the discord of how the education of the Crown Prince had been attended to, the Swedish parliament in 1756 arranged for a new printing in two parts, *En gammal mans bref, til en ung prints* (Letters of an old man to a young prince). The first part contains the letters that had been printed earlier, the second part new letters dated between May 23, 1754 and March 8, 1756. Whether these later letters are real letters or not has been disputed. They are strongly influenced by the political situation and Tessin's own position. The earlier letters are those that are of real interest for the history of children's literature. – A somewhat shortened edition was published as late as 1785: *En gammal mans utvalda bref til en ung prins* (A selection of letters from an old man to a young prince).

In addition to the printed letters Tessin's way of tuition is illustrated in his diary, now in the Royal Library in Stockholm.

Educational methods and stories for children

From his diary of December 18, 1757 Tessins words have been quoted to show his pedagogical folly, but which also illustrate his view of the importance of teaching in an entertaining way. He writes of how he tried to inform the prince of how every man has a heavy burden, and that he should value the sweat of his future subjects. But to make an impression, he says,

> *I had to accompany it with gestures, imitate sounds and whimper, sing some little tailor's song, etc., so that often, if someone had come in suddenly, I had rather been taken as a strolling player than as a serious Government officer... In other words it seemed better to begin by amusing the prince than later make him forget what was most important to remember.*

In addition to fables, traditionally used as reading for children, Tessin also used several of the new genres which during the 18th century were introduced into children's literature. Consequently there are some moral stories about ordinary children, as well as some accounts of nature and the arts. There is also a story, "Sagan om draken och hermelin" (The tale of the dragon and the ermine), which could be called a wonder tale since a dragon and an ermine who can read appear.

He did not like his assistant Dalin's use of the "contes des fées", however. In February 1767, he copied one of Dalin's tales of this type in his diary, "Kärlekens nytta" (The benefit of love) calling it "a pattern for moral stories suited for a child's comprehension", but he also comments that "the latter part of the tale could have been better, since cruel practices and the lust of love should be presented to a young gentleman with great care and always be accompanied with their antidote". An even more pronounced attitude against the genre is his commentary of Dalin's "Sagan om Dyrbar" (The tale of Precious): "However pleasant the story may be, on a sensible consideration it will not be taken amiss that I did not use it at the prince's age. Strange supernatural things, love and so on are not the first impressions suitable for a child." In the tale we find an inclination for purification of cruelty, magic and the erotic.

The first letter containing what could be called a fable is from March 4, 1751. It tells of what Tessin had heard from two men who had come to him in the evening, one from Iceland and one from one of the Swedish counties. In Iceland a big white bear had become king of the animals. He wanted to rule and be feared, but the other animals hid from him, and so without help or food he perished. But in the other place a brave, resourceful and friendly ermine had become king, and in this case consideration and love had raised him to his position. In the letter from the following day we hear that Aesop himself seemed to have visited Tessin in the night, asking him to write down a fable about two monkeys that had just come to his mind. Jove had allowed both monkeys to become humans. One of them wanted to be an emperor, the other only a human being and after that what he could deserve. Since the

new emperor did not know anything he had to become a monkey again. But the other learned from his equals and was elevated to emperor. "Before one can rule over human beings, one has to be a human oneself, that is learn and obey."

In the letters from 1752 the fables are often directly dependent on the French fable writers. "Fåraherden" (The shepherd) is La Fontaine's "Le berger et le roi" and Fénelon's "Histoire d'Alibée, persan", "Saga om örn och skatan" (A tale of the eagle and the magpie) La Fontaine's "L'aigle et la pie", "Saga om råbocken, kårpen, råttan och sköldpaddan" (A tale of the roebuck, the raven, the rat and the tortoise) La Fontaine's "Le corbeau, la gazelle, la tortue et le rat". "Om solen och wädret" (About the sun and the weather) is one of the well-known Aesop fables but also La Fontaine's "Phébus et Borée". "Saga om Pandora" (A tale of Pandora) is de La Motte's "Pandore", "Saga om dygden, konsten och det goda ryktet" (A tale of virtue, art and good reputation) de La Motte's "La vertu, le talent, et la réputation".

There are also independently created fables however, for example "Saga om solen och stjärnan" (A tale of the sun and the star). The star is envious and the sun generous.

Forerunners of the moral stories about ordinary children, so common in children's literature from the second half of the 18th century, occur even in some of the first letters from 1751. In one it is told of two brothers, ten and twelve years of age, who have contrasting personalities. One is idle while the other hard-working. In the following letter one brother is wasteful while the other is economical, yet without money since he gives them to the needy. A third letter also tells of two brothers. In this case one is unkind to his servants, the other is kind.

The study of nature is touched upon in the tale of the dragon and the ermine (mentioned above and further treated below), where we read that the ermine looked for books "dealing with grass, bushes, trees, flowers and seeds such as belonged to his housekeeping". A letter from June 1751 deals with the arranging of a collection of natural-history objects. In connection with this there is a detailed description of a cuttlefish illustrated by an engraving.

A characteristic of Tessin's educational methods was to be as concrete as possible. This is of course the case when the behaviour of the young prince himself is depicted. A letter about a fumbling child who often fell down is directly connected with the prince's own tendency to fall over. Another letter tells of how the portraits in the prince's chamber look displeased and how the cleaning-woman is appalled. The reason here being a mishap which had befallen the prince and would hopefully not

be repeated. The brother who in a further story about two brothers has the bad habit of biting his lip may presumably be the prince himself.

Incidentally, the last story deserves a commentary of its own since its ending reminds one of later absurd literature for children: "The troubled lower lip grew more and more every day, until it trailed down on the floor. But since all misfortune affords some consolation this hanging lip served as a shelter below which the younger brother sat and in the name of the elder answered such strangers and foreigners who could only speak French." Nothing similar is found in Swedish children's literature before the 19th century.

The desire for concreteness could also lead to the placing of a story in a well-known setting. There are two excellent examples of this, the rendering of the fable about the town and the country rat, presumably dependent on La Fontaine, and the aforementioned tale about the dragon and the ermine.

The fable is not preserved in its complete form, but is described by Tessin in his diary of December 18, 1757 in such detail that it would nearly be possible to reconstruct the text.

> *Reading of fables only made a small impression on His Royal Highness, but when I told them in detail and introduced people and things that were near to him, well-known and pleasant, he took hearty delight in them. He could often, for three or four mornings running, ask me to tell one and the same fable... The fable about the town and the country rat did not stick in the beginning, but when I began to add how they were clothed, how the town rat dressed the country rat in the town manner, how they sneaked into the room of one or the other of the young court ladies, the description of the rooms, how the poor rats were close to revealing themselves when the powder made them sneeze, how the maids pottered about when their young ladies were out, the rounds and patrols of the rats through kitchen, larder and cellar, how things were fixed up there, what food and drink they found, how they, like the prince, pulled faces when served one dish and greedily reached for another, their caution of dogs and cats, their talks and opinions of what they saw and heard, as well as other childishness, then I found that the attention of His Royal Highness was so complete that he almost forgot his breakfast.*

The tale of the dragon and the ermine is about a dragon who lived beside the garden pond at Drottningholm, the royal residence in the neighbourhood of Stockholm, where the Royal Family now resides. The

dragon killed all the animals on the island where the palace is situated, with the exception of an ermine, who also lived in the vicinity of the garden. Afraid of his future the ermine decided to free himself and the estate. Knowing that garden rue is a spice that dragons cannot abide, he got a wreath of this from the gardener, and the smell of the rue made the dragon flee the island. Not satisfied with this the ermine pursued it all the way to Lapland, where the dragon took his own life. Here some Laplanders found it and brought this rare game to Stockholm and the king. The connection of events was understood, and so as to honour the ermine a statue of him with a green wreath round the waist was erected at Drottningholm. Seeing this statue for the first time the narrator looked into the future and believed to see a similar statue of the prince in the attire of a hero.

The story is told with several concrete details. The ermine learns to read having found a torn-up letter, left in the "bosquette", a plantation at the bottom of the garden, by the young court ladies. When he has mastered the art of reading he comes across Linnaeus's work on Swedish plants, which professor Pettersen used to leave on a seat in the orangery. The ermine reads the book under the floor at nighttime, putting it back again afterwards. The gardener who gives him the rue is Master Lind. The ermine does not forget to drive out the dragon from the adjacent property of the Marshal of the Court Baron Horn. The statue of the ermine is carved in marble by the sculptor Bouchardon, a Frenchman who took part in the embellishment of the royal palace in Stockholm and in 1749 had made a terra-cotta statuette of the prince. The text to be placed on the statue is written by Secretary Berch, Head of the Antiquity Archives, and cast on four tables by the State Founder Meyer.

With everything so well-known and credible it is not surprising that the five-year-old prince "so often with pleasure and patience listened to the tale of the dragon and the ermine".

Translations of Tessin's collections of letters to the prince

Children's literature published in Sweden in the 18th century to a great extent were translations from abroad, but Swedish originals for children were not at this time translated into other languages. The exception is Tessin's letters to his royal pupil, which were translated into no less than four languages, German, French, English and Italian. In all there are at least ten editions.

The first translation was in German: *Briefe an einen jungen Prinzen von einem alten Manne.* Leipzig 1754. The year of printing shows that

it only included the letters from 1751–53. With the same title however the publisher issued a complete edition in two parts in 1756.

There are three French editions: *Lettres à un jeune prince*. Amsterdam 1755 as well as London 1755, and *Lettres au prince royal de Suède*. Paris 1755. The printing years show that only the letters from 1751–53 are included.

In English there are *Letters to a young prince, from his governor*. London 1755, and *Letters from an old man to a young prince*. London 1756 with a second edition in 1759. The book from 1755 can only have contained the letters from 1751–53, the 1756–59 edition may be assumed to have been complete.

The Italian translation is complete: *Lettere scritte al principe reale di Svezia*. Bern 1759–60 and Lucca 1765.

The translations of Tessin's letters are of course of interest with regards the history of Swedish children's literature. One has to bear in mind, however, that they are hardly to be regarded only as children's books. The translations were surely especially of interest to an adult audience. The ideal of a monarch was depicted as well as the methods suitable for the education of a future king.[1]

Note

1 The German translation has been given attention in *Handbuch zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur. Von 1750 bis 1800*. Stuttgart 1982, columns 490–494. But even in this modern review it is the picture of the ideal king that is treated, not so much the education through play, and the fable is the only genre observed.

This chapter is based upon some of my writings in Swedish: „Kunglig barnuppfostran vid Adolf Fredriks och Lovisa Ulrikas hov" (Royal child education in the court of A.F. and L.U.). Livrustkammaren *(The Journal of The Royal Armoury) 15, 1979, pp. 17–46; the Introduction to an edition of seventeen of Tessin's letters in the first series, Utkast af en gammal mans dageliga bref, under dess sjukdom, til en späd prints. Stockholm 1964;* Svensk barn- och ungdomslitteratur 1591–1839. *Stockholm 1964, passim; "Äldre svenska barnböcker i utlandet" (Older Swedish children's books abroad), published in the exhibition catalogue* Om Nils Holgersson flugit ut över världen *(If N.H. had flown out over the world). Stockholm: The Swedish Institute for Children's Books and the Royal Library 1998, pp. 4–7 (titles of translations).*

Arnaud Berquin and the internationalism of children's literature (1780s)

It has often been held that European children's literature was a creation of the 18th century. As seen in the chapter above about Martini, this is not true. On the other hand it is indisputable that the 18th century played a decisive role for the building up of modern children's literature. In the latter part of the century an extensive literature of this kind saw the light of day, especially in France, England and Germany.

Based on the pedagogical ideas of the Enlightenment, this literature exhibited many common traits. Children's literature was very similar from one country to the next and this facilitated an interchange. Translations were made whereby authors' names and original titles were given, but many other translations and revised editions lacked this information.

Thus, stories and anecdotes are often found in collections in different languages in a way that makes it difficult to know what the original version was. The French female author Marie Elisabeth Bouée de La Fite has a story called "Le riche indien" (i.e. a person who had lived a long time in India) in her *Entretiens, drames et contes moraux* (1778). The same story occurs as "Il ricco indiano" in the Italian Franceso Soave's *Novelle morali ad uso de' fanciulli* (1782). From the publication dates it would seem that Soave took the story from La Fite, but the possibility remains that yet another author was involved.

A borrowing of material in this way was made easy by the absence of international copyright laws. It was first in the 19th century when bilateral treaties were brought about, being applied up until the first major step toward an international legislation was taken through the Bern Convention of 1886. In fact, it would seem that one found borrowing without permission to be rather natural. In his memoirs the well-known German children's author Christian Felix Weisse pointed out that Berquin and La Fite in France had borrowed from him. He tells that both had sent him their translations. One does not get the impression that he saw this as plagiarism but only felt honoured by it.[1]

Nor does one seem to have had the same view as came later of the importance of the originality of literary works. In Sweden the words "Swedish original" are often found on the title-pages of children's books from the 19th century (even though the originality is sometimes rather doubtful). The first time these words are found is 1839, however. In the preceding century one did not hesitate to announce that one had

borrowed materials. In 1780 one Swedish children's author wrote that the contents of his book were taken, partly from the ideas of others, partly from his own. In 1799 another Swedish children's writer stressed that he did not want to gain credit as an author, and that for this reason had deemed it unnecessary to point out what was his own and what was borrowed or translated from "some new and generally approved German educational writings". Neither of the two authors mentions his sources, but in 1799 they are explicitly said to be foreign. This was most likely also the case in 1780.

Frequent borrowings put big obstacles in the path of the bibliographer of course. This aside, it is an interesting fact that as a result of these cross-border exchanges an internationalism of children's literature was established, at least insofar as Europe was concerned. This internationalism is an appropriate subject for children's literature research.

In the following sections the phenomenon will be illustrated by a survey of Berquin's sources. The survey also exemplifies the work of a comparative children's literature bibliography, until now only carried out in a small way, but which is necessary for the historical research of this literature.

Berquin's life and writings

Arnaud Berquin was born in Bordeaux in 1747. After school he tried his fortune as a writer and publisher in Paris. He witnessed the beginning of the French revolution but was dead by 1791.

His interest in literature for children seems to have been influenced by his friendship with the Paris book-seller and publisher Charles Joseph Panckoucke and his wife. Berquin also became the private tutor of their children. This explains his first book for children, *Lectures pour les enfans ou Choix de petits contes et drames également propres à les amuser et à leur inspirer le goût de la vertu*, published in 1777. In the year of his death, 1791, the last one was issued, *Le livre de famille ou Journal des enfans*.

In between these two books Berquin wrote the five works for children that have given him his fame, all from the 1780's. The first one was the journal *L'ami des enfans,* followed by a journal for older children, *L'ami de l'adolescence* (*des adolescents*). Both journals also appeared in as books. A book of non-fiction entitled, *Introduction familière à la connoissance de la nature*, as well as two novels, *Sandford et Merton* and *Le petit Grandisson,* make up the remaining three. Berquin's

collected works were published in 28 parts by J.J. Regnault-Warin in 1802. There are a great many editions of his children's books, both in French and translated into other languages.[2]

In the discussion as to what extent Berquin was an original author or a translator there are divergent statements. He has often been presented as the true author. While sometimes acknowledged in France that there were foreign sources, it is nevertheless maintained that his versions have a special charm or that he treated the texts with a simplicity that was his own.

On the other hand, from those writers who view Berquin's work as largely borrowed one can find equally exaggerated statements. It is generally known that plays from the journal *Der Kinderfreund*, edited by the German Weisse, were used in *L'ami des enfans*. In the 1970's well-known German researchers were heard to claim that *L'ami des enfans* was simply a translation of *Der Kinderfreund*. It is not as simple as that; a large amount was not used by Berquin, for example Weisse's frame story, and there are many pages which were not borrowed from Weisse.

The truth about Berquin as an author and as a translator lies somewhere in between. It can be assumed that a lot of material was his own, for example that contained in *L'ami des enfans*. On the other hand J.J. Regnault-Warin, the editor of the collected works, has a clear conception of how Berquin worked, saying that he "utilized all authors and collections that could enrich him".

In fact Berquin himself did not try to conceal this. In his printed advertisement, "Prospectus", to be seen in a copy of the 1782 volume of *L'ami des enfans* in the Bibliothèque Nationale, he mentions that he had used writings of the Germans, Weisse, Campe and Salzmann. In the journal one of the plays is presented as an imitation after "M. Stéphanie", referring to the German writer, Gottlob Stéphanie. There are also books which on the title-pages are said to be free translations from English and Dutch, "traduction libre de l'anglois", "traduction libre de hollandois".

L'ami des enfans

The journal, *L'ami des enfans,* was issued between January 1782 and December 1783, and consisted of stories, dialogues and plays. A book edition in four volumes followed directly. As mentioned above, Berquin himself acknowledged borrowing from Weisse, Campe, Salzmann and Stéphanie. From Weisse, Berquin only sourced plays, all of which came

from Weisse's journal, *Der Kinderfreund*. These are listed below in the order in which the originals were published.

Der Geburthstag (1775)	L'épée
Der ungezogene Knabe (1777)	Le petit joueur de violon
Die kleine Aehrenleserinn (1777)	La petite glaneuse
Wer dem andern eine Grube gräbt, fällt oft selbst hinein; oder Die blinde Kuh (1777)	Colin-maillard
Der Abschied (1778)	Le congé
Ein kleiner Familienzwist, oder Gute Kinder machen bisweilen auch gute Aeltern (1778)	Les pères réconciliés par leurs enfans
Das junge Modefrauenzimmer (1779)	L'éducation à la mode
Die Friedensfeyer, oder Die unvermuthete Wiederkunft (1779)	Le retour de croisière
Die natürliche Zauberey (1779)	Le sortilège naturel
Versprechen muss man halten, oder Ein guter Mensch macht andre gute Menschen (1779)	Les étrennes
Die Feuersbrunst, oder Gute Freunde in der Noth das grösste Glück (1780)	L'incendie
Ein gutes Herz macht manchen Fehler gut (1780)	Un bon coeur fait pardonner bien des étourderies
Das Windspiel, oder Die Rache (1781)	La levrette et la bague
Die jungen Spieler, oder Böse Gesellschaften verderben gute Sitten (1781)	Les joueurs

From Gottlieb Stéphanie came the play, *Der Deserteur aus kindlicher Liebe* (1773), called by Berquin, „Le déserteur ou L'héroïsme filial". Christian Gotthilf Salzmann's *Unterhaltungen für Kinder und Kinderfreunde* (the plays are in volumes 3 and 5, 1780, 1782) is the source of „Die gute Stiefmutter" („L'école des marâtres"). There are also two plays by Johann Jacob Engel, *Der dankbare Sohn* (1771) and *Der Edelknabe* (1774), which appeared as "Le bon fils" and "Le page".

Regarding Joachim Heinrich Campe I have identified only one story, "Karl und Lieschen" in the 1780 volume of *Kleine Kinderbibliothek*, called "Denise et Antonin" by Berquin. It may be added that J.M. Carrière in an article from 1935 states that "La père de famille" and "La séparation" are two episodes taken from a play by the German writer, Otto Heinrich von Gemmingen, published in 1780 in *Der deutsche Hausvater*.[3]

L'ami de l'adolescence (des adolescents)

This journal was published between September 1784 and April 1785. In later book editions it is called *L'ami des adolescents,* but in the book about Berquin from 1983 (mentioned in Note 2) the original title of the journal, as well as the book edition from 1786, is given as *L'ami de l'adolescence*.

Curiously, J.J. Regnault-Warin in the collected works of 1802 renders the sub-title as "traduction libre de l'anglais". Berquin definitely did use English material, but there are also German sources and even a Dutch one.

Some foreign sources are mentioned by Berquin himself. He credits S.W. (Samuel Waller) Prenties with authorship of "Relation d'un naufragé sur l'Isle-Royale, autrement dite le Cap-Breton", and also presents the year of publication of the English version as 1782, but does not state the original's title. It was however, *Narrative of a shipwreck on the island of Cape Breton, in a voyage from Quebec*. (It is also possible that "La caverne de Castle-Town. Récit d'un voyageur" is of English origin, since it is set in Derbyshire.)

Pfeffel and Stéphanie are also mentioned by Berquin as "imitated" in plays. By Gottlieb Konrad Pfeffel the plays were, "Damon und Pythias" ("Pythias et Damon") and "Die Belagerung von Glocester" ("Le siège de Colchester"). Both the originals were published in Pfeffel's *Dramatische Kinderspiele* (1769). "Charles Second" is taken from Gottlieb Stéphanie's *Die Liebe für den König* (1776).

Lastly, Berquin presents the original of „L'honnête fermier" as, "De eerlyke Landman", mentioning that he had taken it from a Dutch collection, *Nieuwe spectateriaale schouwburg*, printed in Amsterdam in 1782, but omits the author's name.

Introduction familière à la connoissance de la nature

This book, published in 1784, is generally known to be a translation of Sarah Trimmer's *An easy introduction to the knowledge of nature*

(1780). In a preface directed to parents, Berquin himself writes that he had wanted to translate from "mistress Trimmer", and the subtitle includes the usual phrase, "free translation", in this case from English.

Sandford et Merton

The novel was published in two parts in 1786 and 1787. The heroes' names from the title alone reveal the original to be Thomas Day's, *The history of Sandford and Merton*. The first two parts of this work were published in 1783 and 1786. The third part, only issued in England in 1789, is therefore lacking from Berquin's version.

The fact that the book was a translation from English – a fact also made clear in the subtitle, "traduction libre de l'anglois" – would seem obvious. Despite this, it has been regarded as an original by Berquin in a French de luxe edition from 1864 of several of Berquin's works. The editors thought it fitting to point out the weakness of the ending. Nevertheless, they write, the book has such merits that one had decided to print it in the manner that the author had left it. Surely he had thought to revise and complete it.[4] This commentary is rather funny, since as we have seen the reason for the unfinished ending is that the third part of Day's book was still unpublished.

Le petit Grandisson

The year of publication was 1787. It has always been acknowledged that the book must have something to do with Samuels Richardson's *The history of Sir Charles Grandison* (1753–54). The connection is not greater, however, than that both books are epistolary novels and that the "little Grandisson" is a paragon of virtue like Sir Charles. The book tells of a Dutch boy on a visit to London. Since the visitor is a Dutch boy it is probable that the original was Dutch, and this is also corroborated by the subtitle "traduction libre du hollandois". Not enough attention has been paid to this however, which has led to great confusion about the provenance. *Le petit Grandisson* is a good example therefore of the lack and necessity of an international comparative bibliography.

J.J. Regnault-Warin, the 1802 editor of Berquin's collected works, regards it as an imitation of Richardson, and subsequent French editions do not question Berquin's authorship. The catalogue of the British Museum has even corrected Berquin's statement of the Dutch origin and states in five London editions between 1795 and 1823 "traduction libre du Hollandois par /or rather, written by/ M. Berquin". In his history of the English children's books (1932 and later editions) Darton says that

Berquin "was responsible for an odd *Little Grandisson*, an abridgement of Richardson for children" (the latter statement, a misunderstanding which can only mean that he had not read the book). An American scholar writing in 1940 about the history of the epistolary novel, Frank Gees Black, mentions the English translation of 1791 several times, calling it a French juvenile by Berquin.[5]

When regarding the book as a translation undertaken by Berquin, one has thought the original to be an imitation of Richardson. Thus the Hungarian Klara Proszwimmer in 1939 mentions the book as an example of rewritings of English novels, although she does not give any English title. Such a title is in fact presented by Percy Muir in an exhibition catalogue from 1946, where it is written that Berquin produced a French version of *The little Grandisson*. This confused statement may be explained by the fact that *The history of little Grandison* is the title of the English translation of *Le petit Grandisson* issued in 1791.[6]

To find the Dutch original in general Dutch bibliography should not have been all too difficult, however. The book has the title *De kleine Grandisson, of De gehoorzaame zoon. In eene reeks van brieven en saamenspraaken*, was written by Maria Geertruida de Cambon and published in two parts in The Hague in 1782. (One can observe that Berquin's orthography "Grandisson" with two "s" is also found in the Dutch original.[7]) De Cambon also published a sequel, *De jonge Grandisson* (1786), and another book, which also seems to have been inspired by Richardson, *De kleine Klarissa* (1791).

From the viewpoint of comparative bibliography it can be added that not only Berquin's book but also de Cambon's were translated into English. The translation from Berquin, *The history of little Grandison* (1791) has already been mentioned above, and of de Cambon's book there are two translations (1788 and 1790), both with the title *Young Grandison*. Black, the above mentioned writer on the epistolary novel, knows of all three translations. Yet he has not connected them with one another.[8]

The "free" translations

As seen, Berquin often presents a book as a "traduction libre". What this means has been studied by J.M. Carrière in an article about Berquin's translation of Day's *The history of Sandford and Merton*. Carrière noted that in *Sandford et Merton* Day's Christian faith was changed into deism. A page dealing with the exemplary lives of the Apostles and nine about Christian ethics have been deleted. The asserting of social justice has

been kept, but the critique of the aristocracy has been softened. A fable and a story about cruelty to an animal have been left out.

There is also another article by Carrière dealing with Berquin's use of German dramatic literature.[9] In this article Carrière compared some German plays with Berquin's versions in *L'ami des enfans*. In "Le bon fils", i.e. Engel's *Der dankbare Sohn*, he found two changes or deleted passages, when the French may have thought a king to be too easily depicted. In one of the scenes in "Le page", i.e. Engel's *Der Edelknabe*, there are similar deletions and changes, and in "Le déserteur ou l'héroïsme filial", i.e. Stéphanie's *Der Deserteur aus kindlicher Liebe*, the dialogues are considerably shortened.

I have compared *Le petit Grandisson* with the Dutch original. There are several changes and some stories have been added.

Nonetheless, even "free" translations are evidence of the widespread internationalism of children's literature in the 18th century.

Notes

1 *Christian Felix Weissens Selbstbiographie*. Leipzig 1806, p. 193.

2 For the life of Berquin see an article by Denise Escarpit in the collection *Arnaud Berquin 1747–1791. Bicentenaire de L'ami des enfants*. Nous voulons lire! Numéro spécial. Pessac 1983, pp. 5–16. In this book, issued to mark the 200th anniversary of his famous journal for children, there are also other articles which can be used for the Berquin bibliography, including two of my own. All statements are not fully reliable however. For example, modernizations of the original titles are used, with forms such as "enfants" instead of "enfans", "connaissance" instead of "connoissance", and "anglais" and "hollandais" instead of "anglois" and "hollandois". There is, for example, no doubt that the orthography "L'ami des enfans" was the original one, whereas the book of 1983 always writes "L'ami des enfants", even when the titles of the first editions are given in a bibliography. These problems also arise in my own contributions, which were translated in France from my English manuscripts without giving me opportunity for proof-reading. The translations of Berquin's works into other languages are of course also an important subject for comparative bibliography. A great deal of this is undertaken in the above mentioned book from 1983, pp. 30–42, where one finds editions especially in English (Great Britain and USA), German, Italian, Spanish and Swedish. As acknowledged in the bibliography, this does not mean that it is complete however.

3 J.M. Carrière: "Berquin's adaptations from German dramatic literature." *Studies in philology*, 32. Chapel Hill 1935, 608–617.

4 *Sandford et Merton suivi de Le petit Grandisson*. Paris without date (=1864), p. 264, Note.

5 *OEuvres. Mis en ordre par J.J. Regnault-War(r)in*. Paris 1802, 1, pp. XXIII f. – *British Museum General catalogue of printed books*. London 1931 ff., 90, 1961, p. 463. – F.J. Harvey Darton: *Children's books in England*. Cambridge 1932, p. 149. – Frank Gees Black: *The epistolary npvel in the late eighteenth century*. University of Oregon monographs. Studies in literature and philology 2. Eugene 1940, pp. 69, 72, 81, 128.

6 Klára Proszwimmer: *A francia ifjúsági irodalom ...* Resumé: *La littérature enfantine en France au XVIIIe siècle et au commencement du XIXe*. Budapest 1939, p. 96; Percy Muir:*Children's books of yesterday*. A catalogue of an exhibition. London 1946, p. 93.

7 I have had access to the original of 1782 available in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague. When I first encountered the book the only historian of children's literature who had mentioned it seemed to be D.L. Daalder: *Wormcruyt met suycker*. Amsterdam 1950, p. 58, who only touches upon it on one line, however, and calls it a "bewerking" (revision). Moreover, the date is wrongly given as 1794.

8 Black, *op. cit*., pp. 7, 81, 407.
9 Carrière, in Note 3 *op. cit.* and in "A French adaptation of Sandford and Merton." *Modern language notes*, 50. Baltimore 1935, pp. 238–242.

The chapter is based upon an article in French, "L'oeuvre de Berquin. Problèmes et notes sur ses sources", in the collection from 1983 mentioned in Note 2: Arnaud Berquin 1747–1791. Bicentenaire de L'ami des enfants*, pp. 50–63.*

Laure Surville and the tales of extraordinary dreams (1854)

Laure Surville was a sister of the novelist Honoré de Balzac. Both were born in Tours, Honor in 1799 and Laure in 1800. In 1820 Laure married a civil engineer called Surville, and from 1825 the couple lived in Versailles. Laure Surville is known as the author of a much quoted book about her brother, published in 1858, but the fact that she also wrote for children is mostly unknown. Her work as a children's author is mentioned briefly in French encyclopedias, however, as in *La grande encyclopédie*, published at the turn of the century 1900, where it states that she contributed to the *Journal des enfants* (which must be the magazine founded in 1833 by Eugénie Foa and Adolphe Loève-Veimars), and that these writings were later collected in two books, both from the year 1854: *Le compagnon du foyer* and *La fée des nuages, ou La reine Mab*.

Le compagnon du foyer is a collection of short stories. There are three further editions, from 1858, 1877 or 1878, and 1882. The story titles recorded in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale for three of the four editions show that the contents were partly changed in the newer printings. By 1855 the book had also been published for juvenile readers in Germany (in French in Stuttgart) in a series called *Bibliothèque française ou Choix de livres intéressants destinés à la jeunesse allemande des deux sexes*.

La fée des nuages came out in a new edition in 1878 with a new title, *Les rêves de Marianne* (the year 1828 as printed in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale must be a printing error). The book was intended for girls, which can be deduced from the clause, "all young girls who read this book," on the last page. In 1879 a Swedish translation was published, *Drottning Mab och Yrhättan* (Queen Mab and Yrhättan). The Swedish word "yrhätta" usually means a madcap or a tomboy, but here it was the name that the (anonymous) translator gave to Mab's saddle-animal, a firefly. A comparison of the Swedish translation of 1879 and the two French editions shows that the translator used the version from 1878. Whether the slight revision in this edition was the work of the author herself or of someone else is difficult to say since Laure Surville had already died by 1871. So far as I have been able to ascertain there is no other translation of Surville's writings for children.[1]

La fée des nuages is of interest with regards the history of the fantastic

tale for children, as is one of the stories in *La compagnon du foyer*, "L'auberge de la Grâce de Dieu" (the story belongs to the first edition of 1854, since it can be found in the German printing of 1855). Both stories share the theme of extraordinary dreams, and in so doing belong to that type of fantastic tale also found in modern children's literature where strange events in the everyday world are connected to some psychic faculty (as often as not it is about intense dreams that coincide with other events to such an extent that they transcend commonplace dreaming). *La fée des nuages* also exemplifies another type of fantastic tale, tales with indetermined explanation, where events in the story may or may not be explained by natural causes. (Both types are listed as subtypes of the fantastic tale in the chapter above where a typology of the fantasy-fantastic field is attempted.)

L'auberge de la Grâce de Dieu

In this short story the parish priest in a small village in the Seine valley, abbé Bartas, gathers his friends for story-telling during the summer evenings. One evening there is talk on inexplicable phenomena. The doctor tells the group about peculiar powers in mortally wounded, and then of a surprising dream he once had. The doctor's last story leads Bartas to relate a dream of his own, or rather, as he says, a vision. In his youth he had been adopted by a rich uncle. Taking for granted that he would become his uncle's heir he travelled around, interesting himself in the arts. But one day he heard that his uncle was thinking of getting married. This seemed to threaten his inheritance. He returned to France, where he found his uncle suddenly dead but nonetheless married and with a son six weeks old.

Since the marriage had been secret and he was supposed still to be in Rome, Bartas thought that he could get away with killing the baby. He went to the inn in the Pyrenees, "L'auberge de la Grâce de Dieu", where his uncle's widow, unwell after childbirth, was living. But upset and exhausted he collapses into a comatose condition during the last stage of his journey. He is carried to the inn and put to bed. Here he has his dream. He finds himself standing at an open window in the room. There is a moon and he sees a road and houses. Two men arrive, one of them with a sack, the shape of which makes Bartas shudder with terror. He then follows the men and hears them speaking. They are on their way to get rid of a dead child in the sack, and they throw it into a well. Bartas wakes up with a scream. He is still in bed, and the window is closed, but the dream seemed very real.

Going to the window he finds that the view is the same as in the dream. He confides in a doctor who recognizes the names of the two men, knows that they currently are taking care of their sister's son, and is startled when Bartas can draw their portraits. The dead child is found in the well and the murderers are arrested. The experience causes Bartas to abandon his plan to kill his uncle's son. Instead he enters a theological seminary, and when, some years later, he runs across the widow, she leaves the child in his care. The boy is now rich and happy. The name of the inn, "The grace of God", may therefore be seen as symbolic, although it is mentioned as its real name.

La fée des nuages, ou La reine Mab

In *La fée des nuages* we also read of dreams which are hard to distinguish from reality, and the last one is a fever hallucination not unlike the one that Bartas had. The dreamer is a girl, Éliane de Kermont (in 1878 renamed Marianne), who belongs to an old family of naval officers with a castle by the sea in Brittany. She was born on Mauritius, where her father had been a governor, but now he has command of a fortress in Canada, and mother and child live in Brittany. When the father is wounded the mother leaves for Canada, and Éliane is placed in a convent school.

This background is very realistic and detailed, even with dates, just as in modern fantastic tales. When we first meet the heroine she is six years old. Admittedly the year is only given as 17.. in 1854, but in the newer edition of 1878 it is stated more precisely as 1780. When she became old she often told her grandchildren about her early life, and this is how the author was able to write about her dreams. In fact Laure Surville had a maternal grandmother who lived at the Balzac home at Tours when the children were young, but she had another name.

At school Éliane makes friends with an English girl, Fanny, who tells that there really are "fées" (or fairies perhaps, since they belong to British and not French tradition). Her nurse has told her about them, and Fanny has herself met them. The fairy queen, Queen Mab, has taken her from her bed up to her kingdom in the clouds. On earth Mab is very small, not bigger than Fanny's little finger, and she rides on a shining insect. Of course Mab always disappears when Fanny wakes up, and the adults assure her that she has just dreamt it all, but she does not believe this.

Since Fanny left for France, however, Mab has not shown herself to her. But Éliane encounters her. One night, when she "thought herself to be awake", Mab and her saddle-animal come to her. Mab shrinks her to

a small size and gives her wings so that she too can fly. Later on Mab and Éliane regain their natural size. In this first dream they visit Élianes old home on Mauritius as well as the castle in Brittany.

In the following dreams Mab helps Éliane with her studies, showing her visually what she has to study. These educational demonstrations form the main contents of the book. Éliane learns about insects and the life of a drop of water, visits a mine, travels from the polar regions to the Equator, studies factories, flies (this time in the shape of a pigeon) to Egypt, Greece and Rome. In Rome Mab raises the old Romans, so that the girl can be present at gladitorial displays at the Colosseum and at the sufferings of Christian martyrs on the same spot a hundred years later. She even flies to the Milky Way behind the moon and to the feast of the immortals, where she encounters Homer with his heroes, Shakespeare with his characters, and the animals of Perrault's tales. When she returns from her dreams, she is able to describe her experiences in essays, which gives her success at school.

Influences

In "L'auberge de la Grâce de Dieu" a German literary context is indicated, when it is said that the stories told by the doctor "resembled the stories of Hoffmann". Surville was therefore familiar with this early writer of fantastic tales.

In *La fée des nuages* we find instances of an English influence. Éliane's dreams are stimulated by stories of fairies told by the English girl, and Queen Mab is an English figure. Moreover, Éliane knows quite well who Queen Mab is. At home she has seen a picture of her in a book by Shakespeare. The author herself therefore refers to Shakespeare, and some of the characteristics of Surville's Queen Mab are also found in this. Mab appears in Act One, Scene Four of *Romeo and Juliet*, written in the 1590's. Here Mercutio speaks of Queen Mab as one who gives dreams. Similarly, Fanny's nurse tells her that children ask Mab to send nice dreams. Shakespeare's Mab is also a very tiny person, "no bigger than an agate stone on the forefinger of an alderman". Perhaps this mentioning of the agate may have influenced Surville's description of Mab as having agate-black hair. Shakespeare's Mab does not ride – she has a wagon – but her wagoner is a small midge, which may have some resemblance to a firefly.

The fact that Mab has her kingdom in the clouds is not mentioned by Shakespeare, but here another English influence, Percy Bysshe Shelley's *Queen Mab,* seems possible. This didactic poem from 1813 became

much read by the Radicals in Europe during the first half of the 19th century. Admittedly, there is not much of Shelley's political radicalism in Surville's book, even less of his atheism, but the frame story shares some common elements with *La fée des nuages*, including the kingdom in the clouds. Shelley's Mab comes to a sleeping girl, Ianthe, takes her soul away while her body stays in bed, waves her wand of charm and flies with the girl to her "etherial palace", from which Ianthe can look down upon different parts of the earth. What she sees is used for didactic lessons, as in Surville by way of conversations and Mab's lecturing.

Another element in Surville's book, the Diorama theatre, is of French origin, however. This context is of special interest when one asks to what extent *La fée des nuages* can be seen as a fantastic tale.

The Diorama theatre

One of Surville's chapters, the one where Mab for the first time takes charge of Éliane's education, is headed "Diorama de Mab" (1878: "Diorama de la fée"). With her use of the word "diorama" Surville alludes to something very well known in Paris during the decades before 1850.

The Diorama theatre had been founded in 1822 by Daguerre (later inventor of the early photography, the daguerrotype) and Bouton. In 1839 it was destroyed by fire, but was reconstructed on another site, where it existed until 1849, when it burnt down once again. A cloth of thin linen with the impressive dimensions 21.5 x 13.8 metres had pictures painted with transparent colours on the front and opaque colours on the back. It was illuminated from windows and skylights set up with equipment which could alter the light. Thus the scene could be changed or made to move. There were also other refinements like coloured lighting and sound effects. The illusion is said to have been very convincing. Famous shows included the destruction by an avalanche of a village in the Alps and a midnight mass. The theatre became very popular and was imitated in other European towns.[2]

Some of the scenes which Mab shows Éliane may be interpreted as diorama performances. In the chapter "Diorama de Mab" a vast barren area is first shown. But suddenly it becomes peopled by workers who come out of the ground. They hoe the land and plough, the corn grows and is harvested. Pictures of a mill, bakers and pastry-cooks then follow. Once again the scene changes, and a magnificent landscape appears, showing three different countries at the same time. In the foreground is Italy, behind it Normandy, and in the background Flanders.

The feast of the immortals can be looked upon as a diorama performance with the immortals as spectators. They have taken their seats in a temple. The lights get weaker and for a moment the temple is dark. Then "living paintings" slowly appear in the middle of the nave and are greeted with shouts of joy and handclapping. "Living paintings" was in fact what diorama performances were called. The final painting, showing the last judgement, is suddenly brought to life. Trumpets sound and the dead arise. Surrounded by angels the righteous float up to and through the arched roof, whereas the damned sink below the earth, taken by infernal spirits. When the music dies away the earth closes in on itself. In the dark, strong handclapping is heard once again, greeting "this extraordinary feat of genius", after which the lights come back on.

In a following performance the centuries parade to the accompaniment of march music. Torches shed a fantastic light. Among the spectacular depictions are for example a huge image of the Flood, Adam's family, Noah carrying a model of the Ark, and the Tower of Babel. Each century carries a big banner on which the names that distinguish them from posterity glow in letters of fire. The centuries march from east to west and disappear into the abyss of the past.

The fantastic character of the stories

"L'auberge de la Grâce de Dieu" is without doubt *a fantastic tale of the subtype where strange events are connected to some psychic faculty*. The inexplicable connection between dream and reality is apparent. Bartas speaks of a vision that separated the soul from the body. Whether *La fée des nuages, ou La reine Mab* also falls into this subtype however can be discussed.

If the contemporary child readers understood that the "living paintings" were diorama performances – and it seems possible from the chapter heading "Mab's diorama" that the author thought that they would understand – this would have of course diminished the fantastic element. It would then for example not be necessary to interpret the visits to classical Rome as time travel. In addition, an alternative rational explanation of the "paintings" is given with the statement that they were identically alike the engravings that the chaplain had shown at home at the castle.

It is also suggested in various places in the book that other experiences of the heroine may have formed the material of her dreams. As already mentioned she had seen a picture of Queen Mab in a book of Shakespeare. Mab's attire is commented upon with the words that Éliane had certainly

more than once dressed her up in that way in her thoughts. When she and her mother talk of their old home on Mauritius, both remember the fireflies – the mother even weeps at the thought that she will never see them again – and when Éliane first encounters Mab's saddle-animal, she says that there are such insects on "our island". On several occasions Éliane had dreamt that she was flying. When the flowers speak she says that she suspected as much already on earth. With regards the intensity of the dreams the doctor tells Élianes worried parents that many children have such kinds of reverie in that phase of life which their daughter has just lived through.

On the other hand there are several elements known from fantastic tales. The instances of magic are perhaps not brought to the fore, seeing as they occur within the dreams, but this aside the "living paintings" are said to appear before the audience by "magic influence", the movement of the righteous upwards to the arched roof is effected by means of "supernatural influence", and Élaine looks at Flanders, distant behind Italy and Normandy, through "a magic optic glass". A touch of magic is also seen when Mab at times makes the girl invisible. But there are also fantastic elements which occur when Éliane is awake, the *experience of being two different personalities*, the *fascination for the life in the strange world*, and the *intellectual uncertainty as to what to believe and not to believe*.

Éliane, as Mab's friend, experiences herself to be someone other than the convent boarder. Splendidly dressed, equipped with wings, a transparent body which never gives her pain, a happy heart and sweet thoughts, Mab's friend awakes in the evening and goes to sleep at dawn. The boarder, dressed in wool, reciting her homework, often scolded, feeling cold, heat and hunger, exists from seven in the morning until nine in the evening. Mab's friend speaks pityingly of the boarder, who feels guilty and humiliated, answers nothing and only awaits the evening.

The fascination for the life in the strange world is further expressed by the words that the days after the nights with Mab resemble the shadow that follows the light, and that Éliane longs for the night, in the same way as children usually long for the day that delivers them from the figments of imagination created by them in the dark.

An experience of intellectual uncertainty appears on the morning after Éliane's first journey to Mauritius and Brittany. She tells Fanny that she had dreamt of all the people that she loved. But at the same time "she thought this to be a lie", in other words that she did not think at all that she had dreamt. And when the dreams continue, they are so lucid

and coherent that she begins to believe more and more in their reality. One night when she meets with Mab she tells her that she had slept and dreamt that she had spent the whole day in the convent. When she remembers what happened there during the day, she reflects that dreams are very odd, "I can very well understand that one sometimes may think that they are the reality."

Surville herself obviously thought that she had crossed the border into the realistic tale, which can be inferred from some words of excuse in the preface and in the last sentence of the book. In the latter she wishes that all young girls who read the book possess Éliane's power of imagination but not suffer from her overstrung state. In the preface, obviously aimed at seriously-minded parents and educators, it is written that the fiction presented does not constitute a danger, since children do not believe in "fées", and do not mistake dreams for reality. This is expressed more fully by the Swedish publisher in his preface to the 1879 translation, where it is stated that the fantastic element in the book does not lessen its value by overshadowing the educational aim. The author has freed this element from all that could produce a fever. The child is not for a moment left unaware of the fact that reality is reality, a dream a dream, and that the power of imagination is a splendid gift but must be governed by reason.

Not only "L'auberge de la Grâce de Dieu" then, but also *La fée des nuages, ou La reine Mab,* seem to belong to the overlooked fantastic tales for children in the 19th century, which created the tradition that made for such a rich development in the following century.

Notes

1 I have used the 1855 Stuttgart edition of *Le compagnon du foyer*, which was available in Göteborg University Library. My treatment of *La fée des nuages* is on the whole based on the Swedish translation of 1879, but I have also had access to parts of the two French editions by way of photocopies made for me in 1993 by Dr. Ulla Bergstrand.

2 About the Diorama theatre see f.ex. *Encyclopedia of photography*. New York 1984, p. 146 and *Grand Larousse encyclopédique en dix volumes*, 4. Paris 1961, p. 103.

*This chapter is based upon two articles, one in French and one in Swedish, both of which have been used here for a revised version: "Les contes de Laure Surville: rêves extraordinaires."*Nous voulons lire! Revue d'information sur le livre d'enfance et de jeunesse. Numéro spécial 1990. *pp. 53–58, and "Laure Surville – en fransk barnboksförfattare från 1800-talet" (... a French children's author from the 19th century),*

published in the collection För barnen, med barnen och bland barnen – en vänbok till Eva-Mari Köhler *(For the children, with the children and among the children – a book from friends to E.- M. K.) Ed.: Gunilla Härnsten. Stockholm 1993, pp. 127–136.*

David Friedrich Weinland and the novel with a prehistoric setting (1878–1980's)

South of Stuttgart, between the rivers Neckar in the west and the Danube in the east, lies the Schwäbische Alb, a tableland of limestone and a country by itself. The four hundred metres high precipice above the Neckar is broken by promontories and valleys. Along one such valley, towards Metzingen and Neckar, runs the river Erms, and in the inner part of this valley lies the town of Urach.

David Friedrich Weinland was born in 1829 in Urach. He was educated in the natural sciences, worked as an assistant at the Zoological Museum in Berlin, and after this became head of the microscopic laboratory at Harvard University, USA. Back in Germany he became scientific leader of the Zoological Gardens in Frankfurt am Main. However, in 1863, at the age of only thirty-four, he withdrew to his inherited estate on the Schwäbische Alb.

It was here, at Hohenwittlingen three kilometres south-east of Urach, that he wrote his "natural-historic story" from the times of the cave man and the cave bear: *Rulaman. Naturgeschichtliche Erzählung aus der Zeit des Höhlenmenschen und des Höhlenbären*, dedicating it to the youth and their friends. The preface is dated May 1876, but the book was first published in 1878.

Being a karst formation die Alb have limestone caves. Today Bärenhöhle is a tourist attraction which reveal many remnants of the cave bear. In his preface Weinland says that the caves often made him speak to his children of how people may have lived in them at the time of the cave bear, and that by and by this resulted in a whole story. One cave, Schillerhöhle, was situated close to his house. This became Rulaman's Tulka Cave. In the novel it is said to be placed in the Armi Valley, and of the Armi Brook Weinland writes that it ran into the big Norge River. Obviously, Erms and Neckar can be deciphered from the names of these watercourses. About ten kilometres north-east of Schillerhöhle, Falkensteiner Höhle is found. It was made into the Huhka Cave. In these two caves, and similarly in another one situated further west on the other side of the adjacent valley, and called the Nalli Cave by Weinland, he placed members of an original European population who called themselves the „Aimats", the human beings.[1]

The Aimats do not only live in the caves of the Alb, but also in earth huts at the lake shores. Every year for a couple of months the Alb

Aimats depart to their fishing kinsmen. They are said to have yellow-brown skin, black matted hair and black slanting eyes. There are tools and weapons of flint and bone and simple potteryware hardened in the fire. Food is got by hunting. The foremost game is the cave bear, but mammoth, aurochs, European bison, reindeer, and wild horse, as well as the occasional roe-deer, red deer and wild boar that have begun to appear in the surroundings, are also hunted.

Of cultural life we hear of dancing and poetry, taboos (one does not eat the meat of the cave lion), knowledge of harmful and wholesome plants, i.a. of their use as drugs, and further of two musical instruments, one a drum made by a fell stretched across one of the openings of a hollow tree trunk, the other a wind instrument produced from the bone of a bird wing and only giving one tone. The Aimats have no feeling for nature however. Their language is creaking and augmented by body language; it is described how they gesticulate with the hands and often distort their faces in a strange way.

The story in *Rulaman* is about an episode in a long-lasting collision between the Aimats and new immigrants, the "Kalats", who had come from the east along the Long River, i.e. the Danube. Weinland created the word "Kalats", with the Celts in mind.

In contrast to the Aimats, the Kalats are white people with brown hair and a metal culture. In a way which seems marvellous to the Aimats their spears and knives shine, they build houses of wood as well as of stone, practise cattle-breeding and farming, have boats made of boards, waggons, dogs and horses for riding. In their religion human sacrifices occur, something unknown to the Aimats. They cremate their dead and put their ashes into urns.

At first we follow the life of the Aimats in the caves, their hunting and their fights among themselves. The hunting is risky; Rulaman, the chieftain's son, once saves his father from being killed by a cave lion. When the Kalats arrive the scene changes however. A certain amount of trade with them had taken place before, but when they come to the Alb, settle down on the Nufa Mountain (in which one recognizes the cone-shaped hill west of the Falkensteiner Höhle, where later the medieval castle Hohenneuffen was erected) and build a stronghold there, disaster comes. With the only exception of Rulaman all male Aimats are killed.

The sympathy of the author lies mainly on the side of the Aimats. They do not make any difference between upper and lower classes as do the Kalats, where people have to work four days a week for their chieftain, who scarcely bothers when someone is killed, has a prison for

those that do not obey him and an underground pit for those who hate him. An Aimat man only obeys when he wants to. Even after death a class distinction remains among the Kalats. The souls of the chieftains and the priests come to the sun, but the souls of the others have to take a new seat among people and animals.

In this book about a violent and painful culture shock there is also the idea, however, that different cultures in the long run can merge. Both Aimats and Kalats learn from each other. The new young Kalats chieftain Kando even becomes Rulaman's friend, and the reader is given to believe that Kando's sister Welda will become Rulaman's wife of her own free will.

Weinland tried to give the young knowledge of conditions in bygone times. In his preface he says that he did not want to offer any impossibility from the viewpoint of natural science. (One can observe the book's subtitle "natural-historic story".) In light of his career he also possessed the full scientific knowledge of his time. Whereas culture shocks are eternal phenomena, his description of the historical conditions is hopelessly antiquated today, however. One is especially struck by how the view of the length of the geological periods has changed. It is clearly illustrated in the opening of the book where he deals with the earlier history of the Alb.

Weinland knew the different strata and their fossils very well. Once the Jura Sea lay here with animals, the shells of which became the limestone of the mountain. The animal and plant life on the islands in this sea are described. In the air flew the first bird with the teeth of a lizard but with real feathers. (The first discovery of the lizard-bird had been made in 1861, a bit to the east in Bavaria.) He continues with different epochs during the Tertiary, concluding with the Ice Age, at the end of which his book is set. To us this is an enormous space of time. The lizard-bird is today regarded to be about 150 million years old, but Weinland counts in thousands, even in hundreds of years. He begins by saying that nobody knows how many thousands of years the Jura Sea lay where the Schwäbische Alb is now found. The limestone is said to have sunk to the bottom "in the course of centuries". Also described are animals from the Tertiary, which "lived for several centuries".

Today it would be impossible to have a European people with a metal culture fight with cave bears and cave lions, but in Weinland's times not much was known of the first European population. What one had was Neanderthal Man, who had been discovered in the 1850's, but when this people lived was not known. Some examples of cave art had been

found in the 1860's, but the discovery of the paintings in the Altamira Cave came first in 1879.

The Neanderthals take the place of the Aimats

By way of new findings the Neanderthals became more and more known. They could therefore replace Weinland's Mongolian Aimats. Examples of this are two American children's books from the first decades of the 20th century: Margaret A. McIntyre's *The cave boy of the age of stones* (1907) and Lucy Fitch Perkins's *The cave twins* (1916), one of her 26 successful "twin books". The books describe the same animal life as in Weinland. In McIntyre an indication that the people are Neanderthals is that they are said to have eyebrows hanging down over the eyes, a feature which also seems to be shown in some of the illustrations. Perkins produced own drawings in which the heroes look like Neanderthals.

In the two books the cultural development is described in a short time perspective. McIntyre tells of how the children by chance hit upon the bow, how an axe-cutter recently discovered that it is possible to light a fire with the help of two pieces of flint, and how the dog is domesticated when the father captures the puppy of a wild dog. In Perkins's book one gets the idea to make a boat and a paddle, to keep rabbits in a cage, and to make a fishing-net in the same way as rabbit traps.

McIntyre and Perkins do not write about culture shocks, but such collisions appeared in other books in the new century. Although controversy arose among archaeologists as to what extent cultural changes can be explained by immigration or by an inner development, authors of works of fiction seem to have thought it natural to assume clashes between original inhabitants and immigrants.

Having the Neanderthals represent one side in a clash, the first representatives of modern man, the species or sub-species to which we ourselves belong, could then be introduced as the other side. This is the case in the Englishman William Golding's *The inheritors* (1955), the Finno-Swede Björn Kurtén's *Den svarta tigern* (The black tiger, 1978, with a sequel 1984) and the American Jean M. Auel's *The clan of the cave bear* (1980, with sequels). None of these books were written for children but they may well have been read by young people too. Auel's books have certainly appealed to a younger audience, even fairly young children.

In the introductory quotation by H.G. Wells it is clear that the older people in Golding's book are meant to be Neanderthals. The era is given

by the described animal world: the sabre-toothed tiger, the mammoth and the cave bear (which one does not hunt however, but runs away from). The Neanderthals are described as red-headed, naked, guided by their sense of smell and with a language only partially developed. They encounter black-haired hunters who seem incomprehensibly strange, and who bring with them crouched down trees (huts), moving tree trunks (boats) and throwing twigs (arrows).

There is no merging between the two people in Golding's book; the group of Neanderthals is extinguished. Like Weinland, Kurtén and Auel on the other hand do not think that the two cultures need have been wholly isolated from each other.

Kurtén was a palaeontologist who also wrote fiction. In this double capacity he resembles Weinland. He gives a date to the events, placing them in the later part of the period 40 000 - 30 000 years before present, a warmer phase during the Ice Age. The animal world is the one well-known with the mammoth, the sabre-toothed tiger and so on, although there are no cave bears, since the story is set in what is today Sweden, north of their habitat. The Neanderthals are described as white people with a matriarchal society, whereas the invaders are black people in a patriarchal community. The author shows sympathy for the Neanderthals like Weinland did for the Aimats. The culture shock is marked, yet there is collaboration between the two peoples, even mixture of the races.

The events in Auel's books are placed between 35 000 and 25 000 years ago, in other words in the same period as in Kurtén's books. The setting is in Central Europe and places north and east of the Black Sea. The heroine Ayla belongs to modern man but has as a child been taken care of by Neanderthals, "the clan people". Even in Auel the cultural clash is pronounced, but sometimes a certain understanding for the old people is found among the newcomers, and the clan people know that the latter are human too. To her own people Ayla can convey some of the knowledge of the clan people, for example about healing plants, but there is little of learning in the other direction.

Like McIntyre and Perkins, Auel describes the history of the inventions in a short time perspective. By chance Ayla finds out how to make a fire with flint, sulphur pyrite and tinder, she creates a new type of game pit, tames horse and wolf and discovers that the horse can be used for riding as well as for pulling.

When reading the books of Auel and Kurtén one can sometimes be reminded of *Rulaman*. Both this book and Auel's first one have the cave bear in the title. Auel's clan people has the same knowledge of healing

plants and the same way of speaking with the help of body language as the Aimats. Every seventh year the clan people have a clan meeting, for which long wanderings are undertaken. In *Rulaman,* the Aimats of the hills each year visit their kinsmen at the sea shore. Kurtén tells how a group of robber barons among the black invaders forces the subjugated people to work for them during six days followed by three days off. Weinland's Kalats had to work for their chieftain during four of the days of the week.

People of a later palaeolithic period replace the Neanderthals

Moving to a time nearer to our own, it is possible to let the old inhabitants, who meet with invaders, be people of a later palaeolithic period than that of the Neanderthals.

In the Norwegian Bernhard Stokke's *Bjýrneklo. Fortællinger fra norsk steinalder* (Bear Claw. Tales from the Norwegian Stone Age), published in 1938, the young hero Bear Claw belongs to a coastal population of hunters and fishers, called the people of the bear tribe (although of course not the cave bear this time). Another people, taller and with blue-eyes, have recently come to their district from the South. They have shiny tools of stone, well-modelled pottery, woven textiles, cows and pigs, make the first tilled land in the region, bury their dead in stone tombs and believe in a life after death. In other words they are farmers and cattle-breeders of the neolithic period.

Contrary to the catastrophic end in *Rulaman* the bear tribe is saved by finding a new site on the other side of the fiord. Reminiscent of *Rulaman,* however, the newcomers have slaves who are whipped. The possibility of a cultural fusion is given, but it is rather one-sided. Only the old people learn from the new one. On a personal level contact is established when Bear Claw is made a slave and the chieftain's daughter helps him escape. In this way she can be said to be a new Welda, but unlike Rulaman Bear Claw has to content himself with carving her picture on the rock.

Another Norwegian, Johannes Heggland, is the author of *Folket i dei kvite båtane* (The people in the white boats), published in 1962 and with two sequels 1963 and 1965. Here too, the setting is the Norwegian coast, where a people of hunters and fishers have lived since the end of the Ice Age. They are confronted with a new people with agriculture and bronze weapons. The author has thus passed over the farmers of the later Stone Age, but it is perhaps not altogether impossible that some remnants of very old tribes could have survived side by side with the newer farming societies.

The clash is violent, but a merging of cultures is nevertheless stressed as being possible. Even in this case personal contact of the Rulaman-Welda type is found: a woman abducted from the new people marries into the old, and her husband becomes the chieftain of the new people. However, as in Stokke's book, it is really only the old people who profit by the contact.

Contrary to some other authors mentioned here Heggland's sympathy seems to lie with the invaders. Their god is mild, and once they gain control the two people will be able to live peacefully alongside each other.

Comments

Seemingly Weinland's *Rulaman* was the first one in a series of stories about prehistoric peoples. If it also directly or indirectly influenced later books is a question for research in a comparative perspective. Several new German editions of it were made, even in the 20th century, and it was translated into Swedish as early as 1878 and into Lettish, Dutch and Spanish in the first decade of the 20th century.[2]

With the exception of the books by McIntyre and Perkins the books mentioned portray culture shocks, but also often the possibility of a merging of cultures. Cultural clashes are also well known in our own time, between Europeans and people in other parts of the world, between immigrants to the industrial countries and earlier citizens, when people from rural areas move to the cities, and between people of different social and religious groups. Perhaps authors in writing about culture shocks in prehistoric times wanted to convey a message to children that could also be applied to these more contemporary situations.

Where the author's sympathy lies may be of importance, if one bears in mind such an application to the conflicts of today. The difficulty is in keeping the balance.

Commitment to people threatened by genocide, as seen in Weinland's sympathy for the Aimats, and Golding's and Kurtén's for the Neanderthals, may lead to unrealistic notions of "the noble savage". On the other hand, where sympathy lies with the new rulers, perhaps because they are seen to be ancestors of the author and readers, attitudes of national egoism may arise. It can be assumed that Heggland looks upon the invaders, described as strong and peaceful, as the forefathers of the present population of the Norwegian west coast. Even Weinland alluded to a similar notion despite his sympathy for the Aimats. In the end he lets an Aimat prophetess see how they one day get their revenge,

when the Kalats in their turn are conquered by "the true people of the sun", a people with hair like the rays of the sun and eyes blue as the summer sky, which may be interpreted as the ideal image of the Teutons.

Notes

1 About Weinland see the article by Margarete Dierks in *Lexikon der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*. Weinheim etc. 1975–82 (1984), 3, pp. 778 f. Schwäbische Alb as a literary landscape is treated in Hermann Bausinger: "Lichtenstein und Huhkahöhle – Die Uracher Alb als 'Literaturlandschaft'." *Humor in der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*. Insel Mainau 1970. pp. 95–109.

2 Dierks (see Note 1) mentions a tenth edition in 1917, new editions in the 1970s, and dates the Lettish, Dutch and Spanish translations 1902, 1905 and 1907.

This chapter is based on an essay in Swedish, „David Friedrich Weinlands „Rulaman" och dess efterföljare. Kulturkollisionsmotivet i förhistorisk miljö" (... and its successors. The theme of culture shock in a prehistoric setting), published in a collection, Böcker ska blänka som solar. En bok till Vivi Edström *(Let books shine like suns. A book for Vivi Edström). Ed.: Kristin Hallberg. Stockholm 1988 (Studies published by the Swedish Institute for Children's Books 32), pp. 90–109.*

Geographical setting

Landscapes in British children's novels

Since fiction is about people and their relations to one another, the geographical setting can very well be insignificant in many cases. But at other times geography and plot are closely connected. Indeed, sometimes the plot would be impossible in another geographical setting. In a previous chapter it was seen how Weinland's *Rulaman* came about due to the close proximity of the limestone caves on the Schwäbische Alb to the author's home. Weinland said that the caves made him speak to his children of how people may have lived there at the time of the cave bear. Without this geographical environment no book had been written.

An example from Britain is Penelope Lively's *The driftway*. It is a book about the inner development of a boy, which is effected by the old road between Banbury and Northampton. Episodes from the history of this road, authentic stories or at least such as could be authentic, communicate messages to the boy in a supernatural way. The novel cannot be imagined without the special setting offered by Banbury Lane.

Even if the geographical setting is not necessary in this way, there is still often an interplay between plot, message and setting. Some observations on landscapes in British children's novels are presented in this chapter. Since the landscape, especially the rural one, holds an important position in British literary tradition, British children's novels offer excellent material for such a study.

Authors' childhood playgrounds

Sometimes authors themselves mention how a geographical setting gave them the impulse to write. Often the author's own childhood memories play an important role.

An example is the childhood playground that led Arthur Ransome to write those of his children's books set in the Lake District. Ransome's father was a history professor in Leeds, and in the holidays he brought his family to Coniston Water. Ransome writes about his life there and its importance for his writings in

an "Authors'Note" dated 19 May 1958, inserted in the modern paperback edition of the first of the books.

> *I have been often asked how I came to write Swallows and Amazons. The answer is that it had its beginning long, long ago when, as children, my brother, my sisters and I spent most of our holidays on a farm at the south end of Coniston. We played in or on the lake or on the hills above it, finding friends in the farmers and shepherds and charcoal-burners whose smoke rose from the coppice woods along the shore. We adored the place. Coming to it we used to run down to the lake, dip our hands in and wish, as if we had just seen the new moon. Going away from it we were half drowned in tears. While away from it, as children and as grown-ups, we dreamt about it. No matter where I was, wandering about the world, I used to look for the North Star at night and, in my mind's eye, could see the beloved sky-line of great hills beneath it. Swallows and Amazons grew out of those old memories. I could not help writing it. It almost wrote itself.*

Another example of the importance of childhood memories is given by Philippa Pearce in an autobiographical sketch provided for John Rowe Townsend's *A sense of story* published in 1971.

> *In 1951, while I was working for school broadcasting, I contracted tuberculosis. I went into hospital in Cambridge for most of that summer, a particularly fine one. I didn't feel ill at all, and it seemed almost unbearable to be lying in bed missing all of the summer on the river, only five miles away, in Great Shelford, where I had been born and brought up. My parents were then still living in the Mill House, with the river flowing by the garden. Imprisoned in hospital, I went there in my imagination as I had never done before – as I had never needed to do, of course. I knew, by heart, literally the feel of the river and the canoe on it. It became hallucinatory, like vividly-imagined fiction.*
>
> *At last I went back to work; but it now began to dawn on me the idea that I could do it too – write a children's story. One needed a good, reliable plot, of course: a search for treasure; a family home on its last legs; and so on. As for the setting, I had that already; and that was what really interested me.*

The book Pearce writes of is *Minnow on the Say*. Say is the fictitious name of the river where the canoe Minnow is paddled. In her second

book, *Tom's midnight garden* the name Say does not appear, but the river is there. In the continuation of the lines quoted Pearce explains that Tom's house is the house of her childhood in Great Shelford, but with an added storey. It belonged to the King's Mill, a flour mill owned by her father. The river returns in the third novel for children, *A dog so small*, and in fact river settings are also found in later short stories.

A further example of the use of childhood memories are four of William Mayne's children's books set at a choir school. We are never told the location of this school but enough clues are given to identify it with St. Edmund's Junior School in Canterbury, where Mayne was a pupil between 1937 and 1942. Moreover, in the first book, *A swarm in May*, one finds the dedication "For my fellow Choristers", and in *Cathedral Wednesday* there is an inserted "Author's Note".

> *I was once a choirboy at the school described in this book. Some of the people in the story are real, like Mr Ardent, but some are imaginary, like Mr Evely. But all the places are real, and so are the things that happen, practices and services.*

Adult authors' experiences of landscape

Sometimes authors tell of how even adult experiences of geographical settings have stimulated their writings. In other cases one can more or less make inspired guesses.

An example of the former is found in a postscript to Cynthia Harnett's historical novel *The load of Unicorn*. She explains that her aim was to write a book about the printer William Caxton and the difficulties he must have encountered when he beagn printing in England ("Unicorn" is a kind of paper used for printing). She chose to concentrate on his publishing in 1485 of Malory's version of the Arthurian stories, *Le morte Darthur*. Here, however, she met with the Malory enigma.

All that is known of the author are his own statements that his name was Sir Thomas Maleoré, that he was a "knight prisoner", and that his work was ended in the ninth year of the reign of Edward IV, i.e. between March 1469 and March 1470. However, since the 1890's it has generally been assumed that he was identical with a knight of the same name from Warwickshire, who in 1436 had served in France with Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and in 1445 been a member of Parliament for his county. What followed is bewildering, however. From time to time he was charged with assault, rape and theft and was sentenced to prison several times. This would, though, be in accord

with the statement that he was a "knight prisoner", and he was alive in 1469–70 since he died in 1471. Still, one wonders if this was really the person who wrote an exceptional proof of early English literature.

To be sure, the candidateship of the Warwickshire knight is no longer undisputed. It has been held that the language speaks more for an author from Yorkshire than from Warwickshire. In our connection this is immaterial however, since Harnett accepts the Warwickshire knight. Her postscript tells of how she tried to follow his fortunes and ended in the Beauchamp Chapel in St. Mary's Church at Warwick. Here at the tomb of Richard Beauchamp she "found the answer to the Malory problem".

> *This noble knight was Malory's liege lord. Malory followed him in the French wars. When Beauchamp died Malory ran wild. But years later, when he lay in Newgate Jail, it came to him to make amends by writing of King Arthur and his Knights, stories which glow with the virtues of nobleness and chivalry.*

That Harnett's experience of the Arthurian atmosphere by Richard Beauchamp's tomb was strong is testified by her detailed, vivid, and one might say exultant description of the chapel when her boy hero Bendy saw it in 1482. Of course then, in its newly created state, it must have been even more lustrous than it is today. Another testimony of the strength of her experience is that she urges her readers to go to Warwick themselves.

> *If I had to choose from the whole book one place which I should like you to visit it would be the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick. If you ever get the chance, go and look at it.*

Examples of hypotheses that can be made of how a certain geographical landscape has stimulated an author's plot-making can be taken from two of William Mayne's novels, *Ravensgill* and *It*. For some time he lived in Ripon in Yorkshire, and there he found the novels' settings.

Ravensgill is about two families related to each other but living on different sides of a moor, only passable in winter. As in so many others of Mayne's books for children there is a mystery from the past to be unravelled. An important discovery in the book is a tunnel, a relic from the days of the lead mines, which provides a secret way between the two sides of the moor. The tunnel also explains the four towers that stand on the moor. The boy, Bob, carrying out the research wonders

a lot about them without being able to get reliable information from anyone, but finds that they have steps down to the tunnel.

There actually exists an enigmatic tower in reality, found on the north side of the desolate Masham Moor, to the west of but not so very far from Ripon. It is called Arnagill Tower. The fact that this tower made an impression on Mayne is seen by the detailed description in his book.

> *The tower was a strange structure. It was made of two parallel walls, about four feet apart, twelve feet long, and a yard thick. These separate walls went up fifty feet, and joined at the top in an archway. There was no inside to the tower: each part was outside.*

Being once around Ripon I found the enigmatic nature of this tower confirmed, since I got various answers about what it really was. In fact, no one seemed to know, but up on the moor itself I encountered a local man who said that in his youth he had heard that the tower had been built in memory of a regiment which, during the days of World War I, had had its training camp on the moor but of which no one had returned from the battlefields.

Perhaps this is the right answer about the origin of the tower. There is, however, only this one tower on Masham Moor, not four, and there never was any lead mining here, nor any tunnels. All these things belong to the plot created in Mayne's imagination. But Arnagill Tower may be thought to have inspired the book.

In *It* the setting is the town of Ripon itself. What has played an important role for the author in this case are some antiquarian memories. At one time the canons of the cathedral were entitled to give refuge to fugitives who had come within a mile of the Minster. In the 13th century the sanctuary border was marked at the approaching roads by eight or nine stone crosses. They have today all disappeared; there is just a remnant of one, a stone base on which a cross has been placed.

Another of the antiquarian remnants at Ripon is a hill quite near the cathedral. Today it is simply called Green Howe. But it also has another less harmless name, Ailsa Hill or Ailcey, a name thought to be derived from Elves Howe, the mound of the elves. It has always been regarded at Ripon as something supernatural. It is man-made but no grave-mound. Its purpose can only be guessed, but it is hardly an accidental circumstance that the area round the hill and the cathedral was the place were people first settled at Ripon. It is likely that the monastery was located here in the seventh century to take over the role of the hill.

In contrast to *Ravensgill, It* is a book of the fantastic tale type, where supernatural events mix with the everyday world. Perhaps Green Howe was the reason for this. In the novel the hill is called "the Eyell" and supernatural events occur there. The stone crosses are also used by Mayne. He says that they once were four. Three are still standing, although without their arms. The fourth one is found buried in the Eyell.

With such changes, the geographical names in the two books had of course to be altered, however. Masham Moor was substituted by Staddle Hill, Staddle Moss and Huker Mire, Ripon by Cuttesdon.

Real and fictitious geographical names

Sometimes the authors use fully identifiable landscapes with their real place-names. Examples are Lively's *The driftway*, mentioned above, and some books by Ransome which are set in East Anglia. Even the inns are real inns in these books, Lively's Red Lion at Culworth, Ransome's the Swan at Horning in *Coot club* and *The big six*, and the Butt and Oyster at Pin Mill in *We didn't mean to go to sea*.

As already exemplified from Mayne the reader in other cases encounters smoke screens however, by way of fictitious geographical names created by the author. This is in accordance with an old tradition among authors for adult readers. One can for example think of the place-names in Thomas Hardy's Wessex novels.

There can be various reasons for introducing fictitious geographical names. Authors may feel more freedom to invent if the setting is not so easily identifiable. Nor are false identifications of persons or events to be feared.

Another reason to change or withhold the place-names is that the author may have wanted to modify something in a real setting for the sake of the plot. It has just been seen that Mayne gave new names to Masham Moor and Ripon. The fact that he never mentions Canterbury in his stories from the cathedral choir school may at least to some extent be because in the first of these stories, *A swarm in May*, he added an unknown prior to the history of the cathedral and the tomb of the said prior, as well as his beehive to the cathedral itself.

On the other hand, even when authors have done their best to blind their readers, one may be surprised at the pains they often at the same time take to give hints of the real geography. This ambivalent attitude may to some extent be a literary tradition, but one can perhaps also

suppose that it is caused by the authors' wish to pass on something of their own delight in their setting.

Even if Mayne substituted Ripon with Cuttesdon, it did not prevent him from giving good descriptions of the town. He even used real street and other names, although he had to play with the reader, renaming Kirkgate as Kirk Alley, the church of St. John at Sharow as St. Michael on Sarrow Hill, and so on. Castleford and Yellow Salden, created by Pearce as substitutes for Cambridge and Saffron Walden, are rather transparent names. Castleford and Cambridge begin with the same letters; Yellow Salden will easily remind one of Saffron Walden, since saffron was cultivated there in bygone days to get yellow dye. Especially striking is her placing of an inn called University Arms in Castleford saying that the name was an odd one, since there is no university in Castleford. With these words she gives the reader an association in the right direction however. University Arms is actually the name of an inn, and hotel, in Cambridge.

Fictitious geographical names in the midst of real ones

A special way to give verisimilitude to a setting with fictitious geographical names is to introduce real place-names, although only at a safe distance.

One finds this technique in Pearce's above mentioned books from the landscape south of Cambridge. The villages where she lived as a child, Great and Little Shelford, are called Great and Little Barley. The river Cam, sometimes called Granta, together with its tributary the Bourne, one encounters as the Say. The neighbouring towns of Cambridge and Saffron Walden were still too near and were, as just said, masked as Castleford and Yellow Salden. But in *Tom's midnight garden*, where Hatty's house is said to be "five miles or more" distant from Castleford, we learn that the river flows towards Ely and King's Lynn, and on his way to Hatty's house Tom had gone through Ely. In this way the landscape seems more real.

Similarly the Norfolk coast scene in Joan G. Robinsons's *When Marnie was there*, which can be identified with the village of Burnham Overy Staithe, is masked as Little Overton by the author. But we are told that Heacham and Wells-next-the-Sea are not far away on other side, and these places are genuine. Garebridge, the town in Mayne's *Earthfasts*, is not found on any map, but since the drummer boy can walk to his home in Arkengarthdale, we understand that Garebrigde is Richmond in Yorkshire. In addition, the boy heroes contemplate taking the train to Darlington in order to go to the match at Stockton.

Geographical names only existing in the minds of the child heroes

In 1882 Richard Jefferies published his *Bevis; the story of a boy*. This book was not originally meant to be a children's book but was later issued as such. A lake is at the centre of the story. Bevis and Mark live at its shore, try to walk round it, fight once more the battle between Caesar and Pompey, sail on the lake and stay for ten days in a hut on an uninhabited island. On the island Bevis puts up an instrument made by himself, a graduated disc with a movable tube, and moves the tube until he can see the sun through it. It reads 20 degrees north and one is therefore obviously in the tropical latitudes.

During the expedition around the lake Bevis puts names on the map he is making. They emanate from the exotic world of adventure and travel books. The lake itself becomes the New Sea, its affluents are the Mississippi and the Nile. The island where the hut is built is called New Formosa, the water beside it the Straits of Mozambique. In the distance hills stand out, which must be the Himalayas.

The book is one of a number of books based on the author's childhood memories. It is common knowledge that the home of Jefferies' childhood, i.e. in the 1850's, was a farm by a water reservoir, Coate Reservoir or Coate Water. At the time it was situated some five kilometres outside Swindon in Wiltshire, although today the town houses reach all the way out there. The setting is therefore a real one, but the geographical names are the children's own.

A very similar case is found in the above mentioned books by Arthur Ransome, set in the Lake District. Even here one sails on a lake. It is generally understood that this lake is an amalgamation of Windermere and Coniston Water. Ransome has himself said that *Winter holiday* is based on his memories from February 1895, when, at school at Windermere, the lake froze and the schoolboys could spend the whole day on the ice. But essentially the lake is Coniston Water, where, as we have seen, the Ransome family spent their holidays.

Some of the geographical names given, although fictitious, are common sounding, for example, the homesteads Holly Howe and Beckfoot, but mostly the names are more exotic. The little town on the eastern shore of the lake is Rio. The lake itself has no name, but there is a promontory which is called Darien (i.e. the place from which Balboa once discovered the Pacific Ocean), and into the lake flows the Amazon River. Not far from its mouth the Octopus Lagoon is found. The island in the lake is Wild Cat Island (called Spitzbergen in *Winter holiday*, from where one succeeds in reaching the North Pole). Even the mountains, in the shadow of which the lake lies, belong to the setting,

and just as in Jefferies book they are interpreted as the Himalayas, the biggest hill being called Kanchenjunga.

The same method of name-giving occurs in Ransome's *Secret Water*, where the setting is in East Anglia. Horsey Island in the middle of Hamford Water is thus called Swallow Island, and there is an Amazon Creek, a Witch's Quay and a Mastodon Island. Titty Walker, who once named Kanchenjunga, christens the water south of Swallow Island the Red Sea.

Illustrations and maps

Illustrations and maps can draw attention to the geographical setting, especially when they are drawn or inspired by the author himself. Although the name of Canterbury is never mentioned in Mayne's choir school stories, the illustrator has drawn the cathedral, the entrance to the Precinct, houses, standing remnants of the medieval monastery and so on, and if one knows the place there is no doubt as to the illustration's location. On the other hand false leads can be given by the illustrator, if the the real setting was unknown to the artist.

An example of maps presenting a real geography is the one in Richard Adams's *Watership Down*, showing the northern part of Hampshire. Two such maps are further found in Arthur Ransome's *Coot club*, set in the Norfolk Broads, one showing "the Northern rivers", i.e. the Bure with tributaries, one "the Southern rivers", i.e. the Yare and the Waveney.

Maps can of course also show imaginary landscapes. Sometimes the geography is basically a real one but reshaped by the author. In such cases the maps may present such geographical names that only exist in the minds of the child heroes. Names of this type have been quoted above from Jefferies and Ransome.

There is no map in the original edition of Jefferies's *Bevis* but both the publications from 1932 and 1974 have maps of the New Sea. The map in the older edition, signed Shepard, is the more life-like. The only major deviation from the real geography is that it had to show three islands, while Coate Water only has one.

A bit more imaginary are the maps in Ransome's five books set in the Lake District. Depite this the real geography behind the maps is no riddle. Wild Cat Island is Peel Island in Coniston Water. Other cases are more enigmatic, however. The Amazon River flows into the lake from the west like Torver Beck into Coniston Water, but there is no "Octopus Lagoon" in Torver Beck. The real Amazon River may therefore be the River Crake, the outlet of Coniston Water to the south. Just south of

the lake it broadens temporarily into what is called Allan Tarn. In his autobiography Ransome writes of how his father used to fish for pike in Allan Tarn. It could have been the "lagoon" of Ransome's childhood.

Symbolic use of landscape

A literary landscape can even in children's literature have a symbolic function.

In 1858 Charles Kingsley found a geographical setting when he visited the owner of Malham Tarn House on the hills north-west of Skipton in Yorkshire. He fished on Malham Tarn and took a trip to Malham Cove, where the water from the lake, after having disappeared down into the limestone rock, emerges under a precipice. His idea was to write a historical novel with this setting. Nothing came of it, but some years later *The water babies* was published. In the beginning we follow the master sweep Grimes, who takes his lad Tom with him and comes to a limestone fountain and then to Harthover Place in order to sweep its chimneys. Here one recognizes Malham Cove and Malham Tarn House. When Tom is suspected of being a thief, he gets frightened and runs away. He climbs higher and higher up on the moor, until at last he sees his salvation lying below him in the form of a stream with a little cottage to the side of it, and to which he succeeds in finding his way.

> *A deep, deep green and rocky valley, very narrow, and filled with wood: but through the wood, hundreds of feet below him, he could see a clear stream glance. Oh, if he could but get down to that stream! A quiet, silent, rich, happy place; a narrow crack cut deep into the earth; so deep, and so out of the way, that the bad bogies can hardly find it out. The name of the place is Vendale.*

Vendale is a fictitious name, but the place is real. Over the moor from Malham Tarn House one comes to a dizzily steep hill down to Littondale with the Skirfare flowing through it.

At Harthover Place Tom had looked into the mirror, found out what he really looked like and burst into tears. When he now lies exhausted in Vendale, it is with the words "I must be clean" that he goes into the water.

> *He went on to the bank of the brook, and lay down on the grass, and looked into the clear, clear limestone water, with every pebble at the bottom bright and clean, while the little silver trout dashed about in*

fright at the sight of the black face; and he dipped his hand in and found it so cool, cool, cool; and he said, "I will be a fish; I will swim in the water; I must be clean, I must be clean."

In this way Vendale is a place with a symbolic meaning. One should, however, not interpret it from a modern point of view as a nature reserve spared from industrial development, even though its clear stream is certainly the opposite of the black and dusty valley of the Aire, where the travellers' journey began. Kingsley was delighted in the growth of industrialism. Nor is it likely that Tom is made into a chimney sweep's lad in order to demonstrate a social injustice, even if this is a common enough modern interpretation, understandable since the life of the little chimney-sweeps has often been used in literature to illustrate the bad conditions of working children. Tom is a chimney-sweep simply because such people are especially black and dirty. So is Grimes, although he is no poor boy but Tom's master.

The message of Vendale is a message of renewal. Here Tom remembers the words of the Irishwoman: "Those that wish to be clean, clean they will be; and those that wish to be foul, foul they will be." It has even been maintained that Tom's falling into the clear water of Vendale is a symbol of Christian baptism. When Grimes finally becomes clean too, it is likewise a question of inner purification, having been achieved as it was by his own tears.

Rosemary Sutcliff uses another geographical setting with a symbolic meaning, Richborough Castle at the coast of Kent, a memory of the Romans. Formerly a channel gave access from here to the Thames estuary, guarded by a fort in the north and by another one in the south. Richborough Castle – or Rutupiae as it was called at the time – was the southern fort. Right from the beginning it had been an important landing-place for the Romans, and at the end of the first century a large memorial to the successfully completed occupation of Britain was erected, arrayed with marble and bronze statues. From about 280 the fort was rebuilt as a quadrangular fortress surrounded by a high stone wall, the greater part of which still stands. Also left is the cross-shaped ten metres deep platform of the memorial. The hypothesis has been put forward that a lighthouse later was erected on the platform.

This hypothesis is certainly very doubtful since no Roman lighthouses in Britain are known other than the two at Dover, but it has been used by Sutcliff. She gave a description of the lighthouse at Rutupiae already in *The silver branch*, a children's novel about the age of the emperor Carausius about 290.

> *The thing was no match for the Pharos at Alexandria, but seen at close quarters it was vast enough to stop one's breath, all the same. In the centre of the open space rose a plinth of solid masonry four or five times the height of a man, and long as an eighty-oar galley, from the midst of which a tower of the same grey stonework soared heavenward, bearing on its high crest the iron beacon brazier that seemed to Justin, staring giddily up at it, almost to touch the drifting November skies.*

In three later novels, the first one being *The lantern bearers*, Sutcliff tells of how the Roman tradition was maintained in Britain during the "dark ages", using such words as darkness and light, night and day, sunset and dawn. "The lantern bearers" are the bearers of the light at what seems to be sunset. "We are the Lantern Bearers", says Eugenus, the friend of the hero Aquila, "to carry what light we can forward into the darkness and the wind."

Even if only imaginary the lighthouse of Rutupiae is used symbolically at the beginning of *The lantern bearers*. The last Roman auxiliaries are leaving Britain from the harbour there. At the last moment Aquila decides to stay where he feels that he belongs. He hides in the lighthouse, and when the transport galley has left, he gets the impulse to let the beacon burn once again.

> *The heart of it was glowing now, a blasting, blinding core of heat and brightness under the flames; even from the shores of Gaul they would see the blaze, and say, "Ah, there is Rutupiae's light." It was his farewell to so many things; to the whole world that he had been bred to. But it was something more: a defiance against the dark.*

This chapter is based upon a book in Swedish, Besök i brittiska barnbokslandskap *(Visits to British children's book landscapes). Stockholm 1987 (Studies published by the Swedish Institute for Children's Books 22). In preparation of this book several excursions to the settings depicted were made.*

In conclusion

Research in a minor language area – reminiscences and suggestions

The main difficulty for a researcher in a minor language area is of course in being able to contribute to international dialogue. There is, however, also a certain advantage since such a researcher will likely be engaged in comparative research.

Linguistic barriers

Linguistic barriers are always a drawback. They can be found even between the major European languages. An English review of Emer O'Sullivan's *Kinderliterarische Komparatistik*, a book published in 2000, ends with the words that it is a pity that the book can only be fully appreciated by bilingual readers. Another English review of the same book begins by saying that, though not yet available in English, it is of general interest and warrants a report. Obviously the reviewers take it for granted that many English readers, interested in an international literature such as children's books, are not capable of reading a scholarly work in German.

Now this difficulty should perhaps not be exaggerated. The two reviewers understood German, and German researchers on their side are most likely able to read English. The problem is greater where a minor language is concerned.

Once when I was in Tbilisi I was presented with a history of Georgian children's literature by the book's author. It is an impressive book of 400 pages, but being written in Georgian, with Georgian letters, I have of course never been able to understand anything of it. Nor did the author expect a reader's response from me. Here one can definitely speak of a linguistic barrier.

A work in Swedish ought to be understandable to more readers, in the countries where Nordic languages are spoken. The near kinship between Swedish, German, English and Dutch will perhaps also enable some readers to make inspired guesses. Despite this a Swedish researcher writing in his own language will experience isolation.

Odd outlooks on major languages

Sometimes it seems that the existence of linguistic barriers are not fully realized. I once had to host a Korean, who, when he heard that I studied children's literature, told me that he had a colleague in Seoul who dealt with this subject. He wondered if I would be interested in her writings. When I answered that I unfortunately did not read Korean he said that she had been translated. "Into which language?" – "Into Japanese." I had to explain that this was a language that was equally beyond me. He accepted this and went away, but after some moments there was a knock on the door. He put his head inside saying: "But surely you read Chinese?"

My visitor had been staying in Germany – we spoke in German – and one would think that his Western experiences should have told him that knowledge of the East Asian languages are not generally to be expected among Europeans. Yet he seemed to believe that Chinese is generally known.

There was no arrogance in his attitude. In other cases, however, there can be a rigid confidence in the universality of the own language. Upon visiting a university professor in France I happened to talk about the desirability of making scholarly treatments of children's literature available by translations. But he declared that it was impossible to translate from French, since the subtle reasoning and fine distinctions characteristic of this language would disappear. I have wondered whether he poked fun at me, but I don't think so. I believe that he was influenced by the peculiar idea that French is more logical than other languages.

Once during a symposium led by myself I remember an Englishman who was without insight into the favours he enjoyed by being born with English as his native tongue. English was the conference language and a Polish lady presenting her paper in this language did so in a rather halting way – French had most likely been easier for her. Afterwards the Englishman made open fun of her. This time I got really angry and asked him why he didn't try to learn Polish.

It may be added that thoughtlessness – even where no arrogance is met – is often found among English-speaking people taking part in conferences with English as the conference language. Whereas the non-English attender in trying to be understood will read his paper rather slowly and as distinctly as he can, many English speakers are apt to talk all too rapidly, sometimes indistinctly. Everyone understands English, don't they? But on speaking with listeners one can find that not so few experience difficulties.

Special difficulties when publishing for an international audience

In order to reach an international audience it becomes necessary for a speaker of a minor language to have his writings presented in a more widespread language. Unfortunately, however, this is sometimes virtually impossible. One difficulty concerns the subject matter. In sciences like chemistry and biology there is no such difficulty. Molecules and chromosomes are the same in all countries. Nor is there a problem for a researcher dealing with literature in a major language, but for the researcher working with literature written in a minor language the problem is very much present.

If, for example, an English scholar wants to write about English nursery rhymes, he needs to quote a number of such rhymes, but since even readers of other languages are assumed to understand English, this will not bring about any problems. A researcher carrying out a study of similar rhymes in a minor language is in another situation. I have my own experience having published a book about the use of poetry from Swedish oral tradition in Swedish children's literature. It is a big book of nearly 400 pages filled with quotations of different variants of popular children's rhymes and so on. It would have been meaningless to try to translate such different variants into another language. The same problem will of course occur with prose, especially in dealing with older literature written in an out-of-date orthography and using words now obsolete.

Something of the matter of this kind can later be presented to a foreign audience in a suitably revised form. But in such cases I have had to confine myself to summaries, without detailed exemplification necessary for providing proof to the conclusions.

Another difficulty originates in the fact that a researcher speaking a minor language will only be quoted and discussed in foreign parts on the basis of works that have been presented in a language other than his own, perhaps only in the language in which he is quoted and discussed. He may however have continued his research, taking regard to criticism, strengthening the arguments, changing his views, even taking all of it back. But if this subsequent work is published in his own language, which is often the case, nothing will be known of it abroad.

I was for example asked to allow a translation into Lettish of one of my writings. This was in the middle of the 1990's, but what was to be translated had been published back in 1970, a report written in English. I pointed out that the report was 25 years old and that I had written several revised versions. This made no impression however, and I

suppose the reason was that it was easier to arrange a translation from English than from Swedish.

Another example is a detailed discussion in a German book from 2000 of a chapter in a book by myself from 1973, also in German. It may be flattering that what one has written so long ago is still paid any attention, but since then I had written revised versions, but just in Swedish. The reason why the old book was quoted was of course that it was available in German.

The report from 1970 dealt with the fantastic tale, and the chapter from 1973 with the concept of adaptation, i.e. the consideration taken by writers of the knowledge and interests of children. Since these subjects are generally favourite themes of mine, I would have of course been much happier if my later revisions had been used instead.

Different ways to get a text published in a foreign language

A foreign language can be used even when the publishing is undertaken in the author's own country. This may in fact be the only way in the beginning of a researcher's career – aided perhaps by foundations or state subsidies.

There is no guarantee that a publication made in the author's own country will be widely read abroad however, even if printed in a major language. It has to be effectively advertised, for example by a carefully prepared sending out of free copies, if possible resulting in reviews abroad.

A better way is to place one's text in a country of a major language. On a commercial basis this will not always be so easy, however. I still have a book manuscript in (corrected) English, which in the 80's I tried in vain to place with British and American publishers. But when the author becomes internationally known there can come proposals for translations of already written works, as well as for new contributions written directly for a foreign readership.

Still, one can always hope for happy coincidences.

A happy coincidence

An example of a happy coincidence is the origin of one of my books in German. When I took part in a conference in Austria there were some difficulties in housing all the participants. I was asked whether I could share a room with an Austrian. The man turned out to have come from the well-known publishing house of Böhlau in Vienna. I had just published a stencilled report in Swedish, an attempt to summarize

the tasks, methods and terminology of children's literature research. I had brought the report with me, and somehow my roommate got to see it. He became interested and thought that it could be a good thing to translate it into German. Published in Böhlau's "scientific library" in 1973 the book appeared as the first one of its kind written in German. It is the same thirty years old book mentioned above. But it would seem that this German version would never have seen the light of day if there had been more rooms available at the conference.

Summaries

To provide scholarly works in Swedish with summaries in a major language is required for Ph.D. thesis, as well as by several research foundations and series editors. The usual language chosen today is English, occasionally German or French.

I don't think that such summaries do much good however. Even when a summary is rather extensive it can only give a general idea of the contents. The necessary shortness will be apt to cause misunderstandings. Besides this, what another researcher most often wants is to a minute account of some detail, perhaps only found in a footnote.

This was exemplified when I tried to give an account of the first appearances of *Struwwelpeter* in Swedish, and had to also take the editions aimed at the Swedish-speaking population in Finland into consideration. They had been dealt with in two books written in Finnish. With the help of a Finnish-Swedish dictionary I could find the relevant passages but could not be sure of what was said. One of the books had a summary in English. But nothing could be found there which was of use to me. There is nothing remarkable in this since the book covered 300 years of children's literature in Finland, for which reason the summary only gave a survey of the general development. I had to arrange for a translation of the passages in question, not only in the book without a summary, but also in the book with one.

It is true that a summary gives the reader an opportunity to contact the author in order to get more detailed information, but such contact is perhaps not often made.

Nor are summaries often referred to. With regard to my own writings I can only remember referring to one summary, in French, in a treatise about French children's literature during the 18th century and beginning of the 19th, published in Hungarian in Budapest. I used it as one of many references, when in my Ph.D. thesis I tried to depict the European history of the moral story about ordinary children. The four quotations used were

not especially important, however. I still wonder what I could have found in the Hungarian book, if the linguistic barrier had not been there.

To work with correctors and translators

There are different ways in which full-length presentations in foreign languages can be effected.

The author himself writes in a language that he masters, at least to the extent that his text can be linguistically scrutinized by an expert.

Somebody translates the text into a language which the author can understand, which makes it possible for the author to check the translation.

Somebody translates the text into a language which the author does not master.

The third possibility offers the biggest problems. For my own part I have been translated from Swedish into Finnish, Russian and Japanese and – as mentioned above – from English into Lettish. In these cases I have had no way of knowing how well the translators have rendered the texts. One will always fear that misunderstandings will be passed on by readers in the new language.

In the first and second cases cooperation between author on one side and corrector or translator on the other is important. Later, the author must be given the opportunity to read the proofs. In both respects I have had both good and bad experiences.

My most agreeable contact occurred when I was invited to contribute with a book to a German series. I wrote in German and the series editor came and spent a week with my family at the Swedish seaside. Between baths and excursions we sat a couple of hours a day and went through the manuscript without haste. This made it possible, not only to establish a linguistically good text, but also to discuss the contents.

Equally satisfactory was the help I received with the English language during my years in Lund by an Irish scholar living in the town. When he had gone through a manuscript he came to my home where we could go through it page by page.

Similar help can be found even if it is not possible to sit together. The above mentioned book published by Böhlau was translated into German in Vienna, but the translator sent me the translation, chapter for chapter, and discussions could be conducted by letter.

In contrast to these satisfactory occasions I have also had unfortunate experiences, however. These have been due to a disinterest in producing the foreign text for the author's inspection. The reason for this can be that the corrector or translator is such a good linguist, or that time is too short.

Correctors or translators will most likely know the language better than the foreign author, but if they have not been involved with the author's branch of learning they may still not fully understand what has been meant. The author may also have introduced terms of his own, which the corrector naturally has not heard of. The other objection, that the time is too short, is seldom relevant. An exchange of thoughts can often be done rather rapidly. I assume that the fact simply is that one thinks the interference of the author to be unnecessary. If this is the case it is, however, an indication of the editor's incompetence. When doubtful passages occur the author will fear that the readers think that the passages are his own.

Such passages might be merely ridiculous but they can also be rather serious. An example belonging to the former category is the mentioning of an 18th century bookshop in Stockholm in an article of mine published in French. Since I cannot write passable French I produced the article in English to be translated into French in France; an example in itself of the complications with which a researcher in a minor language area may encounter. The translator wrote: "Dans le catalogue de The Bookshop of the Educational Society de mars 1783 ..." There was no indication in the article of how the translation had been carried out. Of course the name of the bookshop was not in English. Like the rest of my English text the name should have been translated into French.

It is more serious however when book titles and authors' names are rendered wrongly or in a confused way. August Wilhelm Zachariä (or Zachariae), a German who in the 1820's wrote two absurd shadow plays, was called "Zacharias" (twice) and "Zacharia" (once) in the printed version of a paper that I had read in Germany. Before printing, my German text got a fitting linguistic scrutinizing, but there was no reason to change the name of the author. Perhaps someone will regard this as a trifle, but the fact is that I was trying to interest the German scholars in this unobserved shadow play writer. It was frustrating to discover that the name was rendered inaccurately.

I strongly recommend authors to take a hard line, and always demand corrected texts or translations before printing, preferably both in manuscript and in proof. Problems of this type can of course also occur when an author is published in his own country and language, but it may be more difficult to get corrected manuscripts and proofs from abroad.

The comparatist

A positive side of being a researcher in children's literature in a minor language area is that a comparative perspective is natural for such a

researcher. This is valid both what concerns children's books and the theoretical literature dealing with them.

The situation arises for example when a researcher examines the history of the children's literature published in his own language, since this literature will consist of translations to a greater extent than children's literature in the major languages. In Sweden up until 1770, translations accounted for half of the production, while later they made up more than half.

The researcher will in such cases automatically become conversant with originals in more than one language. The history of the Swedish children's literature can, for example, only be understood in the light of contemporary European literature, primarily from Germany, France and England.

I have no memory of having heard of comparative literature research when in the 1950's I began to study the history of literature issued for Swedish children, but I had read Joseph Texte, who in 1909 had published his work on the literary relations between France and England in the 18th century and spoken of a "cosmopolitisme littéraire". This "cosmopolitisme" obviously included several other countries. Normally my treatment of works of different literary kinds published for children in Sweden begins with international surveys.

This means that even the theoretical literature used to establish this background includes works in languages other than Swedish. The Ph.D. thesis of 1964, which presented my studies of children's literature published in Sweden up to the second half of the 19th century, has a list of about 500 references. Since the literature treated was in Swedish it is natural that nearly 300 of these references are in Swedish, but about 200 are in other languages, mostly German, English and French, but also Dutch, Italian, Danish and Norwegian. This is in contrast to the typical reference list found in works dealing with the history of children's literature issued in Germany, England and France. Their references are almost solely in the researcher's own language.

Even when treating other aspects – not just the historical – of children's literature research, the reference lists of treatises in a minor language will differ from the lists in works written in German, English and French. The latter will mostly be restricted to references in the same language as the theoretical work itself, whereas the lists in works written by researchers in a minor language will contain books and articles in several languages.

Translations as guides to originals

Since the researcher in children's literature in a minor language is

occupied with translations to such a great extent, he may be given the bonus of tracing originals that have not been observed or not been paid enough attention to in the country from which they came. My own experiences of this kind have left traces in some of the previous chapters.

In French and English treatments of Arnaud Berquin's *Le petit Grandisson* the book was either thought to be an original by Berquin or a translation of an imitation of Richardson effected in England. However, when I had to deal with the Swedish translation I could not disregard the fact that the subtitle of the original clearly called the book a translation from the Dutch. I had to look for a probable source and was able to present Maria Geertruida de Cambon's *De kleine Grandisson*.

Through a translation into Swedish Balzac's sister Laure Surville came into my focus as a French author for children. No one seemed to have previously dealt with her two children's books, *La fée des nuages, ou La reine Mab* and *Le compagnon du foyer*.

During the 1870's a great many British picture books, so-called toy books, were sold to Sweden. In order to establish the British originals and their dates a bibliographical work dealing with the British series became necessary. This work led to a comprehensive bibliography of the British series in question. In this way research was undertaken that should really have been brought about in Britain.

A specially interesting case was the finding of two shadow plays for children, which appeared in Sweden in the first half of the 1820's, anonymous but in fact translations from the above mentioned German August Wilhelm Zachariä. They are of interest for the early history of the absurd tale for children, but have not been observed in the histories of German children's literature. The reason for this is obviously their lacking accessibility. When I tried to find the originals a copy of *Kronprinzchen von Kinderland* could be found in a German library, but the Swedish translation of *Das neue Schattenspiel aus Kinderland* is probably the only remaining text of this play.

A comparatist's troubles

In the foregoing examples the translations into Swedish could of course only give suggestions for further research. It is dangerous to build too much upon translations. Even today translators take liberties when rendering foreign texts, and in the past "free" translation was a rule. Therefore one also has to check the originals.

Earlier this was no big problem. There was a splendid international

library service. When I had formed the hypothesis that Berquin's *Le petit Grandisson* was a translation of de Cambon's *De kleine Grandisson* a copy of the original from 1782 of this book was lent by the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague to the Swedish library where I was doing my research. A copy of Zachariä's in 1821 published *Kronprinzchen von Kinderland* was lent in the same way by the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Göttingen. These services were free of charge.

When I some decades later discovered the overlooked Laure Surville and needed a look at the French originals of her books the happy times were gone however. By a lucky coincidence a copy of *Le compagnon du foyer* (an edition printed in Germany but still in French and issued only one year after the original) was available in a Swedish library. But this was not the case with *La fée des nuages*. In addition the printed catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris also listed a third book by Surville, *Les rêves de Marianne*, with the early printing date of 1828 (the two other books being both from 1854). I formed the hypothesis that the latter book was just a new edition of *La fée des nuages* and that 1828 was a misprint in the catalogue, possibly for 1878, the year before the Swedish translation.

Loans from foreign libraries, however, in this case from the Bibliothèque Nationale, were no longer possible. Nor could, as far as I understood, any comparisons between the books be undertaken by the library, not even information given whether the printing year was 1828 or 1878. All such things were deemed research not to be expected from the library staff. I could only order photocopies of certain pages, but how could one know which pages when one had not seen the book? What remained was to order photocopies of entire books which would have been very expensive.

The problem was happily resolved with the help of a friend who for other reasons was visiting the Bibliothèque Nationale and arranged for some photocopies. Such possibilities, however, do not often offer themselves.

Another problem for a comparatist is how to implement the results in the countries of the originals. In the case of the foreign originals mentioned above I have been able to do this. I wrote about *De kleine Grandisson* in an article about Berquin's sources published in French in France, and another article about Surville also published in French in the same journal. The bibliography of some British toy book series was printed in a book published in Swedish in Sweden, but the bibliography itself

was presented in English. I dealt with Zachariä's shadow plays back in 1973 in a book in German published in Germany, and as has been seen above once again in a conference paper printed in German in Germany. This was in 1994.

Such opportunities are not given to everyone, however, and it is also a question to what extent the endeavours have been fruitful. The toy book bibliography has certainly been observed in Britain. But the inability of the editors to render Zachariä's name accurately in the conference proceedings of 1994 does not indicate that my earlier mention of his plays in 1973 had made much impression.

Both when help is needed, for example in libraries, and when publication in a foreign country becomes a problem, some sort of network formed by comparatists in different countries seems to be something to hope for. Only in this way will it be possible I think, to effect the much needed increase in comparative children's literature research.

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