



This article was published in *Target: international journal of Translation Studies* 5 #2. 191-214. (1993)

THE GRIMM TALES IN 19TH CENTURY DENMARK

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Abstract: In most countries, the Tales of the brothers Grimm become known by degrees, beginning with one or two stories or a small selection. The situation in Denmark is not typical for a variety of reasons: the Grimms had close personal contacts with prominent Danes. Culturally their Tales belonged to a distant pangermanic tradition common to Danes and Germans. Therefore the first volume of tales (1812) was soon translated into Danish. The initial high esteem is felt to this day as a strong tradition of 'respectable and faithful translations'. Yet changes in market forces and reading audiences have created two more strata in the translational heritage of the Grimm Tales in Danish. The Grimm tradition has also responded to changes in Danish middle-class perception of Germany.

Résumé: C'est par degrés, à commencer par un ou deux récits, ou par un choix, que les Contes des frères Grimm ont pénétré dans la plupart des pays. Le Danemark échappa à ce processus, pour plusieurs raisons: les Grimm entretenaient des relations étroites avec des Danois en vue, et leurs contes avaient une origine pangermanique partagée avec les Danois. Aussi le premier volume de contes (1812) a été traduit rapidement en danois. La haute estime pour ces premières versions n'a pas disparu depuis: elle a inspiré une tradition de 'traductions fidèles et respectables'. L'évolution du marché et du public des lecteurs a toutefois occasionné l'apparition de deux autres tendances. Et la représentation changée de l'Allemagne chez les lecteurs danois de classe moyenne a également affecté la tradition.

Outside Germany, it was in Denmark that the *Tales* of the brothers Grimm (*Kinder- und Hausmärchen*) first had an impact, and, to this very day, Grimm tales are the foreign works most frequently translated into Danish. Many Danes are, indeed, under the impression that the Grimm tales are of Danish origin.¹ The present article discusses how historical, personal and cultural factors contributed to this state of affairs. ... // 192 ... Although it is based on many snippets of information which are found in Grimm scholarship, in general European history, in the books lining the shelves of the Royal Library in Copenhagen and elsewhere, as well as in the history and general development of Denmark in the last century, the pieces in the mosaic presented here have yet to form a coherent picture of the complex relationship between the brothers Grimm, their *Tales* and the Danish response. The references are therefore few.

1. The First Grimm Ties with Denmark

Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm were born in the small German county (*Landgrafschaft*) of Hesse in 1786 and 1787, respectively. While they were going to school and to university, Napoleon established the empire which was to dominate Europe until 1813. In his war against Prussia, he conquered Hesse, parts of which, including the capital, Kassel, he incorporated into a new Kingdom, Westphalia, in 1807. He then appointed his youngest brother, Jérôme, king of the new realm. Westphalia was to be a model French administration in the heartlands of Germany; French ideas of equality triumphed, and the middle classes were given ample opportunities for brilliant careers in the new kingdom - whose importance was enhanced by the French influence as well as the discreet dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire a few years before. As a young man of promise, Jacob Grimm became king Jérôme's private librarian in 1808, and less than a year later the King personally appointed him member of his council, in all likelihood to serve as trusted linguistic middleman in the bi-lingual administration, for Jérôme never learnt German. Still in his early twenties, Jacob Grimm was thus placed in high quarters; from the royal council of an important ally of the French Empire he had a fine view of political events in Napoleonic Europe.

The same year Westphalia came into existence, Denmark-Norway voluntarily sided with Napoleon. Since the duchies of Slesvig-Holsten were part of Denmark as well as (technically) of the Holy Roman Empire, there were political ties between Germany and Denmark-Norway. Contemporary intellectual connections were close and mutual influence great: Romanticism took hold in Denmark shortly after its appearance in Germany (1800), and Danish literature was translated into German, sometimes even before being published in Denmark itself. ...// 193 ... Scholars, aware of the ancient common 'pangermanic' roots in language and art, took an interest in Norse and Danish traditions and lore. Given their fascination with the past, it is no wonder that the brothers Grimm knew Danish: letters from Danes to the brothers were in Danish, Wilhelm's first major publication was a translation of Danish ballads and he later rendered poems by the contemporary Danish Romantic writer, Adam Oehlenschläger, into German. Jacob also read Danish and put his mastery of the language to active use as late as 1844 when he delivered a lecture in Danish in Copenhagen.²

Although Wilhelm was not officially employed in the Westphalian administration, he took on some of Jacob's duties, notably the contact with Danes which he established while living with the Danish-Norwegian Professor Henrik Steffens in Halle 1809-1810. Wilhelm had succeeded in convincing Steffens of his sincere interest in Norse history. Henrik Steffens had close contacts with Danish intellectuals and sent word to the most prominent Danish scholar at the time, Professor Rasmus Nyerup, head of the University Library of Copenhagen, which housed the world's largest collection of Icelandic (Norse) manuscripts, 'Den arnamagnæanske Samling'. Thus, when Wilhelm wrote Rasmus Nyerup to acquire books and copies of manuscripts on behalf of the Royal Westphalian Library, he met with a warm response, and there was subsequently frequent correspondence between Copenhagen and Kassel, personally delivered by travelers, on matters of state, study, trade and war.

As an ally of Denmark, Westphalia had its own ambassador in Copenhagen, but since Denmark-Norway waged its naval warfare with the British independent of French moves, the resident diplomat

had little to do. He could, however, help Wilhelm procure books, and was also asked to intercede with an Icelandic scholar who was withholding Icelandic material. The ambassador stormed into the room of the scoundrel, who turned out to be Rasmus Rask, a student the same age as the brothers Grimm. Rask was indeed the European academic best versed in Icelandic lore, but he professed his (undoubted) innocence. To clear up the matter, he wrote Wilhelm and Jacob that very same afternoon, thus starting another fruitful interchange.³

At this time, 1807-1813, the brothers Grimm were collecting fairytales, most of them from Kassel girls who were friends of their sister.⁴ They assumed that these represented tales of the ‘common folk’ in the oral tradition. ...// 194...



In December 1812, as Napoleon was withdrawing from his ill-fated Russian campaign, the first volume of the Grimm *Tales* was published in Berlin. Thanks to the close ties between German and Danish intellectual and cultural circles at the time, the book soon became known in Copenhagen.⁵ In 1815, the second volume of *Tales* was published. By now the ephemeral Kingdom of Westphalia had disappeared from the world arena, and Jacob Grimm was serving as secretary to the Foreign Minister of Hesse at the Congress of Vienna where Denmark was divested of Norway as punishment for siding with Napoleon.⁶

Danish recognition of the *Tales* and of Wilhelm Grimm was not slow in coming: in his dedication to Wilhelm at the beginning of a bibliography of Danish-Norwegian literature for the folk (*Almindelig Morskabslæsning i Danmark og Norge igjennem Aarhundreder*. Copenhagen: Brødrene Thiele, 1816), Professor Rasmus Nyerup called Wilhelm Grimm “one of Germany’s leading literary historians”. The leading Romantic poet, Adam Oehlenschläger, translated six Grimm tales for a volume of “Fairytales by various poets”,⁷ and an old nobleman, Johan Frederik Lindencrone, apparently also translated (all 86?) Grimm tales at any time between 1812 and 1817, when he died without publishing his translations.

In 1814 Rasmus Rask wrote a prize essay on the origin of Old Norse. This was a work of comparative linguistics, in which he discussed numerous living languages, and concluded that the European languages had a common source. Because of the general depression in the wake of the Napoleonic wars, Rask’s work was not printed until 1818. By this time, he was on his way to India, and it was Professor Rasmus Nyerup who attended to the actual publication. The patriotic Rask had written the book in Danish, so that internationally there were few potential readers - except the Grimms in Kassel. Nyerup sent them a copy and Wilhelm Grimm noted that it contained much that was subtle. In fact it had a tremendous impact on the brothers’ work:

Although Jacob Grimm’s *German Grammar* (*Deutsche Grammatik*. Göttingen: Dieterich, 1819) was already in press, he prepared an addendum in which he incorporated some of Rasmus Rask’s findings (1819). By the second edition (1822) he had refined Rask’s findings into the ‘Grimm laws’ of lin-

guistic changes in Indo-European. Wilhelm Grimm was in charge of the *Tales*. He reissued them in 1819, mostly in a very changed form. Wilhelm had been bothered by similarities between tales from different parts of the world, but in his view, Rask's book provided the answer: ...// 195 ... like the living languages, folktales were the few surviving fragments which the folk had reverently preserved from the glorious continuum of Old IndoEuropean mythology. Thus, just as Rask studied the Icelandic (Norse) language, Wilhelm Grimm dipped deep into the ancient Icelandic (Norse) mythology to prove this point in a forty-page introduction to the 1819 German edition of the *Tales*.⁸

Wilhelm sent Nyerup one of the first copies of the 1819 Edition, and wrote him that the tales had been much "improved" ("Sie werden ... vieles darin verbessert . . . finden"). The old chamberlain's daughter, a poet in her own right, also acquired a copy. She went over her father's unpublished translations, revised them or re-translated the stories (in case of major changes in the German edition).⁹ In 1821(23)¹⁰ she had them published under her father's name, and it was as 'Chamberlain Lindencrone's translation' that the book continued to be reprinted all through the 19th century. This collection comprised all 86 tales of the First Volume of the Grimm *Tales* in a complete form." The whole of Wilhelm Grimm's Introduction - so complimentary to the Norse past - also made it into the Danish translation.

2. Subsequent German Editions

The German Edition of 1819 was not a bestseller. However, by 1825, the success of an English selection by John Edgar Taylor (1823) made Wilhelm Grimm decide to select fifty tales from the 1819 German Edition for a 'Small Edition' which explicitly catered to children and also had illustrations.

From then on, Small Editions and Large Editions (with, finally (in 1857) 201 tales and 10 religious tales) appeared regularly in German. The fact that Wilhelm Grimm called both Editions *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, and only differentiated between them with the addition of "Kleine" vs. "Grosse" Ausgabe, was to be a major source of confusion, especially for readers, translators, and even scholars who are not aware that the former contains only one fourth of the stories of the latter. The interplay between the two German Editions is shown in Figure 1. ...//

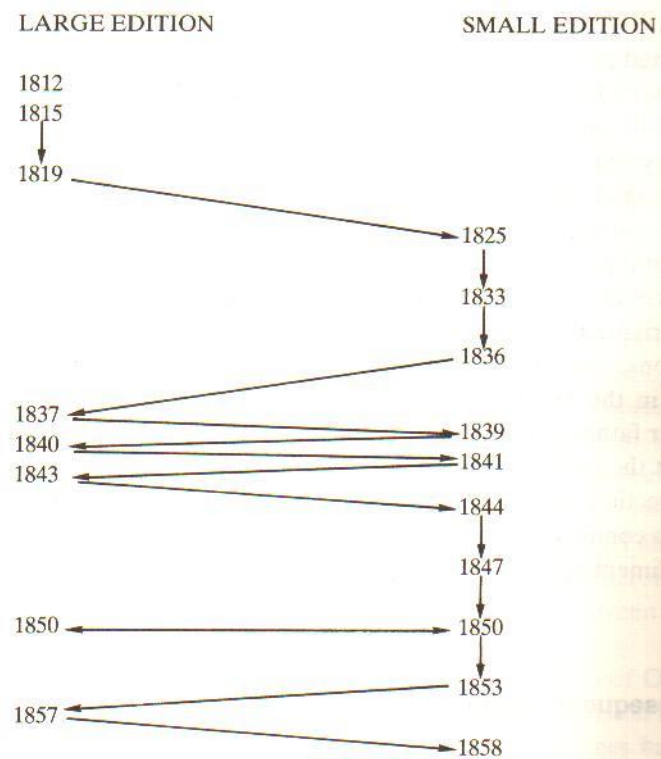


Figure 1: German Editions of the Tales Overseen by Wilhelm Grimm

Destined mainly for children, the Small Edition had no apparatus criticus. As far as the Large Edition was concerned, Wilhelm duly and briefly mentioned in his forewords to new Editions that stories had been added or "improved". The truth goes a bit further: he excluded stories, rewrote others, but largely (and especially in Volume 1) preserved all titles of stories, so that the changes made from one Edition to another from 1812 to 1857 were hardly noticeable even to studious scrutiny. In terms of individual stories, the changes ranged from substitution of words to the introduction of new beginnings and endings and complete rewritings. The narrative style became expansive and sugary, and a religious dimension made its appearance. The suppression of some stories and the introduction of others meant that the Grimm canon as such was also subject to changes. ...//197 ... These alterations were made without calling attention to them: new generations of ordinary readers as well as translators were blissfully unaware that the 'Grimm stories' had been changed and that, at best, they were at several removes from 'the mouth of the common people'.

3. The Status of the *Tales* in Denmark

In the period from c. 1815 to 1870, as Germany moved from being a loose confederacy of numerous small counties, dukedoms, and kingdoms to one united empire, the Grimm *Tales* were considered a principal German cultural treasure and were used as a means for forging German unity and identity. Despite the fact that they were accepted as part of the common pangermanic legacy, the *Tales* were put

to no similar use in Denmark: unlike the Germans, the Danes had a huge cultural heritage in terms of Norse mythology, Danish ballads, proverbs, and local legend (and, later on, the authentic folktales collected by, for instance, Evald Tang-Kristensen). The Grimm collection did supplement this national legacy, but at a lower level, because, in the eyes of the Danes, they were primarily for children, a fact which Rasmus Nyerup stressed as early as 1816 in his abovementioned book on folk literature.¹²

The esteem accorded to the *Tales* in Denmark early on was therefore of a different nature. It tied up with Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm's early contacts with Danes in the heyday of Westphalia, Denmark's ally in times of war. This and their interest in the Norse past enabled the brothers to establish contact with eminent Danes. In Denmark, the *Tales*' respectability was vouchsafed by intellectuals, scholars and the aristocracy; namely by the most prominent Danish poet, Adam Oehlenschläger, by Professor Rasmus Nyerup, and by the aristocrat Johan Lindenkrone, whose rank ('Chamberlain') added snob appeal. Furthermore, the Grimms themselves emphasised Norse mythology in the scholarly 'Introduction' to the *Tales* in the 1819 Edition.¹³ This backup by preeminent authorities in cultural and scholarly life went well beyond the support the *Tales* received, e.g., in the Netherlands and in Great Britain, where early translations also appeared.¹⁴

The respect for the stories is evident, for instance, in the attitude towards the 'authoritative' Grimm text, as reflected in responses to the publication of new German editions of the *Tales*.

Time Lags between German Editions and Danish Translations

There has been occasion to mention that Wilhelm Grimm was forever revising the tales. With the possible exception of a small Danish collection in 1884 (*Grimms Æventyr*, vol. 1, translated by Ferdinand C. Sørensen. Copenhagen: Levison/Mackeprang),¹⁵ the German "Small Edition" never served as the source for Danish translations. Consequently, we need only examine the Danish response to the Large German Editions. Bibliographically the books are the following:

Year: 1816

Title: *Eventyr af forskellige Digtere*

Texts: A collection of 'Eventyr' of which six are from the Grimms' 1812 Edition: "The Frog King" (KHM 1);¹⁶ "The Fisherman and His Wife" (KHM 19); "The Brave Little Tailor" (KHM 20); "Thumbling's Travels" (KHM 45); "The Juniper Tree" (KHM 47); and "The Stolen Pennies" (KHM 154; no 7 in the 1812 German edition).

Translator/editor: Selected and translated with commentary by Adam Oehlenschläger. Publisher: Græbe.

Later edition: only in Oehlenschläger's *Collected Works* (1848-1849). Comment: The texts are all from the First German Edition, Volume 1.

Year: 1821/1823

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

Texts: KHM 1-42; KHM 44-86; Anh 7 "The Strange Feast" (which appeared as the 43rd tale in 1812).

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

Publisher: C.H. Nøers Forlag/Boas Brünnich.

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

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



The first illustrated Grimm tales in the world were five tales that appeared in Denmark in 1822 (not mentioned in the article)

Year: 1843

Title: *Udvalgte Eventyr og Fortællinger: En Læsebog for Folket og for den barnlige Verden*. ('Selected fairytales and narratives: a reader for the common man and juveniles').

The book is dedicated to Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm.

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

Translator/editor: Ved C. Molbech. Publisher: C. A. Reitzel. ...// 199 ...

Later editions: (revision) 1854, 1873, 1882; (revision) 1906; (revision) 1942-1943. Comment: In this collection of 73 tales, Professor Christian Molbech published 29 tales from Grimm (the source of no 38 is not cited in the table of contents (it is KHM 96)). Molbech used only 11 of the 24 tales he had published previously in slim *Christmas Gift* volumes; he apparently omitted some of the previous tales because their brevity would stand out among the tolerably long stories in this volume. 16 tales had been previously translated by 'Lindencrone'. All told, Molbech published translations of 45 tales from Grimm, including two versifications (1838 and 1839), and three tales translated in 1854. Some of Molbech's translations must be based on the 1819 German Edition; this goes for stories published in 1835 and 1836 *Christmas Gifts*; these stories were printed nearly verbatim, so Molbech did little revision on the translations. He may have referred to the 1837 German Edition for one or two tales. He used the 1840 German Edition from which he picked "The House in the Forest" (169) and "The Messengers of Death" (177).

Year: 1845

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

Texts: 10, 73, 75, 87, 152, 179, 206, and Anh 27 "The Pea Test". Publisher: C.A. Reitzel.

Later editions: 1848, 1852, 1856, 1861, 1869.

Comment: Molbech revised this edition of his *Reader* by inserting three new texts. Two of them from Grimm, obviously from the 1843 German Edition which is the only one to feature "The Pea Test" (KHM 179).



Folke-Eventyr,

samlende

af

Broderne Grimm.

Oversatte

af

Johan Frederik Lindencrone,
Kammerhætte.

Denne danske Udgave.

Kjøbenhavn.

Guldenballe's Bogenhandls Børlag.
Thales Bogtrykkeri.

1857.

The 1857 edition of Lindencrone's translation was the first one to indicate that the stories were for children by means of the picture opposite the titlepage.

Year: 1854a [1855]

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

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

Later editions: 1865, 1868, 1874, 1882.

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

The tales are translated from the second Volume of the Large German Edition from 1850, for the "The Gifts of the Little Folk" (KHM 182) and "The Boots of Buffalo Leather" (199) had not been published until then. KHM Anh 28, "The Robber and His Sons", appeared only in the Large German Editions of 1843 and 1850.

Year: 1890

Title: *Grimms Æventyr: Ny Samling.*

Texts: 6, 17, 23; 34, 38, 49, 50, 51, 59, 62, 69, 76, 89, 98, 106, 114, 129, 130, 135, 160, 161, 179, 18).

Translator: Oversatte af L. Stange. ...// 200 ...

Illustrations: Black-and-white by Victor André.

Publisher: Wulff; Mackeprang (DB).

Comment: This is a companion volume to the collection from 1884 (mentioned at the opening of this section).

The format and the illustrator are the same. It seems they were to be modelled on the Small German Edition but

that this plan was rescinded when the second volume came to be translated. This is the first collection in Denmark which is based on the Final German Edit 1857.

Year: 1894

Title: *Grimms samtlige Æventyr: Pragtudgave* ('Complete edition. Edition de luxe') Texts: All tales, KHM 1-210.

Translator/editor: Paa dansk ved Jakob Faber Daugaard.

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

Publisher: R. Stjernholm.

Comments: This is a complete translation of all tales from the *German Folk E (Deutsche Volkausgabe)* illustrated by P. Grot Johann and R. Leinweber from (GV) = the 200 tales from the Large German Edition which Wilhelm Grimm saw press in 1857, and the 10 religious tales for children. (There are actually more 200 tales: KHM 151 includes two stories, namely "The Three Lazy Sons" and "The Twelve Lazy Servants"; and some tales comprise more than one story, e.g. "The Wedd Mrs Fox" (KHM 38), and "The Elves" (KHM 39)). This is a truly magnificent edition which does full justice to the German illustrations. The order of the tales differs slightly from that of the Last Large German Edition ('die Ausgabe letzter Hand'). In addition to the introduction to the brothers Grimm, the postscript contains information on the two artists.



*The illustrations for the 1890 German 'Volksausgabe' were pretty grim.
This is for 'Hansel and Gretel'.*

Year: 1905

Title: *Grimms samlede Eventyr: Standard Udgave*. Texts: 1-210.

Translator/editor: Ved Carl Ewald.

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

Publisher: A. Christiansen.

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

Comments: This edition originally came out as a serial (36 issues). The cover claims it is exactly as the original 'i nøje Udgave af Originalen'. The volume also claims the first complete edition in Danish (which it was not, cf. above, year 1894). Although the format is smaller, the paper and printing are good. There is no account of the brothers Grimm or of the illustrators.

Year: 1947a

Title: *Grimms Eventyr*.

Texts: Vol. 1: 4, 9, 15, 19, 21, 26, 27, 30, 37, 50, 58, 78, 81, 89, 94, 105 (part 1 [1837]. ...// 201 ...

Vol. 2: 5, 6, 10, 20, 24, 29, 32, 34, 36, 39, 52, 53, 57, 69, 87, 100, 106, 136.

Vol. 3: 1, 3, 11, 13, 14, 51, 80, 83, 98, 102, 104, 110, 129, 130, 134, 161 [1837], 163 [1837].

Translators/editors: K. F. Hasselmann and Jørgen Hæstrup. Illustrations: Black-and-white drawings by Kai Christensen. Publisher: Flensted's Forlag, Odense.

Comment: The source texts for this collection derive from the 3rd Large German Edition of 1837.

Year: 1956b (companion volume: 1959b)

Title: *Eventyr for børn og voksne samlede af brødrene Grimm*, Vol. 1 ('Tales for children and adults, collected by the brothers Grimm').

Texts: The texts refer to the 1812 German Edition: 1, 2, 3, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 69, 78, 86, 154, 157. In addition, this collection comprises "The Nightingale and the Blindworm" (Anh 1), "Death and the Gooseberry" (AA 4), "Puss in Boots" (Anh 5) and "Simple Hans" (Anh 8), which were all dropped in subsequent German Editions. There are also early versions of "Clever Else" (KHM 34; namely as 1812: "Hansens Trine"), "The Dog and the Sparrow" (KHM 58; 1812: "Vom treuen Gevatter Sperling"), "The Iron Stove" (KHM 127; 1812: "Prinz Schwan"), and "Little Farmer" (KHM 61; 1812: "Von dem Schneider, der bald reich wurde"). KHM 138 "Knoist and His Three Sons" is the only story from the second Volume (1815). Translator/editor: Martin N. Hansen.

Preface: Foreword (2 pp.) in which the translator informs us that this collection is translated from the Grimm volumes from 1812 and 1815 which are the 'original ones'. Illustrations: Black-and-white by Ludwig Richter (1803-1884) Publisher: Nyt bogforlag, Odense.

Later edition: 1964.

Year: 1959b (and 1956b)

Title: *Eventyr for børn og voksne samlede af brødrene Grimm*, Vol. 2.

Texts: Most texts are from the 1815 German volume: 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102, 103, 106, 112, 114, 115, 116, 123, 124, 125, 126, 131, 134, 140, 141, 144, 146, 149, 151, 159, 160, 200. This also goes for "The Faithful Animals" (Anh 18, no 18 in 1815) which was suppressed in subsequent Large German Editions; and for the two early versions of, respectively, "Bearskin" (KHM 101; 1815: "Der Teufel Grünrock") and "The Lettuce Donkey" (KHM 122; 1815: "Die lange Nase"). In addition, Hansen adds four tales from the 1812 Edition, namely KHM 1 "The Frog King"; "Gut Kegelund Kartenspiel", the episode with the wake of the hero (from 1812) which was later incorporated into KHM 4: "A Tale about the Boy Who Went Forth to Learn What Fear Is"; the early version of "The Star Coins" (KHM 153 (tr. with the title "Das arme Mädchen" from 1812)); and Anh 14 "The Pear Refused to Fall" (from 1812). Furthermore, the collection contains "The Bremer Town Musicians" (27) and "The Rose" (203), which did not appear until the second German Edition of 1819; the postscript says they were included for "other reasons". ... // 202 ...

Translator/editor: Martin N. Hansen.

Postscript etc.: one page in support of the decision to return to the texts first printed by the Grimms.

Illustrations: Black-and-white by Ludwig Richter. Publisher: Nyt bogforlag, Odense.

When these biographical data are transformed into an illustration, they look as Figure 2.

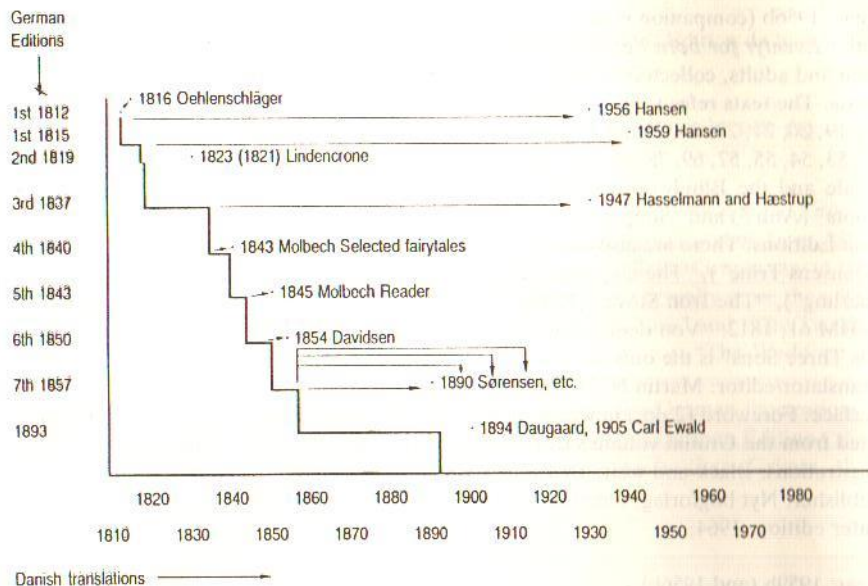


Figure 2: The Time Lag between the Large German Editions and Danish Translations

Like the comments on the editors, the table proves that Danish translators responded quickly to new German Editions. Not that the new edition was necessarily translated, for often only one or two new tales made it into Danish. But the attentiveness to German publication is obvious. There are, however, three time spans which are unusually long. The 1956 and 1959 appearance of the 1812 and 1815 German Editions was prompted by the translator's (Hansen's) awareness that Wilhelm Grimm had been tampering with the tales, and by his wish to present the Danes with the 'real originals'. The reemergence of the 1837 German Edition in Denmark as a basis for new translation after 110 years seems odd. However, the translators of the collection used a modern **reprint** of the German 1837 Edition issued by a German publisher who had no idea that this was not the 'final Grimm'.¹⁷ ...// 203 ... At first glance, it appears easy to explain the delay in translating the 1857 Edition (until 1890): The market was glutted with Lindencrone's translation, Molbech's *Reader* (1835) and other collections.

Even this simplified table shows that versions of translations of the same stories may coexist: this is very noticeable in the case of the aforementioned 1956 and 1959 translations of the oldest German versions, which coexisted with translations of later German Editions. And, although this is not obvious from this particular illustration, we might mention that stories which had disappeared from German Editions, continued to be reprinted in Danish. In other words, translations acquire an autonomous life not only in terms of being selected for a translation in the first place, but also in their translated forms. And it is even possible - with some caution - to talk about translations targeted towards special groups.

So, all told, the Danish translations followed closely on the heels of the latest German Editions. True, one reason was that the new Editions were the ones for sale and hence easily available, but they

were also, as was eminently clear from Wilhelm Grimm's forewords, the most authoritative ones.

The Three Danish Types of Grimm Books

Cultural and scholarly authority established the initial respect which, as Danish society changed, led to three different (albeit inevitably overlapping) types of Danish translations of the Grimm *Tales*. The existence of three different categories is borne out by a careful examination of the Danish translations in terms of their proximity to the German source text, the sheer quality of the books as merchandise, and their intended target audience.¹⁸ However, it must be emphasised that most Danish adults would read the stories only as entertainment for children, i.e. when, as parents or grandparents, they read them aloud to their young ones. Those few educated adults who read Grimm for scholarly reasons would turn to the German originals, for German was the first foreign language in Denmark well into the present century.

a. The Respectable, Bourgeois Books

The finest piece of evidence for the esteem accorded to the Grimm *Tales* in Denmark is that even though the 'Introduction on the Nature of Tales' appeared only in 1819 and was dropped in subsequent German Editions, it was retained in the Danish Lindencrone volume as late as 1853. ...// 204 ... In addition, 'Chamberlain Lindencrone's translation' continued to be 'The Grimm collection' for the children in educated households, that is, the upper and upper middle classes, for more than 85 years. In terms of the selection of tales (insofar as the stories were from Volume 1 of the German Edition) its influence lasted even longer.

To be sure, there were other translations, but for the first 30-odd years they were prepared almost exclusively by prestigious scholars.¹⁹ It will have appeared from the above listing that Nyerup's successor, Christian Molbech, was active in the promotion of the Grimm *Tales* in Denmark: he first translated some tales for his *Reader* (in 1832), then quite &'1?gw for the seasonal *Christmas Gifts* (1835-1839), and eventually for a collection of tales for the common reader (1843), which continued to be published until 1942/1943 (in a diluted form). The first *Complete Grimm*, in Danish was published by Jakob Faber Dugaard in 1894. The next one, the work of Carl Ewald, appeared in 1905. Both collections were issued with the black-and-white illustrations by the German artists Philip Grot Johann and R. Leinweber. There have been reissues of these translations: the most successful one started in 1975 (after the expiry of the translator's copyright), and continues to sell a respectable 2,000-4,000 copies a year,

This category comprises complete collections, selections (possibly including stories from other sources), as well as books with only one single tale. They have some characteristics in common: There is often a scholarly or quasi-scholarly foreword (on the Grimms, on fairytales, and the like). The translations are either new ones or reprints by acknowledged translators, and the texts are faithful to the German original including the preservation of cruel endings. Until 1894, books belonging in this category were almost devoid of pictures. Since then they have tended to be profusely illustrated by recognised artists. Collections may be in colour or in black and white, whereas single-tale volumes have coloured and often magnificent pictures and are, essentially, a kind of 'art book'.

Until c. 1900 these volumes were always leather-bound, and even today they boast solid cardboard bindings. They are fairly expensive. There are mechanics in the present-day Danish market that ensure publication of even expensive ‘art-book’ Grimm tales, namely the standard sales (averaging perhaps 600 copies but potentially ranging from 100 to 1,000) to public children’s libraries. But I am convinced that without the uninterrupted production of ‘respectable Grimm translations’ from the time the *Tales* first appeared, there would be no Danish market for such books today. ...// 205 ... In former times, the leather binding ensured that they could be displayed on the bookshelves of bourgeois households alongside other classics, thus lending them high prestige.

Apart from the Lindencrone edition which dates back to the last century, these books tend to be large and unwieldy. Rather than making for relaxed personal reading, they are therefore intended for reading out loud by an adult or, especially with the ‘art-books’, to generate conversation and admiration of the beautiful illustrations.

b. The Juvenile Books

Next is the category of less pretentious books intended primarily for reading; they are often selections of tales. It seems to me that the earliest example of this category is the anthology *Funny and Edifying Tales (Moersomme og lærerige Eventyr)* which appeared as early as 1822. This collection comprises 11 stories, four of them from Grimm. Even though the book was leather-bound, it is clearly not as ‘respectable’ as Lindencrone and was more obviously intended for unabashed entertainment. This is also borne out by the five illustrations. Two of these pictures represent first illustrations for Grimm *Tales* worldwide.

The breakthrough for this type of tales, however, came with the collections in 1854/55 and 1870 by Jakob Davidsen. A brief foreword emphasises that tales are meant for entertainment and that the target audience is juvenile. Davidsen cashed in on the emergence of a large new and young readership created by improved schooling. His unillustrated and poorly bound Gothic-type collections were reprinted several times, only to be discontinued when Gothic was replaced by Roman letters in printing (1875). New collections of the same category were published in large numbers from 1884, often as the work of well-known textbook authors and pedagogues. Thanks to improved printing methods, they would have black-and-white illustrations, albeit not many, and it was not until c. 1925 that books in this category began to appear with tolerably good colour illustrations. By and large, there are relatively few one-tale volumes in this category. I personally would include in it some of the cheap pop-up books (from Czechoslovakia 1960-1976 and from Columbia in 1975), but that is a matter of taste, dependent on one’s views of the relative importance of (a) textual proximity in a translation (b) a ‘quality book’ (in terms of colour and gimmicks) and (c) the price of the book (which is moderate in most of these cases). ...// 206 ...

The textual fidelity to the German originals is sometimes high, but more often than not, only the title and some elements are preserved, and many stories are expressly ‘retold’. Still, the stories tend to be attributed to Grimm, and in most cases the name of the translator is also given, which implies that the translator is not a hack.²⁰ The quality of the paper ranges from fairly poor to average and the binding is

either poor-quality cardboard or thick paper. The price indicates that the books were produced for children and juveniles who would receive them as gifts and read them themselves. They have the size of ordinary reading books.

c. The Chapbooks

This category nearly exclusively comprises one-tale books. They are ephemeral: It is rare for the name Grimm or that of the translator to appear at all. Produced on poor paper, usually stapled but sometimes paperbacks, sold at low prices, and rarely meant to be for keeps, they are soon dogeared, torn, and coming apart on their way to the dustbin. Yet, in a few exceptional cases they have been salvaged (bought) by librarians who have recognised them as Grimm tales. These books started appearing in the present century; the earliest one dates back to 1908. Their emergence ties in, once again, with improved schooling and with new mass markets. Today they are found in large quantities in supermarkets and kiosks, where they are easily recognisable as one enters by their poor illustrations, their garish colours and their severely mutilated text. Often they are dumped in a basket at a height where children can readily pick them up, and priced so low that parents, will not object. On the one hand, it is impossible to argue that they are in keeping with any standards advocated in translation schools. On the other hand it is unmerciful not to recognise that there is a legitimate market for these humble books, to be leafed through by the small clumsy hands of children, the pictures to be seen, partially understood and thoroughly enjoyed.

Fidelity and Books

The three types of books discussed differ markedly in terms of textual fidelity: the respectable tradition is, to this day, strict in its adherence to the German original, including all the cruelty. The juvenile stratum will show greater latitude and permit some - often major - retelling. And the chapbooks have texts at several removes from the originals and are connected with the name of Grimm only by librarians or scholars. ...// 207 ... Their texts are shortened and instead of many sanguinary punishments in the Grimm tale, there are happy endings: these books are increasingly marketed internationally by publishers, so that market forces, specifically the publisher's wish to facilitate production and increase sales of the 'same story' in many countries at the same time, override any pretense of 'textual fidelity'.

They also differ in their proximity to the 'originals' in terms of time. The first Danish translations after the appearance of any new German Editions all belong in the respectable, bourgeois category with the exception of the 1884/1890 translations which classify as juveniles.

4. Societal Ideologies, Norms and Translations

The above categorisation is inevitably simplified, but in general the outline covers the facts. The books - and their consumption - have been affected by the emergence of children's literature in 19th century Europe (and Denmark). Children's literature should be above 'ideology', but it is not. Certain features in the Danish translations bear witness to this fact. There are norms imposed by the educational system: I noted how Davidsen's translation disappeared when the lettering was changed. Similarly, spelling reforms in 1900/1902 and 1948 proved unpassable barriers to all previous translations, except for

Lindencrone's from 1823 and Carl Ewald's from 1905 (both of which were apparently carried over by - one assumes - nostalgic publishers and their staff). Subtle changes in spelling, and the replacement of words found between, for instance, the 7th and the 8th edition of Lindencrone (1869 and 1875) point to the influence of language change. Most important, one guesses, for this cannot be proved by one single person, is the fact that individual translations lose favour with the public: surely, one of the factors must be that a translation begins to sound and read 'dated'. And then, as mentioned, the institutionalised educational system will establish new readerships which call for more or less well defined categories of books.

Concerned as we are with tales, this is an interesting line to pursue, for there are indications that in terms of general trends rather than specific realisations, the Danish translations of the Grimm *Tales* have followed a pattern corresponding to cultural and political shifts in Denmark in relation to Germany: ...// 208 ...

In the first phase, there is sympathy for the *Tales* - they have been collected by two scholarly - and hence, by Danish standards, prestigious - German brothers who favoured Denmark and who had friendly relations with Denmark. They had collected material which was part of the common pangermanic heritage and they even pointed to a Danish linguist in a long and flattering discussion of Norse mythology. The Grimms were embraced by the Danish Establishment. It was taken for granted that their stories were genuine reflections of the common, cruel and primitive past, and that they had been accurately translated.

The first Slesvig-Holsten War (1848-1851) changed this. In 1848, the previous 'friend of Denmark', Jacob Grimm, voted for a resumption of the hostilities against Denmark in the Frankfurt Assembly. Jacob's vote was consistent with lifelong German liberal sympathies, but it was taken as outright treachery by the Danish elite (who nevertheless continued to buy the *Tales* for their children).²¹ It was clear that Jacob Grimm was no uncritical friend of Denmark, and the wounds took long to heal. The Danes won the war, but in their eyes the Germans had revealed their real treacherous nature and their cruelty. No longer did the Danes feel any need to be reminded of a past they had in common with the Germans, no matter how distant; thus, the 'Introduction on the nature of tales' was quietly dropped from the Danish Lindencrone translation between the fourth (1853) and fifth (1857) editions. From 1848 until 1894 there was, roughly speaking, no Danish elitist translator who translated Grimm stories. It is tempting to interpret this as vindictiveness. And by this sinister interpretation, failure to translate the Final Large Edition from 1857 to 1890 may have been due not to so innocuous a reason as the market glut I mentioned; it could, perhaps, be evidence of the emergence of collective Danish hatred of German history and culture after the Danish defeat in the second Slesvig-Holsten War in 1864.

So a new translator, Davidsen, targeted his versions towards a juvenile middle- and lower-class audience which could not be bothered with cultural pretenses about ancient roots. They read the tales as good stories, but as patriots they would accept the upper-middle class view of the Germans as primitive and nasty and - although the continued reprints of 'Lindencrone' must also have contributed to this view - Davidsen and his readers would definitely expect savagery in the ending of genuine German stories. The people who knew the Grimm brothers had died, but the collective wound was still festering.

...// 209 ... It took the Danes thirty years to recover, to the point when the *Complete Tales* could be translated into Danish - and even so the pill had to be sugared with de luxe illustrations before the public could swallow it. And perhaps the readers would not swallow it, for the *Complete Tales* were not an attested success in Danish until a new translation by Carl Ewald appeared in 1905.²²

As for the selections, we are entering questionable territory, because in their very choice of stories, translators and editors may discard - in effect censor away - controversial stories manifesting brutality. Nevertheless, around the turn of the century, bitterness over the loss of Slesvig-Holsten may have been subsiding. Less righteous and more humane views about punishment as well as wishes to keep bodily harm and brutality out of the sight (and mind) of children became more pronounced. These new attitudes made some translators, notably the popular Maria Markussen (1900-1929), rewrite the cruel endings of tales. Yet it is also relevant to point to the sustained tradition of cruelty in the translations by Daugaard (1894), Carl Ewald (1905-) (both 'established'), Bondesen ('juvenile') (1897-1922) and others, as typifying the Danish upper- and middle-class fear of Germany.

The translations during the Nazi occupation softened the cruelty - perhaps out of delicacy or fear of censorship by translators who did not wish to draw fire.²³ After the end of World War II and under the impression of Nazi atrocities, the translators Hasselmann & Hæstrup and their illustrator went amuck and rendered cruelty and punishment lock, stock and barrel accurately in words and pictures. After this period, the tendency is clear: the 'respectable' books which were faithful translations ever since 1816 still stick to cruel endings, a trend followed by most juvenile books. Conversely, the chapbooks usually introduce new and less gruesome ends.

As it is, Markussen spans the whole spectrum from chapbooks (some of her cheapest editions from e.g. 1910 are only partially preserved) through juveniles (most) to the bourgeois art edition of 1923 with colour illustrations. Her texts, however, remained unchanged (they were abbreviated and edited versions of Christian Molbech's translations from the 1840s), whereas most of the other translations belong to the 'respectable', bourgeois - with a few in the juvenile - tradition in Denmark. The main lesson to be drawn is therefore that in the Danish middle-class tradition, cruelty is part of the Grimm heritage. On the other hand, it does seem as if there are variations, especially in terms of the stories selected, in keeping with changes in the Danish perception of the German national character. ...//210 ...

So the main lesson of the study of how the Grimm *Tales* were received in Denmark is that even fairytale translations are influenced by factors ranging from personalities to dismal political realities.

Notes

1. This article is based on my work for a forthcoming book; Working title: *Telling Tales. The Tales of the Brothers Grimm: From Pangermanic Narratives to Shared International Fairytales*. I wish to thank Gideon Toury for his criticism of earlier versions of the article.

2. Unlikely as it may seem, it has been suggested that the brothers learnt Danish in their childhood (Denecke 1974: 1-2): when their father died, they moved to Kassel where their aunt paid for their tuition. She was the first Chambermaid of the Landgräfin of Hesse, a Danish princess. At all events, Wilhelm's knowledge of Danish is attested in 1809 (when he worked on the translation of the Danish ballads) and Jacob's in 1811 (when he reviewed Rasmus Rask's introduction (see Denecke 1971: 87) and stressed the importance of knowing Danish in order to understand Icelandic (see Ginschel 1967: 48, footnote)). Danes writing to Wilhelm and Jacob did so in

Danish, and Wilhelm's questions about how to translate difficult passages in the old ballads also bear evidence of an understanding of Danish. Apart from Jacob's lecture in 1844, there is no evidence that they also spoke Danish fluently. In the first place, it is immaterial to the present discussion. But secondly, polite Danes would switch to German right away, thus leaving no room for the German brothers to practise their Danish - the way speakers of English never get away with practising their Danish either nowadays.

3. The story about Rask and the Westphalian ambassador is told in letters, notably between Rasmus Rask and Wilhelm Grimm (especially the letter from Rask, 2 April 1811 (reprinted in Schmidt 1885)).

4. Rölleke (1980: 559-574) gives an updated list of contributors. See also Zipes (1992: 728743). The number of informants from the 'common folk' was negligible.

5. Because of the close intellectual ties, new German books would be for sale in Denmark right away (usually untranslated), and conversely new Danish literature was speedily translated into German and published.

6. Just for the record: Hesse came out of the Napoleonic wars much the same size but not with the same lands as before. The ruler of Hesse, a 'Landgrave', had been appointed a 'Kurfürst' in 1803.

7. Oehlenschläger's anthology was an assemblage of stories from, e.g., Johann Ludwig Tieck, Ottmar and Heinrich von Kleist.

8. This long essay is not reprinted in Rölleke (1982), see p. 512. ...// 212 ...

9. The Danish public and the Danish national bibliography always accepted that the 'Lindencrone translation' was the work of Johan Frederik Lindencrone, because this is what the book said on the front page. In my studies of the translations, I noticed that the Lindencrone translation used the texts of the 1819 German Edition. Since Lindencrone had died two years before, there must have been somebody else involved. Louise Lindencrone seems to have kept quiet about her work, but a few people did know of it. One of them was Professor Christian Molbech who wrote Wilhelm (in 1837) that the translation had been made by Hegermann, i.e. Louise Lindencrone's married name (the letter is reprinted in Schmidt 1885). The old Chamberlain's translations have not survived (which is hardly surprising: in the first place there was no special reason for preserving the old (hand-written) translations after the revision. Secondly, Louise Lindencrone must have found quite a few 'doubtful translations' in her father's manuscript, (which, in turn, were due to Wilhelm Grimm's editing) and would have been disinclined to see her father (whom she loved) laid open to any kind of criticism.) At all events, my textual study of selected tales has shown that Louise retranslated the stories which had been extensively rewritten by Wilhelm Grimm. In other cases where the text seemed not to have been changed, she left her father's text untouched. A striking example is 'Riffraff' where Wilhelm has introduced minor linguistic changes by supplanting French loan-words of the 1812 version with genuine German words in 1819. Although Danish has both French loan-words and Danish (Germanic) words in these cases, Louise did not detect the changes, or did not consider them worth changing, or thought (which would be equally correct) that the original rendition was right.

10. The 1821 and 1823 editions are actually identical, except for the fact that the quality of the paper in the latter was fractionally poorer and the name of the printer and publisher was changed. The two extant copies from 1821 (at the Royal Library in Copenhagen and the University Library of Copenhagen) appear to be sample copies. At a guess, the first publisher ran into some trouble and ceded the rights to the book to Boas Brünnich who brought the book out officially in 1823.

11. It is worth emphasizing that the Danish Lindencrone translation is not 'selected': it is an uncritical rendering of all the tales from Volume 1. It therefore has much the same status as the German Volume 1 which comprised the only tales available in German from 1812 to 1815.

I use capitals for German editions and volumes in order to make for some clarity.

12. In 1815 Jacob Grimm issued a circular to all Germanic countries (including Denmark and Norway) asking that they collect folkloristic material. Grimm scholars take it that this was a grand but futile appeal. This is not correct: the appeal was heeded in Denmark, where Professor Rasmus Nyerup made his pupil Mathias Thiele collect 600 local legends from the folk. Since Thiele collected his stories from common folk, he is a pioneer folklorist collector. At first glance it seems surprising that Nyerup did not ask Thiele to collect folktales, but apparently Nyerup thought the Grimms had covered the field completely in the whole pangermanic area, including Den-

mark. Later collectors, such as Evald Tang-Kristensen, found that this had not been the case.

13. We now know that the 'Introduction' was the work of Wilhelm only. This was not clear at the time, when it was often assumed that Jacob's share in the 'recording' of the tales was the larger.

14. *Sprookjesboek voor Kinderen* (Amsterdam, 1820), which contained twenty tales, and the aforementioned English selection by John Edgar Taylor (London, 1823).

15. This is the only Danish collection which is limited to tales found in the German Small Edition. The companion volume appeared in 1890 and included tales from the German Large Edition.

16. Following the traditional mode of identifying the tales from the Final German Edition (Kinder- und Hausmärchen).

17. Personal communication. The translators did not keep the modern reprint (they only remember that it was new) and it does not appear to have survived the ravages of time.

18. The comments are based on a personal inspection of all the Grimm translations in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, which is the Danish national copyright library.

19. It has always been part of academic life in Denmark to translate (and interpret). On the other hand, the first Danish Grimm translators certainly added splendour and authority to the *Tales*.

20. The use of the translator's name is a copyright protection of the translation. In addition, however, it will (in modern times) also entitle the translator to royalties.

21. Long before the Slesvig-Holsten War, there were Danes who were upset by Jacob's aggressively pangermanic views (which implied that all of Jutland should be part of Germany), and quite a few Danish contacts dropped out. One of them was Rasmus Rask, the Danish linguist. The only person who tried to argue the Danish cause was Carl Christian Rafn who continued his correspondence with Jacob from 1824 to 1862 (see Schmidt; also Denecke 1971: 162).

The long-lived resentment among educated Danes is evidenced by the ending of the entry on Jacob Grimm, as late as 1920, in the authoritative Danish encyclopedia *Salmonsens Konversationsleksikon*: "It was unfortunate for Denmark that Jacob Grimm was also one of the founding fathers of the fanatical nationalism. His authority has given special weight to wrong conceptions concerning the nationality of the Danes in Jutland".

22. It may seem strange that there should be a major change in only eleven years' time. Yet the intervening years saw the publication of quite a few collections by pedagogues (Bondesen 1897, Markussen 1900, and others), which paved the way for Ewald's success.

23. One of these translators, Otto Gelsted, whose translation appeared in 1941, was an avowed Communist. It is tempting (although it hardly seems credible today) to speculate that he softened the endings because Nazi Germany and Russia had a nonaggression pact.

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A village church in Southern Denmark