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The tales of the grimm brothers in colombia: introduction, dissemination, and reception

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**THE TALES OF THE GRIMM BROTHERS IN COLOMBIA: INTRODUCTION,
DISSEMINATION, AND RECEPTION**

by

ALEXANDRA MICHAELIS-VULTORIUS

DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Graduate School

of Wayne State University,

Detroit, Michigan

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

2011

MAJOR: MODERN LANGUAGES
(German Studies)

Approved by:

Advisor	Date
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DEDICATION

**To my parents,
Lucio and Clemencia,
for your unconditional love and support,
for instilling in me the joy of learning,
and for believing in happy endings.**

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This journey with the Brothers Grimm was made possible through the valuable help, expertise, and kindness of a great number of people.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (KHM) or *Children's and Household Tales* are probably the best-known written collection of folk tales worldwide. First published in 1812 by Jacob Ludwig Karl (1785-1863) and Wilhelm Karl (1786-1859) Grimm, this collection is often said to be, next to the Bible, one of the most translated and widely read works (available in more than 160 languages) on the planet. Nearly two centuries after the first printed edition of the KHM appeared, selected tales continue to enjoy widespread popularity around the globe. Yet the enduring power and continuing popularity of the tales do not imply a homogeneous reception. The reception of a single story can differ significantly both at an individual and at a collective level. Historical, socio-political, and cultural factors influence the variations in the way a person or a group of people responds to the tales and makes use of them. The unique combination of such factors produces, in a given reader, a very particular response to a single tale.

Several surveys and studies have examined the reception of the Grimm tales in a localized manner. Reception studies of the KHM are especially abundant for the European region. For example, the 1984 article “Zur Geschichte der Rezeption und der frühesten Übersetzung Grimmischer Märchen in der Toskana” by Lucia Borghese describes the reception of the Grimms after 1839 in Tuscany, where Italian reception (facilitated by Herman Grimm) first centered. The reception and translation of the KHM in Greece is examined in the study from 1981 “Die Brüder Grimm in Griechenland” by Lampros Mygdalis. In Poland the collection's reception began much later than in other European countries, as demonstrated in Marek Halub's “Die Märchen der Brüder Grimm in Polen,” published in 1986. For Portugal two studies analyze the reception of the KHM:

the most recent, *Os Contos de Grimm em Portugal: A Recepção dos Kinder- und Hausmärchen entre 1837 e 1910* by Maria Teresa Cortez was published in 2001. Cortez examines the reception of the tales' collection in light of two key events unfolding in Portugal during the period covered (from 1837 to 1910): the dawning in the field of Portuguese ethnography (with the discovery and valuation of ancient Portuguese literature) and the stimulation of children's literature prompted by initiatives to foment education. The second study of the reception of the KMH in Portugal and, outside of Europe, in Brazil is documented in Dieter Woll's piece "Das grausame Ende der bösen Stiefmutter: Zur Rezeption und Umgestaltung Grimmischer Märchen im portugiesischen Sprachraum," which appeared in 1977. Woll's study focuses on the representation of violence in Portuguese and Brazilian versions (these less considered) of Grimm stories published between 1908 and 1971.

Other interesting examinations of the Grimms' reception have appeared in Asia. In Japan for example two studies analyze, from different perspectives, the reception of the KHM: the first is Yoshiko Noguchi's doctoral dissertation (1977), *Rezeption der Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm in Japan*, which devotes special attention to the historical and social factors affecting the introduction, distribution, translation, and reception of the KHM among Japanese children. The second, "Die Übersetzung Grimmischer Märchen und die Einführung der Jugendliteratur in Japan" (1985) by Kyoko Takano, examines Japanese KHM reception and the nature of Japanese translations in the context of the development of Japanese literature for adults and for children, especially in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For China, Yea-Jen Liang presents the insightful 1986 investigation of KHM reception and influence

against the background of the country's cultural and political history in *Kinder- und Hausmärchen in China: Rezeption und Wirkung*; and for Korea Kwon-Ha Ryu's dissertation *Die "waltende Spur" im Lande der Morgenfrische: Eine Untersuchung zur Rezeption und Wirkung von Grimms Märchen in Korea* (1993), documents the reception of the KHM in the peninsular Asian country against the historical, social, and cultural background.

Broad-based studies of this kind, however, are limited for North and South America. In the United States the article from 1963 entitled "Die Märchen der Brüder Grimm in den Vereinigten Staaten" by Wayland D. Hand briefly examines the reception of the KHM in schools, translations, musical adaptations, parodies, film, advertising, and media. The 1998 publication by Simon J. Bronner, *Following Tradition: Folklore in the Discourse of American Culture*, dedicates a chapter to the Grimms' legacy in American cultural discourse and examines both the popular perception of KHM and the scholarly awareness of the Grimms' national theories in the United States. For South America, reception studies of the KHM are almost non-existent, except for the formerly mentioned investigation of Portuguese-speaking countries conducted by Dieter Woll, which lumps Brazil together with Portugal and therefore does not constitute a fair representation of KHM reception in a South American country.

Looking at the earlier mentioned works and considering currently available mainstream journals such as *Fabula* or *Marvels & Tales*, it appears that within the context of fairy-tale studies the main focus has been placed largely on Europe. This dissertation will help to fill a gap by examining one region of Latin America that, so far,

has been neglected. Specifically, I will research the introduction, dissemination, translations, and reception of the classical Grimm tales in Colombia.

The study of reception may take diverse forms. Since the 1960's, with the emergence of reader-oriented theories, there has been a general shift in concern from the author and the work to the text and the reader. But the proliferation of theoretical and practical inquiries has not yield conceptual unanimity, and what precisely reception studies entail is still a matter of debate (Holub xi). Robert Holub notes that one of the most persistent dilemmas is the differentiation between *Rezeption* (reception) and *Wirkung* (response or effect) since both have to do with the impact of the work on someone, and it is unclear if and how they can be separated; the most frequent suggestion has been to view *Rezeption* as related to the reader and *Wirkung* as pertaining to textual aspects (Holub xi). In this study I will examine different textual aspects concerning the Grimms and their tales, starting with the actual presence of Grimm editions and other printed materials found in archives and documented in libraries. The existing bibliographic data will provide insight into the historical reception and will help us understand the routes of transmission and spread of the Grimms' tales in Colombia.

The availability of various different editions brings us to another aspect that will be examined here: the way a publication is configured, framed, and presented. Each edition is "prepared" differently, and both the transmitters or senders (i.e., authors, compilers, translators, and editors) and the receivers (i.e., potential readers) play a role in the way a book is assembled. When developing a narrative, authors have a sort of reader in mind and certain expectations about how their readers should receive their message; in terms of Wolfgang Iser, a leading member of the so-called Constance School of German

reception theory, it is the “implied reader” or the reader whom the text creates for itself, not to be confused with the “real reader” or the person who holds the book in his/her hands. Expectations about who those readers will be not only are true for authors but also for compilers, translators, and editors as well. When an author is not the publisher of his own text, and/or has no authority over the printed version manufactured by the publisher, then editors, compilers, and translators become co-creators or co-authors of that text, and the role they play in publishing a book will affect the way we respond to it. Take the Brothers Grimm for example; they were not merely collectors of folk and fairy tales but active co-creators and co-authors. The Grimms not only modified many of the tales they had collected to appeal to a growing bourgeois audience; they also tried to shape our understanding of how fairy tales are to be told, read, and written. For instance, in the preface to their first edition of the second volume (1815) the Grimms acknowledged one of their contributors—Dorothea Viehmann, a simple woman from the countryside who retained old legends and stories firmly in her memory. For the brothers, Dorothea Viehman represented the ideal storyteller. In their second edition from 1819 they included a portrait of Viehmann, drawn by their brother Ludwig Emil Grimm, and in doing so they helped to establish the popular image of the traditional storyteller as a peasant woman. Stereotypical images like this one along with prefaces, introductions, notes, titles, and tale selection and arrangement are all devices that compilers, editors, and translators use in the construction of the texts they are transmitting; the devices used to present and frame a publication will affect our response and understanding of a text. Examining the textual and paratextual elements of Grimm tale editions and other written documents that have been accessible to the Colombian public throughout the years will

shed light on the way Colombians have come to value the Grimms, received the tales, and responded to them. With this study I hope to provide insight into the history, ideology, function, and acquisition of folktales and fairy tales in this one country in Latin America.¹

Objective and Methodology

The core of this reception study is an extensive chronological analysis of Grimm publications available in Colombian libraries. The holdings of the libraries will offer insight into the introduction, dissemination, and overall reception of the Grimm tales in Colombia. Public libraries serve a very diverse community guaranteeing free access to every member regardless of race, age, sex, religion, socio-economic status or level of education. These institutions strive to offer an ample selection of materials to educate, inform, and entertain the general public. Here it is important to clarify the process of selection and acquisition of materials. Major public libraries throughout the country rely on the Advisory Committee for the Development of Collections, the body in charge of the selection of materials that enter the library via purchases, exchanges, or donations, either per request of the general public (*desiderata*) or specialists, or through offers of the publishing industry and booksellers. The members of the committee (usually conformed by the Cultural Assistant Director, Technical Director, Head of the Section of Services to

¹ Two articles deal with the reception of classical tales in Latin America, however, from a different perspective: (1) Patricia Odber de Baubeta's essay "The Fairy-Tale Intertext and Latin American Women's Writing," examines the ways in which Iberian and Latin American women writers use fairy tales in their prose fiction; the persistence of fairy-tale intertext found in their narratives (especially in their subversive or inverted approach) shows how the traditional fairy-tale (mainly by Perrault, the Grimms, and Andersen) continue to play a role in the construction of gender and woman's identity in Spain and Latin America. (2) The essay "Babes in the *Bosque*: Fairy Tales in Twentieth-Century Argentine Women's Writing" by Fiona Mackintosh, analyzes in detail the use of fairy-tale material in the works of several Argentine women writers (such as Luisa Valenzuela, Liliana Heker, and Victoria and Silvina Ocampo) and shows how these authors have thoroughly subverted fairy-tale conventions.

the Public, and senior librarians) evaluate the material in question and make recommendations either to acquire or reject it depending on whether it meets the interests and necessities of the community and conform to the library policies.² In some cases, specialists in particular areas (they can be members of the library itself or an external institution) may be consulted. To offer a wide range of materials to current and potential readers studies of the community that pinpoint its general and specific characteristics (socio-economic status, level of instruction, occupation, etc.) are taken into account. An important criterion for the acquisition of materials is requests from patrons. Lucía Vélez Veléz, assistant of the Division of Information and Culture and coordinator of the Committee for the Development of Collections at the Biblioteca Pública Piloto, asserts that requests and demands of patrons are of extreme relevance and highly influential in deciding a purchase; requests, she explains, play a substantial role when considering an acquisition since they are the reason for the existence of the institution. To my question of whether it would be accurate to assume that extant collections in libraries mirror the literary interest of the public, she responds: “We consider that the collections in the Biblioteca Pública Piloto reflect the literary interests of our users; in its long trajectory the library has strived to develop collections that support not only the literary interests, but also the educational, recreational, and investigational interests [of our patrons].”³

Libraries in Colombia, and elsewhere in Latin America, are still in their initial phase of

² In general, the libraries’ internal policies aim to gear the management of their collections in such a way that it responds to established parameters of quality, relevance, demand. Specific policies regarding the characteristics of the collection may include: selecting the best works of an author or the most useful in a series, offering materials recommended by the Ministry of Culture and Education to support programs of reader-incentives, furnishing works mainly in Spanish, offering a high percentage of children’s books, offering a limited supply of self-help books, coloring books, etc. and offering materials in various formats (books, audio-visual, multimedia).

³ This quote was taken from an email sent to me by Ms. Vélez Veléz on May 4, 2011, with the approval of Gloria Inés Palomino Londoño, General Director of the Biblioteca Pública Piloto in Medellín.

development and serve a relatively small portion of the population (compared to the USA and certain countries in Europe);⁴ yet their collections, which aim to satisfy the needs and demands of the communities in which they operate—a priority that has been repeatedly stressed by numerous high-ranking staff members in the main libraries—can give us insight into the literary preferences of their users and provide indications of receptiveness.

To document the reception of the KHM in Colombia I will examine the textual and paratextual aspects of the existing inventory of Grimm tales and other printed materials related to the siblings and their work published until the year 2000; I will consider individual editions of the tales, tales published in Colombian magazines and anthologies, articles in newspapers and reference books, critical pieces in scholarly publications, and local recastings and adaptations of the stories. Fully aware of the technical difficulties and other impediments that surround the comprehensive collection of information on a national scale, I use as my point of departure the creation of a basic registry of Grimm publications extant in libraries. Since the Grimm tales and their reception do not occur in isolation but in a context involving the works of other authors and collectors such as Charles Perrault, Hans Christian Andersen, and Ludwig Bechstein, I will conduct a parallel investigation of the so-called classical fairy tales and other Western European works catalogued as children's and youth literature. The collected data will be arranged chronologically by dates of publication. Based on my assumption that these works were circulating at the time of their publication, this classification will

⁴ According to the study *Hábitos de lectura y consumo de libros en Colombia* published by the DANE (Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística), in 1993 public libraries in Colombia had 20 million visits/year or 0.5 visits/habitant. In contrast, USA libraries had 1,100 visits/year or 4.1 visits/habitant, and England had 360 visits/year or 6.8 visits/habitant. An electronic file of this study can be found under <ftp://190.25.231.247/books/LD_10753_EJ_5.PDF>.

provide first indications of authors, genres, and styles that were favored over others during a specific period. Drawing on the economic principles of supply and demand, I assume that a surplus of publications by a particular author at a given time is indicative of positive reception; conversely, a limited supply suggests a lack of interest among readers. It is, of course, difficult to determine whether these works were actually being read at the time of their publication; therefore, in addition to the number of volumes located, other aspects—such as the quality, scope, presentation, and contents of the editions, their provenance, and the available translations—will also be considered. Especially telling of a positive reception is the reprinting of stories in domestic publications, as well as adaptations and recastings by Colombian authors. The examination of these combined aspects will help us recognize how the tales have been transmitted and spread, and how Colombians have come to understand individual fairy tales, fairy tales as a genre, and the history of fairy tales.

The historical scope of this study will extend until the year 2000. Given that the chronological span covers a period of more than 100 years, the study will be divided into two sections reflecting distinct phases in reception. The first section will focus on the earliest publications up to 1955; ending this interval one full decade after the end of the Second World War allows identifying any possible effects of the war on the inventory and reception of the tales. The second period will focus on publications from 1956 to 2000. The chronological arrangement of pertaining bibliographical materials found in libraries shall provide the basis for contrasts and comparisons in the phases of fairy-tale reception in Colombia.

Most Colombians know the Grimm tales only secondhand, mainly through translations. Thus, in the picture of reception, translations, especially into Spanish—the official language in Colombia—occupy an important place. Translations are, of course, rewritings of an original text and, as Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere noted in the preface to Lawrence Venuti's *The Translator's Invisibility*, “all rewritings, whatever their intention, reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate literature to function in a given society in a given way” (Venuti, *Translator's Invisibility* vii). The manipulation of literature through translations acts as a shaping force: it can help in the evolution of a literature and a society by introducing new concepts, genres, and devices on the one hand; but on the other hand, it can inhibit innovation, distort, contain, and act as a shaping power of one culture upon another (Venuti, *Translator's Invisibility* vii-viii). The function of translation as a shaping force will be perceived in this study. In its positive aspect, translations have exposed the Colombian public to foreign fairy tales and have helped to develop the genre of children's literature in the country; locally-produced children's stories with elements and motifs from Grimms' fairy tales (e.g., *Los amigos de hombre* by Celso Román) are examples of such development. In its negative aspect, translations exert a dominating power upon another culture. Take the tale translations coming from Spain, for example, which are the most relevant because they have the widest reach among Spanish-speaking Colombians. These translations often manipulate the original narratives in an attempt to make the text appear fluent and transparent. The German tales are then “domesticated” or inscribed with values, interests, and linguistic expressions taken from the receiving culture (Spain); the process of investing the foreign text with domestic meaning and significance makes the translated material intelligible for

recipients in the target language and society. Spanish editions make up a substantial portion of the inventory of Grimm tales in Colombia; by exporting printed materials invested with Spanish values, morals, and mores, the former colonial power continues to exercise its dominating force in Colombia and Latin America.

The various translations of Grimm tales located in libraries are very diverse in their nature. Not all translations will have the child-reader in mind; different perspectives regarding the target reader, the objectives of the translator, as well as a proper comprehension of the Grimm stories (as literary productions of scholars, as ethnographic documents, or as children's stories) will orientate the tendency of different translations. Neither will all translations use the original KHM as their source; frequently we see the utilization of intermediate French and English texts as bases of the work. The intermediate texts are in their inherent nature responses of translators of Grimm stories to the original German tales; as responses, these translations present transformations in style and content, which at times can be widely divergent from the original. These aspects will be object of illustration and commentary more or less extensively according to the weight and relevancy of the publications in the context of Colombian reception of the KHM. One of the greatest challenges posed by translated works is the difficulty of obtaining information about the translators and editors of the editions, especially about their working methods. In light of this dilemma, assumptions about the principles, practices, and motivations followed by the translators are based on close textual readings of the stories they produced and on comparisons of these with the German sources. In the presentation of versions for children, which constitute the most important nucleus, I will try to comment especially on adaptations of content and its probable causes and analyze

the linguistic transaction of the translation, which will indicate a more or less adhesion to the “Grimms’ style.”

At this point, I want to add a fundamental comment about the methodology of this study. My analysis of the Colombian reception of Grimms’ tales will have as its prerequisite and foundation the compilation of a chronological register of classical fairy tales and other Western European works catalogued as children’s and youth literature that circulated in the country from the nineteenth century through the year 2000. A methodological challenge arises, however, in light of the fact that statistics about the circulation of individual editions of KHM did not exist in Colombia prior to 2001—the year when the Cámara colombiana del libro (Colombian Chamber of the Book) started documenting the production and commercialization of books in the country in its annual publication *Estadísticas del libro*.⁵ Consequently, the frequency of sales—i.e., how often individual editions were purchased—cannot be definitely determined. This study can therefore allude only to the number of available publications that exist in important libraries throughout Colombia. With this in mind, my intention is to create a representative inventory, as comprehensive as possible, of the Grimm tales that are accessible in Colombia. The parallel investigation of the historical inventory of other classical European works will serve as a reference point in regard to reception. On the

⁵ There were earlier attempts to establish a national bibliography in Colombia. In 1951, the Instituto Caro y Cuervo created a bibliographical section to compile a Colombian bibliography. The first volume titled *Anuario bibliográfico colombiano*, was compiled by Rubén Pérez Ortiz and published in Cali in 1953. This publication contained books and pamphlets written by (1) Colombian authors and printed either in Colombia or abroad; (2) by foreign authors printed in Colombia; (3) by foreign authors (printed abroad) dealing partially or totally with Colombian issues; and (4) Colombian works translated into other languages, and foreign works translated by Colombians. The last publication of *Anuario bibliográfico colombiano* appeared in 2001. Unfortunately, the main public libraries do not own the complete collection; many volumes have been lost or missing and the available ones present large interruptions in the historical sequence. I scanned the following volumes for publications related to the Grimms: 1951-56, 1957-58, 1962 (January to June), and 1973-74. None of the examined volumes, however, contained any literature regarding the Brothers Grimm or their works.

basis of this comparative data, I will be able to discern at what point in time the Grimm tales achieved a broad popularity in the country. The question of readership—who was purchasing and reading Grimms’ tales—can be addressed by considering the context in which the tales appear and the uses to which they have been put.

Ideally, in order to be comprehensive, this study should examine every library in Colombia for their holdings of materials related to the Grimms and their collection of tales; however, such an enterprise would be unmanageable in its vastness. After surveying the catalogues of numerous public and university libraries across the country⁶ (including in cities with a high concentration of German descendants like Bucaramanga and Barranquilla), it became clear that most of the relevant material is to be found in the main libraries of the largest cities (Bogotá, Medellín, and Cali) particularly in Bogotá, the nation’s capital; the collection of information will therefore center on these libraries. All research related to children’s literature especially from the nineteenth and early twentieth century requires time, patience, and determination. Throughout this journey with the Grimm brothers I encountered various hurdles that complicated the investigation, such as editions without a publication date, translated versions of Grimm stories published without acknowledging the authors’ names, deteriorated old editions with torn or unreadable pages, just to mention a few. Even in libraries with mandatory legal deposit,

⁶ The catalogues of the following public libraries were examined: In Bogotá: Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango, Bibliotecas BiblioRed (Red capital de bibliotecas publicas), Biblioteca del Congreso de la República de Colombia; in Medellín: Biblioteca Pública Piloto; in Cali Biblioteca Departamental Jorge Garcés Borrero; in Barranquilla: Biblioteca Pública Departamental del Atlántico, Biblioteca Infantil Piloto del Caribe.

The catalogues of the following university libraries were examined: Universidad Nacional de Colombia (with its branches in Bogotá, Medellín, and Manizales), Universidad de Los Andes (Bogotá), Pontificia Universidad Javeriana (Bogotá, Cali), Universidad Autónoma de Bucaramanga and Universidad de Santander (Bucaramanga), Universidad del Valle (Cali), Universidad de Antioquia (Medellín), Universidad San Buenaventura (Cali, Cartagena, Bogotá, Medellín), Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana (Bogotá, Medellín).

there are numerous books and periodicals missing, either because they are not in the catalogues or, if in the catalogues, because they are lost. Under these circumstances, my intention is to present only an initial history of the reception of the KHM in Colombia without pretending to be definitive. The historical inventory of pertinent works gathered from the main libraries will provide insight into what is and has been available in the country, thus permitting reasonable conclusions about the reception of the Grimm tales. The provenance, availability, presentation, and contents of these editions can help us to understand not only the routes of transmission and the extent of their reception, but also the relative significance of the Grimms' tales and the process by which they were introduced to Colombian culture.

This dissertation consists of four chapters. The first two chapters focus on the early reception of the Grimm tales, from the nineteenth century through the mid-twentieth century. Chapter one provides a general overview of currently circulating publications (issued before 1955) catalogued as children's or youth literature. An initial broad-based examination of what is offered in the libraries can help to determine the position of the fairy tale within the genre of children's literature and provide insight into what Colombians may have favored as reading texts for their children. Based on the number of available works located and assuming that these works were circulating at the time of their publication, we can estimate whether certain authors and works were favored at a given time. In this chapter I will also discuss the development of the fairy tale as a genre for children and the incipience of the KHM. In chapter two I will analyze the translations of the tales offered in the early-published editions; special attention will be devoted to the Spanish versions. I will try to determine the source-text used for the

translations and the fidelity to the original German stories; and, in case of modifications, I will try to offer a possible explanation.

The final two chapters will tackle the reception of the Grimms in the second phase, from 1955 to 2000. Chapter three considers socioeconomical and political changes that affected the post-1955 reception of the tales as well as the influence of the Disney Corporation on editions from this period. In the 1960s we start to see the emergence of Grimm editions published in Latin America and Colombia. I will examine these texts closely to determine whether they constitute domestic adaptations of the tales or are based on previous European versions. Chapter four focuses on the responses of Colombian scholars and authors to the Grimm tales. I will examine some of the views and interpretations of those engaged in the study or development of literature for children in Colombia. I will also examine the retellings of the Colombian author Triunfo Arciniegas that draw on some of the best-known Grimm stories.

I don't pretend to have realized a final and definite study of the Colombian reception of the KHM between the nineteenth century and the year 2000. This is an open study that offers only a first history of the reception of the Grimm tales in Colombia. Ideally, this preliminary history will lay the groundwork for future studies of the Colombian reception of the KHM and the broader issues it implies, such as the role of European and Spanish editions of classical fairy tales, fantasy, and children's literature in the transmission of the European fairy-tale tradition in South America.

Today a sizable number of recently published classical European tales, in both Colombian and foreign editions can be readily found in many libraries across the country.

However, issues of fairy tales published prior to 1970 are relatively scarce, and even more so are those publications older than 50 years. As will become apparent in the next chapter, the inventory of classical tales (including the Grimms' KHM) published prior to 1955 is composed mainly of European translations coming primarily from Spain and France. The high number of imports was in part due to a limited national publishing industry at the time. The predominance of imported editions suggests that, during the first phase of this study, Colombian reception of the KHM was to a great extent determined by European productions. Before discussing in detail the composition of the fairy-tale inventory extant in the libraries, in the following segment I will address the historical backdrop and the most important factors that affected the reception of the tales. In addition to the critical role played by European publications, some of the most influential factors affecting the early reception of the tales by the Brothers Grimm include: (1) general level of literacy in the country, (2) the composition of the social structure, (3) religion, (4) children's literature in Colombia, (5) Walt Disney's productions based on the classical tales, and (6) locally printed information about the Grimms and their work.

Factors Affecting the Early Reception of Grimm Tales in Colombia

Literacy and Social Structure

During the first decades of the twentieth century literacy rates in Colombia were very low. Several sources of literacy data confirm this, despite discrepancy in their estimations. The 2006 study *La educación primaria y secundaria en Colombia en el siglo XX (Primary and Secondary Education in Colombia in the XX Century)*, for example, maintains that in the 1900s the illiteracy rate as a percentage of total adult population was 66%—one of the highest in all Latin America (Ramírez and Téllez 5). Yet in the special

edition *Siglo XX a través de El Tiempo* (*Twentieth Century through The Time*), issued by the most widely read and influential daily in Colombia, *El Tiempo*,⁷ that figure is higher; there we read that 75% of all Colombians were illiterate in 1913. Low literacy rates continued throughout the early 1950s with an estimated 58% of the population aged fifteen and over being uneducated (Blutstein et al. 176). Though different sources offer divergent statistics (probably due to the use of differing variables) they all agree on the high levels of illiteracy that existed in the country in the first fifty years of the twentieth century.

In Colombia, there has been a strong correlation between education and social class; if we acknowledge the 75% illiteracy rate declared by *El Tiempo*, we can assume that the remaining 25% of the Colombian population were members of the educated upper and middle classes. To better understand the link between education/culture and social class I will briefly discuss the historical development of such connection.

The structure of the modern Colombian society is to a great extent the product of an inherited tradition and culture from sixteenth-century Spain. As explained by Hanratty et al. in *Colombia: A Country Study*, a publication by the U.S. Library of Congress, the Colombian social structure is the offspring of a Spanish colonial society that was highly stratified, clearly bounded, and with limited vertical mobility between the

⁷ The newspaper *El Tiempo* has the highest circulation in the country. In 2004, it had an average weekday circulation of 314,000, rising to 453,000 for the Sunday edition. *El Tiempo* was founded in 1911 by Alfonso Villegas Restrepo and is currently owned by the Spanish *Grupo Planeta*. Until now, *El Tiempo* has enjoyed monopoly status in the Colombian media as the only daily that circulates nationally (most smaller dailies have limited distribution outside their own regions). The single long time rival of the respected newspaper has been *El Espectador*, founded by Fidel Cano Gutiérrez in Medellín in 1887; due to an internal financial crisis in 2001 however, *El Espectador* was reduced to a weekly publication for almost seven years. In May 2008 *El Espectador* renewed printing on a daily basis.

strata. The stratification system was characterized by stereotypes based on race,⁸ class, and culture and was rigidly segregated into two main groups: the elite⁹ of educated, cultured, rich, and politically powerful persons and the mass of proletarians and peasants.

Even after Colombia's independence from Spain, in 1810,¹⁰ the nation's elite retained many of the sociopolitical values and institutions that it had inherited from Spain. These cultural traditions were preserved in part by a limited immigration¹¹ and isolation,¹² which restricted contact with other nations throughout the nineteenth century, and the emphasis on traditional Spanish institutions, particularly Roman Catholicism.

Even though members of lower social groups significantly outnumbered the dominant upper class, the cohesive and tight elite succeeded in maintaining the power and control over the country's decision-making. Aside from a general lack of cohesion among the numerically superior lower social classes, Colombia's rugged terrain and an inadequate transportation system served to reinforce social and geographic distances keeping these classes fragmented and powerless. In the 1920s the very reduced middle class—composed primarily of businessmen, white-collar professionals, and minor officials—began to emerge largely due to industrialization and rapid urban growth. Although improvements in transportation and communication systems, education, and

⁸ Race played an important part of the hierarchical society created by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century. The Spanish occupied the top stratum in terms of prestige, wealth, and power; slaves and Indians occupied the bottom. White skin became thus synonymous with being Spanish and having a high status.

⁹ The traditional Colombian elite distinguished itself by their Spanish family lineage and the possession of large parcels of land and wealth.

¹⁰ Most Colombians will date Independence Day as July 20, 1810. However, it was only in 1819 when the formerly Spanish colony under the Viceroyalty of New Granada became the Republic of Gran Colombia (encompassing the territories of Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela, and Panama).

¹¹ During the colonial period Spain discouraged the admission of non-Spaniards into the colonies. After independence, the economic opportunities for immigrants were few and the civil wars were clear deterrents. The country was practically in a continuous civil war between 1839 and 1902 (Scheina). Examples of such wars include the War of a Thousand Days (1899-1902) and "La violencia" ("The Violence") that took place in the late 1940s and 1950s.

¹² For example, the failure to launch a regular mail service contributed to the isolation of the colony (Hanratty et al. 69).

expanding economic opportunities opened some arteries for social mobility, no radical changes took place in the structure of the society. Limited political and social power has continued to characterize the emerging middle class, which, still today, constitutes only about 20% of the population.¹³ The heterogeneous nature of the middle class, combined with a lack of unity and a lack of collective consciousness, may explain why its members tend to identify themselves with the traditional elite and adopt their stipulated behavioral codes and values.

In Colombia education has usually correlated with upper social structures. In the tradition-dominated Colombian society, membership in the elite was determined primarily by family name and inherited wealth, but middle-class status was largely determined by completion of a superior secondary education (Blutstein et al. 154). In both groups considerable care was taken to ensure that children receive the best education in the most prestigious schools. Members of the elite and middle class have remained culturally close to Europe—particularly to France and Spain. They looked up at the European cultural trends and modeled their life-styles, attitudes, and values on traditional European norms. Children continue to be sent to Europe and the United States for their education, to learn languages and become cultured.

Until after World War II, however, obtaining a higher education was a privilege accessible only to the upper social levels (Blutstein et al. 154). In the 1960s and early 1970s an increasing awareness of how much needed to be done to improve Colombian education gave way to a series of educational reforms that proved very effective. The Colombian government allocated large amounts of its budget to the restructuring of the

¹³ According to *Country Profile: Colombia* (2007) published by the Federal Research Division of the U.S. Library of Congress.

education system. By the mid-1970s more was being spent on education than on all other social services combined, and the total enrollment of students at all levels of the public and private school system were at least six times higher than they had been fifteen years earlier (Blutstein et al. 149). Significant progress was attained in the area of education compared to the first half of the twentieth century. In 1975 the literacy rate was as high as 85% in the cities, and by the late 1980s it was approximately 88%.¹⁴ According to the 2005 census most of the Colombian population attained at least a basic primary education; the percentage of the population without any education was only 10.5 % (Hanratty and Meditz).

Both educational and attitudinal factors played a role in the early reception of the classical European tale in Colombia. As will become apparent in the following chapter, French tales and other classical European literary tales seemed to have enjoyed a higher popularity in Colombia during the first half of the twentieth century than the tales of the Grimm brothers, which present themselves as relying more heavily on oral traditions (folk tales). At this point it is useful to clarify the distinction between folk tales (*Volksmärchen*) and literary tales (*Kunstmärchen*) since it is an area that still causes confusion. Defined in a very basic way, the main difference between oral folk tale and literary fairy tale is that the latter is written by an identifiable author and thus exists in only one version (because it has been penned and printed and cannot be altered). Some literary fairy tales or *Kunstmärchen* are completely original, yet others draw elements and motifs from oral folk tales; those based on preexisting tales constitute reworkings and adaptations of the oral variants, and therefore are considered “synthetic, artificial, and

¹⁴ According to *Country Profile: Colombia* from 2007.

elaborate in comparison to the indigenous formation of the folk tale that emanated from communities and tend to be simple and anonymous” (Zipes, *Oxford Companion* xvi).

The apparent preference for literary tales (especially French) over those by the Grimms in first half of the twentieth century can be explained, on the one hand, by the overall literacy levels in the country and, on the other hand, by the prevalent attitudes of the higher social class. In Colombia low levels of education restricted the reception of the classical tales to the educated minority. The educated minority, who modeled their attitude and values on European tradition, looked primarily to France as the main cultural center in Europe. Within this mindset, well-established works in Europe by French authors like Charles Perrault and Mme. de Beaumont but also by reputable foreign writers such as the Danish author Hans Christian Andersen constituted fine examples of children’s literature to be read at home. The data that I will present in the subsequent chapter shows that early publications of literary fairy tales outnumber those by the Grimm brothers. It was only after 1955 that the Grimm tales start to gain in popularity among the general Colombian public.

Religion

Catholicism has been the established religion in Colombia since the early sixteenth century. With about 95% of the population baptized in the Catholic Church, Colombia is an overwhelmingly Catholic country, and Colombians are among the most devout of Latin America Catholics. Up until the late 1980s Colombia was still widely known as one of the most conservative and traditional countries in Latin America (Hanratty and Meditz).

Throughout the history of Colombia, and well after its independence from Spain, the Roman Catholic Church has enjoyed a privileged status and has permeated all levels of politics and society.¹⁵ Continuing to be one of the most important institutions in the country, the Church's influence in the daily lives of Colombians and their organizations is considered to be the one of the most pervasive in the Western Hemisphere (Blutstein et al. 138).

In the sphere of education the Roman Catholic Church has played a dominant role. The Church was the main contributor in establishing the earliest educational institutions; it founded the first schools during the sixteenth century, and the first seminaries (primarily to educate the sons of Spanish settlers) as well as the first universities in the seventeenth century.¹⁶ Still today, universities with Catholic ties are among the most prestigious in the country; the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, for example, founded and directed by the Society of Jesus is one of the oldest and most traditional universities in Colombia.

One study of the bishops in Colombia concluded that prelates shared an homogeneous background: they were predominately of upper or middle-class origins and most had a career in education; their experience as professors or rectors of a Catholic school was an usual path for an upwardly mobile cleric (Blutstein et al. 134). The authority of the Church in the field of education and the Church's traditional association

¹⁵ The special relationship between the Church and the Colombian government is apparent, for example, in the Concordat of 1887, which stipulated the Church's dominant role in key aspects of life: birth, education, marriage, and death (Blutstein et al. 125-132). Two clauses of the 1887 agreement are worth citing here: the first clause declared the Apostolic and Roman Catholic Church as the Church of the nation. The second clause declared that education and public instruction were to be organized according to the dogma and moral of the Catholic religion.

¹⁶ The first two universities in Colombia were: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana founded in 1623, and Universidad del Rosario founded by Cristóbal de Torres, then Archbishop of Santa Fé (Nuevo Reino de Granada), in 1653.

with the elite structures of society appear to have affected the early reception of the Grimm tales in Colombia. As will become apparent in the following chapters, in the main libraries early published pedagogical stories for children imbued with a Catholic ideology outnumber other secular works. In regard to German authors, works by the Catholic priest and writer of children's stories Christoph von Schmid (1768-1854) appear to have enjoyed a much wider reception in the country during the first half of the twentieth century than other German works for children. The Church's hegemony and its decisive role in the area of education may provide an explanation for the copious inventory of early works for children that promote Catholic doctrine over more secular writings.

Children's Literature in Colombia

The development of literature for children is a fairly recent process that started with a change in the perception of childhood at the turn of the eighteenth century. Prior to that time children were simply viewed as adults in miniature (Ariès 19). The modern notion of childhood assigned children their own separate and protective sphere, and recognized their individual necessities and interests. With this recognition the need for a "specialized" literature that will cater to this new and unique consumer group began to arise.

In Colombia the first attempts to tend to the childhood segment started in the late nineteenth century. The oldest Colombian publication geared specifically to children that I was able to identify that was *El Álbum de los Niños: periódico de instrucción i recreo* (*The Álbum of Children: Journal of Instruction and Recreation*). Printed weekly by

Imprenta de Torres Hermanos i Compañía in Tunja,¹⁷ this children's magazine was created and directed by Carlos M. Torres with the "decisive support" of Dr. Ricardo Aguilera, a Roman Catholic priest and head of the parish of Moniquirá ("La Lectura" 231). It is difficult to ascertain the exact dates of publication of this magazine; based on issues available at the libraries Luis Ángel Arango and Biblioteca Nacional, the *Álbum de los Niños* appeared between August 1871 and November 1893, though with apparent long periods of interruptions in the printing.¹⁸ The magazine included sections on Religion, Moral, History, Narratives, Useful Knowledge, and Recreational Instruction and required a pre-paid three-month subscription. The main intention of *El Álbum de los Niños* was to develop in the child the habit of reading while offering instructive and moralizing pieces based on the teachings of God, as the following quote indicates:

Lecturas basadas en la fé de Dios, fuente inagotable de todo bien, [que] levanta el espíritu del niño, le hace investigador y conociendo luego las causas y los efectos de todo lo que le rodea, y al autor de todas estas maravillas, conforma sus actos al querer del Supremo Hacedor. ("La Lectura" *El Álbum de los Niños* 229-30).

Readings based on the faith of God, inexhaustible source of all good, [that] lifts the spirit of the child, makes him an investigator, and learning then the causes and the effects of everything that surrounds him, and the author of all these marvels, he will conform his acts to the desires of the Supreme Maker.¹⁹

Every edition of *El Álbum de los Niños* ended with a page dedicated to correspondence, acknowledgements, advertising, obituaries, and announcements. The segment with announcements advertised a list of children's publications that had just

¹⁷ Tunja is the capital of the Department of Boyacá, located in the central-eastern part of Colombia bordering with Venezuela.

¹⁸ The catalogue of the Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango indicates several periods in which the publication of *El Álbum de los Niños: periódico de instrucción i recreo* was suspended and later reinstated.

¹⁹ All translations are mine, unless specified otherwise.

arrived in Colombia and were available at the bookstore of Carlos M. Torres e hijo (a bookstore managed by the creator/director of the magazine and his son). The new arrivals, mostly individual publications of 8 to 20 pages, were recommended as recreational prizes for children (itemized under “Libros: premios para niños—Recreo Infantil”). Some of the advertised items appear to be tales by Perrault and the Grimms, although I found no evidence that any of these were actually published in the magazine itself. The 17th edition from November 1893, for example, contained the following titles, which could be adaptations of the Grimms’ tales: *El doctor que todo lo sabe* (*The Doctor Who Knows It All*, a possible version of the Grimm’s “Doktor Allwissend”), *Los tres hermanos* (*The Three Brothers*, perhaps corresponding to the “Die drei Brüder”), *Pepito y Mariquita* (similar names have been used in other Spanish adaptations of “Hänsel und Gretel”), *Los cabritos y el lobo* (*The Little Goats and the Wolf*, possibly “Der Wolf und die sieben jungen Geißlein”), *El Pulgarcito* (*The Little Thumb*, possibly based on “Daumesdick”), *La rana encantada* (*The Enchanted Frog*, perhaps “Der Froschkönig oder der eiserne Heinrich”). Other titles such as *Barba azul* (*Blue Beard*) and *La Cenicienta* (*Cinderella*) are more likely to be based on Perrault’s tales.²⁰ It is of course difficult to ascertain whether the listed items are indeed classical fairy tales, since the actual texts are not available and the only information at hand is a mere list of titles without any other clarification (e.g., about the authors or bibliography). The list of “new arrivals” remained unchanged in subsequent editions of *El Álbum de los Niños*; instead of adding fresh titles the same list was reprinted over and over. Aside from this magazine I found only a few other publications for children produced in Colombia during the late

²⁰ Because the story of “Blue Beard” appeared only in the first edition of the KHM (1812/15), and since it was Perrault, not Grimm, who used the title “Cinderella”—i.e. “Cendrillon,” it is more likely that these titles were based on Perrault’s tales and not the Grimms’.

nineteenth and early twentieth century;²¹ most of them were petty periodicals of reduced circulation, and none included any of the stories by the Brothers Grimm.

The decades of the 1920s and 1930s were a time when Colombian society was undergoing a process of modernization. Various institutions in the public and private sectors joined efforts to modernize the country in cultural and educational matters. Increased monetary resources were allotted to facilitate the access to both knowledge and recreation, through the creation of new libraries, cultural centers, radio and cinematographic programs, reading and lecture halls, and so forth. It was during this time that specialized written materials targeted at children saw a short comeback in Colombia, with the publications of the popular illustrated magazine *Chanchito (Piglet)*. Created and directed by the engineer and poet Victor Eduardo Caro (1877-1944), the children's magazine *Chanchito* is of great historical value because it is viewed to be the best and most complete magazine for children yet published in Colombia.²² Conceived as a cultural project closely tied to the childhood spirit, *Chanchito* was named after a character in one of the fables by the Colombian lyricist and children's author Rafael Pombo (1833-1912).²³ The children's magazine was first published on July 6, 1933, in Bogotá and appeared weekly. Caro, its editor, had a clear idea of the creative capacities of children and had also knowledge of classical literature of the time, which permitted

²¹ These were *El Niño: periódico literario del Liceo de la Infancia (The Child: Literary Journal of the Childhood Lyceum, 1868)* edited by Roberto G. Sarmiento and Antonio Camacho and printed by Imprenta de la Nación; *Almacén de los niños (Magazin of the Children, 1890-91)* directed by Ignacio Borda and published bi-weekly, *Niñez (Childhood, 1914-17)* published at the school Colegio Restrepo Mejía; and from the Sociedad Fraternidad, *Universal Luz y Alegría: revista para niños (Light and Joy: Magazine for Children, 1934-1936)* published monthly by Tipografía Bremen. All of these magazines were published in Bogotá.

²² The quality of this publication is praised, for example, in the article "La revista Chanchito, un homenaje a los niños colombianos" by Beatriz-Helena Robledo (1958-), a docent at the Universidad Javeriana in Bogotá.

²³ Pombo's character Chanchito, the son of a well-to-do family, was finally domesticated after "punishments, scolds, and whips" and learned to behave perfectly before society. The chosen title for this magazine points at the socializing intent of the publication.

him to deliver to young readers an exclusive selection of literary works that were both entertaining and challenging. The weekly publication included poems, fables in verse, games, comics, informative texts (about nature and the cosmos, history, scientific curiosities, etc.), and simple cooking recipes directed towards “diligent girls.” Stories and children’s novels, usually printed in “installments,” constituted an important and very popular section of the magazine. The poems, fables, and stories by Rafael Pombo are especially abundant, as are works by other Spanish-speaking authors, including Rubén Darío, Tomás de Iriarte, Gabriela Mistral, Rafael Obligado, Luis de Tapia, and others. Some of the translated pieces published in the magazine include Lewis Carroll’s *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*, H. G. Wells’s *The War of the Worlds*, Jules Verne’s “A Winter amid the Ice,” and *Swords and Hearts* by the then widely-read Italian author Edmondo de Amicis.

Classical fairy tales were also featured in *Chanchito*. Among the titles located are “El patito feo” (Andersen’s “The Ugly Duckling”), “El gato con botas” (Perrault’s “Puss in Boots”), and eight of the Grimms’ tales including “La Casita de Turrón” (“The Nougat House,” an adaptation of KHM 15 “Hänsel und Gretel”), “Los seis cisnes” (“The Six Swans,” an adaptation of KHM 49 “Die sechs Schwäne”), and “El caballo prodigioso” (“The Prodigious Horse,” an adaptation of KHM 89 “Die Gänsemagd”). However, in contrast to the other published pieces, which clearly specified their authors (e.g., fables, poems, children’s novels such as *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*), none of the fairy tales, whether literary tales or tales based on oral tradition, are attributed to a specific author. The omission of authorship suggests that the magazine’s editor considers the tales either as common property (probably due to the connection between the fairy tale and the

oral folk tale) or of inferior literary value and thus deems it unnecessary to acknowledge an author or collector.

Praised by the main national newspapers of the time (i.e., *El Tiempo* and *El Espectador*), *Chanchito* was last printed on November 29, 1934 after a total of sixty-three numbers published in three volumes. Apparently a combination of high price and bad distribution contributed to the magazine's short life. After *Chanchito* only a handful of short-lived magazines for children have followed, including *Rin rin*,²⁴ published in 1936; *Michín: Revista semanal ilustrada*, published by Editorial Santafé (Bogotá) in 1938; and *Tío Pepe*, edited by Gabriel E. La Rotta and published by Editorial Iris (Bucaramanga) in 1958.

In general, early publications for children edited and published in Colombia are scarce. Besides the aforementioned magazines, I found only two anthologies for children from this early period: *Libro de lecturas escogidas en prosa y verso para niños y niñas* (*Book of Selected Readings in Prose and Verse for Girls and Boys*), edited by Rodolfo D. Bernal and published in Bogotá (the earliest edition located is from 1891); and *Los maestros de la literatura infantil* (*The Masters of Children Literature*), a relatively large and nicely presented anthology (hard cover, illustrated), compiled by Rafael Jaramillo Arango (1896-1963) and published by Litografía Villegas in Bogotá.

Los maestros de la literatura infantil includes children's stories from European and Latin American authors such as Rafael Pombo, Rubén Darío, Andersen, Kipling, La Fontaine, and Gabriela Mistral. The Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango owns two copies of *Los maestros de la literatura infantil*, one published in 1946 and the other in 1958. The

²⁴ Illustrated and directed by the Sergio Trujillo Magnenat, *Rin rin* had a high liberal content intended to politicize the young ones.

1958 edition includes the famous legend “El flautista de Hamelin” (“The Pied Piper of Hamelin”) in a verse adaptation. The short introduction preceding the story explains that this retelling of the ancient legend is attributable to the English poet Robert Browning:

Hay una curiosa y popular leyenda de la Alemania del siglo III [sic], y que en prosa y en verso se ha venido transmitiendo a todas las lenguas, sin perder su emoción y encanto. Corresponde al poeta inglés Roberto Browning, darnos la versión de lo que sucedió en el año 1284 a la ciudad de Hamelin a quien un mago con su flauta encantada la libró de la plaga de ratones, y a quien el mismo hechicero impuso terrible castigo por no haber sido pagado en su justo precio. (Jaramillo Arango 273)

There is a curious and popular legend from the Germany of the third century [sic] that, in prose and verse, has been transmitted in all languages without losing its emotion and charm. The English poet Robert Browning gives us the version of what happened in the year 1284 in the city of Hamelin, where a magician with his enchanted flute freed it from the plague of mice, but this same wizard also imposed a terrible punishment for not having been paid a just price.

Although the above quote alludes to the Germanic origin of this old legend, the Grimm brothers are nowhere mentioned in connection with this piece despite the fact that a version of this tale appeared in the 1816/18 edition of their *Deutsche Sagen* (as no. 245 “Die Kinder zu Hameln”).

It was only several decades after *Chanchito* and *Los maestros de la literatura infantil* that a literature for children actually began to emerge in Colombia. In the decade of the 1970s an editorial boom of works for children started in the country. The boom was mainly set in motion by the establishment of a national prize for children’s literature—the Premio Enka de Literatura Infantil. The introduction of the Enka contest in the mid-1970s provided the initial stimulus to professionalize the writing for children in Colombia. National editors began to discover in the writings of new and unknown authors valuable material to initiate a vast market, enriching the sources and popularizing

the reading of children's works. Many of the authors who started publishing during this period and were awarded the Enka prize are still committed to producing quality works for children.²⁵ In addition to promoting the publication and circulation of children's literature in Colombia, the Enka contest opened up new cultural avenues that resulted in the creation of measures and institutions dedicated to foment and encourage reading (e.g., opening new reading halls and libraries, creating new contests, and offering courses of children's literature in the academic sectors). The literary prize was also an incentive for the re-printing and editing of classical literature for children. One of the earliest editions of Grimm tales of significant scope published in Colombia was *Cuentos Infantiles / Hermanos Grimm*, a 306-page pocket-book published by Editorial Bedout in Bogotá in 1979. Before the introduction of the Enka prize the tales by Perrault, Andersen, and the Grimms were available mostly in expensive and imported volumes.

The late dawning and slow growing industry of children's literature in Colombia let us conclude that the national production of literary texts for youngsters was neither a fervid nor a strong cultural expression in the country until the last decades of the twentieth century. Throughout its early history the production of juvenile literature and related materials for children published in Colombia showed only few and sporadic instances of development, but there was never an identifiable movement, school, or any other manifestation that would allow us to speak of a "golden age" of children's literature in the country. The scarce and short-lived production of materials for children prior to the late 1970s can be attributed in part to the low literacy level in Colombia during the first half of the twentieth century; editors and publishers may have considered it economically

²⁵ For example, Triunfo Arciniegas, Luis Darío Bernal, Jairo Anibal Niño, and Celso Román are among the most persistent and prolific authors of children literature.

unfeasible to produce literature for youngsters given the reduced market segment limited by illiteracy rates.

Walt Disney's Productions

Long before the animated film *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* was first released in Colombia in 1939, Disney was already a household name in the country. Some of the first published issues of the magazine *Chanchito* had already featured Disney characters. The cover page of the issue from August 31, 1933, for example, is adorned with an oversized Mickey Mouse against a bright orange background along with his female counterpart—Minnie Mouse—who, depicted on a much smaller scale, is handing Mickey a copy of *Chanchito* (Fig. 18, page 185). A later edition from the same year dedicates one of its first pages to the life story and customs of Mickey Mouse. The article entitled “Historia del ratoncito Mickey: Su vida íntima y costumbres” (“Story of the Little Mouse Mickey: His Intimate Life and Customs”) praises the mouse for his good character, diligence, and altruism; the piece also mentions his “good little” wife Minnie, who lives happily with him and has never thought of getting a divorce (much in accordance with Catholic doctrine).

Walt Disney's iconic character Mickey Mouse made its debut in *Steamboat Willie*—the first cartoon film with synchronized sound, released at the Colony Theatre in New York on November 28, 1928. Two years later, in 1930, the Mickey Mouse comic strip became available, and in 1932 the Mickey Mouse Sunday page drawn by the Spanish-American Manuel Gonzales started to circulate in the United States. It is truly remarkable that *Chanchito*, one of the few existing children's magazines in Colombia, featured the recently invented Mickey Mouse already in one of its first published

editions. The rapid response-time of the magazine's editor attests to the successful marketing strategies of the Disney Corporation in Latin America (we need to remember that we are talking about Colombia in the early 1930s, where mass media was in its early stages).²⁶

The enormously successful animated feature *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, first released in the USA by RKO Radio Pictures on December 21, 1937, and released worldwide on February 4, 1938, premiered much later in Colombia. The highly anticipated film had its debut in Colombia in the last quarter of 1939; it was first shown in Bogotá and Medellín on October 17 and later in Cali on November 23, 1939. The 83-minute long film was completely dubbed in Spanish (including the songs) and became an instant hit in the country. Several weeks before its debut numerous newspaper articles announced fervidly the upcoming film. The paper *Diario del Pacífico* based in Cali, for example, described it as a true cinematographic jewel: "a miraculous production in which figures made out of ink and pen acquire life and the brilliantly crafted illusion turns fantasy into reality."²⁷ Another article glorified Walt Disney as the creative genius who took the story of the Brothers Grimm and bestowed upon it "indescribable beauty, tenderness, and delicateness all in a magnificent symphony of colors."²⁸

In most pieces published locally on Disney's *Snow White* the name Grimm is mentioned only marginally at best, and in several cases the information about the German

²⁶ Although newspapers have been circulating in Colombia since the late nineteenth century (e.g., *El Espectador*) radio broadcasting started in the late 1920s. The radio station HJN broadcasted for the first time on September 5, 1929 (today HJN is called Radiodifusora Nacional de Colombia). Some of the current major radio networks were founded in the late 1940s (e.g., Caracol and RCN Radio were founded in 1948), and television was inaugurated in 1954.

²⁷ Quote from the article "Blanca Nieves y los siete enanitos. Nítido encanto! Milagro del cine!" published in *Diario del Pacífico* on November 20, 1939.

²⁸ Quote from "Blanca Nieves y los siete enanitos: Seis palabras que cristalizan medio siglo de evolución magnífica de la industria ... El mundo entero le ha rendido tributo de admiración y aplauso ..." that appeared in *Diario de Pacífico* on November 16, 1939.

brothers is either confusing or inaccurate. Take the short editorial “Niña de Fábula” that appeared in *Diario del Pacífico*, for instance, where it is implied that “Grimm” is a single person: “Los dibujos de Walt Disney se animan para trasladar intensamente a la tela los inocentes personajes del cuento de Grimm ... Grimm no soñó jamás encontrar realizada tan plena y tan limpiamente su hermosísimo cuento.”²⁹ (“The drawings of Walt Disney become animated to intensely transfer to the screen the innocent characters of the story of Grimm Grimm never dreamed of finding his beautiful story realized so fully and neatly”). The implied singularity of authorship is even more evident in the second part of the quote where the Spanish verb *soñar* (to dream) is conjugated in third person singular and reads “Grimm no *soñó* jamás” (“Grimm never dreamed”).

Given the enormous popularity that Disney’s feature animation attained in Colombia and elsewhere in South America, it comes as no surprise that in terms of publications, the name of Snow White starts to proliferate in the titles of some of the earliest Latin-American and Colombian publications. As will become apparent in the first chapter, before Disney’s *Snow White* was released, most of the early publications with Grimm tales had “generic” titles, such as *Cuentos y leyendas de los hermanos Grimm* (1893) and *Cuentos de Grimm* (1935), and many editions did not even include the tale of “Snow White.” It was only after the animated film that the name “Snow White” gained in popularity and became central in the titles of many publications; for example, *Blanca Nieve y otros cuentos (Snow White and Other Tales, 1959)*, one of the earliest Latin-American editions with Grimm tales located (published in Mexico), and the Mexican-

²⁹ “Niña de Fábula,” which appeared under the section entitled Intermedios in *Diario del Pacífico* on November 27, 1939.

produced LP³⁰ *Blanca nieves y los siete enanitos / Caperucita Roja (Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs / Little Red Riding Hood)* estimated to be from 1960.³¹

The tale of “Snow White” was also among the first stories published locally in Colombia (as a single-tale book). In 1975 Editorial Norma issued the deluxe illustrated edition *Blanca nieves y los siete enanitos (Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs)*.³² Just a year later, in 1976, the same publisher offered the very successful animated book *El festival de Blanca Nieves (The Festival of Snow White)* as part of the series Colección fantasía (Fantasy Collection). It is telling that the earlier 1975 publication identifies the Brothers Grimm as authors of the tale, whereas the latter edition designates instead Walt Disney Productions as the corporate author.

The name of the two German brothers seems to fade slowly into oblivion while that of Walt Disney is catapulted to the forefront in Colombian popular consciousness. The press coverage of Walt Disney that started many weeks before the premier of his first full-length animated film continued well into the 1980s. Numerous articles about Walt’s life and work appeared repeatedly in various newspapers.³³ The attention was in no small part due to the marketing and promotional efforts of the Disney Corporation in Latin America. The tour of South America that Walt Disney started in late summer 1941, was carefully followed by the Colombian press despite the fact that Colombia was not among

³⁰ Long-playing (LP) vinyl gramophone record albums (33½ rpm), some of which are in stereo recording.

³¹ This 27-minute stereo LP is the oldest record of a Grimm fairy tale that I could find in the libraries in which I searched.

³² Other individually published titles include: *Caperucita Roja (Little Red Riding Hood)*, *Hansel y Gretel*, *El conejo Pedrito (The Rabbit Pedrito)*, *Cuentos de mamá gansa (Stories of Mother Goose)*, etc. The history and children’s publication by Editorial Norma will be discussed in the following chapters.

³³ For example, and just to name a few: "Realidad y mito de Walt Disney" (1967), "Walt Disney: Un genio para todos" (1978), "Blancanieves cumple 50 años" (1987), or Luis Darío Bernal Pinilla’s "Blanca Nieves vs. Pato Donald o la recuperación del sueño" (1985).

the countries he visited.³⁴ The film *Saludos Amigos* (1942), which depicts characters like Donald Duck and Goofy embarking on thrilling adventures in Latin America, was as enthusiastically announced in the papers as were other Disney productions, like the musical comedy *Ritmo y Melodia* (*Medody Time*, 1948), *Fantasia* (1940), and “*Recuerdos*” (“*Remembrances*”), an animated feature in Technicolor with José Carioca, Donald Duck, and Pluto, which debuted in Colombia in summer 1950. After a series of remarkably well-received Disney productions, the Colombian press went on to proclaim the movie *Cinderella* (1950) as the next greatest creation of Disney after *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (Fig. 1).³⁵



Fig. 1: *Diario del Pacífico* advertising the premier of *Cinderella* in Cali. Courtesy of Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango, Bogotá.

³⁴ During his 3-month tour through South America Walt Disney visited Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Bolivia, and Perú.

³⁵ For example, in the movie-listings of *Diario del Pacífico* from January 3, 1951, which advertised the premier of *Cinderella* in Cali. The announcement refers to the film as “the greatest production after *Snow White*” and “the world’s most adorable love story ... intertwined with dreams, laughter, idyll, and songs, in a movie that only Disney can create.”

The animated feature *Cinderella* was first released in Colombia in January 1951, less than one year after it was released in the United States (i.e., much faster than *Snow White*, which took almost two years after the worldwide release to be shown in local theaters).

Although Disney did acknowledge in its opening title (from 1937) that the movie *Snow White* was based on a Grimms' story, none of the movie listings in any the Colombian newspapers that I examined ever mentioned the written source on which the animated film was based. It is indeed ironic that even though the name Grimm practically vanished from local newspapers/magazines and was replaced with that of Disney, it was the Disney films based on the classical fairy tales that increased the popular awareness about the KHM in Colombia.

Locally Printed Information on the Brothers Grimm

In contrast to the numerous articles written on Walt Disney and his works, the printed information on the Grimms in local newspapers, magazines, and other printed sources is very limited. One of the few newspaper articles related to the Grimms that I was able to locate was “Jacob y Guillermo Grimm, padres adoptivos de Blanca Nieves y Caperucita” (“Jacob and William Grimm, Adoptive Parents of Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood”) written by Daniel Samper Pizano (1945-). Daniel Samper Pizano is a Colombian lawyer and writer, and one of the best-known and respected journalists in the country. His two-page centerfold article on the Grimms, written to commemorate the second centenary of Jacob's birth, appeared in the Sunday supplemental edition of the daily *El Tiempo* under the section of Literature on October 27, 1985. Despite the

ascendancy of Disney, the bicentennial of the Grimm brothers' birth in 1985 and 1986, which was commemorated worldwide, did not escape notice in Colombia.

Samper's article presents the Brothers Grimm as two somber German linguists who started a scientific investigation as sociologists and ended up, by chance, transformed into geniuses of juvenile literature. It was never the brothers' intention, Samper explains, to go down in history as authors of children's literature, for they were earnest scholars indifferent to any type of entertainment for children (Samper notes that Jacob never showed interest in getting married or having children). To buttress the argument that the Grimms' fame as authors of children's literature was a twist of fate, the opening paragraph points at the harshness and extreme cruelty portrayed in some tales, noting the torture (and sometimes death) endured by their characters. Among the titles cited are "Los tres enanitos del bosque" ("Die drei Männlein im Walde," KHM 13), in which an old woman and her daughter are locked up in a hammered-shut barrel that is rolled down a hill until it falls into the river; "Blanca Nieves" ("Sneewittchen (Schneeweißchen)," KHM 53), where the stepmother is forced to wear red-hot shoes and dance until she falls dead; "La novia blanca y la novia negra" ("Die weiße und die schwarze Braut," KHM 135), in which the black bride is first stripped naked, then put into a barrel studded with nails, and later pulled by a horse around the world; and "Los doce hermanos" ("Die zwölf Brüder," KHM 9), where the king keeps twelve coffins because he intends to kill his twelve sons if his next child was born a girl.

Segments of the story "The Jew in the Thornbush" (KHM 110) are also mentioned to exemplify a racist and anti-Semitic tone considered inappropriate for youngsters. Pointing to the central theme of incest as similarly unsuitable for children,

Samper also comments on the tale “Piel de Asno” (“Donkeyskin”), in which a widowed king promise to remarry only if he finds a woman that surpasses in beauty his deceased wife; since the only woman in the kingdom to meet his expectation is his own daughter, the king asks her to marry him.³⁶

In Colombia the few articles on the Grimms, like this one by Samper, seem to have spread confusion rather than provide clarity about the brothers’ work and legacy. Just as the newspaper editorial “Niña de Fábula,” which I mentioned earlier, suggests that the tale of “Snow White” is the work of one single author, Samper’s article conveys misinformation about the Grimms’ informants and the French origin of some of their tales. Let’s look at the following quote:

[Los Grimm] se dedicaron a visitar pueblos y aldeas en busca de *floklore* [sic], palabra alemana que significa “sabiduría popular”... Dorotea [sic] Viehmann, una aldeana de Niedierzwehren de prodigiosa memoria, fue quien más contribuyó al acopio de las historias.

...

Muchos de los cuentos que recogen los Grimm de boca de los campesinos y leñadores no son de origen germánico sino francés, como Blanca Nieves, la Cenicienta, Caperucita Roja y la Bella Durmiente, que ya habían sido recopilados en Francia siglo y medio antes por Charles Perrault. (Samper Pizano 8)

[The Grimms] dedicated themselves to visit towns and villages in search of *folklore*, a German word that means “popular wisdom” ... Dorotea [sic] Viehmann, a villager of Niedierzwehren of prodigious memory, was the one who contributed the most to the gathering of the tales.

...

Many of the stories that the Grimms collect from the lips of peasants and woodmen are not of Germanic origin but French, such as Snow White, Cinderella, Little Red Riding Hood and Sleeping Beauty, which had already been compiled in France a century and a half before by Charles Perrault.

³⁶ Given that Samper is using the title “Piel de Asno,” it is possible that he is thinking of Perrault’s story “Peau d’Ane.” However, the Grimms have a version of the Peau d’Ane tale type entitled “Allerleirauh” (tale no. 65 first published in 1812)—often translated as “All Fur” or “Thousandfurs.”

Although Samper makes correct allusion to the French provenance of Cinderella, Little Red Riding Hood, and Sleeping Beauty, he indiscriminately casts into the same group the equally popular tale of Snow White, which certainly did not come from Perrault.³⁷ Snow White and the French-derived Little Red Riding Hood were already “paired” in the title of his article (“Jacob and William Grimm, Adoptive Parents of Snow White and Little Red Riding Hood”), implying that both tales have similar origins. As I will demonstrate later, in Colombia French literary fairy tales appear to have had a prolonged exposure and a better reception than the Grimm tales during the first fifty years of the twentieth century; this may have contributed to the misperception that Snow White derives from the French tradition

From the previous quotation we can also infer that the popular belief of the German brothers roaming the countryside to collect tales directly from the “folk” seems to be still engraved in the minds of some Colombians. The image of the wandering Grimms has appeared in newspaper articles like Samper’s as well as in scholarly publications such as *Literatura infantil sus forjadores y cultivadores (Infantile Literature, its Pioneers and Cultivators)* by Silvio Modesto Echeverría Rodríguez. Echeverría’s book, conceived from a lack of bibliography in the area of children’s literature in Colombia, intended to provide teachers with a list of children’s texts that would serve as an efficient tool in the development of their didactic programs. The first chapter deals with the definition, historical evolution, and focus of children’s literature and includes a

³⁷ In her article “Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs” Mary L. Ennies writes about the wide circulation that the tale of Snow White has had in Africa, Asia Minor, Scandinavia, Ireland, Russia, Greece, Serbo-Croatia, the Caribbean, and North, South, and Central America; France, however, is not mentioned in this list of countries. In Europe, early written versions of Snow White appeared in collections such as Basile’s *Pentamerone* (1634-6), J. K. Musäus’s *Volkmärchen der Deutschen* (1782), and the Grimms’ *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (1812/15) (Ennies 478).

brief paragraph on the Grimms and their work. In regard to the Grimms' informants we read:

Los hermanos Grimm crean un verdadero patrimonio literario con su recopilación "Kinder und Hausmärchen" [sic] (Cuentos de la infancia y del hogar, 1812), recogiendo versiones de cuentos populares, mantenidos en la memoria de viejas campesinas como Dorothea Vichmann [sic] quien proveyó la mayor parte del material. (Echeverría Rodríguez 33)

The Brothers Grimm create a true literary patrimony with their compilation "Kinder und Hausmärchen" [sic] (Childhood and Household Stories, 1812), gathering versions of popular tales kept in the memory of old peasants such as Dorothea Vichmann [sic] who provided most of the material.

Certainly several members of the lower social classes from Hesse contributed to the tale collection, especially Dorothea Viehmann, who told the brothers a good number of them.³⁸ However, contrary to this popular idea, rather than visiting peasants in the German countryside the Grimms' primary collection method was to invite the storytellers to their home, most of whom were educated young ladies from the middle class or aristocracy in the area of Kassel. It is now well known that many of the recorded tales were not authentically German but, in fact, derived from the French courtly tradition. A number of families in the bourgeois circle of Kassel had Huguenot lineage and spoke French at home; as Jack Zipes has noted, many of the Grimm informants were acquainted with both the oral and literary traditions and combined motifs from both sources (Zipes, *Complete Fairy Tales* xxix).

In yet another publication, this time the literary and biographic encyclopedia *2.000 años de literatura universal (2.000 Years of Universal Literature)* edited by Fanny Zamora Nieto et al., we find further examples of misinformation about the German

³⁸ Another informant from Hesse was Johann Friedrich Krause, an old retired soldier who gave the brothers tales in exchange for some of their old clothes (Zipes, *Complete Fairy Tales* XXIX).

brothers. The anonymous entry on the Grimms—headed “Grimm, Jakob y Wilhelm” [sic]—contain a series of careless mistakes that already start with the first names and birthdates. According to the provided information, Jakob and Wilhelm [sic] were born in 1775 and 1863³⁹ respectively. This error can hardly be dismissed as a typographical lapse because, in both cases the dates are not only wrong but are not even close, considering that Jacob was born in 1785 and Wilhelm in 1786. The recklessness is carried forth to Wilhelm’s year of death, whose date is given as 1959 instead of 1859 (this time, it was probably a typo). Further on we read that both siblings studied law in “Steinan y Marburgo” (576). “Marburgo” is Spanish for Marburg, where the brothers attended law school at the Philipps-Universität Marburg; however, the location “Steinan” unidentifiable at first, probably refers to Steinau (near Kassel), where they lived for part of their youth. The article continues by citing some of the works published by the brothers such as *Poesía de los naestros* [sic] *cantores* (1811),⁴⁰ *Cuentos infantiles y del hogar* (1812),⁴¹ *Leyendas alemanas* (1816-18),⁴² and *La leyenda heróica alemana* (1829);⁴³ although the claim that these works were published collaboratively is not completely correct, the given dates are (surprisingly) accurate. The dates for other titles listed in this encyclopedic entry are, however, incorrect. For example, the publication date for *Diccionario alemán (Deutsches Wörterbuch)* appears as 1852-1858 when the first volume was actually published in 1854. Similarly erroneous is the publication date of *Silva de romances viejos*, given as 1811 instead of 1815; even though the Grimms

³⁹ This is the year in which Jacob died.

⁴⁰ Referring to *Über den altdeutschen Meistergesang*.

⁴¹ Referring to the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*.

⁴² Referring to *Deutsche Sagen*.

⁴³ Referring to *Die deutsche Heldensage*.

originally gave this work its Spanish title, for some inexplicable reason, in this article it has been renamed as *Floresta de romances españoles*.

A subsequent segment is devoted to the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* and deserves closer inspection because it is notably inaccurate. In the opening sentence we read that the collection was published between 1812 and 1822, and that it constitutes one of the major merits of the Grimms' work because the brothers rescued and recorded "toda una memoria popular, que la tradición oral mantenía viva a nivela [sic] local, para difundirla e incorporarla a la cultura del mundo entero" (576) ("all of a popular memory, kept alive in the oral tradition at a local level, to diffuse and incorporate it to the culture of the whole world"). The initial sentence already provides false information in regard to the publication dates and the driving motives of the brothers in collecting the tales. Not only are the dates partially wrong (it was the volume of annotations for the 2nd edition of 1819 that was published in 1822) but also misleading because it fails to mention that there is more than one edition of the KHM. The Grimms' motivation to gather tales from the oral tradition was never to diffuse the German folktales and incorporate them into the culture of the entire world but rather, to use Zipes's words, to uncover the ethymological and linguistic truths that bound the German people together and were expressed in their laws and customs (Zipes, *Complete Fairy Tales* xxviii).

Further down we read that after spending many years collecting the stories the brothers rewrote them using a style that was easily comprehensible for the children and the entire family. The article adds that many of the stories that make up the KHM have their origin in the traditions of countries like France, but that they were endowed with a distinct German character thanks to the editorial license exercised by the Grimms. Let's

look at the following paragraph, which I have purposely translated as close as possible to the Spanish version, whose overall diction leaves much to be desired:

La serie de cuentos fantásticos y populares que configuran esta colección esta dotada de un carácter netamente alemán merced al trabajo de reelaboración de los Grimm, a pesar de que muchas historias tienen origen en la tradición de países como Francia [sic], como en el caso de los “Cuentos de los viejos tiempos” (Contes du times [sic] passé) de Charles Perrault (1626 [sic]-1703), subtítulos “Cuentos de mi madre la oye” (Contes de ma mère [sic] l’oye) entre los que figuran “El gato con botas”; “Blancanieves”; “Caperucita roja”; “La cenicienta” [sic], entre otros. (Zamora Nieto 576)

The series of fantastic and popular stories that form this collection is endowed with a distinctive German character conferred by the re-elaboration work done by the Grimms, although many tales have their origin in the tradition of countries like France, as in the case of “Stories of past times” (Contes du times [sic] passé) by Charles Perrault (1626 [sic]-1703), subtitled “Stories of my mother hears you” (Contes de ma mère [sic] l’oye [sic]) among which are “Puss in Boots”; “Snow White”; “Little Red Riding Hood”; “Cinderella”, and others.

This misleading paragraph inevitably adds to the confusion that already surrounds the Grimms’ tale-collection in Colombia. It disseminates imprecise information about the French origins of some tales and the editing role of the brothers. Like the previous article by Samper Pizano, the story of “Blancanives” (“Snow White”) is indiscriminately listed here with other well-known tales claiming that they all come from the French tradition. Noticeable in the above quote is yet another date mistake, this time in regard to Perrault’s year of birth (he was born in 1628 not 1626). Furthermore, there is the very awkward way in which *Contes de ma mère l’Oye* has been translated. The French word “Oye” (“goose”) has been ignored and replaced by the present tense of the Spanish verb “oir” (to hear), which conjugated in 3rd person singular reads “oye” (he/she hears) thus creating the meaningless title “Cuentos de mi madre la oye.”

A subsequent paragraph claims that from the very beginning the Grimms defended themselves against critics, who branded as cruel the stories for children that they had “reconstructed” using “popular accounts” (576). To buttress this statement an alleged quotation taken from the “preface to the collection” is used (576). No indication about which preface from which edition is given; in fact, from the information provided in this encyclopedia it is impossible to discern that seven different (large) editions of the KHM were published. The alleged quotation is so poorly translated that, in some instances, it is difficult to understand the meaning. To show the vagueness of the quotation, I have once again tried to keep my translation as close as possible to the original:

“En el interior de estas obras se encuentra la misma pureza por la que los niños nos parecen tan felices y encantadores; tienen, por así decirlo, los mismos ojos azulados y que no pueden crecer más, mientras los restantes miembros son todavía tiernos y débiles, incapaces para la labor de la tierra. La mayoría de las situaciones son tan sencillas que seguramente se dieron casi todas en la vida pero como todo lo verdadero son siempre nuevas y conmovedoras”. Y posteriormente escriben: “Buscamos la pureza de la verdad en una narración directa y que no esconde con recelo algo malo. No sabemos de ningún libro sano y fuerte que haya servido para la formación del pueblo –empezando por la biblia– donde no aparezcan tales reservas en mayor o menor grado. Pero el buen uso no ve nada malo en ello, sino por el contrario, como dice un bello refrán, un testimonio de nuestro corazón. Los niños saben leer sin miedo en los astro, mientras otros injurian a los ángeles partiendo de las creencias populares”. (Zamora Nieto 576)

“Inside these works is the same purity that makes children appear to us so happy and enchanting; they have, so to speak, the same bluish eyes that cannot grow anymore, while the remaining body parts are still tender and weak, incapable of working the earth. The majority of the situations are so simple, that almost all of them have certainly occurred in life, but as with everything that is true they are always new and moving.” And later they write: “We look for the purity of truth in a direct narration that does not hide with distrust something bad. We do not know of any wholesome and strong book that has served to form the people –starting with the bible– where such reservations don’t appear in a major or minor degree. But the

good use does not see anything bad in that, but on the contrary, as a beautiful proverb says, it is a testimony of our heart. Children know how to read on the stars without fear, while others insult the angels starting from the popular beliefs.”

The above quote is actually a combination of sections stemming from two different prefaces: the first part is taken from the preface to volume 1 published in 1812,⁴⁴ while the second part comes from the preface to volume 2 published in 1815.⁴⁵ The first edition of KHM was published in two separate volumes, each of them with their own separate preface. As mentioned before, these are very poor translations of the original and extremely difficult to grasp. This is especially true for the second portion of the quote, which presents modifications that bear little resemblance to the original.

From the names of the compilers to the publication dates of the KHM, from the origin of the tales to the preface cited, this encyclopedic entry on the Grimms’ lives and legacy published by Zamora Editores in Bogotá is a shame. It is very unfortunate that the information provided in an educational reference work such as this one is so unreliable. Yet the carelessness of this article may be an indicator of how the local publishing industry values the scholarly work of the Grimms; the lack of attention seem to suggest that the editors of this book consider the information to be too superfluous and

⁴⁴ The equivalent passage from the preface to the 1812 edition reads:

Innerlich geht durch diese Dichtungen dieselbe Reinheit, um derentwillen uns Kinder so wunderbar und seelig erscheinen; sie haben gleichsam dieselben bläulich-weißen, mackellosen, glänzenden Augen (in die sich die kleinen Kinder selbst so gern greifen¹), die nicht mehr wachsen können, während die andern Glieder noch zart, schwach, und zum Dienst der Erde ungeschickt sind. So einfach sind die meisten Situationen, daß viele sie wohl im Leben gefunden, aber wie alle wahrhaftigen doch immer wieder neu und ergreifend. (Uther, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* 23656-57)

⁴⁵ The equivalent passage from the preface to the second volume published in 1815 reads:

Gedeihlich aber kann alles werden, was natürlich ist, und darnach sollen wir trachten. Uebrigens wissen wir kein gesundes und kräftiges Buch, welches das Volk erbaut hat, wenn wir die Bibel obenan stellen, wo solche Bedenklichkeiten nicht in ungleich größerm Maaß einträten; der rechte Gebrauch aber findet nicht Böses heraus, sondern nur wie ein schönes Wort sagt: ein Zeugniß unseres Herzens. Kinder deuten ohne Furcht in die Sterne, während andere nach dem Volksglauben Engel damit beleidigen. (Uther, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* 24215)

unimportant to devote the time to verify or proofread it. Nevertheless, this article is exceptional because it is one of the very few that I was able to find on the Brothers Grimm. During the course of this study, the information on the Brothers Grimm and their work printed domestically in textbooks and reference books is remarkably limited. I examined several textbooks used to teach Spanish and literature (e.g., published by Norma, Bedout, Voluntad, and Pime), and in the majority of the cases the name Grimm is simply non-existent. In the examined textbooks, under the section on Romanticism, for example, a minimal reference is made to German Romantic authors and, within that limited context, only the names of Goethe, Schiller, Schlegel, and Heine are cited.⁴⁶ Even many of the reference books published by Norma, such as encyclopedias, in which the entry on Romanticism is usually lengthier and more elaborate than in school textbooks, fail to acknowledge the connection between the German Romantic movement and the work of the Grimms.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ In most textbooks the discussion centers primarily on the influence of the Romantic Movement in Spanish and Latin American authors. From twelve editions examined, only the following three make a very short and casual reference about selected German Romantic authors (mostly those mentioned above); the name Grimm is nowhere cited:

- 1) Conrado González Mejía, et al., *Cultivemos nuestro idioma: Curso cuarto de enseñanza media* (Medellín: Editorial Bedout, 1968).
- 2) Victoria Cely Campos, et al., *Español sin fronteras: un enfoque comunicativo* (Bogotá: Voluntad [Carvajal], 1987).
- 3) Lucía González de Chavez, *Español y literatura* (Medellín: Bedout, 1989).

⁴⁷ The following publications by Norma have almost identical entries on the German Romantic Movement; they discuss briefly the life and work of Goethe, Hölderlin, Kleist, Schlegel, Tieck, Novalis, and Heine. There are no articles on the Brothers Grimm, and their names are not mentioned in regard to folktales or folklore.

- 1) Mabel V. Pachón Rojas, ed., *Explorer: Enciclopedia temática ilustrada*. Bogotá: Norma, 2006.
- 2) Mabel V. Pachón Rojas, ed., *Enciclopedia temática ilustrada: Maestra Crear*. Bogotá: Norma, 2006.
- 3) Diana M. Romero F., ed., *Espiral: Enciclopedia temática ilustrada*. Bogotá: Norma, 2004, 2005.
- 4) María Candelaria Posada, et al., eds., *Enciclopedia Norma básica del conocimiento universal: Literatura*. Bogotá: Norma, 1998.

Other locally edited encyclopedias such as the 2000 edition of *Enciclopedia temática del estudiante* published in Cali by Prensa Moderna Impresores, also fails to mention the Grimms within the context of the Romanticism movement.

In general, it appears as though the Colombian public has been exposed to a very limited amount of information regarding the Brothers Grimm and their work; and as the above examples indicate, most of the printed material is confusing and inaccurate. It is plausible that the reduced printed information on the German siblings had a negative effect in the propagation of the tales, especially in the first half of the twentieth century. If the local press had addressed the life and work of the German brothers in a similar fashion as it did with Walt Disney, the Colombian public would have become aware of their existence and possibly also been interested much earlier in their work. In that regard, the lack of knowledge about Grimms may be perceived as an obstacle for the dissemination of the tales and one that slowed down the earlier reception.

To summarize, several different factors affected negatively the dissemination and reception of the Grimm tales in Colombia during the first half of the twentieth century: (1) the low rate of literacy, which limited the reach of the tales to a reduced educated minority; (2) the attitudinal trends of the elite and the relatively small middle class, who viewed France as the main cultural center in Europe, and tend to favor French works over German works; (3) the dominant role of the Roman Catholic Church, especially in the sphere of education, which promoted works imbued with Catholic teachings (e.g., by Christoph von Schmid) rather than works with secular values; (4) the late emergence and slow development of children's literature in Colombia, which delayed the advent of

From all of the examined texts, only the 2006 encyclopedic dictionary *Multidiccionario enciclopédico Norma* (edited by M. Pachón Rojas) casually cites the Brothers Grimm under the entry "romanticismo" (Romanticism). The text that includes the Grimms reads: "De Alemania salieron los más brillantes teóricos (J. G. Herder, A. W. von Schlegel), dos inclasificables figuras de transición, J. W. Goethe y J. C. F. Schiller, los poetas J. C. F. Hölderin, Novalis, C. Brentano y A. von Armin, el dramaturgo H. von Kleist y el cuentista E. T. A Hoffmann, sin olvidar la aportación de los hermanos Grimm" (419). [From Germany came the most brilliant theorists (J. G. Herder, A. W. von Schlegel), two unclassifiable transitional figures J. W. Goethe and J. C. F. von Schiller, the poets J. C. F. Hölderin, Novalis, C. Brentano and A. von Armin, the playwright H. von Kleist and the story writer E.T.A Hoffmann, without forgetting the contribution of the Brothers Grimm."]

domestically produced reading material for children (including new and local adaptations of classical tales such as the Grimms’); and (5) the limited availability of printed information on the Grimm brothers, which delayed the reception of their work.

It was only in the second half of the twentieth century that the Grimm tales started to gain popularity in Colombia. The main contributing factors of this positive trend were an astounding increase in literacy after the implementation of educational reforms in the 1960s and 1970s; the establishment of a national prize for children’s literature (Enka) in the late 1970s, which not only encouraged new productions by unknown national authors but also the re-printing of classical literature for children; and the Disney films based on stories by the Grimms and other classical fairy tales (*Snow White*, *Cinderella*, *Sleeping Beauty*), which increased the popular awareness of the tales in the KHM. As of 1955 the combination of these positive factors translates into a surge of publications by the Grimms that populate the inventory of the Colombian libraries.

Chapter 2: Overview of European Literature for Children and Youth in Colombian Libraries

The initial corpus for documenting the history of the Grimm tales in Colombia will comprise publications from the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. In this chapter I will examine the inventory of Grimm tales and other European classical fairy tales, published through 1955, extant in the main libraries. Because fairy tales are but one of many genres of children's literature, it is important to consider the classical fairy tale within the larger context of other publications categorized as children's/youth literature in the local libraries. Looking at the broader context will help to determine the overall position of the fairy tale within this category and provide initial insight into fairy tale reception.

The main Colombian libraries are richly supplied with early publications of both classical European fairy tales and other works by many of the traditional European authors who have written for children.⁴⁸ Listing all the authors and their available works would be an unnecessary and almost interminable task. To keep the information manageable I have selected a representative sample of works and authors based on the careful examination of central library catalogues and the detailed bibliographic record of over 2000 publications. To guide this research, I used the following criteria: (1) the number of available publications by a specific author, (2) the age of the publications, (3) the languages (translations) in which the publications are available (particularly Spanish), (4) whether the text has been printed in Colombia, and (5) whether the provenance of the

⁴⁸ For example, and just to name a few, Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, Lewis Carroll, Rudyard Kipling, Waldemar Bonsels, Carlo Collodi, Daniel Defoe, Arthur Conan Doyle, and J. M. Barrie.

publication is known (e.g., if it was donated to the library from family collections or private local institutions).

The collected bibliographical information was organized according to the dates of publication and grouped by decades (see Appendices 1-3). This chronological arrangement helped to discern specific authors, works, or languages that stand out within a given period. Special attention was devoted to publications written in Spanish, since they have a wider reach among the Colombian public than works in other foreign languages (relatively few Colombians know a second language).

It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine with certainty whether these early works were indeed circulating in Colombia at the time of their publication or, if they were, how widespread their circulation might have been. Private donations from family libraries increase the odds that the editions were being read when they were published. Unfortunately, only in very few cases has it been specified how the books became part of the libraries' inventories and under which circumstances, so we can only make a conjecture that the publishing dates reflect their circulation at roughly that time. The mere fact, however, that these publications are currently available in Colombia and form part of the public library network suggest that there has been some local demand and therefore a certain reception for this type of literature.

Because Colombia is a centralized country,⁴⁹ it was not surprising to find the majority of the relevant publications in Bogotá. Colombia's capital has a long tradition

⁴⁹ Colombia is a highly centralized country, which is reflected in its population, economy, government, educational system, and cultural setting. The capital of Bogotá has the highest concentration of urban population (according to the 2005 national census conducted by Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística [DANE], more than 10% of Colombians—or over 4.3 million—live in the Greater Bogotá area). In addition to being one of the four major industrial centers (along with Medellín, Cali and Barranquilla), Bogotá houses the headquarters of the government, as well as the oldest and most prestigious universities, museums, and libraries in Colombia, which makes this city the country's cultural center.

of intellectual culture, which is captured in being called the “Athens of South America,”⁵⁰ a name given to Bogotá in the late nineteenth century. The extensive collections and research material found in the capital’s main libraries—Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia and Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango del Banco de la República—reflect the prestigious intellectual culture of Colombia. Most of the material for this study was located at these two sites.

The Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango del Banco de la República is the largest and most important public library in the country.⁵¹ It was inaugurated in 1958 and named after its promoter, Luis Ángel Arango, who was the General Manager of the Banco de la República from 1947 to 1957. The Banco de la República—the Central Bank in Colombia—devotes some of its resources to cultural activities; it has the Gold Museum, some regional museums, several music halls, and a public library system. The library network of Colombia’s Central Bank integrates eighteen libraries, ten cultural areas, and seven regional centers of documentation in twenty-eight cities across the country; the Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango is the main library within the system, with approximately 5.000 visitors per day.

Whereas the Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango with approximately one million volumes is the largest in the nation, the Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia is the oldest in Colombia and is generally considered to be the oldest national library in the Americas. It was founded in 1777 during the regime of Viceroy Manuel De Guirior. The original collection of this library was the collection expropriated from the Jesuits who, per decree of King Charles III, were expelled from all the Spanish dominions in 1767. The

⁵⁰ See, for example, the article “Bogotá, Athens of South America” by Carlos Rincón.

⁵¹ All information regarding to the libraries has been directly taken from their respective websites.

collection expanded further after the first law of Depósito Legal (legal deposit law) was decreed on March 25, 1834. This law required that all publishing companies in the República de la Nueva Granada⁵² submit to the library a copy of every written document printed on their premises, regardless of whether it was a book, a booklet, a newspaper, a leaflet, or any other printed matter.⁵³ This congressional imposition of the early nineteenth century turned the Biblioteca Nacional into the custodian of the national bibliographic estate—a regulation that, with several amendments (and also glitches), has been preserved up to the present time.

Before starting the inventorial analysis of early European works for children, I will first address the historical development of fairy tales as children’s literature and discuss other European collections that existed at the time of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. Understanding the historical background is important in order to appreciate the significance and repercussions of this influential German collection of tales.

Fairy Tales and Children’s Literature

Literary fairy tales as we know them, have been part of print culture since at least the sixteenth-century Italy, when Giovan Francesco Straparola published his *Le piacevoli notti* (*The Pleasant Nights*, 1550-53). In seventeenth-century France, the Parisian-based house Claude Barbin published tales by Charles Perrault, Mme d’Aulnoy, and other

⁵² The Republic of New Granada was a centralist republic formed primarily by Colombia and Panama with smaller portions of today's Ecuador, Peru, Brazil, Costa Rica, Venezuela and Nicaragua. It was created after the dissolution of the Gran Colombia in 1830. The Republic of New Granada was later abolished when the short-lived Federal Republic Confederación Granadina (Granadine Confederation) was created in 1858.

⁵³ It should be noted that according to information provided by high-ranking library associates as well as local publishers (e.g., Juan David Susaeta, General Manager of the publishing house Susaeta in Medellín) unfortunately, not every publishing house in Colombia abides by the legal deposit law.

conteuses of the 1690s. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, fairy tales spread in written form throughout France, England, and also in Germany in the form of chapbooks, which were cheap and accessible to a wider reading public than books. Today, fairy tales are a staple of childhood, not only in print but also in television, film, and other forms, as the enormous success of Disney's fairy-tale productions, commodities, and experiences make evident. However, that was not always the case. Early variants of the tales were not intended at all for youngsters, but for a mature audience; these stories included episodes of cruelty, incest, rape, cannibalism, eroticism, and were therefore not appropriate for children.⁵⁴ It was not until the turn of the eighteenth century, in response to changes in the perception of childhood, that fairy tales started to be perceived as reading materials for children and ultimately became in fact stories that were written for and told to children.⁵⁵

The French author Charles Perrault was a pioneer in making the fairy tale appear to be a child-oriented genre.⁵⁶ In his renowned collection *Histoires ou contes du temps passé* (*Stories or Tales of Past Times*, 1697), Perrault created literary versions based on motifs from several folk tales popular in France such as “La Belle au bois dormant” (“Sleeping Beauty”), “Le Petit Chaperon Rouge” (“Little Red Riding Hood”), “Barbe Bleue” (“Bluebeard”), and “Cendrillon” (“Cinderella”). He modified the superstitious and ominous in the popular folk tales and adapted the narratives to “address social and political issues as well as the manners and mores of the upper classes” (Zipes, “Perrault”

⁵⁴ For example, collections such as the Indian *Panchatantra* (“Five Books”), or Aleksandr Afanasyev's *Russkie zaventyne skazki* (*Russian Forbidden Tales*, 1872) are explicitly erotic.

⁵⁵ For further reading see Zohar Shavit's “The Concept of Childhood and Children's Folktales: Test Case—‘Little Red Riding Hood.’”

⁵⁶ In his article on Charles Perrault, Zipes points out that, even though Perrault is writing as if the fairy tale were a children's genre, he is really writing for an adult audience, who eventually used Perrault's works as socializing instruments for children (Zipes, “Perrault” 379-81).

380), ending each story with a short moral verse that invited reflection and served as means of socialization. In his literary tales the French writer used very elemental language, taken to resemble unrefined folk speech, which also made it simple for children to understand.

Perrault's collection succeeded in establishing a link between the folk tale and the child. That connection came about through an image printed in the frontispiece of his *Histoires ou contes du temps passé* and labeled with the words "Contes de ma mère l'Oye" ("Tales of my Mother Goose"); the image depicted an older woman spinning by the hearth and telling stories to children. The familiar scene of the frontispiece intertwined the tales with the female peasant teller and an audience of children, and subtly associated the primitive, "pure" creations of the uneducated folk with the illiteracy and innocence of the malleable child.

More than a century later the connection between the folk tale and childhood was praised and further promoted by the Brothers Grimm. In the preface to the 1812 edition of their *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* the Grimms acclaimed Perrault both for handling the tales as "Kindermärchen" ("children's tales") and maintaining the simplicity of the language:

Frankreich hat gewiß noch jetzt mehr, als was Charles Perrault mittheilte, der allein sie noch als Kindermärchen behandelte (nicht seine schlechteren Nachahmer, die Aulnoi, Murat); er giebt nur neun, freilich die bekanntesten, die auch zu den schönsten gehören. Sein Verdienst besteht darin, daß er nichts hinzugesetzt und die Sachen an sich, Kleinigkeiten abgerechnet, unverändert gelassen; seine Darstellung verdient nur das Lob, so einfach zu seyn, als es ihm möglich war. (Uther, *Deutsche Märchen* 23662)

France must surely have more than what was published by Perrault, who treated them as children's tales (not so his inferior imitators, Aulnoy, Murat); he gives us only nine, though these are the best known stories and also among the most beautiful. The merit of this work rests on his refusal to add things and on his decision to leave the stories unchanged, aside from minor details. His manner of presentation deserves special praise for being as simple as was possible for him. (Tatar, *Hard Facts* 209)

Maintaining the simplicity of the language implies here that Perrault—unlike other French authors such as Aulnoy and Murat who, according to the Grimms, tampered with the original tales—remained faithful to the authentic oral sources.⁵⁷ The Romantic notion of authenticity (which will be briefly discussed in the following section) was central to the Grimms' work.

The apparent simplicity of fairy tales paired with their didactic and instructive potential proved very suitable for the new and unique consumer group that was emerging (children as potential target audience). The *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* not only continue to foster the prevailing parallel ideas of childhood socialization and the Romantic notion of authenticity, but also played a crucial role in the canonization of the fairy-tale corpus as children's literature. The German collection became the model for the gathering and editing of the fairy tale; the Grimms established the way to preserve, accommodate, and present the fairy tale in a form and manner that incorporates stylistic and thematic modifications to appeal to a young public and a growing middle-class audience, while remaining as close as possible to the oral tradition (Zipes, *Complete Fairy Tales* xxx).

⁵⁷ It should be noted that this is the Grimms' view on Perrault. In France Perrault is viewed as a stylist, and his tales often have double meaning aimed at an adult audience. Perrault's tales are deceptively simple and often treat social and political questions relevant to the society of his time.

The Origins of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*

The inception of the KHM can be traced back to the time when the brothers were attending the University of Marburg. It was during this time, while they were both studying law, that the Grimms developed a special interest for ancient German literature and folklore. In order to gain broader historical understanding of the Old Germanic language and the customs and traditions of its people, in the year 1806 the Brothers Grimm began to systematically gather folk tales and other material related to folklore. The ideas about the folk (*das Volk*) developed by Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) in the late eighteenth century⁵⁸ and the momentum that the Romantic nationalistic movement was attaining in the early nineteenth century inspired the brothers to create an authentic and uniquely German collection of folk tales and fairy tales. Their folkloric enterprise was further motivated by their friend and Romantic author Clemens Brentano (1778-1842), who sought the Grimms to help him collect tales for a future volume he intended to publish. Brentano had already published an important collection of folk songs in 1805—*Des Knaben Wunderhorn (The Boy's Magic Horn)*—together with his brother-in-law Achim von Arnim (1781-1831). While Brentano and Arnim had hoped to rescue the German oral tradition from extinction, their main aim as poets was to recreate the style of folk songs and folk tales in their own writing. The songs in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* were thus significantly changed and infused with the poets' own imagination and creativity. Unlike Arnim and Brentano, the Grimms wanted to remain as

⁵⁸ In his epistolary essay "Auszug aus einem Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker" ("Extract from a Correspondence on Ossian and the Songs of Ancient Peoples") published in 1773, Herder exalted the poems and songs of the unsophisticated people and fomented an interest in Germanic folk culture. Herder believed that language and poetry are spontaneous necessities of human nature; for that reason the people's expressive creations—particularly their oral traditions—are to be regarded as manifestations of the purest kind, since they bear and capture the people's unique and distinctive characteristics as a group (and thus constitute the basis for their national character).

literally faithful as possible to the oral traditions. The brothers regarded the oral folk songs as natural poetry (*Naturpoesie*)⁵⁹—the pure, spontaneous creative expressions of the folk community living in complete harmony with nature; they believed that this authentic and natural folk poetry was culturally precious and needed no further literary embellishment. Their views as well as their pledge to remain as faithful as possible to the original tales⁶⁰ are stated in the preface to the first edition of the KHM:

Wir haben uns bemüht, diese Märchen so rein als möglich war aufzufassen ... Kein Umstand ist hinzugedichtet oder verschönert und abgeändert worden, denn wir hätten uns gescheut, in sich selbst so reiche Sagen mit ihrer eigenen Analogie oder Reminiscenz zu vergrößern, sie sind unerfindlich. (Uther, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* 23664)

We have tried to collect these tales in as pure a form as possible ... No details have been added or embellished or changed, for we would have been reluctant to expand stories already so rich by adding this kind of analogies and allusions; they cannot be invented. (Tatar, *Hard Facts* 210)

None of their other published works⁶¹ occupied the fraternal scholars—at least Wilhelm, who was largely responsible for revising and expanding the collection—over so long a period as the collecting, transcribing, editing, and annotating of the fairy tales (Neumann 969). Spanning almost fifty years, the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* were published in seventeen different editions, both large and small. Between 1812 and 1857

⁵⁹ As opposed to literary poetry (*Kunstpoesie*), or literary retellings, associated with Brentano's work.

⁶⁰ Despite the claim of faithfulness, the Grimms modified and rewrote many of the tales they had collected and *shaped* their collection to appear as being “faithful” and “pure”. As Jack Zipes noted, the Grimms' major accomplishment in publishing their first two volumes (1812/15) was “to *create* an ideal type for the literary fairy tale, one that sought to be as close to the oral tradition as possible, while incorporating stylistic, formal, and substantial thematic changes to appeal to a growing middle-class audience” (Zipes, *The Complete Fairy Tales* xxx).

⁶¹ The Grimms made important scholarly contributions to wide-ranging areas such as history, ethnology, religion, jurisprudence, lexicography, and literary criticism. Their works are published both separately and together; Jacob published by himself *Deutsche Grammatik* (*German Grammar*, 1819, vol. 1), *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer* (*Ancient Law*, 1828), and *Deutsche Mythologie* (*German Mythology*, 1835), among others, while Wilhelm produced *Aldänische Heldenlieder, Balladen und Märchen* (*Old Danish Heroic Songs, Ballads, and Folktales*, 1811), *Die deutsche Heldensage* (*The German Heroic Legend*, 1829), etc. Among their publications together are *Deutsche Sagen* (*German Legends*, 1816/18), *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (*German Dictionary*, 1854), and, of course, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*.

seven major—or large—editions were published. In addition to the large editions, ten smaller editions with 50 of the most popular tales were also available between 1825 and 1858.⁶² The success of the KHM was not an immediate one; the early editions from 1812/15 and 1819 were poorly received. It was not until 1837, when the third large edition (*Große Ausgabe*) was published, that the Grimms started to gain popularity. From here on, successive editions appeared approximately every three years; the publications alternated between large and small editions. It was the smaller and more affordable editions, however, that contributed to making the KHM well known.

Other European Collections

With the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* the Brothers Grimm attained their fame as collectors of folk and fairy tales, even though they were not the first to begin collecting and publishing them. Already in the late eighteenth century several German collections existed, such as *Volksmärchen der Deutschen (Folk Tales of the Germans, 1782-6)* by Johan Karl August Musäus, and Ludwig Tieck's *Volksmärchen (Folk Tales)*, which appeared in 1797 under the pseudonym Peter Leberecht. At the time of the Grimms, in addition to the formerly mentioned work by Brentano/Arnim, two other popular collections by Ludwig Bechstein were also available—*Deutsches Märchenbuch (German Fairy-Tale Book, 1845)* and *Neues Deutsches Märchenbuch (New German Fairy-Tale Book, 1856)*. Bechstein's *Deutsches Märchenbuch*⁶³ became very successful very quickly. Illustrated by the enormously popular nineteenth-century German artist Ludwig

⁶² The corresponding publication dates and total number of tales of the seven large editions are: 1st 1812 (vol. I, 86 tales) and 1815 (vol. II, 70 tales); 2nd 1819 (170 tales); 3rd 1837 (177 tales); 4th 1840 (187 tales); 5th 1843 (203 tales); 6th 1850 (203 tales); and 7th 1857 (210 tales). Publication dates of the small editions (ten in total): 1825, 1833, 1836, 1839, 1841, 1847, 1850, 1853, and 1858.

⁶³ In 1853 the title was changed to *Ludwig Bechsteins Märchenbuch (Ludwig Bechstein's Fairy-Tale Book)*.

Richter, this eighty folk tale collection appeared in eleven editions with more than 70,000 copies within eight years. Despite the fact that his *Märchenbuch* contained adaptations of many folk tales borrowed from the fourth edition of the KHM, Bechstein's editions dominated the German fairy tale market and outsold the Grimm tales from their initial publication until the 1890s (Uther, "Bechstein" 110). Curiously, in the examined Colombian libraries not a single early edition of Bechstein's tales was located; the earliest publications of Bechstein tales that I was able to identify are from the 1990s.

Alongside the German selections by Musäus, Brentano, and Bechstein, several other popular European collections of folk and fairy tales existed prior to or during the time of the Grimms. Among them were the Italian collections from Giovan Francesco Straparola (c.1480-1558) and Giambattista Basile (1575-1632), the previously mentioned French collection by Charles Perrault (1628-1703) as well as those by Marie Catherine d'Aulnoy (?1650-1705), and Marie-Jeanne Lhéritier (?1664-1734), and the Danish collections by Hans Christian Andersen (1805-75).⁶⁴ Compared to these publications the significance of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* lies not only on its enduring popularity but also on the crucial repercussions it had on the study of folklore. Whereas the formerly mentioned Western European collections constitute rewritings and adaptations of oral folk tales, the Grimm's collection relied on oral traditions far more heavily than their predecessors. For the Grimms, their collecting efforts had the two-fold purpose of (1)

⁶⁴ Italy: Giovan Francesco Straparola, *Le piacevoli notti* (*The Pleasant Nights*, 1550-3); Giambattista Basile, *Lo cunto de li cunti overo lo trattenemiento de peccerille* (*The Tale of Tales, or Entertainment for Little Ones* 1634-6), also known as the *Pentamerone*.

France: Charles Perrault, *Histoires ou contes du temps passé* (*Stories or Tales of Past Times*, 1697); Marie Catherine D'Aulnoy (two collections), *Les Contes des fées* (*Tales of the Fairies*, 1697-98) and *Contes nouveaux ou les fées à la mode* (*New Tales, of Fairies in Fashion*, 1698); Marie-Jeanne Lhéritier, *Œuvres meslées* (*Assorted Works*, 1695).

Denmark: Hans Christian Andersen (four collections), *Eventyr, fortalte for børn* (*Fairy Tales, told for Children*, 1835-42), *Nye Eventyr* (*New Fairy Tales*, 1844-8), *Historier* (*Stories*, 1852-5), and *Nye Eventyr og historier* (*New Fairy Tales and Stories*, 1858-72).

safeguarding the tales from extinction while preserving their authentic ties to the oral tradition, and (2) using the tales to document basic truths about customs, laws, and practices of the German people (Zipes, *Complete Fairy Tales* xxvi-xxviii).

The brothers' scholarly treatment of the tales, which included numerous annotations about tale sources, different variants, historical and regional references, and corrections, not only set the standard for the procedure of collecting, preserving, and presenting folk tales in the nineteenth century,⁶⁵ but also had a profound impact on folklore studies. For its time the KHM stood out for providing extensive material for “a true science, which had been inconceivable as long as there had been only a few isolated tales at hand, collected for fun or at random” (Robert 45).

Although the Grimms' collection was initially conceived as a scholarly endeavour to preserve the oral folk tales from extinction and uncover in them profound truths that bound the German people together, and despite its significant contribution to folklore studies, in the public consciousness the KHM are mostly known as a classic work of literature for children.

Early Inventory of Children/Juvenile Literature in Colombian Libraries

In the following section I will analyze the inventory of children's works published through 1955. The compiled lists in Appendices 1 and 2 present only a selection of relevant authors and works that stand out in terms of relative quantity in a given decade. The listed works include the oldest located edition by a given author, the oldest located translation, publications specified as donations from private families (or local

⁶⁵ For example, the Russian folklorist Aleksandr Afanasyev (1826-71) took the Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* as a model for his renowned eight-volume collection *Russian Fairy Tales* that was published from 1855 to 1863.

institutions), and editions that have been published in Colombia. I will comment only on those authors and works that are most relevant to this study. After a brief general discussion of the pertinent authors and works I will turn my attention to the existing fairy tales published in this period.

French Publications for Children/Youth

In light of the early available inventory of fairy tales and literature for children/youth the number of existing French editions is remarkable in relation to works coming from other countries and written in other languages. Not only the relative quantity but also the age of the French publications is notable. The oldest book located, for example, is a late seventeenth-century edition by the famous fabulist and French poet Jean de La Fontaine (1621-1695) entitled *Contes et nouvelles en vers (Stories and Novells in Verse)* published in 1699. La Fontaine is one of the best-represented French authors with copious early issues (especially of his fables) currently circulating in different libraries.⁶⁶ Notable also is the number of publications by non-French authors translated into French. For example, some of the oldest located editions by the German authors Christoph von Schmid and E. T. A. Hoffmann, and also by the English writer Charles Dickens are French translations of their works.⁶⁷ Other early works translated into French include a 1902 edition of Collodi's *Pinocchio—Les aventures de Pinocchio*:

⁶⁶ There are numerous books of La Fontaine's fables available in the main libraries, suggesting a very positive reception of his works. In the nineteenth century, Carmen Bravo-Villasante tells us in her book *Historia y antología de la literatura infantil universal* (1988), the fable genre was well cultivated. Educators considered fables to be appropriate instructional instruments for both youth and adults; fables could be epigrams that deliver beneficial lessons or warnings for children and grown-ups alike. In Colombia the fable genre was also a prolific one with outstanding authors such as the President José Manuel Marroquín (1827-1908), Jose Caicedo Rojas (1816-1897), and the poet Rafael Pombo (1833-1912) (Bravo-Villasante, *Historia y antología de la literatura infantil universal* 183).

⁶⁷ For example, Dicken's *Les contes de Noël* (1847), von Schmid's *La Chartreuse* (1836), and Hoffmann's *Contes fantastiques* (1891). Hoffmann was very popular in nineteenth-century France; this may explain why one of his earliest works located in Colombia is in French.

histoire d'une marionnette (The Adventures of Pinocchio: Story of a Puppet),⁶⁸ a 1928 edition of Adelbert von Chamisso's prose narrative *Merveilleuse histoire de Pierre Schlemihl (The Marvelous Story of Peter Schlemihl)*, and also some of the oldest editions with Grimm tales found in the country, such as *Contes allemands du temps passé (German Tales of Past Times)*, which includes a selection by the Grimms from 1892 and *Contes choisis des frères Grimm (Selected Tales of the Brothers Grimm)* published in the early 1910s.

Assuming that these works in French were available at the time of their publication, their abundance in the libraries suggests a wide reception among the local audience. The apparent positive reception of works in French, whether written by French authors or translated into French, may be explained, in part, by the increased contact with foreign lands that resulted from studying overseas. A trend to study abroad, mainly in Europe,⁶⁹ started among the Colombian and Latin American upper classes in the early nineteenth century. This trend had both economic and attitudinal reasons. As mentioned earlier, in Colombia education has traditionally been a correlate of the upper-class membership. Because the upper class has remained culturally tied to Europe, children were sent abroad for schooling to learn the latest European literary, philosophical, and artistic trends that would be then assimilated and cultivated at home (Blutstein et al. 98). On the economic side, international commerce in Colombia, as in other countries in Latin America, began to flourish towards the second half of the nineteenth century. To meet the growing needs of a vibrant trade, increasing numbers of upper-class Colombian youth

⁶⁸ This French translation is the second oldest edition of Collodi's *Pinocchio* located in the country. The oldest publication is in the original Italian, titled *Le avventure di Pinocchio: storia di un burattino* (Firenze: R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1900).

⁶⁹ Especially in France (Paris, in particular) and England, but also in the United States.

were sent to what are now called “developed” countries to get an education. In the view of the upper class, men who were trained abroad could catch up both culturally and economically with the more modern powers (Safford 232). This trend exposed Colombian students to foreign cultural productions of the time. That Paris was one of the most favored European destinations may explain the increased supply of early French-language publications for children that currently exist in Colombian libraries.

Classical French Fairy Tales

Table 1 provides an overview of editions of French fairy tales published in French, English, and Spanish through 1955 extant in the main Colombian libraries. Titles in Spanish appear in bold letters to distinguish them from publications in other languages.

Table 1: Early Publications of French Fairy Tales Currently Available in Main Libraries in Colombia

Publ. Date	Author	Title	City: Publisher, date	Physical description	
1768	Beaumont	<i>*Magasin des enfants ou dialogues d'une sage gouvernante avec ses élèves de la première distinction.</i>	Lyon: Jacquenod Père et Rusand, 1768	2 v.; 16 cm.	1
1829	Beaumont	<i>Almacén y biblioteca completa de los niños ó diálogos de una sabia directora con sus discípulas de la primera distinción.</i>	Madrid: Julian Viana Razola ed., 1829	254 p.; 16 cm.	1
1830?	Perrault	<i>Contes des fées.</i>	Paris: Favre, n.d.	144 p.; 14 cm.	1
1874	Perrault	<i>*Barba-azul: cuento.</i>	Madrid: Imprenta de la Galería Literaria, 1874	12 p.; 16 cm.	1
1875?	Perrault	<i>Les contes de Charles Perrault: Histoires ou contes du temps passé (Contes de ma mère l'Oye).</i>	Paris: Ernest Flammarion, n.d.	82 p.; 16 cm.	1
1892	Perrault	<i>Cuentos de Perrault.</i>	Madrid: Dirección y Administración, 1892	176 p.; 14 cm.	2
1896	Beaumont	<i>Almacén de los niños: o, diálogos de una sabia directora con sus discípulas.</i>	Paris: Garnier, 1896	528 p.; ill.; 22 cm.	2

1900?	Perrault	Cuentos de viejas / prólogo de Ignacio Bauer.	Madrid: Ed. Ibero-Africano-Americana, n.d.	177 p.; ill., 19 cm.	2,5
1910-1919?	Perrault et al.	* <i>Choix de contes de fées</i> / par Perrault; Mme d'Aulnoy Mme; Leprince de Beaumont et Hégésippe Moreau.	Paris: Nelson, Editeurs, n.d.	438 p.; ill.; 16 cm.	2,3
1918?	Aulnoy	Cuentos de Madame d'Aulnoy.	Madrid: Ed. Calleja, n.d.	98 p.; ill. col.; 16 cm.	2
1919	Séгур	<i>Nouveaux contes de fées: pour les petits enfants.</i>	Paris: Hachette, 1919	302 p.; ill.; 18 cm.	2
1920?	Perrault et al.	<i>Contes des Fées.</i>	Paris: Garnier Freres, n.d.	568 p. ; ill.	5
1920?	Perrault et al.	<i>Romanciers et conteurs du XVIIe siècle. Pages choisies.</i> Includes Charles Perrault, Balzac, Charles Sorel, Mme de La Fayette.	Paris: Nelson, Editeurs, n.d.	202 p.; 18 cm.	1
1921	Perrault	<i>Contes de ma mère l'Oie</i>	Paris: A. Lemerre, 1921	114 p.; ill. 11 cm.	4
1928	Perrault	<i>Les contes de Perrault</i>	Paris: Payot, 1928	190 pp., 19 cm.	2
1931	Perrault	<i>Contes de ma mère l'Oie. Contes en vers histoires, ou contes du temps passé</i>	Paris: René Hilsun, Editeur, 1931.	2 h., 7-173 p.; 18 cm.	1
1931	Perrault	<i>Histoires ou contes du temps passé, sainte-beuve causerie sur les contes de Perrault</i>	Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1931.	48 p.; 18 cm.	2,3
1934	No author	"El gato con botas" (published without being attributed to Perrault)	<i>Chanchito: Revista ilustrada para niños. Bogotá</i> (1934)	Magazine; Vol. 2.39 (May):19-20	1
1945	Perrault	* <i>Contes</i>	Montreal: Variétés, 1945	48 p.; 18 cm.	2
1948	Perrault	<i>Little Red Riding Hood / told and illustrated by Elizabeth Orton Jones</i>	New York: Simon & Schuster, 1948.	24 p.; ill. col.; 20 cm.	2
1952	Perrault	* Cuentos de hadas y otras narraciones / traducción de María Teresa Vernet; prólogo de Emiliano M. Aguilera	Barcelona: Editorial Iberia, 1952	195 p. ; 19 cm.	2,3
1952	Perrault	Cuentos de Perrault	Buenos Aires: Hachette, 1952	173 p.; ill.; 19 cm.	2
1952	Perrault	La Cenicienta / versión e ilustraciones de Emilio Freixas	Barcelona: Suc. de E. Meseguer, 1952	34 p.; ill. col.; 22 cm.	2

*) Indicates that the book was donated from a private collection.

¹ Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá; ² Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango, Bogotá; ³ Biblioteca Pública Piloto, Medellín; ⁴ Biblioteca Congreso de la República, Bogotá; ⁵ Biblioteca Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá.

Although pertinent publications up to 1955 were sought in several libraries, there is a curious gap in the inventory after 1952: I found no classical French tales published between 1953 and 1955. The next oldest edition by Perrault's is *Riquete, el del copete* (*Ricky with the Tuft*) published in 1956 by Bruguera in Barcelona. Despite this hiatus there are many more pre-1955 editions of French fairy tales than Grimm tales from the same period.

In Table 1 it is apparent that all of the located copies are imported mostly from Europe. Though more than half of the publications are in French, Spanish translations still account for over 40% of the located editions. This constellation reflects the cultural ties between Colombia and Europe—particularly to France and Spain. Cultural trends and literary developments in Spain have had a direct repercussion in Colombia. And in Spain itself, there has been a notable French influence within the scope of children's literature throughout the years; in the eighteenth century French fairy tales by Perrault, Mme d'Aulnoy, and Leprince de Beaumont were translated into Spanish and attained great diffusion across the Iberian Peninsula (Bravo-Villasante, *Historia de la literatura infantil española* 53). The success that the classical French fairy tale enjoyed in Spain is reflected many decades later in the holdings of the Colombian libraries. In the following section I will provide brief information about the French authors and their works, which constitute the earliest contributors to the rise of the fairy tale in Colombia.

Jeanne-Marie Leprince de Beaumont (1711-1780)

Jeanne-Marie Leprince de Beaumont was a popular French writer of didactic literature. In 1757 she published *Le Magasin des enfants* (*The Young Misses' Magazine*)—a ground-breaking pedagogical work written explicitly for children during

the period in which the fairy tale became fully institutionalized and was used for the purpose of childhood socialization. This pioneering book in the education of girls contains Leprince de Beaumont's major fairy tales, including the still popular "La Belle et la Bête" ("Beauty and the Beast"). Through framed stories, history lessons, and moral anecdotes told by a governess, *Le Magasin des enfants* emphasizes the proper upbringing for young girls. Beaumont's collection was almost an instant bestseller not only in France and England (where it was originally published), but also across Europe thanks to the many translations. The first Spanish translation of *Magasin des enfants* was completed by Matías Guitet in 1775,⁷⁰ followed in 1787 and 1790 by another translation by D. Plácido Barco López⁷¹ (Soliño 12).

In Colombia, the two oldest editions of classical fairy tales located are by Mme Leprince de Beaumont. The oldest of these titles is a 1768 French edition (5th edition) of *Magasin des enfants* that belonged to the Spanish scholar José Celestino Mutis (Fig. 2).⁷² The next oldest, shown in Fig. 3, is a Spanish translation by Matías Guitet from 1829 titled *Almacén y biblioteca completa de los niños, ó diálogos de una sabia directora con sus discípulas de la primera distinción (Complete Children's Magazin and Library, or Dialogues of a Wise Governess with her Refined Pupils)*.

⁷⁰ Matías Guitet's translation had the title *Almacén y biblioteca completa de los niños*.

⁷¹ The translation by Barco López was published in four volumes under the title *Almacén y biblioteca completa de los niños o diálogos de una sabia directora a sus nobles discípulas*.

⁷² The Catholic priest José Celestino Mutis was born in Cádiz, Spain in 1732. He received his doctorate in medicine from the Universidad de Sevilla and continued to study botany, astronomy, and mathematics in Madrid. In 1761 he arrived in Bogotá where he started a comprehensive study of the flora and fauna in South America (Mutis led the Royal Botanical Expedition, established in 1783, for 25 years). In 1808 he died in Bogotá at the age of 76 from pneumonia. The botanical garden in Bogotá—Jardín Botánico José Celestino Mutis—was named in his honor.

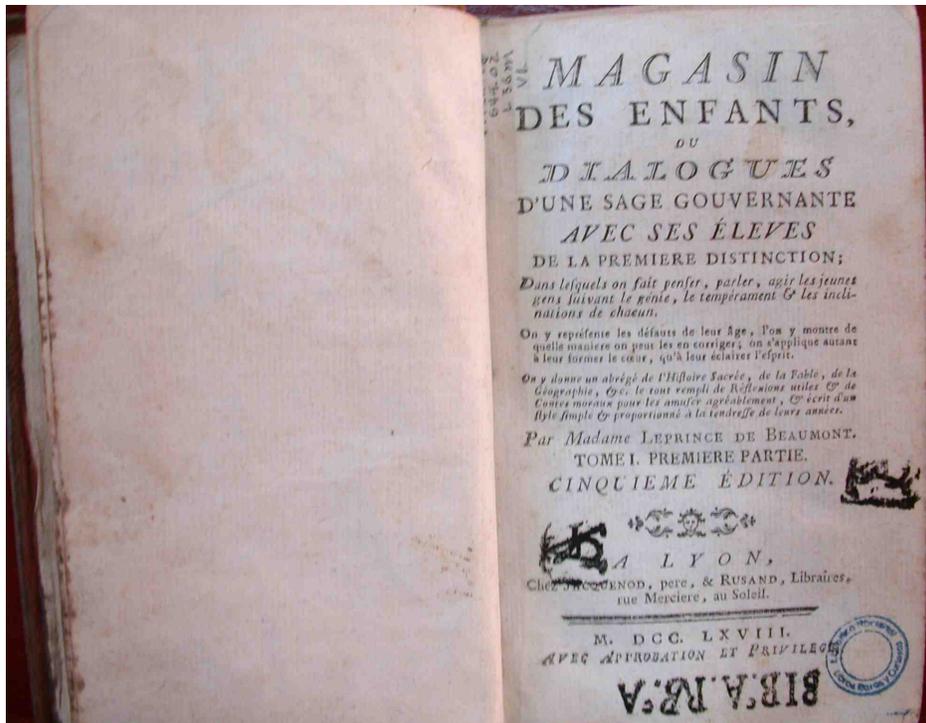


Fig. 2: Oldest copy of a classical fairy tale located in a Colombian library, by Jeanne-Marie Leprince de Beaumont, *Magasin des enfants* ... (Lyon, 1768). Courtesy of Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá.

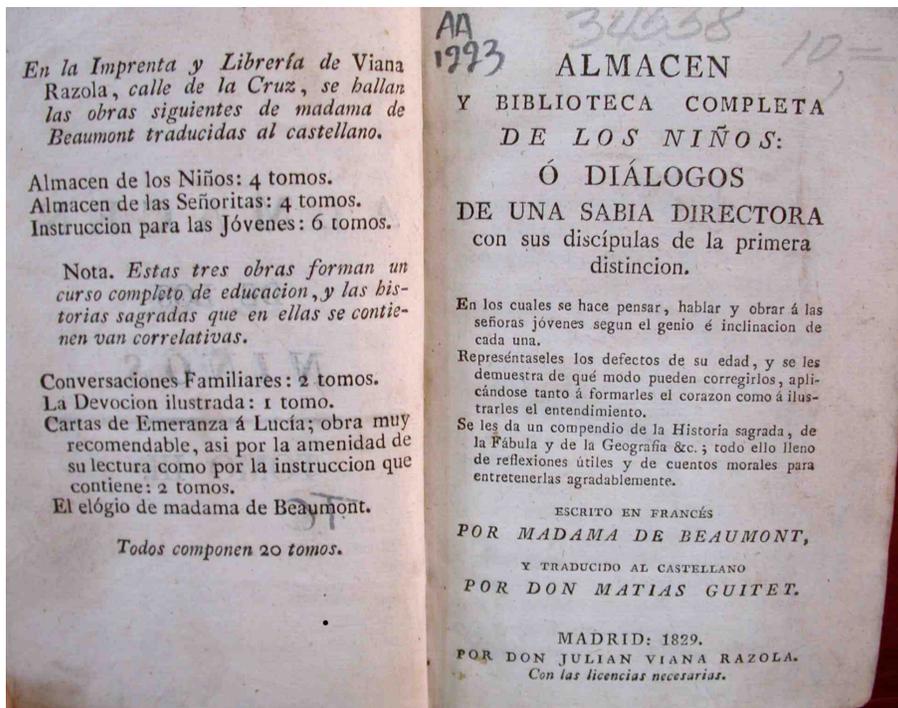


Fig. 3: Oldest located Spanish translation of a classical European fairy tale located in a Colombian library, by Jeanne-Marie Leprince de Beaumont, *Almacén y biblioteca completa de los niños* ... (Madrid, 1829). Courtesy of Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá.

Even though Beaumont's tales were among the oldest editions of fairy tales located, I found no other printed versions of her tales published between 1900 and 1955 in the local libraries.⁷³

Charles Perrault (1628-1703)

Perrault, whose titles (including anthologies) account for nearly 75% of the located records, is clearly the best represented of the classical French fairy-tale authors in Table 1. Along with Beaumont, Perrault's tales are also among the oldest classical European fairy tales found in the country. A volume titled *Contes des fées* estimated to be from 1830 is the earliest published version of his tales located in Colombia.⁷⁴

A good number of the identified publications of Perrault's tales are large, high-quality editions, most of which are in the original French (ca. 60%). Spanish translations, however, make up over one third of the inventory. The oldest title by Perrault translated into Spanish is the single-story *Barba-azul: cuento (Blue Beard: Story)* published in Madrid by Imprenta de la Galeria Literaria in 1874. This volume and Beaumont's *Almacén y biblioteca completa de los niños....* (1829) comprise the two oldest Spanish translations of classical fairy tales located in the libraries of Colombia.

⁷³ I did find a videocassette recording of Jean Cocteau's famous film of 1946, *La Belle et la Bête*, which is an adaptation of Beaumont's literary tale. While Cocteau's film falls into the pre-1955 period under consideration, this videocassette recording—an artifact of the home video era—must be of more recent vintage, even though the Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango gives 1946 as the VHS release date (*Beauty and the Beast* [California: Home Vision; Janus Films, 1946]).

⁷⁴ The catalogue entry from the Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia does not specify a publication date. The estimated date is based on an almost identical publication found in the database WorldCat, which gives 1830 as its publication date (OCLC: 67147873). Unless otherwise specified all other date estimates will follow this procedure.

Despite the abundance of editions with Perrault's tales, I could only find one story in domestic publications from this early period.⁷⁵ Not written by Perrault but directly related to this French author is the children's story *Carlos Perrault—El evangelio de San Perrault* (*Charles Perrault—The Gospel of Saint Perrault*). Attributed to Paul Arène (1843-1896),⁷⁶ this piece found at the Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia was translated by Isaac Arias Argáez and appeared in the monthly magazine *Santa Fé y Bogotá* in 1928 (Fig. 4).⁷⁷

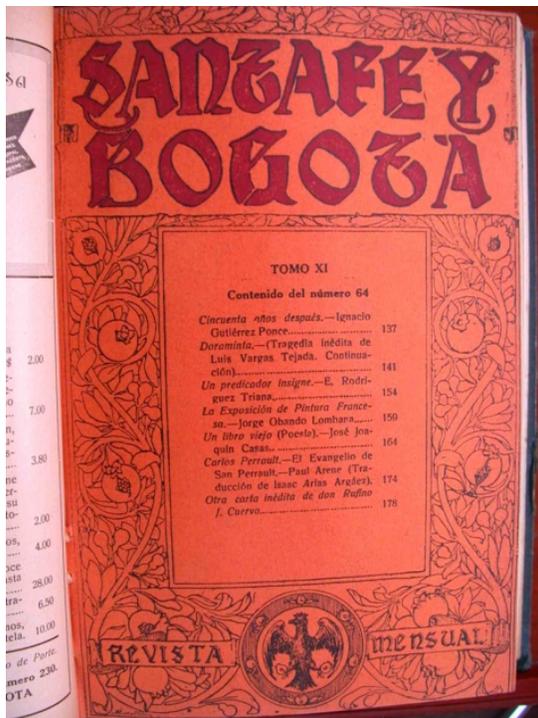


Fig. 4: Front cover of *Santafé y Bogotá* 6.64 ... (Bogotá, 1928). Courtesy of Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá.

⁷⁵ The tale “El gato con botas” (“Puss in Boots”), which appeared in the children’s magazine *Chanchito* in 1934, was published without acknowledging the author.

⁷⁶ Arène’s tale was originally titled “L’évangile selon Saint Perrault” and was first published in his *Nouveaux contes de Noël* in 1891.

⁷⁷ Two further titles by Arène were found at the same location (Biblioteca Nacional): 1) *Jean des Figues, suivi de le tor d'entrays* published by Plon-Nourrit et Cie. Imprimeurs-éditeurs in Paris in 1924, and 2) *La cabra de oro oro* (*The Goat of Gold*) published in Buenos Aires by Espasa-Calpe in 1941.

The Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango has the same edition of *La cabra de oro* and an illustrated edition from 1887 entitled *Contes de Paris et de Provence* and published in Paris by A. Lemerre. No further registers were found at other locations.

The epigraph of this story (written by an unspecified author) commemorates the third centenary of the “immortal author of old wives’ tales” (174); it explains that, in homage to Charles Perrault, readers of the magazine *Santafé y Bogotá* are being offered this “fine and uniquely delicate” (174) Christmas story written many years ago and now profusely reproduced throughout France. The story *Carlos Perrault—El evangelio de San Perrault* is told by the four-year old girl Simoncita. It intertwines three different elements with childlike fantasy: “grandmother’s Gospel and the old wives’ tales, the blue stories of the wet nurse, and the teachings of the good priest” (174). The piece narrates about baby Jesus while incorporating elements of Perrault’s fairy tales such as Bluebeard, Little Thumbling, and others. For example, part of the story tells about the “ogre Bluebeard” (175), who is the lord of the district, and describes how baby Jesus filled his pockets with white pebbles (as in “Little Thumbling”) that he left along his way so that he could find his way back to his grandmother (as in “Little Red Riding Hood”).

The inclusion of a text that alludes to Charles Perrault and his tales in a locally-published literary magazine from the 1920s attests to the positive reception that this French author enjoyed in Colombia during the first half of the twentieth century.

Marie-Catherine d’Aulnoy (1650/51-1705)

After Perrault, Marie-Catherine d’Aulnoy is the most famous French writer of fairy tales; she had a significant influence on the development of the fairy-tale genre in France and other countries (especially Germany) (Seifert 29). A prolific writer of novels, short stories, devotional works, and collections of historical memoirs, she is best known for two collections of fairy tales: *Les Contes de fées* (*Tales of the Fairies*, 1697-98), with

fifteen tales and two framed narratives;⁷⁸ and *Contes nouveaux ou les fées à la mode* (*New Tales, or Fairies in Fashion*, 1698), with nine more tales and a frame story entitled *Le Gentilhomme bourgeois* (*The Bourgeois Gentleman*). In 1691, d'Aulnoy had published her lively travel narrative *Relation du voyage d'Espagne* (*Travels in Spain*), which includes a fairy tale about a fateful princess named Mira.

In Colombia, her fairy tales are not as popular as her travel narrative. I was able to locate only one edition of Mme d'Aulnoy's fairy tales: *Cuentos de Mme d'Aulnoy* (*Stories of Mme D'Aulony*), a Spanish translation published by the Madrilean house Saturnino Calleja, estimated to be from 1918.⁷⁹ In contrast to this sole edition of her fairy tales, several early editions of her travel account through Spain, both in the original French and in Spanish, are currently available in various libraries throughout the country. The tales by Mme d'Aulnoy were geared more towards an aristocratic public, as compared to Perrault's, which suited a bourgeois public; in that sense, Perrault's tales may have been more appealing and relevant to the modernizing Colombian society of the early twentieth century, thus explaining the quantitative disparity of Perrault's editions versus d'Aulnoy's.

Sophie Comtesse de Ségur (née Rastophchine, 1799-1874)

Next to Perrault, Sophie Rastophchine de Ségur is the best-represented French writer of children's books in the Colombian libraries. Even though Ségur's late literary career began with fairy tales (she started writing at the age of 58), she is best known for her realistic novels for children. Ségur contributed a number of stories to the *Bibliothèque Rose*, a popular juvenile collection of short novels from the French publisher Hachette;

⁷⁸ Titled *Dom Gabriel Ponce de León* and *Dom Fernand de Tolède*.

⁷⁹ As similar edition in WorldCat gives 1918 as an estimated publishing date (OCLC: 22153624).

among them are *Pauvre Blaise* (*Poor Blaise*), *Le Général Dourakine* (*The General Dourakine*), *Un bon petit diable* (*A Good Little Devil*), *Les vacances* (*The Vacation*), and *Le mauvais génie* (*The Bad Genius*).

Her fairy-tale collection *Nouveaux Contes de Fées* (*New Fairy Tales*), first published in 1857, included five tales⁸⁰ and was illustrated by the French artist Gustave Doré (1832-83). Ségur's tales were written explicitly for children in a simple and direct style; instead of giving much attention to social problems, she presented ethical dilemmas and solutions intended to perpetuate solid middle-class values. The heroes in Ségur's tales combine a vibrant enthusiasm for the marvelous with rigorous moral intention. The protagonists are children who must overcome great challenges and their human weaknesses in order to earn the happiness at the end of their adventures.

Ségur has a special vivacity for dialogues, which make her moral texts both entertaining and pleasant. Her works were very well received in Spain. Spanish girls widely enjoyed her stories and her popularity lasted well into the twentieth century (Bravo-Villasante, *Historia de la literatura infantil española* 130). This positive reception later transposed to Colombia, where numerous editions, especially of her children's novels, are now circulating in the libraries. Far less popular than her children's novels, however, were her fairy tales: I found only two copies of Ségur's fairy tales in editions published prior to 1955. The oldest is *Nouveaux contes de fées: pour les petits enfants* (*New Fairy Tales: For Small Children*) published in Paris in 1919; this edition was donated to the Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango by the Colombian legal scholar Jorge

⁸⁰ The five fairy tales in *Nouveaux Contes de fées* are: "Histoire de Blondine" ("The Story of Blondine"), "Le bon petit Henri" ("Good Little Henry"), "Histoire de la Princesse Rosette" ("The Story of Princess Rosette"), "La petite souris grise" ("The Little Gray Nouse"), and "Ourson."

Ortega Torres.⁸¹ The second copy, a Spanish translation, is a much later edition from 1955 entitled *Nuevos cuentos de hadas* (*New Fairy Tales*).

The popularity of this French author in Colombia may be explained by the Christian teachings of her works. Born in Saint Petersburg (Russia), Ségur converted to Catholicism after relocating to France. Some of her book titles allude explicitly to Christianity, such as *Los hechos de los apóstoles* (*The Deeds of the Apostles*). Several of the identified texts were published by Librería Religiosa (Religious Library), based in Barcelona; the name of the publishing house clearly suggests a preference for printing material with religious content. As previously mentioned, the population in Colombia is overwhelmingly Catholic and therefore, works that promote Catholic tradition and rigorous moral values are well received.

An outstanding number of Ségur's works, both in French and Spanish, are currently available in the country (some published as early as 1904). Most of the located issues published prior to 1930 are French editions coming from Paris. After 1940, the majority of Ségur's publications are in Spanish (see bibliography for details). Although the book-printing continues to be done in Spain, editions from the 1950s and 1960s start to include several Latin American cities as places of publication, which suggests the interest of Spanish publishing houses in this region. For example, editorial Bruguera's 1963 *Cuentos de hadas / por la condesa de Ségur* (*Fairy Tales by the Countess Ségur*) translated by Pilar Gavin, gives Barcelona, Buenos Aires, and Bogotá as places of publication. Similar editions from Bruguera exist for the tales by Perrault and the

⁸¹ The Colombian scholar Jorge Ortega Torres has compiled several political/legal documents (e.g., *Constitución política de Colombia* [*Political Constitution of Colombia*]) for the collection *Códigos de bolsillo* (*Pocket Codes*) published by Editorial Temis. Ortega's texts gather, in a rigorous and exhaustive way, the most frequently used norms for the exercise and study of Colombian Law.

Grimms (e.g., *Cuentos de Perrault* [*Stories by Perrault*, 1958] and *Cuentos de Grimm* [*Stories by Grimm*, 1961]). The corporate presence of Bruguera in Buenos Aires and Bogotá is indicative of the intent that this Spanish publishing house has in extending its target market beyond Spain.

Italian Publications for Children/Youth

In Colombia, the works of two nineteenth-century Italian authors—Carlo Collodi and Edmondo de Amicis—are especially well represented in the libraries.

Carlo Collodi (1826-1890)

Carlo Collodi's masterpiece *Pinocchio* first appeared (serialized) in a children's weekly paper named *Il Giornale per i bambini* between 1881 and 1883. In February 1883 it was published in book form and illustrated in black-and-white by Enrico Mazzanti.

Several early issues of the serial story *Pinocchio* both in original Italian and translations are available in Colombian libraries. The oldest located copies are *Le aventure di Pinocchio: storia di un burattino* (1900), and the already mentioned French translation *Les aventures de Pinocchio: histoire d'une marionnett* (1902). Although a relatively small number of early Spanish translations of *Pinocchio* were found in the libraries (compared to Ségur, for example), the story of the wooden puppet is one of the very few fairy tales published in Colombia during the first decade of the twentieth century.⁸²

⁸² For instance, the illustrated edition *Las aventuras de Pinoquio: historia de un títere* (*The Adventures of Pinocchio: Story of a Puppet*), edited and translated directly from the Italian by Antonio José Restrepo, was published by Imprenta de La Tribuna in Bogotá in 1913.

Edmondo de Amicis (1846-1908)

Ranking next to Collodi's masterpiece, in terms of the number of existing publications, are the works of Edmondo de Amicis. Amicis is best known for his children's novel *Cuore* (*Heart*), which was first published in 1886, just three years after the last chapter of *Pinocchio* appeared. In Colombia the oldest located Italian works for children are those by Amicis (not Collodi). I found three copies from the late nineteenth century: *Cuentos Escolares* (*School Stories*), estimated to be from 1898, and two editions of his novel *Coure*, one in Spanish⁸³ and one in the original Italian.⁸⁴

Cuore deals with social and class issues and is designed in the form of a diary written by the ten-year-old Enrico Bottini, a third-grade student from a bourgeois family in Italy who attends school with classmates from the working class. The embedded stories in the novel convey moral values such as compassion, generosity, helping the needy, love for family and friends, and patriotism; the profoundly humane narrative is directed toward the heart and sensibility of children. The novel *Cuore* was almost an immediate success in Italy and was quickly translated into several languages. The first Spanish translation appeared in 1887, just one year after its first publication in Italy (Worthen 137). One of the earliest editions of *Cuore* in Spanish is available at the Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia—an issue from 1887 published in Madrid. Titled *Corazón: Diario de un niño* (*Heart: Diary of a Boy*), this book is a direct translation from the 44th Italian edition by H. Giner de los Rios. The edition was revised by the author and exclusively authorized for release in Spain and America (Fig. 5).

⁸³ Edmondo de Amicis, *Corazón: Diario de un niño* (Madrid: Libr. de D. Fernando Fé, 1887).

⁸⁴ Edmondo de Amicis, *Cuore: libro per i ragazzi* (Milano: Fratelli Treves, Editori, 1896).

Carmen Bravo-Villasante asserts that in the late nineteenth-century pathetic⁸⁵ narratives such as Amicis *Corazón* (*Cuore*) or the story *¡Adiós, Cordera!* (1892)⁸⁶ by Leopoldo Alas, “Clarín” (1852-1901) were greatly in vogue in Spain (Bravo-Villasante, *Historia de la literatura infantil española* 125). This trend was quickly picked-up in Colombia.

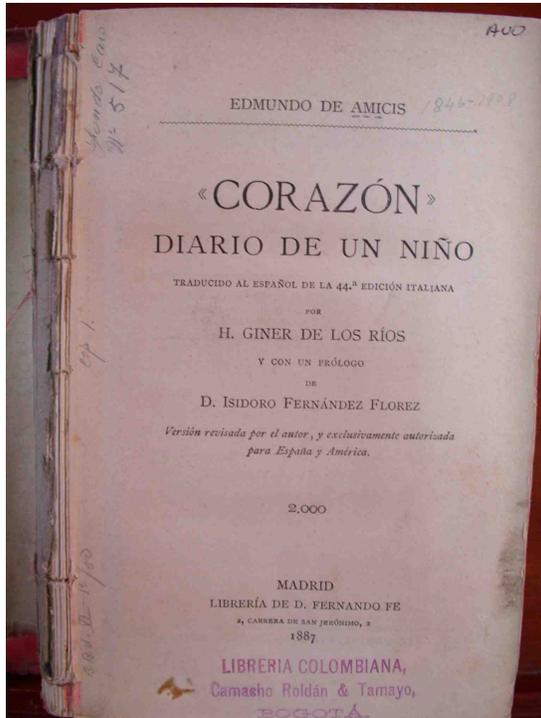


Fig. 5: Title page of the Spanish translation of Amicis's *Corazón: Diario de un niño* (Madrid, 1887). Courtesy of Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá.

Numerous issues (both European and Latin-American) of the popular novel *Cuore* are available in the libraries in several languages, including one in German.⁸⁷ Although I

⁸⁵ Having the capacity to move the feelings causing or evoking pity; marked by sorrow or melancholy.

⁸⁶ *¡Adiós, Cordera!* is a story of great psychological acuteness that begins “Eran tres, siempre los tres: Rosa, Pinín y la Cordera” (“There were three, always three: Rosa, Pinín and the ewe lamb”). The reader pities the peasant children, who wail as the lamb is taken to the slaughterhouse. The final words, the sad farewell to the animal that leaves in a cargo train, have an extraordinary artistic and emotive effect, almost too sad for children.

⁸⁷ Edmondo de Amicis, *Herz* (Zürich: Artemis-Verlag, 1948). It is rather unusual to find an Italian novel translated into German in a library in Colombia, considering the relatively small number of people who speak German in the country.

found no evidence that his novel was published in Colombia, several of Amici's short stories appeared in local publications. For example, *Cuentos escolares* was published by Editorial Nueva in Bogotá in 1909; that same year the story "Evangelina" appeared in the literary anthology *Colección de grandes escritores nacionales y extranjeros*. Later, in 1933, "La calle" ("The Street") was published in the first volume of the children's magazine *Chanchito* (in this case, the author was acknowledged).

His stories also appeared in the earlier mentioned *Libro de lecturas escogidas en prosa y verso para niños y niñas* (*Book of Selected Readings in Prose and Verse for Girls and Boys*)—one of the few and oldest anthologies for children published in Colombia. The 1891 edition of *Libro de lecturas escogidas* includes ten of his stories, among which are "La calle" ("The Street"), "La escuela" ("The School"), "Mi madre" ("My Mother"), "Esperanza" ("Hope"), "El incendio" ("The Fire"), and "El pequeño Escribiente [sic] florentino" ("The Small Florentine Writer").⁸⁸

The sixth edition of *Libro de lecturas* from 1910 contains nine other stories by Amicis. Preceding the preface to this edition, is a three-page section titled "Advertencias" ("Warnings") that indicates the goals and age appropriateness of the book. It states that the collection is meant to serve as "gradual exercises" for boys and girls (ages ten to sixteen) in the art of reading and "warns" about some of the last pieces included, which may be deemed as too elaborate and written in a "classical style" (3); it is explained, however, that the book layout is based on the "pedagogical principal of youth education consisting of moving from the easy to the difficult, from the abstract to the concrete, and from the known to the unknown" (3). The cautionary foreword underlines that

⁸⁸ This book is divided into four sections: (i) Lectura ideológica (Ideological Reading); (ii) Fábulas (Fables); (iii) Lectura estética (Aesthetic Readings); and Verso (Verse). All of Amicis stories appeared under Lectura ideológica.

exceptional care was taken to select pieces that are most beneficial to the moral aspect of children; at the end we read that girls were also considered when creating this book, and therefore “special pieces” for them were added to the selection (it was not specified which of pieces are considered specially appropriate for girls). Aside from the texts by Amicis and by several Colombian authors, this anthology includes works by other European writers, such as the Italian Sivio Pellico and the Spanish Fernán Caballero, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Emilia Pardo Bazán, Pedro Calderón de la Barca, Juan Eugeno de Hartzenbusch, and Teodoro Baró, as well as a translation of Lord Chesterfield’s letters. None of the tales by the Brothers Grimm were included in the examined editions.

The abundance of Amicis’s works extant in the libraries and the inclusion of his stories in domestic anthologies both literary and for children, and in the magazine *Chanchito* suggest that this Italian author was very popular and widely read in Colombia during the first half of the twentieth century.

Hans Christian Andersen (1805-1875)

The tales by Hans Christian Andersen—the Danish author contemporary of the Grimms—have enjoyed a very positive reception in Colombia since the late nineteenth century. This becomes evident in the number of Andersen’s pieces that were published in early Colombian editions. For example, “La sirena” (“The Little Mermaid,” 1837) and “Ib y Cristina” (“Ib and Little Christina,” 1855) appeared in the 1899 edition of the literary anthology *Colección de grandes escritores nacionales y extranjeros extranjeros* (*Collection of Great National and Foreign Writers*). Local publications of Andersen’s tales continued throughout the early twentieth century. Among them are “La niña de los

fósforos” (“The Little Match-Seller,” 1845), which appeared in the periodical *El Liberal Ilustrado* in 1914; “El Gnomo y la Hortera” (“The Goblin and the Huscktser,” 1852), published in 1935 in the magazine *Revista Pan*; and a selection of tales entitled “Ramo de cuentos” (“Bouquet of Stories”) that was printed in the *Revista de las Indias* in 1947. All of these were published in Bogotá. In addition, two of his tales were published in the children’s magazine *Chanchito*, albeit without acknowledging the author: “El patito feo” (“The Ugly Duckling,” 1844) was published in the November volume of 1933, and “Almendrita” (“Thumbelina,” 1835) appeared in the March volume of 1934.

The following table summarizes the early publications of Andersen’s tales found in the main libraries.

Table 2: Early Publications of Andersen’s Tales Currently Available in the Main Colombian Libraries

Publ. Date	Author	Title	City: Publisher, date	Physical description	
1879	Andersen	<i>Cuentos escogidos de Andersen.</i>	Madrid: Imp. de Gaspar, 1879	365 p.; ill.; 20 cm.	2
1885	Andersen	<i>Cuentos de Andersen.</i>	Barcelona: D. Cortezo, 1885	369 p.; ill.; 20 cm.	2
1893?	Andersen	<i>Historia de una madre: Cuento de Andersen. Traducción directa del alemán.</i>	Folletores de “El Correo Nacional”. Bogotá (n.d.)	Leaflet; p. 219-229	1
1899	Andersen	*“La sirena.” <i>Colección de grandes escritores nacionales y extranjeros. Tomo XIX.</i>	Bogotá: Jorge Roa, Librería Nueva, 1899	338 p.	1
1899	Andersen	*“Ib y Cristina.” <i>Colección de grandes escritores nacionales y extranjeros. Tomo XIX.</i>	Bogotá: Jorge Roa, Librería Nueva, 1899	338 p.	1
1908?	Andersen	<i>Recueil de contes d'Andersen / Hans Christian Andersen; par Kathleen Fitzgerald; illustrés par Gilbert James.</i>	Paris: E. Flammarion, n.d.	63 p.; ill. col.; 16 cm.	2
1913	Andersen	<i>Andersens Märchen, zweiter Band.</i>	Leipzig: Erschienen in Insel Verlag, 1913	549 p.; 20 cm.	2
1914	Andersen	<i>Ein Bilderbuch ohne Bilder / Andersen: Mit 60 Silhouetten von M. Saalmacher.</i>	Weimer: Gustav Kiepenheuer, 1914	92 p.; 14 cm.	2
1914?	Andersen	<i>Historias de Hans Andersen: explicadas a los niños, por Mary Macgregor; con ilustraciones de Olive Allen.</i>	Barcelona: Ramón de S. N. Araluce, n.d.	6 p.; ill. col.; 15 cm.	2

1914	Andersen	"La niña de los fósforos."	<i>El Liberal Ilustrado</i> . Bogotá (1914)	Magazine; Vol. 2.978- 21 (May): 334-336	1
1919	Andersen	<i>Lo que vió la luna</i> / Andersen; trans. C. Rivas Cherif.	Madrid: Estrella, 1919	119 p.	3
1923	Andersen	* <i>El último sueño del roble</i>	Barcelona: Ramon Sopena, 1923	75 p.; ill., 17 cm.	2
1923	Andersen	<i>Märchen, zweiter Band</i> / Hans Christian; überstezt von M. Rohlhaas.	Berlin: Wegweiser Verlag, 1923	381 p.; ill., 20 cm.	2
1923	Andersen	* <i>Tres contes d'Andersen illustrats par Joan D'ivori.</i>	Barcelona: Tipografía Catalana, 1923.	54 p.; ill., 27 cm.	2
1924	Andersen	<i>Eventyr og historier</i>	Copenhagen: Handel-Nordisk, 1924	2 v.; ill., 20 cm.	2
1927	Andersen	<i>Contes d'Andersen</i> ; traduits du danois par MLL. Cécile Lund et M. Jules Bernard; illus. Mme. Maggie Salcedo.	Paris: Lib. Gedalge, 1927	222 p.; ill., 28 cm.	2
1933	No author	"Patito Feo" (published without being attributed to Andersen)	<i>Chanchito: Revista ilustrada para niños</i> . Bogotá (1933)	Magazine; Vol.1.20 (Nov):10-15	1
1934	No author	"Almendrita" (published without being attributed to Andersen)	<i>Chanchito: Revista ilustrada para niños</i> . Bogotá (1934)	Magazine; Vol. 2.29 (Mar):18-20	
1935	Andersen	"El gnomo y la hortera"	<i>Revista Pan</i> . Bogotá (1935)	Magazine; No.5 (Dec): 71	2
1940	Andersen	<i>Cuentos de Hans Andersen.</i>	Santiago de Chile: Ed. Zig-Zag, 1940.	117 p.; ill.; 21 cm.	1
1944	Andersen	<i>Cuentos</i>	Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1944	62 p.	3
1947	Andersen	<i>Ramo de cuentos, de Hans Christian Andersen.</i>	<i>Revista de las Indias</i> . Bogotá (1947)	Magazine; Vol. 30.96 (May): 446- 449.	2
1950	Andersen	<i>Der Reisekamerad und andere Märchen novellen</i> / H. Chr. Andersen; übersetzt von H. Denhardt.	Stuttgart: Reclam- Verlag, 1950.	69 p.; 15 cm.	2
1952?	Andersen	<i>Más historias de Hans Andersen</i> ; traducción y adaptación de Manuel Vallvé; con ilustraciones de Homs.	Barcelona: Ed. Araluce, n.d.	118 p.; ill. col.; 15 cm.	2
1955	Andersen	* <i>Seis cuentos del escritor danés Hans Christian Andersen editados en ocasión del 150 aniversario de su nacimiento</i> / Hans Christian Andersen; ilustraciones de Vilhelm Pedersen.	Copenhague: Det Berlingske Bogtrykkeri, 1955.	71 p.; ill.; 21 cm.	2

*) Indicates that the book was donated from private collections.

¹ Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá; ² Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango, Bogotá; ³ Biblioteca Pública Piloto, Medellín.

Well over half of the located tales by Andersen are in Spanish, which makes them accessible to a broader public. Some of the Spanish editions count as the oldest and most complete volumes of classical fairy tales located in the country. Among them are the 365-page edition *Cuentos escogidos de Andersen (Selected Tales of Andersen)* published by Gaspar in Madrid in 1879, and the 369-page edition *Cuentos de Andersen (Stories of Andersen)* published by Cortezo in Barcelona in 1885.

Tales by Andersen published in Colombia not only appear in high-quality literary anthologies and magazines, but also in popular and inexpensive prints. In the Rare Book Section of the Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, I located the story “La historia de una madre” (“The Story of a Mother,” 1848) in a poorly preserved leaflet that lacked a cover. Under the tale’s title we read that this story by Andersen was directly translated from the German (no further information was provided). At the top of the opposite page the name of the publication was visible: *Folletines de “El Correo Nacional” (Feuilleton of “The National Postal Service”)*. Only one other issue from this series was available at the library and it carried a publication date of 1893;⁸⁹ based on this sole dated issue, I am assuming that “La historia de una madre” was circulating around that time (i.e., 1893). The discovery of this piece allows us to speculate about the various ways in which the tales by Andersen were disseminated in Colombia, which included, along with literary anthologies and magazines of superior quality, popular inexpensive leaflets, which made

⁸⁹ The 1893 edition contained a love story by the English novelist Charlotte Mary Brame (1836-1884) and provided more information about the publication as follows: Charlotte Braeme, pseud. Bertha Clay, “Redimida por el amor,” trans. Carlos Stevenson, *Folletines de “El Correo Nacional”* 15 (Bogotá: Imp. de la Luz, 1893). Unfortunately, I did not find any other edition of *Folletines de “El Correo Nacional”* at any other library in the country; the old-age of the publication paired with its low-cost binding probably contributed to its disappearance.

his tales accessible to the general public regardless of their financial ability to acquire published books and magazines.

German Publications for Children/Youth

One of the earliest-published German works targeted to children that I was able to locate in Colombia is a 1804 edition of *El nuevo Robinson: Historia moral, reducida á diálogos para instrucción y entretenimiento de niños y jóvenes de ambos sexos* (*The New Robinson: Moral story reduced to dialogues for the instruction and entertainment of young children of both sexes*)⁹⁰ by the German linguist and educator Joachim Heinrich Campe (1746-1818). This fourth edition belonged to the illustrious Colombian philologist Rufino José Cuervo (1844-1911);⁹¹ its known provenance suggests that didactic and socializing literature for children was being read by upper-class families in Colombia in the early nineteenth century.

This instructive work for children is not a fairy tale but rather an adaptation of Daniel Defoe's novel *Robinson Crusoe*⁹² along the lines of Rousseau. *El nuevo Robinson* was first translated into Spanish by the neoclassical poet and writer of fables Tomás de Iriarte y Oropesa (1750-91);⁹³ Iriarte commended Campe for adapting Defoe's novel to

⁹⁰ This is a Spanish adaptation of Campe's *Robinson der Jüngere, zur angenehmen und nützlichen Unterhaltung für Kinder*, which first appeared in 1779.

⁹¹ Born in Bogotá, Rufino José Cuervo dedicated great part of his work to study the dialectal variation of Spanish spoken in Colombia; on this topic he wrote the book *Apuntaciones críticas sobre lenguaje bogotano* in which he continuously corrected the improprieties of the Spanish language used in Bogotá. His most important work, however, was the *Diccionario de construcción y régimen de la lengua castellana* of which he published the first two volumes during his lifetime (1886, Vol. I and 1893, Vol. II). In 1878 he was admitted to the *Real Academia de Española* as the Colombian representative. Four years later, in 1882 Cuervo moved to Paris, where he lived until his death in 1911.

⁹² *Robinson Crusoe* by Daniel Defoe (?1659/61–1731) was first published in 1719 and is sometimes regarded as the first English novel.

⁹³ Tomás de Iriarte wrote *Fábulas literarias*.

the instruction of children while creating an entertaining text that inspired love and faith in the Creator—an advantage over Defoe’s *Robinson*, which according to Iriarte was “dangerous” for Catholics.⁹⁴ Although Campe’s *Robinson* was not originally intended for children, Bravo-Villasante tells us that Iriarte’s free translation turned this text into a children’s classic in Spain (Bravo-Villasante, *Historia de la literatura infantil española* 64).

This 1804 edition of *El nuevo Robinson* acquired by the Biblioteca Nacional shows, once again, that acclaimed works in Spain (and elsewhere in Europe) swiftly found their way into the libraries of Colombian intellectuals. This edition is also significant because it is the oldest Spanish translation of a German text for children found at a public library. The next oldest Spanish translations of children’s works by a German author found are from 1876 and came from the oeuvre of the Bavarian Roman-Catholic priest and writer of children’s stories Christoph von Schmid.

Christoph von Schmid (1768-1854)

Translations of two stories by von Schmid—*Itha: Condesa de Toggenbourg* (*Itha: Countess of Toggenbourg*) and *Los huevos de pascua* (*The Easter Eggs*)—both published by Saturnino Calleja in Madrid in 1876—are, along with *El nuevo Robinson*, the oldest Spanish-language versions of German works for children located in Colombia. Christoph von Schmid is perhaps the best-represented German author in the national libraries during the first half of the twentieth century. As Bravo-Villasante points out, his stories were

⁹⁴ In the prologue to the 5th edition of *El nuevo Robinson* printed in Madrid in 1817 we read: “El señor Campe se inspiró en Defoe para acomodarle a la enseñanza de los niños, que es un libro instructivo y utilísimo, además de entretenido, que inspira amor y fe en el Creador, ventaja sobre el *Robinson*, de Defoe, peligroso para los católicos ...” (iv) (“Mister Campe inspired himself on Defoe to accommodate [his text] to the education of children, in an instructive and very useful book, which in addition to being entertaining, inspires love and faith in the Creator, an advantage over Defoe’s *Robinson* that is dangerous to Catholics ...”).

widely available and very popular in Spain during the mid-nineteenth century⁹⁵ (Bravo-Villasante, *Historia de la literatura infantil española* 124). The apparent positive reception of this German author both in Colombia and in Spain may be explained by the Christian/Catholic teachings that his works promulgate. Because both countries are overwhelmingly Catholic, both the general public and influential Church prelates welcome texts imbued with religious dogma.

In light of the available supply of titles, publications by von Schmid appear to be as popular in Colombia as the works by Amicis. However, in contrast to the Italian writer Amicis, whose works have appeared in several Colombian publications, I found no evidence of von Schmid's texts published in any local edition; all of the located editions from the first half of the century were imported mainly from Spain. Aside from the numerous copies available in libraries, the works by von Schmid are comparable to those by Amicis in terms of the discourse. Preeminent for these two European authors is the degree of sentiment and pain that is displayed in their works; this is evident, for example, in Amicis's novel *Coure* and in *Genovefa: Eine der schönsten und rührendsten Geschichten des Alterthums, neu erzählt für alle guten Menschen, besonders für Mütter und ihre Kinder* (*Genoveva: One of the most beautiful and touching stories of antiquity, newly retold for all good people, especially for mothers and their children*, 1810), one of von Schmid's principal juvenile works. According to Hugo Cerda, the Chilean author of *Literatura infantil y clases sociales* (*Children's Literature and Social Classes*), this type of "melodramatic" literature (as he calls it)—a category in which Cerda also includes the tales by Andersen—first came into vogue towards the middle of the nineteenth century,

⁹⁵ The index of the earliest publications by Biblioteca Moral Recreativa (founded in 1862 and based in Barcelona), for example, already includes several stories by von Schmid beautifully illustrated (Bravo-Villasante, *Historia de la literatura infantil española* 124).

with the onset of capitalism and the social consequences that arose from it: “Este libre ejercicio de crueldad y esta complacencia por la desgracia tiene su despertar a mediados del siglo XIX, época que marca los albores del capitalismo y toda su secuela de miserias y contradicciones sociales” (“This free exercise of cruelty and this complacency with disgrace have their awakening in the mid twentieth century, a period that marks the dawn of capitalism and its sequels of misery and social contradictions”) (Cerde 88). Certainly the rise of capitalism brought along a great deal of social injustice and pain, and perhaps, as Cerda argues, this emotionally charged literature served a cathartic purpose for the oppressed. However, in my view, the “delight” for suffering (to use Cerda’s word), has more to do with faith than with the prevailing socioeconomic system. The positive reception of works like those by Amicis, von Schmid, and Andersen, which evoke deep emotion and compassion, have their roots in the teachings of Christianity and the doctrine of Catholicism. Pain and suffering are very much exalted in Catholicism (e.g., purgatory) and Christianity in general (e.g., Christian martyrs); it is through pain and suffering that souls earn salvation and purify the spirit so that they can be brought closer to God. Thus, stories that emphasize the liberating character of pain, for instance Andersen’s “The Little Mermaid,” tend to resonate and have a better reception among the mostly Catholic Colombians.

German Fairy Tales

Currently in Colombia only a handful nineteenth-century publications of German fairy tales are circulating, most of which are in foreign languages. The oldest issues found are *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (small edition) from 1858 and a few titles by Ludwig

Tieck and Wilhelm Hauff republished in editions estimated to be from 1850.⁹⁶ All of these editions are in the original German, which restricted their audience to the exceptionally few residents fluent in German in a land where Spanish is the official language. Somewhat more accessible are works translated into French or English,⁹⁷ I found one English edition of tales by Brentano—*Fairy Tales from Brentano*—published in London in 1885, and one French and one English edition with Grimm tales (from 1892 and 1880? respectively), which I will discuss later.

Before turning my attention to the Grimms' tales let me address briefly some of the other German authors of fairy tales with early editions available in the libraries.

Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué (1777-1843)

As it has been noted before, the supply of nineteenth-century German fairy-tale publications is extremely limited and the circulating editions are mostly in languages other than Spanish. Editions in Spanish are virtually non-existent, except for the mermaid tale *Undine* by Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué. This minor world classic was first published in 1811 and incorporates a great deal of popular legend, folk superstition, and faith in miracles (Zipes, *Oxford Companion* 172). The story of *Undine* tells about a mermaid's receipt of a soul through marriage to a knight, then her loss of him to an

⁹⁶ The following titles by Hauff were located: (1) *Märchen: Almanach auf das Jahr 1826*, (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, n.d.); (2) *Märchen Novellen*, (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, n.d.); (3) *Sämtliche Werke*, (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger, n.d.); (4) *W. Hauffs Werke*, Herausgegeben von Max Wendheim, Zweiter Band. (Leipzig und Wien: Bibliographisches Institut, n.d.). The following titles by Tieck were located: (1) *Märchen*, (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, n.d.); (2) *Tiecks Werke*, Herausgegeben von Gotthold Ludwig Klee, Vol. 2, (Leipzig und Wien: Bibliographisches Institut, n.d.).

For all these editions, both the Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia and Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango have estimated 1850 as dates of publication.

⁹⁷ Among educated Colombians English and French are widely spoken languages, particularly English.

arrogant mortal woman and in the end, her sorrow over his death as she wins him back at the moment he is about to join the new wife in the bridal chamber on their wedding night.

In Colombia, the number of issues of Fouqué's *Undine* from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century available in libraries is significant.⁹⁸ *Undine* is also the only German fairy tale that I could find published in nineteenth-century volumes edited in Colombia.⁹⁹ The abundant copies and the reprinting of *Undine* in several local editions attest to the popularity of this tale in the country. The positive reception can be, in part, attributed to the popularity that *Undine* attained in nineteenth-century Europe. During the late nineteenth century and the first half of twentieth century, publishing houses in Latin America were tilted towards Europe and the United States and sought to publish the most important pieces that they found abroad (Donoso 62), which explains the multiple reprintings of *Undine* in Colombian editions. Another factor that may have played a role in the tale's positive reception is the French name of his German author; *Undine* possibly first came to Colombia in the form of a translation and therefore, readers/editors may have unknowingly taken it for a French tale.

Wilhelm Hauff (1802-1827)

The tales by the Swabian writer Wilhelm Hauff also appear to have enjoyed a positive early reception in Colombia. Born in Stuttgart, this short-lived but prolific writer is best known for his literary fairy tales, which are geared towards a young audience between the ages of twelve and fifteen years. The stories transmit moral values consistent

⁹⁸ The available publications of this fairy tale are listed in the bibliography.

⁹⁹ For example, in the literary anthology *Colección de grandes escritores nacionales y extranjeros* published by Jorge Roa in Bogotá in 1894 and in *Narraciones populares de la selva negra* published by Librería Nueva in Bogotá 1893.

with his conservative Protestant faith and are entertaining and full of adventure, with baffling twists and unexpected turns.

Based on the number of copies located in the libraries, it seems that up until 1950 the tales by Hauff were at least as popular as those by the Grimms. When looking at the early publications by Hauff and assuming that the number of titles with unknown publication dates is indeed from the first half of the twentieth century (as the Colombian libraries have estimated),¹⁰⁰ then the tales by the Grimms and Hauff are equal in quantity. A total of thirteen tales by the Grimms (not counting those published anonymously) and thirteen by Hauff published before 1950 were located. This quantitative parity, however, changes drastically in favor of the Grimms after 1950, most probably due to the resonance of Disney's film *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*.

The available tales by Hauff are either in the original German or in Spanish (circa 70% are in German and 30% in Spanish). Hauff's titles in Spanish are mostly publications from the 1930s and include *Historia de la califa cigüeña* (*Caliph Stork*), *La caravana* (*The Caravan*), *La princesa almanaque* (*Princess Almanac*), and the compilation *Cuentos* (*Stories*). *Cuentos* (*Stories*), published by the Madrilenian house Espasa-Calpe in 1935, appears to be a particularly popular edition with several copies currently circulating in various libraries throughout the country.

E. T. A. Hoffmann (1776-1822)

The works of the influential German Romantic writer E. T. A. Hoffmann are very well represented in the Colombian libraries. Numerous pre-1955 editions of Hoffmann's works in several languages are currently circulating. In comparison to his fantastic tales,

¹⁰⁰ See bibliography for details.

however, his literary fairy tales are relatively scarce. In his short but successful literary career, Hoffmann wrote nearly four dozen stories, two novels, and seven fairy tales. Among his best-known fairy tales are *Der goldne Topf* (*The Golden Pot*, 1814); and *Nußnacker und Mausekönig* (*The Nutcracker and the Mouse King*, 1816), which served as the basis for Tchaikovsky's famous ballet *The Nutcracker* (1892).

Several early-published compilations of Hoffmann's fantastic tales in Spanish are available;¹⁰¹ however, a very small number of his literary fairy tales (in Spanish or any other language) were located. The oldest literary fairy tales in Spanish found were *El cascanueces y el rey de los ratones* (*The Nutcracker and the Mouse King*) published in Madrid in 1922 followed by the 1940 Mexican edition *La olla de oro* (*The Golden Pot*). There is also no evidence that any of Hoffmann's literary fairy tales appeared in Colombian editions, but several of his fantastic tales were locally published. For instance, "Cappelius: cuento fantástico" ("Cappelius: Fantastic Story"), which appeared in the literary supplement of the newspaper *El Tiempo* in 1914, and the short story *El violín de Cremona* (*The Violin of Cremona*), published in two different editions in Bogotá from 1898.¹⁰² The reprints of Hoffmann's fantastic tales in local publications from this early period suggest that the Colombian readership favored his fantastic tales over his literary fairy tales.

¹⁰¹ For example, *Cuentos / Hoffmann*, trans. C. Gallardo de Mesa, (Madrid: Calpe, 1922) that is available in several libraries.

¹⁰² This story appeared in the anthology *Colección de grandes escritores nacionales y extranjeros*, (Bogotá: Jorge Roa, 1898) and, in the same year, it was also individually published as *El violín de Cremona* by Librería Nueva in Bogotá.

Gustav Schwab (1792-1850)

In general, works by German authors are not readily found in Colombian publications from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Aside from the fantastic tales by Hoffmann and Fouqué's *Undine*, I was able to find only one other title by a German writer published locally: Schwab's story *Der arme Heinrich*, which appeared as "Novelas cortas: el pobre Enrique" ("Short Novels: Poor Henry") in the periodical *El Gráfico* in Bogotá in 1929.

Although the Swabian Gustav Schwab was not a writer of children literature, with his collection of myths and legends of antiquity—*Sagen des klassischen Altertums*, 1838-1840—he created a German classic of children's and juvenile literature; widely used at German schools, his book became very influential for the reception of classical antiquity in Germany. In Colombia, titles by Schwab from the first half of the twentieth century are exceptionally scant and mostly in the original German, which makes an early local publication of his story "Novelas cortas: el pobre Enrique" especially noteworthy. Except for this short story, the only other issue in Spanish that I could locate was a 1952 copy of his legends of antiquity entitled *Las más bellas leyendas de la antigüedad clásica* (*The Most Beautiful Legends of Classical Antiquity*) published by Editorial Labor in Barcelona.

Gottfried Keller (1819-1890)

In contrast to Gustav Schwab, early Spanish translations of the works by Gottfried Keller stand out in number in the Colombian libraries. Keller is best known for his literary fairy tales and novellas, most of which are autobiographical and set in his native

Switzerland. His stories deal with common shortcomings and virtues of human nature, and contrast the way people are with the way they should be. Keller's collection of short stories—*Die Leute von Seldwyla* (*The People of Seldwyla*)—published in two volumes (Vol. I, 1856; and Vol. II, 1873-74), contains many novellas and fairy tales including his most famous “Kleider machen Leute” (“Clothes Make the Man”), “Spiegel, das Kätzchen” (“Spiegel the Cat”), and “Romeo und Julia auf dem Dorfe” (“Romeo and Juliet of the Village”).

Several Spanish translations of Keller's fairy tales and short stories are available in libraries (see bibliography for details). Most of the Spanish issues were published by the Madrid-based Editorial Calpe. I found no evidence of any of Keller's titles republished in an early Colombian edition.

Tales by the Brothers Grimm

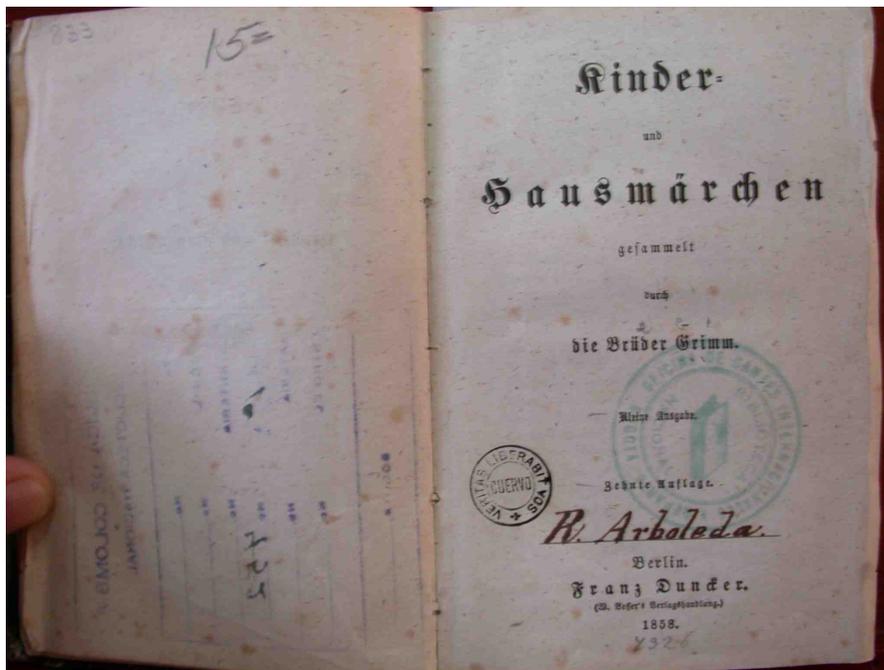


Fig. 6: Title page of the oldest edition of the Grimm's KHM located in a Colombian library, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (Berlin, 1858). Courtesy of Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá.

The oldest issue of the KHM found in Colombia is the last small edition that appeared during the Grimms' lifetime (Fig. 6).¹⁰³ Published by Franz Duncker in Berlin in 1858, this tenth small edition of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen / gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm* belonged to the Colombian philologist Rufino José Cuervo.¹⁰⁴

The following table presents an overview of editions containing Grimm tales published up to the mid-1950s and currently available in libraries.

Table 3: Early Publications of Grimm Tales Currently Available in the Main Colombian Libraries

Publ. Date	Author	Title	City: Publisher, date	Physical description
1858	Grimm	* <i>Kinder- und Hausmärchen</i> .	Berlin: Franz Ducker, 1858	311 p.; 15 cm.
1880?	Grimm	<i>Grimm's Fairy Tales</i> .	London: Frederick Warne, n.d.	522 p.; ill.
1892	Grimm et al.	<i>Contes allemands du temps passé: extraits des recueils des frères Grimm, et de Simrock, Bechstein, Franz Hoffmann, Musaeus, Tieck, Schwab, Winter, etc., avec la legende de Lorely.</i>	Paris: Perrin, 1892	468 p.; ill.; 18 cm.
1893	Grimm	<i>Cuentos y leyendas de los hermanos Grimm</i> (part of Biblioteca Ilustrada: Cuentos Populares).	Barcelona: J. Roura, 1893	80 p.; ill.; 17 cm.
1896?	Grimm	<i>Cuentos escogidos</i> / Jacob Ludwig Karl Grimm, Wilhelm Grimm.	Madrid: Saturnino Calleja, n.d.	365 p.; ill.
1901	Grimm	<i>Kinder- und Hausmärchen / Gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm</i> .	Berlin: Wilhelm Herb, 1901	507 p.; ill.; 21 cm
1913?	Grimm	<i>Contes choisis des frères Grimm / traduits de l'Allemand par Henri Mansvic</i> .	Paris: Ernest Flammarion, n.d.	356 p.; ill. 19 cm.
1924?	Grimm	<i>Kinder- und Hausmärchen: gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm</i> .	Leipzig: Hesse & Becker Verlag, n.d.	882 p.; ill.

¹⁰³ I could not find any information about the hand-written name inscribed on the title page (R. Arboleda); it probably belongs to one of the book's owners at some time.

¹⁰⁴ Also from Cuervo's private collection are *Silva de romances viejos, publicados por Jacobo Grimm* (Vienna: En Casa de Jacobo Mayer, 1815) and *Lieder der alten Edda: Aus der Handschrift herausgegeben und erklärt durch die Brüder Grimm*, erster Band (Berlin: Im Verlage der Realschulbuchhandlung, 1815), all of which constitute the oldest-published editions by the Grimms located in Colombia. Along with the KHM from 1858, these Grimm editions from the private library of Rufino José Cuervo suggest a scholarly interest in the works of the German siblings.

1925?	Grimm	<i>Recueil de contes de Grimm / Jakob Ludwig Karl Grimm; par Kathleen Fitzgerald; illustrés par Gilbert James.</i>	Paris: Flammarion, n.d.	63 p.; ill. col.; 16 cm.	2
1933-34	No author	“El caballo prodigioso.” “La casita de turrón.” “La rana encantada.” “Los seis cisnes.” “La nariz” “Los seis cisnes” “El agua de la vida” “Las tres plumas” (published without being attributed to the Grimms)	<i>Chanchito: Revista ilustrada para niños. Bogotá (1933-34)</i>	Magazine	
1935	Grimm	Cuentos de Grimm: ilustrados por Arthur Rackham; traducción de María Luz Morales.	Barcelona: Editorial Juventud, 1935.	188 p.; ill.; 25 cm.	2
1936	Grimm	<i>Kinder- und Hausmärchen: gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm / Zeichnungen von Otto Ubbelohde.</i>	Marburg: N.G. Elwert Verlag, 1936	3 vol.: ill., 19 cm	1
1938	Grimm	<i>Märchen von einem, der auszog, das fürchten zu lernen.</i>	Barcelona: Espasa-Calpe, 1938	95 p.	3
1943	Grimm	<i>Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm; mit 90 Holzschnitten und 8 Tonbildern von Ludwig Richter.</i>	Leipzig: Schmidt & Günther, 1943	855 p.; ill.; 21 cm.	2
1950	Grimm	Blancanieves y los enanitos / Jakob Ludwig Karl Grimm; adaptación del cuento de los hermanos Grimm por Mercedes Llimona.	Barcelona: Ed. Juventud, 1950	46 p.; ill.; 21 cm.	2
1950?	Grimm	Libro de cuentos ilustrado: 10 láminas en color con los más bonitos cuentos de los hermanos Grimm.	Madrid: A.A.A., [1950?]	37 p.; ill.; 20 cm.	2
1954	Grimm	<i>The Golden Goose by the Brothers Grimm; pictures by Gustaf Tenggren.</i>	New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954	28 p.; ill.; 20 cm	2
1955	Grimm	Cuentos completos de los hermanos Grimm; Traducción de Francisco Payarols; revisión y prólogo de Eduardo Valentí.	Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1955	699 p.; ill., plates	4
1955	Grimm	*Cuentos de Grimm / Jakob Ludwig Karl Grimm; ilust. por Arthur Rackham; traducción de María Luz Morales.	Barcelona: Ed. Juventud, 1955	166 p.; ill.; 25 cm.	2

*) Indicates that the book was donated from private collections.

¹ Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá; ² Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango, Bogotá; ³ Biblioteca Pública Piloto, Medellín; ⁴ Biblioteca Departamental Jorge Garcés Borrero, Cali; ⁵ Biblioteca Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá.

Over half of the early-published editions of Grimm tales located are not in Spanish, which clearly restricts their readership to an elite versed in foreign languages. An interesting item is *Märchen von einem, der auszog, das Fürchten zu lernen* from 1938. This individually published tale is the only bilingual edition (German and Spanish)

found, which explains the German title and the Spanish publisher. It was probably used as a school text in one of the three German schools that existed in Colombia at the time (in Bogotá, Cali, and Barranquilla). A similar bilingual edition from this early period was not found for any another classical European fairy tale.

The inventory of Grimm tales has only issue from the 1940s—*Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* (1943). In general, the inventories presented in Tables 1-3 show very few items imported from Europe published in this decade; no European editions of French fairy tales from the 1940s were found and only one edition by Andersen was located (*Cuentos*, published in Madrid in 1944). This reduction can clearly be attributed to the Second World War (1939-1945), which adversely affected the importation of printed materials from Europe. The allied blockade of merchant ships (which hindered almost completely the trade between Europe and America) and the submarines stationed near the Panama Canal and the Atlantic coast of Colombia had a remarkably harmful effect on the country and its commerce. Trade with Germany was particularly affected. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, on December 7, 1941, Colombia severed diplomatic relations with Germany and joined the Allied cause on November 26, 1943. Private individuals, businesses, and institutions with German ties (or ties to any of the other countries in the Axis) suffered adversities that included confiscation of property. Among the affected institutions were the German Schools. In the year 1942, the Minister of Education, Germán Arciniegas, ordered their closure and confiscated their entire assets. It was only a decade later, in 1952, that German schools in Colombia were again officially recognized by the Ministry of National Education.

It is also during the decade of the 1940s that American publications of classical European fairy tales start to appear in the inventories. The emergence of tales printed and edited in the Americas during this period was related to the detrimental effects of the World War on trade between the continents (Europe and America) and also by the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). Some of the earliest American productions located include the Chilean edition of *Cuentos de Hans Andersen* (1940), a Canadian edition of Perrault's *Contes* (1945), and a North American edition of Perrault's *Little Red Riding Hood* (1948). The earliest American editions of Grimms tales identified are from the 1950s; the oldest is *The Golden Goose*, a 28-page illustrated edition published in New York in 1954. As for Spanish translations, the oldest title located is the Mexican edition *Blanca Nieve y otros cuentos* published by Editorial Renacimiento in 1959.

Translations of Grimms' tales

Translations of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* into several languages began to appear shortly after the Grimms published their first edition in 1812/15. Translations of individual stories appeared in Denmark (1816), the Netherlands (1820), and England (1823/26), for example, and early translated editions were published in countries such as Sweden (1824), France (1830), Hungary (1860), and Russia (1862) (Uther, "Kinder- und Hausmärchen" 540). Spanish translations of the KHM appeared much later. The first Spanish translation of the Grimms' stories was done by Jose S. Viedma and published in 1879 as *Cuentos escogidos de los hermanos Grimm (Selected Stories of the Brothers Grimm)* by Editorial Gaspar in Madrid (Soliño 24). In Colombia, the oldest located Spanish translations are the popular print booklet *Cuentos y Leyendas de los Hermanos Grimm* published in Barcelona by J. Roura and A. del Castillo in 1893 and *Cuentos*

escogidos (*Selected Stories*) published by Saturnino Calleja in Madrid; Calleja's edition is estimated to be from 1896.

Saturnino Calleja (1853-1915)

Saturnino Calleja and his publishing empire was a major contributor to the rise of children's literature in Spain. The influential Madrilenian publishing house Calleja started in 1876 as a home-based bookstore and bookbinding workshop owned and operated by Fernando Calleja Santos. Three years after the establishment of the small business, Fernando sold it to his then twenty-six-year-old son Saturnino, who founded the Casa Editorial Saturnino Calleja Fernández in 1879. In most of Calleja's publications, we read "Casa fundada en 1876" ("House founded in 1876"), when in fact the actual founding date of the publishing house was 1879, or the year when Saturnino bought the bookstore business from his father (Fernández de Córdoba 26).

Part of the success of Editorial Calleja derives from the excellent artists who worked for the company, illustrating children's books like it was never done before. The graphic component of the Calleja productions was of such importance that on the front of many of the editions the name of the illustrator is clearly stated, while that of the authors responsible for the literary part is omitted. In fact, the majority of the Calleja stories are published anonymously—a practice that according to Bravo-Villasante was customary in Spain (Bravo-Villasante, *Historia de la literatura infantil española* 123).

The Calleja editions eventually made their way to Latin America and left their mark in Colombia. In the 1976 article "Calleja" that appeared in the weekly periodical *Consigna*, Hernando Salcedo Silva recalls the large variety of Calleja publications that became available in Colombia. The literary material of Calleja's editions, Salcedo

explains, comprised both classical stories of the children’s genre—Perrault, d’Aulnoy, Grimms, Andersen, and so on—and the “serious” literature which was carefully adapted for children; the Calleja stories came in several different formats (he counted approximately fifteen of them) of various sizes and presentations, some of which were so exquisitely edited that the readers of the stories grew up to become bibliophiles who treasured immensely the magnificent editions beautifully printed on high-quality paper (Salcedo Silva).

According to María Helena Soliño, author of *Women and Children First: Spanish Women Writers and the Fairy Tale Tradition*, the first Calleja version of the KHM appeared in 1879—i.e., the same year as the first Spanish translation of Grimms’ tales by José S. Viedma.¹⁰⁵ Calleja’s versions of the Grimms’ tales were modified for the Spanish market in ways that included changing the characters’ names (e.g., “Hänsel und Gretel” was rendered as “Juanito y Margarita”), having the characters speak in the most “castizo” style, and placing them in Spanish geographical settings (Soliño 25). Calleja’s editorial practices can be seen as attempts to “Spanishify” the Grimms, or what Lawrence Venuti calls “domestication”. The process of domestication as defined by Venuti, involves a translation method in which the foreign text is imprinted with values specific to the target-language culture (Venuti, *Translator’s Invisibility* 49). Saturnino Calleja was very much involved in the editing process and had a strong influence on the writers who worked for him: “The elder Calleja himself supervised most of the work, often imposing his own particular Spanish style on the tales, many of which were published without acknowledging by name the author, translator, or illustrator” (Soliño 24-25).

¹⁰⁵ I was not able to corroborate Soliño’s assertion that the first Calleja version of the KHM was published in 1879.

The omission of individual authorship is also practiced in Colombia; in the next chapter I will discuss a number of tales published in *Chanchito* without naming an author. Disregarding the single author or raconteur makes the tales appear to be anonymous, thus evoking the collective voice that speaks in fairy tales. The notion of anonymity was advanced by the Grimms themselves who were inclined to cloak the identity of the actual storyteller. Heinz Rölleke tells us that in their published citation of sources for the individual tales,¹⁰⁶ the Grimms provided only very vague information about their contributors (e.g., orally in Hesse; from the area of the Main River; from Westphalia); in doing so, they were alluding to the anonymous spirit of the folk to which they attribute the invention and transmission of the tales (Rölleke, “New Results of Research” 102).

Returning now to Calleja, the oldest Calleja version of the KHM that I was able to find in libraries is *Cuentos escogidos (Selected Stories)*; this deluxe edition with fifty-five tales is estimated to be from 1896. But apparently much more popular in Colombia than the larger editions were Calleja’s inexpensive miniature booklets. These single-story booklets, 7x5 cm in size, made up part of a collection known as *Juguetes Instructivos (Instructive Toys)*. The collection consisted of 300 titles from various authors/compiler; the stories, however, were all published without specifying an author. The 16-page, black-and-white illustrated booklets included a crossword puzzle, a joke, or a game on the reverse of the front cover; the back cover had a brief presentation of either a famous historical event or some great personality (Figs. 7-8). There were various editions of *Juguetes Instructivos* and in some the structure of the volumes and/or the illustrators were

¹⁰⁶ For example, in the separate annotated volumes for scholars and folklorists that they published in 1822 and 1856.

changed; among the numerous illustrators the names of Picolo, Ángel, and Cilla stand out in terms of frequency (Fernández de Córdoba 94). I did not find any of these booklets in the libraries but after much searching I finally located a few issues with Grimm tales in a Bogotá bookstore specializing in rare publications.

Compared to the larger editions, the Grimm tales in the Calleja booklets are much more concise in their narrative, probably due to the dimension of the publication. Both publications (large editions and booklets) offer modified narratives in regard to the original German versions (I will discuss the modifications in the next chapter); but the story line in the booklets is overly simplified and exhibits many cuts in the descriptive details. The titles may also vary among the publications. For example, KHM 15 “Hänsel und Grethel” appears as “Anita y Pepito” in the booklet, yet in the large edition *Cuentos escogidos* (1896?) it appears as “La casita de turrón” (“The Nougat House”).



Fig. 7: Front and back cover of Calleja's adaptation of “Clever Else.”

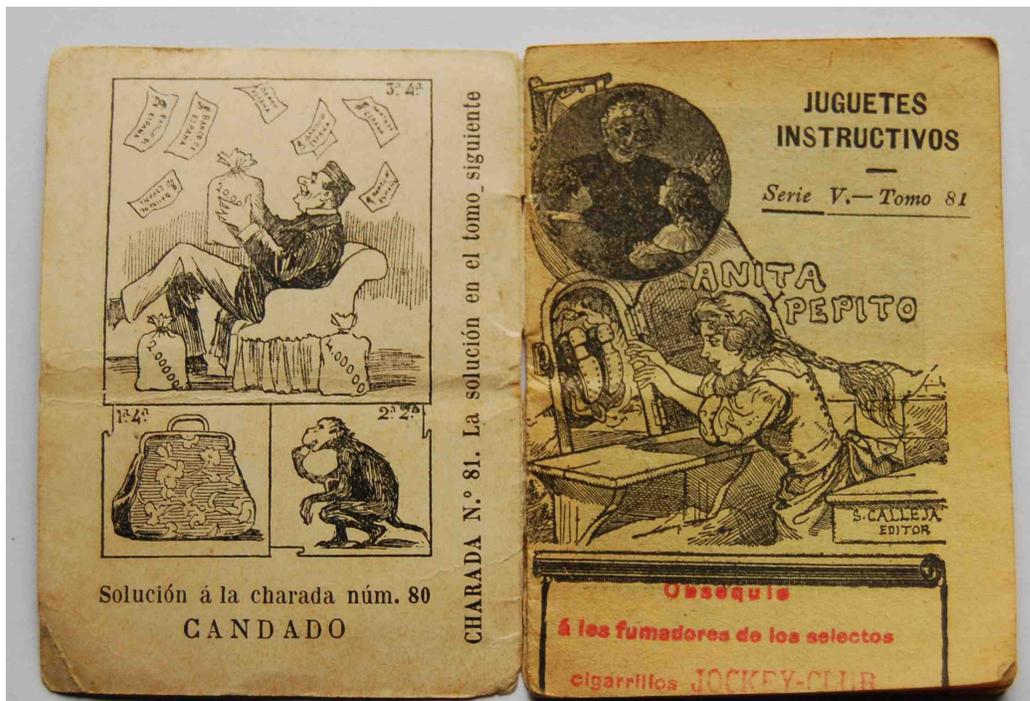


Fig. 6. This page of Calleja's adaptation of Hanser and Greter (includes the solution to the charade from the previous edition on the reverse of the booklet's front cover).

Before getting ahold of the Calleja booklets, I had found several periodicals and magazine articles in the libraries that made reference to these tiny publications, thus attesting to their popularity in Colombia. In the previously mentioned article “Calleja” by Hernando Salcedo Silva, for example, the author remembers the Calleja stories as one of the most important and gratifying dimensions of his childhood. His article was written at a time when Colombia was experiencing an editorial boom in the area of children’s literature. Salcedo Silva argues that despite the burgeoning of well-edited and even “kinetic” books of the current times, no modern equivalent matched the importance of Calleja’s publications. According to Salcedo Silva, a magical trade name such as Calleja (which immediately evokes stories for children) no longer existed, and no other single publisher of Spanish-language materials embodied the genre of children’s literature with

such a distinctive character. These booklets, Salcedo Silva adds, delighted the Spanish-speaking children from the late 1800s until the 1940s and are still nostalgically remembered by many Colombians from his generation.¹⁰⁷ Another article that mentions Calleja's booklets is "Historia sobre los cuentos" ("History of the Stories," 1987) by the Colombian novelist, journalist, and Professor Rocío Vélez de Piedrahita (1926-).¹⁰⁸ In her article Vélez de Piedrahita corroborates some of the information provided by Salcedo Silva, asserting that the tiny Spanish editions with selected classical European tales, including the Grimms, were circulating in the country in the early decades of the twentieth century.

Conclusion

Despite the uncertainty about the provenance and manner of circulation for some of the bibliographic items identified, the materials found in the principal libraries provide a substantial and representative sample of children's/juvenile literature and European fairy tales published through 1955 and currently accessible in the country. The initial data presented here thus enables us to draw some generalized conclusions about the transmission and early reception of the Grimm tales in Colombia.

The bibliographic research suggests that up to 1955 literary works for children that convey Catholic teachings (e.g., by Christoph von Schmid), works with a rigorous morality (e.g., by Ségur), works that evoke compassion (e.g., those by Andersen and Amicis), and literary tales in general (e.g., French fairy tales or tales by Fouqué) were

¹⁰⁷ There is a discrepancy about the exact dates when the "Juguetes Instructivos" were first published. Salcedo Silva estimates that these booklets have been circulating since the late 1800s. However, Fernández de Córdoba estimates that they began to circulate somewhere around 1910, although he found them listed for the first time in the Calleja catalog from 1930 (Fernández de Córdoba 94).

¹⁰⁸ Rocío Vélez de Piedrahita has made significant contributions to the field of children's literature in Colombia. She has published, among other titles, *Guía de la literatura infantil (Guide to Children's Literature)*.

better received than the tales by the Brothers Grimm, which are popularly thought to rely more heavily on oral traditions. Several aspects gave insight into the overall reception of Grimm tales during this early period including the number of publications located; the age, quality, breadth, and provenance of the editions; the languages in which they are accessible; and whether the stories were printed in Colombian editions of the time.

If we can assume that the located volumes were circulating in the country around the time of their publication, then the classical French tales were more accessible (prominent in number) and enjoyed a more prolonged exposure (oldest editions) in Colombia than any of the German tales, including the Grimms. This is due not only to the age of the original publications, but also to the prevailing disposition of the educated Colombian public, who regarded France as the main European cultural center. French literary tales as old as 1768 (e.g., Beaumont's *Le Magasin des enfants*) are currently available in libraries; in contrast, the oldest publications of German fairy tales located (from the 1850s) were published more than 80 years later. French publications also appear to have arrived faster in Colombia: if we were to assume that Beaumont's *Le Magasin* (1768) was available at the time of its publication, then that would mean that her work entered the country while the French writer was still alive in her late 50s. In contrast, and except for the 1858 issue of the KHM (the last small edition that appeared during the Grimms' lifetime), all of the other Grimm tales located were posthumous publications. The identified bibliography suggests that French editions played an important role in the introduction and spread of the classical fairy tale in Colombia, including the Grimm tales; some of the oldest editions with Grimm tales located are

French (e.g., *Contes allemands du temps passé*, 1892), suggesting that their transmission occurred initially via France and French publications.

Works translated into Spanish are, clearly, more accessible to a broader public in Colombia than those written in a foreign language. Until 1950, the identified items in Tables 1-3 show a disparity in terms of Spanish-language editions: Spanish translations of French tales and tales by Andersen exceed those by the Grimms in quantity, quality, breadth, and age (suggesting a prolonged circulation time). The oldest issues located are Beaumont's *Almacén y biblioteca completa de los niños* (1829) and Andersen's *Cuentos escogidos de Andersen* (1879), both of which are much older, more comprehensive, and finer editions than the modest popular print *Cuentos y leyendas de los hermanos Grimm* from 1893 with only seven Grimm tales. Several other broad Spanish-language copies of French tales and Andersen's tales from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were located. By contrast, comparable in scope, I found only one edition of the Grimms' tales from the nineteenth century (Calleja's *Cuentos escogidos*, 1896?). The disparity in age, quantity, and breadth of Spanish-language editions suggests that Colombians have had access to a much wider selection of stories by Andersen and French fairy-tale authors for a prolonged time than those by the Grimms.

It is difficult to ascertain whether these texts were indeed circulating and being read at the time of their publication, especially since most are imported editions. For that reason, the provenance of the books and tales reprinted in Colombian editions become important determinants of reception. Literary tales like Collodi's *Pinocchio* and Fouqué's *Undine* appeared in local editions from this early period, implying that they were being read at the time; Andersen stood out among other fairy-tale authors with many of his

stories reprinted in magazines, periodicals, and literary anthologies such as *Colección de grandes escritores nacionales y extranjeros*. This particular anthology includes pieces by other German writers contemporary to the Brothers Grimm (e.g., Fouqué, E. T. A. Hoffmann, Heinrich Heine, and Adelbert von Chamisso); however, I found none of the Grimm tales in the examined volumes. The only traces of Grimm tales in an early Colombian edition are the stories in *Chanchito* (1933); these stories, though, were published without acknowledging the authors by name.

There is very limited information regarding the provenance of the publications listed in Tables 1-3. Nevertheless, we know that ca. 23% of the French tales and ca. 21% of Andersen's tales came from private family collections. There is an increased probability that items donated to libraries from private collections were being read by Colombian families at the time, or close to the time, of their publication. In the case of the Grimms, in all but one instance it is unknown when the libraries acquired the books and under what circumstances; here one can only speculate that the publishing dates reflect their circulation at the time.

Although the composition of the fairy-tale inventory changes dramatically in favor of the Grimms after 1955, it appears that in the early phase of this study literary tales may have been favored in Colombia over the Grimm folk tales, and that the popularity of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* would come later in the second half of the twentieth century in the wake of Disney's animated fairy-tale adaptations.

Chapter 3: Translated Versions of Grimms' Tales Published through 1955

When we speak of the reception of the KHM in Colombia, we are not really talking about the Grimms' collection itself, but mostly about secondhand rewritings and adaptations of the Grimms' own texts. As we have seen in the preceding chapter, only about one third of the early publications located are German transcripts of the Grimms' original tales; the majority of the available tales published through 1955 are translations. It is not surprising that translations constitute the core of the early inventory of Grimm tales in Colombia given the language barrier that a text in German poses in a country whose official language is Spanish.

Most publishers, reviewers, and readers will consider a translated text acceptable if it reads fluently and seems transparent, giving the appearance that it reflects the foreign writer's personality or intention, or the essential meaning of the foreign text as if it were the "original"; yet the illusion of fluency and transparency is an effect of the translator's effort to ensure easy readability by adhering to current usage, avoiding any linguistic or stylistic peculiarities, and fixing a precise meaning (Venuti, *Translator's Invisibility* 1). Numerous conditions play a role in producing an apparent fluent and transparent translation, and it starts with the translator's crucial intervention in the foreign text. Translations, though, do not give us the same receptive experience as the Grimms' original stories. The question of reception is a complex one that involves very diverse responses and reactions to the stories based on the recipient's unique standpoint. A translation itself is already a reflection of how the translator has responded to the original German text. In a translation, Lawrence Venuti tells us, the source message is always interpreted and reinvented; "it is reconstructed according to a different set of values and

always variable according to different languages and cultures” (Venuti, *Translation Studies* 484). Moreover, he notes that any communication through translating will involve the release of a domestic reminder; the foreign text is rewritten in domestic dialects and discourses, registers and styles to release target-oriented possibilities of meaning (Venuti, *Translation Studies* 485). In other words, a translation replaces the linguistic and cultural differences of the foreign text with a text that will be comprehensible to the target-language reader. Consequently, translations will often present alterations, which range from modest changes in diction to significant departures from the original storyline to create a particular effect on the reader. Because the initial transmission of Grimm tales to Colombia occurred primarily via imported translations, it is important to take a closer look at the stories contained in these volumes.

In this chapter I will examine the translations, which make up most of the early inventory, to determine how the tales were transmitted in printed form to Colombia from the nineteenth century until 1955. These editions are crucial to this study not only because the early reception of Grimms’ tales appears to have been determined by foreign publications, but also because the translated versions, especially those in Spanish, will provide the comparative basis for later adaptations of the tales created in Colombia.

Without intending to brand a translation as “good” or “bad,” I will consider several aspects such as their fidelity to and variations from the original text, the way the editions are framed (prefaces, forewords, etc.), how are they presented (scope, overall quality, story selection), the illustrations and, if known, the source publication used for the translation. In those cases where a translation presents marked textual changes from the original tale, I will try to provide possible reasons for such divergence. The

implications and repercussions that these textual departures may have had on recent and specifically Colombian productions of the Grimm stories will be discussed in subsequent chapters. Because Spanish is the language with the widest reach among the local audience, and because editions from Barcelona and Madrid make up circa 40% of the early Grimm-tale inventory, I will devote special attention to the tale adaptations in these volumes. French and English versions will be addressed in a more general way; Grimm editions in French and English have a much more limited audience in Colombia, one comprised of a reduced but highly educated elite generally familiar with these languages mainly from studying abroad.

Studying the translations poses many challenges. Among the most difficult one is the lack of information regarding the translators and editors, who are acknowledged only in very few instances. Even if biographical details can be found, we still know nothing about the working methods or practices that a translator used in his or her work. This problem is further accentuated in those cases where individual stories or editions are published anonymously. Another difficulty arises when it comes to evaluating the quality (adherence to the original) of a translation. This becomes a tricky process especially because it is difficult to obtain information about which of the various editions of the KHM served as the source for the translation (very few translations reveal the original source). In addition, the quality of the translation may vary considerably from one edition to another, and also within any one edition, especially when more than one translator is involved in the same edition. Given these inherent difficulties, the approach in this study will be one of textual analysis, where a close reading of the translated stories allows us to compare them with their respective German sources. Ideally, each story in each of the

located editions should be compared with their original source, but such an endeavor would be impossible. Instead, selected passages where the translator has modified the original will be included, with the possible explanations for such departures.

Table 4 provides information about the individual tales contained in the translations of Grimm tales published until 1955. I will not address the tales included in the German editions because this chapter deals specifically with translated versions. Titles in Spanish appear in bold letters to distinguish them from publications in French and English. After each story's title I have indicated in parenthesis the original German title, the tale number, and the date of the tale's first publication in the brothers' collection—this date, however, is not to be read as the version that served as model for the translation.

Table 4: Early Publications of Grimm Tales Currently Available in Colombian Libraries

Date	Title / Publisher Info. / Date	Tales included	Physical charact.
1858	<i>Kinder- und Hausmärchen</i> .	Berlin: Franz Ducker, 1858.	311 p.
1880?	<i>Grimm's Fairy Tales</i> . London: Frederick Warne and Co. n.d.	Contains a total of 130 tales including: "The Frog Prince" (1. Der Froschkönig oder der eiserne Heinrich, 1812) "The Cat who Married a Mouse" (2. "Katz und Maus in Gesellschaft," 1812) "The Youth who could not Shiver and Shake" (4. "Märchen von einem, der auszog, das fürchten zu lernen," 1812) "The Enchanted Stag" (11. "Brüderchen und Schwesterchen," 1812) "The Garden of the Sorceress" (12. "Rapunzel," 1812) "Hansel and Grethel" (15. "Hänsel und Gretel," 1812) "Cinderella" (21. "Aschenputtel," 1812) "The Little Red Riding Hood" (26. "Rotkäppchen," 1812); etc.	522 p.; col. ill.
1892	<i>Contes allemands du temps passé: extraits</i>	Contains the following 17 tales: "Blanche-Neige" (53. "Sneewittchen," 1812)	468 p.; ill.

	<i>des recueils des frères Grimm, et de Simrock, Bechstein, Franz Hoffmann, Musaeus, Tieck, Schwab, Winter, etc., avec la legende de Lorely.</i> Paris: Perrin, 1892.	<p>“La Princesse sur les pois” (182. “Die Erbsenprobe,” only in the 1843 edition)</p> <p>“Les Wichtelmänner” (39. “Die Wichtelmänner,” 1812)</p> <p>“L’eau de la vie” (97. “Das Wasser des Lebens,” 1815)</p> <p>“Le Pauvre garçon meunier et la Petite chatte” (106. “Der arme Müllerbursch und das Kätzchen,” 1815)</p> <p>“Le Trois fileuses” (14. “Die drei Spinnerinnen,” 1812)</p> <p>“Le Roi Grive” (52. “König Drosselbart,” 1812)</p> <p>“La Gardeuse d’oies à la fontaine” (179. “Die Gänsehirtin am Brunnen,” 1843)</p> <p>“La Dame Hollé” (24. “Frau Holle,” 1812)</p> <p>“Le Serpent blanc” (17. “Die weiße Schlange,” 1812)</p> <p>“Petit frère et Petite sœur” (11. “Brüderchen und Schwesterchen,” 1812)</p> <p>“Le Compère La Mort” (44. “Der Gevatter Tod,” 1812)</p> <p>“La Lumière bleue” (116. “Das blaue Licht,” 1815)</p> <p>“Cendrillon” (21. “Aschenputtel,” 1812)</p> <p>“Raiponce” (12. “Rapunzel,” 1812)</p> <p>“Les Six cygnes” (49. “Die sechs Schwäne,” 1812)</p> <p>“Les Trois nains de la forêt” (13. “Die drei Männlein im Walde,” 1812).</p>	
1893	<i>Cuentos y leyendas de los hermanos Grimm.</i> Barcelona: J. Roura, 1893.	<p>Contains the following 7 tales:</p> <p>“Seis soldados de fortuna” (71. “Sechse kommen durch die ganze Welt,” 1819)</p> <p>“La corneja” (93. “Die Rabe,” 1815)</p> <p>“Juan Fiel” (6. “Der treue Johannes,” 1819)</p> <p>“Pulgarín” (37. “Daumensdick,” 1819)</p> <p>“El almendro” (47. “Von dem Machandelboom,” 1812)</p> <p>“El perro viejo y el gorrión” (58. “Der Hund und der Sperling,” 1812)</p> <p>“Los dos pollos” (77. “Das kluge Gretel,” 1819)</p>	80 p.; col. ill.
1896?	<i>Cuentos escogidos</i> / Jacob Ludwig Karl Grimm, Wilhelm Grimm. Madrid: Saturnino Calleja, n.d.	<p>Contains a total of 55 tales including:</p> <p>“El caballo prodigioso” (“89. “Die Gänsemagd,” 1815)</p> <p>“El rey cuervo” (52. “König Drosselbart,” 1812)</p> <p>“La Cenicienta” (21. “Aschenputtel,” 1812)</p> <p>“La princesita Blanca Nieves” (53. “Sneewittchen,” 1812)</p> <p>“Las dos hermanas” (24. “Frau Holle,” 1812)</p> <p>“Juana la lista” (34. “Die kluge Else,” 1819)</p> <p>“Lo que puede la astucia” (14. “Die drei Spinnerinnen,” 1812)</p> <p>“El sastrecillo listo” (114. “Vom klugen Schneiderlein,” 1815)</p> <p>“La gallinita y el pollito” (80. “Von dem Tode des Hühnchens,” 1812)</p> <p>“La Caperucita roja” (26. “Rotkäppchen,” 1812); etc.</p>	365p.; ill.
1901	<i>Kinder- und Hausmärchen / Gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm.</i> Berlin: Wilhelm Herb, 1901.		507p.; ill.
1913?	<i>Contes choisis des frères Grimm.</i> Paris: Ernest Flammarion, n.d.	<p>Contains a total of 47 tales including:</p> <p>“Jeannot et Annette” (15. “Hänsel und Gretel,” 1812)</p> <p>“Le fidèle Jean” (6. “Der treue Johannes,” 1819)</p>	356 p.; ill.

		<p>"Petit frère et Petite sœur" (11. "Brüderchen und Schwesterchen," 1812)</p> <p>"Le Trois fileuses" (14. "Die drei Spinnerinnen," 1812)</p> <p>"Les musiciens de la ville de Brême" (27. "Die Bremer Stadtmusikanten," 1819)</p> <p>"Les trois cheveux d'or du diable" (29. "Der Teufel mit den drei goldenen Haaren," 1819)</p> <p>"Blanche-Neige" (53. "Sneewittchen," 1812)</p> <p>"La reine des Abeilles" (62. "Die Bienenkönigin," 1812)</p> <p>"L'eau vitale" (97. "Das Wasser des Lebens," 1815)</p> <p>"La Lumière bleue" (116. "Das blaue Licht," 1815); etc.</p>	
1924?	<i>Kinder- und Hausmärchen: gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm.</i> Leipzig: Hesse & Becker Verlag, n.d.		882 p.; ill.
1925?	<i>Recueil de contes de Grimm.</i> Paris: Flammarion, n.d.	<p>Contains the following 6 tales:</p> <p>"Rumpelstilzchen" (55. "Rumpelstilzchen," 1812)</p> <p>"La Gaspilleuse" (156. "Die Schlickerlinge," 1819)</p> <p>"La Fiancée du Lapin" (66. "Häsichenbraut," 1819)</p> <p>"Le Roi Grenouille" (1. "Der Froschkönig oder der eiserne Heinrich," 1812)</p> <p>"La Belle au Bois Dormant" (50. "Dornröschen," 1812)</p> <p>"Jeannot et Annette" (15. "Hänsel und Gretel," 1812)</p>	63 p.; col. ill.
1933-1934	Chanchito: Revista ilustrada para niños. Bogotá: n.p., 1933-34.	<p>"El caballo prodigioso" (89. "Die Gänsemagd," 1815). <i>Chanchito</i> 1.9-10 (1933).</p> <p>"La casita de turrón" (15. "Hänsel und Gretel," 1812). <i>Chanchito</i> 1.11-12 (1933).</p> <p>"La rana encantada" (1. "Der Froschkönig oder der eiserne Heinrich," 1812). <i>Chanchito</i> 1.13 (1933).</p> <p>"La nariz" (36. "Die lange Nase," 1815). <i>Chanchito</i> 1.15 (1933).</p> <p>"Los seis cisnes" (49. "Die sechs Schwäne," 1812). <i>Chanchito</i> 1.16 (1933).</p> <p>"El agua de la vida" (97. "Das Wasser des Lebens," 1815). <i>Chanchito</i> 2.29 (1934).</p> <p>"Las tres plumas" (63. "Die drei Federn," 1812). <i>Chanchito</i> 3.62 (1934).</p>	Illust.
1935	Cuentos de Grimm: ilustrados por Arthur Rackham. Barcelona: Editorial Juventud, 1935.	<p>Contains 28 tales including:</p> <p>"Blancanieves" (53. "Sneewittchen," 1812)</p> <p>"Lindo Clavel" (76. "Die Nelke," 1819)</p> <p>"Rosa silvestre" (50. "Dornröschen," 1812)</p> <p>"El judío en espinos" (110. "Der Jude im Dorn," 1815)</p> <p>"La Cenicienta" (21. "Aschenputtel," 1812)</p> <p>"La serpiente blanca" (17. "Die weisse Schlange," 1812)</p> <p>"La pastora de gansos" (89. "Die Gänsemagd," 1815); etc.</p>	188 p.; ill.
1936	<i>Kinder- und Hausmärchen: gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm / Zeichnungen von Otto Ubbelohde.</i> Marburg: N.G. Elwert Verlag, 1936.		3 vol.; ill.
1938	<i>Märchen von einem, der auszog, das Fürchten zu lernen.</i> Barcelona: Espasa-Calpe, 1938.		95 p.
1943	<i>Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm; mit 90 Holzschnitten und 8 Tonbildern von Ludwig Richter.</i> Leipzig: Schmidt & Günther, 1943.		855p.; ill.

1950	Blancanieves y los enanitos. <i>Adaptación de Mercedes Llimona.</i> Barcelona: Ed. Juventud, 1950. (53. "Sneewittchen," 1812)		46 p.; col. ill.
1950	Libro de cuentos ilustrado: 10 láminas en color con los más bonitos cuentos de los hermanos Grimm. Madrid: A.A.A., 1950.	Contains the following 10 tales: "La Casita de Chocolate" (15. "Hänsel und Gretel," 1812) "Blancanieves" (53. "Sneewittchen," 1812) "Maria Pez y Maria Oro" (24. "Frau Holle," 1812) "Caperucita Roja" (26. "Rotkäppchen," 1812) "La Bella Durmiente" (50. "Dornröschen," 1812) "Trotta-Menudo" (55. "Rumpelstilzchen," 1812) "La Cenicienta" (21. "Aschenputtel," 1812) "El Sastrecillo Valiente" (20. "Das tapfere Schneiderlein," 1812) "Los Hermanitos" (11. "Brüderchen und Schwesterchen," 1812) "El Gato con Botas" (no. 33 "Der gestiefelte Kater" in 1812; omitted in 1819).	37 p.; ill.
1954	<i>The Golden Goose by the Brothers Grimm.</i> New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954.		28 p.; ill.
1955	Cuentos completos de los hermanos Grimm; Traducción de Francisco Payarols. Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1955.	Includes 213 tales including: "El Rey-Rana o el fiel Enrique" (1. "Der Froschkönig oder der eiserne Heinrich," 1812) "El gato y el ratón hacen vida en común" (2. "Katz und Maus in Gesellschaft," 1812) "La hija de la Virgen María" (3. "Marienkind," 1812) "El mozo que quería aprender lo que es el miedo" (4. "Märchen von einem, der auszog, das fürchten zu lernen," 1812) "El lobo y las siete cabritas" (5. "Die Wolf und die sieben jungen Geisslein," 1812); etc.	699 p.; ill.
1955	Cuentos de Grimm: <i>ilustrados por Arthur Rackham; traducción de María Luz Morales.</i> Barcelona: Ed. Juventud, 1955.	Contains 28 tales including: "Blancanieves" (53. "Sneewittchen," 1812) "Lindo Clavel" (76. "Die Nelke," 1819) "La Bella Durmiente" (50. "Dornröschen," 1812) "La Cenicienta" (21. "Aschenputtel," 1812) "La serpiente blanca" (17. "Die weisse Schlange," 1812) "Los siete cabritos y el lobo" (5. "Die Wolf und die sieben jungen Geisslein," 1812); etc.	166 p.; ill.

Most of the translations are usually based on the final KHM edition from 1857. As previously mentioned, the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* were published in seven different large editions between 1812 and 1857.¹⁰⁹ The tales underwent modifications in style and content from the earliest notations to the last large edition published during the Grimms' lifetime. The first two volumes of the first edition of 1812/15 contained a total

¹⁰⁹ Ten further small editions with 50 of the most popular tales were published between 1825 and 1858.

of 156 tales and over the next 45 years new tales were added, omitted, or substituted in the collection reaching a total of 200 tales and 10 *Kinderlegenden* by the final edition from 1857.¹¹⁰ From the various published volumes, however, the 1857 edition has served as the primary source for nearly every subsequent reprinting of the Grimms' tales (Bottigheimer, *Bad Girls* xii).¹¹¹ If any of the located translations appears to be based on a different edition of the KHM, I will try to suggest which of earlier editions may have served as basis.

French Editions

French editions are of historical importance because they are among the earliest-published translations of Grimms' tales located in Colombian libraries. The oldest edition that I found is *Contes allemands du temps passé* (*German Tales of Past Times*) published by Librairie Académique Didier: Perrin et Cie in Paris in 1892. This is the translation's third edition (the first edition appeared in 1869) and contains seventeen tales by the Grimms (see Table 4) along with stories from other German writers;¹¹² the translation was made by Félix Frank and E. Alsleben.

¹¹⁰ Because Wilhelm Grimm considered the tale "Die zwölf faulen Knechte" ("The Twelve Lazy Servants") so important, it was added to the final edition of 1857; however, to keep the even number of 200 tales, he denominated this tale as 151a. (Zipes, *The Complete Fairy Tales* 739).

¹¹¹ This is clearly not applicable to editions and translations that include omitted tales taken from earlier editions of the KHM and from the 1810 manuscript. For example, Jack Zipes's *The Complete Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm*, which includes several tales omitted in the final KHM edition and some earlier tales included in Jacob Grimm's 1806 letter to Friedrich Carl von Savigny (Professor of Law at the University of Marburg); Maria Tatar's *The Hard Facts of the Grimms' Fairy Tales* and *The Annotated Brothers Grimm*, which include some tales from the first edition (1812/15), fragments, etc; and Joyce Crick's *Selected Tales*, which includes some tales from the first edition and some earlier tales from 1808 and 1810.

¹¹² *Contes allemands du temps passé* (1892) includes sixty stories by nine German authors. The anthology is divided into three sections: The first part is the lengthiest and comprises thirty nine stories as follows: Grimms (17), Karl J. Simrock (8), and Ludwig Bechtstein (14); the second part includes fifteen stories by Franz Hoffmann (9), Charles Winter (2) and J. Schanz (4); and the third and last part includes six tales by Johan K. A. Musäus (3), Ludwig Tieck (1), and G. Schwab (1), as well as the legend of Loreley.

This anthology is illustrated with a few black-and-white engravings from an unspecified artist; on some of the illustrations the names Marchand S.G. and G. Gostiauf can barely be recognized. The largest image that appears opposite to the title page (Fig. 9) shows a group of old and young men and women listening to a middle-aged man telling stories; floating over their heads, a cloud forms a path where a diverse group of magical beings (e.g., fairies, princesses, dwarves, and wizards, etc.) are walking towards a distant castle. Although the image implies that the tales are enjoyable for everyone regardless of their age, the cautionary gesture of the raconteur's hand hints at the instructional intent of this edition.

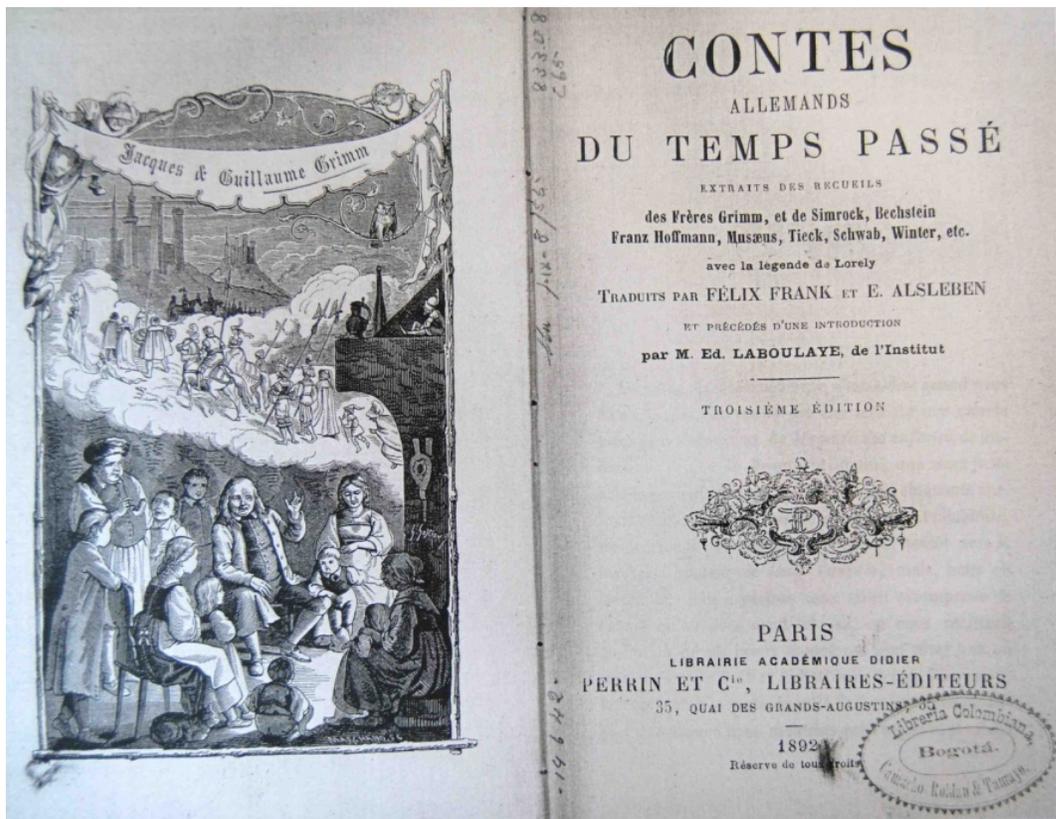


Fig. 9: Title page of *Contes allemands du temps passé* ... (Paris, 1892). Courtesy of Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango, Bogotá.

Preceding the stories, which have been grouped by authors, is an eleven-page preface written by M. Ed. Laboulaye, which calls for a renewed emphasis on the imagination in a school curriculum that had become focused solely on “facts, ciphers, and laws” (ii). Laboulaye starts with a reminiscence of the times when he was young, the “good old times,” as he puts it, when fairy tales played an important part in the education of children; in that context he mentions Beaumont’s *Le Magasin des enfants* as a decisive work that “ruled” fifty years ago (i). The author believes that current educators have forgotten one of the most precious faculties of mankind—the imagination—that together with the memory and sensitivity dominate the child; he therefore urges teachers to reintroduce the fairy tale because he considers these stories to be not only the poetry of children but also the moral core of education (i-iv).

A note about their respective authors or collectors precedes each group of stories. The opening note on the Grimms praises the work carried out by the brothers as well as their reverence for the “treasures of popular literature” (3). It also provides compact biographical information and a brief account about the origins of the KHM, indicating that the publication of these two “serious” academics caused, at first, quite a surprise among the European public:

L’étonnement fut grand en Allemagne et en Europe, lorsqu’on apprit que ces deux graves savants s’étaient amusés à recueillir dans leurs voyages et dans leurs promenades, de la bouche de simples et des paysans, toute sorte de vieilles traditions, sous ce titre, sans prétention: “Contes pour les enfants et pour la famille” (*Kinder und Hausmøhrchen*) [sic], dont la première partie parut en 1812, pour applement s’accoitre para la suite. (*Contes allemands* 5-6)

The astonishment in Germany and in Europe was great when one learned that these two serious scholars were amused to collect, during their travels and walks, from the mouth of the simple people and the peasants all sorts of old traditions, [and publish them] under the title without pretension:

“Contes pour les enfants et pour la famille” (*Kinder und Hausmœhrchen*) [sic], of which the first part appeared in 1812, to be increased amply by the following volume.

The introductory note adds that the Grimms did for the tales in Germany what Théodor H. de la Villemarqué had done for the popular songs in Brittany¹¹³ and, what is more, that they also changed the perception of these “treasures of the naïve imagination” among the public, who initially appeared not to comprehend their value (3-6).

Unfortunately this publication does not specify which of the various editions of the KHM served as source for the translation. Most of the Grimm tales in *Contes allemands du temps passé* were first published in the 1812/15 editions;¹¹⁴ however, their translations appeared to be based on a later edition. In the case of “Blanche-Neige,” for example, we know that this French version does not correspond to the original tale as published in 1812 because in the translation the persecutor is the stepmother—not the biological mother. The biological mother was replaced by the stepmother in 1819 and this substitution was kept throughout subsequent editions of the KHM. Neither does the translation correspond to the final edition from 1857; instead, the story of “Blanche-Neige” seems to correspond to the 5th edition from 1843. The following excerpts serve to illuminate this. For the purpose of comparison I have included the tale variation in the 1857 edition as well.

The quotation below is taken from the scene where the dwarfs offer Snow White the possibility to live with them, provided she agrees to carry out the domestic chores that

¹¹³ The French philologist Théodore Claude Henri, vicomte Hersart de la Villemarqué (1815-1895) published popular Breton songs in his *Barzaz Breiz* (*Ballads of Brittany*, 1839) and *Contes populaires des anciens Bretons* (*Popular Tales of Old Bretons*, 1842).

¹¹⁴ Only two stories in this volume—“La Gardeuse d’oies à la fontaine” (KHM 179) and “La Princesse sur les pois” (KHM 182)—were first published in the fifth large edition from 1843 and not in the first edition of 1812/15.

included cooking, making the beds, washing, sewing, knitting, and keeping everything neat and tidy. These are the responses in the various editions:

Contes allemands

Blanche-Neige leur promet tout ce qu'ils désiraient et resta chez eux (*Contes allemands* 11).

Snow White promised [the dwarfs] everything that they wanted and stayed with them.

1843 edition

Das versprach Sneewittchen, und blieb bei ihnen (312).

1857 edition

“Ja,” sagte Sneewittchen, “von Herzen gern,” und blieb bei ihnen. (272)

Snow White's response is straightforward in the 1843 edition and coincides with the French translation. With the addition of the phrase “von Herzen gern” (first introduced in the 6th edition from 1850), the later version of 1857 presents a Snow White increasingly willing to assume the household tasks for the dwarfs—a change that accentuates the girl's diligence, keenness to please others, and docility. Modifications like this one, which underpin specific cultural values and behavioral patterns for girls, deemed as good/acceptable in nineteenth-century Germany, have been the subject of heated discussions on gender-role portrayal in the Grimms' tales. According to Jack Zipes, for instance, the patterns of most Grimms' tales draw conscious attention to determined values and behavioral models that reinforce stereotypical gender roles; these models accentuate a passive, industrial, and self-sacrificing posture for girls while emphasizing activity, competition, and accumulation of wealth for boys (Zipes, *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion* 57).

Another scene that suggests that the translation is based on the 1843 edition concerns the accidental episode that eventually saves the girl—as the prince’s servants were carrying the glass coffin, they stumbled over a root, and the jolt freed the piece of apple from Snow White’s throat.

Contes allemands

... mais, ayant heurté du pied une grosse racine, ils tombèrent, et par l’effet du choc, le cœur de la pomme sortit du gosier de Blanche-Neige. Presque aussitôt, elle rouvrit les yeux, se redressa et dit: “Mon Dieu ! où suis-je ?” (*Contes allemands* 18)

... but, upon stumbling on a large root they fell down and, due to the effect of the shock, the heart of the apple came out of Snow White’s throat. Almost immediately she opened the eyes, lifted herself up and said: “My God! Where am I?”

1843 edition

Da geschah es, daß sie über einen Strauch stolperten, und von dem Schüttertern fuhr der giftige Apfelgrütz, den Sneewittchen abgebissen hatte, aus dem Hals. Und nicht lange so schlug es die Augen auf, richtete sich in die Höhe und war wieder lebendig. “Ach Gott, wo bin ich?” rief es. (318)

1857 edition

Da geschah es, daß sie über einen Strauch stolperten, und von dem Schüttertern fuhr der giftige Apfelgrütz, den Sneewittchen abgebissen hatte, aus dem Hals. Und nicht lange, so öffnete es die Augen, hob den Deckel vom Sarg in die Höhe, und richtete sich auf, und war wieder lebendig. “Ach Gott, wo bin ich?” rief es. (277)

After coming back to life, the immediate reaction of Snow White varies from one KHM edition to another. The awakening of Snow White occurs rather swiftly in the 1843 version, while in that of 1857 is more elaborate since the girl first opens the coffin top before incorporating herself.¹¹⁵ No coffin is present in the translation—more evidence to assume that the French volume relied on the 1843 edition.

¹¹⁵ The variation where Snow White first opens the coffin cover before sitting up was introduced in 1850.

This anthology also includes the tale “La Princesse sur les pois” (“The Princess on the Pea”), which further suggests its reliance on the 5th edition of the KHM (1843). In German, “Die Erbsenprobe” appeared published as tale number 182 only in the 1843 edition of the KHM. It was omitted from the subsequent edition of 1850¹¹⁶ because of its similarity to H. C. Andersen’s tale “Prindsessan paa aerten” (1835). This translation is clearly based on the version of the Grimm Brothers and not on Andersen’s tale. Unlike Andersen’s, this story tells of a king who is helping his son find a real princess for a wife. Since no potential candidates were in the vicinity, the king sent out letters to many foreign princesses, who presented themselves at the palace but turned out not to have royal lineage. In the much shorter tale by Andersen there is no king to help his son find a bride; here the prince undertakes the search himself and travels around the world looking for a princess (albeit unsuccessfully).

Contes allemands du temps passé is an annotated edition, which gives it a literary character. Throughout the book footnotes provide comments or clarifications about certain tales. For example, it has been indicated that the equivalent German for the girl’s name “Blanche-Neige” is *Sneewitchen* [sic] or *Schneeweisschen* (both names appear in the footnote). A note at the end of “La princesse sur les pois” clarifies that despite the apparent naïveté initially conveyed by tale, this short account has a very original ironic tone—slightly mocking good-naturedness (“bonhomie narquoise”)—that the reader will encounter in more than one of the Grimms’ stories. In the case of “La dame Hollé” it is explained that when it snows in Hessen people say that Frau Holle is making her bed. The footnote of “Cendrillon” alerts the reader to the fact that the German story

¹¹⁶ In the 1850 edition of the KHM “Die Erbsenprobe” was replaced by “Die Geschenke des kleinen Volkes.”

“Aschenputtel” or “Aschenbrödel” [sic]¹¹⁷ is almost completely different from Perrault’s version, and adds that it has been purposely included in this volume to show the curious differences that a similar character presents depending on the spirit of the country from which it comes. Furthermore, it adds that the character of Cendrillon is as popular in Germany as it is in France, and that she is also found in other places such as the Highlanders of Scotland, albeit with differing names and varying details.

Within the context of the reception of the KHM in Colombia, the significance of *Contes allemands du temps passé* is a historical one. The bibliographic material presented in chapter 1 suggests that French editions were one of the first dissemination channels of the German tales in Colombia. The fact that this anthology appears to be based on earlier versions of the KHM, possibly from 1843, is also significant. Assuming that this translation was circulating at the time of its publication, this would mean that first encounters of the Colombian public with the tales were not with the final and authoritative version of the Grimms’ stories—i.e., the seventh edition from 1857—but with tale-versions that were still in the process of being revised (e.g., Snow White).

Two other located French editions appear to be more recent publications from the first quarter of the twentieth century. *Contes choisis des frères Grimm*, estimated to be from 1913,¹¹⁸ was published by Ernest Flammarion in Paris. Without illustrations, it contains forty-seven Grimm tales translated directly from the German by Henri Mansvic (the source was not specified). In a short introduction, Mansvic makes casual reference to the first published editions of the KHM, citing only the first three years of publication

¹¹⁷ Both headings appear in the footnote.

¹¹⁸ I located two very similar records in WorldCat with a publishing date of 1913. They are: (1) Jacob Grimm, *Contes choisis des frères Grimm*, trans. Henri Mansvic (Paris: Flammarion, 1913); this edition has an identical physical description (356 pages and 19cm); (2) Jakob Grimm Jakob, *Contes choisis*, trans. Henri Mansvic (Paris: Flammarion, 1913).

1812, 1815, and 1819. Regarding their method of collection he repeats the fallacious popular belief that the brothers traversed Germany and gathered from the simple people stories, legends, anecdotes, and other narratives that they later transcribed meticulously word by word. The lack of illustrations suggests that this edition is meant for more mature audiences.

The edition *Recueil de contes de Grimm*, is yet another publication by Ernest Flammarion that I estimate to be from the mid 1920s.¹¹⁹ Very little is known about this issue for it lacks an introduction and any other form of discursive paratext. The concise edition includes only six Grimm tales translated by Kathleen Fitzgerald; although the source for the translation is unknown, the stories appear to be based on the final KHM version of 1857. At least four color illustrations per story by the artist Gilbert James are embedded within the text. The small size of the book (16 cm.), which makes it more manageable for small hands, along with the reduced number of tales and the significant number of color illustrations, suggests that the edition is designed with a juvenile readership in mind.

When looking at these early French volumes, we notice a general trend that shifts away from annotated, comprehensive, and non-illustrated editions to issues targeted directly at youngsters. As the century progresses, however, we will notice that French editions of Grimm tales become less visible in the libraries' inventories and are slowly

¹¹⁹ WorldCat estimates the date for this title in the 1900s. However, several other stories for children translated by Kathleen Fitzgerald were published later by the Paris-based house Ernest Flammarion e.g., *Gulliver a Lilliput et Gulliver a Brobdingnac* (1912) and *Histoire de Robinson Crusôé: Racontée pour les enfants* (1920). In 1932, Flammarion published *Contes d'Andersen*. Based on the translations by Fitzgerald and the publication of Andersen's tales I estimate the publication of *Recueil de contes de Grimm* to be around 1925.

overshadowed by an increasing number of editions primarily in Spanish, but also in English.

English Editions

Only one English edition from the nineteenth century was found in the libraries: the popular *Grimm's Fairy Tales* published by Frederick Warne and Co. in London and New York (Fig. 10). No publication date is provided for this edition, but it can be estimated to be in the late 1880s.¹²⁰

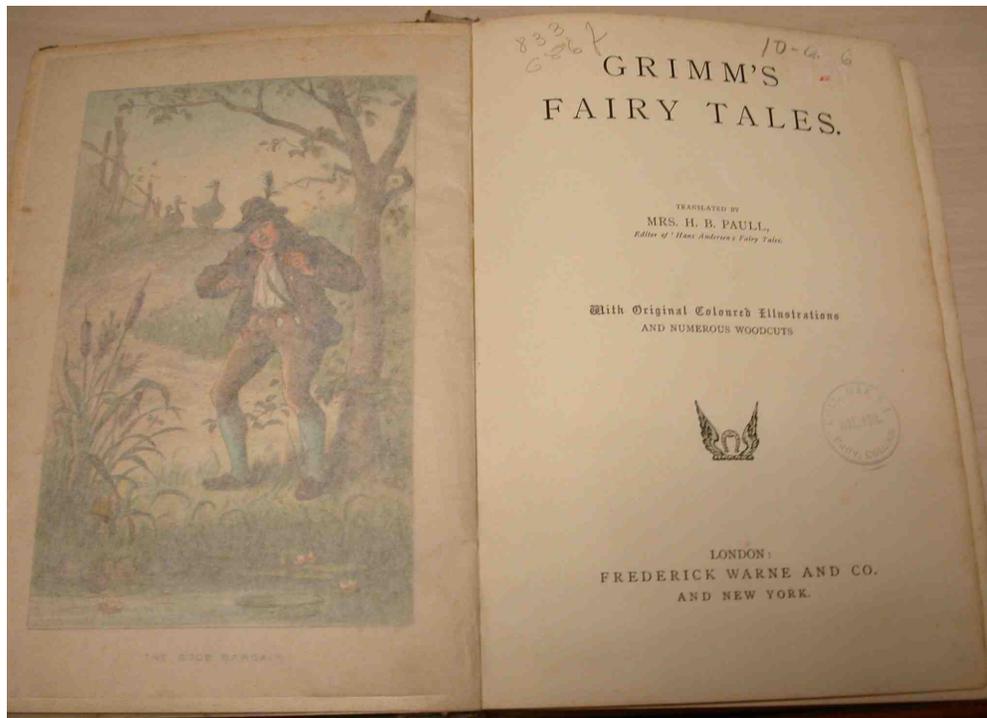


Fig. 10: Title page of *Grimm's Fairy Tales* (London, 1888?). Courtesy of Biblioteca Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá.

This high-quality volume, beautifully illustrated with forty full-page color images (protected with tissue paper) and numerous woodcuts inserted in the text, contains 130

¹²⁰ I located a very similar edition from 1888 in WorldCat namely: H. B. Paull's translation, *Grimm's Fairy Tales* (London: F. Warne, 1888). Similar to the edition found in the library of the Universidad Javeriana in Bogotá, this volume also includes the remark "with original coloured illustrations and numerous woodcuts" and fits the exact physical description (522 pages, 22cm).

Grimm tales translated and edited by Mrs. H. B. Paull (1812-1888), a prolific British translator and author. Paull's works include *Lucy West: or, The Orphans of Highcliff*, *Pride and Principle: or the Captain of Elvedon School*, *Mary Elton: or Self-Control*, and the translation of *Hans Andersen's Fairy Tales*, which according to the preface, was very successful and well received by English readers.

The short anonymous preface that precedes the stories (presumably written by Paull herself), provides misleading information particularly in regard to the completeness of the volume at hand, and the source and methods used for the translation. It claims that this edition is “a complete translation from the German of the Household stories, or Fairy Tales collected by the Brothers Grimm,” when in fact it only contains 128 of the KHM (not 130 as listed in the contents) if we consider that the three individual parts that make up the story “Die Wichtelmänner” (KHM 39) appear listed separately as “The Industrious Mannikins,” “The Maiden’s Visit,” and “The Changeling” (Sutton 233).

Another vague area concerns the KHM edition from which this English translation stems (accentuated by the lack of a publication date). The preface mentions only the dates of the two first-published KHM editions: “The first volume of the tales appeared in the year 1812; a second in 1814; and others at various times since then, up to a recent period. From this later and complete edition the translation has been made” (i). The apparent error in the date of the second publication is in fact correct; although dated 1815, the second volume of the first edition the KHM did in effect appear in late 1814 (Sutton 234). The phrasing of the second sentence provides no clarity about which of the various “later” editions of the KHM was used here. Despite the ambiguity, the source for this translation must have been the final edition of 1857, because this volume includes

several tales that did not appear in the KHM until the 1857 edition, such as “Clever People” (KHM 104 “Die klugen Leute”) and “The Twelve Idlers” (KHM 151a “Die zwölf faulen Knechte”).

Regarding to the quality of the translation, we read in the preface “the author, in her translation, has been most careful to preserve the sense of the original text; and at the same time to render the English phraseology simple and pure both in style and tendency” (i). As Martin Sutton points out, although the latter part of the sentence (“English phraseology ...”) defies precise definition, the reader is encouraged to assume that Mrs. Paull has provided an accurate version of the original contents of the story, albeit with stylistic alterations. This assumption has been disproved in Sutton’s thorough analysis of “May Blossom” (KHM 50 “Dornröschen”). The chosen English titles are already an indication of the translations liberties taken by Mrs. Paull. In addition to “May Blossom,” other examples that bear no similarity to the German titles include “Fairy Tell True” (KHM 3 “Marienkind”), “The Enchanted Stag” (KHM 11 “Brüderchen und Schwesterchen”), “The Garden of the Sorceress” (KHM 12 “Rapunzel”), “The Language of the Animals” (KHM 17 “Die weiße Schlange”), “The Widow’s Two Daughters” (KHM 24 “Frau Holle”), “The Magic Mirror” (KHM 53 “Sneewittchen”), and so on.

This collection also presents several instances of what may be considered carelessness, for example, in the translation of “Die kluge Else” (KHM 34) as “The Clever Elfe,” which was probably due to a misreading of the Gothic writing of the original (Sutton 235). One further sign of excessive haste is the repetition of the title “The Water-Sprite” in the table of contents used to denote two completely different tales: KHM 79 “Die Wassernixe” and KHM 181 “Die Nixe im Teich.”

The short preface ends with a sentence that contradicts the earlier assertion regarding the completeness of this volume: it explains that this collection is not complete because a small number of tales were excluded due to their content: “A very few of the tales have been omitted, as not exactly suited to young English readers” (i). Given that this 128-tale volume was based on the final large edition of the KHM from 1857 (with a total 210 tales), it means that 82 tales (or 39%) were omitted, which can hardly be regarded as “very few.” The claim of “completeness,” though misleading, could have been a marketing strategy to promote the selling of this edition.

Despite the claim that certain stories were omitted because of inappropriate content for young readers, the English collection contains “The Maiden without Hands” (KHM 31 “Das Mädchen ohne Hände”), one of the Grimms’ most violent tales. Brutal episodes of this particular account include a miller cutting off the hands of his own daughter, and letters from the king ordering to kill his wife and son and to keep the tongue and eyes as proof of the deed. Mrs. Paull’s adaptation of “Das Mädchen ohne Hände” was modified not to minimize the violence, but rather to reduce some of the religious elements that appeared in the 1857 German version.¹²¹ For example, the old man who offers great riches to the poor miller is a wizard in the English translation instead of the devil that appears in the German tale. Other examples include eliminating the adjective “pious” (“fromm”) used in the German version to describe the miller’s

¹²¹ According to Martin Sutton, Mrs. Paull’s translation is following the pattern established by earlier translators (e.g. Edgar Taylor) and in line with persistently prevailing taboos, by replacing such religious figures as God, the Virgin Mary, and angels by “fairies,” and the devil by “wizard” or “demon” (Sutton 237).

daughter and her form of life,¹²² and replacing the girl's helpers with fairies instead of angels.¹²³

Without dwelling any further on the nature of changes Mrs. Paull made to the German original (since this English text has a limited audience in Colombia), the presented examples indicate that Mrs. Paull had a tendency to translate the Grimms' stories in a very free manner. Her authorial license however, was not exercised to soften the violence of some tales; the harsh and cruel episodes in tales such as "Das Mädchen ohne Hände," "Cinderella," "The Twelve Brothers," and "The Three Little Men in the Wood" were closely translated. If the violence was kept mostly unaltered, one wonders what criteria was used for the omission of certain stories "as not exactly suited to young English readers"; apparently the display of brutality is not a matter of concern and is deemed as acceptable for English children.

Although Ms. Paull's is the oldest English translation of Grimms' tales located in Colombia, and therefore has a historical value, the translation by Mrs. Edgar Lucas—*Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm* (1900)—appears to have had greater repercussions for the Colombian reception of the tales, even though none of her editions was found at a library. Mrs. Lucas's edition, however, served as the basis for a subsequent Spanish translation by María Luz Morales, the popular *Cuentos de Grimm: ilustrados por Arthur Rackham*. Based on the numerous copies currently circulating, this Spanish translation

¹²² The text in the KHM from 1857 reads "Die Müllerstochter war ein schönes und frommes Mädchen und lebte die drei Jahre in Gottesfurcht und ohne Sünde" (Uther, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen*, 24886); whereas the English translation describes the miller's daughter as "a modest and beautiful maiden, [who] lived in innocence and obedience to her parents" (*Grimm's Fairy Tales* 131).

¹²³ For example, when the maimed girl, who had become a queen, leaves the castle with her child and arrives at the small cottage, a the poor woman comes to greet them and says: "I am a good fairy sent to take care of thee and thy child" (*Grimm's Fairy Tales* 134); the German version refers to an angel sent by God to look after them: "ich bin ein Engel, von Gott gesandt, dich und dein Kind zu verpflegen" (Uther, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* 24891).

appears to have enjoyed a continuing popularity among Colombians since the mid 1930s. I will discuss the various existing editions later in this chapter.

Spanish Editions

Up until the mid 1930s Spain had complete dominion over the Latin American market of books. It was only after 1936 that mostly Mexican and Argentinean publishing houses start to take control over the publications in Ibero-America (Rodríguez Monegal 22). With the breaking of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), the publishing industry in Latin America was propelled by the migration of Spanish writers and publishers. Publishing houses such as Emecé and Losada were established in Argentina along with several subsidiaries of Spanish publishers. Editions for children published in Buenos Aires, Mexico D.F., and Santiago de Chile as early as 1939 start to emerge as part of the inventory currently circulating in Colombia; among them are works by Amicis, Andersen, Ségur, La Fontaine, Chamisso, Hoffmann, Keller, and Oscar Wilde.¹²⁴ I did not find any Latin American editions of Grimms' tales from the late 1930s or early 1940.

Table 4 shows that the majority of early Spanish-language publications with Grimms' tales came from Spain. Spanish editions are essential for this study for several reasons: 1) they are among the earliest transmitters of the tales in the country; 2) they have the widest reach among Colombians in terms of language; 3) the tales' reception in

¹²⁴ For example: Edmondo de Amicis, *Corazón: diario de un niño* (Santiago de Chile: Ed. Nascimento, 1939); H. C. Andersen, *Cuentos de Hans Andersen* (Santiago de Chile: Ed. Zig-Zag, 1940); Sophie (Rostopchine) Ségur, *Un buen diablillo* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Difusión, 1944); Jean de La Fontaine, *Fábulas de La Fontaine*, Illus. Gustavo Doré (México: Ed. Gustavo L. López, 1944); Adalbert von Chamisso, *El hombre que perdió su sombra* (Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe Argentina, 1948); E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Cuentos* (Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe, 1948); Gottfried Keller, *Los de Seldwyla*, ed. Pedro von Haselberg (Buenos Aires: Ocesa, 1947); and Oscar Wilde, *Cuentos y narraciones: el príncipe feliz y otros cuentos* (Buenos Aires: Emecé, 1945).

Spain has a direct impact on the reception in Colombia (we have seen that popular works in Spain, for example by Amicis and Ségur, are also very well received in Colombia); and 4) they will provide the comparative basis for later adaptations of the tales created locally. A closer examination of the Spanish translations extant in the libraries is, therefore, of paramount importance.

Cuentos y leyendas de los Hermanos Grimm (Stories and Legends of the Brothers Grimm, 1893)

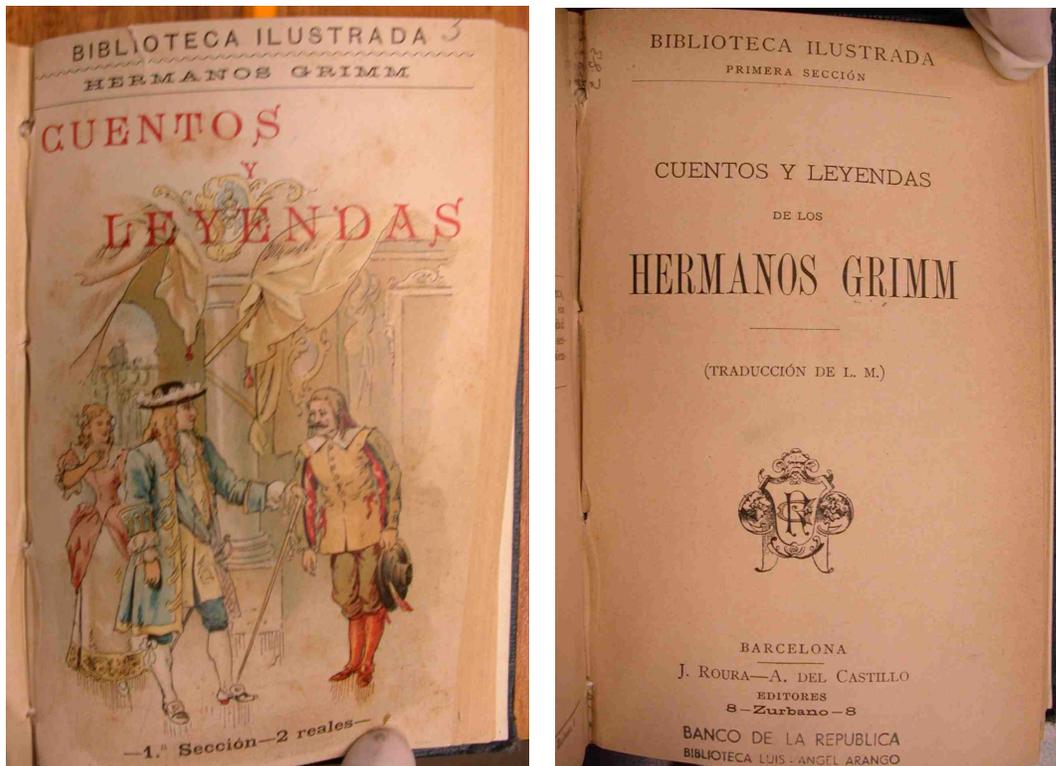


Fig. 11: Front cover and title page of *Cuentos y leyendas ...* (Barcelona, 1893). Courtesy of Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango, Bogotá.

The oldest located Spanish translation with Grimm tales is *Cuentos y Leyendas de los Hermanos Grimm* published by J. Roura and A. del Castillo in Barcelona in 1893. This edition for popular consumption is part of the illustrated collection *Biblioteca*

Ilustrada: Cuentos Populares (Illustrated Library: Popular Stories)—a collection with stories from various countries and authors that appeared bi-weekly in two separate volumes.¹²⁵ The *Cuentos y Leyendas de los Hermanos Grimm* constitutes the 11th and last chapter of the less expensive Volume I.¹²⁶ The 80-page chapter includes only seven Grimm stories (see Table 4 for details). This edition does not have a preface or introduction, and the only information about the translator are his/her initials, which appear on the cover page under the title (in parenthesis) and reads “traducción de L. M.” (Fig. 11).

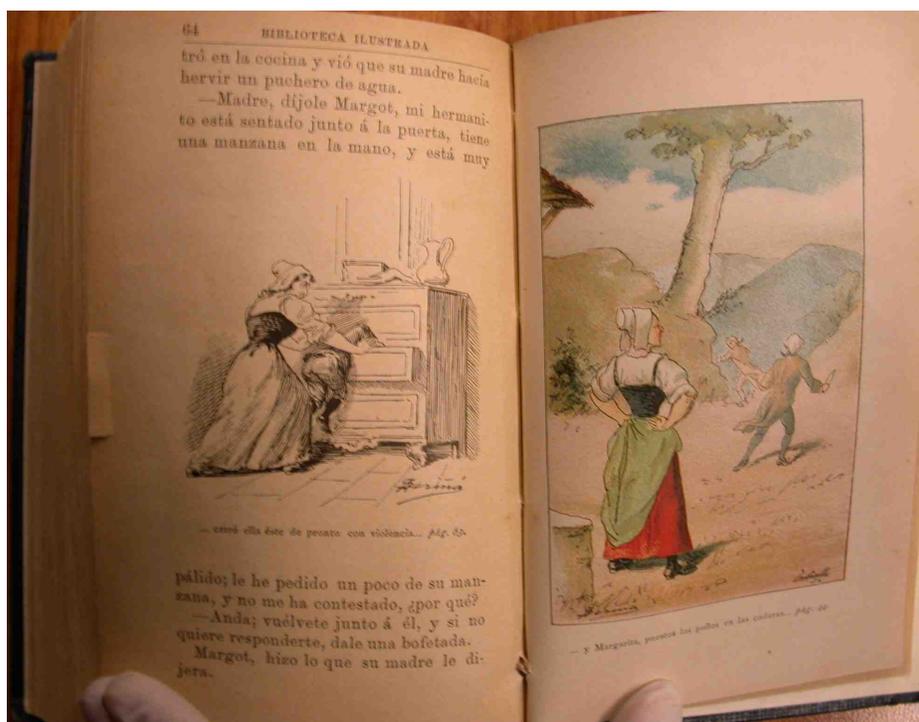


Fig. 12: Illustrations from “El almendro” (47. “Von dem Machandelboom”) in *Cuentos y leyendas ...* (Barcelona, 1893). Courtesy of Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango, Bogotá.

¹²⁵ Volume I included 4 color prints and engravings in black/white inserted in the text; the cost of this presentation was 50¢ (Peseta). Volume II also had 4 color prints and the engravings between texts were also in color; this presentation was more expensive (1 Peseta).

¹²⁶ The Table of Contents of Volume I includes: (i) “Cuentos árabes” (“Arab Stories”) by Mary Edgeworth and Soave (no first name), (ii) “Cuentos populares” (“Popular Stories”) by unspecified authors, (iii) Washington Irving (sic), (iv) Longfellow, (v) “Retratos de españoles ilustres” (“Portraits of Illustrious Spaniards”)—Tomo I, (vi) J. Grant, (vii) F.G. Ducray-Duminil, (viii) Sir Walter Scott, (ix) Antonia Díaz de Lamarque, (x) Retratos de españoles ilustres—Tomo II, (xi) Cuentos y leyendas de los hermanos Grimm.

The stories are illustrated with black engravings inserted in the text and four full-page color prints (Fig. 12). The name of the artist is not specified; in most pictures, however, there is a signature that reads something like “Eriña” (I found no information about this artist).

The Grimm tales in *Cuentos y Leyendas de los Hermanos Grimm* have been loosely translated and, in some cases, heavily altered. Already the tales’ titles in this edition suggest the liberties taken in the translation process; many of which bear no resemblance to the German titles, such as the translation of “Das kluge Gretel” (KHM 77), that becomes “Los dos pollos” (“The Two Chickens”). Appendix 4 presents a list of the corresponding Spanish titles in this and other editions discussed in this study. The purpose of this table is to identify variations in the titles and to establish a textual basis for the examination of the stories dealt with in this investigation.

Some of the narrative modifications are clearly intended to cater to the Spanish market. In “Seis soldados de fortuna,”¹²⁷ an adaptation of “Sechse kommen durch die ganze Welt” (KHM 71), for example, the coin used to pay the courageous man who fought in the war was an “ochavo.”¹²⁸ The “ochavo” was a Spanish copper coin weighing one eighth of an ounce established during the reign of Felipe III (1598-1621) and used until the mid-nineteenth century. Another interesting variation in this tale concerns the wording of the question posed by the protagonist to a man he sees in the forest tearing up six trees with his bare hands. In the original German the question reads, “willst du mein

¹²⁷ A more literal translation of this title would be “Six Soldiers of Fortune.”

¹²⁸ In the 1857 version, the man was paid with a “Heller,” an earlier German copper coin valued at half a Pfennig: “Es war einmal ein Mann, der verstand allerlei Künste: er diente im Krieg, und hielt sich brav und tapfer, aber als der Krieg zu Ende war, bekam er den Abschied und drei Heller Zehrgeld auf den Weg” (Uther, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* 25175).

Unless otherwise specified, the German texts will be taken from the final KHM edition from 1857.

Diener sein und mit mir ziehen?"; yet in Spanish it has been translated as "¿Quieres tú ser hombre y venirte conmigo?" (Do you want to be a man and come with me?") (6). The translation fully omits the part involving servitude, which is changed to emphasize masculinity; the protagonist implicitly asks the strong man if, besides the demonstrated strength, he also possesses the courage to face the challenges that they may encounter on their way together. The display of manliness plays an important role in Spanish and Latin American cultures, as it does in many other cultures; because this situation deals with two men, the translation has been modified to emphasize masculinity rather than servility; one wonders, though, where the emphasis would have fallen had a woman been involved.

Other tales in *Cuentos y Leyendas de los Hermanos Grimm* present significant editorial liberties in their translations, such as the earlier mentioned "Los dos pollos" (KHM 77). In this title, which bears no resemblance to the original German, two fowls have replaced the main female character Gretel. The translation departs widely from the Grimms' text altering and distorting the form and substance of the original. The Spanish version adds and/or eliminates images, themes, and characters and elaborates on the dialogue to accentuate the drama. Let's look at some of the modifications undertaken in this translation.

The name of the protagonist is changed from Gretel to Margaritona, perhaps as an attempt to better reach the Spanish market by domesticating the text. Margaritona though, is the augmentative form of the common female name Margarita, and this variation conveys certain contempt. The apparent dislike towards the protagonist is further emphasized in the introductory paragraph, which sets a different tone than the original

Grimm tale. The German version presents Gretel as a rather playful and naïve character, whereas the Spanish adaptation redirects the focus toward her defects. The changes in the translated text versus the original can be judged in the following quotations.

Grimm 1857:

Es war eine Köchin, die hieß Gretel, die trug Schuhe mit roten Absätzen, und wenn sie damit ausging, so drehte sie sich hin und her, war ganz fröhlich und dachte “du bist doch ein schönes Mädcl.” Und wenn sie nach Hause kam, so trank sie aus Fröhlichkeit einen Schluck Wein, und weil der Wein auch Lust zum Essen macht, so versuchte sie das Beste, was sie kochte, so lang, bis sie satt war, und sprach “die Köchin muß wissen, wies Essen schmeckt. ” (Uther, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* 25199)

Cuentos y leyendas:

Margaritona no era una mala muchacha, seguramente que no, y su amo, el notario de Partrisey, aseguró con justicia que no había, en veinte leguas á la redonda, mejor cocinera que ella; pero, conócíansele cuando menos dos defectos, ambos graves, que amo y criada no podían ocultar; era embustera y glotona. (*Cuentos y leyendas* 85)

Margaritona was not a bad maiden, surely not, and her master the notary of Partrisey rightly assured that in twenty miles around there was not a better cook than her. However, she had at least two defects, both of them serious, that master and maid could not hide: she was deceitful and gluttonous.

Although the translation characterizes the cook with the cardinal sin of gluttony, she does not eat both chickens by herself (as she does in the original Grimm tale), but instead she offers the second chicken to the coachman Antonio who arrives before her boss, the notary of Partrisey (the Grimms’ tale does not specify an occupation). The Spanish adaptation tells us that Antonio hopes to marry Margaritona one day, which would make him very happy. With Antonio the translation introduces a new character and adds a romantic element that was not present in the German tale. The continuous emphasis placed on the deceitful character of Margaritona is noticeable. To underline this several new scenes were added; one of them explains that since the attraction between

Margaritona and Antonio is mutual, every now and then the cook will offer the coachman a succulent dish at the expense of the notary. Here it has been made clear that the cook not only cheats her boss but also the public body for which he works. In a further instance, Margaritona is presented brainstorming possible explanations for the disappearance of the food and decides that the best alternative is to blame the dog of eating the chicken. By accentuating the negative traits of the protagonist the translation polarizes good and bad behavior for the purpose of moralizing (showing that both deceit and gluttony are unacceptable).

Very different in the German original tale and the Spanish translation is the overall consumption of wine. Whereas in the German version the protagonist imbibes wine on repeated occasions, in the Spanish adaptation the wine drinking is significantly reduced. This modification appears to be culturally based, since drinking too much alcohol is not considered “lady-like” (at least in Latin America, where customs were influenced by the Spaniards).

Cuentos escogidos (*Selected Stories*, 1896?)

As indicated earlier, the Madrid-based publishing house Saturnino Calleja contributed significantly to the rise of children’s literature in Spain and was also greatly influential in Colombia. *Cuentos escogidos* (Fig. 13), the earliest of Calleja’s editions found in Colombia, has no year of publication but is estimated to be from 1896.¹²⁹ The 366-page book of superior quality was part of the deluxe collection Biblioteca Perla

¹²⁹ WorldCat has two entries for this title with a publication date of 1896. The located records are: (1) Jacob Grimm, *Cuentos escogidos de los hermanos Grimm*, trans. José Muñoz Escamez, Biblioteca Perla 4 (Madrid: Saturnino Calleja, 1896). This is an illustrated edition with 235 engravings by Elias Pozona. (2) Jakob Grimm, *Cuentos escogidos de los hermanos Grimm: Edición ilustrada con 214 grabados*, trans. José Muñoz Escamez, Biblioteca Perla (Madrid: Saturnino Calleja, 1896).

(Pearl Library). The Biblioteca Perla was one of the oldest and long-lived collections of the Editorial Calleja (Fernández de Córdoba 100). It came in two presentations, one with a board binding and another with a more expensive cloth binding, and was divided into two series: “primera serie” (series one) for children and “segunda serie” (series two) for adults. The children’s series offered numerous titles such as: *Cuentos de Andersen* (*Stories by Andersen*), *Robinson Crusoe*, *Las mil y una noches* (*One Thousand and One Nights*), *Cuentos escogidos de Schmid* (*Selected Stories by Schmid*), *Más cuentos de Schmid* (*More Stories by Schmid*), *Cuentos de Perrault*, *Cuentos de Nesbit*, as well as several anthologies from various authors (e.g., *Cuentos mágicos* [*Magical Stories*] and *Libro de cuentos* [*Book of Stories*]).

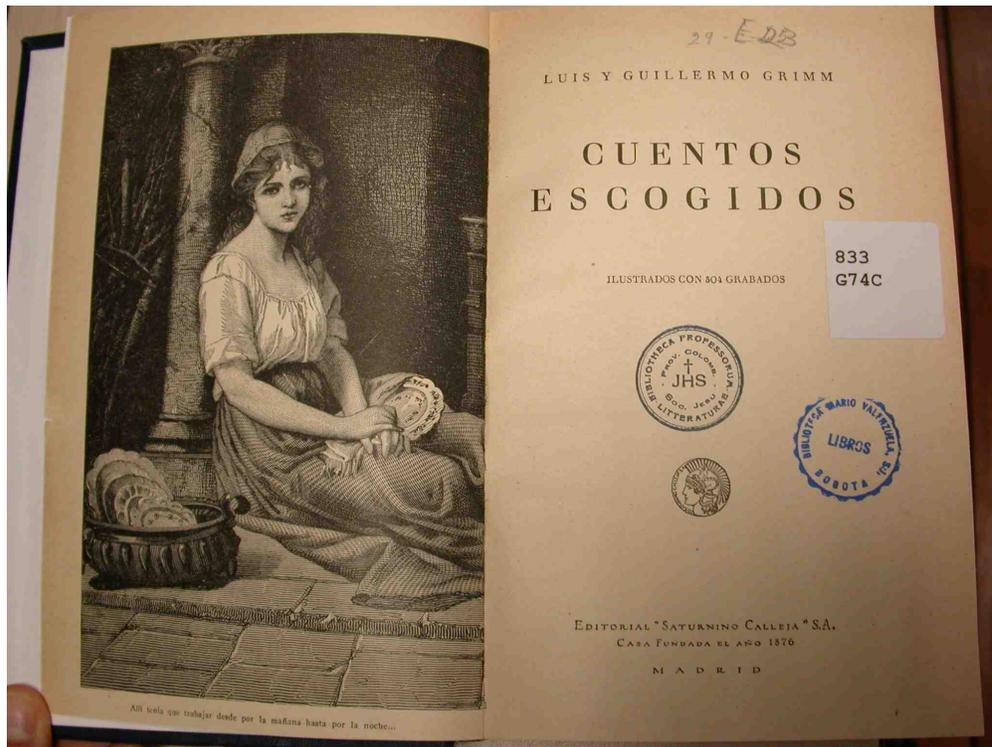


Fig. 13: Title page of Calleja’s selection of Grimm tales, *Cuentos escogidos* (Madrid, 1896?). Courtesy of Biblioteca Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá.

Cuentos escogidos contains fifty-five Grimm tales (including the children's legend "Die drei grünen Zweige" translated as "Las tres ramas verdes") and is illustrated with 304 engravings in black-and-white. This volume provides no information about the artist, the translator, or the source used for this translation. It is also unknown whether this is the first printed edition; the only provided information on the front page is "Biblioteca Perla: Primera serie VI." On the left-hand side of the title page is an engraving of a young girl with a doleful look on her face, sitting on the floor leaning against a column (probably Cinderella). She has a plate and a kitchen cloth on her lap; laying next to her is a basket of dishes suggesting that she has been cleaning the tableware. The phrase under the engraving reads "Allí tenía que trabajar desde por la mañana hasta por la noche ..." ("There she had to work from the morning until the evening ..."). At the top of the opposite page (title page) we read the names Luis y Guillermo Grimm (Spanish for Ludwig and Wilhelm)—the name Jacob, as one of the authors/editors of the collection, is nowhere mentioned. Ludwig Emil Grimm (1790-1863), one of the four younger siblings of Jacob and Wilhelm, became an accomplished painter and illustrated the fairy tales, but he certainly had no editorial authority over the KHM. This mistake was, however, corrected in subsequent editions. For example, in the supposedly newer 6th edition of *Cuentos escogidos* (Fig. 14), the individual names were omitted and replaced by "Hermanos Grimm" ("Brothers Grimm"). The 6th edition, found at Harvard's Widener Library, contains the exact same prologue and table of contents as the one located in Bogotá, but they differ in the number of pages, illustrations, and information about the translator. The Harvard edition has fewer pages (345 vs. 366) and fewer illustrations (254 vs. 304), and cites José Muñoz Escámez as the translator.

The texts in both editions, however, correspond exactly to one another, suggesting that Muñoz Escámez must have also translated the (supposedly) earlier edition found in Bogotá.

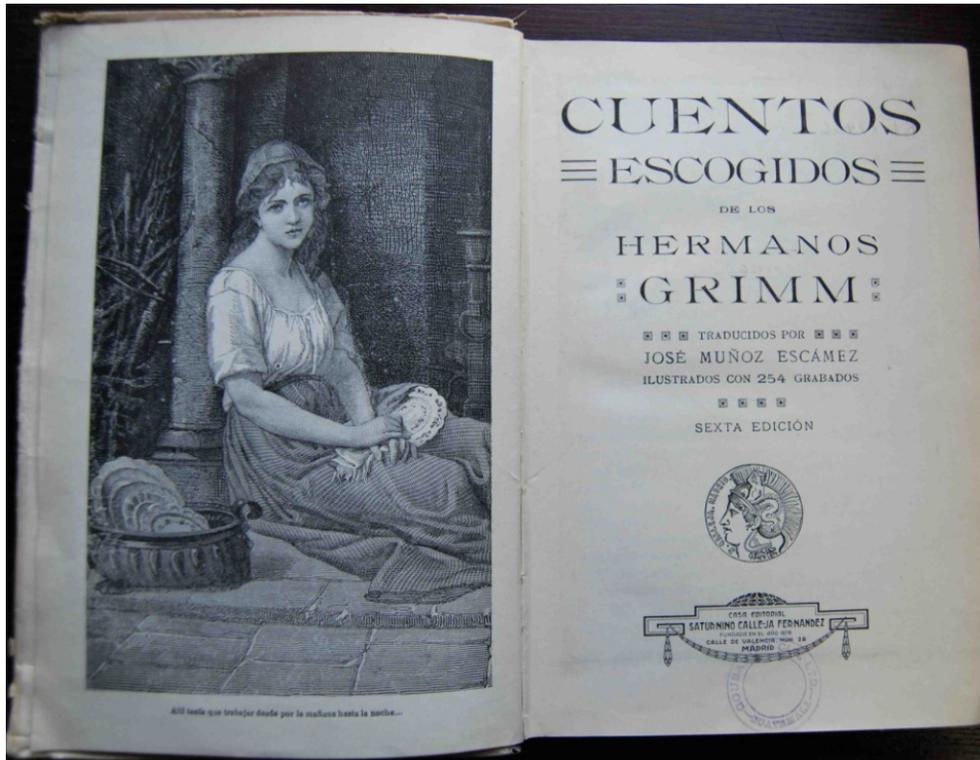


Fig. 14: Title page of *Cuentos escogidos de los Hermanos Grimm* (6th ed.). Courtesy of Harvard College Widener Library, Boston.

The stories in Calleja's *Cuentos escogidos* are preceded by a one-page prologue from an unspecified author. The prologue narrates, in a fairy-tale manner, about the Brothers Grimm, their informants, and the edition at hand. The Grimms are presented as professors (“catedráticos”) from the University of Göttingen who, for political reasons, had to abandon their chairs and later dedicated themselves to traverse Germany listening to stories told by the people. The following is an excerpt of the prologue, with its romanticizing embellishments and inaccuracies concerning the Grimms’ fieldwork and methods of collecting:

La política hizo a los Grimm abandonar sus cátedras y recorrer a pie toda Alemania, costumbre allí tan corriente como aquí la de viajar en ferrocarril. Deteniéndose en cada caserío y haciendo estación en cada posada durante las heladas noches del invierno, allí al amor de la lumbre oían referir cuentos impregnados de esa sencillez inimitable de que la musa popular reviste sus obras.

Cuanto más vulgar era la persona que hacía el relato, tanto mayor atención prestaban nuestros cuentistas sorprendiendo aquella espontaneidad que domina en la gente poco ilustrada.

Una pobre mujer del pueblo de Niederwehrrn [sic] fué la que mayor contingente de cuentos les suministró: así lo hicieron ellos constar, y como prueba de agradecimiento publicaron el relato de la buena vieja. (Grimm, *Cuentos Escogidos* 7-8)

Politics made the Grimms abandon their chairs and travel Germany on foot, a practice that is so common there as here it is travelling by train. Stopping at each hamlet and staying at each inn during the frosty winter nights, by the warmth of the burning coals they listened to stories being told permeated by that inimitable simplicity with which the popular muse invests her works.

The more vulgar the person giving the account was, the more attention our story writers paid, surprising that spontaneity that governs in the less illustrious people.

A poor woman from the town of Niederwehrrn [sic] was the one who supplied the largest contingent of stories: so did they make it known, and as proof of gratitude they published the story of the good old lady.

However embellished and inaccurate the claim about the Grimms' fieldwork and their informants may be—with a “poor woman from Nieder[z]wehrrn” (presumably Dorothea Viehmann) as the major contributor to the collection of tales—it has resonated loudly in articles and editions published in Colombia. Such is the case, for example, of the formerly mentioned press article by Samper Pizano, “Jacobo y Guillermo Grimm, padres adoptivos de Blanca Nieves y Caperucita,” written almost a century later. Dorothea Viehmann (1755-1815) was, of course, a genuinely important informant and contributor to the Grimms' collection, which is why the Grimms foregrounded her in

their own preface.¹³⁰ Although Viehmann told the brothers a good many significant tales she was not the major supplier of stories, as stated in the above preface. Numerous tales came from members of the bourgeois Hassenpflug and Wild families from Hessa and the aristocratic von Haxthausen families from Westphalia, who had heard tales from their nursemaids, governesses, and servants (Zipes, *Complete Fairy Tales* xxix) and who presumably were familiar with Perrault's and other literary tales.

The closing sentence of the prologue alludes to the hundreds of mostly "mutilated" editions of the KHM that have been printed up to date and stresses that this new edition will offer its readers the possibility of enjoying the complete collection of the Brothers Grimm:

De estos cuentos se han hecho cientos de ediciones en todas las partes del mundo; pero como no se ha solido publicarlos íntegros, sino mutilados, hacemos esta nueva edición para que nuestros lectores puedan saborear completas las hermosas producciones de los hermanos Grimm. (Grimm, *Cuentos Escogidos* 8)

Hundreds of editions have been made of these stories in all parts of the world; however, since it has not been usual to publish them whole, but instead mutilated, we make this new edition so that our readers can taste the complete beautiful productions of the Brothers Grimm.

Although the reader might be encouraged to believe that Calleja has issued a complete and accurate version of the contents of all of the original KHM, the claim of authenticity is quickly disproved not only by the number of tales included in this edition (only fifty five) but by the editorial practices performed in the translation process.

¹³⁰ It should be noted that in the preface to their first edition of the second volume (1815), the Grimms clearly transformed Dorothea Viehmann into the ideal type of teller of tales by characterizing her as an older peasant woman from the village of Zwehrn who communicated old tales and legends that she retained in her memory. But the facts about Frau Viehmann are quite different. Dorothea Viehmann was the wife of a tailor who came to Kassel twice a week to sell fruits to her customers, including the Grimms. Born Dorothea Pierson (1775-1815) she was of Huguenot ancestry and from childhood on had spoken French as well as German; the family of the French priest Ramus in Kassel, with whom the Grimms were most closely acquainted, sent her to the brothers (Rölleke, "New Results of Research on Grimms' Fairy Tales" 102-104).

Throughout Calleja's edition the exercise of editorial license is clearly perceptible. The translation of the titles already provides the initial evidence. Examples of freely translated titles include "El caballo prodigioso," which translates literally as "The Prodigious Horse" and is a rendition of "Die Gänsemagd" (KHM 89); "Frau Holle" (KHM 22) has been translated as "Las dos hermanas" meaning "The Two Sisters"; "La casita de turrón," translates literary as "The Nougat House" and is a rendition of "Hänsel und Gretel" (KHM 15); "Die drei Spinnerinnen" (KHM 14) has been translated as "Lo que puede la astucia" ("What Cleverness Can"); "La rana encantada" translates as "The Enchanted Frog" and is a rendition of "Der Froschkönig oder der eiserne Heinrich" (KHM 1), (see Appendix 4 for a complete list of the translated titles).

The source used as basis for translating the stories is unknown and, in some cases, is not easily predicted as in the case of "La Caperucita Roja" ("Rotkäppchen," KHM 26). Although the Spanish translation seems to correspond to the 1857 German version, several deviations suggest that the 1819 version might have played a role. The instructions that the mother gives the child before she departs to the grandmother's house, for instance, appear in some respects closer to the KHM from 1819.¹³¹ I have included the tale variation in both the 1819 and the 1857 version for the purpose of comparison:

Ven, Caperucita: toma este bollo y una botella de vino y llévalo a casa de la abuela, porque está enferma y débil. Sé buena, no le revuelvas nada de su cuarto y no olvides de darle los buenos días. Anda con cuidado y no te distraigas en el camino porque puedes caerte y romper la botella, y

¹³¹ Although the mother's instructions are similar in both the 1812 and 1819 editions of the KHM, I am referring the 1819 version because the tale's ending in this edition coincides with the Spanish translation. In 1812 the tale ends simply with "Rothkäppchen aber ging fröhlich und sicher nach Haus", whereas in 1819 the ending is more elaborate and reads: "Rotkäppchen aber ging fröhlich nach Haus und that ihm niemand etwas zu Leid" (Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* 1984, 102). This modification was kept mostly unchanged in subsequent editions of the KHM. Similar to the German in the Grimms' edition of 1819, the Spanish translation ends with: "Caperucita se fué contenta a casa y nadie se metió con ella" ("Little Red Riding Hood went cheerfully home and nobody picked on her") (*Cuentos escogidos* 252).

entonces no le quedará nada a la pobre abuela. (Grimm, *Cuentos Escogidos* 249)

Come, Little Red Cap: take this bun and a bottle of wine and bring them to grandmother's house because she is sick and weak. Be good, don't mess anything in her room and don't forget to say good morning. Be careful and don't get distracted on the way because you can fall and break the bottle, and then nothing will be left for the poor grandmother.

1819 edition:

Komm, Rothkäppchen, da hast du ein Stück Kuchen und eine Flasche Wein, die bring der Großmutter hinaus; weil sie ist krank und schwach ist, wird sie sich daran laben; sey aber hübsch artig und grüß sie von mir, geh auch ordentlich und lauf nicht vom Weg ab, sonst fällst du, und zerbrichst das Glas, dann hat die kranke Großmutter nichts. (Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* 1982, 100)

1857 edition:

Komm, Rotkäppchen, da hast du ein Stück Kuchen und eine Flasche Wein, bring das der Großmutter hinaus; sie ist krank und schwach und wird sich daran laben. Mach dich auf, bevor es heiß wird, und wenn du hinauskommst, so geh hübsch sittsam und lauf nicht vom Weg ab, sonst fällst du und zerbrichst das Glas, und die Großmutter hat nichts. Und wenn du in ihre Stube kommst, so vergiß nicht, guten Morgen zu sagen, und guck nicht erst in alle Ecken herum. (Uther, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* 24855).

It is difficult to determine with certainty which edition of the KHM was actually used as source for Calleja's translation. On the one hand, the translated quote omits the mother's remark that the gifts will strengthen the weak grandmother ("wird sie sich daran laben"), which is present in both German versions (1819 and 1857). On the other hand, the translation is closer to the 1819 edition in that it omits the time of the day mentioned in the 1857 version, i.e., "Mach dich auf, bevor es heiß wird" ("Get an early start, before it becomes hot," implying that the girl is approaching her sexual maturation).¹³² Yet it approximates again the final 1857 edition in that it explicitly states not to forget to say "good morning."

¹³² This variation was first introduced in the 6th edition of the KHM from 1850.

Noticeable in this Spanish version, is the modification regarding the expected behavior of the girl at the grandmother's house. While in the German of the 1857 edition the mother warns not to peep in every corner (“...und guck nicht erst in alle Ecken herum”), in Spanish the warning is about not messing up anything in grandma's room. The translation refocuses the warning from curiosity to preserving the order, placing more emphasis on keeping things neat and tidy than on being inquisitive—a deviation that may be culturally based. Despite the variations, this translation appears to coincide mostly with the 1857 German version and therefore seems to be based on it; however, the several anomalies (added/omitted elements) do suggest that the 1819 edition might also have been in play.

There are many stories with modified narrative details in Calleja's *Cuentos escogidos*, yet an interesting example is the adaptation of “König Drosselbart,” (KHM 52) whose Spanish title, “El rey cuervo,” translates literally as “King Raven.” In the translation the minstrel (King Thrushbeard in disguise) uses a similar disdainful tone with his wife (the princess) throughout the story, which is consistent with the German tale; however, unlike the original German, the minstrel in the Spanish version had threatened his wife with corporal punishment should she not obey him. After their provisions ran out the minstrel began to look for ways to earn some money. He soon realized the incapability of his wife to weave baskets and spin, and therefore decides to send her to the marketplace to sell pots and pottery. Though the princess is at first reluctant to comply with her husband's orders because she thinks someone might recognize her and mock her, she dares not contradict him out of sheer fear: “Pero no se atrevió a oponerse, porque su marido le advirtió de una vez para siempre que, como no le obedeciera sin

murmurar, la apalearía hasta que hiciera lo que mandase” (“But she did not dare to contravene, because her husband warned her once and for all, that if she would not obey him without even murmuring, he will beat her until she did as she was ordered”) (45). This threat of corporal punishment is not present in any of the versions of “König Drosselbart” that appear in the various editions of KHM (which, in any case, vary only slightly from one edition to the next). In the German editions the princess understands that she will starve if she does not comply with the minstrel’s orders given their dire situation, and we read “Aber es half nichts, sie mußte sich fügen, wenn sie nicht Hungers sterben wollten.”¹³³ Corporal punishment as a consequence of disobedience is nowhere mentioned. The inclusion of this form of domestic violence reflects a practice that was tolerated in Spain, and in many other countries during the nineteenth century. Javier García-Perales, a contributing author in *Domestic Violence: A Global View*, tells us that throughout the history of Spain women and children have occupied an inferior position in relation to the husband and father, and family violence was not considered a crime until 1989. The lack of legal protection for family members against the head of the household has promoted abusive behavior in Spanish families for centuries.¹³⁴ Violence towards women, however, is not just a Spanish phenomenon; in many European countries abusive behavior has been tolerated without repercussions until the recent past. It is then difficult

¹³³ This remark has remained unchanged since the 3rd edition of 1837. It was first added in the 2nd edition from 1819 and there it reads “Aber es half nichts, sie mußte hin, wenn sie nicht Hungers sterben wollten.” (<[http://de.wikisource.org/wiki/König_Drosselbart_\(1819\)#Seite_257](http://de.wikisource.org/wiki/König_Drosselbart_(1819)#Seite_257)>)

¹³⁴ García-Perales asserts that according to the civil codes of the nineteenth century, a woman in Spain was obligated to obey her husband and to follow him wherever he established residence. She could not own property or engage in any activities without her husband’s permission. The same applied to the children within the marriage. This inferiority of women and children with respect to the husband and father existed in the civil code until as late as 1981. The lack of legal protection for family members against the head of the household promoted physical and psychological abuse toward children, elders, and women in these families for centuries. He also noted that it was not until the reform of the Penal Code in 1989 that family violence was considered a crime in Spain (García-Perales 144-145).

to discern whether the reference to domestic violence added in the translation represents a cultural practice that was different in Spain than in Germany at that time, or if other factors played a role, for example, if it could have been Calleja's own take on the family.

The Calleja collection makes no noticeable effort to tone down the violence of some of the best-known tales. None of the harsher elements in "La Cenicienta" ("Aschenputtel") or "La princesita Blanca Nieves" ("Schneewittchen"), for example, were eliminated. The translation of "Snow White" presents only minor changes in regard to the final version of 1857 that include the stepmother wanting Snow White's heart (not her lungs and liver) as proof of the deed and the huntsman bringing the heart of a deer (instead of a young boar). Episodes involving self-mutilation, cannibalism, blinding by birds, and cruel vengeance were translated without major modifications.

The importance of the Calleja's *Cuentos escogidos* for the reception of the Grimm tales in Colombia goes beyond the historical. This edition has resonated loudly in the country, from the information about the Brothers Grimm and their work provided in the prologue, which was partially reproduced in a local newspaper article almost a decade later,¹³⁵ to individual stories that were re-printed in one of the few early publications for children edited in Colombia, which I will discuss next.

Stories Published in the Children's Magazine *Chanchito* (1933-34)

As mentioned before, the only clear evidence of Grimm tales appearing in a Colombian publication from the first half of the twentieth century was found in *Chanchito*, perhaps the most important early magazine for children edited in the country.

¹³⁵ Namely, the article by Daniel Samper Pizano "Jacobó y Guillermo Grimm, padres adoptivos de Blanca Nieves y Caperucita," which appeared in the daily *El Tiempo* on October 1985.

This weekly periodical was a real cultural vehicle for Colombian children. Each number maintained a relatively uniform format with light variations. One of the most popular sections was devoted to serialized novels and stories and included titles such as “Sinbad the Sailor” from *One Thousand and One Nights*. There was also a section of games with tabletop games (board, cards, and paper-cutting games), role-playing games, and so on. A segment dedicated to poetry offered children the opportunity to read not only poems by Colombian authors like Rafael Pombo and José Asunción Silva, but also translations of poetry by foreign writers such as the American Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-1882). An informative segment delivered articles on diverse themes that awaken the curiosity and astonishment of a child, for instance “Campeones de la charlatanería: Amazón de frente azul y papagayo gris” (“Champions of Loquacity: Blue-fronted Amazon and Grey Parrot”) and “El olfato y el oído de los murciélagos” (“The Sense of Smell and Hearing of Bats”). The innovative literary magazine *Chanchito* was a publication without antecedent in Colombia both for the quality of the selected materials as well as for its structure. The high quality of *Chanchito* denotes a respectful valuation of the child as a reader, while its uniform structure reveals the formative and educational intention of the publication.

Seven tales by the Brothers Grimm appeared in *Chanchito*—all of them published without acknowledging their authors. Some of the longer stories were published in parts. For example “El caballo prodigioso” (“The Prodigious Horse,” an adaptation of KHM 89 “Die Gänsemagd”) and “La casita de turrón” (“The Nougat House,” an adaptation KHM 15 “Hänsel und Gretel”) were printed in two parts that appeared in separate issues; whereas “La rana encantada” (“The Enchanted Frog,” an adaptation of KHM 1 “Der

Froschkönig oder der eiserne Heinrich”), “Los seis cisnes” (“The Six Swans,” KHM 49 “Die sechs Schwäne”), “El agua de la vida” (“The Water of Life,” KHM 97 “Das Wasser des Lebens”), “Las tres plumas” (“The Three Feathers,” KHM 63 “Die drei Federn”), and “La Nariz” (“The Nose,” KHM 36 [1815] “Die lange Nase”)¹³⁶ were all published in one part.

Four of the seven stories in *Chanchito*—“El caballo prodigioso,” “La casita de turrón,” “La rana encantada,” and “El agua de la vida”—are also found in Calleja’s *Cuentos escogidos* (1896?). The tales in *Chanchito* are clearly based on the Calleja versions and therefore, not surprisingly, the Spanish titles coincide exactly in both publications even though some bear no resemblance to the German original titles. The remaining three tales (“Los seis cisnes,” “Las tres plumas,” and “La Nariz”) are not included in this particular Calleja edition, but they appear nonetheless to be transcripts of adaptations from Spain rather than local productions. This becomes evident in the dialogue, which uses of the second person plural, a form of speech that is common in Spain but far less usual in Latin America. The witch in “Los seis cisnes,” for example, addresses the king as follows: “Tengo una hija, y tan bella que no hallaréis otra igual en todos vuestros dominios. Si consentís en hacerla vuestra esposa y reina, os indicaré la salida del bosque (*Chanchito* 1.16: 10) (“I have a daughter so beautiful that you will not find another like her in all your dominions. If you agree to make her your wife and queen I will show you the way out of the forest”). Here most of the verbs (e.g., “hallaréis” is the present tense of “hallar” [to find]) as well as the possessive (e.g., vuestros, vuestra)

¹³⁶ The tale “Die lange Nase” appeared as tale number 36 in the second volume of KHM published in 1815; it was replaced by “Tischchen deck dich, Goldesel und Knüppel aus dem Sack” in the following edition from 1819.

are in the second person plural. The use of second person plural—uncommon in Colombia and elsewhere in Latin America—suggests that this story is not a local adaptation but a reprint of a Spanish version.

The Grimm tales in *Chanchito* based on Calleja's edition are mostly literal transcripts of the Spanish adaptations; some, however, present further modifications in regard to already freely translated versions of Calleja. In the following section I will take a closer look at the tales published in *Chanchito*; I will point out the major differences in regard to their source (Calleja) as well to the original German version.

Except for few instances, “La casita de turrón” is a verbatim republishing of Calleja's adaptation of “Hänsel and Gretel” as published in *Cuentos escogidos* (1896?). The most significant change concerns the children's names, which in *Chanchito* appear as Hansel and Grethel instead of Juan and Anita (in Calleja). Save for this evident adjustment, the rest of the story is almost identical to Calleja's. Calleja's version, however, differs considerably from the German original and the variations are noticeable already from the start. For instance, Calleja's translation clearly defines the woodcutter's as the stepmother already in the second line of the story, whereas in the German the stepmother is referred to only as the woodcutter's wife (Frau) for the first full paragraph, which would seem to suggest she is also the children's biological mother. By identifying this authoritative and antagonistic figure from the beginning as the woodcutter's second wife—that is, as the stepmother—Calleja creates a distance that diminishes the anxiety of maternal rejection and abandonment that this tale may produce in a young reader. The following quote taken from *Chanchito* is identical to Calleja's opening statement, except for the children's names:

Había una vez un pobre leñador que vivía en una cabaña cerca de un bosque. De su primera mujer, que había muerto, le habían quedado dos hermosísimos niños: Hansel y Grethel [sic]: la segunda mujer no tuvo hijos. (*Chanchito* 1.12: 10)

There was once a poor woodcutter who lived in a cabin near a forest. From his first wife, who had died, he had two very beautiful kids: Hansel and Grethel: his second wife did not have children.

The version of “Hänsel und Grethel” published in 1857, specifies much later that the wife is actually the stepmother. Specifically, the word “Stiefmutter” appears after the children overheard their parent’s discussion, which ends with the father agreeing to follow his wife’s suggestion to abandon the kids in the forest.¹³⁷ It should be noted that in the first three large editions of the KHM from 1812, 1819, and 1837 the wife was the biological mother of the children; the substitution of “wife” into “stepmother” was introduced permanently in the 1840 edition.

The Spanish translation also offers a less hostile portrayal of the stepmother. A noticeable adjustment concerns the argument to abandon the children in the forest brought forth by the stepmother. Before giving in to his wife’s suggestion, the father protests by saying that he does not have the heart to abandon them and leave them at the mercy of “wolves and bears;” to which the wife replies:

Pues bien, entonces, manda a que hagan cuatro ataúdes, porque nos moriremos todos de hambre. Además, quién sabe si en lugar de ser comidos por los lobos serán recogidos por personas caritativas! (*Chanchito* 1.12: 10)

Very well, then, order to build four coffins because we will all die of hunger. Besides, who knows if instead of being eaten by wolves they will be picked up by charitable people!

¹³⁷ In the final edition of KHM the word “Stiefmutter” first appears in the second paragraph, which starts as follows: “Die zwei Kinder hatten vor Hunger auch nicht einschlafen können und hatten gehört, was die Stiefmutter zum Vater gesagt hatte” (Uther, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* 24772).

Two things are noteworthy in the above quote, which is identical in both publications (*Chanchito* and *Calleja*). First, it is strange that a poor family like this one could “order” the coffins instead of making them themselves. Second, an element of hope is introduced in the response of the stepmother, who suggests that the children may be rescued instead of devoured by wild animals. Although the intention of the stepmother is clearly egoistic and her goal is to convince the father to do as she has planned, the mere thought that the children may be rescued by someone presents her as less cold-hearted than the wife in the Grimm tale. Other instances that portray her in a somewhat kinder light involve the way in which the stepmother treats the kids. For example, she wakes them up with an energetic “¡Vamos, arriba, que iremos al bosque!” (10) (“Let’s go, get up; we are going to the forest!”) without branding them “lazy” as in the German tale, which reads “steht auf, ihr Faulenzer, wir wollen in den Wald gehen und Holz holen” (Uther, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* 24772). In another scene Hänsel is looking at what he says is his white kitten sitting on the roof to which the stepmother replies: Tontín,¹³⁸ lo que tomas por el gato es la chimenea” (10) (“Silly, what you think is the cat is really the chimney!”). Addressing the boy with the diminutive “tontín” conveys certain tenderness on the part of the stepmother, whereas in German, the wife’s response sounds much harsher because of the use of “Narr” (you fool!) that conveys disdain.¹³⁹

The deceitful character of the stepmother is emphasized differently in the German and Spanish versions. In the German version, the wife turns the situation around by shifting the blame onto the children. When the kids show up at the house, the wife reprimands them by saying: “ihr bösen Kinder, was habt ihr so lange im Walde

¹³⁸ “Tontín” is the diminutive of the adjective “tonto,” which means silly.

¹³⁹ In the final edition, the stepmother addresses the boy as: “Narr, das ist dein Kätzchen nicht, das ist die Morgensonne, die auf den Schornstein scheint” (Uther, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* 247723).

geschlafen, wir haben geglaubt, ihr wolltet gar nicht wiederkommen” (Uther, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* 24774). In Spanish, the reaction of the stepmother is hypocritical: “La madrastra aparentó regocijarse mucho porque hubieran encontrado el camino, pero en el fondo estaba irridadísima” (15) (“The stepmother pretended to rejoice greatly because they had found the way, but deep inside she was very irritated”). Although the stepmother’s hypocrisy in the translation is arguably objectionable, her treacherous stance in the German version makes her appear even more malicious and evil.

As I have shown, this translation of “Hänsel und Grethel” tones down the character of the stepmother (by defining the parent as stepmother from the beginning and so creating emotional distance; introducing an element of hope and compassion; treating the children in a kinder manner), probably in an effort to diminish the fear of maternal rejection and abandonment that this tale may produce in a young reader.

Also virtually identical to the version in Calleja’s edition is the story “La rana encantada” (“The Enchanted Frog,” an adaptation of KHM 1) that appears in *Chanchito*; and again this translation differs widely from the German original. For instance, the tale’s narrative has been altered to eliminate any implied sexual content. The following excerpt from the scene with the newly-transformed prince and the young princess, illustrates this:

... y [el príncipe] le contó que había sido encantado por una mala hechicera, que nadie podía sacarle del pozo sino ella, y que al día siguiente se marcharían a su país juntos. Muy de mañana los esperaba una magnífica carroza tirada por ocho caballos blancos ...(*Chanchito* 1.13: 15)

... and [the prince] told her that he had been enchanted by a bad sorceress, that no one could take him out of the well except her, and that the next they would set out together to his country. Very early in the morning a magnificent coach drawn by eight white horses waited for them

Compared to the original,¹⁴⁰ the translation (identical in *Chanchito* and Calleja) avoids mentioning the couple's falling asleep together. The intimate scene of a princess and a prince sleeping together, with its implied sexual character, is completely omitted, in both Calleja's adaptation and its verbatim reprinting in *Chanchito*.

Not all the tales taken from Calleja's *Cuentos escogidos* and published in *Chanchito*, however, correspond one-to-one. In the case of "El caballo prodigioso,"¹⁴¹ the bowdlerization in the Colombian version goes one step beyond its Spanish counterpart to avoid not only sexual overtones but also any allusions to nudity and certain parts of the human body. Unlike the Calleja version, the parting daughter in *Chanchito* places the white handkerchief stained with her mother's blood-drops in her pocket, not her bosom; compare the following versions:

Chanchito:

Llenas de tristeza se despidieron. El lienzo se lo guardó la princesa en un bolsillo, subió al caballo y partió. (*Chanchito* 1.9: 15)

Full of sadness they said good-bye. The princess saved the handkerchief in her pocket, mounted the horse and left.

Calleja, *Cuentos escogidos*:

Llenas de tristeza se despidieron. El lienzo se lo metió la Princesa en el pecho, subió al caballo y partió. (*Cuentos escogidos* 10)

Full of sadness they said good-bye. The princess inserted the handkerchief into her bosom, mounted the horse and left.

¹⁴⁰ The equivalent German text from 1857 reads: "Da erzählte er ihr, er wäre von einer bösen Hexe verwünscht worden, und niemand hätte ihn aus dem Brunnen erlösen können als sie allein, und morgen wollten sie zusammen in sein Reich gehen. Dann schliefen sie ein, und am andern Morgen, als die Sonne sie aufweckte, kam ein Wagen herangefahren mit acht weißen Pferden bespannt, die hatten weiße Straußfedern auf dem Kopf und gingen in goldenen Ketten, und hinten stand der Diener des jungen Königs, das war der treue Heinrich" (Uther, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* 24671-72).

¹⁴¹ "El caballo prodigioso," which translates as "The Prodigious Horse" is an adaptation of KHM 89 "Die Gänsemagd." Although the title bears little resemblance to the original, compared to other stories in Calleja's *Cuentos escogidos*, the translation of this tale provides a more accurate version of the content of the original KHM.

The translation in Calleja's volume, which deviates only slightly from the Grimms' original tale, does not avoid the reference to the bosom (with its sexual implication).¹⁴²

Toward the end of this tale we notice another discrepancy between the text in *Chanchito* and Calleja. Let's compare the answers given by the false bride (the chambermaid) when she is asked how she would sentence a woman who deceives her lord:

Chanchito:

Merece que la echen en un cubo lleno de clavos, y que dos caballos la arrastren por todas las calles hasta que muera" (*Chanchito* 1.10: 15)

She deserves to be thrown inside a barrel full of nails, and have two horses drag her through every street until she dies.

Calleja, *Cuentos escogidos:*

Merece que *desnuda* [my emphasis] la echen en un cubo lleno de clavos, y que dos caballos la arrastren por todas las calles hasta que muera. (*Cuentos escogidos* 16)

She deserves to be thrown *naked* [my emphasis] inside a barrel full of nails, and have two horses drag her through every street until she dies.

The response in *Chanchito* has been modified avoid a reference to nudity; it clearly omits the suggestion that she should first be "stripped completely naked" and then put inside the barrel—a suggestion that is acknowledged in the Calleja version albeit with some modification to the original.¹⁴³

¹⁴² The original German text from 1857 reads: "Also nahmen beide voneinander betrübten Abschied: das Läppchen steckte die Königstochter in ihren Busen vor sich, setzte sich aufs Pferd und zog nun fort zu ihrem Bräutigam" (Uther, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* 25270).

¹⁴³ The reply in the 1857 KHM edition reads: "Die ist nichts Besseres wert, als daß sie splitternackt ausgezogen und in ein Faß gesteckt wird, das inwendig mit spitzen Nägeln beschlagen ist: und zwei weiße Pferde müssen vorgespannt werden, die sie Gasse auf, Gasse ab zu Tode schleifen" (Uther, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* 25278).

In addition to avoiding nudity and other sexual connotations, the Grimms' tales published in *Chanchito* show an effort to attenuate the violence. This becomes evident in "Los seis cisnes" ("The Six Swans," KHM 49), a tale that is not included in Calleja's collection *Cuentos escogidos*, but appears to be a transcript of another Spanish adaptation. The translation replaces the king's evil mother with a stepmother thus creating an emotional distance to mitigate the fear of filicide that this tale may produce in a youngster. The gruesome details of the German tale (where the mother-in-law steals and kills the queen's newborn and tries to implicate the queen in his murder by smearing blood on her mouth while she was asleep and accusing her of cannibalism) were omitted. The version in *Chanchito* simply states that when the first child was born, the evil stepmother stole him and accused the queen of having killed him.¹⁴⁴ Both the exclusion of the gory scene and the introduction of a king's stepmother (instead of the biological mother) are intended to lessen cruelty of the tale. However, since the source for this transcript is unknown, it is impossible to ascertain whether it was Victor Eduardo Caro, the editor of *Chanchito*, who made these changes or if they were already present in the Spanish adaptation.

The seven stories in the children's magazine *Chanchito* are the only evidence of Grimm tales appearing in a Colombian publication from the first half of the twentieth century. The translations present modifications in the narrative details of the original German tales to avoid sexual connotation, attenuate the hostility of some characters, and

¹⁴⁴ The text reads: "Un año despues, cuando nació el primer hijo, la perversa madrastra se lo robó y acusó a la reina de haberlo matado" (*Chanchito* 1:16: 16) ("A year later, when the first child was born, the evil stepmother stole him and accused the queen of having killed him"). To compare, the German version of 1857 reads: "Über ein Jahr, als die Königin das erste Kind zur Welt brachte, nahm es ihr die Alte weg und bestrich ihr im Schläfe den Mund mit Blut. Da ging sie zum König und klagte sie an, sie wäre eine Menschenfresserin" (Uther, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* 25006-07).

reduce the violence. That more than half of the located tales come from Calleja's *Cuentos escogidos* attests to the importance of the Calleja editions in the dissemination and reception of the German tales in Colombia.

Blancanieves y los enanitos: Adaptación del cuento de los Hermanos Grimm por Mercedes Llimona (*Snow White and the Dwarfs: Adaptation of the Brothers Grimm's Story by Mercedes Llimona, 1950*)

Disney's enormously popular feature animation *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937) gave way to a number of adaptations of this one Grimm tale, for instance, Mercedes Llimona's *Blancanieves y los enanitos* published by Editorial Juventud in Barcelona. The first edition of this single-tale book appeared in December 1941, shortly after Disney's animated film was first released in Spain on October 6, 1941. The Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango has a copy of the second edition published in 1950 (and several other newer editions are currently circulating in various libraries).

Geared towards a juvenile audience this 47-page book has numerous black-and-white and color illustrations drawn by Llimona herself. In her adaptation, Llimona took many liberties with the Grimms' versions of "Snow White." Some of the changes include: specifying Snow White's age (she had just turned fifteen when the mirror chose her as the most beautiful); killing one of the castle dogs (one that followed Snow White into the forest and ended up having its heart and entrails removed as proof of the deed); changing disguises in the murder attempt (the stepmother appears as an old sales woman, an old peasant woman, and a young woman of fresh complexion); expressing doubt about Snow White's death (the prince and the dwarfs question the fact that she had remained intact after a week of allegedly being dead); offering medical assistance (the prince offers

to take her to the castle where famous doctors may be able to cure her of the strange ailment); and breaking the glass coffin (upon hitting the ground the glass casket breaks into thousand pieces).

The most significant change, however, comes after the conclusion of the story, as most of us know it, that is, after Snow White enters the castle with the prince to live happily ever after. Llimona's version adds an epilogue that describes in detail the preparation of the wedding, the splendor of the ceremony, and the harsh punishment of the stepmother/queen. The epilogue starts by giving us a Snow White overcome with joy and very forgiving, who has invited both her father and stepmother to the wedding ceremony:

¡Oh, príncipe mío! —exclamó Blancanieves—, soy tan enteramente feliz que no puedo guardar rencor a nadie: ella ha querido hacerme mucho mal, pero no ha logrado más que mi dicha; quizás esté arrepentida de sus maldades, y mi boda despierte en ella algún buen sentimiento. (Llimona 42)

Oh my dear prince! I am so utterly happy that I cannot harbor resentment against anyone: [my stepmother] has wanted to harm me badly, but has achieved no more than my happiness; perhaps she regrets her evilness, and my wedding awakes in her some good sentiment.

In the wedding ceremony, to which hundreds of guests have been invited, Snow White's father and stepmother are sitting in the front bench of the chapel. The stepmother—described earlier as having the face of an angel but the soul of the devil—recognizes Snow White as she ascends the steps of the altar. Full of rage and spite, the “perverse witch” (44) plots in her head how to ruin all that joy, unknowing that the dwarfs are watching over their beloved Snow White. When the couple leaves the altar as man and wife and the Church begins to empty, the seven dwarfs surround the queen and

take her to a solitary cellar; there they heat up iron shoes over fire coals and force her to wear them. The king, who starts to miss his wife after a while, goes looking for her around the castle and suddenly hears “inhuman screams” (46) coming from the basement; he runs in that direction. The king is horrified to see his wife writhing and screaming in agony; but he is even more shocked by the unparalleled spectacle that his eyes are contemplating—the unforeseen and radical transformation of the queen’s appearance. Her magnificent dress starts to turn into a pile of rags, her pearls turn into “black and hairy beetles” (46) as they fell to the ground, and her “angel face” (9), which minutes before was amongst the most beautiful at the wedding party, becomes disfigured. Her visage turns wrinkly, her nose elongates and becomes deformed, and her teeth fall out one by one; and when she becomes tired from suffering, her body drops to the ground dead right in front of the king. Suddenly the newly married couple appears, and Snow White tells her father/king her sad story. The dismayed father acknowledges his “sins and egoism” (47) and begs his daughter for forgiveness; he then gives up his crown and castle and retires to live in a monastery, where he awaits for “the happiest day of his life” (47) when he can sound the bells to announce the birth of the son of Snow White and the prince.

In this adaptation, the circumstances of the stepmother’s death differ greatly from both the Grimms’ and Disney’s version. Unlike Disney’s film, in which the queen is pursued to the edge of a cliff and falls, or the Grimms’ tale, in which the queen is publicly subjected to a painful and humiliating death, this Spanish version casts the dwarfs in the role of tormentors who privately carry out the punishment of the queen. The

dwarfs corner the lady and taking her to a desolated cellar they proceed with the atrocious punishment:

La rodean entonces estrechamente y, aunque procura defenderse, son siete contra una. Con sus largas uñas procura herirlos y ahuyentarlos, y grita y se revuelve, pero nadie la oye... Los hombrecitos se la llevan y la esconden en una bodega oscura y húmeda” (Llimona 45)

Then [the dwarfs] surround her tightly and, although she tries to defend herself, they are seven against one. With her long nails she tries to hurt and scare them away, and she screams and shakes, but no one hears her ... The small men take her and hide her in a dark and humid cellar.



Fig. 15: “How the perverse witch was punished,” *Blancanieves y los enanitos* ... (Barcelona, 1950). Courtesy of Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango, Bogotá.

The illustration by Mercedes Llimona (Fig. 15) portrays an old woman in ragged clothes struggling against several dwarfs who are forcing her into red-hot shoes. While the witch's face displays agony, the dwarfs seem gleeful to be executing the cruel punishment. On the right, a surprised yet apathetic king is watching the spectacle. The newlyweds, immersed in their love and apparently oblivious to the circumstances, are seen on the left. The queen eventually falls dead and her completely disfigured face and body, we are told, reveal the effects that each of her sinful acts have had upon her soul: "The corpse lying at the king's feet is that of an infamous witch, whose contracted features reflect all the wickedness that a human being is capable of" (46).

This adaptation also introduces a religious element that was not present in the Grimms' tale. The character of the father/king, who reappears at the end of the tale, renounces the earthly affairs (his sovereignty and castle) to become an ascetic monk in a monastery. In this place of spiritual renewal, the father apparently wants to return to God by expiating the committed sins through self-inflicted pain; in addition to choosing an austere way of life, he also wears a cilice: "He wears a friar's habit with wide sleeves and cilices on his skin..." (47). In Llimona's version we notice that both parents of Snow White, not only the stepmother, pay for their transgressions. The penalties, however, differ in nature, for one is imposed while the other is self-inflicted. In the case of the father, he himself chooses to castigate his body with a cilice and practice severe asceticism—an antithetical way of life to that of power and opulence led by a king. In contrast, the punishment of the stepmother is imposed upon her; she is also penalized twice: once by the "law of men" (i.e., the dwarfs who force her to dance in burning iron shoes) and the second time by what may be seen as the manifestation of divine law, since

the sudden disfiguration of her beautiful visage happened in an inexplicable manner and independent of the will and agency of man.

As we will see, the dwarfs as tormentors and punishers are also present in other Spanish editions and post-1955 adaptations of “Snow White” published in Colombia and elsewhere in Latin America. I will discuss these editions in the next chapter.

Libro de cuentos ilustrados: 10 láminas en color con los más bonitos cuentos de los Hermanos Grimm por Gertraude Hecht-Appelmann (Illustrated Story Book: 10 Color Engravings with the Most Beautiful Stories of the Brothers Grimm by Gertraude Hecht-Appelmann, 1950?)

Estimated to be from 1950,¹⁴⁵ this deluxe illustrated issue was edited by Gertraude Hecht-Appelmann and translated by Brigitte Stötter de García. A short (half-page) prologue states that despite the many collections of children’s books edited in the Spanish language, none offers a combination of carefully selected stories adapted in a brief and succinct manner. Thus, the intended goal of this edition is to provide the stories of the Brothers Grimm in the most concise and simple form possible.

The selection of stories has also been kept brief—this volume contains only ten (see Table 4). The second title¹⁴⁶ in the collection is “Blancanieves” (“Snow White”); this and the other tales have been rewritten in a way that abridges the narrative details and results in an oversimplification of the tale’s original drama. One example of such abbreviation concerns the queen’s reaction after the mirror reveals for the first time that

¹⁴⁵ No year of publication is provided in this edition, but the catalogue of the Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango as well as WordCat give 1950.

¹⁴⁶ This collection is headed by “La Casita de Chocolate” (“The Little Chocolate House”), an adaptation of KHM 15 “Hänsel und Gretel.”

Snow White is more beautiful. Compared to the 1857 German version, in which the queen turns yellow and green with an envy that grew in her heart like a weed,¹⁴⁷ the straightforward Spanish translation reads: “Tan rudo fué el golpe, que su corazón estalló de odio y envidia hacia la pobre niña. Ansiosa de terminar aquella intolerable situación, llamó a uno de sus cazadores y le dijo: ...” (7) (The blow was so hard that her heart exploded with hate and envy of the poor girl. Anxious to terminate such intolerable situation she called one of her huntsman and said ...).

In addition to simplifying the narrative, the translation purged the violent scenes of this tale, probably influenced by Disney’s filmic adaptation. For example, the cannibalistic episode in which the queen eats the boiled lungs and liver presumed to be from Snow White has been omitted. The harsh punishments of the queen, who was forced to dance in red-hot iron shoes, has been replaced by a rather dull conclusion: “Cuando entró a la sala y reconoció a Blancanieves quedó inmovilizada del susto, pero luego, para disimular, bailó durante tanto tiempo que acabó por caer al suelo muerta de cansancio, terminando así definitivamente sus maldades” (10) (When [the queen] entered the room and recognized Snow White she was immobilized from fear, but then, to save face, she danced for such a long time that she ended up falling on the ground dead of fatigue, thus ending definitively her evilness). The punitive aspect of the story is practically bypassed in this version.

¹⁴⁷ The scene in the 1857 version reads:

Da erschrak die Königin und ward gelb und grün vor Neid. Von Stund an, wenn sie Sneewittchen erblickte, kehrte sich ihr das Herz im Leibe herum, so haßte sie das Mädchen. Und der Neid und Hochmut wuchsen wie ein Unkraut in ihrem Herzen immer höher, daß sie Tag und Nacht keine Ruhe mehr hatte. Da rief sie einen Jäger und sprach: ... (Uther, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* 25028).

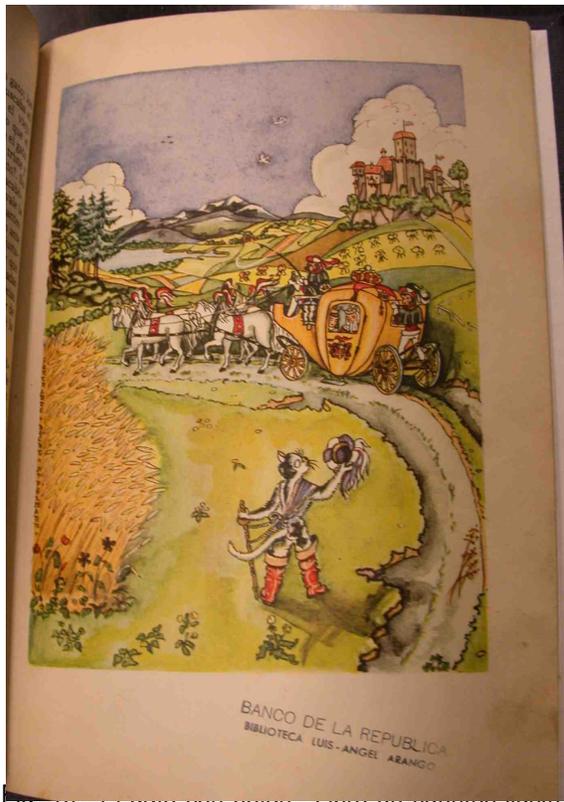


Fig. 16. “El gato con botas,” *Libro de cuentos narrados ...* (Barcelona, 1950). Courtesy of Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango, Bogotá.

One of the ten tales included in this edition is “El gato con botas” (“Puss in Boots”) (Fig. 16). “Der gestiefelte Kater” was first published as tale no. 33 in the KHM edition of 1812, but was omitted in the 1819 edition due to its French origins, in particular Charles Perrault’s “Le chat botté,” which appeared in his renowned *Contes du Temps passé* (1697). Even though Perrault’s French version was more widely available, this translation is clearly based on the Grimms’ version from 1812 and not on Perrault’s. The introduction, which depicts the daily chores of the each member in the mill confirms this and reads: “Un molinero tenía tres hijos, su molino, un asno y un gato; los tres hijos tenían que trabajar en el molino, el burro buscaba el trigo y el gato cazaba ratones” (34) (“a miller had three sons, his mill, a donkey, and a cat; the sons had to work in the mill,

the donkey hauled the wheat, and the cat hunted mice”).¹⁴⁸ The translation also lacks Perrault’s two morals at the end of the story, which further validates the Grimms’ as the source. Because the original German tale already is much shorter tale than other of the Grimm tales included in this edition, it has been more accurately translated in this Spanish edition keeping most of the narrative details.

Interestingly, several post-1955 editions with Grimm stories include “Der gestiefelte Kater” even though this tale only appeared in the first edition of the KHM from 1812. *Libro de cuentos ilustrados* (1950?) is the oldest located edition that includes this tale. Some of the general characteristics of *Libro de cuentos ilustrados*—shortened narratives, oversimplified texts, reduction of violence through insipid conclusions—will reappear in editions published in Latin America during the second half of the twentieth century, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Cuentos de Grimm: ilustrados por Arthur Rackham (*Stories of Grimm: Illustrated by Arthur Rackham*, 1955)

Published by Editorial Juventud in Barcelona, *Cuentos de Grimm: ilustrados por Arthur Rackham* first appeared on April 1935. Twenty years later, in 1955, a second edition followed and thereafter numerous others have been published until recently—the latest being the 12th edition from 2004. Based on the numerous copies available in the main libraries, this publication appears to have been well received in Colombia. Several copies of the various published editions are currently circulating; the Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango, for example, owns copies of the 1st edition from 1935, the 2nd from 1955,

¹⁴⁸ Compare to the Grimms’ version of 1812, which starts: “Ein Müller hatte drei Söhne, seine Mühle, einen Esel und einen Kater; die Söhne mußten mahlen, der Esel Getreide holen und Mehl forttragen und die Katz die Mäuse wegfangen” (Uther, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* 23829).

and the 4th from 1971, when it became part of the Colección Cuentos Universales.¹⁴⁹ Eight issues of the 5th edition from 1985 and several other copies of the editions from 1990 (6th ed.), 1997 (7th ed.), and 2001 (10th ed.) are currently circulating in various other libraries in the country.

Design for young readers, this compact publication was translated by the Spanish writer and journalist María Luz Morales (1889-1980) who, besides her journalistic activities, was an active advocate of children's literature. Morales adapted works by Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe Cervantes, and others in *Obras maestras al alcance de los niños (Master Works at the Reach of Children)*, all published for the Barcelona publishing house Araluce, which she directed. Her adaptations of literary masterpieces for children became instrumental in the Spanish public educational sector, and some of her works were used as textbooks in Latin American countries (Rodrigo).

The source used for the Spanish translation is not specified; however, this edition appears to be based on the English-language anthology translated by Mrs. Edgar Lucas and illustrated by Arthur Rackham (1867-1939).¹⁵⁰ Rackham's first fairy-tale illustrations, in the *Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm* (1900), attained immediate popularity and captured the admiration of his contemporaries (Bottigheimer, "Rackham, Arthur" 413). The 1900 edition included sixty-three stories and ninety-five drawings of fairy world inhabitants with familiar settings, which, in the frontispieces, are acclaimed

¹⁴⁹ The series Colección Cuentos Universales include children's tales and stories by authors such as Lewis Carroll, Hans Christian Andersen, Charles Perrault, Carlo Collodi, as well as several compilations by various other writers.

¹⁵⁰ The edition I used for the purpose of comparison is: Jacob Grimm, Wilhelm Grimm, Edgar Lucas, and Arthur Rackham, *Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm: A New Translation by Mrs. Edgar Lucas, with illustrations by Arthur Rackham* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co, 1900).

as expressing “perfectly the humor, the grotesqueness, the weirdness, the quaintness of the stories.”

Numerous other English-language editions of Grimms’ tales based on Mrs. Edgar Lucas translation and illustrated by Rackham have appeared after the successful first edition from 1900. Compact editions with a smaller selection of tales (usually 20) seem to be especially popular. Although I examined many of the compact editions in English published since the 1970s, I could not find an exact match for the Spanish *Cuentos de Grimm: ilustrados por Arthur Rackham*. The Spanish and English editions did not coincide in the number of stories that they included (e.g., *Cuentos de Grimm* has twenty-eight stories vs. twenty for most of the English editions¹⁵¹), the selection of stories, and the order in which the titles were arranged.

Newer editions of *Cuentos de Grimm: ilustrados por Arthur Rackham* provide a brief note on the Brothers Grimm and their work that is printed either on the frontispieces or on the back cover.¹⁵² The note on the 1985 publication, for example, describes the brothers as “great wise philologists,” who wrote very important books such as the *German Grammar* (after the word “philologists” comes a parenthetical note explaining to children that this means they were dedicated to study of the language). Their extraordinary works will fill up an entire library, the note says; however, outside Germany, no one would have remembered them had they not embarked on the task of collecting the tales that peasants told their children. In regard to their collection methods,

¹⁵¹ For example, *Grimm’s Fairy Tales: Twenty Stories illustrated by Arthur Rackham*, (New York: The Viking Press, 1973); or *Grimm’s Fairy Tales*, illus. Arthur Rackham (New York: Seastar Books, 2001, 1925).

¹⁵² The content of this note does not appear to be based on earlier English or English-language editions. The paratext in the 1900 edition—*Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm: A New Translation by Mrs. Edgar Lucas, with illustrations by Arthur Rackham*—focuses mainly on the work of Rackham. The compact English-language editions that I examined, trying to find a matching issue for *Cuentos de Grimm: ilustrados por Arthur Rackham*, do not include any discursive paratexts.

the note states that the brothers travelled throughout Germany asking the people to narrate the tales (for their study of the folk's language), which they transcribed word by word to form a book (the title of the "book" is not mentioned); their publication was very successful and was translated into all languages. Further down we read that even if this work was done more than a century ago, children across the world still read and enjoy the tales today; it ends with: "Aquí los tenéis tal como los escribieron ellos entonces" ("Here you have them, just as they wrote them then"). In this short paragraph we notice a repetition of the same vague and imprecise information on the brothers and their work that has been published elsewhere (e.g., in Calleja's edition). The collection's claim of authenticity—tales presented "just as they wrote them then"—is ambiguous at best, especially considering that this Spanish translation is based on a previous translation by Mrs. Edgar Lucas, which already presents modifications in regard to the Grimms' KHM (e.g., altering the order of the original list of contents, providing titles that bear no resemblance to the Grimms' originals such as "The Adventures of Chanticleer and Partlet" for "Das Lumpengesindel" or "The Pink" for "Die Nelke," and offering only a reduced selection of sixty-three stories).

In *Cuentos de Grimm: ilustrados por Arthur Rackham* the influence of Disney is already perceptible in the order in which the tales appear in the table of contents. Among the first five titles we find "Snow White," "Sleeping Beauty," and "Cinderella"—all tales with animated adaptations by Disney. The tale of "Snow White" always heads the table of contents in all the different published editions.¹⁵³

¹⁵³ In contrast, in the early English-language edition from 1900 "Briar Rose" was the 7th title, "Snowdrop" the 32nd, and "Ashenputtel" [sic] the 36th title in the table of contents.

When looking closely at the different editions of *Cuentos de Grimm: ilustrados por Arthur Rackham*, we notice that the story selection, the chosen tale titles, and sometimes even the narratives have been modified from one publication year to the next. The difference among editions is particularly noticeable between the earlier issues from 1950/55 and later publications. The second edition from 1955, for example, still includes “El judío en los espinos” (“Der Jude im Dorn,” KHM 110). This tale features anti-Semitism in its most vicious form. Even though the “rich” master denies his “loyal and jolly” servant fair gratification for three-years of work, it is a Jew that the servant meets by chance (after leaving his master) who becomes the scapegoat and is unjustly punished. Although this book was originally intended for children, Rackham’s illustrations of the tale focus on the scene of punishment and present the Jew in a grotesque and ridiculing form that provokes laughter rather than compassion (Fig 17).¹⁵⁴ This tale was eliminated from subsequent editions.

In addition to modifying the story selection, another noticeable variation among editions concerns the titling of the stories. In 1955, the tale of “Dornröschen” appears translated as “Rosa Silvestre” (“Wild Rose”); however, in the fourth edition from 1971 it appears changed as “La bella durmiente” (“Sleeping Beauty”). This adjustment in the title is most likely due to the influence of Disney’s animated feature *Sleeping Beauty* (1959), first released in Spain in 1960.

¹⁵⁴ The legend on the left hand side of figure 20 reads: “The Jew saw himself forced to stand up, and started to dance ...”; the legend on the right says: “...they started to dance as fast as they could...”. The illustration on the left was also included in the 1900 edition of *Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm* with an even more gruesome legend: “The Jew was forced to dance faster and faster till the thorn tore his shabby coat, combed his goat beard, and scratched him all over” (265).

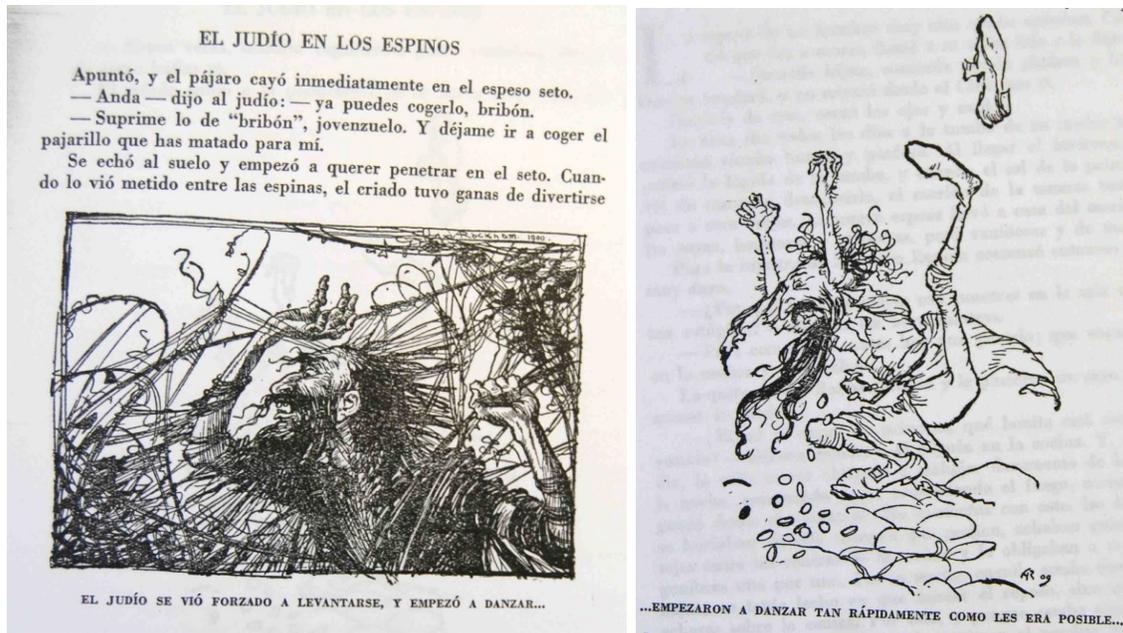


Fig. 17: Rackham's illustrations of "El judío en los espinos" ("The Jew in the Thornbush") in *Cuentos de Grimm: ilustrados por Arthur Rackham* (Barcelona, 1955). Courtesy of Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango, Bogotá.

The influence of Disney may also explain why parts of certain tale narratives show modifications from one edition to the other. For instance, the version of "Snow White" published in 1955 (2nd edition) still includes the cruel sentence of the stepmother, while later versions change the the ending to attenuate violence. Let's compare texts in the different editions:

Cuentos de Grimm: ilustrados por Arthur Rackham, 1955:

Y cuando [la madrastra] llegó al palacio y reconoció en la reinecita a Blancanieves, se quedó muda de terror. A todo esto, los enanillos habían calentado unas chinelas al fuego y ahora estaban al rojo y lanzaban vívidas llamas. Las cogieron con unas tenazas y obligaron a la madrastra a danzar con ellas puestas hasta que cayó muerta de dolor y rabia. (19)

And when [the stepmother] arrived at the palace and recognized the little queen as being Snow White, she became dumb with terror. In the meantime, the dwarfs had been warming slippers in the fire and now they were red-hot and sending out vivid flames. They took them with pliers and forced the stepmother to dance with them on until she fell dead of pain and rage.

Cuentos de Grimm: ilustrados por Arthur Rackham, 1971:

Y cuando [la madrastra] llegó al palacio y reconoció en la reinécita a Blancanieves, se quedó muda de terror, se escapó y nunca se volvió a saber de ella. (18)

And when [the stepmother] arrived at the palace and recognized the little queen as being Snow White, she became dumb with terror, escaped, and no one ever heard from her again.

In the 1955 version (as in Llimona's adaptation, 1950) the punishment is carried out by the dwarfs. The variation of the dwarfs as tormentors, however, is not present in any of the compact editions in English (illustrated by Rackham) that I examined.¹⁵⁵ The “censored” conclusion from 1971 was kept unchanged throughout the later-published editions. Interestingly, not all of the harsh episodes in “Snow White” were removed from later editions. The cannibalistic act where the stepmother eats the organs (here the liver and heart of a new-born fawn), thinking she had consumed Snow White's, has remained unchanged since the second edition of 1955.

Cuentos completos de los hermanos Grimm (*Complete Stories of the Brothers Grimm*, 1955, 1961)

Published by Editorial Labor in Barcelona, this illustrated volume is the oldest publication in Spanish located that contains all 200 tales and 10 children's legends found in the final edition of the KHM. The stories were translated directly from the German by Francisco Payarols,¹⁵⁶ using as source text the popular edition *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*

¹⁵⁵ For example, the 1973 English-language edition ends: “And when [the stepmother] came in she recognised [sic] Snowdrop, and stood stock still with fear and terror. But iron slippers were heated over the fire, and were soon brought in with tongs and put before her. And she had to step into the red-hot shoes and dance till she fell down dead” (*Grimm's Fairy Tales* 16). This conclusion corresponds to the original version published in *Fairy Tales of the Brothers* in 1900.

¹⁵⁶ Payarols has also translated into Spanish the complete fairy-tales by Hans Christian Andersen published under the title *Cuentos completos de Hans Christian Andersen* by the Barcelona-based Editorial Labor in 1959.

der Brüder Grimm illustrated by Ludwig Richter and published by Schmidt & Günther in Leipzig (the publication date of the edition on which the translation is based was not specified). This volume forms part of the Colección de Obras Eternas (Collection of Eternal Works) and is illustrated with 96 drawings (inserted within the text) and 8 full-page engravings by Richter. Several issues of *Cuentos completos de los hermanos Grimm* are currently circulating in the Colombian libraries, including a first edition from 1955 (owned by Biblioteca Departamental Jorge Garcés Borrero in Cali). The first edition of *Cuentos completos de los hermanos Grimm* was reprinted in 1957 and 1961, and a second edition appeared in 1967.

Preceding the stories is an eight-page prologue written by Eduardo Valentí, a teacher of secondary education. The prologue traces the genesis of the Grimms' collection to the intellectual currents in Germany from the early nineteenth century (the author refers to two particular outcomes of the Romantic era: the movement of writers known as the Heidelberg group and the formation of the German Historical School of Law). Valentí addresses the strictly scientific purpose of conceiving the KHM collection, indicating that the brothers' original intention was to gather materials from the remote past of the Germanic folk—materials that would provide insight into the origins of their mythology and their institutions—and recover some of the forms of what would have been their primitive poetry. Also mentioned in the prologue are the ties of the Grimms' collection to the ideas of Herder and to Arnim and Brentano's work, as well as the brothers' rejection of any embellishment of the original material. Hessen and Kassel are given as the areas from which most of the tales stem and the main informants are identified as members of the Werner von Haxthausen family and a peasant woman of

exceptional memory, Viemännin [sic] from Niedierzwehren. Valentí makes reference to the eagerness of the Grimms to remain as faithful as possible to the “originality and beauty of the popular language;” however, he points out that minor changes were introduced to the tales, which he considers “exterior and accidental”:

Raras veces [los Grimm] refunden los cuentos, aunque en algunas ocasiones modifican su extensión, abreviándolos o completándolos; eliminan detalles chocantes, como también suprimen las moralejas, apropiadas sólo cuando el cuento es considerado como un apólogo destinado al aleccionamiento o la edificación moral. (*Cuentos completos de los hermanos Grimm* x)

Rarely did [the Grimms] rehash the stories, although in some occasions they modify their extension, abbreviating or completing them; they eliminate provocative details, and also suppress the morals, which are only appropriate when the story is considered as an apologue destined for the teaching or the moral building.

Once more, we encounter the assertion that this volume is unique: Valentí asserts that *Cuentos completos de los hermanos Grimm* is a novelty among existing Spanish-language editions of Grimm tales because it is a complete volume. According to Valentí, this issue offers numerous advantages to both scholars and amateurs of folklore or ethnology for it brings to light the double character (scientific and artistic) of the work of the Brothers Grimm. In regard to the accuracy of this translation, the author clarifies that most of the stories were translated just as their authors published them. Only in a few cases, where the tales present “thorny” (xi) difficulties for a literal translation, were they adapted in order to make them legible in Spanish. However, the adaptations were limited merely to details in the form, and special care was taken to respect their essential content as much as possible.

In its majority, the format of *Cuentos completos de los hermanos Grimm* corresponds to the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* published by Schmidt & Günther in Leipzig (I used an edition from 1937 for comparative purposes). The table of contents coincides one-to-one in both the German¹⁵⁷ and Spanish editions except for one modification: in the Spanish edition, individual parts of multiple-part tales (e.g., “Die Wichtelmänner” and “Die Hochzeit der Frau Füchsin”) were listed separately. For example, KHM 39 appears in the index as “Los Duendecillos. Cuento primero,” “Los Duendecillos. Cuento segundo,” etc. (“The Elves. First Tale,” “The Elves. Second Tale,” etc.).

Noteworthy in both the Spanish and German editions is the fact that, in spite of the apparent completeness of these volumes, the tale “Der alte Hildebrand”¹⁵⁸ (KHM 95) is missing from both editions. These volumes reach a total count of 200 tales by incorporating the story “Die zwölf faulen Knechte” (translated into Spanish as “Los doce haraganes”). This tale was added to the last large edition from 1857; however, to maintain the even number of 200 tales that was reached since the 6th edition (1850), Wilhelm Grimm designated this tale as number 151a (which constitutes the sole double-numbering within the collection).

A noticeable fault in this otherwise carefully edited Spanish volume concerns the title “Juan el listo” (“Clever Hans”), which appears two times in the index. Although at first this seems to be a printing error, the reading of the stories confirms that the same

¹⁵⁷ The tale order in *Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* (Leipzig: Schmidt & Günther in Leipzig, 1937) has been altered in comparison to the final KHM edition. Changing the tale order seems curious considering that the 1857 edition has served as source for nearly every subsequent reprinting of the Grimms’ tales. Given that *Cuentos completos de los hermanos Grimm* is based on the German edition illustrated by Richter, the tale sequence also appears correspondingly changed.

¹⁵⁸ Since the second edition of 1819, “Der alte Hildebrand” appears as tale number 95, replacing “Der Geist im Glass,” which was moved down to number 99 (Rölleke, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen: Ausgabe letzter Hand* 3: 483).

title was used twice to head two different tales: “Der gescheite Hans” (KHM 32) and “Der kluge Knecht” (KHM 162). Both of these tales present a character with the common first name Hans (Juan in Spanish); however, the use of an identical title for two separate and unrelated tales appears rather curious.

In accordance with what is stated in the prologue, this Spanish translation of the Grimm tales adheres faithfully to the original German texts. The only notable change deals with the tale “Der Gevatter Tod” (KHM 44), which was translated as “La muerte madrina” (“Godmother Death”). I believe that, in this case, the gender-based alteration has probably a grammatical reason, since “death” in Spanish is a feminine noun (la muerte) while in German it is masculine (der Tod); thus, in Spanish it makes more sense to couple the female noun “death” with a female “godmother.” In other Spanish translations, the tale “Der Gevatter Tod” appears as “El ahijado de la muerte” (“The Godson of Death”), thus bypassing the personification of death and the gender-based grammatical challenge.¹⁵⁹ This tale is a common tale widely disseminated in Europe.¹⁶⁰ Through Central Europe, however, a cultural boundary separates the feminine or masculine personification of death: in the oral tradition of German-speaking countries prevails the figure of death as a man (as well as in the Anglo-Saxon, Dutch, and Nordic traditions) while in Romanic and Slavic countries the personification of death in the form of a woman is commonly found (Bendix 151). Yet in other folktales from the Spanish tradition “death” appears used along with the coordinate conjunction “y” (“and”); for example, tale no. 20 “El médico y la muerte” (“The Doctor and the Death”) in *Cuentos Asturianos: recogidos de la tradición oral* by Aurelio de Llano Roza de Ampudia.

¹⁵⁹ The title “El ahijado de la muerte” has been used, for example, in Calleja’s *Cuentos escogidos* from 1896 and in *Los mejores cuentos infantiles del mundo* published by LEY in 1970.

¹⁶⁰ The tale is classified under the system of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson as Type 332.

With translations in general, we notice a tendency to move away from scholarly and comprehensive editions like this one towards publications that are more compact and heavily illustrated. This trend, which will become more evident in publications from the second half of the twentieth century, suggests that the publishing industry redirected its focus to place greater emphasizes on a juvenile audience. Some of the causes that gave way to new trends in the segment of children's literature will be considered in the next chapter.

Conclusion

It took three and a half decades after the publication of the final large edition of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (1857) before translations of the Grimms' tales start to show in the inventory of the main Colombian libraries. The initial diffusion of the tales in Colombia apparently occurred via France and England.

The oldest translation of Grimms' tale found, with a known date of publication, is *Contes allemands du temps passé* (1892) rendered by Félix Frank and E. Alsleben. The importance of this annotated volume goes beyond the historical; this French translation appears to have been based on earlier versions of the KHM (i.e., from 1843), and, if it was circulating at the time of its publication, it would have furnished Colombians with tales still in the process of being revised. Although this volume contains only seventeen Grimm tales, it constitutes one of the most faithful and reliable translations of the tales yet located. In addition, this is one of the few publications that supplies relatively accurate information about the Brothers Grimm, their work, and their legacy. The audience for this book may have been limited to an educated elite versed in foreign

languages but this edition provided the Colombian public with an accurate first encounter of the German tales and their incipience.

Also from the last decades of the nineteenth century is the English *Grimm's Fairy Tales* edited by Mrs. Paull (late 1880s?). With a much larger selection of stories than *Contes allemands du temps passé*, this edition is far from being an accurate English translation of the German tales. Mrs. Paull's renderings distort blatantly the Grimms' own narrative in order to supply a familiar and domestic context that would meet the expectation of the English readers in the Victorian era. Nonetheless, the value of *Grimm's Fairy Tales* lies in its historical contribution to the introduction and diffusion of the Grimm tales in the Colombia. Other early English versions of the KHH have played an important role as channels for the transmission and dissemination of the Grimms' tales in Colombia. The anthology *Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm: A New Translation by Mrs. Edgar Lucas, with illustrations by Arthur Rackham* (1900), for example, served as basis for the widely popular *Cuentos de Grimm: ilustrados por Arthur Rackham* (1935) translated from the English by María Luz Morales and widely available in libraries today.

Because Spanish is the official language in Colombia and given the dominion of Spain over the Latin American market of books until the mid 1930s, it is not surprising that the majority of early publications with Grimms' tales located in the libraries came from Madrid and Barcelona. In the translation process, though, respect for the Grimms' original narratives seems to have been less of a consideration. Except for *Cuentos completos de los hermanos Grimm* (1955) translated by Francisco Payarols, most of the Spanish editions present editorial liberties in their rendering of the tales; in some instances, the stories can be considered products of authorial rather than just editorial

intentions (e.g., “Los dos pollos” [1893], or Llimona’s adaptation of Snow White [1950]).

Among the most influential Spanish publications of Grimms’ tales are those from the house Saturnino Calleja. Calleja’s miniature booklets have been acclaimed and fondly remembered in local newspaper articles and scholarly publications. Several stories from Calleja’s *Cuentos escogidos* (1896?) are the only evidence of the tales appearing in a Colombian publication from the first half of the twentieth century (reprinted in the children’s magazine *Chanchito*). These heavily edited adaptations intended specifically for children often imposed Calleja’s own particular Spanish style on the tales (e.g., assigning Spanish names to the characters) and censored what was considered inappropriate contents (e.g., sexual overtones). Although Calleja makes no conspicuous effort to reduce the overall violence of some tales, we found instances where the wickedness of the characters had been tapered (e.g., the stepmother in “La casita de turrón”). While some interventions in the narrative intended to minimize barbaric behaviors, others deliberately inserted references to aggressive practices that were not present in the Grimms’ originals (e.g., threat of corporal punishment in “El rey cuervo”)—a rather paradoxical stance of the Calleja editing choices.

In most cases, Calleja’s adaptations of the Grimms’ tales appear reprinted almost verbatim in the magazine *Chanchito*. A few instances, though, show evidence of additional bowdlerization: the Calleja versions were further censored to omit references to nudity or body parts associated with sexuality (e.g., “El caballo prodigioso”). Other Grimm tales published in the children’s magazine demonstrate attempts to cater to the

young Colombian audience by minimizing the violence (e.g., omitting the gory scene in “Los seis cisnes”).

The textual analysis and comparisons undertaken in this chapter indicate that faithfulness to the German originals took a second place to considerations of morality and cultural expectations of the reading public. Many of the alterations made were done in order to protect the readers from what translators perceived as unacceptable elements in the original text. On numerous occasions the translators felt compelled to depart from the original narratives by omitting or adding certain features in order to comply with predominant cultural and moral codes of their respective countries (e.g., English translations avoid issues associated with religious beliefs and superstition; Spanish versions censor features associated with sexuality, much in accordance with the Catholic faith; etc.). The editorial interventions altered and distorted, in differing degrees, both the form and essence of the Grimms’ stories. Yet these imported editions constitute the first versions of the KHM available in Colombia; of all the imported editions (many of which pose a language barrier) those translations coming from Spain could be regarded as the main channels for the transmission and dissemination of the Grimms’ tales. This conclusion would suggest a sustained colonialism—the former colonial master continues to exercise its dominating force through printed materials that promote Spanish values, morals, and mores in Colombia and Latin America. In the next chapter I will explore the influence and repercussion of these early European translations, particularly those in Spanish, in editions of the KHM published in Latin America and Colombia.

Chapter 4: The Reception of Grimms' Fairy Tales after 1955

The second phase of this study concentrates on the later reception of Grimms' tales, after 1955. Following the same approach used in the previous chapters, I will first examine the broader context of publications categorized as children/youth literature. Questions that guide this chapter include: How does the inventory of children's books compare to the former period? What factors contributed to changes in the composition of the inventory? What is the position of the fairy-tale genre? What fairy-tale authors are best represented? How do editions with Grimm stories published in Latin America and Colombia compare to the early imported versions?

In the second half of the twentieth century the composition of the inventory classified as children/youth literature extant in Colombian libraries presents significant changes in comparison to the previous period. The first distinct change is a strengthened position of the fairy-tale genre within the context of children's literature. Appendix 3 reveals a considerable increase in the number of classical fairy tales printed after 1950. Populating the inventory are fairy tales of European authors such as Giambattista Basile, Adelbert von Chamisso, E. T. A. Hoffmann, Mme d'Aulnoy, Gustav Schwab, and Ludwig Bechstein¹⁶¹—authors that were, in part, only marginally represented in the previous period. Especially evident is the increase in publications in which the Grimms' tales are represented.

¹⁶¹ In contrast to other fairy tale authors, Bechstein's tales start to show in the inventory only in the 1990s. Some of the publications currently available in the main libraries are: *El cisne blanco de Juanito*, illus. Barilli et al. (Bogotá: Educar Cultural Recreativa, 1994); *El tesoro de los tres hermanos*, illus. Barilli et al. (Bogotá: Educar Cultural Recreativa, 1996); *El libro mágico*, illus. Barilli et al. (Bogotá: Educar Cultural Recreativa, 1999).

The age of these editions is certainly a contributing factor for the enhanced inventory, since newly-published volumes are better preserved and thus more likely to be accessible than older ones. Yet the outpour of productions within the fairy-tale genre manifests in other forms: we start to find tales in media other than print, for instance, in films and in video and audio recordings.

The oldest audio recordings of fairy tales located are LPs in English from the late 1950s. Among them are Lewis Carroll's *The Pied Piper & the Hunting of the Snark* (1957) and *Alice in Wonderland* (1957); H.C. Andersen's *Tales of Hans Christian Andersen* (1958) and *Ugly Duckling and Other Tales* (1959); *Grimm Fairy Tales* (1958); and *Mother Goose* (1958).¹⁶² Audio versions in Spanish start to appear in the early 1960s; for example, *Blanca Nieves y los siete enanitos / Caperucita Roja (Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs / Little Red Riding Hood, 1960?)*¹⁶³ and Andersen's *Los vestidos del emperador (The Emperor's Clothes, 1960?)*. Later in the decade Disney productions of audible tales start to emerge, albeit in English, (e.g., *Little Red Riding Hood and Other Best Loved Fairy Tales, 1969?*). In Colombia, where the illiteracy rate was still high in the 1960s recorded tales, particularly those in Spanish, are important avenues of dissemination because of their far-reaching capacity. With the improvements in the overall infrastructure of the country (e.g., creation of new libraries, reading and cultural centers, etc.), audio versions make the fairy tales available to almost every segment of the population, including the poorest and less educated, who can access them free of charge at the public libraries.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² All these titles are part of the Caedmon Literary Series of New York.

¹⁶³ This is a Mexican adaptation of the Grimms' tales by Aníbal de Mar and Maria Antonieta de las Nieves.

¹⁶⁴ No statistics about the usage of recorded materials is available. I can only speculate that this is a viable channel of dissemination for the fairy tale in Colombia.

The emergence of fairy tales in audio form is but one of the most noticeable changes in the constellation of the post-1950 inventory of children/youth works. Other significant changes include (1) a general increase of fairy-tale reprints by other European authors (e.g., Mme d'Aulnoy, Basile, and Chamisso); (2) an exponential increase of editions with Grimm tales; (3) an increase in anthologies that combine tales from various authors and compilers; (4) a reduction of works for children that promote religious teachings and rigorous morality; (5) a clear dominance of Spanish-language publications; (6) and a significant reduction of French editions. In the following section I will address some of the major factors that affected the later reception of Grimms' tales in the country.

Role of French Editions in the Later Inventory of Children's Publications

As we have seen in the previous chapters, prior to 1950 French editions played a crucial part in the composition of the inventory of children's literature in Colombia. The number of French editions was noticeably large in relation to works from other countries and in other languages, with issues by both French authors as well as non-French authors translated into French available in libraries. Some of the oldest works located were in fact French translations of writers such as the Italian Carlo Collodi, the English author Charles Dickens, and the German authors Christoph von Schmid, E. T. A. Hoffmann, and Joachim Heinrich Campe. The tales of the Brothers Grimm were no exception; one of the earliest copies located was also a French translation (i.e., *Contes allemands du temps passé*, 1892).

Within the fairy-tale genre, issues of French fairy tales were among the oldest and most abundant in libraries. The antiquity and profusion of French and other classical tales translated into French suggests that the initial dissemination of fairy tales to Colombia

occurred primarily through French editions. Translations of French fairy tales into Spanish also exceeded other classical tales (e.g., by the Grimms) both in quantity and quality. Compared to the Grimms, for example, French fairy tales in Spanish were not only copious but stood out for their superior quality and comprehensive content. Early Spanish translations of Perrault's tales, for example, were available in deluxe editions that contained a substantial number of stories, whereas Spanish versions of Grimms' tale came in much more modest publications.

The inclination towards French editions evident in the composition of the pre-1950 inventory is indicative of a Eurocentric focus centered on Paris, which existed in Colombia and elsewhere in Latin America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For many Colombian and Latin American authors and intellectuals, Paris became an almost obligatory station; often writers needed a Parisian publication in order to have success in their own countries (Lange 545). However, as the century progressed, the notion of Paris as the axis of European culture slowly started to lose its attractive force and function, causing a shift in the general perception of the Colombian public. This perceptual shift is mirrored in the post-1950s inventory of children's literature, where French productions show a significant reduction.

Whereas the supply of French editions of youth works becomes less significant after 1950, publications coming from Spain continue to abound well into the twenty-first century. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Spain dominated the Latin American book market until the mid 1930s; thereafter, mostly Mexican and Argentinean publishing houses started to gain control over the Spanish-language publications in Ibero-America. In the 1950s, with massive support of the Franco regime, Spain tried to re-conquer the

Latin American publishing market through a series of measures that included centralizing the export of published materials, translating as many texts as to attract every kind of reader, and introducing literary competitions and prizes (Rodríguez Monegal 22). The efforts of publishing companies to gain market share in Latin America shows in the post-1950 bibliographic materials for children found in Colombian libraries. Yet, in addition to issues coming from Spain, in this period we also notice the appearance of Latin American publications of fairy tales, which start to emerge in the inventory as early as 1940.¹⁶⁵

The general increase in the supply of literature for children and youth after 1950 is also explained by socioeconomic changes fueled by industrial growth. In Colombia the two leading areas in the economy have been agriculture and manufacturing.¹⁶⁶ The agricultural sector has been characterized by an array of commodities (e.g., coffee, sugar, rice, corn, potatoes, milk) that can be raised because of the diversity of soils and climatic conditions in the country. In manufacturing, the concentration falls mainly on the production of consumer goods and the manufacturing centers have been in Bogotá, Medellín, and Cali. Although agriculture and manufacturing have been the two primary components of Colombia's economy, the share of the gross domestic product generated by agriculture has been declining while that of manufacturing has been gradually increasing since the 1950s (Blutstein et al. 347). The growth disparity in the main economic areas brought about significant socioeconomic changes in country. The steady expansion of the manufacturing sector along with a prolonged period of predominately

¹⁶⁵ For example, Hans Christian Andersen, *Cuentos de Hans Andersen* (Santiago de Chile: Ed. Zig-Zag, 1940); E.T.A. Hoffmann, *La olla de oro*, trans. María Teresa Pujol y L. Ferran de Pol (México: Compañía General Editora, 1940); Paul Arène, *La cabra de oro* (Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe, 1941).

¹⁶⁶ Commerce, which centers mainly on the retail of imported goods, has also played an important role in the Colombian economy.

rural violence known as “la violencia” (“The Violence”) that started in the late 1940s,¹⁶⁷ resulted in an increased migration towards the major urban areas. More and more people were drawn into the cities either looking for jobs or attempting to escape the violence in the rural areas, or both.

The demographic displacement, consequence of the growth in manufacturing and the increased violence in the provincial areas, gave way to new developments in the infrastructure of Colombia’s major cities especially in the cultural setting; these new developments coincided with governmental efforts to raise the overall literacy levels in the country. Along with a series of educational reforms that started in the early 1960s, new libraries, reading centers, and bookstores were created. The successful government measures to promote education as well as the increased accessibility of the general public to published materials were favorable factors for the reception of the Grimm tales in Colombia. Before 1950, predominately costly imported editions in foreign languages had restricted the accessibility of the tales to an educated elite—an elite tilted mainly towards French works. The apparent preference of literary tales (especially French tales) that existed in Colombia during the first half of the twentieth century came from the perception of French works as models and necessary points of reference. The change in the general perception that occurred as the century progressed opened new venues for the reception of tales relying more heavily on oral traditions such as those collected by the Brothers Grimm. But it was a combination of factors—perceptual changes, higher

¹⁶⁷ “La violencia” claimed 100,000 to 300,000 lives between 1946 and 1958. It was the product of many unresolved problems including rivalry between the Conservative and Liberal political parties for control of local political offices; the violent conflict also reflected the frustration of much of the nation’s population, whose demands for socioeconomic reforms were suppressed by a political elite determined to preserve traditional values and institutions that were incongruous with the twentieth-century realities of rapid industrialization and urbanization (Blutstein et al. 397). Although “la violencia” officially ended in 1958, there has been continuous guerilla warfare against the government, which still rages in almost half of the Colombian territory.

literary rates, expansion of cultural and reading centers, and the surge of inexpensive Spanish-language editions of fairy tales, especially of Grimm tales—what made the stories readily available for mass consumption in Colombia.

The surge of fairy-tale publications that occurred towards the mid-twentieth century, in particular those by the Brothers Grimm, seems to have a direct connection with the presence, promotion, and reception of Disney's films based on classical fairy tales, which I will discuss later on. In contrast to the fairy tale, publication of other genres of children's literature showed a marked decline after 1950. Among the receding publications are stories and novellas that promote religious dogma and strict moral codes. In the following section I will analyze some of the possible reasons that led to this reduction.

Changes in the Catholic Church / Repercussion for the Libraries' Inventory

As indicated earlier, works for children that conveyed Catholic teachings and rigorous morality, such as the stories by Christoph von Schmid and the juvenile novels by Sophie Rastophichine de Ségur and Edmondo de Amicis, appeared to be particularly popular at the turn of the twentieth century. However, these types of works show a marked decline in number after 1950. The decline is explained in part by a gradual change in the traditional sphere of activities of the Church in Colombia that started in the early 1950s—a change triggered primarily by the process of modernization (growth of urban areas, industrialization, organized labor, etc.), political turmoil, and basic ideological reforms within the Catholic Church (made by popes John XXIII and Paul VI). I will briefly point out the most important historical events that lead to changes in the Church and its activities in Colombia.

Until the 1940s the clergy in Colombia, which came predominately from the upper or middle-classes, felt no need for either religious or socioeconomic reform; they saw no competition or threat in areas of traditional Church dominance—education, social welfare, community organization—and maintained their conservative stance until the impact of modernization and political turmoil caused Church leaders to reconsider their deteriorating influence in these areas (Blutstein et al. 142). Towards the mid-1950s, the traditional role of the Church in Colombia became the target of increased criticism. A series of events impacted the Church unfavorably: First, the Church lost prestige because of its inability to prevent or retard “la violencia.” This period of (undeclared) civil war that began in the mid 1940s and lasted eighteen years was triggered by tensions within the leading political parties—Liberals and Conservatives; the conflict was perpetuated by an elite, who in the wake of Colombia as a modern nation, refused to assent to demands for socioeconomic change and to reform traditional partisan institutions. Second, the important position of the Colombian prelates, both as leaders in the Church and as potential agents on the political scene, was curtailed because of what critics saw as the bishops’ stagnant concept of society and complacent attitude vis-à-vis constructive socioeconomic reform. Third, within the Colombian Church growing internal disagreements about change and reform gave way to three factions, each with a different voice: the traditionalists, mostly conservative members of the episcopate, favored noninvolvement in reform movements and wanted to maintain the status quo; the progressives, mostly younger priests identified with the socialist encyclicals of Pope John XXIII and Pope Paul VI,¹⁶⁸ promoted Church participation and leadership in programs of

¹⁶⁸ In an effort to modernize the Catholic Church as an institution and modify its role in society a series of encyclicals were issued throughout the late 1950s and 1960s. They stressed the government’s obligation to

moderate social change; and finally the radicals, a small militant group, who advocated drastic broad social reforms involving violence if necessary.¹⁶⁹ The conflicting voices within the Church created internal disarray that weakened the overall position of the Church in the country.

Although there has been a gradual change in the Colombian Church since the 1940s, it has generally occurred with greater reluctance and at a slower pace than elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere (Blutstein et al. 142). The diminished authority of the Church after 1950, especially in the field of education, was a plausible factor that contribute to the significant reduction in the inventory of children's works imbued with Catholic dogma and rigorous morality; and by the same token, the relaxed standards may have also encouraged the reading of more secular writings and other materials for children such as the Grimms' fairy tales.

Walt Disney's Productions

The supply of classical fairy tales in libraries increases after 1950, yet the exponential flood of Grimm-tale editions is especially notable. This may come as no surprise given the enormous success that Disney's film based on a Grimms' tale—*Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937)—attained in Colombia. The much anticipated feature premiered in Bogotá and Medellín in late 1939 and was an instant hit that

reduce socioeconomic inequalities and the Church's obligation to take a leading role in reform; they condemned the "imperialism" of international monopolies and even suggested that violence was a legitimate tool for correcting social inequalities (Blutstein et al. 143).

¹⁶⁹ Numerous Colombian priests, frustrated over the lack of dynamic leadership within the Church, went out on their own to strike. The first to do so was Camilo Torres (1929-1966), an upper class member who left the priesthood to become a guerilla member. Torres joined the National Liberation Army (Ejército de Liberación Nacional or ELN) and was killed less than six months after joining this Marxist insurgent organization.

continued to play in theatres throughout the country for many months after its debut, as movie-listings in local newspapers attest.¹⁷⁰

The presence and promotion of Disney Corporation was felt in Colombia long before the national release of the film *Snow White* in 1939. Disney's productions and cartoon characters were well known in the country from very early on. The locally published magazine *Revista Credencial Historia*, for example, was already announcing the premier of the animated film *Steamboat Willie* (once month in advance!) even before it was released in USA. *Steamboat Willie*, starring Mickey Mouse, premiered in New York on November 18, 1928, yet it made the title story of the segment "Colombia y el Mundo en 1928" ("Colombia and the World in 1928") in the issue of *Revista Credencial Historia* from September 19, 1928. Considering that this magazine is a publication from the early twentieth century, it is quite remarkable how fast it incorporated news from abroad (which underscores Disney's promotional efforts in Latin America).

Disney productions were widely endorsed by the print culture in Colombia (from the national press, to literary magazines, to publications for children). As mentioned earlier, the popular Mickey Mouse (as well as Minnie Mouse) appeared on the front-cover of the children's magazine *Chanchito* for the first time on August 31, 1933 (Fig. 18); thereafter, the Disney characters were featured repeatedly, for example, in the issues from February 8, February 15, and June 21, 1934. Games and puzzles involving the Disney characters became standard in *Chanchito*. From May 17, 1934 onwards, a cartoon section with the adventures of Mickey and Minnie mouse was included in every issue.

¹⁷⁰ The daily *El Tiempo*, for example, announced show times for Disney's *Snow White* playing in various local theatres from October through December 1939.

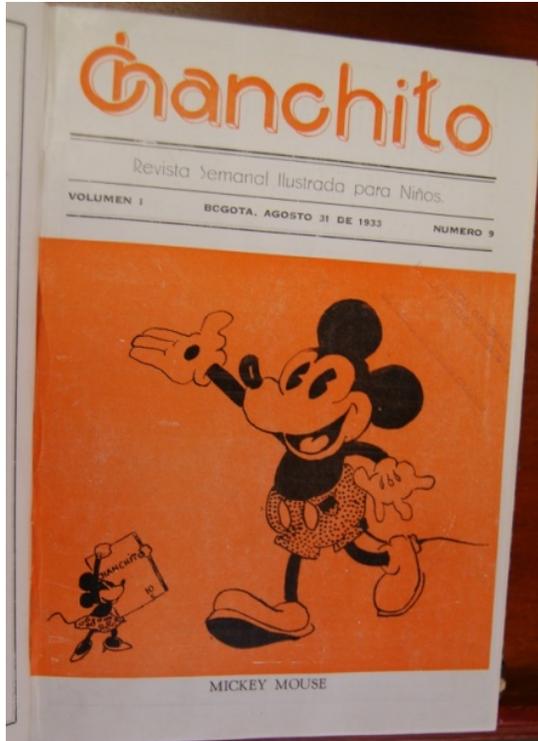


Fig. 18: Front cover of *Chanchito: Revista semanal ilustrada para niños* from August 1933. Courtesy of Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango, Bogotá.

As I mentioned in the introduction, the issue of *Chanchito* from September 21, 1933 offered a full-page article on the life and customs of Mickey Mouse (“Historia del ratoncito Mickey: Su vida íntima y costumbres”) that I want to address in more detail here. The author of this article was not specified, but it probably comes from the magazine’s director Victor Eduardo Caro. An interesting aspect of this piece is the way in which a familiar character throughout Latin America—the “Ratón Pérez” (“mouse Pérez”), the equivalent of the Tooth Fairy—has been appropriated and “disneyfied.” The article suggests that the traditional and still celebrated Ratón Pérez, well known in countries like Argentina, Venezuela, and Colombia for generations, is a Disney creation. Consider the following quote:

He aquí la admirable creación que Walter Disney hizo al dar forma al ratoncito Mickey, el ratón PEREZ [sic], en alguno de nuestros países, el astro de tinta china que ha alcanzado más popularidad en el mundo entero. (*Chanchito* 2)

Here we have the admirable creation of Walter Disney when he gave form to the small mouse Mickey, the mouse PEREZ in some of our countries, a star of Indian ink who has reached popularity throughout the entire world.

Contrary to what is here suggested, the story of *Ratón Pérez* has Spanish origins. It was written by the priest Luis de Coloma (1851-1915) for Alfonso XIII when he was eight years old, per request of his mother Queen Maria Cristina of Austria; the story recounts the custom of Spanish children to save the fallen milk tooth under the pillow so that the “Ratón Pérez” can take it and, in return, leave a coin (Bravo Villasante, *Historia de la literatura infantil española* 117). The stories by Luis de Coloma were not unknown to Victor Eduardo Caro, editor and director of *Chanchito*; the first part of Coloma’s story “Pelusa,” for example, appeared in the edition of March 22, 1934 (Vol.II.33). To imply that the origin of the “Ratón Pérez” is attributable to Walt Disney is preposterous, yet it is a further indication of the sweeping influence that the Disney Corporation has had in Latin America.

More than the printed media, Disney’s cartoons and films have the capacity to reach out to a massive audience. And so did the company’s successful marketing strategies in Colombia, which were, in part, reflected in the extended press coverage of films like *Snow White* and subsequent Disney productions. The premier of *Snow White* was repeatedly announced in national and regional newspapers many weeks before its debut in late 1939, creating an unprecedented anticipation among the Colombian

public.¹⁷¹ The local press devoted similar attention to Walt Disney's tour of South America (in the late summer of 1941) even though Colombia was not among the visited countries. The Latin American tour had both financial and political foundations. When the Second World War cut off the extremely lucrative European market, which contributed to about 50% of Disney's corporate income, the U.S. government helped Walt Disney turn to Latin America (Dorfman and Mattelart 18). In 1941, before the U.S. entered into WWII, the newly established Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, directed by Nelson Rockefeller, asked Walt to make a goodwill tour of the South American region (as part of the U.S. government "Good Neighbor" program); the aim was to take advantage of the notable popularity that Mickey Mouse,¹⁷² Donald Duck, and other Disney characters had achieved there in order to improve ties between the United States and South America because of fears of spreading Nazi influence in that region (Watts 244). In mid-August Walt Disney and a group of fifteen artists, story men, and musicians, known as "El Grupo" ("The Group"), arrived in Rio de Janeiro, where a crowd gave them a hero's welcome; soon thereafter they moved to Buenos Aires for a more extended stay, since it was in Argentina that South American Nazi propaganda was strongest (Kaufman). Despite an acerbic attack on Walt published by *El Pampero*—the Nazi newspaper in Buenos Aires—while the Disney entourage was still in Brazil, his arrival in Buenos Aires offset all opposition and his Argentine fans, which included high-ranking members of government and society, could not get enough of Disney (Kaufman).

¹⁷¹ The Cali daily *Diario del Pacífico*, for example, announced at least three weeks in advance the premiering of *Snow White* in its movie-listing. In addition, several articles on the animated feature appeared before (and after) the film premiered in Cali on November 23, 1939 (these articles have been previously cited on pages 32-33).

¹⁷² In 1935 the League of Nations recognized Mickey Mouse as an "International Symbol of Good Will" (Dorfman and Mattelart 18).

After visiting rural Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile the Disney group boarded a liner in Valparaiso to begin the voyage home that arrived in California in late in October.

The materials, impressions, and ideas gathered from this trip provided the basis for two films set in Latin America: *Saludos Amigos* and *The Three Caballeros*. The 43-minute long *Saludos Amigos* premiered in Rio de Janeiro on August 1942 (before opening in the U.S. in early 1943). *Saludos Amigos* presents a package structure made up of four individual segments: (i) “Lake Titicaca” (Donald’s exploration of the Andes); (ii) “Pedro” (a baby plane named Little Pedro that overtakes his father’s job of flying the mail over the imposing mountains of Chile; (iii) “El Gaucho Goofy” (set in the pampas region where Goofy struggles to acquire the skills of an Argentine cowboy); and (iv) “Aquarela do Brasil” (set at the Carnival in Rio where a Brazilian parrot, José Carioca, teaches Donald Duck about local music and how to dance samba). As part of the Good Neighbor Program, *Saludos Amigos* was a diplomatic contribution to the pan-American efforts against fascism, but the film also allowed Disney to expand its commercial interests while subtly remodeling the South American world in the image of the United States: The Argentine gaucho looks similar to Goofy the Texan cowboy, José Carioca is a close cousin of Donald, and Little Pedro is not very different from the familiar “little engine that could” (Watts 246).

With a similar package format of short discrete films, the second film set in Latin America—*The Three Caballeros*—tells the story of Donald Duck who receives birthday presents from his two Latin American friends, the Brazilian parrot José Carioca and the Mexican rooster Panchito. Donald unwraps a 16mm projector and a reel with four home movies: (i) “The Cold-Blooded Penguin” (with Pablo the penguin, who sails for the warm

South America from his icy Antarctic home); (ii) “The Flying Gauchito” (who wins a race on a magical racing donkey with wings); (iii) “Baia” (in which José Carioca and Donald go to Baia, where the duck meets a Brazilian the actress/singer and falls in love); and (iv) “La Piñata” (where Panchito the rooster joins José Carioca and Donald for a tour of Veracruz, Acapulco, and Mexico City). The experimental film *The Three Caballeros*, which combines animation and live actors in the same feature, premiered in Mexico City in December 1944 before it was released in the U.S. in February 1945.

In Colombia, the two films set in Latin America, *Saludos Amigos* and *The Three Caballeros*, as well as other Disney productions such as *Fantasia* (1940), *Ritmo y Melodia* (*Melody Time*, 1948), and *Dumbo* (1941; released in Colombia in September 1948), were all actively promoted in the local press. Thereafter, the fairy-tale movie *Cinderella* (1950), which premiered in Colombia in January 1951, was acclaimed as the next greatest Disney creation after *Snow White*.

There appears to be a strong correlation between the Disney movies based on fairy tales and the rising popularity of the Grimm tales in printed form. After 1950, the flow of Grimm publications coming from Spain and the main publishing centers in Latin America (Mexico and Buenos Aires) is astounding. Although the increase in printed materials occurs about a decade after the premier of Disney’s *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* in Colombia (in late 1939) and Spain (in late 1941), it points at the enduring popularity (and influence) of the animated feature.¹⁷³ During the 1950s, along with re-releases of *Snow White*, other Disney films based on classical fairy tales were being

¹⁷³ The enduring popularity of *Snow White* is, in part, due to marketing efforts of the Disney Corporation, which includes re-releases of its animated features. According to the Disney Archives, the film *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* has been re-released eight times between 1944 and 1993 (and was made available in video in 1994). In 1944 the film was re-released to raise revenue for the Disney studio during the Second World War.

shown in Colombia such as *Cinderella* (1950) and *Sleeping Beauty* (1959). *Snow White*, however, was the only animated feature based on the Grimms; both *Cinderella* and *Sleeping Beauty* were, according to the Disney Archives, adaptations from tales by Charles Perrault. It seems rather curious that although the printed supply of classical European fairy tales in Colombia showed a general increase in number after 1950, only the Grimms' tales experienced a major surge of publications. Tales by Andersen and Perrault continue to be popular throughout the second half of the century, but their growth in terms of post-1950 publications is significantly slower than the Grimms' and, at times, it even appears stagnant (especially in the case of Perrault).

The exponential rise of Grimms' stories may have to do with innovation and the perception thereof: *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* was not only Disney's first full-length animated feature but also the first American animated feature film in movie history,¹⁷⁴ which made it an extraordinary innovation. The film was based on a tale by the Brothers Grimm, whose works were less known in Colombia during the first half of the twentieth century than those of other European counterparts (e.g., Perrault and Andersen). In that sense the tale of the Grimms was an innovation for the Colombian public—an innovation that was “revealed” by the Disney film. Even though the original story line was greatly modified, the ground-breaking film *Snow White* reached a broader group of Colombians and raised awareness of the Grimms' collection. Disney brought a marvelous world of illusion and wealth (kings/queens, beauty, endless richness, romantic love, good triumphing over evil) that contrasted sharply with that of the final consumers.

¹⁷⁴ *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* is the first American full-length animated feature film, but according to the Deutsches Filminstitut DIF, the 1926 silhouette film *Die Abenteuer des Prinzen Achmed* by the German animator Lotte Reiniger (1899-1981) is considered to be the oldest surviving animated feature-length film in movie history.

In a country where the average living conditions have been below commonly accepted subsistence levels,¹⁷⁵ this fairy-tale adaptation was a source of dreams and hopes—one that invited to forget the confinements of reality and look upon the outcome of things as friendly. This world of wonders enchanted the Colombian public and left viewers wanting more stories of this type, wanting more of the Grimms' stories.

Moreover, the increased importance of Grimms' tales after 1950 may be attributed to the pertinence of their messages in today's societies. The German tale collection emerged from a modern bourgeois society and the embedded cultural and ideological messages in the tales remained relevant to modern and "modernizing" societies of the twentieth century, including Colombia. Through their editing the Grimms significantly changed and rewrote many of the tales they had collected to promote social and cultural values that were appealing to a growing bourgeois audience. While they tried to retain what they consider the "essential" message of the tales, the brothers also strived to make the narratives more appropriate and prudent for a virtuous middle-class; for instance, they eliminated erotic and sexual elements that might be offensive to middle-class morality, added many Christian expressions and references, emphasized specific role models for male and female protagonists according to the dominant patriarchal code of the time, and endowed many of the tales with a "homey" touch by using diminutives, quaint expressions, and cute descriptions (Zipes, *The Brothers Grimm* 12-15). Tales like "Snow White," "Cinderella," and "Sleeping Beauty," which stress morals in line with the Protestant ethics as well as a patriarchal notion of sex roles, were appealing to bourgeois

¹⁷⁵ According to "Colombia: Poverty Assessment Report" issued by the World Bank in 1994, the poverty rate was estimated at 50% in the 1960s. The report adds that despite steady improvements, in 1992 still almost 20% of Colombians had incomes below the subsistence level—70% of those individuals were living in rural areas.

audience of the time and eventually the collection became a great success (especially through the *Small Editions* or *Kleine Ausgabe* of fifty tales, published between 1825 and 1858, which helped to popularize the KHM). The values and types of role models that suited the growing bourgeoisie of the nineteenth century still to speak to the needs, wishes, and hopes of our present society. Corporations like Disney have recognized the relevance of the embedded cultural and ideological messages in the tales and capitalized profusely through its cinematic adaptations.

American Editions of Grimms' Tales

From the mid 1950s on, Grimm-tale editions produced in the Americas start to become more visible in the inventories of Colombian libraries. The oldest North American productions located are the single-tale *The Golden Goose by the Brothers Grimm* (1954), the sound recording *Grimm Fairy Tales* [1958?], and the Grimm-Andersen anthology *Rumpelstiltskin / The Princess and the Pea* (1958)—all of which were published New York. These three productions already signal a trend that will develop further in the coming years characterized by a rise of single-tale publications, fairy-tale anthologies, and audio recordings.

Adaptations of Grimms' tales in English may have been the earliest American productions located, but editions in Spanish clearly dominate the post-1950 inventory. One of the most noticeable changes is the emergence of Latin American editions, which becomes more apparent towards the end of the 1950s. Although editions coming from Spain continue to play an important role in the composition of the later inventory, in this chapter I will focus on those publications printed in Latin America, particularly in Colombia. A close examination of the Latin American editions is critical in order to

determine whether they actually constitute “local” productions that have been translated directly from the German originals or are based on “second-hand” adaptations. If these translations are indeed based on German sources, a comparative analysis will reveal cultural and textual differences in regard to the KHM; it will also provide the basis for interesting comparisons with earlier imported editions from Spain. Proceeding in chronological order, in the following section I will take a closer look at the Latin American publications that are currently circulating in the country.

***Blanca Nieve y otros cuentos* (México: Editorial Renacimiento, 1959)**

The oldest identified Latin American edition of Grimms’ tales is *Blanca Nieve y otros cuentos* (*Snow White and Other Tales*), a Mexican deluxe volume (hard-cover, 35 cm in size) published by Editorial Renacimiento in 1959. This beautifully illustrated book with both black-and-white and color drawings by Davanazo, contains a total of sixteen tales.¹⁷⁶

Despite being printed in Mexico City, *Blanca Nieve y otros cuentos* cannot be considered a “local” adaptation because it presents close ties to Europe. Its publisher, Editorial Renacimiento S.A., is a Spanish house with branches in Madrid, Barcelona, and several other cities in Latin America including Buenos Aires and Mexico. The tales were translated into Spanish by Ceferino Palencia from a French publication by Ernest

¹⁷⁶ The included stories are: “Blanca Nieve” (KHM 53 “Sneewittchen”); “La reina de las abejas” (KHM 62 “Die Bienenkönigin”); “Juanito y Anita” (KHM 15 “Hänsel und Gretel”); “Huso, lanzadera y aguja” (KHM 188 “Spindel, Weberschiffchen und Nadel”); “La ondina del estanque” (KHM 181 “Die Nixe im Teich”); “Historia de aquel que se fué por el mundo para aprender a temblar” (KHM 4 “Märchen von einem, der auszog, das fürchten zu lernen”); “Los cuatro hermanos hábiles” (KHM 129 “Die vier kunstreichen Brüder”); “Blanca Nieve y Rosa Flor” (KHM 161 “Sneeweisschen und Rosenrot”); “El fiel Juan” (KHM 6 “Der treue Johannes”); “El hijo de María” (KHM 2 “Marienkind”); “El pescador y su mujer” (KHM 19 “Von dem Fischer un syner Fru”); “Hermanito y hermanita” (KHM 11 “Brüderchen und Schwesterchen”); “Los dos compañeros” (KHM 107 “Die beiden Wanderer”); “El agua de la vida” (KHM 97 “Das Wasser des Lebens”); “El rey cuervo” (KHM 52 “König Drosselbart”); and “Juan el fuerte” (KHM 166 “Der starke Hans”).

Flammarion; the exact source used for the translation was not provided, but from the tale narratives it appears to be based on *Contes de Grimm* adapted by Marguerite Reynier.¹⁷⁷ Born in Madrid in 1910, the translator Ceferino Palencia was the son of the Spanish playwright bearing the same name, Ceferino Palencia (1859-1928). In 1927 Palencia Jr. started to study medicine and at the age of eighteen became a member of the Socialist Party. When the Spanish Civil War broke out, he left the country and after several stations (Baltic States, Stockholm, France, and Sweden) he finally settled in Mexico in June 1939. Palencia has written several books published in Spain, including *El médico, transcurso histórico* (1983).

The first story in this collection is “Blanca Nieve” (KHM 53 “Sneewittchen”). There is a peculiarity about this title that differs from the others, which are typically translated with the single name “Blancanieves” (using the plural form of snow or “nieves”). Here we notice that not only is this a compound name but that “nieve” (snow) is in the singular form. The title selection “Blanca Nieve” can be attributed to the fact that “Blanca” (Spanish for “white”) is a common first name in Latin America and Spain, usually followed by a middle name; as an adjective “blanca” is singular thus explaining the singular form of “nieve”. This name choice, an example of domestication, immediately gives the title an aura of familiarity that resonates with targetlanguage readers. Both the title of the book and the fact that the list of contents is headed by the tale of “Snow White,” point at the leverage of Disney in the layout of this edition. Unlike Disney, however, the translation of “Blanca Nieve” does not expurgate scenes that display violence; here the scenes of the stepmother eating what she believes are the cooked

¹⁷⁷ Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Contes de Grimm*, by Marguerite Reynier, illus. Pierre Noury (Paris: Ernest Flammarion, 1947).

organs of Snow White and her dancing to death in red-hot slippers are retained. Other tales in this edition show even a tendency to emphasize aggressive behavior rather than mitigate it. In “Blanca Nieve y Roja Rosa” (KHM 161), for example, the grouchy dwarf wishes that the girls suffer physical harm for what he perceived as a transgression:¹⁷⁸ “Ojalá tengáis que andar sin zapatos hasta que se os deshagan los pies” (“hopefully you would have to walk barefooted until your feet disintegrate”) (71). In contrast, the original German version from 1857 restricts the desire for damage only to the soles of his shoes.¹⁷⁹

In general the stories in this Mexican edition are fairly close to the original German tales. Only few instances present some noticeable changes, which appear to be culturally/religiously driven to better tend to the local market. For example, in “Blanca Nieve” the cook is female (in the original German tale the cook is a male); in affluent households in Latin America most of the housework, which includes cooking, is performed predominantly by female personnel. In that respect, having a female cook better fits the local expectations.

A second edition of *Blanca Nieve y otros cuentos* appeared four years later, in 1963. The table of contents remained unchanged in both the first and second editions. Despite the international success of the Disney films based on classical fairy tales, only the story of “Snow White” is included in this collection; the celebrated tales of “Cinderella” and “Sleeping Beauty,” so widely and successfully promoted by Disney,

¹⁷⁸ The dwarf was trapped because his beard was caught in a crack of a tree; in an effort to set him free the girls cut off the tip of his beard.

¹⁷⁹ The dwarf’s response in the 1857 version of the KHM reads: “Daß ihr laufen müßtet und die Schuhsohlen verloren hättet!” (Uther, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* 25658).

were disregarded in these both editions (probably because they were not included in the French source edition).

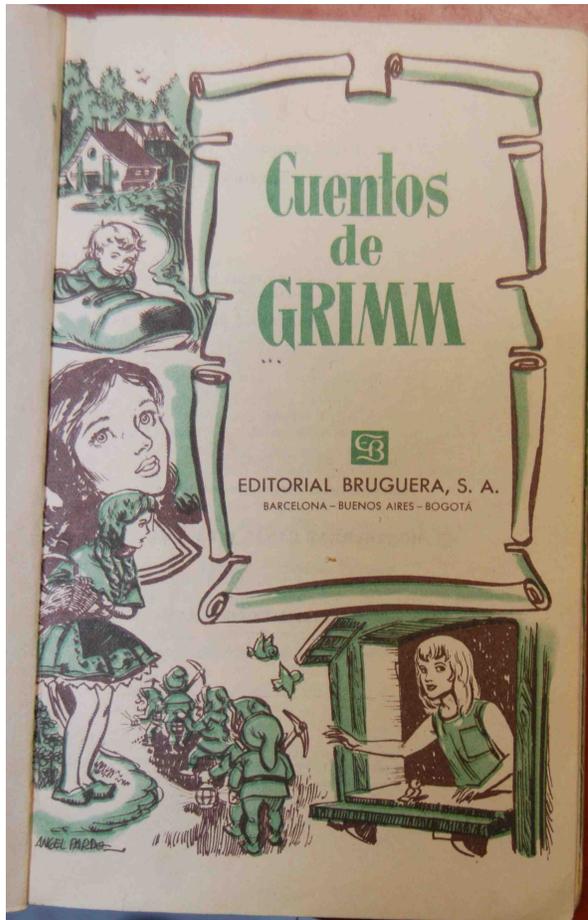


Fig. 19: *Cuentos de Grimm* (Barcelona, Buenos Aires, Bogotá, 1958, 1961). Courtesy of Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango, Bogotá.

In contrast to Mexican editions, Grimm tales published in Colombia start to appear much later, in the 1970s. The earliest Colombian publication of significant scope that I was able to locate is the 306-page *Cuentos infantiles (Children's Stories)* published by Editorial Bedout in Bogotá in 1979, which I will discuss later on. Aside from this 1979 edition by Bedout, there is only one other edition—*Cuentos de Grimm* published by Editorial Bruguera in 1961—in which the city of Bogotá appears as one of the places of publication along with Barcelona and Buenos Aires (Fig. 19). Before taking a closer look

at the tales in this edition I will briefly discuss the history of this Spanish publishing house.

Based in Barcelona, the publishing house Editorial Bruguera was first established by Juan Bruguera Textidor in 1910 under the name El Gato Negro (The Black Cat). The company specialized in low-cost pocket-book collections, juvenile literature, and comics. One of the company's successes was the weekly children's magazine *Pulgarcito: Periódico infantil de cuentos, historietas, aventuras y entretenimientos* (*Tom Thumb: Youth Newspaper of Stories, Comics, Adventures, and Entertainments*) that was launched in June 1921 and circulated in Spain until the mid 1980s. Editorial Bruguera was the largest publisher of comics in Spain during the 1960s and 1970s.¹⁸⁰ This family enterprise eventually grew into a multinational corporation with subsidiaries in various Latin American countries. By the early 1980s, however, the Editorial Bruguera entered into a crisis and ultimately disappeared in 1986 after being acquired by the Spanish Grupo Zeta.¹⁸¹ Notwithstanding its dissolution in 1986, the only subsidiary that remained and continued uninterrupted operations is Editorial Bruguera Mexicana S.A., which produces titles that are commercialized in Mexico, the United States, and nearly all countries in Latin America. One of Bruguera's early titles located in Colombia is *Cuentos de Grimm*, which I will discuss next.

¹⁸⁰ In an effort to adapt to changing market demands and maintain market share, Editorial Bruguera upgraded the quality of its publications (by using better paper, introducing color prints, and increasing number of pages). The low-cost materials produced during the 1940s and 1950s, however, allowed Bruguera to spread the popular literature and comics among the less-privileged sectors of the Spanish society.

¹⁸¹ After acquiring Editorial Bruguera in 1986, the Grupo Zeta renamed it Ediciones B. In 2006 the Grupo Zeta decided to reintroduce the editorial seal Bruguera; under the direction of Anna Maria Moix it currently publishes two books per month and, as an incentive for new literary talents, offers the prize "Premio Editorial Bruguera" endowed with 12,000 Euros.

***Cuentos de Grimm* (Barcelona, Buenos Aires, Bogotá: Editorial Bruguera 1961)**

The copy of *Cuentos de Grimm* that I found in the Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango is the second edition from June 1961; the first edition appeared in December 1958. The two editions are almost identical except for a few details. The 1961 paperback publication lacks both a table of contents and an introduction, and offers very little information about the publication itself. On the first edition of 1958 we find the remark “Grimm’s [sic] Märchen,” which is given as the original title; this information was omitted in the subsequent edition from 1961. The names Montserrat Canal Rifa and Luis Casamitjana Colominas are mentioned in both editions; the former is responsible for the translation and the latter for the graphics. In the second edition from 1961 the phrase “con licencia eclesiástica” (“with ecclesiastical license”) has been added. This addition is indicative of the influence that the Catholic Church had over the material that was being published in Spain and elsewhere in Latin America.

Cuentos de Grimm contains twenty-one stories;¹⁸² this selection was kept unchanged in both editions from 1958 and 1961. Those tales with longer narratives such as “Juanito y Margarita” (“Hänsel und Gretel”) and “Blancanieves” (“Sneewittchen”) have been divided into parts. The partition of tale narratives suggests that the stories may

¹⁸² The stories are: “Los seis cisnes”(KHM 49 “Die sechs Schwäne”); “El rey rana” (KHM 1 “Der Froschkönig oder der eiserne Heinrich”); “Juanito y Margarita” (KHM 15 “Hänsel und Gretel”); “El doctor sabelotodo” (KHM 98 “Doktor Allwissend”); “Blancanieves” (KHM 53 “Sneewittchen”); “Los ducados caídos del cielo” (KHM 153 “Die Sterntaler”); “El judío en espinos” (KHM 110 “Der Jude im Dorn”); “Los tres pelos de oro del duendecillo” (KHM 29 “Der Teufel mit den drei goldenen Haaren”); “Blancanieve y Rojaflor” (KHM 161 “Sneeweisschen und Rosenrot”); “La casa del bosque” (KHM 169 “Das Waldhaus”); “El agua de la vida” (KHM 97 “Das Wasser des Lebens”); “La lámpara azul” (KHM 166 “Das blaue Licht”); “La mesa, el asno y el bastón maravilloso” (KHM 36 “Tischchen deck dich, Goldesel und Knüppel aus dem Sack”); “El rey ‘Pico de tordo’” (KHM 52 “König Drosselbart”); “La ondina del estanque” (KHM 181 “Die Nixe im Teich”); “‘Bestia peluda’” (KHM 65 “Allerleirauh”); “Elsa, la lista” (KHM 34 “Die kluge Else”); “La pastora de ocas en la fuente” (KHM 179 “Die Gänsehirtin am Brunnen”); “Monte Semsí” (KHM 142 “Simeliberg”); “La gallinita y el pollito” (KHM 80 “Von dem Tode des Hühnchens”); and “‘Piel de oso’” (KHM 101 “Der Bärenhäuter”).

have been printed in “installments” in other publications. Tales with shorter narratives appear undivided.

An interesting aspect of these editions concerns the illustrations done by the Catalanian artist Casamitjana Colominas. Most of the stories are illustrated with a full-page of comics presented alongside the printed text (Fig. 20). The sequential art combines depictions of selected scenes from the tale with concise narrative accounts and dialogues. The choice to illustrate the tales with comics conforms to Bruguera’s trademark and reputation as the largest publisher of comics in Spain during the 1960s and 1970s.

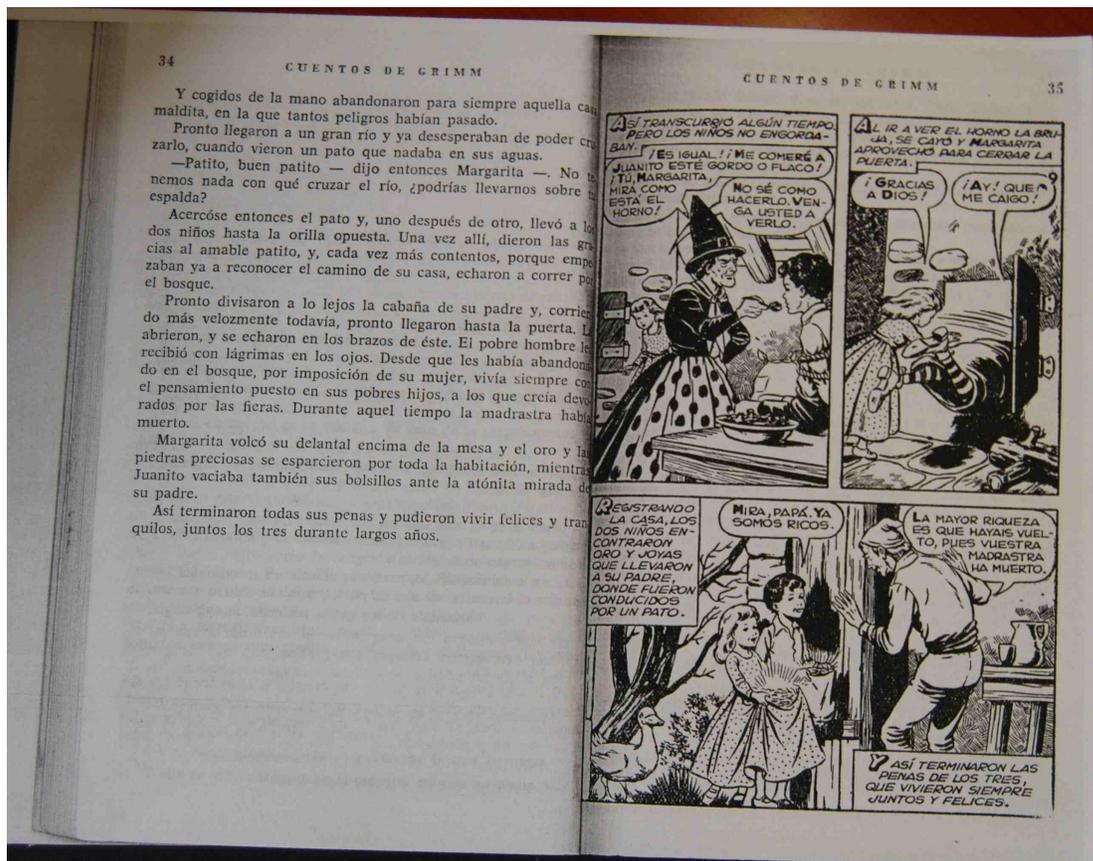


Fig. 20: “Juanito y Margarita,” *Cuentos de Grimm* (Barcelona, Bogotá, 1961). Courtesy of Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango, Bogotá.

Figure 20 illustrates the fourth and last part of “Juanito y Margarita” (“Hänsel und Gretel”) with three sequential frames depicting different scenes. Let’s take a closer look at the situation and dialogue portrayed in the comic strip on page 35 of this edition: On the upper left hand side, a text box explains that time had passed and the children had not gain any weight. We see the witch feeding Juanito and exclaiming, “It doesn’t matter! I’ll eat Juanito either fat or thin! You, Margarita, see how the oven is doing!” Margarita answers, “I don’t know how to do it. Come yourself and take a look at it”. The following frame clarifies that the witch fell down as she went to see the oven, and Margarita, taking advantage of the situation, closes the oven door and exclaims, “Thanks to God!” while the witch cries “Oh! I’m falling!”. The text box on the upper left corner of the lower frame explains that the children searched the witch’s house, found gold and jewels that they took to their father and, aided by a duck, reached home safely. Upon arriving home Juanito exclaims, “Look father. We’re now rich”, to which the father responds, “the greatest richness is that you have returned, for your stepmother has died”. The final text box with the concluding note reads: “And so, the sorrows ended for the three of them, who lived always together and happy”.

The ambiguity of the father’s response in the last speech bubble (especially in the second part of the sentence “for your stepmother has died”) is better clarified on the page opposite the illustrations. There we read that the father received the children with tearing eyes; that after abandoning them in the forest, “by imposition of his wife,” he lived constantly thinking about his poor kids, who he thought had been eaten by wild animals (34). This translation by Montserrat Canal Rifa bears little resemblance to the original

closing sentence in German;¹⁸³ the Spanish version greatly underscores the culpability of the stepmother, blaming her entirely for the decision to abandon the children while exonerating the father from all responsibility. This change polarizes the traits of the characters to emphasize good and evil, with the ultimate intention of moralizing.

In general, Montserrat Canal Rifa has modified heavily the original tale narratives in *Cuentos de Grimm*; we notice a tendency to polarize good and evil, avoid certain themes (especially those associated with sexuality), and promote religious values and certain codes of behavior.

“El judío en espinos” (KHM 110 “Der Jude im Dorn”) is yet another story that polarizes the characters’ traits. The Spanish version elaborates on the description of the Jew to make him appear greedier, while presenting the servant in a very innocent light. The Jew is described as a moneylender of questionable ethics, who offers loans to the poor under unfair conditions: “Pero les pedía unos intereses tan desorbitados, tanto que a menudo no podían pagarle y tenían que entregarle toda su hacienda como compensación” (“But he asked for such outrageous interests that often they could not pay and had to give him all their estate as compensation”) (62). In contrast to this depiction, the original

¹⁸³ The conclusion of “Hänsel und Gretel” was significantly altered in the 4th version of 1840, and this ending was kept unchanged until the last edition from 1857. Compare the endings of the 1st and 7th editions: 1st edition of the KHM from 1812/15:

Und Gretel lief zum Hänsel, machte ihm sein Thürchen auf und Hänsel sprang heraus, und sie küßten sich einander und waren froh. Das ganze Häuschen war voll von Edelgesteinen und Perlen, davon füllten sie ihre Taschen, gingen fort und fanden den Weg nach Haus. Der Vater freute sich als er sie wieder sah, er hatte keinen vergnügten Tag gehabt, seit seine Kinder fort waren, und ward nun ein reicher Mann. Die Mutter aber war gestorben. (Uther, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* 23733)

7th edition of the KHM from 1857:

Der Mann hatte keine frohe Stunde gehabt, seitdem er die Kinder im Walde gelassen hatte, die Frau aber war gestorben. Gretel schüttete sein Schürzchen aus, daß die Perlen und Edelsteine in der Stube herumsprangen, und Hänsel warf eine Handvoll nach der anderen aus seiner Tasche dazu. Da hatten alle Sorgen ein Ende, und sie lebten in lauter Freude zusammen. Mein Märchen ist aus, dort läuft eine Maus, wer sie fängt, darf sich eine große große Pelzkappe daraus machen. (Uther, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* 24782)

story merely describes this character as having a long goatee.¹⁸⁴ To emphasize the disparity, the translation presents the servant as rather ingenuous; this becomes apparent after the servant shoots the bird and the Jew goes into the bush to get it. When he finds himself in the midst of the thorny bush, “it occurs” to the servant to try out the fiddle: “De pronto, y cuando [el judío] estaba ya rodeado de espinos, se le ocurrió al mozo probar el segundo de sus instrumentos y empezó a tocar el violín” (“Suddenly, and when [the Jew] was already surrounded by thorns, it occurred to the young man to try out the second of his instruments and started to play the violin”) (62). This phrasing suggests that the servant’s occurrence was unintentional. Earlier Spanish versions (e.g., *Cuentos escogidos*, 1896? and *Cuentos de Grimm: ilustrados por Arthur Rackham*, 1955) are more faithful to the German;¹⁸⁵ in those editions the malice of the servant is evident for it has been clarified that the servant started to play the instrument in order to amuse himself watching the Jew dancing among the thorns. The adaptation in *Cuentos de Grimm* presents the servant’s actions as naïve, and the implied absence of any malicious intent subtly exonerates him from any culpability.

Considerations of morality seem of obvious importance for the translator. “Bestia Peluda” (“Hairy Beast,” an adaptation of KHM 65 “Allerleirauh”), for example, avoids the incestuous aspect of the original tale by significantly altering the introduction. In contrast to the German version, the translation’s condensed opening not only omits the scene of the queen’s death but also dispels the family ties so that none of the characters in this adaptation are related. The recast story tells of a king who falls in love with beautiful

¹⁸⁴ The original text reads: “Bald darauf begegnete er einem Juden mit einem langen Ziegenbart, der stand und horchte auf den Gesang eines Vogels, der hoch oben in der Spitze eines Baumes saß” (Uther, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* 25417).

¹⁸⁵ The original text reads: “Wie er nun mitten in dem Dorn steckte, plagte der Mutwille den guten Knecht, daß er seine Fiedel abnahm und anfang zu geigen” (Uther, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* 25418).

gold-haired girl of the court. Even though her parents accepted the king's marriage proposal and were delighted to have such a rich and powerful son-in-law, the girl refused to marry a man twice her age. Knowing, however, that her parents will force her into marriage, she tried to dissuade the king from his plans by asking him for three dresses and a cloak, all of which seem impossible to obtain (a dress as golden as the sun, one as silvery as the moon, and another as bright as the stars, and a cloak made up of all kinds the furs). The remainder of the story follows the Grimms' original more closely. Suppressing the family ties in the introduction bypasses the taboo theme of incest, thus making the tale acceptable to societies with a strong Catholic influence such as the Spanish and Colombian.

Consistent with alterations made in earlier Spanish editions (e.g., Calleja's *Cuentos escogidos*, 1896?) Montserrat Canal Rifa also censors sexual elements of the original tales. In the story "Los seis cisnes" ("The Six Swans," KHM 49), the translator omits the part where the girl starts to throw pieces of her clothing to the inquiring huntsmen (her girdle and garters) until she is left with nothing on but her slip. The disposal of her clothing, with its implied sexual connotation, has been avoided and replaced with the girl throwing only her gold necklace. Different is also the manner in which the girl gets to meet the king, which appears rather forceful in this Spanish version: after seeing the gold necklace, one of the huntsmen becomes even more curious about the beautiful mute girl hiding in the forest, and coming closer he grabs her by the arm and forces her to go before the king: "acercándose a ella, la cogió por un brazo y la obligó a ir hasta la presencia del rey" (8). In contrast to the forcible act presented here, in the German version the huntsman climbed the tree where the girl was perched, carried her

down, and led her to the king. The abuse towards women resurfaces here once again (corporal punishment was previously alluded to in Calleja's "El rey cuervo," *Cuentos escogidos*, 1896?); yet it is difficult to say whether the motivation to alter the original is culturally based. The relation between culture and text is a very complex one involving many factors. The specific author, the audience, the editor, and the immediate circumstances of the publication are all factors mediating the relation between text and culture.

Another deviation found in "Los seis cisnes" ("The Six Swans," KHM 49) concerns rules of etiquette and social status. Special emphasis was placed on the importance of having polite manners, so much so that the king's decision to marry the beautiful mute girl appears to be partially based on her etiquette at the dinner table.

Consider the following quote:

Entonces, el rey, viéndola tan bella, mandó que la sentasen a su lado en la mesa, pues quería observar cómo eran sus modales. Así lo hicieron y en seguida advirtió el rey que la muchacha era sin duda de muy alta cuna, pues sus modales en la mesa resaltaban aún por encima de los de muchas damas que allí estaban.
Decidió entonces el rey que se casaría con la bella desconocida ...
(*Cuentos de Grimm* 8)

Then the King, seeing her so beautiful, ordered that she sat next to him at the table because he wanted to observe how her manners were. It was done as ordered, and soon he realized that the maiden was, without a doubt, of noble lineage since her table manners stood out even above of those of the many ladies that were there.

The king then decided that he would marry the beautiful stranger ...

In the German version the king also had the girl sit next to him at the table, but not for the explicit purpose of observing her manners (in the original he had fallen in love with the beautiful girl before they had dinner together). In Canal Rifa's adaptation, the girl's

impeccable manners at the table gave the king reason to believe that she must have noble lineage and was therefore, a suitable candidate to marry a king. From this, we gather that the king's decision to marry the girl is based on attributes that he considered important such as manners, beauty, and an equal social rank—attributes with which a Spanish audience can identify itself.

While Canal Rifa omits specific details to avoid controversial themes she considers inappropriate, she expands on the narrative of other tales to promote specific values. Such is the case of “Los ducados caidos del cielo” (KHM 153 “Die Sterntaler”), whose translated adaptation is significantly lengthier than the German version. This is the story of an extremely poor orphan girl, who, abandoned by everyone puts her faith in God and heads out to the countryside. On her way she meets a hungry man begging for food, and the “good and devout” girl (56) hands him the entire crust of bread she is carrying, which is the only thing she has to eat. In the original German (1857) this encounter is presented in a succinct and straightforward manner:

Da begegnete ihm ein armer Mann, der sprach “ach, gib mir etwas zu essen, ich bin so hungerig.” Es reichte ihm das ganze Stückchen Brot und sagte “Gott segne dirs,” und ging weiter (Uther, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* 25636).

In contrast, the Spanish version reads:

Después de un buen rato de andar, encontróse [la pobre niña] con un mendigo que, sentado al borde del camino suplicaba con voz temblorosa:
—Piedad, piedad para un pobre desgraciado. ¡Dadme algo de comer!
¡Tengo tanta hambre ...!
La niña sintió compasión hacia aquel desgraciado y le alargó el trozo de pan que llevaba en la mano, diciendo:
—¡Dios os bendiga, hermano; comed de mi pan! (*Cuentos de Grimm* 57)

After walking for a good while, [the poor girl] met a pauper who, sitting at the edge of the road, begged with a trembling voice:

—Pity, have pity for a poor unfortunate. Give me something to eat! I am so hungry ...!

The girl felt compassion towards the unfortunate and extended the piece of bread that she carried in her hand, saying:

—May God bless you, brother; eat from my bread!

The much more elaborate Spanish narrative is clearly intended to stress compassion and piety—values strongly promoted by the Catholic faith. By handing the hungry man the entire crust of bread, thus giving up all she has left to eat, the girl passes an important character test, a test of compassion and self-abnegation. This is not to say, however, that the more concise German original text does not convey compassion; it does so but in a much shorter and direct way. As has been mentioned before, the Grimms altered the tales to appeal to a growing bourgeois audience; some of the changes were made to underline morals and values in accordance with the Protestant ethic, which, within Christianity, shares similar values as Catholicism. When comparing the elaborate translation to the concise original text, it is important to consider the stylistic distinction between tales from the oral tradition versus those from the literary tradition: usually oral tales tend to be shorter and less refined in form and style than their written counterparts. Although the Grimms refined the style and made the contents of the tales more proper for a young audience—or rather, for adults who wanted the tales censored for children—they sought to remain as close as possible to their ideal of oral tradition; their effort to respect the oral tradition (at least in appearance) manifested stylistically in their revised versions of the tales (which remains short and concise).

The highly modified tales in Bruguera's *Cuentos de Grimm* were illustrated with numerous comic strips depicting main scenes of each tale. In most cases the dialogue in the speech bubbles does not correspond to that in the text; it has been shortened in accord

with the reduced space of the drawings. The concise language of the comics, however, makes the assimilation of a story easier (and faster than the formal textual structure) because the reader responds both visually and cognitively to a group of sequential images that project a given scheme. For a Spanish publisher like Bruguera with a corporate presence in Colombia, a country with low literacy rates still in the 1960s, a layout that combines text and comic may have been an effective way not only to reach a broader consumer group but also to secure its market share in the country.

Editorial Molino

In Colombia, one of the best-represented Spanish publishers of Grimm tales issued during the 1960s is Editorial Molino. Based in Barcelona, Editorial Molino was founded in 1933 by Pablo del Molino Mateus (1900-1968). The main goal of Molino Mateus was to create a collection of literature accessible to a vast public. The company initially focused on the publication of novels (adventure novels, police novels, Western novels, swashbuckler literature, etc.). Among its great successes of the pre-war era (Spanish Civil War) was the collection *Biblioteca Oro* (Gold Library),¹⁸⁶ which offered a host of novels by different authors including Arthur Conan Doyle and Agatha Christie (Molino Mateus had acquired the rights to publish Christie's novels in Spanish).

In the field of children's literature the magazine *Revista Mickey* (*Magazine Mickey*)—whose title already show evidence of Disney's influence—was a very successful pre-war publication. The first edition appeared in March of 1935. Directed by the journalist José Mariá Huertas Ventosa, the magazine included some of the best comic strips of the time (e.g., *Jungle Jim* by Alex Raymond and *Terry and the Pirates* by Milton

¹⁸⁶ A total of 670 titles were published in the collection *Biblioteca Oro* until 1970, when the publication ceased.

Caniff) as well as serialized versions of novels by Jules Verne and Emilio Salgari illustrated by Emilio Freixas.¹⁸⁷ Huertas Ventosa was the founder of the first “club of readers,” which attained over 55,000 members by 1936. The *Revista Mickey* published a total of 74 issues; the last edition appeared on August 8, 1936.

The breaking of the Civil War paralyzed the magazine and all the new projects of Editorial Molino. In 1938 the Molino family relocated to Buenos Aires. After the death of the founding father, the company was taken over by his son, Pablo del Molino Sterna (1937-2000), who grew up in Argentina but returned with his family back to Spain in 1952. Well aware of the difficulties of the publishing business under Franco’s dictatorship, Molino Sterna refocused the company to issue more children/youth literature and eventually turned it into one of the best-known publishers of this genre.

Fairy tales played an important role in the catalogue of Editorial Molino. The publisher offered several different printed formats ranging from single-story books to more comprehensive editions with a large selection of tales.¹⁸⁸ In Colombia, the single-

¹⁸⁷ Emilio Freixas (1899-1976) is considered one of the best Spanish cartoonists of the twentieth century. He received numerous awards including Best Illustrator from the National Cartoonist Society in New York (1947); Best Illustrator International from the Congress of Comics in New York (1952); Award from the National Cartoonist Society in Lucca, Italy (1972).

¹⁸⁸ In the category of comprehensive editions, the Colección cuentos de hadas (Collection Fairy Tales) offered an ample selection of fairy tales from all over the world including Japanese, English, Chinese, Indian, Italian, Scandinavian, African, North and South American fairy tales, to mention just a few. Most of the volumes published up until the late 1960s were classified by countries or regions, e.g., *Cuentos de hadas rusos* (*Russian Fairy Tales*, 1958), *Cuentos de hadas escandinavos* (*Scandinavian Fairy Tales*, 1959). Only a small number of the available volumes in the collection were classified by authors and not by countries among which are the fairy tales by Andersen, Grimms, and Ségur. This exceptional classification that grants these authors a separate published volume, hints at the positive reception that these particular tales may have enjoyed in Spain and possibly also in Argentina (considering that the CEO of the company grew up in Buenos Aires). It is worth noting, that with the exception of Ségur, other French classical tales were published collectively under *Cuentos de hadas franceses* (*French Fairy Tales*, 1959). No separate volumes for the tales of Perrault, Beaumont, or Aulnoy existed in the collection.

story editions targeted at smaller children (heavily illustrated with simplified narratives of 30 pages or less) are especially abundant.¹⁸⁹

Editorial Molino published the tales of the Brothers Grimm in two separate volumes: the first edition, *Cuentos de hadas de Grimm* appeared in 1954; two years later a second edition titled *Cuentos de hadas de Grimm: segunda serie* appeared. A copy of *Cuentos de hadas de Grimm* from 1960 (2nd edition) is available at the Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango.

My intention in this chapter is to focus primarily on Latin American editions of Grimm tales. However, because the Grimm publications from Editorial Molino have a strong presence in Colombia, especially in the 1960s, I consider it important to mention some of the outstanding characteristics of *Cuentos de hadas de Grimm* without dwelling extensively on the individual stories.

***Cuentos de hadas de Grimm* (Barcelona: Editorial Molino, 1960)**

Cuentos de hadas de Grimm includes forty-four tales adapted by Alfonso Nadal and illustrated (in black and white) by J. P. Bocquet. An interesting fact about this volume is that it contains two tales that were not included in the final edition of the KHM, which suggests that earlier editions of the KHM must have played a role in the translating and editing of *Cuentos de hadas de Grimm*. The first of these two tales is “Los animales agradecidos” (“The Thankful Animals,” an adaptation of “Die treuen Tiere”); this story first appeared as number 18 in the second volume (1815) of the first

¹⁸⁹ The located editions, mainly from the 1960s, form part of one of two collections: either Colección ilusión infantil or Colección alfombra mágica (Collection Infant Illusion or Collection Magical Carpet); numerous stories by Andersen, Ségur, Perrault, and the Grimms (which outnumber the other fairy-tale authors) are currently circulating (see Appendix 3 for details).

edition of the KHM¹⁹⁰ but was replaced in 1857 because it came from *Siddhi-Kür*, a collection of Mongolian tales (Rölleke, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen: Ausgabe letzter Hand* 3: 454). The second tale, “La nariz” (“The Nose,” an adaptation of “Die lange Nase”), was first published as number 36 in 1815 but omitted in favor of “Der Krautesel” (KHM 122) in the following edition from 1819.¹⁹¹

The influence of Disney is evident in *Cuentos de hadas de Grimm*.¹⁹² Indicative of such leverage is, for instance, the title “Tribilitín” chosen for “Rumpelstilzchen” (KHM 55); Tribilitín sounds very much like the diminutive of “Tribilín,” which is the Spanish name of the Disney character Goofy. Another indication is the foreground placement of the story “La bella durmiente” (“Dornröschen”) among the first three titles in the table of contents. Disney’s animated film *Sleeping Beauty* (1959) was first released in Spain in 1960, i.e., the same year as this edition was published. Other tales adapted by Disney, “Blancanieves” (“Sneewittchen”) and “La Cenicienta” (“Aschenputtel”), are also included in this collection. The narrative of these stories was altered especially in regard to scenes involving violence. Although the harsh episodes were not completely eliminated in the Spanish translation certain scenes were omitted such as the cannibalistic episode in “Snow White” and the blinding by pigeons in “Cinderella.” The efforts to attenuate some of the violence of the original German tales hint at the influence of the Disney’s films on these Spanish versions.

¹⁹⁰ In the subsequent five editions published between 1819 until 1850, this tale appeared as tale number 104 (not 18); in the final edition of 1857, tale number 104 was replaced by “Die klugen Leute.”

¹⁹¹ “Der Krautesel” (KHM 122) is a variant on the motif of transformation. According to Jack Zipes the Grimms probably preferred the latter story, and since 1822 they included “The Long Nose” as variant to number 122 in the *Anmerkungen* (Zipes, *The Complete Fairy Tales* 745).

¹⁹² Earlier publications from Editorial Molino already show evidence of Disney’s influence, for example, in the name *Revista Mickey* given to the children’s magazine published in the mid 1930s.

Anthologies

One of the most noticeable changes in the constellation of the post-1950 inventory is the proliferation of anthologies. Throughout the decade of 1960 and beyond the heightened reception of the fairy-tale genre in Colombia was being met by an increased output of anthological publications. In the category of anthologies and compilations, Spanish imports continue to play an important part. Among the most comprehensive publications from the early 1960s are two Spanish collections from Editorial Vasco Americana—*Mis cuentos de hadas* and *Cuentos y leyendas*—each comprising of six volumes. The editions include stories by several authors, such as the Grimms, Andersen, Carroll, and Perrault, as well as tales from *One Thousand and One Nights*.

A few anthologies for children published Colombia have been available since the late nineteenth century (e.g., Rodolfo Bernal's *Libros de lecturas escogidas en prosa y verso para niños y niñas*), however, none of the earlier editions had offered a selection of only fairy tales. The earliest volume identified that includes exclusively fairy tales is *Los mejores cuentos infantiles del mundo* (*The Best Youth Stories of the World*). This issue, which I will discuss next, was published in Bogotá and is estimated to be from 1970.

Grimm tales in *Los mejores cuentos infantiles del mundo* (Bogotá: Ley?, 1970?)

With 183 pages and 18 cm in size *Los mejores cuentos infantiles del mundo* appears to be one of the first locally-edited anthologies of classical fairy tales.

Unfortunately little is known about this publication; the information provided in the edition itself is very limited, and I had difficulty obtaining further details about this issue. The name of the publisher and the publication date are not given. The catalogue of the Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango estimates the year of publication to be 1970. The only

information available is what appears on the front and back covers of this paperback book (Fig. 21): at the bottom of the front cover we read “Primer festival del libro infantil” (“First Festival of the Youth Book”), which suggests that this issue was published for a book festival (I could not find any information about this festival). On the lower back cover the remark “Distribuidores exclusivos: Almacenes ‘LEY’” (“Exclusive distributors: Almacenes ‘LEY’”) gives us a hint about the way this product was made available to consumers; and in so doing it also illuminates the link between the reception of fairy tales and their role as commodities.



Fig. 21: Front and back cover of *Los mejores cuentos infantiles del mundo* (1970?). Courtesy of Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango, Bogotá.

Los mejores cuentos infantiles del mundo was sold only in Almacenes LEY, an affordable supermarket chain of produce and household articles founded in 1922 by Luis

Eduardo Yepes (1894-1936). The first self-service store in Colombia, it became one of the most emblematic chain stores in the country. Branded with Yepes's initials (LEY), Almacenes LEY started as a small stand that sold assorted merchandise during the *Carnaval de Barranquilla*.¹⁹³ Inspired by the American superstore Woolworth, Luis Eduardo Yepes developed strategies in both marketing and customer service that soon catapulted his small business into a national enterprise. Among his successful innovative ideas were the display of merchandise in glass cabinets and the active promotion of a store image with catch phrases such as “Almacén LEY, de 5 centavos a 1 peso” (Store LEY, from 5 cents to 1 peso), which emphasized the then pioneering policy of fixed prices.

LEY's illustrated anthology contains fourteen stories by Andersen, Perrault, and the Grimms, which appear to have been organized according to their popularity: heading the list of contents is “Blanca Nieves” (“Snow White”), followed by “Caperucita Roja” (“Little Red Riding Hood”), and “La Cenicienta” (“Cinderella”).¹⁹⁴ The tales are sparsely illustrated with black-and-white drawings from an unknown artist. No information regarding the source-text used, the translator, or editor has been provided on this edition.

¹⁹³ Held in Barranquilla, the capital of the Departamento del Atlántico in northern Colombia, the Carnaval de Barranquilla is a traditional celebration that dates back to the nineteenth century. This diverse multicultural event that features street dances, music, and masquerade parades takes place four days before Lent (Ash Wednesday). In November 2003 the UNESCO added the Carnaval de Barranquilla to the list of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity.

¹⁹⁴ The complete list of content is as follows (note that in only certain cases the author has been specified): 1. “Blanca Nieves” (“Snow White,” KHM 53) by the Grimms; 2. Caperucita Roja” (“Little Red Riding Hood”) by Perrault; 3. “La Cenicienta” (“Cinderella”); 4. “Pulgarcito” (“Little Thumb”); 5. El gato con botas” (“Puss in Boots”) by Perrault; 6. “La bella durmiente” (“Sleeping Beauty”) by Perrault; 7. “Hansel y Gretel” (“Hansel y Grethel,” KHM 15) by Grimms; 8. “El patito feo” (“Ugly Duckling”); 9. “El lobo y los siete cabritos” (“The Wolf and the Seven Little Goats,” KHM 5) by Grimms; 10. “Los músicos de Brema” (“The Bremen Town Musicians,” KHM 27); 11. “El ahijado de la muerte” (“The Godson of Death,” KHM 44); 12. “El pájaro Grifo” (“The Bird Griffin,” KHM165); 13. “El sastrecillo listo” (“The Clever Little Tailor,” KHM 114); and 14. “El agua de la vida” (“The Water of Life,” KHM 97).

The tales by the Brothers Grimm account for more than half of the selection of stories in *Los mejores cuentos infantiles del mundo*, with a total of eight stories out of fourteen. However, only three of the eight Grimms' stories in this anthology have been attributed to the brothers by means of a parenthetical note added beneath the tale title that reads "Cuento de los hermanos Grimm" (Story by the Brothers Grimm). Those stories are "Blanca Nieves" (KHM 53), "Hansel y Gretel" (KHM 15), and "El lobo y los siete cabritos" (KHM 5); for the remaining five stories an author was not specified. The fact that fewer than half of the stories (three out of eight) were identified with the Brothers Grimm is yet another indication of the general unawareness with the work of the German brothers that prevails in Colombia.

Compared to the original German most of the Grimms' tales in *Los mejores cuentos infantiles del mundo* present alterations, some of which can be traced back to Spanish editions published during the first half of the twentieth century. To exemplify, I will take a closer look at "Blancanieves,"¹⁹⁵ the adaptation of "Snow White." Some of the tale variations that were introduced in earlier versions, for example, by Mercedes Llimona,¹⁹⁶ Maria Luz Morales,¹⁹⁷ and Gertrude Hecht-Appelmann¹⁹⁸ resurface again in this apparently domestic adaptation. One example is the motif of visiting one another introduced by Llimona, which does not exist in the original tale. In Llimona's version, before Snow White leaves with the prince she promises to visit the dwarfs often; in the

¹⁹⁵ In this edition of *Los mejores cuentos infantiles del mundo* there is a discrepancy in the spelling of the tale title. The title heading the story is spelled in one word as "Blancanieves," while in the table of contents it appears in two words as "Blanca Nieves."

¹⁹⁶ Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Blancanieves y los enanitos. Adaptación del cuento de los hermanos Grimm por Mercedes Llimona*, ed. Mercedes Llimona (Barcelona: Editorial Juventud, 1950).

¹⁹⁷ Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Cuentos de Grimm: ilustrados por Arthur Rackham*, trans. Maria Luz Morales (Barcelona: Editorial Juventud, 1955).

¹⁹⁸ Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Libro de cuentos ilustrados*, trans. Brigitte de Stöter (Madrid: A.A.A. 1950).

LEY edition, the dwarfs agree to hand over the glass coffin to the prince only on the condition that they can visit the girl anytime they wish.

Another variation of the original concerns the increased agency of the dwarfs.¹⁹⁹ Here the dwarfs show heightened involvement when they carry the “glass box” with the “precious cargo” through the landscape that leads to the castle (in the German tale this task was performed by the prince’s servants):

Entre los siete [enanitos] levantaron la caja e iniciaron el camino a través de las montañas y la selva. Iban atravesando el bosque cuando de pronto uno de ellos tropezó con una raíz y, al caer al suelo, soltó su preciosa carga. La caja cayó al suelo con estrépito y se rompió en mil pedazos. Y con el golpe, ante el asombro y la alegría de todos, la joven princesa arrojó por la boca el trozo de manzana envenenada y volvió a la vida. (“Blancanieves,” *Los mejores cuentos infantiles del mundo* 18)

Between the seven [dwarfs], they lifted the box and started the way through the mountains and the jungle. They were crossing the forest and suddenly one of them stumbled over a root and, upon falling to the ground, released its precious cargo. The box fell to the ground with a clatter and broke into a thousand pieces. And with the impact, before the astonishment and joy of all, the young princess expelled from the mouth the poisoned apple piece and returned to life.

The dwarfs also carry the coffin in Llimona’s adaptation, although there it is merely hinted at and not explicitly described as it is in the above quote. Llimona is also one of the few authors to mention the breaking of the glass coffin—a detail that has been reproduced in this presumably Colombian anthology. The seemingly logical consequence of breaking after the glass coffin falls and hits the ground is left out in the German versions as well as in most of the early Spanish translations located.

¹⁹⁹ We may recall that the dwarfs become the executioners who perform the final harsh punishment of the queen in both Llimona’s and Morales’s versions.

The ending of “Blancanieves” is very similar to that of Hecht-Appelmann, in which the harsh sentence of dancing in red-hot slippers has been replaced through a weak conclusion of dancing until exhaustion. The concluding sentence reads:²⁰⁰

Y se cuenta que al ver a la joven novia [la madrastra] sufrió tal acceso de furor, que se puso a bailar locamente hasta que cayó muerta de cansancio. (“Blancanieves,” *Los mejores cuentos infantiles del mundo* 18)

And it is said that when [the stepmother] saw the bride she suffered such a rage outburst that she danced crazily until she fell dead of exhaustion.

The modified ending, which bypasses the punitive aspect of the story, is an evident attempt to reduce the violence. Although quite different from Disney’s animated feature, the subtle story endings in both the LEY and Spanish versions (by Hecht-Appelmann) were probably influenced by film.

Just like the Disney film, this adaptation introduces a kiss (not present in the original): after Snow White revives the prince approaches her, kisses her hand and asks her to marry him. Unlike the film, however, the prince kisses the girl on the hand not the lips, thus reducing the intimacy of the scene.²⁰¹ The practice of avoiding intimate scenes or scenes with sexual connotations is common in earlier Spanish adaptations of the Grimm tales. If this anthology is indeed a locally-edited production, which we can only assume it is, then the presented examples clearly show the repercussion of both Disney and earlier Spanish translations in adaptations of the Grimms’ tales made in Latin America.

²⁰⁰ Hecht-Appelman’s version ends with: “When [the stepmother] entered the room and recognized Snow White she was immobilized from fear, but then, to cover up, she danced for such a long time that she ended up falling on the ground dead of fatigue, thus ending definitively her evilness” (10).

²⁰¹ To compare, the intimacy of the scene is even further avoided in Llimona’s adaptation. Here the prince does not touch the skin but instead kisses only the girl’s garment: upon arriving at the castle the prince asks Snow White to marry him and “kisses respectfully the edging of her dress” (“y besó respetuosamente la orla de su vestido”) (*Blancanieves y los enanitos: Adaptación del cuento de los hermanos Grimm por Mercedes Llimona*, 40)

A further example of Disney's influence on this adaptation is apparent in the circumstances under which the girl stays at the dwarfs' house. In contrast to the original German tale, here there is no previous verbal contract between the dwarfs and Snow White, i.e., the long list of domestic chores to be fulfilled by the girl in exchange for nurture and protection. Instead, the dwarfs "beg" her to stay without imposing a trade off:

Los dueños de la casita, enterados de su historia, le rogaron que se quedara a vivir con y no es difícil imaginar que Blancanieves aceptó encantada. Le pareció delicioso hacer de madrecita y ocuparse de la casa de aquellos gentiles enanitos. ("Blancanieves," *Los mejores cuentos infantiles del mundo* 12)

After learning her story, the owners of the small house begged her to stay and live with them, and it is not difficult to imagine that Snow White accepted with delight. To her, it seemed delicious to act as a little mother and take care of the house for those kind dwarfs.

Snow White's willingness to "mother" the dwarfs and take care of the household duties is reminiscent of the film, when upon entering into the cottage the girl notices the mess (untidy dining table, dust-covered fireplace, and cobwebs everywhere) and presumes that seven orphans must live there; she exclaims: "You'd think their mother would ... Hmm, maybe they have no mother; then they are orphans" (*Walt Disney's Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*). The interruption in the sentence suggests that if the dwarfs had a mother she would have kept things tidy and, Snow White, adopting the role of the missing mother, starts to clean up the house. In both cases the decision to act as a mother and carry out the domestic chores came from Snow White's own initiative. This shows that the girl had internalized gender-based roles—roles that are being perpetuated both by the filmic and printed versions.

Noticeable in the stories of *Los mejores cuentos infantiles del mundo* is the direct dialogue between the narrator and the reader, which is also used in other tales from this edition. In “Blancanieves” we find several instances when the narrator addresses the reader directly, for example, when he explains who inhabits the little house in the forest:

Y ahora es necesario que sepan ustedes que aquella casita, con su pequeño mobiliario y su pequeña vajilla, pertenecía a siete enanitos que en aquellos momentos trabajaban en el interior de una mina, más allá del bosque. (“Blancanieves,” *Los mejores cuentos infantiles del mundo* 11)

And now it is necessary that you know that the little house, with its small furniture and its small tableware, belonged to seven dwarfs who at that moment were working in the interior of a mine beyond the forest.

Note that the narrator uses the personal pronoun “ustedes” (you) to address the reader (“Y ahora es necesario que sepan *ustedes* ...”). Up until now, the Grimm tales published in Colombian editions (e.g., in *Chanchito*) have used the second person plural “vosotros” instead of “ustedes” in the dialogues. As indicated earlier, the form “vosotros” is common in Spain but rarely utilized in Latin America. From the use of “ustedes” we gather that this version must have been edited in Latin America, which further suggests the likelihood that *Los mejores cuentos infantiles del mundo* is a Colombian production.

The significance of *Los mejores cuentos infantiles del mundo* lies not only on its historical value as one of the first (presumably) local anthologies of classical fairy tales, but also on its unique channel of distribution. Yepes’s initiative to sell the classical tales as commodities in his supermarkets, rather than as culturally valuable literature pieces, may have been drawn from the marketing practices of the Disney Corporation. Disney has been a promoter of rampant consumerism with product tie-ins to its bestselling films based on fairy tales, which have proved extremely lucrative. Perhaps Yepes saw an opportunity to partake in the big business and decided to tap into the then unexploited

strategy in Colombia of “commodifying” the classical fairy tales and offer them for purchase in commercial venues other than the usual bookstores. The fact that this edition was sold only in Almacenes LEY, a nationwide discount store, made it accessible to a wide public all around the country, thus contributing significantly to the dissemination of the tales.

Publications by Educar Cultural Recreativa S.A.

One of the most complete collections of classical literatures for children ever printed in Colombia is *Biblioteca Fantástica*. Even though this fairly recent production does not fall into the chronological order of this chapter, it is important to mention it here because of its remarkable success. Published by Educar Cultural Recreativa and printed by Carvajal S.A. in Bogotá, *Biblioteca Fantástica* first appeared in 1986. This vast deluxe compilation consisting of twenty-four volumes includes a variety of tales and stories from authors around the world. The stories are heavily illustrated with color drawings by Barilli, Cremonini, De Gaspari, and others. Corresponding LPs with dramatized audio versions of the tales complement the printed texts. The Grimm stories that appear in some of the volumes, were faithfully translated from the Italian by Jesús Villamizar and Consuelo Gaitán.²⁰²

A short anonymous introduction, uniform for all volumes, explains that the best stories and legends of children’s literature from all over the world were selected to create

²⁰² These two names appear in several other publications for children from Educar Cultural Recreativa, but I did not find any biographical information about them. Among the titles that mention the names of Villamizar and Gaitán are: Charles Perrault, *Barbazul* (Bogotá: Educar Recreativa, 1980); *Literatura clásica infantil* (Bogotá: Educar Recreativa, 1994), which includes tales by the Grimms, Andersen, Perrault, La Fontaine, and Bechstein; Ludwig Bechstein, *El tesoro de los tres hermanos* (Bogotá: Educar Recreativa, 1996); Hans Christian Andersen, *El nuevo traje del emperador* (Bogotá: Educar Recreativa, 1996); etc.

the *Biblioteca Fantástica*. The illustrated stories, we read, have been redacted in a clear and precise language that allows a young reader to comprehend the situations of each narrative while exercising and improving their Spanish vocabulary as well as their capacity to express themselves, both orally and in writing. The introduction also points out the importance of reading for the emotional development of a child, adding that the stories will allow them to feel emotions both pleasant and unpleasant, thus developing a capacity to adapt, integrate into groups, and deal with future conflicts and fears.²⁰³

The individual volumes of *Biblioteca Fantástica* combine tales from various authors. Each volume has, in addition to the general introduction, a separate preface with information about the corresponding authors of the stories presented in that particular issue. Volume 18, for example, which includes stories by Andersen, the Grimms, and Basile among others, offers a concise paragraph with biographical details about each of the authors. The biography of the Brothers Grimm enumerates some of their life events: Jacob is credited as the founder of German philology; also mentioned is the brothers' association with the "Grupo de los Siete" (literally "Group of the Seven," which probably refers to "The Göttingen Seven"), their membership in the Frankfurt Parliament and in the Academy of Science in Berlin, and so on. The brief paragraph ends with a superficial reference about the KHM that reads:

Los hermanos Grimm recopilaron y redactaron cuentos, leyendas tradicionales y el Diccionario alemán. A ellos, a su talento como narradores y a su prosa descriptiva, se debe que los cuentos caseros e

²⁰³ Here we notice some influence of Bruno Bettelheim (1903-1990) and his work *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales* (1976). The Austrian-born psychoanalyst addressed the importance of fairy tales as a medium to inform and emotionally prepare children for life's struggles, hardship, and the reality of death. Bettelheim suggested that children need guides (such as fairy tales) to explain the core life concepts and intrinsic human flaws; the engagement with traditional fairy tales, with the the gloom of abandonment, witches, harm, and death would allow children to battle their fears in remote, symbolic terms and would promote their emotional growth.

infantiles alemanes se hayan convertido en libros populares universales. (*Biblioteca Fantástica*, Vol. 18 x),

The Brothers Grimm gathered and redacted stories, traditional legends, and the German Dictionary. We owe to them, to their talent as narrators and their descriptive prose, that the German household and children's stories have become universally popular books.

The Colombian-published edition is based on an Italian production from the late 1970s that bears the same title—*Biblioteca fantastica*—and was issued by Gruppo Editoriale Fabbri in Milan.²⁰⁴ The Grimms' tales in this Italian publication are, in turn, taken from a previous series by Fabbri called *Fiabe Sonore* (*Sonant Fables*) that was first published in 1966.²⁰⁵ The popular *Fiabe Sonore*, which has been repeatedly republished, consisted of single-story books (illustrated by different artists) accompanied by a non-musical disk (45 rpm) that was tucked inside the back cover.²⁰⁶ No information about the translators or the source-edition used for the series *Fiabe Sonore* is available.

In Colombia the collection *Biblioteca Fantástica* is important for various reasons. First, the breadth of the 24-volume production is indicative of the firm roots that the fairy-tale genre had already attained in Colombia by the mid 1980s. Second, the comprehensiveness of the collection allows local readers to familiarize themselves with an ample array of classical fairy tales from various authors and countries. Third, the presentation—a combination of audio and text—is a viable option for Colombia that widens the accessibility of the tales to every kind of public, including the less educated, through the public libraries.

²⁰⁴ The *Biblioteca fantastica* was first published in 1979 by Fabbri. The collection consists of 12 volumes (ranging from 224-288 pages each) with tales from different authors. The first volume is entirely dedicated to the Grimms' tales, however, additional Grimm tales are also found in other volumes.

²⁰⁵ This information provided by Paola Parazzoli, the Chief Editor's Assistant of RCS Libri (the parent company of Fabbri Editori), was forwarded to me by Dr. Giorgia Grilli from the Università de Bologna.

²⁰⁶ The dramatized versions were adapted by Silverio Pisu.

After the initial success of *Biblioteca Fantástica*, Educar Cultural Recreativa issued a small and less expensive edition with fairy tales entitled *Las hadas y otros cuentos* (*The Fairies and Other Stories*) in 1999. This special edition was offered free of charge by the Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá (Office of the Mayor in Bogotá) as well as by the district's Institute for Culture and Tourism, thus making it available to everyone in the country. *Las hadas y otros cuentos* is a 34-page booklet targeted to children ages 0-7. It contains only three tales taken directly from the collection *Biblioteca Fantástica*: “Las hadas” (“The Fairies”) by Perrault, “Los músicos de Bremen” (“The Musicians from Bremen,” KHM 27) by the Grimms, and Andersen’s “Historia de plumas” (literally translated as “A Feather Story,” this is an adaptation of “There Is No Doubt about It,” from 1852); the stories are followed by a short biographical section (a condensed version of what appeared in the larger collection *Biblioteca Fantástica*).

In general, the Grimms’ tales in *Biblioteca Fantástica* depart considerably from the originals; one of the most noticeable changes is the enhancement of the narratives to create a more dramatic effect. The following quote from “Los músicos de Bremen,” published in *Las hadas y otros cuentos* (a verbatim reprint from *Biblioteca Fantástica*), exemplifies how the tale’s narrative details have been expanded in the translation process to create a stronger identification of the reader with the weaker character (here a donkey):

Había una vez un campesino que tenía un asno viejo. El animal había trabajado para él toda la vida. Siempre dócil y paciente, sin rebelarse nunca, aunque la carga le hiciera doblar las rodillas. Ahora que ya estaba viejo, solo tenía una esperanza que su amo lo dejara descansar. Pero su amo, no pensaba de la misma manera [...]

En su juventud este asno había alimentado otras ilusiones. Había pensado en formar parte de la banda de Bremen, célebre en todo el país. Pero ahora era viejo, más no tonto. Así que aquel día que vio a su patrón llevando un enorme garrote en la mano y mirándolo de forma amenazante, comprendió el plan que había en el corazón de su amo. Si quería salvar su pellejo

tendría que huir lo más lejos que pudiera. Esa misma noche, con una violenta patada abrió la puerta de la cuadra y huyó en dirección a Bremen. (“Los músicos de Bremen,” *Las hadas y otros cuentos* 7)

Once there was a peasant who had an old donkey. The animal had worked for him all his life. Always docile and patient, never rebelling, even if the load would make his knees bend. Now that he was old, he had only one hope: that his master would let him rest. But his master did not think the same way [...]

In his youth this donkey had fed other illusions. He had thought of forming part of the band of Bremen, famous in all the country. But now he was old, yet not stupid. So, on that day when he saw his boss carrying an enormous cudgel on his hand and staring menacingly at him, the donkey comprehended the plan that his master had in his heart. If he were to save his skin he would have to run away as far as he could. That same night, he opened the door of the stable with a violent kick and fled in the direction of Bremen.

Unlike the much more concise German text,²⁰⁷ the translation gives a detailed description of the donkey’s hard working life, his hopes, and youth illusions. The modified text encourages the identification of the reader with the weaker character by evoking feelings of empathy and compassion for the now aging yet unfailingly loyal animal. Compassion, within the Christian tradition, is considered one of the greatest virtues. Variations like this one could well be the result of the influential Catholic Church—a powerful institution also in Italy. Part of the success of *Biblioteca Fantástica* and *Las hadas y otros cuentos* in Colombia, an overwhelming Catholic country, may be attributed to these types of variations, which enhance details to elicit pity and compassion (similar to the stories by Andersen, Amicis, and von Schmid).

²⁰⁷ The original text from the 1857 version reads: “Es hatte ein Mann einen Esel, der schon lange Jahre die Säcke unverdrossen zur Mühle getragen hatte, dessen Kräfte aber nun zu Ende gingen, so daß er zur Arbeit immer untauglicher ward. Da dachte der Herr daran, ihn aus dem Futter zu schaffen, aber der Esel merkte, daß kein guter Wind wehte, lief fort und machte sich auf den Weg nach Bremen: dort, meinte er, könnte er ja Stadtmusikant werden” (Uther, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* 24861).

Although *Biblioteca Fantástica* and *Las hadas y otros cuentos* are editions published by Educar Cultural Recreativa and printed in Bogotá by Carvajal S.A. these titles, like many of the other located editions of classical fairy tales published in Colombia and other countries in Latin America, are essentially European productions.

The Colombian multinational Carvajal S.A, with its publishing unit Editorial Norma, was a pioneer in the publication of classical fairy tales in the country. The earliest fairy-tale editions from Norma are single-story books issued in the mid-1970s (Appendix 3 provides more details about these titles). Editorial Norma is one of the most important publishers in Colombia and a worldwide market leader in the field of children's books. In the following section I will briefly discuss the history of the company and some of its earliest productions of Grimm fairy tales.

Editorial Norma (renamed Grupo Editorial Norma in 1991)

Editorial Norma was founded in Cali in 1960 as part of the business conglomerate Carvajal S.A. Initially Norma dedicated itself to distributing and commercializing textbooks from foreign publishers in Colombia. From its distribution activities the company learnt about the needs and demands of the domestic market and soon recognized the potential of the publishing business. Shortly after its establishment, Editorial Norma started its own production of textbooks for primary and secondary education.

After consolidating as the most important publisher of school textbooks in the country, Editorial Norma began to expand its product line. In 1967 the parent company Carvajal realized a series of strategic alliances with important international publishers such as Random House, Hallmark, and Intervisual Communication to produce and co-

edit animated books known as pop-up books. In addition to the innovative pop-up books, other products including professional/technical books, children's books, reference books, and books of general interest were added to the product line of Editorial Norma.

By the mid 1980s Editorial Norma had expanded the line of youth and children's books even further and the new goal was to export its products to all of the Spanish-speaking countries. This was the beginning of an ambitious process of internationalization, initially conceived to cover Latin America. Editorial Norma opened subsidiaries in various countries and also acquired already established and prestigious publishers (e.g., Keplusz Editora in Argentina and Editorial Farben in Costa Rica), thereby extending its operation to fourteen countries in Latin America. In the United States the Spanish-language market was also tackled and is currently managed through its offices in Puerto Rico.

In addition to the Americas, the Grupo Editorial Norma operates in Spain with its subsidiary Parramón Ediciones S.A. Parramón Ediciones was established by the artist and professor of fine arts José María Parramón in 1959. At first it was a study center that offered correspondence courses, among which the drawing and painting course created by Parramón himself was one of the most successful. In 1968, using its pedagogical materials as platform, the company started editing and publishing the first books. The product line for youth and children is one of great trajectory and importance at Parramón; it currently offers more than 30 collections and 200 titles (for children from the age of two) including an assortment of educational, practical, and reference books to assist parents and educators. The Spanish publisher Parramón Ediciones became part of Grupo Editorial Norma in 1990.

It was also in 1990 that more comprehensive editions of classical fairy tales published by Norma start to show in the inventories of the main libraries. Among them is the six-volume collection *Cuentos clásicos* published in Barcelona in 1990. This collection was adapted by Eduard José and illustrated by Francesc Rovira, Augustí Asensio, and José M. Lavarello. It includes tales by the Grimms (in 2 volumes), by Andersen (in 3 volumes), and by Perrault (in 1 volume). For the Spanish-speaking markets in North and Latin America Norma offered a same-name edition, *Cuentos clásicos*,²⁰⁸ albeit in a different format. The edition of *Cuentos clásicos* that I found in the Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia is a deluxe assembly that includes two CDs and two volumes with classical tales by the Grimms and Andersen. The hardcover, color-illustrated books with their corresponding CD come in a fine carrying case. Each volume of *Cuentos clásicos* contains five stories by these two authors; among the Grimm tales are “El sastrecillo valiente” (KHM 20 “Das tapfere Schneiderlein”), “Blancanieves y los siete enanitos” (KHM 53 “Sneewittchen”), “Pulgarcito” (KHM 37 “Daumesdick”), and “Hansel y Gretel” (KHM 15). It is interesting to note that the located edition of *Cuentos clásicos*, apparently reformatted for the Spanish-speaking market in America, only contains tales by the Grimms and Andersen. The tales by Perrault do not form part of the collection (even though they are included in the presentation for the Spanish market). This exclusion suggests once again a general decline in popularity of French tales—a decline that also coincides with the holdings of post-1950 fairy-tale editions in the Colombian libraries, which show a decline of French fairy tales that contrasts with the soaring increase of publications of Grimms’ tales.

²⁰⁸ This edition of *Cuentos clásicos* was printed in Colombia in 1990 and Editorial Norma holds the publications rights for the Spanish-speaking markets in North and Latin America. However, based on the information that appears on the book, this collection was edited by Multilibro S.A. in Barcelona.

As previously indicated, the earliest fairy tale editions by Norma are from the mid-1970s. In 1975 Norma made available a series of very fine collections consisting of single-tale titles from various authors. The series *Libros mágicos*, for example, offered a variety of titles ranging from classical tales to Bible stories;²⁰⁹ other series such as *Mis cuentos favoritos* and *Panorama* offered mostly fairy tales.²¹⁰ The stories in these collections were all published without specifying an author; no information was provided regarding the translators or source-texts used for the editions. Although Norma's publications constitute the earliest Colombian productions of fairy tales located, these high-quality books are costly editions not affordable to everyone.

Geared towards a younger audience the individually published stories (with 8-12 pages) present simplified narratives that avoid the violent scenes of some of the original tales. The stories are colorfully illustrated with interactive artwork that either unfolds to create a three-dimensional effect or allows the reader to activate certain picture elements by pulling a tab creating the illusion of movement.

Shortly after the introduction of the formerly mentioned collections (*Libros mágicos*, *Panorama*, etc.) with well-known titles like *Pinocho* and *Blanca Nieves y los Siete Enanitos*, Norma came out with another animated book called *El festival de Blanca Nieves* (*The Festival of Snow White*, 1976). However, in contrast to the previous titles issued without acknowledging their authors, this time the publisher specified Walt Disney as a corporate author. Throughout the 1980s and the 1990s Editorial Norma continued to produce books of varied quality involving Walt Disney. In the category of deluxe

²⁰⁹ Some of the titles that formed part of the series *Libros mágicos* include *Pinocho* (*Pinocchio*), *Blanca Nieves y los siete enanitos* (*Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*), *Los tres cerditos* (*The Three Little Pigs*), *El arca de Noé* (*Noah's Ark*), *El nacimiento de Jesús* (*The Birth of Jesus*).

²¹⁰ Such as *La bella durmiente* (*Sleeping Beauty*), *Caperucita Roja* (*Little Red Riding Hood*), *Blanca Nieves* (*Snow White*), *La Cenicienta* (*Cinderella*), *Juanito y las habas* (*Juanito and the Beans*), among others.

editions, the series Colección Teatro Giratorio (Collection Revolving Theatre) that appeared in the early 1980s offered sophisticated printed productions of Disney's animated adaptations (i.e., *Pinocho*, *Blanca Nieves y los 7 enanitos*, *Cenicienta*, and *La noche de las narices frias* [literally *The Night of the Cold Noses*, an adaptation of Disney's *101 Dalmatians*]). When the book is opened, scenes from the films “come alive” because the figures and scenes unfold into a vivid three-dimensional setting.

The pricey pop-up books were offered alongside more affordable editions. In the early 1990s, Norma developed a collection of inexpensive stories that included Disney titles like *Snow White*, *Peter Pan*, *Alice in Wonderland*, and *Sleeping Beauty*. Norma had exclusive distribution rights for these editions in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

Dismissing the name Grimm in Norma's edition of *Blanca Nieves y los Siete Enanitos Blanca Nieves* from 1975 while designating Disney as corporate author in an edition of the tale that appeared just a year later (*El festival de Blanca Nieves*, 1976) not only is telling of the colossal influence of the Disney Corporation, but also undermines the work of the German brothers and ultimately contributes to the entanglement regarding the question of authorship that prevails in Colombia.

The confusion regarding authorship extends beyond the general public to the national libraries; this becomes evident in the way some of the publications have been catalogued. Even though Editorial Norma did not specify an author for its earliest fairy-tale productions, the Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia did assign an author in their catalogue entries. Two titles from the series Libros mágicos—*Blanca Nieves y los siete enanitos* and *Los tres cerditos* (*The Three Little Pigs*)—appear in the library's catalogue

as being from the Brothers Grimm. In the case of *Blanca Nieves* this is correct; however, ascribing the *The Three Little Pigs*—best known in the version published by the English folklorist Joseph Jacobs—to the Brothers Grimm is yet another indication of the general confusion and limited knowledge about the sibling’s work.

Enka: Contest of Youth Literature

The national literature for children and youth was greatly stimulated by the Enka writing contest introduced in the mid 1970s. Enka de Colombia S.A., an important producer of synthetic fibers used mainly in the textile industry, decided to invest part of its profits to promote writers of children and youth literature with the Enka prize, initially only in Colombia. After some years the contest went beyond the national boundaries extending its call to neighboring countries of the Andean area. Eligible participants from Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia submitted a prose-written piece (minimum 50 pages long) addressed to a youth audience; the winner received a prize consisting of \$3,000 and the publication of the first edition. The awarded titles were distributed among a select list of recipients that included many public libraries and schools, and were also made available for purchase.

In 1979 the winner of the Enka prize was the novella *Los amigos del hombre* (*The Friends of Man*) by Celso Román. Reminiscent of the Grimms’ tale “Die Bremer Stadtmusikanten,” the protagonists in *Los amigos del hombre* are also a horse, dog, cat, and a rooster. The story tells about a weak old horse and a limping dog that set out to find help for their destitute dying master, who lives in a self-made shanty of tin plates next to the train tracks. On their way, the animals encounter a magical star that reunites them with their long-lost friends, the cat and the rooster. The star heals the four mistreated and

abused animals and reveals that the cure for the ailing old man is found in the heart of the humans. With their regained health and strength the animals continue their way together in search of the human heart. Unlike the Grimms' tale, the animals in Román's story are neither fugitives that escaped for fear of being slaughtered nor transgressors that enter into a property that is not theirs. Nor are they violent in any way (they never attacked a human); instead, these animals show an unconditional loyalty to a human being in dire hardship.

The Enka contest disappeared in the year 2000. But the introduction of this competition—created, administered, and internationalized by Jaime Cadavid, the then Corporate Secretary of Enka—gave the national production of books for children an unparalleled stimulus; a stimulus, not only to grow but also to help new authors professionalize themselves in the genre. The endorsement of Enka created an incentive that extended beyond new literary creations to reprints of classical literary works for children, such as *Cuentos infantiles*—a relatively extensive collection of Grimm tales, published by Editorial Bedout in Medellín in 1979, which I will discuss next.

***Cuentos Infantiles* (Medellín: Editorial Bedout, 1979)**

With over fifty stories *Cuentos Infantiles* from Editorial Bedout²¹¹ constitutes the largest located edition of Grimms' tales published in Colombia in the 1970s. This non-illustrated, 306-page paperback forms part of the series Bolsilibros Bedout. With publications that date back to 1900, the collection Bolsilibros Bedout offered a broad

²¹¹ Based in Medellín, Editorial Bedout was founded by Felix de Bedout Moreno (1868-1948). The company started in the vestibule of his home as a stationary shop manufacturing cards. After the death of its founder his son, Jorge León Luis de Bedout del Valle, expanded the family company and turned it into a national emporium that included bookstores, drug stores, and one of the most important and renown publishing houses in Colombia. The parent company went into bankruptcy in the 1960s.

range of pocket books in several areas (historical, philosophical, political, etc.), including stories and novels mainly by Colombian authors. The Brothers Grimm were among the few foreign authors in the category of children/youth literature published in the series during the 1970s.²¹² Numerous copies of *Cuentos Infantiles* are currently circulating in public and university libraries throughout the country.

Cuentos Infantiles includes a page-and-a-half foreword about the Grimm brothers and their work. Because it is difficult to find locally-printed materials about the Grimms, and given the widespread availability of this volume, I will discuss in some detail the information presented in the foreword to determine if it provides some clarification about the legacy of the German siblings.

Most of the biographical and professional information focuses on Jacob, the older of the two brothers. His relatively lengthy biography, not all of which is entirely accurate, is mostly characterized by the mere enumeration of a series of events including dates and places of birth and death, his studies (no subject specified) in Marburg and Paris,²¹³ the various “administrative jobs” that he carried out in his homeland, his two trips to Paris in 1814 and 1815 to recover volumes and manuscripts (no details provided) taken by the Napoleonic troops, and his participation in the Congress of Vienna. The biography also mentions Jacob’s post as a librarian in Kassel from 1816-29 and then in Göttingen, “where he was requested as both professor and librarian” (15). This assertion is not accurate; the reason why Jacob relocated was because he was denied a promotion to first librarian in Kassel (this position had become vacated after the existing first librarian died

²¹² Juvenile works by Mark Twain, Juan Ramón Jiménez, Charles Dickens, and Jean de La Fontaine were also published in the series Bolsilibros Bedout during the 1970s and 1980s.

²¹³ Jacob studied law at the University of Marburg but he never studied in Paris. He went to Paris in conjunction with his work; in 1813 Jacob was appointed a member of the Hessian Peace Delegation and did diplomatic work both in Paris and Vienna.

in 1829). In response to this, he and Wilhelm resigned their respective posts in Kassel and moved to Göttingen, where Jacob became professor of Old German literature and head librarian, and his brother Wilhelm librarian and, in 1835, professor. Because the brothers were inseparable and fully devoted to each other, they shared many of their life experiences; in the forward, however, Wilhelm's part in these experiences has generally remained unacknowledged. For example, the text mentions that in 1837 Jacob was “noisily” dismissed from his position in Göttingen because of “the protest that he and six other of his colleagues formulated against the coup d'état by the King of Hannover” (15)—without noting that one of Jacob's “colleagues” was indeed his brother Wilhelm.

The foreword also credits Jacob as founder of Germanistics and as a conscientious researcher who, while in Kassel, started a scientific study of the mythology based on ancient materials. From the confusing wording of the following quote (which I have tried to translate as closely as possible), it is nearly impossible to establish any connection between his research and the KHM:

Investigador atento e infatigable, aprovechó su estada en Cassel, cuando tuvo a su disposición mucho material en gran parte aún no examinado, para iniciar el estudio científico de la mitología, recogiendo antiguas crónicas y fábulas transmitidas oralmente y reunió un grupo completo de cuentos antiquísimos, que él consideró nacidos espontáneamente, sin intervención de poeta alguno. Impulsado por sus aficiones filológicas reunió documentos antiguos de todo género que publico en varios libros. (*Cuentos infantiles* 15)

Thorough researcher, he took advantage of his stay in Kassel, where he had at his disposal a great deal of material, to a large extent not yet examined, to initiate the scientific study of mythology, gathering old chronicles and fables that were transmitted orally, and collected a group of ancient tales, which he considered were born spontaneously, without intervention of any poet. Driven by his philological fondness he gathered old documents of every sort that he published in various books.

Immediately afterwards the text continues to makes reference to “a great grammar of the

German language, published with the help of Wilhelm,²¹⁴ which together with *Cuentos infantiles* consecrated his fame” (16).

In contrast to Jacob, the foreword provides much more limited information on Wilhelm who, according to the text, was “less known” than his elder brother (16). The short paragraph on “Guillermo” (Spanish for Wilhelm) explains that he led a secluded life devoted entirely to his studies, but always assisted and collaborated with Jacob. Only a few other details about Wilhelm’s life are mentioned, for instance, that he was assistant librarian in Kassel, professor in Göttingen, and member of the “Academy of Berlin” (in Jacob’s case it was specified that he formed part of the Academy of Science of Berlin). Concerning Wilhelm’s publications the text merely notes that he published a “considerable compilation of documents about myths and heroic legends of ancient Germany and special studies on Germanic philology” (16), without citing any specific titles. But in regard to the *Cuentos infantiles y del hogar*, Wilhelm was credited with gathering and editing the majority of the stories in the collection.

Rather vague and partially incorrect is also the information about the KHM that appears in the foreword; the tale collection is only addressed in the closing paragraph that starts by implying that the KHM lack a scientific basis. As in the previous citation, the general diction (with extremely long sentences and numerous subordinate clauses) compounds the overall vagueness of the information. Consider the following quote, which I have tried to translate as closely as possible:

²¹⁴ It should be noted that Jacob Grimm wrote the *Deutsche Grammatik* (1819-37) by himself. Other cited publications by Jacob include *Vocabulario alemán*, which literary translates as *German Vocabulary* but probably refers to the *German Dictionary*; *Pensamiento sobre el mito, la poesía y la historia* (literary translated as *Thought about the Myth, Poetry, and History*; I could not find an equivalent title by Jacob that approximates this translation); *Sagas alemanas* (*German Legends*)—published together with Wilhelm yet here only Jacob receives credit for this work; *Mitología alemana* (*German Mythology*); and *Discurso sobre la vejez* (literary translated as *Speech on Old Age*, but probably refers to *Rede auf Wilhelm Grimm und Rede über das Alter*, 1863).

A los hermanos Grimm ninguna de la obras de carácter científico que produjeron les confirió la gloria, como sí lo hicieron los **Cuentos**, que han quedado no solo en Alemania sino en todos los pueblos del mundo como modelo perfecto de los “cuentos populares infantiles”. De la materia bruta encerrada en el folclor, que se traduce en el vigor imaginativo del pueblo, los hermanos Grimm vistieron con nobles palabras y pensamientos significativos estos típicos “cuentos de viejas”, transmitidos de boca en boca, y que son un hermoso patrimonio de la humanidad y una obra inmortal de sencillez y belleza excepcionales, que sigue teniendo vivencia real en la mente de los niños y los hombres, para quienes su lectura sigue constituyendo una íntima y renovada emoción. (*Cuentos infantiles* 15)

None of the works with scientific character produced by the Brothers Grimm conferred them the glory that did the **Stories**, which have remained not only in Germany but also in all the nations of the world as perfect models of “popular children’s stories.” Of the gross matter enclosed in folklore, which translates in the imaginative vigor of the people, the Brothers Grimm dressed in noble words and significant thoughts these typical “old wives’ tales,” transmitted from mouth to mouth. [Tales] that are a beautiful patrimony of humanity and an immortal work of exceptional simplicity and beauty, which continue to procure a real experience in the minds of children and men, for whom its reading still constitutes an intimate and renewed emotion.

In the first sentence, the use of the word “ninguna” (“none”), which denotes exclusion, implies that the KHM do not have a scientific basis (i.e., “A los hermanos Grimm *ninguna* de la obras...”). If the “Cuentos” (referring to the KHM) were deemed to have had “scientific character,” meaning a scholarly nature, the phrase would read “ninguna de las *otras* obras de carácter científico ...” (“none of the *other* works with scientific character ...”). Actually throughout the entire foreword, there is no clear indication of the fact that it was the desire to gain greater historical understanding of the German language and customs that led the Brothers Grimm to systematically gather folk tales and other material related to folklore and to create an authentic and uniquely German collection of folk tales and fairy tales.

The closing paragraph also fails to provide clarity, this time in regard to the editing of the tales. From the phrase “the Brothers Grimm dressed in noble words and significant thoughts these typical ‘old wives’ tales” it is impossible to discern the specific role that the Grimm brothers played in editing the collection. This becomes especially murky given that, earlier in the foreword, Wilhelm was credited with editing and also gathering the majority of the stories—an assertion that is not entirely true. As it has been noted before, the Brothers Grimm began to devote themselves intensively to German folk literature back in 1805 while studying law in Marburg. Their teacher and legal historian Friedrich Karl von Savigny awakened the brothers’ fondness for historical studies and steered their interest towards Old Germanic literature.²¹⁵ A further motivation came from their friend and Romantic author Clemens Brentano, who sought the Grimms to help him search for surviving forms of traditional folk poetry, which he planned to publish in a folk tale collection that was supposed to follow *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (1806-08). Initially the collected fairy-tale narratives that the Grimms extracted from old books or transcribed from friends in families like the Wilds and Hassenpflugs in Kassel were intended solely for Brentano’s project. In 1810, upon his request, the brothers sent Brentano copies of their fairy tale notes; however, since no arrangements for the projected book were made by 1811 the brothers decided to publish the tales themselves. For their publication the Grimms began to change and prepare the tales; they also kept adding new tales to their collection. According to Jack Zipes, Jacob set the tone while

²¹⁵ It was Savigny’s emphasis on the philological aspect of law that incentivized the brothers to focus on the study of ancient German literature and folklore. Professor Savigny argued that the spirit of law can be comprehended only by tracing its origins to the development of the customs and language of the people and by examining the changing historical context in which laws developed (Zipes, *Complete Fairy Tales* XXIV).

Wilhelm became the primary editor after 1815,²¹⁶ but both brothers agreed on how they wanted to alter and stylize the tales. Their goal was to make the tales smoother in style and more polished in content.

Bedout's *Cuentos Infantiles* stands out for being one of the earliest editions of Grimm tales published in Colombia with a foreword about the Brothers' lives and their work. Although the foreword is certainly more thorough than some texts on the Grimms found in other Colombian publications,²¹⁷ the information is still vague and confusing. Not only are some of the facts either incomplete or incorrect, but also the style in which the information is delivered makes it difficult to comprehend.

I will turn now to the tales in *Cuentos Infantiles*. This edition, which lacks a table of contents, contains sixty of the Grimms' stories. The tales appear in random order. Among the first ten titles are the popular stories of "Blancanieves" ("Snow White"), "La Cenicienta" ("Cinderella"), and "La bella durmiente del bosque" ("Sleeping Beauty"), all of which have been adapted by Disney. (These printed versions, which I will discuss later, do not resemble Disney's adaptations). Interestingly, *Cuentos Infantiles* also include some tales that are seldom found in any of the earlier Spanish editions such as: "Los doce hermanos" ("The Twelve Brothers," KHM 9), "Pichoncito" ("Little Young Pigeon," KHM 51), "El ataúd de cristal" ("The Glass Coffin," KHM 163) and "El labrador y el diablo" ("The Farmer and the Devil," KHM 189).²¹⁸ The tale "El gato con botas"

²¹⁶ Jacob established the framework for their editing practice between 1807 and 1812, and was the primary editor of the tales in the first volume (Zipes, *Complete Fairy Tales* XXX).

²¹⁷ For example in the literary and biographic encyclopedia *2.000 años de literatura universal* (Bogotá: Zamora Editores, 1994).

²¹⁸ So far, from the previously examined editions, only the complete translation of the Grimm tales by Francisco Payarols *Cuentos completos de los hermanos Grimm* (1955) contain these stories.

(“Puss in Boots,” KHM 33 in 1812), already omitted in the second KHM from 1819 edition, is also included in this edition.²¹⁹

Some of the titles in *Cuentos Infantiles* bear no resemblance to the original German and are reminiscent of the most “creative” titles found in earlier Spanish editions. For example, “Der Hase und der Igel” (KHM 187) becomes “¿Cuál de los dos corre más?” (“Which of the Two Runs More?”); this is a close variation of “Quién de los dos corre más?” (“Who of the Two Runs More?”), a title found in Calleja’s *Cuentos escogidos* (1896). Identical to Calleja’s title is “El compadre sonajero” (“Comrade Rattle”), the translation for “Bruder Lustig” (KHM 81). The gender-altering title “La muerte madrina” (“Godmother Death”), the given title for “Der Gevatter Tod” (KHM 44), was previously seen in Payarol’s *Cuentos completos de los hermanos Grimm* from 1955. Apparently adopted from the 1960 *Cuentos de hadas de Grimm* published by Editorial Molino are the titles “Alicia, la mujer del pescador” (“Alice, the Wife of the Fisherman”) for “Von dem Fischer un syner Fru” (KHM 19), which adds the personal name Alice to the tale-title; and “Tribilitín” (diminutive of Disney’s Goofy) for “Rumpelstilzchen” (KHM 55). For a list of the corresponding Spanish titles in this edition, see Appendix 4.

Even though some of the titles in *Cuentos Infantiles* seem to have been adopted from previous Spanish editions, the narratives of the stories apparently were not (the texts do not coincide with any of the older editions). This edition is actually based on a Mexican issue by Editorial Porrúa called *Cuentos de Grimm*, which was first published in

²¹⁹ The Spanish translation in this edition corresponds to the Grimms’ version, and not to Perrault’s “Le chat botté.”

1969.²²⁰ *Cuentos de Grimm* contains seventy-two tales selected and introduced by the Mexican author and educator María Edmée Alvarez (1896-1992). This Mexican edition offers no information about the translator but the title *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*—without publication date—is given as source-text. Nonetheless, and judging by the dialogue (which uses “vosotros”), the tales appear to be transcripts of a previous Spanish translation or at least the work of a translator from Spain.

Unlike many of the earlier Spanish translations, the tale versions in *Cuentos Infantiles* (reprinted from *Cuentos de Grimm*), with few exceptions, keep rather close to the German original. No attempt was made to soften the violence. The tale “Blancanieves” (“Snow White”), for example, includes the cooking and eating of the girl’s lungs and liver, all of the three murder attempts, and the dancing to death in red-hot slippers. Only slight variations in regard to the German version from 1857 are noticeable.²²¹ The tale “Little Red Riding Hood” deviates from the original only in the conclusion that omits the final part, which tells about the girl returning to her grandmother (this time not straying from the path) and tricking the wolf until it drowns in a big trough filled with water. In “La Cenicienta” (“Cinderella”) the most noticeable change also occurs at the end of the tale after the pigeons have blinded the stepsisters.

The final sentence reads:

¡Caramba con las palomitas! Pero es que tenían que castigar a las hermanastras por haber sido tan malas y por haber tenido tan mal corazón.
 (“Cenicienta,” *Cuentos infantiles* 69)

²²⁰ *Cuentos de Grimm* was published as part of Colección Sepan Cuentos; this popular book from Editorial Porrúa has been republished numerous times since its first edition in 1969. The last published edition (18th ed.) appeared in 2006.

²²¹ For example, omitting the comparison of the snowflakes falling like feathers at the beginning of the tale; the stepmother rushing to the wedding instead of first hesitating; or the king’s servants being the ones to prepare the hot slippers for the stepmother (in the original it is not specified who prepared the slippers).

Confound it! Those little pigeons! But they had to punish the stepsisters for having been so bad and having had such a bad heart.

Unlike the German original, which closes with a moralizing sentence that depicts the fate awaiting those who act wickedly and maliciously,²²² this version introduces a justification for the apparently odd behavior of the pigeons. The phrase “¡Caramba con las palomitas!” in exclamation marks, suggests that the birds’ action was quite unexpected, and the use of the diminutive (“palomitas”) emphasizes the surprising outcome even further. Minimizing the pigeons gives them an unthreatening quality. However, despite their smallness and non-aggressive nature, the pigeons had to punish the vile conduct and mean heart of the stepsisters.

Although *Cuentos Infantiles* was printed in Medellín by the traditional publisher Editorial Bedout, it is not a Colombian production (but based on a Mexican edition whose dialogues suggest that this may be a reprint of a translation from Spain); this edition is nevertheless significant for several reasons: (1) because of the place and timing of its publication: issued in Medellín in 1979, this is the oldest locally-published Grimm-tale collection that I could locate; (2) because of its considerable breadth: up to now locally-published editions found in libraries have been either single-tale books (e.g., by Editorial Norma) or anthologies that combine several fairy-tale authors (e.g., *Los mejores cuentos infantiles del mundo*, 1970?); (3) because it offers information about the Brothers Grimm and their work: even if some of the facts are vague and partially incorrect, the biographical and professional information presented here is far more accurate and thorough than some of the printed material found published in other Colombian editions;

²²² The closing sentence in the version of 1857 reads: “Und waren sie also für ihre Bosheit und Falschheit mit Blindheit auf ihr Lebtag bestraft” (Uther, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* 24836)

(4) because of the relative faithfulness of the translation that provides Colombian readers with a more accurate version of the original tales; and (5) because of its positive reception: abundant issues are currently circulating in the libraries and stories from this edition have been reprinted in later publications (e.g., *Hermanos Grimm: Cuentos* published by Edilux in 1990, which I will discuss later).

Grimm publications in the 1980s and 1990s by Edilux Ediciones

Domestic publications of Grimm tales continue to abound throughout the 1980s and 1990s. One of the most visible publishers during this period is the house Edilux Ediciones based in Medellín. Edilux came out with a number of story collections from different authors presented in a variety of formats. Geared towards younger children, these collections offered mostly single-tale editions of a few pages, with large fonts, many illustrations, and oversimplified accounts of the original stories.

In 1988 Edilux published the series Colección Delfín with assorted tales in affordable presentations (booklets with plasticized soft-covers, illustrated in color). Among the titles in Colección Delfín are *El sastrecillo valiente (Brave Little Tailor)*, *La bella durmiente (Sleeping Beauty)*, *Blanca Nieves y los siete enanitos (Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs)*, *Pinocho*, and others. The authors of the tales were not acknowledged. A year later, in 1989, Edilux came with *Cuentos maravillosos*, a better-quality collection (hard-cover books) that offered a small selection of fairy tales by the Grimms, Andersen, Collodi, and Perrault. The narratives in this collection were also shortened and simplified for very young readers. In the early 1990s Edilux issued yet another collection, the series Pegatina, an interactive publication with a page of stickers, which required children to

find the corresponding faces or items that were missing in the color illustrations. Some of the titles included Perrault's *Cinderella*, Andersen's *Thumbelina*, and Grimms' *Blancanieves*. In contrast to the earlier Colección Delfín, the authors in the series Pegatina were acknowledged.

In addition to these single-tale publications mostly for the very young, in 1990 Edilux also issued a number of anthologies that were advertised as containing stories selected by teachers. Among them is *Cuentos infantiles del mundo*, a sparsely illustrated anthology of 172 pages, with nineteen stories from authors around the world, who, as stated in a short introduction, are considered to be “the most read, the most translated, and the best known” (ii). This edition includes stories by Oscar Wilde, Rudyard Kipling, Mark Twain, Leo Tolstoy, Charles Perrault, H. C. Andersen, and one story by the Brothers Grimm, “Snow White.”²²³

Also from 1990 is *Hermanos Grimm: Cuentos* published by Edilux as part of the series Clásicos Universales (Universal Classics). This paperback edition contains fifteen tales, whose narratives are exactly the same as those found in the previously mentioned *Cuentos infantiles* by Editorial Bedout (1979). The Grimm anthology was issued by Edilux but printed by Susaeta Ediciones in Medellín. Although the General Manager of Susaeta in Medellín, Juan David Susaeta, tells me that his division operates independently from the headquarters of Susaeta Ediciones S.A. in Madrid, the connection

²²³ The stories included in *Cuentos infantiles del mundo* are: Anónimo: “Aladino y la lámpara maravillosa”; Cuentos populares chinos: “El emperador Sapo”, “El paisaje bordado de Danbu”, “El pincel mágico”; Cuentos infantiles de la Unión Soviética: Pavel Bazhov: “Pezuñita de plata”; Evgueni Schvarz [sic]: “El mago distraído”; Vsevolod Garshin: “La reina viajera”; Charles Perrault: “Piel de asno; Hermanos Grimm: “Blancanieves”; Robert Browning: “El flautista de Hamelin; León Tolstoi: “El juez hábil”, “Los tres amigos”, “El ladrón de pepinos”, “Mil monedas de oro”; Mark Twain: “Tom, el pequeño pintor”; Oscar Wilde: “El gigante egoísta”; and Rudyard Kipling: “El gato que va solo a todas partes”.

with Spain is quite clear.²²⁴ This explains why the Grimm tales in the Mexican edition *Cuentos de Grimm*—which served as source for both Edilux’s *Hermanos Grimm: Cuentos*, (1990) and Bedout’s *Cuentos Infantiles* (1979)—appear to have been transcripts of a previous Spanish translation or at least the work of a translator from Spain. (Unfortunately I did not find an edition from the Spanish house Susaeta that would match the Mexican *Cuentos de Grimm*.)

The anthology *Hermanos Grimm: Cuentos* is yet another edition that, despite being published and printed in Colombia, has traceable Spanish roots. Nevertheless, this publication is especially important because it has been endorsement of teachers. As appears advertised on the book’s front cover, teachers selected the stories for this edition, which suggests that the Grimm tales have entered the educational institutions in Colombia, where, one hopes, they will be further studied and appreciated as valuable cultural texts.

Blanca-Nieves y los siete enanitos (Bogotá: Latinopal, 1980?)

The rising demand for Grimm tales was also being met by editions from smaller and less-known publishers. Publications by Latinopal were an interesting find. Based in Bogotá, Latinopal issued a collection of single-tale booklets called Colección Cascabelito in the early 1980s (this date is an estimate from the Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, since the booklets have no date of publication). The illustrated collection—marketed as the “selection of the best stories for a Colombian child”—consisted of twelve titles²²⁵

²²⁴ The Spanish publishing house was founded in 1963 by D. Raimundo Susaeta (1920-1984) and is currently a leader in the market of books for children and youth for the Spanish-speaking public.

²²⁵ The Colección Cascabelito offered the following titles: *Caperucita Roja (Little Red Riding Hood)*; *El gato con botas (Puss in Boots)*; *La fiesta de don Pato (The Party of Mr. Duck)*; *Aladino y la lámpara maravillosa (Aladdin and the Marvelous Lamp)*; *Blanca-Nieves y los siete enanitos (Snow White and the*

published in modest editions with few pages (soft-cover, paper quality resembling newsprint, color illustrations). None of the booklets cited an author. Nine of the twelve titles could be from the Grimms; but since the library did not have all the books available, I could not determine, based on the texts, if they were indeed from the Grimms or Perrault.

Latinopal's *Blanca-Nieves y los siete enanitos* is particularly interesting because the story appears to be one of the few local adaptations of a Grimm tale found during the course of this study. Up to now most of the adaptations of Snow White and other classical fairy tales located have, in one way or another, ties to European editions.

Compared to the German versions, the narrative of Latinopal's adaptation has been modified in several ways, and these changes merit further attention. The story tells about a beautiful and vain queen named Luzmela, whose stepdaughter eventually surpasses her in beauty. Noticeable here is that the villain is given a proper name and, that the king/father is nowhere mentioned. When the magic mirror reveals that Snow White is more beautiful, the queen Luzmela orders a servant to kill her and bring the girl's heart as proof of the deed: "Como señal de haber cumplido mis órdenes me traerás su corazón, o me cobraré sacándote el tuyo" (2) ("As proof that you have fulfilled my orders you will bring me her heart, otherwise I shall requite myself by removing your heart"). The queen threatens the servant with a deadly punishment should he fail to accomplish her command; a comparable retribution for an incomplete job is not present in the Grimms' versions. The servant takes instead the heart of a deer and leaves the girl

Seven Dwarfs); *Pulgarcito (Thumbling)*; *La Cenicienta (Cinderella)*; *El ratoncito glotón (The Gluttonous Little Mouse)*; *La bella durmiente (Sleeping Beauty)*; *El príncipe encantado (The Enchanted Prince)*, possibly an adaptation of KHM 1 "Der Froschkönig oder der eiserne Heinrich"); *La casa de chocolate (The Chocolate House)*, possibly an adaptation of KHM 15 "Hänsel und Gretel"); and *Las princesas bailarinas (The Dancing Princesses)*, possibly an adaptation of KHM 133 "Die zertanzten Schuhe").

alone and scared in the forest, “flooded in weeping and pondering upon her sad fate” (2). Feeling cold and hungry Snow White sets out to look for shelter and, accompanied by a hopping rabbit, she soon arrives at the dwarf’s house. She knocks on the door “with much prudence, then she was a very well-mannered girl,” and after waiting without response she decides to “softly open the door” (3). Upon entering the house the girl notices that everything is small but messy and so she starts to clean:

Todo allí era diminuto [...] y más aun, todo estaba muy sucio y desordenado; había también siete camas y la Princesa [sic] que era muy juiciosa, lo primero que hizo fue asear la habitación. Cogió una escoba y dale que dale se pasó más de una hora barriendo y poniendo las cosas en orden. (*Blanca-Nieves y los siete enanitos* 3)

Everything there was tiny [...] and still more, everything was dirty and disorderly; there were also seven little beds and the first thing that the very diligent²²⁶ princess did, was to clean up the room. She took a broom and on and on she went for more than one hour sweeping and putting the things in order.

The influence of Disney is evident both in the company of Snow White’s new little friend, the rabbit (the film introduced forest animals as the girl’s friends and helpers), and in the portrayal of an industrious girl who voluntarily decides to clean up after someone else (unlike the German tale, here there is no verbal agreement to exchange protection/housing for good housekeeping). When Snow White awakens, she tells her story to the dwarfs; they fully sympathize with her and pledge her “eternal friendship” (4). The magic mirror continues to reaffirm that Snow White is more beautiful, and the enraged stepmother violently throws the mirror to the floor; but instead of silencing the looking glass, thousands of pieces continue to shriek in concert, “Blancanieves es más hermosa que tú” (“Snow White is more beautiful than you”) (6). The simultaneous

²²⁶ The literary translation for “juiciosa” is judicious, sensible, or wise. In colloquial speech in Colombia, however, when someone refers to a girl as “juiciosa,” it means that she is virtuous, diligent, and good.

shouting of the broken pieces of glass causes the queen such distress that she faints. Luzmela then turns to her friend, an old, ugly witch named Patecabra for advice on how to get rid of Snow White (Patecabra is common term found in the Colombian popular tradition).²²⁷ The witch consults her book and finds a potent poison; she dips an apple in the poison and gives it to the queen saying, “La persona que la coma ya se puede dar por bién muerta. ¡Tómala y cumple tu venganza!” (“The person who eats it can be deemed as very dead. Take it and fulfill your vengeance!”) (7). Notice that it is the witch (a separate character in the story), not the stepmother, who plots the murder scheme and entices the queen to seek revenge. As in Disney, this adaptation also contains just only one of the three murder attempts. A prince, who had heard of Snow White’s virtues and beauty, finally finds her lying in the glass coffin after searching for her for a long time. Hesitating, he approaches her “trembling” (9) and kisses her on the lips; miraculously “the spell [is] broken” (9) and Snow White wakes up from her long sleep. The grateful and joyous dwarfs, who work in a diamond mine, give the prince thousands of diamonds and prepare a banquet to say farewell to the girl because, in spite of their sadness, they “were not selfish and, since they loved Snow White, they wished her happiness” (10). The punishment of the queen is completely omitted; instead the story ends with the following moralizing paragraph:

Así termina esta historia, que nos enseña como triunfó la virtud, por encima de todo y como Dios premia la gratitud y el amor, pues Blancanieves y su esposo vivieron muy felices, tuvieron muchos hijos, cuyos padrinos fueron los enanitos. Reinaron por largos años, muy

²²⁷ The term Patecabra, in colloquial language, refers to the hoof (pata) of a goat (cabra). According to Jaime Riascos, editor of *Puro Cuento: Memorias II Festival Nacional de Cuenteros de Colombia, 1991* (N.p.: Ediciones Palabrarte, 2000), in the Colombian popular tradition the Patecabra is associated with witchcraft. The goat’s hoof is one of the ingredients to produce concoctions used for spells; other common ingredients added to the mixture are bats’ wings and spider webs.

contentos para la dicha y ventura de los súbditos de su pueblo. (*Blanca-Nieves y los siete enanitos* 10)

And so ends this story, which teaches us that virtue prevails over everything, and that God rewards gratitude and love; for Snow White and her husband lived very happy, and had many children, whose godparents were the dwarfs. They reigned for long years, very content, for the blessing and fortune of the subjects of their state.

The addition of this final paragraph (as well as some of the other passages that I have cited) clearly points at the moralizing intent of this version. Because the final punishment has been bypassed here, the polarity of good vs. evil (e.g., in Disney) has faded. The focal point of this adaptation is shifted entirely to the girl's consistent good behavior—virtues that will be rewarded not only by society but also by God, who is added in the conclusion as the supreme judge of our earthly conduct.

This inexpensive and thus accessible edition of *Snow White* published by Latinopal is especially important because it appears to be an adaptation actually made in Colombia. Even though the publication itself offers no information about a translator, editor, or source, certain details and subtleties in the language used suggest that this may be a local revision of the famous Grimm tale. The chosen name for the witch—Patecabra—and the wording of the dialogue, which does not employ the second person plural (commonly used in Spain and found in other translations), are especially suggestive of a Colombian adaptation. The variations made to the story line reflect trends that have been observed throughout this study, i.e., the influence of Disney and the Catholic religion. Disney's influence is evident in the avoidance of violent scenes as well as in the behavioral expectations of a “good” girl like Snow White, who has internalized the gender roles. The fact that God was added as the paramount authority in the last

paragraph of the story demonstrates the powerful role of that religion still has in Colombia.

It is suggestive of a positive reception when a smaller, less-known publishing house like Latinopal issues a collection of twelve booklets with classical tales marketed as the best stories for the Colombian child. If nine of the twelve stories in Colección Cascabelito are indeed based on Grimms' tales,²²⁸ then this would mean that the German stories have conquered the Colombian market of fairy tales in the last decades of the twentieth century. The apparently local revision of the famous "Snow White," a version that merges into its narrative traditional elements of Colombian culture and language, are indications of assimilation of the Grimms' tales into a Latin American society.

I found another indicator of such assimilation in the sales catalogue of a local company based in Bogotá called Arisma. Established in 1977, Arisma Ltda. specializes in the production, distribution, and commercialization of didactic materials for use in educational institutions at different levels (from pre-school up to university levels). In their General Catalogue from 1994-95, under the section called "Videos educativos y empresariales" ("Educational and Entrepreneurial Videos"), Arisma offered a number of videos in different areas and categories (science, language, art, sports, etc.) suitable for instructional purposes.

One of the categories, titled "Cuentos" ("Stories"), lists a total of twenty-four short stories in video form, eight of which were productions from Disney. This list also includes four of the so-called classical fairy tales: two by the Grimms ("Rumpelstilskin"

²²⁸ This may well be the case given the surge of Grimm-tale publications after 1950. However, because the libraries did not have the complete collection published by Latinopal, I could not verify if stories like *Caperucita Roja*, *El gato con botas*, *Pulgarcito*, *La Cenicienta*, *La bella durmiente*, *El príncipe encantado*, *La casa de chocolate*, *Las princesas bailarinas*, are indeed adaptations of specifically Grimms' tales.

[KHM 55] and “El zapatero y los duendes” [“The Elves” KHM 39] and two by Andersen (“La sirenita” [“The Little Mermaid”] and “El patito feo” [“The Ugly Duckling”]); the catalogue does not specify the authors of these stories. Even though the Disney productions make up over 30% of the videos offered and are given a special section (clearly marked with their own separate titles: “Cuentos de Disney” and “Especiales de Walt Disney”), the inclusion of two of the Grimms’ tales is yet another indication of their integration into the local educational system.

Conclusion

After 1950, the composition of the libraries’ inventory classified as children/youth literature differs significantly from the previous period. Especially noticeable is the decline in the number of French editions and works for children that promote religious/moral teachings, as well as the substantial increase of classical fairy-tale productions. Several factors contributed to these changes including a slow change in the public’s perception of Paris as the main center of European culture; reforms and internal disarray within the Colombian Catholic Church; the presence and promotion of Walt Disney Corporation in Colombia; improvements in the infrastructure of the major cities; and successful educational measures that raised literacy rates.

The developments in the constellation of the libraries’ holdings point at a “renaissance” of the fairy-tale genre in Colombia. Classical fairy tales in various forms, including anthologies, sound and video recordings, and republications of works by European authors who, in part, were only marginally represented in the previous period (e.g., Basile, Chamisso, Mme d’Aulnoy, Schwab, etc.) are more visible in the inventory. Well-represented fairy-tale authors such as Andersen and Perrault also show a general

increment in post-1950 publications; however, compared to the exponential growth of Grimm tales, their rate of increase seems moderate.

The dominant language of Grimm tales published after 1950 is Spanish. In contrast to the previous period, Spanish-language publications are no longer mainly imported from Spain. Although Spanish editions continue to play an important role in the composition of the inventory one of the most noticeable changes in this period is the emergence of Grimm editions published in Latin America. The oldest Latin American title located is the Mexican *Blanca Nieve y otros cuentos* from 1959. Colombian editions start to appear later, in the mid 1970s, and several, especially the anthologies, offer a preface or introduction with a biographical profile of the German brothers; however, in most cases the information is either unclear or inaccurate and does not help to clarify the general misunderstanding that prevails in the country about the Grimms' work and their legacy.

A closer inspection of the narratives in the Latin American and Colombian editions reveals that the stories are not local productions but rather adaptations closely linked to Europe, particularly to Spain. The strong Spanish influence on these editions is, in part, due to the migration to Latin America that occurred during the Spanish Civil War (1936-39); Spanish translators, editors, and families in the publishing business continued to exercise their profession after relocating and carried over familiar story modifications and revisions onto Latin American publications of the Grimm tales—these modifications and revisions to the original narrative that persistently promote Spanish values, morals, and mores in Colombia and elsewhere in Latin America, perpetuate the dominating influence of colonialism.

Of the post-1955 bibliographical material located, edited, and printed in Colombia, only two publications—*Blanca-Nieves y los siete enanitos* (Bogotá: Latinopal, 1980?) and *Los mejores cuentos infantiles del mundo* (Bogotá: LEY?, 1970?)—seem to be truly local adaptations. Although few in number, these presumably local adaptations are first indications of the incorporation of the Grimms' stories into Colombian society; an assimilation that seems to be progressing and becomes even more evident in publications from the 1990s, such as the teacher-selected collection *Hermanos Grimm: Cuentos* and the catalogue of didactic materials (Arisma Ltda.), which suggests that the tales have entered the Colombian educational institutions and, in that sense, have achieved, to a certain degree, canonical status in Colombian culture. The degree to which the KHM have been assimilated is a question, as we will see, that is answered differently by contemporary Colombian scholars of children's literature.

Chapter 5: Other Aspects of the Colombian Reception of Grimms' Fairy Tales

As we have seen in the preceding chapters, several factors have affected the reception of the Grimm tales in Colombia including national literacy levels, socioeconomic changes, and the influence of the Catholic Church. There are yet other dimensions of Grimm reception, intertwined in their nature, that remain to be discussed: the overall development of the market of children's books in the country and the prevailing reading practices of Colombians.

In general, the supply of locally authored quality storybooks for children has been scarce in Colombia. This holds true not only for new creations but also for adaptations of traditional children's literature, such as fairy tales, which still rely heavily on foreign editions. The predicament of insufficient supply of quality literary materials is in part explained by an existing prejudice in the country that writing for children is a "minor genre" unworthy of great pens (Vélez de Piedrahita, *Guía de la literatura* 45). The introduction of the prestigious Enka contest in the mid 1970s helped to disband this prejudice by encouraging both new and established authors to venture into a genre that perhaps they would have never considered without this incentive. Although the writing competition has already contributed dozens of quality works, Colombia faces the problem of low reading indices. Reading in Colombia is not a common practice,²²⁹ and the

²²⁹ In the year 2000 the Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística—DANE, the national statistics bureau, conducted a survey about the reading habits of Colombians in cities and metropolitan areas. Titled *Hábitos de lectura y consumo de libros en Colombia*, this study was the first of its kind in the country; it accounted for 78% (over 13 million) of the (defined) total population in Colombia—the target population was defined as being at least 12 years old and capable of working. The study concluded that on average, Colombians read 2 books per year and spend 1.5 hours per week reading. Those with a secondary education or higher read the most, and did so for learning purposes. 68% of the participants who read said that they acquire their reading habits through school and teachers: 40% of the non-reading population said

combination of an insubstantial culture of reading and limited availability of quality reading materials creates a vicious cycle that has an adverse effect on the reception of the Grimms' tales.

Market for Children's Books in Colombia

The Colombian market for children's and juvenile books has been slow growing and complex. Its uncertain and problematic nature has been under scrutiny since the early 1950s; for example, when it was the subject of discussion in the "Primer Foro del Libro en Colombia" ("First Forum of the Book in Colombia") in 1953 (Cubells). The first timid approaches towards a literature for children had begun to manifest themselves in the 1930s (e.g., with magazines such as *Chanchito*), but the market for children's literature has been hampered by low reading indices and an insufficient supply. In the mid 1980s, an investigation conducted by CERLALC—Centro Regional para el Fomento del Libro en America Latina y el Caribe (Regional Center for the Promotion of the Book in Latin America and the Caribbean)—concluded that reading materials targeted at children continued to be scant in Colombia. Ricardo Daza, director of the investigation, noted that aside from the comic book, which, in his view, leads to a type of sub-literature with very mediocre substance, there is no extant specialized written matter for children: children's magazines are non-existent and the available books are few in number and usually too expensive; furthermore, he added that Colombia does not have an indigenous literature for children that could fill the void and offer kids an attractive alternative to comics (Monack).

they do not read because they lack reading habits, 22% because they lack the time, and 16% because they lack the money to buy books.

Reading Rates in Colombia

A further challenge for the children's book market arises from the reading practices in the country. Despite the significant progress attained in the area of education, which raised the overall literacy levels in the country to nearly 90% by the early twenty-first century,²³⁰ reading remains a challenging subject. Actual reading rates in Colombia have been relatively low compared to Europe and North America. In the article "El falso 'boom' editorial" that appeared in 1991, the Colombian columnist and Professor of the Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Jorge Child (1924-1996) noted that, on average, Colombians read no more than one book per year while in Europe that number is ten-fold:

Según un estudio de Andigraf y la Cámara Colombiana del Libro, complementado por otros datos de la CEPAL, el gasto material editorial de los hogares colombianos en 1985 era de sólo 3 dólares por hogar, mientras en España es de 10 dólares por hogar; por otro lado los colombianos no leen más de un libro al año, en España leen 10 libros y en otros países europeos más de 20, para no hablar de la Unión Soviética. (Child 1-B)

According to a study by Andigraf and the Colombian Chamber of the Book, complemented by other data from CEPAL, the expenditure in publications of the Colombian households in 1985 was only 3 dollars per household, while in Spain is 10 dollars per household; on the other hand, Colombians do not read more than one book per year, in Spain 10 books are read and in other European countries more than 20, not to speak of the Soviet Union.

The causes for the apparent absence of a "reading culture" in Colombia are manifold and beyond this study; however, the most prevalent reasons cited for this deficit are an educational system based on learning by memorization (i.e., one that does not demand

²³⁰ According to the 2005 census, 88.3 percent of the total population five years of age or older could read and write (Library of Congress, Federal Research Division, *Country Studies Series: Colombia* [Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 2007]).

research or investigation) and the lack of contact with books prior to a child's matriculation into the school system.²³¹

Despite the long-lasting challenges that the market for children's books has faced in Colombia, the 1970s marked a crucial decade for children's literature in general and the Grimm tales in particular. The notable increase in the supply of children's publications from this period found in the libraries attests to this turning point. In addition to the already mentioned socioeconomic changes and infrastructural improvements, advances in birth control played an important role. With the growing participation of women in higher education and in the workforce, the socialization process of young children changed; children began to leave their homes at an earlier age and were sent to nurseries and day-care centers staffed with qualified personnel in preschool education and recreation. The growing participation of children in those centers attracted the attention of publishing houses that saw in the child an emerging market segment. Published materials targeted at children started to multiply and gradually claim their space in libraries and bookstores throughout the country, filling out rooms and entire sections.

The increased circulation of literature for children and youth during the 1970s was also the result of a series of measures, strategies, and resources implemented at a national

²³¹ In the essay "Porqué en Colombia los niños no leen" ("Why Children Don't Read in Colombia") Silvia Castrillón explains that the reading problematic starts at a very early age. The majority of Colombian children have no prior contact with books before they reach their school age. In their daily lives, she notes, many children have never seen their parents reading and thus, do not understand the value of this practice. This poses a challenge for teachers at an elementary level: when the children start school, educators are confronted with a student body unmotivated to learn how to read. Adding to this hurdle, Castrillón indicates that there is a lack of didactical and methodological resources to incentivize the learning process of reading. The main materials still used to teach reading in schools are based on the pedagogical tradition of memorization—a monotonous method that does not incite students to learn.

Silvia Castrillón is a researcher for CERLALC, librarian at the Universidad de Antioquia, and director of Asolectura (a national entity to foment reading).

level to encourage both reading and writing in this genre. To promote reading, new institutions such Fundalectura and Asolectura were created. Public libraries across the nation offered programs for children such as pre-school story times, meetings with authors, games, and other activities. These programs were extended to educators as well, who were given the opportunity to attend workshops and seminars on how to design more effective and engaging lesson plans and projects to teach reading.

New programs were created to promote writing as well, especially in the form of contests. Aside from the Enka prize, other writing contests offering attractive prizes came into being, sponsored by companies and organizations such as Seguros Médicos Voluntarios, Colcultura, Voluntad Editores, and Círculo de lectores. These contests not only advanced the creation of new literary works but also the reprinting of classical literature for children (e.g., the Grimm tales published by Editorial Norma and Bedout in the mid 1970s). In the category of “new” texts, the names Jairo Aníbal Niño (*Zorro*, 1977), Carmenza Llano de Bernhardt (*Compañero Pez*, 1978), Rubén Darío Vélez (*Hip, hipopótamo vagabundo*, 1981), Leopoldo Berdella de la Espriella (*Juan Sábalo*, 1988), Aníbal Eduardo León Zamora (*Sueño Aymara*, 1995), and the previously mentioned Celso Román (*Los amigos del hombre*, 1979) stand out, among many others, as creators of an authentic literature for children that incorporates the natural and social wealth of Colombian culture. Several of these works have also been successful at an international level, with translations in various languages and repeated editions (e.g., *Zorro* and *Hip, hipopótamo vagabundo*). In addition to giving the authors considerable prestige, such achievements have encouraged others to venture into this genre and helped to create quality narratives for Colombian children.

The popularity and resonance of the writing contests captured the attention of institutions and publishing houses interested in disseminating these new works. Among the institutions, the Asociación colombiana para el libro infantil y juvenil (A.C.L.I.J., Colombian Association for the Children- and Youth Book) has played an outstanding role in the promotion of national literature for children. As for domestic publishing houses, Carlos Valencia Editores, for example, offered the winning stories of the Enka prize in appealing and carefully crafted editions, which includes *Las batallas de Rosalino* by Triunfo Arciniegas, winner of the Enka prize in 1989. Triunfo Arciniegas is one of the most prolific Colombian writers of children's books and holder of several prizes; in 1996 he was awarded the Premio Comfamiliar del Atlántico for *Caperucita Roja y otras historias perversas* (*Little Red Riding Hood and Other Perverse Stories*). This storybook renders ten contemporary retellings of well-known fairy tales by Perrault, Andersen, and the Grimms. I will discuss the unique re-writing of some of these classics later on in this chapter.

The interest in children's literature that peaked in Colombia during the 1970s gave way to courses, conferences, essays, and also debates about this theme. Because most of the available books for children at that time were still imported, the polemic positions and viewpoints pivoted mainly around the so-called classical works. Many of the discussions centered on the possible interpretations of the stories and the intrinsic dangers that these narratives may pose for children (Londoño and Fajardo). The critique surrounding these classical works of children's literature was as prolific as contradictory. Some maintained that the classical stories—stories that have been transplanted from their environments—are not “one's own” and therefore are culturally alienating; others

defended the classical tales as valuable literary pieces that transcend territorial boundaries to become integral part of the local culture (Londoño and Fajardo).

The Reception of the Grimms' Fairy Tales in Scholarship and Fiction

Rafael Díaz Borbón

Among the advocates of classical children's literature is Professor Rafael Díaz Borbón²³² of the Universidad Francisco José de Caldas in Bogotá. In his book *La literatura infantil: Crítica de una nueva lectura (Children's Literature: Criticism of a New Reading)* published in 1986, Díaz Borbón defends the classical tales of authors such as Andersen, Perrault, and the Grimms as works that have become firmly rooted in the receiving cultures of Latin America, and by extension, in Colombia. These stories, he asserts, have entered "our education, our family, our learning, and our forms of representation and reference in our lives" (10) with such ease that they have become integral elements of the Latin American culture and thus, it would be "foolish to impugn their foreign origins" (13). He continues his argument in favor of the classical tales emphasizing the "solidity and validity of their literary quality" and stressing their endurance as pillar of children's literature in Latin America (11). These texts, he adds, have been used by parents and educators not only to "trace the way into the world", but to induce the "awakening of the imagination and the boiling of feelings of countless generations of children" (13).

²³² The poet, essay writer, literary critic, and university Professor Rafael Díaz Borbón was born in Venecia, (Cundinamarca) Colombia in 1945. He graduated in Philosophy and Letters from the Universidad La Gran Colombia and obtained his Master's degree in Education from the Universidad Pedagógica Nacional de Bogotá. After years of university teaching, he traveled to England, where he continued his studies in several institutions such as Westminster College, The Polytechnic of Central London, and The City Literature Centre in London. Among his published works are *La universidad colombiana, una crisis institucional* (1972); *Tensionario, convocatoria a la nueva poesía colombiana* (1972); and *Asuntos cotidianos* (1977).

Díaz Borbón adamantly disapproves of the adulteration of the stories. In his view, the manipulation of the original texts not only destroys their literary quality, but invalidates their “authentic criteria of an esthetic and spiritual formation” (84). And the results of such manipulations are a “set of horrors of miserable taste” (84). Even though the name Disney is nowhere explicitly stated, it is clearly implied; this is especially evident when the author refers to the efforts of multinational corporations that act on principles of uniformity, universality, and consumption in order to control the selection of the mass market. In his view, these companies distort the form and content of classical pieces, consecrate them to the category of ideal values, and impose them forcefully upon consumers with their scientific, economic, and technological power (84).

After sharply criticizing the manipulation of the original texts and justifying the assimilation of the European classical tales in Latin America, Díaz Borbón moves on to analyze the underlying contents of some of the best-known stories in Colombia such as “The Ugly Duckling” by Andersen, “Cinderella” by the Grimms, and “Puss in Boots” by Perrault. He dedicates an entire chapter to the tale of “Cinderella,” which he considers a fundamental text because of its capacity of synthesis within the aesthetic requirements of the economy of language: for Díaz Borbón, this particular story is in and of itself a philosophical treatise, a moral system, and a compendium of culture (112). His take on the tale, however, is predominantly from a religious (scholastic) perspective—a thematic approach that is not surprising given the role that religion plays in Colombia, and one that allows him to make a tight connection between a foreign tale and Colombian tradition and culture.

The introduction to the chapter on “Cinderella” provides some information about the life and work of the Brothers Grimm. The German siblings are described as philologists, whose interest in mythology and folklore led to their famous compilation of children’s stories even though they never intended to write for children. Their excellence as editors is underlined, noting that, while the age-old stories were kept alive in the oral tradition for many years, they would not have achieved the literary quality with which they have been popularized, had they not gone through the “skillful hands” of the Brothers Grimm (80).

In his thematic analysis of “Cinderella,” Díaz Borbón creates an analogy of tale’s events and elements with Christian doctrine and symbolism. For example, he couples the advice of Cinderella’s dying mother at the beginning of the tale with the reception of the divine mandate; he also pairs the painful tribulations that the girl endures (usurpation of familial/social status, imposition of exile, abuse, humiliation) and her cries for help with Christ’s pilgrimage on a path of suffering (Via Crucis) and the Stations of the Cross to pray for atonement and strength. Furthermore he demonstrates how in every circumstance, Cinderella’s actions comply with the Ten Commandments.

The spatial aspect of the tale is read as moving on a vertical axis, up towards heaven and down towards hell. The villains descend to hell while the heroine rises to heaven. To elucidate this vertical movement, Díaz Borbón refers to the concluding episode where the stepsisters are punished by descending to the darkness of hell (blinding by pigeons). In contrast, the pious heroine is rewarded with heaven, represented through her union with the prince—a monarch/member of the highest nobility, a supreme being on earth that compares to God in heaven. The implied endless happiness after the

wedding and the life in the palace are also viewed as moving upwardly in the direction of the heaven (the palace, or residency of a monarch, is analogous to heaven or God's abode).

In his analysis, Díaz Borbón points out the specific religious symbols that are present throughout the tale. For example, the birds that Cinderella summons to help her with the lentils and the white bird that sat on the mother's tree while she prayed are, in his opinion, visible correspondences to God's messengers and the Holy Spirit. Another symbolic reference concerns the gold-slippers that the protagonist receives on the third day. This "providential gift" eventually rescues Cinderella from the kitchen-tomb (the kitchen, or lowest part of the home where the servants are, was previously compared to a tomb) and catapults her into palace-heaven. The slipper episode is linked to Christ's resurrection on the third day, his escape from the tomb where his enemies had sent him, and his ascension into heaven.

One of the fundamental theses in Díaz Borbón's book is that an original text—one without modifications—varies in meaning depending on the reader and the times when it is read. The comprehension of a text, asserts Díaz Borbón, will be affected by cultural and spiritual fluctuations. Addressing the tale of Cinderella from a philosophical-religious (scholastic) perspective has allowed him to make a close connection between a foreign tale written in nineteenth-century Germany and contemporary Colombia. Because Colombian culture is imbued with the religious foundations of the Catholic faith, the story of "Cinderella," seen from this angle, becomes meaningful to a local reader. Díaz Borbón's reading of the story demonstrates, on the one hand, that a foreign and age-old text can still be significant in contemporary times. On the other hand, the newly acquired

meaning—meaning being a key element for the assimilation of the text within a given culture—has helped him to buttress his argument that the classical European stories have become fully integrated into Latin American societies.

A different chapter of *La literatura infantil* deals with the concept of women presented in a number of the Grimms' tales. Based on the portrayal of female characters and the way in which conflict is resolved, Díaz Borbón believes that the Brothers Grimm were faithful followers and promoters of the functionalist conception of women proposed by Aristotle (women as imperfect, passive beings naturally destined for the reproduction of the species)—a concept that was later adopted and maintained in its fundamental aspects by the Christian religion. He argues that most tales portray women from a male perspective; one that seeks the constant benefit and approval of men. To elucidate this he points at the polarization between protagonists (young and beautiful, fragile and half-witted) and antagonists (bad and older, but clever and resourceful); the protagonist is always “good,” yet her imperfection lies in her passivity and inability to lead the best possible life without external assistance. Only with the help of a “providential entity”—usually a male figure—is the heroine capable of attaining the “other” part necessary to make her completely human: love, riches, happiness, security, protection, social status, and so on. Sure enough, a typical conclusion to the Grimms' stories involves the heroine's marriage to a prince. The resolution of conflict, Díaz Borbón observes, usually follows the same redeeming formula: the saving presence of a high-ranking man, who tenders his hand to a helpless woman and incorporates her into royal society through the contract of marriage; this contract implies that she will accept the moral, social, cultural, and sexual codes of his milieu. From the final story

developments and the general characterization of females Díaz Borbón concludes that the Grimms' stories perpetuate an Aristotelian notion of women, which was later adapted into the Christian semiotic.

Within this context, Díaz Borbón discusses the moral dualities of the Grimms' tales that result from assigning different roles and moral codes for women and men. He notes that men can "roam about" (e.g., hunting, accumulating riches and honors) and enjoy their freedom (an implicit hedonism), while women are to abide by the traditional moral concepts (being "good," innocent, and pure) and prepare themselves to become the unconditional property of their husbands. In contrast to the open world of men, the realm of women is their closed "natural" habitat of home and family. The author alludes to the sexual-religious (Christian) implications derived from the Aristotelian functional conception of women indicating that any sexual desire on the part of women that does not fit the purpose of procreation or conjugal fidelity (an exclusive acquisition of men) is strictly prohibited.

The author may disagree with some of the messages sent by some of the Grimms' tales, yet he considers them valuable and relevant for today's Colombia. By harping on the religious-philosophical aspects of the stories, Díaz Borbón not only bridges the time-space gap but connects the German stories with Colombian culture and tradition. For the modern Colombian reader, he says, these tales may be considered beautiful yet sad love stories; stories that invite the reader to ponder the current crisis of the contemporary family; the real nature, function, destiny, concept, and forms of matrimony; the coexistence of a couple; and the still influential traditional values assigned to both women and men in contemporary society.

Rocío Vélez de Piedrahita

In Colombia, however, not everyone engaged in the study or development of literature for children agrees with Rafael Díaz Borbón and his views on the European classical tales as culturally integrated texts. Some, such as the author and docent Rocío Vélez de Piedrahita,²³³ are critical of the tales, which are considered to be alienating because of their foreign origins.²³⁴ Instead, these critics propose to rescue works of Colombian authors such as Tomás Carrasquilla,²³⁵ who draw their inspiration from the everyday life of the people and their intrinsic national customs, and whose works not only have a high literary value but are also apt for children and youth. Moreover, they call for the use of the rich and unexploited raw materials contained in legends, folklore, beliefs, and stories from the indigenous oral tradition of the region (Londoño and Fajardo).

²³³ Rocío Vélez de Piedrahita was born in Medellín in 1926. With her novel *Terrateniente* (1978) she became the first Latin American writer to be among the finalists for the “Premio Nadal,” a Spanish literary prize awarded annually since 1944 by the publishing house Ediciones Destino. She wrote for the Literary Magazine *El Espectador* for almost twenty years and was a contributing columnist for *El Mundo* and *El Colombiano*, both newspapers based in Medellín. In 1976 Vélez de Piedrahita represented Colombia in the Seminary UNESCO-CERLALC on the publication of books for children and youth. Currently she is a member of the Academia Colombiana de la Lengua (Colombian Academy of Language). As mentioned in previous chapters, Vélez de Piedrahita has made significant contributions to the field of children’s literature in Colombia, especially with the publication of *Guía de la literatura infantil (Guide to Children’s Literature)*.

²³⁴ Other critics include Patricia Londoño and Alicia Fajardo, who are regular contributors to the cultural magazine *Boletín Cultural y Bibliográfico*. In their essay “El libro infantil en Colombia” (1988) they advocate a production of children’s works that is totally (or at least partially) Colombian, while criticizing the mainly imported (foreign) assortment of children’s books offered in libraries and bookstores. Although not explicitly stated, they clearly share the view that stories coming from foreign cultures are alienating.

²³⁵ The Colombian novelist and short-story writer Tomás Carrasquilla (1858-1940) is best remembered for his realistic depictions of his native Antioquia. His portrayal of different aspects of the history, culture, and idiosyncrasy of the Antioqueños, in a simple and direct style, reflects his love for his native land and its people and a deep understanding of their problems and the social factors that caused them. His long literary career began with the publication of his first novel, *Frutos de mi tierra (Fruits of my Native Land, 1896)*, a realistic account dealing with the adventures of young Agustín and the Alzate family; the novel exposes the hypocrisy of small-town. Among his best-known stories are *En la diestra de Dios Padre (In the Right Hand of God Father, 1897)* and *La Marquesa de Yolombó (The Marchioness of Yolombó, 1927)*.

Rocío Vélez de Piedrahita is a strong advocate of giving Colombian children reading materials that are “one’s own.” She understands that in contrast to the authentically local, foreign literatures for children may be not simply alienating but more precisely dominating forces of colonization that virtually separate children from their social and cultural environment. However, despite her cautious view of the foreign, Vélez de Piedrahita does not share the widely held idea of giving children only that which is “one’s own” regardless of quality. In her insightful book of 1983, *Guía de la literatura infantil* (*Guide to Children’s Literature*), Vélez de Piedrahita brings up several points to support her argument: (1) she denounces the existence of poor and useless national creations (this began to change after the establishment of the Enka prize, for which she has served as a judge); (2) she underlines the current shortage of works for children and youth, adding that up until the time her *Guía* appeared (1983) not a single book in the detective genre, for instance, had been published in Colombia; and (3) she exposes the fact that Colombians are simply not familiar with their own high-quality literary productions (e.g., the works of Tomás Carrasquilla). In light of these circumstances—the lack of and unfamiliarity with national creations and rejection of foreign works—Vélez de Piedrahita adds that Colombian children reach for what is readily accessible (and inexpensive), namely comic books. In her view, however, comics do not demand from their consumers any type of intellectual effort, knowledge of the language, or dexterity in reading and therefore constitute the great enemy of better-quality storybooks. She rightfully adds that a child who learns to enjoy reading stories will more likely develop into an adult that likes to read—a crucial step in breaking the vicious cycle mentioned at

the beginning of this chapter, where pre-school children have no relation to books because they seldom or never see their own parents reading.

In her numerous cross-country seminars and lectures on children's literature Vélez de Piedrahita recognized the absence of a domestic guide on this subject. The insistent demand of Colombian educators asking for guidance on reading material for children—works that are both artistic and recreational—prompted her to fill this void and write her *Guia de la literatura infantil* in collaboration with the Secretary for Education and Culture of Antioquia. Her book presents a catalogue of quality works (both national and foreign) arranged by age groups (early, middle, and late childhood); in addition, it provides a historical synthesis of the development of children's literature, the distinctive characteristics of the various genres, information about outstanding authors,²³⁶ and the advantages of a particular genre for a given age group.

Many opponents of the classical tales in Colombia, Vélez de Piedrahita notes, do not even know the whole story but merely superficial generalities of the narrative (e.g., that Pinocchio is a wooden puppet or that Thumbling is small); they also confuse tales (whether oral folk tale or literary tale) with legends and/or myths, and group together the works of authors such as Perrault, Andersen, and the Grimms (7). She attributes this lack of knowledge to the fact that only very a few of the numerous tales that have circulated in Europe in the last centuries are actually known in Colombia; and the few recognized stories are primarily known from the adaptations by Walt Disney (77). According to the author, as long as there are no national productions of an acceptable literary quality—domestic productions that will popularize what is truly worthy to Colombians including

²³⁶ She provides practically no information about the Brothers Grimm, except for the tales that I will mention later on. In contrast, she devotes an entire section of Chapter VI (El cuento literario [The Literary Tale]) to the life and works of Hans Christian Andersen.

the folkloric repository and indigenous legends and myths—the classical works, well translated and unchanged, constitute the best possible readings for children/youth (41).

For children who are just learning to read or mastering the skill, where language is no longer an obstacle, Vélez de Piedrahita recommends the classical tales and stories. Before offering a selection of appropriate readings for this age group, she divides the stories into two categories: “Cuento Popular Tradicional” (“Traditional Popular Tale”) and “Cuento Literario” (“Literary Tale”). Although she introduces a distinction among the story-types in her chapter (Chapter IV), she only supplies a definition for the “Traditional Popular Tale” perhaps because this chapter focuses mainly on this particular category. The “Traditional Popular Tale” is defined as anonymous in origin and transmitted orally with alterations depending on the values and culture of each society. She also gives some information about the historical development of the popular tale into a genre for children and about its goals (mainly to entertain), and provides examples of works that fall into this category, such as the anonymous *One Thousand and One Nights* and the tales of writers like Perrault or collectors like the Grimms. In regard to the “Literary Tale” she merely states, in this chapter, that it offers a great variety of themes and indicates that the uses/objectives of the literary tale have changed over time: in the eighteenth century they were meant to educate and contribute to the formation of the individual, in the nineteenth century to entertain, and in the twentieth century to instruct; and “lately” there is a modality that intends to indoctrinate (no examples are given) (81). A more thorough definition appears only much later in her book, in chapter VI, where she

defines the “Literary Tale” as the creation of an author whose name is known, adding that one of its most important exponents is Hans Christian Andersen.²³⁷

Making distinctions between narrative genres on the basis of their origins (anonymous vs. identifiable author) is a debatable method of defining genres. Perrault, some scholars argue, used several popular oral folk tales as basis for the stories that he later transformed into refined moralist tales. And so did Andersen, the sources of whose stories, Maria Nikolajeva tells us, were mostly Danish folk tales, collected and retold by his immediate predecessors J. M. Thiele, Adam Oehlenschläger and Bernhard Ingemann (Zipes, *Oxford Companion* 14). Therefore, to place Perrault’s works in the category “Traditional Popular Tale” and Andersen’s in “Literary Tale” is not entirely accurate. Earlier in her book *Vélez de Piedrahita* had disapproved how Colombians tend to group together the works of authors such as Perrault, Andersen, and the Grimms; yet, with her own definitions of these story categories (“Cuento Popular Tradicional” vs. “Cuento Literario”) she continues to do so instead of clarifying the confusion that already exists.

Most of chapter IV deals with stories that fall into the category “Traditional Popular Tale,” which places great emphasis on the Grimms’ tales. Before discussing the tales she starts with a brief explanation of the types of stories that fall within this category adding that, although many different classifications exist (e.g., by theme, chronological,

²³⁷ In Chapter VI *Vélez de Piedrahita* also explains that compared to the “Cuento Popular Tradicional”, which follows certain universal constants, the “Cuento Literario” is a much freer creation with no fixed ideas or themes, no stereotyped plots, is usually well located in time and space, and has psychologically well-defined characters. The value of the “Cuento Literario,” she asserts, does not depend on content and plot only (like in the traditional popular stories) but on the technical resources and capacities of its author. The names of H. C. Andersen, C. Collodi, E. T. A. Hoffmann, Waldemar Bonsels, Jean de Brunhoff, J. M. Barrie, and others are mentioned as representatives of this genre. She devotes special attention to the works of Andersen, whom she considers the “Shakespeare of children’s literature” (117). The psychological complexity of Andersen’s works and his style (displaying not only constant “overflowing” of imagination, a poetic halo, and melancholy but also irony and satire [119]) are, in her view, suitable for children in their late childhood and adolescence.

by origin or influence, etc.), she favors the tale classification that appears in *The Complete Grimm's* [sic] *Fairy Tales*, which she considers simple yet instructive.²³⁸ Several Grimm titles are alluded to in order to elucidate the different origins, themes, and influences of a story. For example, a tale based on primitive beliefs is “Los Elfos” (“Die Wichtelmänner,” KHM 39); a story based on heroes and sagas of the Great Migrations is “El rey Cuervo” (“König Drosselbart,” KHM 52); a tale with evident oriental influence is “El fiel Juan” (“Der treue Johannes,” KHM 6); and tales with animals are “Los músicos de Bremen” (“Die Bremer Stadtmusikanten,” KHM 27) and “Sociedad del gato y el ratón” (“Katze und Maus in Gesellschaft,” KHM 2).

The Grimm stories are considered particularly apt for elementary school age children (middle childhood) for several reasons: they are concise and clear; have a single plot without deviations; have undefined time (e.g., once upon a time), space (e.g., in a land far away), individualities (e.g., there was a miller, a poor woman), race, creed, homeland, and so on; virtues and vices tend to appear exaggerated for more clarity; the hero is typically a “normal” human being. In addition, the tales pose problems that the child may be facing, thus sparking his interest. To mention just a few examples, the author refers to the fear of abandonment and difficulty to control oneself (e.g., eating) treated in “Hansel y Gretel” (“Hänsel und Gretel,” KHM 15); the sensation of weakness and smallness in “Pulgarcito” (“Daumesdick,” KHM 37); the lack of understanding of parents in “Los tres idiomas” (“Die drei Sprachen,” KHM 33); confrontation with love in “El rey sapo” (“Der Froschkönig oder der eiserne Heinrich,” KHM 1) or “La bella

²³⁸ In regard to this publication, she only mentions that it was issued by Pantheon Books in New York but gives no date of publication. The Pantheon edition goes back to 1947 and has been frequently reprinted. It is based on Margaret Hunt's translation (the first complete English translation of the Grimms' tale collection, done in 1884), and updated by James Stern. This very well-known translation has several reprintings currently circulating in the public libraries in Colombia (all of which were published in 1972).

durmiente” (“Dornröschen,” KHM 50); confrontation with maternity in “La niña de Nuestra Señora” (“Marienkind,” KHM 3).²³⁹

For this age group of prepubescent children Vélez de Piedrahita stresses the importance of presenting stories that are entertaining; in her view, this is the only way that children will develop a joy for reading instead of regarding it as a tedious activity. In contrast to the literary tale, which she previously characterized as having instructive or moralizing purposes, the primary goal of the traditional popular tale is to entertain. As an example of an excellent tale for this age group Vélez de Piedrahita mentions the story “La paja, el carbón y el frijol” (“Strohalm, Kohle und Bohne,” KHM 18). This tale, she explains, dates back to the minstrels of the tenth century; it is short, easy, humorous, and entertaining without any didactic or moralistic agenda and can be read either individually or aloud.

Throughout her book the author puts special emphasis on the importance of remaining faithful to the original text, i.e., selecting an accurate translation. Furthermore, she points out that if an educator chooses to read a story aloud s/he should avoid cutting or “smoothing” the crudeness of the tale. Certain stories are cruel indeed, she says, but that should not be a reason to discard the totality of the beautiful tales in the collection; the tales, the author adds, are childhood “classics” and their endurance and longevity deserve our respect. Her advice to educators is to choose a story that fits their own personal mindset and taste, and stick to the storyline. Vélez de Piedrahita believes that a child who reads or hears a variety of stories will learn to enter into that fantasy world and

²³⁹ The examples cited by Vélez de Piedrahita suggest that the author may have been influenced by Bruno Bettelheim’s book *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales* published in 1976. In Colombia, several Spanish translations of Bettelheim’s book are currently in circulation; the earliest edition that I was able to locate was the 1980 *Psicoanálisis de los cuentos de hadas* translated by Silvia Furió.

navigate through it; s/he will learn that death is not definitive, that the perils are transitory, that every situation, regardless of how grave it may seem, has a solution. Despite her repeated underscoring of selecting a good translation, she does not recommend any particular edition of Grimm tales that she considers reliable; this is unfortunate given the variety of editions circulating in Colombia, some of which are of very mediocre quality.²⁴⁰

Among the most common objections that Vélez de Piedrahita has encountered with respect to the tales are that they are cruel, that evil prevails, that they promise the impossible, and that they take the child out of reality. She disagrees with these objections and provides solid arguments against them. In regard to cruelty she notes that very few of the stories contain episodes of unjustified cruelty.²⁴¹ In most cases the cruel punishments are imposed upon the villains—villains from another time, another place, and who lived among beings that do not exist. Because these endings are fantastic and so far-fetched, the author asserts that they convey to the child that justice has been served. Furthermore, she adds, that Colombian children live today in a much crueler world, without the possibility of doubting the shocking facts that surround them. Other stories such as “Der gestiefelte Kater” or “Vom klugen Schneiderlein” have been criticized because the

²⁴⁰ Only three editions with Grimm tales are cited in the bibliography of *Guia de la literatura infantil*. Two of them are in English and therefore, unavailable to a vast public in Colombia. They are *Fairy Tales*, trans. Lucy Crane et al. (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1946); and *The Juniper Tree, and Other Tales from the Grimm*, illus. Maurice Sendak (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1973).

The only edition in Spanish that appears in the bibliography—*Cuentos de Grimm* published in Mexico by Editorial Porrúa in 1976—contains seventy-two tales selected and introduced by María Edmée Alvarez. As noted in the previous chapter, the tales in this Mexican edition appear to be reprints from an unknown Spanish publication (evident in the dialogue wording); unfortunately there is no information about the source-text or the translator. Several tales from the Mexican *Cuentos de Grimm* were later reprinted verbatim in the Colombia, for example, in the issue *Hermanos Grimm: Cuentos* (Medellín: Edilux, 1990)—promoted as continuing tales selected by teachers (this edition was discussed in the previous chapter).

²⁴¹ As an example of unjustified cruelty she cites “El enebro” (“The Juniper” an adaptation of KHM 47 “Von dem Machandelboom”), in which the father eats his minced son in a pie. The “pie” however, is a variation introduced in the translation process; in the KHM from 1857 the father eats his son in a stew.

knavery is apparently rewarded. These tales, Vélez de Piedrahita argues, have been misinterpreted and can be easily explained: in her view the central message is not the triumph of trickery or the evil but rather that intelligence and cleverness can overcome force. In regard to the objection that fantasy takes children out of reality, she maintains, and rightfully so, that contemporary reality is already hard enough and inevitable (poverty, unemployment, divorces, abuses, death, etc.) and the tales offer children an escape, a rest, a relaxing stop that allows them to “bear the burdens of reality by means of a truce of poetry” (96).

In general, critical pieces and scholarly articles related to the Grimms or their tales and published before 2000 are not readily found in the Colombian libraries. The views of Rocío Vélez de Piedrahita and Rafael Díaz Borbón, two Colombian scholars of children’s literature, are therefore all the more significant. Both authors agree on the literary value of the classical tales and the importance of keeping the original texts intact; their main area of divergence lies in how they view the tales’ assimilation into the Colombian culture. Díaz Borbón contends that the classical European tales have been fully integrated into the cultures of Latin America; he asserts that the foreign tales have easily entered the educational and familial systems of Colombian society and turned into “forms of representation and reference” in the lives of the people, thus attesting to their incorporation. In contrast, Vélez de Piedrahita asserts that, even if a few tales were circulating in the first decades of the twentieth century, they were accessible only to an elite and, therefore, had no real influential power on the domestic culture; moreover, she argues that the tales, in their original form, have yet to be discovered in Colombia

because the public is only aware of the few adaptations done by Disney—adaptations that left a visual imprint and not a literary one.

The reduced number of Grimm tales published before 1950 found in Colombian libraries corroborates Vélez de Piedrahita's assessment that the stories were accessible to a limited public; many of these editions were not only costly but also written in a foreign language, which restricted their reach to the wealthy and educated. Despite the flood of Grimm publications that started to permeate the inventory of classical fairy tales in Colombia after 1950, Vélez de Piedrahita asserts that, in general, Colombian children (and adults as well) are barely familiar with any type of story, whether that be a classical fairy tale, an adventure story (e.g., *Pinocchio*, *Peter Pan*), a didactic story (e.g., Bonsel's *Die Biene Maya*), science fiction (e.g., novels by Jules Verne), a detective story (e.g., Doyle's *Sherlock Holmes*), or any other kind of story. She attributes this to a combination of factors that include the absorbing attraction to television, the popularity of the comic book (because it is affordable and easy to read), and long hours of school, which, along with increasing homework and extracurricular activities, demand a significant chunk of a child's daily schedule and often leave him/her fatigued and unwilling to read.

The observations that Rocío Vélez de Piedrahita made in her *Guía de la literatura infantil* are legitimate indeed, yet the increased supply of Grimm tales published after 1950 that are currently available in Colombian libraries lends validity to some of the arguments brought up by Rafael Díaz Borbón in *La literatura infantil*. Both the number of post-1950 Grimm editions and the emergence of domestic publications and adaptations suggest a growing interest for the Grimm tales in the country—an interest that, in turn, points to a certain level of assimilation. The depth of that assimilation becomes, however,

an intricate question. The arguments put forward by Díaz Borbón to buttress his thesis of the tales' assimilation into the local culture, which include his interpretation of "Cenicienta" from a religious/philosophical perspective, are those of an informed scholar; his book is therefore intended for an academic audience trained to consider the various possible readings—allegorical, psychological, etc.—of the tales. It would seem unlikely that a classroom teacher at some public rural school, let alone the average Colombian, could draw similar connections and invest the tales with such meaning to demonstrate their integration in the society.

Assessing with accuracy the degree of integration of the classical tales in Colombia and the effect they may have exerted on the culture is, without a doubt, a complex, if not impossible, undertaking. Nevertheless, the tales by the Brothers Grimm—albeit circulating in mostly incomplete or modified versions—have resonated and left their mark in the country. A few domestic editions that appeared in the 1970s and 1980s, which show some evidence that the tales could be local adaptations (e.g., LEY's *Los mejores cuentos infantiles del mundo* and Latinopal's *Blanca-Nieves y los siete enanitos*), are indications of such resonance. Other examples are Colombian authors who have adapted and rewritten the Grimm tales such as Celso Román with the aforementioned *Los amigos del hombre* (1979) and Triunfo Arciniegas with the 1996 award-winning publication *Caperucita Roja y otras historias perversas*, which I will discuss next.

***Caperucita Roja y otras historias perversas* (Bogotá: Panamericana, 1997).**

Caperucita Roja y otras historias perversas is a collection of ten short stories many of which are re-writes of classical fairy tales by Andersen, the Grimms, and Perrault. For his stories Arciniegas has chosen titles that are either identical or quite close

to the well-known fairy tales, for example “Caperucita Roja” (“Little Red Riding Hood”), “Fábula de la pequeña bella durmiente” (“The Fable of Sleeping Beauty”), and “El señor de la barba azul” (“The Lord of the Blue Beard”). In other instances the titles have been either subverted, as in “El sapito que comía princesas” (“The Little Frog that Ate Princesses,” a re-vision of KHM 1 “Der Froschkönig oder der eiserne Heinrich”), or modified, as in “La princesa y las pulgas” (“The Princess and the Fleas,” a re-write of Andersen’s “The Princess and the Pea”).

On the back cover of this edition we find a note stating that Triunfo Arciniegas has “rescued and brought to light the true stories that others have tried to conceal with happy endings” and that this book has “the bitter taste of one who recognizes that daily life is neither a fairy tale, nor a dirty and humid labyrinth without exits, second opportunities, or escapades.” Within this frame of reference Arciniegas has re-written classical stories such as “Sleeping Beauty” with a protagonist who, rather than being the personification of beauty is a moth-eaten mummy full of mold; or the tale of “Little Red Riding Hood” seen from the perspective of the wolf, a misunderstood creature who, acting in the name of love, was judged and condemned by the world without a fair trial.

To convey how this Colombian author has recast classical fairy tales, I will discuss his adaptation of “Little Red Riding Hood,” “Caperucita Roja.” In Arciniega’s tale it is not the innocent girl with a little hood of red velvet who picks the flowers but the wolf; he finds the loveliest flower of his life and mounts his dilapidated bike in search of a girl to give it to. He stumbles upon Little Red Riding Hood (Caperucita), characterized as an evil teenager, always chewing gum, who stones bats and pulls dogs’ tails. But being a great admirer of beauty, the wolf falls madly in love with her. The girl however, mocks

him, refuses the flower, and remains indifferent and blind, arrogant and proud. One day, while in the forest, the wolf meets her anew; Caperucita is on her way to her grandmother's house and offers him a piece of cake from the basket she is carrying. The wolf, overpowered with emotion, accepts the treat and soon enough begins to feel sick to his stomach: "It's an experiment" Caperucita says, "I was going to try it on my grandma but you showed up first. Tell me if you die" (9). She then disappears, leaving him sick and moaning on the floor. It takes the wolf three days to pardon her "prank," but he is happy to see her again in the forest. This time they walk the pathway together through the woods to grandma's house and, on their way, the girl reveals in detail the ingredients of her poisonous potion, which she intends to eventually sell. Upon arriving at the house, Caperucita asks the wolf to gobble up her grandmother: "she is a rich grandma," the girl explains, "and I am eager to inherit" (11). The wolf, unwilling to disappoint her, sees no escape and swallows the old lady as told, but clarifies that he did it all for love. She then asks him to put on grandma's clothes on and takes him by the hand into the forest; once there the girl starts screaming for help. Caperucita claimed that the beast ate her grandmother because he was starving, and now the police are looking for the animal to cut open his belly, fill it with stones, and throw him into a river. The wolf tells the readers that there is nothing he could do: "it is her word against mine. And who does not believe Caperucita?" (11). No one, not even Caperucita, wants to know anything about the wolf, who now lives lonely and lost in the woods, "poisoned by the flower of scorn" (12). Caperucita is now a rich girl always riding a motorcycle or a car, thus making it impossible for the wolf to reach her with his old bicycle. She has threatened him—with the flash of her shiny knife—to make a wolf fur coat out of him if he continues to bother

her. The tale ends with a disheartened and fearful wolf convinced that Caperucita is indeed capable of fulfilling her macabre promise.

This contemporary recasting of “Little Red Riding Hood” deviates significantly from the classic tale. The first obvious change is the attribution of the narrative voice to the wolf, which allows exposing his thoughts, feelings, and aspirations. From this perspective the wolf appears as a sensitive, romantic, well-intentioned admirer, and an innocent victim. Arciniegas shifts the spotlight from the young girl to the beast and reverses the formulaic roles of the victimizer and victim. This piece by the Colombian author is part of a global trend since the 1970s to rewrite classic tales from the perspective of different characters. Works focalized through the wolf often tend to “correct” the classic tale by portraying the narrator in a positive light; the wolf casts himself in the role of Little Red Riding Hood’s admirer, a well-meaning suitor, and the victim of slander and may explore emotions such as sorrow, remorse, and guilt (Beckett 99-102). Renewing the story from the wolf’s perspective is not a new phenomenon; as early as the nineteenth century, the poem “What the Wolf Really Said to Little Red Riding-Hood” by the American Bret Harte told the story from the point of view of wolf. The topic of the wolf in love has also inspired other Latin American writers in the past. The Peruvian poet José Santos Chocano, for instance, addressed this theme in “El lobo enamorado” (“The Wolf in Love,” 1937), whose title immediately establishes the amorous state of the wolf (Beckett 98-99).

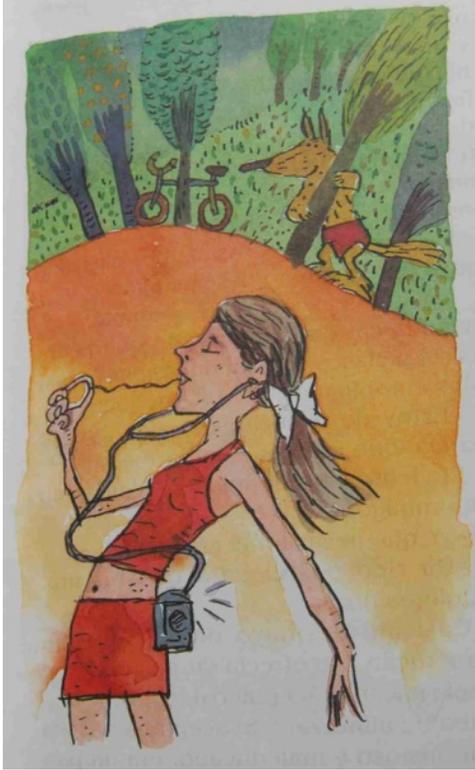


Fig. 22: Alexis Forero Valderrama's visual interpretation of the modern heroine in "Caperucita Roja." Courtesy of Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá.

In "Caperucita Roja" the subversion of the formulaic fairy-tale opening immediately qualifies the traditional villain as a "good wolf" even though a young reader may not guess at first that he is stalking the girl. Unlike conventional imagery, the wolf's depiction (Fig. 22) reinforces the positive character traits of the animal by portraying him as unthreatening, playful, and rather pleasant with a smiling face. In stark contrast to the wolf is the antagonist: a modern-day teenager, confident and independent, who is out in the world on her own without a mother to caution her or set limits. In figure 22 the artist has blended familiar motifs (red outfit) with modern elements and accessories (short tank-top and skirt, CD player, gum) to create a contemporary figure that is appealing to girls in this age group. In his attempt to present a modern, emancipated, and proactive

girl,²⁴² the author has turned the original protagonist into the villain of the story by giving her reprehensible flaws; she is portrayed as an insensitive, materialistic, and deceitful young woman. This girl is not afraid of strangers: in her first encounter with the wolf, after screening him from head to toes, she takes the initiative to talk and asks: “What do you want? Are you the ferocious wolf?” (5). After the unexpected greeting that almost leaves the wolf speechless, he responds stuttering that he wants to give her a flower full of beauty. She reacts with indifference, cuts short the conversation, rejects the blossom, and adds that she does not see the beauty in it, for it is a flower just like any other. Then she leaves without saying good-bye. Hurt by her scorn, a tearful wolf follows the girls on his bike. When Caperucita sees him weeping, she asks whether he had fallen because she notices no obvious injuries; “the wounds are in my heart” (6) the wolf answers, to which the girl responds, “you’re an imbecile!” (6) Then, spitting out her chewing gum with “the violence of a bullet,” she leaves (6). No one expects the girl to have empathy for a stranger who is stalking her, but her lack of courtesy borders on insolence. Her insensitivity and malevolence become especially evident in the premeditated attempt to murder her grandmother with a poisoned cake. The motivation is money. Because her first “experiment” fails, and knowing she could take advantage of the wolf’s feelings and weakness for her, she orders the beast to gobble the old lady up and then sets him up with the police. The girl cashes in the inheritance, forgets about the wolf that served her as instrument for her purpose, and threatens him with a knife when he reappears. With this

²⁴² Although Arciniegas portrays an independent young woman, she is not admirable for her behavior. In light of gender politics, his treatment of the girl appears to be more a reaction to feminism and an indictment to women’s emancipation, placing even more emphasis on the male perspective than was in the original story. The traditional Colombian society of the first half of the twentieth century experienced significant changes when increasing numbers of women enrolled in higher education and joined the workforce. This was especially evident in the last decades of the century. Perhaps Arciniega’s portrayal of Little Red Riding Hood is his way to criticize the emancipation of women in the country, which becomes ever more real as the twenty-first century progresses.

twist in the narrative the author capsizes the fairy tale world. He turns the traditional victimizer into the victim and eliminates the behavioral norms encoded in the Grimms' version and the sexual innuendoes in Perrault's version. The fear and violence are still present, albeit in a different form, such as in the efforts to kill and the intimidation with a weapon.

Arciniegas uses a similar reversal technique in "El sapito que comía princesas," a retelling of KHM 1 "The Frog King, or Iron Heinrich." This story shifts the focus from the princess to the frog and tells of a handsome prince who was turned into a frog by the unexpected kiss of an unknown woman. The frog waits patiently for a princess to lose her golden ball and relieve him from his spell with a magical kiss. After waiting a long time in vain, eating butterflies and writing poems in the forest, the frog decides to go in search of a princess. One day he sees one walking in the forest and, determined to approach her, the frog jumps with such drive that he accidentally eats her. He soon realizes that princesses taste much better than butterflies and becomes a dangerous princess-eater. Although he turns fat and clumsy from all the princess-consumption, no one is able to capture him. A king sees no other alternative than to offer his beautiful fifteen-year-old daughter as reward for turning him in, dead or alive. When the frog sees a reward poster with his picture next to the princess's, he falls madly in love with her. He finds her living in the highest tower of the castle surrounded by two hundred guards. On a Saturday morning, when the men are asleep and under the hangover spell from the previous night's party, the frog enters the princess's chamber through a window. The princess is not surprised to see him and even appears to have been waiting for him. He recites a poem in French and they start a friendly conversation. To protect him from the guards, the

princess gives him a kiss that renders him invisible, and she adds that he can drop in for kisses whenever he wants. In time, the reward-posters fade and there is no more talk about the dangerous frog. Feeling safe, the princess leaves the tower and the region and settles in an enchanted castle somewhere in the south. The princess is seen again smiling and giving kisses to nobody (i.e., to the invisible frog).

This modern retelling also deviates sharply from the Grimms' version and its behavioral lesson. Aside from shifting the focus from the princess to the frog, some of the most obvious changes include omitting the moral backbone of the original tale (importance of honoring promises); turning the former hero, a "disgusting" and unwanted amphibian that longs for love and company, into the villain; and transforming the treacherous princess of the Grimms into a caring helper, who is apparently happy to share the company and affection of the (invisible) frog. What at first seems like a happy conclusion is qualified by a final caustic note. The closing sentence refers to the smiling, air-kissing princess as a "happy demented," one whom the king certainly does not want near, and yet another one of "those who have no use in this world" (59). A conclusion that depicts a crazed heroine who is shunned by her own father and has no social role or redemption is, clearly, not a typical fairy-tale happy ending; the author has reversed the ending that usually affirms the social and familial integration of the central characters. As stated in the note on the back cover of this edition, Arciniegas wanted to "rescue" the world from fairy tales that have taken advantage of the readers' naïvety and concealed with happy ending the injustice and deceit that exist in the world. The finale of "El sapito que comía princesas" certainly has the bitter taste of one who recognizes that life is not a fairy tale.

Although Arciniegas tends to reject the classical fairy tale for its foolish portrayal of a utopian world, his own use of the genre attests to its strong appeal. The appropriation of the Grimms' stories in particular is telling of their resonance among the Colombian public; it is because Arciniegas can assume that his readers are familiar with these stories that he is able to play with the tales' narratives. Besides Triunfo Arciniegas and Celso Román, I did not find further examples of Colombian authors who have adapted the Grimm tales. Nevertheless, in the context of Colombian literature these adaptations show the country's growing literary engagement with Grimms' tales, thus demonstrating their positive reception.

Conclusion

The tales of the Brothers Grimm have faced many hurdles in Colombia including the persistent and widespread low reading rates and the slow-growing and problematic market for children's books. The scarcity of truly local adaptations of Grimm tales and other literary creations inspired by the classical German stories may be blamed on the prejudice towards writing for children that existed in the country until the late 1970s. Only after the Enka writing contest started to bear its first fruits, some of which were acclaimed internationally, did this prejudice begin to slowly fade away in Colombia.

In the national academic circles, the German tales have encountered both positive and negative criticism. Some critics, such as Rafael Díaz Borbón, praise the classical tales as valuable gems, as pillars of children literature that have entered the familial, educational, and social systems so effortlessly as to become firmly rooted into Colombian culture. Others, such as Rocío Vélez de Piedrahita, claim that the foreign stories are culturally alienating and dominating forces of colonization; however, given the lack of

“home-grown” quality literature, she accepts the tales as a viable alternative to presenting Colombian children with reading materials of superior quality.

Fortunately for Colombian children, the array of domestic literature of exceptional quality has been steadily growing since the 1980s. The initial stimulus provided by Enka de Colombia S.A. to professionalize the writing for children has been advanced through subsequent literary competitions sponsored by local businesses and organizations. These contests have already contributed numerous quality works, a few of which echo the Grimms, for example, Celso Román’s *Los amigos del hombre* (1979), a novel that evokes “Die Bremer Stadtmusikanten” in its cast of characters, and Triunfo Arciniegas’s *Caperucita Roja y otras historias perversas* (1996). Arciniegas’s recycling of Grimm tales is a tangible indication of positive reception, and one that assumes that the stories have become part of the culture and consciousness of his readers.

Recastings of Grimm tales by authors such as Arciniegas and Román, scholarly works by academics such as Rafael Díaz Borbón and Rocío Vélez de Piedrahita, and translations or secondhand adaptations of the tales edited in Colombia without apparent foreign intervention continue to be difficult to find in the main Colombian libraries, at least for the period covered in this study, which extends until the year 2000. But however limited the selection may be, the retellings, revisions, interpretations, and reactions that the Grimms’ tales have elicited, and that have been documented here, attest nonetheless to their positive—and still growing—reception in the country.

Chapter 6: Epilogue

I have conducted this reception study of the Grimms' tales in Colombia based on the holdings of the main libraries in the country. The examination of textual and paratextual elements of Grimm tale editions and other written documents that have been accessible to the Colombian public throughout the year 2000 has shed light on the way Colombians have come to value the Grimms, received the tales, and responded to them.

If we can assume that the located editions were circulating roughly at the time of their publication, then the tales of the Brothers Grimm have been available in Colombia since the late nineteenth century. Up until the mid twentieth century, however, the German collection appear to have been less popular than other Western European fairy tales (e.g., French fairy tales or tales by H. C. Andersen) and other genres of children's literature (e.g., stories by Christoph von Schmidt, and novels by Sophie Rastophchine de Ségur and Edmondo de Amicis). This was due to several factors that included low literacy rates during the first half of the twentieth century; dominant role of the Roman Catholic Church, which promoted works imbued with religious teachings rather than secular texts; the perception of the educated class, who regarded Paris as the main cultural center in Europe; and the overall reception of children's works in Spain, which had a direct impact on the reception in Colombia (i.e., well-liked works in Spain often became popular in Colombia as well).

The popularity of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* in Colombia would come later in the second half of the twentieth century in the wake of Disney's animated fairy-tale adaptations. The significant transformation in the composition of the libraries'

inventories after 1950, with an outpouring of fairy-tale publications, particularly of Grimms' tales, suggests not only a "renaissance" of the fairy-tale genre in Colombia, but a marked preference for the German stories over other Western European classical fairy tales. A number of factors contributed to these developments, including the continuous presence and promotion of Walt Disney Corporation in Colombia; successful educational measures that raised literacy levels; overall improvements in the infrastructure of the major cities; the weakened influence of the Catholic Church in the sphere of education; and changes in the public perception of Paris as the cultural mecca.

Another contributor to the positive reception of the Grimms' tales after 1950 was the growing availability of publications in Spanish. Editions imported from Spain continued to play an essential role in the composition of the inventory, yet one of the most noticeable changes of this period is the emergence of editions published in Latin America, including Colombia. The analysis of the narratives in these editions, however, has exposed their close links to Europe, in particular to Spain; the textual modifications evident in the majority of the stories perpetuate the dominating influence of colonialism through the persistent promotion of Spanish values, morals, and mores in Colombia.

Compared to the imported supply of books with Grimms' tales as well as tale adaptations published in Colombia with traceable European influence, domestic translations, fittings, and rewrites of the Grimm stories are scarce in the libraries. Equally scarce are scholarly and non-scholarly reviews and interpretations of the KHM. Although the selection of retellings, revisions, and reactions may be limited, it has clearly risen since the first half of the twentieth century, thus attesting to the increasingly positive reception of the KHM in the country.

The resonance of the Grimms' tales continues to be perceptible well into the twenty-first century. The enduring appeal of the tales can be attributed in part to their remarkable capacity to adapt to virtually any form or medium, ranging from literature, picture books, and comics to theatrical adaptations, movies, and cartoons, from CD recordings and video games to advertisements. Not to mention the big business of spin-off products from the bestselling stories. Stage arrangements that combine oral narration, theater, live music, masks, and other effects, such as "Los Tres Pelos del Diablo" ("The Three Hairs of the Devil," an adaptation of KHM 29 "Der Teufel mit den drei goldenen Haaren") by the Colombian storyteller and writer Jaime Riascos Villegas, continue to carry on the legacy of the German brothers in the country. Riascos's adaptation weaves together colloquial expressions and elements of indigenous oral tradition of the Colombian region with the most "castizo" style (the "purest" form of Spanish found, for example, in the tales' adaptations published by Calleja) to give a "global" sense of the story in our contemporary era.

The "globalization" of the Grimms' tales is especially evident in recent years when they reached the mass media in Colombia. Since 2009 the national television channel Caracol Television has been offering the series *Los Cuentos de los Hermanos Grimm* (*The Stories of the Brothers Grimm*)²⁴³ as part of the morning programming for children. Aired every Saturday and Sunday the thirty to forty-five-minute show presents a different Grimm story in cartoon version. The animated series produced by the Japanese Company Nippon Animation Co. Ltd. in 1987-89, consists of 47 episodes ranging from the best-known to the less-known tales of the Brothers Grimm. The dubbed versions in

²⁴³ This is the literal translation of the Spanish title. In English the title is different; the English title for the same series is *Grimm's* [sic] *Fairy Tale Classics*; the animated series was aired in the United States by Nickelodeon's Nick Jr. in 1988 and 1989.

Spanish that air in Colombia were translated in Mexico.²⁴⁴ The fact that the animated series shown in Colombia was produced in Japan and translated in Mexico is telling of the impact of the new media and the global reception of the Grimms' tales—a reception that transcends national boundaries. Broadcasting the German tales on national television is surely quite different to the way the Grimms' reception in Colombia started off; this widely accessible telecommunications medium among Colombians will further ensure the dissemination of the tales in versions that are not necessarily transmitted directly from the German originals, but ones that have a truly international or transnational dimension.

Most Colombians have come to know the Grimm tales only secondhand, in translations, adaptations, movies, and cartoons that can be widely divergent from the Grimms' original. However, it is precisely the tales' malleability that accounts for their longevity and enduring popularity. The flexibility of the tales to adapt to whatever medium, to any land, language and culture, and to assume new meanings and identities has conferred on the stories the ability to bridge generations. The tales, collected in Germany almost two centuries ago by the Brothers Grimm, continue to enchant and entrance us; the stories invite us to engage with characters, events, and conflicts that still matter to us today while eliciting the most diverse responses, reactions, and revisions.

²⁴⁴ A clip of the story "Blue Beard" presented by Caracol Television can be found under: <http://www.caracoltv.com/marzo-13/articulo127067-cual-la-clave-del-exito-de-los-cuentos-de-los-hermanos-grimm>. The translation of this particular tale used in Spain has the corresponding jargon of that country; to compare, this particular version can be found under: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gCAcCshehPY&feature=related>.

Appendix 1

**General Overview of European Fairy Tales/Juvenile Literature Published
until 1899 Currently Available in the Main Libraries in Colombia**

Date	Grimm	Andersen	Perrault	Others
17 th C				FRENCH La Fontaine, Jean de. <i>Contes et nouvelles en vers</i> . Amsterdam: Chez Pierre Brunel, 1699.
18 th C				FRENCH Fénelon, François de Salignac de la Mothe. <i>Aventuras de Telemaco, hijo de Ulisses: continuación del libro 4 de la Odissea de Homero</i> . Tomo Segundo. En amberes: A costa de los Hermano de toumes, 1743. ---. *Les aventuras de Télémaque, fils d'Ulysse. A Bruxelles = Brussels: B. Le Francq, 1798. Leprince de Beaumont, Jeanne Marie. *Magasin des enfants ou dialogues d'une sage gouvernante avec se élèves de la première distinction. Lyon: Jacquenod Père et Rusand, 1768. <i>Les mille et une nuit: contes arabes</i> . Tran. M. Galland. A Lille: Chez C. F. J. Lehoucq, 1781.
1800				FRENCH Fénelon, François de Salignac de la Mothe. * <i>Les aventures de Télémaque, fils d'Ulisse: en france et anglois = The adventures of Telemachus, the son of Ulysses: French and English</i> . Bruxelles: B. Le Francq., 1798. GERMAN Campe, Joachim Heinrich. * <i>El nuevo Robinson: historia moral, reducida á diálogos para instrucción y entretenimiento de niños y jóvenes de ambos sexos</i> . Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1804.
1810	<i>Silva de romances viejos, publicados por Jacobo Grimm</i> . Viena: En Casa de Jacobo Mayer, 1815.			Campe, Joachim Heinrich. <i>Découverte de l'Amérique: ouvrage propre á l'instruction et á l'amusement de la jeunesse, faisant suite au nouveau Robinson</i> . Paris: Le Prieur, 1812.

1820				<p>FRENCH Leprince de Beaumont, Jeanne Marie. Almacén y biblioteca completa de los niños ó diálogos de una sabia directora con sus discípulas de la primera distinción. Madrid: Julian Viana Razola ed., 1829.</p> <p>GERMAN Campe, Joachim Heinrich. Eufemia, ó, la mujer verdaderamente instruida. Bogotá: Reimpresión por J. A. Cualla, 1829.</p>
1830			Perrault, Charles. <i>Contes des fées.</i> Paris: Favre, n.d. [1830? = WC]	<p>GERMAN Schmid, Christoph von. <i>La Chartreuse / Christoph von Schmid traduit de l'allemand par L. Friedel.</i> Tours: A. D. Mame, 1836.</p>
1840				<p>ENGLISH Dickens, Charles. <i>Les contes de Noël.</i> Paris: Jules Renouard, 1847. ---. <i>*The old curiosity shop.</i> London: Collins Clear-Type, 1840?</p>
1850	Grimm, Brüder. <i>*Kinder und Hausmärchen.</i> Berlin: Franz Duncker, 1858.			<p>GERMAN Hauff, Wilhelm. <i>Märchen: Almanach auf das Jahr 1826.</i> Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, n.d. [1850? = BNC]. ---. <i>Märchen Novellen.</i> Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, n.d. [1850? = BNC]. ---. <i>Sämtliche Werke.</i> Stuttgart : J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger, 1850?</p> <p>Tieck Ludwig. <i>Märchen.</i> Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, n.d. [1850? = BNC].</p>
1860				<p>FRENCH/GERMAN <i>Les légendes des environs de Baden-Baden.</i> Baden-Baden: Imprimerie Lith. et Typ. de F.M. Reichel, 1800? [1860s = WC]</p> <p><i>Sagas Rhénanes, ou, recueil des plus intéressantes traditions du Rhin.</i> Mayence: Chez Joseph Halenza, n.d. [1860s = WC]</p> <p>OTHER Fernán Caballero. Más largo es el tiempo que la fortuna. Bogotá: N. Pontón, 1863. ---. La mitología contada a los niños: historia de los grandes hombres de la Grecia. Barcelona: Librería de Juan Bastino Hijo, 1867. ---. No transije la conciencia. Bogotá: N. Pontón, 1863.</p>

1870		<p>Andersen, Hans Christian. Cuentos escogidos de Andersen. Madrid: Imp. de Gaspar, 1879.</p>	<p>Perrault, Charles. Barba-azul: cuento. Madrid: Imprenta de la Galería Literaria, 1874.</p> <p>---. <i>Les contes de Charles Perrault: Histoires ou contes du temps passé</i>. Paris: Ernest Flammarion, n.d. [1875?=WC]</p>	<p>FRENCH Aulnoy, Mme. <i>La cour et la ville de Madrid vers la fin du XVIIe siècle: relation du voyage d'Espagne</i>. Paris: E. Plon et Cie., 1874.</p> <p>Guizot, Elizabeth C. P. <i>L'amie des enfants: petit cours de morale en action en deux parties: les enfants, contes et les nouveaux contes</i>. Paris: Didier, 1873.</p> <p>GERMAN Arnim, Achim von and Clemens Brentano. <i>Des Knaben Wunderhorn</i>. Leipzig: Deutsches Verlagshaus Bong, n.d. [1879? = WC] Hoffmann, E.T.A. Cuentos fantásticos. Barcelona: Imp. de la Renaxensa, n.d. [1870s = WC]</p> <p>Schmid, Christoph von. Los huevos de Pascua. Madrid: S. Calleja, 1876.</p> <p>---. *Itha: condesa de Toggenbourg. Madrid: Saturnino Calleja, 1876.</p> <p>ENGLISH Dickens, Charles. <i>*Christmas Books</i>. London: Collins Clear-Type Press, 1870. ---. <i>*The Pickwick papers</i>. London: Collins, 1870?</p> <p>OTHER Fernán Caballero. Cuentos y poesías populares andaluces / coleccionados por Fernán Caballero. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1874.</p>
1880	<p>Grimm, Jacob. <i>Fairy tales / Jacob Grimm</i>. London: Frederick Warne, n.d. [1880? =WC]</p>	<p>Andersen, Hans Christian. Cuentos de Andersen. Barcelona: D. Cortezo, 1885.</p>		<p>FRENCH Arène, Paul. <i>Contes de Paris et de Provence</i>. Paris: A. Lemerre, 1887.</p> <p>GERMAN Auerbach, Berthold. Narraciones populares de la selva negra. Trans. A. Fernández Merino; illus. Mariano Foix. Barcelona: Bibl. Artes y Letras, 1883.</p> <p>Brentano, Clemens. <i>Fairy tales from Brentano</i>. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1885.</p> <p>May, Karl F. <i>Satab und Ischariot</i>. Radebeul bei Dresden: Karl-May Verlag, 1896.</p>

1880 cont.				<p>Schmid, Christoph von. Los huevos de pascua: seguidos de la historia del niño Henrique de Eichenfels. Paris: Garnier, 1889</p> <p>Stolz, Alban. <i>Wachholder-geist die grundubel der Welt: Dummheit, gunde und glend / Alban Stolz.</i> Freiburg: Herder'sche Verlags-handlung, 1886.</p> <p>ENGLISH Kingsley, Charles. <i>Hypatia or new foes with an old face.</i> New York: S. W. Green's Son, 1883.</p> <p>ITALIAN Amicis, Edmondo de. Corazón: Diario de un niño. Madrid: Libr. de D. Fernando Fe, 1887.</p>
1890	<p>Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Karl. Cuentos escogidos / Jacob Ludwig Karl Grimm, Wilhelm Grimm. Madrid: Saturnino Calleja, n.d. [1896? = WC]</p> <p>---. Cuentos y leyendas de los hermanos Grimm. Barcelona: J. Roura, 1893</p> <p>COMPILATIONS <i>Contes allemands du temps passé: extraits des recueils des frères Grimm, et de Simrock, Bechstein, Franz Hoffmann, Musaeus, Tieck, Schwab, Winter, etc., avec la legende de Lorely.</i> Paris: Perrin, 1892.</p>	<p>Andersen, Hans Christian. Historia de una madre: Cuento de Andersen. Folletines de "El Correo Nacional". Bogotá (n.d.) [1893?]</p> <p>---. "Ib y Cristina." <i>Colección de grandes escritores nacionales y extranjeros. Tomo XIX.</i> Bogotá: Jorge Roa editor, 1899.</p> <p>---. "La sirena." <i>Colección de grandes escritores nacionales y extranjeros. Tomo XIX.</i> Bogotá: Jorge Roa editor, 1899.</p>	<p>Perrault, Charles. Cuentos de Perrault. Madrid: Dirección y administración, 1892.</p>	<p>FRENCH Aulnoy, Mme. Relación que hizo de su viaje por España la señora condesa d' Aulnoy en 1679. Madrid: Tip Franco-Española, 1892.</p> <p>Leprince de Beaumont, Jeanne Marie. Almacén de los niños: o, Diálogos de una sabia directora con sus discipulas. 7th ed. Paris: Garnier, 1896.</p> <p>GERMAN Auerbach, Berthold. Narraciones populares de la selva negra. Bogotá: Librería Nueva; Jorge Roa, editor, 1893. → incl. "Ondina" by Motte Fouqué</p> <p>Fouqué, Friedrich de la Motte. Ondina. Bogotá: Ed. J. Roa, 1893. ---. "Ondina." Colección de grandes escritores nacionales y extranjeros. Tomo V. Bogotá: Jorge Roa editor, 1894. ---. Ondina: precedida de una noticia biográfica y literaria. Bogotá: Librería Nueva Ed. Jorge Roa, 1893. ---. <i>Ondine.</i> Paris: Henri Gautier, 1890.</p> <p>Hoffmann, E. T. A. <i>Contes fantastiques / traduits par X. Marmier; précédés d'une notice par le traducteur.</i> Paris: Charpentier, 1891. ---. *Hoffmanns Werke / Herausgegeben von Viktor Schweizer and Paul Zaubert. Leipzig: Leipzig and Wien, n.d. [1896?].</p>

1890 cont.			<p>--- *El violín de Cremona. Bogotá: Librería Nueva, 1898.</p> <p>---. "El violín de Cremona." <i>Colección de grandes escritores nacionales y extranjeros</i>. Tomo XVII. Bogotá: Jorge Roa, 1898.</p> <p>Schmid, Christoph von. Cuentos de Schmid. Editorial: París: Garnier, 1896.</p> <p>Seidel, Heinrich. <i>Leberecht Hühnchen, Jorinde und andere Geschichten</i>. Leipzig: A. G. Liebeskind, 1890.</p> <p>ENGLISH</p> <p>Barrie, James Matthew. <i>The Little Minister</i>. New York: The Americans News Co., 1891.</p> <p>*Kipling, Rudyard. <i>The Second Jungle Book</i>. Leipzig: Bernard Tauchnitz, 1897.</p> <p>ITALIAN</p> <p>Amicis, Edmondo de. Cuentos escolares. N.p., n.e., [1898?]</p> <p>---. <i>Cuore: libro per i ragazzi</i>. Milano: Fratelli Treves, Editori, 1896.</p> <p>---. "La calle." Libro de lecturas escogidas en prosa y verso, para niños y niñas. Bogotá: Tip. de Lleras y Compañía, 1891.</p> <p>---. "La escuela." Libro de lecturas escogidas en prosa y verso, para niños y niñas. Bogotá: Tip. de Lleras y Compañía, 1891.</p> <p>---. "Esperanza." Libro de lecturas escogidas en prosa y verso, para niños y niñas. Bogotá: Tip. de Lleras y Compañía, 1891.</p> <p>---. "El incendio." Libro de lecturas escogidas en prosa y verso, para niños y niñas. Bogotá: Tip. de Lleras y Compañía, 1891.</p> <p>---. "Mi madre." Libro de lecturas escogidas en prosa y verso, para niños y niñas. Bogotá: Tip. de Lleras y Compañía, 1891.</p> <p>---. "El pequeño escribiente florentino." Libro de lecturas escogidas en prosa y verso, para niños y niñas. Bogotá: Tip. de Lleras y Compañía, 1891.</p> <p>OTHER / COMPILATIONS</p> <p>Apuleyo, Lucio. La metamorfosis; ó, El asno de oro; versión castellana hecha a fines del siglo XV, por Diego López de Cortegana. Madrid: Vda. de</p>
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				<p>Hernando, 1890.</p> <p>Bernal. Rodolfo, D., ed. <i>Libro de lecturas escogidas en prosa y verso, para niños y niñas</i>. Bogotá: Tip. de Lleras y Compañía, 1891.</p>
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*) Library remark to indicate that the book was donated from a private collection.

Abbreviations: BNC: Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia; WC: WorldCat Database

Appendix 2

**General Overview of European Fairy Tales/Juvenile Literature Published
from 1900 until 1959 Currently Available in Colombia**

Date	Grimm	Andersen	Perrault	Others
1900	Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Karl. <i>Kinder und Hausmärchen</i> . Berlin: Wilhelm Herb, 1901.		--. <i>Cuentos de viejas</i> . Madrid: Ed. Ibero-Africano-Americana, n.d. [1900s?]	<p>FRENCH La Fontaine, Jean de. <i>*Fables et épîtres / La Fontaine</i>; introduction par Emile Faguet. Paris: Nelson, Editeurs, [19--?]. ---. <i>*Ses plus belles fables</i>. Paris: Editions Nilsson, 1900?</p> <p>Séгур, Sophie. <i>*Mémoires d'un âne / par Mme. la Comtesse de Ségur</i>. Paris: Hachette, 1909. ---. <i>Pauvre</i>. Paris: Hachette, 1904. ---. <i>Un bon petit diable</i>. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1907.</p> <p>GERMAN Arnim, Achim von and Clemens Brentano. <i>Des Knaben Wunderhorn</i>. Berlin: Deutsches Verlagshaus Bong, n.d. (1900? =y BppM)</p> <p>Chamisso, Adalbert von. <i>Sämtliche Werke in vier Bänden</i>. Leipzig: M. Hesse's Verlag, n.d. [1900? = WC]</p> <p>Hauff, Wilhelm. <i>Märchen von Wilhelm Hauff</i>. Berlin: Editorial, 1900.</p> <p>Hoffmann, E. T. A. <i>Cuentos fantásticos de E. Teodoro Hoffmann</i>. Barcelona: Casa Edit. Maucci, 1909.</p> <p>Keller, Gottfried. <i>Die Leute von Seldwyla: Erster Teil</i>. Stuttgart: F. G. Lotta, 1913.</p> <p>Motte-Fouquè, Friedrich. <i>Ondine / de La Motte-Fouquè; Pierre Schlemihl: L'homme qui a vendu son ombre / de Chamisso</i>. Paris: Librairie A Hatier, n.d. [1900s?]</p> <p>Schmid, Christoph von. <i>El cestillo de flores: cuento dedicado a la edad florida</i>. Paris: Librería de la Vda de Ch. Bouret, 1907. ---. <i>El rosal</i>. Madrid: Casa Editorial Saturnino Calleja Fernández, [1900?]</p> <p>Tieck, Ludwig. <i>Der gestiefelte Kater</i>. Leipzig: Ed. Bibliographisches Institut, n.d. [1904 by BNC]</p> <p>ENGLISH Barrie, James Matthew. <i>Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens</i>. New York: Charles</p>

1900 cont.				<p>Scribner's Sons, 1906.</p> <p>Kingsley, Charles. <i>The heroes or Greek Fair Tales for my Children</i>. New York: Sturgis & Walton, 1909.</p> <p>ITALIAN Amicis, Edmondo de. Cuentos escolares. Bogotá: Ed. Nueva, 1909. ---. "Evangelina." <i>Colección de grandes escritores nacionales y extranjeros</i>. Bogotá: Jorge Roa, 1909.</p> <p>Boccaccio, Giovanni. *<i>Contes de Boccace</i>. Paris: Éditions Rombaldi, 1900? ---. Cuentos de Boccaccio / Juan Boccaccio. Paris: Garnier Hnos., Libreros Editores, 1900. Collodi, Carlo. <i>Le aventure di Pinocchio: storia di un burattino</i>. Firenze: R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1900. ---. <i>Las aventuras de Pinocchio: histoire d'une marionnett</i>. Tramelan: L. A. Voumard, 1902.</p> <p>OTHER / COMPILATIONS Colección de grandes escritores nacionales y extranjeros. Bogotá: Jorge Roa, 1909.</p> <p><i>Stories from seven old favorites / selected & arranged by Eva March Tappan</i>. Boston?: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1907. [→ incl. "The travels of Baron Munchausen"]</p>
1910	<p>Grimm, Jakob Ludwig Karl. <i>Contes choisis des frères Grimm</i>. Paris: Ernest Flammarion éditeur, n.d. [1913?]</p>	<p>Andersen, Hans Christian. <i>Andersens Märchen, zweiter Band</i>. Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1913.</p> <p>---. <i>Ein Bilderbuch ohne Bilder</i>. Weimar: Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag, 1914.</p> <p>---. Historias de Hans Andersen: explicadas a los niños, por Mary Macgregor. Barcelona: Ramón de S. N. Araluze, n.d. [1914?]</p> <p>---. "La niña de los Fósforos." <i>El Liberal Ilustrado Bogotá</i> Vol. 2, No. 978-21 (May 16 1914)</p> <p>---. Lo que vió la luna. Madrid: Estrella, 1919.</p>	<p>COMPILATIONS <i>Choix de contes de fées / par Perrault; Mme d'Aulnoy Mme; Le prince de Beaumont et Hégésippe Moreau</i>. Intro. Mme. Félix-Faure. Paris: Nelson, Editeurs, n.d. [1910-1919? = WC] (2x)</p>	<p>FRENCH Aulnoy, Mme. Cuentos de Madame d'Aulnoy. Madrid: Ed. Calleja, n.d. [1918? = WC]</p> <p>Séguir, Sophie. *<i>Nouveaux Contes de Fées: pour les petits enfants</i>. Paris: Hachette, 1919.</p> <p>GERMAN Chamisso, Adalbert von. Historia maravi-losa de Pedro Schlemihl. N.p.: n.e, n.d. [1916 = BNC].</p> <p>*<i>Erzählungen</i>. Wiesbaden; Berlin: Vollmer Verlag, [1910? = IG; incl. Arnim, Brentano, Chamisso, Fouque, Tieck, Hoffmann, etc.]</p> <p>Hoffmann. E.T.A. "Cappelius: cuento fantástico." <i>Lecturas Populares: Suplemento Literario de El Tiempo (Bogotá)</i>. Vol. 5.57 (1914): 261-288.</p> <p>Keller, Gottfried. <i>Die Leute von Seldwyla: Erster Teil</i>. Stuttgart und Berlin : F. G. Lotta, 1913.</p> <p>Schwab, Gustav. <i>Deutschen Volksbücher: für jung und alt wiedererzählt</i>. Gütersloh: Verlag, 1912.</p>

1910 cont.				<p>*<i>Volkstum</i>. Wiesbaden; Berlin: Vollmer Verlag, [1910 =y IG; incl. Märchen, Sagen, Legenden]</p> <p>ENGLISH Dickens, Charles. "El vendedor ambulante." <i>Lecturas Populares: Suplemento Literario de El Tiempo (Bogotá)</i>. Vol. 1, No.10-843 (1914): 293-322.</p> <p>Kingsley, Charles. *<i>Hypatia or New Foes with an Old Face</i>. Oxford: UP, 1915.</p> <p>ITALIAN *Collodi, Carlo. <i>Las aventuras de Pinoquio: historia de un títere</i>. Bogotá: Imp. de "La Tribuna", 1913.</p> <p>OTHER Bernal, Rodolfo D., ed. <i>Libro de lecturas escogidas en prosa y verso para niños y niñas</i>. 6th ed. Bogotá: Librería Colombiana Camacho Roldán & Tamayo, 1910.</p> <p>Ewald, Carl. <i>Udvalgte aeventyr</i>. Kjobenhan og Kristiana: Gyldendalske Boghandel-Nordisk Forlag, 1919. Maeterlinck, Maurice. *<i>El pájaro azul</i>. Madrid: Editorial America, 1919.</p> <p>Northcliffe, L. and S. McClure, ed. *<i>The world's greatest books</i>. Washington: S. S. McClure, 1910. [IG → Incl. Carroll, Chamisso, etc.]</p>
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1950	<p>Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Karl. Blancanieves y los enanitos. Adaptación del cuento de los hermanos Grimm por Mercedes Llimona. Barcelona: Ed. juventud, 1950. ---. Blanca Nieves y</p>	<p>Andersen, Hans Christian. Almendrita y otros cuentos. Zalla (Vizcaya): Ediciones Paulinas, 1956. ---. Cuentos. Illust. Mara Ribas. Trans. Augusti Cartra. México: Editorial Cumbre, 1956.</p>	<p>Perrault, Charles. La Cenicienta. Illust. Emilio Freixas. Barcelona: Suc. de E. Meseguer, 1952. ---. Contes / Charles Perrault. Illust. Aslan. París: Hachette, 1959. ---. *Cuentos de hadas y</p>	<p>FRENCH Cuentos de hadas franceses / versión española y adaptación de J. M. Huertas Ventosa. Barcelona: Ed. Molino, 1959. La Fontaine, Jean de. <i>Contes / Jean de La Fontaine.</i> Illust. Gaston Barret. Paris: Arc-EnCiel, 1951-52. ---. Fábulas de La Fontaine. Trans.</p>

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*) Library remark to indicate that the book was donated from a private collection.

Abbreviations:

BNC=Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia;

Blaa=Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango;

BppM=Biblioteca Pública Piloto Medellín;

IG=Instituto Goethe;

WC=WorldCat Database.

Appendix 3

General Overview of European Fairy Tales/Juvenile Literature in

Colombia's Main Libraries; Published from 1960 until 1989

Date	Grimm	Andersen	Perrault	Others
1960	<p>Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Karl. <i>El alegre travieso</i>. Colección Alfombra mágica. Barcelona: Ed. Molino, 1960.</p> <p>---. <i>Blanca Nieves y los siete enanitos; Caperucita Roja / Anibal de Mar y María Antonieta de las Nieves</i>. México: DCM, 1960. [sound recording]</p> <p>---. <i>La casita del bosque encantado</i>. Barcelona: Ed. Molino, 1961.</p> <p>---. <i>Cuentos completos de los hermanos Grimm</i>. Trad. Francisco Payarols. Illus. Ludwig Richter. Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1961.</p> <p>---. <i>Cuentos de Grimm</i>. Barcelona; Buenos Aires; Bogotá: Ed. Bruguera, 1961.</p> <p>---. <i>Cuentos de hadas de Grimm: versión española de Alfonso Nadal</i>. Illus. J. P. Bocquet. Cuentos de hadas 4. Barcelona: Ed. Molino, 1960.</p> <p>---. <i>Cuento de los 3 osos</i>. Colección Ilusión infantil 3. Barcelona: Ed. Molino, 1960.</p> <p>---. <i>Doce cuentos de los hermanos Grimm</i>. Ed. arta Mata. Trans. María Luz Morales. Illus. José Correas. Barcelona: Editorial Juventud, 1966.</p> <p>---. <i>Hansel y Gretel</i>. Barcelona: Ed. Molino, 1960.</p> <p>---. <i>Juan el fuerte</i>. Barcelona: Molina, 1963.</p>	<p>Andersen, Hans Christian. <i>Andersen's Fairy Tales</i>. Intro. William T. Atwood. Illus. Frederick Richardson and Donald E. Cooke. México: C. I. John W. Clute, 1961.</p> <p>---. <i>Andersen's Fairy Tales</i>. Intro. William T. Atwood. Illus. Frederick Richardson. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1961.</p> <p>---. <i>Contes / Hans Christian Andersen</i>. Paris: Hachette, 1960.</p> <p>---. <i>Contes d'Andersen</i>. Trans. P.G. La Chesnais; préface de Marcel Aymé. Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 1963.</p> <p>---. <i>Cuentos / Hans Christian Andersen</i>. Illust. Marta Ribas. Trans. gusti Bartra. Colección ilustrada de Obras Inmortales. México: Cumbre, 1962.</p> <p>---. <i>Cuentos de Andersen</i>. 3rd ed. Colección Historias 57. Barcelona: Ed. Bruguera, 1963.</p> <p>---. <i>Cuentos de Andersen</i>. Trans. José Virgili. Illus. Davanzo y Adrienne Ségur. México: Renacimiento, 1963.</p> <p>---. <i>Cuentos de Andersen</i>. Buenos Aires: Sigmar, 1965.</p> <p>---. <i>Cuentos de Andersen</i>. Trans. Salvador Bordoy Luque, José Fernando Romero. Illus. Ballestar. Barcelona: Círculo de Lectores, 1966.</p> <p>---. <i>Cuentos de Andersen</i>. Clásicos Juveniles. Colón (Panamá): Clute de</p>	<p>Perrault Charles. <i>Aventuras de Avispadilla. Charles Perrault</i>. Illust. Barcelona: Ed. Molino, 1960.</p> <p>---. <i>Caperucita roja / Charles Perrault</i>. Illust. Simone Baudoin. Barcelona: Labor, [1960].</p> <p>---. <i>Contes / par Perrault; présentés par Marcel Aymé; suivis de Perrault avant commentés par André Lhéritier</i>. Paris: Union Générale d'Éditions, 1964.</p> <p>---. <i>Cuentos de Perrault</i>. Barcelona: Nogue, 1967.</p>	<p>FRENCH</p> <p>Daudet, Alphonse. <i>Cuentos del lunes</i>. Trans. Fernando G. Vela. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1966.</p> <p>Séгур, Sophie. <i>Abuelita enseña el evangelio</i>. Trans. Marta Fábregas. Illus. Fariñas. Barcelona: Ed. Mateu, n.d. [1960? = WC]</p> <p>---. <i>Cuentos de hadas / por la condesa de Ségur</i>. Ed. Pilar Gavin. Barcelona; Buenos Aires: Bogotá: Ed. Bruguera, 1963.</p> <p>---. <i>Cuentos de hadas de la condesa de Ségur</i>. Trans. Isolina Torres Cabrera. Illus. J. Serrabona. Barcelona: Ed. Religiosa, 1960.</p> <p>---. <i>Las desgracias de Sofía</i>. Trans. Delia Piquerez. Illus. Pablo Ramírez. Barcelona: Ed. Molino, 1960.</p> <p>---. <i>Francisco el jobado</i>. Trans. Delia Piquerez. Barcelona: Ed. Molino, 1962.</p> <p>---. <i>La hostería de Ángel Guardián</i>. Ed. M. Ferrer. Barcelona: Ed. Bruguera, 1961.</p> <p>---. <i>Memorias de un burro</i>. Ed. Carmen Santos. Barcelona: Ed. Bruguera, [1962].</p> <p>---. <i>Las niñitas modelo</i>. Trans. Isolina Torres Cabrera. Illus. Pablo Ramírez. Barcelona: Ed. Molino, 1963.</p> <p>---. <i>Las vacaciones</i>. Trans. Isolina Torres Cabrera. Illus. P. Ramírez. Barcelona: Ed. Molino, 1961.</p> <p>GERMAN</p> <p>Busch, Wilhelm. <i>Der Floh, der Maus, die Spinne</i>. Gutersloh: Sigbert Mohn Verlag, [1960].</p> <p>---. <i>Max and Moritz: With Many More Mischief-makers More or Less Human or Approximately Animal</i>. Ed. and annotated by H. Arthur Klein. Trans. H. Arthur Klein et al. New York: Dover Publications, 1962.</p> <p>Brentano, Clemens. <i>Das Märchen von Gockel, Hinkel und Gackeleia in seiner ursprünglichen Gestalt</i>. Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam Jun, 1961.</p> <p>---. <i>El viaje de los tres reyes santo a Belén / Clemens Brentano</i>. Adapt. Antonio de Zubiaurre. Eco (Bogotá). 6. 2 (Dic. 1962): 109-140.</p> <p>Hesse, Hermann. "Navidad con dos historias infantiles." Eco (Bogotá). 6. 2 (Dic. 1962): 141-149.</p>

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BNC=Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia;
 BppM=Biblioteca Pública Piloto Medellín;
 IG=Instituto Goethe;
 WC=WorldCat Database.

Appendix 4

Concordance of Spanish Titles

KHM Title ¹ (English Title) ²	Spanish Titles (Source)
1. Der Froschkönig oder der eiserne Heinrich (The Frog King, or Iron Heinrich)	La rana encantada (2) La rana encantada (2a) El Rey-Rana o el fiel Enrique (4) El rey rana (7) El rey-rana (10)
2. Katze und Maus in Gesellschaft (The Companionship of the Cat and the Mouse)	El gato y el ratón hacen vida en común (4)
3. Marienkind (The Virgin Mary's Child)	La mentira es muy soberbia (2) La hija de Virgen María (4) El hijo de María (6)
4. Märchen von einem, der auszog, das fürchten zu lernen (A Tale About a Boy Who Went Forth to Learn What Fear Was)	Quiero que me asusten (2) El mozo que quería aprender lo que es el miedo (4) El muchacho que nunca tembló (5) El muchacho que nunca tembló (5a) Historia de aquel que se fue por el mundo para aprender a temblar (6) El muchacho que nunca tembló (10) El muchacho que nunca tembló (11)
5. Der Wolf und die sieben jungen Geißlein (The Wolf and the Seven Young Kids)	Los cabritos y el lobo (2) El lobo y las siete cabritas (4) Los siete cabritos y el lobo (5) Los siete cabritos y el lobo (5a) El lobo y las siete cabritas (8) El lobo y los siete cabritos (9) Los siete cabritos y el lobo (10)
6. Der treue Johannes (Faithful Johannes)	Juan Fiel (1) El fiel Juan (2) El fiel Juan (4) El fiel Juan (6) El fiel Juan (8) El fiel Juan (10) El fiel Juan (11)
7. Der gute Handel (The Good Bargain)	Un buen negocio (4)
8. Der wunderliche Spielmann (The Marvelous Minstrel)	El músico prodigioso (4) El músico maravilloso (8)
9. Die zwölf Brüder (The Twelve Brothers)	Los doce hermanos (4) Los doce hermanos (10)
10. Das Lumpengesindel (Riffraff)	Gentuza (4)
11. Brüderchen und Schwesterchen Brother and Sister)	El corzo y el rey (2) Los hermanitos (3) Los dos hermanitos (4) Hermanito y hermanita (6) Los dos hermanitos (8)
12. Rapunzel (Rapunzel)	Verdezuela (4)
13. Die drei Männlein im Walde (The Three Little Gnomes in the Forest)	La madrastra (2) Los tres enanitos del bosque (4)

	Los tres enanitos del bosque (10)
14. Die drei Spinnerinnen (The Three Spinners)	Lo que puede la astucia (2) Las tres hilanderas (4) Las tres hilanderas (10)
15. Hänsel und Gretel (Hansel and Gretel)	La casita de turrón (2) La casita de turrón (2a) La casita de chocolate (3) Juanito y Margarita (4) Juanito y Anita (6) Juanito y Margarita (7) Anita y Pepito (8) Hansel y Gretel (9) Juanito y Margarita (10)
16. Die drei Schlangenblätter (The Three Snake Leaves)	Las tres hojas de la serpiente (4)
17. Die weiße Schlange (The White Snake)	La serpiente blanca (4) La serpiente blanca (5) La serpiente blanca (5a)
18. Strohalm, Kohle und Bohne (The Straw, the Coal, and the Bean)	La Paja, La Brasa y la Alugia (4)
19. Von dem Fischer un syner Fru (The Fisherman and His Wife)	El pescador y su mujer (2) El pescador y su mujer (4) El pescador y su mujer (6) Alicia, la mujer del pescador (8) Alicia, la mujer del pescador (10)
20. Das tapfere Schneiderlein (The Brave Little Tailor)	El sastrecillo valiente (3) El sastrecillo valiente (4) El sastrecillo valiente (8) El sastrecillo valiente (9)
21. Aschenputtel (Cinderella)	La Cenicienta (2) La Cenicienta (3) La Cenicienta (4) Cenicienta (5) Cenicienta (5a) La Cenicienta (8) La Cenicienta (10) La Cenicienta (11)
22. Das Rätsel (The Riddle)	El acertijo (4)
23. Von dem Mäuschen, Vögelchen und der Bratwurst (The Mouse, the Bird, and the Sausage)	El Ratoncillo, el pajarito y la salchicha (4)
24. Frau Holle (Mother Holle)	Las dos hermanas (2) María Pez y María Oro (3) Madre Nieve (4) La vieja madre escarcha (8)
25. Die sieben Raben (The Seven Ravens)	Los desobedientes (2) Los siete cuervos (4) Los siete cuervos (5) Los siete cuervos (5a) Los siete cuervos (10)
26. Rotkäppchen (Little Red Cap)	La Caperucita roja (2) Caperucita Roja (3) Caperucita Roja (4) Caperucita Roja (8) Caperucita Roja (10) Caperucita Roja (11)

27. Die Bremer Stadtmusikanten (The Bremen Town Musicians)	Los músicos de Brema (2) Los músicos de Brema (4) Los músicos viajeros (8) Los músicos de Brema (9) Los músicos de Brema (10) Los músicos de Brema (11)
28. Der singende Knochen (The Singing Bone)	El hueso cantor (4)
29. Der Teufel mit den drei goldenen Haaren (The Devil with the Three Golden Hairs)	Un joven afortunado (2) Los tres pelos de oro del diablo (4) Los tres pelos de oro del duendecillo (7) El gigante de los tres cabellos del oro (8)
30. Läuschen und Flöhchen (Louse and the Flea)	El Piojito y la Pulguita (4)
31. Das Mädchen ohne Hände (The Maiden without Hands)	La doncella sin manos (4)
32. Der gescheite Hans (Clever Hans)	Juan el listo (4) Juan el listo (5) Juan el listo (5a)
33. Die drei Sprachen (The Three Languages)	Las tres lenguas (4)
34. Die kluge Else (Clever Else)	Juana la lista (2) Elsa la lista (4) Elsa, la lista (7)
35. Der Schneider im Himmel (The Tailor in Heaven)	El sastre en el cielo (4)
36. Tischchen deck dich, Goldesel und Knüppel aus dem Sack (The Magic Table, the Gold Donkey, and the Club in the Sack)	Los tres hermanos (2) La mesa, el asno y el bastón maravilloso (4) La mesa, el asno y el bastón maravilloso (7) La mesa, el asno y el palo (8) La mesa, el burro de oro y el palo brincador (10) La mesa, el burro de oro y el palo pegador (11)
37. Daumesdick (Thumbling)	Pulgarín (1) Pulgarcito (2) Pulgarcito (4) Pulgarcito (8) Pulgarcito (9) Pulgarcito (10) Pulgarcito (11)
38. Die Hochzeit der Frau Fuchsin (The Wedding of Mrs. Fox - 2 Parts)	La boda de la dama raposa. Cuento 1-2 (4) La boda de la señora Zorra + Otro cuento (5) La boda de la señora Zorra + Otro cuento (5a) La boda de la señora zorra (10)
39. Die Wichtelmänner (The Elves – 3 Parts)	Los duendecillos. Cuento 1-3 (4) Los duendes y el zapatero (5) Los duendes y el zapatero (5a) El zapatero y los duendes (8) Los duendes y el zapatero (10)
40. Der Räuberbräutigam (The Robber Bridegroom)	La novia del bandolero (4)
41. Herr Korbes (Herr Korbes)	El señor Korbes (4)
42. Der Herr Gevatter (The Godfather)	El señor padrino (4)
43. Frau Trude (Mother Trude)	Dama duende (4)
44. Der Gevatter Tod (Godfather Death)	El ahijado de la Muerte (2) La muerte madrina (4) El ahijado de la muerte (9)

	La muerte madrina (10)
45. Daumerlings Wanderschaft (Thumbling's Travels)	El viaje de Pulgarcito (2) Las correrías del Pulgarcito (4) Las andanzas de Pulgarcito (10)
46. Fitchers Vogel (Fitcher's Bird)	El brujo y las tres hermanas (2) El pájaro del brujo (4)
47. Von dem Machandelboom (The Juniper Tree)	El almendro (1) El enebro (4) El almendro (8)
48. Der alte Sultan (Old Sultan)	El viejo "Sultan" (4)
49. Die sechs Schwäne (The Six Swans)	Los seis cisnes (2a) Los seis cisnes (4) Los seis cisnes (7)
50. Dornröschen (Brier Rose)	Un sueño largo (2) La bella durmiente (3) La bella durmiente del bosque (4) Rosa silvestre (5) La bella durmiente (5a) La bella durmiente (8) La bella durmiente del bosque (10) La bella durmiente del bosque (11)
51. Fundevogel (Foundling)	Piñoncito (4) Pichoncito (10)
52. König Drosselbart (King Thrushbeard)	El rey cuervo (2) El rey "Pico de tordo" (4) El Rey Picodeloro (5) El Rey Picodeloro (5a) El rey cuervo (6) El rey 'Pico de tordo' (7) El rey Babaestopa (8) El rey 'Pico de tordo' (10)
53. Sneewittchen (Snow White)	La princesita Blanca Nieves (2) Blancanieves (3) Blancanieves (4) Blancanieves (5) Blancanieves (5a) Blanca Nieve (6) Blancanieves (7) Blancanieves (8) Blancanieves (9) Blancanieves (10) Blancanieves (11)
54. Der Ranzen, das Hütlein und das Hörnlein (The Knapsack, the Hat, and the Horn)	El morral, el sombrero y el cuerno (4)
55. Rumpelstilzchen (Rumpelstiltskin)	La hija del molinero (2) Trota-Menudo (3) La hija del molinero (4) Tribilitín (8) Tribilitín (10)
56. Der Liebste Roland (Sweetheart Roland)	El amadísimo Rolando (4) Rolando (8)
57. Der goldene Vogel (The Golden Bird)	El pájaro de oro (4) El pájaro de oro (8) El pájaro de oro (10)
58. Der Hund und der Sperling (The Dog and the	El perro Viejo y el gorrión (1)

Sparrow)	El perro y el gorrión (2) El perro y el gorrión (4) El perro y el gorrión (8)
59. Der Frieder und das Katherlieschen (Freddy and Katy)	Federico y Catalina (4) Federico y Catalina (8)
60. Die zwei Brüder (The Two Brothers)	Los dos hermanos (4)
61. Das Bürle (Little Farmer)	Los Destripaterrones (4) El pequeño granjero (8)
62. Die Bienenkönigin (The Queen Bee)	La reina de las abejas (4) La reina de las abejas (5) La reina de las abejas (5a) La reina de las abejas (6) La reina abeja (8)
63. Die drei Federn (The Three Feathers)	Las tres plumas (2a) Las tres plumas (4) Las tres plumas (10)
64. Die goldene Gans (The Golden Goose)	La oca de oro (4) El patito de oro (5) El patito de oro (5a) El pato de oro (8)
65. Allerleirauh (All Fur)	Bestia peluda (4) 'Bestia peluda' (7)
66. Häsichenbraut (The Hare's Bride)	La novia del conejillo (4)
67. Die zwölf Jäger (The Twelve Huntsmen)	Los doce cazadores (4)
68. De Gaudeif un sien Meester (The Thief and His Master)	El ladrón fullero y su maestro (4)
69. Jorinde und Joringel (Jorinda and Joringel)	Pepito y Mariquita (2) Yorinda y Yoringuel (4) Yorinda y Yorindel (8) Yorinda y Yoriguel (10)
70. Die drei Glückskinder (The Three Sons of Fortune)	El legado de un padre (2) Los tres favoritos de la fortuna (4) Los tres hijos de la fortuna (8)
71. Sechse kommen durch die ganze Welt (How Six Made the Way in the World)	Seis soldados de fortuna (1) Los seis que todo lo pueden (2) Seis que salen de todo (4) Los seis que recorrieron el mundo (8) Los seis invencibles (10)
72. Der Wolf und der Mensch (The Wolf and the Man)	El lobo y el hombre (4) El lobo y el hombre (5) El lobo y el hombre (5a)
73. Der Wolf und der Fuchs (The Wolf and the Fox)	El lobo y la zorra (4)
74. Der Fuchs und die Frau Gevatterin (The Fox and His Cousin)	El zorro y su comadre (4)
75. Der Fuchs und die Katze (The Fox and the Cat)	La zorra y el gato (4) El zorro y el gato (5) El zorro y el gato (5a) El zorro y el gato (10)
76. Die Nelke (The Pink Flower)	El clavel (4) Lindo Clavel (5) Lindo Clavel (5a) Lindo clavel (10)
77. Das kluge Gretel (Clever Gretel)	Los dos pollos (1) La picara cocinera (4)

	Grethel, la lista (5) Grethel, la lista (5a) Juanita, la lista (8)
78. Der alte Großvater und der Enkel (The Old Man and His Grandson)	El abuelo y el nieto (4)
79. Die Wassernixe (The Water Nixie)	La ondina (4) El hada en el pantano (10)
80. Von dem Tode des Hühnchens (The Death of the Hen)	La gallinita y el pollito (2) La muerte de la gallinita (4) La gallinita y el pollito (7) La gallinita y el pollito (10)
81. Bruder Lustig (Brother Lustig)	El compadre Sonajero (2) Hermano Alegre (4) El compadre sonajero (10) El compadre sonajero (11)
82. De Spielhansl (Gambling Hansel)	El jugador (4)
83. Hans im Glück (Lucky Hans)	Las agudezas de Juan (2) Juan con suerte (4) Hans, el de la suerte (8) Juan con suerte (10) Juan con suerte (11)
84. Hans heiratet (Hans Gets Married)	Juan se casa (4)
85. Die Goldkinder (The Golden Children)	Los niños de oro (4)
86. Der Fuchs und die Gänse (The Fox and the Geese)	La zorra y los gansos (4)
87. Der Arme und der Reiche (The Poor Man and the Rich Man)	Justicia de Dios (2) El pobre y el rico (4) El pobre y el rico (10)
88. Das singende springende Löweneckerchen (The Singing, Springing Lark)	La alondra cantarina y saltarina (4) La dama y el león (5) La dama y el león (5a) La dama y el león (10)
89. Die Gänsemagd (The Goose Girl)	El caballo prodigioso (2) El caballo prodigioso (2a) La pastora de ocas (4) La pastora de gansos (5) "Falada" o el caballo prodigioso (5a) La guardadora de gansos (8) La pastora de los gansos (10)
90. Der junge Riese (The Young Giant)	El joven gigante (4)
91. Dat Erdmänneken (The Gnome)	El gnomo (4)
92. Der König vom goldenen Berg (The King of the Golden Mountain)	El rey de la cachiporra (2) El rey de la montaña de oro (4) El rey de la montaña de oro (5) El rey de la montaña de oro (5a)
93. Die Rabe (The Raven)	La corneja (1) El cuervo (4)
94. Die kluge Bauerntochter (The Clever Farmer's Daughter)	La aldeana lista (2) La campesina prudente (4)
95. Der alte Hildebrand (Old Hildebrand)	---
96. De drei Vügelkens (The Three Little Birds)	Los tres pajarillos (4)
97. Das Wasser des Lebens (The Water of Life)	El agua de la vida (2) El agua de la vida (2a) El agua de la vida (4) El agua de la vida (5)

	El agua de la vida (5a) El agua de la vida (6) El agua de la vida (7) El agua de la vida (8) El agua de la vida (9) El agua de la vida (10)
98. Doktor Allwissend (Doctor Know-It-All)	El doctor Sabelotodo (2) El Doctor Sabelotodo (4) El doctor Sabelotodo (5) El doctor Sabelotodo (5a) El doctor sabelotodo (7) El doctor sabelotodo (10) El doctor Sabelotodo (11)
99. Der Geist im Glas (The Spirit in the Glass Bottle)	El espíritu embotellado (4) El espíritu de la botella (10)
100. Des Teufels rußiger Bruder (The Devil's Sooty Brother)	El mugriento hermano del diablo (4)
101. Der Bärenhäuter (Bearskin)	El gabán del Diablo (2) Piel de oso (4) 'Piel de oso' (7)
102. Der Zaunkönig und der Bär (The Wren and the Bear)	El reyezuelo y el oso (2) El reyezuelo y el oso (4) El paro y el oso (8) El reyezuelo y el oso (10)
103. Der süße Brei (The Sweet Porridge)	Gachas dulces (4)
104. Die klugen Leute (The Clever People)	Gente lista (4)
105. Märchen von der Unke (Tales About Toads)	Las ranas mágicas (2) Cuentos del sapo (4)
106. Der arme Müllerbursch und das Kätzchen (The Poor Miller's Apprentice and the Cat)	El pobre mozo molinero y la gatita (4)
107. Die beiden Wanderer (The Two Travelers)	Los dos caminantes (4) Los dos compañeros (6) Los dos caminantes (10)
108. Hans mein Igel (Hans My Hedgehog)	Juan Erizo (4)
109. Das Totenhemdchen (The Little Shroud)	La camiseta del muerto (4)
110. Der Jude im Dorn (The Jew in the Thornbush)	Bailar a la fuerza (2) El judío en el espino (4) El judío en espinos (5) El judío en espinos (7)
111. Der gelernte Jäger (The Expert Huntsman)	El hábil cazador (4)
112. Der Dreschflegel vom Himmel (The Fleshing Flail from Heaven)	El mayal del cielo (4)
113. De beiden Königskinner (The Two Kings' Children)	Los dos príncipes (4)
114. Vom klugen Schneiderlein (The Clever Little Tailor)	El sastrecillo listo (2) El sastrecillo listo (4) Los tres sastres (8) El sastrecillo listo (10) El sastrecillo listo (11)
115. Die klare Sonne bringts an den Tag (The Bright Sun Will Bring It to Light)	El sol revelador (4)
116. Das blaue Licht (The Blue Light)	La lámpara azul (4) La luz azul (5) La luz azul (5a)

	La lámpara azul (7) La luz azul (8)
117. Das eigensinnige Kind (The Stubborn Child)	El chiquillo testarudo (4)
118. Die drei Feldscherer (The Three Army Surgeons)	Los tres cirujanos (4)
119. Die sieben Schwaben (The Seven Swabians)	Los siete suabos (4)
120. Die drei Handwerksburschen (The Three Journeymen)	Los tres operarios (4)
121. Der Königssohn, der sich vor nichts fürchtet (The Prince Who Feared Nothing)	El príncipe intrépido (4)
122. Der Krautesel (The Lettuce Donkey)	La lechuga prodigiosa (4) La lechuga (5) La lechuga (5a) La ensalada (10)
123. Die Alte im Wald (The Old Woman in the Forest)	La vieja del bosque (4)
124. Die drei Brüder (The Three Brothers)	Los tres hermanos (4)
125. Der Teufel und seine Großmutter (The Devil and His Grandmother)	El diablo y su abuela (4)
126. Ferenand getrü und Ferenand ungetrü (Faithful Ferdinand Infaithful Ferdinand)	Fernando Leal y Fernando Desleal (4)
127. Der Eisenofen (The Iron Stove)	El horno de hierro (4)
128. Die faule Spinnerin (The Lazy Spinner)	La hilandera holgazana (4)
129. Die vier kunstreichen Brüder (The Four Skillful Brothers)	Los cuatro talismanes (2) Los cuatro hermanos ingeniosos (4) Cuatro hermanillos listos (5) Cuatro hermanillos listos (5a) Los cuatro hermanos hábiles (6) Los cuatro habilidosos hermanos (8) Los cuatro hermanos ingeniosos (10) Los cuatro hermanos ingeniosos (11)
130. Einäuglein, Zweiäuglein und Dreiäuglein (One-Eye, Two-Eyes, and Three-Eyes)	Un Ojito, Dos Ojitos y Tres Ojitos (4)
131. Die schöne Katrinelje und Pif Paf Poltrie (Pretty Katrinelya and Pif Paf Poltree)	La bello Catalinita y Pif Paf Poltri (4)
132. Der Fuchs und das Pferd (The Fox and the Horse)	La zorra y el caballo (4) El zorro y el caballo (5) El zorro y el caballo (5a) El zorro y el caballo (10)
133. Die zertanzten Schuhe (The Worn-out Dancing Shoes)	Las princesas bailadoras (4) Las doce princesas bailarinas (8)
134. Die sechs Diener (The Six Servants)	Los seis criados (4) Los seis sirvientes (8)
135. Die weiße und die schwarze Braut (The White Bride and the Black Bride)	La novia blanca y la novia negra (2) La novia blanca y la novia negra (4) La novia blanca y la novia negra (10)
136. Der Eisenhans (Iron Hans)	Juan de hierro (4) Juan de hierro (5) Juan de hierro (5a) Juan de hierro (10)
137. De drei schwatten Prinzessinnen (The Three Black Princesses)	Las tres princesas negras (4)
138. Knoist un sine dre Sühne (Knoist and His	Knoist y sus tres hijos (4)

Three Sons)	
139. Dat Mäken von Brakel (The Maiden from Brakel)	La muchacha de Brakel (4)
140. Das Hausgesinde (The Domestic Servants)	Los fámulos (4)
141. Das Lämmchen und Fischchen (The Little Lamb and the Little Fish)	El corderillo y el pececillo (4)
142. Simeliberg (Simelei Mountain)	Monte Simeli (4) Monte Semsí (7) Monte Simeli (10)
143. Up Reisen gohn (Going Traveling)	Inconvenientes de correr mundo (4)
144. Das Eselein (The Donkey)	El borriquillo (4)
145. Der undankbare Sohn (The Ungrateful Son)	El hijo ingrato (4)
146. Die Rübe (The Turnip)	La zanahoria (4) El nabo (5) El nabo (5a) El nabo (10)
147. Das junggeglühte Männlein (The Rejuvenated Little Old Man)	El hombrecillo rejuvenecido (4)
148. Des Herrn und des Teufels Getier (The Animals of the Lord and the Devil)	Nuestro Señor y el ganado del diablo (4)
149. Der Hahnenbalken (The Beam)	La viga (4)
150. Die alte Bettelfrau (The Old Beggar Woman)	La vieja pordiosera (4)
151. Die drei Faulen (The Three Lazy Sons)	Los tres haraganes (4)
151*. Die zwölf faulen Knecht (The Twelve Lazy Servants)	Los doce haraganes (4)
152. Das Hirtenbüblein (The Little Shepherd Boy)	El zagalillo (4)
153. Die Sterntaler (The Star Coins)	Caridad y recompensa (2) Los ducados caídos del cielo (4) Los ducados caídos del cielo (7) Las monedas de estrella (10)
154. Der gestohlene Heller (The Stolen Pennies)	Los ochavos robados (4)
155. Die Brautschau (Choosing a Bride)	Elección de novia (4)
156. Die Schlickerlinge (The Leftovers)	La muchacha hacendosa (4)
157. Der Sperling und seine vier Kinder (The Sparrow and His Four Children)	El gorrión y sus cuatro gurriatos (4)
158. Das Märchen vom Schlauffenland (The Tale About the Land of Cockaigne)	El cuanto de los despropósitos (4)
159. Das Dietmarsische Lügenmärchen (A Tall Tale from Ditmarsh)	El cuento de las mentiras (4)
160. Rätselmärchen (A Tale With a Riddle)	Cuento-acertijo (4)
161. Schneeweißchen und Rosenrot (Snow White and Rose Red)	Blancanieve y Rojaflor (2) Blancanieve y Rojaflor (4) Blanca Nieve y Roja Rosa (6) Blancanieve y Rojaflor (7) Blancanieves y Rojaflor (8)
162. Der kluge Knecht (The Clever Servant)	Juan el listo (4)
163. Der gläserne Sarg (The Glass Coffin)	El féretro de cristal (4) El ataúd de cristal (10)
164. Der faule Heinz (Lazy Heinz)	Enrique el holgazán (4)
165. Der Vogel Greif (The Griffin)	El pájaro grifo (2)

	El grifo (4) El pájaro Grifo (9) El pájaro Grifo (10)
166. Der starke Hans (Strong Hans)	El fornido Juan (4) Juan el fuerte (6)
167. Das Bürle im Himmel (The Peasant in Heaven)	El pobre campesino en el cielo (4)
168. Die hagere Liese (Lean Lisa)	Elisa, la flaca (4)
169. Das Waldhaus (The House in the Forest)	La casita del bosque (2) La casa del bosque (4) La casa del bosque (7) La casa del bosque (10)
170. Lieb und Leid teilen (Sharing Joys and Sorrows)	Hay que compartir las penas y las alegrías (4)
171. Der Zaunkönig (The Wren)	El reyezuelo (4)
172. Die Scholle (The Flounder)	La platija (4)
173. Rohrdommel und Wiedehopf (The Bittern and Hoopoe)	El alcaraván y la abubilla (4)
174. Die Eule (The Owl)	El buho (4)
175. Der Mond (The Moon)	La luna (4)
176. Die Lebenszeit (The Life Span)	La duración de la vida (4)
177. Die Boten des Todes (The Messengers of Death)	Los mensajeros de la muerte (4)
178. Meister Pfriem (Master Pfriem)	Cascarrabias (4)
179. Die Gänsehirtin am Brunnen (The Goose Girl at the Spring)	La vieja de los gansos (2) La pastora de ocas en la fuente (4) La pastora de ocas en la fuente (7) La pastora en la fuente (10)
180. Die ungleichen Kinder Evas (Eve's Unequal Children)	Los desiguales hijos de Eva (4)
181. Die Nixe im Teich (The Nixie in the Pond)	La ondina del estanque (4) La ondina del estanque (6) La ondina del estanque (7)
182. Die Geschenke des kleinen Volkes (The Gifts of the Little Folk)	Los gnomos de la montaña (2) Los regalos de los gnomos (4) Los regalos de los duendes (10)
183. Der Riese und der Schneider (The Giant and the Tailor)	El gigante y el sastre (4)
184. Der Nagel (The Nail)	El clavo (4)
185. Der arme Junge im Grab (The Poor Boy in the Grave)	El pobre niño en la tumba (4)
186. Die wahre Braut (The True Bride)	La novia verdadera (4)
187. Der Hase und der Igel (The Hare and the Hedgehog)	Quien de los dos corre mas? (2) La liebre y el erizo (4) ¿Cual de los dos corre mas? (10)
188. Spindel, Weberschiffchen und Nadel (Spindle, Shuttle, and Needle)	El huso, la lanzadera y la aguja (4) Huso, lanzadera y aguja (6) El huso, la lanzadera y la aguja (10)
189. Der Bauer und der Teufel (The Peasant and the Devil)	El labrador y el diablo (4) El labrador y el diablo (10)
190. Die Brosamen auf dem Tisch (The Crumbs on the Table)	Las migajas de la mesa (4)
191. Das Meerhäschen (The Little Hamster From the Water)	El lebrato marino (4)
192. Der Meisterdieb (The Master Thief)	El rey de los ladrones (4)

193. Der Trommler (The Drummer)	El tambor (4)
194. Die Kornähre (The Ear of Grain)	La espiga de trigo (4)
195. Der Grabhügel (The Grave Mound)	Un soldado valiente (2) La tumba (4)
196. Old Rinkrank (Old Rinkrank)	El viejo Rinkrank (4)
197. Die Kristallkugel (The Crystal Ball)	La bola de cristal (4)
198. Jungfrau Maleen (Maid Maleen)	La doncella Maleen (4)
199. Die Stiefel von Büffelleader (The Boot of Buffalo Leather)	La bota de piel de búfalo (4)
200. Der goldene Schlüssel (The Golden Key)	La llave de oro (4)
Kinderlegenden (Religious Tales for Children)	
1. Der heilige Joseph im Walde (St. Joseph in the Forest)	
2. Die zwölf Apostel (The Twelve Apostles)	
3. Die Rose (The Rose)	
4. Armut und Demut führen zum Himmel (Poverty and Humility Lead to Heaven)	
5. Gottes Speise (God's Food)	
6. Die drei grünen Zweige (The Three Green Branches)	Las tres ramas verdes (2)
7. Muttergottesgläschen (The Blessed Virgin's Little Glass)	
8. Das alte Mütterchen (The Little Old Lady)	
9. Die himmlische Hochzeit (The Heavenly Wedding)	
10. Die Haselrute (The Hazel Branch)	
The Omitted Tales	
Der gestiefelte Kater (Puss in Boots): KHM 33 in 1812; omitted in 1819 due to its French origins.	El Gato con botas (3) El gato con botas (10) El Gato con botas (11)
Die lange Nase (The Long Nose): KHM 36 in volume II (1815); omitted in favor of "Der Krautesel" (no. 122) in 1819.	La nariz (2a) La nariz (8)
Die treuen Tiere (The Faithful Animals): KHM 18 in volume II (1815); omitted in 1850 because it came from the Mongolian collection <i>Siddhi-Kühr</i> .	Los animales agradecidos (8)

¹ The titles of the Grimm's original stories are taken from Hans-Jörg Uther's *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen*.

² The English titles are taken from Jack Zipes's *Complete Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm*.

Sources:

The concordance of Spanish titles identifies the content of twelve editions discussed in this study. The titles are taken from the following sources:

- (1) *Cuentos y leyendas de los hermanos Grimm* (Barcelona: J. Roura, 1893)
- (2) *Cuentos escogidos* (Madrid: Calleja, 1896)
- (2a) *Chanchito* (Bogotá, 1933-34)
- (3) *Libro de cuentos ilustrado* (Madrid: A.A.A., 1950)
- (4) *Cuentos completos de los hermanos Grimm* (Barcelona: Labor, 1955)
- (5) *Cuentos de Grimm, illust. Rackham* (Barcelona: Juventud, 1935, 1955)
- (5a) *Cuentos de Grimm, illust. Rackham* (Barcelona: Juventud, 1971, 1985, 1990)
- (6) *Blanca Nieve y otros cuentos* (México: Renacimiento, 1959, 1963)
- (7) *Cuentos de Grimm* (Barcelona, Bogotá: 1958, 1961)
- (8) *Cuentos de hadas de Grimm* (Barcelona: Molino, 1960)

- (9) *Los mejores cuentos infantiles del mundo* (Bogotá: LEY?, 1970?)
- (10) *Cuentos infantiles* (Medellín: Bedout, 1979)
- (11) *Hermanos Grimm: Cuentos* (Medellín: Edilux 1990)

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ABSTRACT**THE TALES OF THE GRIMM BROTHERS IN COLOMBIA: INTRODUCTION,
DISSEMINATION, AND RECEPTION**

by

ALEXANDRA MICHAELIS-VULTORIUS**December 2011****Advisor:** Dr. Donald Haase**Major:** Modern Languages (German Studies)**Degree:** Doctor of Philosophy

Very limited research focusing on the reception of the Grimms' tales exists for Latin America. This dissertation provides insight into the introduction, dissemination, translations, and reception of the Brothers' tales in Colombia. My research is based on the holdings of the main public libraries; I examined the inventory of classical European fairy tales and other writings catalogued as children and youth literature that is currently circulating in the country. Publications from the eighteenth century until the year 2000 were examined. Grimm tales and other printed materials related to the siblings and their work published in individual editions, Colombian magazines, anthologies, newspapers, and reference books, as well as critical pieces by Colombian scholars and locally authored retellings constitute the core of this study.

The existing bibliographic data provided insight into the historical reception and helped us understand not only the routes of transmission and spread of the Grimms' tales in Colombia, but the way Colombians have come to value the Grimms, received the tales, and responded to them. My analysis showed that only in the second half of the twentieth

century—in the wake of Disney’s animated fairy-tale adaptations—did the Grimms’ tales gain popularity in Colombia, which became apparent in a surge of post-1950 editions.

Spanish translations play a crucial role in this study. Most of the translated Grimm editions published up to 1950 were imported from Spain, and the tales from the Casa Editorial Calleja were among the oldest copies located. Saturnino Calleja, a major contributor to the rise of children’s literature in Spain, was highly influential in Colombia. Calleja’s stories generally depart from the Grimms’ original texts in both form and content to cater to the Spanish market. Grimm editions edited and printed in the Americas start to emerge around 1950; yet rather than being local productions, these editions show close ties to Europe, particularly to Spain. With the breaking of the Spanish Civil War many authors and publishers fled the country and relocated in Ibero-America. It is therefore not surprising that manipulations to the original narratives, which inscribe values, interests, and linguistic expressions specific to the Spanish culture, resurface again in these Latin American editions.

Specifically Colombian renditions are virtually non-existent until the late 1970s, when the ENKA prize for youth literature was introduced in the country. In general, secondhand adaptations of the Grimm tales edited in Colombia without apparent foreign intervention, scholarly articles and publications related to the German brothers and their legacy, and locally authored recasts of the tales are not readily found in the main libraries, at least not for the period covered in this study, which extends only until 2000. But however limited the supply, the few interpretations, retellings, and responses attest to the positive and still growing reception of the Grimm tales in the country, which becomes more and more tangible towards the turn of the century.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT

Alexandra Michaelis-Vultorius was born in Cali, Colombia. After graduating in Business Administration from the University of Massachusetts in Amherst she went to Europe where she lived for more than thirteen years. Most of that time she spent in Germany working for two renowned German multinational corporations in Sales/Marketing and later, as a freelance translator of technical texts. Upon returning to the United States she decided to change the bearings of her career and started German Studies at Wayne State University. She received her Ph.D. in 2011. Her research interests include nineteenth-century German literature and culture and the influence of fairy tales, in particular the Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, on contemporary authors and fairy-tale tradition in Latin America.