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TRANSLATIONS OF FAIRY TALES BETWEEN NATIONAL MOBILIZATION AND COMMODIFICATION

German Children's Literature in Nineteenth-century Croatia

Abstract: A brief overview of translation within folklore studies and children's literature studies leads to the focal point of this article: nineteenth-century Croatian versions of German fairy tales. The analysis concentrates on the textual and paratextual features of the Croatian texts, their relationship to the source texts and their involvement in national integration. Moreover, they are examined as part of empirical research in the history of reading: children's reception of German children's books in nineteenth-century Croatia. Finally, they are discussed from the book history perspective: adoption of German children's literature genres and publishing strategies in the field of nineteenth-century Croatian children's literature. The discussion of these three aspects indicates that the appropriation of German fairy tales in nineteenth-century Croatian society followed various (oral, written, German-language, Croatian-language) routes and had different outcomes. The complexity of these processes reminds us that literature is not only a symbolic (written, textual), but also a material (reading, editing, publishing) enterprise. It also reminds us that children's literature is entangled not only in concepts of childhood and literature, but also in other cultural concepts such as nation and class.

Keywords: fairy tales, Croatian children's literature, German children's literature, translation, appropriation, nineteenth century, material book culture, nation, class

Fairy tale scholarship has been interested in translations for a long time. The fact that similar tales are found all across the world (or at least across Europe and America, if we speak specifically about fairy tales) raised the question of intercultural borrowings and interlanguage exchange. Therefore, as early as in the mid-19th century, the German philologist Theodor

Benfey turned the discussion about fairy tale origins “on to a new track,” claiming that fairy tales “had been transmitted by writing from India to Europe through various intermediary languages” (Holbek 1987: 18). A few decades later Finnish scholar Kaarle Krohn “developed Benfey’s rather vague ideas about the character of migration into the strict methodology” (Holbek 1987: 243) and lay foundations for the “historic-geographic method,” or the so-called Finnish school – one of the most famous and rigorous folkloristic approaches to the dissemination of folktales and fairy tales. But the scholars of the Finnish school “removed from their research material any texts contaminated by literature” (Åpo 2007: 18) and imposed the method of documentation as well as interpretation of the oral transmission of folk and fairy tales. As Finnish folklorist Satu Åpo has recently pointed out, these researchers, collectors and archivists

were prejudiced against texts that had demonstrably assimilated literary elements. It was only in the 1930s that the Folklore Archives [of the Finnish Literature Society] started to record more thoroughly their methods of selection. At that time, archivists were put under an obligation to exercise strict criticism of their sources even at the early stages of the archiving process, when the new texts were being classified according to genre. A memorandum written in the 1970s describes the policy: ‘items containing even the slightest hint of literary influence, idiosyncratic authorship or exhibiting a non-traditional style were discarded and written off as *Trash, f.*’ (2007: 19–20).

Many scholars criticized the one-sidedness of such a purely oralistic approach to the dissemination of folktales, and especially to fairy tales. One of the most prominent critics of the historic-geographic method was the Vienna-born Czech comparatist Albert Wesselski, who on the eve of World War II “published a global account of the origins and a lengthy description of the dissemination of fairy tales based on print culture” and argued for “the primacy of literacy and print in the history of Europe’s fairy tales” (Bottigheimer 2007: 12; cf. Kiefer 1947). Wesselski’s work, as well as his debate with Walter Anderson, a major proponent of the historic-geographic method, did not start a global *deoralisation* of fairy tale scholarship; still, his interest in printed fairy tales and their translation has been shared by many scholars from postwar era until today.

Recently, several works (cf. Bottigheimer 2009; Schacker 2003) and articles (cf. e. g. Åpo 2007; Bottigheimer 2005; Haase 2003; Kaliambou 2005; Magnanini 2007) have discussed translations of world-famous fairy tales in an intriguing and innovative way. Moreover, the 2009 special issue

of *Marvels & Tales* (21/1), one of the influential contemporary forums for fairy tale studies, was devoted exclusively to translation of fairy tales.

Most of these studies focus on fairy tales translations, even if translation is not at the core of their interest, as it also happens in children's literature studies (cf. Tatar 1987, 1992; Zipes 1991, 1997, 1999). In Croatia some of the most fundamental and interesting studies of nineteenth-century Croatian children's literature (cf. Crnković 1978; Majhut 2005) investigate translations on equal terms with texts originally written in Croatian. In other words, they see translations as an integral component of Croatian children's literature. This field of research was outlined only in the 1970s, when the link between literary scholarship and the processes of national mobilization was much looser than it was in the 19th century. These studies went beyond "the methodological nationalism," as Anthony Smith (1983: 26) called it long ago. Their interest in translations was inseparable from the fact that other literatures, such as German-language children's literature, had a lasting influence on Croatian children's literature. Some of the oldest, regularly reprinted, children's books in Croatia, both functional and entertaining, were in fact translations from German. For example, one of the first children's novels ever published in Croatian (Vranich 1796) was the translation of Joachim Heinrich Campe's famous book *Robinson der Jüngere* (Robinson the Younger; 1779/1780); writers such as Franz Friedrich Hoffmann and Christoph von Schmid were among the most popular children's authors in Croatia during what Eric Hobsbawm called "the long 19th century." Current research on the subject suggests (cf. Crnković 1978; Majhut 2005) that Hoffman and Schmid had a substantial, longstanding and varied impact on Croatian children's literature production. Translations of their works influenced not only the genre system, but also the style and functions of 19th century Croatian children's literature.

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This lasting influence of German children's literature on its Croatian counterpart is not surprising, if we bear in mind that during the "long 19th century" Croatia was part of the Habsburg Monarchy, even though it had varying degrees of political and economic autonomy (cf. Goldstein 2004: 54–107).

During the periods of centralized or absolutist governance in the Monarchy, the strong presence of German children's writing could be interpreted in terms of cultural imperialism or, more precisely, Germani-

sation. The first regularly reprinted Croatian primers (dating back to the end of the 18th century and used until the mid-19th century; see s. n. 1779; s. n. 1796) give material for this type of analysis.¹ These primers were products of an educational reform which aimed at standardizing teaching methods, curricula and textbooks throughout the Monarchy in order to facilitate the processes of modernization. The text in German was printed in these books alongside word-for-word translation into Croatian. However, what could seem to be an act of respect toward Croatian as a national language had in fact a different function: it was not to empower its standardization or use but to empower the transmission and institutionalization of the German language in non-German speaking parts of the Monarchy. Here we can talk about cultural imperialism in the narrowest sense. Even in the 1860s the authorities in Monarchy's centre were describing Croatian as childish and incapable of expressing scientific ideas or high culture (Goldstein 2008: 258).

But the relationship between the production for children in German and 19th-century Croatian children's literature cannot be interpreted in terms of germanisation and cultural imperialism by default. Numerous Croatian reading and publishing practices undertaken independently of the direct and formal decisions by the Vienna authorities are more fruitfully interpreted, if we consider them as instances of cultural adaptation and appropriation.² The aim of the present study is to show that influence of German language children's literature on its Croatian counterpart was not only lasting, but also multilayered and extensive.

The task may seem impossible, or at least unfruitful, at first glance. According to the bibliographical data, some of the most famous 19th-century collections of fairy tales and folktales were not translated into Croatian until the 20th century. The existence of 19th-century Croatian translations of German-language fairy tales is a precondition for the discussion of 19th-century Croatian translations of German fairy tales. However, the selection from Wilhelm Hauff appeared in 1902 and the selection of the Grimms' *Children and Household Tales* appeared in the first decades of the 20th cen-

¹ For the sake of clarity, I will refer only to two of at least twenty different bilingual primers (each published in approximately ten editions) which were used in Croatia during the "long 19th century." A more detailed bibliography is available in my PhD thesis "Formations of Childhood and Transformations of Fairy Tales in Croatian Children's Literature" (2008 University of Zagreb, Croatia).

² I use the terms "adaptation" and "appropriation" in their narrowest sense, as Croatian texts are based on other language source texts (Sanders 2006: 17–41).

ture.³ Selections of Ludwig Bechstein's fairy and folktales appeared even later, in 1955, although, for example, Bechstein's *New Book of German Folktales* (first published in 1856) was, as Ruth Bottigheimer points out:

marketed almost exclusively in the Austro-Hungarian Empire from publishing houses in Pest and Vienna, cities where the Grimms' tales only began to be published when Gerlach [Vienna publisher] brought out their edition at the beginning of the twentieth century (1993: 87).

These delayed translations of famous German-language collections cannot be explained as cultural ignorance or even resistance to the domination and formal politics of Vienna. As I have pointed out, some of the first as well as some of the most popular 19th-century Croatian children's books were originally written in German. Therefore, it seems reasonable to suppose that the German language provenance of these tales was not the reason for the delay in their translation.

Could this delay be explained by the relatively late appropriation of fairy tales into Croatian children's literature in general? As far as we know, fairy tales did not enter Croatian literature for children until the second half of the 19th century and did not reach the status of prominent genre until the turn of the 20th century. This explanation is not satisfying either, as a close study of the 19th century Croatian children's literature offers quite a different picture of the appropriation of German fairy tales by Croatian society and culture.

The investigation into Croatian children's periodicals shows that during the 19th century the Grimm, Hauff and Bechstein fairy tales were regularly translated and published. According to Milan Crnković (1978: 104), the first translation of the Grimms' fairy tale (*The Seven Ravens* KHM 25, ATU 451) appeared in the Croatian children's magazine *Smilje* (Everlasting; 1873–1945) in 1895. Moreover, as Crnković rightly notes, Croatian translations and rewritings of the Grimms' fairy tales were published in the 1880s, but without reference to their source, that is, the Grimms' authorship and editorship (Crnković 1978: 104). The most recent research shows that Croatian translations of the Grimms' fairy tales were in fact concurrent with the introduction of the fairy tale genre into Croatian children's

³ We can only approximately date the first selection of the Grimms' *Children and Household Tales* because its copy has been lost. According to such available data as the name of the publishing house (Albrecht) and the approximate year of its second edition, the publication date for this selection may be established at between 1905 and 1917.

literature (cf. Hameršak 2008). The text similar to the Grimms' *The Robber Bridegroom* (KHM 40, ATU 955) was published as early as in 1865 in the oldest Croatian children's periodical *Bosiljak* (Basilic; 1864–1868), but, as in the abovementioned cases, with no reference to the Grimms' authorship or editorship.

All in all, before 1895, when the first translation of a text explicitly ascribed to the Grimms appeared, more than thirty of their tales were translated, adapted or appropriated, some of them more than once. Therefore, there is a corpus of almost a hundred Croatian versions of the Grimms' tales, all of them with no reference to the original authorship, editorship or their proclaimed German folk origin.⁴

⁴ For those Croatian fairy texts which could be recognized as verbatim or at least close translations, it was easy to guess their origin. But for some of them it was very hard to define whether they are translations or recordings, for several reasons. Firstly, the very fact that similar tales exist in different parts of the world makes the identification of a text as translation very tricky. Secondly, the practices of adaptation and appropriation of source texts were generally accepted within Croatian children's literature. Thirdly, most of the canonical 19th-century fairy tales (for example Grimm, Bechstein, Perrault etc.) exist in multiple literary versions, which are very hard to detect after their adaptation and appropriation took place. I define these adapted and appropriated fairy tales as translations according to the complex textual archeology based on the examination of the available recordings of Croatian oral tales and of the publishing history of the supposed source text of a fairy tale, as well as on the analysis of the paratextual (title, subtitle, section, name of the author/editor/translator etc.) and textual (signals of translations, such as expressions in parenthesis etc.) features of the Croatian text. By following these criteria, fifty Croatian texts published prior to 1895 can be defined as translations of the Grimms' texts. In total, more than thirty-three Grimm tales were translated, adapted or appropriated before 1895. The Croatian children's magazine *Bosiljak* published *The Robber Bridegroom* (1865, KHM 40, ATU 955); the Croatian children's magazine *Bršljan* (Ivy) published translations of *Little Red Riding Hood* (1875, KHM 26, ATU 333), *Hansel and Gretel* (1892, KHM 15, ATU 327A), *Table-Be-Set*, *Gold-Donkey*, and *Cudgel-out-of-the-Sack* (1894, KHM 36, ATU 563); the Croatian children's magazine *Smilje* published *The Bremen Town Musicians* (1876, KHM 27, ATU 130), *Hansel and Gretel* (1878 & 1890), *Little Red Hood* (1878), *Cinderella* (1879, KHM 21, ATU 510A), *The Six Swans* (1880, KHM 49, ATU 451), *Little Snow-White* (1890, KHM 53, ATU 709), *The Goose-Girl* (1890, KHM 89, ATU 533). Until the 1895 the following fairy tale picture books were published: *Cinderella* (1879, approx. 1882), *Little Brier-Rose* (1879, KHM 50, ATU 410), *The Poor Miller's Boy and the Cat* (1879, KHM 106, ATU 402), *Little Red Hood* (1879), *Snow-White and Rose-Red* (approx. 1882, KHM 161, ATU 426). Prior to 1895 the following fairy tales were published in Croatian monograph editions for children: *The Wolf and the Seven Young Kids* (1877, KHM 5, ATU 123), *The Bremen Town Musicians* (1877), *The Star Talers* (1879, KHM 153, ATU 779H*), *Snow-White and Rose-Red* (1879), *The Poor Man and the Rich Man* (1879, KHM 87, ATU 750A), *The Seven Ravens* (1879, KHM 25, ATU 451), *The Three Feathers* (1887 & approx. 1887 & 1895, KHM 63, ATU 402), *Little Snow-White* (1887 & approx. 1887 & 1895), *Rumpelstiltskin* (1887 & approx. 1887 & 1895,

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The question remains why the translations of the Grimms' fairy tales were included in Croatian children's periodicals and collections without any references to the Grimms' names or to the declared folk origin of the tales? These references were often unknown to the editor or publisher because the tales belonged to the sphere of the so-called chain or multiple translations. Chain translations are, as Klaus Roth pointed out (1998), characteristic of folkloristic, oral translations as well as popular genres, including children's literature. In this type of translation, references to the original language, author or media are frequently lost and the final translation is represented as an anonymous, domesticated piece of writing. As Milan Crnković has observed, the majority of 19th-century Croatian children's literature was:

To bigger or lesser extent adaptations and "croatisations" of texts read in the children's journals from all over the Monarchy, primarily in Czech or German, but there are adaptations from Hungarian, Italian, as well as borrowings from Zmaj's [Serbian] journals (1978: 104; trans. M.H.).

Most of the 19th-century Croatian translations of the Grimms' fairy tales suggest this pattern of the reference loss. The process was also enhanced by the notions of nation and folk literature, which were then generally accepted

KHM 55, ATU 500), *Snow-White and Rose-Red* (1887 & approx. 1887 & 1895), *The Poor Miller's Boy and the Cat* (1887 & approx. 1887 & 1895), *Little Red Hood* (1887 & approx. 1887 & 1895), *The Two Brothers* (1887 & approx. 1887 & 1895, KHM 60, ATU 303), *Little Brother and Little Sister* (1887 & approx. 1887 & 1895, KHM 11, ATU 450), *Hansel and Gretel* (1887 & approx. 1887 & 1895), *The Goose-Girl* (1887 & approx. 1887 & 1895), *The White Bride and the Black Bride* (1887 & approx. 1887 & 1895, KHM 135, ATU 403), *The Poor Man and the Rich Man* (1887 & approx. 1887 & 1895), *Thumbthick* (1887, KHM 37, ATU 700), *Little Brier-Rose* (1887 & 1887 & 1895), *The Star Talers* (1887 & 1887 & 1895), *The Frog King, or Iron Heinrich* (1887 & 1887 & 1895, KHM 1, ATU 440), *The Elves* (1887 & 1887 & 1895, KHM 39, ATU 503 etc.), *The Bremen Town Musicians* (1887 & 1887 & 1895), *The Three Brothers* (1887 & approx. 1887 & 1895, KHM 124, ATU 654), *The Old Grandfather and His Grandson* (1887 & 1887 & 1895, KHM 78, ATU 980), *The Hare and the Hedgehog* (1887 & 1887, KHM 187, ATU 275C) *The Seven Ravens* (approx. 1887 & 1887 & 1895), *The Three Children of Fortune* (1887 & approx. 1892 & 1895, KHM 70, ATU 1650), *The Carnation* (1887 & approx. 1892 & 1895, KHM 76, ATU 652), *The Twelve Brothers* (1887 & approx. 1892 & 1895, KHM 9, ATU 451), *Hans in Luck* (1887 & approx. 1892 & 1895, KHM 83, ATU 1415), *Old Sultan* (1887 & approx. 1892 & 1895, KHM 48, ATU 101), *The White Snake* (1887 & approx. 1892 & 1895, KHM 17, ATU 673+554), *Cinderella* (1887 & approx. 1892 & 1895).

in Croatia. According to a popular view at the time, fairy and folktales were comprehended as embodiments of the national spirit, while the nation was conceived as a distinct organic entity different from all other nations. The publishing of folk and fairy tales for children was profited by such Herderian notions of folk and folk literature (Wilson 1973). Therefore, until the end of the 19th century, tales for children (defined explicitly as folktales) were understood to have their origin in the oral tradition, be it Slavic, Croatian, Serbian or Polish. Until the last decade of the 19th century the non-Slavic fairy and folktales were published with their origin censored. Only at the end of the 19th century when these notions of nation and folk literature began to lose their general appeal, and when ideas of Slavic unity were abandoned in the Croatian political and popular discourse (Stančić 1997: 33), the non-Slavic origins of some fairy tales started to be recognized. In 1899 the Croatian children's journal *Bršljan* for the first time published a non-Slavic folktale admitting its source in Irish folklore – its full title and subtitle was “Čudnovata staklenka: irska priča” (The Marvelous Jar: An Irish Tale). This happened only a few years after the first Croatian translation of a Grimm tale with the reference to the original authorship/editorship was published.⁵

Until then references to the Grimms and Bechstein or to German folklore in general would have been considered counterproductive because German fairy tales and folktales, according to the applied criteria of national exclusiveness, could have been relevant only for German readers, but not for the readers of the emerging Croatian nation. So the process of deleting the reference to their original tradition actually rendered these fairy tales valid for the amusement and instruction of Croatian young readers. Therefore, the fairy tale production in Croatian children's literature became to a large degree what Jack Zipes defines as “discourse about mores, values, and manners so that children would become civilized according to the social code of that time” (1991: 3). The more its production served such an aim, the more it appropriated texts which are even today synonymous with this kind of discourse: the Hauff, Bechstein and especially the Grimms' fairy tales.

⁵ Because the Grimms' work was widely known among 19th-century Croatian linguists, folklorists, historians and journalists, it can be assumed that acknowledging their authorship/editorship of a particular text for Croatian readers meant acknowledging its German heritage. On the other hand, Andersen's tales were from the beginning (the 1870s) translated into Croatian with references to his authorship, which can be explained by the fact that they were not, either in the source context or in the Croatian context, seen as belonging to or originating from Danish folk traditions.

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Although the book publications of the Grimms' fairy tales were controlled by the same concepts of nation, folk literature and children's literature and also appeared without reference to their authors, editors or their presumed folk origin, there was a difference in the way they functioned. The first Croatian collection of folktales for children (Stojanović 1879) which contained several translations of the Grimms' tales may serve as an example.⁶ Included in a collection of Croatian and Serbian folktales (as its title and *Preface* stated), these translations regained their folk label, only this time with Slavic, Croatian determinants in result of the process of radical domestication (cf. Venuti 1998: 31).

It is interesting to note that the subtitle of the manuscript version of that collection clearly stated that the tales were "taken from different printed sources" (Stojanović 1879b; trans M. H.), but as the copy of the manuscript, kept in The Croatian School Museum proves, this statement was crossed out, erased in the preparation for printing. The same type of domestication is apparent also in some of the most popular 19th-century Croatian folktale collections (in fact, one serial collection, first published in the mid-1880s and reissued for several times).⁷ Although the subtitles of these collections explicitly defined them as collections of Croatian and Serbian folktales, they were predominantly composed of translations of the Grimms' tales or their rewritings.

In contrast to the first Croatian folktale collection for children, these collections were richly illustrated and generally more attractive for wide readership, as they made use of yet another line of the appropriation of the Grimm, Bechstein and other fairy tales in 19th-century Croatian society.

In multilingual and multicultural 19th-century Croatian society, German fairy tales were published and read both in Croatian and in German. Throughout the 19th century German was the language of urban middle and upper classes in the north of the country, although this tendency declined toward the end of the century. For example, the statistics of that time showed that as much as 72% of the town population in northern Croatia in 1880 claimed Croatian as their native language (Gross & Szabo 1992: 68–69), still in the urban areas German remained the language of everyday, private communication. German was especially used in child upbringing

⁶ See footnote no. 4.

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and domestic education of children in the northern parts of the country. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that several autobiographical narratives on 19th-century Croatia refer to nurses entertaining their protégés by telling them *Märchen* (Tkalac 1945: 62; Vukelić 1994: 45), German fairy tales or folktales. One of them even explicitly refers to the Grimm and Bechstein collection as the source of the nurse's tales (Vukelić 1994: 45).

The introduction of the Grimm, Bechstein and Hauff tales into Croatian society at the time went not only through oral communication, but also in written form. Nineteenth-century Croatian collections of oral folk and fairy tales suggest (cf. Stohal 1904; Valjavec 1858 etc.) that Croatian urban narrators (informants) based their narratives on German collections of tales. Story plots as well as German language expressions, dialogues or even rhymes incorporated in those tales show that narrators read printed German fairy and folktales (Bošković-Stulli 1991: 58).

Although by the end of the 19th century German and foreign books in general no longer dominated Croatian bookshops and libraries (Stipčević 2008: 79–80), they were still part of standard repertoire until the end of World War II.⁸ Hauff, Bechstein and Mäsaü collections are referred to in the catalogues of early and late 19th-century Croatian bookshops and libraries (cf. e. g. s. n. 1860; s. n. 1893). Picture book editions of their tales are not mentioned in these catalogues, although several narrative sources suggest or explicitly claim (cf. e. g. 1881) that in the last decades of the 19th-century foreign, especially German, picture books were considered appropriate and desired Christmas gifts for middle and upper-class Croatian children. Picture books were omitted from the abovementioned catalogues probably because they were considered toys, not books, and because their purchasing depended on their visual appeal. For publishers and for buyers/readers, picture books were above all commodities.

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Why did Croatian parents buy children's books from abroad if in the last decades of the 19th century Croatian language books for children were available? By that time several Croatian publishers specialized in

⁸ For example, the "printed catalogue of the subscription library founded by Emil Hirschfeld, the German bookseller coming to Zagreb from Bremen (Germany) in worth mentioning. In this catalogue from 1842, Hirschfeld listed 2144 titles. Only 100 books were in French, the others were in German. There were no Croatian books at all" (Stipčević 2007: 4).

children's literature, and almost all at least from time to time published books for children. But it is also true that until the 1880s Croatian children's books were distributed primarily through the school system as library items or as annual prizes or Christmas presents for gifted pupils. Such books were of interest to teachers, not parents.

The industrialization and urbanization of Croatia as well as the development of book production and the introduction of obligatory schooling in the decades before the 1880s contributed to the widening and segmentation of children's books market in 1880s. In 1878 the Croatian teachers' association *Hrvatski književno-pedagogijski sbor* launched an edition of children's literature that was distributed to libraries almost by default and was used as school reward books (cf. Crnković 1978). Thus publishers were forced to address some other segments of the children's literature market, primarily middle and upper class urban parents, who were buying German or other foreign picture books for their children.

There were three series of books for children published at the end of the 1870s and at the beginning of the 1880s that differed radically from publications of this sort dating from before 1870s. They were richly illustrated; they consisted of fairy and fantastic tales and were rather expensive (when it comes to the number of pages they offered to their readers). Many books from these series have been lost. In fact, books from two of them, one named *Priče...* (Stories of ...) and another *Tisuć i jedna noć: arabske noći* (One Thousand and One Nights: Arabian Nights) are known only from the information in publishing catalogues or related editions as is the case with *Tisuć i jedna noć* (cf. Lopašić). Books from the third and the most recent series, named *Pričalice* (Tale-tellers) are partially available today.

What has remained of these publications and the catalogues shows that all of the editions included fairy tales and fantastic stories. Among them at least one (*Snow White and Red Rose*) that was a translation of a Grimms' tale, and at least four were free translations (or rewritings) of the Grimms' tales.⁹

On the other hand, publishers' information about size, binding, name, price, illustration etc. (cf. s. n. 1884; s. n. 1890) suggest that the target group for these stories were middle and upper class urban parents. Ac-

⁹ As Wilhelm Grimm himself pointed out in his notes to *Children and Household Tales*, the tale of *Snow White and Red Rose* (KHM 161, ATU 426) is his own retelling of a literary fairy tale *Undankbare Zwerg* (Ungrateful Dwarf) published by the Livonian-born writer for children Caroline Stahl only fifteen years before (Stahl 1821, first edition 1818). The other four fairy tales were probably translations of the Grimm's tales, see footnote no. 4.

ording to publishing catalogues these editions were richly illustrated, they comprised well known stories and were published as recognizable series in recognizable formats (for example, as quarto) or bindings (golden, colored etc). In other words, they bore all the marketing characteristics of a typical children book on the basis of which popular buyers, such as parents, select books for their children (see Joseph Turow 1982 on the 20th century). The prices indicate that they were aimed at middle and higher class buyers.

Finally, the available copies and catalogue information suggest that these series of picture books were in fact localizations of most probably German picture books. Inserting the text in Croatian into German picture books was the easiest and cheapest way to supplement the books that had been purchased by the target group before. As Berislav Majhut and Štefka Batinić (2001) have shown, from the beginning the publishing of Croatian picture books was strongly influenced by market demands.

By adopting German fairy tale picture books for Croatian children readers, the publishers not only adopted their contents and plots, but also the concepts, values as well as publishing standards present in the originals. The already mentioned series of picture books from the 1880s introduced a new publishing genre and addressed new middle- and upper-class audience. Furthermore, because fairy tales dominated these picture books, it can be said that in 19th-century Croatian society Croatian publishers were the first promoters of fairy tales as the privileged genre in children's writing.

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To summarize, the appropriation of fairy tales originally written and published in German by the 19th-century Croatian society followed a number of different – oral, written, German-language, Croatian-language – routes and yielded different results. In line with the Herderian notions of nation and folk literature and with the help of chain translations, German-language fairy tales were included in Croatian children's periodicals as no-name moral, exemplary or, rarely, entertaining stories. Published in a book form, even if in the context of the same set of political notions, these tales were taken to be as authentic Croatian folk stories and thus were used to empower national mobilization. Finally, in line with the reception of German-language fairy tales in German and among the urban population, these tales became toys and were produced, distributed and consumed as commodities.

These complex processes make it apparent that literature is not only a symbolic (written, textual), but also a material (reading, editing, publishing) enterprise. It also reminds us that children's literature is entangled not only in the concepts of childhood and literature, but also in other cultural concepts such as nation and class.

Abbreviations

- ATU Uther, H.-J. 2004. *The Types of International Folktales. A Classification and Bibliography. Based on the System of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson.* (= Folklore Fellows Communications No. 284-286). Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia.
- KHM = Grimm, Jacob i Wilhelm (1812-1857). *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. Wikisource. <http://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Kinder-_und_Hausm%C3%A4rchen>. Accessed December 2012.

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