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The Twists and Turns of a Timeless Puppet:
Violence and the Translation and Adaptation of Carlo Collodi's *Le avventure di Pinocchio*

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**The Twists and Turns of a Timeless Puppet:
Violence and the
Translation and Adaptation of
Carlo Collodi's *Le avventure di Pinocchio***

By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores two English translations of Carlo Collodi's *Le avventure di Pinocchio* (1883), one by British translator M.A. Murray in 1891 and the other by American translator Walter S. Cramp in 1904. It also examines Walt Disney's adaptation of *Pinocchio* (1940) for the screen, and in the process studies how the different English target cultures and systems have motivated and influenced translators' and adaptors' decisions and how, therefore, translations and adaptations are necessarily products of their environment. My approach is to focus specifically on moments of violence in Collodi's text, and use them as particularly 'hot' text situations from which to study the English translations. These translations are placed into and then analysed in regard to their respective reconstructed socio-cultural, literary and translation contexts. The norms governing the British and American translators' and American adaptor's respective versions provide some insight into the translators' and adaptor's approach to violence in children's literature and help identify possible reasons for the differences between the source and the target texts, and also between the different translations. *Skopostheorie*, Descriptive Translation Studies, polysystem theory and norm theory all play a role in the analyses.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette thèse explore deux traductions anglaises du roman *Le avventure di Pinocchio* (1883) de Carlo Collodi, l'une par la traductrice britannique M.A. Murray (1891), l'autre par le traducteur américain Walter S. Cramp (1904) ainsi qu'une adaptation cinématographique (Walt Disney, 1940). Au cours de cette étude, il s'agit d'examiner comment les différentes cultures et systèmes d'arrivée anglais ont motivé et influé sur les décisions des traducteurs et adaptateurs et comment, donc, les traductions et les adaptations sont nécessairement les produits de leur environnement. Mon approche se centre particulièrement autour des moments de violence chez Collodi en vue de les utiliser comme des situations textuelles «brûlantes», situations à partir desquelles sont examinées les traductions anglaises. Elles sont situées et analysées par rapport à leur contexte socioculturel, littéraire et de traduction. Les normes gouvernant les versions respectives de la traductrice britannique, du traducteur américain et de l'adaptateur américain donnent un aperçu de la manière dont ces derniers ont présenté la violence dans la littérature de jeunesse. Elles aident à trouver des explications aux différences entre le texte de départ et les textes d'arrivée ainsi qu'entre les différentes traductions. La théorie du polysystème, les études descriptives de la traduction, et la théorie du *skopos* jouent un rôle dans cette analyse.

Introduction I

When I first began to study *Le avventure di Pinocchio* by Carlo Collodi, I was immediately impressed by the national and international attention generated by this novel. Never would I have imagined that *Pinocchio* would be of such breadth and scope as to warrant and constitute in itself a distinct and multidisciplinary field of study of national and international stature known as “Pinocchiology.” The book’s subject matter is so rich and intriguing that it has spawned a seemingly unending production of books, articles and studies. There are so many different interpretations of the book that it seems almost impossible to add anything new to the canon of *Pinocchio*. I cannot even begin to count the hours I spent researching this topic and the multifarious theories ranging from the ingenious to the absurd obtaining *Pinocchio* literature. The novel has also provided an impetus for the seemingly endless outpouring of translations, adaptations and re-creations in various media such as film. Thus, *Pinocchio* has become a true legend.

But the decision to write a thesis on *Pinocchio* was not an obvious one, at least not at first. In fact, the genesis of my thesis was in an assignment I did for a course given by Dr. Luise von Flotow who suggested I “do *Pinocchio*.” This study was also born out of personal interest as I wanted to work on a project that would allow me to go back to my Italian roots and explore my interest in literature by combining these areas with the practice of translation and adaptation. Nor was the topic of violence immediately obvious. In fact, it was after I began reading about critics and scholars who thought Collodi’s book to be too violent for children that I realized this was something I could definitely work with as far as translation and adaptation were

concerned. Flabbergasted by the criticism of this children's book, which, incidentally, is a masterpiece of Italian literature, I immediately set out to further explore this topic.

For my analyses, I have chosen to examine the first English translation by British translator Mary Alice Murray in 1891 and the first American translation by Walter S. Cramp in 1904. As far as adaptation goes, the choice is obvious, Walt Disney's version of *Pinocchio* (1940), as it is the most well-known and popular in the West and worldwide.

This thesis is organized into four chapters. Chapter 1 sets the stage for my analysis by describing the climate in which *Le avventure di Pinocchio* was written, how this book came to be and how *Pinocchio* participates in and reflects the times and views of its author. First, I introduce the cultural and political context as the background that is necessary in order to understand Collodi's life and times. Then, I go on to describe the life and works of Carlo Collodi. Since there is no official or definitive English-language biography of the "father of *Pinocchio*," I have used the Italian-language biography by Renato Bertacchini. And finally, I discuss how *Pinocchio* is considered to be a political satire and *Bildungsroman*.

In Chapter 2, I set the foundations for the discussion of violence in the translations and Disney adaptation. I begin by looking at children's literature as a genre and how it developed specifically in Britain, America and Italy. It is important to note here that because children's literature developed at different times in different parts of the West, no universal history of children's literature exists. I then proceed to discuss the issue of violence by providing theoretical and descriptive examples of violence to illustrate the pros and cons of it in children's literature, its portrayal and perception in the nineteenth century and its depiction in Collodi.

In Chapter 3, which deals with the two translations, I proceed with the comparative analyses by confining my discussion to five violent segments and exploring how they were dealt with in the target-language texts. After analyzing each of the translations individually, I go on to present *Skopostheorie*, polysystem theory and norm theory as possible ways through which to understand each target culture and target context accordingly.

In Chapter 4, which is also the final chapter, I look at Walt Disney's adaptation of Collodi's *Le avventure di Pinocchio* and at how he excised and expurgated the violence. In demonstrating how the original version was sanitized, I take a similar approach by drawing on the theories outlined in the previous chapter.

When citing passages from "The Adventures of Pinocchio," I have used various translations, which are duly noted, so as to provide different flavours.

Introduction II

As far as my research methodology and desiderata are concerned, I present and use *Skopostheorie*, polysystem theory and norm theory to show how target cultures and target contexts influence translators' decisions and how, therefore, translations are products of their environments. I also use comparative analysis to examine how the issue of violence was dealt with in various English translations at different time periods. Specifically, in comparing the source text with the target texts, I apply *Skopostheorie*, polysystem theory and norm theory to two translations of Collodi's *Le avventure di Pinocchio*, one by British translator M.A. Murray in 1891 and the other by American translator Walter S. Cramp in 1904. In doing so, I analyze the source text within the context of its British and American target systems and cultures by describing the social, cultural, literary and translation contexts and norms prevalent in their

respective countries and time periods. Moreover, while my methodology departs in specific ways from that of these schools of thoughts, as explained where pertinent, this approach enables me to suggest how and why the source text and target texts are similar or differ from each other.

In Chapter 4, I study the Disney version of *Pinocchio*, a very different type of translation. It is clearly an adaptation of the literary work into another medium—into an audiovisual/filmic genre. My reasons for examining and studying this film adaptation of Collodi's novel are to reacquire and re-establish *Pinocchio* as a source text by juxtaposing it against the Disney adaptation, which, as we shall see, is a complete re-creation and “reterritorialization,” to use Annie Brisset's words, of the original.

Introduction III

I will now provide the theoretical framework for the thesis by discussing some of the concepts developed by scholars working in the areas of *Skopostheorie*, Descriptive Translation Studies, polysystem theory and norm theory. I will briefly define the theories beginning with *Skopostheorie*.

Skopostheorie

First introduced by Hans J. Vermeer, who devised it as a “functional approach to translating” (Vermeer 1996, 4), *Skopostheorie* is described by Christiane Nord in the chapter entitled “Basic Aspects of *Skopostheorie*,” from “Translating as a Purposeful Activity,” as follows:

Skopos is a Greek word for ‘purpose’. According to *Skopostheorie* (the theory that applies the notion of *Skopos* to translation), the

prime principle determining any translation process is the purpose (*Skopos*) of the overall translational action. (Nord 1997, 27)

In her work, Nord introduces us to *Skopostheorie* by drawing on a book co-authored by Hans J. Vermeer and Katharina Reiss in 1984. Nord takes a closer look at some of the basic concepts presented in the book, focusing mainly on the relationship between the general theory (Vermeer) and the specific theories (Reiss). However, for the purposes of my discussion, I will limit my analysis and application of *Skopostheorie* to Vermeer's concepts of *Skopos* and coherence as outlined by Nord.

What is important to retain here is that *Skopostheorie* underscores the importance of the purpose of the translation. It works according to three rules. The first rule, which is considered the "top-ranking rule for any translation," is the "*Skopos* rule," which states that "a translational action is determined by its *Skopos*" and therefore "the end justifies the means" (Nord 1997, 29). As Nord explains, Vermeer describes the *Skopos* rule as follows:

Each text is produced for a given purpose and should serve this purpose. The *Skopos* rule thus reads as follows: translate/interpret/speak/write in a way that enables your text/translation to function in the situation in which it is used and with the people who want to use it and precisely in the way they want it to function. (Nord 1997, 29)

Nord goes on to point out the following:

This rule is intended to solve the eternal dilemmas of free vs faithful translation, dynamic vs formal equivalence, good interpreters vs slavish translators, and so on. It means that the *Skopos* of a particular translation task may require a 'free' or a 'faithful' translation, or anything between these two extremes, depending on the purpose for which the translation is needed. What it does *not* mean is that a good translation should *ipso facto* conform or adapt to target-culture behaviour or expectations, although the concept is often misunderstood in this way.

According to Vermeer and Reiss, “a target text is an offer of information formulated by a translator in a target culture and language about an offer of information formulated by someone else in the source culture and language” (Nord 1997, 31-32). This concept proves useful for the understanding of the second and third rules of *Skopostheorie* as it does not focus on “the meaning” of the source text but rather stresses the importance of “the meaningfulness” of the target text for the target-culture receivers. Vermeer refers to this as “intratextual coherence,” which is essentially the standard to which the target text should conform (Nord 1997, 32). This standard demands that the target text should be comprehensible to the intended audience in the context of its situation and culture. It is precisely within this context that a “communicative interaction *can* [my emphasis] . . . be regarded as successful,” that is, when “the receivers interpret [the communicative interaction] as being sufficiently coherent with their situation” (Nord 1997, 32). In fact, the second rule of *Skopostheorie* is the “coherence rule,” which “specifies that a translation should be acceptable in a sense that it is coherent with the receivers’ situation” (Nord 1997, 32). And, according to Vermeer, “being ‘coherent with’ is synonymous with being ‘part of’ the receiver’s situation” (Nord 1997, 32). The third rule is based on the fact that “since a translation is an offer of information about a preceding offer of information, it is expected to bear some kind of relationship with the corresponding source text” and “Vermeer calls this relationship ‘intertextual coherence’ or ‘fidelity.’” “This is postulated as a further principle, referred to as the ‘fidelity rule’ (Nord 1997, 32). As Nord points out,

Again, as in the case of the *Skopos* rule, the important point is that intertextual coherence should exist between source and target text, while the form it takes depends both on the translator’s interpretation of the source text and on the translation *Skopos*. One possible kind of intertextual coherence could be a maximally

faithful imitation of the source text. As Vermeer points out, this may be the form expected in literary translation:

It might be said that the postulate of 'fidelity' to the source text requires that e.g. a news item should be translated 'as it was in the original.' But this too is a goal in itself. Indeed, it is by definition probably the goal that most literary translators traditionally set themselves. (Nord 1997, 32)

In a nutshell, *Skopostheorie* focuses on the "purpose" of the target text, whereby the act of translating and, by extension, the decisions made by the translator depend on who and what the target text is aimed at. The translator will then proceed with the translation process accordingly. It is important to note, however, that while *Skopostheorie* may be applied a priori when planning a translation, I will consider its application a posteriori, i.e. using it to analyze completed translations. I will therefore apply *Skopostheorie* from a translation researcher's perspective, and not as a practising translator, by identifying the respective target cultures, audiences and purposes of M. A. Murray's and Walter S. Cramp's translations with a view to assessing and determining the extent to which they appear to have influenced their decisions.

Descriptive Translation Studies

Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) is an area of research that was born in the 1970s out of a need to provide translation scholars and translators with an empirical foundation from which to work. In fact, the descriptive or functionalist approach to discussing and analyzing translations is a target-oriented study that views translation as an activity governed by the target milieu and therefore seeks to describe translations within the context of their target environment. The DTS paradigm focuses on translation practice itself in that the emphasis is on what translation *is* about rather than on what it *should* be about. Within this target-oriented and empirical perspective, then, the descriptive model looks at existing translations and seeks to

describe them in relation to the context and environment in which they were produced. It does not, therefore, aim to evaluate translations for the purpose of prescribing rules and guidelines governing translation practice.

Furthermore, in this approach translation is seen as a fundamentally social, communicative activity that necessarily and inherently involves a decision-making process in which the translator assumes a decision-making role and whereby decisions made by the translator are likely to be affected and influenced by a variety of factors which in turn may affect the end product.

Falling under the remit of Descriptive Translation Studies are polysystem theory and norm theory. The descriptive model uses the concepts developed in these theories as a basis for empirical translation research and target-oriented translation analysis, thus allowing scholars to understand and describe translations as a cultural and historical phenomenon and to observe and explain translational behaviour and evolution. Thus, polysystem theory and norm theory serve as useful and effective tools for explaining choices and decisions made in translation practice.

Polysystem theory and Norm theory

Polysystem theory was developed by the Israeli scholar Itamar Even-Zohar in the early 1970s and was originally designed to deal with specific problems in translation theory. It was especially aimed at providing redress for marginalized literatures, such as translations and children's literature, which had traditionally been given little, if any, attention in literary studies and which heretofore had generally been excluded from historical analysis. Polysystem is best summed up by Mark Shuttleworth, who says that

[Polysystem theory] offer[s] a general model for understanding, analysing and describing the functioning and evolution of literary systems. . . . According to Even-Zohar's model, the polysystem is

conceived as a heterogeneous, hierarchized conglomerate (or system) of systems which interact to bring about an ongoing, dynamic process of evolution within the polysystem as a whole. From the first part of this definition, it follows that polysystems can be postulated to account for phenomena existing on various levels, so that the polysystem of a given national literature is viewed as one element making up the larger socio-cultural polysystem, which itself comprises other polysystems besides the literary, such as for example the artistic, the religious or the political. Furthermore, being placed in this way in a larger sociocultural context, 'literature' comes to be viewed not just as a collection of texts, but more broadly as a set of factors governing the production, promotion and reception of these texts. (Shuttleworth in Baker 1998, 176-77)

As Shuttleworth also points out,

Essential to the concept of the polysystem is the notion that the various strata and subdivisions which make up a given polysystem are constantly competing with each other for the dominant position. Thus in the case of the literary polysystem there is a continuous state of tension between the centre and the periphery, in which different literary genres all vie for domination of the centre. The term **genre** is understood in its widest sense, and is not restricted to 'high' or 'canonized' forms, i.e. 'those literary norms and works . . . which are accepted as legitimate by the dominant circles within a culture and whose conspicuous products are preserved by the community to become part of its historical heritage. It also includes 'low' or 'non-canonized' genres, 'those norms and texts which are rejected by these circles as illegitimate.' (Shuttleworth in Baker 1998, 177)

Thus, polysystem theory makes it possible to look at literature from a historical perspective, which in turn provides insight into the transfer from one dominant position to another and into the evolution of literary systems. Considering that translation is but one of many literary systems, it is possible, in polysystem theory, to identify and describe its relationship to and position and

role within the various other systems in the target culture. From this perspective, “translation is no longer a phenomenon whose nature and borders are given once and for all, but an activity dependent on the relations within a certain cultural system” (Even-Zohar, 1978: 125). This brings us to another important point about polysystem theory. While it focuses on literary systems, it is also possible to apply polysystem to extra-literary phenomena. This requires the reconstruction, to the extent possible of course, of both the target literary system at the time of translating and the social, cultural, political and ideological systems of the historical time period and territory in which a translation was produced. In these terms, polysystem theory is particularly useful for carrying out practical case studies, as will be done in this thesis.

Norm theory is largely owed to the work of another Israeli scholar, Gideon Toury. In the late 1970s, Toury laid the groundwork for norm theory in Translation Studies by first introducing the notion of ‘norms’ “to refer to regularities of translation behaviour within a specific sociocultural situation” (Baker in Baker 1998, 163). In underscoring the importance of norm theory in DTS, Toury stressed that “[a]s strictly translational norms can only be applied at the *receiving* end, establishing them is not merely *justified* by a target-oriented approach but should be seen as its very *epitome*” (Toury 1995, 53). According to Toury, norms can be viewed as “the translation of general values or ideas shared by a community—as to what is right and wrong, adequate and inadequate—into performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations, specifying what is prescribed and forbidden as well as what is tolerated and permitted in a certain behavioural dimension” (Toury 1995, 55). Learning this code of conduct is part of an individual’s socialization process (Toury 1995, 55). The inculcation of appropriate norms of behaviour is as important in society as it is in translation. Thus, just as individual

behaviour is governed by norms of society, so too is translation, which must adhere to the norms of the target system if it is to be communicatively successful. Translation can therefore be seen as an extension of the target culture.

In essence norm theory is an extension of polysystem theory in that it extends the concept of system, historicity and evolution to include “translational norms,” i.e. “socio-cultural constraints” (Toury 1995, 54) which affect the way translation is viewed and carried out in different cultures, societies and times. As José Lambert explains,

[Norm theory] is an extension of POLYSYSTEM THEORY, as elaborated by Even-Zohar. Polysystem theory, and by extension Toury’s model, assumes that translations never function as totally independent texts and that translators always belong in one way or another to a literary and/or cultural environment. . . . The relationship between translations and their environment may vary . . . but it is always there, shaping translation behaviour and influencing the position of translated literature. (Lambert in Baker 1998, 131-132)

Seeing as in norm theory “all translation activity . . . is guided and shaped by such things as the norms, value scales and models which are prevalent in a given society at a given moment in time” (Lambert in Baker 1998, 132) and that “‘translatorship’ amounts first and foremost to being able to *play a social role*, i.e., to fulfil a function allotted by a community . . . in a way which is deemed appropriate in its own terms of reference” (Toury 1995, 53), such norms are often reflected in the translator’s choices. Toury suggests identifying the norms of a time period by examining a corpus of translations of the same original text carried out in a particular culture at a particular time in history and by identifying regular patterns. However, given that my research project does not seek to identify regularities of translation behaviour, but rather to determine to the extent possible the motivating forces, both literary and extra-literary, which may

or seem to have influenced the translators' choices and approaches, particularly where violence is concerned, in my analysis, I intend to do just the opposite. Thus, treating each translation separately, I will consider Collodi's *Pinocchio* in terms of its British and American target cultures and systems in their respective historical periods by describing the socio-cultural, literary and translation contexts in which the two target texts were produced and by reconstructing the norms prevalent in the British and American translators' respective countries and eras. This approach will allow me to draw parallels between the target contexts and target texts and also provide possible reasons for the similarities, differences and changes between the source text and target texts. Hence the different approaches taken by the translators in dealing with the violence in *Pinocchio*.

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORICAL, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Cultural and political context

The Risorgimento

In order to understand the life and times of Carlo Collodi, it is necessary to provide an overview of the cultural and political background, more particularly the Risorgimento. The Risorgimento is a political and social process that brought about the unification of the Italian peninsula into a single nation. This nineteenth-century movement was inspired by the realities of the new political and economic forces that emerged after the demise of Napoleon I in 1815, the nationalist and liberal ideologies spawned by the French Revolution of 1789, and the ideas and thinking of eighteenth-century Italian *illuministi* and reformers. The Risorgimento is characterized by two major events—the First and Second Italian Wars of Independence (1848-49 and 1859, respectively)—and can be divided into two main phases: the first, revolutionary, romantic, idealistic began in 1815 and climaxed in the revolutions of 1848-49; the second, practical, pragmatic, diplomatic during the 1850s culminated in the formation of a unified kingdom of Italy in 1861 under King Victor Emmanuel II of Savoy.

Following the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Italy was left completely fragmented. The Congress restored domination of the peninsula and reinstated former Italian sovereigns and territorial boundaries, albeit with some exceptions. In response to the settlements reached at Vienna, revolutionary uprisings occurred several times in the early nineteenth century, perpetrated especially by secret societies like the *Carbonari* who, inspired by principles of

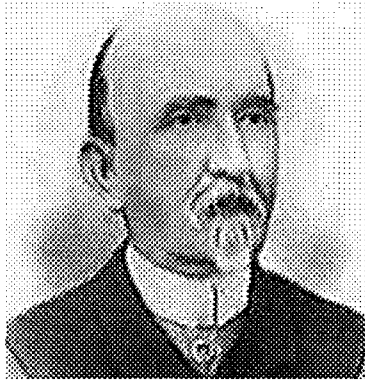
freedom and nationalism, sought to free Italy from Austrian rule, all of which were put down by Austrian armed intervention.

The prime inspiration of the Italian nationalist movement was the Italian writer and patriot Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872), who devoted his life to the cause of Italian independence and unity. Forced into exile in 1831 for his revolutionary activities, he began to recruit followers and organize uprisings against the rulers of the various Italian states. In 1831, Mazzini founded the secret revolutionary society *Giovine Italia* [Young Italy], attracting adherents throughout the peninsula who shared the vision of a democratic republic. Although he failed in his mission to establish a republic when Italy was unified under the monarchy of the Savoyard king of Sardinia in 1861, he never ceased or wavered in his fight for a united, independent, and republican Italy.

The revolutions of 1848-1849 ended the revolutionary phase of the Risorgimento and led to a realignment of political forces in Italy and Europe. In fact, after the failure of the 1848 revolutions, the revolutionary élan that had inspired Italian nationalists to follow Mazzini began to fade and they began to turn to the monarchical leadership offered by prime minister Camillo Benson Conte di Cavour (1810-1861), and his king Victor Emmanuel in Piedmont-Sardinia, who were also among the leading figures of the Italian Risorgimento along with Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882). On March 17, 1861, the Kingdom of Italy was proclaimed with Victor Emmanuel II as its first king. Turin became the capital of the newly formed United Italy. All of Italy except Venetia and Rome remained under Austrian rule until 1866 and under papal control until 1870, respectively. The aims of the Risorgimento had been achieved by 1870, but Mazzini never accepted monarchical united Italy and continued to conspire in the name of a democratic republic until his death.

History of *Pinocchio*

Carlo Collodi (1826-1890)



Carlo Collodi, pseudonym for Carlo Lorenzini, was born in Florence, Italy, on November 24, 1826. His pseudonym, *Collodi*, was in honour of his mother as it is the name of the town where she was born, a small village in Tuscany. He was the son of Domenico Lorenzini, a cook for the Marquise Marianna Ginori, and Angiolina Orzali, who studied to become a teacher but after marrying her husband worked as a domestic servant for the Ginori family. Carlo was the first born of nine children of which, besides him, only Paolo, the third born, sisters Maria Adelaide e Giuseppina (who passed away at age sixteen) and the youngest of the brothers, Ippolito, survived.

Carlo Lorenzini and his family lived in a humble abode at *via Taddea n. 17* provided by the Ginori family. Given the modest, if not poor conditions of the Lorenzini family, it is suspected that the Marquis and Marquise Ginori helped to educate and secure the Lorenzini children's future. It is possible that the Marquis Garzoni, for whom Angiolina's father worked as a farm bailiff, looked after Carlo as he intended him to become a man of the clergy, which at the time was considered a privileged class. In fact, from 1837 to 1842 Carlo studied at the *Seminario di Colle Val d'Elsa*. After completing his studies at the seminary, Carlo studied rhetoric and philosophy at the *Scuole Pie*. He soon realized priesthood was not his true calling and abandoned his religious vocation to cultivate his passion for reading and writing.

In 1843, at the tender age of seventeen, Carlo began writing reviews for the news catalogue of the *Libreria Piatti* [the Piatti bookstore], one of the most prestigious bookstores in Florence, Tuscany, at the time, where he discovered his true vocation, journalism. It was then that his career as a writer, journalist, political satirist, among other things, began to take flight. Carlo's affiliation with the *Libreria Piatti* exposed him to artists and scholars whose political orientations were toward democracy and progressive liberalism and inevitably helped shape his political views, his social, cultural and civic values, and ultimately his career as a militant journalist.

His first collaborations were in *Rivista di Firenze* [the Florence review], a review containing democratic writings, and marked the beginning of Lorenzini's ideological and political activism and development as a journalist/writer. In fact, in the spring of 1848—in an act of patriotism and in the spirit of the Risorgimento—Carlo joined his brother Paolo and employer Giulio Piatti in enlisting as a Tuscan volunteer in the First Italian War of Independence. Upon their return to their native Florence, Carlo and Paolo sought employment to come to the aid of their mother and siblings, as their father's health—he unfortunately passed away shortly thereafter—was rapidly deteriorating. On August 2, 1848, Carlo was appointed secretary of the Tuscan senate by the provisional government. The following year, with the return of Grand Duke Leopold II and the status quo ante fully restored, Lorenzini, as Renato Bertacchini explains, resigned or was forced to resign from his position, depending on which of the two versions is the correct one; although, according to Bertacchini the more plausible version and the one more consistent with the data available is the latter (Bertacchini 1993, 39). In fact, a document dated

June 1, 1849, attests that the dismissal was revoked and Lorenzini was reinstated to the position he was removed from in April 1849 during the restoration period.

Although there are some uncertainties and questions surrounding Lorenzini's career in the government, it is a well-known fact that his passion for journalism never waned. In fact, he worked as a journalist for some forty years contributing to a wide variety of periodicals and founding or directing several significant journals such as the following: "Il Lampione," a satirical journal, which he founded in 1848, was suppressed in 1849 and then revived in 1860; "Lo Scaramuccia" (1850-58); "L'Arte" (1853); "L'Italia Musicale" (1854-59); "La Lente" (1856-58); "La Nazione" (1859-60); "Il Fanfulla" (1871-87); and "Il giornale per i bambini" (1881-85). Later on in life, looking back on his past, he stated, "One is born a poet, but there is no need to be born a journalist. The fact is, once a journalist, always a journalist. . . . Journalism is like the shirt of Nessus, once you have put it on, you cannot take it off."¹

From 1850 to 1858, Carlo also worked in the Emilia Romagna theatre in Bologna, wrote articles about literature, art, and music that were published in "Lo Scaramuccia," "La Scena," "L'Arte," and "L'Italia Musicale," and tried his hand at the social novel with *Un romanzo in vapore* (1856). It is said that during these years Lorenzini led a carefree life, indulging in heavy drinking, gambling and multiple love affairs—from which, as rumour has it, he fathered an

¹ Collodi quoted in Bertacchini 1993, 23. My translation.

illegitimate daughter—and associating with idle and bohemian friends: a life truly reminiscent of the *Scapigliatura*.² But, it was the war of 1859 and life on the front lines that helped Carlo to sober up and delivered him from a life of debauchery and decadence. In fact, at the ripe old age of 33, Carlo once again served as a volunteer in the Second Italian War of Independence (also referred to as the War of Unification) and, as his nephew Paolo Lorenzini recalls, when his uncle returned from the trenches he was no longer the man he used to be. He remembers a reserved, taciturn and sad post-war man (Bertacchini 1993, 45). As for Carlo's addiction to drinking and smoking, it was his sister-in-law Luisa, to whom he gave as a gift a jewel in the form of an anchor as a sign of his gratitude for being his “sheet anchor,” who broke him from these bad habits.

If, in the lead up to the war, Lorenzini had been a democrat and Mazzini follower in favour of a democratic republic, he was now leaning toward a united kingdom that saw Italy annexed to the Savoy reign rather than an Italian Republic. The reason for his defection was the realization that annexation was the best next thing to a republic. He also realized with hindsight that annexation was perhaps a more viable and realistic approach to ensuring that Italy become one undivided and independent nation. But the immediate after-effects of the war of 1859 took a much heavier toll than the necessary change of heart. In fact, Italian nationalists reacted very strongly against the terms of Villafranca, which left Venetia in Austrian hands.

On August 22, 1859, about a month after Napoleon III unilaterally signed the armistice with Austria, Lorenzini resigned from the Piedmontese army and resumed his “patriotic” work as

² From “scapigliato,” meaning “dishevelled,” an Italian literary movement of the mid-XIX century.

a journalist and writer, still masking his identity by the use of pseudonyms. Carlo was so passionate about Italian unification and strong in his resolve that in May 1860, as mentioned earlier, he revived “Il Lampione” and in his first editorial since the suppression of the journal, in issue no. 223, he wrote as follows:

. . . To pick up where we left off . . . our agenda today, as it was then, is to see Italy as one, free, and independent nation Our country is our party; those 366,571 people who willfully voted in favour of the annexation to the constitutional monarchy of Victor Emmanuel II are our clients. . . . Instead of being a boot, as depicted on the map, Italy has always been a slipper—and on occasion a worn-out shoe—thanks to its small, weak states. Let us rebuild a nice boot, in one piece, and we shall see what kicks will be delivered to anyone who wishes to bully us!³

In February 1860, following the annexation of Tuscany to the kingdom of Sardinia, overwhelmingly approved by plebiscite, Lorenzini was appointed as a theatrical censor, and on April 10, 1864, he was also appointed to the prefecture of Florence, a position he held for twenty years until June 2, 1881, when he decided to retire from his career in the government.

Despite accounts from friends, relatives and biographers that Carlo was anything but a model employee and that his position as a theatrical censor was a sinecure, his contributions to and active interest in the theatre were undeniable. Not only did he read scripts and manuscripts, he also oversaw creative activities and staging, worked extensively as a theatre journalist and reporter, and also made his mark as a playwright, thus becoming an authority in the world of theatre. Carlo made his debut as a playwright in 1861 with *Gli amici di casa*, but the play was highly criticized for its Gallic plot and style. The negative reviews prompted the novice

³ Quoted in Bertacchini 1993, 121. My translation.

playwright to rewrite the play, which was performed again in 1862 and this time it was a resounding success, drawing a thunderous ovation and numerous curtain calls for the author. His other plays include *La coscienza e l'impiego*, *Antonietta Buontalenti* and *L'onore del marito*.⁴

While Carlo Collodi may be best known for having ‘fathered’⁵ *Pinocchio*, even though the work’s authorship has been and continues to be overshadowed by the Walt Disney adaptation, it would be an egregious oversight not to mention his work as a translator. In 1875, brothers Alessandro and Felice Paggi approached Carlo Lorenzini, who at the time was a journalist for “Il Fanfulla,” and “La Vedetta. Gazzetta del Popolo,” about translating a collection of French fairy tales which included Charles Perrault’s *Contes*, four tales by Mme d’Aulnoy and two by Mme Leprince de Beaumont.

The Paggi brothers owned a bookstore in *Via del Proconsolo* in Florence, as well as a publishing house, and their *Biblioteca Scolastica*, a collection of educational books and materials established in 1851, would go on to become the most complete and widely-used collection in Italian schools of the second half of the XIX century. In fact, with the adoption in 1877 of the *Legge Coppino*⁶ requiring all children to attend primary school free of charge, the market for reading books was continually growing and came to encompass other Florentine competitors such as Le Monnier and Barbèra.

⁴ Exact dates are unknown.

⁵ Renato Bertacchini refers to Collodi as the “father of *Pinocchio*” after his book of the same name. *Il padre di Pinocchio, vita e opere del Collodi*.

⁶ Bertacchini 1993, 224.

Once again a fearless and undaunted, albeit experienced, Collodi seized the opportunity to embark on yet another adventure. And, an adventure it certainly was. As Renato Bertacchini mentions, the discovery of Perrault marked an important chapter in Collodi's life (Bertacchini 1993, 192). It was his translating of Perrault, Mme d'Aulnoy and Mme Leprince de Beaumont that led and inspired Carlo, who apparently was not at all familiar with Perrault's fairy tales or the *Cabinet des Fées* prior to the Paggi brothers' offer, to further explore the realm of fables and fairytales through his own personal experience and leave to the world a lasting legacy, *Le avventure di Pinocchio* ("The Adventures of Pinocchio"), which are considered to be his greatest achievement.

For the Paggi brothers, Lorenzini was the perfect and safe choice, as he spoke French fluently and had already had some experience with translation, albeit as a journalist, not a translator. In fact, in 1854 Collodi wrote an article entitled "I traduttori e le traduzioni," that was featured in "Lo Scaramucia" inveighing against *traduttori/traditori* (translators/traitors) and dealing with the question of translating and how to translate, a subject he took an interest in for at least twenty years. In the article, Collodi stated:

A careful and conscientious translator must possess a thorough and perfect knowledge of the two languages he is dealing with, not only where words and phrases are concerned, but also with respect to the nature, the physiognomy and the tone of each language: what is required is a fine dose of judiciousness, and even better than aptitude, a certain familiarity with that given discipline that he undertakes to translate. . . . To translate does not mean to transpose a word from one language to the other. . . .⁷

⁷ Collodi quoted in Bertacchini 1993, 184. My translation.

Despite Collodi's strong opinions on the art of translation, he himself turns out to be, whether consciously or not, a 'traitor.' In fact, in translating the French authors, Collodi takes quite a few liberties and makes numerous changes to adapt the text to nineteenth-century Italy, or Tuscany rather. In his defence though, Carlo included the following notice in the introduction:

In rendering the *Racconti delle fate* into Italian, I tried my best to remain as faithful as possible to the French text. To paraphrase them freely would have seemed to me as something of a sacrilege. In any case, I made some very slight changes here and there as to the vocabulary, fashion of the times, and expressions. . . .⁸

It should be borne in mind that when Collodi wrote his invective-filled article in 1854 he had had no experience translating and, as the saying goes, one must "be in a person's shoes" to fully grasp the nature and complexities of such a daunting task. At any rate, as Ester Zago points out, Carlo's reasons, or main reasons, for adopting such an approach to translating may have been purely political. She explains, quoting Giovanni Arpino,⁹ that Collodi "tuscanizes," i.e. uses Tuscan expressions, and as a Florentine, he exploits all the richness of the Tuscan idiom (Zago 1988, 12(2):65). But he was also a patriot, and the Tuscan dialect, which by the mid-sixteenth century had become the accepted literary language, represented the *lingua franca*, if you will, of the unified Italian state. Collodi's betrayal of his own translation approach went as far as 'tampering' with the *moralités* as Zago goes on to state:

⁸ Collodi quoted in Bertacchini 1993, 185. My translation.

⁹ From "Collodi toscaneggia," in *La Stampa*, November 19, 1976.

By far the most relevant interventions made by Collodi . . . are to be found in his rendering of the *moralités* at the end of each tale. Here again Collodi tended to avoid the use of poetry. The one exception is *The Fairies*. . . . Perrault drew two moral lessons from his tale, each expressed in a separate quatrain. Collodi retains the content. But with respect to form, he ventures onto treacherous ground. First, he chooses the hendecasyllable, possibly the most formal and elegant line in Italian poetry, and one whose technical demands were beyond Collodi's skills as a poet. Second, as regards diction, Collodi sounds even more didactic than Perrault, but without, unfortunately, the tone of subtle irony that makes the charm of the French texts. . . . By making these stylistic choices, Collodi betrays his own chosen approach of translating the *moralités* into plain and colloquial language (Zago 1988, 12(2):68).

As a translator, Collodi may have taken many liberties, perhaps too many in some critics' eyes, but the fact remains that without this experience he probably would have never been introduced to the world of children's literature and, therefore, never would have pursued and embraced the idea of creating his very own Italian masterpiece. In this respect, the Paggi brothers and the French fairy tales sealed Collodi's fate as a children's author.

In fact, it was not very long after translating the fairy tales of Perrault, Mme d'Aulnoy and Mme Leprince de Beaumont (published under the title *I Racconti delle fate*, of which the first edition appeared in 1876 accompanied by simple illustrations by Enrico Mazzanti)¹⁰ that the satirist and militant journalist turned his attention to educational books and children's literature. His affinity and adeptness for the Aesopian genre were immediately apparent in *Giannettino*

¹⁰ The names of the three authors were not mentioned in the book. "Only the translator's notice to the reader revealed that the fairy tales were translated from the French. The most plausible explanation for the anonymous presentation is the desire on the part of the publishers to comply with the cultural trends of the time. Without the identification of the authors of their epoch, the French fairy tales could easily be incorporated into the general revival of interest in folk culture, and in particular, in the folk tale" (Zago 1988, 12(2):63).

(1877) and *Minuzzolo* (1878), which are considered to be precursors to “The Adventures of Pinocchio,” owing to the similarity in themes and use of the fantastic. In 1880, the two schoolbooks were followed by *Viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino: l'Italia Superiore*, another book designed for school use. Also, at the request of the philosopher and chairman of the Florentine board of education, Augusto Conti, who turned to the well-known educational author to develop real didactic materials in order to replace the existing textbooks in primary schools, Collodi produced the following works published by the Paggi brothers as part of their *Biblioteca Scolastica*: *Grammatica di Giannettino*, *L'abbaco di Giannettino*, *La geografia di Giannettino*, concurrently with volumes 2 (*Italia centrale*) and 3 of *Viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino* (*Italia meridionale*), all of which were published in 1883, except for the latter which was published in 1886. Later such works included *Libro di lezione per la II classe elementare* and *Libro di lezione per la III classe elementare* in 1889 and *La lanterna magica di Giannettino* (also illustrated by E. Mazzanti), which dates from 1890, year in which he died.

Still in 1880, Carlo received an interesting proposal from his friend Ferdinando Martini to collaborate on a new periodical entitled “Giornale per i bambini” [Children’s magazine], which he directed in tandem with Guido Biagi. It became a huge success owing to its themes and educational topics and the financial backing of the Hungarian financier Emanuele Ernesto Obleigh. On July 7, 1881, *La storia di un burattino* [Story of a puppet] made its debut in Italy and the world. But, despite the immediate success of the puppet, Carlo decided to put an end to the story and ended Chapter XV, featured in issue no. 17, October 27, 1881, with Pinocchio hanging from a tree, left for dead. The little readers, who took an immediate liking to Collodi’s

story, were so enamoured with the puppet that the decision to condemn the charming protagonist/hero to such a tragic and dreadful fate generated a massive outpouring of letters demanding the return of Pinocchio. On November 10, 1881, in response to those heartfelt and heartwarming letters, Mr. Biagi released a statement to the disappointed children in “La Posta dei bambini” [Children’s mail], a section of the magazine, informing them that Pinocchio was actually still alive and that the second part of the story would soon resume under the title *Le avventure di Pinocchio*. Two interruptions and thirteen months later, Collodi finished his last chapter (January 1883). By the beginning of February 1883, the entire serialized story was published in book form by the Paggi brothers as *Le avventure di Pinocchio*, receiving rave reviews and wide acclaim by the contemporary press.

Life after *Pinocchio* was still active and in full swing. Collodi continued to be prolific literally until the very last day of his life: he contributed another serial to the children’s magazine entitled *Pipì o lo scimmiottino color di rosa*, which was featured from August 1883 to December 1885 to replace *Le avventure di Pinocchio*; he also published other works such as *Chi non ha coraggio non vada alla guerra*, *Proverbio in due parti*, *Dopo il teatro*, *La festa di Natale* in the “Giornale dei bambini,” which he directed as well during that same period; he continued to write educational books for the Paggi brothers, including the titles mentioned above, until 1890; and, finally, in 1887, he published the book *Storie allegre*, a collection of stories featured in the “Giornale dei bambini” which included *Pipì o lo scimmiottino color di rosa*, also published by Paggi.

In 1886, Carlo was dealt another devastating blow—the death of his beloved and cherished mother Angiolina Orzali Lorenzini, whom he mourned until his final breath. Despite

being deeply affected by his tremendous loss, the political satirist turned children's author found the strength to carry on and took refuge in writing for children. But Carlo also sought and found refuge in his old drinking and smoking habits which inevitably took a toll on his health as he suffered from asthma and a heart condition.

Sadly, his grief was a precursor to his own death. On the evening of October 26, 1890, on his way home from a visit, Carlo felt an attack coming on and as soon as he reached the front door he collapsed. He was assisted by the porter, his brother and sister-in-law, who immediately called for medical assistance, but their efforts were in vain. Carlo Collodi died of pulmonary aneurysm at age sixty-four (Bertacchini 1993, 293-94).

***Pinocchio as a political backdrop and Bildungsroman*¹¹/pedagogy**

In the years immediately following Tuscany's annexation to the Kingdom of Italy, namely in 1865, the capital was transferred from Turin to Florence, a decision that, from the very beginning, was characterized by some as a huge mistake for they foresaw that Florence was intended to be a provisional capital and that it was only a matter of time before Rome would become the official capital of Italy. Their misgivings and foresight proved well-founded when in June 1870, after the Papal States were absorbed,¹² Rome was made the capital of the United

¹¹ A *Bildungsroman*, from the German for "novel of formation or education," is a coming-of-age novel that traces the development and growth of a character from childhood to maturation. Deeply rooted in German Romanticism and, more specifically, the late-eighteenth-century movement known as *Sturm und Drang*, the concept of *Bildung* (formation, education) was first articulated by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (1774), which is the coming-of-age story of the eponymous Werther, a young man who after learning harsh life lessons from his experience is driven to suicide by despair. In translation theory, Antoine Berman draws and builds on the German Romantic notion of *Bildung* in *L'épreuve de l'étranger/The Experience of the Foreign*, 1984/1992, to show how translators necessarily experience the same painful development/education process, as evidenced by the struggles they face in transferring texts across cultural boundaries which are reflected in the profound metamorphoses their target texts undergo. In Collodi's *Le avventure di Pinocchio* there is a fortuitous connection with Werther in that Pinocchio also undergoes a process of development and education through his "adventures" and "misadventures" as he matures into a nice, obedient, and real little boy. There is indeed a striking parallelism here between the moral education of Werther (the boy who becomes a man), Pinocchio (the puppet who becomes a boy), and the translator (the mediator who becomes a mature citizen of the world). Well-known examples of such writing associated with the Italian unification are Alessandro Manzoni's *I Promessi Sposi* [The Betrothed, 1840] and Edmondo De Amicis's *Cuore* [Heart, 1886].

¹² The Papal States (*Stati della Chiesa*) was an independent territory under the temporal rule of the popes from 754 to 1870. The territory varied in size over the centuries; in 1859 it included 16,000 square miles extending north-south on the Italian peninsula, from the Adriatic Sea and lower course of the Po River to the Tyrrhenian Sea, thus including the present regions of Latium, Umbria, Marche, and eastern Emilia-Romagna. After its annexation by Victor Emmanuel II in 1870, Rome was officially proclaimed the capital of Italy. Although this marked the demise of the Papal States, the so-called Roman Question remained unresolved until the Lateran Treaty of 1929.

Kingdom of Italy and Florence was left with a massive debt to address—a debt the Italian government had no intentions of settling.

The decision to move the capital to Florence was a severe trauma for both the city and the region: the historical city centre underwent intensive urban renovation and boundaries were expanded to accommodate the influx of people who would comprise the new Italian government; streets were broadened to facilitate traffic; housing, which was already a serious problem, became a monumental challenge; and rents increased significantly. After the capital of Italy was transferred to Rome, the city was bankrupt because of the extensive work that had been undertaken and the fact that Tuscans were forced to foot the bill was a bitter pill to swallow. To make matters worse, a number of taxes were levied, including the infamous “grist tax,” thus imposing an even greater burden on the Tuscan people, namely the poor. In 1876, an already volatile and tense political situation exploded when the government proposed to nationalize the railway system. The crucial railway question of privatization versus nationalization, which was one of the key political issues throughout the nineteenth century culminated in the “parliamentary revolution” of March, 18, 1876, and ended with the fall of the government of Marco Minghetti. Another thirty years would go by before Parliament would again take up the issue of railway nationalization.¹³ Eliciting more hostility and resentment were the accusations by the Roman press that Florence and the Tuscan government had exerted illicit pressure on the Italian Parliament to obtain control over railways in the South. Carlo, who at the

¹³ In 1905 parliament finally passed the bill that produced the national railway system.

time was the Florentine correspondent for “Il Fanfulla” and still seething over the ill wind of the transfer of Italy’s capital from his native Florence to Rome, was so beside himself and filled with indignation that he decided to react. In an open letter addressed to Prime Minister Marco Minghetti entitled *Delenda Toscana*, published in “Il Fanfulla” on January 30, 1876, Lorenzini outspokenly and brashly went on about how the government should simply dissolve Tuscany, which was being despoiled of its economic resources owing to the draconian centralization methods resorted to in Rome and Florence (Bertacchini 1993, 167). The letter reads as follows:

. . . As of today, Tuscany should definitely be taken off the Kingdom’s map How you ask? Quite simple. Through the mere reorganization of the civic-political administration: ‘instead of prefectures, divide the former province of Tuscany into dairy farms. A province that is politically divided into dairy farms becomes a Virgilian eclogue where, clearly, instead of making a career out of politics, its inhabitants would end up making butter and pecorino’¹⁴

As Renato Bertacchini explains, Carlo’s deed did not go unpunished. He was reproached by Giovanni Nicotera, minister of the interior at the time, who made no secret of his disapproval of the article. Carlo vowed that he would never again write about politics in “Il Fanfulla,” despite pressure from his friends. He kept his vow when an old friend asked him to come back to the journal and offered to put in a good word for him with Francesco Crispi, who replaced Nicotera as minister of the interior the following year (Bertacchini 1993, 171). But, in the wake of the disillusionment and discontentment with the state of political affairs in Italy during the post-unification years, the importance of his work as a militant journalist seemed to have lost importance in Lorenzini’s eyes. In this respect, the “*Delenda Toscana*” incident was a turning

¹⁴ Quoted in Bertacchini 1993, 167. My translation.

point for Carlo as it prompted him to move in a new direction and put his talent as a writer to use to advance yet another, if not more, rewarding cause, education, which by that time was emerging as an instrument of social and economic progress. Collodi realized how crucial it was to keep up with the times and current interests and therefore decided to turn to children's literature, a transition facilitated by the French fairy tales and the Paggi brothers.

Critics have offered various reasons to explain this extemporaneous move ranging from 'journalistic death' to his being a child at heart (Bertacchini 1993, 202); but whatever the reasons that led a bereft Carlo to abdicate his role as a militant journalist, he was unmistakably a consummate 'educator' and this endeavour lasted fifteen years.

Not long after Carlo's death the popularity of *Pinocchio* began to soar and soon it would be translated into English by British and American authors and into German, and French. Between 1911 and World War II it was translated into all the European languages and also a number of the languages of Asia, Africa and Oceania. *Pinocchio*, second only to the Bible and the Koran with the greatest number of copies in print, went on to receive international success and fame transitioning from book to stage to screen, although the adaptations did not always remain true to the plot, vision and values of the original.

When Carlo died, an era died with him and though he may not have been renowned yet as the father of *Pinocchio*, his contemporaries viewed his death as an irreplaceable loss to their nation for Collodi was not only a versatile and witty journalist, but also a man who never compromised his values, his morals, his spirit of conviction, his resolve and most of all his integrity and his beliefs. It is no wonder then that the Italian intelligentsia and scholars from across the globe have been and continue to be fascinated with his charismatic persona and

masterpiece, examining and exploring every facet of his life and the book in an attempt to uncover the secret and meaning of Collodi's *Pinocchio*. For almost a century, critics and scholars from various disciplines including literature, philosophy, and psychology have been contributing their interpretations and insights to the vast literature of "Pinocchiology," which is the study of *Pinocchio*. Among the theories considered are *Pinocchio*'s political and educational overtones.

In *La ragion politica di Pinocchio*,¹⁵ Italian writer Antonio Baldini contends that, although the story is devoid of historical and geographical references, as is true of fairy tales, *Pinocchio* is set in mid-nineteenth-century Tuscany during the reign of Grand Duke Leopold II. Drawing on Collodi's discontentment in the aftermath of Italy's unification, Baldini is positive that his book boils down to a nostalgic evocation and portrayal of the days gone by, of Tuscan life under Leopold II and is, therefore, an elegy of Leopold's Tuscany. But as Vittorio Frosini is quick to point out in *La satira politica di Carlo Lorenzini*,¹⁶ there is evidence that such a claim cannot be further from the truth. It is a well-known fact that while Carlo had his misgivings about the present state of affairs and was disappointed with the actions and practices of the Italian government during the post-unification period, i.e. special favours, questionable electoral tactics, more or less secret gerrymandering and rigging, bank scandals, suspicious government crises and political corruption in general, he would never regret being a staunch supporter and passionate prophet of the Risorgimento (Bertacchini 1993, 170-73). In fact, to disprove that

¹⁵ "The political reason for *Pinocchio*," my translation, article published in *Fine Ottocento*, 1947.

¹⁶ "The political satire of Carlo Lorenzini," my translation, article published in the Italian journal "Clio," 1967.

theory, both Frosini and Bertacchini refer to the dispute¹⁷ Carlo became involved in, in 1859, about the new Italian unification with Professor Eugenio Albèri of Pisa, a Bonapartist and grand-ducal legitimist. As Bertacchini puts it, Collodi would never have anything in common with Albèri, who always looked back with regret and nostalgia to the Lorraine period (Bertacchini 1993, 173).

In his article, Frosini goes on to explain that though Baldini's observations and conclusions about the political ethos in *Pinocchio* were completely off the mark, he was correct in saying a "political reason," as Baldini dubbed it, existed (Frosini 1967, 3:288). In fact, he states that the fact that the human truth that lies in *Pinocchio*, embedded under the auspices of a children's story, is revealed in the representation of society is apparent to anyone who rereads the book with a disenchanted and probing eye (Frosini 1967, 3:290). The question of *Pinocchio*'s humanity was also touched upon thirty years earlier by Benedetto Croce, the leading Italian intellectual of the first half of the twentieth century, who described *Pinocchio* as the best book in Italian children's literature (*il più bel libro della letteratura infantile italiana*) (Frosini 1967, 3:282). In Pinocchiology, Croce is well-known for his epigram "the wood from which Pinocchio is cut is humanity itself" (*il legno in cui è tagliato Pinocchio è l'umanità*) (Stone 1994, 51:332). Going back to Frosini, he asserts that Collodi's *Pinocchio* is imbued with political satire and that satire is a recurrent motif throughout the novel. The satiric ethos is manifested in the portrayal of the characters and society which are ridiculed through buffoonery and farce.

A glaring example of this is the state of the administration of justice. No sooner does the puppet learn to walk than he runs out the door and onto the street leaping and jumping as

¹⁷ It was on this occasion that Carlo first adopted the pseudonym "Collodi."

Geppetto chases after him, thus causing a huge commotion. After being captured by a *carabiniere*¹⁸ who comes to the aid of the old man, Geppetto begins scolding the boy. Then, in an act of desperation, as he does not want to face the music or the ensuing consequences, Pinocchio throws himself to the ground and has a tantrum. As people gather around the puppet in awe and reproach Geppetto's treatment of his son, the *carabiniere* decides to arrest the old man. In a separate incident, Pinocchio himself is unjustly imprisoned after appearing before a judge to report the fraud committed against him by the Fox and the Cat. First, it is important to draw attention to Collodi's description of the judge, which is as follows:

The judge was an ape of the gorilla family. He was a respectable-looking old ape, with a nice white beard and gold-rimmed eyeglasses without lenses. He had to wear glasses all the time, since his eyes had been red and watery for so many years.¹⁹

The rest of this passage reads as follows:

Pinocchio stood before the judge and told him the whole story, every single sad little detail, of the cruel trick the Fox and the Cat played on him. He gave their first and last names and ended by begging for justice.

The judge listened very kindly. He took a sympathetic interest in Pinocchio's story and asked all sorts of questions. You could see how sorry he was for him. Finally, when the puppet had nothing more to say, the judge stretched out his hand and rang a bell.

At this signal two huge dogs - mastiffs - appeared, dressed in policemen's uniforms.

The judge pointed to Pinocchio and said, "This poor soul has been robbed of his four gold coins. Arrest him at once! March him right off to prison!"

¹⁸ According to the *Canadian Oxford Dictionary*, a *carabiniere* is "a member of an Italian army corps which serves as one of Italy's three national police forces."

¹⁹ Chapter XIX, translation by M.L. Rosenthal, in "The Hidden Pinocchio: Tale of a Subversive Poet," p. 54.

The puppet was thunderstruck. He remained stock still for a moment, and then started to object. But the policemen, to prevent a pointless waste of time, clapped their paws over his mouth and dragged him off to jail.

And there he stayed four whole months - four very long months. He would have had to stay even longer, except for a great stroke of luck. You see, the young Emperor of follyland (of which Foolville is the capital) had just won a great war against his enemies. He ordered a splendid public celebration, with colored lights and fireworks and horse races and bicycle races. And, as the most glorious thing of all, he commanded the jailers to unlock the prisons and set all the criminals free.

"If the others are leaving," said Pinocchio to his jailer, "I want to leave too."

"Oh, no," said the jailer, "not you, Pinocchio. You don't belong to the lucky ones I'm supposed to set free. You're not a criminal."

"That's an insult!" cried Pinocchio. "Excuse me, but I happen to be a criminal just like the others!"

Oh, I beg your pardon," said the jailer. "In that case, you're certainly right." And he took off his hat, bowed respectfully, and let Pinocchio escape, too.²⁰

As Frosini points out, the image of the judge itself alludes to the author's distrust of the way he administers justice and of the hypocrisy that lies in the description of the eyeglasses without lenses, which rest on the nose only to confer fake dignity (Frosini 1967, 3:292). Also of importance is the very last paragraph of the excerpt. Frosini aptly underscores how Pinocchio is released from jail only because he manages to stick to the rules of the game in a backwards society where perpetrators are protected and the innocent are punished and brought to justice. Simply put, "if you can't beat them, join them." Still according to Frosini, the society that is alluded to here, represented metaphorically by what Rosenthal translates as "Follyland," is that of the young Emperor Victor Emmanuel II (Frosini 1967, 3:292). There is even a direct reference

²⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 54-55.

to this in the excerpt: “And there he stayed four whole months - four very long months. He would have had to stay even longer, except for a great stroke of luck. You see, the young Emperor of follyland . . . had just won a great war against his enemies.” Frosini points out that Collodi also voices his disapproval of the King’s clemency and mercifulness, ridiculed by the author when he writes “He ordered a splendid public celebration, with colored lights and fireworks and horse races and bicycle races,” which are an affront to civic values and inevitably lead to injustices (Frosini 1967, 3:274). Specific references to the political status quo and the King are detected early on in *Pinocchio*. As a matter of fact, in keeping with the fairy tale tradition the story begins with “Once upon a time there was—”immediately followed by “A king!” my young readers are shouting. No, children, you’re wrong! Once upon a time there was—*a piece of wood*” [translation and emphasis by Rosenthal]. We can see here how Collodi’s reference to the King is “overtly ironic” (Frosini 1967, 3:274).

In Chapter XXVII, Pinocchio will have another brush with the law when he is falsely accused of wounding a fellow student during an altercation with his classmates who try to bully him into missing school. But, this time, he knows better than to rely on the justice system and decides to flee instead. Therefore, thrice, the innocent are victims of the injustice of justice. Continuing in that same vein, Frosini draws parallels with Jonathan Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels*, noting that Collodi’s satiric fantasy unfolds in each of the three lands Pinocchio travels through which are the Field of Miracles, the Village of the Industrious Bees, and the Land of Boobies²¹ (Frosini 1967, 3:293).

²¹ Translation by M. A. Murray.

In short, Frosini defines the book as a lesson in righteousness and civil dignity inspired by the ideals of Mazzini and the Risorgimento; he also goes on to state that *Pinocchio* is not only a children's book but also an original work of political satire (Frosini 1967, 3:299). However, Collodi's political awareness in *Pinocchio* also extends to the country's dire socio-economic conditions. Chapter III begins as follows:

Geppetto, who was very poor, lived in a tiny basement room. The only light came through a window near the stairway outside his room. His furniture was as plain as could be: an old kitchen chair, a broken-down old bed, and a wobbly old table. At one end of his room there was a fireplace, and it had a fire burning - but the fire was just painted on the wall. Above the painted fire a painted kettle boiled merrily, sending forth a cloud of painted steam that looked quite real.²²

As Bertacchini reveals, Collodi was also a firm believer in education and when it came to literacy and the Italian people's social and economic conditions, Carlo never gave up an opportunity to 'write' his heart out. In fact, while education was very near and dear to his heart, Collodi was of the opinion that the Italian government's first priority was to ensure breadwinners earned enough money to put food on the table.

Even before the nineteenth century, the importance of education, literacy and linguistic unity had been recognized and stressed by Italian scholars and intellectuals, but concern for the imperatives of public education had considerably increased during the Risorgimento (Zago 1988, 12(2):62). Although the main actors of the Risorgimento focused primarily on the unification and independence of Italy, they were not oblivious to the fact that territorial unification alone did not create a nation. The issue of compulsory education, which had been a topic of intense debate in

²² *Ibid*, p. 53.

Italy for years, intensified between 1861 and 1877 following the 1861 census, the first ever taken in Italy, which revealed that 78% of the population was illiterate. To that end, measures were taken to curb illiteracy, hence the introduction by the left-wing government of the *Legge Coppino*, as mentioned earlier, on July 15, 1877, which provided, among other things, sanctions against defaulting parents.

Collodi, who was not a strong supporter of the legislation, immediately voiced his concerns and opposition to the stipulations of the law in a letter addressed to Michele Coppino, Minister of education at the time, after whom the law was named. In the letter, featured in *Occhi e nasi*, Carlo objected to the ‘compulsory’ nature of the law underlining how the Italian people had enough obligations to fulfill without adding to their plight and oppression. Such criticism was not baseless or unwarranted considering that poor families, who were often without bread, were forced to send their children into the workforce as early as the age of six to survive. Carlo continued to write on the subject and reaffirmed his position in another letter featured in *Pane e libri*²³ by reiterating his unshakeable and deep conviction that

. . . above all else, it is necessary that one eat and drink, be sheltered from the inclemency of the weather and have a place to rest after a long and hard day’s work. Then, and only then, one may be willing to listen to one’s conscience and have the desire to improve oneself.”²⁴

There is no clearer example of political skepticism and Collodi’s criticism of contemporary parliamentary mores than the following excerpt from *Pinocchio*, Chapter XXXV, as pointed out by Frosini (Frosini 1967, 3:278):

²³ “Bread and books,” featured in *Note gaie*.

²⁴ Quoted in Bertacchini 1993, 232. My translation.

Well, that's *my* opinion, anyway," answered the tuna. "And everyone's opinions, the tuna politicians say, have a right to be respected." [Translation and emphasis by Rosenthal.]

Clearly, the *Legge Coppino* and the Italian government's efforts to combat illiteracy were completely duplicitous: on the one hand, the new Italian state vowed to raise literacy by making popular education obligatory; but on the other, it failed to address the socio-economic conditions of the Italian people. As long as the government failed to implement policies aimed at social and economic improvement in the country, free and compulsory education would be senseless and largely illusory.

Collodi's disdain for the government's unrealistic and unprogressive, albeit commendable, actions, did not prevent him from establishing himself as a pioneer in children's literature and education in Italy. As a children's author, he of course had his own ideas of education: learning is not merely a transaction between teachers and children taking place primarily or exclusively within the confines of the classroom walls; learning is about the acquisition of knowledge, skills and understanding outside the academic setting as well, that is, through life and firsthand experiences; learning is also about awakening children's curiosity, promoting their creative and cultural development and providing them with the tools they need to be better lifelong learners. In reading *Pinocchio*, and all his educational books for that matter, one readily recognizes how it is the embodiment of those ideas and beliefs.

In keeping with the Paggi brothers' motto *educare divertendo*, which is the Italian for "educate through entertainment,"²⁵ teaching for Collodi was more about "how children learn" and less about "how teachers teach." The belief was that children should learn while having fun.

²⁵ Quoted in Bertacchini 1993, 206. My translation

In fact, the pedagogy of *Pinocchio* is reflected and manifested through an accurate, though fantastic and humorous, representation of the real world where life is depicted in all its joys and sorrows, wonder, mystery, challenges, complexities, unpredictability, and beauty. And, it is precisely this mixture of fantasy and realism that lends charm to the piece and casts a spell on young and adult readers alike. Through his adventures and life's lessons, the puppet will learn to discern right from wrong, good from evil, and will develop morals and values as he eventually metamorphoses and matures into a 'real' boy. In that respect, Bertacchini points out how *Pinocchio* is a *Bildungsroman* which recounts and portrays the puppet's maturation into a nice, obedient, and real little boy. (Bertacchini 1993, 254).

In light of the foregoing examples, it is plain to see how *Pinocchio* reflects the times and views of the author. It is no wonder, then, that Carlo, who was very much attuned to the economic, cultural, political and social climate of the post-unification era, would use *Pinocchio*, albeit facetiously and ironically, and understandably so, to portray and depict contemporary society. To children, who to this day continue to be mesmerized by this fairy tale, *Pinocchio* is just that—a fairy tale. But to adults, especially those who are familiar with and aware of the author's life and times, *Pinocchio* is more than just a fairy tale, it is, in Croce's words, "humanity itself". The author's ideal of a better society, one of freedom, peace, prosperity, and happiness, which was ultimately what the Risorgimento aspired to, is exemplified and realized in *Pinocchio's* ending:

The dream ended and Pinocchio awoke, his eyes wide open with delight. It was early morning now. And think how surprised he was when he found, a minute later, that he was no longer a wooden puppet. He had become a boy, like all the others, at last! And when

he looked around his bed, he saw a beautiful little room, decorated simply but well, instead of the hold thatched walls of the cottage.²⁶

Then, after putting on new clothes and looking at his new self in the mirror Pinocchio expressed how elated he was that he had become a real little boy, or in Collodi's primary sense, a respectable, upstanding, law-abiding citizen (Frosini 1967, 3:280).²⁷

²⁶ Translation by Rosenthal.

²⁷ It should be noted that *Pinocchio* also emblemizes the ideology of the “good Italian boy”—the puppet will become a real boy only when he agrees to become a “good boy”—which was equated with the bourgeois behaviour of northern Italy at the time.

CHAPTER TWO

CHILDREN'S LITERATURE AND VIOLENCE

Children's literature as a genre

Although the question of just what constitutes "children's literature," or whether children's literature *per se* even exists for that matter, may be a point of contention, there is universal acceptance that the nature and function of literature for children is and has always been to entertain and instruct young people. In fact, lack of consensus aside, it is generally accepted that children's literature is a distinct body of works written, adapted and published specifically for children by adults. Historically, however, such a definition has sparked heated debate among critics and scholars and has caused problems in determining the place of the genre in the realm of literature. Many books that were originally intended for adults are now commonly thought of as children's classics. One need only think, for example, of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), written for the middle and lower classes, Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) and Mark Twain's *The Prince and the Pauper* (1882) and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885). Conversely, works originally written for children have been adopted by adults such as J. R. R. Tolkien's *The Hobbit* (1937) and more recently J. K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* series which began in August 1998. And, as in the case of the two latter books, there is often controversy over whether a certain book is a children's book or not or whether it can be considered literature at all.

On that note, according to Jack Zipes,

Although there are now four published books in the Harry Potter series, it is difficult to assess them as literature *per se*. We must talk about a phenomenon, and it is a mind-blowing phenomenon because it reveals just how difficult it is to evaluate and analyze children's literature or works that purport to be literature for the young [T]he conditions under which literature for the young

is produced and received have been transformed through institutional changes of education, shifts in family relations, the rise of corporate conglomerates controlling the mass media, and market demands. Phenomena such as the Harry Potter books are driven by commodity consumption and that at the same time sets the parameters of reading and aesthetic taste. Today the experience of reading for the young is mediated through the mass media and marketing so that the pleasure and meaning of a book will often be prescribed or dictated by convention. What readers passionately devour and enjoy may be, like many a Disney film or Barbie doll, a phenomenal experience and have personal significance, but it is also an *induced* experience calculated to conform to a cultural convention of amusement and distraction. (Zipes 2001, 170-72)

Let us go back to the definition of children's literature. This literary genre encompasses various sub-genres such as the following: fantasy, realism, poetry, historical fiction, biography, the illustrated book, picture books, informational books and folk or traditional literature. Folk or traditional literature, which is also known as the oral tradition and in which children's literature is deeply rooted, includes folk tales, fables, fairy tales and nursery rhymes—few originally intended for children. In fact, although originally meant for adults, fairy tales eventually became the province of children in the seventeenth century. This is not to say that children were not acquainted with fairy tales before then. Over the centuries, they were read and narrated by adults and children who shared the company of adults. But as Zohar Shavit points out in *Poetics of Children's Literature*:

After the middle of the seventeenth century, however, an interesting and complex change ensued, involving attitudes toward fairy tales. Highbrow society, which previously did not hesitate to admit the pleasure derived from fairy tales, began to regard them as suitable only for children and people of the lower classes, claiming that they were too simple and naive for anyone else. At the same time, a new interest arose in fairy tales, which made them a fashionable and artistic genre. This new interest was the motivation behind the creation of fairy tales based on the model of the traditional naive texts. However, an indispensable precondition was required for the 'fashionable' writing of fairy tales; although

they were in vogue, it was necessary for both writers and readers to assume that fairy tales were written for the lower classes and children. Thus adults of the upper classes could enjoy fairy tales only by pretending that they were addressing children. Adults exploited the opportunity to enjoy fairy tales during the seventeenth century through the recognition of the child's culture as distinct from their own and the use of children as a source of amusement. Therefore the reading of fairy tales by highbrows was based on a silent agreement (between them and the writer) about two implied readers—the child and the highbrow adult—and on a tacit agreement about the writer's intentions, leaving much room for the writer to play between them. (Shavit 1986, 8-9)

When Charles Perrault's *Histoires ou Contes du temps passé. Avec des moralités*, also known as *Contes de ma Mère l'Oye*, was published in 1697 it made history by ushering in an unprecedented movement in children's writing and publishing that would go on to shape the landscape of literature for children and foster the development and establishment of children's literature as an institution. Perrault's French fairy tales were not only a major influence on French literature but also on literature as a whole. But this Frenchman, a scholarly member, among other things, of the French Academy under Louis XIV, known as The Sun King, who turned fairy tales into popular literature and legitimized folklore as literature, was not alone in propelling the movement of children's writing and storytelling. Although credited as the father of fairy tales for being the first author/writer to set them down on paper, Perrault had two major accomplices: Jacob Ludwig Grimm (1785-1863) and Wilhelm Carl Grimm (1786-1859). About a century later, these two German brothers, who are more commonly known as the Brothers Grimm, helped spur and drive the evolution of fairy tales as literature by compiling a collection of German folklore and legend collected from oral sources that was first published in 1812 under the title *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* [Children's and Household Tales] which served to emphasize the importance and value of German culture. Though not officially addressed to children, at least

not at first, this first edition proved to be a huge success with children and adults alike in both Germany and England (in the latter case, I am of course referring to English readers who read German). The second edition of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* was revised to make it more suitable for children and published in 1819. Further editions in German and English, modified for children, were published owing largely to the great success of the first English edition of the Grimms' work—*German Popular Stories*, translated and adapted for children by Edgar Taylor in 1823 which also led to 'Grimm' becoming a household name in Britain and the United States.

Another household name, best known for his fairy tales, is Danish poet and writer Hans Christian Andersen (1805-1875). Regarded by many as the father of the modern fairy tale, he too has been a forerunner in the realm of children's literature since the middle of the nineteenth century, authoring an exhaustive list of popular fairy tales among which "The Little Mermaid," "The Ugly Duckling," "Thumbelina," and "The Snow Queen." Andersen is renowned for his prolific works and his fairy tales have spawned a plethora of translations and illustrations by translators and artists from all over the world. The first English translation of his tales, entitled *Wonderful Stories for Children*, was rendered by Mary Howitt and published in 1846.

Perrault, the Brothers Grimm and Andersen played a vital role in the development of children's literature and its emergence as a separate literary genre. Their story-telling prowess and literary vision have yielded a treasure trove of fairy tales which remain an integral component of today's literature for children. Their classic works, along with the endless retellings and adaptations that are continuously churned out, are testament to their universal and enduring appeal as they continue to captivate and mesmerize both children and adult audiences. However, while there is no denying that these internationally renowned children's authors laid

the foundation for a true literature for children, children's literature *per se* is built and based on society's notion of childhood. As the Israeli semiotician Zohar Shavit points out in *Poetics of Children's Literature*,

... the basic idea about writing for children, that is, that children's books should be written under the supervision of adults and should contribute to the child's spiritual welfare, has not changed since the middle of the eighteenth century. What *has* changed are the specific ideas prevalent in each period about education and childhood. However, the idea that books for children have to be suitable from the pedagogical point of view and should contribute to the child's development has been, and still is, a dominant force in the production of children's books. (Shavit 1986, 26)

This basic premise of the notion of childhood and its influences on children's literature are best summarized in the words of Emer O'Sullivan who in *Comparative Children's Literature* defines children's literature as follows:

[Children's literature] is a body of literature into which the dominant social, cultural and educational norms are inscribed Children's literature is seen, in a system-theory based approach as a specific and distinct segment of the general literary system requiring a theory of its own. It has its own fields of activity in marketing, publishing, libraries, teaching, criticism, etc., which distinguish it from adult literature. According to this theory, the definition of children's literature is determined not on the level of the text itself, that is to say in the form of specific textual features, but on the level of the actions and actors involved: texts are identified by various social authorities as suitable for children and young people. These include educational institutions both ecclesiastical and secular, figures active in the literary market (publishers, distributors, etc.) and those who produce the books (editors, authors, etc.). Adults, therefore, assign texts to children and, in the process, transmit dominant morals, values and ideals. (O'Sullivan 2005, 13-14)

In short, children's literature is defined by society and its values, which in turn define and shape the way in which childhood is perceived and ultimately determine what is considered to be appropriate or inappropriate, suitable or unsuitable for children. Thus, children's literature can also be described as an extension of society's perceptions of childhood, which are guided by views, ideas and beliefs prevailing in a given place and time and reflected in children's writing.

The development of children's literature as genre

Owing to the fact that children's literature developed at different times in different parts of the West, no universal history of literature for children exists. Therefore, for the purposes of my thesis, the following discussion will focus specifically on children's literature in the Anglo-American realm and Italy and draw on various western European influences. I will begin with Britain, followed by America and then Italy.

Anglo-American realm

British Children's literature

Before the eighteenth century, children's literature as we know it—a distinct body of works written and published for the instruction and entertainment of children—simply did not exist. In Britain, children's books scholars commonly associate the “birth” of children's literature with one of the most recognized and successful names in children's publishing, John Newbery (1713-1767). In 1744, this British writer opened his own bookshop in London and began to publish and sell books specifically for children. In 1744, Newbery also published his very first children's book, *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book*, subtitled *Intended for the Instruction and Amusement of Little Master Tommy and Pretty Miss Polly*. Appearing on the frontispiece was the Latin motto ‘Delectando monemus. Instruction with Delight,’ which came to symbolize a new

approach in publishing for children and would forever revolutionize the world of children's literature.

"However," as pointed out by John Rowe Townsend, "if one accepts the age of Newbery as, conventionally, the beginning of children's-book history, one must acknowledge and briefly glance at a sizeable prehistory. This may be said to have two branches, which were, broadly, story material handed down over the centuries but not meant specially for children, and material that was meant specially for children but was not story" (Townsend in Hunt 1996, 676). The first branch is essentially the oral tradition, or early literature, that originated in an ancient world long before the printing press of the fifteenth century, and which was handed down over centuries by word of mouth. Much of this early material, which included legend, romance (tales of King Arthur, Robin Hood), folk tale and fables was eventually put into print in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Among the most widely spread and popular fables are those of the Greek author Aesop (sixth century BC), who, according to legend, was a mute slave from the Greek island of Samos. Following the invention of printing, *Aesop's Fables*, first printed in English by Caxton in 1484, were also widely used in schools and adopted by pedagogues and parents to serve as moral and instructive tales for children. They have since been enjoyed by children the world over and continue to be a staple in children's literature and entertainment. Aesop's most famous fables include "The Boy Who Cried Wolf," "The Fox and the Grapes," and "The Tortoise and the Hare."

Other early texts used by children, but not originally intended for them, "in the centuries between the introduction of printing and the development of the serious business of children's book publishing in the mid-eighteenth century" (Kinnell in Hunt 1996, 141) were chapbooks.

Chapbooks, defined by Margaret Kinnell as a “diverse range of cheap paper pamphlets” (Kinnell in Hunt 1996, 141), were sold on the streets by peddlers and hawkers known as chapmen. Originally designed for the poorer literate classes, specifically poor adults, chapbooks became popular in the sixteenth century and reached their heyday in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At first, these penny books were particularly popular with the poor, who were attracted to the chapbook’s low price. But as the new reading public of children began to emerge in Britain at the beginning of the seventeenth century owing to the spread of education, which at the time was tightly controlled by the Church and intended for educational and religious purposes only (Shavit 1986, 160), the demand for children’s books gradually increased, a demand that was not yet being met by the educational establishment. Because of the lack of light-hearted material specially designed for them, children increasingly drew on adult literature, namely chapbooks, to satisfy their reading needs. As a result, chapbooks eventually became the main recreational reading matter for children of all classes and were, therefore, an “important catalyst in the development of children’s literature” (Shavit 1986, 158). But the fact that children turned to chapbooks did not sit well with the religious and educational establishments, as evidenced in the following quote by an anonymous writer of the *History of Genesis* (1708):

How often do we see Parents prefer ‘Tom Thumb,’ ‘Guy of Warwick,’ or some such foolish Book, before the Book of Life! Let not your children read those vain Books, profane Ballads and filthy songs. Throw away all fond and amorous Romances and fabulous Histories of Giants, the bombast Achievements of Knight Errantry, and the like; for these all fill the Heads of Children with vain, silly and idle imaginations. (Shavit 1986, 164)

The religious establishment especially saw chapbooks as morally corrupting and, from the middle of the eighteenth century, it launched a crusade against them denouncing the chapbook as

a “source of evil” (Shavit 1986, 164-165). In an effort to replace chapbooks with suitable reading matter for the poor, authors such as Hannah More (1745-1833), who had come to resent this type of popular literature, introduced “Cheap Repository Tracts,” the first of which was published in March 1795 (Shavit 1986, 170). In order to compete with chapbooks, More and other tract writers provided cheap, affordable reading material that reflected the interests of both children and the religious and educational institutions: familiar chapbook literary genres like myths, legends, poetry, and fairy tales, considered the most poisonous influence on children, combined with didactic instruction where social ills were substituted for fairy-tale themes and tropes and criminals never escaped punishment (Shavit 1986, 171).

Eighteenth-century chapbook publishers and commercial publishers also capitalized on the increasing popularity of chapbooks among children and began to publish chapbooks specifically for children, which included adaptations of adult novels such as Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and Jonathan Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels* (1726), fairy tales, and coloured illustrations. But unlike the religious establishment, which published its religious tracts with Sunday school pupils in mind, commercial publishers catered exclusively to the middle and upper classes. The popularity of chapbooks began to decline toward the end of the eighteenth century with “the rise of periodical literature and other cheap publications for children, such as dime novels, serials, and comics” (Shavit 1986, 175-176) and the rehabilitation of fairy tales and imaginary literature. By the 1850s they had completely disappeared.

The second “branch of children’s literature prehistory is instructional” (Townsend in Hunt 1996, 677). In fact, the few books aimed specifically at children prior to the end of the

seventeenth century consisted mainly of moral, didactic and religious writings, of courtesy books or manuals of conduct that were intended to teach children high and appropriate standards of behaviour, particularly where well-to-do children were concerned. In fact, as John Griffith and Charles Frey state, quoted by John Morgenstern:

Children's literature as we know it did not really exist before 1700. Prior to that time, the little prose and poetry that had been created especially for children were mainly sober compendia of moral, religious and academic instruction. (Morgenstern 2001, 26(2):65)

Or, as Mary Thwaite observes, again quoted by John Morgenstern:

[B]ooks especially designed for children were as yet as rare as swallows in a northern winter. The few made for youth in medieval days were strictly utilitarian and instructional, intended for budding grammarians, novitiates of the Church, or courtiers-to-be. (Morgenstern 2001, 26(2):66)

Perhaps the most influential instructional books were the seventeenth-century Puritan books. At first, Puritan children's books such as primers and ABC books, commonly referred to as "good godly books," which "ranged from the relatively mild . . . telling of the 'holy and exemplary lives and joyful deaths of several young children,' to grim and lurid threats of hellfire for the impious" (Townsend in Hunt 1996, 677). Most such books were somber in tone and read as follows: "A—In Adam's Fall / We sinned all" and B—Thy Life to mend / This *Book* attend" (Jackson 1989, 26). James Janeway's *A Token for children* (1671) and John Bunyan's *Pilgrims Progress* (1678), which was not written specifically for children, were by far the most read and sought out Puritan books.

Eventually, however, ABC books and primers became increasingly more secular in content as their formal churchly and religious function diminished toward the end of the seventeenth century, “at the point when Puritanism was losing some of its ferocity in dealing with children (Kinnell in Hunt 1996, 144). In addition, the Puritan establishment was forced to accept amusement as one of the book’s components at the beginning of the eighteenth century in order to increase the book’s appeal (Shavit 1986, 138). This trend was probably most influenced and catalyzed by the writings of John Locke (1632-1704). As Townsend points out,

The writers who, with the best of intentions, warned their readers that they were ‘not too little to go to hell’ believed that children were steeped in original sin. But around the start of the eighteenth century a new view was becoming widely held. It was associated with the Enlightenment and especially, in England, with the philosopher John Locke. This saw the child as being born in a state of innocence, and the young mind as *tabula rasa* – a clean slate, waiting to be written on. Locke perceived the possibility of combining pleasure with instruction. In his *Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), he suggested that children could be ‘cozened into a knowledge of their letters’ and could ‘play themselves into what others are whipped for’. A child who had learned to read could be given ‘some easy, pleasant book’ which would reward his pains in reading yet not ‘fill his head with perfectly useless trumpery, or lay the principles of vice and folly’. Locke’s prescription, in his own view, ruled out the old tales and romances, and he could find nothing to recommend, outside the Scriptures, but *Aesop* and *Reynard the Fox*. (Townsend in Hunt 1996, 677)

The philosophical ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) were also hugely influential in reshaping the relationship between religious and moral principles and didactic literature fuelled by the moralist school of education, which eventually replaced the Puritan approach to education (Shavit 1986, 139). In fact, Townsend goes on to state as follows:

The educational philosophy of Locke was followed by that of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who preached that civilisation had overlaid natural virtue with idleness, inequality and indulgence. His British followers seized on the concepts of simplicity and usefulness, notably in the children's stories of Maria Edgeworth and in *Sandford and Merton* (1783-1789) by the eccentric Thomas Day. . . The emphasis is on the goodness of the natural and rational, as opposed to the corrupting influence of idle wealth. Among other moralising writers around the close of the eighteenth century were Mrs Sarah Trimmer . . . and Hannah More . . . [T]he last of the major preachers in children's fiction was Mrs Mary Martha Sherwood. (Townsend in Hunt 1996, 678)

While the educational theories of Locke, particularly that instruction should be combined with amusement, had already begun to exert a huge influence on commercial publishing for children in the early eighteenth century, in Britain and across Europe, it was with Newbery that "children's books as a serious branch of the book trade got under way" (Townsend in Hunt 1996, 677). In fact, that publishers began to tap a more child-centred market was evident by the production of chapbooks, and religious and moral tracts, as seen earlier. Also, the year 1729 saw the publication of the first English translation of Charles Perrault's fairy tales: Robert Samber's *Histories, or Tales of Past Times. Told by Mother Goose*. And, as Kinnell states, "fairy tales became established not only in the productions of the mainstream publishers; the chapbook publishers took them up and distributed them widely beside the moral and religious tracts" (Kinnell in Hunt 1996, 146). As Townsend admits,

Newbery – a great admirer of Locke – was not the first or the only one to respond, but he was the most successful and the most important. His many titles brought together the pleasurable and the instructive, frequently between the same covers. The two aims – to teach and to please – have remained twined together ever since, and publishers today tend to bring out both recreational and instructional books. A clear distinction is drawn between them on the publishers' lists; but the urge to instruct the young is deeply built into human nature, and at all times there have been

supposedly recreational books which have had, consciously or unconsciously, a didactic element. This remains true today. (Townsend in Hunt 1996, 677)

Thus, by cleverly and successfully combining commercial interests with educational interests, Newbery allowed children's literature to emerge as a distinct literary genre, thereby creating a world children can claim as their own.

The first half of the nineteenth century witnessed a continuation of the tradition of the didactic moral tale, inherited largely from the Evangelical school of thought. Children continued to be inundated with didactic and religious books which aimed to teach them how to behave, to be virtuous and pious, and abstain from sin or else face their deserved punishment (death or eternal hell). Yet the Evangelical tradition in which the writings of many authors of moral tales were deeply rooted was beginning to undergo fundamental change. In fact, the moral tales of early Victorianism (c.1820-50) combined religious teaching with the social realities of the time. As early as the 1820s such evangelical authors as Alicia Catherine Mant (*The Cottage in the Chalk-Pit*, 1822) and Barbara Hofland (*Decision*, 1824) demonstrate social awareness by drawing on the vicissitudes and hardships of everyday contemporary life as a means to teach their young readers Christian values and faith. By the 1840s some writers also went so far as to model their didactic moral stories on the realistic novel. Among the most distinguished of these were the works of Harriet Mozley, whose titles included *The Fairy Bower; or, The History of a Month* (1841), *The Lost Brooch; or, The History of Another Month* (1841) and *Family Adventures* (1852). Even the religious periodicals aimed at Sunday school children that had begun to appear in 1815 underwent considerable changes by the 1820s as they contained, in addition to the traditional Evangelical material, more secular material ranging from articles on

classical mythology and poetry to geographical and historical information. Perhaps one of the most influential “religious” figures in the changing religious climate was the American writer Samuel Goodrich (alias Peter Parley). Goodrich, who was very popular in the United States, had a lasting impact on British children’s literature as well, which is measured particularly by the success of two long-standing periodicals, *Peter Parley’s Magazine* (1839-63) and *Peter Parley’s Annual* (1840-92), although he was not directly involved with either. The content of the two periodicals also ranged from historical articles, natural history to moral tales about schoolboys, with the addition of factual information. It should be noted, however, that while the new trend in children’s literature marked a clear shift from a strictly pedantic religious tone to a more secular one, books for children continued to be predominantly instructional in nature.

There was another trend that began to develop in the early nineteenth century—the revival of interest in folk tales. The rehabilitation of fairy tales during this period is owed primarily to the changing tastes of the Victorian public. In the wake of the Romantic Movement, which was in part a reaction to the Age of Reason, fantasy and imagination were gradually becoming accepted and appreciated by Victorian society and, accordingly, integrated into children’s literature by writers and publishers alike. On the heels of the translation of the brothers Grimm’s fairy tales into English by Edgar Taylor, published as *German Popular Stories* in 1823, and in response to the growing awareness of the need and importance of accommodating the tastes of children, more and more fairy tales and fantastical stories were being produced. By the mid-nineteenth century, the retellings of old chapbook material and fairy tales, such as “Cinderella,” “The Sleeping Beauty,” and “Little Red Riding Hood,” abound. Among the more forward-looking publishers were Sir Henry Cole and W.J. Thoms, who also concerned

themselves with improving the quality and style of illustrated children's books. As far as writers go, one of the most celebrated fantasy writers of that era is Lewis Carroll, best known for authoring what many would call the greatest and most original English children's book of all time, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865), followed in 1871 by *Through the Looking-Glass*.

The other two literary forms of children's literature that dominated the nineteenth century were the adventure story and domestic stories. The former, popular with boys, was modelled after adult fiction novels by Daniel Defoe, Walter Scott and others. One of the best-known classic boys' adventure stories was *Treasure Island* (1882) by Robert Louis Stevenson. Other well-known authors of these boys' stories were R.M. Ballantyne (*The Coral Island*, 1858) and the children's books of Captain Marryat in the 1840s. Though not as dominant a genre as the adventure story, domestic stories were instead quite popular with the girls.

In light of the foregoing, the period prior to the First World War has been dubbed a golden age of children's literature. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said for the period between the two wars, during which the "doom and gloom" of the 1920s and 1930s brought children's literature to a near standstill. In spite of this dry spell, author A.A. Milne managed to turn out one successful book, *Winnie-the-Pooh* (1926), which was not specifically meant for children. Eventually, children's literature succeeded in recovering from the setbacks of the two wars, in part because of the promotion and encouragement of reading, which was central in school and public libraries. In the years following the Second World War, the historical novel and fantasy were at their height as two of the most sought out genres. C.S. Lewis's *The Lion, the Witch and*

the Wardrobe, which appeared in 1950, emerged as one of the fantasy genre's best works. The popularity of the fantasy genre, set by J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Hobbit* (1937) and *The Lord of the Rings*, published in three volumes in 1954 and 1955 and thus becoming one of the most popular works in twentieth-century English literature, continues to increase in the twenty-first century as evidenced by the phenomenal status of J.K. Rowling's Harry Potter.

Children's literature in America

To even attempt to pinpoint the exact moment when children's literature began in America is not only difficult but impossible. As Jerry Griswold explains,

It is only by contrivance that we can divide what is a seamless thread and declare some arbitrary episode the Alpha – the moment when children's literature began in the USA. . . . Even if America's early history is reckoned by the fact that it was an English colony, and even if the search for an origin is limited to stories in print, it is difficult to discover a discrete beginning because, along with shiploads of furniture and material goods of all kinds, religious refugees and spiritual colonists brought with them or had imported texts of all kinds – English chapbooks, alphabet books, books of manners, Isaac Watts's poems, the fairy tales of Perrault, the fables of Aesop, stories of Cock Robin and Dick Whittington, etc. (Griswold in Hunt 1996, 871)

Nevertheless, what is known for certain is that before 1800 American children were acquainted with didactic and religious texts which aimed to instill faith, virtue and devotion. One of the earliest known religious and didactic books placed in the hands of American children was John Cotton's *Spiritual Milk for Boston Babes* (1646). The most popular and widely used book of instruction in America was *The New England Primer*, with more than six million copies printed between 1680 and 1830. A best-seller, this was the book by which American children

were schooled in the Puritan beliefs of original sin, death, and salvation. Another text for American children that followed in this tradition in the early eighteenth century was Cotton Mather's *A Token for the Children of New England; or some Examples of Children in whom the Fear of God was remarkably budding before they dyed; in several part of New England* (1700).

But in the 1730s, an important change began to occur in American literature for children that reflected a new willingness to write from a child's perspective. This change was marked by the appearance of *The Prodigal Daughter* in America circa 1737, printed in Boston, which heralded a new era in children's writing. According to Griswold,

While this short work contains the familiar scenario of deathbed pronunciamientos, *The Prodigal Daughter* differed – as its introductory summary makes clear – in its focus on a Bad Girl, its Faustian melodrama, and its Edgar-Allan-Poe-like special effects: 'showing, how a Gentleman of a Vast Estate . . . had a proud and disobedient Daughter, who because her parents would not support her in all her extravagance, bargained with the Devil to poison them. How an Angel informed her parents of her design. How she lay in a trance four days; and when she was put in the grave, she came to life again, and related the wonderful things she saw in the other World.' (Griswold in Hunt 1996, 872)

The reason for this change was that the *tabula rasa* principle and educational views expressed by Locke in his *Essay on Human Understanding* (1689) and *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), respectively, were taking root in America as well. The adoption of a more child-centred approach ultimately culminated in the emergence of a secular children's literature of which the first specimen was perhaps *A New Gift for Children* published anonymously in 1750.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, much of what comprised American children's literature was also, as in its British counterpart, didactic and moralizing. The Puritans continued

to base young children's instruction on America's most popular educational book, *The New England Primer* and, as Griswold points out, "besides schoolrooms, churches were also busy centres in the children's literature business" (Griswold 1996, 875). He elaborates by stating,

Religious institutions created the genre known as the 'Sunday School Book' – small tracts offered by the American Sunday School Union (1824-1860) and similar religious organisations. By means of them countless young Americans learned to read and be good – two sometimes unrelated skills. (Griswold in Hunt 1996, 875)

But from 1800 to 1865 a new trend also flourished in the United States in children's literature, which involved a more national and secular literature. The reason for this was perhaps that America did not have much history to share or teach seeing as the United States of America was only founded in 1776 when it declared its independence from England. It is therefore unsurprising and understandable that American writers would feel the need to produce patriotic material. Among the most representative examples of patriotic writing in America's children's literature in the first half of the nineteenth century were Parson Weem's *The Life of Washington the Great* (1806) and Washington Irving's *A History of New York, by Dietrich Knickerbrocker* (1809) and *Sketch Book* (1819-1820). It would not be long before Irving's tales would become schoolroom favourites. Though not intended specifically for children, these stories became popular with young audiences and were among some of the greatest works of nineteenth-century American children's literature.

At the same time literary patriotism was coming to the fore in the American schoolroom, the Sunday school books that religious organizations had offered children were gradually undergoing a secularization process. Until the mid-1830s children's books were primarily

didactic in their purpose, but as schoolteachers began to replace ministers in their role of educators a new and more secular trend began to emerge. Schoolteachers were more concerned with history and geography and not so much with salvation, damnation, or behaviour. Eventually, publishers caught on to this new trend, especially with the rise of “pulp fiction” following the commercial success of William Taylor Adams’ Oliver Optic series (1855 *et seq.*). In 1860, Irwin Beadle and Co. was the first American publisher to offer dime novels, which were the predecessors of today’s mass market paperbacks and comic books. Dime novels then led to adventure stories for boys and domestic fiction for girls, which had also appeared on the British children’s market around the same time. Also as in Britain, the golden age of children’s books occurred between 1865 and 1914. This was a very productive era in the history of children’s literature and children’s publishing as it saw the appearance of many of America’s best-loved children’s novels such as *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (by Mark Twain, 1876), *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (by L. Frank Baum, 1899), *Tarzan of the Apes* (by Edgar Rice Burroughs, 1914), *The Secret Garden* (by Frances Hodgson Burnett, 1911), and *Little Women* (by Louisa May Alcott, 1868). And although renowned authors such as Mark Twain and Louisa May Alcott wrote specially for children, their works were enjoyed and read by adults and children alike.

As far as the period after 1914 goes, it saw the publication of historical and regional fiction, and novels that combined realism and fantasy. A poignant example of the latter is E.B. White’s *Charlotte’s Web* (1952). Other categories also began to emerge during this period such as the picture book. Making its debut, at least from a perspective of technological innovation, in the late 1920s with Wanda Gag’s *Millions of Cats* (1928), the picture book spearheaded a whole new era in the development of picture books.

The last two decades of the twentieth century witnessed a burgeoning adult interest in children's literature. Most of what was being written and published for children was being purchased and read by adults, mainly in their 20s or 30s. Needless to say, this came at a time when courses on children's literature, offered in American universities since 1960, were becoming increasingly popular electives. This trend has continued up to the present. In fact, just as children turned to adult books in the past for amusement, adults too have turned to children's books over the years for escapism from adulthood and life itself.

Italian children's literature

The beginnings of "Italian" children's literature, to be understood here within the context of the Imperial Roman period of Italian history, date back as far as the 1st century to the Roman poet Phaedrus. Written in Latin verse,²⁸ Phaedrus's fables are in fact the oldest surviving collection of Aesop's fables and are among the infinite stories read and enjoyed by children for centuries, although not originally intended for them. Also of particular note among the many stories originally intended for an adult audience and subsequently appropriated by children are Giovanni Francesco Straparola's (c. 1448-1557) *Le piacevoli notti* (published in English as *The Nights of Straparola*, 1894, or *The Facetious Nights of Straparola*, 1901) and Giambattista Basile's (1575-1632) *Lo cunto de li cunti overo lo trattenemiento de' peccerille* [*The Tale of Tales, or Entertainment for the Little Ones*], also known as *Il Pentamerone*. Straparola's *Le piacevoli notti* (1550-53) is a two-volume collection with seventy-five stories, rich in novelty and originality. This sixteenth-century Venetian author distinguished himself in reviving the oral

²⁸ Before the thirteenth century, the literary language of Italy was Latin.

tradition, namely the fairy tale tradition, and is also believed to have penned the original story of “Beauty and the Beast.” But however masterful a storyteller Straparola was, it was with Giambattista Basile that the fairy tale tradition reached its height. Basile’s masterpiece *Lo cunto de li cunti overo lo trattenemiento de’ peccerille*, written in Neapolitan dialect and published posthumously in 1634-36, comprises fifty fairy tales and is the first integral collection of literary fairy tales to appear in Western Europe. It contains the earliest literary versions of such classic tales as “Sleeping Beauty,” “Cinderella,” “Puss in Boots,” “Rapunzel,” and others, later adapted by Perrault and the Brothers Grimm. Thus, Basile is not only considered to be one of the greatest authors of the Italian Baroque, but also, and more pertinently, one of the founders of the literary fairy tale in Europe.

The development of children’s literature in Italy, as in many other countries, was also greatly influenced by two major institutions, the Church and the State. Christian values were already typified in pre-eighteenth century works such as Andrea da Barberino’s *Guerrino detto il Meschino* (early fifteenth century), Giulo Cesare Croce’s *Le avventure di Bertoldo* (late sixteenth century) and Giambattista Basile’s *Il pentamerone* (1634), mentioned earlier. But, it was toward the end of the eighteenth century and during the first half of the nineteenth century that religious authors such as Francesco Soave (1743-1806) and Giulio Tarra (1832-1889) played an increasingly vital role in the production of children’s literature. Soave, an exponent of the Age of Reason, translated John Locke into Italian and was inspired to write *Novelle morali* [Moral tales] in 1782. During the mid-nineteenth century, authors such as Pietro Thouar (1809-1861) and Luigi Alessandro Parravicini (1799-1880) also contributed moralistic writings with the introduction of innovative educational books juxtaposing the patriotic vein that inspired the

Risorgimento patriots with the didactic, moral and religious functions. Inspired by the values of the *Risorgimento*, Parravicini's *Giannetto* (1837), the prototype of the textbook, instilled in children a sense of their moral obligations to "Dio, Patria e Famiglia" [God, country and family]. The success of this work lay particularly in its pedagogical value, as it exposed children to subjects such as history, geography and science. Especially noteworthy, however, is Thouar's contribution to Italian children's literature. This writer and journalist who wrote extensively on education and politics was also a very prolific children's author, creating, among other things, the first example in Italy of educational reading for children, the *Giornale dei fanciulli* [Children's journal, 1834].

As for the influence of the State on the rise and development of Italian children's literature, it is synonymous with the achievement of national unity. Owing to the fact that Italy became a united kingdom only in 1861, the role of the State in matters of education became more prominent in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The question of education became increasingly important and urgent as government policies and initiatives aimed at reducing the illiteracy rate, promoting the use of a national language, and developing a sense of civil responsibility were implemented. As mentioned in the previous Chapter, education was eventually made compulsory for all children in 1877 with the *Legge Coppino*. The breadth and scope of the influence of the institution of the Italian state on children's literature is evidenced by two of the most compelling children's books ever to have been written in Italy, Carlo Collodi's *Le avventure di Pinocchio* (1883) and Edmondo De Amicis's *Cuore* [Heart, 1886]. These two masterpieces of Italian children's literature were evocative of the political, social and cultural landscape of the newly united Italy: they mirrored the illiteracy crisis Italy was facing at the

time, namely the education versus the lack thereof conundrum, and embodied contemporary Italian themes and values—ushered in by the *Risorgimento* and championed during the post-unification years—that were to shape the very cultural fabric of Italian society. Surely, it was no coincidence, as Alberto Asor Rosa aptly points out, that both *Cuore* and *Pinocchio* show an engagement with contemporary reality that is not at all peaceful and innocent, but rather painful and dramatic, which is characteristic of every story dealing with early life and development. In that perspective, Asor Rosa also goes on to explain how the two male protagonists of these two novels are forced to face harsh and painful realities which enable us to understand how “sacrifice,” that is, dedication, effort and altruism, is the primary educational value for these authors and their community.²⁹ It is not surprising, therefore, that these authors would appeal and look to the younger generation to lead the way to a modern society. As such, there is no denying that Collodi’s and De Amici’s works served as pedagogical instruments in the search for and building up of a national identity and national conscience in the post-*Risorgimento* era. They were truly, in the words of Asor Rosa, instruments of “national cultural unification.”³⁰

During Fascism (1922-1943), under Benito Mussolini, the State openly controlled and secretly manipulated children’s literature and its production. According to Faeti, as quoted by Terri Frongia, this was due to the fact that “the regime naturally perceived it to be one of the most important vehicles of its own conservation and reproduction” (Frongia 1995, 19(1):52). But one of the most significant interventions on the part of the State was the more recent introduction

²⁹ Asor Rosa 1975, 4(2):926. My translation.

³⁰ Asor Rosa 1975, 4(2):928. My translation.

(between 1963 and 1977) of fiction into the secondary school curriculum, which led, among other things, to what Terri Frongia defines as “the (re)creation of an entire category of children’s literature: *parascolastici*, or “parascholastic” literature. Frongia goes on to say that “these fables, short stories, and novels, generally written by teachers or writers contracted by publishing houses, come equipped with extensive “exercises” to be completed by the student-reader” (Frongia 1995, 19(1):52).

Today, children’s literature in Italy is no longer steeped in the strict pedagogical methodologies and principles that once guided educators and children writers. Owing greatly to the revolutionary and modern ideas and works of Gianni Rodari (1920-1980), who was first and foremost a writer and educator, Italian education and children’s literature are now seen in a new, positive light and have taken on a whole new dimension. Rodari is credited with being one of the first Italian authors to have adopted unorthodox teaching methods and ideologies by introducing the need for autonomy and nonconformity and breaking free from traditional authoritarian pedagogy. As Maria Luisa Salvadori states:

Following his path, to be a children’s author in Italy meant to be first of all a cultured man or woman, that is, a person with authentic ideals and motivations. Writing books for children became a new and very specific profession, sustained by a true vocation and a sincere interest in the children’s dimension, as well as a strong desire to experiment with original ways of expression. These were new and revolutionary concepts: in Italy it took close to two centuries (from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth) for children’s literature to become an independent genre, with authors dedicated exclusively to it. The most difficult aspect in this process of emancipation was getting rid of the pedagogical structure into which most literature for children was confined. For decades, the main goal of the school system was to form “good citizens”: people who would work, save

money, be fervently patriotic and ready to sacrifice themselves, capable and modest, faithful subjects of the king or "*Il duce*," Mussolini's title. It was considered essential to raise children who would adapt to, or even embrace, the dominant political model. For decades, Italian children's literature was limited to scholastic textbooks, which reflected the political orthodoxy of the time.

...

To take inspiration from Rodari's work means first and foremost to use his methodological approach to interpret the new aspects of our world. What are essential in his teaching are the concepts of "fantasy riding with reason," nonconformity, and social commitment. To follow Gianni Rodari's example means to accompany the treatment of important topics and the intensity of social commitment with the pleasure of play, the sense of irony, the taste for the surreal, the richness of expression. (Salvadori 2002, 26(2):180-183)

At the present time Italian children's books make up a small percentage of children's publishing in Italy and the international scene compared to their American and English counterparts. Nevertheless, there are many Italian children's authors who are making a contribution to modern children's literature. Among the most prominent writers in Italy today are Roberto Piumini, Bianca Pitzorno and Stefano Bordiglioni, who work within the realm of the short story, the fairy tale, and the nursery rhyme. Lastly, it would be remiss not to mention the annual Bologna Children's Book Fair, usually held in April, which is the most important and largest event of its kind in the world.

In the section to follow, I will be looking at the issue of violence in children's literature. Specifically, I will examine attitudes towards violence and its treatment in the nineteenth century generally and in Collodi's *Pinocchio* in particular. The reason I am addressing this issue is purely out of my personal interest in the subject. The issue of violence in children's literature is always topical and poignant precisely because by its very nature, violence is a controversial and

subjective topic, and seeing as the themes of violence and death in Collodi's novel have been the subject of much controversy and criticism, I thought it would be very interesting and informative to write about such an important and timeless issue. From a personal perspective, I wanted to explore for myself the violent content in *Le avventure di Pinocchio* and the controversy surrounding it.

Violence

Violence has been portrayed in children's stories since the beginning of recorded literature. From that viewpoint, one can even go as far as saying that it has been a staple of children's literature for centuries. One need only think of the fairy tales of Perrault, the Brothers Grimm and Hans Christian Andersen. Generally speaking, society has either frowned upon and condemned it or learned to accept and embrace it. This has been the traditional and conventional approach to violence in the past and will, in all likelihood, continue to be so in the future. The reason for the apparent divide between these two opposing extremes of human reaction to violence perhaps lies in the perception of violence in and of itself. According to the *Canadian Oxford Dictionary*, "violence," as defined in sense 1 a, is "the esp. illegal exercise of physical force to cause injury or damage to a person or property; violent behaviour." Violence, then, is assumed by the one school as being any violent act or behaviour, and on that basis, is simply not suitable for children. Conversely, the other school says that violence is just part of human nature and children therefore need not be shielded from violence, in books, and by extension, in films, TV, video games and music lyrics, as exposure to violence does not necessarily lead to violent acts or behaviour. Considering that the crux of this debate rests on the premise that both schools

of thought are valid and supported by compelling arguments, ultimately, the answer to the debate depends on which of the two differing perceptions of violence one believes to be true.

On that note, the task at hand for me here is not to pass judgment by condemning the one side and justifying the other but rather to examine the viewpoints and arguments of both proponents and opponents and to look at both the pros and cons of violence in children's literature, especially where *Pinocchio* is concerned. For the purposes of my thesis, I will focus first on the portrayal and perception of violence in children's literature of the nineteenth century in general and then on the issue in Collodi's work by drawing particular attention to the reactions and approaches by authors, scholars and critics of children's literature. More specifically, my purpose in this section is to address and respond to the concerns voiced and claims made about the violent content of *Pinocchio* and to determine, based on the evidence supporting the political and pedagogical aspects of the work, Collodi's reasons for including it. Before proceeding further, a brief exposition of the arguments for and against violence in children's literature in general is in order.

Based on the examination of the pros and cons of violence in children's literature, it seems as though the issue of violence comes down to the age-old debate of "nature versus nurture." In fact, in his article "Agresividad y violencia en la LIJ" [Aggression and violence in children's literature],²⁸ Juan José Lage Fernández quotes José Sanmartín who states "Aggression is natural. Violence is the result of altering natural aggression through culture"(Lage Fernández 2004, 17(167):15). And, according to Mario Vargas Llosa, "The novel . . . is a representation of life, and violence, like sex, is a human phenomenon"(Lage Fernández 2004, 17(167):21). In

²⁸ All quotes from this article by Lage Fernández are my translation.

keeping with this principle, Marc Petit states that “Violence, including horror, has always been at the heart of art” (Lage Fernández 2004, 17(167):18). Lage Fernández expands on this by saying “. . . there are very few children’s books in which a fight, an assault, an insult, mockery, are not overtly portrayed, and naturally at that, in a genre of literature that attempts to reflect the behaviour of normal children living in a competitive and aggressive society”(Lage Fernández 2004, 17(167):18). He also points out how there are many works, in modern literature, that are “Utopian and anti-violence . . . suggesting that violence is unnatural” such as those by Gloria Fuertes and Gianni Rodari (Lage Fernández 2004, 17(167):18-19).

In the article, Lage Fernández focuses on the advantages and benefits of depicting violence in children’s books and draws on oral literature and traditional tales to show how it is important to educate children about violence, aggression and the dangers inherent in the world in such a way that they feel empowered, not victimized. In fact, in response to “opinions expressed for centuries that [traditional tales] were pernicious and permissive owing to their violent and evil content and accusing them of being inciting and provocative” (Lage Fernández 2004, 17(167):17), Lage Fernández states:

And one of the best ways of introducing violence and aggression to children is through traditional folk tales where physical violence, fear, terror, and sex were commonplace. These stories “briefly and concisely presented children with existential problems, causing them to come face to face with basic human conflicts.” That is to say, the purpose of this type of literature was first to introduce terror and then to overcome and conquer it. It showed auditors that evil does exist, it is within and among us, but that it can be defeated with wit and courage. The happy-ending theory proved that victory is possible, albeit never gratuitous.

The purpose of the ogre’s cruelty in Tom Thumb or the aggressive tendencies of the witch in Hansel and Gretel was not to frighten or intimidate, but to show that there are evil people in the world and

that although cruelty exists, it can be conquered with courage, determination and enthusiasm. (Lage Fernández 2004, 17(167):17)

Those “opposing opinions” were also challenged by Martin Gardner who, in reaction to “those modern critics of children’s literature who consider that stories for the young ought to be free from violence,” points out the following:

Let it be known that there are no empirical studies on how children react to such scenes and on the harmful psychological effects, if any. In my opinion, a normal child finds them entertaining and is not at all harmed by them. (Lage Fernández 2004, 17(167):17)

Lage Fernández corroborates that view adding that “it has not been proven that scenes of cruelty in traditional stories for children lead to disturbing behaviour, with the usual exception of those whose real life blends with fantasy” (Lage Fernández 2004, 17(167):18). The article ends with a compelling quote by Amos Oz, “Read Literature and your fanaticism will be cured” (Lage Fernández 2004, 17(167):21).

For the fullest treatment of violence in children’s literature, we must turn to the nineteenth century, notably to the fairy tales of the Brothers Grimm. “While millions feel they ‘know’ Grimms’ fairy tales,” Jennifer Schacker observes, “relatively few experience an accurate translation of what is known as the ‘final version’ of the *KHM* (1857). Those who venture into the terrain of the Grimms’ *earlier* editions—‘Grimms’ grimmest,’ as they were recently dubbed—are often surprised or even shocked by what they find” (Schacker 2003, 27). Schacker goes on to say that “what we have come to know as Grimms’ fairy tales are texts mediated by . . . the various editors, translators, and publishers, who almost always come between the late-twentieth-century reader and the *KHM*, as they did for the average nineteenth-century

English reader” (Schacker 2003, 27). The Grimms’ *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (*KHM*) have been the subject of “innumerable literary, cinematic, and theatrical reworkings of individual tales” (Schacker 2003, 26). But in spite of these reworkings and even before new versions of their work began to appear, beginning with *German Popular Stories* (1823), i.e. the first English translation and adaptation by Edgar Taylor, the Grimms’ fairy tales had already established themselves as a popular tale collection and were well on their way to securing their legacy as classics. As Schacker points out, “by the time this little volume [*German Popular Stories*] appeared in 1823, English readers with established amateur interest in ‘popular tales’ were aware of the Grimms’ research in Germany; those who read German were likely to have read the Grimms’ *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, in either its first edition (1812-14) or the second (1819)” (Schacker 2003, 13). So while the Brothers Grimm, too, were inspired to adapt their very own collection of fairy tales for children by ridding them of their inappropriate matter in their second edition in 1819, their *Household Tales* had already managed to become “household favourites” with adults and children alike in their crudest and rawest form. Let us take, for example, two of the most beloved, enchanting and enduring fairy tales from the Brothers Grimm: “Cinderella,” and “Snow White.” In their original versions, these two tales are wrought with gruesome and gory details. Consider, for instance, the following passages taken from “Cinderella” and “Snow White,”³¹ respectively:

The oldest took the shoe into a room to try it on, and her mother stood by her side. However, the shoe was too small for her, and she could not get her big toe into it. So her mother handed her a knife and said, “Cut your toe off. Once you become queen, you won’t

³¹ English translations are by Jack Zipes from *The Complete Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm* (1992).

have to walk anymore.” The maiden cut her toe off. . . . He [the prince] looked down at her foot and saw the blood oozing out. . . . Then the second sister went into a room and was fortunate enough to get all her toes in, but her heel was too large. So her mother handed her a knife and said, “Cut off a piece of your heel. Once you become queen, you won’t have to walk anymore.” The maiden cut off a piece of her heel. . . . He [the prince] looked down at her foot and saw the blood oozing out of the shoe and staining her white stockings all red. [Pages 90-91]

Just then a young boar came dashing by, and the huntsman stabbed it to death. He took out the lungs and liver and brought them to the queen as proof that the child was dead. The cook was ordered to boil them in salt, and the wicked woman ate them and thought that she had eaten Snow White’s lungs and liver. [Page 197]

Although the Grimms’ tales have “and-they-lived-happily-ever-after endings,” they are not exactly the endings Walt Disney’s readership/viewership is accustomed to, as these tales do not end on a positive note. Take for example the following, which is the very last paragraph of “Cinderella:”

On the day that the wedding with the prince was to take place, the two false sisters came to ingratiate themselves and to share in Cinderella’s good fortune. When the bridal couple set out for the church, the oldest sister was on the right, the younger on the left. Suddenly, the pigeons pecked out one eye from each of them. And as they came back from the church later on the oldest was on the left and the youngest on the right, and the pigeons pecked out the other eye from each sister. Thus they were punished with blindness for the rest of their lives due to their wickedness and malice. [Page 92]

Or, for example, that of Snow White:

The evil woman uttered a loud curse and became so terribly afraid that she did not know what to do. At first she did not want to go to the wedding celebration. But, she could not calm herself until she saw the young queen. When she entered the hall, she recognized Snow White. The evil queen was so petrified with fright that she could not budge. Iron slippers had already been heated over a fire, and they were brought over to her with tongs. Finally, she had to

put on the red-hot slippers and dance until she fell down dead.
[Page 204]

But the Grimms' fairy tales were not the only nineteenth-century writings for children depicting violent and unsettling subject matter. Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885) also featured its fair share of macabre, barbaric depictions. Though not originally intended for children, *Huckleberry Finn*, hailed as a "Great American Novel," became extremely popular among young readers as well. And as Victor A. Doyno puts it in summarizing Twain's use of violence, "Twain wrote imaginatively and realistically about a violent era, with a vulnerable boy's dangerous journey from Hannibal to Arkansas, from naiveté to skepticism, from racism to compassion, from his cruel trickery to his own form of unselfish integrity. Knowledge about the imaginary journey can help a nation move toward personal and cultural liberation—not to perfect freedom, but toward national self-knowledge" (Doyno 2004, 2:93). In his article, Doyno provides an example of the reality of torture and death by lynching of African Americans in the late 1800s by quoting the following excerpt from the novel:

And if anybody that belonged to the band told the secrets, he must have his throat cut, and then have his carcass burnt up and the ashes scattered around (Doyno 2004, 2:93)

According to Anthony Kearney, nineteenth-century Victorian children's writers also had a penchant for violence and violent motifs. As he points out, "Victorian writing for children is often marked by an odd mixture of the prudish, the high-minded, and the horrific. Many writers who flinched from the remotest sexual allusion were happy to regale their readers with scenes of torture, violent death, and general mayhem, all set out in gory detail. In doing so they were clearly capitalizing on a tolerance in the Victorian outlook for horrific themes which extended to

all levels of literature from Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (which fascinated the young Copperfield) to the *Terrific Register* which fascinated the young Dickens) to Grimm's *Fairy Tales* (which fascinated everyone)" (Kearney 1986, 17(4):233). In his article, Kearney also makes a point of addressing the pros and cons of violence in children's literature at the time. He states as follows:

[I]t needs to be said that there was *some* debate at the time about the rights and wrongs of including horrific scenes in children's literature. Fairy tales, being offered to very young children, in particular raised alarm among the pundits. . . . The alarmists, however, seem to have been outnumbered by the stuff-and-nonsense brigade. . . . Tiny tots apart, strong doses of horror were clearly thought to be harmless or even character-forming, making children face up to unpleasant facts and testing their courage. Descriptions of the savage and the barbaric, quite apart from allowing outlets for sadistic or morbid fantasies in a moralistically buttoned-up society, were also seen to have further positive uses in reinforcing a sense of civilized values [Saxon and Protestant] when, as was usually the case, the ultra-horrific was associated with alien practices—i.e., those belonging either to the remote past or to countries safely beyond Europe. An awareness of how people behaved in the Middle Ages or in the South Seas, so the theory went, gave children a stronger sense of the virtues of their own civilization. It also gave them a chance to gratify a mixture of emotions; curiosity, fear, revulsion, an appetite for the nightmarish and the morbid, and so on. (Kearney 1986, 17(4):233-34)

Nineteenth-century children's writers also displayed a proclivity for death, a form of violence. From the Brothers Grimm and Hans Christian to Oscar Wilde and J.M. Barrie to North American Indian tales, death seemed to be a recurring and ubiquitous motif during the nineteenth century. In examining death in children's literature, Francelia Butler notes that "in North American tales . . . life and death are closely related, are at times interchangeable states." She continues,

A similar matter-of-fact acceptance of death is occasionally found in European folktales, as in Grimm's story, "The Death of Partlet," a story left out of most Grimm collections. As the story ends in Grimm,

Chanticleer was left alone with his dead Partlet. He dug her a grave and laid her in it, and raised a mound over it, and there he sat and mourned her till he died too. So they were all dead. (Butler 1972, 1:105-06)

She goes on to say as follows:

In the nineteenth century, the neurotic writers of the classics for children expressed at least some honest emotion. Freud wasn't around yet, and they felt safe in exploding their problems—homosexuality or other—into childish rhymes and fantasies. Filled with guilt, these writers were constantly aware of death. . . . [T]wo other writers of the nineteenth century who seem to have given vent to their emotional problems in their writings for children were J.M. Barrie and Oscar Wilde. In Fifty Works of English and American Literature We Could Do Without, a book published a few years ago, J.M. Barrie is accused of making Peter Pan the vehicle for his triple theme of incest, castration, and homosexuality. Barrie is also criticized for his treatment of death in the play. Say the authors:

It's not enough, however, for Barrie to betray children. He betrays art. He does it brilliantly. That superb piece of engineering (the engineering, however, of an instrument of torture), the scene where Peter Pan appeals to the children in the audience to keep Tinker Bell alive by clapping to signal their belief in fairies is a metaphor of artistic creation itself. . . . Peter Pan blackmails the children, cancels the willingness of the suspension of disbelief, and disrupts the convention on which all art depends when he threatens to hold the children morally responsible for Tinker Bell's death unless by a real act—an act done in the auditorium, not on the stage—they assert their literal belief in what they know to be an artistic fiction." (Butler 1972, 1:112-13)

As for Oscar Wilde, she writes that "all five of [his] famous fairy tales for children have death as their theme" and that "in the best known of the tales both 'The Selfish Giant' and the little boy he loves die" (Butler 1972, 1:113).

As a nineteenth-century children's author, Carlo Collodi, too, drew on the recurring motifs of violence and death in vogue at the time. Unfortunately, owing to the dearth of pertinent material on violence in nineteenth-century Italian children's literature, I cannot comment on either its use and significance specifically within the Italian literary context or its influence on Collodi and *Pinocchio*. Fortunately, however, what is known about the Italian author is that in writing his masterpiece he relied heavily on the classical tradition—*The Odyssey* (Homer), *The Aeneid* (Virgil), and *The Divine Comedy* (Dante)—and on the Tuscan *novella*, or short-story, tradition whose origin lay in the work of the Italian Medieval author Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron*³² (1353). As discussed in Chapter 1, Lorenzini also drew inspiration from Charles Perrault and the French fairy-tale tradition. But whether his influence derived from classical sources, *novelle*, French fairy tales or other, the fact remains that Collodi did resort to the use of violence and death in *Pinocchio* and has been heavily criticized for it, as we shall go on to see.

One of Collodi's harshest critics is Maurice Sendak, author of *Where the Wild Things Are* (1963). In quoting Sendak, Maria Tatar states as follows:

Take the case of Carlo Collodi's *Pinocchio*, a story that, in Sendak's own words, does not suffer from "whimsicality or sentimentality" yet is nonetheless "a cruel and frightening tale" built on a "sickening" premise. (Tatar in Haase 1993, 210)

Tatar goes on to say that

Collodi creates a world in which children are inherently lazy, disobedient, and dishonest—the same world we encounter in most nineteenth-century cautionary tales and reward-and-punishment tales. At every bend in the road evil forces, incarnated in the ethos of "Playland" (which was to become Walt Disney's "Pleasure

³² A medieval work comprising 100 novellas telling tales of love, sex, tragedy, and initiation into the world. It is a book about life in the fourteenth century.

Island”), stand ready to seduce the child and to turn him into the little beast that he really is. (Tatar 1993, 210)

Sendak’s observations on *Pinocchio* are noted by Thomas J. Morrissey as well who writes that “. . . Maurice Sendak, whose *Wild Things* have not been universally appreciated, hated Collodi’s novel as a child and prefers Disney’s softening of Collodi’s violence” (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 1). Morrissey, however, comes to Collodi’s defence:

Collodi’s serialized “Story of a Puppet” . . . would be remembered only in surveys of harshly didactic nineteenth-century children’s stories had the tale ended with chapter 15, where the puppet is hanged. . . . Although Collodi’s humorous touches would still have graced the truncated work, it would in the end have been a cautionary tale worthy of Sendak’s comment that, “Children, Collodi seems to be saying, are inherently bad, and the world itself is a ruthless, joyless place, filled with hypocrites, liars, and cheats.” (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 5)

He goes on to say as follows:

A lively piece of wood with devious tendencies is set loose on the world but is unable to adapt either morally or intellectually. After being given form and mobility, he consistently disobeys his “father” and ignores the advice of those with more experience (even to the point of killing one of them) [the cricket], the result of which is that his lunch flies out the window when he cracks open an egg, he displays heroic potential when he offers to die in place of another, and he returns to the forest, not as a tree branch or trunk, but as a hanged murder victim, swinging from a bough. Yes, in this truncated version the puppet show is still a joyful event, and Pinocchio does demonstrate potential goodness by offering himself up in the place of Harlequin, but ultimately his inability to obey and adapt means death. This gruesome tale would not have shocked nineteenth-century European children, since they would have heard similar stories before. Take for example, Mrs. Sherwood’s Fairchild children, who get hauled off to a hanging for their moral edification. *Pinocchio* would not have endured unless its greater potential had been realized. (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 5-6)

Still, in addressing the themes of violence and death in *Pinocchio* in response to “moralistic revisionists, Sendak, and other detractors,” according to whom “the harsh proto-*Pinocchio* . . . sets the tone for the whole book” and “the puppet may be saved, but the world is still fallen and dangerous” (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 6), Morrissey underscores the redemptive theme in the story and writes:

With chapter 16, *Pinocchio* begins to realize its fairy tale potential as the magic that brought the piece of wood to life reasserts itself as the magic that will give the puppet a chance at humanity. . . . Pinocchio faces some pretty rough times after chapter 15—he is, among other things, jailed, chained as a watch dog, almost pan fried, turned into a donkey, and swallowed by a terrible fish. However, when he does finally shape up, he attains real boyhood. . . . He is an easy mark for the Fox and the Cat, but by the time he encounters *il pesce cane*, the terrible fish that swallows Geppetto, he has figured out how dangerous the world is, and he uses his brain to get himself and his father out of trouble. (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 6-7)

Sendak is not the only one to have passed harsh judgment on Collodi’s *Pinocchio*. In drawing a comparison of the original with the Walt Disney version, Claudia Card points out that like Maurice Sendak, her mother too favoured the Disney version for her daughter owing to the violence in the original story and that “it seems to him, as it did to her, cruel and frightening” (Card in Bell, Haas and Sells 1995, 68). And, like Morrissey, she too responds to Sendak’s harsh criticism of the way in which Collodi depicts the world and comes to the Italian author’s defence by stating that “unfortunately, the world *is*” [her emphasis, not mine] “full of hypocrites, liars, and cheats” (Card in Bell, Haas and Sells 1995, 69). She further rejects his interpretation of *Pinocchio* by stating as follows:

Not only does he not yet know how to take another’s point of view—nor, therefore, how to empathize—but also he takes a

certain pleasure in cruelty (as in killing the cricket), which he needs to learn empathy to overcome. Children's pleasures in cruelty need not be construed as malicious in order to be acknowledged as bad. . . . Through his adventures, Collodi's Pinocchio learns empathy. . . . His faculty of judgment develops, and he changes himself. In learning to take others' viewpoints, he learns about reciprocity and how to discriminate regarding whom to trust. He is developing character, becoming good, at the same time as he learns to recognize goodness in others. . . . Collodi had faith that one could learn to distinguish between the many who are and the few who are not. (Card in Bell, Haas and Sells, 1995, 69)

Picking up on Card's comparison to the Disney film and reference to the killing of the cricket by the puppet, in their introduction, Wunderlich and Morrissey "offer a few anecdotes to illustrate" that "Collodi's tale of becoming is not only being eclipsed by sanitized versions of the story, but it also seems to be developing a reputation as an adult text unsuitable for children" (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, xv). The first two anecdotes go as follows:

In June of 1999, Richard Wunderlich entered a bookstore in Cooperstown, New York, and asked the salesperson if the store had any editions of *Pinocchio*, to which she replied, "I don't think we have any copies of that Disney classic." A little later she offered him a current reissue of a popular translation, saying, "we do, however, have this adult version." A year earlier, in a bookstore near his home from which he had ordered many Pinocchio items . . . an agitated salesperson asked if it was really true that Pinocchio killed the Cricket in the "adult version." (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, xv-xvi)

The two go on to explain that they "have repeatedly encountered people who have reacted to, for example, the killing of the cricket in much the same way as did the salesperson cited above." In wondering what it is "about that particular act that makes it repellent and 'adult'" they came to the following conclusion:

We have concluded that this episode, along with several others, suggests something about children's psyches that some people find objectionable, either because they think that it is untrue or because they know that it is true but that the truth is not for children's eyes

or ears. We have often wondered whether parents have somehow forgotten what their own childhoods were like or whether they believe that they can make their children's lives easier by defanging reality. (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, xvi)

In Chapter 1, in support of the inclusion and representation of violence in *Pinocchio*, Morrissey makes reference to and draws parallels with the fairy tales and great epics, which, incidentally, are tales of violence and war, from which Collodi drew inspiration. In providing a reasonable and justifiable, and thoroughly supported explanation of the representation and use of violence in *Pinocchio*, Morrissey states that “the resulting *Adventures of Pinocchio* has deep roots” and that “saving the puppet from death and depicting his youthful development,” which are ultimately the fairy-tale elements in the story, “make *Pinocchio* a Bildungsroman, but alluding to his kinship with epic heroes helps to underscore both the qualities that the puppet will need to become fully human and, despite the silliness of some of the events, the underlying seriousness of his quest” (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 9). With respect to the fairy-tale tradition, he states as follows:

The generic turning point is the arrival of the Blue Fairy's coach in chapter 16. This miraculous intervention reminds readers that the story is, at least in part, what its “Once upon a time” opening promises: a fairy tale. Certainly there are some pretty harsh fairy tales, and Collodi knew them well from his translations, but chapter 16 signals hope and recuperation. . . . [And] Collodi's fairy, though problematical due to her own metamorphoses, is clearly heiress to Cinderella's godmother and Sleeping Beauty. The coach the Fairy sends for the dangling puppet Pinocchio is, like Cinderella's, drawn by mice; the sudden prominence of its owner, the formerly dead enigmatic blue-haired girl, heralds the entrance into the story of a mysterious and powerful figure, and signals that Pinocchio's near death by hanging may well be just an exceedingly unpleasant bump in the road to something akin to happily ever after. . . . (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 7)

As for the recurrence of death per se in the novel, Morrissey states that “repeating this trope also underscores the importance of the lessons that Pinocchio is supposed to learn.” He then notes, “To be sure, these are harsh lessons and punishments, but so are succumbing to sleep-inducing apples, being eaten by a wolf, or having your coach turn back to a pumpkin at an inconvenient time. . . . The world Pinocchio inhabits may be dangerous, but because of the Fairy it is no longer hopeless” (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 8).

As for “Collodi’s appropriation of the great epics of the Western tradition . . . *The Odyssey*, *The Aeneid*, and Dante’s *Commedia* as well as other hallowed sources such as Lucan, Ariosto and the Bible . . . [it] helps to shape and anchor the story” (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 9). Like Tatar, who, as stated earlier, referred to the “evil forces incarnated in the ethos of ‘Playland,’”³³ Wunderlich and Morrissey too recognize that “the novel’s nighttime landscapes are ominously hellish, especially the events surrounding the trip to Funland, which is probably the most sinister episode of all” (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 11). As an example, they provide Perella’s observations on the episode which are as follows:

After pointing out that Lampwick’s Italian name (Lucignolo) suggests Lucifer . . . and that the trip is to begin at midnight, “the Devil’s hour,” and comparing the coachman or “little man” to Satan, Perella concludes that “in the light of what Pinocchio soon undergoes, the whole sequence appears as a version of selling one’s soul to the Devil. (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 11)

However, they argue that

[L]ike epic heroes such as Odysseus, Aenas, or Dante the Pilgrim, Pinocchio unwittingly and unwillingly embarks on a journey of self discovery and self actualization that is marked by fantastic

³³ Tatar uses E. Harden’s translation (1988 edition), whereas Wunderlich and Morrissey use M.A. Murray’s 1891 translation.

creatures, supernatural intervention, and, above all, descent into and successful return from the nether regions to which ordinary mortals have only a one way ticket. These contacts with the supernatural arm these heroes with information and/or immunities that help ensure their eventual success, whether the goal is getting home to family and slaying some suitors, founding Rome, finding the path to salvation, or becoming a real boy. (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 10)

Morrissey also states that “epics, from Homer to *Harry Potter*, are celebrations of order, but they would lack dynamic tension and entertainment value if their heroes did not face truly dangerous obstacles, if the journeys did not lead to menacingly alien regions, and if their conclusions seemed inevitable (which they, of course, are) at every stage of the adventure” (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 9).

What these two authors are essentially saying is as follows:

Pinocchio is an important book. . . . It is funny and irreverent: we love *Pinocchio* even when, maybe even especially when, he does something foolish or wrong. The tale features magical events, talking animals, and cartoon-like situations, but its substance is serious: how does a developing human know and make the right choices on the way to adulthood in a less than perfect world? *Pinocchio* is a Bildungsroman, an epic that echoes Homer, Virgil, and Dante, and a fairy tale whose principal character has become an icon and whose story has taken on mythic proportions. Perhaps its greatest strength is the skillful depiction of the raw and troubling emotions of children, who are, after all, strangers in a very strange land. (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, xvii)

In a nutshell, “*Pinocchio* is . . . a humorous epic of childhood, not just a watered down version of grand stories for grownups” (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 14). This inevitably brings us to the question as to whether *Pinocchio* is suitable for children. I believe it is safe to say that in light of the political and pedagogical motifs discussed in Chapter 1 and “Collodi’s multiple sources and allusions to classics that would more likely be recognized by adults coupled with its fairy tale ambiance and occasional silliness,” as in Morrissey’s own words, “help make *Pinocchio*, an

example of cross-writing, in this case a book with a dual child-adult audience” (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 14). Accordingly, “*Pinocchio* ‘is’ [emphasis added] a good book for children” (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, xvi). However, lest we forget, everyone has an opinion and as Collodi’s Tunny says, “opinions ought to be respected.”³⁴

Clearly, as evidenced by Renato Bertacchini’s biography of Carlo Collodi, and in defence of his book from the criticisms of Sendak and others, *Pinocchio*’s political satire, social criticism and *Bildungsroman* status are reflective of a strong desire to affect change and make the world, Italy to be exact, a better place. His novel is less about depicting and portraying violence and more about drawing the attention and awareness of Italian children and adults alike to the importance of fostering and cherishing social, ethical and moral values. By writing “The Adventures of Pinocchio,” Collodi, like the Brothers Grimm, Mark Twain and other children’s authors, was merely honing in on an all too harsh, cruel, terrifying and yet human, truthful, and stark reality—the world can be a perilous and harrowing place and children ought to take heed of that. What is more, like Twain’s Huck Finn, whose “dangerous journey” leads him to self-knowledge, Pinocchio’s “dangerous adventures” lead him to boyhood and self-actualization, thus making Collodi’s novel a true education and coming-of-age story. Hence the leitmotif of violence. Ultimately the book reveals Collodi as the expressive, highly opinionated, outspoken and socially aware person that he was.

³⁴ Translation by M.A. Murray.

In light of the foregoing, it is appropriate to end this section on a reflective and factual note by quoting the following excerpt from Mavis Reimer's "Introduction: Violence and Violent Children's Text:" "[A]s . . . the fairy tales of Perrault and the Grimms remind us, what we now commonly understand as violence has been a fact of childhood and children's literature in many times and places" (Mavis 1997, 22(3):104).

CHAPTER THREE

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS AND THEORY APPLICATION

In the previous chapter I drew on theoretical and descriptive examples of violence to illustrate the pros and cons of it in children's literature in general, its portrayal and perception in children's literature of the nineteenth century and how it appeared to be a common trope in Collodi's *Pinocchio*. In Chapter 3, as discussed earlier in the introduction, I will use comparative analysis to look at how the issue of violence was dealt with in the English translations of British translator M.A. Murray and American translator Walter S. Cramp at different time periods, that is, in 1891 and 1904, respectively, by applying the following three translation theories: *Skopostheorie*, polysystem theory and norm theory. Moreover, although there are numerous instances of violence in the source-language text, for purposes of brevity, I will confine my discussion to five violent segments and explore how they were dealt with in the target-language texts. We will now proceed with the comparative analyses and application of the theoretical models.

Comparative analysis

With the preliminaries established and having defined the aforementioned theories, I will now apply *Skopostheorie*, polysystem theory and norm theory and look at how the two translators of the book under review here, *Le avventure di Pinocchio* by Carlo Collodi, approached the source text and their respective target texts, specifically where violence is concerned. As mentioned earlier, the translations I will be examining are those by Mary Alice

Murray titled *Pinocchio*³⁴ and Walter S. Cramp titled *Pinocchio, the Adventures of a Marionette* (1904). For simplicity, I will first analyze the two translators' versions of the source text individually in chronological order and will then proceed to describe each target culture and target context accordingly. Hence, I will start with Murray's version.

Murray was the very first translator to render the Italian novel into English and even though she uses nineteenth-century English language, her translation today is regarded by many as one of the best, if not the best, ever. While I know nothing about M. A. Murray's life, I do know the following facts about her translation and its publication:

The first English translation, rendered by Mary Alice Murray, was released a bit more than a year later; T. Fisher Unwin published it in London for the Christmas season of 1891. Their little book was decorated with Enrico Mazzanti's sketches, borrowed from the 1883 Italian edition. Murray's direct, rather literal translation of the novel was fortunate: the play it granted Collodi's ironic wit could charm English adults even if, as was likely, it went over the heads of their children. After a strong and enthusiastic review, *The Bookman* concluded, "We have no reservations to make about this little work. The translator's part has been skillfully carried out, and never for a moment hinders us from recognizing that the story of *Pinocchio* is a work of genius." Indeed, even though its language is now a century old, today Murray's translation is ranked as the best or among the very best, and throughout the twentieth century it has been the most widely read, circulated, and available version of the novel in the United States. (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 31)

³⁴ Although Murray's translation was first published in 1891 by T. Fisher Unwin in London, with the original illustrations by Enrico Mazzanti, it appeared in the United States in 1892 under the title *The Story of a Puppet or the Adventures of Pinocchio* by the Cassell Publishing Company, illustrated by E. Mazzanti. Owing to the fact that these two editions were inaccessible to me, I will be working from the 1923 edition titled *Pinocchio* by Thomas Nelson and Sons, illustrated by K. Wiese.

As quoted above, Murray's translation was specifically intended for children, but it too, like Collodi's book, was appealing to adults. Furthermore, as we shall see shortly, her translation was rather literal. In fact, in reading Murray's rendition, which despite the dated language is not difficult for native English speakers to read, it is obvious that it is a faithful translation in that it follows the source text very closely. In sticking close to the source text, Murray inevitably retains the violence of the original. Let us consider a few examples.

The first episode I will be analyzing is in Chapter IV and it is one of the most controversial scenes in the book in terms of violence. I am referring to the killing of the Talking Cricket. The Italian reads as follows:³⁵

A queste ultime parole, Pinocchio saltò su tutt'infuriato e preso di sul banco un martello di legno, lo scagliò contro il Grillo-parlante. Forse non credeva nemmeno di colpirlo: ma disgraziatamemt lo colse per l'appunto nel capo, tanto che il povero grillo ebbe appena il fiato di fare cri-cri-cri, e poi rimase lì stecchito e appiccicato alla parete. (Collodi 2002, 37)

Murray translates this scene as follows:

At these last words Pinocchio jumped up in a rage, and snatching a wooden hammer from the bench he threw it at the Talking-cricket. Perhaps he never meant to hit him; but unfortunately it struck him exactly on the head, so that the poor Cricket had scarcely breath to cry cri-cri-cri, and then remained dried up and flattened against the wall. (Murray 1923, 20)

In reading Murray's rendition, it is clear that, on the whole, she remains faithful to the source text both syntactically and semantically. At the level of syntax, the linear order of the string of words makes for an idiomatic rendition, while clearly remaining very close to that of the source

³⁵ The version I will be using is the 1981 edition by Arnoldo Mondadori Editore S.p.A., Milano.

text, thus allowing the word and sentence structures to flow fluently and naturally in English. Syntactical features are retained in a manner consistent with English language norms, i.e. grammatical structures. Semantically speaking, she also closely follows the Italian text by rendering a more literal, word-for-word translation and still succeeds in conveying the meaning of the Italian text in English. The reason she is able to produce such a faithful translation without it sounding stilted and unnatural is that she adheres to the rules of English usage, particularly where lexical collocations and structures are concerned. If we look specifically at the “violent” terms and expressions in this paragraph, we can see that semantic equivalence is attained. In fact, Murray translates “lo scagliò contro” as “he threw it at.” Seeing as in Italian the subject, which in this case is Pinocchio, is implied in the verb “scagliò,” Murray obviously adds the subjective personal pronoun “he.” The objective personal pronoun “it” in English is substituted for the Italian pronominal clitic “lo.” Picking up on the point I made about her adhering to proper grammar, a prime example is the English preposition “at,” which substitutes for the Italian preposition “contro” and which literally means “against.” However, while it is not incorrect to say “throw against” in English when speaking for example of a wall, Murray chose to use the proper grammatical collocation “at” knowing very well that in this particular instance one says in English “throw at,” as it applies to someone as opposed to something. The Italian “colpirlo” is literally rendered as “hit him,” where the pronominal clitic “lo” is attached to the verb “colpire.” As for the phrase “lo colse per l’appunto nel capo,” it is translated literally as “it struck him exactly on the head,” where again the clitic “lo” stands for the objective personal pronoun “him,” “colse” is rendered as the equivalent “struck,” and the subject, which is implied in the Italian verb “colse,” is spelled out in English and translated by Murray as “it,” which refers to the

hammer. “Per l'appunto” stands for “exactly,” and “nel capo” means “on the head.” In translating “ebbe appena il fiato di fare *cri-cri-cri*,” Murray goes beyond producing a literal translation and expands on the scene by making it even more shocking. In fact, she literally renders “ebbe appena il fiato” as “had scarcely breath” and then goes on to translate “di fare *cri-cri-cri*” as “to cry cri-cri-cri,” where she opts for the verb “to cry” instead of “to say,” thus intensifying the cricket’s pain. She also opts to retain the Italian expression “cri-cri-cri” instead of using the English equivalent “chirp, chirp, chirp.” In this case, Murray also breaks with the usual English convention of using commas and adheres to the Italian convention of adopting hyphens. The reason for this was perhaps that the English expression and convention did not convey the same dramatic effect. As for the phrase “e poi rimase lì stecchito,” it is the epitome of a slavish, literal translation. The two words “e poi” literally mean “and then,” as she translates; “rimase lì” literally means “remained there,” but to ensure the cadence, the natural flow of the English language, she refers specifically to the wall and positions it at the very end of the sentence, which is where it belongs. She also provides a literal rendition for “stecchito,” “dried up.” As a matter of fact, if you look up sense 1 of the word “**stecchito**” (adjective and past participle) in the *Dizionario inglese-italiano italiano-inglese*³⁶ [English- Italian, Italian-English dictionary], you will find the equivalent “**dried up**” as in “to become completely dry.” If you read further on, it says “Morto stecchito: **stone dead**.” Now, if you were to look up the verb “**stecchire**” you would find the transitive verb “**to kill (s.o.) with one blow (shot)**” and cited under sense 1 of the intransitive verb would be “(*seccare*) **to dry up**.” So you can see how she

³⁶ Published by the *Istituto Geografico De Agostini*, second edition, 1984.

could have easily reworked the sentence and added the idioms “stone dead” or “still dead,” which are no doubt more idiomatic in English. Instead, she chose to stick to a literal translation.

I will now go on to compare and analyze the second scene I have chosen, which is taken from Chapter VI and also seems to fuel controversy. To situate the context, this is the scene where Pinocchio burns his feet. The Italian version reads as follows:

Tornò a casa bagnato come un pulcino e rifinito dalla stanchezza e dalla fame: e perchè non aveva più forza da reggersi ritto, si pose a sedere, appoggiando i piedi fradici e impillaccherati sopra un caldano pieno di brace accesa.
E lì si addormentò; e nel dormire, i piedi che erano di legno gli presero fuoco e adagio adagio gli si carbonizzarono e diventarono cenere. (Collodi 1981, 43)

Murray’s translation reads as follows:

He returned home like a wet chicken quite exhausted with fatigue and hunger; and having no longer strength to stand, he sat down and rested his damp and muddy feet on a brazier full of burning embers.
And then he fell asleep; and while he slept his feet, which were wooden, took fire, and little by little they burnt away and became cinders. (Murray 1923, 26)

This rendition by Murray is another perfect example of how she sticks closely to the text. Let us start with the first underlined phrase. “Presero fuoco” is translated literally as “took fire.” Again, Murray opts for a more faithful, word-for-word translation as opposed to using the more idiomatic expression “caught fire.” “Prendere” in English literally means “to take,” and “fuoco” literally means “fire.” As for the second underlined phrase, “si carbonizzarono,” Murray translates the verb “carbonizzarono” literally as “burnt” but adds the terminative particle “away,” to use the terminology of Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet, to make up for the Italian

reflexive “si,” which translated literally in English means “themselves” in this particular instance. She also provides a word-for-word translation of “diventarono cenere” resulting in “became cinders.”

The third scene I have chosen to analyze is taken from Chapter XV where Pinocchio is being chased by the two rapacious thieves, the sordid Fox and Cat, who are after his “gold pieces” (Murray 1923). In this particular scene, Pinocchio finally arrives at a “small house as white as snow” (Murray 1923, 73) and frantically bangs on the door, calling for help. As it turns out, it is that of the Fairy who “appears” and “reveals herself” to Pinocchio for the very first time as a “beautiful Child with blue hair” (Murray 1923, 74). The original passage reads as follows:

Avvedutosi che il bussare non giovava a nulla, cominciò per disperazione a dare calci e zuccate nella porta. Allora si affacciò alla finestra una bella bambina, coi capelli turchini e il viso bianco come un'immagine di cera, gli occhi chiusi e le mani incrociate sul petto, la quale senza mouvere punto le labbra, disse con una vocina che pareva venisse dall'altro mondo:

- In questa casa non c'è nessuno. Sono tutti morti.
- Aprimi almeno tu! - gridò Pinocchio piangendo e raccomandandosi.
- Sono morta anchi'io.
- Morta? e allora che cosa fai costì alla finestra?
- Aspetto la bara che venga a portarmi via.

Appena detto così, la bambina disparve, e la finestra si richiuse senza far rumore. (Collodi 1981, 82-83)

Murray's version reads as follows:

Seeing that knocking was useless he began in desperation to kick and pommel the door with all his might. The window then opened and a beautiful Child appeared at it. She had blue hair and a face as white as a waxen image; her eyes were closed and her hands were crossed on her breast. Without moving her lips in the least, she said in a voice that seemed to come from the other world:

“In this house there is no one. They are all dead.”

"Then at least open the door for me yourself," shouted Pinocchio, crying and imploring.

"I am dead also."

"Dead?" then what are you doing there at the window?"

"I am waiting for the bier to come to carry me away."

Having said this she immediately disappeared, and the window was closed again without the slightest noise. (Murray 1923, 74)

In reading this rendition, it is clear that Murray intended to render a faithful translation of Collodi's original text. And seeing as she had no misgivings about using the word "dead," it is also clear that her intentions were not to tone down the horror. In fact, she literally translates "sono tutti morti" as "they are all dead." She also sticks closely to the text when she translates "sono morta anch'io" as "I am dead also" and then literally translates "morta" as "dead" again immediately after that. As for the last line of that interchange, "aspetto la bara che venga a portarmi via," Murray also translates it faithfully, "I am waiting for the bier³⁷ to come to carry me away." Also, the mere fact that at the beginning of the passage she adds "with all his might" to the phrase "kick and pommel the door," thereby emphasizing Pinocchio's rage and violent behaviour, further supports the idea that she was deliberately trying to intensify the violence.

The fourth scene is taken from Chapter XXI. In this scene, Pinocchio, who is on his way to the Fairy's house, is literally "trapped" and made a watchdog by a peasant. The Italian version reads as follows:

E aperta la tagliuola, afferrò il burattino per la collottola e lo portò di peso fino a casa, come si porterebbe un agnellino di latte.

Arrivato che fu sull'aia dinanzi alla casa, lo scaraventò in terra: e tenendogli un piede sul collo, gli disse:

- Oramai è tardi e voglio andare a letto. I nostri conti li aggiusteremo domani. Intanto, siccome oggi mi è morto il cane che

³⁷ Although the English equivalent for the Italian "bara" is "coffin," Murray's rendition of "bara" as "bier," which in popular use is a stand to support a corpse or a coffin and is called a "feretro" in Italian, is justified by the fact that in the broader sense it can refer to the coffin itself.

mi faceva la guardia di notte, tu prenderai subito il suo posto. Tu mi farai da cane di guardia. (Collodi 1981, 115)

Murray's translation is as follows:

Opening the trap he seized the puppet by the collar, and carried him to his house as if he had been a young lamb. When he reached the yard in front of the house he threw him roughly on the ground, and putting his foot on his neck he said to him:

"It is late, and I want to go to bed; we will settle our accounts tomorrow. In the meanwhile, as the dog who kept guard at night died to-day, you shall take his place at once. You shall be my watchdog." (Murray 1923, 109-10)

The violent phrases I underlined above have all been translated faithfully. The phrase "afferrò il burattino per la collottola," is translated word for word as "he seized the puppet by the collar." As for the phrase "lo scaraventò in terra," Murray also keeps very closely to the text by rendering it as "he threw him roughly on the ground," except that she adds the adverb "roughly." Interestingly enough, there really is no need to "supplement"—again borrowing the terminology of Vinay and Darbelnet—the Italian verb "scaraventò" [to hurl, fling] in English by strengthening or reinforcing the English verb "threw." The adverb "roughly," which according to sense 3 of the *Canadian Oxford Dictionary* means "in a harsh manner," is already implied in the verb "to throw" in English. In fact, there is no clearer evidence and confirmation of this than the definition given by the *Collins Cobuild English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* in sense 4 which goes as follows: "To **throw** someone into a particular place or position means to force them *roughly* (my emphasis) into that place or position." One of the examples provided states as follows: *He threw me to the ground and started to kick.* With regard to the last violent phrase underlined in the paragraph under consideration here, "tenendogli un piede sul collo," for the most part Murray also sticks closely to the text, "putting his foot on his neck." The only change

she makes is to use “putting his” rather than the literal translation “holding a.” Again, in this case, I believe the reason Murray makes the change and employs the word “putting” followed by the possessive adjective “his,” which is more idiomatic and natural in English, instead of the indefinite article “a,” is to stress the violent nature of the action that is being performed by the subject of the sentence, the peasant. In fact, it would not at all have been incorrect or unidiomatic to say in English “holding his foot on his neck.”

The fifth and last episode comes from Chapter XXXI and is the scene where Pinocchio’s friend Candlewick and hundreds of other children have persuaded him to go to the “Land of Boobies” despite his disinclination. Seeing as there is no more room in the coach that has come to take them to the country where “on Thursday there is never school and every week consists of six Thursdays and one Sunday” (Murray 1923, 174), Pinocchio tries to mount one of the donkeys drawing the coach, but the ass is none too happy. And its discontent does not go unpunished by the coachman. The scene reads as follows:

Detto fatto, si avvicinò al ciuchino manritto della prima pariglia e fece l’atto di volerlo cavalcare: ma la bestiola, voltandosi a secco, gli dette una gran musata nello stomaco e lo gettò a gambe all’aria. Figuratevi la risatona impertinente e sgangherata di tutti quei ragazzi presenti alla scena.

Ma l’omino non rise. Si accostò pieno di amorevolezza al ciuchino ribelle, e, facendo finta di dargli un bacio, gli staccò con un morso la metà dell’orecchio destro.

...

Quand’ecco che all’improvviso il ciuchino alzò tutte e due le gambe di dietro e, dando una fortissima sgropponata, scaraventò il povero burattino in mezzo alla strada sopra un monte di ghiaia. Allora grandi risate daccapo: ma l’omino, invece di ridere, si sentì preso da tanto amore per quell’irrequieto asinello che, con un

bacio, gli portò via di netto la metà di quell'altro orecchio. Poi disse al burattino:

- Rimonta pure a cavallo e non aver paura. Quel ciuchino aveva qualche grillo per il capo: ma io gli ho detto due paroline negli orecchi e spero di averlo reso mansueto e ragionevole. (Collodi 1981, 181-82)

Murray translates this passage as follows:

Approaching the right-hand donkey of the first pair he attempted to mount him, but the animal turned on him, and giving him a great blow in the stomach rolled him over with his legs in the air.

You can imagine the impertinent and immoderate laughter of all the boys who witnessed this scene.

But the little man did not laugh. He approached the rebellious donkey and, pretending to give him a kiss, bit off half of his ear.

...

But the donkey suddenly kicked up its hind legs, and backing violently threw the poor puppet into the middle of the road on to a heap of stones. The roars of laughter recommenced: but the little man, instead of laughing, felt such affection for the restive ass that he kissed him again, and as he did so he bit half of his other ear clean off. He then said to the puppet:

"Mount him now without fear. That little donkey had got some whim into his head; but I whispered two little words into his ears which have, I hope, made him gentle and reasonable." (Murray 1923, 182-83)

Although Murray introduces a few changes in this particular case, she still stays relatively close to the source text. In the first of the two underlined phrases, Murray faithfully translates "staccò con un morso" as "bit off," as indicated in sense 1(f) of the word **staccare** in the *Dizionario inglese-italiano italiano-inglese*, and faithfully translates "la metà dell'" as "half of." However, she leaves out "right," which is the equivalent of the Italian word "destro," in the phrase "his ear." This was either an omission or oversight on her part or she may have considered it rather repetitive to repeat the word "right." Seeing as the opening line of this scene reads,

“Approaching the right-hand donkey,” common sense dictates that if the coachman approached the donkey to the right, it stands to reason that the ear he bit off is its right ear.

We can reasonably deduce from this portion of my analysis that, overall, Murray’s translation follows the Italian extremely closely. As explained earlier, although she remained quite close to the Italian text both syntactically and semantically, she still adhered to the conventions of the English language. As for the violence in the source text, it seems as though Murray strove not only to retain the violence in Collodi’s book, but also to heighten and emphasize the violence in her rendition. Understandably, the conclusion of this comparative analysis may invite the questions as to why Murray’s translation remained literal and, in particular, why she may have felt the need to increase the violence and shock value in the target text. I believe the answers to those questions lie in the historical, literary and translation contexts into which the British translation was introduced and in the target culture for which it was devised.

As discussed in Chapter 2, in the centuries prior to the eighteenth century, a literature for children in Britain simply did not exist and the volume of books aimed specifically at children consisted mainly of moral, didactic and religious writings, which included religious tracts, ABC books, primers, courtesy books and Aesop’s fables. For entertainment, children often drew on adult texts such as chapbooks, which were initially deemed morally corrupting and inappropriate for children. Over the centuries, however, educational theories and the views of the educational and religious institutions, namely the Church, eventually evolved and helped shape British children’s literature.

But the development of British children's literature was also affected and shaped by a number of other factors, such as the spread of education and the publishing business. In fact, in Chapter 2 we looked at how the new reading public of children began to emerge in the seventeenth century as education became more widespread. We also saw how John Newbery's ground-breaking, revolutionary ideas in children's publishing in the mid-eighteenth century earned him the title of father of children's literature. As these areas continued to flourish, other positive changes were taking place as well. And, nowhere were these changes more visible than in nineteenth-century British society. In fact, historians explain that under the reign of Queen Victoria (1837-1901) England became the first world power, with colonies all over the world. In 1867 she was proclaimed Empress of India, greatly enlarging the British Empire. Britain's imperial power was also reflected at home where influential events and significant changes were disrupting the status quo. Particularly relevant are the introduction of the Forster's Education Act in 1870, under which primary education became universal; the building of an infrastructure of drains, pipes and wires below ground carrying water, sewage, gas and electricity; new modes of communication which included transportation, railways, steamships, the Press, and the telegraph; and the growth of material wealth. Although the Victorian age was, for the most part, a period of stability, prosperity and progress, its society was still beset by social evils such as child labour, disparities in wealth among its citizens, injustice, hypocrisy, corrupt institutions and crime. In fact, even though the urban working classes now enjoyed shorter work days and increased wages, Victorian society was still a stratified, hierarchical society with a great gap between the rich and the poor. Such social evils were often portrayed and depicted in mainstream and children's literature. One need only think of the works of

Charles Dickens, Oscar Wilde, William Harrison Ainsworth, and R.M. Ballantyne. As discussed at length in the previous chapter, as far as trends in Victorian children's literature go, children's writers had a penchant for violence and violent motifs. As quoted in Chapter 2, Anthony Kearney says that "Victorian writing for children is often marked by an odd mixture of the prudish, the high-minded, and the horrific. Many writers who flinched from the remotest sexual allusion were happy to regale their readers with scenes of torture, violent death, and general mayhem, all set out in gory detail. In doing so they were clearly capitalizing on a tolerance in the Victorian outlook for horrific themes which extended to all levels of literature from Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (which fascinated the young Copperfield) to the *Terrific Register* which fascinated the young Dickens) to Grimm's *Fairy Tales* (which fascinated everyone)" (Kearney 1986, 17(4):233). Anthony Kearney also points out that

A glance at works by Dickens, Ainsworth, Ballantyne, and Conan Doyle – to take representative examples of historical and adventure story writing – will show how the Victorians handled the savage and the barbaric, the alien and the primitive.

As examples of Victorian attitudes. . . we can take Dickens's *A Child's History of England*, first published in Household Words (1851-53). . . . Dickens's *History*, written with his own children in mind, is an extraordinary mix of fact, fiction, romance, and the fairy tale of the Brothers Grimm variety, a collection of heroes, heroines, monsters and villains with, as in the adult novels, barbaric moments which work Dickens up into a frenzy. Basically, as with all these books, it's an account of Good versus Evil, with good coming out on top but only after some bloody moments. This no doubt was the kind of detail demanded by readers of Grimm's *Fairy Tales*. . . . Such a mixture of horror, fantasy, and earnest motive was always popular with readers who liked the moralistic spiced up with the lurid. . . . (Kearney 1986, 17(4):234-40)

In Chapter 2, we also saw that death was a recurring motif in children's literature. In describing death and violence in Victorian school books, Colin McGeorge makes reference to the *Royal Reader*, which was "produced shortly after Forster's Elementary Education Act and designed to tap the market created by the widespread establishment of board schools in England and Wales (McGeorge 1998, 29(2):113). Speaking of its content, particularly the social realities of Victorian times, he states as follows:

While many of the deaths in the *Royal Readers* were in settings far removed from their young readers' experience, others did reflect the social world of the Victorian pupil. Very few school pupils these days are told that they must play alone because a little brother is in heaven, but in the 1870s death rates in England and Wales for males under 4 years varied between 63.9 and 75.0 per 1,000 of population. The loss of a husband and father had severe consequences for working-class women and their children, and with life expectancies lower than they are today, a significant number of Victorian schoolchildren lost one or both parents. (McGeorge 1998, 29(2):116)

In that vein, social realism was also in vogue among such Victorian children's authors as Charles Kingsley, famous for authoring *The Water-Babies* (1863), and Dickens. In keeping with the vogue for social realism, most nineteenth-century children's writers also "stressed the value of work and induced a sense of reverence for progress [and] industry" (John Gilliver 1986, 17(4):218).

Another trend in children's literature in nineteenth-century Britain was the use of fairy tales and folk-tales. As discussed earlier, the rehabilitation of fairy tales and folk-tales in the nineteenth century was largely due to the popularity of the Grimm's tales in England. They were

first translated by Edward Taylor and published in 1823 as *German Popular Tales*. In fact, Ruth B. Bottigheimer states that

Illustrated by Cruikshank and provided with scholarly notes, its lively stories enchanted children, and the Grimm's scholarly reputation overcame the objections of doubting parents.

She also notes that

Translations of other national fairy tale collections poured into England, enriching its store of available fairy material. . . . In 1848 Taylor also translated Giambattista Basile's Neapolitan *Pentamerone* (1634, 1636 *et seq.*), which like the *German Popular Tales*, was illustrated by Cruikshank. . . . Hans Christian Andersen's Danish tales entered the English tradition in 1846 and soon gathered a large and enthusiastic English following. . . . When Andrew Lang's Fairy Books appeared between 1889 and 1910, they codified fairy tale narrative in English. . . . They became a mother lode for many twentieth-century 'authors' of fairy tales for children. Lang himself firmly believed that fairy tales represented an 'uncontaminated record of our cultural infancy' (Bottigheimer in Hunt 1996, 159)

As regards translation trends in the Victorian era, they also underwent a major shift.

According to Roger Ellis and Liz Oakley-Brown,

The ideas of the German Romantics were crucial in shaping a new self-understanding for the translator. . . . [F]rom the Renaissance to the eighteenth century translators had generally, if in different ways, 'domesticated' their work. Now . . . 'the duty of a translator [was] . . . to present the work exactly as . . . in the [original].' (Ellis and Oakley-Brown in Baker 1998, 342)

In light of the foregoing, it seems as though Murray's decision to render a literal, faithful translation and to intensify the violence and horror may have been greatly influenced by the nineteenth-century trends in literature, particularly children's literature. Furthermore, Murray's choice to follow the source text very closely may be further explained by the fact that, according

to the new translation trend, she had a “duty to present the work exactly as in the original.” The reconstruction of some of the norms of the historical, literary and translation contexts also provides insight into the *Skopos* of Murray’s translation. Given the fact that Murray’s translation is quite literal and that she departs from the source text only when she emphasizes the violence and horror, it seems as though the purpose and function of her translation may have been the same as that of the source text: to educate and entertain children. Also, judging by *The Bookman’s* review, her translation seems to have been a huge success with its target audience. Moreover, the mere fact that Murray chose to intensify the violence and shock in her text lends support to the hypothesis that she was trying to satisfy the children’s appetite for the gory. From that perspective, it seems as though Murray may have followed the first rule of *Skopostheorie*, the *Skopos* rule, by “translating in a way that enabled her text/translation to function in the situation in which it was used and with the people who wanted to use it and precisely in the way they wanted it to function.” Based on the description of the target culture, I believe that the second and third rules of *Skopostheorie* can also be applied in Murray’s case. According to the second rule of *Skopostheorie*, the coherence rule, “a translation should be acceptable in a sense that it is coherent with the receivers’ situation.” As mentioned earlier, adventure stories, historical novels and fairy tales containing “a mixture of horror, fantasy, and earnest motive” were very popular with readers who liked the “moralistic spiced up with the lurid.” Thus, by intensifying the violence and horror Murray may have been enhancing the educational and entertainment value of the book, thereby meeting the children’s expectations and fulfilling their needs. In that respect, there seems to be enough evidence to suggest that the objective of the coherence rule was accomplished and that her text resonated with and was relevant to the

receivers, the target audience. As for the third rule of *Skopostheorie*, intertextual coherence or fidelity, also known as the fidelity rule, it states that “since a translation is an offer of information about a preceding offer of information, it is expected to bear some kind of relationship with the corresponding source text.” One type of intertextual coherence is “a maximally faithful imitation of the source text” (Nord 1997, 32). As my comparative analysis reveals, Murray follows the source text extremely closely and intensifies the violence and horror in keeping with nineteenth-century trends in children’s literature and translation. Thus, intertextual coherence was also achieved.

As for Walter S. Cramp’s translation, it was the first American translation to be released by an American publisher, Ginn, and comes with a rather interesting story. In September 1904, Ginn, which “had a strong trade market presence and . . . already had established itself as a major nationwide publisher of school texts” (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 36), was just about ready to release *The Adventures of Pinocchio*, translated by Walter S. Cramp with black-and-white illustrations by Charles Copeland, when its publication was suddenly stopped. As the story goes, according to Wunderlich,

[A] criterion school board (Boston or the state) rejected the volume as inappropriate.

...

Cramp’s original translation was withdrawn (the first printing was released to the trade market, however), and just two months afterward, in November 1904, the revised edition was substituted. So there would be no doubt, the change in text was trumpeted by a change of title: *The Adventures of Pinocchio* became *Pinocchio, the Adventures of a Marionette*. It was this latter rendition, which Ginn offered on the trade market until about 1919, that served

elementary school classrooms continuously as late as the 1950s.
(Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 36-37)

Following a comparative analysis of the two versions, I decided to use the revised edition, *Pinocchio, the Adventures of a Marionette*, as it revealed significant changes with respect to the translator's approach to the violence in the source text. Linguistically, they both remained relatively close to the Italian. As we shall see shortly, Cramp's revised edition was extensively reworked to excise the violence. In fact, Cramp expurgated the source text and took out the violence and all references to death. The following examples will show how his attempt to "de-violence" and "cleanse" the source text led to glaring omissions in the target text. In order to make the comparative analysis more vivid, I will use the British translation to compare the American one against.

The first scene of the British text reads as follows:

At these last words Pinocchio jumped up in a rage, and snatching a wooden hammer from the bench he threw it at the Talking-cricket. Perhaps he never meant to hit him; but unfortunately it struck him exactly on the head, so that the poor Cricket had scarcely breath to cry cri-cri-cri, and then remained dried up and flattened against the wall. (Murray 1923, 20)

Cramp's version reads as follows:

At these words Pinocchio jumped up enraged, and taking a hammer from a bench flung it at the Talking Cricket. Perhaps he did not intend to do such a thing; but unfortunately the hammer struck the poor little Cricket in the head and killed him. (Cramp 1904, 18)

As is plain to see from this comparative analysis, Cramp makes several omissions in the first paragraph and completely paraphrases the second paragraph. But what is most interesting about this particular scene is that Cramp retains the part where the Talking Cricket is killed. Even so, if

we take a closer look, there is still a sense that the translator in this case tries to “cushion” the violence by offering a less dramatic account of the cricket’s death. The intensity of the tragic scene is diminished. Collodi provides a somewhat more detailed and graphic description of the death of the Talking Cricket, whereas Cramp chooses to replace this explicit death scene with a very dry description of the act, “the hammer struck the poor little Cricket in the head and killed him.” Accordingly, the lack of imagery saves the children from dwelling on the image of the cricket’s death thus reducing the violent act to a non-event.

As for the second episode, which is the scene where Pinocchio burns his feet, the British version reads as follows:

He returned home like a wet chicken quite exhausted with fatigue and hunger; and having no longer strength to stand, he sat down and rested his damp and muddy feet on a brazier full of burning embers.

And then he fell asleep; and while he slept his feet, which were wooden, took fire, and little by little they burnt away and became cinders. (Murray 1923, 26)

Cramp’s translation is as follows:

Poor Pinocchio returned home, weak from hunger and tired out; and because he had not enough strength to stand upright, he dropped into a chair. Resting his feet on the stove that was filled with burning shavings, he fell asleep. But while he slept, his feet, which were of wood, took fire and slowly became cinders. (Cramp 1904, 23)

As in the first scene, Cramp translates this passage more freely and allows for some omissions, the most notable of which is “gli si carbonizzarono,” translated by Murray as “they burnt away.” He simply retains “took fire” and “became cinders.” Again, it is obvious that Cramp tries to

downplay and attenuate the horror by selectively removing terms or expressions that are deemed to be too graphic or intense for children.

Scene three is another example of the major discernible changes made to Collodi's *Pinocchio* and of the glaring omissions in Cramp's text. Murray's longer version is as follows:

Seeing that knocking was useless he began in desperation to kick and pommel the door with all his might. The window then opened and a beautiful Child appeared at it. She had blue hair and a face as white as a waxen image; her eyes were closed and her hands were crossed on her breast. Without moving her lips in the least, she said in a voice that seemed to come from the other world:

"In this house there is no one. They are all dead."

"Then at least open the door for me yourself," shouted Pinocchio, crying and imploring.

"I am dead also."

"Dead? then what are you doing there at the window?"

"I am waiting for the bier to come to carry me away."

Having said this she immediately disappeared, and the window was closed again without the slightest noise. (Murray 1923, 74)

Cramp's shorter version reads as follows:

Seeing that the knocking did not have any effect, he began to kick and beat the door in desperation. Then there appeared at the door a beautiful Fairy with blue hair. Her hands were crossed on her breast. When she saw Pinocchio she said, "In this house there is no one; they have all gone away."

"Open the door at least for me, won't you?" cried Pinocchio, weeping.

"I am also waiting to go away."

Scarcely had she said this when the Fairy disappeared and the window closed without making any noise. (Cramp 1904, 65)

As mentioned earlier, Ginn revised Cramp's original translation and changed it to make it more suitable as a school text. In this passage, Cramp sticks closely to the text and renders "a dare calci e zuccate nella porta" literally as "to kick and beat the door." Ginn also "cleanses" the text (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 37) by removing death and any reference to it. Ginn clearly

substitutes “going away” for “being dead” and then completely deletes the two lines of the interchange that pertain to the Fairy’s death. Instead of being dead, the Fairy is either taking a trip or saying her farewells, depending on how one looks at it. In discussing the scene Wunderlich states as follows:

Poor Fairy. How does this make her look? She can’t save Pinocchio because she’s taking a trip?! Being dead is a far more compelling reason for inaction. The purpose behind this change, of course, might have been to hide death from children. . . . ”
(Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 37)

In the second last scene, that is the fourth scene from Chapter XXI where Pinocchio is captured by a peasant and turned into a watchdog on his way to the Fairy’s house, Cramp also makes various significant changes in his original, all of which are retained by Ginn in the revised version. The British text reads as follows:

Opening the trap he seized the puppet by the collar, and carried him to his house as if he had been a young lamb. When he reached the yard in front of the house he threw him roughly on the ground, and putting his foot on his neck he said to him:
“It is late, and I want to go to bed; we will settle our accounts to-morrow. In the meanwhile, as the dog who kept guard at night died to-day, you shall take his place at once. You shall be my watchdog.” (Murray 1923, 109-10)

Cramp’s translation is as follows:

He opened the trap, took the marionette by the back of the neck like a kitten, and carried him to his house. When he reached his door he said to Pinocchio: “Now it is late and I want to go to bed. We will settle our affairs to-morrow. Meanwhile, as my dog died to-day, I will put you into his house. I will make you my watchdog.” (Cramp 1904, 98-99)

In this episode, it is evident that Cramp provides a faithful rendition of Collodi’s version and that he departs marginally by leaving out—yet again—parts of the original Italian text that

involve violence and horror. He omits the part where Pinocchio is thrown to the ground and pinned down by the peasant. Again, it is clear that Cramp's intent is to soften the violence: apart from the deletion of Pinocchio's chastisement, Cramp translates "afferrò il burattino per la collottola e lo portò di peso fino a casa, come si porterebbe un agnellino di latte," first sentence, as "took the marionette by the back of the neck like a kitten" as opposed to Murray's rendition, "he seized the puppet by the collar, and carried him to his house as if he had been a young lamb."

This same approach is used in the fifth and last scene taken from Chapter XXXI where Pinocchio is lured to the "Country of Playthings." The British scene reads as follows:

Approaching the right-hand donkey of the first pair he attempted to mount him, but the animal turned on him, and giving him a great blow in the stomach rolled him over with his legs in the air. You can imagine the impertinent and immoderate laughter of all the boys who witnessed this scene. But the little man did not laugh. He approached the rebellious donkey and, pretending to give him a kiss, bit off half of his ear.

...

But the donkey suddenly kicked up its hind legs, and backing violently threw the poor puppet into the middle of the road on to a heap of stones. The roars of laughter recommenced: but the little man, instead of laughing, felt such affection for the restive ass that he kissed him again, and as he did so he bit half of his other ear clean off. He then said to the puppet: "Mount him now without fear. That little donkey had got some whim into his head; but I whispered two little words into his ears which have, I hope, made him gentle and reasonable." (Murray 1923, 182-83)

Cramp translates this passage as follows:

No sooner said than done. He approached the nearest donkey and tried to mount it; but the donkey suddenly raised his hind feet and threw Pinocchio off. Just imagine the impertinent laughter of all those boys who saw it!

...
 When they were ready to start the donkey again raised his hind feet and gave such a strong kick that the marionette was thrown on top of a heap of gravel. The boys again laughed out loud; but the driver, instead of laughing, went to the donkey and seemed to whisper something in his left ear. Then he said to the marionette: "Remount and have no fear. That donkey had a whim in his head, but I have spoken to him and he will be more reasonable. (Cramp 1904, 162-63)

As is plain to see, the episodes of Pinocchio's ears getting bitten off by the driver of the donkey-drawn carriage are completely omitted. And so, once again, the text is "cleansed" and the violence excised.

In reconstructing the socio-cultural context in which the American translation was produced, it appears as though it was adapted to the new social order and to moral attitudes resulting from the industrialization of America towards the end of the nineteenth century. According to Wunderlich,

The first alteration of *Pinocchio* occurred in 1904 . . . and was consciously dictated by educators at the primary school level, strongly influenced by and aligned with business viewpoints. They were responding to a society that was changing precipitously. . . . Industrialization had ushered in the gilded age of speculation and "nation building" by manufacturers and financiers with holdings more extensive than ever before. This was the period of . . . empires controlling more and more of people's lives, enforcing lower wages, longer hours, and frightfully perilous work conditions. . . . Moreover, burgeoning capitalism opened up the country to an unprecedented number of foreign immigrants (raising the Statue of Liberty to commemorate the dream), who competed with a surging native influx from country towns, including the first wave of African Americans from the increasingly hostile South, to inundate cities that then expanded convulsively in size. . . . Prominent in the cities were labourers and their foreign-tongued children, and child labour . . . became an issue, along with the related one of native and immigrant children's assimilation into both school and society. [T]his was also a period of throbbing

social division and conflict. Violence—initiated mainly by manufacturers and government against unions—was commonplace The Socialist Party, established, in 1901, enjoyed noticeable electoral success during this period. . . . This radicalism in the labor movement was thoroughly American. It derived from an American sense of democracy as well as the American experience with industrialization and an increasingly monopolistic capitalism. (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 34-35)

Howard Zinn notes,

By 1904 . . . counting occurrences of every size, there were about 4,000 strikes a year throughout the entire nation. Newspaper editorials ranted against the dangers of anarchism, communism, and socialism. There was a very clear understanding of class and conflict during this period of time. (Zinn in Wunderlich and Morrissey, 2002:35)

He also observes,

The industrialization of America in the late nineteenth century and the social conflict it led to required the adoption of new behaviour supportive of work in larger organizations, like factories . . . These behaviours were promoted by new values [which were] conveyed through church, school, and newspaper [and] imposed on an often reluctant population. They emphasized self-discipline, self-denial, industriousness, punctuality and . . . obedience to authority. Joel Spring saw this cluster of values mirroring “the classroom as factory” Paul Faler labeled these values “industrial moralism” . . . and explained how they were evident in Lynn, Massachusetts, a shoe manufacturing town adjacent to Boston, where, in September 1904, Ginn released the first American translation. (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 35-36)

Besides industrial moralism, Wunderlich considered other possible influences prompting the text revision and the elimination of violence: ideas seeking to shelter children from corrupting outside forces (i.e. bad surroundings); the crusade against the corruptive influence of dime novels (Anthony Comstock) and social movement theorists who “suggested that industrialized society was the cause of children’s faults . . . [and] that urban congestion, child labor, and

inadequate schooling transformed otherwise innocent children into juvenile delinquents (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 38). In referring specifically to the violence prevalent among children at the time, Wunderlich observes that

While the elimination of violence might have been due to a protective, benevolent attitude toward young children, it might also have been provoked by an urgent pair of concerns facing school teachers: discouraging violence among children (by removing suggestive sources, as Comstock was urging) and maintaining discipline in the classroom. In 1904, urban children were highly aware of violence and most likely resorted to it themselves. With cities growing larger and more congested each year, they inevitably housed an increasingly diverse mixture of ethnic and foreign-language groups. Antipathies among the various groups, as well as conflict with the American-born population, occurring in a context of economic deprivation and industrial struggle, extended to children and must have been centered in the schools, where the groups mixed together. (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 39)

The fact that the treatment of violence in children's literature was frowned upon during this period in American society, particularly Massachusetts, is evident from the following quote by Mark I. West:

One author who openly violated many of the taboos associated with children's literature was Mark Twain. In both *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Twain portrayed adults in a negative light and allowed his boy heroes to misbehave with impunity. . . . Soon after their publication, however, they became quite controversial. Many librarians at the public library in Concord, Massachusetts, for example, decided to take *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* out of circulation. (West in Hunt 1996, 500)

Picking up on the earlier reference to dime novels West says that

The controversy surrounding them reflected the fact that they were written by people who cared more about meeting the demands of children than winning the approval of parents. Their authors tended

to write about subjects that children found interesting even if the result was the breaking of certain taboos, for example frequently portraying scenes of crime and violence and often depicting adults in a negative light. (West in Hunt 1996, 500)

While didactic and moralistic writings continued to represent a segment of the book market during this period, American children's literature also saw the emergence of a new, American form of fantasy and realism which included such classics as *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* and *Little Women*.

The American approach to translation generally adopted in the twentieth century was that of domestication, "in which the foreign text is inscribed with cultural values that prevail in contemporary America (Venuti in Baker 1998, 310)."

Describing aspects of the social, literary and translations contexts surrounding his translation has demonstrated that Cramp's version reflects his society's new values, i.e. its "industrial moralism," its expectation that children's stories have more of a didactic and moralizing purpose, and its concern that children's exposure to violence would lead to violent behaviour. Cramp's translation also reflects the twentieth-century American approach to "inscribing the foreign text with cultural values that prevail in contemporary America." As far as *Skopostheorie* is concerned, my comparative analysis demonstrates that Cramp deliberately de-violenced and sanitized the text, thus departing, albeit marginally, from the source text. The reason for this departure is that the text was intended to be used by the school board as a school book and the use of violence was considered inappropriate for children. However, the fact that Cramp follows the source text extremely closely and only strays from it to eliminate the violence, seems to indicate that, like Collodi's and Murray's texts, the function of his translation was to educate through entertainment. What differed were the culture, the social climate and the

perceptions about violence. Having said that, in applying *Skopostheorie* to Cramp's translation, it is abundantly and manifestly clear that the top-ranking rule, the *Skopos* rule, according to which "a translational action is determined by its *Skopos* rule" and therefore "the end justifies the means" (Nord 1997, 29), was observed. Seeing as the purpose of Cramp's revised version was to make it more suitable and appropriate for children and to serve as a school text, these objectives clearly and certainly did justify the means of "de-violencing" the source text. He therefore "translated in a way that enabled his text/translation to function in the situation in which it was used and with the people who wanted to use it and precisely in the way they wanted it to function." From that perspective, the second rule of *Skopostheorie*, the coherence rule, is applicable as well, as changes were introduced to ensure that the "translation was acceptable in a sense that it was coherent with the receivers' situation." This "coherence" is further supported by the following: "it was this "rendition, which Ginn offered on the trade market until about 1919, that served elementary school classrooms continuously as late as the 1950s" (Wunderlich 2002, 37). By 1909, Ginn had already released five school editions (Wunderlich 2002, 41). Thus intratextual coherence was achieved. As for the third rule of *Skopostheorie*, the fidelity rule or intertextual coherence, which refers to the relationship between the source text and target text, it too was met. As demonstrated, the target text is largely "coherent" with the source text, as it departs marginally in select places and the function seems to have been the same.

In conclusion, an in-depth analysis of Collodi's *Pinocchio* in Chapters 1 and 2 revealed the complexities of this work—as it is at once a fairy tale, a *Bildungsroman* and a satire—and how in writing his masterpiece he relied heavily on the French fairy-tale tradition (Perrault), the classical tradition (Homer, Virgil, and Dante) and the Tuscan *novella*, or short-story, tradition

(Boccaccio). We also saw how the use of fairy-tale motifs, political satire and pedagogy combined with the patriotic values of the *Risorgimento* and post-unification era culminated in a true instrument of “national cultural unification,” thus becoming one of the greatest masterpieces of Italian children’s literature. Given that the target texts were produced in different socio-cultural contexts and at different time periods, my descriptive analyses have shown the extent to which translators, and by extension their translations, are products of their environments. Hence the difference approaches taken by the translators in dealing with the violence in *Pinocchio*. As discussed in Chapter 2, Collodi’s use and representation of violence in *Pinocchio* is explained by the classical and fairy-tale traditions from which he drew inspiration. As far as the translations are concerned, Murray not only retained the violence but also intensified it. This decision seems to have been motivated by the trends in mainstream and children’s literature. In keeping with nineteenth-century trends in translation, Murray also chose to closely follow the source text. Considering the complexities of Collodi’s book, Murray may have sought to do justice to its content. In the case of Cramp’s translation, the decision to de-violence the text was made in order to accommodate the values of the new social order. Those values were also reflected in twentieth-century trends in literature (both mainstream and children’s) and translation, and in twentieth-century American society’s preference for works of a more didactic and moralizing nature. Thus, the application of a few of the concepts used in DTS and the reconstruction of some of the norms of the socio-cultural, literary and translation contexts into which Murray and Cramp produced their respective translations made it possible to demonstrate the extent to which their decisions were influenced and motivated by their respective target contexts.

The application of *Skopostheorie* rules from a researcher's perspective, on the other hand, made it possible to show how extra-literary phenomena such as purpose and target audience also affected and influenced the translators' choices. In the case of Murray's translation, it seems as though all three rules were followed: (1) she deliberately intensified the violence and horror, thereby enhancing the entertainment value of the book and making it even more appealing to children; (2) by tailoring the text to the children's needs and by satisfying the literary tastes of the children readers, she made the book relatable to her target audience; and, (3) she renders a literal translation. Cramp too, in his translation, appears to have followed the *Skopostheorie* rules: (1) Cramp deliberately de-violenced and sanitized the text so that it could be used as a school book. In doing so, he emphasized the book's pedagogical value. The fact that he closely follows the source text seems to indicate that the function of his translation was also to educate through entertainment; (2) Cramp adapted the text to the values of the new social order which included discouraging violent behaviour among children; and, (3) the target text is largely "coherent" with the source text, as it departs marginally in select places and the function seems to have been the same.

Seeing as *Pinocchio* has practically become synonymous with Walt Disney, in the next chapter, I will be looking at Walt Disney's adaptation of Collodi's book. Although my study will be carried out along much the same lines as the two translations above, Collodi's book will be now considered and analyzed within the context of the American target system and target culture and within its respective era. My research studies will show how by adapting Collodi's *Pinocchio*, Walt Disney made drastic changes with the result that it bears little or no resemblance to the original.

CHAPTER 4

**WALT DISNEY'S ADAPTATION OF COLLODI'S *LE AVVENTURE DI PINOCCHIO*
AND THE EXCISE OF VIOLENCE**

As we shall see shortly, Walt Disney drastically modified the original novel, thus reducing the original dozen or so adventure scenes to only three.³⁸ It is important to note here that the text in question is not a translation, but quite a different piece of work, as Disney adapted Collodi's book for the screen. But by adapting the novel, not only did he substantially alter its content, he also sanitized it. There is no mistaking Walt Disney's film for anything other than a complete re-creation and "reterritorialization," to use Annie Brisset's words, of *Pinocchio*. And, that brings me to my next point.

Adapters, like translators, are also faced with choices and decisions to make regarding the target text which are influenced by their environment. Thus, adaptations, too, like translations, can be motivated by forces deriving directly from given social, cultural, historical contexts. In some cases, such forces and contexts are mutually inclusive in that they cannot be considered in isolation from each other. Those forces in this case are the target audience and the adapter's purpose. In fact, by applying some of the concepts outlined in the previous chapter, I will look at how the target audience and the purpose of Disney's adaptation may have played a significant role in his decision to appropriate Collodi's story and excise the violence therein. The following discussion will therefore centre on the application of translation theory with a view to examining the target text in its historical and cultural context and to seeking to uncover the forces that motivated Walt Disney's adaptation, thereby affecting its outcome.

³⁸ Disney adapted Collodi's novel to film in 1940. The film was intended to be released in time for Christmas 1939, but owing to production delays, was not released until February 1940.

Theoretical Framework

Owing to the differing views among scholars and theoreticians about what it means to “adapt,” there is no one universally accepted definition of adaptation. There is, however, general consensus that adaptation, like translation, is a communicative, social act involving people of different cultures, languages and time periods. On that basis, for the purposes of my study, I will draw on the definition of adaptation by Annie Brisset as a “‘reterritorialization’ of the original work and an ‘annexation’ in the name of the new version” (quoted by Bastin in Baker 1998, 6), as it is the one which best describes how Walt Disney adapted and portrayed Collodi’s original work on screen. Furthermore, because the reasons for adapting and re-creating *Pinocchio* appear to have been driven by extra-literary factors such as target audience and purpose, I will apply some of the concepts outlined in *Skopostheorie*. Since I will be considering purpose and target audience specifically in terms of motivating factors behind his choices and approach to violence, in this analysis, I will limit the scope of its application to *Skopos* and target audience and will not delve into a discussion of intertextual and intratextual coherence—and, therefore, of the relationship between the source and target texts per se. These concepts will be understood in terms of “the purpose of the overall translational/[adaptation] action” (Nord 1997, 27) and the “translator’s/[adapter’s] assumptions about [the target audience’s] needs [and] expectations. . . .” (Nord 1997, 35). It is noteworthy that while *Skopostheorie* was originally devised for translation, it is nevertheless applicable to adaptation. Moreover, seeing as literary trends seem to have played a role as well, albeit to a more limited extent, polysystem and norm theory will also prove useful. It should also be noted here that because Disney’s version is a film adaptation of

literature, it can be considered within the context of the literary polysystem. But before proceeding to the analysis, let us briefly discuss the life and works of the man who appropriated the keys to the “magic kingdom” and “happily-ever-after endings.”

Walt Disney (1901-1966)

Walt Disney’s life is archetypical of “the core of American mythology” (Zipes in Bell, Haas and Sells 1995, 34) and reminiscent of the fairy tale. He was born in Chicago and raised in Missouri, where he spent most of his childhood, and later moved to Kansas City with his parents and siblings. Disney developed an interest in drawing and art early on and by the time he was 16 he had already begun producing short animated films for local businesses. Shortly thereafter, Walt started a company with fellow animator Ub Iwerks but their business venture proved unsuccessful. In 1923, forced to declare bankruptcy, the two moved to Hollywood. But this time Disney’s efforts proved successful. From this point on, and after narrowly escaping bankruptcy in 1928, he maintained complete control over all his productions. Owing to his ingenuity and the use of innovative methods of animation, in 1934 “Disney was already the kingpin of animation, and he used all that he had learned to reinforce his power and command of fairy-tale animation” (Zipes in Bell, Haas and Sells 1995, 39). Following the creation of such new, popular animated characters as Mickey Mouse, Minnie Mouse, Donald Duck, Goofy and Pluto, Disney made history with his first full-length animated fairy tale, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1938). On the heels of its success, he completed other full-length animated classics such as *Pinocchio* (1940), *Fantasia* (1940), *Dumbo* (1941), and *Bambi* (1942). Disney continued to forge onward with television programs and the construction of his theme park “Disneyland,” which opened in

1955. By the time he died, he had certainly realized the proverbial “American Dream” and he did so in true fairy tale fashion.

Walt Disney’s *Pinocchio* (1940)

On comparing the film with the novel, it is immediately apparent that Disney’s rendition of the book is drastically different. In fact, the film’s opening scene is in stark contrast to the novel’s opening pages, which begin with Geppetto and his friend Master Antonio engaging in a brawl. The opening credits feature the song “When You Wish Upon A Star” which sets the tone for the rest of the movie. The lyrics are extremely insightful on what seems to be a powerful, positive, subliminal message, which I will explain further on:

When you wish upon a star, makes no difference who you are
 Anything your heart desires will come to you
 If your heart is in your dream, no request is too extreme
 When you wish upon a star as dreamers do
 Fate is kind, she brings to those who love
 The sweet fulfillment of their secret longing
 Like a bolt out of the blue, fate steps in and sees you through
 When you wish upon a star, your dreams come true.

The song is followed by a spoken introduction from the cricket which goes as follows:

Pretty, huh? I’ll bet a lot of you folks don’t believe that about a wish coming true, do you? Well, I didn’t either. Of course, I’m just a cricket singing my way from hearth to hearth, but. . .let me tell you what made me change my mind. One night a long time ago, my travels took me to a quaint little village. It was a beautiful night. The stars were shining like diamonds. . .high above the roofs of that sleepy old town. Pretty as a picture.

However, the elimination of violence is not only obvious in the scenes, but also in the changes to the characters. The most obvious is the Talking Cricket, who has now become “Jiminy Cricket.”

One will recall that in Collodi's version Pinocchio killed the Talking Cricket. After that episode the cricket appears as Pinocchio's conscience. Disney's Jiminy Cricket, as Claudia Card aptly points out, "is a conscience in name only." She also observes that "[p]resented comically, not expecting to be taken seriously (and he is not), Jiminy Cricket is a reluctant surrogate parent, mouthing instructions to Pinocchio and tagging along to scold when they are disobeyed" (Card in Bell, Haas and Sells 1995, 63). Disney also transforms the *pesce cane*, the terrible fish that swallows Geppetto, into a whale named "Monstro," whereas in the original the terrible fish is a shark. The Fox and the Cat, who are referred to as such in Collodi's book, have become "Honest John" and "Gideon." The nameless *criminals* in the original text have now been named. This seems to suggest that Collodi did not think very highly of these two characters and that in fact he thought of them as "scum"—one will forgive my choice of words here. In Disney's version, they have been given depth and inter-textual reference. Disney even went so far as to introduce two new characters in his rendition: Figaro, Geppetto's male cat, whom he often scolds—for example when he does not maintain proper decorum ("Figaro, you say good night too")—and Cleo, Geppetto's female goldfish, whom he refers to as "my little water baby" and "my little mermaid." The fact that Geppetto addresses Figaro and Cleo in an overly fatherly manner seems to suggest that Disney added these two new characters to project the image of "one big happy family." In terms of Pinocchio's adventures, Disney preserves only three of the original dozen or so: the episodes of the puppeteer, Pleasure Island,³⁹ and Geppetto's rescue from the terrible fish's

³⁹ Murray and Cramp use the translations "Land of Boobies" and "Country of Playthings," respectively.

belly. The meanings of these episodes, however, are not preserved. (Card in Bell, Haas and Sells 1995, 66)

In comparing the two versions, Card finds that

[T]he moral substance of the stories ha[s] been excised with the violence. Violence in the Italian fantasy of the 1880s is not gratuitous but serves as a vehicle of the knowledge and sensitivity required for the transition from puppet to person. *Pinocchio* tells a story of the acquisition of humanity, to which an appreciation of inhumanity is essential. By 1940, inhumanity was moving toward such dimensions that it is perhaps no wonder if Walt Disney was tempted to deny certain basic forms of it. And yet, the result is a moral distortion of what it means to grow up. Growing up, in the Disney version, is not only becoming tamed but also learning to please others and learning to follow orders. Growing up, in Collodi's original tale, requires not only learning self-discipline but also learning to discriminate whom to trust and whom not to, learning to reciprocate others' caring, and discovering when and why truth-telling is important." (Card in Bell, Haas and Sells 1995, 63)

Collodi's social criticism also disappears. One will recall, from Chapter 1, Collodi's courtroom scene where Pinocchio, after being unjustly imprisoned for being swindled by the Fox and the Cat, falsely confesses to being a criminal in order to be released. Along with the violence and physical cruelty of the original, Disney's version also erases the pain of betrayal and substitutes the pain of humiliation at the hands of the powerful. As Card explains, "becoming a person is presented as learning to avoid humiliation by pleasing one's father (and making up for disobedience with heroism), to whom one is a reward conferred by the Good Fairy for having provided pleasure. Ironically, being a person in the Disney version, is, in some ways, becoming more of a puppet than Geppetto's toy was in Carlo Collodi's tale (Card in Bell, Haas and Sells 1995, 67)." In Chapter 2, I quoted Maurice Sendak as saying "children, Collodi appears to be

saying, are inherently bad, and the world itself is a ruthless, joyless place, filled with hypocrites, liars, and cheats. Poor Pinocchio is *born* bad” (Card in Bell, Haas and Sells 1995, 68). In response to which Card says,

Unfortunately, the world *is* full of “hypocrites, liars, and cheats.” Collodi had faith that one could learn to distinguish between the many who are and the few who are not. The goodness that Pinocchio acquires in Collodi’s *Adventures* is neither the “lovableness” with which Pinocchio is born in the Walt Disney version nor the simple-minded obedience that Mr. Sendak rightly deplores. Rather, it is the ability and desire to reciprocate caring, thereby becoming worthy of being cared for. Perhaps only in America (or in some segments of American popular culture) are children not expected to become, eventually, worthy of the freely bestowed love of their care-takers. And perhaps only in America popular culture is heroism widely thought an adequate substitute for having a sense of justice.” (Card in Bell, Haas and Sells, 1995, 69)

Another important observation to make is that while Collodi’s novel takes place in poverty, Disney eradicates it entirely. To understand and explain the motivations behind these changes, one must not look farther than the historical context of the era in which the target text was produced. On October 29, 1929 (a day known in history as Black Tuesday), the stock market literally crashed, thus leading the U.S., and the rest of the world, into the Great Depression. The stock market collapse affected everyone: thousands of investors lost large sums of money and banks, factories, and stores were closed leaving millions of Americans jobless, homeless, and penniless. The situation was so dire that many came to rely on the government or charity for food. It was not until 1939 that the decade-long Great Depression ended with the outbreak of the Second World War. However, as Wunderlich explains,

In the Depression, poverty was not just a matter of limited resources: it was threatening and destructive to individuals, their

families, and communities. When breadwinners lost jobs, families lost comforts and then necessities. Food and housing were jeopardized. When heads of households lost jobs and could not find another, families often were torn apart by guilt and blame, some driven to break up or later move in with relatives for help, overcrowding apartments, and often experienced yet more stress. Those who kept their jobs during the Depression often were in constant fear of either losing them or of suffering further pay cuts. The homeless, the bread and soup lines, the Hoovervilles, the unemployed were visible to almost everyone. Destitution and its threat must have made Disney's warm imagery of comfortable, simple, and elegant surroundings very delicious, indeed. (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 96).

He also observes,

The stress of extreme ongoing poverty engendered resentment, anger, and arguments, *as well as physical abuse against partners and children*. The link between poverty, frustrations, and violence is hardly new. Contrary to the romantic tint sometimes given it, the Great depression was a violent time for adults and young people alike. As Mike Males notes:

In 1937, Vital Statistics of the United States reported 11,000 violent deaths among teenagers in a teen population much smaller than today's. . . . Thirteen hundred teens died in suicides and homicides, included in the 1,600 killed by firearms, that year. It was an unhealthy, violent time to grow up in, and many deaths in the chaotic Depression environment may not have been recorded with today's efficiency. And, as usual, it wasn't just teens. The whole nation was in an uproar. Suicide jumped 40 percent from 1925 to 1931, reaching 30 percent higher than today's. Homicide rocketed upward; the record murder rates of the Depression years stood for six decades and were not eclipsed until 1991. (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 100).

Given this state of affairs, it is not surprising that Disney chose to "cleanse" the original of the violence, social criticism, pain of betrayal, and poverty that were ever so prevalent in the novel. He did so in order to shield the target audience (i.e. children and parents) from the social, cultural, and economic realities of the times. Thus, Disney's rendition of Collodi's *Pinocchio* was meant as an escape from the harsh and grim realities of the 1930s. And there is no better

example than that in the very opening of Disney's *Pinocchio* which "invites us to a pleasant, comfortable village, and a warm, comforting cottage scene," (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 96). Card's take on Disney's opening scene is as follows:

A new tone is set in the beginning. The Italian carpenter has been transformed into a kindly, but none-too-bright, well-fed toymaker who resembles Santa Claus and lives in a cool climate. (Frequent scenes of peaceful village rooftops under moonlight suggest a sleigh and reindeer, contributing a Christmas-like atmosphere.)" (Card in Bell, Haas and Sells 1995, 66)

In that same vein, the opening song for the film was titled "When You Wish Upon a Star," as discussed earlier. It was written by the Bourne Company and sung by Jiminy Cricket. The song seems to have struck a chord with people as it won the Academy Award as Best Song of 1940 (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 101).

Literary and translation trends

Seeing as Disney adapted into a different medium, it is difficult to determine the extent to which the literary trends of the 1930s influenced his work. Nevertheless, his work is in keeping with the general trends of the period.

As far as trends in children's literature go, Wunderlich points out the following:

Anne Scott MacLeod shows that children's stories changed in the '30s, that they are markedly different from those of the '20s. She is persuaded that the Depression played a role:

Where authors of the twenties tended to look toward the future, putting achievement, social mobility, and material affluence at the center of their stories, thirties authors turned their attention from future to present, and from status within society to relationships within families. The characteristic children's book of the thirties was the family story, in which relations between children and parents, children and children, and children and community constituted the plot, while childhood itself furnished the major

theme. . . . *Where stories of the twenties often took their protagonists in sight of adult life, thirties fiction was more likely to stay firmly within childhood.* . . . (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 103)

This description surely is in line with the new image Disney gave *Pinocchio*. Disney was also making history during this period. He became a leader in animation by appropriating classical literary fairy tales and turning them into modern fairy-tale films. He introduced new inventions, improved animation and released a number of animated films, including *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1938) which “was to bring together all the personal strands of Disney’s own story with the destinies of desperate Americans who sought hope and solidarity in their fight for survival during the Depression of the 1930s” (Zipes in Bell, Haas and Sells 1995, 35). Disney’s new image of Pinocchio as a lovable child may have been modelled after the iconic American child actor of the 1930s, Shirley Temple. She too, like Pinocchio, “insulated children from the harsh realities of life by showing the happy harmony a family could be, and audiences responded to this” (Wunderlich and Morrissey 2002, 103).

In American mainstream literature, the works of such authors as John Steinbeck (*The Grapes of Wrath*, 1939) were more deeply pessimistic in the 1930s. However, crime novels were immensely popular during this period owing to the need of the average audience to escape into an idealist world, where the good triumphed over the bad.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the American approach to translation in the twentieth century involved domestication, “in which the foreign text is inscribed with cultural values that prevail in contemporary America (Venuti in Baker 1998, 310).” While Disney did not translate Collodi’s *Pinocchio*, he did adapt it to the American context.

As I have demonstrated, it seems as though Walt Disney, through his adaptation of Collodi's *Pinocchio*, was trying to shield his audience (i.e. children and parents) from the social, cultural and economic realities of the time. He idealized daily life by allowing them to escape and retreat, if only temporarily, from the depression and hardship of life in the '30s. Hence the sanitized version with idyllic, soothing settings. Situating the context in which the story was re-created made it possible to provide insight into the forces that motivated Disney's drastic changes. Looking at the literary and translation trends of the period also proved useful in shedding light onto the motivations behind Disney's choices.

Although the film did not smash the box office as had been hoped, perhaps owing to the war, Disney's *Pinocchio* still mesmerized and captured the hearts of both children and adults alike—so much so that the substantive changes orchestrated by Disney have “obfuscated the name of . . . Carlo Collodi” (Zipes in Bell, Haas and Sells 1995, 21).

Conclusion

Comparing various translations and examining Disney's adaptation of Collodi's book by looking specifically at the issue of violence, its representation in Collodi's novel and how it was dealt with in the target texts, has made it possible to demonstrate how translators and adapters are always faced with choices and decisions when creating the target text. Moreover, reconstructing the historical, literary (mainstream and children's literature) and translation environments in which the translations were rendered and identifying the purposes, target audiences and target cultures for which they were produced has shown the extent to which these factors motivate the choices and decisions made by the authors of the target texts.

As discussed earlier, *Pinocchio* is at once a political satire, a fairy tale and a *Bildungsroman*. In this sense, Collodi's book is about the vicissitudes of life, hope and coming of age. Drawing on his life experiences, life in Italy in the nineteenth century and the social, cultural, economic and political realities of his times, Collodi depicts life in its true, natural form. Because his novel is a representation of life, it inescapably depicts violence. In fact, it is precisely through his adventures—and misadventures—that the puppet learns life's lessons, to discern right from wrong, good from evil, and to develop morals and values. Pinocchio's journey is a perilous and bumpy one, but when he finally shapes up and starts behaving in a sensible and responsible way, he attains real boyhood. Thus, the depiction of violence in the book is not gratuitous. Rather it provides education and insight into real-life experiences in the real world, which, as Collodi demonstrates, is a dangerous and imperfect place. The book's human and humane qualities and the universality of its themes have led Croce to conclude that "the wood from which Pinocchio is cut is humanity itself."

After captivating the hearts and minds of Italian children, “The Adventures of Pinocchio” crossed the Alps and made its way to Britain, where it was introduced to British children by Mary Alice Murray in 1891. Translating it for the first time into English, Murray rendered a direct, literal translation, which, like Collodi’s version, appears to have appealed to both children and adults alike, even though it was aimed specifically at children. By remaining very close to the text, perhaps in the interest of doing justice to the Italian masterpiece, Murray not only retained but also intensified the violence and horror of the original. In doing so, she seems to have been taking her cue from nineteenth-century trends in literature, particularly children’s literature, and translation. Furthermore, by producing a literal, faithful translation and by intensifying the violence and horror, it seems as though the purpose and function of her translation may have been the same as that of the source text: to educate and entertain children.

Collodi’s story then crossed the Atlantic and landed in America in 1904 where it was introduced to American children by Walter S. Cramp. Cramp was the first American translator to translate the book into English. After Cramp’s first version was rejected, as it was deemed inappropriate by a criterion school board, it was revised to expurgate the violence therein and to accommodate the values of the new social order. Although the revised version was de-violenced and cleansed so that it could be used by the school board as a school book, it follows the source text extremely closely. The fact that Cramp only strays from the source text to eliminate the violence seems to indicate that, like Collodi’s and Murray’s texts, the function of his translation was to educate through entertainment. Moreover, Cramp, too, like Murray, may have also been taking his cue from contemporary trends in literature (both mainstream and children’s) and translation.

Of all the target texts analyzed, Walt Disney's *Pinocchio* is the one that bears the least resemblance to Collodi's original tale and it seems as though audience and purpose were a major factor in Disney's drastic changes to the story. This is not surprising given the era and context in which Disney produced his target text. In fact, *Pinocchio* was produced during the Great Depression, a time when the United States suffered a traumatic economic collapse that plunged millions into unemployment and poverty and such harsh realities obscured the promise of a happier and better future. This may explain why Disney chose to "cleanse" the tale of the violence and poverty portrayed in Collodi's book. And, it seems as though he may have done so in order to insulate the target audience (i.e. children and parents) from the social, cultural, and economic realities of the times.

Analyzing the issue of violence in the translations and adaptation within their respective historical, literary and translation contexts and in relation to their target audiences, purposes and cultures has shown the extent to which translations and adaptations are affected by their environments. Such findings support the case made by translation scholars who claim that translation is much more than just a linguistic transfer.

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