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FAIRY TALE ILLUSTRATIONS AND REAL WORLD GENDER:
Function, Conceptualization, and Publication[1]

Fairy tales that have been illustrated with a single image apiece are themselves generally a commercial enterprise, whose content and design must be conceived in a broadly acceptable mode in order to sell. Second, the selling process assumes a profit motive. Third, it can be shown that the single illustration mode results in projecting an individual illustrator's vision of a tale. Fourth, when large numbers of illustrations in single-illustration mode exist in commercially produced books, the aggregate range of their content comprises the range of culturally-acceptable images for a given story. (A methodology for analyzing fairy tales with multiple images will be introduced separately at the end of this article.)

Parameters of Discussion

In fairy tales the proportion of illustration to text varies widely. A book that consists of a single tale is routinely profusely illustrated. In a tale collection, a single tale may have several small and large illustrations, headpieces, tailpieces, and / or marginal decorations. When, however, a tale has but a single illustration, that illustration's interpretive thrust is overwhelming. That publishing and illustration model – one illustration per fairy tale – is the principal subject of the following article.

In general, illustrations perform different functions depending on the genre they illustrate. And so, for instance, medical texts, art history textbooks, and instructional manuals have distinct requirements, ones that differ from those that fairy tales have.[2]

In this article, I examine illustrations with reference to their content rather than to their aesthetic qualities, technical achievements in the various modes of illustration creation (Alderson, 37-39; Pool; Larkin; Paige), or to their fantasy imagery (Funazaki and Nishiyama; Weinstein,

68-99). The methodology of content analysis will be both nominal (what is depicted) and dynamic (effective action within illustrations). The illustrations considered here are overwhelmingly representational rather than abstract, and the relationships among objects and people depicted in them communicate cultural values as well as objective content.

Every observer of fairy tale illustrations recognizes that certain iconographic traditions have come to be associated with well-known fairy tales. "Rapunzel" (Grimm No. 12, "Raiponce"[3]) is in her tower, "Sleeping Beauty" (Grimm No. 50, "Rose d'épine") on her bed. Preexisting iconographic traditions like towers and roses play a large part in the image content of such fairy tales' illustrations, so that Rapunzel without her tower or the sleeping princess without her bed, thorny rosebushes, and kneeling prince are nearly unthinkable.

It is also self-evident that all illustrations exist within cultural contexts. And so it follows that viewers of illustrations perceive images not only with their eyes, but also with minds and memories conditioned by the cultural contexts within which they have lived. Thus R. L. Gregory hypothesizes that illustration viewers perceive images within a preexisting conceptual framework, and that they explore relationships between perceptual and conceptual images (Gregory 310-332), while the art critic Irwin Panofsky concluded that when people view images, they are aware of socially encoded meanings that inhere in actions depicted on paper or canvas (Panofsky 3-31).

Analyzing fairy tale illustrations iconographically requires the same rigor as that driving similar analyses of Renaissance paintings. It also requires a conscious acknowledgement that the illustrations in question exist within cultural norms, and that these norms are not constant, but that they differ from one place to another and from one age to another in those places. The very fact of differing cultural expectations and assumptions means that collective differences from one cultural community to another distinguish what it is permissible to depict in given fairy tale illustrations of any particular community. Moreover, this is particularly revealing in the case of those fairy tales that are illustrated with a single image.

Illustration functions in fairy tales

In my experience, illustrations in fairy tales perform five key functions for the texts they accompany: 1) decoration, 2) visualization, 3) interpretation, 4) reformulation, and 5) replacement. I will discuss each of these

functions with examples drawn from the illustration history of tales familiar from the collection assembled by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, the *Children's and Household Tales* (Contes pour les enfants et la maison).[3]

Book designers like the English illustrator Walter Crane deployed decorative images carefully as an important component in his overall visualization of book design. Convinced that "pictures could connect with each other and contribute to building the storytelling," Crane enlisted "a wide range of decorative illustration types: endpapers, tailpieces, headers, and borders, as well as the more typical title pages and full-page and spot illustrations" (Hutton, 32). Crane's voluminously illustrated study of the decorative illustration of books, published in 1896, begins with decorative elements in medieval illuminated manuscripts, continues with a consideration of incunabula, and continues to the end of the nineteenth century (when he himself profusely illustrated the Grimms' tales).

Nineteenth-century children's books provide innumerable examples of illustrations that have little or nothing to do with the text they precede or follow. These purely *decorative* illustrations are rarely placed within the text, but like parentheses, usually enclose it. One nineteenth-century German edition of the Grimms' tales has a picture of a beehive at the conclusion of "Cinderella" (Grimm No. 21,"Cendrillon"), despite the fact that a beehive forms no part of the preceding narrative. In what was probably the same edition[4], an equally irrelevant image of a jolly pair out for a walk ends "The Three Little Men in the Woods" (Grimm No. 13, "Les trois petits hommes dans la forêt"). These two illustrations dramatically express the economics of publishing in the nineteenth century, when a plate's simple and cheap availability often dictated pictorial choice and use.

Visualization represents a second function that pictures play when inserted into fairy tale texts. Nikolaus Plump's illustration of "The Goosegirl" (fig. 1) (Grimm No. 89, "La gardeuse d'oies," Grimm 1962, 272-273) embodies information drawn from the text: in response to the goosegirl's incantation, the wind blows Conrad's hat away and he must chase it while she finishes braiding her hair.

George Cruikshank's earlier 1826 illustration of "The Goosegirl" inserts a tree bending in the wind that the goosegirl has caused to blow (fig. 2) (Grimm [1826] 1904, 2:5). His image visualizes an event in the story in terms of logic: since wind cannot be illustrated in and of itself, Cruikshank added a tree bending in the wind that Grimm explicitly in-

cluded in the tale's wording. Despite the logical nature of Cruikshank's addition of a tree, his drawing moves beyond a simple visualization of the text toward an *interpretation*, because it emphasizes the result of the single power the goosegirl continues to retain over nature. The Cruikshank example demonstrates that illustrators frequently incorporate more in their drawings than is delineated in the text. However, whenever an illustration differs from the text it accompanies, each added (or deleted) element constructs an interpretive bias. Even the manner in which the given elements of a narrative are rearranged on the printed page contributes to an overall shift in narrative emphasis.
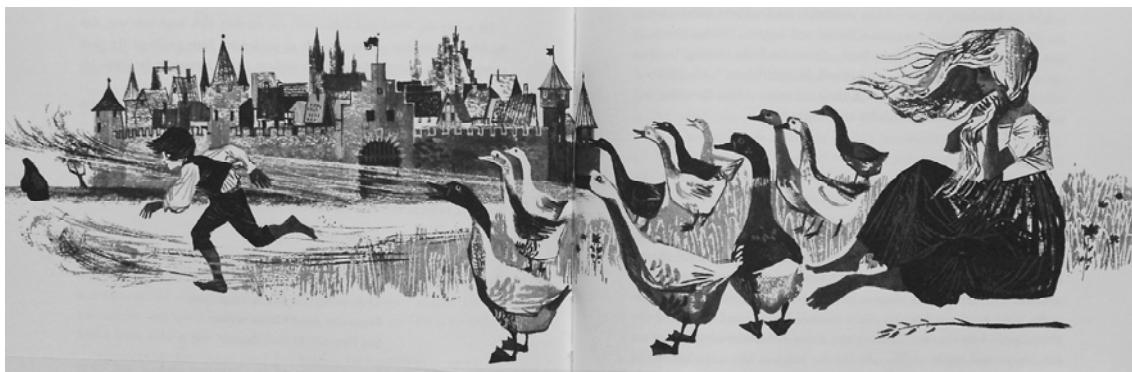

Fig. 1. Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Kinder-Märchen*, Vienna, Verlag für Jugend und Volk, 1966. Illustration by Nikolaus Plump.

Interpretation can function either implicitly or explicitly, depending on the choice and number of illustration moments. When a single illustration accompanies a fairy tale, the illustration moment chosen by an illustrator signifies the importance of the chosen moment, with the result that the choice of illustration moment insistently defines a tale's nature and content. (See also Nodelman, 266.) Consider the different interpretive emphases that result from single depictions of "Snow White" (Grimm No. 53, "Blanche-Neige")

1. as a comely housewife carrying the dwarfs' supper to them (Grimm 1883, 177);
2. as a motionless corpse in a glass coffin (Grimm 1826);
3. or as a plump and delectable beauty gazing upon itself (Bechstein 1858; rpt.1983, 297), whose identity as a vain beauty merges problematically with that of her vain and murderous stepmother.

Fig. 2. Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *German Popular Stories*, London, James Robins, 1826. Reissued by Henry Frowde, 1904. Illustration by George Cruikshank.

As far as Snow-White's stepmother is concerned, she is made into a primevally and archtypically evil Biblical serpent when her train is drawn in reptilian lines (Grimm 1947). This interpretation of her character justifies the horrifying retribution of dancing to death in red-hot shoes which is meted out to her for her repeated attempts to murder her stepdaughter (Grimm c1920).

Alterations in pictorial details also lead to interpretive shifts, something that is strongly evident in the changes Wilhelm Grimm made to his brother Ludwig Emil Grimm's first drafts of illustrations for the 1825 Small Edition of the tales. Ludwig Emil had drawn a grandmother who had climbed into her bed amid domestic disorder for the tale of "Red Riding Hood" (Grimm No. 26, "Le Petit Chaperon Rouge"). Wilhelm responded by instructing his brother to tidy up the room and to put a Bible on the bedside table (Koszinowski and Leuschner, 224), which is how the image appeared in the 1825 Small Edition.[5] The pictorial elements that designate the grandmother as a victim who is both

neat and religiously observant interpret her character and powerfully signal that she is entitled to readers' sympathy.

Max Slevogt made an addition of a different nature in his illustration of a buxom and sexually enticing goosegirl (fig. 3) (Grimm 1976, 196), who captures our attention visually. But in emphasizing her breasts Slevogt imputes a sexuality to the goosegirl for which the text offers no verbal foundation. Additions to illustrations such as Cruikshank's windblown tree, Ludwig Emil Grimm's bedside Bible, and Slevogt's sexualized goosegirl go far beyond textual content, and as such, additions like these border on reformulation.[6]

Fig. 3. Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Alte Märchen mit der Feder erzählt*, 1920s. Reissued as *Das blaue Licht und andere Märchen*, Tübingen, Rainer Wunderlich, 1976. Illustration by Max Slevogt.

True *reformulation* of a fairy-tale text by an illustration involves presenting materially different content or mood from that which the text itself projects. For instance, "The Wishing Table, the Gold Ass, and the Cudgel in the Sack" (Grimm No. 36, "Petite-table-sois-mise, l'âne faiseur d'or et gourdin-sors-du-sac") is clearly a rollicking tale with roots deep in Renaissance bodily humor. In this tale a donkey's turds are not malodorous refuse, but nuggets of gold. Although an undated nineteenth-century Reutlingen text keeps the Grimms' prim wording that the donkey produced gold "at both ends," its illustration reformulated that text prudishly, pointedly showing gold coming only from its mouth, not

from its behind (Grimm n.d.). In another tale, "Mary's Child" (Grimm No. 3, "L'enfant de Marie"), Wilhelm rejected Ludwig Emil Grimm's manuscript illustration of a joyful child taken into heaven by the Virgin Mary to play with angels, to eat sugared bread, and to drink sweet milk and had Ludwig Emil replace it with an image of an abandoned and miserable little girl languishing joylessly in the woods (Grimm 1825, 11). This pictorial change shifted the story's weighting from childish pleasures in a heavenly pleasure palace to stern punishment in a threatening earthly wilderness.

In all of the examples discussed above, illustrations amplify the text they accompany. Perceptual shifts may take place as a fairy tale text is filtered through its illustration, but it is clear that the foregoing illustrations all serve text. The balance between text and illustration shifts completely, however, with *replacement.* When illustrations replace text, illustrations take precedence over the written text. A text's function inverts, as visual text becomes primary. Now the written word serves to amplify visual "text." Illustrations in the majority of picture books for the very young function in this manner. There, pictures predominate over words, and words cease being a primary producer of plot and meaning, becoming instead an adjunct to a book's images, identifying and explaining them.

Illustration Conceptualization

Any single fairy tale provides a broad range of image possibilities. Heroes and heroines may be shown in a moment of misery, in their final moment of triumph, or at any moment in between. Thus, whether to create multiple images that mirror the narrative as a whole or to craft a single image that visually concentrates the narrative into a single moment is crucial. Since the number of illustrations has commercial consequences, that decision generally springs from the publisher. On the other hand, the choice of illustration moment(s) usually belongs to the artist.

Let us consider the kinds of information that may be gleaned from fairy tales illustrated with a single image, and let us set up a thought experiment in order to do so. It is first necessary to define meaningful limits, and so let us limit the images we consider to a single tale. In this article, I'll concentrate on illustrations for the Grimm tale, "The Goose Girl."

A single image chosen at random from the entire body of single-image illustrations of "The Goose Girl" has no cultural story to tell. On the other hand, a group of images assembled from illustrations of "The Goose Girl" produced in different eras and in different cultural contexts shows ranges of what it is culturally permissible to visualize. This, in turn, manifests a set or sets of cultural norms in visual form that may go beyond what is articulated within the fairy-tale text itself. The plot of "The Goosegirl" follows:

The daughter of an old queen was betrothed to a prince in a distant land. Her mother prepared a rich dowry, gave her a handkerchief with three drops of her own blood on it together with a magic horse Falada and provided a maid to accompany her daughter on the journey. The maid soon refused to serve her mistress, and when the princess knelt to drink from a stream and lost her mother's talismanic handkerchief, the maid realized that the princess had thereby lost her mother's magic protection. Then she forced the princess to change places and to promise that she'd tell no-one about the betrayal.

When the two girls arrived, the prince married the maidservant. She, in turn, had Falada beheaded and made the true princess into a goosegirl. The goosegirl, however, contrived to have Falada's head nailed up in an archway, where she greeted it every day as she passed by it to herd geese.

Out on the meadow the gooseboy Conrad plagued the goosegirl by trying to snatch golden hairs from her head, but she was still able to conjure the wind to blow his hat off, making him run after it and leave her alone. Conrad complained to the prince's father, the old king, who went to see for himself. Realizing something was amiss, he asked the goosegirl to tell him her story. Having sworn to say nothing to any living person, she was persuaded to tell her story to an oven while he listened from the other side.

Afterwards, the old king told the prince he'd married the wrong bride and then arranged a great banquet. There the old king told the goosegirl's story and asked the false bride how to execute a person who had betrayed her lord, to which the false bride replied, "She deserves nothing better than to be stripped naked, put into a barrel that's studded inside with sharp nails, and two white horses should drag her to death through all the streets."

"You have spoken your own sentence," responded the old king. The sentence was carried out; the young prince married the true bride; and they ruled their kingdom in peace and happiness.

"The Goosegirl" is a horrifying story that offers many dramatic illustration moments. Two scenes founded its iconographic tradition. In the first, the goosegirl was shown near, or within, the archway, speaking to the head of her magical horse Falada, a scene that exemplified the princess's loss of her mother's magical protection and her own worldly status. In the second image, the goosegirl conjured the wind to blow away Conrad's hat, which demonstrated that she retained her indwelling magical powers over the natural world.

When the image used for "The Goosegirl" in single-image-per-story collections was compared with the images chosen by the same illustrator for other single-image-per-story tales in the same book, a clear correlation emerged. "Which image any given artist chose to realize appear[ed] to correlate well with his or her view of the fairy tale world and women's role within it, for instance, as active protagonist or as passive subject of other forces" (Bottigheimer 1985, 69-70).

An immediate set of questions arises in conjunction with a conclusion like that in the previous paragraph. How may we understand the role of a publishing house and its illustrators within society as a whole and with reference to child readers in particular? Are publishing houses merely sluices through which gender prejudices pass neutrally? Do they create, or do they simply perpetuate, gender prejudices? Do such commercially purveyed illustrations play a significant role in children's socialization? How far into society at large do such views penetrate?

Good luck provided useful material for trying to answer some, if not all, of those questions, when I stumbled onto an archive of 12,000 drawings by children aged 4-16 in 1974 which came from all parts of West Germany. They had been drawn in response to readings of fairy tales on television by the genial fairy tale scholar Lutz Röhrich, then professor of folklore at the University of Freiburg. Each drawing bore its young maker's name and age, and for "The Goosegirl" alone there were some one hundred signed drawings.

Two different illustration patterns emerged. The youngest girls often drew the goosegirl on the meadow successfully conjuring the wind to blow Conrad's hat away. With each additional year of their age, however, the girl illustrators increasingly chose to depict moments of

the goosegirl's loss of power. They showed her in the archway with Falada's head, or drew her as she lost her mother's power-immanent handkerchief, or on the meadow and *un*able to produce wind, as shown by the fact that Conrad's hat remained firmly on his head. It was easy to see that as girls moved from childhood to adulthood, they lost their ability to imagine and to portray the goosegirl able to wield power over nature. Boys showed no such change over time. Instead, little boys and big boys approaching manhood all drew the same kinds of pictures for "The Goosegirl." In their pictures, the goosegirl was losing or had already lost her natural and worldly powers. In one drawing that is emblematic for the boys' imagination as expressed in these drawings, the goosegirl and Conrad stand together on the meadow; the sun shines on Conrad; rain falls on the goosegirl.

Thanks to a colleague in the former East Germany, Kristin Wardetzky, it was possible to test the 1970s West German drawings and my gender analysis of the West German drawings against a 1990 East German cohort of 8-11 year olds. In the intervening years, publishing houses in both West and East, Germany had produced a large number of multiple-image single-story editions of fairy tales. In all likelihood, all of the East German children had been exposed to single-story editions of "The Goosegirl" whose illustrations depicted several differing moments in the story. And yet, the pictures produced by girls and by boys in East German classrooms in response to readings of "The Goosegirl" showed the same socio-cultural gender dynamic that had powered the conceptualizations of West German girls and boys in 1974. The results were the same. The 8-11 year old East German girls largely produced images of ineffectual, power-losing goosegirl figures, while the East German boys overwhelmingly illustrated the goosegirl in her loss or losing of power (Bottigheimer 1990).

Multi-image fairy tales

The world of commerce provides many opportunities for comparing and contrasting gender biases. Here I examine two multi-image editions of "The Goosegirl," one Japanese and one American. This part of the study has perhaps a limited validity, since a single example chosen from each culture is hardly definitive,. However, the results are strongly suggestive in the context of twentieth-century gender assumptions and practices in Japan. An analysis of two picture book editions of "The Goosegirl" – almost exactly contemporary with one another, one Japa-

nese (1983), the other American (1984), both told in detail, and both illustrated by women – produced the following results.

	JAPANESE ILLUSTRATIONS		AMERICAN ILLUSTRATIONS	
Departure	4 = 10,0%		4 = 16,7%	
Journey	8 = 20,0%	**40%**	4 = 16,7%	**41,6%**
Arrival at court	4 = 10,0%		2 = 8,3%	
Archway	5 = 12,5%	**12,5%**	1 = 4,2%	**4,2 %**
Meadow	5 = 12,5%	**12,5%**	3 = 12,5%	**12,5%**
Oven	3 = 7,5%		3 = 12,5%	
Old King	5 = 12,5%	**20%**	4 = 16,6%	**29,5%**
Restoration	3 = 7,5%	**7,5%**	2 = 8,3%	**8,3%**
Execution	3 = 7,5%	**7,5%**	1 = 4,2%	**4,2 %**
TOTAL	**40 = 100%**		**24 = 100%**	

Because each of these books has multiple illustrations and because multiple images would seem to obviate the powerful interpretive effect of the single emphasis produced by a single illustration for the entire story, the presence of the many chosen illustration moments might seem to lead to a range of narrative highlightings. Indeed, many aspects of the goosegirl's story are highlighted, but the differing weightings of illustration moments reveal significant cultural differences and cultural pressures.

Let us examine the choices made by the two female illustrators. Both show a nearly identical proportion of images that depict the heroine's exposure to danger and humiliation in the story's opening events (40% and 41.6% respectively). The two illustrators differ greatly, however, in the amount of visual space they give to the archway scene of the goosegirl's humiliation and loss of power. The Japanese illustrator has 5 illustrations or 12.5% of the total devoted to the archway scene, while the American illustrator has only 1 illustration, or 4.16% of the total devoted to the archway and the loss of worldly power that it signifies. Both women's books show exactly the same proportion of meadow scenes and restoration scenes (12.5%, and 7.5/8% respectively), a remarkable consistency of vision. On the other hand, the two women differ considerably in the ways they imagine, and put into images, the events that follow. The profound difference in depictions of the moment of the goosegirl's abject misery as she passes through the archway is, as noted above, nearly three times as prominent in the Japanese illustra-

tor's picture book (12.5% vs. 4.2%);. Moreover, the goosegirl's access to help is considerably less in the Japanese illustrator's pictures book (oven + old king 20% vs. 29.5% in the American illustrator's picture book). It is tempting to interpret the Japanese woman illustrator's greater emphasis on the maid's punishment as a violence that expresses frustration at the heroine's general helplessness, while the American woman illustrator, who has put much more narrative assistance for the suffering heroine into her illustrations, places correspondingly *less* emphasis on the maid's execution -- even less, in fact, than the percentage suggests, because her single illustration of the execution is minute in size. Given the lower number of images of assistance and empowerment in the Japanese picture book, it is not surprising that the executionary moment of revenge is given significantly greater prominence there (7.5%) than in the American one (4.2%).

There is undoubtedly much more that could be written about gender, culture, and the conceptualization of fairy tale images. It will require research among illustrations produced since 2000 in a variety of settings, and among adults and children of different ages. But let us turn now to the processes by which fairy tale images move from conceptualization to publication.

Illustration realization and publication

The image that an artist creates to illustrate a story precedes its realization on the printed page. In methodological terms, content analysis of a published illustration begins by identifying the scene chosen by an illustrator, in the case of "The Goosegirl," the meadow scene or the archway scene. It continues by examining the scene's textual components and comparing them with the content incorporated by an illustrator as well as the spirit in which the illustrator depicts those components. One queries an illustration's function in the story, asking whether the illustration as a whole marks a positive or a negative moment and whether the illustrations favors one character over another in terms of autonomy, success, and achieving a happy ending. Collectively, answers to these questions provide insight into an illustrator's process of conceptualizing an image.

The fact of publication introduces a different set of objective and measurable parameters: illustration size, number, variety, placement within the text and on the page, and color (black and white, one-color, two-color, or three-color). Let us suppose that a published edition of

"The Goosegirl" has two illustrations, typically the archway scene (which we now reflexively know denotes the goosegirl's weakness) and the meadow scene (which potentially demonstrates her strength and power over nature). Let us further suppose that the archway scene is realized as a full page three-color illustration, while the meadow scene is a small black and white drawing. In this case, the overall size, color, and dramatic impact of a large archway image emphasizes a narrative of suffering womanhood. If, on the other hand, the archway scene appears as a small black and white drawing and the meadow scene as a three-color centerfold spread, then the illustration affirms the story's move towards a triumphant conclusion, with the goosegirl restored to her royal station.

Other aspects of the published realization of an artist's illustration often play an equally significant role. Consider the effect of an illustration's placement within the fairy tale text as a whole. It may be placed at the beginning, where it sets the tone for the reading of the text itself. It may equally well appear in the margins of the text, or perhaps on the page *within* the text. If an illustration is set within the text, does it bleed into the verbal text, so that it unites words and picture in a single entity (Pool 33), or is it separated from the text by white space or by a frame (Roque)? Each of those positionings expresses a different relationship between image and text, a relationship that is subject to interpretive analysis.

A further set of questions returns us to questions posed at the beginning of this article. What relationship to the text does a published illustration demonstrate? Does it reproduce textual information, expand textual information, replace textual information, or contradict textual information? What effect does each of those possibilities, when realized as an illustration on the page, produce on readers' understanding of the tale that the illustration accompanies?

Finally, it is worthwhile looking at the rich field of the history of the *re*publication of pre-existing illustrations. Successive republications of the same image give insight into differential weightings by publishing houses of varying visualizations of a given text. This is particularly true when the same image is reused in a different cultural context. I have found that Japanese publishing houses that reused German illustrations for "The Goosegirl" in the twentieth century diminished the size of images of the goosegirl's strength and increased the prominence of illustrations of her weakness. A strong gender linkage can also be

found between the size of a Japanese publishing house and the sex of its illustrators. In commissioning new illustrations, large publishing houses have historically displayed a preference for male illustrators, while small, special niche publishing houses have more often offered employment to women. Thus, in sheer numbers of books and illustrations printed, the male imagination, disseminated by large publishing houses that produce large print runs, have tended to dominate the visual sphere of illustrated fairy tales in Japan.[6]

Illustrations and readers

The process of reading incorporates a book into the perimeter of readers' personal space. People sit, a book on their lap. Or they lean over a book that is resting on a table. There is a parallel between physical and mental space, and there is good reason to assume that individual readers incorporate illustrations they encounter in their childhood into the personal fund of images that they carry throughout their lives. Anecdotal evidence supports the concept of the persistence of memory where illustrations in an individual's favorite children's book are concerned. Does the same persistence of memory apply to illustrated children's books as a whole in the early reading experience of any given individual?

Incorporating books and their illustrations into personal space corresponds in some ways to incorporating their message into one's memory. Indeed, illustrations seem to enjoy unguarded access to readers' minds. In a way that differs profoundly from the critical manner in which a viewer perceives the content of a painting, a reader regularly unquestioningly accepts images that are offered in illustrations. I would contend that illustrations provide a perceptual lens that has the power to re-focus written text. Rather than being worth a thousand words, a picture may simply replace a thousand words, leaving in the reader's mind *its* image and *its* vision rather than that offered by the text.

Notes

1. This article attempts a unifying synthesis of observations (deriving from articles published on fairy tale illustrations from the 1980s onward) to arrive at a newly formulated methodology for examining and comparing fairy tale illustrations within cultural and commercial contexts.
2. The range of functions performed by illustrations differs among genres. In English first edition illustrated *fin-de-siècle* books, Kooistra finds five functions: 1) quotation, 2) impression, 3) parody, 4) answering, and 5) cross-dressing (14). In picture books,

Rita Oittinen lists three: 1) supportive congruence of pictures with text, 2) contradictory to text, and 3) simultaneous doubling of text (130-131). Variations on these ways of understanding illustrations' function include Horst Dolvers's distinction between "depicting" and "picturing", the latter of which creates visual "counter-texts" in subtle ways (202).

3. French titles are taken from [Grimm and Grimm], *Contes pour les enfants et la maison*, trans. and ed. Natacha Rimasson-Fertin (2009).

4. Bad Homburg v.d. Höhe. Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser und Görten Hessen. Inv. Nr. 1.3.661, Blatt 33.

5. Reading illustrations is not a natural or instinctive ability, but one that improves with training. Adult researchers and readers generally have to develop this skill on their own, but the young have access to assistance. For school-age readers Eugene Pool prepared a classroom guide that introduces pupils to illustration conventions and techniques, which has much to offer adults as well.

6. Assuming that women in the middle ages were less literate than men, Margaret Miles concludes that their view of Christianity was formed by the visible imagery of their surroundings rather than by religious and theological texts.

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