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INTRODUCTION

On De-Isolating Islands

The fairy tale does not have any limits, and consequently, it is also not without limits. It does not want to understand anything, and consequently, there is nothing that it doesn't understand. Its wide sea also has its distant shore, and consequently, it is also not a lonely island.

—BÉLA BALÁZS, THE CLOAK OF DREAMS
(2010:20, TRANS. JACK ZIPES)

THIS BOOK investigates how the cultural phenomenon of collecting and compiling folklore and fairy tales was influenced by nineteenth-century ideologies, national identities, and linguistic thought, with a focus on women's engagement with popular traditions in Italy and Ireland. The contributions of women writers and collectors to the preservation of folklore and fairy tales in these two cultural contexts shed light on their efforts as perpetuators of cultural heritage and crucial intermediaries between different social circuits. Folk and fairy-tale writings transcribed, compiled, and reelaborated by women can thus be approached as texts that crystallized on the written page ideologically laden viewpoints. These perspectives reflect both centuries-old societal constructs and nineteenth-century conceptions of gender, language, class, and ethnicity.

In this volume, I bring to the fore the impact that issues of identity exerted on the collection and compilation of folk and fairy-tale writings by exploring the lives and works of different female folklorists. Many of these women were seeking to find the extraordinary in the ordinary, turning their gazes to the margins of society to draw attention to the wondrous tales and traditions of the lower classes. The roles that women played in the gathering and publication of folklore in the nineteenth century can offer an alternative perspective on this phenomenon from the standpoint of a group that, despite frequently belonging to a higher social class and thus being more privileged than the

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common people they were interacting with, was still partially marginalized on a societal level due to gender. Intersecting power imbalances are therefore at work in the practice of collecting folklore. In the process of writing these narratives, it is not only power that is at stake but also women's intellectual commitment to cultural endeavors and immersion in rural communities, with the aim to preserve, assemble, and give shape—and a future—to tradition.

Folk and fairy-tale narratives "contribute to a so-called minor history" (Zipes 2012:123), a view that encapsulates the understanding of history of Giuseppe Pitrè (1841–1916), Sicilian medical doctor turned prominent folklorist, not as "un elenco di uomini, dove si registrano le date delle loro strepitose azioni, ma la rivelazione delle idee, delle passioni, dei costumi e degli interessi civili, insomma della vita di un popolo, di una nazione" (Pitrè 1864:149).¹ Starting from this conception of "minor" and yet no less significant history, this book ultimately seeks to reappraise women's influence on the perpetuation of folkloric narratives in Italy and Ireland, by relocating several female figures within a broader transcultural and transnational framework. This volume therefore proposes new connections between these cultural traditions by encompassing the fields of women's studies, history of folklore, and fairy-tale studies.

In this journey into Italian and Irish folklore and fairy tales, I draw particular attention to four women who were inspired by insular contexts: Laura Gonzenbach (1842–1878), author of *Sicilianische Märchen* (1870), a collection of Sicilian oral tales first published in German, then translated into Italian by Luisa Rubini with a rereading by Vincenzo Consolo, and into English by Jack Zipes; Grazia Deledda (1871–1936), whose Sardinian ethnographic sketches, legends, and fairy tales circulated in late nineteenth-century Italian and Sardinian journals; Jane Wilde (1821–1896), who published two assemblages of folkloric narratives, *Ancient Legends, Mystic Charms, and Superstitions of Ireland* (1887) and *Ancient Cures, Charms, and Usages of Ireland* (1890); and Augusta Gregory (1852–1932), who collected traditional Irish narratives from County Mayo, County Galway, and the Aran Islands and published various collections, including *Visions and Beliefs in the West of Ireland* (1920).

By focusing on Italian and Irish contexts in the historical period ranging from 1870 to 1920 (the dates of publication of the first and the last folklore

- 1. "a list of men and the dates of their significant actions; rather, it should be a revelation of ideas, passions, customs and civil interests. In short, it should be the revelation of the life of a people, of a nation" (Pitrè in Cocchiara, trans. John N. McDaniel, 1981b:356). On Pitrè's contribution as a folklorist, see Cocchiara (1951), Zipes (2012:109–34), Bellantonio (2017), Perricone (2017), and Ferraro (2022).
- 2. By "ethnographic sketches," I mean concise articles with descriptions of uses and customs that aimed to portray local culture.

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collection by the main subjects under investigation), I foreground the conceptions of "the folk" underpinning these women's folkloric writings, the use they make of the material at their disposal, and their attitudes toward vernacular languages. I therefore investigate the peculiarities as well as the commonalities between folk imaginations from dissimilar islands and retrace the trajectories through which oral narratives transcribed and/or rearranged by women emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century. Such a parallel approach aims to create an intertextual dialogue between diverse patrimonies of European popular traditions that have been mostly studied in isolation and helps to shed light on the role of folklore through a gender perspective, during a crucial historical phase when the process of nation-building was taking shape.

By concentrating on Gonzenbach, Deledda, Wilde, and Gregory, I explore how these seekers of wonder located themselves between the "stories" of common people and the "histories" of their respective nations, and how this nexus is constructed and reflected in their folkloric works. As Cristina Bacchilega eloquently writes, fairy tales, also known as wonder tales, "can invite us to dwell in astonishment and explore new possibilities, to engage in wondering and wandering" (Bacchilega 2013:5).3 Wonder, in Marina Warner's words, conjures "the marvel, the prodigy, the surprise as well as the responses they excite, of fascination and inquiry; it conveys the active motion towards experience and the passive stance of enrapturement" (Warner 1996:3). Emphasizing its active predisposition, Pauline Greenhill and Jennifer Orme remind us that wonder can be seen "as a force not only for personal transformation in an individual's moment of awe, but for collective power as well" (Greenhill and Orme 2024:4). In their distinctive ways, Gonzenbach, Deledda, Wilde, Gregory, and several other women folklorists that will be explored in this book, were on a quest for wonder not only as an intellectual pursuit but also as a cultural, social, and political act aimed at reevaluating local culture—an act that more often than not has been obfuscated.

Mapping the contributions of sidelined female figures onto the discipline of folkloristics entails withdrawing from a traditionally male-dominated historiographical outlook. Questions of gender, language, class, and ethnicity are thus central in the process of recovering the memory of women folklorists' lives and works. Hence, through the critical framework of intersectionality

3. The term "wonder tale," or tale of magic, is frequently used to refer to folk and fairy tales. Echoing the German term *Wundermärchen*, this designation liberates "this kind of story from the miniaturised whimsy of fairyland to breathe the wilder air of the marvellous" (Warner 1996:4). For a detailed definition of wonder tale, which encapsulates the "fundamental imperative of orality," see Conrad (2008:1041–42).

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(Crenshaw et al. 1995; Hancock 2016), the positionalities of these women and the circulation and reception of their works are analyzed. To this end, I consider both the paratextual features of their writings—such as prefaces, dedications, postfaces, and editorial notes—and their extratextual dimension, including biographies of the collectors, reviews of their works, and epistolary exchanges they interlaced with other relevant figures. Throughout this volume, I highlight the varying degrees of neglect that these very different figures endured. I do not force comparisons between them nor suggest that their contributions to folklore and fairy-tale studies were equally strong. My intention is rather to understand and reconstruct why these figures decided to turn their attention to popular traditions in different corners of Europe, how they approached the emerging discipline of folklore studies, and what their legacy was in this field. I will therefore not shy away from highlighting the shortcomings of their folkloric writings. Yet an awareness of these flaws does not imply that we should dismiss their works altogether. On the contrary, their contributions are emblematic of specific ways of conceiving popular traditions at the turn of the century and allow for a reflection on the role that gender plays in the practice of collecting folklore. This study is therefore not merely biographical: the trajectories of these figures are reread through the lens of the different contributions they made to folklore and fairy-tale studies in their respective sociocultural milieus, and this specific aspect of their lives—which has often been slighted or undervalued—is purposefully highlighted.

Both Irish and Italian insular contexts in the nineteenth century were by and large still untouched by the literacy processes that would drastically change the cultural landscape of the two countries. These areas were reservoirs of what Walter Ong classified as primary oral cultures, that is, "cultures with no knowledge at all of writing" (Ong 2002 [1982]:1). Bearing in mind the omnipresence of markers of insular identity in the corpus under investigation, it is worth noting the instances in which the concept of "islandness," lying at the core of the interdisciplinary academic field of *island studies* (Baldacchino 2004; Conkling 2007), finds concrete expression in these folkloric writings.⁴ Islandness is not shaped according to objective geographical conditions: it is rather a constantly changing human construct, endowed with a strong "ambivalenza simbolica" (Cavallo 2013:191).⁵ "Le isole sono posti particolari," claimed

^{4.} The more common term "insularity" has often been used derogatorily due to its "semantic baggage of separation and backwardness" (Baldacchino 2004:272). I resort to the term "islandness" in this book to describe the complex sense of belonging to an island culture and the mutable sensory, geographical, and existential conditions of living on an island.

^{5. &}quot;symbolic ambivalence."

^{6. &}quot;Islands are special places" (Matvejević, trans. Michael Henry Heim, 1999:16).

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Predrag Matvejević (2004 [1987]:30) in his seminal treatise *Breviario Mediter*raneo. Whether located in the Mediterranean Sea, in the Atlantic Ocean, or elsewhere in the real or imagined world, island cultures share a similar fluctuating sense of openness and closure, of seclusion and exposure. Yet islands are not identical: as French historian Lucien Febvre (1878–1956) observed, the islands "lost in the ocean spaces" tend to be marked by a stronger sense of isolation, while other islands "situated on the great routes of the globe" turn into crossroads of cultures (Febvre 1996 [1922]:219-20). If the Irish insular contexts lean toward Febvre's classification of "prison-isles," Sicily tends to be historically and culturally framed as an "island at the cross-roads" (Febvre 1996 [1922]:221), whereas Sardinia leans toward the classification of "prison-island," albeit paradoxically retaining features of both. Across the centuries, islands and their inhabitants have been portrayed in literary and historical discourses as alluring and threatening, as utopian and nightmarish, as proudly independent and yet constantly in danger of being colonized.⁷ Alternatively represented as remote and desolate, as exotic and flourishing, the ambivalent marginality of these insular contexts and the richness of their popular cultures captivated the imagination of nineteenth-century folklorists.

When examining the folkloric traditions of these contexts, the first traits to emerge are their extreme variety on a local level and a shared sense of difference from the mainland. The frequent emphasis on specific insular mores and tropes, accompanied by an explicit and at times implicit sense of cultural difference and geographical separation, goes hand in hand with a process of "otherization" and "mythification" of these insular contexts in light of the peculiarities of the popular traditions that folklorists sought to safeguard against external influences. The European orientalizing narratives of the East (Said 1977) thus find a pertinent application within Europe itself: as Nelson Moe argues, "European identity is itself inconsistent and fractured, its boundaries fluid and variable" (Moe 2002:6). As cultural manifestations of European peripheries, nineteenthcentury folkloric writings from Sicily, Sardinia, and Ireland are symptomatic of this fragmented notion of identity, suspended between a localized "other" and an outsider "self." As will be illustrated in detail in chapter 1, Ireland as a whole, and not only the outlying Irish islands, has been studied through postcolonial lenses and constructed in cultural discourses as a marginal country, ideologically closer to the so-called "Global Souths" of the world than to northern European countries. In a convergence of real and mythical spaces, the Emerald Isle has

^{7.} Islands have also been frequently feminized, not only in accounts of real-life insular experiences but also on a mythopoetic level, as in the case of Tír inna mBan, the otherworldly Land of Women where several Irish heroes sojourned (Bitel 1998:164).

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been evocatively associated to Atlantis, "il continente scomparso alla memoria e alla coscienza europea" (De Petris and Stella 2001:13). Sardinian and Sicilian cultures, and Italian southern regional cultures more broadly, share a similar status of marginality. Nineteenth-century representations of insular spaces and their traditions as remote, backward, and primitive make the affinities between these different cultural contexts palpable. This parallel study of women who showed a keen interest in popular narratives in Italy and Ireland is thus built on this cross-cultural critical stance.

Engaging in an investigation into different cultural traditions, with the underlying hierarchical assumptions that a comparative act entails, is always a challenge: as Susan Stanford Friedman puts it, "the reasons *not* to compare are legion, centering in ways in which comparison presumes a normative standard of measure by which the other is known and often judged" (Friedman 2013:34; original emphasis). Yet the act itself of not comparing carries political implications and inevitably confines the investigation of a cultural phenomenon to a single context. Any cultural phenomenon does not occur in a limbo of sorts but rather takes place in a dynamic system of cross-cultural resonances, multilingual interactions, and transnational exchanges. Bearing in mind the self-versus-other framework imbricated in the act of comparing, I strive to avoid replicating dynamics of dominance by highlighting the importance of the local dimensions and of the specificities of the cultures hereby investigated. In doing so, I embrace Friedman's invitation to develop "a comparative methodology that is juxtapositional, contrapuntal, and reciprocal, thus opening the possibility for a progressive politics of comparison" (Friedman 2013:40). In line with contemporary trends in comparative studies, my critical perspective thus emphasizes the conceptual model of juxtaposition, rather than the broader category of comparison, in an effort to acknowledge cultural diversity and undertake a more nuanced exploration of affinities and differences in these contexts. Through this act of meaningful juxtaposition, shared resemblances come into sharper focus alongside cultural distinctions.

The twofold investigation into Italy and Ireland facilitates recognition of the historical and cultural similarities between two emerging nations that faced radical political and social changes toward the end of the nineteenth century, a period when questions of identity and nationhood assumed a crucial dimension in European intellectual circles and cultural debates. Furthermore, both countries underwent a complex process of negotiation and standardization between minor and dominant languages as part of a wider attempt to construct a sense of political unity. Italy became a unified state in

8. "the continent that disappeared from European memory and conscience."

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the second half of the nineteenth century as a result of the political and sociocultural process of the Risorgimento, yet its regional fragmentation sailed against a feeling of national belonging. Consequently, the unity of this newborn political entity needed to be promoted by centralized cultural and linguistic interventions (De Mauro 1963:15–50; Sanson 2013a:276–80), with often partial and ineffective results, especially in southern regions.

Ireland's pervasive sense of cultural distinctiveness was on the rise in the mid-nineteenth century despite its enduring subjugation by the British Empire and the catastrophic consequences of the Great Famine.9 In an in-depth historical study that takes into account the role of folklore both in Italy and Ireland within a global perspective, Diarmuid Ó Giolláin notes that "[a]s with the Italian south, the incomplete assimilation of Ireland's population was to be explained in evolutionary or racial terms, and Ireland became one of the many small European countries that sought independence in a struggle shaped by cultural nationalism" (Ó Giolláin 2022:332). In this historical phase, it was to the remote shores and islands of the Gaeltacht, the Irish-speaking areas concentrated in the western and southern coasts of Ireland, that folklorists, linguists, and antiquarians turned to assert the roots of "authentic" Irishness, fostering the Irish Renaissance (Foster 1977:264; O'Leary 2006:226-69).10 These areas, and in particular the Aran Islands, were represented as the "uncorrupted heart of Ireland" (Robinson 1992:xvii). If the Italian nineteenth-century ethnonationalistic tendencies can be interpreted as an instance of "nationalism of unification," the Irish case can rather be regarded as an example of "secessionist nationalism" (O'Mahony and Delanty 1998:48). Whether pushing toward an all-embracing feeling of cultural belonging or toward a marked spirit of national distinctiveness, these wider historical frameworks influenced the practice of collecting oral traditions as a means of cementing communal identities, thereby contributing to the process of nation-making.

Although the performativity of the tales is inevitably lost in the written medium, traces of gender, language, class, and ethnicity conflict can be found among the lines of the oral traditions that writers and collectors across the centuries have made available for contemporary readers. In line with feminist research in this field, my core objective is to reassess side by side women's forms of engagement with folklore and fairy tales at the turn of the century in

^{9.} On the numerous studies devoted to the Great Famine, which raged across Ireland in the years 1845–52 and provoked the death of approximately one million people, see Woodham-Smith (1962), Kinealy (2002), and Crowley et al. (2012).

^{10.} On the process of political myth-making and the various organizations that disseminated nationalistic ideas in nineteenth-century Ireland, see Grote (1994) and White (2004).

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Italy and Ireland, by approaching the traditions collected in print "as sites of competing, historically and socially framed, desires, [...] which continue to play a privileged function in the reproduction of various social constructs" (Bacchilega 1993:11). With the all-encompassing term "feminist" applied to folklore studies, I refer to the works of scholars who have delved into the diverse expressions of women's lives by engaging in more or less explicit ways with feminist theories and by uncovering overlooked female figures, genres, and creative acts, thus laying bare omissions and gaps in our understanding of cultural expressions. In Italian and Irish folklore and fairy-tale studies, the work of scholars such as Luisa Rubini, Jack Zipes, Angela Bourke, and Patricia Lysaght have played a crucial role in this respect. By embracing and foregrounding such perspectives, this book readdresses the disequilibrium between critical studies predominantly focused on male canonical figures and scholarly endeavors toward noncanonical contributions by women.

The partial or total neglect of female-authored folkloric writings across the centuries is not an isolated case in the Irish and Italian contexts: undeniably, the same has occurred in other traditions, which also deserve to be investigated with a cross-cultural mindset. However, this book focuses on the Irish and Italian folkloric traditions, and in particular on the insular realities within them, as these contexts are emblematic of how marginal cultures were perceived by dominant nationalistic discourses and how they were located within the complex process of constructing collective identities at the turn of the century. By weaving a thread between the Italian and Irish traditions, I bring to light the sociocultural background of the folkloric writings under scrutiny through an investigation of the personal motivations, methodological criteria, and conceptual frameworks that informed them.

The attention to works by female folklorists provides an alternative perspective to the largely male viewpoint that prevailed in the discipline of folkloristics at the time. The personal experiences of female scholars frequently placed them nearer to the marginal communities that were the object of their studies, with concrete effects on the gathering and selection of the tales and traditions that would be at the heart of their sketches, articles, and anthologies. Nineteenth-century women who were engaged in this essential work of preservation often suffered from a twofold marginalization, rooted in the constrictions related to their gender as well as in the prejudices of intellectual circles, which deemed folk traditions as minor products in the hierarchy of cultural expressions. Conversely, nowadays folklorists and historians turn to these materials

^{11.} For an insightful reflection on scholarly engagements with feminist theories in American folkloristics, see Jorgensen (2010).

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as invaluable sources that disclose not only the efforts of nineteenth-century scholars but also the subaltern perspectives of their oral informants, thus offering vital data on the cultures that conceived these tales and traditions. In some cases, when women were directly involved in the quest for popular narratives, the connection with female informants was stronger, and as a result the female collectors' attempt to give voice and space to elements that subverted a male-centric worldview was also strengthened. In this light, several folkloric writings analyzed in this volume are reassessed as historical documents that obliquely comment on social and gender injustice. Awareness of the uneven relationship and power dynamics between collectors and informants constitutes a pivotal standpoint to frame the manifold facets of this cultural phenomenon. Gayatri Spivak's poignant question "Can the Subaltern Speak?" (1988) thus resonates retrospectively with the issues revolving around the collection, compilation, and reelaboration of folkloric materials, and functions as a relevant overarching theoretical lens for their contextualization.

This book draws together sources preserved in archives and libraries, including previously unpublished photographs and manuscript materials, such as letters and postcards. Borrowing from Gérard Genette's terminology in Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation (1997 [1987]), these epitextual elements become essential sources of information to gain a deeper understanding of the intertextuality of the folkloric writings under scrutiny, with attention to female forms of expression and representation. As I will explore in chapter 3, far from being the product of a single author, these texts are the result of a multilayered polyphonic dialogue between collectors, editors, informants, and tradition-bearers across generations, social classes, cultures, and languages. In the liminal spaces of these intersecting textual levels, the quintessentially plurivocal character of folktales, fairy tales, and other genres of oral traditions transposed to the literary realm is reappraised. It is thus important to bear in mind Jennifer Schacker's emphasis on the folklore collection as a cultural artifact "negotiated by a number of players—from storytellers to translators to illustrators to publishers to readers and reviewers—and responsive to its context of reception" (Schacker 2003:11).

The relationship between the oral and literary spheres as well as the transfiguration from a performative act to a printed text represent a significant concern for the analysis of folkloric materials. As Paul Zumthor cogently argued in *Introduction à la poésie orale* (1983), in the performance "se recoupent les deux axes de la communication sociale: celui qui joint le locuteur à l'auteur; et celui sur quoi s'unissent situation et tradition" (Zumthor 1983:32).¹² In the

^{12. &}quot;two axes of social communication intersect: one that connects speaker to author, and one that combines situation with tradition."

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transcription of oral traditions, these two axes are inexorably compromised. It is not only the voice that is irremediably lost but also the nuances of the gestures and the gazes, the sounds and silences, the interactions with the listeners, the atmosphere and the specificity of the contexts in which narrators share their stories. In this respect, Alan Dundes eloquently commented that a "vast chasm separates an oral tale with its subtle nuances entailing significant body movements, eye expression, pregnant pauses, [...] from the inevitably flat and fixed written record of what was once a live and often compelling storytelling event" (Dundes 1986:259). Additionally, it is difficult to determine the extent to which these narratives of oral origin were accurately recorded or altered due to specific concerns of the collector and other contingent circumstances (Olrik 1992 [1921]:14).

Notwithstanding this radical metamorphosis, which turns written texts into faint echoes of the original performances, folklore and fairy-tale writers, compilers, and collectors frequently attempted to retain signs of orality through stylistic choices aimed at conjuring the performativity of the storytelling event, such as phatic expressions and formulas that directly address the readers, imaginatively involving them in the narration. Their commitment and actions were fundamental: without the transit of these narratives from an oral to a literary system at the hands of both men and women of letters, entire repertoires of ancient traditions would have been erased by the passing of time. Critical debates on the interrelationship between orality and literature, and the theoretical perspectives of subaltern studies and intersectionality, thus provide essential methodological tools to contextualize this corpus. To unravel the complex relationship between collectors and informants in a selection of Italian and Irish folk and fairy-tale collections, I therefore consider the interrelated linguistic, class, and gender dynamics at work in this process. Unfortunately, but perhaps not surprisingly, we only have very feeble historical data on nineteenth-century informants, except in a few instances in which such information can be derived from handwritten letters, other archival materials, or from the collections themselves. When the informants' names and other useful information could be deduced from the primary sources and from the archival materials unearthed, I have highlighted them, although it is not always possible to reconstruct in detail the collecting and editing changes that occurred in the transformation of these narratives from an oral to a written realm.¹³

13. For a feminist study that shows how the unfolding of the relationship between an ethnographer and an informant can be documented according to contemporary methodologies and standards, see Patricia Sawin's dialogic reconstruction of the life and stories of Bessie Eldreth (1913–2016), a traditional singer from North Carolina (Sawin 2004).

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The tendency to underestimate women who were involved in the preservation and dissemination of folklore and fairy tales in the nineteenth century and to neglect their efforts is fairly common across cultures. In Women and Tradition: A Neglected Group of Folklorists (2000), Carmen Blacker and Hilda Ellis Davidson explore the works of several women writers in the anglophone world, namely from Great Britain, Ireland, and North America, in their sociocultural complexity. Despite being frequently undermined and prevented from accessing further education due to the conventional limitations imposed on women throughout the centuries, female folklorists were nonetheless extremely committed to their cause and proved to be "adventurous collectors, bold innovators, gifted linguists and recorders of repute" (Blacker and Davidson 2000:4). Many of them had the opportunity to develop their linguistic knowledge also due to social and educational circumstances that did not hinder their language learning, given that modern languages were not "as respected as the classical ones over which male translators held dominion" (Day 2019:412). Such mastery of multiple languages allowed several women to work as translators, paving the way for the circulation of tales and traditions across different cultural and linguistic spheres. However, as was the case with Leonora Blanche Lang (1851–1933)—the key translator and compiler of the highly acclaimed twenty-five-volume Fairy Book series (1889–1913) for which her husband, Andrew Lang, was praised—the lack of recognition of women's labor is not a rare occurrence.14

As highlighted by Jack Zipes in his study of neglected female collectors (Zipes 2012:80–108), several nineteenth-century women were deeply engaged in folkloric practices as scholars and as storytellers, such as Nannette Lévesque (1803–1880) in the area of Fraisses in central France, Rachel Busk (1831–1907) in Rome, and Božena Němcová (1820–1862) in Prague. In this regard, Zipes observes how

Hardly anyone—and this includes folklorists and other scholars with an interest in fairy tales—has taken the time to study the tales of Gonzenbach, Lévesque, Busk, and Němcová, despite the great advances made in recent feminist studies that led to the rediscovery of important European women fairy-tale writers from the seventeenth century to the present. (Zipes 2012:95)

14. Andrea Day reconstructed the strategies of erasure of Nora Lang's role in the creation of the Fairy Book series. The series also benefited from the overlooked work of other female translators, including May Kendall (1861–1943), Margaret Raine Hunt (1831–1912), and Violet Hunt (1862–1942). Day insightfully notes that "[b]y subordinating his wife's intellect to his own, Andrew situates the series in a European fairy-tale tradition that privileges the voice of the white, educated male editor over those of women, peasant, and racialized storytellers" (Day 2019:401). On Andrew Lang's "invisible" translators, see also Lathey (2010:102–9).

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Many of these figures challenged the biases and prejudices of the time, which precluded women from public exposure; some of them managed to impose themselves on the folkloric scene, despite orbiting around a world dominated chiefly by male scholars. Although their biographies are often little known, these versatile women produced works that denote a keen interest in oral traditions. The field of late nineteenth-century folklore studies can therefore be rightly included among those "lesser-known or unexplored territories that await further investigation from the specific point of view of women and gender issues" (Mitchell and Sanson 2013:9). In this sense, the gender dimension is a central perspective from which to reassess the endeavors of female folklorists in Italy and Ireland, and particularly the contributions of Gonzenbach, Deledda, Wilde, and Gregory, to the preservation of insular folkloric traditions. The compromises they had to make and the challenges they had to face need to be historically contextualized, so as to provide a pertinent reflection on turn-of-the-century concerns regarding gender expectations and constraints that inevitably had an impact on the genesis and reception of their writings. Furthermore, as Kathleen Ragan reminds us, an awareness of the gender issues involved in the collection and publication of folk and fairy tales "can aid in the recovery of neglected folktale texts by women and can open the possibility of uncovering a corpus of folktales outside of, or at least on the periphery of, the male world" (Ragan 2009:240).

In Italian and Irish cultures, the names and works of pivotal nineteenth-century women writers and folklorists faced a comparable fate, having been either entirely excluded from the canon or framed as exceptional cases. The publishing history of *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing* (1991–2002) is emblematic in this respect: nearly a decade after the release of the first three volumes, which were accused of portraying an inaccurate male-centric viewpoint of Irish literature, two further volumes devoted exclusively to Irish women's writings and traditions were published by female scholars in 2002. Irish historian and folklorist Angela Bourke wrote and edited seminal sections devoted to women's oral traditions, in which forgotten "expressive personalities and talented artists" are presented alongside excerpts from their works (Bourke 2002a:1195).

In Italian folkloristics, female scholars were barely mentioned in *Storia del folklore in Italia* (1981) by anthropologist and ethnologist Giuseppe Cocchiara (1904–1965). Nevertheless, in the nineteenth century, there were testimonies of the distinctive efforts made by women in this field. For instance, in a review of a collection of Italian folk songs written by British folklorist Evelyn Martinengo-Cesaresco (1852–1931), philologist Francesco Novati (1859–1915) remarked that "[n]ella schiera, che va ogni giorno diventando più numerosa, dei ricercatori delle tradizioni e delle produzioni popolari, l'elemento femminile

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ha già acquistata una considerevole importanza"¹⁵ and observed that at the delicate female touch "si schiudono talvolta certe porte che sarebbero rimaste gelosamente custodite, si sprigionano vene di poesia, che sarebbero altrimenti restate chiuse nel loro ricetto" (Novati 1886:602).¹⁶ Although this recognition of women's skills in gathering folklore went hand in hand with a stereotyped view of femininity, it is true that female folklorists, precisely because of their gender and in spite of the limitations they had to endure, were often able to gather tales and traditions that were inaccessible to their male counterparts. These figures, whose works tend to be scarcely remembered even within the niche of folklore studies, let alone in the wider cultural sphere, deserve further study to identify the specificities of their endeavors and of the folk traditions they preserved in print.

The significance of women's involvement in popular traditions was occasionally documented in other cultural contexts in the late nineteenth century: in 1892 Paul Sébillot (1843–1918) dedicated a study to "Les femmes et les traditions populaires," published in *Revue des traditions populaires*, the journal of the Société des traditions populaires (1885). In his excursus aimed at tracing "le tableau du folk-lore féminin" (Sébillot 1892:456),¹⁷ the French folklorist praised women who were active in this field in France and abroad. Furthermore, he highlighted the feminine dimension of storytelling:

Quel que soit le degré de culture ou la condition sociale de la femme, si elle s'occupe de ses enfants, elle a recours pour les endormir, pour adoucir leurs petites douleurs, ou simplement pour les amuser, à un répertoire de berceuses, de chansonnettes, de formulettes, de petits jeux, ou de contes transmis par sa mère, qui elle-même les tenait de la longue suite des aïeules. Et cette littérature orale a, en passant par leurs lèvres, un charme et une naïveté, parfois un bonheur de formes, que les hommes atteignent plus rarement. (Sébillot 1892:449)¹⁸

- 15. "In the ranks of researchers of popular traditions and productions, which are increasing every day, the female element has already acquired considerable importance."
- 16. "certain doors that would have remained jealously guarded sometimes open, veins of poetry are released, which would otherwise have remained closed in their shelter."
 - 17. "the picture of female folklore."
- 18. "Whatever the degree of culture or the social condition of a woman, if she takes care of her children, puts them to sleep, soothes their little pains, or simply amuses them, she uses a repertoire of lullabies, ditties, short formulas, little games, or tales transmitted by her mother, who herself preserved them from a long series of ancestors. And this oral literature, passing through their lips, has a charm and a naivety, sometimes a happiness of forms, that men attain more rarely."

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The association of women with orality is long-standing. Although scholars should not be tempted to consider storytelling a feminine prerogative, it is important to acknowledge that many nineteenth-century collectors relied on female informants. The not-coincidental popular designation of "mere old wives' tales" had significant repercussions on how these narratives were perceived, and trivialized, across the centuries, as Marina Warner illustrates in her seminal study *From the Beast to the Blonde: On Fairy Tales and Their Tellers* (Warner 1994:19).

The analysis of the gender dimension of folk and fairy-tale writings is not devoid of political implications. Tradition is not a static product but rather a mutable process continuously shaped by historical changes (Cirese 1971:95). It is thus worth investigating folklore collections "within history and cultural politics and with an eye to the dynamics of change and rupture" (Bacchilega 2007:3) as well as with attention to women's contributions, which remain an "urgent desideratum" in folklore and fairy-tale studies (Haase 2004:30). As in virtually every other academic discipline, the hegemony of a male-dominated canon rages across these fields of study. Only relatively recently, as a result of the rise of feminist inquiries in folklore and fairy-tale studies from the second half of the twentieth century onward, has the nearly absolute absence of "women-authored and women-centered tales" (Haase 2019:55) been acknowledged and partially mended.¹⁹ In this regard, Cristina Bacchilega recognizes the existence of a "Perrault-Grimm-Andersen-Disney quadrumvirate in popular culture" and underscores the cruciality of translations in forwarding the "anti-colonial project of undermining the authority of the 'classic' European tale" (Bacchilega 2019:35).

The intersection of feminist scholarship and folklore studies led to key publications at the crossroads of these fields in the 1970s and 1980s (Kousaleos 1999). A significant impulse was generated by a special issue of the *Journal of American Folklore* in 1975, titled *Women and Folklore: Images and Genres*, which problematized stereotypical representations of women and explored the "cultural variables influencing the range of expressive and creative activities" they engaged in (Farrer 1975:xii). Approximately a decade later in 1987, another special issue of the *Journal of American Folklore* was devoted to feminist folkloric research, building on the scholarly exchanges that took place at the

19. Important anthologies of women-authored and women-centered tales are Rosemary Minard's Womenfolk and Fairy Tales (1975), Angela Carter's The Virago Book of Fairy Tales (1990) and The Second Virago Book of Fairy Tales (1993), and Kathleen Ragan's Fearless Girls, Wise Women, and Beloved Sisters: Heroines in Folktales from around the World (1998). For a collection of feminist fairy-tale rewritings and literary criticism, see Zipes (1986). On feminist fairy-tale scholarship, see Haase (2004), Stone (2008), and Joosen (2011).

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"Folklore and Feminism Symposium" during the annual meeting of the American Folklore Society in 1986. These studies were pivotal to destabilizing assumptions of folklore theory that historically gave prominence to "male informants and masculine forms of expressive culture" (Saltzman 1987:548). The works of feminist folklorists such as Rosan Jordan and Susan Kalcik's Women's Folklore, Women's Culture (1985), and the studies of Joan Radner and Susan Lanser on coding in women's folk culture (1987; 1993), have been equally essential to challenging such biases and to carving spaces for alternative perspectives in folklore studies, with the objective of locating "covert feminist messages, within and across cultures" (Radner and Lanser 1993:3). In their article on "Women and the Study of Folklore," Rosan Jordan and Francis A. de Caro grappled with the complex ways in which women's lives and women's issues had been analyzed in folklore studies up to the 1980s. In the context of this study, they noted a shift in the reevaluation of women as folk performers, thanks to their recognition as "people of creativity, sometimes of genius, as worthy of attention as the artists of literate culture" (Jordan and de Caro 1986:514).

Following the path traced by these foundational scholarly debates, which documented the "gargantuan task" of reappraising obfuscated female forms of cultural expression (Farrer 1975:xiv), I propose to unearth the contributions of nineteenth-century female scholars to folklore and fairy-tale studies starting from an acknowledgment of the political dimension of their endeavors. In the *Encyclopedia of Women's Folklore and Folklife*, the term "politics" is applied to women's folklore to underscore how women, through their manifold traditional practices, were able to blur the boundaries between the private and the public spheres, directly or indirectly intervening in wider cultural and political networks (Senehi and Hawranik 2009:463–69). Framing the "politics" of folklore and fairy-tale collections by female figures thus entails focusing on how women drew on "their folk traditions and the relative inscrutability of the homeplace to articulate an alternative politics," by participating in collective discourses and collaborative practices (Senehi and Hawranik 2009:466). This was the case with several nineteenth-century female folklorists in Italy and Ireland.

While a reappraisal of women's participation in folklore practices took place over the course of the twentieth century, the historic neglect of women, both as collectors and as informants, and the frequent downgrading of their scholarly works echoes the Gramscian concept of subaltern groups, whose cultural expressions have been de facto marginalized or silenced. If there is a pressing need for decolonizing the folk and fairy-tale canon by casting a wider net beyond its Eurocentric perspective (Haase 2010), it is also true that the Western folk and fairy-tale canon itself would benefit greatly from further studies and translations that can lay the foundations for the emergence of noncanonical tales and collectors, with the ultimate objective of "support[ing] a more

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transnational and multi-directional history of the genre within Europe" (Bacchilega 2019:35). Such a view resonates with Donald Haase's claim for the necessity "to expand the focus of feminist fairy-tale research beyond the Western European and Anglo-American tradition, and even within those traditions to investigate the fairy-tale intertexts in the work of minority writers and performers" (Haase 2004:29).

A growing interest among contemporary scholars in women folklorists, fairy-tale writers, and their works is testified by several post-2020s publications that underscore women's multifaceted ventures into folklore as well as the relationship between feminism and fairy tales. A wide and nuanced reflection on women's roles as heroines in the Western tradition is provided by Maria Tatar in *The Heroine with 1001 Faces* (2021), a book that overturns the gender biases at the core of Joseph Campbell's influential study in comparative mythology, The Hero with a Thousand Faces (1949). The work of scholars and translators in disseminating lesser-known fairy tales by women or about women has also witnessed an important turn. In Women Writing Wonder: An Anthology of Subversive Nineteenth-Century British, French, and German Fairy Tales (2021), Julie Koehler, Shandi Lynne Wagner, Anne Duggan, and Adrion Dula bring together a fascinating corpus of tales by women writers, thus highlighting female forms of engagement with wonder in the British, French, and German traditions. A similar intent animates the pages of *The Lost Princess*, in which Anne Duggan carries out an "archaeological excavation" into the history of French conteuses such as Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy (1652–1705), Charlotte-Rose Caumont de La Force (1654–1724), and Marie-Jeanne L'Héritier (1664–1734), who left a crucial yet not fully recognized mark on the history of the fairy-tale genre (Duggan 2023:8).20 This act of excavation aligns with Jack Zipes's relentless quest to rediscover "buried treasures," those tales that disclose the "virtues of the discarded, the marginal, and the dispossessed" (Zipes 2023:7).

In the Italian tradition, several lesser-known narratives by women writers have been included in two anthologies of fairy tales translated into English, Cristina Mazzoni's *The Pomegranates and Other Modern Italian Fairy Tales* (2021) and Nancy Canepa's *The Enchanted Boot: Italian Fairy Tales and Their Tellers* (2023). Equally important is *Fiabe ribelli. Le più belle fiabe italiane delle ragazze in gamba* (2023), one of the many collections of folk and fairy tales translated and edited by Bianca Lazzaro into standard Italian, which greatly contribute to widen access to a wealth of narratives featuring resourceful and

20. For a fundamental study on women in the history of the fairy tale from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, see Harries (2001). For an anthology of Madame d'Aulnoy's tales translated into English by Jack Zipes and illustrated by Natalie Frank, see d'Aulnoy (2021).

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sharp-witted female protagonists, for a long time available only to a limited readership. All these scholars and translators challenge the pervasive assumption that "women in previous ages were voiceless, subservient creatures," as Eddie Lenihan notes in *Defiant Irish Women* (Lenihan 2019:11),²¹ yet another empowering book in which the Irish storyteller shows how women's voices reverberate across time under the guise of liberating stories about banshees, hags, witches, and goddesses. It is within the wonder worlds of these narratives that women often reclaim the space for self-expression that their societies have long denied them.²²

This volume situates itself within this ongoing process of rediscovering women's roles as writers, collectors, transcribers, translators, compilers, tellers, and protagonists of wonder tales. As a whole, this book intends to take a step further in reassessing and recentering the memories of several women in Italian and Irish folklore, building on the foundational works of committed folklorists that have previously investigated some of these figures and traditions. The volume is thus structured into three macrochapters, devoted to (1) the establishment of a parallel study of Italian and Irish cultures from the point of view of nineteenth-century folklore studies and the mapping of the heterogeneous contributions by women from a variety of sociocultural backgrounds; (2) an in-depth reassessment of the positionalities of Laura Gonzenbach, Grazia Deledda, Jane Wilde, and Augusta Gregory, with attention to the genesis and reception of their folkloric works; and (3) a critical analysis of the representation of female figures and insular contexts within their folkloric writings, taking into account the issues revolving around the transposition of oral narratives in written form.²³

- 21. The book was first published in 1991 as Ferocious Irish Women.
- 22. A separate discussion would address the wondrous array of contemporary feminist reimaginings that follow in the footsteps of the influential literary fairy tales by Angela Carter (1940–1992), in which compelling rewritings such as the award-winning *Tangleweed and Brine* (2017) and *Savage Her Reply* (2020), by Irish writer Deirdre Sullivan, can be included. Another collection of imaginative tales that falls into this category is Sharon Blackie's *Foxfire, Wolfskin and Other Stories of Shapeshifting Women* (2019), in part inspired by Irish folklore and mythology. It is also worth mentioning contemporary anthologies like *Awake Not Sleeping: Reimagining Fairy Tales for a New Generation* (2021)—part of an initiative promoted by United Nations Women, dedicated to women's empowerment—that reveals an activist commitment to foster gender equity by reimagining old stories (Walsh et al. 2021). On Sullivan's *Tangleweed and Brine*, see Sarti (2023a).
- 23. Acknowledgment is made to the following articles, in which some of the observations in this book first appeared: Sottilotta, Elena Emma (2021), "From Avalon to Southern Italy: The Afterlife of Fata Morgana in Laura Gonzenbach's Sicilianische Märchen (1870)," Women Language

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More specifically, chapter 1, "The Collection of Folklore in Italy and Ireland: Women's Perspectives," tackles the central questions surrounding the phenomenon of folklore collection. This chapter provides an overview of the transnational dimension of the nineteenth-century European folk revivals and identifies key female figures in Italy and Ireland. In this historical period, marginal contexts became privileged spaces to trace the remotest roots of primitivism. Thus, this first chapter introduces identity issues related to the insular dimension vis-à-vis the broader gendered implications of folklore research by moving gradually from a transnational standpoint to national, regional, and local axes. I therefore zoom in on lesser-known contributions to folkloristics in periodicals and book form, offering new insights into the networks of cultural exchange in the "long nineteenth century." 24 Rather than emphasizing the exceptionality of a few distinguished women, the large and small efforts of various female figures are contextualized and reappraised within and outside the niche of folklore studies, with further consideration of other overlapping fields, such as children's literature, travel writing, dialectology, and ethnomusicology. As will be shown, many women played an important role in preserving folk traditions in Italy and Ireland, often questioning the limits imposed on them through their intellectual pursuits or through the field-based exploration of rural regions. It is outside the scope of this chapter to provide an in-depth study of each of these figures. Rather, chapter 1 aspires to serve as a starting point for further exploration of lesser-known individuals and their works, or to direct interest to scholarly works that explored some of these case studies but did not receive considerable attention.

Chapter 2, "Identity Matters: Framing the Positionalities of Four Women Folklorists," narrows the focus onto the folkloric writings by Gonzenbach, Deledda, Wilde, and Gregory. Each figure is placed alongside other scholars of popular traditions, and their works are reassessed in light of contemporary

Literature in Italy / Donne Lingua Letteratura in Italia, 3, 103–21; Sottilotta, Elena Emma (2022), "Maria Savi-Lopez: The Portrait of a Neglected Woman Writer and Folklorist in Post-Unification Italy," P.R.I.S.M.I. Revue d'études italiennes, Nouvelle série, 3, 141–63; Sottilotta, Elena Emma (2023), "(Re)Collections of a 'Piccola Streghina' from the Heart of the Mediterranean: Gender and Class Consciousness in Grazia Deledda's Folkloric Writings," I.S. MED.—Interdisciplinary Studies on the Mediterranean, 1, 109–29; Sottilotta, Elena Emma (2024), "'Miniere di fiabe': Poetics of Space and Performance within and outside Angela Nardo Cibele's Folk and Fairy-Tale Writings," Women Language Literature in Italy / Donne Lingua Letteratura in Italia, 6.

^{24.} British historian Eric Hobsbawm (1917–2012) investigated the historical processes that marked the so-called "long nineteenth century," a term that encompasses the period ranging from the French Revolution to World War I, in his trilogy *The Age of Revolution:* 1789–1848 (1962), *The Age of Capital:* 1848–1875 (1965), and *The Age of Empire:* 1875–1914 (1987).

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perspectives on women's and folklore studies. These women were selected as case studies for their emblematic contributions to the discipline of folklore studies at its inception in Italy and Ireland and for their idiosyncratic positionalities. Each subsection details the personal motivations and biographical vicissitudes that paved the way for their involvement in this field. Starting with a section devoted to Laura Gonzenbach in mid-nineteenth-century Sicily and ending with a section devoted to Augusta Gregory in Ireland at the turn of the twentieth century, I adopted a chronological approach so as to retrace not only these women's life trajectories but also the development of Italian and Irish folkloristics more broadly.

Gonzenbach, a fairy-tale collector born into a Swiss-German family in Messina, wrote a collection of Sicilian fairy tales that was, and still is nowadays, groundbreaking for its focus on women both as storytellers and as protagonists of the tales. Her work as a folklorist predates the contributions of illustrious scholars of the time, including Giuseppe Pitrè and Angelo De Gubernatis, who performed the role of mentor to Grazia Deledda in her formative years, the second case study presented. After a contextualization of Deledda's life with a focus on her youth, her gathering of popular traditions from her native island is examined side by side with her correspondence with De Gubernatis. In the third and fourth sections of this chapter, the attention shifts to Jane Wilde and Augusta Gregory in Ireland by reassessing their folklore collections in light of their identities as Anglo-Irish upper-class women who turned their patriotic gaze to the counties and isles in the west of Ireland as sources of inspiration. While Jane Wilde can be considered the first woman who authored a compendium of folklore in nineteenth-century Ireland, she did not interact directly with local informants but rather relied upon materials previously collected by her husband, William Wilde. Conversely, Lady Gregory had a direct contact with Irish peasants, and her folklore anthologies reveal an increasingly systematic study of Irish oral tales and traditions, which not only greatly influenced W. B. Yeats but is also valuable from a cultural and historical viewpoint in its own right. As a whole, the second chapter scrutinizes the ideological beliefs that lie at the core of these case studies in order to outline the situatedness of these women. I then present their folkloric writings, with attention to where they originated and how they were received at the time of their publication. Finally, I juxtapose the linguistic and cultural compromises that these figures had to make when compiling these writings with reference to the dynamics between vernacular and dominant languages in their respective cultural contexts.

To adequately address the gender issues involved, it is necessary to explore the role of women not only as collectors but also as depositories of traditional knowledge. Hence, it is essential to recognize how folkloric writings are the

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result of a complex interplay between the informants' world and the scholarly world, and thus between the oral and the literary dimensions. Consequently, chapter 3, "Women's Folklore: Reclaiming Voices and Figures in Insular Traditions," explores the politics and poetics of seeking wonder by foregrounding the relationship between collectors, tellers, and tales in these four case studies. In this chapter, I draw connections between real-life and imaginary female figures that appear in these texts as well as between their manifold references to insular contexts. The key themes of subversion and justice set the scene for an exploration of the liminal encounters with supernatural creatures recorded in this heterogeneous corpus, by highlighting their affinities and differences across these distinctive cultural traditions.

While the most renowned fairy-tale anthologies, such as those by Charles Perrault and the Brothers Grimm, have been subjected to numerous critical studies, ²⁵ a parallel analysis of folklore and fairy-tale collections by nineteenth-century women writers and collectors who were active in European insular contexts has not been carried out thus far. The fairy tale is not "a lonely island": with these allusive words from this introduction's epigraph, Hungarian writer, film critic, and author of fascinating fairy-tale narratives Béla Balázs (1884–1949) encapsulates the paradoxes of an elusive genre that escapes straightforward interpretations. ²⁶ This book ultimately wishes to contribute to folklore and fairy-tale studies by "de-isolating" the popular traditions of European islands and women's praiseworthy efforts in these fields.

25. Among the many scholarly works on Charles Perrault, see Lewis (1996), Jones (2016), and Haase (2017). On the Brothers Grimm, see Bottigheimer (1987), Haase (1993), Zipes (2002a; 2015), Tatar (2003), and Norberg (2022).

26. For a recent translation into English of his literary fairy tales, inspired by the Chinese aquarelles made by Austrian-Argentine painter Mariette Lydis (1887–1970) and originally published in 1922 in *Der Mantel der Träume: Chinesische Novellen*, see Balázs's *The Cloak of Dreams* (2010, trans. Jack Zipes).

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