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Linda V. Troost

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Abstract
The past quarter-century has seen three notable film productions of Jane Austen's novel Pride and Prejudice (1813). In 1979, Fay Weldon's screenplay for the BBC featured Elizabeth Garvie and David Rintoul as Elizabeth Bennet and Mr Darcy. In 1995, Andrew Davies's adaptation for the BBC in collaboration with A&E, The Arts and Entertainment Network, made superstars of Colin Firth and Jennifer Ehle. In 2005, Deborah Moggach (assisted by Emma Thompson) adapted the novel for director Joe Wright and Working Title Films, with Matthew Macfadyen and Keira Knightley in the lead roles. All three versions depict Elizabeth Bennet's excursion to Derbyshire and her visit to Darcy's ancestral home, but all three treat the pivotal moment differently. This article examines the Pemberley sequence in these three adaptations as well as in the novel to see how the touristic moment can be used to reveal a character's understanding of him/herself and others, as well as the reader/viewer's relationship with the past.

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Filming Tourism, Portraying Pemberley

Linda V. Troost

The past quarter-century has seen three notable film productions of Jane Austen's novel *Pride and Prejudice* (1813). In 1979, Fay Weldon's screenplay for the BBC featured Elizabeth Garvie and David Rintoul as Elizabeth Bennet and Mr Darcy.[1] In 1995, Andrew Davies's adaptation for the BBC in collaboration with A&E, The Arts and Entertainment Network, made superstars of Colin Firth and Jennifer Ehle. In 2005, Deborah Moggach (assisted by Emma Thompson) adapted the novel for director Joe Wright and Working Title Films, with Matthew Macfadyen and Keira Knightley in the lead roles. All three versions depict Elizabeth Bennet's excursion to Derbyshire and her visit to Darcy's ancestral home, but all three treat the pivotal moment differently. This article examines the Pemberley sequence in these three adaptations as well as in the novel to see how the touristic moment can be used to reveal a character's understanding of him/herself and others, as well as the reader/viewer's relationship with the past.

Architectural historian Adrian Tinniswood argues that a visit to a country house is not about finding "inner truth" or "historical reality";

1 The serial aired in January 1980, but its copyright date is 1979.

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instead, "it is about us, here, now, and our ambivalent relationship with the past. The country house is a cluster of images, with as much to say about contemporary society as it has about what has gone before."[2] Likewise, the way country-house tourism is depicted in art and literature is a direct commentary upon that relationship at a specific temporal moment, and, since Austen's time, that relationship has changed. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the tourist had a tenuous connection to the past. Country-house tourism focused largely on pragmatic concerns of the current day: economics and power, not history. Yet one sees in a novel such as *Pride and Prejudice* another strain—the romantic—in which the tourist eschews the works of mankind and contemplates mountains, lakes, or even ruined abbeys in solitude.[3] For this second group of tourists, the past was also of minimal interest: only the sublime or the timeless mattered. Modern-day tourism retains romantic tourism with regard to natural attractions but changes its focus with regard to country-house visiting. The tourist *wishes* to connect with the past, to see history. Since the early 1990s, heritage tourism has become an important niche market in Britain, perhaps riding on the success of celebrated BBC productions. All three versions of *Pride and Prejudice* reveal heritage values, but the relationship each implies about our connection to the past has altered in the years between them, a change reflected in actual heritage tourism, not just filmic representations of it. Elizabeth views Pemberley from her social position, and the property represents the present, and eventually her future as its mistress. We too view Pemberley from a specific social perspective, but we can find a way to take possession of it, and, eventually, our past. Our changing cultural positions, however, require various modes of taking possession as each successive adaptation of *Pride and Prejudice* demonstrates.

Tourism is nothing new, and it was often about more than filling time. In the Middle Ages, tourists—pilgrims—visited holy shrines to commune with saints.[4] After the Protestant Reformation in England, secular shrines took their places: the homes of the rich, famous, and

2 Adrian Tinniswood, *The Polite Tourist: A History of Country-House Visiting*, new ed. (London: National Trust, 1998), 209.

3 For more on the romantic tourist gaze, see John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Society*, 2nd ed. (London: Sage, 2002), 43–44.

4 Ian Ousby, *The Englishman's England: Taste, Travel, and the Rise of Tourism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 7–8.

powerful.[5] The aristocrat's country seat was not simply a home; it was his principal source of income and the economy of his part of the world. A visit to a great house, therefore, was a way of seeing England's economic power and a way to come in contact with its political leaders.[6] During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the new Whig ruling class began to build—or rebuild—grand houses that attracted a significant tourist trade: Blenheim Palace, seat of the Duke of Marlborough; Chatsworth, home of the Duke of Devonshire; Castle Howard, home of the Earl of Carlisle.[7] Even the wealthy middle class got into the act: Stourhead and Osterley Park House were built by the heads of London banking families and were also open to visitors. These owners surrounded their homes with beautiful gardens and filled their houses with the latest in design and the finest of art treasures. When writing about Pemberley, Austen would have been thinking of such places: Darcy's house would be a fairly new building filled with the best contemporary furniture and representative Old Masters.

But the owner of such a property had to do more than maintain a nicely decorated house and garden. John Byng, later Viscount Torrington, who toured Cheshire and Derbyshire in June 1790, admired natural "wild beauty" and "wonderful and romantic spots" but remarked with disfavour on grand houses that lacked plantations of trees and herds of cattle or that abandoned good land to vermin, when, "through draining and cultivation," it might be made "fertile."[8] Of Lyme Park he observed, "if the rabbits were destroy'd, the bogs drain'd, all the hills planted ... it might then be a grand place; but at present it is an horrid wild."[9] In other words, nature was to be wild; estates were to be prosperous. Modern tourists do not much care about the hearty farmland surrounding the elegant mansion that they are visiting. How does a television or film director reconcile these differing touristic values—historically correct pragmatism versus a

5 Dean MacCannell's seminal work *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (1976; 2nd ed., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) acknowledges that tourist destinations acquire a special "aura" from their "socially constructed importance" (48), a process he calls "sight sacralization" (42).

6 For a good discussion of country-house visiting in Renaissance England, see Tinniswood, chap. 1.

7 Tinniswood, 63.

8 John Byng, *Rural Rides Round Britain* (New York: Folio Society, 1996), 183, 186, 176, 179.

9 Byng attempted to visit the house two years later, a month after a new owner succeeded to the property, but he was turned away by the new housekeeper: "We never show it but to those we know" (355). Byng sees this rebuff as a breach of hospitality.

modern love for the historic and romantic—when recreating the tourism sequence in *Pride and Prejudice*? The three productions offer different solutions.

Tourism in Austen's day differed from tourism today, and directors have to decide whether to replicate a historic or a modern experience. Travel was for people who had the leisure and the income for long trips through the countryside, who owned a carriage and at least four horses, who could afford to rent private parlours in inns and stable space for their horses for several weeks at a time. In volume 3 of *Pride and Prejudice*, Austen sends her heroine and relatives on an extended tour of Derbyshire, and since Elizabeth Bennet's uncle, Mr Gardiner, is a well-to-do businessman in London, they have the means to travel in comfort. The 1979 and 1995 versions show Mr and Mrs Gardiner's beautiful and expensive carriage, drawn by elegant and sprightly horses, rolling through a lush landscape. The 2005 film, however, in keeping with its agenda for greater social realism, makes the travel experience more democratic and familiar: at one point, the carriage breaks down, a reminder of the rigours of travel; Elizabeth and her relatives enjoy a picnic outdoors; later, they dine in the bustling common room of an inn, not in a private parlour. Next, the director has to decide how much of a trip to show. Austen's tourists do a fairly standard tour, similar to one a tourist would undertake today: Oxford University, Blenheim Palace, Warwick Castle, and the ruins of Kenilworth Castle. In Derbyshire, they tour Chatsworth and the spa at Matlock, but the novel glosses over Elizabeth's encounter with "rocks and mountains."[10] The important place that the tourists visit is Pemberley House, the seat of the Darcy family. The adaptations, in contrast, appeal to modern taste by showcasing the natural beauties of the Peak District and ignoring visits to houses and castles.

Although Austen places no emphasis on the formal gardens of Pemberley, they would have been a major feature of a stately home at that time (only the 1979 adaptation shows Pemberley's formal gardens). Such gardens were important attractions for tourists, and some owners built them principally to impress casual visitors. Some gardens were ornamental; others were intellectual, demanding thought from visitors. For example, Lord Cobham's estate, Stowe, featured a Temple of British Worthies and a Temple of Friendship containing statues of his

10 Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (1814), vol. 2 in *The Novels of Jane Austen*, ed. R.W. Chapman, 3rd ed., 6 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 154. References are to this edition.

friends and those politicians he admired. This was a garden that evoked ideas, albeit highly politicized ones. Henry Hoare's Stourhead, opened to the public in the 1740s, featured classical temples and statues of Aeneas. The tourist was expected to make the connection between Aeneas, founder of an empire, and banker Hoare, "founder of another 'empire' at Stourhead."[11] A learned garden meant a learned owner and required a thoughtful tourist to read its meaning.

Like these gardens, Pemberley demands interpretation too. Austen pays considerable attention to Pemberley's landscape, done in the style of Lancelot "Capability" Brown and Humphrey Repton. These designers popularized a new style of gardening, where the landscape looked "natural," even if that meant moving hills and villages or diverting rivers, as was done at Chatsworth (figure 1). Every tree and hill was positioned to provide long views from the windows of the house, views as beautiful as the paintings on the walls inside. The owners wanted to see (and to have visitors see) how extensive their property was and placed their houses in the landscape accordingly. Mr Darcy's Derbyshire estate clearly evokes the landscapes of Brown and Repton:

Figure 1. Chatsworth in 1830, lithographed by Newman and Co. ©Chatsworth Settlement Trustees, reproduced by permission.

11 Tinniswood, 77.

> The park was very large, and contained great variety of ground. They entered it in one of its lowest points, and drove for some time through a beautiful wood, stretching over a wide extent.
>
> Elizabeth's mind was too full for conversation, but she saw and admired every remarkable spot and point of view. They gradually ascended for half a mile, and then found themselves at the top of a considerable eminence, where the wood ceased, and the eye was instantly caught by Pemberley House, situated on the opposite side of a valley, into which the road with some abruptness wound. It was a large, handsome, stone building, standing well on rising ground, and backed by a ridge of high woody hills;—and in front, a stream of some natural importance was swelled into greater, but without any artificial appearance. Its banks were neither formal, nor falsely adorned. Elizabeth was delighted. She had never seen a place for which nature had done more, or where natural beauty had been so little counteracted by an awkward taste. They were all of them warm in their admiration; and at that moment she felt, that to be mistress of Pemberley might be something! (245)

The description contains many markers of the artistic English landscape: the winding road, the artificially enhanced stream, the careful arrangement of vistas, and so on. The adaptations make the most of this description as well: all three show the road, the stream, the bridge, and the vistas. All play up the moment when the house comes into Elizabeth's sight after the long and lovely drive through the countryside. The musical scores, especially in the 1995 serial, build to a climax to highlight the moment of discovery when Pemberley appears, picturesquely framed by trees in the foreground. In the 2005 film, Elizabeth yelps in astonishment when she sees the grand scale of Pemberley (the real Chatsworth estate represents Pemberley).

The most inaccessible material for a director to convey in a period film would be the actual procedures for touring a house. Those procedures had been well established for over a hundred years by the time Elizabeth and her relatives arrive for their tour of Pemberley, but they differ substantially from our own practices. In general, visitors arrived on the doorstep, and the housekeeper either turned them away or took them around—and expected a tip for it (the amount started at one shilling per visitor).[12] There were no ropes, matting, signs, shops, or purpose-built structures for the tourists, although some owners wrote guidebooks to their houses and their art collections, which the housekeeper sold to the visitors.[13] A few houses

12 Ousby, 78.

13 Tinniswood, chap. 4, discusses the procedures of country-house visiting that I summarize

could attract large crowds, so owners sometimes set official open days to keep the crowds in line or distributed a limited number of tickets. Only a handful of owners refused to have the house open to whoever asked to see it. Part of the owner's image was to be hospitable to the public and have his house open for inspection.

Pemberley, off the beaten path, is a less heavily visited house.[14] Austen's travelling party needs merely to apply to see the place and have the well-informed housekeeper, Mrs Reynolds, take them on a guided tour of the principal public rooms and bedrooms. The filmed versions show the housekeeper and tour but avoid the explanation of procedures, making the visit seem to be merely a social call, not a scripted event. We never see shillings change hands, for example. As a result, we experience a modern tourist's fantasy: to be a visitor, not a tourist, and to be virtually alone with the place visited, free of the symbolic complex of tourism.[15] The 1995 serial plays up this element by dispensing with the picturesque staff that we see in the 1979 version, milling around, keeping an eye on what the tourists are up to. The 2005 film plays out the fantasy to its full extent, separating Elizabeth from her aunt, uncle, and the housekeeper, and giving her the full run of the house.

What did the well-heeled tourists want to look at in Austen's time? Not what tourists look at today. The *contents* of grand houses interested them most, not just the fine Palladian architecture or gardens. Tourists came to see things unlike their own possessions at home: fine contemporary furniture, collections of unusual seashells, beautifully bound books and manuscripts, but most of all, paintings and sculpture. No public art galleries existed in England, so these houses were the repositories of original art.[16] Portraits were significant to tourists—the people in them spoke to the power of the family and its place in British society and government.[17] Art was, perhaps, the most powerful draw. Men with the training to appreciate fine Italian paintings collected on a Grand Tour would look at those examples

here.

14 Wilton House received 2,300 visitors in 1776 alone (Ousby, 79).

15 Many theorists on tourism write of the modern desire to be something other than a pathetic tourist. See, for example, Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling between the Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 47–50; and James Buzard, *The Beaten Path: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800–1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 1–14.

16 Ousby, 74.

17 Tinniswood, 44.

admiringly. Indeed, the tour of Pemberley that Mrs Reynolds gives the travelling party includes a discussion of the "subject of the pictures, the dimensions of the rooms, and the price of the furniture," typical house-tour topics. In the picture gallery, Elizabeth examines "many good paintings"—probably Italian allegories or history paintings—but she prefers the drawings done by Darcy's little sister, "whose subjects were usually more interesting, and also more intelligible" (249–50). Mrs Reynolds speaks about the new pianoforte and sitting-room furniture purchased for Georgiana, indicating that newness was a major feature in stately homes. In short, Austen presents a perfectly standard house tour for the time.

How does one depict this experience almost two centuries later and square it with our own concept of tourism? We do not care about the price of new furniture, and we want to look at old furniture. We rarely tour houses only a few decades old; we head for those that have been around for more than two hundred years. The problem is that period houses cannot help but look old to the modern viewer, although they would not have looked old to tourists in Austen's time. After all, they were not yet "period houses." The furniture that is new to Elizabeth is antique to us. How does a director keep the attention of the vicarious tourist on Austen's concern—Darcy and Elizabeth—and away from what really draws our gaze, a brick-and-mortar monument to the past?

One solution is to transfer some of the modern tourist's concerns to Austen's tourists. Nowadays, we visit great houses because they are old and beautiful, not because they signify power and prosperity. We listen to tour guides tell us about the past, not the present. The 1979 BBC serial takes this approach, making Pemberley very old indeed and Elizabeth's experience similar to what we would experience today: a tour of things almost two hundred years old. The building used for Pemberley, Renishaw Hall in Derbyshire, was built in 1625 and features pseudo-medieval crenellations (figure 2). Screenwriter Weldon's dialogue calls attention to the building's great age: at one point, Mr Gardiner speculates that the building is Jacobean; later, Mr Darcy corroborates this guess. The camerawork emphasizes the older elements of the house: when the travelling party enters the house, the camera pulls back from a suit of armour, to ensure the audience registers its antiquity (figure 3).

Figure 2. Pemberley House (Renishaw Hall in Derbyshire, built in 1625). ©Edward Rokita (see www.derbyshire-photographs.co.uk), reproduced by permission.

Figure 3. Elizabeth, Mr Gardiner, Mrs Gardiner (Elizabeth Garvie, Michael Lees, Barbara Shelley) in the front hall of Pemberley with Mrs Reynolds (Doreen Mantle) and a footman. *Pride & Prejudice* (BBC, 1979).

With so old a Pemberley, Darcy is allied to Olden Times, the days of Queen Elizabeth and King James. The interior reveals seventeenth-century detailing as well as some eighteenth-century airiness, and much attention is paid to "heritage" details (the fancy staircase, fine furniture, and elegant china), but the house is not warm or welcoming. The outside is as elaborate as the inside, with a garden of tightly clipped, geometric yews and a formal water feature (figure 4).[18] Pemberley is hardly a place "where natural beauty had been so little counteracted by an awkward taste" (245). Why the rigidity? Because the house does reflect its owner. In this production, Darcy (played by David Rintoul) is portrayed as rigid and unyielding. Even at home, where he can unwind among his possessions, he is stiff. Weldon and director Cyril Coke were not interested in romanticizing the British upper class, as is clear in several scenes, most notably in Darcy's first proposal. At Pemberley, we see the constant presence of the working classes—a footman in old-fashioned livery and powdered wig and a gardener at work in the formal border. We are never allowed to

Figure 4. Italian garden at Pemberley. ©Edward Rokita (see www.derbyshire-photographs.co.uk), reproduced by permission.

18 In 1895, Sir George Sitwell installed this Italianate formal garden. *Renishaw Hall Gardens*, http://www.sitwell.co.uk./docs/garden.htm.

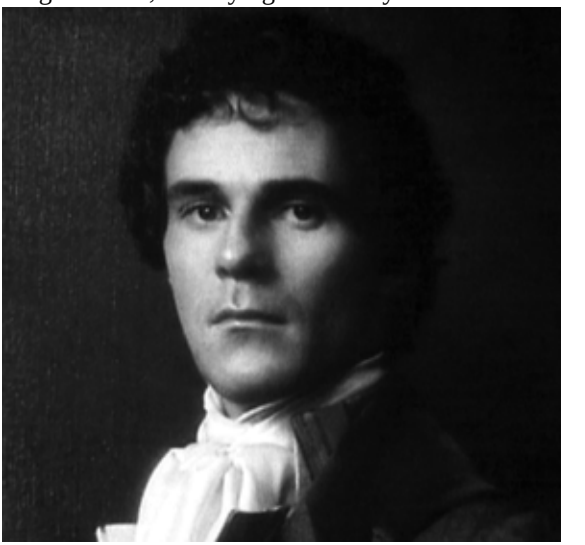

Figure 5. Portrait of Mr Darcy (David Rintoul). *Pride & Prejudice* (BBC, 1979).

forget that this system requires many menials. We are not to romanticize Pemberley or Mr Darcy. Even his portrait, which is supposed to show "such a smile over the face, as she remembered to have sometimes seen, when he looked at her" (250), is stern (figure 5). Darcy looks directly at the viewer with unsmiling eyes. He almost recedes into the blank, dark background, his snowy white cravat the most prominent feature in the portrait.

Sociologist John Urry observes that "We do not literally 'see' things. Particularly as tourists we see objects constituted as signs."[19] Coke certainly uses the armour, footman, crenellations, portrait, and yews as signs to situate Darcy within an outdated, oligarchic, and conservative political system, and while we are to admire Darcy, according to Austen, the screenwriter and director of this production make that difficult.[20] As a government-funded entity, the BBC in 1979 had a mission to disseminate culture through television, but it also had the privilege of criticizing the culture presented in classic novels.[21]

19 Urry, 117.

20 Roger Sales, in contrast, sees this production as espousing conservative meanings through its loving display of heritage products (furniture, candles, period food). Sales, *Jane Austen and Representations of Regency England* (London: Routledge, 1994), chap. 1.

21 Robert Giddings and Keith Selby make a similar point about Fay Weldon's screenplay: Darcy's character "had been subtly rewritten by Weldon to the extent that one curiously felt towards the end of the dramatisation that Elizabeth really deserved better." Giddings and Selby, *The Classic Serial on Television and Radio* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 66.

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Figure 6. Elizabeth (Jennifer Ehle) in the Peak District. *Pride & Prejudice* (BBC, 1995).

In contrast, the 1995 serial, jointly financed by a capitalist American television network (A&E) and a now-independent, post-Thatcher BBC, shelves political critique and romanticizes Darcy and Pemberley. The tourism sequence opens with Elizabeth perched above a valley, having scrambled up a wind-carved rock in the Peak District, like a modern tourist, to revel in the beauties of the natural world (figure 6). Elizabeth is visually positioned as a romantic.

So is the house that represents Pemberley. Unlike its predecessor, Lyme Park is a good match for Austen's description of Pemberley (figure 7), and director Simon Langton emphasizes the same things that Austen emphasizes: the natural over the historic. Instead of focusing mainly on the house and its contents, Langton provides a memorable and romantic long shot of the house as viewed across the lake, as if it were part of an organic landscape. Many shots feature the elegant interior of Pemberley (filmed at Sudbury Hall), but we also see Elizabeth ignore these objects; looking out a window (figure 8), she is anxious to form a "personal, semi-spiritual relationship with the object of the gaze," namely, Darcy's lawn, ponds, and garden, not his furniture or marble staircases.[22]

22 Urry, 43.

Figure 7. Pemberley (Lyme Park). ©Linda Troost.

Figure 8. Elizabeth's view out a window in Pemberley. *Pride & Prejudice* (BBC, 1995).

The shot echoes a scene from the novel:

> Elizabeth, after slightly surveying it [the room], went to a window to enjoy its prospect. The hill, crowned with wood, from which they had descended, receiving increased abruptness from the distance, was a beautiful object. Every disposition of the ground was good; and she looked on the whole scene, the river, the trees scattered on its banks, and the winding of the valley, as far as she could trace it, with delight. As they passed into other rooms, these objects were taking different positions; but from every window there were beauties to be seen. (246)

Elizabeth looks not at the rooms but at the views from the rooms. Austen gives a clearer description of the grounds around Pemberley than she does its interior, suggesting that the landscape is a more significant marker of Darcy's character than his possessions. This emphasis on the delightful views from the windows echoes William Gilpin's theory that "there appears a very visible connection between an *improved* taste for pleasure, and a taste for virtue."[23] Elizabeth sees the Pemberley landscape and comes to realize that she has misjudged Darcy. She thought him a man without virtue (one who could mistreat Wickham) or taste (one who lacks manners). After the touristic experience of communing with his home, she now understands that he is a man of taste. When, at the end of the novel, Jane asks her sister when she fell in love with Mr Darcy, Elizabeth replies, "I believe I must date it from my first seeing his beautiful grounds at Pemberley" (373). Jane does not think her sister is serious, but this answer holds more truth than she realizes. As Pierre Bourdieu observes, "Taste is a matchmaker."[24]

But this gazing on the landscape is aggressive, too. James Buzard notes that "the picturesque manner of viewing has been, from its inception, a practice culturally coded 'male' ... male gaze and female landscape."[25] Douglas Murray describes Elizabeth Bennet as "a heroine of proud and independent gaze," which signifies her "independence of mind amid powerful forces of conformity."[26] Her gaze on

23 [William Gilpin], *A Dialogue upon the Gardens of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Cobham, at Stow in Buckinghamshire*, The Augustan Reprint Society no. 176, intro. John Dixon Hunt (1748; reprint, Los Angeles: Williams Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1976), 49, cited in Stephen Clarke, "A Fine House Richly Furnished: Pemberley and the Visiting of Country Houses," *Persuasions* 22 (2000): 214.

24 Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 243.

25 Buzard, 16.

26 Douglas Murray, "Gazing and Avoiding the Gaze," in *Jane Austen's Business*, ed. Juliet McMaster and Bruce Stovel (New York: St Martin's Press, 1996), 45.

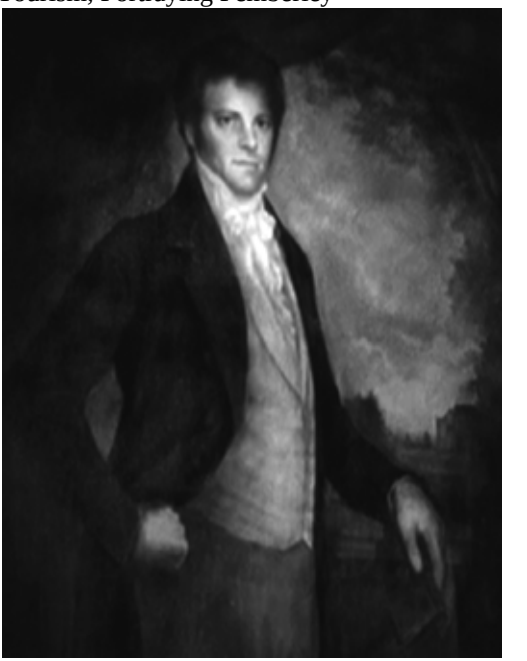

Figure 9. Portrait of Mr Darcy (Colin Firth). *Pride & Prejudice* (BBC, 1995).

the landscape interprets it, imposing meaning on it as well as on Darcy, in the same way that the director's gaze shapes what the audience is to see and interpret. As the 1979 production allies Darcy with an outmoded class system, the 1995 production allies Darcy strongly with nature, a positive attribute in our modern culture (and in Austen's novel too, as long as nature has been dressed to advantage by the likes of Capability Brown). The Darcy that Elizabeth unexpectedly meets at Pemberley is not the Darcy she knew in volume 1 or 2. This man's character has improved with some manners—in short, nature improved by art. When she finally turns her gaze on his portrait in the gallery, Elizabeth understands that she has misjudged Darcy by viewing him out of his context. The 1995 serial even makes Darcy's portrait comparatively warm and approachable (figure 9): he stands outside Pemberley in the landscape, set against a pool of light and framed by wispy, Gainsborough-like branches; he smiles at the viewer and strikes a casual pose. It is a new, romantic view of Darcy for Elizabeth.

The viewer of the film, however, has already seen the new Darcy. As Elizabeth walks from room to room, the director intercuts shots of Darcy riding towards the house, dismounting, and walking to a pond. As Elizabeth walks into the gallery, Darcy sits on the bank, his horse (a

Figure 10. Darcy preparing for a swim at Pemberley. *Pride & Prejudice* (BBC, 1995).

classic symbol of passion) visible in the distance, and pulls off his jacket, cravat, and waistcoat (figure 10). Elizabeth gazes at his romantic portrait as Darcy dives into a lake in an attempt to cool his ardour. At this moment, he exposes his vulnerability to the viewer as he connects himself—quite literally—with archetypal life-affirming, refreshing water, not with dry land, hard stone, and fine furniture. His portrait shows something similar to Elizabeth. When she meets Darcy face to face in the next scene, she finds him less formal and more natural in his behaviour (he is partly clad and soaking wet).[27] Like the man she gazed at in the portrait, Darcy is closer to nature than to bricks and mortar, and the realization that he is more like her than she realized unnerves her.[28] This scene succeeds so spectacularly because it gives female viewers the power to gaze into the landscape of Darcy's soul.[29]

27 Davies originally wanted to enhance the scene's eroticism by having Darcy dive naked into the pond. William Leith, "True Romance," *Observer* (9 April 2000), http://film.guardian.co.uk/Feature_Story/interview/0,,157885,00.html (accessed 8 June 2006).

28 Sue Parrill points out that the pond Darcy jumps into has a "natural, untouched appearance, and the grass on the banks is long and unkempt." Parrill, "What Meets the Eye: Landscape in the Films *Pride and Prejudice* and *Sense and Sensibility*," *Persuasions* 21 (1999): 41.

29 The 2005 film alters Darcy's and Elizabeth's unexpected meeting at Pemberley. While wandering through the house alone, Elizabeth hears piano music. As she eavesdrops on the player, Darcy suddenly enters the room, greets his sister (the musician), and turns to see Elizabeth standing by a door, watching them. The scene makes Elizabeth the vulnerable one as it reveals her hopeless longing to be part of this family and heightens her embarrassment at having been caught spying.

Figure 11. Elizabeth (Keira Knightley) at Pemberley. ©Universal Pictures, photo by Alex Bailey, reproduced by permission.

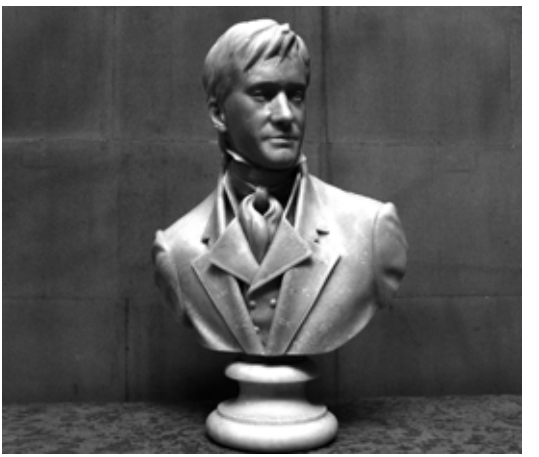

Figure 12. Resin bust of Mr Darcy (Matthew Macfadyen), a film prop that remains at Chatsworth. ©Chatsworth House Trust, reproduced by permission.

The 2005 film *Pride & Prejudice* returns the focus to Elizabeth. The Pemberley visit is important, not because it brings Elizabeth and the viewers a deeper knowledge of Darcy's character, but rather because it brings Elizabeth to greater self-awareness. The natural landscape—Austen's metaphor for Darcy—is minimized, and even the interiors receive little attention. Instead, director Wright foregrounds Pemberley's collection of artwork. Like a Regency tourist, Elizabeth focuses on art in the house tour, but this art does not signify power or taste: it is an index of her growing sexual awareness.

In place of the various stages of the house tour, the film shows a visit to Pemberley's gallery (filmed in Chatsworth's Sculpture Gallery). First, Elizabeth carefully contemplates a marble bust of a veiled lady,

a metaphor for herself.[30] Then, as she moves thoughtfully among the sculptures—largely life-sized marble nudes (figure 11)—we sense the veil slipping from her as she contemplates the naked figures. This prepares her for the discovery of her love—both physical and spiritual—for Darcy when she finally encounters the bust of him in the gallery.

Of the three "portraits" of Darcy, this representation shows the most vulnerable and approachable Darcy, with its tousled hair and quiet smile (figure 12). Though primly dressed, it stands in a gallery full of nudes, mirroring Darcy's social inhibitions and restraint. Elizabeth gazes fondly at the bust, perhaps imagining it without clothing, finally accepting the emotions that she, too, has been keeping buttoned up since first meeting him. The novel and the 1979 production use this touristic moment to reveal Darcy's true character to Elizabeth, and the 1995 production uses the Pemberley sequence to foreground Darcy's inner life. The 2005 film uses the visit to Pemberley to make Elizabeth confront her own sexuality.

The latter two adaptations, however, eliminate an aspect of Darcy's character and house that Austen emphasizes. For the author, the key to Darcy's real character is not his wealth but his role as landlord and master. Pemberley is an estate for the people who live and work there; it is not merely a "showplace" designed to overwhelm visitors and put them in their places. In the novel, we see noblesse oblige at work. Mrs Reynolds praises Darcy extravagantly, relating how well he manages his estate, and his generosity to Georgiana is clearly demonstrated. Austen wants to show Darcy as a modern British Worthy who is kind to his family and servants, as well as a wise husbandman of his land: "As a brother, a landlord, a master, [Elizabeth] considered how many people's happiness were in [Darcy's] guardianship!" (250). Austen strongly allies Darcy not with the building, but with the people and the landscape of the estate. "Pemberley," Alistair Duckworth observes, "is a natural analogue of his social and moral character."[31]

Like her contemporary John Byng, Austen understands that the purpose of an estate is to bring economic prosperity to all people in the area, a significant burden that might make a young man such as Darcy prematurely grave and proud. An obligation to an estate is not a burden that Darcy's twenty-three-year-old friend Bingley carries, but it is

30 This bust of a veiled Vestal Virgin, part of Chatsworth's collection, was carved in 1847 by Raffaele Monti, a little late for a film set in 1797.

31 Alistair M. Duckworth, *The Improvement of the Estate: A Study of Jane Austen's Novels* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971), 123.

one that Elizabeth's selfish father should have carried. Because their father did little to minister to his own property, the five daughters are at a financial disadvantage on the marriage market. A well-husbanded estate such as Pemberley means prosperity for the entire family—as well as for its staff, tenant farmers, and the larger community. None of the adaptations emphasizes this side of Darcy.[32] Unlike Austen, we in the modern era do not care about the economics of a great house and its household, nor do the directors try to draw attention to such topics. We would rather see the man behind the house.

Many people would also like to see the house. The 1995 television serial of *Pride and Prejudice* made a star of Lyme Park, the National Trust property in Cheshire that served as the exterior of Mr Darcy's house. In 1996, the spring after the serial aired on British television, the property was mobbed with thousands of visitors anxious to photograph the steps on which Darcy stood, to see the pond into which Darcy dived. The National Trust even printed a booklet that guided visitors to sites on the estate that appeared in the film. And the Darcy effect did not disappear. As late as June 2003, that season's visitors book reveals at least twenty references to "Mr Darcy," and the property's website still includes in its list of attractions: "Famous scene in 'Pride & Prejudice' (1995) where Darcy emerges from a lake was filmed here."[33] Chatsworth and Wilton House, already major tourist attractions, nevertheless mention their connection with the 2005 film on their home pages. An association with an Austen film is apparently excellent for business.

A stately home has much to gain from such visitors. What does a visitor gain from a touristic visit to, of all places, a filming location for another touristic visit? Just as medieval pilgrims connected with the ineffable by visiting shrines, readers do the same by visiting literary shrines. One way of recollecting the emotions we feel when we read an Austen novel or watch a much-loved film is through literary tourism, which, like regular tourism, has a history. In the early seventeenth century, for example, John Suckling visited a spot on the Trent specifically mentioned in *1 Henry IV*.[34] Two centuries later, Alfred Tennyson wanted

32 The class-conscious 1979 adaptation manages to work some of Elizabeth's speech about Darcy's portrait into a voice-over; the other two films are silent on the topic.

33 *The National Trust: Lyme Park*, http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/main/w-vh/w-visits/w-findaplace/w-lymepark/ (accessed 8 June 2006).

34 "We are at length arriv'd at that River, about the uneven running of which, my Friend Mr *William Shakespear* makes *Henry Hotspur* quarrel so highly with his fellow Rebels; and for his Sake I have been something curious to consider the Scantlet of Ground that angry Monsieur wou'd have had in, but can not find it cou'd deserve his Choler, nor any of the other Side

to see the Cobb in Lyme Regis, not because it was a major sight but because it was the location of a key scene in Austen's *Persuasion*.[35] Likewise, we want to see the place where Elizabeth and Darcy met again—or at least where Ehle and Firth acted the scene—and connect with the work through the place. We look at Lyme Park but, like Helen Fielding's fictional Bridget Jones, think for a brief moment, "Fawaw, that Mr Darcy."[36] We visit Chatsworth to see its beauties but also to look for the resin bust of Matthew Macfadyen. As Ian Ousby notes, "To the common reader, and to those who get their reading from television serials, a large part of literature's appeal is its connection with place—real places than can be visited by car over a sunny Bank Holiday."[37] The modern tourists who visit the locations of Austen films differ little from the literary pilgrims who swarmed the Lake District in the nineteenth century, anxious to see the places mentioned in Wordsworth's poems, or who now walk the Doone Trail in Exmoor, hoping to connect to Richard Blackmore's novel.[38] We want to make tangible the abstract, intellectual experience of reading or film-viewing.

David Herbert observes that "there is a strong supposition that real and imagined worlds fuse in the minds" of those who visit literary shrines such as Chawton or Haworth.[39] In one sense, he is right. A person "connects" with a writer or a book by walking on the floor where the author walked or seeing the views that the author saw when alive. Herbert's observation may hold true for many visitors to filmic shrines, but it does not cover the experiences of everyone. Some tourists look for the larger context. By walking around a location featured in film, by figuring out how the images were edited, literary tourists earn—for a few moments, at least—a kind of ownership. These tourists are often analytic critics as well as worshipping pilgrims. The visit satisfies both intellect and aesthetics, just as a visit to Cobham's temples at Stowe did in the eighteenth century. A pilgrimage to a film location may seem an inauthentic experience for some readers of Austen, but for the thousands who know *Pride and Prejudice* only as a television serial or film,

ours, did not the King think it did." Cited in *The Shakespeare Allusion Book*, ed. John Munro, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), 1:408. Thanks to Sayre Greenfield for bringing this to my attention.

35 Ousby, 21.

36 Helen Fielding, *Bridget Jones's Diary* (New York: Penguin, 1996), 215.

37 Ousby, 22.

38 Ousby, 187.

39 David Herbert, "Literary Places, Tourism and the Heritage Experience," *Annals of Tourism Research* 28 (2001): 327.

visiting Lyme Park or Chatsworth to see Pemberley is completely authentic and compelling. These pilgrims seek the original, wanting more than the shadow, the simulation they saw digitized on the screen. Perhaps the real and imagined fuse in some minds, but few visitors to Lyme Park really expect to find Mr Darcy walking around in his shirt-sleeves. Part of the fun of a visit to a film location in this postmodern era lies in an awareness of its dual existence as both reality and fiction.[40] Even Bridget Jones is aware of this mysterious quality in human performers: "Ugh ... I stumbled upon a photograph in the *Standard* of Darcy and Elizabeth, hideous, dressed as modern-day luvvies, draped all over each other in a meadow ... Feel disoriented and worried, for surely Mr Darcy would never do anything so vain and frivolous as to be an actor, and yet Mr Darcy *is* an actor. Hmmm. All v. confusing."[41]

Jean Baudrillard observes that we need a "visible past, a visible continuum ... to reassure us as to our ends since ultimately we have never believed in them."[42] The work of the National Trust, English Heritage, and private owners of estates may not offer reassurance as to our ends, but they have done much to provide a visible past, albeit one with which we have "an ambivalent relationship."[43] We need markers to guide and ground us as we explore the boundary between reality and fiction, past and present. Confronting the visible past either through a touristic experience (visiting a historic house) or a filmic one (watching costume drama) allows us to understand both past and present. Elizabeth Bennet did not have to deal seriously with a past when she visited Pemberley; she needed only to focus on the visible present of Darcy's life. Modern readers or screenwriters, on the other hand, have no choice. When dealing with Austen, they must confront the past and, somehow, come to terms with it. Weldon's *Pride and Prejudice* strongly plays up a socialist ambivalence about Britain's past with its subtle criticism of aristocratic culture even while promoting it, not unexpected for the England of 1979. In contrast, the 1995 and 2005 productions expect that viewers will accept the past rather than challenge it.[44] Tony Blair's New-Labour England is a different place,

40 In a similar vein, Jean Baudrillard discusses the "esthetic fascination" with the "subliminal perception ... of deception, montage, scenaria." *Simulations*, trans. Paul Foss, Paul Patton, and Philip Beitchman (New York: Semiotext[e], 1983), 150.

41 Fielding, 216.

42 Baudrillard, 19–20.

43 Tinniswood, 209.

44 This shift in perspective may explain why Lyme Park, not Renishaw Hall, has become a magnet for Austen fans, who seek the People's Darcy. Also, as a National Trust Property

one in which power, class, and the past are no longer major threats to modern politics. It is now safe to regard them with nostalgia.

This shift is clear in film adaptations of classic novels, but one also sees it in the tourist business. Garden historian Charles Quest-Ritson observes that "The National Trust and its expansion had one effect which was not confined to its gardens: it opened the eyes of visitors to things they had never seen before—it led to the popularization of aristocratic culture."[45] Once popularized, both through improved access to places and through film, high culture is no longer the romantic Other. In recent years, the National Trust and owners of heritage properties have tried to make their attractions even more accessible by highlighting "downstairs" and "everyday" life in their exhibits and showing some of the less savoury elements of history, as period film now does. Perhaps we are returning to Austen's type of tourism, albeit with a difference. Through recent costume drama as well as through heritage tourism, we study the dynamics of the past, no longer looking only at the upper classes but at the middling and working classes too. The past is no longer picturesque and romantic; it now has grit and dirt, and is more democratic. Although the Pemberley sequence does not show the currently fashionable gritty side of the past, many other scenes in Wright's social realist 2005 *Pride & Prejudice* certainly do. Geese run wild around a dingy Longbourne (emblematic of a family on the way down), flitches of bacon hang in the open air in Meryton, and there is much walking on muddy paths in wrinkled clothing with mussed hair. The film's overall look contrasts that of the two highly polished serials; however, it is simply another visual fiction of the past, one on display at heritage sights throughout Britain.[46] We now can visit a stately home or watch a costume drama and experience the past without feeling compelled to validate it and, perhaps, even being secretly grateful that we do not live in that world.

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since 1946, Lyme Park has been open to visitors between Easter and late October for decades; Renishaw Hall, in contrast, is a privately owned house, unlisted in the standard guidebook either before or after the series aired, and absent from both the 1977 and the 1991 edition of *Historic Houses, Castles, and Gardens Open to the Public.*

45 Charles Quest-Ritson, *The English Garden: A Social History* (London: Viking; Boston: Godine, 2003), 246.

46 Channel 4 re-enactment programs such as *Pioneer House*, *1940s House*, and *Regency House Party* are also part of this trend to emphasize the grimmer side of social history.

"Une fée moderne": An Unpublished Fairy Tale by la Comtesse de Murat

Ellen Welch, editor

Nous devions descendre chez Madame Rocher aujourd'hui. La pluie nous en a empêchées, mais il y a eu des ressources contre le mauvais temps. La charmante Bouliche, Madame Boulay, Madame de Champhlé, la Poulette, [et] deux messieurs de Tours sont venus icy; la conversation s'est montée sur un ton gaillard, nous avons fait des contes à dormir debout.[1]

The journal of the prolific author Henriette-Julie de Castelnau, comtesse de Murat (from which this anecdote comes) well illustrates the prominent role that fairy tales played in educated French society at the turn of the eighteenth century. Despite their status as "children's literature" today, in Murat's time *contes de fées* represented a new literary genre, a site of literary experimentation, and a form for exploring such hefty subject matter as monarchal politics and sexual norms. Some of the period's most innovative writers made their mark in the fairy tale genre. Murat herself may be counted among the most inventive, both in her choice of themes and in her formal originality. More than any other author, Murat championed the *conte de fées* as novel and sophisticated, famously christening her literary peers "les fées modernes."

The first literary fairy tale—Marie-Catherine le Jumel de Barneville, comtesse d'Aulnoy's "L'Isle de la félicité"—was published in 1690, as an embedded narrative in the novel *L'Histoire d'Hypolite, comte de Duglas*.[2]

1 Henriette-Julie de Castelnau, comtesse de Murat, journal entry, in Ouvrages de Mme de Murat, bound manuscript 3471, p. 116, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (Paris).

2 Marie-Catherine le Jumel de Barneville, comtesse d'Aulnoy, *L'Histoire d'Hypolite, comte de Duglas* (Paris: Louis Sevestre, 1690). Other novels in this period included fairy tales as

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In the following decades, fairy tales were tremendously popular with writers and readers alike. Between 1697 and 1698, at least six collections of so-named "contes des fées" (the first use of the term "fairy tale") appeared in print.[3] During these highly productive years, many of the most recognizable and enduring formal hallmarks of the fairy tale genre emerged, including the classic opening phrase, "Il était une fois" ("Once upon a time").[4] By the end of the seventeenth century, the literary fairy tale was a distinct and recognizable literary form.

Although many of the genre's essential features may seem "timeless," the form and style of the first fairy tales were deeply rooted in the literary culture of the period. Most notably, these early *contes de fées* reflected the influence of the period's major academic literary dispute, the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns. In 1688, Charles Perrault launched the debate when he delivered his treatise, the *Parallèle des anciens et des modernes*, at the Académie française. Perhaps the strongest voice for the Moderns' point of view, Perrault argued that contemporary arts, letters, and sciences were nearly always superior to classical learning. Following Perrault's lead, the Moderns embraced not only the French vernacular but also a range of progressive trends in literary production such as new genres (especially fictional ones) and authorship by non-traditionally schooled writers, including many women. For modern partisans, the best literature emerged not from solitary work in libraries stuffed with Homer and Virgil, but rather from worldly authors fully engaged in contemporary society. The fairy tale was viewed as a modern genre, and the predominance of women among the ranks of published fairy tale authors was indicative of the larger role of female writers in modern literary life as a whole.

In their choice of literary models as well as in their broader literary preferences, fairy tale authors consistently valorized fresh,

intercalated narratives. See, for example, "Le Prince Rosier" and "Riquet à la houpe" in Catherine Bernard, *Inès de Cordue, nouvelle espagnole* (Paris: Jouvenel, 1696).

3 These collections include Charlotte-Rose Caumont de la Force, *Les Contes des contes* (Paris: Simon Benard, 1697); D'Aulnoy, *Les Contes des fées* (Paris, 1697–98) and *Contes nouveaux ou les fées à la mode* (Paris: Girard, 1698); Louis Chevalier de Mailly, *Les Illustres fées, contes galans* (Paris: Brunet, 1698); and Murat, *Contes de fées, dédiez à SAS Madame la princesse douairière de Conty, par Mad. la comtesse de M**** (Paris: C. Barbin, 1698) [contains "Le Parfait amour," "Anguillette," and "Jeune et belle"]; *Les Nouveaux contes de fées par Madame M*** (Paris: Claude Barbin, 1698) [contains "Le Palais de la vengeance," "Le Prince des feuilles," and "L'Heureuse peine"]; and *Histoires sublimes et allégoriques, par Mme la Ctesse D***, dédiées aux fées modernes* (Paris: J. et P. Delaulne, 1699) [contains "Le Roi porc," "L'Île de la magnificence," "Le Sauvage," and "Le Turbot"].

4 The "Once upon a time" opening appeared in several variations. Perrault favoured "Il était une fois." Many *conteuses*, including Murat, preferred "Il y avait une fois" or "Il y eut autrefois."

contemporary work. They often embraced the modern practice of praising their literary peers. Through dedications, occasional poetry, and other paratextual devices, authors lauded—and advertised—fellow fairy tale writers in their published volumes.[5] The writers' admiration of one another's work extended beyond prefaces and dedications: fairy tale authors paid homage to their peers' texts through allusions and citations within their own tales.

The modern quality of early fairy tales extended beyond matters of literary culture. The content of the tales was also grounded in contemporary social and political concerns. In addition to fairy godmothers and ogres, the *contes* featured aristocratic characters ruling over fictional kingdoms and dwelling in palaces as lavish as Versailles itself. Depicting a world both recognizable to readers and at an enchanted remove from real life, the tales permitted authors to propose marvellous twists on all kinds of social norms—monarchal sovereignty, gender relations, and family structures—without risk of censorship. The exuberant consumer culture of the late seventeenth century also left its mark on the *contes*. Incorporating lavish descriptions of décor, clothes, and jewellery, fairy tales participated in the period's love affair with fashion and all nature of material novelty. The genre's relationship with the culture of consumption was sometimes underlined by the literal juxtaposition of fairy tales and advertising in the pages of the *Mercure Galant*, the gazette of news, letters, gossip, and fiction that circulated in elite society.[6] Produced and consumed by elite society, this new breed of literary *contes* was a far cry from its "simple" folkloric antecedents, but rather constituted a thoroughly modern genre that reflected the social and aesthetic values of its age.[7]

Fairy tale authors often appeared conscious of their role in forging a new literary genre. Many attempted to provide histories and theories of

5 For example, Marie-Jeanne Lhéritier lavishly praised Murat in the dedication to "L'Adroite princesse, ou les amours de Finette." Lhéritier, *Oeuvres meslées* (Paris: Guignard, 1696).

6 Perrault's "La Belle au bois dormant" ("Sleeping Beauty") (1696) was perhaps the most famous tale to be published first in the *Mercure Galant*.

7 For more on the fairy tale genre, see Jacques Barchilon, *Le Conte merveilleux français: de 1690 à 1790, cent ans de féerie et de poésie ignorées de l'histoire littéraire* (Paris: H. Champion, 1975); *Féeries: revue annuelle* 1, special issue "Le Recueil" (2003); Patricia Hannon, *Fabulous Identities: Women's Fairy Tales in Seventeenth-Century France* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998); Mme d'Aulnoy, *Contes des fées suivis des contes nouveaux ou les fées à la mode,* ed. Nadine Jasmin, Bibliothèque des Génies et des Fées 1 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2004); Mlle Lhéritier, Mlle Bernard, Mlle de La Force, Mme Durand, Mme d'Aunueil, *Contes*, ed. Raymonde Robert, Bibliothèque des Génies et des Fées 2 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2005); and Lewis Carl Seifert, *Fairy Tales, Sexuality, and Gender in France, 1690–1715: Nostalgic Utopias* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

the *conte de fées* in the prefaces to their published volumes. In these paratexts, authors considered the essential nature of fairy tales, their imagined readership, and the tales' pedagogical or affective purpose. Perrault provided perhaps the most enduring portrait of the genre in his two volumes of *contes*. Highlighting his tales' "simple and naïve" literary style, Perrault insisted upon the genre's association with childhood. For example, in the preface to the 1695 edition of "Peau d'âne," Perrault cited his niece (fellow fairy tale author) Marie-Jeanne Lhériter's commentary on the tale: "Le Conte de peau d'âne est ici raconté / Avec tant de naïveté, / Qu'il ne m'a pas moins divertie, / Que quand auprès du feu ma nourice ou ma mie / Tenaient en le faisant mon esprit enchanté."[8] The first edition of *Histoires, ou Contes du temps passé* (1697), Perrault's second collection, featured an engraving of Mother Goose herself and a preface in which the collection's "author" purported to be "a child," Perrault's son Pierre Darmancourt. Perhaps Perrault's grown-up public enjoyed the tales as mediated through a memory—real or imagined—of happily listening to marvellous stories while sitting on a maternal knee. Certainly, for Perrault, a connection with oral storytelling and childhood innocence was an important feature of the literary fairy tale genre and a major component in its ability to provide pleasure.

Yet, not all fairy tale authors encouraged Perrault's depiction of the genre as "simple and naïve." Women writers of fairy tales in particular treated very grown-up, worldly subject matter and did not avoid sophisticated language and literary allusions. Murat perhaps went further than any other author in differing with Perrault's nostalgic view of the genre. Dedicating her second volume of fairy tales, *Histoires sublimes et allegoriques*, to "les fées modernes," Murat sharply distinguished the new *contes* from "les anciennes fées," whose "occupations étoient basses et pueriles, ne s'amusant qu'aux Servantes et aux Nourrices."[9] Instead, the tasks of Murat's "modern fairies" reflected the preoccupations of elite society. Rather than concerning themselves with hags and black cats, Murat declared, these fairies' projects included "de donner de l'esprit à ceux et celles qui n'en ont point, de la beauté aux laides, de l'éloquence aux ignorans, des richesses aux pauvres, et de l'éclat aux

8 Perrault, *Contes de Perrault, fac-similé de l'édition originale de 1695–7. Griselidis, nouvelle; Peau d'âne, conte; Les souhaits ridicules, conte; Histoires ou contes du temps passé*, ed. Jacques Barchilon (Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1980), n.p.

9 Murat, *Histoires sublimes et allégoriques* (Paris: Delaulne, 1699), i–ii.

choses les plus obscures."[10] The work of the fairy tale was to erase the world's imperfections, to transform real life into "une merveille."

This dedication also offers a succinct summary of the aesthetic qualities and social values common to the works of the *conteuses*. Rather than framing their tales with a "moral" point, these writers suggested their values through depictions of ideal worlds. Here, eloquence and wit were prized as highly as virtue. Lovers were judged by *galanterie* as well as fidelity. Women as well as men could rule over magnificent kingdoms, and good sovereigns provided their subjects with peace and prosperity.[11]

Murat's own corpus of fairy tales broadly reflects the essence of the genre as practised by the *conteuses*. Yet Murat's works are distinguishable from those of her peers in several respects. Murat imbued her tales with a sharply critical spirit, and often a satirical edge. This quality is perhaps most evident in three recurring themes in Murat's work: a pessimistic view of romantic love, frequent references to *mondaine* social life, and, most strikingly, attempts to introduce notions of rationalism into the fantastic genre.

Like many of her peers, Murat devoted a number of tales to the exploration of love and sentimentality. To a greater degree than any other author, however, Murat presents her readers with a dysphoric view of romance. For example, "Jeune et belle" tells the story of a fairy whose husband fell out of love with her as she aged and lost her beauty. Following her husband's death, the fairy retreats to a secluded chateau hoping to save her young daughter from experiencing the disappointments of love. In "Heureuse peine," the princess Aimée is courted by the Prince de l'Île Galante with love poems, gifts and—as his name suggests—perfect gallantry. The story seems to promise a very happy ending, but at the conclusion the narrator refrains from describing the couple's wedding in too much detail because "une noce est presque toujours une triste fête."[12] In such moments, Murat's tales not only offer a more cynical view of love and marriage than is typical of the fairy tale genre, but also subvert the formal conventions of the *conte*. Readers cannot expect that Murat's fairies will all live "happily ever after."

10 Murat, *Histoires sublimes*, iii.

11 Sophie Raynard draws parallels between many of these characteristics of the *conteuses*' oeuvre and the mid-seventeenth-century culture of "préciosité." See Raynard, *La Seconde préciosité: Floraison des conteuses de 1690 à 1756* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 2002).

12 Murat, "Heureuse peine," *Les Nouveaux contes* (Paris: Ricœur, 1710), 104.

While romance often leads to sadness and disappointment in Murat's tales, depictions of social gatherings significantly lighten the tone of a number of her works. Murat's *Les Lutins du château de Kernosy* (1710), for example, presents three fairy tales embedded within the story of a house party in Brittany. Over the course of several nights, the guests engage in spirited conversation, play tricks on each other, flirt, and play games, such as one in which players draw cards ordering them to sing a song, tell a story, or criticize someone else's tale. This frame narrative reminds readers that fairy tales were a social as well as literary phenomenon. The world represented in *Les Lutins* strongly resembles Murat's journal accounts of her own *soirées*. Murat's evident passion for sociability reveals itself even in her most fantastic fairy tales. In "Le Roi Porc," for example, the spell that causes a young prince to be born in the form of a pig is cast by a fairy "who apparently had drunk too much" at a party that evening. Such details are surprising and humorous in their suggestion that fairies overindulge, make jokes, gossip, and generally live in the same social world as readers.

Much of Murat's writing demonstrates an impulse to blur the boundary between fairyland and "the real world." Her *féerique* works include expressions of admiration for philosophy and rational thought; some of her characters like to read Descartes. In later works, this inclination goes so far as to satirize fantastic literature and its readers: Murat noted in the presentation of one piece of short fiction in her journal, "Le Silphe amoureux," that she was inspired by Abbé Montfaucon de Villars's *Le Comte de Gabalis, ou Entretiens sur les sciences secrètes* (1670).[13] A best-seller in the decades following its publication, *Le Comte de Gabalis* presents a dialogue between the narrator and Count Gabalis, an expert in "cabalistic" sciences, who claims to have discovered "elemental spirits," invisible inhabitants of the four elements who are capable of influencing human affairs. Depicting Count Gabalis as something of a mad scientist, the text satirizes superstitions and the occult. In Murat's tale, two young women receive a series of mysterious gifts, including a set of alchemical elixirs. Although the women are convinced for a time that the gifts come from a "sylphe" (Gabalis's term for the elemental spirits of the air), they eventually discover a rational explanation: the surprises were engineered by a young man they had

13 For a discussion of *Le Comte de Gabalis*'s reception in France, see Edward D. Seeber, "Sylphes and Other Elemental Beings in French Literature since *Le Comte de Gabalis* (1670)," *PMLA* 59, no. 1 (1944): 71–83.

recently met in the "espace philosophe" of the Tuileries.[14] Although it contains many of the elements of a fairy tale, this story is ultimately a "realistic" one, gently mocking the characters who believed in the existence of invisible spirits. Through such innovations Murat pointed the way towards developments in the fairy tale genre later in the eighteenth century, when writers such as Crébillon and Diderot would produce satirical and philosophical works that incorporated many aspects of the fairy tale form.[15]

What is most surprising and original in many of Murat's tales is the juxtaposition of sentimentality and cynicism, *enchantement* and philosophical ideas, as well as unique combinations of such diverse literary and cultural threads.[16] Murat's innovative spirit, however, was not without its dangers. One particularly cutting-edge work of fiction earned Murat a reputation in society that was ultimately disastrous. Her first published work, *Mémoires de Madame la comtesse de **** (1697), belonged to a new genre of fictional autobiographies that satisfied readers' appetites for scandal.[17] Recounted in the first person, Murat's *Mémoires* tells the story of a young woman who escapes an unhappy marriage with the help of a series of male admirers. The novel, thematizing the problem of women's education in the modern world, criticized the fact that prose fiction provided young girls with their only source of information about life in society. Many of the heroine's

14 A similar plot line is developed in *Les Lutins du château de Kernosy*.

15 For a discussion of the later eighteenth-century fairy tale, see Raymonde Robert, *Le Conte de fées littéraires en France de la fin du XVIIe à la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, rev. ed. (1982; Paris: Champion, 2002); and Jean-Paul Sermain, *Le Conte de fées du classicisme aux Lumières*, Collection Esprit des Lettres (Paris: Desjonquères, 2005). A team of scholars based at the Université de Grenoble and the Université de Lyon have begun an extensive research project on the eighteenth-century fairy tale. See Régine Jomand-Baudry and Jean-François Perrin, eds., *Le Conte merveilleux au XVIIIe siècle: une poétique expérimentale* (Paris: Kimé, 2002), as well as the new journal *Féeries: revue annuelle*, published by the Université de Grenoble.

16 In the eighteenth century, the *conteuses*, and those of Murat in particular, enjoyed a favourable reception. The 1786 *Cabinet des fées* praises Murat: "En général les pensées de madame de Murat ont de l'esprit et de la facilité […]. On y voit […] le merveilleux racheté par la pureté du goût, par la sagesse des idées, par l'honnêteté des tableaux, par une certaine philosophie de moeurs qui caracterise le siècle où ils ont été écrits. Il y a deux cens ans tout cela n'existoit pas en France; il regnoit au contraire une crédulité sotte, une barbarie de mœurs, une grossiéreté d'esprit qu'on a de la peine à concevoir aujourd'hui […]. Les Contes de madame de Murat, de mademoiselle de la Force, de mesdames d'Aulnoy, d'Auneuil, sont en quelque façon les premiers qui marquent la révolution." *Le Cabinet des fées, ou Collection choisie des contes de fées et autres contes merveilleux, ornés de figures*, vol. 37 (Amsterdam, 1786), 214–15.

17 The genre is also sometimes referred to as "pseudo-mémoires." For a discussion of the genre, its reception, and its relationship to female authorship in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Joan DeJean, *Tender Geographies: Women and the Origins of the Novel in France* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 140–48.

problems in life stemmed, the novel argued, from her trouble in distinguishing romance from reality. Many seventeenth-century readers interpreted this fictional work as the autobiography of Murat herself. Perhaps encouraged by certain similarities between the events of the *Mémoires* and Murat's life experiences—most notably a troubled marriage—the reading public attributed all of the heroine's scandalous actions to the novel's author, permanently destroying Murat's public reputation. Even Louis XIV's government was involved in policing her behaviour. Among the many "désordres de Mme de Murat" documented in his reports, lieutenant-general of police Marc-René de Voyer, marquis d'Argenson (1652–1721), detailed behaviours far more nefarious than the scandals described in the *Mémoires*, including gambling, raucous parties, lesbian affairs, adultery, and even physical fights.[18] By 1702, the police had compiled enough complaints against Murat to order her banishment from Paris.[19]

During her exile to the provincial town of Loches in the Loire Valley, Murat maintained an active social and literary life, as evidenced by her manuscript journal, a record of daily life and literary exercises that offers today's critics a fascinating glimpse into the lives of literary women in the early eighteenth century.[20] Addressed to Murat's cousin, Mlle de Menou, the "journal" resembles a sort of personal gazette—a *Mercure Galant* from the provinces. Rather than writing individual letters, Murat filled a notebook each week with accounts of daily life, records of conversations, reflections on moral topics, and thoughts about her reading. When provincial life failed to provide enough "news" to fill a letter, Murat would supplement the entry with a story or poem. Clearly hungry for the social and literary life

18 For more on the police accounts of Murat's scandalous behaviour, see Paul Cottin, ed., *Rapports inédits du lieutenant de police René d'Argenson (1697–1715)* (1891; reprint, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1972), 3, 10–13, 17–18, 87–89, 93–94, 97–98.

19 Some historians have suggested that Murat's exile was brought on by political rather than moral scandal. According to Mary Elizabeth Storer, Murat was punished for authoring a pamphlet entitled "L'Histoire de la courtisane Rhodope" that slandered Mme de Maintenon. Storer, *Contes de fées du grand siècle (par Mme. d'Aulnoy, Mlle. Bernard, Mme. de Murat, Mlle. de La Force, le chevalier de Mailly)* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), 86. The brief biography of Murat in the *Cabinet des fées* offers a similar, though less detailed, account (211). Whatever the cause of the arrest, *ancien régime* police affairs were notoriously unscientific. The prevalent use of secret evidence meant that unhappy neighbours and disaffected relatives could get individuals punished for alleged crimes with very little proof. D'Argenson's letters suggest that disgruntled domestic servants were his primary source of information about Murat's alleged crimes.

20 During this exile, she also published *Les Lutins du château de Kermosy, nouvelle historique, par Mme la Ctesse de M**** (Paris: J. Le Febvre, 1710) [includes "Histoire de Zaraide," "Peau d'ours," and "Étoilette" as embedded narratives].

of Paris, Murat requested shipments of books and "les nouvelles de Parnasse" from her cousin in return. Still, as described by Murat, the social life of the provinces was lively and pervaded with literary activity. Far from the salons of Paris, the elite of Loches hosted gatherings characterized by singing, dancing, dramatic readings, and spontaneous composition of poems and "contes à dormir debout."[21]

Appropriately, fairy tales are included among the gossipy discourses that make up Murat's journal. One of these is "L'Aigle au beau bec," the fairy tale published here for the first time and an excellent example of Murat's interpretation of the genre. The tale features common fairy tale elements such as the metamorphosis of human characters into animals and travel to enchanted parallel kingdoms. Murat embellishes these topoi, however, with a mocking portrayal of a self-centred king and a jaded view of love that allows wise fairies to manipulate the monarch's desires.

In her epistle to "les fées modernes," Murat declared that her *féerique* characters would only dwell "dans la Cour des Rois, ou dans les Palais enchantez." This rule certainly applies to "L'Aigle," which begins at the sumptuous court of the King of Lydie. This king has an "aversion" to marriage that outrages his would-be bride and her fairy godmother. Although the women resort to a series of increasingly theatrical gestures to convey the princess's desires, the king stubbornly refuses to acknowledge the hopeful princess's affections. Utterly frustrated by the king's self-absorption, the fairy godmother exacts revenge by transforming him into a gilded bird.

A magician spirits the king away to an enchanted palace, where the "Bel Aigle" endures the first half of his seven-year enchantment at the centre of a new circle of princely courtiers. The dynamics change, however, when the magician introduces the princess of Persia into the kingdom. Because of her youth and beauty, the "Belle Princesse" becomes a magnet for the attention of everyone in the palace. Even the King of Lydie falls in love for the first time. Enamoured with the young girl but unable to demonstrate his desires while trapped in the form of a bird, the king experiences the same frustration and powerlessness that he inflicted on the woman he originally spurned.

21 For more on Murat's life and works, see *Le Cabinet des fées* 37 (1786): 210–15; Teresa DiScanno, "Les contes de Madame de Murat ou la préciosité dans la féerie," in *Studi di letteratura francese, A ricordo di Franco Petralia* (Rome: A. Signorelli, 1968), 33–40; David Michael Robinson, "The Abominable Madame de Murat," *Journal of Homosexuality* 41 (2001): 53–67; and Marcelle Welch, "Manipulation du discours féerique dans les contes de fées de Mme de Murat," *Cahiers du dix-septième* 5, no. 1 (2003): 21–29.

While the king and his rival princes are occupied with vying for the favour of the "Belle Princesse," the tale's female characters join forces to satisfy their own desires. Through a series of metamorphoses and illusions, the fairy helps the young princess to assume the throne of Persia with her husband of choice and enables the older princess to become the Queen of Lydie. The Bel Aigle finally regains his human shape and accepts the older princess as his bride. Yet, for him, this is not quite a fairy tale ending. The Lydian king never truly falls in love with the princess, but instead, the narrator explains, he decides to make "virtue of necessity" and accept the fate that the women have designed for him.

The magical series of events that bring the story to its conclusion include allusions to such classic fairy tales as "La Belle au bois dormant" and d'Aulnoy's "Oiseau bleu." In this tale, though, such fairy spells are employed to manipulate a self-centred king for both political and sentimental ends. As in her other works, Murat here redefines the meaning of "happily ever after."

Murat's journal and unpublished fairy tales have been preserved in "Ouvrages de Mme de Murat," bound manuscript 3471, in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (Paris). The journal fills the first half of this continuous document of 607 pages. Letters, stories, and occasional poetry by Murat and a few of her friends, some pieces composed as early as 1703, constitute the remainder of the document. "L'Aigle au beau bec" appears in this second section, on pages 367–81. The entire manuscript is written in an unidentified early eighteenth-century hand.

Antoine-René de Voyer d'Argenson, marquis de Paulmy (1722–87), whose personal library became the foundation of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in the late eighteenth century, has been credited with obtaining and preserving the manuscript. Paulmy's interest in Murat is also indicated by his publication of her work in the *Bibliothèque des romans*. In the June 1776 issue of that serial, Paulmy published a heavily edited version of one of the manuscript tales, "L'Histoire de Rhodope," along with some of the stranger pieces found in the manuscript: a dialogue in imitation of Fontenelle and an excerpt of a poetry game. The issue of the *Bibliothèque des romans* also includes an introduction to Murat's published work and several excerpts from that corpus. In the preface to this selection from Murat's oeuvre, Paulmy explains that he is considering a complete edition of Murat's works,

should there be sufficient popular interest; however, such a collection was never realized.[22] Nevertheless, parts of Murat's already published corpus enjoyed significant popularity throughout the eighteenth century. *Voyage de campagne* and *Les Lutins du château de Kernosy* were each re-edited multiple times in collections such as *La Bibliothèque de campagne* and *Voyages imaginaires, songes, visions et romans cabalistiques.* Some of Murat's fairy tales were included in the collection *Le Cabinet des fees* (1785).[23] At least one of Murat's tales, "Jeune et belle," was published independently as one of the *Bibliothèque bleue*'s inexpensive paper-bound books in the early nineteenth century.[24] Murat's works passed into obscurity until 1934, when Mary Elizabeth Storer published editions of the manuscript fairy tales "La Fée princesse" and "Peine perdue" in her collection, *Contes de fées du grand siècle.*[25] The tale published here, "L'Aigle au beau bec," is the only one of the manuscript's three true fairy tales that has not yet appeared in print.

This edition of "L'Aigle au beau bec" aims to remain as faithful as possible to the manuscript text. Spelling and accents have been standardized according to modern usage. Proper names and the first words of sentences have been capitalized. In nearly all cases, this edition preserves Murat's punctuation; in those few instances where a punctuation mark has been added or changed to improve readability, brackets signal the alteration. A few evident errors in participle agreement have been corrected silently. Finally, this edition disregards several changes that were imposed on the manuscript by a handwriting that is different from the original copyist's.[26]

University of Pennsylvania

22 See *Bibliothèque universelle des romans, tome 2* (1776; reprint, Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1969), 428–48.

23 The tales published in this volume are "Le Parfait amour," "Anguillette," "Jeune et belle," "Le Palais de la vengeance," "Le Prince des feuilles," and "L'Heureuse peine."

24 Murat, *Jeune et belle* (Troyes [Rouen]: Jean Garnier [Chalopin], c. 1800).

25 Storer, ed., *Contes de fées du grand siècle (par Mme. d'Aulnoy, Mlle. Bernard, Mme. de Murat, Mlle. de La Force, le chevalier de Mailly)* (New York: Columbia University, 1934), 86.

26 These corrections (some in pencil, others in ink) appear to prepare parts of the manuscript for publication. Grammar errors are corrected, forgotten accents are added, some sections—especially the poetry—are crossed out and marked "retranché." Despite what is known about the marquis de Paulmy's interest in editing the journal, this second hand (eighteenth century) does not appear to be Paulmy's. I am grateful to Danielle Muzerelle for her advice and expertise regarding the manuscript's two handwritings.