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# Cinderella: The study of cross-cultural encounters in pre-modern societies

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# Cinderella: The Study of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Modern Societies

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An Honors Program Project Presented to  
the Faculty of the Undergraduate  
College of Arts and Letters  
James Madison University

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In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Bachelor of Science

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by Jae Ho Kim

August 2015

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Accepted by the faculty of the Department of History, James Madison University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Honors Program.

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## **Dedication Page**

In dedication to my mother, Hye-Kyung Kim, who has shown me that intellect & talent is worthless without kindness & willpower.

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## **Preface**

The idea of this honors thesis came about from a “World History to 1500” course at James Madison University. As an assignment, I chose to write my primary source analysis essay on a 9<sup>th</sup> century Chinese Cinderella story, one of the earliest recorded text of the Cinderella story. My professor at the time, Dr. Hu, encouraged further investigation on multi-cultural variants of Cinderella, and hence it became my thesis topic. This thesis was written in order to explore a variety of Cinderella variants around the world as a means to search for evidence on possible cross-cultural encounters in pre-modern societies. Cinderella is an exemplary literary example of globalization through cultural flow in both past and present contextual settings, as multiple forms of media on the same story have been periodically released.

### **Acknowledgements**

I thank Dr. Hu and my thesis readers, Dr. Fitzgerald and Dr. Seth, for their interest and enthusiasm in mentoring me through this honors thesis. I am also indebted to my honors advisor, Jared Diener, for his persistence and aid, which has allowed me to pursue this history thesis in lieu of my unorthodox situation as a biological sciences undergraduate.

## **Abstract**

The vast number of *Cinderella* variants across the world is staggering and almost unfathomable. Hundreds of versions exist all across the world including Africa, Europe, and Asia. Most people are familiar with the modern *Cinderella* version written by a French author in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. But unbeknownst to a majority of the population, this story dates back centuries ago from earlier time periods. One of the earliest written accounts of the *Cinderella* story was found in China about 850-860 A.D and the name of the protagonist was Yeh-hsien, instead of Cinderella. By means of comparative textual analysis, three versions of *Cinderella* from across the world in pre-modern societies (Egyptian, Indian, & Chinese) will be examined for cultural traces and methods of diffusion. I will then briefly attempt to establish my case from the textual evidence that it is possible to examine evidence for cross-cultural encounters in pre-modern societies.

“History often resembles myth, because they are both ultimately of the same stuff.”

J.R.R. Tolkien, *Tolkien on Fairy-stories*



## Introduction

It may be assumed by general readers of this thesis that pre-modern societies lived in a world much more exotic and primitive than ours. However, there are some aspects of humankind that is shared by all cultures within the human experience regardless of geographical proximity, time, or race –such as love, religion, and forms of creative expression. For instance in pre-modern east-Asia, Song court painters portrayed life among ordinary people with scenes of children at markets pleading their mothers to purchase them an item that highly resembles tops and wood carvings of animals.<sup>1</sup> Five centuries later, much of the same can be seen with modern-day children pleading their mothers to purchase toys for them at major retail markets.

In particular, one integral element of human experience has been evident throughout the history of civilization: folklore. Storytelling, including fairytales, has a deep-seated place across all cultures and remains influentially pervasive in society even today. It is one of the more significant forms of human creative expression passed down orally from generation to generation, eventually written as texts with the advancement of new technologies. Scholarship on *Cinderella* has consistently caught the attention of a global audience, as many are familiar with the European variant written by Charles Perrault.<sup>2</sup> This is evident through Disney's 2015 release of *Cinderella* directed by Kenneth Branagh.<sup>3</sup> Even after centuries when the earliest version was committed to text, this fairy tale has been analyzed by dozens of scholars from *Cinderella* morphology pioneer Marian Roalfe Cox to Swedish folklorist Anna Birgitta Rooth, who wrote her doctoral dissertation on multiple variants of *Cinderella*.

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<sup>1</sup> P. Ebrey, *Pre-Modern East Asia: A Cultural, Social, and Political History, Volume 1: To 1800* (Boston, MA: Cengage Learning), 132

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix A for Charles Perrault's *Cinderella* variant.

<sup>3</sup> "Cinderella," Wikipedia, accessed May 1, 2015 ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cinderella\\_%282015\\_film%29](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cinderella_%282015_film%29)).

The continuation in scholarly interest of the *Cinderella* tale has resulted in many publications, which were used as resources when writing this thesis. Marian Roalfe Cox published her research entitled *Cinderella: Three Hundred and Forty-Five Variants of Cinderella, Catskin, and Cap o' Rushes, Abstracted and Tabulated, with a Discussion of Medieval Analogues and Notes*, which entails of an impressive collection of tales across the world given the limited technologies in the late 1800s.<sup>4</sup> Swedish folklorist Anna Birgitta Rooth published the *Cinderella Cycle* in 1951 based upon an estimate of seven hundred versions.<sup>5</sup> Her work was heavily interested in distinguishing as well as relating the multiple versions of the story of Cinderella. These works including others embarked on the task of gathering, differentiating, and even attempting to discover the original version of Cinderella.

Like previous Cinderella scholars, the organizing goal of my investigation is not only to analyze the three oldest variants of Cinderella across the world – 1<sup>st</sup> century “Rhodopsis” (Egyptian variant), 5<sup>th</sup> century Shankutala (Indian variant), and 9<sup>th</sup> century “Yeh-hsien” (Chinese variant) –but also differentiate the unique episodes of each version. In doing so, I have inserted primary translated Cinderella variants in each chapter to immerse the reader into each story rather than placing them in an appendix. Both age and geographic spread was accounted for when selecting for the oldest variants. The locations of these variants, within the Hellenic and Indic worlds, border along each other and surround the location of the single oldest variant, Rhodopsis, although the Chinese variant is quite a stretch.

In addition, I will explore the nature of possible contacts and paths of transmission during pre-modern times through the use of each variant. Since my three cases are so distant in both

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<sup>4</sup> M. Cox, *Cinderella: Three Hundred and Forty-five Variants of Cinderella, Catskin, and Cap O'Rushes*, Volume 31 (London: The Folklore society, 1893).

<sup>5</sup> A. Rooth, *The Cinderella Cycle* (Lund: Gleerup, 1951).

space and time from each other, finding precise mechanisms or even pathways of exchange is almost nearly impossible. Therefore, a majority of focus will be presented on an analysis of the elements that were added or subtracted in each variant meanwhile searching for relevant scholarship in history and literature that might provide brief supporting arguments for theories on pre-modern cross-cultural encounters. In making this determination, the thesis should be observed with great reservation as it merely aims to contribute a theoretical approach on how the Cinderella tale might have evolved through time and history.

There is a distinct structure to the Cinderella fairytale. Remarkable similarities within the three oldest variants can be found, displaying common themes and motifs. Some universal characteristics of this classic fairy tale on a broad perspective include magical elements and the hope of a mistreated girl in which anything can happen. Lundberg highlights, “The structure of a Cinderella-esque tale involves a pattern of exposing a serious familial problem and inciting a series of magical adventures that ultimately lead to marriage or some variation of the ‘happily ever after’ theme.”<sup>6</sup> Marian Rolafe Cox has provided most of the structural research by comparing hundreds of narratives across many cultures in order to categorize them.<sup>7</sup> She divided the collected tales into five broad categories<sup>8</sup>:

A – Cinderella (ill treated heroine. Recognition by means of a shoe or ring).

B – Cat-skin (unnatural father. Heroine flight.)

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<sup>6</sup> M. Lundberg, “If the Shoe Fits” – The Evolution of the Cinderella Fairy Tale from Literature to Television, Global Honors Thesis, Paper 11 (2013).

<sup>7</sup> M. Cox, *Cinderella: Three Hundred and Forty-five Variants of Cinderella, Catskin, and Cap O’Rushes*, i-iii.

<sup>8</sup> K. Loague, “510: If The Shoe Fits... - Resources.” Artic, last modified January 1, 2006. Accessed March 3, 2015 (<http://www.artic.edu/webspaces/510iftheshoefits/2criteria.html>).

C – Cap o’Rushes (King Lear judgment. Outcast heroine.)

D – Indeterminant

E – Hero Tales (masculine Cinderella)

All three variants examined in this thesis are identified with type A.

For the purpose of this thesis, I will utilize a modified form of Cox’s structure through R.D. Jameson’s episodic chart of Cinderella classifications. Jameson claims that his episodes are “too highly generalized to enable any adequate conclusions as to geographical variations”.<sup>9</sup> But since my objective is to only theorize potential modes of transmission of the Cinderella story as well as to compare and contrast three variants on a cultural level, these broad episodes will suffice. In 1932, R.D. Jameson cited five succinct elements of a Cinderella story<sup>10</sup>:

A – A young girl is ill-treated

A1 By her step-mother and step sisters who are unkind to her;

A2 By her father who wishes to marry her. She flees after receiving gifts of clothes;

A3 By her father whom she tells she loves as she loves salt and is driven from home;

A4 By her entire family who wish to kill her

B – During a time of menial service at home

B1 She is advised, supported (fed) and given clothes by her dead mother, a tree on her mother's grave or a supernatural creature;

B2 She is helped by birds;

B3 Goat, sheep or cow;

B4 When the animal has been killed, a gift-bearing tree grows from its entrails, a box with clothes is found inside it or its ossuaries are otherwise useful in providing clothes.

C – She meets the prince

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<sup>9</sup> A. Dundes, *Cinderella, a Folklore Casebook* (New York: Garland Publications, 1982), 81.

<sup>10</sup> A. Dundes, *Cinderella, a Folklore Casebook*, 81-82.

C1 Disguised in her pretty clothes she goes to a ball and dances several times with the prince, who tries in vain to find out who she is, or he sees her as she goes to church;

C2 Sometimes she hints to him about sufferings and thus both mystifies and interests him;

C3 Sometimes the prince peeps through a keyhole and sees her dressed in her finery.

D – She is identified by

D1 The shoe test;

D2 The ring she leaves in his soup or bakes in his bread;

D3 Her ability to perform some difficult task, such as picking the golden apples.

E – She marries the Prince

F – If her suffering is due to the fact that she told her father she "loves him as she loves salt," - she now serves him unsalted food to prove how necessary salt is to human happiness.

Not every episode will be discussed as some elements are absent depending on variants.

In order to examine the evolution of the *Cinderella* fairy tale and its journey in history, this work will be structured into three chapters. Each chapter will begin with a close contextual analysis of the three cultures that produced each variant, including the translated text, using Jameson's episodic chart on Cinderella variants introduced in Chapter 1. Aspects that are considered socially or culturally influential within the texts will also be presented. Then a textual analysis primarily on significant themes and motifs of each variant will proceed. The end of each chapter will summarize a comparative study among each accumulated variant. In addition, it will include an examination of potential historical evidence within each tale will follow that might lead to possible clues on how it journeyed from one geographic location to another, bringing my investigation to a close.

## Chapter 1: Rhodopis

One of the oldest variants of Cinderella, considered by many literature historians, is said to be recorded in Strabo's *Geographica*. In this Egyptian version of Cinderella, her name is Rhodopis. There are discrepancies disputed among scholars between fact and fiction. However, what remains undisputed is the existence of a Greek slave girl named Rhodopis who married a Pharaoh Amasis and later became his queen around 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>11</sup>

Rhodopis was a celebrated 6<sup>th</sup> century BC Greek hetaera of Thracian origin.<sup>12</sup> In fact, she is frequently mentioned by notable ancient characters including the famous Greek historian, Herodotus. In his translation of *The History of Herodotus*, Rawlinson writes, "She was a Thracian by birth, and was the slave of Iadmon, son of Hephaestopolis, a Samian. Aesop, the fable-writer, was one of her fellow slaves. That Aesop belonged to Iadmon is proved by many facts among others, by this."<sup>13</sup> Additionally, Strabo mentions of her journey in becoming a queen that highly resembles some of the major themes from Cinderella, familiar to most general audiences. Below is a translated portion from Strabo's *Geographica* in book seventeen depicting this tale.

"On proceeding forty stadia from the city, one comes to a kind of mountain-brow; on it are numerous pyramids, the tombs of kings, of which three are noteworthy; and two of these are even numbered among the Seven Wonders of the World, for they are a stadium in height, are quadrangular in shape, and their height is a little greater than the length of each of the sides; and

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<sup>11</sup> See Author's Note in Shirley Climo's, *The Egyptian Cinderella* (New York: HarperCollins, 1989).

<sup>12</sup> W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology* (Boston, MA: C.C. Little & J. Brown, 1849), 46.

<sup>13</sup> Herodotus. *Book II (Euterpe)*, in George Rawlinson, *History of Herodotus: a new English version* (New York: D. Appleton, 1861), 180.

one of them is only a little larger than the other. High up, approximately midway between the sides, it has a movable stone, and when this is raised up there is a sloping passage to the vault. Now these pyramids are near one another and on the same level; but farther on, at a greater height of the hill, is the third, which is much smaller than the two, though constructed at much greater expense; for from the foundations almost to the middle it is made of black stone, the stone from which mortars are made, being brought from a great distance, for it is brought from the mountains of Aethiopia; and because of its being hard and difficult to work into shape it rendered the undertaking very expensive. It is called "Tomb of the Courtesan," having been built by her lovers — the courtesan whom Sappho the Melic poetess calls Doricha, the beloved of Sappho's brother Charaxus, who was engaged in transporting Lesbian wine to Naucratis for sale, but others give her the name Rhodopis. They tell the fabulous story that, when she was bathing, an eagle snatched one of her sandals from her maid and carried it to Memphis; and while the king was administering justice in the open air, the eagle, when it arrived above his head, flung the sandal into his lap; and the king, stirred both by the beautiful shape of the sandal and by the strangeness of the occurrence, sent men in all directions into the country in quest of the woman who wore the sandal; and when she was found in the city of Naucratis, she was brought up to Memphis, became the wife of the king, and when she died was honoured with the above-mentioned tomb.”<sup>14</sup>

Although Strabo's narrative of Rhodopis may lack detail and length, the Egyptian story raises interesting issues on its similarity with the core elements of European Cinderella variants: a disadvantaged female protagonist, a lost footwear, the coincidental discovery of lost footwear

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<sup>14</sup> Strabo. *Book XVII*, in H. L. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932), 808-809.

by a royal male character, the search for the footwear's owner, and marriage between the footwear's owner and royal male character. Unfortunately, conclusions necessarily remain tentative as Rhodopis' background lacks context at the beginning of Strabo's narrative *Geographica*. For example, there is no mention of her family background or details of her upbringings before Jameson's episode E occurs when she marries into royalty. From Strabo, the only background knowledge given is that there was a tomb built after her. However, reading from a few other sources presents pieces that may provide contextual clues to further understand the story and its potential similarities with the prevalent European variant.

First, her difficult life is extended when she becomes the property of Xanthes, another Samian, and eventually ends up in Naucratis of Egypt, during the reign of Amasis II. Her travels to Egypt led to an encounter with Charxus, brother of famous poet, Sappho. According to historical texts, Charxus traveled to Egypt as a wine merchant, became enamored to a slave-prostitute named Rhodopis, and lavished sums on her; at the least he bought her her liberty<sup>15</sup>. Coincidentally, Rhodopis is mentioned in a poem by Sappho who accuses her of robbing his brother's wealth.<sup>16</sup>

Second, in chapter CXXIV of Herodotus' *The Histories*, it states that she was a slave of Iadmon, son of Hephaestopolis.<sup>17</sup> Her ill treatment may be derived from the mere fact that she was of slavery background and although slavery treatment during 1<sup>st</sup> century BC in Egypt varied, it was not the best life. Dollinger supports this by stating, "Treating a slave well was a moral precept, but the very fact that decent treatment of slaves was a moral duty means that they must

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<sup>15</sup> J. Lidov, "Sappho, Herodotus, and the 'Hetaira'", *Classical Philology* 97 (2002): 203.

<sup>16</sup> D. Campbell, *Greek Lyric I: Sappho and Alcaeus* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 141.

<sup>17</sup> G. Anderson, *Fairytale in the Ancient World* (London: Routledge, 2002), 28.



have been treated badly quite often. In the Book of the Dead, two of the dead person's virtues recited in order to join the company of the gods among others are not having inflicted pain or not having committed murder are 'I have not domineered over slaves. I have not vilified a slave to his master.'"<sup>18</sup>

From the context just analyzed, it can be hypothesized that Rhodopis' background may classify as Jameson's episode A. In addition, episodes D and E can be found, evident with Rhodopis' lost slipper and her marriage into royalty. The combination of these three episodes represent the meta-narrative that is present in almost every Cinderella variant untouched: a mistreated girl, a fortunate stroke of serendipity, and marriage to royalty. As supported by Baker, "The well-known narrative of Cinderella has many variants in different cultures, but they all share basic constituent events as well as themes such as injustice and rewards; these articulate a master plot which can be evoked in other narratives and contexts".<sup>19</sup>

Common themes and elements shared by Cinderella variants across distant cultures points to a possibility that the process of globalization was in fact existent during pre-modern periods. However, such is not the case even as far back into the early part of the first century. Methods of transportation may not have been as advanced as it is today but that did not prevent people from traveling. Even with basic and unsophisticated technology ideas including the dissemination of the Cinderella story was possible during pre-modern times. This allows for possible *speculations* on how the Cinderella tale may have traveled across the world. For example, Strabo himself traveled extensively as indicated by his own works due to the advent of extensive road systems. In his *Selections from Strabo*, Tozer highlights, "With the line of the

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<sup>18</sup> A. Dollinger, "Slavery" last modified January 1, 2000. Accessed February 17, 2015 (<http://www.reshafim.org.il/ad/egypt/timelines/topics/slavery.htm>).

<sup>19</sup> M. Baker, *Translation and Conflict: A Narrative Account* (London: Routledge, 2006), 44.



*Map of the World According to Strabo (Bye, 1814)*

Appian Way he [Strabo] seems to have become acquainted in journeying from Asia to Rome, for he remarks that every one who proceeded to the capital from Greece and the East travels by way of Brundisium; and his description of that port, and still more that of Tarentum are singularly accurate.”<sup>20</sup>

Approximately 64 BC, Strabo was born to an affluent family in Amaseia, Pontus, now modern-day Turkey. Some of his numerous talents lie in the field of geography and philosophy, but later on became most famous as an historian. Strabo’s renowned reputation in the world of academia is in part due to his composition of the first comprehensive geography of the world

<sup>20</sup> H. Tozer, *Selections from Strabo, with an Introduction on Strabo’s Life and Works* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893), 19.

entitled, *Geographica*.<sup>21</sup> This seventeen-book collection is partially based upon autopsy (Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, Egypt) and on good sources like Polybius of Megalopolis and Megasthenes, another famous historian.<sup>22</sup> *Geographica* depicts Strabo's personal observations throughout his extensive travels to Egypt, coastal Tuscany, Ethiopia, Asia Minor, and Rome.<sup>23</sup>

Strabo's freedom to travel and record history was plausible largely in part by the relative peace enjoyed throughout the reign of Augustus during *Pax Romana*.<sup>24</sup> In his *The Geographical Review*, historian William Koelesch notes a period of universal peace and prosperity under Augustus, although the peace was somewhat imposed.<sup>25</sup> It was common during this era of neutrality for individuals to travel for scholarly purposes throughout the Mediterranean. For instance, before the turn of the first century AD, Strabo explored Egypt. Bill Thayer accounts Strabo at the age of thirty-nine traveling with companion Aelius Gallus as "far as Syene and the frontiers of Ethiopia".<sup>26</sup> It was during this period in which Strabo would have retrieved information needed to write book seventeen of *Geographica*, entitled North Africa. Here, Strabo shares his knowledge of a pyramid called the "Tomb of the Courtesan". He claims that this tomb was "built by her lovers" and was known by the alias of Rhodopis.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica* 15<sup>th</sup> ed., s.v. "Strabo".

<sup>22</sup> Horace Leonard Jones. *Introduction*, in Jones, H. L. *The Geography of Strabo* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932).

<sup>23</sup> Strabo. *Book XVII*, in H. L. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo*, 335-337.

<sup>24</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica* Online, s.v. "Pax Romana: Roman History", <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/447447/Pax-Romana> (accessed February 11, 2015).

<sup>25</sup> W. Koelsch, *Squinting Back at Strabo* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2004), 502-518.

<sup>26</sup> Bill Thayer. *Introduction*, in H. L. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo*.

<sup>27</sup> Strabo. *Book XVII*, in H. L. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo*, 808.



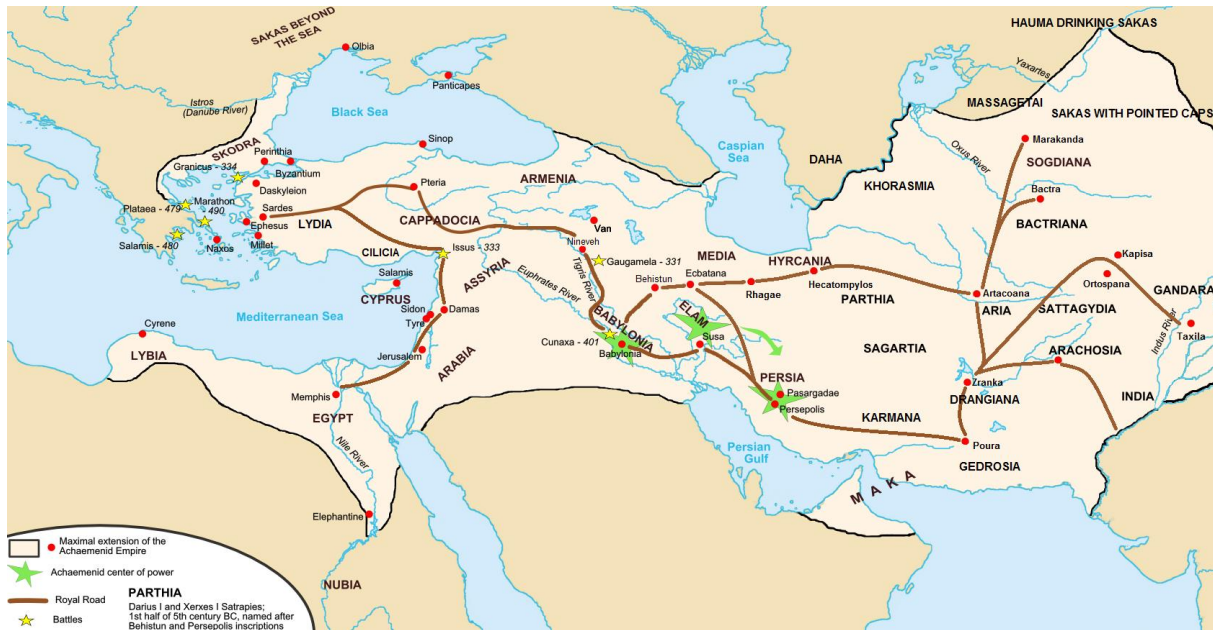
Detailed map of the Appian Way (Wikipedia, 2006)

Whether by word of mouth or sharing of Strabo's text, the transmission of the Egyptian story has remained tentatively conclusive. It is quite possible that the creation of this ancient Roman road system acted as a catalyst in spreading ideas cross-culturally, one of which includes the tale of Rhodopis.<sup>28</sup> Cartwright supports this by stating, "Roman roads were also a very visible indicator of the power of Rome, and they indirectly helped unify what was a vast melting pot of cultures, races, and institutions."<sup>29</sup> It is interesting to note that the original use of this highway was not intended for civilians. Built in 312 BC by the censor Appius Claudius Caecus, the Appian Way was used by the Roman army for easy access and supply from Rome.<sup>30</sup> However, as extensions to the main road system were added, it gradually was accustomed for use to local commoners and also foreigners from afar such as the apostle Peter. According to Steves,

<sup>28</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, s.v. "Appian Way," last modified January 1, 2015. Accessed March 14, 2015 (<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/30587/Appian-Way>).

<sup>29</sup> *Ancient History Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Roman Roads," last modified January 1, 2014. Accessed March 14, 2015 (<http://www.ancient.eu/article/758/>).

<sup>30</sup> *Chambers's Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Appian Way."



*The map of Achaemenid Empire and the section of the Royal Road noted by Herodotus (Wikipedia, 2006)*

“It is said to be that the Appian Way was the landmark where apostle Peter had a vision of Christ and headed back to the city of Rome to be persecuted.”

The Appian Way provides a segment to the larger Royal Road, another mean of transport that might have aided in the spread of the Rhodopis tale. Herodotus is known as ‘The Father of History’ and in his famous work, *The Histories*, he mentions his travels on the Royal Road including details of its course.<sup>31</sup> This ancient highway connects more directly with the tale’s geography and its direction of alleged transmission toward India. Northrup argues that when Rome was at its peak, the road system extended nearly 50,000 miles. Good could move from Africa, Asia, and Europe to all points within the empire.”<sup>32</sup> It spanned across Asia Minor and important cities of the Persian Empire, which was an incredible feat by the Romans. According

<sup>31</sup> R. Waterfield, *The Histories (Oxford World’s Classics)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 323.

<sup>32</sup> *Encyclopedia of World Trade: From Ancient Times to the Present*, s.v. “Roman Transportation.”



to Herodotus, “The Royal Road ran from Susa near the head of the Persian Gulf in the east to Lydian Sardis in the west, with an extension to the Aegean Coast at Ephesos—a distance of about fifteen hundred miles. The journey from Susa to Sardis took ninety days on foot, and three more to the coast at Ephesos.”<sup>33</sup> The Egyptian Cinderella variant was located at the heart of a major commercial and trading network allowing for dispersion of this tale to occur.

It is important to note Rhodopis’ existence because the origins of the Cinderella tale has bordered along a tale of myth vs. fact. To date, it is difficult to question her reality because Rhodopis’ name is referenced throughout history multiple times. Not only is she found in works like Sappho’s poem and Strabo’s *Geographica* but also in others supported by many scholars. According to H.R. Hall, “One of the most curious of the Greek stories about Egypt is that which ascribed the building of the Third Pyramid of Gizeh to a woman, according to the usual tale, the famous courtesan Rhodopsis. We find this story given in various forms by Herodotus, Diodorus, and Strabo.”<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, her existence is supported by Herodotus as he notes, “Rhodopis also lived during the reign of Amasis, not of Mycerinus, and was thus very many years later than the time of the kings who built the pyramids.”<sup>35</sup> Evidence from reputable historians such as Strabo and Herodotus makes it difficult to question her existence.

However, there have been debates among scholars whether Rhodopis may be confused with another character, Nitokris, during similar time periods. Both are mentioned frequently in historical primary sources although Rhodopis is mainly referenced in texts with a Cinderella-like

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<sup>33</sup> An outstanding work that describes the details and geography of the Royal Road in context with Gordion, the capital of the Phrygian Kingdom, is R. Young’s, “Gordion on the Royal Road”, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 107 (1963), 348-364.

<sup>34</sup> H. Hall, “Nitokris-Rhodopis”, *The Journal of Hellenistic Studies* 24 (1904): 208-213.

<sup>35</sup> Herodotus. *Book II (Euterpe)*, in George Rawlinson, *History of Herodotus: a new English version*, 180.

background. English lexicographer and author of *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, Smith argues that, “Rhodopis was confounded with Nitokris, an Egyptian queen, and the heroine of many an Egyptian legend, who was said by Julius Africanus and Eusebius to have built the third pyramid.”<sup>36</sup> The creator of the Third Pyramid of Gizeh is a continued subject of argument since the time of ancient Egypt but there is a growing body of evidence that the two females are indeed the same person. Regardless of whether the famous courtesans commanded the building of the third pyramid or not, emphasis on their similar identity is a necessary statement to conclude the tale of Rhodopis as an Egyptian Cinderella variant.

In his *History*, English Egyptologist professor Flinders Petrie, considers that the Herodotean Rhodopis is “evidently another version of Nitokris, whom Manetho describes as fair and ruddy.”<sup>37</sup> Hall on the other hand claims that, “In reality, it would seem that Manetho’s Nitokris was a version of Rhodopis rather than Rhodopis a version of Nitokris”.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, doubts on the historical reality of this character have been put to rest.

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<sup>36</sup> Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, 268.

<sup>37</sup> Hall, “Nitokris-Rhodopis”, 208.

<sup>38</sup> Hall, “Nitokris-Rhodopis”, 208.

## Chapter 2: Shakuntala

The second oldest recorded Cinderella variant is found in an Indian work called *Abhijñānashākuntala*. It is recognized by many folklorists as *The Recognition of Sakuntala* or *The Sign of Sakuntala*.<sup>39</sup> This Indian literature piece is one of the three well-known Sanskrit plays written by Kalidasa and is also generally regarded as his masterpiece.<sup>40</sup> Kalidasa's play has been of great interest among western folklorists and eventually became one of the earliest Sanskrit works to be translated into English as well as other languages<sup>41</sup>. His work depicts the reiteration of the story Shakuntala, which has an even deeper origin in the Indian epic *Mahabharata* known to be as old as 9<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>42</sup> Due to insufficient information, the *Mahabharata* was not mentioned as an even earlier Indian Cinderella variant. However, this signifies that the origins of this Indian tale may possibly be older than Rhodopis which may encourage future scholars to continue this research.

Unlike *Mahabharata*, the authorship of *The Recognition of Sakuntala* has been identified as Kalidasa.<sup>43</sup> He is most famously regarded as a classical Sanskrit writer among folklorists and also a great poet in the Sanskrit language. The date of his birth is unknown but according to historians from contextual analysis, Kalidasa is known to have lived during the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century

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<sup>39</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, s.v. "Kalidasa" last modified June 15, 2014. Accessed March 14, 2015 (<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/310169/Kalidasa>).

<sup>40</sup> W. Maurer, "Kalidasa" Colostate, accessed February 14, 2015 (<http://www.cs.colostate.edu/~malaiya/kalidas.html>).

<sup>41</sup> Maurer, "Kalidasa".

<sup>42</sup> M. Kooria, "Origin, Growth, and Interpretation of the Mahabharata: Critical Study of the Principal Debates." Line of View, last modified July 27, 2010. Accessed February 25, 2015 (<http://lineofview.blogspot.com/2010/07/origin-growth-and-interpretation-of.html>).

<sup>43</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, s.v. "Kalidasa".



AD.<sup>44</sup> According to Edwin Gerow, “A Sinhalese tradition says that he died on the island of Sri Lanka during the reign of Kumaradasa, who ascended the throne in 517.”<sup>45</sup> Following his death, there has been many attempts to trace Kalidasa’s poetic and intellectual development with his works. In 1789, Sir William Jones was the first to translate the romantic drama of Sakuntala by Kalidasa and has been a favorite subject for the work of editors and translators ever since.<sup>46</sup> Below begins a synopsis told by Fontenrose of the translated tale:<sup>47</sup>

King Dushyanta, hunting in a chariot, chased a deer into the ashram forest, and there learned that the animal belonged to the ashram and must not be killed. Among the ashrams was the hermitage of the great rishi Kanva. Taking off all his royal insignia, he entered to meet Kanva and pay his respects. Kanva was absent, and a maid, lovely as Shri, came out to answer his call. She wore a bark dress, the humble garb of an ashram-dwelling maid. This was Shakuntala, called Kanva’s daughter but in fact was abandoned and was his foster-daughter, reared by him at the ashram from her infancy. Dushyanta at once fell in love with the maid and proposed a Gandharva marriage with her (in effect, no ceremony at all). Shakuntala was willing, on condition that he makes their son his heir. Dushyanta readily agreed, and so they were united. When Dushyanta left, he promised

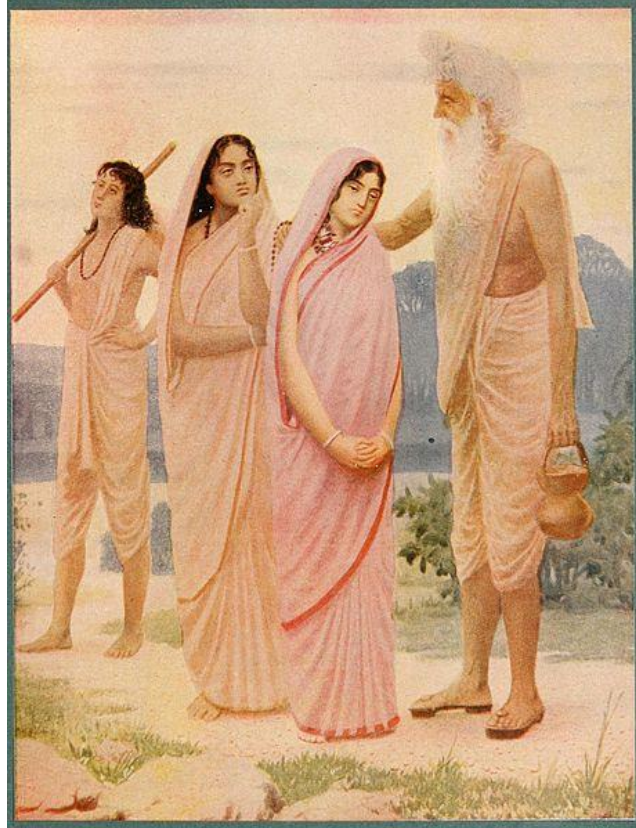
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<sup>44</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, s.v. “Kalidasa”.

<sup>45</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, s.v. “Kalidasa”.

<sup>46</sup> M. Schuyler, “The Editions and Translations of Çakuntalā,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 22 (1901): 237-248.

<sup>47</sup> J. Fontenrose, *Orion: The Myth of the Hunter and the Huntress* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 234-239.



*Crying of Shakuntala (Sunity Devee, 1919)*

that he would send an army to escort her to his place and is given a ring to be presented to him when she appears in his court. After six years of hearing no news, impregnated Shakuntala went to Dushyanta's court. During her journey, she lost her ring crossing a river and accidentally offended an anger-prone sage that bewitched King Dushyanta into forgetting her existence. Upon her arrival, King Dushyanta could not be persuaded that he had ever married her; but his astrologers advised him to let Shakuntala stay until her child was born, to see whether he would have the royal birthmarks. Immediately after Shakuntala left the king's presence she disappeared; a light in the shape of a celestial woman had picked her up and vanished with her. Soon after, policemen came in with a fisherman, who had found the ring in a fish. When the king saw it, he remembered. Now he had to live several years in a lovelorn state, bereft of Shakuntala. After helping Indra and the gods to victory over their demon foes, he returned to heart at Gold Mountain, where in Kashyapa's ashram he found Shakuntala and Bahrata, their son.

It is to my advantage that Jameson's episodes are highly generalized because it provides the liberties for me to make theoretical conclusions when comparing Cinderella variants. To begin with, the abandonment of the protagonist is not identical with any of the subtype A

episodes mentioned by Jameson.<sup>48</sup> It is neither found in any western or eastern Cinderella variants. However, this variant does follow a general trend of Cinderella protagonists starting with a disadvantaged background. Whether or not Shakuntala was mistreated by her foster-father remains unclear, as it is not stated directly in the play. But upon further analysis, indirect lines from the play can aid in making generalizations. In Ryder's translation of Act I of *The Recognition of Shakuntala*, it says, "Enter Shakuntala, as described and her two friends. First friend. It seems to me, dear that Father Kanva cares more for the hermitage trees than he does for you. You are as delicate as a jasmine blossom, yet he tells you to fill the trenches about the trees."<sup>49</sup> These lines from Act I hint at the type of treatment received by Shakuntala by her foster-father. Her friends are aware of her physical condition yet they question why Kanva forces Shakuntala to perform such difficult tasks.

Jameson's episode C2, which involves the protagonist hinting to the king about her sufferings thus both mystifying and intriguing him, can also be found in this Indian variant although with some minor adjustments. Rather than the protagonist actively hinting to the king about her sufferings, the king himself makes these first-person observations. In Act 1 of *The Hunt* in Kalidasa's play, the King says, "It is plain that she is already wearied by watering the trees. See! Her shoulders drop; her palms are reddened yet; Quick breaths are struggling in her bosom fair; the blossom o'er her ear hangs limply wet; one hand restrains the loose, disheveled hair. I therefore remit her debt."<sup>50</sup> This scene highly corresponds to a common theme of an

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<sup>48</sup> A. Dundes, *Cinderella, a Folklore Casebook*, 82.

<sup>49</sup> A. Ryder, *Shakuntala* (Cambridge, Ontario: In Parenthesis Publications, 1999), 8.

<sup>50</sup> A. Ryder, *Shakuntala*, 15.

instinctual sympathy towards an ill-treated female protagonist by a royal male protagonist evident in most Cinderella variants.

In addition, a brief mentioning of episode C2, i.e. a festival event, can be found in this Indian variant. Act VI, scene II starts with a quote from the heavenly nymph Mishrakeshi, “I have taken my turn in waiting upon the nymphs. And now I will see what this good king is doing. Shakuntala is like a second self to me, because she is the daughter of Menaka. And it was she who asked me to do this. It is the day of the spring festival. But I see no preparations for a celebration at court. I might learn the reason by my power of divination. But I must do as my friend asked me. Good! I will make myself invisible and stand near these girls who take care of the garden. I shall find out that way.”<sup>51</sup> Eventually, the king realized he had rejected his wife unknowingly because he was unable to recognize her from the blinding curse. Upon retrieving the ring from a fisherman, the curse broke but the King’s memory was all too late and his grief lead to the cancellation of the annual festival. The spring festival is an actual ancient Hindu festival that began as early as the 4<sup>th</sup> century during the reign of Chandragupta II.<sup>52</sup> It has many purposes but the most prominent is its celebration of the beginning of Spring (2008).

Lastly, Shakuntala is identified by a ring from a fish’s belly, which is a modified version of Jameson’s episode D2. Rather than a shoe, which is recognized as the most famous episode among many folklorists, a ring is accidentally acquired by the king through a fisherman and allows him to identify the protagonist. In Act VI, scene II, character Chamberlain says, “There is little more to tell. When his Majesty saw the ring, he remembered that he had indeed contracted a

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<sup>51</sup> A. Ryder, *Shakuntala*, 65.

<sup>52</sup> *Encyclopedia of Love in World Religions*, s.v. “Love: Perspectives from Sociology, Philosophy, and Religious Studies”.

secret marriage with Shakuntala, and had rejected her under a delusion. And then he fell a prey to remorse.”<sup>53</sup>

I shortly digress by sharing a similar account of this episode found in another Indian Cinderella variant mentioned by French folklorist Emmanuel Cosquin that may add further support in speculating these Indian versions as a possible Cinderella variants. Jameson mentions a synopsis of Cosquin’s Indian Cinderella variant from his essay, *Cinderella in China*: “A princess marries the prince who saves her from a giant. She loses her slipper in a pond. It is found by a fisherman who sells it to a shopkeeper who gives it to a neighboring king. The king falls in love with the owner of the shoe, hires an old woman to destroy the talisman which protected the life of the heroine’s husband and thus succeeds in abducting the heroine.”<sup>54</sup> Based on the dates of the Sanskrit tales, Cosquin claims an Indian origin for Cinderella although his retold account occurs much later than the tale of Shakuntala.<sup>55</sup>

Although not definitively, it is possible to hypothesize that Cosquin’s Indian variant has occurred much later than Kalidasa’s because of the shoe element. In Kalidasa’s variant, it is key to note that the use of a ring identifies the protagonist in absence of using footwear whereas Cosquin’s variant shifts to the use of a shoe. A shift in Indian culture with regards to time periods may play a large role in this difference. According to Indian historian Saletore, “It cannot be said that footwear was unknown during the Gupta age. Since early times except probably the

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<sup>53</sup> A. Ryder, *Shakuntala*, 67.

<sup>54</sup> A. Dundes, *Cinderella, a Folklore Casebook*, 87.

<sup>55</sup> For additional information on Cosquin’s suggestion that Cinderella may have originated in India, see A. Dundes, *Cinderella, a Folklore Casebook* (New York: Garland Publications, 1982), 259; and M. Cox, *Cinderella: Three Hundred and Forty-five Variants of Cinderella, Catskin, and Cap O’Rushes*, Volume 31 (London: The Folklore society, 1893).



*Location of Silk Road Sites in India (Sunity Devée, 1919)*

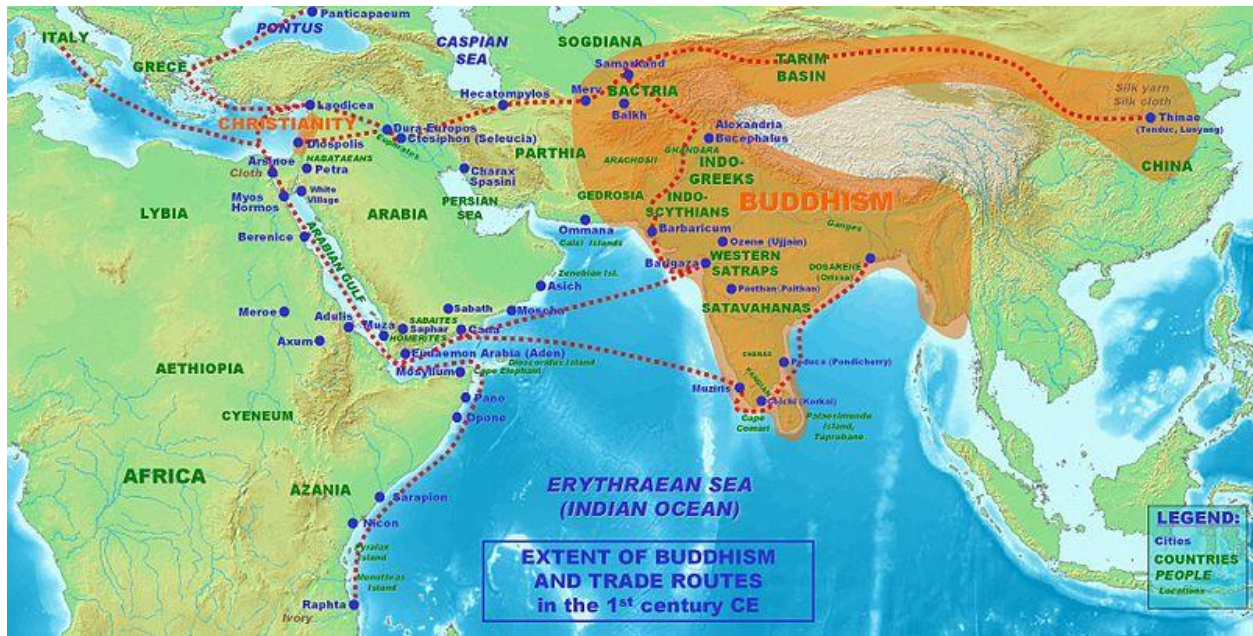
rich, most people went about their ways with bare feet. Fa Hien<sup>56</sup> rarely refers to any shoes or sandals, but Kalidasa does mention them as paduka or wooden sandals. At Ajanfca<sup>57</sup> too there are few paintings, which show anything worn on the feet either by men or women among the rich or the poor. But this does not mean that nothing was worn by the people of this period to protect

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<sup>56</sup> Fa Hien, or Faxian, was one of the hundreds of Chinese monks that traveled to India during the first millennium AD. The excavation of his detailed written accounts makes him more famous than others.

<sup>57</sup> Also known as the Ajanta Caves, this area is located in the hills of Northwest India abundant with historic sculpture, wall murals, and paintings. The caves date back since the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. For additional details, see “The Caves of Ajanta,” KhanAcademy, accessed April 22, 2015 (<https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/art-asia/south-asia/buddhist-art2/a/the-caves-of-ajanta>).





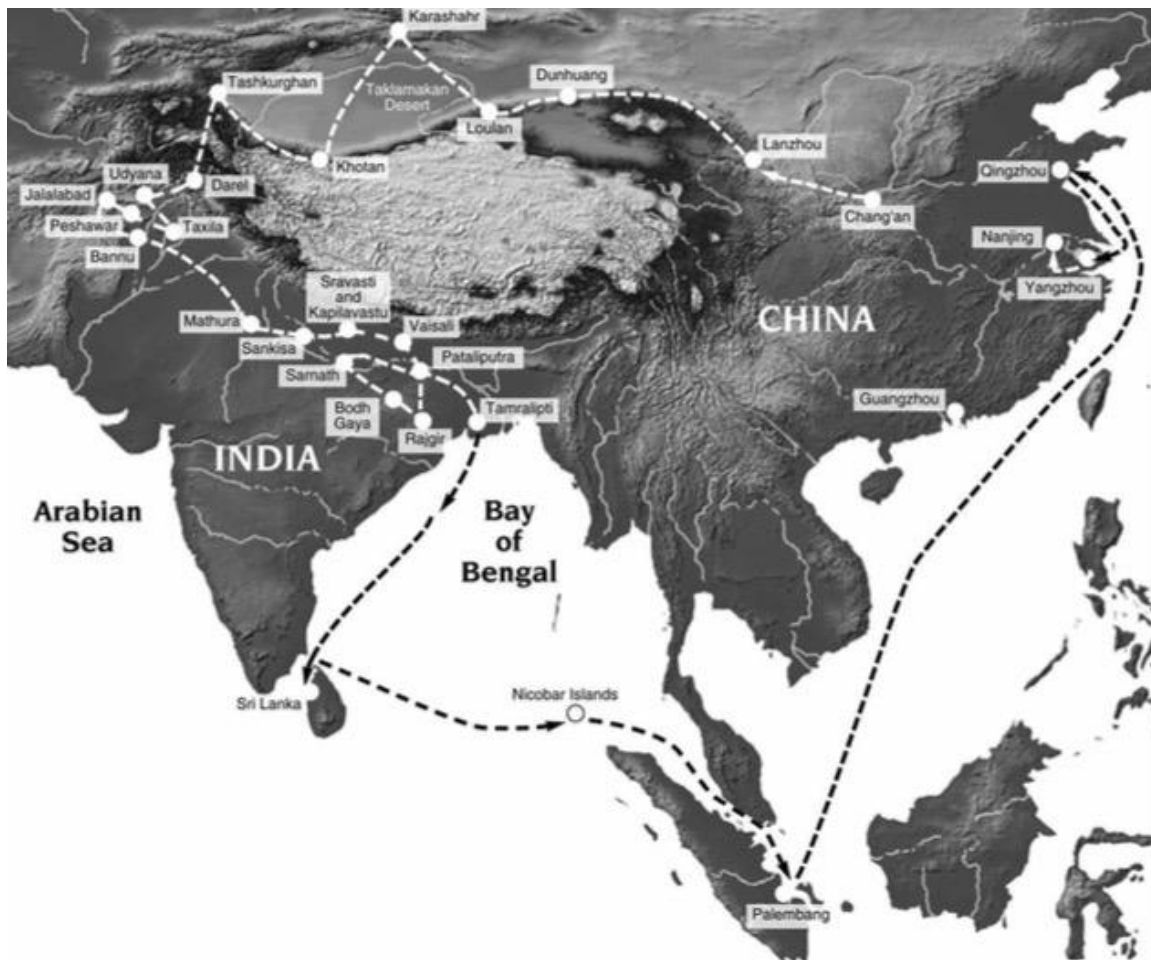
*Extent of Buddhism and trade routes in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (PGHCOM, 2007)*

their feet.”<sup>58</sup> Therefore, the identification element with either a shoe or a ring can be seen as heavily dependent upon culture and time.

The location in which this Indian variant was founded hints at two modes on the spread of this tale: the Silk Road, in context with India, and migration habits of Buddhist pilgrims. Kalidasa is to have lived between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century, which is during the Gupta Kingdom in Indian history.<sup>59</sup> At this time, new trading networks were being developed across this empire. Elverskog states, “During the third and fourth centuries A.D. in tandem with the rise of the powerful Gupta dynasty in India (320-550 B.C.) and the consolidation of Sassanid power in Iran,

<sup>58</sup> R. Saletore, *Life in the Gupta Age* (Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1943), 428.

<sup>59</sup> For an excellent study of the Gupta Kingdom including history and culture, see B. Litvinskij’s, “The Gupta Kingdom,” *History of Civilizations of Central Asia AD 250 to 750*, edited by K. Chakrabarti (Fontenoy, Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1996), 190.



*Faxian's Travel Itinerary (Sen, 2006)*

there was an expansion of maritime trade across the Indian Ocean.”<sup>60</sup> Not only was trade expanding throughout the sea but also on land causing a shift in dominance of domestic markets to foreign markets due to the start of heavy usage of the Silk Road. Chakrabarti explains by stating, “This might have been due to the increasing use of the Silk Route and the Sea Route to

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<sup>60</sup> J. Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam on the Silk Road* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 32.



China, which brought a large amount of Chinese silk to India or, more generally, to the decline in trade with the West.”<sup>61</sup>

Another global connection theory entails the spread of Buddhist doctrines throughout India and China by migrating monks starting in the first century that sparked a diffusion of cross-cultural exchanges in the Eastern hemisphere.<sup>62</sup> By the fifth century, Buddhism had been thriving in Gandhara and the Swat Valley (northern Pakistan) for six hundred years, financed by the extensive trade that flowed through the Khyber and Karakorum passes.<sup>63</sup> Buddhist monks and pilgrims traveled extensively stimulating the circulation of not only religious texts but also ideas and interactions between Indian kingdoms and various regions of China.<sup>64</sup> It may be difficult to accurately describe this complex process of transmission, but following the journey of a few individuals may provide clues.

The travel records of Chinese monk Faxian is an important historical resource that provides “remarkable insights into cross-cultural perceptions and interactions” between China and India.<sup>65</sup> In 399, when he embarked on his trip from the ancient Chinese capital Chang’an, Faxian was more than sixty years old.<sup>66</sup> According to Faxian’s *A Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms*, his destinations included the Taklamakan desert, major Buddhist pilgrimage sites in

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<sup>61</sup> Litvinskij, “The Gupta Kingdom,” 195.

<sup>62</sup> T. Sen, “The Travel Records of Chinese Pilgrims Faxian, Xuanzang, and Yijing” *Education about Asia* 11 (2006), 24.

<sup>63</sup> “Buddhism along the Silk Road” Metmuseum, last modified June 1, 2012. Accessed March 14, 2015 (<http://www.metmuseum.org/exhibitions/listings/2012/buddhism>).

<sup>64</sup> Sen, “The Travel Records of Chinese Pilgrims Faxian, Xuanzang, and Yijing”, 24.

<sup>65</sup> Sen, “The Travel Records of Chinese Pilgrims Faxian, Xuanzang, and Yijing”, 24-25.

<sup>66</sup> Sen, “The Travel Records of Chinese Pilgrims Faxian, Xuanzang, and Yijing”, 25.



*Bodhidharma on Elephant Yiran (Wikipedia, 2007)*

India, Sri Lanka, and a sea voyage returning to China.<sup>67</sup> Sen further details his travels to India by stating, “Then in Sri Lanka, he [Faxian] describes the elaborate ceremony overseen by the local ruler to venerate the Buddha’s tooth.”<sup>68</sup> The written accounts of this monk’s journey to India provide additional evidence in which cross-cultural encounters did indeed occur in pre-modern times.

Bodhidharma is another Buddhist monk that traveled extensively, promoting interaction between India and China. Despite debates on his biography and nationality, there is strong evidence supporting his actual existence. According to Stefon, “The first biography of

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<sup>67</sup> J. Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms: Being an Account by the Chinese Monk Fa-Hien of his Travels in India and Ceylon (A.D. 399-414) in Search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline* (New York: Dover Publications, 1965), 1-5.

<sup>68</sup> Sen, “The Travel Records of Chinese Pilgrims Faxian, Xuanzang, and Yijing”, 26.

Bodhidharma was a brief text written by the Chinese monk Daoxuan (flourished 7<sup>th</sup> century) about a century after Bodhidharma's death".<sup>69</sup>

There are also many traditional accounts that claim he traveled to China in the late fifth centuries and was known for many Buddhist related activities.<sup>70</sup> In addition to the spread of Buddhism, other scholars have suggested that the arduous efforts by Indian and Chinese monks allowed for Chinese literature to undergo cultural transposition. Mukherji argues that along with the dominant religious texts of Buddhism, folk literature too reached China aboard the doctrinal vehicle. He claims, "A great number of mythical tales, legends, adages, fairytales, and fables from India travelled to China across the Himalayan heights or even by sea-routes leaving an indelible mark on a great number of Chinese tales and even classics across a period of several centuries."<sup>71</sup> The advanced road systems and extensive travels taken upon by these two individuals are only a small fraction to a larger insight that may provide possible speculations of early cross-cultural exchanges leading to the dissemination of the Cinderella variants.

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<sup>69</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, s.v. "Bodhidharma" last modified February 3, 2015. Accessed March 14, 2015 (<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/70979/Bodhidharma>).

<sup>70</sup> J. Garfield, "Why did Bodhidharma Go to the East? Buddhism's Struggle with the Mind in the World." *Sophia* 45 (2006), 61-80.

<sup>71</sup> P. George, *East Asian Literatures: Japanese, Chinese, and Korean: an Interface with India* (New Delhi: Northern Book Centre, 2006), pp. 183.

### Chapter 3: Yeh-hsien

Around nine centuries after Strabo recorded the account of Rhodopis, another written version of Cinderella was identified by Arthur Waley and R. D. Jameson in a Chinese novel authored by Tuan Ch'eng-shih between 850-860 AD<sup>72</sup>. Tuan Ch'eng-shih originated from Shantung, China and belonged to an influential family. His father provided many services to the state including high posts both at the Capital and in certain provinces<sup>73</sup>. Following the death of Tuan's father, Waley notes, "He held various posts at the Capital, was prefect of Chi-chou in Kiangsi, and finally held a position in the T'ai-ch'ang Ssu, the office which arranged the rites connected with imperial ancestor-worship."<sup>74</sup> Entitled *Yu Yan Tsa Tsu* or *Miscellany of Forgotten Lore*, this book was compiled by Tuan Ch'eng-shih during his extensive travels for work.

*Miscellany of Forgotten Lore* is a compilation of numerous stories, many of which contain foreign elements. Some are stories quoted from various books, others are recordings from his personal experiences, and a few are ones he received orally. Of all the stories, one stands out recognizable by almost any folklorist. The story of *Yeh-hsien*, a Chinese Cinderella, was passed down orally from a family servant, Li Shih-yuan, who came from the caves of Yung-chou in southern China, near present-day Vietnam.<sup>75</sup>

Upon examination, this variant is remarkably close to the European variant most famously written by Frenchman Charles Perrault. As summarized by Beauchamp, "A mistreated

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<sup>72</sup> A. Louie and E. Young, *Yeh-Shien: A Cinderella Story from China* (New York: Philomel Books, 1982), 1-10.

<sup>73</sup> Louie, *Yeh-Shen: A Cinderella Story from China*, 5-10.

<sup>74</sup> For additional information English Orientalist and sinologist Arthur Waley, see Waley. "The Chinese Cinderella Story," 226-238.

<sup>75</sup> J. Sierra, *The Oryx Multicultural Folktale Series: Cinderella* (Westport, CT: Oryx Press, 1992), 149.

stepdaughter is kind to an animal; at the moment she is bereft of hope, an otherworldly person appears out of the blue; a marvelous dress for a festival and a shining lost shoe lead to identification through the fit of the shoe and marriage to a king.”<sup>76</sup> Below is a translation of the Yeh-Shien story:

Tuan Ch’eng Shih says, “Among the people of the south there is a tradition that before the Ch’in and Han dynasties there was a cave-master called Wu. The aborigines called the place the Wu cave. He married two wives. One wife died. She had a daughter called Yeh-hsien, who from childhood was intelligent and good at making pottery on the wheel. Her father loved her. After some years the father died, and she was ill treated by her step-mother, who always made her collect firewood in dangerous places and draw water from deep pools. She once got a fish about two inches long, with red fins and golden eyes. She put it into a bowl of water. It grew bigger every day, and after she had changed the bowl several times she could find no bowl big enough for it, so she threw it into the back pond. Whatever food was left over from meals she put into the water to feed it. When she came to the pond, the fish always exposed its head and pillowed it on the bank; but when anyone else came, it did not come out. The stepmother knew about this, but when she watched for it, it did not once appear. So she tricked the girl, saying, “Haven’t you worked hard?! I am going to give you a new dress.” She then made the girl change out of her tattered clothing. Afterwards she sent her to get water from another spring and reckoning that it was several hundred leagues, the step-mother at her leisure put on her daughter’s clothes, hid a sharp blade up her sleeve, and went to the pond. She called to the fish. The fish at once put its head out, and she chopped it off and killed it. The fish was now more than ten feet long. She served it up and it tasted twice as good as an ordinary fish. She hid the

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<sup>76</sup> F. Beauchamp, “Asian Origins of Cinderella: The Zhuang Storyteller of Guangxi,” *Oral Tradition* 25, no. 2 (2010), 447.

bones under the dung-hill. Next day, when the girl came to the pond, no fish appeared. She howled with grief in the open countryside, and suddenly there appeared a man with his hair loose over his shoulders and coarse clothes. He came down from the sky. He consoled her, saying, "Don't howl! Your step-mother has killed the fish and its bones are under the dung. You go back, take the fish's bones and hide them in your room. 'Whatever you want, you have only to pray to them for it. It is bound to be granted.'" The girl followed his advice, and was able to provide herself with gold, pearls, dresses and food whenever she wanted them.

When the time came for the cave-festival, the step-mother went, leaving the girl to keep watch over the fruit-trees in the garden. She waited till the step-mother was some way off, and then went herself, wearing a cloak of stuff spun from kingfisher feathers and shoes of gold. Her step-sister recognized her and said to the step-mother, "That's very like my sister." The step-mother suspected the same thing. The girl was aware of this and went away in such a hurry that she lost one shoe. It was picked up by one of the people of the cave. When the step-mother got home, she found the girl asleep, with her arms round one of the trees in the garden, and thought no more about it.

This cave was near to an island in the sea. On this island was a kingdom called T'o-han. Its soldiers had subdued twenty or thirty other islands and it had a coast-line of several thousand leagues. The cave-man sold the shoe in To-han, and the ruler of T'o-han got it. He told those about him to put it on; but it was an inch too small even for the one among them that had the smallest foot. He ordered all the women in his kingdom to try it on; but there was not one that it fitted. It was light as down and made no noise even when treading on stone. The king of T'o-han thought the cave-man had got it unlawfully. He put him in prison and tortured him, but did not end by finding out where it had come from. So he threw it down at the wayside. Then they went

everywhere 6 through all the people's houses and arrested them. If there was a woman's shoe, they arrested them and told the king of T'o-han. He thought it strange, searched the inner-rooms and found Yeh-hsien. He made her put on the shoe, and it was true.

Yeh-hsien then came forward, wearing her cloak spun from halcyon feathers and her shoes. She was as beautiful as a heavenly being. She now began to render service to the king, and he took the fish-bones and Yeh-hsien, and brought them back to his country.

The step-mother and step-sister were shortly afterwards struck by flying stones, and died. The cave people were sorry for them and buried them in a stone-pit, which was called the Tomb of the Distressed Women. The men of the cave made mating-offerings there; any girl they prayed for there, they got. The king of T'o-han, when he got back to his kingdom made Yeh-hsien his chief wife. The first year the king was very greedy and by his prayers to the fish-bones got treasures and jade without limit. Next year, there was no response, so the king buried the fish-bones on the sea-shore. He covered them with a hundred bushels of pearls and bordered them with gold. Later there was a mutiny of some soldiers who had been conscripted and their general opened (the hiding-place) in order to make better provision for his army. One night they (the bones) were washed away by the tide.

This story was told me by Li Shih-yuan, who has been in the service of my family a long while. He was himself originally a man from the caves of Yung-chou and remembers many strange things of the South.”<sup>77</sup>

In this Chinese variant of Cinderella, the beginnings of this story are a textbook example of Jameson's episode A1. From the tale, Yeh-hsien's father has two wives. When he and Yeh-hsien's biological mother pass away, she is left to live with her cruel stepmother and stepsister.

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<sup>77</sup> Arthur Waley. "The Chinese Cinderella Story." *Folklore* 58, no. 1 (1847), 227-229.

As a result, Yeh-hsien is forced to perform menial tasks at home such as “collect firewood in dangerous places and draw water from deep pools.”<sup>78</sup>

In addition, there are aspects within certain episodes that allows for the recognition of the Chinese culture that produced it. For example, one aspect of Chinese culture referenced in this variant during the 9th century is marriage. According to Waley, “Chinese, of course, could only have one wife, though they might have several concubines.”<sup>79</sup> This allows for a few speculations: Yeh-hsien was the daughter of the concubine hence leading to the hatred from her step-mother, Yeh-hsien’s father remarried instead of having two wives at once, or the step-mother was the concubine where the hatred arose from jealousy of the non-concubine wife.

Jameson’s episode B1 indicates supernatural creatures providing aid to the ill-treated female protagonist. In this Chinese variant, Yeh-hsien encounters a fish from a pond in which she cares for. The supernatural element with regards to the fish can be seen in two aspects of the story: its exponential growth and a man from the sky informing Yeh-hsien that the fish bones will grant any wish. During the Tang Dynasty, goldfish were used in ornamental water gardens for illustrious purposes. In addition, these marine ornaments provided a symbolic representation of “surplus and wealth in Chinese culture”.<sup>80</sup> Hence this knowledge allows for possible understanding of the goldfish selection in the Chinese variant compared to the discrepancies of other animals in non-Chinese variants.

The next point that arises in Jameson’s episodic chart is C1, or meeting royal  
bloodline. This event corresponds to a ball or celebratory event seen in many other variants of

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<sup>78</sup> Waley, “The Chinese Cinderella Story,” 227.

<sup>79</sup> Waley, “The Chinese Cinderella Story,” 230.

<sup>80</sup> J. Dehart, “Goldfish: From Tang Dynasty Ponds to 21<sup>st</sup> Century Aquariums,” *The Diplomat*, last modified October 9, 2013. Accessed March 14, 2015 (<http://thediplomat.com/2013/10/goldfish-from-tang-dynasty-ponds-to-21st-century-aquariums/>).



Cinderella, particularly in the West. There is a cave-festival in which Yeh-hsien has the opportunity to meet the king and loses her slipper. This social event celebrated among the aborigines in southern China took place in the spring, although among different sects i.e. the Kwangsi, it happened at the beginning of the Chinese tenth month. Waley describes the purpose of this occasion for “ancestor-worship and at the same time a mating-festival”.<sup>81</sup>

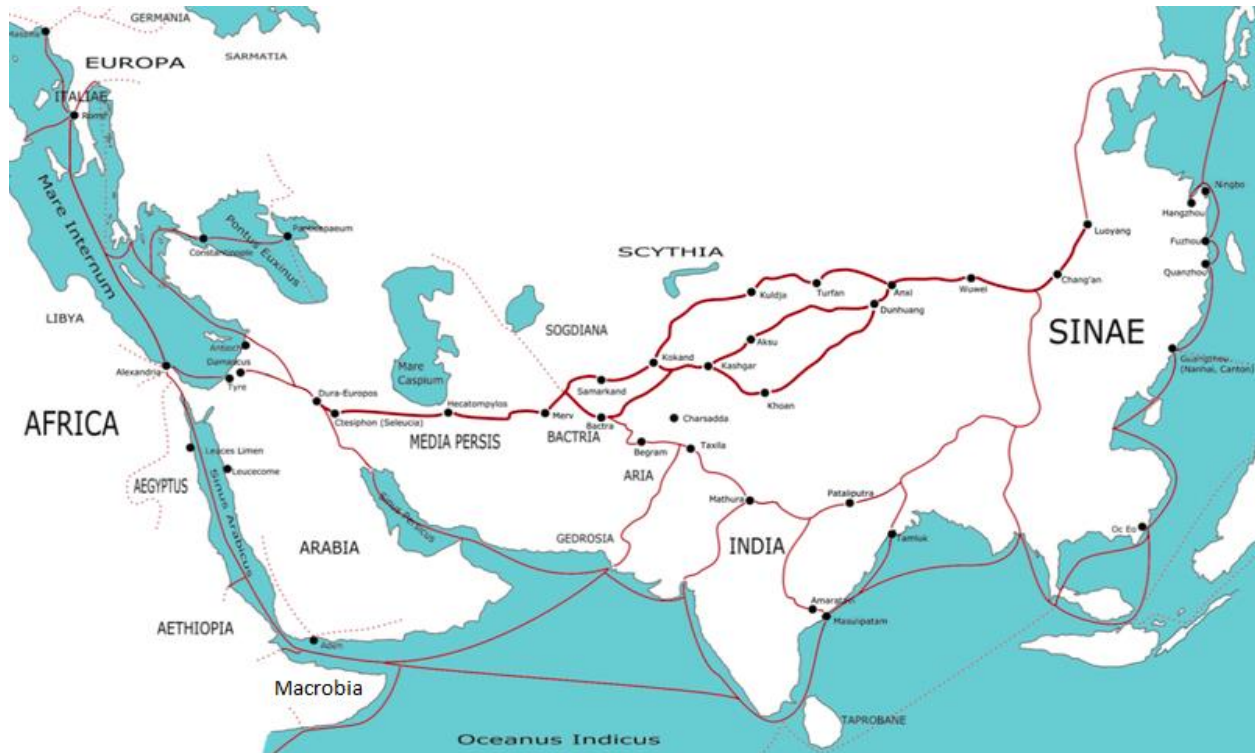
Lastly, the turning point of many Cinderella stories occurs with the lost shoe, corresponding to Jameson’s episode D1, or the shoe test. This pivotal motif has endured many centuries of Cinderella retellings throughout many geographical locations. It is difficult to discredit the shoe element in the Chinese variant because it was common for females to wear sandals of some sort for ceremonial occasions during the Tang dynasty. Also, it is believed by many scholars that the practice of foot binding is likely to have originated during the Southern Tang Dynasty, making the shoe element in this variant even more so culturally appropriate.<sup>82</sup>

In addition, this variant makes a specific reference to a golden shoe. Waley supports this plausibility because His-Yuan, the location of this tale, was an important gold-mining centre at the time. He notes, “The *History of the Song Dynasty* gives the situation of a number of gold-mines in this neighborhood, and the modern aborigines were apparently still wearing gold ornaments late

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<sup>81</sup> Waley, “The Chinese Cinderella Story,” 231.

<sup>82</sup> L. Donn, “Tang Dynasty 600 AD,” The Tang Dynasty (China’s Golden Age), last modified January 1, 2015. Accessed March 14, 2015 (<http://china.mrdonn.org/tang.html>).



The Silk Road 1<sup>st</sup> Century (Creative Commons, 2013)

in the 19<sup>th</sup> century though this does not seem to be the case today.”<sup>83</sup> In European variants, a glass slipper is referenced so it is possible to infer that the material of the shoe element may have changed according to available raw sources within the respective locations of different Cinderella tales.

During premodern times, China’s economic imprint on the world regarding trade has left somewhat of a significant mark in history.<sup>84</sup> Many of China’s interactions with the outside world came via the Silk Road. Examples can be found in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD when the Chinese had contact with representatives of the Roman Empire and including the 13<sup>th</sup> century, when Venetian

<sup>83</sup> Waley, “The Chinese Cinderella Story,” 231.

<sup>84</sup> N. Cosmo, *Military Culture in Imperial China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 183-185.

traveler Marco Polo visits China.<sup>85</sup>

The Silk Road is one of the first global connection theories that might have aided the spread of the Cinderella tale. During the Tang dynasty, the Silk Road was heavily utilized, which allowed for the gain of new technologies, cultural practices, and dissemination of ideas. It was one of the most important pre-modern trade routes spanning across Eurasia. During this period, the Tang dynasty experienced an extraordinary “increase in contact with the Central Asian kingdoms and in Buddhist connections with India via the Silk Road.”<sup>86</sup>

Later on, the Tang dynasty established a second Pax Sinica and the Silk Road flourished as the melting pot of mixed cultures. Wood notes, “The Tang is often characterized as an outward-looking era, a cosmopolitan period when countless foreign traders set up shop in the capital, Chang’an and the taste for ‘all sorts of foreign luxuries and wonders began to spread from the court outward among city dwellers generally.’”<sup>87</sup> It is also necessary to point out that the origins of the Silk Road began around 130 BC, which is even before the time of Strabo or Herodotus. Mark argues that, “The history of the Silk Road pre-dates the Han Dynasty in practice, however, as the Persian Royal Road, which would come to serve as one of the main arteries of the Silk Road, was established during the Achaemenid Empire.”<sup>88</sup>

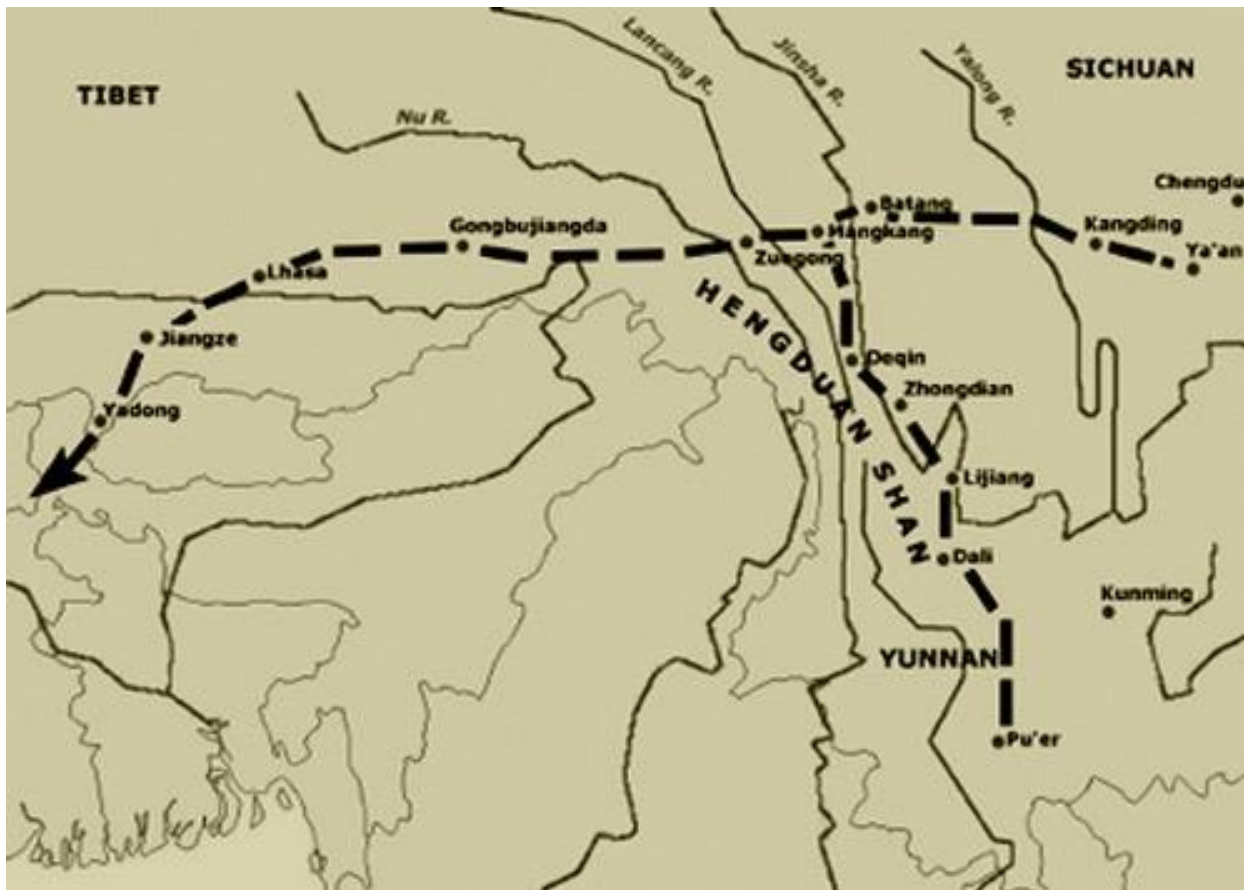
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<sup>85</sup> Y. Fan and J. Hill, *Through the Jade Gate to Rome: A Study of the Silk Routes during the Later Han Dynasty 1st to 2nd Centuries CE : An Annotated Translation of the Chronicle on the 'Western Regions' in the Hou Hanshu* (Charleston SC: BookSurge Publishing, 2009), 27.

<sup>86</sup> F. Wood, *The Silk Road: Two Thousand Years in the Heart of Asia* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002), 11.

<sup>87</sup> Wood, *The Silk Road: Two Thousand Years in the Heart of Asia*, 75.

<sup>88</sup> J. Mark, “Silk Road,” Ancient History Encyclopedia, last modified March 28, 2014. Accessed March 14, 2015 ([http://www.ancient.eu/Silk\\_Road/](http://www.ancient.eu/Silk_Road/)).



*Map illustrating the Tea Tree Horse Road (Waugh, 2015)*

This signifies the increased possibility that the story of Rhodopis may have even traveled via both the Royal Road and the Silk Road, eventually ending up in China.

Another possible route along which the Cinderella fairy tale was spread in China involves the less familiar Tea Horse Road. This ancient passageway once stretched almost 1,400 miles from the lush gardens of southwest China with the frigid wastelands of Tibet and beyond, the plains of northern India.<sup>89</sup> According to Jenkins, "Tea was first brought to Tibet, legend has it,

<sup>89</sup> A. Forbes and D. Henley, *China's Ancient Tea Horse Road*, (Hong Kong: Cognoscenti Books, 2011), 1.

when Tang dynasty Princess Wen Cheng married Tibetan King Songster Gamp in A.D. 641.”<sup>90</sup> The Tea Horse Road may have been the main route between Tibet and China, reaching its peak of use during the rule of Tang Dynasty. Shi Shou supports this by explaining that the road was, “not only a channel for ancestors’ migration but also a key tunnel for ancient intercultural communication among these regions.”<sup>91</sup>

I will make a short digression in which Wayne Schlepp argues that an even earlier version of Yeh-hsien may be found in Tibet<sup>92</sup>. From the Tibetan collection tales, “The Twenty-five Stories of the Magic Corpse, his translated version portrays the protagonist tricked into killing her own mother and then moving in with two ogresses who mistreat her. Her mother becomes reincarnated as a cow and grants her daughter wishes. She attends a local fair where she encounters a prince. Afraid of being caught by the ogresses, the protagonist flees the fair but leaves her slipper. The story ends with the prince confirming the protagonist with the lost shoe and marriage. If Schlepp is correct in his theory, the route of transmission may have traveled from Egypt to Tibet, and then to Southern China. Although this is not conclusive, it is worth investigating for future studies.

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<sup>90</sup> M. Jenkins, “Tea Horse Road,” *National Geographic Magazine*, last modified November 1, 2010. Accessed March 14, 2015 (<http://ngm.nationalgeographic.com/2010/05/tea-horse-road/jenkins-text/1>).

<sup>91</sup> T. Smith, “Cinderella’s Lessons on Footbinding: How Tiny Feet Found their Way into the Chinese Cinderella Story,” *Transnational Literature* 5 no. 2 (2013), 2.

<sup>92</sup> W. Schlepp, “Cinderella in Tibet,” *Asian Folklore Studies* 61 no. 1 (2002), 123-147.

## Conclusion

This study is an attempt to reintroduce the investigation on possible origins of Cinderella and also theoretical modes of folklore transmission into academic discussion. Three versions of the earliest Cinderella variants were examined to understand the evolution between versions as well as to hypothesize routes of dissemination for this tale. I make the claim that by comparative analysis between Cinderella variants and studying methods of diffusion, it is possible to examine evidence for cross-cultural encounters in pre-modern societies. In painting this thesis with broad strokes, the purpose of my work is not to adamantly state a specific origin of Cinderella but to offer suggestions to current scholarship.

Despite some minor cultural differences among the three chosen variants of Cinderella, further analysis depicts greater similarities parallel in spirit and series of motifs. Stable themes and familiar character traits demonstrate a universal interest in different cultures, which appears to have created a legacy over time. Family tensions, justice, miracles, and a female protagonist who is hardworking, kind, lonely, and willful are motifs with an emotional appeal that resonated in both pre-modern and modern society. This story's tremendous influence on people's assumptions about ethics and life's possibilities, especially for women, has been successful in part due to well-established trade routes surrounding the variants' country location.<sup>93</sup> By comparing these three variants, it is possible to understand the story's diffusion.

Arguably the very first variant of Cinderella may be the tale of Rhodopis. Three elements were analyzed in the tale of Rhodopis that supports its claim as a Cinderella tale: the disadvantaged beginnings of a slave girl, identification by a lost slipper, and marriage into royalty. The absence of a magical element and the presence of an eagle can be associated with cultural aspects in Egypt during its respective time period. Two modes of how this variant spread

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<sup>93</sup> F. Beauchamp, "Asian Origins of Cinderella: The Zhuang Storyteller of Guangxi," 449.

were also mentioned, including the Royal Road and the Appian Way which were heavily used by pre-modern civilians, like Strabo himself.

The Indian variant underwent vast changes from the replacement of a ring instead of a shoe and the king encountering the protagonist first instead of the reversal. India can be described as a barefoot country even since the Gupta Empire, which is a possible explanation of why the episode of the shoe may have been removed. However, the core elements of a disadvantaged protagonist and reunification between two lovers through a specific object remained. The specific cultural traces through minor adjustments within the stories allowed for analyzing methods on how this variant may have arrived to India or traveled to China. The use of the Silk Road and the travels of Buddhist pilgrims may have been a possible catalyst to the spread of this tale and another opportunity for cross-cultural encounters.

The Chinese variant seems to have altered the Indian storyline and structure of the plot to what is now familiar in many familiar European variants. Throughout the evolution of Cinderella from Rhodopis to Yeh-hsien, one can notice how certain aspects have been molded to fit each culture. Perhaps due to the popularity of foot binding during the Tang dynasty, the shoe element may have returned to this Chinese variant. The element of magic is also apparent in this rendition most likely because of cultural significance in superstition at the time. From China, two possible routes of transmission were mentioned that might have ultimately led to its travel to the rest of the world: the Silk Road and the Tea Horse Road.

It is worth considering the renewed interest in Cinderella because imaginary fairytales may provide factual evidence on the process and practices of cross-cultural interactions. To one's surprise, everyday mundane bedtime stories hold centuries worth of history. And overtime, the changes within a tale represent the dynamic nature of human culture recreation and

reinterpretation. My thesis concentrated on the examination of similar themes within distant Cinderella variants and also theoretical Eurasian exchange models on how the story may have disseminated across the world.

I conclude that further research is required to accurately trace possible routes of transmission for Cinderella variants. From my personal research, I realized that the study of folktales and their origins such as Cinderella raised more questions than I could find answers. Are there other methods in tracing origins of a fairytale rather than a broad search as mine? How does determining the origin of a folktale change current perspective on history? Why is one variant more popular than another? Does differences among variants provide any significance? As Cinderella continues to maintain its popularity and cultural significance in all corners of the world, it may be of value to find its origin and dig deeper into studying other older variants. Fairy tales should not be looked down upon as mere children's stories as they may provide many clues to understanding a nation's culture, history, and lifestyle, which is why Cinderella deserves such attention.



## Appendix A

Once there was a gentleman who married, for his second wife, the proudest and most haughty woman that was ever seen. She had, by a former husband, two daughters of her own, who were, indeed, exactly like her in all things. He had likewise, by another wife, a young daughter, but of unparalleled goodness and sweetness of temper, which she took from her mother, who was the best creature in the world.

No sooner were the ceremonies of the wedding over but the stepmother began to show herself in her true colors. She could not bear the good qualities of this pretty girl, and the less because they made her own daughters appear the more odious. She employed her in the meanest work of the house. She scoured the dishes, tables, etc., and cleaned madam's chamber, and those of misses, her daughters. She slept in a sorry garret, on a wretched straw bed, while her sisters slept in fine rooms, with floors all inlaid, on beds of the very newest fashion, and where they had looking glasses so large that they could see themselves at their full length from head to foot.

The poor girl bore it all patiently, and dared not tell her father, who would have scolded her; for his wife governed him entirely. When she had done her work, she used to go to the chimney corner, and sit down there in the cinders and ashes, which caused her to be called Cinderwench. Only the younger sister, who was not so rude and uncivil as the older one, called her Cinderella. However, Cinderella, notwithstanding her coarse apparel, was a hundred times more beautiful than her sisters, although they were always dressed very richly.

It happened that the king's son gave a ball, and invited all persons of fashion to it. Our young misses were also invited, for they cut a very grand figure among those of quality. They were mightily delighted at this invitation, and wonderfully busy in selecting the gowns, petticoats, and hair dressing that would best become them. This was a new difficulty for Cinderella; for it was she who ironed her sister's linen and pleated their ruffles. They talked all day long of nothing but how they should be dressed.

"For my part," said the eldest, "I will wear my red velvet suit with French trimming."

"And I," said the youngest, "shall have my usual petticoat; but then, to make amends for that, I will put on my gold-flowered cloak, and my diamond stomacher, which is far from being the most ordinary one in the world."

They sent for the best hairdresser they could get to make up their headpieces and adjust their hairdos, and they had their red brushes and patches from Mademoiselle de la Poche.

They also consulted Cinderella in all these matters, for she had excellent ideas, and her advice was always good. Indeed, she even offered her services to fix their hair, which they very willingly accepted. As she was doing this, they said to her, "Cinderella, would you not like to go to the ball?"

"Alas!" said she, "you only jeer me; it is not for such as I am to go to such a place."

"You are quite right," they replied. "It would make the people laugh to see a Cinderwench at a ball."

Anyone but Cinderella would have fixed their hair awry, but she was very good, and dressed them perfectly well. They were so excited that they hadn't eaten a thing for almost two days. Then they broke more than a dozen laces trying to have themselves laced up tightly enough to give them a fine slender shape. They were continually in front of their looking glass. At last the happy day came. They went to court, and Cinderella followed them with her eyes as long as she could. When she lost sight of them, she started to cry.

Her godmother, who saw her all in tears, asked her what was the matter.

"I wish I could. I wish I could." She was not able to speak the rest, being interrupted by her tears and sobbing.

This godmother of hers, who was a fairy, said to her, "You wish that you could go to the ball; is it not so?"

"Yes," cried Cinderella, with a great sigh.

"Well," said her godmother, "be but a good girl, and I will contrive that you shall go." Then she took her into her chamber, and said to her, "Run into the garden, and bring me a pumpkin."

Cinderella went immediately to gather the finest she could get, and brought it to her godmother, not being able to imagine how this pumpkin could help her go to the ball. Her godmother scooped out all the inside of it, leaving nothing but the rind. Having done this, she struck the pumpkin with her wand, and it was instantly turned into a fine coach, gilded all over with gold.

She then went to look into her mousetrap, where she found six mice, all alive, and ordered Cinderella to lift up a little the trapdoor. She gave each mouse, as it went out, a little tap with her wand, and the mouse was that moment turned into a fine horse, which altogether made a very fine set of six horses of a beautiful mouse colored dapple gray.

Being at a loss for a coachman, Cinderella said, "I will go and see if there is not a rat in the rat trap that we can turn into a coachman."

"You are right," replied her godmother, "Go and look."

Cinderella brought the trap to her, and in it there were three huge rats. The fairy chose the one which had the largest beard, touched him with her wand, and turned him into a fat, jolly coachman, who had the smartest whiskers that eyes ever beheld.

After that, she said to her, "Go again into the garden, and you will find six lizards behind the watering pot. Bring them to me."

She had no sooner done so but her godmother turned them into six footmen, who skipped up immediately behind the coach, with their liveries all bedaubed with gold and silver, and clung as close behind each other as if they had done nothing else their whole lives. The fairy then said to Cinderella, "Well, you see here an equipage fit to go to the ball with; are you not pleased with it?"

"Oh, yes," she cried; "but must I go in these nasty rags?"

Her godmother then touched her with her wand, and, at the same instant, her clothes turned into cloth of gold and silver, all beset with jewels. This done, she gave her a pair of glass slippers, the prettiest in the whole world. Being thus decked out, she got up into her coach; but her godmother, above all things, commanded her not to stay past midnight, telling her, at the same time, that if she stayed one moment longer, the coach would be a pumpkin again, her horses mice, her coachman a rat, her footmen lizards, and that her clothes would become just as they were before.

She promised her godmother to leave the ball before midnight; and then drove away, scarcely able to contain herself for joy. The king's son, who was told that a great princess, whom nobody knew, had arrived, ran out to receive her. He gave her his hand as she alighted from the coach, and led her into the hall, among all the company. There was immediately a profound silence. Everyone stopped dancing, and the violins ceased to play, so entranced was everyone with the singular beauties of the unknown newcomer.

Nothing was then heard but a confused noise of, "How beautiful she is! How beautiful she is!"

The king himself, old as he was, could not help watching her, and telling the queen softly that it was a long time since he had seen so beautiful and lovely a creature.

All the ladies were busied in considering her clothes and headdress, hoping to have some made next day after the same pattern, provided they could find such fine materials and as able hands to make them.

The king's son led her to the most honorable seat, and afterwards took her out to dance with him. She danced so very gracefully that they all more and more admired her. A fine meal was served up, but the young prince ate not a morsel, so intently was he busied in gazing on her.

She went and sat down by her sisters, showing them a thousand civilities, giving them part of the oranges and citrons which the prince had presented her with, which very much surprised them, for they did not know her. While Cinderella was thus amusing her sisters, she heard the clock strike eleven and three-quarters, whereupon she immediately made a courtesy to the company and hurried away as fast as she could.

Arriving home, she ran to seek out her godmother, and, after having thanked her, she said she could not but heartily wish she might go to the ball the next day as well, because the king's son had invited her.

As she was eagerly telling her godmother everything that had happened at the ball, her two sisters knocked at the door, which Cinderella ran and opened.

"You stayed such a long time!" she cried, gaping, rubbing her eyes and stretching herself as if she had been sleeping; she had not, however, had any manner of inclination to sleep while they were away from home.

"If you had been at the ball," said one of her sisters, "you would not have been tired with it. The finest princess was there, the most beautiful that mortal eyes have ever seen. She showed us a thousand civilities, and gave us oranges and citrons."

Cinderella seemed very indifferent in the matter. Indeed, she asked them the name of that princess; but they told her they did not know it, and that the king's son was very uneasy on her account and would give all the world to know who she was. At this Cinderella, smiling, replied, "She must, then, be very beautiful indeed; how happy you have been! Could not I see her? Ah, dear Charlotte, do lend me your yellow dress which you wear every day."

"Yes, to be sure!" cried Charlotte; "lend my clothes to such a dirty Cinderwench as you are! I should be such a fool."

Cinderella, indeed, well expected such an answer, and was very glad of the refusal; for she would have been sadly put to it, if her sister had lent her what she asked for jestingly.

The next day the two sisters were at the ball, and so was Cinderella, but dressed even more magnificently than before. The king's son was always by her, and never ceased his compliments and kind speeches to her. All this was so far from being tiresome to her, and, indeed, she quite forgot what her godmother had told her. She thought that it was no later than eleven when she counted the clock striking twelve. She jumped up and fled, as nimble as a deer. The prince followed, but could not overtake her. She left behind one of her glass slippers, which the prince picked up most carefully. She reached home, but quite out of breath, and in her nasty old clothes, having nothing left of all her finery but one of the little slippers, the mate to the one that she had dropped.

The guards at the palace gate were asked if they had not seen a princess go out. They replied that they had seen nobody leave but a young girl, very shabbily dressed, and who had more the air of a poor country wench than a gentlewoman.

When the two sisters returned from the ball Cinderella asked them if they had been well entertained, and if the fine lady had been there.

They told her, yes, but that she hurried away immediately when it struck twelve, and with so much haste that she dropped one of her little glass slippers, the prettiest in the world, which the king's son had picked up; that he had done nothing but look at her all the time at the ball, and that most certainly he was very much in love with the beautiful person who owned the glass slipper.

What they said was very true; for a few days later, the king's son had it proclaimed, by sound of trumpet, that he would marry her whose foot this slipper would just fit. They began to try it on the princesses, then the duchesses and all the court, but in vain; it was brought to the two sisters, who did all they possibly could to force their foot into the slipper, but they did not succeed.

Cinderella, who saw all this, and knew that it was her slipper, said to them, laughing, "Let me see if it will not fit me." Her sisters burst out laughing, and began to banter with her. The gentleman who was sent to try the slipper looked earnestly at Cinderella, and, finding her very handsome, said that it was only just that she should try as well, and that he had orders to let everyone try.

He had Cinderella sit down, and, putting the slipper to her foot, he found that it went on very easily, fitting her as if it had been made of wax. Her two sisters were greatly astonished, but then even more so, when Cinderella pulled out of her pocket the other slipper, and put it on her other foot. Then in came her godmother and touched her wand to Cinderella's clothes, making them richer and more magnificent than any of those she had worn before. And now her two sisters found her to be that fine, beautiful lady whom they had seen at the ball. They threw themselves at her feet to beg pardon for all the ill treatment they had made her undergo. Cinderella took them up, and, as she embraced them, said that she forgave them with all her heart, and wanted them always to love her.

She was taken to the young prince, dressed as she was. He thought she was more charming than before, and, a few days after, married her. Cinderella, who was no less good than beautiful, gave her two sisters lodgings in the palace, and that very same day matched them with two great lords of the court.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> A. Lang, *The Blue Fairy Book* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., ca. 1889), pp. 64-71.

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Herodotus. *Book II (Euterpe)*. In Rawlinson, George. *History of Herodotus: a new English version*, 180. New York: D. Appleton, 1861. Accessed March 12, 2015. Internet Archive Online.

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Hill, John. *Through the Jade Gate to Rome: A Study of the Silk Routes during the Later Han Dynasty 1st to 2nd Centuries CE : An Annotated Translation of the Chronicle on the 'Western Regions' in the Hou Hanshu*. Charleston, SC: BookSurge Publishing, 2009.

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Chakrabarti, K. "The Gupta Kingdom." In *History of Civilizations of Central Asia AD 250 to 750*, edited by B. Litvinskij, 190. Fontenoy, Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1996.

A monograph of civilizations in Central Asia from AD 250 to 750. Chakrabarti discusses a wide range of topics during the Gupta kingdom including science, politics, literature, and much more. Most of the information gathered regarded the history of the Gupta kingdom

Climo, Shirley. *The Egyptian Cinderella*. New York: HarperCollins, 1989.

A narration on the Egyptian Cinderella story for children. Climo's story is based upon the first recorded Cinderella story from the first century BC. Her author's note provides a brief description differentiating fact and fiction of this tale.

Cosmo, Nicola. *Military Culture in Imperial China*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009.

A monograph that reexamines the relationship between culture and the military in Chinese society from early China to the Qing empire. Cosmo shares original essays by

recognized experts in Chinese history that address the Chinese treatment of the culture of war. His work also provided valuable insights to China's economy and its impact on world trade.

Cox, M. *Cinderella: Three Hundred and Forty-five Variants of Cinderella, Catskin, and Cap O'Rushes*, Volume 31. London: The Folklore society, 1893.

Cox's monograph is divided into three sections. The first and most useful section contains an abstract of multiple Cinderella variants across the world. The second section is a tabulation of the abstracts from the first section with a detailed narration of each tale. The third section contains abstracts of collected 'hero tales' or the masculine Cinderella variants

Dundes, Alan. *Cinderella, a Folklore Casebook*. New York: Garland Publications, 1982.

This monograph examines eighteen representative studies of Cinderella from countries around the world such as China, Africa, and Afghanistan. This casebook demonstrates the range and spread of the Cinderella folktale but also portrays the importance of comparative analysis of multiple Cinderella variants for folklore research.

Fontenrose, Joseph. *Orion: The Myth of the Hunter and the Huntress*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981.

This monograph explores the myths of Greek hunters and to find a common pattern from which all are derived. In addition, Fontenrose discusses other Greek myths that show similar plots. He provides an excellent version of Kalidasa's Shakuntala in *Eastern Myths of Hunter, Herdsman, Warrior* chapter.

Forbes, Andrew and David Henley. *China's Ancient Tea Horse Road*, Hong Kong: Cognoscenti Books, 2011.

An article discussing the history of the ancient Tea-Horse Road also known as the 'Southern Silk Road'. Forbs and Henley examine the origin of the Tea-Horse Road and also provides a comparative analysis of it with the antique Silk Road familiar to many.

Garfield, Jay L. "Why did Bodhidharma Go to the East? Buddhism's Struggle with the Mind in the World." *Sophia* 45, no. 2 (October 2006): 61-80.

A monograph that discusses the travels of Buddhist monk Bodhidharma and his intent on moving to China. Garfield mentions Buddhist philosophy in relation to Chinese culture in addition to Chinese assimilation of Buddhism. The text also contains valuable information on details of Bodhidharma's travel records.

Hall, H. R. "Nitokris-Rhodopis." *The Journal of Hellenistic Studies* 24 (1904): 208-213.

An article that discusses the historical evidence of Rhodopis. Hall provides multiple views from scholars on the origins of Rhodopis. In the end, he argues that it is very probable Herodotus's Nitokris must be Rhodopis using Egyptian and Greek text.

Koelsch, William. "Squinting Back at Strabo." *Geographical Review* 94, no. 4 (October 2004): 502-518.

A monograph that considers the contribution of two significant recent English translations of Strabo's *Geography*, including the original, and its influence to geographers in the contemporary world. Koelsch argues the difference between the Ptolemaic and the Strabonic model of geography. He also mentions the importance of early interpretations and contemporary reinterpretations of Strabo's work.

Lidov, Joel B. "Sappho, Herodotus, and the 'Hetaira'", *Classical Philology* 97 (2002): 202.

An article on the reexamination of the evidence for the Rhodopis story. In his article, Lidov separates his discussion into eight parts. Only five of the sections were of importance to this thesis. The first section is about present evidence compiled by Lidov. The second section is about the story of Rhodopis' life according to Herodotus. The third section is about the story of Rhodopis according to Strabo and within context of Hellenistic scholarship. The fourth section discusses the story of Rhodopis according to Athenaeus. The eighth section is about the life of Rhodopis within the context of Sappho's poems

Louie, Ai-Ling. *Yeh-Shien: A Cinderella Story from China*. New York: Philomel Books, 1982.

An illustrated narration of the Chinese Cinderella story. Louie translates the story of a Chinese based Cinderella into an illustrated narrative. Yeh-Shien suffers from the upbringing of her cruel step-mother. But with the help of a magical elderly man and the bones of her dead fish, she eventually marries a prince whom she met at a festival. This work provided a quick read source of a simple Chinese Cinderella variant.

Lundberg, M. "If the Shoe Fits – The Evolution of the Cinderella Fairy Tale from Literature to Television." Global Honors Thesis, University of Washington, 2013.

Lundberg examines the French literary version (Perrault) of *Cinderella* and compares it to three television adaptations of the Cinderella story to understand the ways in which the tale has retained its relevance as it crossed cultures. He also provides an excellent analysis of globalization through cultural flow by using the *Cinderella* tale.

Rooth, Anna Birgitta. *The Cinderella Cycle*. Lund: Gleerup, 1951.

Rooth discusses the Cinderella cycle comprising of five types in her three part monograph. In part I, she identifies the five types including their appropriate Cinderella variant counterparts. Part II introduces the motifs and motif-complexes of only the first two types of the Cinderella cycle. Part III is about the 'Tradition Areas' or the Indo-Chinese variants and their respective motifs

Saletore, Rajaram Narayan. *Life in the Gupta Age*. Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1943.

A monograph of the life of the people in the Gupta Age. Saletore cites quality primary sources of literary works, chronicles, and contemporary inscriptions to accurately depict conditions of the period.

Schuyler, Montgomery. "The Editions and Translations of Çakuntalā," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 22 (1901): 237-248.

A compilation of the editions and translations of Shakuntala. Schuyler discusses briefly of the romantic drama by Kalidasa. He also describes the divisions of the translations into three classes.

Sen, Tansen. "The Travel Records of Chinese Pilgrims Faxian, Xuanzang, and Yijing" *Education about Asia* 11 (2006), 24.

This article discusses exchanges between ancient India and ancient China through pilgrims of Chinese monks. Sen illustrates the detailed travel records of Buddhist monk's Faxian, Xuanzang, and Yijing.

Sierra, Judy. *The Oryx Multicultural Folktale Series: Cinderella*. Westport, CT: Oryx Press, 1992.

Sierra examines 24 Cinderella variants from across a broad range of cultures. She discusses the variations from each story on the theme of the persecuted heroine. Before each variant is described, a short introduction provides a summary of the plot and the cultural background of the story.

Smith, Tyler Scott. "Cinderella's Lessons on Footbinding: How Tiny Feet Found their Way into the Chinese Cinderella Story," *Transnational Literature* 5, no. 2 (May 2013). Accessed March 22, 2015. Flinders University online.

A monograph that traces variants of the Cinderella tales in Central Asia focusing on the shoe and feet motif. Smith also discusses the history of Footbinding in southern China and attempts to relate it to the Chinese Cinderella tale.

Smith, W. *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*. Boston, MA: C.C. Little & J. Brown, 1849.

A monograph that discusses an abundance of information illustrating the biography, literature, and mythology of ancient Greek and Roman writers up to 1453. Articles included in this work have been founded on original sources. This work is especially useful for lesser-known individuals. Information mainly on Aesop was extracted from this source.

Wood, Frances. *The Silk Road: Two Thousand Years in the Heart of Asia*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002.

A monograph on the Silk Road with illustrated photographs, manuscripts, and paintings from museums worldwide. Wood has done an amazing job covering more than 5000 years of history into this collection as he discusses how ideas and civilizations flourished along this vast geographical expanse.

Young, Rodney. "Gordion on the Royal Road", *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 107, no. 4 (August 1963): 348-364.

This monograph discusses the capital of the Phrygian kingdom, Gordion, and its location on the Royal Road. Young describes a detailed history of not only the capital Gordion, but also of the Royal Road including artifacts found along it.