Uses of Digital Enchantment: Computer Games as the New Fairy Tales

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Introduction

In this paper we argue that digital games have come to fill the cultural niche traditionally occupied by fairy tales, and that they are ideally suited to realize some of the unique characteristics of this genre of folklore and literature. One of the most influential authors of fantasy narrative, J.R.R. Tolkien, wrote extensively about fairy tales, authored fairy tales and considered his great epic work of high fantasy, *The Lord of the Rings Trilogy*, to be a fairy tale of sorts. He argued that fairy tales were not about fairies per se but took place in the "realm of Faerie," the magical world that fairies inhabit. "The realm of fairy-story is wide and deep and high and filled with many things: all manner of beasts and birds are found there; shoreless seas and stars uncounted; beauty that is an enchantment, and everpresent peril; both joy and sorrow as sharp as swords" (Tolkein 1965: 3). The "realm of Faerie" provides a context for archetypal characters and narratives that express the inner life of the child and the process of transitioning to adulthood, universal themes that have equal resonance with both children and adults.

This paper does not argue that all games serve the same purpose as all fairy tales. Indeed several genres of games (first person shooter, puzzle games, casual games) are not correlated to fairy stories in any meaningful way. Even among those genres where stories are often a structural aspect of the game (role playing, adventure and games of exploration) not all examples are strong contenders for fairy tale surrogates.

However, it does seem that game playing, as a pervasive activity among children and especially adolescents, constitutes a form of discovery, outlet, play acting, and comparison to life situations through archetype, metaphor and allegory. Unlike fairy tales, however, games can provide an empowerment that transcends the often-overt moral message of fairy tales, especially as they were redirected at controlling children in the Victorian age.

The magic of the tale is critical as it forms an unfettered platform for the imagination, in contrast to the ordinary, everyday demands of life. Who wouldn't love for a magical fish to appear at the water's edge and offer up three extraordinary wishes? Children are not firmly anchored in the adult world of obligations and reality; magic is still a possibility. And yet, as Winnicott describes, growing up into the adult world means eventually the child must take the place of the parent, which he maintains is "inherently an aggressive act" (Winnicott 1971: 144). Such acts are necessary for emotional growth, but must be safely expressed, a function inherent to fairy tales, games and magic. Every child who believes

that at some time that he or she is misunderstood can thus fantasize that the magic within the game or fairy tale is at their disposal, providing a sense of empowerment and agency in place of the powerlessness that often come with childhood.

Fairy Tales and the Construction of Childhood

Following oral storytelling traditions, the first noted fairy tales were told by French women to pass the hours while engaged in other activities, and these stories were a bit racy, even titillating. Fairy tales for children were a further development, which mediated the stories within an emerging middle class cultural framework. Jack Zipes, noted fairy tale scholar, calls the tales promulgated by the French bourgeoisie a "discourse on civilization," reinforcing bourgeois gender and class roles (Zipes 2006a: 46). At this period in their development, then, the fairy tale might best be thought of as a cultural dissemination tool for the edification of children.

The rise of fairy tale literature also parallels the "invention" of childhood as a cultural construct. This construction necessitated the creation of various forms of what Danish researcher Flemming Mouritsen calls "child culture," which he says

... is a result of the whole great project of education and institutionalization that the bourgeoisie constructed to ensure that children grew up as useful and well-regulated adults (Mouritsen 1998: 11).

Zipes points out that West German writers of the 1960s went so far as to critique fairy tales as a form of cultural propaganda, as "secret agents of an education establishment which indoctrinates children to learn fixed roles and functions within bourgeois society, thus curtailing their free development" (Zipes 2006a: 46). Originating from peasant folk tales and then transformed by bourgeois culture and authors such as the Brothers Grimm, these tales were complicit in the construction of childhood culture of this era.

While fairy tales for children, in Maria Tatar's words, "developed an incredible moral backbone" (Tatar 1992: 39), she also notes that they were often truly "sadistic stories aimed at controlling behavior" (ibid.: 31). Yet not all fairy tale authors felt obliged to support this moral agenda. Zipes relates how the Brothers Grimm were reluctant to insert lessons of obedience of the dutiful child, and the horrors that befell those children who misbehaved or were disobedient (Zipes 2006a: 48). According to Zipes, writers such as L. Frank Baum and George MacDonald looked at their fairy tales from the viewpoint of a "lust for change" and the fulfillment of desires (Zipes 2006a: 101). Dorothy wants more than her life in Kansas, and the children in MacDonald's story *The Golden Key* search for the land that is opened by a key from the end of the rainbow.

Even when imbued with moral lessons, however, fairy tales, as "parsimonious stories" (as Tatar refers to them (1992)) left plenty of room for the imagination. Today games serve to open up the imagination in a similar fashion. Mouritsen calls modern media "a source of raw material, forms and modes which children take over and transform for their own use in games and stories." Much like fairy tales before them, he maintains "they form a common

frame of reference for the children" (Mouritsen 1998: 11). Within such media the child is endowed with more power than in the real world.

Tolkien's Ingredients of Fairy Stories

J.R.R. Tolkien took fairy tales to new literary heights and has arguably had more influence on cultures of gaming than any other single author. Tolkien's Fellowship of the Ring series, along with later fantasy literature it influenced, was a key influence on the roleplaying phenomenon Dungeons & Dragons, which created the foundation for today's massively multiplayer online games. Tolkien's immersion in fairy stories as a scholar, as well as an author, provides some useful insights into some of the deep structural connections between games and fairy tales. In his taxonomy of fairy tales, Tolkien identifies the craft of "sub-creation" of secondary worlds as one of the genre's defining qualities, and distinguishes the fairy story as taking place in an alternative world with its own rules and characteristics that diverge from those of the "real world" (Tolkien 1965). Lars Konzak has pointed out that Tolkien's notion of sub-creation, which adheres to a multi-leveled experiential consistency, is also at the heart of game design, since every game begins by describing the world in which it takes place (2006). The craft of creating such worlds leads to what Tolkien terms "Secondary Belief," (Tolkien 1965: 37) also described by Coleridge as "suspension of disbelief" (Coleridge 1817), or what Janet Murray calls the "the active creation of belief" (Murray 1997: 110).

To be clear, Tolkien's definition of fairy stories is not limited to stories about or that include fairies, elves or other related creatures. Indeed, few so-called fairy tales even make reference to them. Tolkien argues that, fairy stories – in the "realm of Faerie" – "cannot be caught in a net of words; for it is one of its qualities to be indescribable, though not imperceptible." He adds, "It has many ingredients, but analysis will not necessarily discover the secret of the whole" (Tolkien 1965: 10). Nonetheless, Tolkien does attempt such an analysis, identifying the following "ingredients" that seem to persist across a range sub-creation narratives:

- Fantasy: Imagined, fantastical environments, which, while "unreal" are endowed with "the inner consistency of reality." The quality of wonder and strangeness combined with the believability in the "sub-creation" of an internally consistent secondary world provide "freedom from the domination of observed 'fact'" (ibid.: 46-47). Yet Tolkien is also quick to say that fairy tales are not lies, that they are, by definition, "true;" he further defends fantasy as a "natural human activity" that "does not destroy or even insult reason" (ibid.: 54).
- Recovery: The "regaining of a clear view," which includes the recovery of health. Fairy stories, provide a means to "clean our windows," "seeing things as we are (or were) meant to see them," as things apart from ourselves (ibid.: 57).
- Escape: Writing originally in 1939, Tolkien eschews the "tone of scorn or pity with which the term 'Escape' is now so often used" (ibid.: 60). We clearly see a parallel to

this scorn in popular anxieties about children and computer games, as well as postmodern philosophy's disdain for the realms of imagination. "In what misusers are fond of calling Real Life, Escape is evidently as a rule very practical, and even heroic" (ibid.: 60). No doubt Tolkien is here responding to critics (this essay was eventually included in a collection called *Critics and Monsters*, Tolkien 1997). Yet in spite of their widespread popularity (and perhaps because of it), creators of fantasy, including fantasy authors and game designers, remain under a similar level of scorn by today's cultural critics. Fantasy narratives and games do not treat what is "real" as inevitable; they suggest alternatives, even if the alternatives are genuinely impossible. Escape is also related to the final quality, consolation.

• Consolation: Tolkien coined the term *eucatastrophe* to describe the moment of joy at deliverance from evil (ibid.: 68). The role of consolation is debatable, since not all fairy tales, or all games, end happily. We may perhaps interpret this to mean that the reader/player may have a transformative or revelatory experience, even if the story/game characters do not.

Within their discipline, modern fairy tale scholars focus not only on the origins and rich histories of fairy tales, but also on their ability to modernize mythic archetypes,¹ imbricate fantasy elements,² and afford a wide range of symbolic interpretations of stories, characters, and activities.³ Yet these scholars have done little, if any, work to compare the intrinsic qualities and effects of computer games with their literary counterparts.

Technology and Magic

Science fiction author Arthur C. Clark famously asserted "Any sufficiently advanced technology is indistinguishable from magic" (Clark 1962). Frederick Brooks, in *The Mythical Man-Month*, elaborates further by describing the alchemic conjuring qualities of the computer thusly: "One types the correct incantation on a keyboard, and a display screen comes to life, showing things that never were nor could be" (Brooks 1975: 7-8). (Indeed even the nomenclature of Multi-User Dungeons, in which programmers are referred to as "wizards," seems to confer this quality of magical enchantment to the very creators of games themselves.) Given its propensity for magic, the computer is particularly well suited to be a means of expression for the fairy tale genre, shifting the focus from empathy with a central character engaged in an epic journey, to endowing a player with the agency to fulfill his or her destiny. We see a distinct trajectory of the "realm of Faerie" from Tolkien's literary masterworks to the contemporary MMOG (Massively Multi-player Online Game). Tolkien's ideas formed the inspiration for the tabletop role-playing games

¹ See, for example: Zipes, Jack (1994). *Fairy Tale as myth: Myth as fairy tale*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky.

² One fairy tale scholar who addresses this topic is Maria Tatar (1992) *Off with their heads! Fairy tales and the culture of childhood.* Princeton, NY: Princeton University Press.

³ See, for example: von Franz, Marie-Louise (1996) *The interpretation of fairy tales, revised edition*. Boston, MA: Shambhala Publications.

of the seventies, particularly *Dungeons & Dragons*, which gave rise to the MUDs (Multi-User Dungeons) of the 1980s, and finally to the fully realized multiplayer computer game worlds from the 1990s to the present. Today the new fairy tales of game have been rendered in their full glory via the "correct incantation on a keyboard" (Brooks 1975: 7).

Fairy tales often present glimpses of utopian worlds, where one can bask in idyllic, magical and often exotic lands. Consider Oz – that uniquely American utopia – or the ubiquitous fairy tale ending "They lived happily ever after." We also see this utopian leaning in some games such as *Myst, Pokemon, Zelda* and others. Yet even when a world is deadly, or, as in many games, based on post apocalyptic scenarios fraught with dangers, there is a blanket of safety experienced by the hero of the tale. In both fairy tales and games, when characters are killed or harmed in these worlds, it is for a purpose: the evil character deserves to die, or must die for the hero to achieve the quest. In fairy tales, like computer games, the hero or heroine may die; however, death is non-binding for the righteous, who, like Snow White, Sleeping Beauty, and Beauty's "Beast," can always "respawn."

Characters in both games and fairy tales also support what Zipes has called the "radical morality of rats, fairies, wizards and ogres" which allows for a nuanced range of choices and decisions that are not profoundly black or white (Zipes 2002: 206).

Such characters not only engage the imagination, but also demand intense decision-making modes of the player to provide additional exigencies that have the effect of steering the story through time; for unlike fairy tales, the game player is responsible for unfolding the story by actions and choices, even when the options may not be clear. This makes him or her an active teller (rather than recipient) of the tale.

In *The Uses of Enchantment*, controversial psychologist Bruno Bettelheim⁴ argues that "The motifs of fairy tales are experienced as wondrous because the child feels understood and appreciated deep down in his feelings, hopes, and anxieties, without these all having to be dragged up and investigated in the harsh light of a rationality that is still beyond him" (Bettelheim1975: 19) "...the internal processes are externalized and become comprehensible as represented by the figures of the story and its events" (ibid.: 25). These externalized processes can be seen in a wide range of digital games that put the player in the role of fairytale heroine, or more often, hero. Single-player adventure-style games such as the *Zelda* and *Final Fantasy* series, *Ico, Shadow of the Colossus, Beyond Good and Evil,* and *Okami* are just a few examples of experiences that bring the unique affordances of the computer as a purveyor of magic to bear on this classic literary genre.

Perils of the Princess: Computer Games and Traditional Fairy Tale Themes

The most obvious connection between fairy tales and games can be found in the cases where game stories and themes parallel those of traditional fairytale literature. In her paper

⁴ Bettelheim was considered by some to not practice what he preached, and also to have "borrowed" many of his ideas from others.

"Perils of the Princes," Sharon Sherman has pointed out that the classic "save the princess" narratives have been a recurring theme in video games since their inception (Sherman 1997). *Super Mario Brothers*, an early game in Nintendo's Mario series, is a prime example. In the game, Mario and his brother Luigi, a pair of Italian plumbers, must rescue the magical Princess Peach (aka Princess Toadstool) so she can save her peace-loving mushroom people, who have been turned into stone by evil turtles. The princess is the only one who holds the power to undo the black magic spell, yet her agency in the game is somewhat limited. She is primarily the object of the two male heroes, who must go through a series of linear levels battling monsters to rescue her.

Similarly, the imprisoned Princess Zelda from *The Legend of Zelda* possesses magical powers that can save her kingdom of Hyrule. Although Zelda is in a position of power, her agency has been removed; the goal of the main player character, Link, is to free her and restore her agency so she can save the kingdom. In both of these examples, the princess possesses some mystical ability, and the player's goal is to free her so she deploy her power.

In *Ico*, the princess is a waif-like semi-ghost who seems to hover in a liminal space between life and death. Ico, the main character, must keep her from being sucked into the holes of darkness from which evil spirits constantly emerge to capture her. So although the princess has virtually no agency of her own, she exists in a kind of supernatural plane throughout the game. In *Shadow of the Colossus*, created by the same developers as *Ico* and considered its spiritual prequel, the player must battle a series of gigantic stone monsters in order to resurrect his deceased beloved, Mono. The main character, Wander, must go through a series of trials, ultimately at a terrible price to himself, to accomplish this. Both of these games very much follow the form and ethos of traditional fairy tales, drawing players into wondrous, magical and often threatening worlds. These games reflect some the darker and more dangerous aspects of traditional fairy tales. The hero, usually young and innocent, is in constant danger of being engulfed by dark, dangerous and mysterious entities.

In these narratives, the primary role of the princess is to serve as the object of the hero's quest: she is in a sense the "goal" of the game. Yet Mario is paradigmatic of the shift that occurs in the transition in orientation from fairy tale to game. Traditional princess rescue narratives generally (though not always) highlight the powerlessness and lack of agency of women, particularly at the historical periods that they were most popular; but in almost every case (with a few exceptions), the princess is the main character of the story. Note that in classic fairy tales of this genre, from Cinderella, Snow White, Sleeping Beauty to the Beauty and the Beast, while the princess is the object of the hero's quest, the story is told almost entirely from her point of view. Indeed in some of these stories, the prince is almost entirely absent from the narrative until the very end. With the more male-centered medium of digital games, the focus shifts to privileging the male hero's viewpoint. Note that in Mario, the princess, while she holds a high degree of power and value to the player, is neither the player character nor even the main character of the story. In Ico, the princess is translucent and passive, doing little except reach out for her male savior. In Shadow of the Colossus, the princess has no presence whatsoever in how the story progresses; she remains more or less comatose throughout the game (much like Sleeping Beauty).

Another example of the fairy tale-style game is *Okami. Okami* possess the classic narrative device of an enchanted animal main character. Although it draws primarily from Japanese folklore and Shinto mythology, the story also has many of the elements of a traditional fairy story. It takes place in an fantastical world and the player's role is to revive and reawaken a land plunged into darkness and death. This is done by a combination of revitalizing the natural environment and battling evil spirits. The magical quality of the world follows both Tolkien and Bettelheim's notions of creating a sense of wonder through immersion an alternative environment. The world of *Okami* draws artistically on traditional Japanese sumi-e ink-and-wash painting style, which is also employed as a device of magic and agency, adding to the sense of immersion and enchantment.

Modern-day fairy tales: Quests and Adventure Games

In addition to these more obvious fairy-tale themed games, some qualities of the fairy story genre can be seen in games with dramatically different themes. Jeff Howard, author of a recent book on quest games and quest narratives, invokes Vladimir Propp's "rigorous analysis" of folk tales (Propp 1928) as a model for elements that can be combined in myriad ways to form "a dizzying array of tales" (Howard 2008: 9).

To illustrate our point, we will use four examples, each of which does not have a fairy story theme in the strict sense, but follows many of the uses that Bettelheim describes, and incorporates a number of Tolkien's fairy tale elements.

Both *Myst* and *World of Warcraft*, both of which take place in imaginary worlds, might be considered transitional games in that they fit some, though not all, of Tolkien's taxonomy. The original *Myst* embodies many classical fairy story elements. The central character is a wizard of sorts who has the power to write entire worlds into being through "linking books." The narrative is an archetypal conflict in which the player must identify which of two brothers is the "bad" brother and which is the "good" by exploring the magical island world, accumulating clues, and transforming the space. A recurring theme of the *Myst* games is to illustrate the potential dangers of unsavory personality traits, such as pride and parental disobedience, reminiscent of lessons put forth in fairy tales. *World of Warcraft* follows many of the narrative and structural conventions of both the Tolkien stories and their tabletop role-playing descendants. The game uses a quest-based structure in which players must accomplish specific tasks to receive rewards, many of which entail gaining additional powers or abilities, or obtaining new items or weapons.

Quests have a very different purpose in computer games than in fairy tales, however. Fairy tale quests are imbued with meaning, and frequently have a transformative effect on the protagonist, integrating Tolkien's restoration and consolation ingredients. Although game quests often employ a *rationale* for an action, they are not always meaningful; the primary function of quests is typically instrumental. Players simply follow a set of instructions to accomplish a goal. In her critique of the weaknesses of game quests, Tosca asserts: "...quests in computer games are very often devoid of any search for meaning ... there is no meaning to be sought, nothing to be known, but something to be done" (Tosca 2003: 4).

In quest-based fairy tales, conversely, the most interesting outcomes often occur when the protagonist diverges from the instructions of the quest, or when unexpected outcomes occur. For instance, in Jack and the Beanstalk, Jack's entire adventure is the result of doing the quest (go to the market and sell the cow) wrong. Had Jack completed the quest correctly, the story would have simply ended there. In digital game quests, outcomes are seldom unexpected, and player digression from outcomes has no particular consequence other than the quest remaining incomplete. But in fairy tales, digression from the quest is often the entire point. Tosca, also points out that in paper-and-pencil role-playing games "not everything is self determined" (ibid.: 7), making them more like fairy tales. The quests in computer games, however, require one to follow the coded rules of the story.

It is easy to consider games like *Myst and World of Warcraft* as modern-day fairy tales due to both their themes and to the fact that they take place in fantasy worlds. There are less obvious connections in games that do not take place in a fantastical or magical context. The *Grand Theft Auto* (*GTA*) series, for example, utilizes a different quest-type structure where the player is sent on missions of various kinds. These are meant to prove the character's mettle and advance his status within the social order of the game. Like traditional fairy tales, *GTA* games take place within fictional worlds, worlds which some might classify as "fantasy," although certainly not fantastical in the sense of occurring in the "realm of Faerie." Players can explore this world freely, and do not even have to necessarily engage in the missions they are given. The missions, however, are fairly prescribed, and as is often the case with digital games, result in only a binary win/lose outcome; there is little nuance or affordance for variation.

Many computer games, particularly adventure games, follow a similar format. The Japanese game Shenmue, a classic hybrid adventure and role-playing game, parallels a number of the structural elements of fairy tales. The game narrative is precipitated by the brutal murder of the protagonist's father and the theft of a mysterious "Dragon Mirror." However, unlike many other quest-based games, in which a series of separate and somewhat unrelated actions are called for, Shenmue has an over-arching meta-quest avenge the death of your father and reclaim the "Dragon Mirror" - whose accomplishment comprises a variety of cumulative mini-missions. Unlike GTA these missions are not always given to the player explicitly. The player must often discover the next quest on his own through investigation, and throughout the story new plot twists introduce new subquests into the narrative. Like GTA, Shenmue is also about character-building, but rather than proving oneself within a social system, it is more of a coming of age story in which the protagonist, Ryo, must learn about himself and find the internal resources to meet each challenge. Both of these games rely on a structure of so-called "free quest" game play, in which players can wander around the world and explore at their own pace. Where they differ is that Shenmue seems to have captured the meaningful and transformative spirit of the fairy tale by drawing the player into a world of meaningful and interrelated actions.

The role of fantasy today: Computer games and today's youth

Fairy tales and computer games have both suffered from misunderstandings that thrust them into the arena of controversy. Parents feel that fairy tales are too scary for the very young, or that they are too escapist and not relevant to real life – the same arguments being leveled at computer games. There may be an element of truth to this: Zipes calls fairy tales disruptive to the social order. In spite of the fact they have been used to promote morals, they are also often considered subversive... "Folk and fairy tales remain an essential force in our cultural heritage, but they are not static literary models to be internalized for therapeutic function" (Zipes 2002: 199). Instead, Zipes argues in favor of these subversive functions engendered by fairy tales.

Story ... must take a moral stand against moral stands. Good literature for children provokes them to think seriously and critically for themselves, against the grain, and provides hope that they can find the moral and ethical vigor not simply you survive, but to live happily with the social codes that they create themselves and enjoy to their heart's content (Zipes 2002: 231).

The MacArthur Foundation, in its recent series of books on Digital Media and Learning, call this an "emerging power shift." They note that the youth population "has been historically subject to a high degree of systematic and institutional control in the kinds of information and social communication to which they have access. This is one reason why the alchemy between youth and digital media has been distinctive; it disrupts the existing set of power relations between adult authority and youth voice" (Buckingham 2008: ix).

C. S. Lewis' describes the longings instilled by fairy tales as being substantially different than longings of the real world such as doing better in school, or being popular. For real world longings he says:

The pleasure consists in picturing oneself the object of admiration. The other longing, that for fairy land, is very different. In a sense a child does not long for fairy land as a boy longs to be the hero of the first eleven. Does anyone suppose that he really and prosaically longs for all the dangers and discomforts of a fairy tale? – really wants dragons in contemporary England? It is not so. It would be much truer to say that fairyland arouses a longing for **he knows not what**. (emphasis ours) It stirs and troubles him (to his life-long enrichment) with the dim sense of something beyond his reach and, far from dulling or emptying the actual world, gives it a new 'dimension of depth. He does not despise real woods because he has read of enchanted woods: the reading makes all real woods a little enchanted. This is a special kind of longing. ... the boy reading the fairy tale desires and is happy in the very fact of desiring (Lewis 1966: 35).

Yet literary fairy tales may be no longer as relevant to today's youth for several reasons. Firstly today's kids read less, or if they do read, the books are rarely traditional fairy tales. Secondly, research in both the UK and the United States has shown that children live in an increasingly smaller world. Children's "roaming radius," that is, the range of distance they are allowed to travel unsupervised from the home or a central location such as a playground, has decreased significantly since the 1970s. And while the roaming radius has always been smaller for girls (Margolis and Fisher 2002), boys too have experienced increasing restriction in their ability to explore physical space (Gaster 1991). Henry Jenkins is among the scholars who have pointed out that computer games have replaced physical space in providing exploratory environments for children apart from the adult world (Jenkins 1998).

Whereas children could role-play fairy tales in the empty lot, or the woods of yore, today their outlet is within the space afforded by the environments of computer games, to which they are NOT denied access. Thus computer games become their de facto exploration tools.

Conclusion

The importance of fairy tales, as Zipes points, out is due, in part, to their ability to "open up vistas for the possibility of transformations" (Zipes 2006b: 101). Such transformations include possibilities that cannot be tested in the real world, a place where imagination must succumb to the exigencies of survival. He states: "The fairy tale gives full expression to the dissatisfactions of average people, and this is why is remains such a powerful cultural force among them" (Zipes 2002: 158). The modern computer game affords just such transformations, and is the medium most adaptable to the form of expression once filled by fairy tales in today's society. While it remains to be seen how or if these new digital fairy tales will stand the tests of time as their literary forebears have done, they fulfill a similar and vital role in providing today's children a sense of ritual and power in their own hero's journey from child to adulthood.

The world of the fairy-story is that world which is opposed throughout the world to rational truth, and precisely for that reason it is so thoroughly and analogue to it, as Chaos is an analogue to the finished creation.

-Novalis, Heinrich von Ofterdingen, as quoted in MacDonald (1858)

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