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(Re)Constructions of German Culture: How Folktales (Re)Create the Past through Oral Storytelling, Text, and Fan Fiction

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(Re)Constructions of German Culture: How Folktales (Re)Create the Past through Oral
Storytelling, Text and Fan Fiction

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILSOPHY
in German Studies

by

Jaime Whitney Roots

Dissertation Committee:
Professor Gail K. Hart, Chair
Professor Glenn S. Levine
Professor Kai Evers

2016

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Abstract of the Dissertation

(Re)Constructions of German Culture: How Folktales (Re)Create the Past through Oral

Storytelling, Text, and Fan Fiction

By

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Doctor of Philosophy in German Studies

University of California, Irvine, 2016

Professor Gail K. Hart, Chair

This dissertation investigates the effects of oral storytelling on collective memory and the influence of new media on the storytelling process. The inquiry focuses on how retelling and reinterpreting folk stories updates and changes a community's interpretations of the past to fit with current beliefs and expectations. I illustrate this through analyzing a range of retellings of traditional tales from the nineteenth century to the present through the lenses of memory studies, folklore, and performance studies. Through this analysis I unpack some of the ways the stories we tell affect the ways we see the past—whether real or imagined—and conversely, the ways that changing interpretations of the past affect the stories we tell.

Introduction: Situating Storytelling

"Darling, everyone is a storyteller." – Duncan Williamson, folksinger

Storytelling is ever-present in our lives, and yet it is often taken so much for granted that we are scarcely aware of it. We tell stories to pass the time, for entertainment, and for sympathy, understanding, and persuasion. Stories are our means of understanding the world. Humans are so inclined to tell stories that, given the opportunity, we opt to connect events and rationalize what has taken place rather than let them sit unconnected in isolation. Take for example this simple exercise:[1]

The man meets the woman. I walk her dog. The boy visits with flowers.

Looking at these three simple sentences, our minds quickly begin to draw connections between them. Am I walking the woman's dog so that she may meet up with the man? Is the boy bringing flowers the man has ordered for the woman on their date? In truth, there is no inherent connection between these three sentences, they have been selected at random and yet our brains are already working to see the connections between them—to tell a story.

The human brain, above all, likes to make sense of things even if, as with this example, it needs to make it up. It is also important to note here that we are often completely unaware that we are creating connections where none previously existed: our brains want to make sense of the world—to explain our surroundings—and drawing connections and conclusions (telling stories) is how this is accomplished. Folklorist Bruce Jackson describes the phenomenon in this way:

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[1] This exercise has been adapted from Jonathan Gottschall's *The Storytelling Animal*.

"[i]t's not that people lie [when they are drawing these conclusions]; rather it's that people are very good at making sense, even if they have to create it. That's one of the jobs our stories have: making sense where none may otherwise exist" (44). Jackson further indicates that this phenomenon appears already in early youth, as soon as children understand the concept of a story—that events should lead to a final conclusion. He juxtaposes drawing conclusions through story with lying. He writes that

> [i]t's not because [children] start lying once they know how to tell stories, rather it's because once they understand the idea of story, they think events should make sense, so they subconsciously tune their narratives to reconcile irreconcilables or provide links for situations that would otherwise remain unconnected. They clean up the clutter. (ibid)

As the epigraph from Williamson states, all humans are storytellers. This does not mean that everyone is a skilled storyteller, able to enrapture audiences, but rather that everyone tells stories, even if it is something as small as recounting one's day. Storytelling helps define us, and none of us can escape it. In fact, storytelling is such a part of the human experience that human experience and storytelling are inextricable. Of the importance of storytelling in the role of human development, Old English scholar John D. Niles writes:

> Through storytelling, an otherwise unexceptional biological species has become a much more interesting thing, *Homo narrans*: that hominid who not only has succeeded in negotiating the world of nature, finding enough food and shelter to survive, but also has learned to inhabit mental worlds that pertain to times that are not present and places that are the stuff of dreams. It is through such symbolic mental activities that people have gained the ability to create themselves as human beings and thereby transform the world of nature into shapes not known before. (3)

Literary scholar Jonathan Gottschall explains the human species in a similar fashion, but emphasizes the ever-present nature of storytelling. He notes that

> [t]ens of thousands of years ago, when the human mind was young and our numbers were few, we were telling one another stories. And now, tens of thousands of years later, when our species teems across the globe, most of us still hew strongly to myths about the origins of things, and we still thrill to an astonishing multitude of fictions on pages, on stages, and on screens—murder stories, sex stories, war stories, conspiracy stories, true stories and false. We are, as a species, addicted to story. Even when the body goes to sleep, the mind stays up all night, telling itself stories. (xiii-xiv)

Here he emphasizes that storytelling itself permeates society. Gottschall further writes that storytelling so encompasses the human species that "story is for a human as water is for a fish—all-encompassing and not quite palpable. While the body is always fixed at a particular point in space-time, your mind is always free to ramble in lands of make-believe. And it does" (xiv).

It is not only at night when our minds tell us stories. Niles and Gottschall alike mention the desire of humans to spend time in lands that are "the stuff of dreams." And studies have suggested[2] that we spend about half of our waking hours daydreaming—that is to say that even while we are awake we cannot escape the temptation of telling ourselves dream-like stories. It is not that we do this on occasion, but that we are telling ourselves stories constantly.

Throughout this chapter I pursue three goals. First I examine the studies of orality, literacy, and storytelling and discuss the arguments of key scholars in the development of these studies. I then move to discuss three different conceptual frameworks for understanding folklore collections and their origins: the Great Divide; storytelling in the democratic spirit; folktales and

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[2] See *The Storytelling Animal: How Stories Make Us Human* by Jonathan Gottschall.

the influence of the writing elite; and folktales with multiple sources in order to frame my own

discussion of complex network storytelling. Finally, I end with a discussion of the changing

concept of fidelity in folktale collection and how different expectations of what it meant to stay

faithful to a folktale influences the collection process itself.

Setting the Scene

Although I have devoted separate chapters to folktale[3] collection, memory, performance and fan

fiction, the reader is asked to remember that no one of these aspects of the nature of storytelling

can be described completely independently of the others without seriously misrepresenting the

complex nature of the storytelling process.

In Chapter One: The Race to (Re)Construct an Imagined Germanic Past, I begin by

discussing nineteenth century folktale collectors Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano, Jacob

and Wilhelm Grimm, and Franz Xaver von Schönwerth. I argue that despite their efforts to

present the ostensibly pure and uncorrupted tales of the peasantry—a class often portrayed as

remote from written culture—their collections were actually a (re)construction rather than a

preservation of an imagined folkloric past. While many collectors were focused on reconnecting

with the paradisiacal images of the German past (specifically the Middle Ages), an examination

of their work shows that the folktales in their collections more often channeled the beliefs and

traditions of a nineteenth century bourgeois audience. This allows us to look at their tales not as

representations of medieval Germanic culture, but rather as a window into the ways in which

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[3] While some scholars use the terms *folktale* and *fairytale* interchangeably, I use the term *folktale* as a more general term to refer to folklore and *fairytale* as a specific subset of folktale that uses some kind of magic to bring about a happy ending.

people in nineteenth century German-speaking Europe perceived and in fact constructed their own past.

In Chapter Two: (Re)Constructing Memory, I bring theories of memory to bear to focus on the impacts of collective memory on the storytelling process. Storytelling depends on human memory and yet human memory is something that can hardly be described as reliable—if one assumes that memories are stored and all occurrences and memories are simply waiting to be recalled once again. When we retell an event, memories are (re)constructed as we recall them[4]— much in the same way the oral tale is (re)constructed as a storyteller tells it. It is through the connection of (re)construction that the nature of human memory is tied to the complex character of storytelling. In this chapter I therefore show that while the unreliable nature of personal memory is a crucially influential aspect of storytelling for the teller, the collections of the Grimms, Brentano and Arnim, and Schönwerth are themselves products of collective memory, or how the people of German-speaking Europe as a whole viewed and constructed the past through such narratives. These aspects of memory are sites of major tension as the stories we tell are strongly influenced by both personal and collective memory.

In Chapter Three: The Event of Storytelling, I discuss the crucial role of audience and performance in storytelling. It is not only important to understand who is listening to the story and the contributions they may make to the shape of the story, but also how the storyteller may change the story being told to fit the expectations of the audience. Foley remarks that orality "requires an audience. It isn't complete without one" (1), and it is from this that I unpack this

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[4] See Elizabeth Loftus. *Memory: Surprising New Insights into How We Remember and Why We Forget*. Menlo Park, CA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1980; and Bruce Jackson. *The Story is True: The Art and Meaning of Telling Stories*. Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2007.

essential aspect of the *act* of storytelling. Oral storytelling in itself is a *process* in that it is always shaped, changed, and influenced by performer and the audience. When considering orality and storytelling, the tale must therefore be viewed in its social and historical context, as a culturally situated process. Storytelling is an *event*. So while oral tales cannot simply be removed from their performative proper context in order to understand them, yet this is precisely what these collectors' written anthologies of tales aim to do. This chapter thus investigates the ways in which folklore collectors sought to transcribe oral tales into the written medium as well as the responses and influences from their audiences.

In the concluding Chapter Four: Orality and Literacy (Re)Imagined: Contemporary German Fan-Fiction Versions of Germanic Folktales, I analyze how the storytelling process has changed and adapted through the influences of evolving types of media such as the Internet, yet at the same time serves just as much to (re)construct the past, as before. These tensions are analyzed by focusing on fan-fiction versions of the very tales that our nineteenth century collectors gathered, yet in the process an interesting dynamic of orality has returned, or been created anew. I examine the sense of community which exists among online storytellers and how the comments of other users influence and change the stories online. The ties between fan fiction versions and their nineteenth century counterparts are discussed, focusing particularly on how they have been altered—sometimes significantly—through the use of the new medium and the complexities of contemporary pop culture(s). Finally, I examine the ways in which digital renditions of folktales are just as much products of their time, reflecting global and also contemporary German concerns, as did their nineteenth century predecessors.

"Versuch einer Deutung": The Studies of Orality, Literacy, and Storytelling

While discussions of storytelling in the West may often center on media such as text, film, and television, John Miles Foley writes that "[e]ven today the majority of the planet's inhabitants use oral traditions as their primary communicative medium, a fact obscured by modern Western egocentrism" (25). While Foley is most certainly referencing the fact that most of the West is strongly oriented toward writing and tends to be dismissive of non-Western cultures that operate more through orality than textuality, the West also widely uses oral traditions as an important communicative medium.

To understand the importance of oral traditions in storytelling, we need look no further than a typical gathering of family or friends. This sort of social gathering almost always involves the oral tradition of storytelling, sometimes with family stories told many times, and sometimes single anecdotes that may never be repeated. While it does happen that someone may write down a particular story, writing down such stories is not expected, and no one feels compelled to do so. These are stories which live in the oral tradition, and just as most people do not feel compelled to write an autobiography—the stories of people's lives are most often conveyed through oral means. Orality, while perhaps unattended to in the West, plays a fundamental role in our lives.

In this analysis, I define the broad term of *orality*[5] to describe any story, poem, song, or speech which has spoken utterance and performance as a part of its creation. The ways in which orality plays a role in the "creation" will be detailed below. In discussing orality, I have taken two different terms from the influential work of Walter Ong: *Orality and Literacy: The*

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[5] Orality has been labelled and defined by many scholars. Some of the terms used to describe orality are: oral literature, oral poetry, and oral storytelling. While I recognize that there are nuances between these definitions, I will be using them interchangeably.

Technologizing of the Word. Ong claims that there is not one, but two different types of orality: primary and secondary—and it is this differentiation between oralities that I follow here, although slightly modified from Ong's original definitions. In a society said to live in *primary orality*, oral performance, that is, a tale or song performed orally and received aurally by an audience, is the only form of orality which exists. People considered to live under primary orality are completely unaffected by writing in any way. They possess no written records and do not read texts aloud. However, with the rise of written documents, much of the world, and certainly the Western world, lives in a state of *secondary orality*. People considered to live under secondary orality have come into contact with written texts in some way whether or not they have read the texts themselves. The world of secondary orality contains written records, written signs, and texts are read aloud.

Ong writes that "fully literate persons can only with great difficulty imagine what a primary oral culture is like, that is, a culture with no knowledge whatsoever of writing or even of the possibility of writing" (31). While Ong asserts, that it is difficult for literates to understanding primary orality, I maintain that is unimportant when considering orality in the Western context, as the West has been living in a state of secondary orality for many centuries. If we consider secondary orality not as a world in which the majority of the citizens are literate, but as a world which contains written records and texts which are read aloud, a world which understands what literacy is, then we must surely go back to the Middle Ages, if not before. Thus in this investigation of the role orality plays in storytelling, I will consider "orality" fundamentally as "secondary orality."

Given the relationship between secondary orality and the written word, there are multiple ways in which spoken utterance plays a part in the poem, song, or story's creation. Oralities

considered to be forms of secondary orality include: *oral performance, spoken texts,* and *written orialities. Spoken texts* are created as texts but are written with the express purpose to be received aurally. Performance is a key part of the creation and understanding of a spoken text, but takes place after the text has been written. Examples of this kind of orality are slam poetry and plays. Both are not complete without the aspect of performance. Spoken texts are different from many cases of reading a text aloud where performance is not a part of the creation. In fact the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE) states that "storytelling is not the same as reading a story aloud, [or] reciting a piece from memory… The storyteller looks into the eyes of the audience, uses his or her own words, and together they compose the tale" (qtd. in Somaiah 69). While the NCTE does not consider "acting out a drama" (ibid.) as a form of storytelling, I consider it to be a form of orality due to the entirely crucial aspect of performance for the reception of the piece. The piece is received both aurally and visually. The words alone do not confer the meaning of the piece. The voice inflections and dramatizations figure strongly in the reception. A spoken text is something which gains meaning through performance.

Written oralities are stories, poems, and songs which were created orally, received aurally, and then transmitted to a textual medium faithfully with the intent to be read. Examples of written oralities are stories, poems, and songs which were recorded and written down faithfully by a collector or ancient epic poetry such as Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. I use the term "faithful" to refer to the notion that a story, poem, or song is written down as it is told directly from an oral source with no fundamental changes or enhancements on the part of the collector. It must be acknowledged, however, that changes and adaptations inevitably take place when moving between the medias of spoken utterance and writing. *Kunstmärchen*, while they may be based on certain themes which can be found in the oral tradition are not considered to be written

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oralities. These tales were written down by an author as an original story for a reading public—spoken utterance did not play a part in its creation.

The story and storytelling, as I have tried to show, are not limited to a certain type of media. Stories may be told through media as diverse as text, film, song, and stage. While there are many ways and many different types of media through which we tell stories, orality still holds a prominent place in the world of story. And yet the invention of writing has brought about changes not only in the way that we experience storytelling, but also in our expectations of it. For many, such as Foley and Ong, the prominence of writing, especially in the Western world, has led to a fundamental misunderstanding of orality and it has been the goal of scholars studying oral tradition to bring this misunderstanding to light.

Because of the prevalence and importance of literacy in the West, critics of orality have often tried to understand it on the same terms as written texts. Ong remarks that viewing orality in the form of an unwritten text does not allow us to see and appreciate orality for what it truly is. By viewing orality as just an unwritten text, we are merely trying to understand it by way of backformation—we only learn what orality *is not* rather than what it actually *is*. To illustrate the absurdity of attempting to understand orality by way of backformation, Ong gives the example of trying to explain the concept of a horse to a world that only knows automobiles. He writes,

> Imagine writing a treatise on horses (for people who have never seen a horse) which starts with the concept not of horse but of 'automobile', built on the readers' direct experience of automobiles. It proceeds to discourse on horses by always referring to them as 'wheelless automobiles', explaining to highly automobilized readers who have never seen a horse all the points of difference in an effort to excise all idea of the term with a purely equine meaning. Instead of wheels, the wheelless automobiles have enlarged toenails called hooves; instead of

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headlights or perhaps rear-vision mirrors, eyes; instead of lacquer, something called hair; instead of gasoline for fuel, hay, and so on. In the end, horses are only what they are not. No matter how accurate and thorough such apophatic description, automobile-driving readers who have never seen a horse and who hear only of 'wheelless automobiles' would be sure to come away with a strange concept of a horse. (12-13)

Individuals who receive this sort of explanation will forever think of the horse as a "wheelless automobile" rather than a particular species of animal. And so it is with our understanding of orality if it is first approached from a literary description—we can see it only as an "oral text," and thus inevitably compare it to literacy, an unwritten text, by using these types of back-formations.

In much the same vein, Foley writes that "looking at oral poetry through the lens of literature—our ever-present if usually unnoticed filter—is much like peering through the wrong end of a telescope. Instead of enlarging the object or process on which the instrument is trained, this 'backwards' perspective graphically diminishes it" (28). Discussing orality as an oral text lets us underestimate—and often undermine—its importance. Partially due to these back-formations, orality has often been viewed as something belonging to the lower classes since the upper classes were considered to be educated enough to be literate. Orality, then, was often viewed as something "beneath the notice of serious scholars of literature" (Lord 1).

Ong calls for a different categorization of oral poems/tales. He writes,

The scholarly focus on texts had ideological consequences. With their attention directed to texts, scholars often went on to assume, often without reflection, that oral verbalization was essentially the same as the written verbalization they normally dealt with, and that oral art forms were to all intents and purposes simply texts, except for the fact that they were not written down. The

impression grew that, apart from the oration (governed by written rhetorical rules), oral art forms were essentially unskillful and not worth serious study. (10)

Like Ong, Foley states that critics of orality should not treat it as an unwritten text, but that instead of forcing orality to fit into our already conceived notions of what a story, song, or utterance *should* be, based on textual examples, that we should rather meet orality on its own terms. "Imposing our assumptions [of what orality should be based on our textual understanding] will prevent truly fluent communication," he writes, "since in effect we will be misreading or mistranslating the poem[6]" (14). Understanding orality fluently, then—that is, understanding it on its own terms, rather than the terms set by literacy—should allow us much greater access.

He writes further that

[a]ll poetry begins with oral tradition, so we should expect a continuity between oral and written expression. But there are also many features and strategies…that work somewhat differently, or with different emphases and associations, than the poetic features and strategies to which most of us reading this book are accustomed. Such differences are hard to keep in mind, not least because so many of our waking hours are spent immersed in textual media… (19-20).

It is through these views of the opposition of orality and literacy that many critics claim several differences in understanding them. Writing, for example, sets up conditions for objectivity in the sense that the reader has no personal engagement with the author (Ong 46). Since there is no personal engagement, the argument of the author is written and can be read over and over again by the reader. This allows the reader to experience the text differently than one would if the same argument were presented to him or her orally and dialogically. Writing allows the mind to go on to new speculations since it does not have to strain to remember the argument. In one sense,

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[6] Here Foley is using the word "poem" in the sense of "oral poetry."

writing frees the mind to wander as one does not have to rely on memory alone to reconstruct an argument. The argument always exists, constructed—though not necessarily understood—completely in the same way as when it was first read.

One of the major defining aspects of literacy, however, may be one which is also the most obvious, yet frequently overlooked. Albert Bates Lord writes,

> Written literature is dependent on writing. That sounds axiomatic, but the type of literature that I think of as 'written literature' par excellence, historically, was created in writing and was impossible without writing. Let me illustrate by way of explanation. Can you imagine James Joyce's *Ulysses* being created without writing? Or a poem of e.e. cummings, whose very name must be seen to be recognized? (17)

We could also take as an example another of Joyce's works, *Finnegans Wake*, or concrete poetry. See for example Figure 1, Reinhard Döhl's "Apfel." This poem must be seen in order to be understood. If one simply heard the words "Apfel, Apfel, Wurm," he or she would be unaware of the aesthetic representation of the words on the page which constitute the image they are describing.

Fig. 1

And yet, we need not take such extreme examples of written language to understand that some words do need to be visually represented. Much of written communication depends on the ability to read and re-read passages. Orality, however, does not provide the same opportunity to re-read and re-visit. Milman Parry writes that

> [t]he poet who makes verses at the speed he chooses will never be forced to leave a fault in his verse, but the Singer, who without stopping…will often be driven to make irregular lines. In such cases it is not the poet who is to blame… [since] in the unhesitating speed of his composition, he cannot stop to change [it] [7]. (318-19)

While Parry's explanation focuses on the teller of the tale, the same holds true for the listeners. While the storyteller cannot pause when making changes, the listener as well cannot go back to an earlier point in the story if something has been misheard or misunderstood. Ong describes this fleeting character of orality, for once an utterance has been heard, it is already at the point of disappearing.

> All sensation takes place in time, but sound has a special relationship to time unlike that of the other fields that register in human sensation. Sound exists only when it is going out of existence. It is not simply perishable but essentially evanescent, and it is sensed as evanescent. When I pronounce the word 'permanence', by the time I get to the '-nence', the 'perma-' is gone, and has to be gone. There is no way to stop sound and have sound. I can stop a moving picture camera and hold one frame fixed on the screen. If I stop the movement of sound, I have nothing—only silence, no sound at all. All sensation takes place in time, but no other sensory field totally resists a holding action, stabilization, in quite this way. (32)

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[7] Parry uses the term "Singer" to denote an oral storyteller.

Orality, by its very nature then, can only take place in the moment—it cannot be stopped or halted. It depends on sound and is thus impossible to edit, rearrange, or change in the way one can edit literacy, text on a page. The oral storyteller, and his or her audience, can only live in the present, as the past, as Ong has demonstrated, no longer exists in any tangible form.

Yet interestingly, orality is often understood in relation to tradition, its connection to the past. Richard Bauman writes that "[t]radition has been the privileged term, consistent with the larger frames of reference predominant in social thought that have held the folk—peasants and primitives—to be conservative, 'tradition bound,' resistant to change…" (78). Bauman describes the use of the term "tradition" in a negative light. It is seen to denote something which is somehow lesser, bound with the less educated "peasants and primitives," and therefore resistant to change. However, this tendency to err on the side of tradition need not be viewed in such a negative or socioeconomically limited way. Niles writes that

> [w]hether we are thinking of poetry or prose, song or speech, oral narrative is well known for its conservative qualities, its habit of bowing respectfully toward the past. In addition… it can be innovative and expressive of individual identity. Any single innovation in an oral tradition, any one different rendition of a theme from performer to performer and from occasion to occasion, may be barely noticeable in itself; and yet the cumulative force of such innovations is to maintain the ability of the tradition to speak with power to listeners or readers who dwell in a complex, changing world. (57)

Oral storytelling, while it may tend toward traditional themes or bow "respectfully to the past," is of course never static. It continually adapts to new themes, ideas and worldviews, and thus always remains relevant to the listener at a particular moment in time. If it loses its relevance, it

falls out of practice and the stories that are part of that tradition cease to be told, or else transform into other cultural practices, such as song, or texts on a page.

In the remainder of this introduction I offer brief accounts of several conceptual frameworks of understanding the relationship between orality and literacy: the "Great Divide," storytelling in a democratic spirit, the influence of the writing elite on oral storytelling, and storytelling as coming from multiple sources. Through an understanding of these conceptual frameworks, one can see that folklore studies has changed and developed through time and that debates continue as to the origins of folktales themselves. In this way we can gain a better understanding of how and why collectors change and adapt tales in different fashions depending on their own theoretical framings.

The Great Divide

It is because of the many differences mentioned above, that scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries viewed orality and literacy as mutually exclusive categories. When the subject of orality was initially becoming an object of study, scholars viewed orality and literacy as being at odds with one another—which has been termed by Ruth Finnegan as the "Great Divide." Subscribers to the Great Divide saw a total and absolute difference in the thinking and world view of literate and oral communities (Haymes 46). People such as Milman Parry, Albert Bates Lord (in his early writings), as well as many nineteenth-century folktale collectors such as Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm believed that the appearance of literacy was leading, and in some cases had already led, to the extinction of the oral tradition. Satu Apo describes the Great Divide:

> The relationship between orality and literacy was initially viewed as linear and mutually
> exclusive: these modes of communication did not live side by side, let alone closely bound to

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each other; rather, they followed each other sequentially. The spread of literacy was seen to

corrupt authentic folklore and even to destroy narrators' oral competence. (22)

Subscribers to this framework thus tend to juxtapose a purely literate society with a purely oral

one, drawing attention to the stark differences between the two. In Clemens Brentano and Achim

von Arnim's collection, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (1805-1808), education (and with it, literacy)

is referred to as something which deters those who still belong to an oral culture from

maintaining it. They write, "damit wird dem Landmann gelehrt, was er nicht braucht, Schreiben,

Lesen, Rechnen, da er wenig Gutes mehr zu lesen, nichts aufzuschreiben, noch weniger zu

berechnen hat" (Vol. 1, 452). Orality was believed to have been damaged or destroyed by

literacy, referencing a belief in some *Urform* of folktales which had been passed down for ages.

By and large, many of these collectors and scholars contrasted the modern, literate society with

an oral society in which folktales and songs were told, sung, created, and developed through a

collective effort of participants in the oral tradition. They believed that the tales had been created

in a democratic spirit—that is that they had not been created by a single author, rather by

multiple individuals as they were passed from one storyteller to the next and as such, were

representative of the society as a whole.

Storytelling in the Democratic Spirit

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in what Apo has termed a "democratic spirit"—that is that they had not been created by a single

author, rather by multiple individuals as they were passed from one storyteller to the next and as

such, were representative of the society as a whole. Yet while Brentano and Arnim's

perspectives can be interpreted in terms of a Great Divide, they also can be viewed in terms of long-term collective cultural activity. For they also believed that the tales had been created in a democratic spirit.

A prime example of the conceptual framework of storytelling in this democratic spirit, of tales which were seen to be owned by none and representative of the whole, are the ground-breaking studies of Milman Parry and his student, Albert Bates Lord, who together postulated Oral-Formulaic Poetry Theory during the second quarter of the twentieth century. Parry, a Homeric scholar, revolutionized the way in which scholars viewed not only Homer's epics, but oral poetry as a whole. Convinced that Homer was not a poetic genius who had crafted the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* on his own, he argues that Homer was an oral poet and that "the oral poet expresses only ideas for which he has a fixed means of expression" (270). He goes on to state that "no one man could get together any but the smallest part of the diction which is needed for making verses orally…" (ibid). These statements from Parry and describe the theory which challenged and added a level of complexity to the ways scholars had previously approached orality.

According to Oral-Formulaic Poetry Theory, oral poems are not created by one individual, but rather by the tradition. Different phrases and descriptions (called formulas) are passed down from one poet to the next. Parry writes, "the young poet learns from some older singer not simply the general style of poetry, but the whole formulaic diction. This he does by hearing and remembering many poems, until the diction has become for him the habitual mode of poetic thought" (330). According to Parry and Lord, oral poets are not renowned for telling original tales, rather for telling the old tales in the best possible way, through their knowledge and utilization of formulas handed down to them. Parry explains that oral poems are not created by only a single teller or singer, he notes that

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a single man or even a whole group of men who set out in the most careful way could not make even a beginning at such an oral diction. It must be the work of many poets over many generations. When one singer… has hit upon a phrase which is pleasing and easily used, other singers will hear it, and then, when faced at the same point in the line with the need of expressing the same idea, they will recall it and use it. If the phrase is so good poetically and so useful metrically that it becomes in time the one best way to express a certain idea in a given length of verse, and as such is passed on from one generation of poets to another, it has won a place for itself in the oral diction as a formula. (ibid)

Liedertheorie and the National Epic

Yet while Parry and Lord are certainly influential in our understanding of orality today, they were not the first to claim that the poems of Homer had their origins in the oral tradition. In 1795, Friedrich August Wolf published his famous *Prolegomena ad Homerum*, in which he detailed the oral origins of the epic poems the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Importantly, Wolf describes Homer as a *singer*, not a *writer* and, like others mentioned above, calls for scholars to reassess their criticisms of Homer which have, up until then, judged the works as if they had been authored by him alone. He states,

> [c]ome now, let us turn our attention to what these provide, setting aside as is proper those who, careless of antiquity, speak of the works of Homer, Hesiod, and their contemporaries as though these were just any books in their library, or use the word "writing" through a vulgar stylistic error, not a mental judgment. Thus I myself—I who argue that those singers were not *writers* but *singers*—have allowed that verb to escape me now and then without resistance… (92, my emphasis)

Wolf's insistence that Homer was a singer, denotes his view that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* began as oral epics. A singer then, by Wolf's definition was "*a class of men, who had time throughout their lives for this one art [of singing tales], so that they could either compose poems in order to make them public afterward by singing, or learn them from others once they had been made public in this way*" (109, emphasis in original). While Wolf uses the word "compose," which commonly denotes writing, he insists that while writing was certainly present in Greece at the time of Homer[8], writing was "hardly used with ease" until after 776 BCE. Thus while Homer was an expert singer, he was not the literary genius that many had proclaimed him to be. He may have been influenced to some degree by writing, but he was no writer himself. "...[T]he recitation [of the epic] was not performed by a written text" but from memory, Wolf claims (108). Instead, Wolf insists that, much like Parry, Lord, and others after him, that singers did not own their songs, rather shared them, constantly learning from one another and performing the songs for the pleasure of their audiences. He writes that

> ...the same [singers] sang not only others' songs but their own as well.... And I think this is why so many poems of those times were eventually assigned to false authors and in the end circulated as anonymous, after the names of the rhapsodes who composed them had been lost to memory, since they came in time to be repeated by more and more others. (107).

While Wolf's critique challenges the traditional view of Homer as a literary genius, he states that he does not wish to "detract at all from the bard's ingenuity" (115). The ingenuity, rather, is in how the singers create their poems which, he attests, did not exist in the oral tradition in a fashion similar to the written works we know today. Instead, epics such as the *Iliad* and the

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[8] Herodotus estimates that Homer lived approximately around 850 BCE.

Odyssey, which range from 12,000-16,000 lines, were created by stitching together shorter songs. It is in this stitching together that the genius of the singer can be seen. He writes:

> For example, it was easy for the Greek genius to contrive a theatrical plot out of the epic songs by changing the form and, because of a certain natural disdain for the same old song, to entrust the events that had been narrated in them to stage characters so that they might be acted out before their eyes: but no nation was so ingenious as to make it possible for someone to appear at such a public show without spectators or for the length of a performance to exceed 15,000 verses. (116)

It was here, he argues, that writing intervened and allowed for a tale as long as these, since telling a tale to a scribe provided a different experience than telling a tale to an audience. With a scribe, one did not need to worry about the entertainment of a large audience for an extended period of time[9]. Ehrhard Bahr writes, for example, of Wolf's theory:

> Wolf admitted that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssee* as we know them could not have been created without the aid of writing and could not have been understood except through reading. Since an illiterate Homer could not have composed the poems in their present shape, they must have been committed to writing at a later date. Homer must have composed only songs of approximately two thousand lines which were publicly performed. These songs were then orally transmitted by his successors until the arrival of the age of writing. Only then were the songs put together to form the large-scale epic structures, as we know them today. (165)

Wolf doubts the possibility of such a tale existing in the oral tradition not due to the creativity and genius of the teller, but due to the time constraints one must adhere to when performing for a live audience. His theory that these epics were actually created by combining a series of traditional songs (hence the episodic nature), was known as the *Liedertheorie* and was

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[9] A more in-depth discussion of audience and performance can be found in Chapter 3.

immensely influential. While Wolf's theory certainly challenged traditional notions of the origins of the Homeric epics, it was also viewed as freeing to authors who felt troubled that they could not live up to the genius of Homer. Wolf's explanation that the Homeric epics were not originally one long tale inspired writers such as Goethe. Goethe, who had read *Prolegomena ad Homerum* and leading to an extended correspondence with Wolf, used this new explanation of the epics as an inspiration for writing episodic epics of his own, tying different stories together into one cohesive whole (Bahr 164). Thus the *Liedertheorie* can be seen as an extension of storytelling in the democratic spirit. While it does not describe the process of one tale passed down and changed by multiple storytellers, it describes tales from multiple storytellers being linked together to form one coherent whole.

The *Liedertheorie* did not only spark the interest of authors who sought to create their own works, but also those interested in folklore. With theories such as Wolf's there was a renewed interested in the genre and as Homer's were seen as national epics of Greece, so too did scholars seek to recover the national epics of their own nation. Following in this tradition were individuals such as the Finnish folktale collector Elias Lönnrot (1802-1884) with his great epic, *Kalevala* (1835) and, to a lesser degree, Scottish writer James Macpherson (1736-1796) with his great but controversial collection entitled *The Poems of Ossian* (1760). Both texts were allegedly based on oral poems and authentic manuscripts.

Lönnrot created the great national epic of Finland by combining several oral-traditional tales into one, long epic. Lord writes,

> [t]here are not variants other than the two that Lönnrot himself composed in the process of reaching the final version, created in the same way in which he composed it. They are not natural variants formed in the normal processes of a living tradition. Lönnrot's material was traditional,

but he altered it, and he devised the sequences of songs of different genres, which were usually sung singly and on different occasions. He believed himself to be a traditional singer, since he was thoroughly conversant with the traditional style. (106)

Lord continues that Lönnrot cannot be a singer in the traditional sense in that, while he was well aware of the traditional style, he was "a man of some education, acquainted with books. He merged variants of songs from different regions, using his knowledge of many parts of the country, a knowledge no traditional singer of the 'old days,' or even of his own, would have had" (106). Thus Lord, as well as Parry, describe a practitioner of the oral tradition as a traditional, likely illiterate, singer who tells his or her tales completely from memory. We also see here yet again that education is viewed as at odds with the survival of the oral tradition. It is one of the defining reasons Lord gives for why Lönnrot's work differs from what he considers to be the "traditional" tales: Lönnrot was an educated, literate author, not a traditional singer.

And in fact, Lönnrot himself presents his epic not as his own, but as a discovered epic which belonged to the Finnish people. In an 1889 English translation, the *Kalevala* is described as "the national epic of the Finns" (v). Pointing further to its claims of authenticity are assertions such as that "the Finns are a very ancient people. It is claimed, too, that they began earlier than any other European nation to collect and preserve their ancient folk-lore" (vii). While Lönnrot is acknowledged as having played a part in arranging the songs into an epic, he is never considered to be the author, merely the collector just as Wolf claims that Homer brought various songs together to create his epics. He is presented as the one who saved the great national epic of the Finns despite the fact he constructed the epic through combining a series of stories and that no version of the *Kalevala* exists outside Lönnrot's version.

While the *Kalevala* was quite influential, Macpherson's *Ossian* was a work which

sparked controversy as well as shaped the course of Romantic literature. His collection of poems,

which he claimed to have translated from a Scottish Gaelic original source, influenced and

shaped the opinions of luminaries as diverse as Goethe, Herder, Hölderlin, Thomas Jefferson,

Napoleon, Beethoven, Schubert, and the Brothers Grimm. Goethe, for example, was deeply

influenced the work. One can see how his literary preferences change in *Die Leiden des jungen*

Werthers (1774) in that the first half of the novella contains many references to the Homeric

epics, while the second half is marked by the elegiac mood in Macpherson's poems. As James

Porter writes,

> [i]ndeed, it is no exaggeration to say that the poems of Ossian are not just the key to European
>
> Romanticism—with its emphasis on individual sensibility and the sense of loss associated with a
>
> glorious past—but the key also to the beginning of interest in a collective cultural history and
>
> tradition. (397)

It is with Macpherson's collection that we begin to see the formation of the national epic, as well

as the fascination of an oral and somehow lost heroic past. Macpherson, similarly to Lönnrot,

claims to reconstruct an epic representative of the people. Yet despite *Ossian*'s huge success,

doubts as to the poems' authenticity arose from their first publication, such as those from Samuel

Johnson, Charles O'Conor, and John Francis Campbell. Critics leveled complaints against

Macpherson, asserting that he had forged the poems. Johnson, for example, claimed that *Ossian*

was a "Scotch conspiracy in national falsehood" (Qtd. Porter 416), and Campbell wrote that

Macpherson had created original compositions in which he inserted "a few fragments of

distorted Gaelic tradition which he happened to know" (Qtd. Porter 418). Others, such as

O'Conor, questioned the historicity of the poems, claiming that Macpherson's poems could not

have historically taken place as they were written down. Yet Macpherson claimed that the original poetic genre of Scotland was the epic, and he set out to reconstruct it in a way similar to that described by Wolf, namely that he strung together various songs and poems, exploiting both oral and written sources, as well as composing some of his own, in an attempt to compose a cohesive story[10].

What is important to note with Macpherson is that while he claimed the poems were translations, what we really see are freely creative adaptations attempting to recreate a long-lost national Scottish epic. Macpherson, and indeed Lönnrot, participate in what I call *assisted storytelling*: taking pieces of authentic materials to recreate and repurpose them, turning them into a new creation, a phenomenon I will take up in Chapter 4 with an examination of the contemporary practice of fan fiction. Macpherson maintains to the end of his life that he authored no part of his collection. He writes that "since the first publication of these poems, many insinuations have been made, and doubts arisen, concerning their authenticity. Whether these suspicions are suggested by prejudice, or are only the effects of malice, I neither know nor care" (51). He staunchly maintains that *Ossian* is a rediscovered artifact of the Scottish past and believes that it is with his help then that his contemporaries may understand the links to their ancient, Celtic past. He notes with obvious national pride the poems he has claimed to translate. He writes that "this excellence is peculiar to the Celtic tongue, and is perhaps to be met with in no other language" (19). Here we can see his desire to create a national epic for Celtic peoples.

Yet despite the questions of authenticity, *Ossian* was an immensely influential work for Johann Gottfried Herder, who saw the poems as a view into a more "authentic" existence, one removed from the grip of French formalism (Porter 419). In 1773, Herder's *Auszug aus einem*

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[10] Macpherson, however, refused to produce his written sources, even when put under pressure by critics.

Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker, he urged the collection of the remains of

German poetry. To his mind, lyrical expression was an attribute to "unspoiled" peoples such as

the ancient Celts, but also peasants of "civilized" countries like Germany. He wrote that "Ossians

Gedichte sind Lieder, Lieder des Volkes, Lieder eines ungebildeten sinnlichen Volkes, die sich

so lange im Munde der väterlichen Tradition haben fortsingen können…" (*Stimmen* 8). Even

after years of critics doubting the authenticity of Macpherson's collection, Herder continued to

see Ossian as comparable to Homer. He saw Homer as the "objective" poet, and Ossian as the

"subjective" one (Porter 420).

Herder saw the shift to a more urban life and lifestyle as removing the people from the

simplicity of their origins. To Herder, the urban bourgeois lifestyle was alienating people from

the "language of Nature" which to him was a representation of the beginnings of language itself.

With the bourgeois lifestyle came a new type of speech, which he labels as artificial, one that has

separated itself from the language of Nature[11]. He writes

> Unsre künstliche Sprache mag die Sprache der Natur so verdränget: unsre bürgerliche Lebensart
>
> und gesellschaftliche Artigkeit mag die Fluth und das Meer der Leidenschaften so gedämmet,
>
> ausgetrocknet und abgeleitet haben, als man will; der heftigste Augenblick der Empfindung, wo?
>
> und wie selten er sich finde? nimmt noch immer sein Recht wieder, und tönt in seiner
>
> mütterlichen Sprache unmittelbar durch Accente. (*Abhandlung* 10)

For Herder, poetry was closer to the *Sprache der Natur* than prose. Yet while he believed, along

with many others, such as Hamann, that poetry was the natural form of human expression, he

wanted not to reconstruct ancient poetry, but to interpret it in order to reconstruct history.

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[11] Herder's *Sprache der Natur* is also called the *Sprache der Empfindung*, which encapsulates the most basic aspects
of human nature and its beginnings.

Though in a fashion different from Macpherson and Lönnrot, Herder also sought to create a national history from ancient stories.[12] These ideas influenced others such as the Grimms, Arnim, Brentano, and Franz von Schönwerth to discover national histories. They believed that these rediscovered histories stemmed from tales which originated with the unlettered, simple peasantry. Collectively, they argued, the tales stemmed from the people and were representative of them. For these collectors, there was no single author. They believed, similarly to Wolf, that songs were repeated by "more and more others" as time went on.

Since these collectors viewed tales as being repeated and passed down from one generation to the next in the oral tradition, they did not view the tales as something static. They did not pass from one storyteller to the next unchanged. Herder writes, for example,

> [i]st Gegentheils in einem Liede Weise da, wohlangeklungene und wohlgehaltene lyrische Weise; wäre der Inhalt selbst auch nicht von Belange, das Lied bleibt und wird gesungen. Ueber kurz oder lang wird, statt des schlechtern, ein besser Inhalt genommen, und darauf gebauet werden; die Seele des Liedes, poetische Tonart, Melodie, ist geblieben. Hätte ein Lied von guter Weise einzelne merkliche Fehler; die Fehler verlieren sich, die schlechten Strophen werden nicht mit gesungen; aber der Geist des Liedes, der allein in die Seele wirkt, und Gemüther zum Chor regt, dieser Geist ist unsterblich und wirkt weiter. (*Stimmen* 96-97)

In this sense, Herder and Parry agree. While the main message of the song or tale may stay constant, the actual wording itself constantly adapts. Parry writes that,

> When one singer… has hit upon a phrase which is pleasing and easily used, other singers will hear it, and then, when faced at the same point in the line with the need of expressing the same

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[12] Unlike Macpherson and Lönnrot, Herder does not claim to be rediscovering or reconstructing a continuous, lost epic.

idea, they will recall it and use it. If the phrase is so good poetically and so useful metrically that it becomes in time the one best way to express a certain idea in a given length of verse, and as such is passed on from one generation of poets to another, it has won a place for itself in the oral diction as a formula. But if it does not suit in every way, or if a better way of fitting the idea to the verse and the sentence is found, it is straightway forgotten, or lives only for a short time since with each new poet and with each new generation of poets it must undergo the twofold test of being found pleasing and useful. (330)

Thus those who subscribe to the conceptual framework that folktales were created in the "democratic spirit" see these tales as having no one author or original source. Even collections which have been put together by named scholars (such as the Grimms) or epics which have been constructed by one individual (such as Lönnrot) are not seen as stemming from these individuals. These individuals, rather, have gathered together tales from various storytellers who they describe as representing the *Volk*.

Folktales and the Influence of the Writing Elite

While collectors and scholars for many years argued sincerely for the purely oral origins of the folktale[13], with growing evidence of the influence of writing, others have theorized the origins of the oral tales as inextricably linked with written texts—specifically considering the role literacy has played in the transmission of oral tales. In the specific case of fairytales, Ruth Bottigheimer writes that literary forms actually predated oral transmission.[14] Bottigheimer claims that written texts (such as Perrault's *Histoires ou Contes du Temps passé* [1695]) inspired oral transmission which led to collectors like the Grimms, Brentano, Arnim, and Schönwerth to mistakenly

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[13] Such as Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, Franz Xaver von Schönwerth, Achim von Arnim, Clemens Brentano, and Herder.

[14] According to Bottigheimer a fairytale is a folktale which employs some kind of magic usage to bring about a happy ending and marriage into a higher status.

interpret oral fairytales as remnants of an ancient tradition. Noting Wilhelm Grimm's comments in his *Kleinere Schriften* about the similarity of German tales to others in England, Wales, and even further abroad, Bottigheimer states that "these tales, which closely resembled one another, came from published books, and with nothing else to go on, Wilhelm assumed that a great sea of story had tossed its *Märchen* onto many shores, even ones that were far distant from one another" (37).

Bottigheimer claims that it is literacy, not orality, which had led to strikingly similar fairytales found across the globe[15]. She does not entirely doubt that the fairytales gathered by collectors such as the Grimms were told orally. Rather, she claims that the fairytales entered the oral tradition *from* the literary tradition. After reading fairytales from written and published editions, storytellers then began to include them in their repertoire. With regards to the correlation between orality and literacy, Bottigheimer challenges the entire folklore community with her claims that fairytales were not created from an oral tradition, but rather came from books written in sixteenth-century Italy by Giovanni Francesco Straparola (1480-1557). She states that Straparola certainly took themes from the oral tradition and incorporated them into his fairytales, but she claims further that he had authored the tales entirely and did not collect them from the oral tradition.

In a similar vein, Rudolf Schenda remarks that

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[15] Bottigheimer believes that folk- and fairytales are two entirely separate genres. She writes,
> Folk tales differ from fairy tales in their structure, their cast of characters, their plot trajectories, and their age. Brief, and with linear plots, folk tales reflect the world and the belief systems of their audiences. Taking their characters from that familiar world, folk tales are typically peopled with husbands and wives, peasants, thieving rascals, or an occasional doctor, lawyer, priest, or preacher. In a typical folk tale plot, one person makes off with another person's money, good, or honor. More to the point, a very large proportion of folk tales don't have a happy ending. (4)

[i]t is important to note that in the countries in question [France and Germany], an energizing of narrative traffic develops in direct proportion to the development of print culture and school culture. The more revolutionizing the economic and social movements, and the more politically (which also means religiously) unsettled the course of events, then the more steeply the literacy rates rise, the more the masses of printed and read materials increase, and the more vigorously the voices of the reported, retold, and rumored word develop. ("Semiliterate" 131)

Citing publishing records as proof for their claims, scholars like Bottigheimer and Schenda call into question the age-old notion of origins of the folk- and fairytale in the oral tradition. Bottigheimer and Schenda argue that prior to the folktale-collection boom in the nineteenth century, there are few to no written records of the existence of fairytales either oral or written. Both scholars argue for textual evidence as proof of the origins of the fairytale. In explanation of this conceptual framework, Schenda writes that folklore scholars of Perrault

a posteriori projected texts of later centuries back onto oral traditions that [they] then positioned as having existed prior to Perrault. Maybe that says something about Perrault. However, decisive examples for an early and completely oral use of such narrative materials does not exist. What *did* exist before Perrault are numerous motifs (that also occur in Perrault) that were fixed in writing before his tales appeared. (ibid 129)

While he argues that different motifs existed before written records, Schenda claims that writers like Perrault invented the genre of the fairytale based on these motifs. With arguments of textual evidence, Schenda and Bottigheimer question the dogma that folklore collectors gathered tales which had survived from an ancient oral tradition. They note that, while many scholars have maintained that folk- and fairytales originated with the oral, and that the tales were then later gathered by collectors and compiled into anthologies that it "is also imaginable that the reverse process took place—…that over time the… folk absorbed their classic authors' published stories

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into its collective oral repertoire" (ibid 129). In other words, they are addressing the question of the reverse processes—a process of the written entering the oral repertoire rather than the oral entering the written.

Many contemporary scholars believe that the ultimate origins of folktales are unimportant. An original can never be found since stories constantly change and develop through transmission. They likewise note that as oral tales are by their very nature unwritten, we cannot know for certain how long they have been in circulation.[16] Francisco Vaz da Silva, for example, writes that "arguably, it is as futile to search for the inventor of fairy tales as it is to seek for the authors of language, the creator of mythology, or the architect of religion" (400). We can see this viewpoint echoed in the ideas of collectors during the nineteenth century as well. Jacob Grimm, for instance, states that these tales are a "Summe des Ganzen; wie sich das zusammengefügt und aufgebracht hat, bleibt unerklärlich, wie ich schon gesagt habe, aber ist doch nicht geheimnisvoller, wie das, daß sich die Wasser in einem Fluß zusammenthun, um nun miteinander zu fließen. Mir ist es undenkbar, daß es einen Homer oder einen Verfasser der Nibelungen gegeben habe" (Qtd. In Jolles 221).

Bottigheimer, however, states the contrary. "Origins matter," she writes. "They matter regarding the evolution of humans and they matter regarding folklore. If we do not understand where things come from and the processes by which they were produced, then we create myths about them that cloak and disguise the truth" ("Fairy Godfather" 447). She states that publishing history proves that fairytales were not oral to begin with, prior to the publication of collections such as Straparola's *Piacevoli Notti* (1550) and Perrault's *Histoires ou Contes du Temps passé*,

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[16] See for example Jack Zipes, Francisco Vaz da Silva, Dan Ben-Amos, and Maria Tatar.

these tales did not exist. Collections such as the Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (1812-1857) then, drew from the tales previously published by Straparola and Perrault.

As further proof for her claims, she states that

[f]airy tales continue to resonate in people's lives. This is largely so because fairy tales originated among the same kinds of urban assumptions and expectations with which city and suburban dwellers continue to live today. Fairy tales, which speak in a language well understood in the modern world, remain relevant because they allude to deep hopes for material improvement, because they present illusions of happiness to come, and because they provide social paradigms that overlap nearly perfectly with daydreams of a better life. (*Fairy Tales* 13).

According to Bottigheimer, these tales are relevant to modern audiences because they were created in the same types of urban environments that readers live in today.

She states that "a belief in fairy tales' oral origins requires that there be no written records of fairy tales themselves. This perception goes against the grain of every scholarly undertaking since the scientific revolution made evidence the central plank of its platform" (*Fairy Tales* 2). Thus Bottigheimer claims that absence of evidence is evidence of absence. If we cannot find written evidence for the existence of fairytales before the collections of Straparola and Perrault, then it is evidence that the tales did not exist prior. Directly speaking to Bottigheimer's arguments, Dan Ben-Amos writes, "if positive empirical evidence dictates literary-historical conclusions, then the literary fairy tale could claim the first-born right, as Bottigheimer argues. But is literary visibility the only testimony of existence in historical reality?" ("Introduction" 374). Thus we must ask ourselves how much we should rely on textual evidence when considering an oral genre. Are Bottigheimer's fairytales really just "wheelless automobiles"?

While many of her arguments are quite sound and offer a refreshing topic of debate within the folklore community, she takes too extreme a position. While she does state that she is limiting her comments to a discussion of only her definition of the fairytale, at many points she seems to imply that both fairy- *as well as* folktales are the production of literary creation. She writes that

> [a] book-based history of fairy tales explains the remarkable phenomenon of similar or identical tellings of the same story by different storytellers. Similarities in wording and phrasing in a particular story has frequently been observed by European and American collectors of fairy tales in the field, even when the same story is told by two or three different individuals. (106)

While Bottigheimer is directly engaging with *fairy*tales, what her statements imply is that direct similarities automatically mean that tales have come from a literary source—ignoring the similarities between folktales in different traditions. Similarly, her critiques of the Grimms mentioned above ignore the fact that only a small handful of the tales in their collection fit her definition of a fairytale. Despite its oftentimes oversimplification of the transmission of folktales as originating solely in literature, Bottigheimer's research can, however, be useful in exploring the massive influence literacy and textual works have had on the oral tradition.

In a similar vein, Schenda remarks that "it is still hard for many researchers of folk narrative to accept the fact… namely, that at least in central Europe since the Middle Ages, and even more in the early modern period, oral tradition has existed in a continuous and mutual relationship with written or printed narrative tradition" ("Semiliterate" 131). While terms such as Ong's "primary orality" may be helpful in noting the differences between orality and literacy, we should not compare any written folklore anthologies to a world unfamiliar with literacy. By the time these anthologies were written down (some of the earliest began to be compiled in the

fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), literacy was already a part of daily life for Western society, whether one could read or not. There has been an immense influence of oral tradition and written texts on one another—a reciprocity which is often taken for granted. It is here, then, that we see the importance of recognizing that folktales come not just from the oral or literary tradition, but that they stem from multiple sources.

Folktales with Multiple Sources

In his work on oral tradition, Jack Zipes notes the dynamic nature of the folktale. Zipes writes that "almost all endeavors by scholars to define the fairy tale as a genre have failed. Their failure is predictable because the genre is so volatile and fluid" (*Irresistible* 22). The genre is both volatile and fluid because it is constantly adapting and changing. Parry in fact also acknowledges this aspect of oral tales, taking place over many decades, or more often generations. What Zipes describes is a process that takes place on a much faster timescale. While the folktale may change slightly from one telling to the next, what allows it to change rapidly is its adaptation to other media such as the written word, and, as I explain more fully in Chapter 4, nowadays on-line as Internet fan fiction (stories which are based on the copyrighted materials of others) plays an increasingly important role in the transmission of tales.

Zipes writes,

> First, there is no such thing as a pure oral fairy tale or a separate literary tradition. The fairy tale developed out of an oral cognitive mode of communication and narration; it was continued and expanded through print, which generated another mode of transmitting relevant information. When fairy tales came to be printed as public representations, they were read privately and publicly, remembered and retold orally, and republished, always with changes. (*Stick* 98)

In Zipes's description of the reciprocal influence between orality and literacy, we can see a process which (using Ong's terms) shifts from primary orality to a literary mode and then to secondary orality. Unlike primary orality, secondary orality has been influenced by some sort of textual medium. While these tales are still told orally, they are told by individuals who can and do read and who live in environments influenced by textual media. Just as Zipes writes that there is no separate literary fairytale or tradition, so too must we recognize that there is not one "pure oral tale" from which all subsequent versions developed.

Foley writes that "oral and written just aren't segregated absolutely. And not only can oral and written appear in the same society, they can and do appear in the same individual. And why not? Multilingual speakers of French and English are not uncommon…" (26). Thus Foley presents orality and literacy as two different but necessarily related "languages" in which all people are fluent, whether they are aware of it or not. This metaphor of "languages" can help us see orality and literacy as two related, yet different discursive worlds. He continues to note that "[w]hat we haven't been doing is recognizing that our familiar world is actually only one part of an immensely larger and—for many of us—largely unexplored universe of verbal art" (27). It is then, he claims, much too simple to divide orality and literacy into separate categories—to claim that certain tales have either strictly oral or strictly literary origins. "Oral poetry," he writes "cannot be reduced to a single pristine form that arises strictly in letterless societies and out of the mouths of certifiably preliterate speakers.[17] Human nature—and oral poetry—are much more diverse, complex, and interesting than that" (26). Here we can see that oral traditions cannot be separated from literary ones because of the changing and adapting nature of not only the stories

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[17] As scholars such as Parry, the Grimms, Herder, Arnim, Brentano and others claimed.

we tell, but also the forms and contexts that we use to tell them. It is dating as far back as early

collections of folktales[18] that orality and literacy have mutually influenced them. Schenda writes

> [i]f one considers (as Ong does in the course of his multifaceted reflections) how many ways
>
> Europe's oral culture has been bound up with the written and printed word in the early modern
>
> period—in other words, from the 1500s onward—the distinction [between orality and literacy] no
>
> longer seems clear-cut and correct. An inverse concept [to oral literature] of 'literary
>
> orality,' *oralité littéraire*, would be closer to the phenomenon of intercultural interlacing described
>
> here. Discussions of human communication have maintained and upheld the dominant notion of
>
> from-mouth-to-ear—that is, a (nonliterate) speaking person communicating with a (nonliterate)
>
> listening person—right into the early twentieth century. ("Semiliterate" 128)

Schenda's term of *oralité littéraire*, however, only describes one part of the process—namely

that written works may come to be a part of the oral tradition in a world of secondary orality.

Another term, from Daniel Drascek, comes closer to describing the process. He calls this process

a *Reoralisierungsphänomen* (45). Unlike *oralité littéraire*, *Reoralisierung* recognizes the move

from orality to literacy back to orality. It too, however, falls short of accounting for the

complicated nature of the mutual influence of orality and literacy. *Reoralisierung* suggests that

once an oral tale has been written down and then subsequently re-enters the oral tradition, the

process has been completed. The influence of orality and literacy on the folktale, however, is not

so clear-cut. One tale may change many times in the oral tradition before it is written down. This

text may then be read and adapted by different authors, filmmakers, or Internet bloggers before

re-entering the mode of orality. The tale may then come to be written down again in its changed

form, continually bouncing around neither in a cyclical nor a linear fashion. Thus the term that I

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[18] Take for example Italian collections which began in the 16th century.

will use to describe this process is *complex network storytelling*. While patterns *may* exist in a complex network system, these patterns are acknowledged as chaotic and adhering to no predictable pattern such as linear or cyclical models. Thus with complex network storytelling, there is no perceivable pattern that the storytelling process must follow as it moves between different types of media—indeed often as a hybrid of the two.

What is important to note with the process of complex network storytelling is that it does not limit itself solely to the oral medium and textual anthologies and collections like those of the Grimms, Perrault, and Straparola. As new storytelling media become available, folktales adapt to them. Zipes, for example writes that

> [t]echnological inventions, in particular, enabled the fairy tale to expand in various cultural domains, even on the Internet…. [T]he fairy tale adapted itself and was transformed by both common nonliterate people and upper-class literate people from a simple, brief tale with vital information: it grew, became enormous, and disseminated information that contributed to the cultural evolution of specific groups. In fact it continues to grow—embracing, if not swallowing, all types of genres, art forms, and cultural institutions, and adjusting itself to new environments through the human disposition to recreate relevant narratives, and via technologies that make its diffusion easier and more effective. (*Irresistible* 22).

Here we can see the rapid change that Zipes discusses. Unlike the multi-generational, tradition-based change described by Wolf, Parry, and Lord, Zipes brings to light the relatively rapid adaptation of the folktale across genres—from books and newspapers to films, television, and the Internet. As others like Schenda and Bottigheimer have noted, it is impossible to consider the genre of the folktale without considering non-oral sources. Like the mutual influences between oral and written tradition, it grows and develops with us to remain relevant with our times.

Foley also remarks on the influence of the Internet: "we can profit substantially by recognizing the uncanny similarity between much oral poetry and the Internet" (220). Rather than just suggesting that the folktale genre adapts to different media such as the Internet, he draws similarities between the oral tradition and the Internet. His comments on these similarities, however, stop at this statement. While he does point out that videos and explanations can be linked to webpages containing oral poetry, Foley does not further develop the way in which the age of the Internet is creeping ever closer to the realm of orality. Unlike printed and published texts, which leave a trail of evidence as to their changes, updates, and manipulations, the Internet—much as oral utterances—can change, adapt, and update much more quickly than a more traditional, printed text.

There are now an increasing number of websites dedicated to on-line fan fiction. Unlike their textual counterparts, however, stories on these sites are constructed dialogically by an entire community of anonymous Internet users around the globe—making this more and more the "non-print" age of media. These sites, as well as being a communicative and interactive space for users to post stories, also change and develop on a daily, if not hourly, basis as new tales are created, updated, or deleted in accordance with the relevance to users' interests. Quotes, paraphrases, photographs etc. are taken and collected from multiple sources and combined to create new stories to suit the needs of the users. It is through these avenues that the Internet is perhaps more closely related to orality than to printed texts as it presents an unstable literacy— one which is no longer written in stone. As Foley writes: "the connection may seem counterintuitive at first, but the ongoing cyber-revolution can open up precious insights into manuscripts, print, and most of all oral poetry" (22).

The Changing Concept of Fidelity

Clearly, as referenced above, scholars' interpretations of the roles of both orality and literacy in the realm of folklore have changed from the eighteenth century with theories such as Wolf's and Herder's to the present with scholars such as Schenda, Foley, and Zipes. Likewise, the idea of what it means to be "faithful" to oral materials which have been preserved in textual form has changed dramatically. Clearly the issue of fidelity or faithfulness has not remained fixed, but itself one which has changed and developed over time. We see, for example, in 1819, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm's definition of faithfulness:

> Was die Weise betrifft, in der wir gesammelt haben, so ist es uns zuerst auf Treue und Wahrheit angekommen. Wir haben nämlich aus eigenen Mitteln nichts hinzugesetzt, keinen Umstand und Zug der Sage selbst verschönert, sondern ihren Inhalt so wiedergegeben, wie wir ihn empfangen; daß der Ausdruck großenteils von uns herrührt versteht sich von selbst, doch haben wir jede Eigentümlichkeit, die wir bemerkten, zu erhalten gesucht, um auch in dieser Hinsicht der Sammlung die Mannigfaltigkeit der Natur zu lassen. (18)

For the Grimms, the concept of fidelity to the original does not reside in word choice at all, rather in presentation. Words and phrases hold no meaning in their conception beyond remaining true to the *Inhalt* of the tale. Accurately producing the meaning and sense of a tale, whatever that may be, was considered by the Grimms to be a faithful rendition. Thus updates and new versions were also seen as way to remain faithful to the content. They state further of collecting that

> [j]eder, der sich mit ähnlicher Arbeit befaßt, wird es übrigens begreifen, daß dies kein sorgloses und unachtsames Auffassen kann genannt werden, im Gegenteil ist Aufmerksamkeit und ein Takt nötig, der sich erst mit der Zeit erwirbt, um das Einfachere, Reinere, und doch in sich Vollkommnere, von dem Verfälschten zu unterscheiden. (18)

The Grimms felt no need to write down the tales word-for-word for, in their conception of fidelity, it was not the individual versions with their variations which were important, but the reconstruction of what they believed to be ancient tales[19]. In like manner, nineteenth century collectors Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano felt no need to write down tales or songs told to them verbatim. In fact, this view was necessitated by the fact that the only recording devices available to them were pen and paper—making verbatim recordings onerous for both collector and storyteller. Of collecting folk songs they write,

> Diese Art Gedichte, die wir seit Jahren Volkslieder zu nennen pflegen, ob sie gleich eigentlich weder vom Volk noch fürs Volk gedichtet sind, sondern weil sie so etwas Stämmiges, Tüchtiges in sich haben und begreifen, daß der Kern und stammhafte Theil der Nationen dergleichen Dinge faßt, behält, sich zueignet und mitunter fortpflanzt, dergleiche Gedichte sind so wahre Poesie, als sie irgend nur seyn kann… (481)

Like the Grimms, the direct words are not important for Arnim and Brentano. For them, they remain faithful to the tales as long as they capture the "stammhafte Theil der Nationen" which believe can be found throughout them.

In the twentieth century we see a different concept of fidelity in collection with Parry and Lord. Lord's definition of fidelity differs greatly from collectors of the nineteenth century as does their recording equipment—Parry and Lord are able to use audio recording to aid their collection efforts. In *Epic Singers and Oral Tradition*, he writes that "I learned from Parry the necessity of careful field recording so that the texts thus obtained would reflect accurately the words of the singer rather than those put there by the collector" (13). For Parry and Lord, the

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[19] A more complete description of the changes they made as well as the goals of their collections are discussed in Chapter 1.

exact wording of the song or tale collected is entirely crucial to the collection, and verbatim notation was enhanced by their use of actual voice recording. No longer was the *Inhalt* of primary importance, but also the words and phrases used to convey it. The idea that this now constituted a faithful rendition of the song or tale told was promoted by more accurate recording devices. It is also important to note that this was a period in which field anthropology developed alongside folklore studies encouraging anthropological and empirical work in investigating different folkloric traditions. In the time of the Grimms, Arnim, and Brentano, all notes were written by hand, and even shorthand dictation had yet to be invented in Germany[20]. But by the early twentieth century, collectors had new technologies, namely audio recording devices, which allowed them to repeatedly listen to the same telling of a tale—giving them the ability to write tales down verbatim. Thus the advent of new technologies greatly influenced the conceptualization of fidelity to the original.

In the early twentieth century, for example, collectors Béla Bertók and Zoltán Koldály used recording devices to record Hungarian, Slovenian, and Romanian folksongs. They used this new technology to write the songs down, quite literally, word-for-word (Schade 49). Yet while at the time of the development of recording devices, a major concern for collectors was the precision of the words of the songs and tales, another notion of fidelity has arisen today. Ernst Schade writes, "[h]eute sehen wir die Problematik der Transkription nicht nur unter dem Gesichtspunkt der korrekten Notierung, sondern in den 'Übergängen und Spannungsfeldern zwischen Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichtkeit'" (ibid). With the tensions between orality and literacy, along with the possibility of viewing orality as if it were just another text (which has

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[20] It was not until 1834 that Franz Xaver Gabelsberger's shorthand notation had a fixed form and it was not until 1854 that this form of notation was used documentation outside of the parliament. ("Stenographie").

been discussed in detail by numerous scholars such as Ong, Bauman, Jackson, Lord, and Foley), scholars are now concerned with maintaining the oral mode of communication in writing.

The desire to remain faithful, not only to the words of the songs, poems, and tales, has demanded yet another definition of the concept of fidelity. Foley, for example, describes the technique of ethnopoetics, which he defines as seeking to "*read* or understand oral poetry on its own terms, within the indigenous cultural matrix," as well as "learning to hear and interpret the performative aspects of oral poetry." In other words, ethnopoetics seeks to regain "everything that gets lost as we transfer the story-event to a story-item" (95); i.e. when we seek to write orality down.

Foley describes ethnopoetics as trying to reconstruct in written form how a poem, tale, or song was actually performed. In a sense, this is re-performance with textual prompts. Foley uses ethnopoetics to demonstrate what can be lost when orality is written down—what is lost in translation—by giving two versions of a written piece of slam poetry. Below is an excerpt from the poem, "Elemental Woman" as a published text with regular spaces, phrasing etc. contrasted with Foley's recording of the live performance using ethnopoetics. In demonstration of this, Foley uses a different type of writing, leaving out spaces when words are run together, using italics to mark words spoken quickly, writing parts of words in capital letters to denote emphasis, using underlining to indicate hand gestures, brackets for a continuous poetic line, marking pauses with a hash mark "#," and longer than usual pauses with two "##." We can compare the traditionally published text on the left, with Foley's new version on the right:

Published Text	Live Performance

I want to be some kind of elemental woman
the original born before my time
  i have lived this life before;
  on the banks of the Orinoco,
   the ganges,
   the nile…
	I know I need to be someKINDof
	##ele^{men}tal woman
	you <u>know</u> # the o<u>ri</u>gin<u>al</u>
	SORTof
	born before my time
	because we have
	<u>lived this life</u> be<u>fore</u>
	on the banks of
	the Ori<u>no</u>co # the <u>Ganges</u> # and the <u>Nile</u>

disbelieving the line,
  because i have struggled
  down freedom's road and
  marched blood red streets in
   new York city
	SORTof
	DISbelieving the LINE
	because # I have
	[STRUGgled down ^{FREE}dom's ROAD and
	marched BLOOD red STREETS in New York
	City]

un-repressed by religion
  even though i have been burned in salem
  and been stoned in Jerusalem
  yet still i am faithful, elemental woman
	TYPE of
	UNrePRESSED by religion
	because I have # BURNED in Salem
	and been STONED # in # Jerusalem
	yet # STILL # FAITHful
	# ele^{men}tal woman

i need to be an elemental woman not for this moment but for my life	I think I need to be someKINDof # elemental woman not for THIS Moment # *but for my LIFE* (98-99)

While nearly all of the same words are used (we see for example certain added phrases in the live performance such as "you know," "sort of," and "type of" which are all usual markers of the spoken word), the text on the left is an entirely different reading experience than that on the right. The reader has textual markers representing the actual performance of the piece, giving us a chance to likewise recreate it in our minds. In a sense, Foley is acting as a translator for his reading audience. He has taken the words spoken by the slam poet, and translated them to a different medium. In order to remind his readers that they are reading a poem which has been translated from a different medium, Foley uses a different type of writing system than the reader

normally encounters. Thus new "translations" of folktales which seek to retain aspects of the oral medium, must not seek to read like a text, such as in Foley's example above.

How far, then, should a collector go in trying to faithfully represent the song, tale, or poem? As demonstrated above, these ideas have changed drastically and modern interpretations of fidelity are now far removed from what many collectors in the early nineteenth century followed. Thus in discussing the folktale collections in the following chapters, we must keep in mind that we should separate our modern conceptions of fidelity from nineteenth century notions when analyzing the collections. Modern frameworks for fidelity did not and, for various reasons such as the absence of recording devices, could not exist. With this in mind, in the following chapters I will discuss different aspects of how and why we tell stories as well as how these stories translate across mediums.

Chapter 1: The Race to (Re)Construct an Imagined Germanic Past

O mein Gott, wo sind die alten Bäume, unter denen wir noch gestern ruhten, die uralten Zeichen fester Grenzen, was ist damit geschehen, was geschieht? – Achim von Arnim

Before looking into the tradition of folktale collecting and its flowering in the nineteenth century, it is important to examine the historical circumstances. This surge in collection was, to a large degree, a reaction to the conditions in Germany and Europe in the wake of the Enlightenment. There was a huge push by many scholars and writers to re-emphasize, and indeed re-evaluate the "Germanic past." There was a desire in the nineteenth century to define the distinct outlines of a specifically Germanic culture by offsetting it, in particular, against Classical civilizations (Norton 1), but also in response to the Napoleonic invasion and domination. Throughout the last half of the century especially, the growing need to identify and defend this distinctly "German" culture was tied to political efforts as many strove to prove that Germany was much more than a geographical location—but a place of sophistication and culture all its own, often by creating tension between German culture and French influence. The nineteenth century was also the time of the great histories of national literature organizing the "national" literary past in anticipation of a national political present (ibid 7).

This search for a culture which was uniquely German was strongly influenced by years of French occupation and rule from the late 1700s after the French Revolution until 1815, during which borders within what would later become a united Germany were continually redrawn. Germans struggled with a sense of identity through these turbulent years of conquest and control

(Peterson 287) in which *Deutschtum* was not just ideologically, but also literally under threat. Nationalist sentiments began to rise among educated classes living in urban areas who began to describe a clear dichotomy between foreign and domestic culture or, more specifically, between what was French and what was German. Many Germans wished to see the French expelled from their lands due to long years of military and economic exploitation and some scholars began to use this discontentment to push their own potlical views of German nationalism (Planert 694).

There was little popular-academic history at the time, and many of these intellectuals sought to popularize it in other ways--often through historical fiction or other stories that had ties to the past. Brent O. Peterson writes that

> [k]nowledge and legends were no doubt passed on orally, in taverns and around the hearth, but lives and times from the past were also exhumed, reconstructed, and popularized in a more lasting and significant fashion both by historians who were, in the early years of the nineteeth century, busily inventing history as an academic discipline, and simultaneously by writers working in the essentially new genre of historical fiction. (289)

It was through more literary adaptations such as historical fiction as well as collections of folktales and legends that most Germans learned of historical events. While popular sentiment ranged from support to repulsion towards Napoleon and his conquering armies, segments within the German "republic of letters" worked to shape a distinctive German culture by articulating a dichotomy of "German" versus "French" (Planert 693) through which the discursive markers of identity were becoming more fixed and less open to choice or compromise (Peterson 293).

The writers and scholars[21] who dedicated themselves to the re-evaluation of the Germanic past strongly criticized the educational system of their time for overemphasizing the teachings of Classical and French thought. This, they argued, was an attempt to erase the older Germanic past. Dr. Wolfgang Menzel (1798-1873) writes about the pedagogical practices of the schools which have grown out of touch with the lives of the German people, attempting to overwrite the Germanic past: "[l]eichtsinnig vergeudete man ein altes Erbe des Volkes, und rottete Gesinnungen aus, welche die moderne Schulmeisterei mit ihren langweiligen und abstrakten Moralpredigten, oder gar mit ihrer stolzen Berufung auf die Selbstbestimmung des Menschen nicht hat ersetzen können" (*Sitten* Vol. 1, vi-vii). There was a strong reaction among the writers and thinkers of the Romantic period and Vormärz to what was perceived to be the one-sided nature of the "Verstandeskultur der Aufklärung" and a great desire to somehow return to the simple "Golden Age" of the German Middle Ages (Waselowsky 5).

Franz Xaver von Schönwerth (1810-1886) laments the industrialization and urbanization of Germany which had been accelerated during the Enlightenment. These changes had taken away from what he, like many others of the time, deemed to be the simpler life of the past.[22] He writes,

> Bald werden Eisenbahnen auch die Oberpfalz nach allen Richtungen durchschneiden und andere
> Anschauungen und Bedürfnisse einführen; der stillen häuslichen Ruhe der Heimat wird reges
> Leben folgen und einen Umschwung der Dinge bewirken, wie er selbst nach den Kreuzzügen

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[21] Such as Ludwig Tieck, and Novalis.
[22] These collectors understood the past as one which was not necessarily chronological. They sought rather to reconnect with a "sense" of a simplified time away from the changes due to industrialization as well as foreign occupation and rule.

oder der Entdeckung von Amerika oder dem Schwedenkriege noch nicht dagewesen. (Vol. 3,

365)

With the desire for the return of the "Golden Age" came a sense of urgency in the need to collect

and preserve the narrative artifacts of the past—and the folktales of the common people were

heavily associated with what was perceived to be the simple life of the Middle Ages.

Schönwerth, for example, describes his collection of folktales as taking place in the „eilften

Stunde," (Vol 3, 367) suggesting that a time in which the common *Volk* of Germany still recited

the tales of their ancestors was quickly drawing to a close. European literacy was vastly

increasing and many writers as well as collectors noticed that already in the eighteenth century,

traditional oral culture was rapidly disappearing and thus they positioned *Deutschtum* as

ideologically under threat.

In the *Vorwort* of the 1812 edition of their collection, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, Jacob

and Wilhelm Grimm remark, "[e]s war vielleicht gerade Zeit, diese Märchen festzuhalten, da

diejenigen, die sie bewahren sollen, immer seltener werden…" (vii). The Grimms noticed that

new generations were far less concerned with oral tradition than they were with moving forward

into the modern world of literacy. "(Freilich," they write further,

  die sie [die Märchen] noch wissen, wissen auch recht viel, weil die Menschen ihnen absterben,

  sie nicht den Menschen), denn die Sitte darin nimmt selber immer mehr ab, wie alle heimlichen

  Plätze in Wohnungen und Gärten einer leeren Prächtigkeit wichen, die dem Lächeln gleicht,

  womit man von ihnen spricht, welches vornehm aussieht und doch so wenig kostet. (ibid)

This romanticized ideal of the oral tale from the Germanic past led countless collectors to seek

what they thought to be the "pure sources" (Zipes *Stick* 11) of not only the Germanic past, but

also of German literature itself.

The nostalgia for a time when the world was less complicated and more connected with nature may be seen in many folktale collections of this period. Achim von Arnim writes, for example, in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (1806-1808),

> O mein Gott, wo sind die alten Bäume, unter denen wir noch gestern ruhten, die uralten Zeichen fester Grenzen, was ist damit geschehen, was geschieht? Fast vergessen sind sie schon unter dem Volke, schmerzlich stoßen wir uns an ihren Wurzeln. Ist der Scheitel hoher Berge nur einmal ganz abgeholzt, so treibt der Regen die Erde hinunter, es wächst da kein Holz wieder, daß Deutschland nicht so weit verwirthschaftet werde, sey unser Bemühen. (Vol. 1, 438)

This Romanticized vision of peasantry and an idealized sense of the past must be viewed with caution, however. The act of comparing an older, oral culture to the modern culture of writing brings the danger of idealizing orality and seeing it as a mark of a paradisiacal society free from all the complications and problems that often make modern society so complex and difficult. Most collectors had an explicit agenda for their projects of preserving tales and songs before they were lost forever. Collectors like Schönwerth and Arnim saw themselves akin to archaeologists rediscovering ancient artifacts from the Germanic past, as referenced by their comments above.

This sense of preservation and rediscovery of the past was a large part of the culture of the late Enlightenment and Romantic period—it was the birth of modern archaeology and led to the discovery of thousands of artifacts from the ancient world. There was likewise a concurrent effort in the beginning of the nineteenth century to preserve hundreds of castle ruins throughout German-speaking Europe. The goal was not to rebuild them, but to halt their further disintegration or dismanteling—a way to preserve the historical past for generations to come.

A tradition of Romantic thought was one of repulsion toward the modern world and a yearning for what they deemed to be the original roots of a culture (Schmitz 116) of which

Arnim's likening of folktales and songs to ancient trees is an example. It was a yearning for a culture in which poetry was imagined to spring spontaneously from the lips of the *Volk* that so many admired. We likewise see in these descriptions the collectors' subscription to the framework of the Great Divide as they continually lament the encroachment and destructive nature of literacy on the oral tradition. Heinz Rölleke remarks with respect to the early nineteenth century and the sudden boom in folktale collection,

> Durch das Ideengut des frühromantischen Kreises… wurden die disparaten Tendenzen zusammengefaßt und in den Dienst der Wiederbelebung altdeutscher Dichtung, worunter man eine Epoche von Frühmittelalter bis zum Ende der Barockzeit verstand, sowie der Bewahrung und Propagierung volksläufiger Literatur gestellt. Durch die napoleonischen Eroberung, aber auch durch den gesellschaftlichen Wandel (Zurückdrängung der Großfamilie und der privaten Handwerksbetriebe mit ihren eigenen Erzähltraditionen usw.) erhielten diese Bemühungen Nachdruck und erzielten alsbald große Resonanz. ("Kommentar" 1152-53)

While many collectors sought to renew interest in Germanic traditions, they were also painfully aware of the state of oral tradition in Germany. In a letter to mentor Friedrich Carl von Savigny in 1808, Jacob Grimm remarked that tales frequently disintegrated into incomprehensible nonsense as the storyteller got towards the ending, noting that the beginnings of tales were his favorites—those were the parts storytellers remembered best (Ward 95). We can see an example of this in a letter from Ferdinand Siebert[23] to Wilhelm Grimm in which he detailed the difficulties he encountered trying to collect tales in their entirety: "Dies Mährchen erzählte mir Willi sehr verworren und unvollständig, und ich mußte selbst eine zusammenhängende Erzählung daraus machen, die ich jedoch durch Fragen und Erläuterungen ganz von ihm habe"

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[23] Siebert aided the Grimms in their collection of tales.

(Qtd. in Rölleke and Schindehütte 311). Many collectors believed that they were witnessing the death of the oral tradition in Germany which, for collectors such as the Grimms and Schönwerth who strongly believed that links to the Golden Age of German culture had been preserved within these tales, also signified the death of a strictly "Germanic" culture. Listening to tales which slowly disintegrated while the storyteller told them only further convinced collectors that preserving the tales was necessary to preserve a Germanic way of life.

Attempting to understand the perceived waning influence of the folktale on the common German people, the Grimms, and with them many other collectors, constantly looked to the sixteenth century with a feeling of disappointment. They bemoaned that during the time of Johann Fischart (~1546-1591) or Georg Rollenhagen (1542-1609), who were both influential in the development of German literature, no folktales were collected. Collectors such as Arnim and Clemens Brentano, the Grimms, and Schönwerth reflected on how many of these tales, which had been ostensibly alive and well in the peasantry, were now lost forever due to a lack of collection efforts. Even such influential individuals as Fischart and Rollenhagen, at a time when the folktale had thrived, had not recognized its importance for German literature and culture. In 1819 the Grimms remark, "[w]as für eine viel vollständigere und innerlich reichere Sammlung wäre im 15ten Jahrhundert, oder auch noch im 16…. möglich gewesen" (1837, 15). In the nineteenth century, the storytellers from whom collectors obtained tales were by no means telling folktales from the repertoire of a living oral community such as it was believed to have existed in the Middle Ages. Their discussion of what they saw as a loss of culture and history fueled and intensified collectors' efforts as preservationists.

Collecting tales from what they perceived to be a dying oral tradition was not the only challenge for these collectors. Take, for example the following letter from the 18th of May, 1815

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written by Paul Wigand, friend and assistant collector for Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm's *Kinder-und Hausmärchen*:

> Märchen und Sagen—ja lieber Gott, wer mag alle guten Vorsätze ausführen. Die Arbeiten sind
> jetzt gar zu dringend. Das Corveyer Ländchen hab' ich so ziemlich durchforscht und nichts
> gefunden… diesen Sommer will ich nun ganz gewiß zu Fuß einige Exkursionen in das Lippesche,
> Paderbornsche und Braunschweigische machen. Schriftlich hatte ich einige Leute aufgefordert;
> was sie eingesandt, ist wenig, aber—schlecht, horrendes Zeug! Man kann ihnen gar den Sinn und
> Zweck solches Sammelns nicht beibringen, und einer, den ich mündlich aufs gründlichste
> instruiert zu haben glaubte, schickt mir das unbedeutendste Zeug in solchem hochtrabenden,
> verrückten Styl, daß es zum Kranklachen war. (Qtd. Rölleke und Schindehütte 220)

Wigand's letter draws attention to two aspects of collection which caused immense difficulty for collectors. First, Wigand had difficulty locating storytellers. Whether he could not find anyone who could remember a folktale in its entirety (as the comments from Jacob and Siebert indicate), or the issue was that the storytellers did not wish to tell their stories to him seems a moot point for this analysis—what we can tell is that suitable tales for collection were apparently scarce. The second issue in Wigand's letter is the difficulty convincing others of the validity of their project. The collectors must combat the widely held belief that these tales were simply the superstitions of unlettered people and not worth serious study.

While folktale collection flourished in the nineteenth century, these collectors were by no means the first to publish collections of folktales. There had been many efforts to collect and preserve during the late eighteenth century. Working against the backdrop of the Romantic project we see several editions and collections of folktales which, varying of course in shape and design, all aimed in some way to incorporate pre-modern literature into the poetic cannon

(Fortmann 247). Ludwig Tieck, for example, writes in the introduction to his edition *Minnelieder aus dem Schwaebischen Zeitalter* (1803): „[s]o wie jetzt wurden die Alten noch nie gelesen und übersetzt" (Qtd. ibid)—referencing the attention to the older Germanic literature in the late eighteenth through the nineteenth century. Among the many publications of the time, we see for example Friedrich Nicolai's *Eyn feyner kleyner Almanach vol schönerr echterr liblicherr Volkslieder, lustigerr Reyen vnnt kleglicherr Mordgeschichte* (1777), Johann Gottfried Herder's *Volkslieder nebst untermischten anderen Stücken* (1778-79), Johann Karl August Musäus's *Volksmährchen der Deutschen* (1782-1786), Christiane Benedicte Naubert's *Neue Volksmährchen aus mündlichen Erzählungen gesammelt* (1787), the anonymous *Ammenmärchen* (1791-92), *Mährleinbuch für meine lieben Nachbarsleute* (1799) and *Feen-Mährchen* (1801) most of which featured heavily edited and altered tales.

By far the most influential person for the surge in folktale collection was Johann Gottfried Herder[24], not only for his folktale collection *Volkslieder nebst untermischten anderen Stücken*, but also for *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache* (1772) where he postulates the simple, humble beginning of human language as one which is close to nature rather than human invention. Herder believed that folk material should be used selectively according to its quality to invigorate original art which encouraged a blurring of boundaries between oral tales and literary productions (Loges 317).

These collections represent a long tradition of literary folktale collections including, most importantly, Giovanni Francesco Straparola's *Piacevoli Notti* (1550) and Giambattista Basile's *Pentamerone* (1634-36). Jack Zipes notes, however, that while these two influential collections

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[24] For a more in-depth discussion of Herder's influence, see the Introduction.

came from Italy, it was France which "for all intents and purposes, gave 'birth' to the literary fairy tale" ("Function" 15). He notes further that

> [b]y the mid-seventeenth century, there were literary salons established by aristocratic women, who organized types of 'parlor games,' which incorporated the use of folk tales. The participants were expected to show their wit and eloquence by inventing wondrous tales…. [T]he oral tales, which most of the tellers had learned from their nurses, governesses, or servants, or which were based on tales which they had read… were radically changed in content and style. When written down, they were changed even more, for the teller/writers could expand the plots, employ more florid language, and invent even more extraordinary events. (ibid)

Those collectors, including a number of those listed above, who often dramatically changed the tales they heard and collected orally were themselves following a long tradition of using oral tales as a foundation for the writer's own literary efforts. As with Herder, the blurring of boundaries between oral tale and literary creation by these collectors was common practice and indeed expected by the reader.

Aside from the many published collections listed above, small collections of folktales were relatively common in European homes during this time through the widespread distribution of chapbooks. Chapbooks were generally small in size and short in length (usually between 12 and 24 pages) and frequently included illustrations. They were also inexpensive, sold by peddlers, and often were abridged versions of other texts (Grenby 278). As early as the beginning of the eighteenth century thousands of chapbooks of folktales could be found throughout Germany and by the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were at least fifty different French chapbooks that included folktales on the market, with between ten and fifty

thousand copies of each title in circulation (Schenda and Bottigheimer 132-133). They were arguably the bestsellers of their time.

This plethora of reading material was also encouraged by mass literacy throughout Germany. On its founding in 1871, the German Reich had reached 88% literacy (Lyons 313). In the cities, books had become commonplace objects of daily consumption and the gap in literacy levels between sexes was closing (Lyons 43). The highest levels of illiteracy, however, were among the poor, especially poorer women, which we see reflected in the collectors' preferences not only for the "simple" (read: less educated) folk of the land, but for female storytellers. They often noted that they preferred tales told by women as women were more often uneducated or had only mininmal access to education and thus were seen as keepers of tradition. They stated that education tended to diminish the storytellers' valuation of the tradition of the oral folktale.

> Martyn Lyons notes that while Germany was entering a stage of mass literacy
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> sections of the peasantry still belonged to a traditional mode of reading. For them, books were still respected and rare possessions, encountered most often in a religious context. They were the 'generation of listeners', who had not yet become the 'generation of readers', for whom reading was often a collective experience, integrated into an oral culture. (ibid)

While oral reading still survived in middle-class circles (e.g. the recitation of favorite poems or passages of texts), this tradition was disappearing in the nineteenth century. "Oral reading" denotes the practice of reading texts aloud, often to a group of listeners. This form of reading is juxtaposed to the more common notion of "reading" which implies a solitary and silent activity.

In order to demonstrate the importance in the nineteenth century of discovering and redefining history and the impact of the increase in literacy, I pursue three goals in remainder of

this chapter. After briefly introducing the folktale collectors referenced in this analysis, I then describe the idealization of the past and peasantry by the collectors. This idealization ultimately led to a (re)construction of the past rather than a confrontation with a documentable German tradition. Finally, I will explore how the collectors sought to preserve German heritage but often simultaneously altered tales to suit literary, scholarly, as well as personal taste; thus an examination of their work shows that the folktales in their collections more often channeled the beliefs and traditions of a nineteenth century bourgeois audience than the medieval traditions they claimed to preserve. This allows us to look at their tales not as representations of medieval Germanic culture, but as a window into the ways in which people in nineteenth century German-speaking Europe perceived and constructed, or reconstructed, their own past.

Such an investigation necessarily relies on the textual evidence available. Thus the conclusions drawn have been extrapolated from written texts as the tales related orally to each of the collectors cannot be re-examined as all three collections were completed before the age of any sort of audio recording technology. I frame the tales as (re)constructions to draw attention to the fact that while many collectors sought in earnest to reconnect with the paradisiacal images of the German past (specifically the Middle Ages), through the process of reconstructing the tales in their collections, each collector was also simultaneously constructing the tales to conform to their own views and conceptions of the past.

Clemens Brentano (1778-1842) and Ludwig Achim von Arnim (1781-1831)

Together, Clemens Brentano and Achim von Arnim put together one of the most influential folksong collections of their time. *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (1805-1808) (henceforth *Wunderhorn*) was not only influential to fellow collectors, but to German writers throughout the nineteenth century. They sought not to differentiate between oral and literary poetry, but to create a mixture of the two. As Hartwig Schultz notes:

> Die raffinierte Mischung aus Alt und Neu, die charakteristisch ist für eine Reihe von vielfach nachgesungenen und weiterverarbeiteten Wunderhorn-Liedern, wird zum Muster für die gesamte deutsche Lyrik des 19. Jahrhunderts. Es ist der Wunderhorn-Ton, den Uhland und Heine, Eichendorff und Freiligrath aufnehmen und den wir bis heute als typisch für das deutsche Volkslied empfinden. (ix-x)

It was in 1805 that Arnim and Brentano agreed to put together a book of Germanic folksongs. On the 27th of February Arnim wrote to Brentano "Ueber das Volksliederbuch denke ich sind wir lange einig, nicht ohne Dich und mit keinem andern als mit Dir möchte ich es herausgeben" (*Freundschaftsbriefe* 268). *Wunderhorn* came to be through the extremely close friendship between Brentano and Arnim[25] and their wish to revive the literature of the past.

They were filled with a sense of patriotic duty to bring aspects of an older Germanic culture back to the people and thereby unite them. In the summer of 1805, Brentano wrote in a letter to Arnim: "lieber Arnim, heiliger Patriot…. Ich glaube es könnte dir nichts so herrlich gelingen, als ein Plan zu Volks Einheit…" (*Freundschaftsbriefe* 292). In these comments we

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[25] Throughout their letters to one another Brentano and Arnim often refer to one another as "Geliebter Bruder! mein Herr und Freund!", "Lieber, Immerlieberer!", and "Herzbruder."

likewise see the political aims of the collectors as they explicitly link their collection of folksongs as a means to "Volks Einheit."

Like many collectors of their time, Brentano and Arnim were greatly influenced by Herder. Brentano and Arnim compiled a collection of folksongs both from the oral tradition as well as existing folktale and folksong collections,[26] traditional liturgical songs, and influential individuals for the development of the German language such as Martin Luther and Martin Optiz. It is with strong feelings of pride about the Germanic past that Arnim writes: "Es ist, als hätten wir lange nach der Musik etwas gesucht und fänden endlich die Musik, die uns suchte!" (*Wunderhorn* Vol. 1, 462), referencing the idea that the old Germanic ways were simply lying in wait to be rediscovered. Of their own collection, Arnim writes in 1805 in the "Nachschrift an den Leser":

> Von dieser unsrer Sammlung kann ich nur mit ungemeiner Neigung reden, sie ist mir jetzt das liebste Buch, was ich kenne, nicht was mein Freund Brentano und ich dafür gethan, ungeachtet es gern geschehen, sondern was innerlich darin ist und webt, die frische Morgenluft altdeutschen Wandels. (Vol. 1, 474)

Brentano and Arnim were also influenced by Goethe, going so far as to dedicate *Wunderhorn* to him. After a discussion with Goethe "fast über jedes Lied" in their collection, Arnim writes that "[e]s war mir dabey als wenn eine schöne Königin mit ihren Fingern durch meine Mähne striche und mir den Hals klatschte" (Qtd. Schultz viii). Arnim and Brentano dedicate their collection to an individual author out of respect for his influence on them and their collection rather than to the German people as a whole. They write the dedication despite claims that their collection was

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[26] Examples include Herder's *Volkslieder nebst untermischten anderen Stücken*, Friedrich Nicolai's *Eyn feyner kleyner Almanach*, and Georg Forster's *Frische teutsche Liedlein* (1539-1556).

intended to return folksongs to the German people. It is through their idolization of the individual author that we see the highly edited and literary collection of *Wunderhorn*.

While the work on *Wunderhorn* was influential for a number of writers during the nineteenth century and in fact still influences our understandings of the traditional German folksong, the collection of Brentano and Arnim's students, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, came to be one of the most important collections of folklore both in Germany and around the world.

Jacob (1785-1863) and Wilhelm Grimm (1786-1859)

On the 22nd of October, 1807, Brentano wrote a letter to Arnim:

> [Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm,] die ich nun nach zwei Jahrelangem fleisigen sehr konsequentem Studium so gelehrt und so reich an Notizzen, Erfahrungen, und den vielseitigen Ansichten der ganzen Romantischen Poesie wieder gefunden habe, daß ich bei ihrer Bescheidenheit über den Schatz den sie besitzen erschrocken bin, sie wissen, bei Weitem mehr als Tieck von allen den Sachen und ihre Frömmigkeit ist rührend mit welcher sie sich alle die Gedruckten alten Gedichte die sie aus Armuth nicht kaufen konnten… äußerste zierlich abgeschrieben haben…
> (*Freundschaftsbriefe* 467)

It was through Friedrich Carl von Savigny[27] (1779-1861) that the Grimms were introduced to Brentano (and later to Arnim). Brentano wrote Savigny on March 22, 1806 asking if he knew of anyone who would be interested in helping with the collection of *Wunderhorn*. He wrote: "Haben sie in Kassel keinen Freund, der sich dort auf der Bibliotheck umthun könnte, ob keine alten Liedlein dort sind, und der mir dieselben kopieren könnte? Der Auftrag wäre!" (Brentano 512-13). Savigny was quick to recommend Jacob Grimm. Beginning in early summer of 1806 both Jacob and Wilhelm actively gathered tales for Brentano and Arnim's collection. Through

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[27] Professor of law at the University of Marburg and later the Prussian Minister.

this work with the collectors of *Wunderhorn*, the Grimms first learned the art of collection, selection, and editing of oral tales (Rölleke and Schindehütte 35-36). Though they were also largely self-taught, the initial influence of Brentano and Arnim remained with them throughout the work on their own collection.

Beginning their landmark collection *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (1812-1858) (henceforth *KHM*) at the ages of 24 and 25, the Grimms were firm supporters of *Volkspoesie*—the poetry of the people. They believed that *Volkspoesie* was a looking glass in which one could see (even if only partially and through one's imagination) reflections of the true and uncorrupted past. This poetry of the *Volk* was a reflection of better days, of the Germanic past. To the Grimms, contemporary writers were too concerned with making their names be known (Zipes *Brothers* 11). They wanted fame, recognition, and ownership of their works. They were the exceptional creative artists, and readers knew that they were reading the work of an individual, such as Goethe or Schiller, the work of a writer's artistic achievement. With *Volkspoesie*, however, the poetry and stories ostensibly came from the collective. These types of works are never attributed to an author or even group of authors. The Grimms even conceal the names of nearly all of their contributors, referring to them as *Freunde* or merely by the regions from which the tales originated. We only know who contributed tales to *KHM* through investigating letters and hand-written notes Wilhelm left in his personal copy of the first edition. The Grimms believed that by lacking attribution to an individual the tales more accurately portrayed *das Volk*, and inasmuch as the tales originated with them communally, they represented the people as a whole. Jacob wrote to Arnim about his thoughts on *Volkspoesie*: "die Volkspoesie tritt aus dem Gemüth des Ganzen hervor…. Darum nennt die neue Poesie ihre Dichter, die alte weiß keine zu nennen"

(Qtd. Jolles 221). According to Jacob, these tales and poetry were "eine Summe des Ganzen" (ibid).

Together, *Wunderhorn* and *KHM* make up the two most well-known collections from the the period from 1805 to 1815—a period of high collection as well as, not coincidentally, the period of the Napoleonic Wars where many Germans struggled to redefine themselves and their nationality. Since this time, however, the Grimms' collection has advanced to become the most published, translated, and well-known book in the German language. The popularity of the collection is so unequivocal that Rölleke writes "[l]ernte man früher sein Deutsch aus Luthers Bibel oder seinem Katechismus, so seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts aus Grimms *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, auch wenn man sich dessen kaum bewusst war" (Rölleke and Schindehütte 12). Until the end of Wilhelm's lifetime,[28] *KHM* was a constantly evolving project. By 1858, there were a total of seven "large editions" (which would eventually contain 211 tales) and ten "small editions" which contained selections of 50 tales from the large editions accompanied by pictures.

Franz Xaver von Schönwerth (1810-1886)
In 1858 Jacob Grimm famously praised the folktale collection and anthropological studies of the people of the Oberpfalz done by Franz Xaver von Schönwerth, noting that "[n]irgendwo in ganz Deutschland ist umsichtiger, voller und mit so leisem Gehör gesammelt worden" (Qtd. Drascek „Franz" 7). Grimm is said to have praised the work of Schönwerth yet again, but this time went even further. According to Hans Weininger, the longtime secretary of the Historical Association in Regensburg, Grimm proclaimed the following to Maximilian II: "Wenn Einer da ist, der mich dereinst ersetzen kann, so ist es *Schönwerth*!" (Qtd. Röhrich 9).

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[28] The new editions and corrections to *KHM* belong almost exclusively to Wilhelm from the second edition in 1819 forward.

Unlike the collections of *Wunderhorn* and *KHM*, Schönwerth's work, *Sitten und Sagen aus der Oberpfalz* (1857-59) (henceforth *Sitten und Sagen*), did not seek to bring a renewed sense of Germanic culture back to German society at large. He focused on only one area, the Oberpfalz where he was raised, and sought to preserve both the tales that were told and the folk beliefs and customs of the lower classes. Schönwerth writes of his specific emphasis on one region: "Seit mir auf der Hochschule Professor Phillips Grimm's Deutsche Mythologie in die Hand gab, geht der Gedanke mit mir, in gleicher Richtung die Oberpfalz, von der nahezu Nichts bekannt ist, zu beschauen" (*Sitten*, Vol. 1, 37). In fact, the folktales within his three-volume collection often seem as though they were an afterthought—mentioned only to further illustrate his cultural claims. In 1846 Schönwerth wrote that his work should present "ein wahres, genaues Bild von dem gegenwärtigen Thun und Leben des Bayervolkes… überhaupt eine statische Überschau wirklicher Thatsachen sein" (Qtd. Röhrich 29).

Like many other collectors of the nineteenth century, Schönwerth strongly believed that though they had been forgotten for some time, the old Germanic ways were waiting to be rediscovered and that the tales and customs of the peasantry, so far removed from the modernizing influences of technology in the cities, were links to the pagan past of their forefathers. Schönwerth believed that the tales were ultimately linked to the pre-Christian beliefs of the Germanic people. Many pagan beliefs could still be found within the folktales and customs of the people, if only one knew how and where to look. The preface to his collection reads almost as a call to action to the people of the Oberpfalz to remember their Germanic roots. Of his collection he writes,

> [i]ch lebe dabey der Hoffnung, daß es mir gelingen wird, bey meinen Landsleuten den Sinn für
> die heimatlichen Altertümer durch die Veröffentlichung meiner Forschung zu wecken, zu

beleben, sie zu eigenem selbständigen Forschen anzuregen und auf diese Weise für die theure

Heimat zu wirken, daß sie heraustrete aus ihrer Verborgenheit und sich ebenbürtig hinstelle neben

die auf diesem Gebitet schon vertretenen Gaue Deutscher Erde. (*Sitten und Sagen* Vol. 2, 4-5)

Schönwerth was also an enthusiastic follower of the Grimms' work, specifically Jacob's. In the

preface to *Sitten und Sagen* he writes, "seit uns [Jacob] Grimm, ein anderer Prometheus, das

Licht auf Deutschem Herde wieder angezündet, brennt es auf allen Feuerstätten Deutscher

Heimat" (4).

Schönwerth, like the Grimms, believed that these oral traditions were largely unchanged

from the ancient tales and could bring insight into the nearly lost understanding of Germanic

mythology[29] which undoubtedly took part in the efforts after the Napoleonic Wars to deny any

aspects of a French past and emphasize a Germanic history (Planert 678). Much like the early

Grimms, Schönwerth staunchly maintained the ties of folktales to national identity and, more

specifically, to the concept of what it means to be German:

Es geht zur Zeit ein eingetümlicher Geist durch alle Deutschen Gauen: der Deutsche kehrt aus der

Fremde zurück in sein eigen Haus und schaut sich um wie es bestellt ist und findet, daß gar gut

drin wohnen sey. Was er mißachtet hat, lernt er schätzen, was er in den Winkel gestellt, kehrt er

hervor und besieht es und erkennt mit Erstaunen, welchen Schatz er vor sich verborgen hatte.

(*Sitten* Vol.1, 1)

If we follow these sentiments, it was clearly the time of nation building and rediscovering one's

roots. The prologue of Schönwerth's 1857 book (written by Dr. Wolfgang Menzel) calls for a

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[29] To the Grimms, the tale "Frau Holle" (KHM 24) was an example of the retention of the Germanic Goddess of Death "Hel," "Helche," or even "Holle" (Rölleke and Schindehütte 358).

return of the "uralte Natur und Sitte" which has been "auf eine ungebührliche Weise verachtet worden[30]" (v).

Schönwerth collected his tales between the 1850s and the 1880s, a time which he served as *Generalsekretär* and then as *Ministerialrat* for King Maximilian. These positions gave him time to pursue his collection. His actions did not go unnoticed as in 1859 he received the following message: "S. M. der König haben sich unter dem 1. Jänner 1859 allergnädigst bewogen gefunden, dem königlichen Ministrialrath und Generalsekretär Franz von Schönwerth das Ritterkreuz des Verdienstordens der beyrischen Krone allerhöchsteigenhändig zu verleihen" (Qtd. Röhrich 36). This was a recognition of his work as a civil servant as well as his preservation of folk customs and tales. This preservation seems to also have been viewed as a kind of civil service by Maximilian as Schönwerth's collection promoted the idea that the roots of Oberfalz traditions and belief systems were undeniably German without foreign influence.

"Diese Frau… ist wahrscheinlich in ihrer Jugend schön gewesen" (Grimm): From the idealization of the past to its (re)creation

Arnim and Brentano, the Grimms, and Schönwerth were drawn to what they considered to be the lost *Volk* art of the *Märchen.* Convinced that the purest tales, and those with the least amount of literary influence, could be found among people who had the least amount of contact with the educated classes, the collectors believed that peasants would be the keepers of the tales they sought. We see this in many different instances throughout their works. Arnim, for example, laments the "unnecessary" education of the lower classes as mentioned earlier, "[d]amit wird dem Landmann gelehrt, was er nicht braucht, Schreiben, Lesen, Rechnen, da er wenig Gutes

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[30] Menzel writes further that the old ways of the Volk were scorned not only due to "französisch[e] Mode erzogenen Vornehmen, sondern auch der in der klassischen Schule aufgewachsene Mittelstand pflegte noch unlängst darauf als auf etwas Barbarisches herabzusehen" (v). It was due to the „sogennante Aufklärung" that educators sought to rid the population of what were considered to be superstitious beliefs of the old Germanic traditions (vi).

mehr zu lesen, nichts aufzuschreiben, noch weniger zu berechnen hat" (*Wunderhorn* Vol. 1, 452). Schönwerth describes the people of the Oberpfalz: "Tag und Nacht arbeiten, schlecht sich nähren und dabey zufrieden seyn, ist Grundzug Oberpfälzischen Lebens. Die Genügsamkeit ist da am Platz, wo der Boden arm und der Verdienst im Handwerke gering ist" (*Sitten* Vol. 1, 18). Education then is seen by these educated individuals as not only unnecessary to the lives of the *Volk*, but a hindrance in the retention of their old and time-honored traditions.

These collectors claim to bring about a revival of the old, Germanic tradition of telling tales which can be found mirrored in the simple tales of the peasantry, and they described what they viewed to be their almost anthropological endeavors as representing the oral tale and thus Germanic culture, as closely as possible. They viewed these collections as nearly direct representations of the tales told to them. In the 1812 edition of *KHM*, the Grimms write, "Kein Umstand ist hinzugedichtet oder verschönert und abgeändert worden, denn wir hätten uns gescheut, in sich selbst so reiche Sagen mit ihrer eigenen Analogie oder Reminiscenz zu vergrößern, sie sind unerfindlich" (xviii). In *Sitten und Sagen* Schönwerth comments "Ich habe es vom Mund des Volkes weg geschrieben und mich bemüht, die natürliche Einfachheit in seinen Mittheilungen beyzubehalten. Nicht im Bauernkittel, aber auch nicht in Ballhandschuhen, sondern im ländlichen Sonntagsstaate soll erscheinen wie das Volk denkt und spricht" (Vol. 1, 37). Yet however much they may have claimed to be reviving lost tales and culture from the past, they were also (re)constructing their tales to fit with this image of innocence and simplicity.

One such instance of their (re)construction of the oral tale can be found in their promotion of the peasantry as the key to the simpler Germanic past. Each of the collections mentioned strongly emphasizes the ties of the tales in their collections to the simple peasants—

often even to the point of gross exaggeration. One example of this may be seen in the Grimms'

KHM.

The Grimms believed that they had found the ideal storyteller in a woman named Dorothea Viehmann. They viewed her as such a powerful representative of the traditional peasant storyteller that a drawing of her, done by their brother Ludwig Emil Grimm (1790-1863), adorned every edition following the second in 1819. They were apparently so in awe of her nearly flawless recounting of the same tales on multiple occasions that they returned to her time and again for new stories. She was seen as such an asset to their collection that she received special mention in the *Vorrede* for their *KHM* editions. In the second volume of the first edition (1815), the Grimms write,

> Wer an leichte Verfälschung der Ueberlieferung, Nachlässigkeit bei Aufbewahrung, und daher an Unmöglichkeit langer Dauer, als Regel glaubt, der müßte hören, wie genau sie [Viehmann] immer bei derselben Erzählung bleibt und auf ihre Richtigkeit eifrig ist; niemals ändert sie bei einer Wiederholung etwas in der Sache ab, und bessert ein Versehen, sobald sie es bemerkt, mitten in der Rede gleich selber. (v)

Her consistency convinced Jacob and Wilhelm that Viehmann was not only a storehouse of folktales, but that she may be relied on to maintain a text-like consistency in her renditions. Thus Viehmann was viewed as representing a "Schrift *vor* der Schrift" (Pretzl 103). The significance of the Grimms choosing Viehmann to be the ultimate representation of folklore should not be understated. Here we can begin to see the Grimms' understanding of the folktale somewhat akin to Ong's wheelless automobile. Not only was Viehmann seen to represent the ideal, uneducated peasant, but she also (quite contradictory to the Grimms' claims of collecting simple tales from a simple *Volk*) was able to deliver the tales in a way that highly literate collectors would expect: a

calm delivery much as if she were reciting a text—and it was from this type of delivery that the Grimms' interpretation of the perfect storyteller was formed.

Yet despite the lengthy discussion of Viehmann in the prologue and her image adorning the book where one would normally find an image of the author, her tales themselves were not the most influential to their collection: that honor belonged to Philipp Otto Runge[31] (1777-1810), an important painter in the Romantic school who also contributed a number of *Plattdeutsch* tales to their collection. While Viehmann was the perfect *image* of a storyteller, Runge's tales were considered the culmination of what a folktale could be—and yet the image of a young, educated painter would hardly do for their collection of tales from the *Volk*.

In the *Vorrede*, the Grimms stress Viehmann's age, making sure to portray her as an older, German peasant woman, one who spent a life working—a woman far removed from the carefree life of the upper classes—despite the fact that Viehmann was considered middle class and was fluent in both German and French. Importantly, she is described as a "Bäuerin" from a "Dorf." They provide the reader with a vivid textual image, which is later supplemented by an actual drawing of the woman with a wrinkled face gazing off into the distance.

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[31] His two most famous tales are the Plattdeutsch "Von dem Fischer un syner Fru" (KHM 19) and "Von dem Machandelboom" (KHM 47).

Fig. 2: Dorothea Viehmann[32] (1755-1815) „Einer jener guten Zufälle aber war die Bekanntschaft mit einer Bäuerin aus dem nah bei Cassel gelegenen Dorfe Zwehrn… Diese Frau, noch rüstig und nicht viel über fünfzig Jahr alt, heißt Viehmännin, hat ein festes und angenehmes Gesicht, blickt hell und scharf aus den Augen, und ist wahrscheinlich in ihrer Jugend schön gewesen" (Grimm 1837, iv).

Hers was the image readers were to carry with them as they read the tales. Then as now this image has influenced the perception of readers, including those in scholarly circles, as the authentic origin of the Grimms' tales rooted in an imagined Germanic past. Even in the depiction of Viehmann, which the Grimms requested specifically from their brother Ludwig Emil, harkens back stylistically to an earlier time period—the Renaissance style of Dürer. Likewise, their insitance of naming her not as Viehmann, but Viehmännin which likewise reflects the earlier, Germanic way of naming women, sets up the reader to imagine that when reading these tales, he or she is somehow being transported back in time. With her picture, they began to effectually (re)construct the perception of the folktale from the very first pages of their collection.

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[32] *Märchen-Frau aus Nieder-Zwern in Kur-Hessen.* Ludwig Emil Grimm. 1814. Engraving.

The Grimms not only used the image of Viehmann at the beginning of their collection to persuade readers that they were reading tales from just such a storyteller; it also was sent to many of the men and women who aided them in the collection of *KHM* tales. In December of 1819 Wilhelm wrote to Jenny von Droste-Hülshoff[33] (1795-1859), "[d]as Bild der hessischen Märchenfrau vor dem 2ten Band werden Sie auch hier gern betrachten, wie verständig, gemessen und tüchtig sieht sie aus!" (30). Many of their collectors received such images of Viehmann to guide and influence their collection. The pictorial conveyance of the peasant imagery was deemed so important to the Grimms that they sought to convince even their own storytellers— even if those storytellers were highly educated.

The Grimms relied heavily on the tales told by a reading circle which met periodically in their home. The majority of those involved in the reading circle were friends and aquaintances of their younger sister, Charlotte (Lotte) (1793-1833), including Droste-Hülshoff. Their reliance on the reading circle inevitably meant that a great deal of their tales came from educated young women. These women often related stories told to them by servants and nurse-maids, yet the tales would inevitably be colored by their highly literate delivery.

It is thus reasonable to assume that the Grimms used Viehmann's image because images of their other collectors and storytellers may have conveyed a much different message to the readership. Take for example the paintings of three of the Grimms' contributors. Among them the highly influential Runge.

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[33] Annette von Droste-Hülshoff's older sister.

Fig. 3 Charlotte Ramus[34]   *Fig. 4 Philipp Otto Runge[35]*   *Fig. 5 Jenny von Droste-Hülshoff[36]*

(1793-1858)   *(1777-1810)*   *(1795-1859)*

What is immediately recognizable from these images is the social standing of the individuals as well as their youth. The Grimms began much of their collecting in 1810, making Charlotte Ramus seventeen years old, and von Droste-Hülshoff a mere fifteen. The portraits of the contributors stand in contrast to that of the *Bäuerin*. Yet because they understood folktales to spring from the lips of peasants in the Golden Age of the Germanic Middle Ages, the image of Viehmann—as a representation of *all* peasants—was chosen to portray them.

While the Grimms themselves spread the image of Viehmann, it was not only they who propagated the belief that collectors visited peasants in their lively homes to hear oral tales.

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[34] *Miss Ramus.* George Romney. Date unknown. Oil on canvas. Private collection W.F.D. Smith.
[35] *Selbstbildnis im blauen Rock.* 1805. Oil on canvas. Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg.
[36] *Jenny von Droste-Hülshoff: Gemälde der Schwester Annettes von Droste-Hülshoff.* Olaf Mahlstedt. Ca. 1820. Oil on canvas. LWL-Medienzentrum für Westfallen.

Fig. 6 Image of Viehmann around 1890[37]

This portrayal of Viehmann shows Jacob and Wilhelm visiting her home to hear a tale told by

Viehmann with the accompaniment of what appears to be her daughter and grandchildren. This

image is completed by the sight of a chicken wandering around the home so as to underscore the

rustic origins of the storyteller. Also important to note is that this image was created around

1890, nearly 75 years after Viehmann's death, as well as after the deaths of both Jacob and

Wilhelm—thus the painter Louis von Katzenstein has created this image only from what he, as

well as many others, believed to have taken place when the Grimms' gathered tales for their

collection. One can see the idealization of the peasantry in Katzenstein's image and understand

how effectively the Grimms were able to (re)construct the image of the peasant storyteller as

representative for the Germanic oral tradition.

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[37] *Die Brüder Grimm bei der Märchenfrau*. 1890-1895. Louis von Katzenstein. Oil on canvas. Museumslandschaft
Hessen Kassel.

Viehmann and her family seem content in their way of life, desiring nothing but to gather in their cozy yet simple home and listen to folktales. The Grimms, as we see, are listening quite intently and will gather the tales, ostensibly to connect the educated, upper-class readers with their humble origins. It is the peasants who, after all, retain the remnants of the Germanic people of the Middle Ages and before. It is a world which, as Schönwerth remarks, consists of "Tag und Nacht arbeiten, schlecht sich nähren und dabey zufrieden seyn" (*Sitten und Sagen* Vol. 1, 18). Of note is the observation, "und dabey zufrieden seyn," suggesting that the peasantry has neither wish nor desire for a different type of life.

„Noch ist, Gott sei Dank, die Corruption nicht allgemein" (Menzel): (Re)Constructing German heritage to literary taste

As shown in the previous section, each of these collections makes claim, in one way or another, to present tales which have been "rescued" from cultural oblivion. Arnim remarks: "[i]ch führe ihnen manche Beobachtung vor, aus verschiedenen Zeiten, aus verschiedenen Gegenden, all einig in dem Glauben, daß nur Volkslieder erhört werden, daß alles andre vom Ohre aller Zeit überhört wird" (*Wunderhorn* Vol. 1, 435). So distraught were they at what they perceived to be the evils of their time (such as foreign influences like Napoleon as well as the fear of the advancement of industrialization) that these collectors searched for a time when life was simpler and free from foreign influences. They ultimately (re)constructed this themselves through the revised and edited stories published in their collections.

Arnim describes the duties of a collector as preservation and protection. He likens his and Brentano's work to being a keeper of the last beehive:

Wär ich ein Bienenvater, ich würde sagen, das war der lezte Bienenstock, er wollte eben wegschwärmen, es hat uns wohl Mühe gemacht, ihn im alten Hause zu sammeln, bewahrt ihn,

stört ihn nicht, genießt seines Honigs wie recht. Unrecht ist es, für die einzelne Schönheit einer Gegend aufzuwekken, den sie in schönere Träume vertieft, darum kein näheres Wort über die bedeutende Schönheit jedes einzelnen dieser Lieder, blos literarische Merkwürdigkeit ist meines Wissens keins, jedes athmet, pulsirt in sich, lauter frische, spielende, ringende Kinder, keine hölzerne Puppen, die selbstechte Dichter, aus Angewohnheit des Bildens, ihren echten Kindern nachmachen. (*Wunderhorn* Vol. 1, 474)

Similarly, in an effort to bring about further awareness of the Germanic past Menzel, in the prologue to *Sitten und Sagen*, writes about the inappropriateness of the attempts of Enlightenment thinkers to rid the German people of their old tales and beliefs deemed simply as *Aberglauben* in favor of more rational and scientific approach. This act was slowly causing the German people to forget their past and move to a world which, without ties to traditional beliefs, was devoid of what makes life "natural" to them. Ultimately, Menzel's prologue is a call to action for the German people to return to their roots and take pride in their past. He writes:

Des Volkes alter Glaube, alte Sitte und tiefes Gemüth wurden verkannt. Gesetzgebung und Administration, Schule und Presse waren beflissen, durch Abschaffung alter Rechte, Gewohnheiten und Gebräuche, und durch die sogenannte Aufklärung das angestammte, naturwüchsige Wesen, Sinnen und Denken des Volkes möglichst radikal umzuformen. Und das geschah, wenn auch in wohlmeinender Absicht, oft auf eine so rohe und unvernünftige Weise, wie wenn der Arzt dem Gesunden die Nase abschnitte, um sie durch eine vermeintlich bessere von Wachs zu ersetzen. (Vol. 1, vi)

Wunderhorn, *KHM*, and *Sitten und Sagen* distinguished themselves through their attempted reconstructions of the idealized past of the German Middle Ages. In a fashion similar to the Grimms, Brentano and Arnim present the oral tale as a dying art. They are collecting, as Schönwerth also claims, in the "eilften Stunde." Because of their belief that the oral tale is

quickly disappearing throughout Germany, they present themselves as the keepers of a nearly-lost tradition.

The Grimms and Schönwerth sought not only the ties of their folktales to the Germanic past, but to actually reconstruct a Germanic mythology. Discovering ties to a Germanic mythology was something collectors such as the Grimms and Schönwerth sincerely sought and wished to promote among fellow scholars. The reconstruction was a "Spiegelung der Not" (Becker 39) in which collectors sought frantically to justify the worth of the Germanic past for serious study and consideration as well as the worthiness of a German culture that could unite the German people. From the Grimms, especially Jacob, we see the desire for a German mythology in the insistence on the remnants of an old mythology hiding within the tales collected in *KHM* as well as in the fact that this interest drove Jacob to write an entirely scholarly book entitled *Deutsche Mythologie* (1835). In *KHM* the Grimms claim that the elderly figure in "Frau Holle" (*KHM* 24) represents the Germanic Goddess of Death, "Hel," "Helche," or even "Holle" as well as including the following footnote in discussion of "Dornröschen" (*KHM* 50)

> der innere gehaltige Werth dieser Märchen ist in der That hoch zu schätzen, sie geben auf unsere
> uralte Heldendichtung ein neues und solches Licht, wie man sich nirgendsher sonst könnte zu
> Wege bringen. Das von der Spindel zum Schlaf gestochene Dornröschen ist die vom Dorn
> entschlafene Brunhilde, nämlich nicht einmal die nibelungische, sondern die altnordische selber."
> (1812, vi)

In his description, he goes on to mention folktale connections with Snäfridr, King Mark (*Tristan*), Loki and Sigurd. Jacob emphasizes the legitimacy of this Germanic past as one which was not barbaric, rather a culture worthy study which even in its earliest times saw the flowering of poetry. He writes:

Aus vergleichung der alten und unverschmähten jüngeren quellen habe ich andern büchern

darzuthun gestrebt, dass unsere voreltern, bis in das heidenthum hinauf, keine wilde, rauhe,

regellose, sondern eine feine geschmeidige, wohlgefüge sprache redeten, die sich schon in

frühster zeit zur poesie hergegeben hatte; dass sie nicht in verworrener, ungebändigter horde

lebten, vielmehr eines althergebrachten sinnvollen rechts in freiem bunde, kräftig blühender sitte

pflagen. (*Deutsche Mythologie* iv)

Poetry, a highly stylized and sophisticated endeavor, one which demonstrates control and

understanding of language, is viewed then as further proof of the refinement of the Germanic

culture and thus the worthiness of using it as a cause to unite Germany.

Jacob's book so greatly influenced Schönwerth that he modelled his *Sitten und Sagen*

after it, breaking up the three volumes into sections concerning different aspects of life in the

Oberpfalz, including different myths and superstitions. The major difference between Jacob

Grimm's and Schönwerth's views on the pagan past of the German people is that while Jacob

and Schönwerth both insist on the value of this past for further study, Schönwerth discusses the

validity of religion. He emphasizes much more heavily that the pagan past was a necessary

precursor which would ultimately lead the German people to the more sophisticated and indeed

"correct" views of Christianity.

In Schönwerth's collection we see a great deal of time spent arguing the ties between the

people of the Oberpfalz and the Goths. In the preface to *Sitten und Sagen* we read,

Zu den Volkstämmen alter guter Art nun [die Goten], in denen noch die ureigne Kraft des

Germanen ungeschwächt vorwaltet, gehört auch das Volk der Oberpfalz… In seiner Mundart

herrsche mehr, als in irgend einer andern, noch das Altgothische vor. In seiner Gemüthsart und

Lebensweise erkennt man den Grundcharakter des deutschen Bauern wieder, doch so, daß darin

in dem Mase die guten Eigenschaften vorherrschen, als sich gerade von altem Glauben, Gebrauch

und Sitte, hier besonders viel erhalten hat. (Vol. 1, viii-ix)

While this description certainly is linking the tales in *Sitten und Sagen* back to more ancient tales

of the Germanic forefathers, what Schönwerth specifically claims by this deep connection to the

Gothic people is their tie to Christianity. In *Deutsche Mythologie*, Grimm writes that "die Gothen

sind das erste deutsche volk, bei dem das christenthum im laufe des vierten jh. sichern fuss

faste…" (1). What sets the people of the Oberpfalz apart then, is that they have strong ties to the

first Germanic peoples to convert to what Schönwerth regarded as the one, true religion.

In his portrayal of the Oberpfalz, Schönwerth notes that "religiosität ist tief gewurzelt"

for the people. Yet he may have been commenting on his own beliefs, as religion was deeply

rooted in his own life as a devout Catholic (Pretzl 116). Schönwerth comments that "[z]u dem

Tage des Christentums ist das Heidenthum die Nachtseite, in welche nur bleiches Sternenlicht

hereinblinkt" (*Sitten und Sagen* Vol. 1, 45) as well as noting the simple character of the carefree

nature of the people of the Oberpfalz: "[d]as Volk aber weiß nicht von diesem Ursprunge [dass

deren Aberglauben von Heidentum stammt]: ihm gilt Heidentum gleich Teufelsdienst. Wüßte es,

wie es um seinen Aberglauben steht, es würde sich mit Abscheu davon wenden" (ibid Vol. 3,

221-22). While Schönwerth does reflect on depictions of the pagan past in fashions similar to

Grimm, he does so always with comments on the "better" and "correct" views of religion (i.e.

Christianity) which would follow. Schönwerth can hardly be seen as unbiased in his opinions on

religion and ultimately in his depictions of a German mythology. His tales feature Christian

references and characters more often than any of these collectors, and he is clearly attempting to

promote the Christian religion throughout. For example, in the first volume of *Sitten und Sagen*,

we read in an unnamed *Sage*[38] the story of a tailor whose wife has made a pact with the devil; the tailor is then confronted by him. Before the devil approaches the tailor's house we read that "am Sonntagmorgen gingen seine Leute zur Kirche, und er blieb allein zu Hause. Er machte nun das Fenster auf, stellte auf den Tisch einen brennenden geweihten Wachsstock, setzte sich daran and las in einem Gebetbuche. Das heilige Amt war aber kaum zur Hälfte gediehen, so hörte er an der Thüre klopfen" (370). The devil enters the tailor's home and demands he write his name in the devil's book because of his wife's pact. "Der Schneider war aber klug;" the tale continues, "er nahm seine Feder, schnitt sich mit dem Federmesser in den Finger, tauchte die Feder in sein Blut und schrieb den Namen Jesus in das Buch. Nun konnte der Böse das Buch nicht mehr heben…" (ibid.) Finally, the priests and the church congregation all come to the tailor's home to learn of what has taken place.

Tales such as this can be found among legends and anecdotes his readers would more readily identify as folktales. Among stories of fairies, witches, dwarves, and giants, one can read clearly religious tales with direct references to Christ, the Apostles, and the Church. Here we can see that through Schönwerth's collection, the reader sees the Germanic past represented as one closely tied to Christian mythology and thus more closely related to the beliefs and traditions of the bourgeois readers.

Despite the religious orientation in the collection, Schönwerth emphasizes the oral ties to *Sitten und Sagen* which he claims should further represent, much in the same vein as the Grimms, the authenticity of his claims that the tales and stories in his collection are indeed remnants of a Germanic mythology. As noted earlier, Schönwerth writes of *Sitten und Sagen*:

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[38] The vast majority of Schönwerth's tales are unnamed.

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Was ich nun in vorliegendem Werke biete, behandelt lediglich das Stilleben. Ich habe es vom Munde des Volkes weg geschrieben und mich bemüht, die natürliche Einfachheit in seinen Mittheilungen beyzubehalten. Nicht im Bauernkittel, aber auch nicht in Ballhandschuhen, sondern im ländlichen Sonntagsstaate soll erscheinen, wie das Volk denkt und spricht. (Vol. 1, 37)

He, like the Grimms, assures the readers of the collection that they are reading tales which have been written down almost exactly as they have been received. Being thus written down also ensures the legitimacy of their claims to the ties of the tales of the peasantry to the past. Likewise, if equally strong connections to Christianity may be found in the unaltered tales in Schönwerth's collection, then the people of the Oberpfalz may take as proof their relation to early Germanic converts to Christianity, the Goths.

Yet while these collectors spent so much time describing the oral sources of their tales as coming from people who were the furthest removed from the educated classes, the influence of literacy was difficult to escape. They themselves were highly literate, even erudite men; they had highly educated assistants who helped them collect additional tales; and even the household servants from whom they gathered tales were immersed in written culture, influencing as well how they told their tales. All of this points to the inevitability of literary influence and "corruption" of the folktales collected.

While Schönwerth claimed to have writen down tales as he received them, all of them (apart from a few instances of quoted dialogue) are written entirely in *Hochdeutsch* despite the fact that he claims all tales were told to him in the "heimatlichen Mundart." Erika Lindig notes, "[a]uf sprachlicher Ebene überrascht Schönwerths narrative Eloquenz. Die Normsprache ist Duktus der Schriftlichkeit.… In den 'Sitten und Sagen' transportiert Schönwerth daher die—

gemäß seinem von Jacob Grimm adaptierten Edikt von der wortgetreuen Aufzeichnung—

mundartlichen Quellen ins Schriftdeutsche…" (61). Schönwerth sought to write down his tales in

a simple, clear syntax—one which would not only be pleasurable to read, but also exhibit the

simplicity that readers would expect of an oral tale. Lindig notes further that "[i]nsbesondere

sucht er bildungsbürgerliche Implikationen in Form von intentionalen Adverben und Adjektiven

zu vermeiden" (ibid). He, and others like him, such as the Grimms, Brentano, and Arnim, are

essentially spanning the gap between the oral and written traditions. These collectors then,

despite their claims of fidelity to the oral tale, still changed and developed the tales in their

collections in an effort to meet their own position on the origins of the oral tale. If Schönwerth

claimed that his tales originated from the simple *Volk*, then he felt the need to propagate the

image of a simple tale free from educated vocabulary thus also (re)constructing the image of the

uneducated peasant from the Germanic past as the traditional storyteller and tradition-bearer.

Schönwerth has often been praised for altering very little of his tales in a literary fashion.

Maria Tatar writes that his collection "remains untouched by literary sensibilities"

("Cinderfellas"). However he, like so many other collectors, did not simply write down his tales

and publish them without alteration. Rather he edited and re-edited his tales. Lindig notes,

"Schönwerth ist Konstrukteur während seiner Sammeltätigkeit und Re-Konstrukteur während

seiner Autorschaft, und dieser Doppelrolle scheint er sich… durchaus bewusst gewesen zu sein"

(64). In comparing the tales which may be found in Schönwerth's unpublished *Nachlass* with

tales which may be found in *Sitten und Sagen*, one sees that although the subject matter of the

stories may remain quite simple throughout his reworkings, many of the tales in his published

volumes contain much more grammatical complexity. As an example of the growing complexity

of his tales through revisions, here is an unpublished tale (in its entirety) from the *Nachlass*: "Ein

Mann is geplagt mit der Drud. Er rauft ihr die Haare aus. Den andern Tag hat er eine Feder in der

Hand. Er hat noch keine Ruhe. Er verbrennt die Feder. Den andern Tag kam die Drud wirklich

zu ihm und war ihr der ganze Rücken verbrannt. Es war seine Gevatterin" (*Oberpfälzsiche Sagen*

38).

Schönwerth describes the *Drud* simply as such: "Die Druden sind Menschen, bey deren

Taufe ein Fehler vor sich gegangen ist; die Folge dieses Fehlers ist, daß sie Nachts lebende

Wesen drucken müssen, auch wider ihren Willen; ausser dem Drucken thun sie nichts Uebles….

Wenn sie drucken, sind sie wie Geister, denn sie legen ehevor ihren Leib ab" (Vol. 1, 208).

Druden are also capable of taking myriad different shapes to attack their victims including the

shape of inanimate objects, such as feathers. Tales of the *Drud*, which are in many ways similar

to tales of the succubus,[39] are so common throughout the Oberpfalz that Schönwerth comments

"es [gibt] keinen Ort… in welchem nicht ein Weib in dem Rufe stand, eine Drud zu seyn" (ibid).

Above we read a simple tale that describes a very general *Drud* attack in which a man

discovers that his *Gevatterin* is actually cursed as a *Drud*. In this tale again we see the Christian

influences of the tales in Schönwerth's collection. A *Drud* is not simply someone who is cursed,

but someone who is cursed because she has been improperly baptized. Because of her improper

baptism, she is not a full member of the Oberpfalz society and because of this, is cursed to go

nightly from house to house searching for victims. On a textual level, the unpublished tale reads

like a set of notes taken. The sentences are short and choppy, containing only necessary

information. The sentences do not flow easily from one to the next, but rather read more like a

bulleted list than a story. Though this tale may be found in this format in his notes, the short,

choppy sentences do not necessarily accurately represent the way the oral tale was told to him by

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[39] Like the succubus, Schönwerth's Druden are only described as female.

the storyteller. It is well known that collectors during this time only wrote down key words and phrases to be reconstructed later.

> Here, for comparison, is another tale of a *Drud* which was published (also in its entirety):
> Eine Frau war öfter von der Drud gedruckt. Einmal aber hatte sie die Gewalt und ergriff ein Kissen, denn etwas Weisses muß es seyn[40], und legte es auf die Brust mit den Worten: "in drey T. Namen komm morgen und nimm eine Pfanne zu leihen!" Am Morgen lag eine Strohhalm unter dem Kissen; die Frau nahm ihn auf, peitschte, zerzauste ihn, brannte ihn an, und warf ihn zuletzt hinaus. Da kam die nächst Nachbarin und bat, ihr ein Pfännlein zu leihen; sie war aber fürchterlich zerschlagen, voll blauer Flecke, und an den Füßen voller Brandmale. Von da an hatte die Frau Ruhe. (Vol. 1, 221)

Like the unpublished tale of the *Drud* and the man, the woman in this tale discovers who her tormentor is by abusing and burning the *Drud* while she is in the form of an inanimate object. The *Drud*, unable to take another form during the day, is recognized as she manifests the same injuries as were inflicted on the object. Textually, the published tale is not more complex in subject matter than the unpublished tale of the man. They both recount the tales of a man or woman tormented by a *Drud* who finally frees him or herself by abusing the *Drud* while she is in another form, and recognizing the tormentor the next day. Where the tales do differ greatly, however, is in their sentence structure. In the published tale, we see more complex forms of punctuation such as commas and semicolons as well as much more complex grammatical structures such as sentences with multiple clauses as well as the inclusion of quoted speech. The differences between the unpublished and published tales of *Druden* renders the published version with the woman much closer to written, literary German than the unpublished tale with the man.

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[40] This statement is not fully explained by Schönwerth.

Schönwerth has taken key words and phrases and reconstructed them to a more fluid, literary delivery. This more literary German would not be more readily received by the reading public as they have already grown accustomed to the conventions of written German and would come to expect the same sort of quality in published works. The writing also conforms to the expectations of a highly literate collector striving to establish the value of oral tales to an audience which has traditionally dismissed oral tales as trivial nonsense for the lower classes.

Like Schönwerth, the Grimms begin their collection with claims to fidelity to the oral tale. In the prologue to the 1812 edition of *KHM*, the Grimms remark "Wir haben uns bemüht, diese Märchen so rein als möglich war aufzufassen…" (xviii). However, in later editions, they no longer comment on the same sort of "purity" that they lay claim to in 1812. In 1815, they admit that in practice, they do not write their tales down verbatim. They write of Viehmann: "[sie] erzählt… bedächtig, sicher und ungemein lebendig mit eigenem Wohlgefallen daran, erst ganz frei, dann, wenn man will, noch einmal langsam, so daß man ihr mit einiger Uebung nachschreiben kann" (iv). If Viehmann is the exception, then the rule is that their tales are almost never written down word-for-word. In all other editions, the Grimms admit to this fact, noting, "daß der Ausdruck großenteils von uns herrührt versteht sich von selbst, doch haben wir jede Eigentümlichkeit, die wir bemerkten, zu erhalten gesucht, um auch in dieser Hinsicht der Sammlung die Mannigfaltigkeit der Natur zu lassen" (1837, 18). The Grimms now claim to stay true to the *Inhalt* of the tale, but no longer to the words themselves. This claim allows them a great deal of flexibility in word choice and presentation in the revisions of their tales across editions. Staying true to the content of the tale as opposed to the presentation from the teller ultimately allows the Grimms to change, edit, and update the tales not only to a more literary

representation like that found in Schönwerth but also to the tastes and opinions of their nineteenth century reading audience.

In *KHM*, tales were also altered to fit with literary sensibilities as well as to promote a certain agenda. In the unpublished 1810 Ölenberg manuscript, the tale "Der Wolf" (*KHM* 5) (which was renamed "Der Wolf und die sieben jungen Geislein" in 1812) begins: "Es war einmal eine Geis, die hatte 7 junge Geiserchen, u. als sie ausgehen mußte, befahl sie denselben sich ja vor dem Wolf in Acht zu nehmen und ihn nicht ins Haus zu laßen" (18). By 1812, this introduction has grown substantially to include significantly more detail. Two years later the same tale begins,

> Eine Geis hatte sieben Junge, die sie gar lieb hatte und sorgfältig vor dem Wolf hütete. Eines Tages, als sie ausgehen mußte, Futter zu holen, rief sie alle zusammen und sagte: "liebe Kinder, ich muß ausgehen und Futter holen, wahrt euch vor dem Wolf und laßt ihn nicht herein, gebt auch Acht, denn er verstellt sich oft, aber an seiner rauhen Stimme und an seinen schwarzen Pfoten könnt ihr ihn erkennen; hütet euch, wenn er erst einmal im Haus ist, so frißt er euch alle miteinander. (17)

There is considerably more detail in this introduction and we are able see to the more maternal side of the *Geis*. More details are added to show how deeply she loves her children as well as how she spends her life in constant protection of them. By 1837, more, albeit minor, changes have taken place—namely the introduction of more colloquial language such as replacing "gebt auch Acht" with "seid auf eurer Hut" and "[er] frißt… euch alle miteinander" with "[er] frißt… euch alle mit Haut und Haar" (43), giving the perception of authenticity to the readers by including more colloquial and folk-like phrases as well as a more rustic appearance.

"…wenn du wieder einmal jemand erzählen hörst, so schreib es nur auf. Du kannst dann denken, ich mache es so wie es mein Papa macht." (Wilhelm): Conclusion

Like so many other collectors during the nineteenth century, those discussed above emphasize the role of the peasant in the reconnection with the Germanic past. Brentano and Arnim, the Grimms, and Schönwerth each stress the importance not only of the peasant storytellers, but also of the Germanic past. For them there is much still to be discovered about the beliefs of the forefathers—and this may be found in the simple peasantry. The old Germanic beliefs need to be preserved at any cost. "Wehe dem," Menzel writes "der das nicht einsieht, oder gar mitwirkt, das noch Vorhandene zu zerstören!" He remarks that for too long the educated German people have underestimated the "gar viel Tüchtigkeit in unserm Landvolk" (*Sitten* Vol. 1, vii).

These collectors proclaim throughout that they have uncovered, or recovered, a dying oral culture. Through their efforts, they claim to have discovered connections between the tales of the peasantry and what they perceived to be the "Golden Age" of the Germanic past. Concerned about the threats to "traditional" culture of their time, such as foreign influences, as well as rapid industrialization, the collectors searched for a time when life was ostensibly simpler. However, the scholarly methodologies they employed resulted in collections which are quite different from their claimed intent. The collections ultimately display the nineteenth century educated conception of what the Germanic past should have looked like and colored, of course, by their own political aims of uniting the German people. While many changes and adaptations have been made throughout these collections, they offer clear insight into the beliefs and customs of educated nineteenth century Germany as well as, as will be detailed in Chapters 2 and 3, influences from the bourgeois reading public. In an effort to draw clear connections between the past and the present, these collectors reconstructed the connections themselves through the stories published in their collections.

While most of the collectors discussed claim fidelity to the oral tales of peasants, no tales remain free of some kind of literary influence. From changing the sentence structure in relatively simple tales to give them more literary appeal such as Schönwerth has done, to editing to fit with societal norms like the Grimms, these tales were representations not of the Germanic Middle Ages they were so desperately trying to recapture, but of the opinions of scholars in educated circles crafting a communal history for the bourgeois reading public in the nineteenth century.

In furthering the investigation of these (re)presentations of the Germanic past, we must understand not only *how* but also *why* the stories we tell can come to change the way we view our past. The following chapters build on these questions by looking at not only how the collectors of folktales translated oral tales to written ones in order to (re)construct an idealized past, but also how storytelling, itself ever a dynamic reconstruction of events and circumstances, continues to influence, and even change, our perceptions of the past. From the influence of collective memory on the storytelling process to the intervention and expectations of the audience, these tales were manipulated and changed to serve as representations of the contemporary society.

Chapter 2: (Re)Constructing Memory

> You have to begin to lose your memory, if only in bits and pieces, to realize that memory is what makes our lives.
> Life without memory is not life at all… Our memory is our coherence, our reason, our feeling, even our action.
> Without it, we are nothing. – Luis Buñel

In his book, *Zones of Re-membering*, Don Gifford remarks: "In *The Confessions* St. Augustine asks, 'What then is time?' and answers himself: 'I know what it is if no one asks me what it is; but if I want to explain it to someone who has asked me, I find that I do not know.' And so with memory: as long as no one asks me, I know what it is" (19). While "memory" is a term which is often difficult to define, it plays a critical role in the oral storytelling process. Throughout this chapter I will establish the interconnected nature of oral storytelling and collective memory. I will also discuss collective memory as a means of shared identity formation as the societies we live in inevitably influence and shape how we perceive the world around us.

Memory is something often taken for granted. Without memory, we could not tell the stories of our lives, our forefathers, or even what we have heard about others. Indeed, without memory we could not tell any stories at all. The connection between storytelling and memory is a strong one. Just as humans rely on storytelling to define their existence, as noted in the Introduction, storytelling itself is entirely dependent upon memory. Gifford notes that "[w]ithout memory there is only contingency, no explanation of the shifting views on memory, no continuity, no coherence, no rhythmic interchange between the what has been, the what is, and the what is to be…" (33). He notes further that "[w]ithout memory there could be no language; and without language there could be no memory as we experience and know it. I don't mean to

suggest that memory is basically verbal but that language enables the complexities and coherences that we know as human memory" (51). In effect, without memory, there can be no stories and without the ability to tell stories, humans (as the storytelling animals we are) would be entirely different creatures.

In the *Iliad*, Homer describes the tale of a bard, Thamyris the Thracian, who claimed that he could out-sing the muses. While the muses blinded him as punishment for his hubris, they enacted the ultimate punishment for a man who made his living by telling stories—they took away his memory: "[the muses] were enraged, they maimed him, they ripped away his voice, the rousing immortal wonder of his song and wiped all arts of harping from his mind" (2.691-693). Thus Thamyris the Thracian is wounded at the source of his identity; without memory of harping, his primary means of relating a story, he cannot construct one and without story, he cannot situate himself within the world. As was discussed in the previous chapters, the collectors likewise tie memory and identity together. The collectors claim that they are trying to preserve the memory of a Germanic past through their tales. And it is through the revival of this memory that Germanic society can once again reclaim its identity. In an effort to help the German people avoid the fate of Thamyris the Thracian, the Grimms, Arnim and Brentano, and Schönwerth produce their collections as an attempted revival of Germanic identity.

Yet despite the crucial role that memory plays in storytelling and identity, if pressed to answer the question "what then is memory?" many of us would fail to answer. Throughout this chapter I will discuss the influences of the concept of collective memory on Arnim and Brentano, the Grimms, and Schönwerth. In order to understand the collectors' conceptions of a "Germanic collective memory," I will use this term as one which reconstructs and reimagines the Germanic past and belief system. The collectors believed that collective memory could evoke the unifying

characteristics of ancient Germanic belief which had been passed down since the pagan times. Nonetheless, before detailing the impacts of collective storytelling and identity on *Wunderhorn, KHM,* and *Sitten und Sagen*, we must first develop a working understanding of what collective memory *is* and, inevitably, what it is not.

The act of remembering is more akin to artistry in how it reconstructs what we remember. And the problem with memory is that just because one remembers something well does not mean that it actually happened as it is remembered—or in some cases, that it ever happened at all. Like a work of art, memories are woven and stitched back together depending on several different factors. Two of the most important factors are focus and perception: focus being what the rememberer deems to be the most important aspects of a situation and perception as his or her personal beliefs, attitudes, and societal pressures.

Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945), the father of collective memory studies, notes the crucial role that focus and perception play in the formation of collective memory. When reading a book many years after reading it for the first time

> what happens most frequently is that we actually seem to be reading a new book, or at least an altered version. The book seems to lack pages, developments, or details that were there when we first read it; at the same time, additions seem to have been made because our interest is now attracted to and our reflections focused on a number of aspects of the action and the characters which, we well know, we were incapable of noticing then. (46)

When we remember, though we are often totally unaware, we are strongly influenced by both of these factors. When reading a book for the first time the reader will have certain interests which make details of the book more prominent than others. When the same revisits that book many years later, he or she is coming to the book with a different set of interests and expectations. The

reader is now older and more mature, has lived through different experiences, and has read many

other books or seen many movies, plays etc. which influence the perception of the book. Upon

revisiting the book, one inevitably returns with different interests and reflections—and our

interests and reflections are largely influenced by the society around us.

When discussing *collective* (or as it is sometimes called *cultural*) memory, Halbwachs

writes that

> [o]ne is rather astonished when reading psychological treatises that deal with memory to find that
>
> people are considered there as isolated beings. These make it appear that to understand our mental
>
> operations, we need to stick to individuals and first of all, to divide all the bonds which attach
>
> individuals to the society of their fellows. Yet it is in society that people normally acquire their
>
> memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognize, and localize their memories. (38)

Indeed, our memories and the ways in which we remember help construct and contribute to our

self-identity. What we remember and how we situate ourselves in the world helps us identify

ourselves—yet in order to fully understand how we are situated within the world, we need to

conceptualize memory as a process which is not exclusively personal. Garde-Hansen writes that

> memories also require distinct *social* frameworks: patterned ways of framing the flow of
>
> remembered actions, images, sounds, smells, sensations and impressions. Without social
>
> frameworks memories would flicker like dreams without anchors in the theatre of consciousness,
>
> in the paramount reality of everyday life. ("Introduction" 2)

While there may be many personal aspects of remembering, the way in which we remember and

why we remember what we do is immensely influenced by the society around us. We can see

this reflected in many of the changes and alterations done by the collectors. There was a strong

societal understanding that folktales originated from women in the peasantry as women were

seen to be the bearers of tradition while men were expected to sustain their families. The Grimms, for example, used Viehmann as the ultimate depiction of the peasant storyteller. The (re)construction of the tales in their collection and their presentation was guided and shaped by the social frameworks of nineteenth-century bourgeois society. In these depictions of Viehmann and the peasant storyteller, we can see the strong influence of perception in the portrayal of the past. It was likewise these perceptions of the past as one filled with storytelling peasants that guided the peasantification of Viehmann.

To a large degree, society determines what we pay special attention to—and what we pay special attention to varies widely from society to society. When we tell a story, we will inevitably link it to the expectations of society. Even if something is meant to be a surprise revelation in the story, the nature of the surprise is conditioned by societal expectations and interactions. Collective memories are constantly manipulated and changed to model the current standards in societies. Thus in the now-famous experiments done by Sir Frances Bartlett (1886-1969) in the early- to mid-1900s, British storytellers are seen to unknowingly adapt and change stories they have read to fit within the British context—to be memories that would relate to other British society members.

Bartlett discovered in his series of experiments in the early 1900s that

[w]e can now see the general psychology underlying the way in which social conditions settle the matter of individual recall. Every social group is organised and held together by some specific psychological tendency or group of tendencies, which give the group a bias in its dealings with external circumstances. This bias constructs the special persistent feature of group culture, its technical and religious practices, its material art, its traditions and institutions; and these again,

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once they are established become themselves direct stimuli to individual response within the

group. (225)

What differentiates collective memory from merely being "shared" memories, is that individuals who share a collective memory are extremely unlikely to know each member of the community personally and yet there seems to be a sense in which members of the community as a whole have a collective memory of specific time periods, events, or thought processes. Collective memory connects the members of a community by promoting a particular sense of identity. And storytelling is one of the primary means by which collective memory is not only kept alive, but also how it is able to reach such a wide audience. Cultural historians have also proposed that memory, cultural memory specifically, can be further extended as the very process holding groups together. It is the constant re-negotiation and circulation of collective stories and practices which produces this sense of community (Papoulias 117).

In their collections, Brentano and Arnim, the Grimms, and Schönwerth actively promote a sense of identity. Through their tales, these collectors emphasize a communal past which needs to be revived before it is lost forever. These ties to identity will be described in more detail below, but each collector specifically addresses the importance of memory in the revival of what they perceived to be the "Golden Age" of Germanic society. These memories are not described as something which is "shared" between individuals, but specifically as a part of their group identity.

While remembering is certainly an important aspect of memory and identity, it is certainly not infallible. Here the sense of "forgetting" should be seen as an equally crucial part of memory formation. Memories are constantly repurposed and it is in this process of repurposing

that forgetting can be extremely important. When one takes an older memory, and repurposes it, the older context is inevitably forgotten. Halbwachs writes that collective memories

> …are not intact vertebra of fossil animals which would in themselves permit reconstruction of the entities of which they were once a part. One should rather compare them to those stones one finds fitted in certain Roman houses, which have been used as materials in very ancient buildings: their antiquity cannot be established by their form or their appearance but only by the fact that they still show the effaced vestiges of old characters…. (47)

Halbwachs writes further that "[w]e shall better understand the nature of this reshaping operation as it applies to the past… if we do not forget that even at the moment of reproducing the past our imagination remains under the influence of the present social milieu" (49). Halbwachs's comment is one which is entirely crucial to the understanding of memory—that memory is constantly updating itself. Therefore we must keep in mind that every time we remember something in the past, we constantly relate it to societal expectations and interpretations. Thus through this constant negotiation between memory and the influence of society, we are not actually remembering the original incident or the first time we heard the story. Because of this, storytelling, and memory, cannot be said to be true recollections of the past event. The past is inevitably colored by the perception and experience of the present.

While it must be recognized that the collectors did make many changes to their collections, we can also see through this investigation of memory that it is impossible for a tale to be passed down through generations unchanged. Because of this contsant updating process of memory, the tales that these collectors heard and received could not possibly be the same tales which were told in the Middle Ages; the tales would have been already altered and updated by their storytellers, even before the collectors wrote them down. The storytellers would have

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modified and updated the tales, consciously or unconsciously, to make the tales more coherent, easier to understand, and, most importantly, applicable to the present. Stories can only survive and be retold if they remain somehow relevant to the lives of the people who tell them. Stories which are no longer relevant cease to be told—and it is through this need for the stories we tell, indeed our memories, to remain relevant, that they change.

Assmann writes that while memory is constantly updating, membership in the society which identifies itself with the collective memory is only enhanced when the memories are deliberately brought to the surface. "Membership [in the society] is only enhanced by reflection into the articulate form of a 'we' identity when it is deliberately brought to the surface—for example, through initiation rites—or when it rises spontaneously, for instance through a confrontation with different societies and other ways of life" (115). It was in the nineteenth century that there was a massive movement to help shape the collective memory and collective identities of society—and one of the major ways in which they sought to shape this identity was by deliberately bringing it to public attention by publishing collections of folktales and songs. Through their collections, Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, and Franz Xaver von Schönwerth sought to (re)construct the national identity of the people and effectively ended up (re)constructing the Germanic past through tapping into collective memory.

In the following parts of this chapter I will investigate three different ways in which these collectors sought to (re)construct the Germanic past and shape German collective memory. I will first investiate the explicit discussions of restoring collective memory through folktales. Secondly I will discuss how these collectors sought to save the past from memory's inevitable forgetting, and finally how they worked to give this identity and memory back to the people so that this (re)constructed memory would begin to grow and flourish on its own.

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Instauration or Restoration: How to Properly Portray the Past

Brentano and Arnim, the Grimms, and Schönwerth all sought, in one way or another to revive or restore collective memory. Their understanding of collective memory was one of a memory which could be lost, but not in the way described above through memory distortions, consolidation, and relevance. Much like Plato's description of memory, as ever-present and waiting to be remembered, the memory these collectors assume is one which seems to already exist, but needs to be tended to faithfully. In the now famous opening lines of *KHM*, the Grimms describe their understanding of collective memory,

> Wir finden es wohl, wenn Sturm oder anderes Unglück, vom Himmel geschickt, eine ganze Saat zu Boden geschlagen, daß noch bei niedrigen Hecken oder Sträuchen, die am Wege stehen, ein kleiner Platz sich gesichert und einzelne Aehren aufrecht geblieben sind. Scheint dann die Sonne wieder günstig, so wachsen sie einsam und unbeachtet fort, keine frühe Sichel schneidet sie für die großen Vorrathskammern aber im Spätsommer, wenn sie reif und voll geworden, kommen arme, fromme Hände, die sie suchen; und Aehre an Aehre gelegt, sorgfältig gebunden und höher geachtet, als ganz Garben, werden sie heimgetragen und Winterlang sind sie Nahrung, vielleicht auch der einzige Samen für die Zukunft. So ist es uns, wenn wir den Reichthum deutscher Dichtung in frühen Zeiten betrachten, und dann sehen, daß von so vielem nichts lebendig sich erhalten, selbst die Erinnerung daran verloren war, und nur Volkslieder, und diese unschuldigen Hausmärchen übrig geblieben sind. Die Plätze am Ofen, der Küchenherd, Bodentreppen, Feiertage noch gefeiert, Triften und Wälder in ihrer Stille, vor allem die ungetrübte Phantasie sind die Hecken gewesen, die sie gesichert und einer Zeit aus der anderen überliefert haben. (1812, v-vi)

In this description, collective memory is tended by the people, but does not stem from them directly. This memory is "vom Himmel geschickt." It is the people who tend the memories

faithfully and protect them, who see to their transmission from one generation to the next. From reading this passage we do not get the sense that these memories are in grave danger of disappearing due to a corruption of memory, rather that they are in danger of no longer being told. The Grimms likewise mention "freilich, die sie noch wissen, wissen auch recht viel, weil die Menschen ihnen absterben, sie nicht den Menschen" (ibid vii). Thus memories cease to exist because they are not handed down—causing the younger generations not to learn them because they do not know where to look. If one does know where to look, if one can see pieces hiding amongst the hedges, the memories can again be shared. Yet while this description of memory may seem contradictory to what was detailed in the first part of this chapter, with a closer examination it can be seen to bear many similarities.

What is interesting about this depiction of memory is that the Grimms do admit that these memories can change—even with imagery which seems to suggest a continually unchanging process of seeds being planted year after year to be harvested. While the original seeds may have been sent down by the heavens, the seeds which now exist and continue to be harvested and planted, are not seeds from the heavens, but rather seeds from the previous generation of plant. The seeds are planted, and from them new ones grow. These plants are harvested and their seeds are kept for the spring when crops may be planted again. What should be pointed out here is that the previous generation is harvested, meaning that the previous plants no longer exist. This is no depiction of an immortal plant from which food may be eternally harvested.

From each seed grows the same type of plant as its predecessor, but the seed is by no means identical. This seed can produce a plant which is similar in nearly every way to its parent, or it can have imperfections and distortions. Likewise, when seeds are harvested, they are typically taken from the strongest, healthiest plants—the plants which will provide the most food

in the future. Thus in this way, the gentle hands which care for the seeds are making sure that the plants they harvest from are the best for maintaining the future.

This metaphor echos discussions of memory in the first part of this chapter. The memories we have and the stories we tell are never of the original occurrence, but rather reflect back on the previous generation. These memories and stories are not exact duplicates of their previous versions, but can contain changes or distortions. Likewise, the memories we cultivate and continue to relate are the ones which go on to be told to others—that is, we selectively cultivate memories which remain relevant to contemporary society.

Schönwerth as well notes that although these tales may contain remnants of what he perceived to be the "original" collective memory of the Germanic people, that the tales themselves have been shaped and changed over time. One of the largest influences he cites is the impact of Christianity. He notes that substantial changes and updates were made to the tales "als die Germanen in das Christentum eintraten" (Vol. 1, 5). Thus in order for the tales to continue to be told, they had to adopt elements of Christianity. Arnim and Brentano as well note that in the collection of their *Volkslieder* that they can no longer distinguish between the content of the "old songs" and what has been restored. Arnim writes, "[e]s würde uns jezt fast unmöglich seyn durch Zeichen, wie einige gewünscht haben, anzudeuten, wo die Restaurazion anfängt und das Alte aufhört" (*Wunderhorn* Vol. 1, 483). As Arnim notes, the restored versions, with all of the changes that have been made, have now become the new, updated versions which will be told and enter the collective memory, and there is no longer any way for them to determine what has been restored and what was a part of songs as they were collected.

Collective memory, however, cannot be (re)constructed by restoring songs or tales individually; it must be seen as a whole. Just as an individual memory cannot make up a

collective memory, a single song, or a single instance of restoration can not comprise the collective memory of an entire society. Brentano writes that

> [a]lle Restauration darf nicht individuell sein, sonst wird es Instauration und zwei Genien, die sich die Hände reichen, und deren einer die Hand verlohren, sind nicht restaurirt, wenn ich hinten meine Hand durchsteckte, ebenso wenig, wie in eine gemahlte Leda ohne Schwan, jemahls ein lebendiger Schwan sie verlieben wird. (*Freundschaftsbriefe* 486)

Here Brentano posits the difference between instauration and restoration: restoration being their ultimate goal, and instauration an artificial and contrived attempt at restoration. Instauration, the process of renewing, does not fit with their stated overall goal of evoking the Germanic past. Brentano likens instauration to an attempt to make an imposter, or a newly written song, pose as an ancient song of the people. He also states that that instauration occurs only on an individual level while their goal of restoration occurs on the level of the entire collection as a whole.

In a letter to his friend Johann Hugo Wyttenbach, Brentano states that he and Arnim specifically avoid any "modern" songs in their collection which they consider to be "alles waß im 17. 18. und 19. Jahrhundert liegt…" (574). Tales which have been restored are not seen as ones which are new creations mimicking older songs, like his description of instauration, but rather the old tale itself which has been carefully updated to modern tastes in order to preserve it. While some changes have been made, Brentano claims that the tales in *Wunderhorn* are still representations of older songs and not original interpretations and likewise that the tales as a whole in some way restore his and Arnim's conception of the Germanic past.

The restoration of the *Volkslied* for Arnim and Brentano is of importance because they consider the songs as a piece of German history, a history which has always existed and one which should be brought to the people again. Brentano writes to Wyttenbach

Ich zweifele nicht, daß mein an Sie erlassenes Zirkular[41] das, was ich wünsche, waß ich allein

brauchen kann, genugsam erklärt hat, das einsame Lied des gemeinen Volks, wodurch es ewig

gerührt und erquickt wird, das Lied, welches heilig ist, weil keine Literatur und keine Liederatur,

kein Student, kein Spaßmacher, kein moderner Bänkelsänger es gebracht hat, sondern weil es wie

eine ewige Sage, die Amme mehrere Generationen war; Es ist keine leichte Sache, dort, wo für

Ähnliches noch nichts gethan ist, ohne grose Regsamkeit, ohne grose Liebe zur Sache, und ich

möchte sagen, ohne ein gewisses Visionaires Religieuses Talent für Heiligkeit dieses ewigen

Kindes, des ächten Romantischen Volkslied, das wie eine Waise aus Heldenstamm von Haus zu

Haus geht und singt, etwas zu thun. (*Clemens* 573-4)

For Brentano and Arnim, the collective memory represented by their *Volkslieder* is the "ewige

Sage" and the "Amme mehrere Generationen." These songs are just waiting to be recovered and

to once again reclaim their prominence in helping shape the ideas and opinions of society. Thus

Brentano and Arnim see themselves as bringing back nearly lost pieces of collective memory to

the people.

For Brentano and Arnim, part of the process of (re)constructing the collective memory is

to create a history of the *Volkslied*. With the existence of a substantial history, they can

emphasize the legitimacy of their claims that these songs stem from a much older collective

memory of the people. Brentano specifically states that they are creating a history of the German

Volkslied so that this aspect of collective memory may live on without being forgotten again. He

writes to Johann Georg Müller that

…wir hoffen einstens den Versuch einer Geschichte des deutschen Volkliedes darauf zu

begründen, wenn Unterstützung und Erkenntniß je der Muße und dem guten Willen in uns die

---

[41] Brentano is referencing the *Zirkularbrief* he sent out to attract people to aid in the collection of *Wunderhorn*.

Wage halten, die Herausgeber der Lieder selbst möge sie für die Nation befestigen, und unserm Unternehmen die nöthigen Beiträge verschaffen, damit man wisse, waß übrig bleibt, von dem Gesange überhaubt in der Welt. (*Clemens* 578)

As discussed above, one of the functions of collective memory is to help make sense of history with regards to certain societies—collective memory is a way for these societies to situate themselves in the world. Through their restoration efforts, Arnim and Brentano effectively molded and shaped how this past would be perceived by their readers and through their subtle (and sometimes not so subtle) changes, deletions, and additions to songs in their collection, they began to guide and change the collective memory to be more in line not only with their own personal views, but also with the beliefs and customs of the nineteenth-century bourgeois audience. What is important to note here is that while many of the changes they made to their collection were conscious efforts, the changes they made to ensure the songs in their collection would be read and enjoyed by their reading public happen constantly—whether on a conscious or unconscious level—when stories are told.

Since their collection was not intended for scientific study, but rather to bring a sense of the ostensibly nearly-forgotten Germanic past back to the present German audience, they felt it necessary to update the songs in their collections, to make them more contemporary. We see for example in one tale found in *Wunderhorn* a large number of spelling changes and updates—removing dialect from songs and rendering them in a clean *Hochdeutsch* that their bourgeois readers would more easily be able to understand. Below are comparisons between a song taken from Friedrich Nicolai's *Eyn feyner kleyner Almanach* and the version found in *Wunderhorn* which updates orthography.

Nicolai's "Ein Reyen, von eyner Jungkfraw"	*Brentano and Arnim's „Fastnacht"*
Di Fasznacht bryngt vnns Frewden zwar	Die Fastnacht bringt uns Freuden zwar
Vilmer, denn sonst eyn ganzes halbes Jar.	Vielmehr denn sonst ein ganzes halbes Jahr,
Ich macht mit uff, vnndt tet spacirenn geen,	Ich mach mich auf und thät spazieren gehen,
An eynen Dantz,	An einen Tanz,
Mir ward eyn Krantz,	Mir ward ein Kranz
Vom Blumleyn glanz	Von Blümlein Glanz,
Des erfrewt ich mich gar seer. (152)	Des erfreut ich mich gar sehr. (74)

Likewise we can see changes and updates they have made from a song out of Herder's *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern*:

Herder's "Dusle und Babele"	*Brentano and Arnim's "Dusle und Babeli"*
Es hätt' e Buur e Töchterli,	Es hätte ein Bauer ein Töchterli,
Mit Name hieß es Babeli,	Mit Name hieß es Babeli,
Es hätt' e parr Zöpfle, sie sind wie Gold,	Es hätt ein Paar Zöpfle, die sind wie Gold,
Drum ist ihm auch der Dusle hold.	Drum ist ihm auch der Dusle hold.
„O Hauptmann, lieber Hauptmann mi',	„O Hauptmann lieber Hauptmann mein,
I will mi dingen in Flandern ni!"	„Ich will mich dingen in Flandern ein."
Der Hauptmann zog die Seckelschnur,	Der Hauptmann zog die Seckelschnur,
Gab dem Dusle drei Thaler drus.	Gab dem Dusle drey Thaler draus.
„Und komm i übers Jahr nit heim,	„Und komm ich übers Jahr nit heim,
So will i dir schreiben e Briefelein,	„So will ich dir schreiben ein Briefelein.
Darinnen soll geschrieben stahn:	„Darinnen soll geschrieben stehn:
I will min Babele nit verlahn!" (263-4)	„Ich will min Bable wieder sehn!" (291-2)

Brentano and Arnim's versions of the same songs show that they are updating and changing their songs to fit their audience. Even changes as slight and technical as those listed above can significantly alter the reception of the song. In order for these tales to continue to be relevant to their readers, Brentano and Arnim edited and updated them. Encountering a tale in dialect using words or a different orthography that many may not recognize would endanger this song as remaining a piece of the supposed German collective memory they fought to preserve because the contemporary readership would not be able to easily comprehend the song. And while it does not appear that many changes have been made, these are quite clearly changes and updates to modernize the song. Just as Bartlett noted in his studies, the tendency for people when retelling tales is for "the phraseology to become more modern" (66). The more foreign looking words such as "Buur" and "vilmer" are replaced with the more widely understood *Hochdeutsch* spellings "Bauer" and "vielmehr."

Above you can see the *Wunderhorn* edition of "Dusle und Babeli" in its entirety. However, Nicolai's version continues for two more stanzas. Brentano and Arnim often omitted lines or stanzas to songs in their collection in order for the song to fit with more contemporary tastes. In a letter to Brentano Arnim writes, „Ich sammle fleissig an Lieder, …wir müssen es machen wie mit Miniaturpinseln, aus tausend nur eines und aus den neuen tausend der Art wiederum nur eines" (*Freundschaftsbriefe* 268). He likewise notes of other songs "[ich] erschrecke über die ewige Wiederholung" and writes further that he has "manches excerpirt" (ibid 419). Comments such as these show an intention to (re)construct the collective memory as Brentano and Arnim are consciously deciding not only what tales will be known in their collection but also what segments of the tales are worth delivering to their audience and in what form. Rather than reprinting the tale as they found it in Nicolai's collection, Arnim and Brentano

revise the song to contain stanzas that they deem to be the most interesting or applicable to modern tastes. This revision aids their reconstruction efforts as it leads their readers to understand the German people as continually holding similar tastes in songs and tales.

Like Brentano and Arnim, their publishers saw the *Volkslieder* as an opportunity to build a national identity for the German people—something which would bring the people together under a mutual understanding of what it means to be German. Just as Brentano and Arnim set the boundaries for what can and cannot be considered a German *Volkslied*, so too are they setting the boundaries for what is and is not considered German. Goethe himself stated that he believed that *Wunderhorn* should be found in every household—giving evidence to the widespread nature of their project. The songs found in their collection would serve as examples of the songs of the Germanic past, and those songs which differed did not factor into their (re)construction of national identity through memory.

Schönwerth also calls for the (re)construction of national identity and cites "dieser Uneinigkeit nach Innen" (Vol. 1, 9) as one of his main concerns. By "Uneinigkeit" he means that the German people have not been spending enough time focusing on what was German—instead there was a great focus on other nations and cultures. Here, he calls for Germans to reflect on their collective memory by returning to what was German and reflecting on their older beliefs and customs. Schönwerth cites Jacob Grimm as one of the major players in shaping and defining German collective memory. He writes that "[Grimm] hat zugleich uns die Binde von den Augen gezogen, die uns fremde Sprache, fremde Sitte, fremde Natur umgebunden, damit der Riese ja nicht sehe, wie groß er sey und wie gewaltig" (Vol. 1, 4). It is by freeing themselves from the shackles of foreign nations that Germans may once again become Germans, when they can remember who they are—when they can once again recover their collective memory.

Boundary Formation and Identity

For these collectors, collective memory played a vital role in the formation of identity and these collections had a clearly nationalistic agenda. As was mentioned earlier, storytelling (and storytelling as a vital component of collective memory) is what helps groups define themselves. As a part of defining themselves, groups decide what and who belong as well as drawing clear boundaries as to what and who do not. Here I revisit a tale discussed briefly in Chapter 1, "Der Wolf und die sieben jungen Geislein," as an example of the boundaries Jacob and Wilhelm sought to build as German collective memory was (re)constructed from their understanding of the Middle Ages.

"Der Wolf und die sieben jungen Geislein" tells the story of a mother goat who must leave for the day to gather food for her children. She warns them of a wolf who lives in the area who will surely try to trick them to gain access to the house and eat them. After three attempts, and after the wolf has softened his voice and powdered his paws to make them white, the seven little goats open the door and all but one are eaten. The mother returns, hears of what has taken place from the remaining child, and cuts open the belly of the wolf who was sleeping near by. All of her children, unharmed, jump out of his stomach. Rocks are then placed in his stomach and due to the weight, he drowns in a well.

Perhaps the most noticeable change from the 1810 unpublished Ölenberg manuscript is the deletion of dialogue spoken in French. As many of their storytellers and collectors were well-educated, they were fluent in French and would have had access to French chapbooks which were both popular and widespread at the time. A tale told in both German and French would have been easily understood by these storytellers and collectors, as well as the Grimms' bourgeois readership and yet any mention of French is taken out of the published version. French

folktales themselves as well as French influence were commonplace. In the 1810 version as the wolf seeks to have the miller put flour on his feet so that he can trick the children, we read

> Der Wolf begab sich also zu einem Müller u. sagte: Müller streu mir Mehl auf meine Pfote. Und als sich der Müller weigerte, so drohte er ihm mit Freßen u. der Müller mußte es thun.
>
> (meunier meunier trempe ma patte dans ta fairne blanche!—
>
> non non non non—alors je te mange). (19)

The use of French is completely omitted from the 1812 edition. Since theirs was for a German audience, their (re)constructed collective identity was now drawn with sharp lines excluding anything foreign, particularly French. If something appeared to have origins other than in the purely Germanic cultural past, it was carefully edited out as to preserve its Germanic identity. The tale "Der gestiefelte Kater," which was based on to Perrault's "Le chat botté" was edited out of all versions after 1812.

We can see here in this careful editing out of any reference to the French language or heritage as an effort of the Grimms to free the folktales in their collection from French and Napoleonic dominance—and likewise, theoretically, the German people as well. While German-speaking central Europe fought literally in battle during these years against foreign armies, many intellectuals took a symbolic and ideological stand by creating clear boundaries between what was French and what was German. They sought to build a national literature which meant not achieving a level of literary quality on par with nations like France and England but surpassing it—articulating national difference by implying or overtly stating a German superiority (Peterson 290).

"Der Wolf und die sieben jungen Geislein," although it perhaps most obviously eliminates reference to French influence, also shapes identity in other ways. In 1810 the tale begins "[e]s war einmal eine Geis, die hatte 7 junge Geiserchen…" (18). This line gets updated in 1812 to "[e]ine Geis hatte sieben Junge, die sie gar lieb hatte und sorgfältig vor dem Wolf hütete" (17). By 1857 this line has come to fully display the message that the Grimms sought to get across to their audience: In nineteenth-century bourgeois Germany, your mother always loves you. "Es war einmal eine alte Geiß, die hatte sieben junge Geislein und hatte sie lieb, wie eine Mutter ihre Kinder lieb hat" (32).

Indeed, the motherly affection of this tale increases throughout the different versions. In 1810 after the wolf has tricked the children and eaten all but one we read "[a]ls er [der Wolf] fortgegangen u. die Mutter zurückgekommen war, so sprang das jüngste Geischen aus der Uhr u. erzählte alles" (19). By 1812 the reader can see her motherly affection as she shows despair at the loss of her children. We read "…bald darauf kam die alte Geis nach Haus. Was für ein Jammer! der Wolf war da gewesen und hatte ihre lieben Kinder gefressen" (19). By 1857, however, the tale has turned into one of a grief-stricken mother mourning the early demise of her children. The state of the mother is emphasized as she realizes her children have been killed.

> Nicht lange danach kam die alte Geiß aus dem Walde wieder heim. Ach, was mußte sie da erblicken! Die Haustür stand sperrweit offen—Tisch, Stühle und Bänke waren umgeworfen, die Waschschüssel lag in Scherben, Decke und Kissen waren aus dem Bett gezogen. Sie suchte ihre Kinder, aber nirgends waren sie zu finden. Sie rief nacheinander beim Namen, aber niemand antwortete. Da könnt ihr denken, wie sie über ihre armen Kinder geweint hat. (33)

Here we see the pain of the mother—yet this emphasis on motherly affection and the family is one which also seeks to shape and guide the collective memory. The revised tale suggests that

the German people always had the same ideals as the contemporary *Bürgertum*. Here the Grimms are (re)constructing collective memory after the fashion of current thought. Just as memory always exists in the present, so too do these tales constantly update themselves to reflect current cultural thought as if it were always so.

The Grimms were not the only collectors who drew connections between collective memory and identity. Schönwerth directly links the two when he writes "[w]er aber die Stätte nicht liebt, wo er und seine Aeltern geboren worden, wie soll der mit Liebe am Vaterlande hängen? Was macht das Land zum Vaterlande als das Bewußtseyn alten Besitzes?" (Vol. 1, 12). In Schönwerth's description, one cannot possibly be expected to appreciate his or her Patria without knowing and loving the localities. And likewise, the homeland is created by the memories of the people. The movement, which he understands as finding its key beginnings with the Grimms, which moves towards a focus on the Germanic roots and customs gives Schönwerth the push to contribute to this restoration of collective memory. He writes "[e]s ist das Bewußtseyn dessen, was Deutschland war: es ist wieder Deutscher Geist, der uns erfaßt, der uns als Deutsche wieder fühlen, wills Gott auch handeln lehrt, und in der Pflege Germanischer Studien ab Seite der Regierung seine Nahrung findet" (Vol. 1, 5). The return or revision of collective memory, through collections such as *Wunderhorn, KHM*, and *Sitten und Sagen* consisted not only of having rescued the past from oblivion, but also having returned identity back to the people.

Schönwerth continues by warning that without a sense of collective memory, one forgets oneself. He writes that,

[d]ie Erinnerungen der Kindheit sind sichere Wegweiser: ohne sie ist und bleibt man Fremdling
in der Vergangenheit des Hauses. Nur der Eingeborne ist berechtiget und befähiget, hier das Wort

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zu nehmen; er allein wird die Sache mit Liebe, Pietät und Kenntniß erfassen und aussprechen.—

„Das Blut läuft zusammen.“ (*Sitten*, Vol. 1, 44)

For Schönwerth, memory is critical to one's understanding of oneself, as he notes that without memory one becomes a stranger to his or her own past. But what is equally important for Schönwerth is that only members of the community are able to fully appreciate and understand the memories. Here he begins to draw clear and distinct lines between who is considered to be a part of the community and who is not. Only "der Eingeborne" is capable of truly grasping this memory because the memories are a part of him or her, these memories, this collective memory of the people, is so much a part of the identity that it is in the blood.

Arnim as well directly states the connection he sees between his definition of German collective memory and identity. He writes that the danger of no longer knowing the past traditions is that one no longer remembers who he or she is: "…manches Volk kannte seinen eigenen Namen nicht mehr, und… da sah man, daß die anderen eigentlich nur noch Namen waren" (Vol. 1, 446). In Arnim's understanding, this inability to remember has taken on two distinct forms. First: the total loss of identity, so severe that people no longer even know their own names. With respect to the German people, they can no longer recall the old traditions which were carried from generation to generation through song and story. It is because of this, that these traditions have begun to die out. The second result of forgetting past traditions mentioned by Arnim is that while some people may still identity themselves as "German," the name is now hollow and contains no real substance or meaning. While the name may be attached, the identity itself means nothing, as without this sense of collective memory, being "German" no longer means anything at all.

Likewise Brentano writes that "[d]ie meisten Menschen sind des Sinnes dafür beraubt, und müssen erst die Unschuld erlernen, die dazu gehört, die Schuld zu verlernen, und jene Lieder wieder zu hören, die vielen Ohren gar nicht unhörbar sind" (*Clemens* 574). These traditions need to be relearned by the people—and Brentano and Arnim maintain that their songs are key to reclaiming a Germanic identity. For Brentano, the people need to return to their original state of "Unschuld" as the loss of tradition, and therefore identity, has led to living in a state of "Schuld" which must slowly be unlearned. Brentano warns in his *Zirkularbrief* sent out to bring in new collectors for *Wunderhorn* that "das gewaltsame Vordringen neuer Zeit und ihrer Gesinnung droht diese Nachklänge alter Kraft und Unschuld ganz mit sich fortzureissen…" (*Clemens* 530). These traditions must be restored before they are forgotten forever. Wihout a clear link to the past, Brentano and Arnim see the German people as divided into two distinct groups: those who bear no name, and those who bear names which no longer have any meaning.

The Processes of Updating and Forgetting

These collectors all note the interdependent nature of memory and identity and stress the importance of the old Germanic traditions which can be found within their tales and songs. Yet they likewise updated and changed the very tales they were claiming to preserve during the course of their collections. The collectors were aware of these updates and changes to varying degrees. Often it was the acknowledgment that stylistic choices were being made when choosing which songs to put into their collections, and how to make these songs more accessible to the people.

When Friedrich Koelle submitted songs to Brentano and Arnim for their collection, Brentano responded "… [das Lied] Schön Jüdin ist ohne allen Zweifel modernisirt und zwar recht von Herzen…. Ganz modern und unglücklich antikisirt (im Gegensatz von Modernisirt) ist

ein Lied von einem Kind auf einem Thurm" (*Clemens* 579). Here we can see that Brentano was

clearly aware that the songs were being updated and changed, but the question was "in which

way?" and "how much?" Clearly some degree of modernization was seen as beneficial so that

the song would appeal to the contemporary audience. As stated above, Goethe claimed that

Wunderhorn should be found in every home, and the best way to ensure that this came to pass

was to make the songs appealing and relevant. Old songs with antique language referencing long

forgotten problems would clearly not catch the nineteenth-century bourgeois audience's eye—

and so to one degree or another, intervention was desireable.

    As noted in Chapter 1, Schönwerth uses the connection of the people of the Oberpfalz to

the Goths to emphasize their rich, long history. He also uses this connection as an example of the

early connections to Christianity. Therefore throughout *Sitten und Sagen*, Schönwerth is

constantly referencing his conclusion that although these tales may have entered into the

Germanic collective memory as pagan tales, they have become Christianized through the

influence of the church. He states that "die Kirche [müsste] die Erziehung der frischen

Naturvölker übernehmen" (*Sitten* Vol. 1, 5). It is then through the influence of the church that

these tales began to be slowly updated so as to remain relevant to the people of the Oberpfalz,

and Schönwerth spares no expense to remind the people that the roots of their pagan ancestry

were constantly moving forward towards the true religion of the people, Christianity. Paganism

is seen by Schönwerth as a necessary precursor.

    He writes, "[z]u dem Tage des Christentums ist das Heidentum die Nachtseite, in welche

nur bleiches Sternenlicht hereinblinkt. Uebringens geht durch die ganze Menschheit ein dunkles

Ahnen von Einflüssen, die durch Wesen außer uns geübt werden: sollte desselbe denn so gar

aller Begründung entbehren?" (ibid 45). Thus for Schönwerth, the pagan past should still be

discussed, despite the fact that he sees it as "ein dunkles Ahnen" as well as "die Nachtseite."

This, to Schönwerth, is excusable because the ancestors of people of the Oberpfalz, the Goths,

were among the first of the Germanic peoples to see the "Tage des Christentums" and many of

the tales in his collection show this transition from paganism to Christianity. According to him,

the good people of the Oberpfalz are unaware themselves of the pagan origins of their myths and

legends. To these pious people, Schönwerth writes that "ihm gilt Heidentum gleich

Teufelsdienst. Wüßte [das Volk], wie es um seinen Aberglauben steht, es würde sich mit

Abscheu davon wenden" (ibid 221-2). It seems as though their naïveté excuses them, as they

have already advanced enough as to be a part of the Christian religion.

Throughout Schönwerth's tales we can see this mixing of pagan and Christian belief. In

the second volume of *Sitten und Sagen*, Schönwerth devotes an entire section to the element of

air where he discusses different myths and legends surrounding wind and storms. At the

beginning of the section, he makes clear that the tales in the Oberpfalz which describe wind have

roots in paganism as he writes that "der Wind gilt als göttliches Wesen, denn er wird noch jetzt

als Herr angeredet" (114). Clearly then this view of wind retains some of its connection to

Germanic paganism as it is referred to as having agency—Schönwerth himself states that even in

the Catholic region of the Oberpfalz, the wind is still referred to as having the traits of a deity.

Yet when reading his tales we see a combination of these two different world views. One short,

untitled myth reads,

> [a]ls Unser lieber Herr noch auf Erden wandelte, zog ein Gewitter heran. St. Petrus frug ihn,
>
> woher es komme und was es bedeute. Da sagte der Herr: „Wollen wir es zuerst dem Esel sagen,
>
> der gerade vor uns hergetrieben wird," und sagte es diesem in das Ohr. Der Esel fiel tod um. Zum

> Petrus aber wendete sich der Heiland mit den Worten: „Wie würde es erst Dir gegangen seyn,
>
> wenn ich es Dir gesagt hätte?" (120)

Here we can see a clear mixture between the older paganism and the incorporation of Christian figures. The storms are seen as controlled by a deity, but the deity has now become the Christian God, rather than a pagan deity. Other Christian elements also come into play, namely the use of St. Peter showing the indescribable nature of God's work. This falls completely in line with the findings of Bartlett. These tales have been rationalized, and the pagan, foreign elements have disappeared so that what remains is a story about the Christian God. As the people of the Oberpfalz became Christianized and began to adopt the belief in a single god rather than the wide pantheon of Germanic paganism, the above myth was changed. A story about pagan deities controlling storms had slowly become unrelatable to the people due to the influence of the church and in order to survive and be retold, it was adapted to the changing customs. With the mention of the Christian God and the figure of St. Peter, this myth creates the perception of total coherence between past and present.

In a description of a long practiced custom we see a similar mixture of pagan and Christian mythological figures, though the pagan ties may be a little clearer than in the story above.

> Bey dem Herannahen eines drohenden Gewitters werden vom Volk die Glocken der Kirche
>
> geläutet, obwohl polizeyliche Verbote, besonders seit Anfang des Jahrhunderts, dagegen
>
> bestehen. Auch in den Häusern wird geläutet mit dem „Wedaglöckl" oder „Lorettoglöcklein,
>
> welches geweiht ist. Denn in argen Gewittern sind böse Geister, und diese können den Klang
>
> geweihter Glocken nicht vertragen, weßhalb sie und mit ihnen das Wetter so weit weichen, als
>
> das Läuten gehört wird. (121-2)

Here the spirits that come and roam the land can be fought off with holy elements from Christianity. Assmann states that with time and the inevitable changes in the social milieu, tales begin to lose their clear meaning and their clear relatability to daily life (49). These tales begin to need interpretation, and in Schönwerth's tales, we see interpretation of fading memories of pagan deities through Christian beliefs.

The Grimms themselves acknowledge the changes which slowly take place in tales as time goes on. Of their tales they write "[g]ewiß ist auch, daß die Märchen in dem Fortgange der Zeit beständig neu erzeugt…" (1812, xiii). They take this as evidence of the age of the tales themselves, but it is also recognition that the Grimms are a part of the updating process. The Grimms admit to continually updating their tales in the 1837 edition of *KHM*: „[w]enn die Gunst für dieses Buch fortdauert, so soll es an fortwährender Pflege von unserer Seite nicht fehlen" (22). Here the Grimms acknowledge the fact that they too have taken and will continue to take part in the modification and development of the tales in their collection.

While the collectors were seeking to (re)construct a past by reviving a supposed collective memory, they could not achieve this revival alone. Throughout their anthologies, each collector claims that the Germanic past they are seeking to reproduce cannot become a part contemporary society without the aid of their readers.

In a plea to the people directly, the Grimms write, "wir übergeben dies Buch wohlwollenden Händen, dabei denken wir überhaupt an die segende Kraft, die in diesen liegt, und wünschen, daß denen, welche diese Brosamen der Poesie Armen und Genügsamen nicht gönnen, es gänzlich verborgen bleiben möge" (ibid xxi). In *Wunderhorn*, Arnim writes that "was der Reichthum unsres ganzes Volkes, was seine eigenen innere lebende Kunst gebildet, das Geweben langer Zeit und mächtiger Kräfte, den Glauben und das Wissen des Volkes, was sie

begleitet in Lust in Tod, Lieder, Sagen, Kunden, Sprüche, Geschichten, Prophezeihungen und Melodien, wir wollen allen alles wiedergeben…" (Vol. 1, 473). These memories belong to the people and without being retold, they will never become collective memories: they will merely sit in books and slowly be forgotten.

Assmann writes further that "[a]s cultural memory is not biologically transmitted, it has to be kept alive through the sequence of generations" (72). The collectors seemed to be aware of this paradox of writing down tales, many of which were taken from the oral tradition, as each one calls for the people to reclaim the memories and to make them a part of their daily lives so that they do not become lost forever in the dusty editions that tried to revive them.

Conclusion

The reflection on identity in a society can only be enhanced when it is deliberately brought to the surface. Through their collections, these men sought to bring their tales and songs back into the collective memory by, as Brentano notes a "Bekanntmachung des vaterländischen Schatzes" (*Clemens* 532). By bringing this awareness to their reading public, Brentano and Arnim, the Grimms, and Schönwerth were calling to the people not only to return to their roots, but to reclaim what they perceived to be a nearly lost collective identity of the Germanic past. The tales and songs in their collections were changed and altered to reflect the current attitudes and beliefs of their nineteenth-century bourgeois audience. These changes, however, were largely inevitable as memory is constantly rearranging, updating, and creating coherence where none may have existed—and the greatest coherence is to align the past with the present. Because of these changes, the "past" that is experienced not only through these songs and tales, but in all recollections is colored by the present.

I would like to return then to a question that opened this chapter. What then is memory? "I know what it is if no one asks me what it is; but if I want to explain it to someone who has asked me, I find that I do not know" (Gifford 19). To the collectors discussed in this chapter, collective memory is most importantly one thing: identity. By (re)creating a collective memory by reaching into the past, these collectors sought to regain "German-ness" for their readers. They sought for coherence, for a clear linear chain of transmission. Yet although they generally maintained that they were recovering ancient collective memory, their songs and tales as well as their collections bear the markers of the contemporary society. These tales have been edited, updated, and sometimes even rewritten in order to present the past as one with strong and undeniable ties to the present.

In order for a collective memory of a heroic past to be a part of contemporary society, it must be seen by society members as applicable to contemporary beliefs and traditions. Inevitably the songs and tales in these collections must remain relatable to the people or they will cease to be told. It is through these investigations of collective memory that one can see how and why the collectors made some of the changes to their collections. Collective memory then has done what it does best: it created links and stories, it created coherence—sometimes even where none had ever existed.

Chapter 3: The Event of Storytelling

It is not the voice that commands the story… it is the ear. – Italo Calvino

We don't see things as they are, we see them as we are. – Anaïs Nin

The epigraph for this chapter contains two statements which merit discussion. The speaker, singer, writer, or artist is often seen as in control of the story he or she tells. Yet Calvino states that it is not the speaker, singer, writer, or artist who is truly in control—it is the audience. The quote from Nin accentuates Calvino's statements namely that we do not understand the story through the storyteller's intentions, rather through the interpretation of our own thoughts, experiences and feelings. This means that for each member of an audience there is a potentially different interpretation and this interpretation can change each time he or she experiences the story, whether through oral performance, reading, or even just remembering it. In Chapter 2, we saw many alterations in narrative which have to do with the function of human memory and the habits of the human mind that will rationalize, synthesize, and update. Yet another major influence in storytelling, one which can shape and change the character of a tale, is the audience.

Audience members can and do shape and change the course of a tale. It is important to understand who is listening to the story as an audience and the contributions he or she may make to the shape of the story through interactive reception, as well as how the storyteller may change the story being told to fit with the anticipated wants, needs, and interests of his or her audience. In the first instance, the audience may add additional context, information, or a new perspective to the story and in the other, the teller him- or herself may actively change the tale due to interest

(or lack thereof) of the audience in certain parts of the story. Likewise, the storyteller may tailor the tale to the prior knowledge of the audience. If we take for example a fisherman who typically tells stories to companions with whom he often goes fishing and camping, they will need relatively little outside information to understand the tale. They already understand where the tale took place, as they are familiar with the area. They are also aware of any terminology which may accompany the tale, as avid fishers themselves. And, as friends and companions of the fisherman storyteller, they will need relatively few explanations about his life. If this same storyteller were to tell the same fishing tales to a group of listeners who live in urban areas, and who rarely venture out to lakes, streams, and oceans, let alone go fishing, he will need to shape and change his tale so that they may understand.

Storytelling is an *event*. It is a site of participation and the story itself evolves and changes according to the contingence of the context. Because of this, oral tales cannot simply be removed from their proper context and studied in isolation. And yet, collectors of tales do precisely that. By anthologizing folktales into printed editions, collectors remove the tales themselves from their context and the environment in which they were encountered. Whereas the previous chapter focused on anthologies as an attempt to (re)connect Germans with a presumed heritage, here I will discuss the problems which arise when oral tales are written down, removing them from the event of storytelling. In order to discuss these problems, throughout this chapter I will investigate the collectors' anthologies to determine how their presence as collectors altered the tales told to them and how they sought to mold their tales to the expectations of their audience. Finally, I will discuss the criticisms and reception of their audiences to determine how these changes and additions were received by their contemporaries.

Audience and Performance with Folklore

To most contemporary scholars, audience is what ultimately constitutes and defines an oral tale.

Foley remarks that orality "requires an audience. It isn't complete without one" (1). While

discussing oral performance, Foley states that no matter how accurately one writes down or

records an oral performance, an oral tale, poem, or song can never be the same when taken out of

its context of live performance:

> [s]uppose someone shoots a multimedia video of an Oral Performance, encoding not just the
>
> words we enshrine in texts with whatever accompanying textual information can be tacked on,
>
> but also the visual images, sounds, audience involvement, and so forth. This still isn't Oral
>
> Performance. Although the video preserves more of the original performance dynamics than the
>
> printed page, it's still a text, fixed and unchanging no matter who views it, no matter when or
>
> where they "read" it. (41)

Put another way, a true oral performance cannot be recorded without changing the event itself.

There is inevitably some sort of change which takes place when the event is cast in another

medium, as well as when it is taken out of context, the way it is when in textual form. A proper

rendition of a folktale, a story, or a poem is a performance, an act, an event. It is participatory,

engaging, and most importantly an event of community and communion. The audience, no

matter what the size, does not sit passively and listen. When the storyteller begins a tale, there is

no rule stating that he or she cannot be interrupted, prompted to elaborate, or begged to shorten

the tale. Those who have heard the tale before recite along with the storyteller, whether this be a

traditional folktale being retold, or the recitation of a family story which is told time and time

again. Even if all members of the audience cannot hear every word being told, it does not matter.

This is a time of connections, not only with the storyteller and his or her tale, but fellow audience

members as well. The events of the story unfold at the same time for all, the tragic deaths, the merry meetings, and the unhappy partings. This is no longer just the storyteller's tale, it is a communal experience.

Yet while the "traditional" audience (as described above) can influence a tale, we must also keep in mind that the presence of a collector can alter a story, song, or poem in many significant ways. There are three major reasons detailed by Niles[42] for the collection of oral tales and songs, all of which significantly influence the final product of the published tale in many ways. They are: intervention by an outsider, intervention by an insider, and literary imitation. For the purposes of this analysis, only "intervention by an outsider" and "literary imitation" of oral tales will be discussed with reference to Arnim and Brentano, the Grimms, and Schönwerth as none of these collectors were active members of the oral storytelling tradition and thus could not be "insiders."

When an oral tradition is healthy and robust, people within the tradition often feel little need to record their tales. The tales are passed on from one person to the next without other media (Niles 91). Thus the impulse to record tales, though not always, often comes from an outsider. As noted in the Introduction, even members of literate societies do not often feel the need to write down their oral traditions to publish and share with a wider audience. The tales of our lives remain oral. This intervention from an outsider produces what Niles called "transmutations" of the tales; meaning that what is ultimately produced by the efforts of the collector is a representation of the tale or song he or she heard. These new tales can be highly mediated but can also represent the collaborative efforts of scholar and storyteller. Literary

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[42] These are taken and adapted from John D. Niles's *Homo Narrans: The Poetics and Anthropology of Oral Literature*.

imitation refers to those who are born outside of a dominantly oral culture but produce literature which imitates the style and content of traditional tales or songs—thus they write their own tales based on motifs found in oral culture.

The influences of collectors on the storyteller are indeed so different from other types of audience influence that they have been termed "folklore acts" by Niles. A folklore act is, by definition "a folkloric *performance*… that is commissioned and recorded by outsiders for the primary purpose of generating a record of it for their own textual communities" (Niles 102, emphasis mine). Thus a folklore act is a tale which has been taken out of its "natural" context and creates the opportunity for a different type of performance than one would encounter in the absence of a collector and his or her recording equipment. The folktale is being observed, scrutinized, and commanded by the collector. The folklore act is by its very nature staged because the speaker knows that he or she is being recorded.

When relating a tale to a collector, the storyteller finds him or herself in an unfamiliar situation. The collector demands silence for recording and may often wish to be the only person present in the room with the storyteller. Collectors have a potentially massive influence over the tales since they determine what is to be written down and what is to be forgotten. Collectors may even be dismissive of tales that do not fit their agenda or their academic aims.[43] And thus these tales fall into the realm of the forgotten, ignored by scholars and unseen by readers, for no other reason than they did not meet the expectations of the collector. It is the collector then, the storyteller's audience, who determines or interprets the meaning of the tale being told.

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[43] The Grimms, for example, excluded tales that they deemed not to have come from the German tradition and Arnim and Brentano excluded tales that appeared to them to have been written by modern authors.

The presence of a collector, and to an even larger degree, the presence of recording equipment, whether this be a camera, a tape-recorder, or even a pen and paper, signals to the storyteller not only that the collector takes this very seriously, but that everything he or she says or does is officially "on the record." Because of this, the storyteller often concentrates on the tale to an exceptional degree; he or she wants to get everything right so that its meaning and importance may be seen by the collector (Niles 103).

Lord comments that "the flexible time limits [of being recorded by a collector] held great potential for more prolonged composing than occasion usually afforded, a different kind of performance, as it were. At this stage, that potential was for greater *length*…" (20). What Lord mentions is that in a natural setting, oral tales are constantly under constraints—one of the largest and most pressing being time. An audience cannot reasonably be expected to listen to the nearly 16,000 lines of the *Iliad*. Yet in the presence of a collector, time constraints are much more flexible as well as artificial. Time restrictions naturally still exist in the presence of a collector, yet the collector is there for the explicit purpose of listening to, and recording, as many tales or songs as he or she may. The collector makes time to listen to and record multiple tales in a way that a traditional audience may not.

Changes that Take Place with Storytelling and Writing

Much has been written about the influences of writing on oral narration,[44] and I have referenced this in the Introduction. Here I will not discuss the influences of writing on oral narration itself as much as the influences of writing or written culture on the audience and reception of a text.

The written collections of folktales, such as those by Arnim and Brentano, the Grimms, and Schönwerth cannot be considered oral tales themselves. No matter how accurately they may have been written down, they cannot be considered oral tales because another medium has intervened. Whether the tales were collected by pen and paper, audio or video recording or some other means, the tale itself has been removed from the context of its performance. They are thus representations of the tales. For audience members who no longer have ties to the oral tradition, anthologies become the only interaction with "orality" that they may ever encounter. Yet they come to view these written versions as "real" records of oral tales. Because literacy is an unreflected aspect of the audience's reality, the presentation of tales in a literary mode likewise appears as "natural" as the oral source from which it came.

Lord writes of two conflicting poetics which exist when a folktale is recorded, written down, and published. He states that

> [t]he editing process [of oral tales] itself, except when it limits itself to correcting such things as spelling or grammatical mistakes, argues the existence of two poetics at odds with one another. When one of the finest of the Croatian collectors of oral-traditional epics at the end of the [nineteenth] century edited his carefully written-down texts for publication he changed them. He standardized the normal variations of metrics, and in many cases he eliminated the regular

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[44] See for example: Walter Ong, Richard Bauman, Milman Parry, Albert Bates Lord, John Miles Foley and Rudolf Schenda among others.

repetitions which are so much a part of the oral-traditional style but which grated against [his] literary sensibilities, in spite of his profound acquaintance with the oral-traditional epic style. (125)

Simply put, what works effectively when spoken does not carry the same effect when written down. Even things as simple as spelling and grammatical mistakes (contrary to what Lord states above) can be seen as displaying the presence of the poetics of writing. The reader can no longer hear the intonation of the storyteller's voice, marked pauses, or see hand gestures and facial expressions. Yet, we should not see the changes which take place as a loss, but rather as an adaptation.

When a tale is written down, it can be seen as a sort of liberation from many of the constraints on traditional storytelling and an invitation for critical analyses. Assmann writes that: "Only in its written form does tradition take on a concrete shape toward which the bearer may adopt a critical approach. In turn, it is only through writing that the bearer gains the necessary freedom to introduce something new, even unprecedented to the old, familiar material" (84). Since the audience and teller no longer have to rely on memory to circulate the tale, to remember the events of the tale, the brain is free to engage in new activities such as critical analysis of the tale.

The reading of the text itself, however, is not "fixed and unchanging no matter who views it, no matter when or where they 'read' it" as Foley explains. As noted in Chapter 2, Halbwachs writes that when revisiting a book one has already read, "what happens most frequently is that we actually seem to be reading a new book, or at least an altered version… because our interest is not attracted to and our reflections focused on a number of aspects of the action and characters

which… we were incapable of noticing [before]" (46.) Each time a text is read, the reader brings new ideas, experiences and interpretations, and each reading is reading anew.

Readers are able to influence the text in other ways as well, albeit in a way nowhere near the immediacy of the oral tale. There are still social influences on the written tale as they must fit within the accepted norms of the society for which they are being published in order to sell. Published works are not just the work of the author him or herself but are vastly influenced by editors, publishers, as well as the reading public.

It is with the changes and influences mentioned above in mind, that I investigate the collections of Arnim and Brentano, the Grimms, and Schönwerth. In order to understand their collections more fully, in the remainder of this chapter I analyze how they influenced the tales they collected, what sort of audience they targeted, how they changed or adapted their tales to meet or accommodate their target audience, as well as how their collections were ultimately received by their contemporary readers.

„Könnte man [ihn] nicht einmal besoffen machen…?" (Wilhelm Grimm): How the Tales Were Collected or *Collectors as Audience*

While most of the collectors discussed in this dissertation apparently spent little time reflecting on the influence of their own presence on storytellers, Schönwerth discusses in some detail the difficulties he encountered as a scholar collecting tales from the peasantry. In his introduction we can see the effect of class differences on the collection process. Schönwerth writes,

> [e]s erfordert große Uebung, gerade dasjenige, worauf es ankommt, herauszufragen und an
> Geduld darf es nicht fehlen. Diese Leute können sich nämlich der Ansicht nicht entschlagen, daß

ein Gebildeter unmöglich an solchen 'Dummheiten' Gefallen finde und fasse, sogleich

Argwohn, daß man sie zum Besten haben wolle. (Vol. 1, 37)

Here we see that the presence of a man like Schönwerth drastically affected how the stories were told to him. Some storytellers reacted in anger, assuming that a learned man could only be speaking with them to make fun of the lower classes. The tellers would likely have either refused to tell a tale, told one very hastily, or told a tale they thought would fit with his preconceptions of the lower class. On the other hand, other storytellers, after being assured that the collector *did* in fact want to hear tales for his scholarly collection, would have risen to the occasion, eager to prove that their tales were worthy to be considered for a scholarly endeavor.

The Grimms spent little time explicitly reflecting on how their presence as collectors could influence the tales they were collecting. However, while Jacob and Wilhelm may not have directly discussed their influence on the storyteller, they did offer their view of the ideal storyteller, Dorothea Viehmann. It is through their discussion of Viehmann that we can begin to see how their collection efforts influenced the tales in their collection. In the *Vorrede* to the second volume of the first edition (1815), the Grimms write,

> Wer an leichte Verfälschung der Ueberlieferung, Nachlässigkeit bei Aufbewahrung, und daher an Unmöglichkeit langer Dauer, als Regel glaubt, der müßte hören, wie genau sie [Viehmann] immer bei derselben Erzählung bleibt und auf ihre Richtigkeit eifrig ist; niemals ändert sie bei einer Wiederholung etwas in der Sache ab, und bessert ein Versehen, sobald sie es bemerkt, mitten in der Rede gleich selber. (v)

Her consistency convinced Jacob and Wilhelm that Viehmann was not only a storehouse of knowledge in the realm of folktales, but that she could be relied on to maintain consistency in her renditions. The Grimms appear to give audience, specifically their intervention as collectors,

little thought as a contributing factor to the changing and development of oral tales. From their descriptions, it seems that they believed it to be just as likely that Viehmann would tell her stories in the same manner whether she were being recorded by them or sharing tales with family and friends. Her actual *performance* is one which is cool, calm, and very dedicated to the exact representation of each tale.

Viehmann's reported calm and collected tellings of these tales also show the other aspect of using her as a bridge between the peasant storyteller and the educated, bourgeois audience for which the tales were ultimately being collected. What we see with Viehmann, is that while she is still telling a "traditional" story, she is not following the "traditional" role of an engaging teller. Viehmann is likewise reacting to the unresponsive audience of the dutiful collectors who sat patiently and quietly, waiting for her to finish the tale. Her hyper-awareness to the act of storytelling shows that she is a participant in a folklore act. In the storyteller's natural setting, he or she would not stop to correct a misstated word or phrase (as the Grimms state that Viehmann does); this would only disrupt the flow of the tale itself. Viehmann was perfectly aware of her position as storyteller for a literary collection as she produced tales tailored in a way that an educated, bourgeois collector would expect from living in a society which so heavily relies on the written word. Viehmann is not *telling* tales to the Grimms, there is no performance in the sense of an oral tale. In fact, it appears that she has managed to "read" tales to them without having a text in front of her.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Viehmann herself, while an important figure for the collection as a whole since it is her image which adorns all editions following 1819, was actually not a crucial storyteller for the Grimms if we consider how many of her tales were included in *KHM*. Despite claiming that they were able to write down many of her tales word-for-word, the

Grimms published almost none of her tales unchanged or uninfluenced by other versions. The Grimms typically combined multiple versions of one tale in order to divine what they believed to be the closest to the underlying "pure" representation of the Germanic past—and Viehmann's tales were no exception. Some of the only tales which made it in to their collection unchanged were those sent to them by other highly educated collectors such as Runge who edited and rewrote his tales.

The Grimms' treatment of Viehmann in their collection shows how influential the audience is in shaping the course of an oral story. The Grimms, as Viehmann's audience, interpret the tales according to their own understanding of what a folktale should be and they shape and change the tale when it is retold in their collection. For the Grimms, *KHM* is not about the individual storytellers—and as mentioned in Chapter 1, they actually worked to delete any reference to storytellers—but the collection as a whole which ultimately changed how they collected their tales.

It was not merely the presence of the collector that allowed storytellers to realize that the stories they were telling were intended, by and large, for scholarly study. Some storytellers were paid either with money, or by trading certain goods for tales. Simply by offering to give a storyteller something in return for his or her tale signals to the teller that the collector takes the story very seriously, and the storyteller will then fit the tale to the occasion. Discussing methods of payment, Wilhelm Grimm wrote to his brother Ferdinand on the 17th of July 1813, of Viehmann: "Die Frau kriegt jedesmal ihren Kaffee, ein Glas Wein und Geld obendrein." Though Wilhelm does not specify exactly how much money is given to Viehmann, she appears to be the only one of the Grimms' informants who received compensation in the form of money. Perhaps the Grimms developed their thoughts on compensation for their storytellers from Brentano and

Arnim who also rarely paid their informants money. Although she was paid for her stories, for

Viehmann, however, the status conferred by her association with the Grimms was so important

that it seemed to be payment enough (Rölleke and Schindehütte 117-18).

Another of the Grimms' storytellers was rewarded in gifts. Take for example this letter to

Jacob and Wilhelm from Friedrich Krause, an old soldier who provided a small handful of tales

for their collection and was rewarded with clothing:

Meine Libe-Herren-Wohldäter!

Herr Jacob, und Hr. Willhelm.

Ich denk-däglich an Ihnen, Morgen, und abents wenn ich mich aus und annzihe: aber die aldages

Beinkleider sein zerrißen: Ich armer Tropf ich bin diesen ganzen Winter kranck gewesen, und

noch immer, schwach. Haben sie die Gewogenheit, Meine Hr. Biplicats. Wenn Einer von Ihnen,

Ein paar bein Kleider abgeleckt hat, und begaben sie mich Noch Eins mahl… übringens Wünsche

ich Ihnen Gottes Seegen, und verbleibe Därer Hr. unterdänicher!

F. Krause, Hohf am 26te julii, 1823 (Qtd. Rölleke and Schindehütte 95)

Not many tales from Krause can be found within their collections. It is unknown whether this is

due to Krause running out of tales, or the Grimms running out of trousers. But what is clear is

that Krause understands telling tales as a business transaction. This motivation will inevitably

change Krause's performance of the tales.

We can also see from his letter not only that he acknowledges the Grimms as highly

educated ("Meine Hr. Biplicats"), but is also highly aware of their class differences ("und

verbleibe Därer unterdänicher!"). Krause would likely make an extra effort for the Grimms to

see the worth and sophistication of his tales and the necessity for them to fit in their collection.

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We can see his attempts more clearly in a letter sent to the Grimms four years later in which he justifies his spelling and grammatical mistakes—trying desperately to prove to the Grimms that, despite any spelling mistakes on his part, his tales should still be considered as fitting for their collection. He writes in 1827: "Meine Herrn si nämen Mir nicht vor ungütig Meine Schreibfäler. Ich habe gehör, und gesicht Verloren…. Daß licht meiner Augen ist nicht bey mir und meine liben und freünde stunden gegen mir und schauten meine plage, und meine Nächsten traten ferne…" (ibid. 96).

In Schönwerth's writings as well we can see that his method of eliciting tales from storytellers would have severely altered the tales he received. He notes that he gave "Weiber und Weber der Heimat… kleine Geschenke" as payment for their tales, though he does not elaborate on what these "little gifts" may have been. Schönwerth himself also refers to storytellers at one point as "Inquisiten" (Vol. 1, 37), signaling that he would question the storytellers in a manner to elicit exactly the information he deemed fitting for his collection.

And while many of the means by which these collectors got their tales were noble (namely, asking for a tale to be told and writing it down with permission from the storyteller), some actions taken to further collect tales were decidedly more desperate. Wilhelm wrote to his friend Paul Wigand in March of 1812, "Ich erwarte in deinem nächsten Brief recht viele speciala von dort, Anecdoten, lustige Begebenheiten usw. Könnte man den Schnarrpeter nicht einmal besoffen machen, da kämen wohl vergnügliche Dinge aus dem Geheimnißen seiner Seele?" (Qtd. Rölleke and Schindehütte 218). Though Wilhelm attempts to make his plea more elegant at the end by adopting eloquent, Romantic language to note that he wishes to hear the "Geheimnißen [Schnarrpeters] Seele," the difficulty with which many of these collectors sought

to collect tales may be seen in the rather simple tactic of getting someone drunk to encourage him to tell stories.

What is also important to keep in mind was that many of the collectors included in this chapter were writing down folktales and songs before any type of recording devices existed, even before the invention and use of short-hand writing for note taking in Germany.[45] The collectors simply wrote key words and phrases to important passages and then later put these notes together in a coherent and connected way (Rölleke and Schindehütte 253). This left collectors to write fragmentary notes and outlines of their tales, which were sometimes difficult to recall afterwards in their entirety.

In one case, emphasizing the difficulties this practice could bring about, Brentano told the Grimms of an elderly woman in the Marburg Elisabeth Hospital from whom he had previously gathered various tales. Brentano wrote to the Grimms asking if they could visit the hospital and collect tales from her. He noted that she had a rich knowledge of tales and had already told him some, yet he was unable to reconstruct them from his notes (ibid 39). Here we can see that it was nearly impossible for collectors—unless they had an exceptional storyteller like Viehmann—to write down the tales word-for-word. Each written tale would inevitably be an interpretation by the collector as he must reconstruct the tale from sparse notes or else be collated from several collectors' notes.

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[45] The first to create an independent system based on the German language was Franz Xaver Gabelsberger. It wasn't until 1834 that his system took on a fixed form and not until 1854 that it was deemed ready to be used in "allgemeinen Geschäfts- und Korrespondenzschrift" ("Stenographie").

„Restauration darf nicht individuell sein" (Brentano): (Re)Constructing Simulations of Oral Storytelling and the Intentions of the Collectors

While there are many changes in the individual tales influenced simply by the collection process, in the (re)constructed editions, the collectors can be seen to shape their anthologies as a whole. One major way that collectors adapted their tales to the textual medium, was to standardize the language in their texts by correcting spelling and grammatical mistakes and inconsistencies as well as standardizing dialectical terms. As was mentioned in Chapter 1, Schönwerth cleared his tales of dialect even though he states that he collected all of the tales in the "heimatlichen Mundart" of the Oberpfalz. Some sense of the dialect remains, but only in brief, quoted dialogue. Take for example this brief tale which can be found in volume 1:

> Eine Wöchnerin blieb unter dem Amte allein zu Hause zurück. Da rief ein Mann von dem Fenster herein: „Bärbl, Bärbl, Bärbl." Sie erwiederte nichts. Er frug weiter: „Bärbl, brauchst koin Bandla?" Sie schwieg wieder.—Endlich sagte er zu ihr: „Bärbl, dein Vodar is gstoarbm." Die Wöchnerin gab auch auf diese Worte keine Erwiderung. Mittlerweile läutete es in der Kirche zur Wandlung; der Mann vor dem Fenster entfernte sich. Sie sah ihm nach, er hatte einen Pferdsfuß. Zuletzt kehrte er sich um und schrie auf sie zu: „Des is dein Glück, das d'nir gsagd haust, I hayd di zriss'n." (197-8)

The "heimatliche Mundart" is used in this short tale only through the dialogue of the man (who we later discover was a demon in disguise). The demon is trying to trick a new mother in labor into speaking to him. By using the local dialect only in quoted dialogue, Schönwerth draws the reader's attention to the dialect through the contrast between spoken and written language. Although the action of the story is relayed in short, sometimes choppy sentences, it is read in grammatically correct, standardized, and dialect-free *Hochdeutsch*. Whether the dialect endears

the reader to the text or distances him or her from it, the reader is given the perspective of an outsider looking in—or rather of an anthropologist observing another culture which, as Schönwerth notes on multiple occasions,[46] is the goal of his entire project.

Despite claiming that his tales were all collected in the "heimatlichen Mundart," Schönwerth published all of his tales in clean *Hochdeutsch*, save for a few instances of quoted dialogue as seen above. In fact, it is only the Grimms who include tales entirely in dialect in their collection. By 1857 their collection included 20 tales[47] from various dialects throughout Germany. As added support to read tales in dialect, the readers of *KHM* are provided glosses. In one tale that was deemed particularly difficult to understand for the average reader, a number of glosses to the standard *Hochdeutsch* can be found to aid in comprehension:

> Is is emohl e Mon gewön (gewesen), der hot ninx us (als) g'spielt, und do hobnd'n d'Leut nur in Spielhansl g'hoaßen, und wall (weil) e gor nit afg'hört zen spieln, se hot e san (sein) Haus und ullss (alles) vespielt. Hietzt (jetzt), nette (eben) in lötzen Tog, eh's iahm (ihm) d'Schuldne schon s'Haus hobnd wögnehme willn, is unse Herrgout un de halli Pedrus kemme, und hobnd g'sogt, er sull's übe d'Nocht g'holte (bei sich halten). (1837, 359)

The Grimms' notations on language, remind the reader that not all of the tales were collected in standardized, literary German. These translations and additions attempt to give readers access to tales which remain in original-sounding dialect while likewise giving them a more rustic appearance. Rather than providing their readers with a complete translation of the tale, the Grimms have translated only aspects of the tale which would be nearly impossible for readers of standard *Hochdeutsch* to decipher.

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[46] See Ch. 1.
[47] This figure includes only tales which can be found written entirely in dialect. Other tales feature quoted dialogue in dialect, much as Schönwerth's tales.

In further attempts to allow the reader to gain an understanding of the oral tradition from which these tales came, the collectors also attempted to simulate the conversational aspects of oral narration between storyteller and audience member. In certain tales in *Wunderhorn* we see the first-person address, giving the impression of the presence of a storyteller, "Der Winter ist ein scharfer Gast,/ Das merkt ich an dem Dache…" (Vol. 1, 39) In *KHM* we see similar addresses of the storyteller to the audience, giving the illusion that the tale is being told to the reader by a present storyteller. For example: "Ich will euch etwas erzählen," (1857, 487) and "[s]age niemand…," (ibid 494). Here we can see direct references to a "storyteller," as the narrator makes promises to the reader (ich will euch erzählen) as well as explicitly demanding action (sage niemand). Here, the address of the fictional storyteller to the reader represents an attempt to evoke oral narration.

In other cases the address to the reader becomes even more involved than a simple phrase. The storyteller does not make promises to the reader, nor does he or she demand that the reader take action (such as when one reads "sage niemand"), but the speech can be seen as a more involved simulation of the oral storytelling process. Here the storyteller asks the reader to stop and reflect on the tale itself. We read "ach, du schöne Jungfrau, wie solls mit dir noch werden?" (1812, 311) and "[d]a sah ich eine alte dürre Geiß, trug wohl hundert Fuder Schmalzes an ihrem Leibe und sechzig Fuder Salzes. Ist das nicht gelogen genug?" (1857, 487). The tale here attempts to replicate the immediacy of the oral storytelling process, such as the ability of the storyteller to ask his or her audience questions of clarification before moving on.

Another example is the dialect tale which begins:

Disse Geschicht is lögenhaft to vertellen, Jungens, aver wahr is se doch, denn mien Grootvader, von den ick se hew, pleggte jümmer, wenn he se mie vortüerde (mit Behaglichkeit vortrug), dabi

to seggen: 'Wahr mutt se doch sein, mien Söhn, anners kunn man se jo nich vertellen.' De Geschicht hett sick aber so todragen. (ibid 559)

We see that the tale attempts to give the reader a sense of how it would be orally told, rather than read. We get the sense that, as readers, we are a part of a larger audience through the use of words such as "Jungens." Here the storytelling technique attempts to make the reader feel as though he[48] is a part of something which is happening right before his eyes and thus this technique attempts to preserve some performance aspects of the tales.

While *Sitten und Sagen* and *KHM* both stressed the authenticity of the tales, it has been shown throughout this chapter and others that subsequent changes and adaptations prove that reproduction of an oral tale event is impossible. Yet while "Aschenputtel" and "Dornröschen," (*KHM*) „Gevatter Tod" and „Der Schneider und der Tod" (*Sitten und Sagen*) may not be exact representations of the tales told to Schönwerth or the Grimms, the tales are still reflections of the stories told to the collectors. The tales told to the collectors made the tales that ultimately became published in their collections possible. Many of the changes in tales that have been demonstrated show a crucial divergence in the respective intents of the storyteller and collector. The story did one thing for the oral storyteller and quite another for the collector. While the storyteller may have told the story for a variety of reasons—whether it be for payment, for recognition, or to show the worth of the stories to be contained within a collection—for the collectors, the stories are meant to move and influence their audience to revive the tales in oral tradition.

While many individual instances of change and adaptation have been noted above, we must not fall into the trap of assuming that collectors viewed their tales and songs as being

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[48] The use of the word „Jungens," of course, denotes a male audience

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independent of one another. Brentano writes that „[a]lle Restauration darf nicht individuell sein" (*Freundschaftsbriefe* 486), suggesting that the collectors viewed their *entire collections* as (re)constructions, rather than focusing on individual tales and songs.

Two collections, *Wunderhorn* and *KHM* were successful in their endeavors. *Wunderhorn* was not only one of the most important works of the German Romantic period which influenced numerous writers and musicians and continues to influence ideas of the Germanic folktale today. *KHM* became one the most widely read and translated books in the German language, and, in 2005 was cataloged in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) "Memory of the World" project. UNESCO's "Memory of the World" website declares *KHM*, to be part of the "world's documentary heritage" which should be "preserved and protected for all and, with due recognition of cultural mores and practicalities, should be permanently accessible to all without hindrance."

While the collectors certainly sought to shape their tales on an individual level by attempting to simulate oral narration in many of their tales and songs, their broader goals were to create cohesive collections that represented their perceptions of the Germanic past. Some collections, like *KHM*, can even be said to have superseded the very traditions they claimed to preserve. Their tales are no longer seen as representations of German heritage, but are now acknowledged as documents of world heritage and are preserved to prevent any change or distortion. Thus the lines they sought to draw around a distinctly German heritage have been blurred by audience reception and interpretation.

„Niemand kann zweien Herren dienen" (A. L. Grimm): Market demands and reception

Although the collectors themselves looked to change and adapt their tales to contain references to the oral tradition or contruct collections that harkened back to their conception of the past, there were also many changes that came about due to the reception and subsequent criticisms of their collections. All three collections were published with a specific audience in mind during their creation. Perhaps most notably, *Sitten und Sagen* was intended for a scholarly audience. At nearly 1,300 pages in length, the majority of Schönwerth's collection goes into great detail about the lives and beliefs of the people of the Oberpfalz. In the prologue, Menzel writes that Schönwerth's work will provide material for further studies: "Kenner der deutschen Alterthümer, in Sprache, Sitte und Sage, sind noch besonders darauf aufmerksam zu machen, daß sie hier viel neues Material für ihre Forschungen finden werden" (Vol. 1, ix). His was not intended as a collection of folktales for the entertainment of readers, but rather a thoughtful, well researched, scholarly enterprise. Take for example this passage where Schönwerth describes the people of the Oberpfalz:

> Die Haare trägt der Mann vorne kurz abgeschnitten, vom Hinterhaupte bis zum Nacken hin lang abfallend, dass Weibervolk nach Germanischer Sitte von Stirne und Hinterhaupt zurückgestrichenen und oben auf dem Scheitel in einen Knoten gefaßt. Reiches Haar und weiße Zähne, die bis in hohes Alter bleiben, sind Eigentum der Bevölkerung. Die Frauen haben den Ruf großer Fruchtbarkeit. (Vol. 1, 19-20)

His study claims more anthropological significance than literary, and could be said to make the most convincing argument that the tales he transcribed are authentic renderings of the oral event as the majority of his collection reads like a factual anthropological study on the people of the

Oberpfalz. The tales in his collection, then, have been written down as supporting evidence for his study.

In reference to the folktales throughout his collection he writes "[d]och waren es weniger die Sagen, wonach ich trachtete, als jene vielen kleinen unscheinbaren Sätze, in denen die Anschauungsweise des Volkes sich ausspricht und die Reste heidnischen Glaubens sich erhalten" (*Sitten* Vol. 1, 43). In his collection he groups tales with similar themes together, even including variations of different tales given in full alongside one another, giving his collection an often repetitious feeling. This he does to aid in the understanding of the cultural topics discussed in his various chapters. The monotony the reader may experience by reading tales grouped together by theme is explained as necessary for scholarly intentions for further research.

The Grimms as well began their collection of *KHM* as a scholarly enterprise. In the first edition of *KHM* (1812-1815), the Grimms proclaimed that their intentions as collectors were guided by scholarly principles. Not only does this edition contain footnotes throughout the *Vorrede* to further explain the concepts developed, but it contains (across both volumes of the edition) a 124-page appendix with analysis and further information on each tale such as tale variations. With these additions, the Grimms implied that their collection was intended for academic colleagues: one that could be used to further inspire others to reflect upon and research the oral tales that came together to form a body of works for Germans collectively.

Among the critics of this scholarly approach were Brentano and Arnim. Arnim laments the new attention that folktales and songs have attained from academic audiences. He complains about scholarly collections such as *KHM* and *Sitten und Sagen*, arguing for the value of raw immediacy,

Doch dieses wie so manches andere wunderbare Lied ist aus den Ohren des Volkes verklungen, den Gelehrten allein übrig blieben, die es nicht verstehen, alle Volksbücher sind so fortdauernd blos von unwissenden Speculanten besorgt, von Regierungen willkührlich leichtsinnig beschränkt und verboten, daß es fast nur ein Zufall, oder ein hohes Schicksal, wie uns so manches Wunderschöne in diesen Tagen angemahnt hat, zu fühlen und zu wissen, zu ahnden, zu träumen was Volkslied ist und wieder werden kann, das Höchst und das Einzige zugleich durch Stadt und Land. (*Wunderhorn* Vol. 1, 460)

Arnim claims that scholars do not properly understand folktales and songs. According to this description, it is the people who must restore the tales and songs to their former place in German culture, not scholarly study. Although they claim that folktales and songs are misunderstood by those who wish to study them and that they should be returned to the people, they did not believe that folksongs or tales should be given to the public in any sort of unaltered state.

Readers were already accustomed to the poetry of their time. Songs and poetry encountered in a completely different style and often with crude language, such as oral poetry, would be met with hesitancy (Schade 47), and thus Arnim and Brentano, and later the Grimms, began to change and edit their tales to conform to bourgeois taste. The industrialization of Germany had led to an industrialization of the book trade as well. This allowed a mass production of books leading to a large shift in readership: as more books became available and literacy expanded, more people became interested in reading. With the surge in readership came new interests and tastes in reading materials and a large number of these readers sought entertainment rather than unalloyed edification. New readers led to the formation of of reading circles who wished to read entertaining literature in prose (Tatlock 4). In order for their

collections to be successful in this changing market, the collectors had to adapt to the changes in readership.

In response to these changes, Brentano and Arnim sought from the beginning for *Wunderhorn* to be a source of entertainment. One can see Brentano's severe distaste for scholarly editions in his scathing review of the first volume of the first edition of *KHM* in a letter to Arnim in February 1813:

> Grimms Märchen habe ich vor einigen Tagen gekauft, in der Vorrede ist recht schön gesprochen, es sind auch da viele Märchen zussammen, aber das Ganze macht mir weniger Freude, als ich gedacht. Ich finde die Erzählung, (aus Treue) äußerst liederlich, und versudelt, und in Manchen dadurch sehr langweilich, wenngleich die Geschichten sehr kurz sind, Warum die Sachen nicht so gut erzählen als die Rungenschen[49] erzählt sind, sie sind in ihrer Gattung vollkommen…. Wollten die frommen Herausgeber sich selbst genug thun, so müßten sie zu jeder Geschichte, ein[e] psychologische Biografie des Kinds oder des alten Weibs, das die Geschichte so oder so schlecht erzählte voran setzten, und ich könnte zum Beispiel wohl Zwanzig der Besten aus diesen Geschichten auch getreu und zwar viel besser oder auf ganz andere Art schlecht erzählen, wie ich sie hier in Böhmen gehört…. Die gelehrten Noten sind zu abgebrochen, und es ist in dem Leser zuviel vorausgesetzt, waß er weder Wissen, noch aus diesen Noten lernen kann, eine Abhandlung über das Mährchen überhaupt, eine Physiologie des Märchens wäre, sollte Gelehrsamkeit dabei sein, weit nützlicher gewesen, so wie es jetzt ist, hat die Gelehrsamkeit ein Aussehen, als sei sie ein aus dem Nachlaß verstorbener Gelehrter abgedrucktes Sammelsurium…. Ich habe bei diesem Buch recht empfunden, wie durchaus richtig wir beim Wunderhorn verfahren, und das man uns

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[49] Here he is referencing Runge's Plattdeutsch tales "Von dem Fischer un syner Fru" (KHM 19) and "Von dem Machandelboom" (KHM 47). Runge had originally sent these tales to Brentano and Arnim.

höchstens gröseres Talent hätten zumuthen können; denn dergleichen Treue, wie hier in den

Kindermärchen macht sich sehr lumpicht… (*Freundschaftsbriefe* 674-75).

We see Brentano's displeasure in the scholarly attempts of *KHM*, as well as his opinions on the

process of collection. Importantly, Brentano notes what the reader should expect from their

reading material: entertainment, consistency, and ease of understanding. Not only are the tales in

KHM noted as being frequently boring, but they lack consistency. Certain tales, such as "Von

dem Fischer un syner Fru" (*KHM* 19) and "Von dem Machandelboom" (*KHM* 47) conform to

the expectations of many readers through their lengthy and flowing sentence structure, frequent

dialogue, and elements of foreshadowing. Other tales in the first edition can be found to have

less complex sentence structure and a less controlled delivery with rougher transitions.

Criticism of scholarly editions, like those remarks from Brentano, were widespread.

Many believed not only that the unaltered tale would not be able to catch the bourgeois reader's

attention (much as Brentano has expressed), but that the mere collection of such tales and songs

was a complete waste of time and offensive to bourgeois sensibilites. Dr. Franz Joseph K.

Müller, a doctor working in the field of psychiatry, wrote in response to *Sitten und Sagen*:

> Herr von Schönwerth hat eine solche Sammlung von abergläubischen Unsinn, oft sogar
>
> schmutziger Art gesamelt und unter dem Titel 'Sitten und Sagen der Oberpfalz' herausgegeben.
>
> Es ist unbegreiflich, wie man solchem Unsinn ein solch glänzendes Mäntelchen umhängen
>
> konnte und soll man vielmehr zur Ausrottung deßhalb als ihn durch sein poetisches Gewand, das
>
> ihn aber nur schlecht verhüllt, noch größere Verbreitung bey diesen finstern Volke zu
>
> verschaffen. (Qtd. Drascek "Woud" 32)

Folktales were often viewed as trivial entertainment for the lower classes. Friedrich Nicolai

(1733-1811), for example, argued that folksongs and tales belonged to the peasantry while the

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educated classes should look to retain their more sophisticated culture. He claimed that "'echte Volkslieder' in der gebildeten Schicht, wenn man ihre Texte nicht redigiert, einfach unmöglich sind" (Qtd. Loges 348). However, despite the assumed trivial nature of the folktale, the idea that they should be aimed towards children was becoming more and more widespread. Up until the mid-nineteenth century these tales were only seen as acceptable for adults with their violent, risqué, and often political subject matters. Prior to the mid-nineteenth century folktales were considered "subversive and dangerous to the health of children, who needed moral instruction and guidance to domesticate their imaginations" (Zipes "Changing" 18). These tales should teach children to behave, not enhance their imaginations and sense of wonder. Entertainment was merely a secondary goal. Take as an example Heinrich Hoffmann's successful and didactic children's book *Struwwelpeter* (1845) which comprises ten short vignettes of misbehaving children. Their misbehavior causes disastrous consequences which are depicted in exaggerated and often violent ways demonstrating clear moral guidelines all children should adhere to.

Despite these views, the idea that folktales should be guided towards children was growing, even during the time of *Wunderhorn* and *KHM*. Cleaned up and edited versions of tales with clear, Christian morals were seen as a way to reach children as an audience. During the 1820s, there was a large change in attitude toward folktales as reading material for children. Educators as well as parents began to realize the benefit of entertainment and relaxation in reading materials. The tales, however, were still expected to influence the socialization process of children and to emphasize morals and societal norms (Zipes "Changing" 20). This meant that risqué and bawdy passages had to be eliminated, senseless violence reduced, and moral messages foregrounded or added.

The changes Arnim, Brentano, and the Grimms made to their tales show an aim to direct the tales towards the expectations of their perceived readers and thus (re)constructing the Germanic past as one which was free from sexual reference. Jacob Grimm, for example, maintained that tales like "Die Hochzeit der Frau Füchsin" (*KHM* 38) were originally free from any sexual innuendo and were only later tainted by sexual reference. "Ich wollte in die Seele dieses Märchens hinein schwören, dass es rein und unschuldig sei. Wer anderes hineinlegt, legt eine sündliche Ansicht hinein… Obiges Märchen ist mir eins der allerliebsten und mir aus meiner Kindheit am lebendigsten" (Qtd. Rölleke and Schindehütte 227). Jacob's comment can be seen as serving two purposes. First, he is maintaining the claim that the tales in their collection come from the simple *Volk*, that the people of the Germanic past are innocent and pure. These tales are worth further study not only because they contain crucial links to the Germanic past, but also because they bear so much similarity to the nineteenth century bourgeois sensibilities. This comment is reflected in Jacob's assessment of ancient Germanic culture in *Deutsche Mythologie*, "unsere voreltern, bis in das heidenthum hinauf, [redeten] keine wilde, rauhe, regellose, sondern eine feine, geschmeidige, wohlgefüge sprache… dass sie nicht in verworrener, ungebändigter horde lebten, vielmehr eines althergebrachten sinnvollen rechts in freiem bunde, kräftig blühender sitte pflagen" (iv). The second purpose of Jacob's comment is to demonstrate the appropriateness of the tales for children. Jacob contends that the tale he experienced as a child is also appropriate for other children since in the *Urfassung* of the tale as he imagines it, was as pure and innocent as the Germanic *Volk* themselves.

Arnim and Brentano's literary songs were aimed at the bourgeois reading public whom they suspected would not be receptive to songs or tales which had not been transformed into

literary texts. The Grimms, following criticism of Arnim and Brentano (among others) of their first volume, began to make their tales more suitable for children.

Throughout the Grimms' editions one can see a great deal of change from one version of the tale to the next. The Grimms produced 17 different editions spanning 46 years—18 versions spanning 48 years if one includes the unpublished 1810 Ölenberg manuscript. Due to the heavy criticisms of people like Brentano and Arnim, Wilhelm began to slowly edit out insinuations of sex and incest. We see, for example in the 1812 version of "Allerlei-Rauch" (*KHM* 65) (which was later retitled "Allerleirauh") contains a story of a father who lusts after his daughter. In the end of the tale the father and daughter marry "und sie lebten vergnügt bis an ihren Tod" (316). However, in later versions, the father is warned of the sin he would commit if he were to marry his daughter, and the man the daughter marries in the end is a king unrelated to her. Wilhelm thus removed the offending content by transforming the tale of incest into a moral lesson. The father is severely reprimanded by his councilors. His actions ultimately drive his daughter to run away, never to return home again. The reader is informed of the moral of the story when the king's councilors state "Gott hat verboten daß der Vater seine Tochter heirate, und aus der Sünde kann nichts Gutes entspringen" (1837, 311). While children may be entertained by a tale which follows the actions of the princess who has run away from home, they are reminded of the Christian morals of the society they live in.

Other tales were removed from *KHM* for depictions of violence which were deemed to be too realistic. Take for example the short tale in the 1812 edition "Wie Kinder Schlachtens mit einander gespielt haben." After watching their father slaughter a pig, one child plays the butcher and the other plays the pig. The "butcher" kills his brother the "pig;" their mother rushes out and in a panic kills her "butcher" son before returning to the house to see her infant has drowned in

the tub she left him in. She hangs herself from grief at the loss of her three children and when the father returns home, he dies shortly thereafter (103). This tale contains no clear lesson of morality for children and instead offers them images of senseless and extreme violence. Wilhelm eliminated the tale from any further editions. Unlike other tales of violence, "Wie Kinder Schlachtens mit einander gespielt haben" contains no filter of magic or supernatural happenings to remove the violence from reality—instead we read a short description of the death of an entire family.

Other instances of violence, such as those in *Von dem Machandelboom* (*KHM* 47), were not only seen as acceptable by the Grimms, but also seemingly encouraged by them (Tatar "Facts" 5). In this tale, a boy is beheaded by his stepmother and fed to his (unknowing) father, but is brought back to life again in the form of a bird by his loving stepsister to seek vengeance for his murder. The end of the tale is marked by his killing of the evil stepmother. On other occasions, violence was intensified so that there would be no doubt that evil-doers received punishment for their crimes. In the 1812 version of "Rumpelstilzchen", after the queen guesses Rumpelstilzchen's name, he simply runs away, never to be seen again (255). In 1837, however, he becomes so enraged that he rips himself in half (253). Likewise, in "Aschenputtel" the stepsisters go from receiving no externally inflicted punishment in 1812 (they do, however, have to suffer the self-mutilation of their feet in their attempt to fit into the small shoe) (101), to getting their eyes pecked out by doves in 1837 (122). One can see quite clearly that the tales collected were not originally moral tales for children; rather the collectors themselves were responding to bourgeois standards and transforming these tales into mirrors of their own society's expectations—namely that it was more important for children's literature to be didactic than entertaining. While there is still extreme violence in certain tales, such as those listed above,

the violence is more or less justified in that the evil-doers receive their just reward—giving children the impression of a clear dichotomy of morals. The princes and princesses live happily ever after as a result of their good deeds, kind hearts, and adherence to the word of God and those characters who do not are shown as wicked and are mutilated or often outright killed for not complying to societal standards.

The Grimms' tales, however, even after the editing done by Wilhelm to rid the tales of many things which were deemed inappropriate for children (by 1819 we can see the following sentence in the preface: "wir [haben] jeden für das Kinderalter nicht passenden Ausdruck in dieser neuen Auflage sorgfältig gelöscht" [1837, 13]) are still shocking to many with their depictions of murder, mutilation, and suffering. Yet the Grimms state in 1812 (and this comment is only very slightly reworded throughout later collections) that nothing could be better for the reader, even if that reader is a child, than nature itself (which they understand to be the folktale representing the Germanic past).

> Gegen das letztere ist eingewendet worden, daß doch eins und das andere in Verlegenheit setze und für Kinder unpassend oder aufstößig sey… und Eltern es ihnen geradezu nicht in die Hände geben wollten. Für einzelne Fälle mag die Sorge recht seyn und da leicht ausgewählt werden; im Ganzen ist sie gewiß unnöthig. Nichts besser kann uns vertheidigen, als die Natur selber, welche gerad diese Blumen und Blätter in dieser Farbe und Gestalt hat wachsen lassen: wem sie nicht zuträglich sind, nach besonderen Bedürfnissen, wovon jene nichts weiß, kann leicht daran vorbeigehen, aber er kann nicht fordern, daß sie darnach anders gefärbt und geschnitten werden sollen. (viii-ix)

Sitten und Sagen and even *KHM* had disappointing sales because of their intended audiences. Planned as scholarly texts, the collections were not received well by audiences who excpected

that folktales should be used to develop further literary works or adapted for children. The first

edition of *KHM* did not sell well, particularly in its two-volume format. Arnim blamed the

addition of scholarly commentary as well as the absence of pictures for the failure (Rölleke

"Kommentar" 1162). Albert Ludewig Grimm (1786-1872, no relation) had two main criticisms

of Jacob and Wilhem's tales: they should be altered to become more literary, and were not

suitable for children. Although the first volume of *KHM* was intended primarily for scholarly

research and not children, A. L. Grimm writes,

> In kindlicher Einfachheit müssen freilich die Märchen für Kinder erzählt werden. Aber dazu
>
> gehört ein ganz idealer Erzähler, den man nicht in der ersten besten Kindermagd unserer Tage
>
> findet; und fehlt dieser, so muß der Dichter seine Stelle vertreten. Der selige Runge hat in ihrer
>
> Sammlung zwei wunderschöne Märchen unnachahmlich in plattdeutscher Sprache erzählt. Sie
>
> sind aber gewiß nicht so aus dem Munde des Volkes aufgeschrieben. Die meisten Ihrer übrigen
>
> Märchen tragen noch das Gepräge eines ganz gewöhnlichen Erzählers aus dem Volks mit allen
>
> seinen Fehlern…. Als ein Buch, das Kindern in die Hände gegeben werden kann, darf man jene
>
> Sammlung aber keineswegs ansehen…. Sollten sie es aber doch auch dazu bestimmt gehabt
>
> haben, so möchte hier das alte Sprüchlein anzuwenden sein: Niemand kann zweien Herren
>
> dienen. (Qtd. Rölleke "Kommentar" 1163)

According to A. L. Grimm, certain tales in their collection specifically "Rapunzel" (*KHM* 12)

were unsuitable for an audience of children. In the 1812 edition, after she meets the prince,

Rapunzel notices that her clothing begins to grow tighter and tighter, referencing the fact that she

has become pregnant with the prince's child. When Rapunzel first meets the prince we read,

Rapunzel erschrak nun anfangs, bald aber gefiel ihr der junge König[50] so gut, daß sie mit ihm verabredete, er solle alle Tage kommen und hinaufgezogen werden. So lebten sie lustig und in Freuden eine geraume Zeit, und die Fee kam nicht dahinter, bis eines Tages das Rapunzel anfing und zu ihr sagte: „sag' sie mir doch Frau Gothel, meine Kleiderchen werden mir so eng und wollen nicht mehr passen." (41)

A. L. Grimm commented that this reference was not only immoral, but also had the potential to corrupt children (Rölleke „Kommentar" 1170). The Grimms, specifically Wilhelm, took these criticisms to heart. Wilhelm began editing out references to sexual relationships, as well as creating ten smaller editions of *KHM* between 1825 and 1858 which contained pictures. By 1837 this same passage reads quite differently.

Anfangs erschrak Rapunzel gewaltig als ein Mann zu ihr herein kam, wie ihre Augen noch nie einen erblickt hatten, doch der Königssohn fing an ganz freundlich mit ihr zu reden, und erzählte ihr daß von ihrem Gesang sein Herz so sehr sei bewegt worden, daß ihm keine Ruhe gelassen, und er selbst habe sehen müssen. Da verlor Rapunzel ihre Angst, und als er sie fragte ob sie ihn zum Manne nehmen wolle, und sie sah daß er jung und schön war, so dachte sie „der wird mich lieber haben als die alte Frau Gothel", und sagte ja, und reichte ihm ihre Hand. Sie verabredeten daß er alle Abend zu ihr kommen sollte, aber die Zauberin die nur bei Tage kam, merkte nichts davon, bis einmal Rapunzel anfing und zu ihr sagte „sag sie mir doch, Frau Gothel, wie kommt es nur, sie wird mir viel schwerer heraufzuziehen, als der junge Königssohn, der ist in einem Augenblick bei mir." (77)

In place of the reference to pregnancy out of wedlock, we see the innocence and purity of the girl emphasized by her shock and dismay at the presence of a man. Her innocence is shown again in

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[50] Throughout the rest of the tale he is referred to as a Königssohn.

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the fact that Rapunzel and the prince agree to marry *before* they agree to see each other every night. Thus Rapunzel's actions mirror the expectations of nineteenth century bourgeois society that a woman should stay chaste and pure until marriage. This not only conforms to what the Grimms' readers would expect but also demonstrates proper behavior for children.

Another collection which received harsh criticism on the corrupting nature of its tales and thus sold poorly was *Sitten und Sagen* (published between 1857 and 1859). Despite the fact that Jacob Grimm had praised Schönwerth's collection ("[w]enn Einer da ist, der mich dereinst ersetzen kann, so ist es *Schönwerth*!"), many bookstores began sending *Sitten und Sagen* back to the publisher in 1858 and by 1864 (only five years after the publication of the third and final volume) the collection could no longer be found in any bookstore (Groschwitz 162). Clearly the idea that folktales should be guided towards children, and thus changed and rewritten, was growing and scholarly collections like the first edition of *KHM* and *Sitten und Sagen* were met with cool receptions at best.

Highly stylized collections such as *Wunderhorn*, however, were certainly not free from criticism. *Wunderhorn* was praised by Goethe and, although he found the collection to be much too narrow in its focus on folksongs only throughout Germany, he nevertheless stated that he believed every household should be furnished with a copy (Fortmann 249). However, no less than Friedrich Schlegel (1772-1829) offered a critique of Brentano and Arnim's work. He writes in 1808,

> Wenn nur auch die Sorgfalt der Behandlung und der *Auswahl* [der Lieder] einigermaßen entspräche! wenn nur nicht so manches *Schlechte* mit aufgenommen, so manches *Eigne* und *Fremdartige* eingemischt wäre, und die bei einigen Liedern sichtbare *willkürliche Veränderung*

nicht bei dem größten Theile der Leser ein gerechtes Mißtrauen auch gegen die übrigen [Lieder] einflößen müßte! (Qtd. Schade 44, emphasis in original)

Where Brentano and Arnim view fidelity to the oral tale as something which will deter the average, bourgeois reader, Schlegel notes in disgust the obvious changes they have made which will only encourage readers to mistrust the collection. And Schlegel was not the only critic to harshly receive the highly stylized collection *Wunderhorn.* In reference to Brentano, Jacob wrote, "und ich bedauere nur seinen darauf verwendeten Fleiß und Geist; er mag das alles stellen und zieren, so wird unsere einfache, treu gesammelte Erzählung die seine jedesmal gewißlich beschämen" (qtd. in Jolles 223).

These critiques demonstrate the divided expectations for folktale collections. On the one hand, the more academically minded demanded fidelity to the oral tales for research purposes. On the other, the average reader wanted literary versions of these tales—ones which were much closer to the published stories and poetry already available. In September of 1809, Wilhelm laments in a letter to Jacob:

... die Minnelieder [von Tieck] sind zum Theil ganz herrlich, und vollkommen, aber Göthe noch Schiller mögen sie nicht. ferner, das Überarbeiten, das Hineinarbeite in diese Sachen wird mir ewig zuwider seyn, darum weil es als Nothwendigkeit für die Zeit ein Irrthum, u. für das Studium der Poesie ein Ärger ist. In anderer, aber schlechter Hinsicht ist es freilich nothwendig, das gebe ich zu, weil das schlechteste in uns, das Lesepublikum die Bücher sonst nicht kauft, u. sobald das bekannt ist, sie kein Verleger anders druckt. (*Briefwechsel* 172)

What Wilhelm points out is that in order to sell their editions they needed to have them published and in order to have the collections published, they needed a reader base.

If the readers wanted literary versions of tales, the collectors would have to comply in order to sell their books and we can see this strongly reflected in the reception of these three collections. *Wunderhorn* and later editions of *KHM*, which featured changes designed to appeal to a larger reading audience, did very well in sales and are still widely known and read today. *Sitten und Sagen* did not adapt to market demands and consequently sold badly and is virtually unknown, except to a handful of philologists and other researchers.

Conclusion

Many of the changes that took place in the collections discussed here were due to pressures from outside forces—namely the reading public and publishers. While often criticized by modern scholars[51] as containing tales which were edited, stylized, and updated, *KHM* and *Wunderhorn* were the most well-received and most well-known of the three collections discussed and ultimately aid in the current discussions of folklore and orality by contributing to conversations on fidelity, societal pressures as factors in storytelling, and what constitutes an oral tale. After all, if it were not for the huge successes of *Wunderhorn* and *KHM*, the understanding of folktales and songs would be very different today.

It is through many of the changes and adaptations we have seen that the collectors sought to mold the tales to fit with the expectations of their bourgeois readers. Each new generation of text subsequently fulfills the expectations of its readers as each new generation explores and interprets the text in new and different ways. An objective interpretation of the past does not exist since our present experiences ultimately influence our interpretations. It is because of this,

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[51] Such as Maria Tatar, Jack Zipes, John Ellis, and Ernst Schade.

as mentioned by Halbwachs, that each time a tale is retold or re-read it is being told anew; the

teller or speaker is coming at it with new experiences and a new perspective.

Chapter 4: Orality and Literacy (Re)Imagined: Contemporary German Fan Fiction Versions of Germanic Folktales

> There can be no answer to the question, how often can a good story be retold. Narrative turns back on itself in a productive cycle, not a vicious circle.— Karl Kroeber

In the previous chapters, three nineteenth-century folktale collections have been discussed in detail. In addition to the influences, intentions, and origins of these collections, I showed how they came to shape and change representations of the collective memory of the German people, as well as how they adapted and changed according to the preferences and needs of the people. The changes that took place during the collectors' lifetimes, however, hardly compare to the level of adaptation and (re)imagining the same folktales continue to experienced long after the final editions of those three collections appeared[52]. In this chapter I examine in detail at how these tales continue to be shaped and changed by storytellers. I likewise investigate how they continue to be (re)imagined in order to reflect contemporary conceptions of German-speaking society. I also show how online fan fiction is best understood as a hybrid between orality and literacy, a rich example of communities in a state of secondary orality which are increasingly becoming non-print due to the widespread nature of digital technologies. By looking into Internet fan fiction (also known as FF, fan fics, or simply fics) depictions of the very tales contained in

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[52] Primarily *KHM* and *Wunderhorn*.

our nineteenth-century collections, we can trace the societal impressions and interpretations of the tales themselves.

When fan studies was just beginning to gain attention as an area of research in the 1990s, scholars such as Camille Bacon-Smith and Henry Jenkins studied it as an anthropological phenomenon. While this may be helpful in identifying what kinds of people tend to write fan fiction and why and how they engage in these practices, looking at writers of fan fiction as anthropological subjects ignores fan fiction itself, and focuses only on the producers—focusing mainly on the different types of communities the producers create for themselves and how these individuals interact with one another and society around them. In numerous studies it is then not the fiction which is of interest or which offers insights into cultural questions, rather the individvuals and groups who write it. This is obvious in Bacon-Smith's 1992 book *Enterprising Women: Television Fandom and the Creation of Popular Myth* in which the first section is entitled "Who are These People and What are They Doing?"

At the beginning of her influential and still widely-read ethnography of fan fiction writers, Bacon-Smith describes a gathering of female fans:

> Beneath the grins and the giggles and the pajama party atmosphere, the ladies gathered here know they are engaged in an act of rebellion. They have stolen characters, settings, plots off the home and movie screens, fleshed them out, created new characters for them to love and given the characters permission to love each other. (4)

Yet what Bacon-Smith terms "rebellion" is in my view far from it. The women in the study are not rebelling against the system of published books from which they have "stolen" characters, settings, and plots, rather they take part in an age-old practice of telling and retelling tales. While this may seem more uncommon to those who have grown accustomed to the age of literacy, if

we take a look at the ties between fan fiction and orality, this scene becomes one not of *stealing* an owned commodity, but one of community, exchange, and grappling with identity.

Fan fiction, in fact, is not something which is entirely new. As Rebecca Black states,

[a]lthough fan fiction in its various print-based forms has existed for an indeterminate amount of time, the advent of the Internet had a profound effect on the scope of the genre, as it has enabled large numbers of fans from across the globe to meet online to share and take part in substantive discussions of fiction produced online by their peers. (*Adolescents* xiiv-xiv)

It is the Internet, then, which has caused a recent and revolutionary change for the world of fan fiction. There are many different interpretations of when fan fiction began to be written—some estimations state that it began as early as John Lydgate and Robert Henryson's extensions of Geoffrey Chaucer's work and others argue that it did not begin until the 1970s with fan extensions of *Star Trek*.

Although fan fiction has a rich history, throughout this chapter I will not be investigating its orgins, rather how it should be seen as a continuation of the storytelling process detailed in the previous chapters. In its move to the Internet, fan fiction has connected to much wider audiences, which in turn encourages more people to (re)interpret and (re)tell classic folktales. As studying Internet fan fiction on a large scale is not within the scope of this chapter, I will focus on the site FanFiktion.de and stories which were classified under the category of "Grimms Märchen." In my investigation of the website and various fan fiction stories, I will give brief descriptions of key terms as well as a description of the site to aid in an understanding of how on-line fan fiction writers interact with one another. I will then investigate how audience members shape and change fan fiction tales as well as how these new adaptations preserve yet resist German collective memory as discussed in Chapter 2.

"Geschichte wird von den Gewinnern geschrieben" (farfalla91): Digital Storytelling and Internet Fan Fiction

As detailed in previous chapters, the tales collected by the Brentano and Arnim, the Grimms, and Schönwerth have been continually updated, revised, and retold to better conform to the expectations of their audiences. This tradition continues with fan fiction. As Kroeber observes in the epigraph of this chapter, "[t]here can be no answer to the question, how often can a good story be retold" (Kroeber 47). Stories are retold time and time again, yet what categorizes a story as good? Why are these stories continually retold? And importantly for our consideration of fan fiction as secondary orality, who is authorized to tell them? Throughout the rest of this chapter, I seek to answer these questions by investigating what types of stories fan fiction writers revise and reframe and how they seek to allow multiple voices to reframe and retell these stories rather than restrict authorship to one individual.

On the one hand, stories are continually retold as they have some sort of resonance in the storyteller's life. The stories are retold as well as changed and updated so that they remain relevant to the present time, the present audience, and the storyteller's life. And while this aspect of retelling is certainly important and valid, there are additional reasons that these stories are continually rewritten, reworked, and retold—especially within the realm of fan fiction: fascination and frustration. Jenkins writes, "[f]andom, after all, is born of a balance between fascination and frustration: if media content didn't fascinate us, there would be no desire to engage with it; but if it didn't frustrate us on some level, there would be no drive to rewrite or remake it" (247).

With frustration, Jenkins refers to the aspects of media content which did not live up to the expectations of fans. Whether these be plot holes, unsatisfactory relationships, untimely

deaths, or perhaps fringe elements of the stories which were not given enough attention in the canonical media, fans are left with a feeling of dissatisfaction. It is out of this sense of frustration, and perhaps even dissatisfaction then, that fan fiction comes to be. A "good" story that is told and retold time and again does not necessarily need to be a well-constructed or even well told, but it likely does need an interesting plotline which leaves ample room for interpretation. Thus these writers express aspects of the story which were *not* expressed in the originals (or earlier versions, presuming there may be no one "original"), rather than seeking to tell the same story over and over again.

Definition of Key Terms

The fan fiction community has many terms and acronyms that users employ. Not all of these terms belong specifically to the community, but they are nevertheless widely used. Even on FanFiktion.de, a site exclusively in German, nearly all of the terms have been adopted from English with only a select few being translated. While there are hundreds of terms, I will briefly discuss a handful of the most important terms for this chapter.

Fan fiction is often discussed in terms of fandoms. *Fandom* itself simply refers to the fan community surrounding a specific book, movie, TV show, or game. For example, if one writes a fan fic about *Star Wars*, then the fic belongs to the fandom of *Star Wars*. This means little else than that the fic is related to *Star Wars*. Alternatively, someone who writes fics about *Star Wars* can be said to be a part of the *Star Wars* fandom.

All works of fan fiction are related to the *canon* or the official background of the specific fandom. For the *Lord of the Rings* fandom, for example, the canon is considered to be the books published by J. R. R. Tolkien. There can be debate as to what constitutes canon, however. For

example, in the *Lord of the Rings* fandom it may be debated as to whether the ancillary book *Silmarillion* is considered canon, and likewise whether the Peter Jackson films should be considered canon. For a fandom such as Märchen, the majority of the fan fics on FanFiktion.de follow either the 1857 version of the Grimms' tales or Disney film versions. If a FF writer creates a fic where he or she ignores or changes certain parts of the story established within the canon such as ignoring the death of a character, he or she is said to break canon.

There are also specific terms for the length of a fan fic. For example, while many fics may be broken up into chapters of various length, something is said to be a *one-shot* if it is a self-contained and completed story in only one chapter. There is no specific length for a one-shot, but they generally do not exceed 3,000 words. Stories can also be classified as drabbles. While officially a *drabble* does not exceed 100 words, it can sometimes refer to a fic which is exceptionally short. There can be different types of drabbles, for example a double drabble is a story of 200 words, a triple drabble 300 words and so on.

Two common genres of fan fiction are the crossover and slash. A *crossover* fic is one which contains a mix of two or more series. An example would be creating a story which contains characters from both *Star Wars* and *Star Trek* or has characters from one series enter the universe of the other. In the Märchen fandom, a crossover would be a fic which has characters from multiple tales interacting with one another. A *slash* fic is one which contains homosexual relationships, though it does not necessarily need to contain sexual relations. Typically slash fics depict male same-sex relationships, and depictions of female relationships are relatively rare. The term slash comes from a shorthand developed in the 70s which would denote homosexual relationships as male/male or m/m and came to be shortened just as "slash."

A *Betaleser* is a crucial part of fan fiction. A *Betaleser* is someone other than the fan fic writer who reads and edits the fic for various reasons such as grammar and spelling, plot, and general cohesiveness of the story itself. A *Betaleser* is a member of the fan fiction website and almost always a fan fic writer him or herself. A writer often has more than one *Betaleser*, requesting *Leser* for specific purposes such as one *Leser* for spelling and grammar and another for plot. *Leser* will advertise themselves on the site itself and will typically cite their strengths and weaknesses such as noting that they are good at helping develop plot, but not as strong with fixing grammatical mistakes. *Leser* are an integral part of fan fiction, and many sites suggest that all pieces of fan fic be read by *Betaleser* before being posted.

Finally, many fics contain an *AN* (also A/N), or author's note often before the beginning of the fic or at the end. They also frequently appear at the end of individual chapters in multi-chapter fics. In an AN, the writer speaks directly to the audience, often noting what is coming up in the story, noting his or her specific state of mind while writing (for example noting that he or she has been busy lately and has not had very much time to devote to writing) or thanking specific *Betaleser* or users for leaving commentary. In an AN writers will typically ask their readers direct questions or request that people leave comments.

For FanFiktion.de, the main mode of information is the written word as the fan fics themselves contain no sound or images. In more traditional modes of writing within the literate Western world, books and stories are authored and published by individuals who are, more or less, professional writers. Internet fan fiction as a form of digital storytelling, however, gives so-called "ordinary people" an opportunity to become creators and writers of their own stories much more easily than going through the more traditional means of publishing—writing, editing, submitting and eventually publication. One of the major differences is that the means by which

fan fiction is being created and produced, i.e. being posted on the Internet by using a computer, has become increasingly affordable as well as widespread throughout the West.

Knut Lundby writes,

[t]he new media that are applied for Digital Storytelling are easily at hand and simple to use…. Mostly, Digital Storytelling takes place with standard software on standard laptops or PCs…. Especially in societies with a widespread digital (prod)user competence, the road is not a long one to a digital story that could be shared with others. (4)

It is in this way that writers of fan fiction are able to more easily write and share their fics with a much wider audience than before. Thus the epigraph from the Introduction which reads "[d]arling, everyone is a storyteller" is crucial in the world of fan fiction. Not only is everyone a storyteller, but with new technologies such as the Internet, everyone has more and more of a chance to be heard from a wider audience rather than leaving the space for the written and published word to be dominated by professional writers and editors. Thus these stories are not all "von den Gewinnern geschrieben," but from anyone with access to a computer and the Internet—vastly increasing not only the number of perspectives and interpretations of media, but also vastly increasing their distribution throughout the world.

Fan fiction takes part in what Jenkins calls "textual poaching." He describes textual poaching as a preexisting work (such as a book, story, or film) which is taken, used, and made one's own by writing fan fiction based on the text. Through this textual poaching, fans claim the original narrative as their own and begin to fill in gaps that they see within the original media. Creators of fan fiction generally seek to expand upon existing knowledge of the text, explain character motivations or bring minor characters into the foreground. In the FanFiktion.de Märchen fandom, the most common changes made by fics were refocalizations (focusing on

different characters or aspects of the tale) and moral realignments (rewriting heroes and heroines as villains or villains as heroes and heroines) while recontextualization (changing the time period or setting), emotional intensification (increasing violence or misfortune to play on emotions), and crossovers (combining multiple stories into one) were fairly common.

Yet while fan fiction has the ability to alter the original media into something unrecognizable, the fics that are most favored by other fans are those which stay true to the canon, much like traditional retellings of tales. Meredith Suzanne Hahn Aquila writes,

> [t]he most highly respected of the fan-fiction writing community seems to be those who maintain the purity of the characters, genres, and narrative/mythic structures they poach; write in an interesting and creative manner without relying on shocking movements away from the mainstream, far-fetched plotlines, or self-satisfying schemes; avoid excessive lemon[53] writing…; and bring characters closer together. (44)

We see for example in the Märchen fandom members who leave comments such as "[i]ch habe das dicke Märchenbuch meiner Oma… verschlungen und als ich das jetzt gesehen habe, habe ich mich schon nach den ersten Sätzen wie im Märchenbuch gefühlt[54]" and „…bin gerade auf deine Rotkäppchen-Version gestoßen und muss sagen: wirklich ausgezeichnet! Ich mag deinen Schreibstil, es war wie ein richtiges Märchen verfasst. Die Abwandlungen, die du zum Original gemacht hast, waren gut durchdacht….[55]" Thus although fan fiction provides the opportunity for drastic change, it is usually not the case and is closely regulated by fans themselves. Those fics which fit with the canon standards receive high praise, comments, and are favored by fellow fans, and those which make drastic or untasteful changes are shunned by the fandom community

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[53] A "lemon" is a fic that has graphic depictions of sexual relations.
[54] <http://www.fanfiktion.de/r/s/4c3f57f7000012c50c902ee0/date/1/> Accessed July 3, 2015.
[55] <http://www.fanfiktion.de/r/s/52a5800600031a6912b9a317/date/1/1> Accessed June 22, 2015.

by receiving little to no interaction from other fans or comments detailing dissatisfaction. While fan fiction writers can and do critically analyze and complicate the canon, they are also conservative in their continual references to the past and the canon material.

Fan fiction, like orality, does not claim to be telling an entirely new tale, rather it offers new interpretations and ideas based on plots and characters which have not been invented by the writer. Parry and Lord claim that oral poets are not renowned for telling original tales of their own making, but rather are known for telling the old tales in the best possible way. While fan fiction writers do add more original material than Parry and Lord's traditional storytellers, something similar could be said about fan fiction writers. The point of writing fan fiction is not to create a new, original story, but to add a new perspective, a new slant, a new interpretation to a story that is already known—using much of the same characters, the same motifs, and most often the same setting.

Yet like literacy discussed in previous chapters, the fact that these fictions are written down allows them to take a much more critical stance on the stories they are based on. This allows for an additional difference between orality and fan fiction, and one which is certainly representative of secondary orality: fan fiction sets out to alter the canon whereas oral storytelling alters naturally as the tale is told and adjusted to audience. Assmann writes that "only in its written form does tradition take on a concrete shape toward which the bearer may adopt a critical approach. In turn, it is only through writing that the bearer gains the necessary freedom to introduce something new, even unprecedented to the old, familiar material" (84). While in the nineteenth century there was a strong pull to create a single narrative throughout each collection, one which was supposedly representative of the culture, fan fiction versions of the same tales question the validity of a single narrative for all members of society and work to pull the

narratives apart to analyze their claims. Fan fiction writers challenge traditional notions of the folktale such as gender roles, the stark contrasts between good and evil, or the possibility of folktale figures living "happily ever after."

Description of Site

FanFiktion.de defines fan fiction as "Fangeschichten und Gedichte über Charaktere, deren Copyright nicht beim Autor der Arbeit selbst liegt. Eine bereits existierende Geschichte wird von einem Fan derselben weitererzählt, ausgeschmückt oder auch umgeschrieben." As of July 2015, FanFiktion.de had 322,421 texts written in ten different categories: Anime & Manga, Bücher, Cartoons & Comics, Computerspiele, Crossover, Kinofilme, Musicals, Prominente, Tabletop-Rollenspiele, and TV-Serien. These categories are then broken down further into subcategories. For example, under the category of Kinofilme one can find the subcategory of Star Wars and under Bücher one can find the subcategories of Harry Potter and Grimms Märchen.

FanFiktion.de describes itself as a site dedicated exclusively to fan fics written in German. Under the *Verbote und Einschränkungen* listed on the site it states, "FanFiktion.de ist ein deutschsprachiges Archiv, weshalb wir unserem Grundsatz, für deutschsprachiges Publikum eine Lese-/Autorenecke zu sein, mit englischen Geschichten widersprechen würden[56]." The site specifically forbids fics written in English as some of the largest fan fic websites are in English[57]. The site also identifies strongly not only with the German language but with Germany itself as it follows the laws set forth in in the *Bundesdatenschutzgesetz* which is cited multiple times on the site.

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[56] <http://www.FanFiktion.de/p/rules-and-regulations/0> Accessed April 30, 2015.
[57] Take for example fanfiction.net which, as of July 2015 had 752,000 fics for Harry Potter alone.

Within the site are profiles for each registered user. Here users have the option to provide information about themselves as well as a biography. Users typically list their username, gender, country or city of residence as well as their age. Here one can find a list of all fics the user has written with links to each one. Some users will also link to outside personal pages such as Facebook or LiveJournal. Among the fics that each user has written are also links to reader reviews in which feedback is posted by other users for individual fan fics and often individual chapters.

The site contains a searchable database of all registered users so that members can easily locate their favorite authors or fics. The Terms of Service contain copyright and data protection information as well as rules and regulations which include rules for posting fan fics, leaving reviews, as well as general chatting on the website. FanFiktion.de contains an option for registered users to use chat rooms to communicate live with other users on specific topics. The chat window opens up specific chatrooms created by users. There is also a support section for users to submit technical problems and questions about the site itself. For those who are new to the site or to fan fiction, there is a searchable database with definitions of general and specific fan fic terms.

FanFiktion.de contains a rating system which details to users how they should rate their fics. The most common ways to rate fics are: P6 (geeignet ab 6. Jahren) "Geschichten ohne… vernachlässigbaren Gebrauch von Schimpfworten und Beleidigungen… ohne… sexuellen Inhalte." P12 "Geschichten mit niedrigen bis extensiven Gebrauch von Schimpfworten und Beleidigungen… mit niedrigen bis moderaten Gewaltbeschreibungen, ohne grafische Beschreibung sexueller Praktiken und ohne nennenswerte gleichgeschlechtliche Beziehungen." P12 Slash is similar to P12 except that it allows „wesentlichen gleichgeschlechtlichen

Beziehungen." P16 „Geschichten mit niedrigen bis extensiven Gebrauch von Schimpfworten und

Beleidigungen, mit neidriger bis moderater sexueller Färbung… ohne grafische Beschreibung

sexueller Praktiken." P16 Slash. P18 „Geschichten mit niedrigen bis extensiven Gebrauch von

Schimpfworten (oder) mit niedrigen bis extensiven Gewaltbeschreibung (oder) mit grafischen

Beschreibungen sexueller Praktiken[58]." P18 Slash. FanFiktion.de positions itself as a place for

users of all ages to comfortably read and comment on other fics as well as to post their own. It is

because of this that all fics posted on the site have a very clear rating.

Aside from chatting and leaving comments on specific fics, users may also communicate

via various forums which may be found on the site. The forum section of the site is a place for

users to post responses to specific topics. These not only cover topics about the canons, but also

cover categories such as technical support, writing help, introducing oneself, and general

conversation. Another section of the site is called "Neues" which is a database of all new stories

and chapters which have been posted (usually) within the last twelve hours on the site. For the

registered user, the site also keeps track of any fics he or she has favorited, bookmarks, alerts the

user to any new mail he or she has received, as well as notifying the user of any fan fics he or she

may be interested in based on authors or specific fics he or she has favorited.

In this chapter I will specifically analyze the fics which can be found listed under the

"Grimms Märchen[59]" fandom on the site. As of July 2015, there were 118 pieces of fan fiction

written by 90 users between the ages of 12-34 which ranged anywhere less than 100 words to

over 40,000 words in length. "Rotkäppchen" was overwhelmingly the folktale of choice to base

fics on with a total of 30, the next most common was "Schneewittchen" with 15, followed by

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[58] <http://www.FanFiktion.de/p/ageadvice/0> Accessed April 30, 2015.
[59] <http://www.fanfiktion.de/Grimms-Maerchen/c/300000067> Accessed July 2, 2015.

"Dornröschen" (13), "Hänsel und Gretel" (9), Crossovers (9), and "Rapunzel" (8). While 38% of users opted not to state their place of residence, of those who did, 88% lived within Germany with only 9% residing within Austria or Switzerland and a mere 2% residing within non German-speaking countries. Interestingly, of those who reported their gender on their user profile, 88% identified as female. While the fact that predominantly women write fan fiction is noteworthy, it will not be specifically dealt with here as a feminist space as has been discussed by scholars elsewhere.[60] Bacon-Smith for example describes fan fiction as a space for women to go beyond the boundaries imposed on them by men. She writes,

> Look what I found! A conceptual space where women can come together and create—to investigate new forms for their art and for their living outside the restrictive boundaries men have placed on women's public behavior! Not a place or a time, but a state of being—of giving each other permission—in which each may take freedom of expression into her own hands, wherever she is, whatever else she is doing! (3)

Bacon-Smith describes a culture of women who shun men from their groups as men are perceived not only as unable to understand what is taking place, but unable to view women as capable of anything outside their traditional roles as sexual objects or mothers.

While the majority of writers of fics on FanFiktion.de continue to be women, there does not appear to be the same mistrust of male users as there was over twenty years ago when Bacon-Smith was conducting her study. This may still be an open place for women to discuss issues which are important to them, but male users on the site seemed to be treated no differently with

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[60] See for example Camille Bacon-Smith, *Enterprising Women: Television Fandom and the Creation of Popular Myth* as well as Henry Jenkins, *Textual Poachers: Television Fans & Participatory Culture*.

respect to user responses to their fics or other interactions, nor did male users appear treat female users differently.

"Ja endlich können die mal sagen wie sie sich fühlen" (Sturmklang): Fan Fiction and Audience

As discussed in Chapter 3, the influence of audience can determine the final outcome of a tale. With oral storytelling, the feedback from the audience is immediate and shapes and changes the tale as the storyteller tells it. With written tales, the audience is still able to influence the progression of the tale, albeit in much slower fashions. Audience members can influence the work by contacting the writers directly, through a much more limited means by commentary from editors and publishers or, perhaps more effectively, through economic means by whether or not readers decide to purchase the book. With fan fiction, however, we see a blending of the audience interaction in oral tales and written texts. On the one hand the audience interaction is slower than with an oral tale, as with an oral tale one is able to immediately see the reactions of the audience as well as hear their approval, but the fan fiction audience interaction is not only much more immediate than a published tale, it is also significantly more interactive. Fan fiction is also an extreme version of audience participation as each writer of fan fiction began as an audience member of a particular form of media. The writer of fan fiction then is an audience member who is reacting to the canon. With fan fiction, we have an audience member turned writer whose fic then in turn is commented on by other fans. The comments from other users of the site often inspire the writer to revise or even rewrite his or her fic.

FanFiktion.de itself is set up to promote maximum interaction and collaboration between users. One form of this interaction are the reviews which are written about individual pieces of fan fiction as well as individual chapters of a specific fic. These reviews cannot be posted

anonymously and contain a hyperlink to connect any user back to the commenter's personal profile which promotes interaction between users. There are also thousands of forum topics for users to interact with one another. These topics can range from the discussion of different fandoms, to meta-discussions on writing fan fiction itself. Some examples of these forum topics include: "Welche Musik hört ihr zum Schreiben?" "Inspirationsquellen," "Vorausschauend und geplant oder einfach drauflos schreiben?" and "Darstellung von Kindern in Geschichten.[61]"

The system of reader feedback is so widespread on the website that it has become an integral part to the fan fiction writing process. We can take for example one piece of fan fic that audience members determined was not up to the standards of the fic community and website. This fic contained multiple chapters of a continuous story all of which were only around 100 words long. Commenters write

Öhm…

Interessante einleitung O.o

Vielleicht etwas kurz X3

Nyaaaa…

ich denke, es wird noch mehr geben oder?

LG

as well as

Hey…

also, die Geschichte ist echt toll, aber es ist sch…wer zu lesen. Bei deiner anderen Geschichten hast du keine Absätze gemacht, wolltest du das verbessern?

Kapitel sollten echt länger sein.

Ich hätte daraus ein One-Shot oder wie das auch immer heißt gemacht. Dann lässt es sich nämlich einefacher [sic] lesen und man braucht dafür nicht so lange.[62]

What we can notice from these comments is that they note the fact that the writer has not maintained the standards for fan fictions for the website (the chapters are seen as far too short and in other stories by the same author he or she has no distinct paragraphs which prevents ease of reading). The commenters themselves, as a part of the same fan fiction community as the writer, feel as though they have a right to shape and change the fics to fit within community norms. Black writes that

[r]eaders in this space… feel a sense of ownership over the characters and media that [are being represented]. Moreover, as members of this fan fiction site, they also have a proprietary attitude toward the writing environment and feel justified in putting forth their own ideas and perspectives in terms of how it should be shaped. (*Adolescents* 87)

To fan fiction writers, they are creating this community and atmosphere collectively, and thus work to shape and change the fics appropriately. This sense of communal shaping and changing of a tale is much more akin to oral narration in which audience members urge and encourage the storyteller to adapt to their wants and needs. Thus what we see in fan fic communities is not an individual sense of fidelity to the canon or genre as was shown in previous chapters with

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[62] <http://www.fanfiktion.de/r/s/4aff147a0001172c0c902ee0/date/7/1> Accessed June 3, 2015.

collectors, but a communal one in which any member of the fandom can help enforce group norms.

Another aspect of these comments to note are the representations of paralinguistic and physical cues contained within them. It is in these cues that the online communities vary quite substantially from the traditional written register. For example "O.o" (confusion), "X3" (excited happiness), "(:" (smiling) or writing out physical cues (which are almost always noted with asterisks before and following the word) such as "*freu*," all seek to denote facial expressions or body movements which are not visible to the reader. This gives the comments a much more informal and conversational tone than if these cues were left out and invites the readers to leave comments. This is thus a hybridization of written and spoken features and begins to create a more inviting environment for comments.

Once the fic is posted, it is continually commented on with suggestions from other fans in the community. We can see this influence from fan comments on one fic entitled "Partycrashing für Fortgeschrittene,[63]" by user Wynssa Fel which is a manual written from the perspective of *Aschenputtel* detailing how other princesses can meet the prince of their dreams. One passage, which explains what the princess should do if she wants to be seen as sweet and pure reads,

> Bei der 1. Taktik geht es hauptsächlich darum den Beschützerinstinkt zu wecken. Drückt euch dazu vornehm aus, seid höflich, antwortet immer, lügt oder übertreibt auf gar keinen Fall! Sagt „bitte" und „danke", lächelt höflich, tanzt vorsichtig und amcht [sic], was er sagt. Wenn er langsamen Walzer tanzen will, dann macht das, und tanzt keinen schnellen Rumba!

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[63] <http://www.fanfiktion.de/s/4d8f5730000126c90c902ee0/1/Partycrashing-fuer-Fortgeschrittene> Accessed June 8, 2015.

A reader quickly commented that the writer had chosen perhaps the wrong dance to emphasize as fast. The commenter writes,

> Hey, sehr nette Geschichte (frag mich wie man nur auf sowas kommt *lach*) Da sind schon einige wahre Dinge dabei! Aber ich denke einen „schnellen Rumba" gibt es nicht? Soweit ich weiß ist Rumba ein langsamer Tantz [sic]. (Wenn dus besser weißt klär mich bitte umgehend auf =D) Vielleicht solltest dus mit Foxtrott oder Cha-Cha-Cha austauschen. Liebe grüße.

Wynssa writes back, "Erst mal daaaankee schööön fürs Lesen und es freut mich, wenn es dir gefällt. :) Ich hab leider keine Ahnung von Rumba, das war der erste Tanz, der mir eingefallen ist…. Danke dass du mir das gesagt hast. Nicht dass jeder denkt, ich hätte keine Ahnung.^^[64]" Wynssa then went back to change the passage to read "…dann macht das, und tanzt keinen schnellen Cha-cha-cha!" Thus we can see the collaboration between writer and audience here to shape and change the tale together.

Thorne and Black comment that this displays a "collaborative style of writing and the distributed nature of knowledge construction…. [F]an communities provide multiple opportunities for participants to collaboratively author fictions, share various forms of knowledge, and to perform as… experts and novices, on various topics" (271). Here we can see in this brief interaction, community members sharing knowledge with one another and together these fans aim to change and edit these fics to be the best (re)interpretations of the canon possible.

Every piece of ff can be seen as a work in progress because of the potential evolution it can undergo in dialogue with reader comments. There are *Betaleser* who critique and help revise,

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[64] <http://www.fanfiktion.de/r/s/4d8f5730000126c90c902ee0/date/1/1> Accessed June 8, 2015.

while others post stories chapter by chapter asking for reader commentary to continue with the story and revise based on feedback from the audience. FF writers do not "compos[e]… stories for some silent, anonymous audience. Instead [they]… write and… make language choices as part of authentic participation" (Black, *Adolescents* 87). The writers are then not only interacting with other fans, but are simultaneously creating and further developing the fandom community to which they belong by setting norms and actively discussing what is and is not accepted within the community.

Steven Thorne writes that "[a]s many literacy theorists have remarked, the learning and use of graphically rendered language are fundamentally interwoven with social, technological, economic, political, and cultural dynamics" ("Gaming" 297). All of these stories are composed within the particular cultural context of the specific fandom as well as in interaction with outside communities. Some fans, for example, comment on the social consequences that certain fics touch upon. Take for example the following comment from a series of stories entitled "Aus alt mah neu- Märchen mal anders" by Maribelle 28. Her interpretation of *Schneeweißchen und Rosenrot* depicts two sisters with little money who realize that their lives would be better if they were imprisoned because, as the sisters remark "[d]ann haben wir Vollpension, einen Fernseher und W-Lan![65]" One fan writes in response, „Nun, ich finde du hast eine recht krasse Art die Märchen umzukrempeln. Du nimmst kein Blatt vor den Mund und stellst Hartz IV Empfänger in ein schlechtes Licht… sonst könnte man fälschlicherweise davon ausgehen, dass du etwas gegen sozial schwache Leute hast[66]" to which Maribelle 28 replies „ach so okay. also ich habe wirklich nichts gegen hartz 4 Empfänger nur es gibt halt wirklich leute, die so sind, das sind zwar wenige,

[65] <http://www.fanfiktion.de/s/5370deaa0003d4bc340ac223/1/Aus-alt-mah-neu-Maerchen-mal-anders> Accessed July 7, 2015.
[66] <http://www.fanfiktion.de/r/s/5370deaa0003d4bc340ac223/date/0/1> Accessed July 5, 2015.

aber es gibt sie." She went back to change her story to reflect more the social norms expected of her by adding a footnote, "Ich will hier keine Hartz 4 Empfänger beleidigen, es gibt aber auch Leute, die wirklich so sind."

The dialogism which can be seen above continues through the frequent use of ANs. In one fic entitled "Im Märchenwald ist die Hölle los," the writer, Dea Tacita leaves frequent ANs to stay in constant conversation with her audience.

Aside from a rather lengthy initial AN, the writer continues to leave ANs on nearly every new chapter she posts and many directly address comments which have been left behind by other fans. She writes for example "[s]o, eine neue Szene, an dieser Stelle ein großes Lob an meine (einzige) Kommischreiberin Ghost cat, ich freu mich, dass es dir so gut gefällt^^." This post suggests not only that the writer appreciates all of the comments that she receives from fellow fans, but that she expects a larger dialog surrounding her fic. By writing "(einzige) Kommischreiberin," she is not only bringing to light that she has only had one fan leaving comments behind, but asking for more fans to join the conversation as a conversation between two is seen by her as unacceptable. Dea Tacita's plea for more fans to enter the conversation works, and shortly after she received many more comments.

As can be seen, this is not merely a space for fans to read and comment on particular fics, but it is a dialogic space for both writer and reader which begins to blend these two roles together. These works in progress not only invite responses but expect them. They likewise permit and encourage shared authorship, and create a sense of community between fans. This dialogic space is one which is more interactive and immediate than the interactions between reader and collector in written anthologies.

While many of the folktale collections attempted to instill in their readers a sense of the community to which the oral tales belonged by mimicking the presence of an oral storyteller, adding some direct addresses to the audience, and stating in the prologues that these tales were being handed back to the German people so that they may reenter society, these pieces of fan fiction do not just simulate speaking to the audience, they actually hold and invite conversations and commentary, and shape and change their tales according to comments left behind by other fans. Rather than simulate a storyteller, they often place themselves knowingly in the role, giving the audience a storyteller to identify with such as Dea Tacita who speaks directly to her audience, setting the scene for them.

Tere are many ways in which Internet fan fiction bears deep similarities with the oral tradition, yet also many ways in which the new medium of the Internet has affected the mode of storytelling. Internet fan fiction cannot truly be said to be a part of either orality or literacy but is rather a non-print way of telling stories. By non-print I refer to the fact that these stories, while "written down" on websites are not permanent in the manner of published books and represent an unstable literacy—one which is no longer written in stone. Fics are fleeting—they are not preserved in anthologies nor are the intended to be. As we have seen above, fans frequently comment and suggest changes, while writers go back and edit, change, and manipulate their stories time and again while it is already available online for others to read. This text is no longer permanent as the writer may change his or her story at will leaving little to no trace of what was there before.

The Internet has also affected these stories in other ways. Lundby writes that "[i]t was the Internet that expanded the space of Digital Storytelling—it offered new options to share the 'classic' small-scale stories created in story circles at various corners of the globe" (3). While

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published books may be distributed throughout the world, the rate at which Internet fan fiction can traverse the globe is instantaneous. What can take years with published works happens in seconds online. And while FanFiktion.de, since it boasts of itself as a place for the German language, may not have as large or diverse a reading audience as a site which has fics in English, the availability of these fics to speakers of German is much more immediate than that of print tales. These sites also allow fans to communicate directly with others with whom they would not normally be able to communicate. For example one user identifies as residing in Ireland yet is able to communicate with ease with users residing within Germany, Austria, and Switzerland.

Since fan fiction has moved to the Internet from its earlier home in print magazines, there is now a significantly younger writing base as can be seen from the demographics of the *Märchen* fandom which has writers who range from age 12 to 34. These fans are also using language in ways which differ from both traditional written prose as well as spoken language. The fics are written primarily in the form of traditional prose, but commentary (including ANs) is written in a hybrid form as seen above. Black writes that fan fiction writers' uses of text "go beyond the limitations of traditional print-based, standard language to represent the realities of living and communicating in globalized and networked on- and offline spaces" (*Adolescents* 71). While the comments and conversations between fans are still quite often asynchronous (as when they leave comments or post on forums), the amount of conversation which takes place encourages fans to become more than just readers of stories, but also active participants.

Fans also reject the concept that stories inherently belong to one individual—that the author or authors of the canon have proprietary rights to the characters as well as the universe in which the tales take place. Jenkins writes that

[fa]ns… reject the… assumption that intellectual property is a 'limited good,' to be tightly controlled lest it dilute its value. Instead, they embrace an understanding of intellectual property as 'shareware,' something that accrues value as it moves across different contexts, gets retold in various ways, attracts multiple audiences, and opens itself up to a proliferation of alternative meanings. (*Convergence* 256)

This belief runs counter to the idea of the author as the only one authorized to change or retell a tale. Fans see these tales as bases for further fan-authored tales. This practice bears a greater resemblance to traditional oral storytelling where tales did not belong to one individual, but rather to the community and every storyteller was entitled to tell his or her own version.

On the one hand while this type of writing may be seen as something which is freeing or liberating to the fans, allowing them to participate in a conversation about their favorite stories, it also has limitations and restrictions inasmuch as fans are writing based on previously established characters and universes. There is not total freedom in what a fan may or may not do, as his or her story must ultimately come back and be in some way in conversation with the canon material. Like the singers and storytellers described by Perry, Lord, Wolf, and Foley, fan fiction writers are not seeking to tell entirely new stories—they are seeking to retell the old stories in the best possible way, in a way that will best fit with the ideas and expectations of their audiences, yet they do this in order to include their own new interpretations of the cannon. Fans are not only retelling the same stories with added motifs and expressions, but are critically engaging with them. And it is in this way that the writers of fan fiction actively engage with the collective memory set forth by collectors such as Arnim, Brentano, the Grimms, and Schönwerth.

Written by media fans for other fans, throughout the fan fiction versions of the Grimms' tales, there is a clear re-evaluation of traditional forms and morals of the folktale. The tales

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themselves seek to stimulate and problematize the notion that a single national narrative exists. While the collectors sought to produce polished, cohesive texts, ff writers seek to find the holes, problems, and clichés in the collectors' push to create a monolithic society—showing that there is no single voice which can represent a country, but rather a multitude of opinions and voices and the existence of multiple narratives.

"Ach was solls, die Zeiten haben sich wohl geändert. Jetzt muss man wahrscheinlich umdenken und sich der heutigen Zeit anpassen[67]" (Cakolinchen): Fan Fiction and German Collective Memory

While these works of fan fiction involve the audience much more than printed adaptations of earlier oral tales ever could, like the earlier tales of the collectors analyzed in this dissertation they likewise continue to both develop and represent the changing aspects of collective memory. The writers of these fics seek to situate themselves within the specific fandom or fan community and within the various communities and societies of which they are a part. As Jenkins writes, "[n]obody functions entirely within the fan culture, nor does the fan culture maintain any claims to self-sufficiency. There is nothing timeless and unchanging about this culture; fandom originates in response to specific historical conditions… and remains constantly in flux" (*Textual* 3). The writers draw upon sources of information and influence from various different sources from world events, different films, to other works of literature and so on. It is what we remember and how we situate ourselves in the world which helps us to tell our stories and it is with our stories that we seek to identify ourselves. As Lundby notes, "[t]o play with narrative is to play with identity," (5) and that is exactly what these fics do.

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[67] <http://www.fanfiktion.de/s/4ce1990d000196c00c902ee0/8/Eine-etwas-andere-Cinderella-Story> Accessed June 9, 2015.

While these fics play with identity, they also shape and change the canon tales on which they are based to ensure that the tales continue to be retold. Assmann writes that

> [t]o ensure the continuous readability of written cultural texts over a long stretch of time that can effect changes in language use and historical reality, the meaning of the texts must be kept alive by constant adaptation to changing circumstances; otherwise this meaning gets lost within the three or four generations of communicative memory. (74)

Thus fan fic writers are ensuring continuous readability by adapting the canon tales to the changing circumstances—updating motifs to match with contemporary beliefs and altering views and outcomes to match contemporary expectations. They are changing, altering, and updating these tales to fit within a new time frame just as the collectors changed, altered, and updated the tales in their collections to fit with the needs and expectations of their audiences, and just as traditional storytellers did for theirs.

The writers of these fics often seek to test the absolute authority of the canon texts in order for them to remain relevant to contemporary readers. Rather than treating the canon texts as if they were absolute and untouchable, fans seek to bend, change, and reinterpret the tales. It is in order for these canon texts to remain relevant to communities that they require "interpretation rather than recitation" (Assmann 79). If the canon texts are merely recited, they run the risk of becoming outdated and eventually forgotten as telling them will fall out of practice. It is through further investigation of a select few of these fics that we can see how fan fiction seeks to shape and change collective memories in a fashion not entirely different from that of Arnim and Brentano, the Grimms, and Schönwerth. The memories and stories which are told are "not just from the past but are continually made present to the audience, these are not consumed

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memories… but produced by the audience, and these memories are not simply shared and told but creatively constructed" (Garde-Hansen et. al 11).

Below are three representations of common ways in which folktales[68] are (re)told and (re)imagined through fan fiction 1) by representing unjust violence and repositioning classically evil characters in a different light, 2) by delving into psychological aspects of the tales and relying heavily on prior knowledge of the folktales in question and 3) by representing characters as not requiring outside aid and being more self-sufficient than portrayed in classic folktales.

Take for example the following changes made between a tale entitled "Märchen - wie es wirklich war: Schneewittchen" by farfalla91 and "Sneewittchen" from the 1857 Grimm edition. In the Grimm edition we read of what happens at Sneewittchen and the prince's wedding when the evil stepmother attends:

> [Die Stiefmutter] wollte zuerst gar nicht auf die Hochzeit kommen; doch ließ es ihr keine Ruhe, sie mußte fort und die junge Königin sehen. Und wie sie hineintrat, erkannte sie Sneewittchen, und vor Angst und Schrecken stand sie da und konnte sich nicht regen. Aber es waren schon eiserne Pantoffeln über Kohlenfeuer gestellt und wurden mit Zangen hereingetragen und vor sie hingestellt. Dann mußte sie in die rotglühenden Schuhe treten und solange tanzen, bis sie tot zur Erde fiel. (195-196)

In farfalla91's version however, we read a different story. Schneewittchen, who is presented as a spoiled princess, has run away from home. Rather than being an evil character, the stepmother has been watching over Schneewittchen as she was away from home, waiting for the time when Schneewittchen matured enough to be trusted with ruling over an entire kingdom. After living with the dwarves and learning what it is to work for oneself, Schneewittchen has satisfactorily

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[68] The writers themselves acknowledge that their fics are based mostly on Grimm and Disney versions, though some draw from Perrault and Anderson as well.

shown the queen that she has changed enough to be able to rule an entire kingdom. The queen learns that Schneewittchen has run off to get married to a prince she has just met and attends the wedding despite the fact that she has not been invited. We read,

> [a]ls [die Stiefmutter] nach der Zeremonie Schneewittchen gegenübertrat, um ihre Glückwünsche zu überbringen und diese ihre Stiefmutter erkannte, fing die junge Braut an zu weinen. Sie lief auf die Königin zu und umarmte sie.
>
> "Warum bist du gekommen?", fragte sie unter Tränen. "Du bist hier nicht sicher. Eigentlich ist hier niemand sicher."
>
> Erst jetzt bemerkte die Königin die Blutergüsse an Schneewittchens Armen, die nur dürftig vom Ärmel aus Spitze bedeckt wurden. Schneewittchen bemerkte den Blick und lachte freudlos.
>
> "Glaub mir, meine Arme sehen noch harmlos aus."

After reading further, we learn that the prince has abused Schneewittchen and that she fears for her stepmother's safety. The stepmother vows to rescue her stepdaughter, but the prince becomes aware of their plan. The prince speaks with the stepmother:

> Der Prinz lachte freundlich. "…Würdet Ihr mir die Ehre eines Tanzes erweisen?"…
>
> "Nur zu gerne", antwortete sie deshalb und ergriff den dargebotenen Arm des Prinzen. Dieser führte sie zum Feuer, das in einem großen Kamin brannte.
>
> "Ich habe Euch ganz besondere Tanzschuhe vorbereiten lassen", plauderte er, während sie sich einen Weg durch die Menge bahnten.
>
> "Oh, ich tanze gerne in meinen eigenen Schuhen", antwortete die Königin, die sich fragte, was er wohl im Schilde führte.
>
> Auf ein Winken des Prinzen holte ein Diener mit einer Zange eiserne Schuhe aus dem Feuer, welche vor Hitze glühten.
>
> "Was glaubt Ihr, wie lange könnt Ihr darin tanzen, bevor Ihr tot umfallt?", überlegte der Prinz.
>
> "Eine Minute? Oder doch eine Stunde?"…

Die Königin sah sich hektisch nach ihrer eigenen Leibwache um, doch diese war schon längst überwältigt worden.

Zwei Wachen hielten nun die Königin fest, während der Prinz sich persönlich herunterbeugte und der Königin die Schuhe auszog.

Sie wehrte sich nach Leibeskräften, und es gelang ihr sogar, den Prinzen ins Gesicht zu treten, doch dafür ergriffen zwei weitere Wachen ihre Beine und stopften ihre Füße mit Gewalt in die glühenden Schuhe.

Die Königin brüllte auf vor Schmerz.

Die Musik stoppte und alle Gäste sahen jetzt zu ihr her, doch niemand half.

"Zwei Goldtaler, dass sie keinen einzigen Schritt machen kann!", brüllte jemand, und im nächsten Moment war die Luft angefüllt von Stimmengewirr. Wetten wurden angeboten und entgegengenommen, Vermutungen geäußert, wie sich solche Schuhe wohl anfühlen mochten, und vor allem gelacht.

Doch von all dem bekam die Königin nichts mit. Halb wahnsinnig vor Schmerz stolperte sie hier hin und dort hin, bis der Prinz sie einfing.

"Musik!", rief er, und als die Musikanten wieder aufspielten, wirbelte er die schreiende Frau durch den ganzen Ballsaal. Die Gäste applaudierten und johlten, als die Königin schließlich zu Boden ging. Einzig Schneewittchen stand in ihrem Brautkleid mitten unter den Gästen und weinte[69].

In this fic we see instances of emotional intensification and moral realignment. We see extreme emotional intensification with the character of Schneewittchen in both her reaction when she sees her stepmother as well as the end of the tale when she is forced to witness her death. Rather than simply be told that the stepmother must dance to death in hot, iron shoes like in the Grimm

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[69] <http://www.fanfiktion.de/s/5338ab2400013af029236f3d/8/Maerchen-Wie-es-wirklich-war> Accessed July 9, 2015.

version, here we see not only the moral debasement of the prince, but also of all the guests at the party who jest and jeer and place bets on how long the stepmother will be able to stay alive. We read about the final, terrible moments of the stepmother's life and how much she suffered.

We also see moral realignment in the important fact that it is the prince who is evil. Likewise the stepmother has been cast in the role of an attempted savior. It is important to note that in the Grimm tales, men are very seldom portrayed as evil characters. In the versions of the tales in the Grimm collection, princes are of noble character and save princesses from helpless situations. We can see this in tales like "Aschenputtel," "Schneewittchen," "Dornröschen," and "Rapunzel" where the princess was in some way or another afraid for her life, but is rescued in the end by a loving and well-intentioned prince. Stepmothers, on the other hand, are always evil characters plotting the deaths of their stepchildren. Here we see a complete reversal of these tropes. The stepmother cares deeply for her stepdaughter. The prince, on the other hand, whom Schneewittchen has just met, cannot be trusted as there is no established history between them.

In the Grimm version of the tale, we see a scene of seemingly justified violence at the end. The greedy and, as is pointed out in the tale, "godless" stepmother is punished for her wicked life and the maltreatment of her stepdaughter. Schneewittchen is rewarded for her good and obedient nature and kind heart by marrying a prince of wealth and high status. The reader is given the satisfaction of a conclusion where in the end, all is as it should be as the evil queen has been punished and the kind-hearted woman now rules over her own land. In farfalla91's version however, we are shown a scene of senseless violence, one which does not provide the reader with a simple solution. The reader is left with a vision of a corrupt world in which the good are not only punished, but tortured, and the wicked are rewarded. The prince is free to live and torture another day and the tale ends with the ominous scene of Schneewittchen, in the middle of

a jeering crowd, sobbing. Here we see the rejection of such clear cut morals as provided in the Grimm version with the added affirmation that the world is often a senseless one in which the just are punished and the unjust rule.

And yet while the changes farfalla91 has made may be interesting on their own, as Assmann reminds us, although it is the individual who "has" memory, memory is created collectively. He writes that "[w]e recall not only what we have learned and heard from others but also how others respond to what we consider to be significant" (22). Thus we can see from the following comments on her fic how this tale is dealt with by members of the site. In the comment section, other fans openly engage with the idea of changing and updating the tales. One fan writes:

> Man merkt, dass du dir wirklich Gedanken um alle Details, die man verändern muss, gemacht hast und überhaupt...es macht alles so viel Sinn, dass man glauben möchte, dass sich die Märchen in Wirklichkeit genau so zugetragen haben und nur durch Gerüchte zu dem geworden sind, wie man sie heute kennt :)[70]

Here we can see fans actively exploring the holes they find within canon tales and how they deal with what they often see as inconsistencies in the canon. In farfalla91's response to this comment we can see that she addresses the idea of bias with which the canon tales were collected and expresses interest in exploring other possibilities of the stories—ones which are multifaceted and with morals which are not so clear-cut. She writes here (also referencing her fics based on "Rotkäppchen" as well as "Hänsel und Gretel"):

> Du hast mein Hauptanliegen erkannt: Eine Geschichte zu schreiben, aus der sich das bekannte Märchen hätte ableiten können, sei es, weil sie nur mündlich weitererzählt wird (da wird dann aus

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[70] <http://www.fanfiktion.de/r/s/5338ab2400013af029236f3d/date/8/1> Accessed July 9, 2015.

einem menschlichen "bösen Wolf" schon mal ein tierischer) oder weil nur eine Seite der Geschichte erzählt wird (sodass eine freundliche Kräuterfrau zur bösen Hexe wird).

Here they directly address the changes which can slowly take place as tales are told and retold, passed down and changed—eventually details change and out of complicated manners, simple explanations arise. They wish to (re)introduce the more complex aspects of the stories as the world they are familiar with is one which is not so simple and seem to recognize themselves as a part of that process.

As a further example of the challenge of simplification of the canon tales, we can contrast the emotional states of the children at the end of "Hänsel und Gretel" in the Grimm version and a version entitled "Inside Grimm: Hänsel und Gretel" by ardara. In the Grimm tale the end reads, when the children have finally returned home to their father: "Da hatten alle Sorgen ein Ende, und sie lebten in lauter Freude zusammen" (72). Ardara's double drabble takes place after the events of the canon tale and deals explicitly with the aftermath. Her tale reads in its entirety:

> Du bist nicht mehr der Gleiche, seit du aus dem Wald zurückgekommen bist. Ich weiß nicht, was du dort gesehen hast, mein Sohn, aber es hat dich verändert, verstört, zerstört. Deine Schwester hat es auch getroffen, aber bei Weitem nicht so hart wie dich, sie hat Schreckliches durchgemacht, du Unaussprechliches.
> Vielleicht ist es leichter für sie, weil sie versucht hat, etwas zu tun, während du gefangen warst und lange nicht verstanden hast, dass das, was SIE mit euch vorhat, kein gutes Ende nehmen wird. Du hast einfach nicht verstanden, warum sie dich fressen will, wenn sie doch ein Haus aus Lebkuchen aus dem Boden stampfen kann, warum kann sie sich dann kein Haus aus Kindern hexen, fragst du dich. Immer und immer wieder.
> „Ich liebe dich, Papa", sagst du jeden Abend vor dem Schlafengehen, und dann noch: „Du bist mein Traumfänger", es klingt flehend, du willst Erlösung von den Albträumen, die dich

heimsuchen, wenn du die Augen schließt, aber du wirst sie nicht bekommen. Die Bilder sind für

immer eingebrannt in deine Lider, du siehst sie, wenn du nichts mehr sehen willst, sie sind immer

da, rote glühende Szenen, eine schreiende Fratze, lodernde Haare, ein schmelzender Leib.

Schlaf gut, Hans.[71]

Like farfalla91's version, we see here an intensification of emotion as well as a push towards a

more nuanced interpretation of events. Certainly after such horrific events as the children endure

throughout the canon tale, they would not emerge psychologically unaffected as they do in the

Grimm version and here ardara explores the after-effects through the lens of Post-Traumatic

Stress Disorder. Certainly a world in which all cares come to an end cannot exist as easily as the

Grimm version suggests.

Yet a striking difference between farfalla91 and ardara's tales is the degree of

requirement of prior knowledge. In farfalla91's version, an understanding of the Grimm tale

gives a more nuanced understanding of how she shapes and changes her fic and how she

challenges the one-sidedness of the written version. The tale itself, however, is entirely self-

sustaining. If one had no knowledge of the Grimm "Schneewittchen," the tale could still be

understood. Yet ardara's version is absolutely dependent on the fact that the reader is already

well acquainted with the canon tale. Without this prior knowledge, the fic makes little sense.

Here she engages and challenges the collective memory of the tale in another fashion: the reader

must fill in gaps in her tale with knowledge from the canon.

The final comparison is between the Grimm 1857 version of "Dornröschen" and

Sturmklang's "Once Upon a Bloody Time: Hier ist die Dorne, aber wo bleibt das Röschen?" In

the Grimm version when we first read of the prince it states,

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[71] <http://www.fanfiktion.de/s/5305ecbf00028d3c1386ae61/1/Inside-Grimm> Accessed June 22, 2015.

Nach langen langen Jahren kam wieder einmal ein Königssohn in das Land und hörte wie ein

alter Mann von der Dornenhecke erzählte, es sollte ein Schloß dahinter stehen, in welchem eine

wunderschöne Königstochter, Dornröschen genannt, schon seit hundert Jahren schliefe, und mit

ihr schliefe der König und die Königin und der ganze Hofstaat. Er wußte auch von seinem

Großvater, daß schon viele Königssöhne gekommen wären und versucht hätten durch die

Dornenhecke zu dringen, aber sie wären darin hängen geblieben und eines traurigen Todes

gestorben. Da sprach der Jüngling: „Ich fürchte mich nicht, ich will hinaus und das schöne

Dornröschen sehen" (182).

Here we read of a fearless prince determined to save the cursed princess. He will stop at nothing

to rescue her. In the face of nearly certain death, the prince is determined that his strength and

goodwill will prevail and his quest will be successful. In Sturmklang's version, however, the

prince is described rather differently. The story begins „Es war einmal…/ …schon wieder so ein

lächerlicher Prinz, der versuchte, eine Prinzessin zu retten und sie zu heiraten." Already we have

the image of an unnecessary quest and the tone of the tale suggests that the prince will most

likely fail in his quest to win over the princess. Sturmklang portrays this old trope of a gallant

prince rescuing a helpless princess as tired as well as not relatable to modern life. The princess

does not need saving, she suggests already in her opening sentence.

In the Grimm version when the prince finally sees the innocent and pure Dornröschen,

we read,

Da lag [Dornröschen] und war so schön, daß [der Königssohn] die Augen nicht abwenden konnte,

und er bückte sich und gab ihm einen Kuß. Wie er es mit dem Kuß berührt hatte, schlug

Dornröschen die Augen auf, erwachte und blickte ihn ganz freundlich an. Da gingen sie

zusammen herab, und der König erwachte und die Königin, und der ganze Hofstaat, und sahen

einander mit großen Augen an…. Und da wurde die Hochzeit des Königssohns mit dem

Dornröschen in aller Pracht gefeiert, und sie lebten vergnügt bis an ihr Ende. (183)

Here we see that the gallant prince has succeeded in his endeavors. His persistence has been rewarded and Dornröschen has been freed from an evil curse. They live happily ever after. In Sturmklang's version, however, their meeting ends quite differently. The prince believes himself to be heroically rescuing an innocent and helpless princess. Once he finally meets her however, she is not sleeping as he expects, but is walking freely around the castle. When she sees him she says,

> „Ich hatte es satt, dieses ganze langweilige Leben! Ständig sind irgendwelche Narren um mich herumscharwenzelt und diese Feen- schrecklich! Ständig betüttelten sie mich, wollten mich in irgendwelche furchtbaren, pinken Kleider quetschen und nie hatte ich mal eine ruhige Minute. Meine einzige Freundin wurde dann, ironischerweise, die dunkle Fee.
>
> Ich hab mich bei ihr entschuldigt, weil man sie bei den Einladungen übergangen hatte. Sie hat mir dann geholfen. Sie hat alle in Schlaf versetzt und die Dornenhecke entstehen lassen und ich kann endlich alles tun und lassen, was ich will- und ich hab meine Ruhe!"
>
> Sie klang sehr zufrieden.[72]

What we see here in this fic is an example of refocalization. What was a tale of a heroic man rescuing a princess and marrying her so that she may be happy has become one in which the princess has grown tired of a life of conformity. She no longer wishes to be the stereotypical princess in pink clothes surrounded by good fairies granting her wishes. She longs for her own life, one free from the high demands and expectations not just of royalty, but of female royalty. Rather than having her life dictated to her by others, she wishes to finally live a life of her own and in order to achieve this, there is no room for a prince who is still captured by the ideals of stories as written down in the 1850s.

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[72] <http://www.fanfiktion.de/s/50c3554600024b1f0c902ee0/3/Once-Upon-A-Bloody-Time> Accessed July 8, 2015.

Sturmklang's fic was very popular on the site and we can see the agreement and enthusiasm over what she has written among fans and they directly engage with her challenge to stereotypical character and gender roles. One fan writes:

Wie sich die "Prinzessinen" einfach selbstständig machen, das ist einfach super!

Diese Bissige Art, die man von ihnen sonst nicht wirklich gewohnt ist,

einfach zum totlachen XDD

vor allem diese (Achtung Sarkasmus) überaus schlauen Prinzchen, einfach toll ;)[73]

The fans continue to remark on the agency which Sturmklang has given to the princesses. No longer are her princesses sitting in towers waiting to be rescued, but it is the princes who are described as characters without agency—driven merely by the tradition of the canon tale with no real will of their own. Another fan writes,

In letzter Zeit ist es ja anscheinend Trend Märchen neu zu interpretieren, aber deine Sicht der

Dinge fand ich bis jetzt am besten.

Vor allem weil, zumindest für mich, zum ersten Mal die Sichtweisen der Prinzessinnen im

Vordergrund stehen.^^

War ziemlich interessant zu erfahren, was sie so über ihre (mehr oder weniger) Märchenprinzen

denken. hahah

Auch der bissige Unterton, der ja eigentlich nicht bei Prinzessinnen üblich ist, hebt deine Version

der Märchen mehr hervor.

Together, the fan and Sturmklang discuss the updating of these tales to include the perspectives and ideas of female characters rather than just focusing on the male. Sturmklang writes in response: "Jia endlich können die mal sagen wie sie sich fühlen xD ich find das ja sowieso doof-

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[73] <http://www.fanfiktion.de/r/s/50c3554600024b1f0c902ee0/date/3/1> Accessed July 11, 2015.

ständig ist die arme kleine Prinzessin die schwache und hilflose Figur/ die gerettet werden muss!"

A common memory of the tale is able to connect the community together with a sense of identity. Thus this process of storytelling as creating a sort of community shows that collective memory defines who we are and how we situate ourselves in the world, as well as how we identify and interact with others. These stories that we tell are what allow us to determine to which group we belong. And we can see this strong sense of community in the comments to Sturmklang's fic. A number of those in the Märchen fandom are interested to see and supportive of female characters who take control of their stories and Sturmklang's series of fics are not the only ones in which female characters take a significantly more active role.

The fans are challenging the collective memory of these tales by altering endings, placing emphasis on different characters, and adding depth to existing tales. However, they are also reaffirming that the tales have a place in their community and an impact on their lives. As Jenkins states, these tales would not be rewritten if there were not an element of fascination. Communities learn how to tell their stories by absorbing those stories and histories which seem relevant to them, and this is exactly what these writers are doing. Yet the canon tales on which their fics are based are seen as incomplete, somehow frustrating in their incompleteness, and thus these writers and fans adapt and change the tales to fit with contemporary ideas and expectations. No longer do these communities agree with the idea of women without agency waiting to be rescued nor do they seem to accept the black-and-white portrayals of morals as depicted in the canon tales. And likewise, the community seems to reject the idea of each tale having a "happy end," as the worlds in these tales are much more complex than the canon. Black writes that there is a "continuous movement toward some understanding of the many ways in which fans are

taking up elements of pop culture and then redistributing them in new forms that are imbued with meanings that are grounded in the lived realities and social worlds of fans" (*Adolescents* 13-14) and we can see the changing realities in these tales.

By dealing with the issues that they have addressed with their fics, and changing and updating them, these writers are making these collective memories active. Garde-Hansen et. al. write that

> [a]nother, perhaps more useful way of characterising memory is to consider that every time it is remade in the present it becomes "active." Frederic Bartlett (1932), for example… claimed that the key process of remembering involves the introduction of the past into the present to produce a "reactivated" site of consciousness: "Remembering is not the re-excitation of innumerable fixed, lifeless and fragmentary traces. It is an imaginative reconstruction, or construction, built out of the relation of our attitude towards a whole active mass or organised past reactions or experiences. (2)

As described in Chapter 2, memory is always presentist. Each time a memory is retold, it is updated as the human mind has no way to access past memories or feelings as they were originally encountered. Each time we remember something, it is inevitably colored by our current state and perceptions. It is this presentist function of not only memory and storytelling, but also of digital media which shapes and changes how the past is (re)constructed.

Conclusion

Internet fan fiction puts the epigraph for Chapter 2 in a new light, "[d]arling, everyone is a storyteller." Not only is everyone a storyteller in the sense that everyone has stories to tell and that we all tell stories on a daily basis, but it allows new access to the "ordinary storyteller" to write, share, and edit tales on a level which was previously impossible. With Internet fan fiction,

everyone can (re)create memories, not just the elite. These users take to digital media to spread their stories and debate them within their fandom communities. Lundy writes that "[t]he media practice may well remain small-scale. Nevertheless, for those who employ Digital Storytelling in their own lives, this practice may actually give them a voice, or be significant in other ways," (4). It is with this voice that people work at shaping, changing, and confronting collective memory and simultaneously seek to develop their own identity.

Fan fiction engages with tales as incomplete, as ones which need continual supplements. In order to continue to be relevant to the community, they must change and be interfered with. It is this interference which enables the tales to be continually told and retold. It is the fans and the storytellers who keep these tales going and carry the stories. It is the endless new textual interpretations and reproductions which continue to supplement the tales and add meaning which was never present or never articulated in the canon tales. Yet nevertheless it is these changes which make the tales meaningful to twenty-first-century audiences.

Larry Friedlander asks,

Can a story that is not firmly shaped and controlled by an authorial hand deliver the delights of one by a Tolstoy or Austen? How do we compensate for the loss of the author figure whose comforting presence holds the traditional story together? In short, does an interactive medium subvert the basics of storytelling or can we invent new strategies that will produce satisfactory, aesthetically persuasive stories?"

And here we are met again with Ong's "wheelless automobile," for Internet fan fiction is certainly not new in its interactive nature, in its lack of a definitive author; it is merely connecting with and employing methods from the oral tradition of communal shaping and

changing. New strategies need not be invented in this process, they must only be remembered again.

Friedlander compares digital storytelling with what the majority of the West considers to be "traditional" storytelling—that is of one author writing a tale in its entirety. As we have seen throughout the previous chapters, this is a relatively recent phenomenon. And yet while it is impossible to return to a state of primary orality in the West, as orality has been forever changed by its interactions with literacy, fan fiction is nevertheless a product of this state of secondary orality as a hybrid between orality and literacy.

It is with these stories that we continue to see our identities and how we fit within the communities to which we belong and it is with fan fiction that a multitude of stories which previously would have remained within small circles of family and friends are able to reach international audiences. Kristina Busse and Karen Hellekson write "working with and against one another, this multitude of stories creates a larger whole of understanding a given universe" (7). Taken collectively, these stories show the struggles and priorities of the communities to which the writers belong. When looking at how the fics themselves respond not only to each other but also how the fans receive and change the tales, we can get a better understanding of this ever-changing nature of storytelling. Everyone is a storyteller and the story is never definitively, unalterably *told*.

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