The Grimms’ *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* as a Product of Modernity

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts

At the University of Otago

Dunedin

New Zealand

5 May 2015
Abstract

In this thesis I investigate the extent to which the Brother Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen (KHM)* can be considered as a document of modernity. This gives ground to argue that over the course of more than forty years between 1810-1857 this collection underwent a series of editorial changes, which might be perceived as a consequence of modernity. This line of inquiry involves investigating the concept of modernity in the socio-cultural context of late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century Germany. In essence, I understand modernity as a conceptual shift from old Europe to the emergence of the modern era, which occurs at a time during which the *KHM* were created.

Focussing on the concept of modernity may yield new insight into the field on the Grimms’ *Märchen* and the period in which they were written. In particular, I wish to explore how the Grimms’ *Märchenbuch* may have functioned as a product of this shift. In the first instance, the story began in 1806 when the Brothers Grimm conceived the *KHM* under the shadow of the Napoleonic wars (1799-1814). The wars and other events around this period forced many to harbour more flexible views of the world than ever before in order to deal with the growing *awareness of contingency, transience, loss of certainty and perpetual change*. My thesis therefore aims to validate the claim that modernity may have played a vital role in shaping the Grimms’ views of the world and thus their *Märchen*.
Acknowledgements

For the writing of this thesis, I would like to thank and acknowledge the contribution of numerous friends, family members and colleagues, without whom this thesis would not have ever made it to completion. First, I must mention my supervisor Dr. Simon Ryan, who has been extremely supportive of my work. A big thank you to Dr. August Obermayer, who read my thesis so thoroughly and gave me such excellent feedback, spurring me on to do the final chapter needed (an analysis of some Grimms’ tales). In general, I would like to thank the staff and especially the secretaries of the Languages and Cultures Department, who have always been so friendly and ready to help me out whenever I had a question or query.

Thank you so much to my family: my brothers and especially my Dad and Mum. Thanks to Mum for keeping me positive and Dad for letting me rattle of all the information that would come into my head about my research. Thanks also to my partner Anja for her patience. Thanks to all the friends who have shared my thoughts, told me theirs, drank many coffees and beers with me and of course been with me for all my extra-curricular endeavours.

Last but not least, thank you to the DAAD for funding my research trip to the Humboldt-Universität of Berlin in 2012. This trip allowed me to gain vital first hand accounts of the Grimms’ original work, liaise with professors and students of the Grimms and attend several conferences in my field. A particular highlight was to be in Kassel, Germany, for the International Grimm Congress on the 20th of December 2012; exactly 200 years after the Grimms published their very first version of the Kinder- und Hausmärchen.
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Notes on Abbreviations and Citations

• All references from the various Kinder- und Hausmärchen editions are cited in-text with corresponding year, unless otherwise indicated.

[KHM]: Die Kinder- und Hausmärchen, gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm

[DS]: Deutsche Sagen

[DF]: Däumlingfigur
“Kindermärchen werden erzählt, damit in ihrem reinen und milden Lichte die ersten Gedanken und Kräfte des Herzens aufwachen und wachsen; weil aber einen jeden ihre einfache Poesie erfreuen und ihre Wahrheit belehren kann, und weil sie beim Haus bleiben und forterben, werden sie auch Hausmärchen genannt.”

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 At the Heart of the Matter

“*In den alten Zeiten, als das Wünschen noch geholfen hat,*” reads the opening line of the first tale of the final edition of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen: gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm* (1857). The words conjure a feeling of nostalgia for an era before machines and technology sped up time and separated humankind from nature, before smartphones, space travel and the Internet.1 Within this line lies a little known truth, which alters the face of the Grimms’ *Märchen*2 and our understanding of an entire genre of storytelling. Before the reference to “...den alten Zeiten...” appeared in *Die Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (henceforth *KHM*), there was a time when this tale began: “Die jüngste Tochter des Königs ging hinaus in den Wald, und setzte sich an einen kühlen Brunnen.”3 Anyone that knows this tale will remember that this is indeed how the tale begins in terms of content; however, the opening line quoted above, points to a major paradigm shift in the scholarship on the Grimms’ *Märchen* that all interpretations after this moment could not ignore. To this very day the Grimms’ *Märchen* continue to entertain the world, yet in 1975 Heinz Rölleke re-published a collection of tales entitled *Die älteste Märchensammlung der Brüder Grimm: Synopse der handschriftlichen Urfassung von 1810 und der Erstdrucke von 1812* and

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2 All German or other foreign words that are commonly used in this thesis are italicized. In the case of the word *Märchen*, I apply both *Märchen* and tale throughout this thesis to refer specifically to the tales/Märchen that appear in the Grimms’ *KHM* unless stated otherwise.

transformed the scholarship's perception of the Grimms and their *Märchen.*

This publication showed irrefutably that the Grimms did not travel throughout the land, as legend would have it, writing down the tales they heard from simple farmers and peasants. This also included discarding the idea that the figure of "die alte Marie" ever existed, and the concept of the *Urmärchen.* The truth was that they were told these tales by numerous friends and acquaintances; the most important group of which was a host of well educated, middle- and upper-class women. Through Rölleke's exhaustive investigation of the true origin of the Grimms' *Märchen*, we know the contributor of almost every single tale of the KHM, which constitutes the *Entstehungsgeschichte*. He did this by examining the aforementioned "älteste Märchensammlung", the discovery of original writings from the contributors and bestowing a critical gaze on Wilhelm Grimm's personal *Handexemplar* of the KHM published in 1812/1815 in which Wilhelm wrote notes in the margins and documented many of his changes to the texts.

The history of the editorial process of the KHM spans a period of 47 years between 1810 and 1857. During this time the Grimms published seven *Große

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5 "Die Alte Marie" was a creation of Wilhelm Grimm's son, Hermann Grimm, to whom he attributed the sharing of the vast majority of the tales. See Crane, T.F. "The External History of the 'Kinder- und Hausmärchen' of the Brothers Grimm. I." *Modern Philology* 14.10 (1917), 577-610, 591; Heinz Rölleke, "Die 'stockhessischen' Märchen der 'alten Marie'. Das Ende eines Mythus um die frühesten Kinder- und Hausmärchen Aufzeichnungen der Brüder Grimm", *Germanistisch-romanische Monatschrift*, 25 (1975), 74-86.

6 Examples of where the concept of the *Urmärchen* were prevalent include: Klaiber, J. *Das Märchen und die kindliche Phantasie* (Stuttgart: Leising, 1860); Jolles, A. *Rätsel/Spruch/Kasus/Memorabile/Märchen/Witz* (1930) (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1958); Lüthi, M. *Märchen* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1962).

Ausgaben,\textsuperscript{8} which contained the complete anthology of tales and led to the conception of an entire genre of literature known as the “Gattung Grimm”.\textsuperscript{9} These changes and the surrounding socio-cultural climate provide the basis for this thesis.

In this thesis, I investigate the extent to which the Grimms’ Märchen can be read in light of the concept ‘modernity’. In order to do so, I divide this thesis into two major sections. In Part One I consider key aspects of Germany’s history of the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries that are linked to the emergence of modernity. Part Two attempts to collate my understanding of modernity in an examination of the Grimms’ methodological approach to their work in general with Volksdichtung, particular socio-cultural influences, and an investigation of specific Märchen in light of conceptual tools which are related to modernity.

The basis for discussion can be found within the fact of the editorial changes carried out on the tales and the social context within which the fairy tale project evolved. In essence, I suggest that the timeframe and the changes made act as points of departure for an investigation of the Märchen in light of modernity. This is so because modernity is defined in many instances by the awareness of perpetual change, the fleeting moment, contingency, and uncertainty.\textsuperscript{10} This is demonstrated in the case of the KHM by the fact that the neither the Grimms nor their readership remained satisfied with the initial form

\textsuperscript{8} There were seven “Große Ausgaben” in total published in the following years: 1812-1815, 1819, 1837, 1840, 1843, 1850, 1857. Additionally, there is a manuscript, which predates the first edition of 1812, namely Die handschriftliche Urfassung von 1810.

\textsuperscript{9} Between 1825 and 1858 a Kleine Ausgabe was also published, which contained only 50 of the more popular tales, which, however, will not be considered for the analysis of the Märchen in this thesis. Nevertheless, I do pay homage to this edition as it contributed greatly to the success of the KHM (see Section 4.4.3). "Gattung Grimm" was first coined by Jolles, 219.

the *Märchen* took, leading to a thorough and ongoing process of editorial incursions.

This process did not happen arbitrarily. If the content or form of a certain tale did not match an ideal preconceived image, it was transformed. Editorial changes were made numerous times throughout the 47-year period. Some researchers have endeavoured to examine every single change made to certain tales, which appear in every *Große Ausgabe* and *Kleine Ausgabe*. However, for this thesis it is only necessary to consider tales in the *Große Ausgaben*. Thus my investigation will be focused on tales which have been discovered in the unpublished manuscript *Die handschriftliche Urfassung von 1810*, and the first edition of the *KHM* of 1812/1815 through to the final edition called *Die Ausgabe letzter Hand*, published in 1857.

1.2 Template of the Approach

In the beginning of this thesis, I endeavour to recount the historical moment in which modernity was first conceived in a philosophical sense by referring to the philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) and his response in 1784 to the question in *Die Berlinische Monatsschrift*: “What is enlightenment?” Kant’s answer is portrayed as the first time in which an individual had truly reflected on history, from a personal vantage point, rather than through the lens of God and the Church. Michel Foucault (1926-1986) responded many years later to this answer, drawing a connection between Kant and the French poet, Charles

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12 In this thesis I refer to the Reclam version of *Die handschriftliche Urfassung von 1810*. See Brüder Grimm (2007).
Baudelaire (1821-1867), who conceived the modern meaning for ‘modernity’. To Foucault, Baudelaire depicts the ‘attitude of modernity’ through ideas such as ephemerality, contingency and reflexivity. I raise this discussion to pinpoint some underlying philosophical notions, which formulate the concept of modernity.

I then turn to the concept of the *Sattelzeit*. Within this discussion I outline the way in which the historian, Reinhart Koselleck (1923-2006), determined that a paradigm shift had occurred around the end of the eighteenth century based on the idea of *mobility*. For Koselleck, mobility entailed a newly emerged desire for movement in society that heralded major changes in the horizon of expectations and experience for all German people over the late eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century. In this thesis, I apply the idea of the *Sattelzeit* in order to establish an analogous connection to two key areas of scholarship that are related to the history of the Brothers Grimm and the *KHM*.

The first task is to pinpoint how it is possible to relate the *Sattelzeit* and its sense of mobility to one of the *Sattelzeit’s* central figures, Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), who first stimulated intellectual interest in *Volksdichtung* in the mid to late eighteenth century. While *Volksdichtung* would only reach true popularity with the Grimms years later, Herder came to authorize the cultural significance of folk poetry as its own legitimate form of literature. This

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13 In English, Saddle Period, but I apply this term in German as it is derived from German terminology, and contains linguistic meaning that is lost in the English version.

14 For the purposes of this thesis I utilize the following definition of *Volksdichtung*: "[A] [n]otion that a people collectively creates literature; a view which was dominant in the [German] Romantic period... The term is currently used to refer to anonymous literature which, after a long oral tradition, was collected and recorded during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries." *A Glossary of German Literary Terms*, ed. E. W. Herd and August Obermayer, (Dunedin: Otago German Studies, 1992), 292.
leads to the second part of my examination of the Sattelzeit. Building on the previous discussion, I consider how Herder’s understanding of Volksdichtung is linked to his modern definition of the term culture, which he tied to the country or land from where the poetry came. In so doing, Herder began a discourse that was to enliven the Sturm und Drang and the Romantik with the ways in which Volksdichtung could be imbued with a cultural and also national identity. In this light, a process of authorization developed in the German-speaking world to ensure the continuation of Volksdichtung.

In the final section of Chapter Two, I investigate Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs’ Voices of Modernity: Language Ideologies and the Politics of Inequality (2003), which deals with the way in which the idea of authorizing Volksdichtung began. By applying the concepts of hybridity and mediation, Bauman and Briggs investigate the ways in which the Scottish minister Hugh Blair in the 1760s developed vital scholarly theories to justify the importance of Scottish epic poetry that supposedly originated from the c. third century A.D. bard Ossian, and was passed on directly through native Gaelic speakers.

Bauman and Briggs show that Blair’s study founded the groundwork for Herder

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15 In this thesis, I refer exclusively to the Romantic period in Germany using the term Romantik unless otherwise specified. In the Romantik-Handbuch, Heinrich Heine, held to be the last poet of the Romantic period, is attributed with the definitive rendering of the term Romantik in his 1820 article the Romantik: “... unter >>Romantik<< und >>romantischer<< Form eine weltliterarische Bewegung verstanden, die als Gegenreaktion gegen die ebenso >>objetive<< wie auch >>plastische<< Poesie der Griechen und Römer im Ausklang der Antike beginne, im religiösen Spiritualismus der >>romantischen Poesie<< des Mittelalters ihren ersten Höhepunkt erlebe, um dann schließlich - nach dem >>kalten Hauch der Kriegs- und Glaubensstürme<< von Reformation und Gegenreformation - >>in neuerer Zeit<< in >>den romantischen Dichtungen<< >>unsrer zwei größten Romantiker, Goethe und A. W. v. Schlegel<<, die welthistorische Mission einer die >>Feengärten<< der Phantasie eröffnenden Poesie zu erfüllen (31, quoted from DHA X, 194-196).

only a few years later. Subsequently, I examine the way in which the Grimms were responding to Herder’s authorizing claims for *Volksdichtung* in their own lifetimes. In this context, Bauman and Briggs suggest that modernity is a central facet in the construction of the *KHM*. Bauman and Briggs demonstrate how the Grimms adopted Herder’s notion that *Volksdichtung* was under threat and applied this to the circumstances surrounding the *KHM*. This rhetorical argument highlighted the urgency of the Grimms’ undertakings and can be linked to political events such as the Napoleonic wars, thus indicating the *KHM’s* first major connection to modernity.

In Chapter Three, I investigate the relevance of reading and writing networks, which emerged over the eighteenth century and became cemented as agents of communication throughout the nineteenth century. I begin with an outline of Jerrold Seigel’s thesis of the *network of means* introduced in *Modernity and Bourgeois Life: Society, Politics and Culture in England, France and Germany since 1750* (2012), a concept derived from the notion of chains of communication that connect individuals and societies over vast distances. Seigel starts his study from 1760. One of the key networks of means established at this time was between numerous groups of intellectuals that began to write letters to each other to share personal interests, theories and philosophies about knowledge and the world. The result of this socio-cultural practice was to systematize a common written language, which, in German-speaking Europe today, is known as *Hochdeutsch*. By solidifying a general system of writing, everyone who could read and write could also communicate with many other individuals in a way that was not possible in earlier times due to the massive range of dialects spoken
throughout Germany. Further, the main written languages of the learned for many centuries had been Latin, Greek and later also French. Because only very few individuals ever achieved competence, sharing knowledge remained a specialist discipline. To complicate matters, French was also spoken at court in many German lands right into the nineteenth century in some cases. Thus the concept of a literary language as a network to enable various social, cultural, economic, political and intellectual functions to be carried out, can be seen to play an instrumental role in the emergence of modernity as it contributed to a major paradigm shift in the distribution and acquisition of knowledge.

With this in mind, I draw from Albert Ward’s study Book Production, Fiction and the German Reading Public 1740-1800 (1974) to illustrate the ways in which views about book production and consumption changed over the course of the eighteenth century in Germany. I then consider the rise of children’s literature and how its importance is related to the modern understanding of the child as an individual in its own right. In the final section of Chapter Three, I outline three concepts that played a key part in the network of reading and writing with specific connections to the fairy tale as children’s literature. This involves adopting the standpoint of Daniel Tröhler’s thesis that an educational turn took place at the start of 1800 through the teachings of the Swiss educational theorist Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827). Finally, I investigate Friedrich

18 In regard to the novel, Ward observes, for example, that “[it] is taken for granted that readers will have no difficulty with the Latin, Greek and French quotations and will understand the loan-words with which the cumbersome bombastic prose is most generously interlarded.” Albert Ward, Book Production, Fiction and the German Reading Public: 1740-1800, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 1.
Kittler’s (1943-2011) concept of the *Muttermund* and the importance of the *Kernfamilie*, which both emerge around the same period as the educational turn and indicate major changes taking place in the social structure of German societies.

In Part Two, I discuss the specificities regarding the extent to which the Brothers Grimm and their *Märchen* can be read in light of modernity. I divide Part Two into a chapter on biography, on relevant concepts with which the Grimms engaged academically and I examine major points of interest in recent scholarship on the *KHM*. I then draw direct connections between modernity, the Napoleonic wars and the Grimms’ methodological approach to their literary output, followed by an outline of the editorial process of the *KHM*. The final chapter analyses selected tales in light of two key concepts I have identified from the scholarship that may show how the tales can be understood in relation to modernity, and a central concept derived from the work of Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1895).

Chapter Four thus focuses on the initial years in which the Grimms lived and published the first editions of the *KHM* (1786-1829). By considering these early years I also reconstruct an outline of the social conditions in which the Grimms lived and the types of expectations and norms that existed around this time. For this discussion I investigate how the Grimms’ *KHM* may have contributed through metaphor to the unification of Germany, which at the start of the nineteenth century, was a fragmented nation. The final section considers the concept of the folk community (*Volksgemeinschaft*) as portrayed through the eyes of the German Romantics.
In Chapter Five, I investigate the ways in which the Grimms’ *Märchen* may be understood under two complementary yet opposing frames of reference; namely, of poetry (*Poesie*) and scholarship (*Wissenschaft*). Here I construct a critical platform that serves as a backdrop for the analytical stage of this thesis. I first delve into the link between modernity and the *KHM* that surrounds the notions of the *Muttermund* and the idea of aesthetic education. I discuss how Rüdiger Steinlein applied Kittler’s notion of the *Muttermund* to the *KHM* because of particular educational and philosophical beliefs that emerged between the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. In order to supplement this conjecture, I consider Isamitsu Murayama’s work *Poesie-Natur-Kinder: Die Brüder Grimm und ihre Idee einer ‘natürlichen Bildung’ in den Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (2005) to exhibit her thesis that this concept had aesthetic and nationalistic consequences. Murayama contends that Wilhelm in particular explored the way in which adults thought about their childhood, linking the reading of tales to, in a sense, an act of experiencing the nostalgia about the ways things once were. At the same time this discourse is tied to the child-mother relationship that had become an integral part of bourgeois families for raising children.

Next the focus shifts to Jens Sennewald’s theory that the *KHM* can be read as modern literature. The primary concern of my investigation of Sennewald’s work is to examine the extent to which he has identified a theme, which characterises the entire anthology: namely, the state of disestablishment and the act of reconstruction from old to new orders. Sennewald argues that the *KHM*
can be interpreted as a representation of the transition from old to new. This is a theme which I apply in an analysis of Hänsel und Gretel in Chapter Seven.

The last section of Chapter Five scrutinises the way in which the Romantik can be portrayed as a time of transition (Achsenzeit). Albrecht Koschorke argues that the idea of Achsenzeit is reflected in the work of many folk and fairy tale authors. In order to establish the relevance of the KHM specifically as befitting such a role, Koschorke asserts that there was a liminal dynamic surrounding the Grimms and the tales that gave them an unpredictable potential. This potential was derived out of the nature of the tales themselves as vehicles of communicating threshold moments. Due to the fact that the protagonists of many of the tales are often wanderers, who journey from little villages across the lands to big towns, the KHM are in general portrayed as a document, which captures this understanding of Volksdichtung. Based on these ideas, I apply the liminal dynamic to an analysis of Daumerlings Wanderschaft in Chapter Seven.

In Chapter Six, I outline several key ideas that appear to be related to modernity. I identify the Napoleonic wars as a major catalyst in mobilising the Grimms into action to carry out a grand-scale scholarly endeavour to preserve stories from the brink of extinction. By deriving my argument from Bauman and Briggs, I also deal with several ways in which the threat or fear of loss permeated the project. I apply Seigel’s notion that the Grimms placed themselves at the centre of a scholarly network from which they administered their gathering process and in so doing, again utilising Bauman and Briggs, I adopt the view that they consolidated their position as experts of folk poetry and enhanced their credibility in the eyes of the public, thus establishing their own hybrid literature.
Chapter Six closes with consideration of the general editorial process as one that was characterised by certain elements of modernity, namely perpetual change, uncertainty and the fear of loss. My main objective is to demonstrate the chief ways in which these ideas can be viewed alongside the concept of the Märchen-, Erzähl- und Volkston. Thus I detail numerous ways in which the Märchen were altered. I then show how the process of editing took place throughout many different versions of the KHM between the years 1810-1857. The last section discusses the ways in which the “das Rung’sche Muster” appears to have influenced the Grimms’ overall approach to the Märchen and exemplifies the Grimms’ debt to the Romantik philosophy.

In the final chapter, I explore the idea of modernity as a conceptual tool comprising three key trajectories. First, I investigate Hänsel und Gretel in relation to the concept of the collapse and reconstruction of order, as derived from Sennewald’s study. The second trajectory considers Koschorke’s concept of the liminal dynamic in the context of Daumerlings Wanderschaft. The liminal dynamic understands Märchenfiguren as wanderers, and the Märchen content to be comprehensible as reflecting the idea of crossing thresholds. Finally, I analyse Rumpelstilzchen in light of the concept of money, drawing from Marx and Engel’s Das Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei (1848) and Marx’s Kapital I (1867). Through an examination of these three Märchen using the aforementioned conceptual tools and literature, I aim to demonstrate the validity of the concept of modernity for investigating the Brothers Grimm in general and their KHM in light of modernity.
1.3 Historical Preamble: Eighteenth-Nineteenth Century Germany

In the following section, an outline is provided of the historical context of Germany between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The primary focus is on the conception of the bürgerliche Gesellschaft. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) first coined this term in Die Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts oder Naturrecht published in 1821. Bürgerliche Gesellschaft is best translated into English as “civil society”; however, Jerrold Seigel asserts that Hegel distinguished civil society from the state to a far greater extent than earlier thinkers.\(^{20}\) The philosophical ramifications do not concern us here, but the idea of the bürgerliche Gesellschaft first arising in the literary history of Germany during the early nineteenth century points to a structural shift occurring beyond the control of individual states. Seigel claims this conception developed because Germany did not have any true centralised power until 1871.\(^{21}\) Hegel thus used the idea to cross regional boundaries in order to distinguish a certain type of people who were beginning to gain a foothold in the fabric of society. This group of people were the German bourgeoisie or middle class.\(^{22}\)

At the start of the nineteenth century, there were over 300 independent principalities throughout the German-speaking realm. Thus the period from the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries is characterized as a time of division for Germany. The divisions existed on numerous levels.\(^{23}\) Some divisions were

\(^{20}\) Seigel 114-115.
\(^{21}\) Ibid. 115.
\(^{22}\) All references to bourgeoisie or middle-class refer to the German branch generally of the nineteenth century, unless otherwise stated.
\(^{23}\) See Ibid. 114-116; C.f. Winkler quoting Hegel (1802) from Verfassung Deutschlands: “Germany is a state in our thoughts and not a state in reality. See Heinrich August Winkler H. A. Germany: The Long Road West (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006-2007), 45. Also Bauman and Briggs for social distinctions that existed in this period in relation to Herder. Richard Baumann and
geographic, such as the Junker Estates in the East, full of landless peasants; by comparison, the West was made up of many small, independent farming communities.24 There were many cities that survived through excellent trade relations and industry between other similar cities in Germany and beyond. Hamburg was the case in point. Due to its prominent position on the North Sea as the main port of call for Germany, its connections in the Prussian court and in England, Hamburg remained a separate state within the German Confederation until 1867.25 Although it became part of the North German Confederation and then the Reich in 1871, Seigel remarks that Hamburg was not required to pay the same kinds of taxes that many other states did until well into the 1880s.26 The autonomy experienced by many of the smaller states and cities or towns led to the development of unique local conditions that contribute to this day to widespread internal differences amongst the German-speaking realm. Mack Walker calls this “the incubator of German localism.”27

Throughout the eighteenth century the Holy Roman Empire also ensured that no single state could absorb the smaller states (as it had for centuries). Only after Napoleon’s intervention in 1806 leading to the end of this age-old allegiance did this situation gradually begin to change. Other divisions included the Catholic South and Protestant North and the huge variety of linguistic differences between the regions of the German speaking lands.28 The division of language is of particular interest to my thesis because it is argued that the *KHM*


24 Seigel 114.
25 Ibid. 129.
26 Ibid. 129.
28 To this day certain dialects remain incomprehensible to speakers of Hochdeutsch.
contributed greatly to the consolidation of Hochdeutsch as the dominant “Schriftsprache” in Germany. Without this shared literary language, progress could probably never have been made as a nation united under one banner.

The fragmented status of Germany caused difficulty but also advantages for interaction between different social classes. Seigel argues that the geographical and social divisions “heightened social distinctions”, especially between the middle and noble classes. Adolf von Knigge (1752-1796) felt compelled to write in Über den Umgang mit Menschen (1788) that it was difficult to be accepted when dealing with individuals from different classes, regions and estates in Germany due to the diversity of the cultural atmosphere and customs exhibited within the many communities:


Yet, according to Seigel, this very diversity made Germany more able to alter the political landscapes. The formation of the great German states – Württemberg, Saxony, Bavaria, Hannover, Hesse, Baden and Prussia – occurred in light of what Seigel calls educated state officials. The rise in education of particular groups of people demonstrates a parallel development to the growth of the biggest German states. In the early to mid-eighteenth century, each state founded

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29 Heinz Rölleke and Albert Schindehütte, Es war einmal: die wahren Märchen der Brüder Grimm und wer sie ihnen erzählte, (Frankfurt am Main: Eichbord, 2011), 12.
30 The use of the vernacular unified many to communicate where speaking could not work. This increased the readership potential, and linked everyone via print, which was “secular, particular, visible invisibility, the embryo of the nationally imagined community”. See Benedict Anderson. Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism (London: Verso, 2006), 44.
31 Seigel 117.
32 Adolf von Knigge, Über den Umgang mit Menschen (Band I), (Hannover: Schmidt Buchhandlung, 1788), 21.
universities, which offered a broader range of subjects from earlier learning institutions. Universities sprouted up in Halle, Göttingen, Erlangen, Münster and Bonn. Along with the traditional subject of theology, other subjects such as medicine, law and philosophy became increasingly taught.\(^{33}\) This led to a large body of highly educated ‘non-noble’ individuals, who were judged not by birth right but by cultural ability.\(^{34}\) They are known as the *Bildungsbürgertum*. For Seigel, this gave Germans their most clear expression of "Macht und Geist", for these educated men became the administrators of all state enterprise and organisation.\(^{35}\) The *Bildungsbürger* formed three sub-categories within the *bürgerliche* group: 1/ businessmen 2/ administrators such as state servants and 3/ professionals.\(^{36}\) The most important group for this thesis falls into the third category due to the way in which they communicated with one another. Seigel attributes to their particular form of communication, the web of information that was shared through letters, journals, periodicals and books.\(^{37}\) The professionals consisted of such individuals as lawyers, doctors, notaries, engineers, architects, teachers and academics (even writers and artists may be considered within this category). The way each individual came to this position might have been either through the means they possessed or their sheer dedication to education, or both. But in many ways the state also lent a hand.

Prussia took the lead in this development. While earlier *Bildungsbürger* were frequently inconsistent with one another in terms of the type of learning

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\(^{33}\) Seigel 118-119. *Cameralistik* was the subject tailored for state officials.  
\(^{35}\) Ibid. 120.  
\(^{36}\) Ibid. 14-15.  
\(^{37}\) Ibid. 18-19. Also, as Ward notes, the period from 1740 onwards became increasingly filled with these ways of sharing information (59).
they received, this all changed with the introduction of professional qualification systems, which were in regular use by the 1760s. The new standards began to hone citizens increasingly as instruments of the state, leading to the emergence of a new type of class, which Isabel Hull observes, allowed members to step out of the old orders and into the “network of institutions.” By the early 1800s Prussia went even further with the state-led establishment of institutions. In 1809 the writer and statesman Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835) had been charged with spearheading a new form of education, which separated the Church from the school system. This allowed the state more control in what was being taught in the educational institutions. Humboldt, as minister of education and ecclesiastical affairs, was responsible for schools, universities, the arts, sciences, cultural associations and the Royal Theatre. The culmination of his work was in the foundation of the University of Berlin in 1809. Humboldt lured many famous scholars to teach there, including Johann Gottlob Fichte (1762-1814) for philosophy, Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834) for theology and, mentor to the Brothers Grimm, the law professor Friedrich Carl von Savigny (1779-1861). He also introduced the academically inclined Gymnasium and final year examinations known as Abitur, which all students had to sit in order to gain entry into university and is still in use today. The examinations focused mainly on translating Latin and Greek texts and encouraged widespread interest in the type of scholarship set into motion by Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-

38 Watson 48-55.
39 Ibid. 122, citing Hull.
40 It is commonly thought that the university began in 1810, but this was in fact the year teaching began.
41 Watson 109; 234.
1768) several decades earlier.\footnote{See Section 2.4 for more detail.} These additions to the Prussian state marked the turn to neohumanist Bildung, which, as Peter Watson remarks, became the “cultural philosophy” of Prussia.\footnote{Watson 109.}

Another crucial element of Germany’s history and also modernity was the spread of the Aufklärung in the 1700s.\footnote{In this thesis, unless explicitly stated, all references to the Enlightenment refer to the German Aufklärung as a distinct term of periodization from other forms of Enlightenment such as from Scotland, England, the French lumières, and the Italian lumi. For an expansion of this terminology refer to Samuel Fleischacker, What is Enlightenment? (Taylor and Francis: Hoboken, 2013).} While London and Paris could be called centres of the learned, Germany did not have any one central hub for intellectual pursuits.\footnote{Seigel 123.} As a consequence, possibly one of the most significant outcomes of the Aufklärung for Germans were the personal networks which emerged as the medium through which knowledge was shared over broad geographical divisions. Seigel argues that in cultural spheres from around the 1720s onwards, authors and publishers began to cultivate a “single literary language” in Germany.\footnote{Ibid. 124.} As discussed later in Chapter Three, there was a remarkable uptake in reading that started in 1740. This reinforces Seigel’s argument, then, because it was the advent of a unified form of written language that could enable the rising consumption of books and spread of education. Perhaps not unsurprisingly, the new literary language developed also at the same time as better postal services emerged. The main advocates of letter writing were, of course, the professional academics and authors, which made up a prominent part of the Bildungsbürger. Seigel stresses that the letter exchanges and journals
helped form essential ‘networks’ that enabled knowledge to be disseminated more quickly and efficiently.\(^{47}\)

While the *Bildungsbürger* were not limited to academics, what was different about them was the way individuals became linked by knowledge networks rather than by class. Christoph Martin Wieland (1733-1813), one of Germany’s foremost authors in the eighteenth century, described this group of individuals as “men of the nation.”\(^{48}\) This was so because, unlike most folk of the various principalities, these men exchanged messages across the country regardless (or with less regard) of personal background. Specific features that went with these citizens, also called “Staatsbürger”, were to develop moral qualities in light of *Aufklärung* principles. These included belief in a calling in life (“Berufung”) and the self-cultivation (“Selbstbildung”) of the intellect. Although the *Bildungsbürger* generally accepted all individuals into their fold, certain criteria had to be met to actually join. Kant observed in his day: “everybody is born as a potential citizen [möglicher Staatsbürger], but in order to become such, he must possess some means [Vermögen], whether it be in merits [Verdiensten] or in things [Sachen].”\(^{49}\) Although there were many contentious voices over these matters, it was the *Bildungs- und Staatsbürger* who initiated the development of the unified written language that ordained the beginning of a new era in many diverse ways.

Another important area of modernity in German history was the outbreak of war with Napoleon and the ensuing re-ordering of Europe at the Vienna

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\(^{47}\) Ibid. 125.

\(^{48}\) Ibid. 125-6, quoting Wieland.

\(^{49}\) Seigel 127, quoting Kant.
The congress in 1814-1815. The importance of Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821) is disputed. Seigel states that the real changes in Germany occurred first in the 1850s and 1870s, yet many instances of change were certainly set in motion. Thomas Nipperdey even asserts: “Am Anfang war Napoleon.” Nipperdey argues that the French Revolution and Napoleon ushered in the foundations for the modern world.

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51 Ibid. 11.
Part One: Modernity as a Departure Point

Chapter Two: Conceiving Modernity

2.1 Introduction: What is Modernity?

2.1.1 Kant’s Answer, Foucault’s Response

To begin to answer the question “what is modernity”, it is useful to recall the moment, when the Aufklärung turned self-critical and self-reflexive. This moment occurred in December 1784 when in Die Berlinische Monatsschrift Kant replied to the question “Was ist Aufklärung?” that had been posed one year earlier by Rev. Johann Friedrich Zöllner (1753-1804):52

Aufklärung ist der Ausgang des Menschen aus seiner selbst verschuldeten Unmündigkeit. Unmündigkeit ist das Unvermögen, sich seines Verstandes ohne Anleitung eines anderen zu bedienen. Selbst verschuldet ist diese Unmündigkeit, wenn die Ursache derselben nicht am Mangel des Verstandes sondern der Entschließung und des Muthes liegt, sich seiner ohne Leitung eines anderen zu bedienen. Sapere aude [wage es verständig zu sein]! Habe Muth, dich deines eigenen Verstandes zu bedienen! ist also der Wahlspruch der Aufklärung.53

Kant’s answer has served generations of thinkers ever since in pondering the meaning of the Aufklärung and modern thought.54 The programme, which Kant

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54 There were many responses to “Was ist Aufklärung”. The attempts to answer the question broke out most fiercely in the “Mittwochgesellschaft”, a secret society of “Friends of the Enlightenment”, which had intimate links to Die Berlinische Monatsschrift, (of which Zöllner was a part). Following Zöllner, J. K. W. Möhnes delivered a lecture to the society. Another member, Moses Mendelssohn, also delivered a lecture to the society and had in fact written a response that appeared in 1784 in the September issue of Die Berlinische Monatsschrift. However, Kant is attributed with making the greater impact, for other famous thinkers such as Hamann, Jacobi and Fichte all responded to his answer. See de Berg et al, Modern German Thought from Kant to Habermas, (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2012), 23-4; also James Schmidt, “Introduction”,

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presents in this essay, expresses a famous motto of the Aufklärung, namely Sapere aude (‘Dare to know!’ or ‘Have the courage to use your own understanding’). This motto can be understood as representative of Kant’s attempt to signify the importance of the individual subject as capable of producing knowledge independently to enlighten his or herself. Kant proclaimed the individual was therefore able to emerge out of humanity’s self-imposed immaturity ("Ausgang des Menschen aus seiner selbst verschuldeten Unmündigkeit"). Perhaps one of the most revolutionary lines of thought proposed here was, not to uphold the possibility of Aufklärung only through superior intellectual capacity, rather, Kant proclaimed that Aufklärung was attainable for anyone (which, however, nevertheless required the justification from an authority). While Kant’s position has been criticised from many angles, the lasting validity of his thinking can be identified in these ideas that he presented. Thus, for many, it was a turning point in the evolution of modern thought.


55 Fleischacker 13.
56 Ibid. 14: "The source of enlightenment lies within each of us, for [Kant], not in any set of scholars. He puts the onus on each of us for achieving enlightenment, and blames each of us for the immaturity that blocks us from doing so. He implies, thereby, that enlightenment is within reach for everybody." C.f. Michael Foucault, "What is Critique" (1978), trans. K. P. Geiman, What is Enlightenment?, ed. James Schmidt, (University of California Press: Berkeley: 1996), 387, quoting Frederick II: "Let them reason as much as they want as long as they obey".
57 See Fleischacker Chapters Three-Four for an illuminating discussion on Kant’s earliest critics.
58 The continued interest of Kant’s and others’ views on the Aufklärung are debated in James Schmidt, What is Enlightenment: Eighteenth Century Answers, Twentieth Century Questions, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).
59 My interest in "Was ist Aufklärung" does not delve into the finer details surrounding the issues between Kant’s views on the use of reason in the public and private spheres, and the importance of freedom of expression. For more on these discussions contemporary to Kant refer to J. Schmidt (1996) Chapter Two, 85-141.
Two hundred years later Foucault took up this question in a work of the same name: *What is Enlightenment?* (1984). Foucault unpacked Kant’s thesis as in the context of his own post-structuralism. The main thread of argument he followed deals with how Kant showed an awareness of himself in relation to his current situation that was distinctly different to what came before him. In his own answer to the question, Foucault suggested it could be grasped as a philosophical interrogation, wherein man’s link to the present and the construction of the self as an independent subject are placed under scrutiny. Furthermore, even more important to Foucault, was the way in which Kant’s response can be perceived as a philosophical *ethos* that functions as a continuous critique of history to this day. In this light, Foucault proposed that Kant’s response marked an emphatic moment in history in which he perceived the philosopher Kant standing “at the crossroads of critical reflection and reflection on history.” It was an instant which in many ways signified:

...the first time that a philosopher has connected in this way, closely and from the inside, the significance of his work with respect to knowledge, a reflection on history and a particular analysis of the specific moment at which he is writing and because of which he is writing.

This notion of reflection of the instant in relation to history is recognized as viewing today as different from yesterday, which Foucault identifies as a

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61 Foucault (1984) summarises his argument as follows: “I have been seeking, on the one hand, to emphasize the extent to which a type of philosophical interrogation—one that simultaneously problematizes man’s relation to the present, man’s historical mode of being, and the constitution of the self as an autonomous subject—is rooted in the Enlightenment. On the other hand, I have been seeking to stress that the thread that may connect us with the Enlightenment is not faithfulness to doctrinal elements, but rather the permanent reactivation of an attitude—that is, of a philosophical ethos that could be described as a permanent critique of our historical era”, 42.

62 Ibid. 38.

63 Ibid. 38.
“motive” for pursuing a particular kind of philosophical project. This project, in Foucault’s eyes, acts as a point of departure for what he suggested one could call “the outline of [...] the attitude of modernity.”

2.1.2 Baudelaire’s Modernity

In order to expand on the attitude of modernity, Foucault refers to the essay “The Painter of Modern Life” (1863) in which Baudelaire coined the term. For Foucault, Baudelaire displayed a sharp awareness of what he describes as the “discontinuity of time”, whose defining features are recognized as the notions of a “break from tradition”, “novelty” and “vertigo” in respect to the movement of time experienced in the moment. Baudelaire therefore conceived of modernity as "the ephemeral, the fugitive, the contingent, the half of art whose other half is the eternal and immutable." Thus Foucault establishes the context of Baudelaire’s perceived attitude of modernity. Foucault does not understand modernity as a passing fashion; rather, he is convinced that Baudelaire saw within the attitude of modernity the attempt to exalt the present. Baudelaire sought to glorify individuals and the objects with which they interacted as something greater than what they were, especially in association with painters, who were the most adept at capturing the modernity of their times. Baudelaire beheld in his most admired painters the ability to turn “the natural” into

64 Ibid. 38.
65 Ibid. 38; C.f. Foucault’s invitation to Habermas to a conference celebrating the 200th anniversary of the famous question which he took as “a call to a discussion in which we... would debate various interpretations of modernity, using as a basis for discussion a text that in a certain sense initiated the philosophical discourse of modernity”. Cited in J. Schmidt (2011), 48-9.
68 Baudelaire 13.
something “more than natural”, “the beautiful” into something “more than beautiful.” This view led Foucault to declare: “For the attitude of modernity, the high value of the present is in-dissociable from a desperate eagerness to imagine it, to imagine it otherwise than it is, and to transform it not by destroying it but by grasping it in what it is.” This is viewed as the ‘mode’ in which modern man must go about his relationship to modernity: “Modern man, for Baudelaire, is not the man who goes off to discover himself, his secrets and his hidden truth; he is the man who tries to invent himself.” Thus modernity in its rudimentary conceptual stage was understood fundamentally as being transient, which in turn has urged the modern individual to engage with the transient nature of things and construct his or her own identity to deal with this fact. This idea of modernity evolved out of the institution of art.

2.1.3 Paradigm Shifts: the Need for Philosophy

To the sociologist and philosopher, Jürgen Habermas, the institution of art played a central role in the emergence of modernity. According to Habermas in Der philosophische Diskurs der Moderne: Zwölf Vorlesungen (1985), modernity in general refers to a series of paradigm shifts within various institutions such as science, technology, law, morality, art and art criticism; paradigm shifts which were well underway by the end of the eighteenth century. Habermas describes these institutions as “institutionally differentiated as realms of activity in which

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70 Ibid. 41.
71 Ibid. 42, my emphasis.
72 Baudelaire’s conception of art as an institution stemmed from his observation of Constantin Guy (1802-1892), who he termed the painter of modern life. Baudelaire strove to underline the way in which art is permeated by modernity (the ephemeral, the fugitive, the contingent), and how people of his time engaged with works of art, which in turn affected the onlooker with a sense of modernity.
74 Ibid. 19.
questions of truth, of justice, and of taste were autonomously elaborated...".75

The advent of modernity in this regard also led to rifts appearing within the communication between these institutions. However, Habermas supports the notion that through communicating rationally the ruptures caused by modernity were reconciled.76 Thus rational systems emerged to govern order amongst the institutions. One crucial way in which these systems emerged was through the philosophy of Hegel.

The ruptures to which Habermas refers acted as a starting point for Hegel’s claim that his age had a “need for philosophy”. Habermas asserts that in the nineteenth century modernity ignited in many a yearning for “self-reassurance”. Hence, Hegel believed a philosophy was required that offered a reliable source of stability in viewing the world. Hegel’s central stance here was that he viewed philosophy as tasked with the role of comprehending existence in the present (in contrast to drawing stability from the doctrines of the ancient regime). Habermas maintains that this meant for Hegel “the modern age – in thought.”77

Hegel insisted that the understanding of modernity in terms of time-consciousness and the need for self-reassurance was only achievable through subjectivity. For Habermas, this is the central tenet of the modern age.78 Subjectivity is therefore perceived as taking shape in modern culture. Habermas is adamant that this is also the case for the institution of science, which in Max Weber’s terms: “disenchants nature at the same time that it liberates the

75 Ibid. 18.
77 Habermas 16.
78 Ibid. 16. “The principle of the modern world is freedom of subjectivity.”
knowing subject.” This viewpoint is the medium through which ethical notions of the modern era are formed from the personal viewpoints of the individual. Habermas boils down the discussion to two fundamental notions. On the one hand, moral concepts were based on the right an individual has to justify his own actions, and on the other, they were based on the prerequisite that everybody should carry out these actions in a way that does not disrupt the peace with others around them.

According to Habermas, then, the consequence for subjective freedom in the modern age is best comprehended in relation to the institution of the art of the Romantik. Why? Habermas states: “Modern art reveals its essence in [German] Romanticism…”, which he regarded as a mode through which the individual began to exercise his powers of self-reflection by capturing actual elements of reality. However, while an artwork can conceive of reality, this was only possible for suitable individuals. Thus works of art can never truly attain absolute expression of the internal or external worlds. Instead, art must be content with a fragmented form because not every individual will grasp the thinking of another. Therefore, in Habermas’ view, the institution of art may serve as a useful temporal and spatial tool through which to perceive the concept of modernity. The institution of art can be perceived as a space in which a form of thought is captured and observed as an object of the moment.

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79 Ibid. 17.
80 Ibid. 17.
81 Habermas 18.
82 Ibid. 18: “subjective refraction of the sensitive soul.”
2.2 Perspective: Der transformative Augenblick and the Institution of Art

2.2.1 Der transformative Augenblick

Understanding of the institution of art is bolstered by the concept of the “transformative Augenblick” due to its thematic connection to the perception of an artwork and the idea of nature as contingent. Both art and the moment are bound together through the eyes of the beholder, for the artwork can only become truly alive when it is looked at, and then, in Baudelaire's terms, in the instant that it is properly seen, that instant passes. Yet in that instant the beholder is also transformed. He becomes greater than he was, if only for that instant. The experience of art and the moment in this regard can be understood as conceptual features of modernity.

Art as an institution is one of the key subjects of Elliot Schreiber's Topography of Modernity: Karl Philipp Moritz and the Space of Autonomy (2012). Schreiber concentrates on art in relation to the aesthetic theory of Karl Philipp Moritz (1756-1793), to which Schreiber attaches the term “the sublime Augenblick”. The sublime Augenblick is an intrinsic part of Moritz's personal interpretation of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe’s (1749-1832) popular sentimental novel Die Leiden des jungen Werthers (1774). In the autobiographical novel Anton Reiser (1785-1790), Moritz engaged with Goethe's novel in three developmental stages through the experiences of the protagonist, Anton.83 In the opening part of Moritz's novel, Anton is made to relate strongly to the way in which Werther depicted the notion of the “transformative Augenblick”

83 Moritz's novel also falls under the category Reiseliteratur or travel literature, which is part of genre of literature centred on the idea of mobility (see Section 2.3).
in a particular letter from August 18. The exact time and moment are essential in the configuration of how the transformative *Augenblick* is experienced. In the middle stage, Moritz attempted to overcome this instant of transformation by inserting it inside "the timelessness of the *autonomous artwork*, or the work that is 'complete in itself' (in sich selbst vollendet)." This happened through what Schreiber calls a "perspectival" reading which comprehends the letter of August 18 as a central motif around which Goethe's novel revolves and in so doing, Moritz is seen as suspending the transformative *Augenblick* “in space”. Yet, in the final stage, it is revealed that the answer to the *Augenblick* itself turns out to be itself only transitory and Moritz is compelled to adjust his aesthetics to one within the *Augenblick* just before its completion, rather than in the autonomous space of art. Schreiber demonstrates this action by analysing Moritz's work *Über ein Gemälde von Goethe* (1792), which dealt with the question as to how in the initial moments of creating a piece of art, the artist captures the infinite wholeness of nature; however, it is an infinite wholeness that disintegrates through the “act of artistic representation”, thus making the artwork "paradoxically" vanish moments after it appeared.

More generally, Schreiber also considers Moritz’s overarching engagement with several institutions in terms of a spatial understanding. In this respect the perception of the institution of art can be applied to different types of institutions in society. This approach is likened to Foucault's *Discipline and*
Punishment (1975), where Foucault is also concerned with the spatial structure of institutions, which are maintained through disciplinary measures, especially vis-a-vis Bentham’s Panopticon.\textsuperscript{89} However, where Foucault views the rigidity of institutional spaces and the similarities between apparently incongruent institutions, Moritz, according to Schreiber, opted for an open outlook on the changeability of institutions and stressed their “heterogeneity”, suggesting that the internal make-up of the institutions may be alike, but they are focused on discrepant and often contentious outcomes.\textsuperscript{90} In order to process these observations, Schreiber locates within Moritz’s thought the ability to traverse through, “[a] multiplication of points of view; again and again, he changes perspectives, positioning now one institution, now another as the central vantage point from which all others are to be regarded.”\textsuperscript{91}

Moritz’s modernity comes to the forefront through his ability to assume a diverse range of viewpoints. This concept of diversity represents a significant moment in the history of modernity because it shows that the traditional, rigid and absolutist forms of thinking, which still existed in the late eighteenth century, were beginning to wane for some at least. Schreiber illustrates this in his examination of Moritz’s engagement with Goethe’s novel. In the engagement with Die Leiden des jungen Werthers, Moritz demonstrated the specificity of his understanding of the intertwining moment with the institution of art. Schreiber interprets Moritz’s engagement as part of his aesthetic theory, which suggests an affinity with Baudelaire’s thinking. Furthermore, the idea of multiple viewpoints in relation to an artwork provides a space or mode in which the observer can

\textsuperscript{89} Ibid. 7.
\textsuperscript{90} Ibid. 6.
\textsuperscript{91} Ibid. 3-4.
comprehend a piece of art. The observer must engage with the perspective of the artist in relation to his or her personal experience. Thus the institution of art can be viewed as a central zone in which ideas of modernity developed because art itself is comprehended by an awareness of the Augenblick.

2.2.2 Out of Art came Modernity

In order to determine more specifically how modernity emerged from the institution of art, I turn again to Habermas' Der philosophische Diskurs der Moderne: Zwölf Vorlesungen. Habermas understands modernity in its essence as centred in art. While endeavouring to define the concept, he states in his first lecture: “The problem of grounding modernity out itself first comes to consciousness in the realm of aesthetic criticism.”92 The problem of the self-reflexivity of modernity is linked historically to the Querelle des anciens et des moderns, a dispute that first took place in France in the late seventeenth century, spearheaded by the French statesman and author Charles Perrault (1628-1703).93 While the French moderns have generally been attributed with success from that time, its later emergence in Germany was met with much more resistance. The dispute entered Germany through the work of Winckelmann.94 In 1764, Winckelmann published Die Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums and subsequently revolutionized the study of art history. What was so ground-breaking about Winckelmann’s work, was his “organic” approach to the way in

92 Habermas 8.
93 Matei Calinescu, Five Faces of Modernity: modernism, avant-garde, decadence, kitsch, postmodernism. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987), 27. Anderson observes that Perrault began the querelle with the poem Siécle de Louis le Granding in which he argued that the arts and sciences had reached their capacity at the time, 68.
94 Watson 95. Watson also attributes Winckelmann's success to Karl Weber, a military engineer in the Swiss guard, who laid down the foundations for Winckelmann’s survey of Classical art through his brilliant and careful excavation work at sites such as Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabiae.
which he perceived the unfolding of artwork in relation to the advance of the human race. The “Greek revival”, as it is known, according to historian Henry Hatfield, “profoundly altered the course of German literature [...] from Lessing to our own time...”. It is thus interesting, notes Habermas that the notion of the modern first came into use as a noun mid-way through the nineteenth century, especially in the case of fine arts.

For this reason, Habermas argues that for Baudelaire, the “aesthetic experience of modernity” must be deeply entwined with the historical. In other words, this introduces a temporal dimension to the concept of modernity. Within this process or movement between time and aesthetic experience, Habermas identifies the problem of grounding modernity in a “decentred subjectivity” that is no longer in harmony with the common practices of “everyday life”. Thus Habermas, like Foucault, mentions Baudelaire’s famous summation of modernity, and contends that this acts as a landmark of modernity. Habermas further discusses how Baudelaire’s awareness and use of the term modernity vis-a-vis art showed that Baudelaire realised how genuine artwork is closely associated to the instant in which it appears. To Baudelaire, the intrinsic connection between the instant of art production and its emergence enables a type of gateway between the mundane and the eternal through which the

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95 Ibid. 97 citing E. M. Butler.
96 Ibid. 100 citing H. Hatfield.
97 Habermas states that the term modern “only came to be used in a substantive form in the middle of the nineteenth century, [...] at first in the realm of the fine arts”, 8. C.f. Patricia Seed, “Early Modernity: The History of a Word”. In: The New Centennial Review, 2:1 (2002), 1-16.
98 Ibid. 8.
99 Ibid. 8-9. Albeit, Foucault and Habermas interpret Baudelaire in vastly different ways.
100 Ibid. 9. “[T]he authentic work is radically bound to the moment of its emergence...”. My emphasis.
observer may peer and for that ephemeral instant perceive the real as it actually is.101

2.3 Sattelzeit, Volksdichtung: Mobility Literature and the Modern Concept of Culture

2.3.1 New Expectations and Experience

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth century can be perceived through the lens of the term mobility. The idea of mobility is significant for the present thesis during the period, which Koselleck has termed the Sattelzeit. The Sattelzeit is based on the assumption that since the middle of the eighteenth century, “ein tiefgreifender Bedeutungswandel klassischer Topoi vollzogen, dass alte Worte keine Sinngehalte gewonnen haben, die mit Annäherung an unsere Gegenwart keiner Übersetzung mehr bedürftig sind.”102 According to Koselleck, the Sattelzeit started around 1770 when new words and word usages entered the common tongue: “seit etwa 1770 eine Fülle neuer Worte und Wortbedeutungen auftauchen, Zeugnisse neuer Welterfassung, die die gesamte Sprache induzieren”. The changes in the meaning of words reflects an entire stratum of shifts which took place semantically over this period. Koselleck refers to these as

101 Ibid. 10. Habermas criticises Baudelaire, however, for descending into comforting himself with the idea that the way in which time and endless time are configured, occur simultaneously in the genuine art work, indicating Baudelaire’s conception of modernity only suffices as a reference point for starting a discussion on the topic.

the altering of the horizon of experience. Although Koselleck does not define a precise end to the *Sattelzeit*, it is generally accepted that the period ends around 1800, when mobility becomes commonplace.\textsuperscript{103} This periodization Anita Perkins extends to 1830, and for the proposal of this thesis, this extended notion delivers a timeframe for examining the *KHM* with regard to the emergence of modernity. The period 1770-1830 acts as an approximate timeframe within which key historical figures emerged and whose literary output and social context may be related to the concept of modernity (should their literary productions demonstrate a sense of mobility).

The shift to which the extended *Sattelzeit* leads is also characterized by a change in expectations and the way everyday life was experienced. Modernity lies at the heart of these changes. Koselleck states:

\textit{My thesis is that in modern times the difference between experience and expectation has increasingly expanded; more precisely, that modernity is first understood as a new age from the time that expectations have distanced themselves evermore from all previous experience.}\textsuperscript{104}

Here Koselleck portrays the awareness of modern times along the lines of the growing discrepancy between the “space of experience” and the “horizon of expectation”.\textsuperscript{105} In this view, modernity is perceived as the rupturing of old European values and of the ways of life of peasants and other rural dwellers. These ways of living were caught up in processes that became increasingly mobilized as old values slowly lost their meaning. In their stead new expectations emerged, which led to the idea of modernity being orientated


\textsuperscript{104} Habermas 12, citing Koselleck.

\textsuperscript{105} C.f Habermas 12.
around looking toward the future as opposed to remaining rigidly fixated on the past.\footnote{Ibid. 12. “These traditional experiences of previous generations are then replaced by the kind of experience of progress that lends to our horizon of expectation (till then anchored fixedly in the past)...”}

The idea of new expectations and increased mobility encapsulate a key formulation of modernity. Modernity can be characterized as the rupture of “old European experiential space” for members of the public traditionally located in the lower socio-economic echelons of society, where less emphasis was placed on education. Moreover, this interpretation can be extended to the experience of the German bourgeoisie. The responsibility of peasants was previously fixed on the passing on of labouring skills perceived as integral to one’s trade and therefore their specific ways of life due to their need to make ends meet. For the emergence of the German bourgeoisie, however, other factors played a role to accompany their own yet relatively similar horizon of expectations.\footnote{Seigel 22-30.} Nevertheless, the expectations of both groups were founded upon a belief in the reproduction of the same, which tradition represented. Seigel argues that these expectations forged by traditional beliefs could be found throughout Germany due to its lack of any hubs of truly centralised national power.\footnote{As Seigel notes, “[w]hereas the French monarchy during the Old Regime drew the country’s diverse and economically fragmented regions into a powerful – albeit conflicted and tangled – web of ties to a political centre, the German lands remained without effective threads of unity in either sphere to the end of the eighteenth century and beyond”, 115.}

Thus in many ways the working class experience and that of the bourgeoisie were closely aligned. While there exists a great deal of diversity within this as to what these expectations mean, the shifting from old European expectations to expectations disconnected from the traditional mode of inheritance is realized over the
Sattelzeit, according to Koselleck, and makes the idea of modernity conceivable as an epoch which disassociates itself from the epochs which came before it.\textsuperscript{109}

Koselleck’s notion of the Sattelzeit is to be understood as a guiding principle of this thesis. There are two main reasons why Koselleck’s idea of new expectations emerging through increased mobility is useful. First, although the Grimms lived until a decade after the mid-nineteenth century, the bulk of the work on the KHM had been undertaken between 1810 and 1830. Chronologically, the tales appeared in the second half of the Sattelzeit, if Perkin’s new periodization of the era is accepted. Second, the famous folklorist Max Lüthi stated, “[d]er Märchenheld ist wesenhaft ein Wanderer”,\textsuperscript{110} drawing a clear connection between fairy-tale characters and being on the move. Moreover, along with the concept of the wanderer and mobility, the notion of the Bildungsreise may also be utilised. Lüthi’s formulation, combined with Perkin’s periodization, suggests a connection to the Sattelzeit that is more than mere coincidence. In order to substantiate this claim further, I consider an account of the roots of Volksdichtung conceived in the German-speaking world around the beginning of the Sattelzeit.

2.3.2 The Roots of Volksdichtung

Johann Gottfried Herder is one of the central figures of the Sattelzeit. His Journal meiner Reise in 1769 can therefore be read as a consequence of the will to travel.\textsuperscript{111} The inspiration to write this account of his travels stemmed from an

\textsuperscript{109} Habermas 15.
\textsuperscript{111} Perkins 63–4. Although it must be mentioned that Herder’s work is far more a journey of the mind – a “Sentimental Journey”, as befitted the literature of the time – than one of description of
inner restlessness, much like many characters of folk and fairy tales. From 1764-1769, Herder had resided in Riga, the town where his interest in Volksdichtung was first kindled. Riga in its day was hailed as the cultural centre for German intellectuals. However, at the time Latvia was not recognized as a country in its own right but as an important port of the Russian Empire. In this light, it appears apt that Herder formulated in Riga the connection between folksongs and the land from where they came as a defining feature of Volksdichtung. Interestingly, the meaning of Volksdichtung is itself defined through a paradoxical notion of rootedness in its place of origin, and the way in which it can also adapt to environments as they evolve over time and space.

However, Herder could not find satisfaction in his work in Riga as educator and teacher and decided to take to the sea in May of 1769 on his own Bildungsreise. Herder in his capacity as traveller and writer may be regarded as a hinge figure in German literature and thought. To this end, it appears justified to argue that the discovery of Volksdichtung should be linked to Herder's initial interest in the diversity of stories and folksongs from different cultures experienced while travelling. This is reflected in the second edition of the very first work of German Volksdichtung ever published, originally called Volkslieder nebst untermischten andern Stücken (1778/79), but in 1807 it was re-released under the title Stimmen der Völker in Liedern.
It is also relevant that the rise in popularity of Volksdichtung originated from Herder's encounter with tales of another country, which had to travel across land and sea to find him.\textsuperscript{115} This came about through the English minister, Thomas Percy's (1729-1811), collection of folk material entitled Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, consisting of Old Heroic Ballads, Songs and Other Pieces of our Earlier Poets (Chiefly of the Lyric Kind) Together with some few of a Later Date (1767).\textsuperscript{116} The first documented reception of this form of poetry entering Germany is attributed to Erich Raspe (1736-1794), a librarian in Hannover. Raspe, in commenting on Percy's work in the year of its publication, said: “er möchte [sie] wohl sehen, ein deutsches Beispiel des Volksliedes, dessen Inspiration aus England kam.”\textsuperscript{117} In the introduction to Des Knaben Wunderhorn, Clemens Brentano (1778-1842) conceded that it was unclear whether or not Herder became aware of Reliques through Raspe, but also Herder wrote in his essay Über die neuere Deutsche Literatur in 1767:

\begin{center}
\text{würde man sorgsam sein, sich nach alten Nationalliedern zu erkundigen: so würde man nicht bloss tief in die poetische Denkart der Vorfahren dringen, sondern auch Stücke bekommen, die... den oft so vortrefflichen Ballads der Britten... beikämen.}\textsuperscript{118}
\end{center}

The basic tenet of Herder's ideas regarding Volksdichtung was the striving for a national identity, which, he argued, was bound up in the folksongs as vessels of cultural information distinct from other cultures, which also

\textsuperscript{2004}, 168-89, 168. Herder included Volkslieder from the Nordic cultures, Native Americans, Ossian, Shakespeare and Goethe.
\textsuperscript{115} Ibid. 168.
\textsuperscript{116} It was published in 1765 in three volumes and gained support from the poets Shenstone and Oliver Goldsmith. Percy died in 1811, experiencing during his lifetime three further editions of his Reliques (1767, 1775 & 1794).
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid. VIII, quoting Herder.
contributed to their education.\textsuperscript{119} During the period in Riga, Herder became acquainted with the local folksongs of the Latvians known as \textit{dainas}.\textsuperscript{120} Herder included in his \textit{Volkslieder} twelve \textit{dainas}. This form of folksong later became an essential part of the Latvian claim for an independent cultural heritage.\textsuperscript{121} Bunkse suggests Herder attained his views from examples such as the following:

\begin{verbatim}
Komm, o komme, Nachtigallchen
Komm mit deinem warmen Sommer
Meine Liebe jungen Brüder
Wussten sonst die Saalzeit nicht
\end{verbatim}

Bunkse shows that Herder may have been inspired by the way in which the \textit{dainas} gave literal expression to the land, people, animals and environment of the place, which imprinted on the songs their own distinct character and culture.\textsuperscript{123} Along with the words, the performance of these songs also demonstrated to Herder their distinctive character. He witnessed a Latvian midsummer solstice celebration (\textit{Jao ni}), in which folksongs played a central part in the festivities. To Herder the songs "represent an archive for the folk, in which all their science, religion, soulfulness, ancient events, the joys of life and the sufferings [come to the surface]."\textsuperscript{124} Svabe also captures the power of the \textit{daina} as an artifact of cultural identity:

\begin{quote}
Latvians have such piety towards this inheritance from their forefathers... that a favourite sentiment, which cannot be obtained even by a clever politician is gained rather easily by the song of a chorus; every Latvian who listens to it, regardless of religion, political conviction, or social status feels
\end{quote}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[119] Anderson 67-8. Anderson notes that Herder was programmatic in his conception of the link between national education and language, "Denn jedes Volk ist ein Volk; es hat seine National Bildung wie seine Sprache."
\item[121] Ibid. 196.
\item[122] Quoted in Bunkse, 200.
\item[123] Bunkse 198.
\item[124] Ibid. 201, quoting Herder.
\end{footnotes}
that a centuries long common fate unifies him with people who sing and listen to these songs.\textsuperscript{125}

These ideas strongly encouraged later Latvians to gather folklore and view it as a key way in which to transmit cultural information that has national significance.\textsuperscript{126}

2.3.3 Authorising Cultural Identity as a Response to Crisis?

Herder was one of the first Germans to ascribe national meaning to \textit{Volksdichtung} as a type of cultural artifact. The act of attribution is best understood under the notion of the rhetoric of \textit{authenticity}.\textsuperscript{127} This notion had significant ramifications for the understanding of cultural identity. Herder saw within the language itself the \textit{form} in which a specific culture could be distinguished, to which he attributed a historical foundation.\textsuperscript{128} The notion stems from Herder’s views on the origin of language and the way in which language impacts on the individual’s ability to perceive the world in relation to others.\textsuperscript{129} The language one speaks naturally alters how one understands the world. Thus it was essential that the poetry of a folk be conveyed in the vernacular to distinguish one speaker or teller from another.

The collecting and writing of \textit{Volksdichtung} in the vernacular relied heavily on cultural authorisation to justify the importance of this practice. Without the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{125}Ibid. 197, quoting Svabe.
\item \textsuperscript{126}Ibid. 200.
\item \textsuperscript{127}Bauman & Briggs define the idea of the rhetoric of authenticity as follows: “The poems, songs, and tales in the vernacular repertoire are highly valued as national symbols, but in their hybrid state – distressed remnants of the past in the present – they cannot serve this important function without the intervention, mediation, and authorization of intellectuals,”\textsuperscript{162}.
\item \textsuperscript{129}David Pan, “Johann Gottfried Herder: the Origin of Language and the Possibility of Transcultural Narratives”, \textit{Language and Intercultural Communication}, 4: 1 & 2 (2004), 10-20, 11-12.
\end{itemize}
interest and the belief that the tales were somehow important to a particular group of people, they would have drifted into oblivion. Therefore the threat of the tales becoming extinct was perceived as a kind of crisis. Bauman and Briggs state: “Poetic, collective, affecting, infused with the national spirit, tradition, as Herder saw it, is... always under duress in the modern world, requiring the intervention of intellectuals to preserve it for the health of the nation.” The argument can be exhibited as a self-sustaining mode in which Volksdichtung was authorised as culturally important. It was “self-sustaining” because the more individuals accepted the tales as national tales, the more mouths there were to justify their importance through their (re)use. In this context, imbuing the Volksdichtung with national importance came to reflect the changing social climate at the end of the eighteenth century. As the Sattelzeit argument maintains, many individuals had begun to travel and gather new insights into the way the world worked from outside their national boundaries. While not all changes can be viewed in a positive light (such as the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars), in numerous instances, many people began to assert their rights as individuals and citizens, and with this came the need to define cultural and national heritage as forms of identity.

130 Bauman and Briggs 163.
131 Ibid. 163: “...Herder created a conception of tradition as constitutive of vernacular literature and national identity.”
132 Claude Conter notes that the justification for the German national literature was not merely an attempt to culturally legitimize a future German nation-state but also a political and poetic discourse. As the national literature had to be in the vernacular, it therefore can be grasped as a constituent of the Querelle. Claude Conter, “Kulturtransfer bei Herder und den Brüdern Schlegel: eine Herausforderung für die nationale Literaturgeschichtsschreibung”, KulturPoetik Bd. 10:1 (2010), 25-47, 25.
133 Goethe, for example, recounted in his later years that he experienced some of the happiest moments in his life during his journey to Italy in 1786-88. Intriguingly, it was an identity crisis that fueled his desire to travel, due to problems with his lover Charlotte von Stein and his friend and mentor Herder. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, “Italienische Reise”, Goethe's Meisterwerke: Mit Illustrationen Deutscher Künstler (Neunzehnter Band), G. Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung: Berlin, 1870.
Volksdichtung may be understood as a direct response to the emergence of modernity. This is so because, with the increasing mobility of society, a greater awareness grew of the transient and contingent nature of things. Volksdichtung was looked upon in this light. Herder, for example, claimed that the Volksdichtung would be lost if certain individuals did not bother to save it, leading him to declare:

I cry out to my German brothers! Just now! The remnants of all living folk imagination are rolling precipitously toward a final plunge into the abyss of oblivion. ... the light of so-called culture is devouring everything about it like a cancer.  

This type of rhetoric forms a central body of academic work, which refers to crisis as a reason in its own right to carry out a study on a particular subject, or authorise the authenticity of this practice. According to Bernd Fischer and Tim Mehigan, a crisis is also a mark of modernity. This is visible in the idea that a crisis acted as a powerful motivation for many famous writers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to leave behind the old and make their way into the new (Herder, Goethe, Moritz, Heinrich von Kleist). Thus the idea of a crisis can be seen to have a connection to Volksdichtung. The time in which it was first conceived corresponds quite closely with the beginning of the Sattelzeit. And as in real life, protagonists of folk poetry are often forced to travel due to an initial crisis at the start of the tale. Yet, despite the lofty claims, the task remained amongst what Herder called the “Volk der Gelehrsamkeit”, leaving no

134 Baumann & Briggs 182, quoting Herder.
135 Ibid. 182.
136 The Grimms also apply the notion of crisis experienced through the cultural transfer set in motion by Napoleon.
place for common types to be involved. This point contrasts considerably with the next stage in the evolution of *Volksdichtung*, as will be discussed in the following section.

### 2.3.4 Musäus and the *Volksmärchen der Deutschen*

Another key figure in the history of *Volksdichtung* is the author Johann Karl August Musäus (1735-1787). An important transition from the *Aufklärung* perceptions of specifically *Märchen* to the *Romantik* is discernible in Musäus’ *Volksmärchen der Deutschen*, published in five volumes between the years 1782-1786. In the dedication and foreword to the first volume, Musäus raised several interesting points, which help to contextualize this discussion. A fascinating fact, which could be significant to modernity that sheds light on how the *Märchen* became accessible to a wider audience, can be observed on the title page of Musäus’ *Volksmärchen*. The dedication reads as it appears in the text:

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Der
Deutsche Classiker
Für alle Stände
(“Bildung macht frei!”)
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The front page of this collection of tales stands in contrast to Herder’s and the *Aufklärung*’s concept of *Märchen*. The phrase “Für alle Stände” suggests a new development in the approach to *Märchen* while the “Bildung macht frei!”, added in brackets almost as an afterthought, clearly links the dedication to the *Aufklärung*. In the *Aufklärung*, *Märchen* were mostly considered trivial and had no more value than being frivolous entertainment and putting children to sleep. However, with Musäus’ collection, the negative view of *Märchen* appeared to be

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138 Baumann & Briggs 183-6.
shifting. Musäus discussed this issue in the foreword at the beginning of his *Volkmärchen* addressed to his friend David Runkel. He said of his friend that he might well ask, when looking at the title of the collection: “Wozu dient dieser Unrath?” At first Musäus answered in traditional terms: “Märchen sind Possen, erfunden, Kinder zu schweigen und einzuschläfern, nicht aber das verständige Publikum damit zu unterhalten.” He also questioned whether the “ennuyierte Publikum… der Empfindsamkeit” would be able to accept the significance of the *Volkmärchen*. However, Musäus added that the public at the time had begun to seek new forms of entertainment. At this juncture, he raised the notion of fantasy and argued that even learned people use it. He even proclaimed, “dass die Phantasie gerade die liebste Gespielin des menschlichen Geistes und die vertrauteste Gesellschafterin durchs Leben sei...”. Musäus could admit that sometimes *Märchen* delved beyond human reason but “[d]er Hang zum Wunderbaren und Ausserordentlichen liegt so tief in unserer Seele, dass er sich niemals auswurzeln lässt.”

What is discussed here is significant because it is essentially a ‘new’ view of the cultural value of *Märchen*. He stated that others might view this differently, further reinforcing that his ideas were new. He contended that fantasy has a place side by side with reason. He also metaphorically claimed a place (“ein eigenes Stückchen Acker”) for the various forms of the *Märchen*, “auf dessen Cultur bisher noch kein deutscher Scrib(ent) verfallen war, zu

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140 Ibid. 4.
141 Ibid. 5.
142 Ibid. 5.
143 Ibid. 5.
144 Ibid. 7.
bearbeiten." Intriguingly, the term culture arises here in a context befitting Herder's own conception. So, philologically and metaphorically, Musäus attempted to carve a niche for his collections of Volksdichtung, which, he argued, should be taken seriously in its own right as literature.

Near the end of Musäus' foreword, he confessed that Volksmärchen are not Kindermärchen:

denn ein Volk ... besteht nicht aus Kindern, sondern hauptsächlich aus (alt)en Leuten... Es wäre also ein toller Einfall, wenn (man) meinte, alle Märchen müssten im Kinderton der Märchen meiner (Mut)ter Gans erzählt werden.146

This statement is key to his views for two reasons: Musäus defines his notion of Volksmärchen as a literature designed for all ages, thereby adding to his claim that Märchen deserved to be taken seriously (and not just amusement for children).147 Secondly, he also drew a distinction between his tales and those from Perrault's work Histoires ou Contes du Temps passé (1697). Perrault’s tales were written for the amusement of the learned aristocrats of literary salons (predominantly for women), were infused with moral maxims, yet were presented in a trivial way.148 According to Musäus, his collection was to be treated with more erudition and weight.

2.4 Voices of Modernity

2.4.1 Mediation and Hybridity

In Voices of Modernity: Language Ideologies and the Politics of Inequality (2003), Bauman and Briggs examine how inequality remains intact through textual

145 Ibid. 8.
146 Ibid. 9.
147 Ibid. Consider also: the tales were, according to Musäus, for listeners "einer gemischten Gesellschaft aus Gross und Klein" 10.
ideologies and production from the seventeenth-twentieth centuries. Baumann and Briggs apply Bruno Latour’s characterization of modernity as a point of departure for their study. According to Latour, the major catalyst for modernity was the creation of independent cultural spheres of “society” and “science”.149 However, science and society can be related to one another through two opposing mediums: processes of mediation and the production of hybrids. These two opposing mediums link together elements of ideology, society and politics with science and technology, which interact to form products of modernity.150 At the same time, processes of “purification” also emerge that sought to reinforce the image of autonomy, which both science and society supposedly pursued. Purification occurs in all societies that claim to be modern. In other words, modernity is portrayed as an entity, which is constantly engaged in a process of change, requiring regular re-construction in order to maintain itself.151 Bauman and Briggs note that Latour’s theory is useful to conceive of “epistemologies, social relations, technologies, and material entities and as simultaneously constructed, real, consequential, and dependent on situated and interested practices.”152 Referring to the key notions of hybridity and mediation, it is worth noting that hybridity is defined biologically as the offspring of two pure parents, while mediation denotes an artificial merging of two elements (terms or categories) which generates a symbolic relationship, therefore forming an entirely new creation. Thus mediation depicts the process in which two pure

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149 Bauman & Briggs 4.
150 Bauman & Briggs 4. Bauman and Briggs provide the complimentary examples that as the air pump in seventeenth century showed new potential, so too do nuclear warheads and cellphones show how science and technology are integral to the way society functions in twentieth and twenty-first centuries.
152 Bauman & Briggs 5. Emphasis in original.
forms are brought together to germinate a hybrid product. In the case of Bauman and Briggs' investigation, the two pure forms are science and society, which, they argue, were put together at various moments in history to produce dynamic new types of literature, which served to construct numerous elements of modernity.

With this in mind, I turn to the chapters on the Scottish writer James MacPherson (1736-1796), the Scottish minister, Hugh Blair (1718-1800), and the Brothers Grimm. *Voices of Modernity* is especially significant due to the way in which Bauman and Briggs demonstrate the significance of modernity in conjunction with *Volksdichtung*. This area of investigation can be characterized through the process of the shift from the oral to a print tradition. This process also represents a key way in which science as a cultural sphere was merged with society. In general terms, science was used to justify the study of folklore through the argument that the folk poetry and songs of a nation were intrinsically important to its identity. In the chapter on MacPherson and Blair, Bauman and Briggs investigate the ways in which a scholarly claim is made to support the authenticity of a national epic. The ideas, which emerge with Blair and MacPherson, appear to have been transferred to Herder just a handful of years later. Herder applies a similar logic to his understanding of folksongs, which leads to the publication of the *Volkslieder (1778)* and the coining of the term *Volksdichtung* in the German tongue. Bauman and Briggs show how the Brothers Grimm adopt Herder's ideas surrounding the ways in which tradition can appear to be constructed through language and the way in which power relations are maintained through discourse.

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153 Bauman and Briggs argue that the connections between oral traditions (such as tales, songs) were organized through meta-discourses that can be perceived as part of the “symbolic construction of modernity”, 9.
2.4.2 National Epic Literature and the Rhetoric of Authenticity

In investigating Blair and MacPherson’s work, Bauman and Briggs discuss how the foundations were laid for the conception of a national epic literature of Scotland and the rhetoric of authenticity. Blair and his *A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian, son of Fingal*, which he published in 1763, established a discourse regarding the ways in which folk poetry is tied to a nation through its history and culture. Blair’s dissertation examined three translations of Gaelic poetry of the epic bard Ossian that Macpherson had compiled between 1760-1763.154 The occasion for Blair’s examination was fueled by the fact that the authenticity of Macpherson’s translations had been called into question. This led Blair to engage in written correspondence with native Gaelic speakers in order to gather support for Macpherson’s work, resulting in a second edition of his dissertation in 1765 that included these testimonies.155 Blair’s aims were admirable, but in reality, he had left out many testimonies, which had not reinforced his claims. Therefore, as Bauman and Briggs observe, Blair deliberately fabricated his results to suit his socio-cultural agenda to construct the appearance of authenticity: “authenticity served... as a rhetorical device for the creation of social value, rather than as a precise measure of textual correspondence or transparency.”156 Blair’s ideas capture the tension between the ways in which oral forms of poetry entered into the domain of writing. Gathering poetry and translating it were not enough to justify its existence.

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154 Fragments of Ancient Poetry (1760), Fingal (1762), Temora (1763): In 1765 these works were collected in 2 volumes and published with the title *The Works of Ossian, the Son of Fingal. Translated from the Gaelic Language by James Macpherson.*
155 The full name of Blair’s work is: “A Critical Dissertation on the Poem of Ossian, The Son of Fingal, The Second Edition, To which is added an Appendix containing a variety of Undoubted Testimonies establishing their Authenticity.”
156 Baumann & Briggs 150.
Bauman and Briggs argue that it required scholars or experts to intervene in the discourse in order to establish and authorise their authenticity as cultural products that were tied to a specific national heritage and identity.\textsuperscript{157}

Intriguingly, according to Bauman and Briggs, much of the reasoning behind the desire to justify the Ossianic poetry, despite its falsity, was due to political issues of the day. Scotland in the mid-eighteenth century was relegated in size and status to its superior, England. Over the past 150 years to this point, Scotland had seen the loss of many key components of its national identity.\textsuperscript{158} In 1603, Scotland experienced the loss of its Court after the Union of Crowns. Later in the century, it lost its independence for a time after it was forced into the Commonwealth that Oliver Cromwell had established. The line of the Stuarts was discontinued thanks to the Revolution in 1689; and in 1707, after the Union of Parliaments, Scotland was no longer to be considered a nation with any sovereign power. In this context, it is understandable why Blair went to great lengths to conceal the truth behind the validity of Macpherson’s translations of Gaelic poetry. As a consequence, Blair succeeded in bridging a gap between the ancient history of Scotland and his present day, which meant that he was performing a service for his nation of lasting significance.

The theoretical framework, which he constructed, also left its mark on future generations that were to engage with poetry conceived to have stemmed from the folk. Although Blair was concerned with epic poetry, his theories were

\textsuperscript{157} Bauman and Briggs state: “Blair’s program, carried out by Macpherson, allows for the bridging of both temporal and textual gaps that separate third Century Scotland from the mid-eighteenth, and thus provide a charter for claims to Ossianic poetry as a national symbol”, 155. Furthermore, Blair was the first “to link the rhetoric of authenticity systematically to oral poetry, construed as an emblem of national identity and distinction”, 162.

\textsuperscript{158} I draw these details from Bauman and Briggs, 157-158.
applicable to many different types of poetry. Of significance for the present study is the way he connected folk poetry to the nation. The German Romanticists used this concept as a template for what Bauman and Briggs call a “meta-discursive paradigm” that contributed to the idea of Romantic nationalism.\textsuperscript{159} Bauman and Briggs also assert that Blair’s work was instrumental in the rise in use of the vernacular in literature, which enabled the formulation of nationalist ideologies and modern nation-states.

\textbf{2.4.3 Experts in Volksdichtung}

Bauman and Briggs’ chapter on the Grimms provides insight into the ways in which modernity appears to have influenced their lives and literary output. Following in the footsteps of Herder,\textsuperscript{160} the Grimms and their works are discussed in relation to the idea of “scientizing textual production in service of the nation” and in terms of the idea of crisis and loss.\textsuperscript{161} These concepts function as leitmotifs for a method through which to understand the Grimms’ literary output. Bauman and Briggs argue the Grimm’s work: “provides a key site for seeing how contradictions between language ideologies and textual practices can help sustain new schemes for structuring time, space, and society.”\textsuperscript{162} In this instance, Bauman and Briggs refer to the fact that what the Grimms claimed they had done with the \textit{KHM}, and what they actually did, are two very different perceptions of history. To justify their claims over their work, the Grimms

\textsuperscript{159} Ibid. 159.
\textsuperscript{160} See, for example, Lampart 171-2.
\textsuperscript{161} Bauman & Briggs 197.
\textsuperscript{162} Ibid. 198. The use of language ideology here denotes primarily the principals upon which the Grimms based their understanding of \textit{Naturpoesie} (see Section 5.3.2). Both Grimms, especially Jacob, believed that language spoken by more primitive people of earlier times was inherently closer to nature, and therefore more poetic. This view was derived from Herder’s own position on language, and \textit{Volksdichtung} was the example \textit{par excellence} of the ways in which language of the olden days could still be witnessed in modern times. See also Lampart 183.
established a methodology based upon rational principles pertaining to the study of philology.

The methodology was a central part of their approach to the _KHM_. It enabled them to overcome the contradictions between the way in which the Grimms claimed the tales were collected and presented, and the truth behind the origins of the tales. The Grimms did not collect tales from peasants in the countryside but had them told or sent to them by a variety of friends and acquaintances.¹⁶³ This fact points to the close relationship between the Grimms’ use of this established rational methodology to preserve the _Märchen_ from the destructive forces of modernity and the form that the _Märchen_ took. Bauman and Briggs assert that if the identity of a nation is formed by tradition and modernity destabilizes this connection, then any individual who “specialized” in seeking out significant cultural products played an integral part in counteracting the harmful side of modernity.¹⁶⁴ The Grimms and their work embodied the old values of tradition, which they perceived as intrinsic to the German nation, while simultaneously harnessing the rising importance of the print culture in order to solidify “memory into texts”.¹⁶⁵ In this way, the Grimms could safely convert _Volksdichtung_ from something that was inherently changing and contingent into something structured and stable. The Grimms therefore portrayed themselves as experts in a particular form of knowledge, which held political, social, cultural and academic significance for the German nation. Thus the process through the _KHM_ appears to also demonstrate the way in which a (new) hybrid literature

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¹⁶³ See Rölleke and Schindehütte (2011) for an excellent rendition of the true origins of the Grimms’ _Märchen_.
¹⁶⁴ Bauman & Briggs 205. “Central to the Grimms’ purifying practices was the time-worn construction of tradition as vanishing, as unable to sustain the onslaught of modernity.”
¹⁶⁵ Ibid. 206.
was formed. Furthermore, by arguing that the Grimms asserted themselves through their philological work as experts in saving old tales and poetry, Bauman and Briggs postulate that the Grimms were keenly aware of modernity as a negative force.\textsuperscript{166} The Grimms’ work thus comes into the domain of modernity because it constitutes a response to modernity.

\textsuperscript{166} C.f Meinecke 305. This response was also essential in the development of the new thinking surrounding historicism.
Chapter Three: The Importance of Reading and Writing Networks in the Aufklärung to the Romantik

3.1 Introduction: Networks of Means

The concept "networks of means" refers to different forms of networks that linked individuals and goods over large distances from approximately 1750 onwards within three major nations of Europe: England, France and Germany. Applying the notion of networks in this thesis, I consider the way in which reading and writing specifically acted as an essential medium for communication. 167 In Modernity and Bourgeois Life: Society, Politics and Culture in England, France and Germany since 1750, Seigel defines modernity not in terms of class but as the emergence of one particular form of life (Lebensform).168 In order to carry out this investigation, Seigel argues how the modern age emerges via “networks of means” which connect institutions, knowledge and society in an ever-growing web of complexity.169 A network of means, according to Seigel, is a:

... chain or web of people and instruments that link distant energies and resources to each other, allowing individuals and groups to draw them together, create synergies between them, and employ the capacity they generate for some particular purpose or goal.170

Seigel further explains:

Networks of means generate social power both for society as a whole and for particular individuals and groupings within it. To society at large they impart

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167 Anderson also supports the view that the printed word acted as the corner stone of the modern era, 44.
168 Seigel 6. The idea of Lebensform is derived from Wittgenstein.
169 I note the idea of growing complexity in society knowingly, in that these networks of means enabled the reduction of complexity that were particularly assisted in this task by the writing systems that emerged during the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries; a subject perhaps best studied in view of Luhmann’s conception of complexity. This notion, however, concerns us no further here. Luhmann, 167-182.
170 Seigel, 7.
an ability to accomplish otherwise unattainable things. But the power thus released flows differentially to particular individuals and groups, altering relations among them.\textsuperscript{171}

He defines three categories within which these networks of means fit: 1/ Markets, 2/ States and Administrative Structures, 3/ Webs of information and communication.\textsuperscript{172} The Grimms may be located into the third category as they were some of the most industrious letter-writers of the age.\textsuperscript{173} This connection is supplemented by the so-called “Republic of Letters” which Seigel labels as an example of an autonomous communication system wherein its members could share information without intervention from the Church.\textsuperscript{174} Crucial to this analysis of the Grimms’ modernity is the notion of “networks of means”, especially due to how Seigel interprets the way in which this concept is facilitated, namely through \textit{money}.\textsuperscript{175} In Seigel’s view, money is the key ingredient or medium which enables these networks of means to function: “The medium [money] regulates access to the network and allows flow along it to proceed...”.\textsuperscript{176} Money’s value is central to Seigel’s investigation, not in terms of the actual goods it can purchase, but in its importance as a universal item for exchange. In addition, the more effective the specific network is at carrying out exchanges, the further the accumulated money may travel. The concept of money as a key motivator in the accumulation of wealth is revisited in the final analysis in Section 7.4.2-3.

\textsuperscript{171} Ibid. 8.
\textsuperscript{172} Ibid. 8.
\textsuperscript{173} The Grimms’ \textit{Briefwechsel Arbeitsstelle} in the faculty of philosophy at the Humboldt-Universität in Berlin continues to this day as an ongoing project to transcribe and publish all the Brother Grimms’ epistolary output. See: http://www.grimmbriefwechsel.de/arbeitsstelle/arbeitsstelle.html).
\textsuperscript{174} Ibid. 19.
\textsuperscript{175} Consider Anderson 44. “Nothing served to ‘assemble’ related vernaculars more than capitalism, which, within the limits imposed by grammar and syntaxes, created mechanically reproduced print-languages capable of dissemination through the market.”
\textsuperscript{176} Seigel 12. Seigel derives his concept of money from Georg Simmel’s \textit{Philosophie des Geldes} (1900).
Another important medium, which Seigel mentions, is political power, legitimate or otherwise. The ability to exercise power, which extends from the political body, alters the course of social networking through its decision-making policies and laws. These policies and laws also regulated the channelling of many enterprises in order to enact state interests.\textsuperscript{177} To contextualise this discussion, a closer look must be taken at some of the ways in which Germany developed from the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries.

For Seigel, Germany has a particularly fascinating history because its people inhabited spaces often vastly different from one another, spoke a great many dialects, were split decisively by the topographic lay of the land, and, as noted earlier, unlike its neighbour France, had until the end of the nineteenth century never had centralised power governing the country as a whole. The German territories were divided between the Protestant North and Catholic South. This made close political affiliations on a general level quite difficult and also meant a great deal of inconsistency between state interests and those of the Church. It is therefore no wonder that the difficulty of travel between places was further heightened by the fact that it was not until the 1820s and 1830s that the main river-ways (the Rhein, Neckar, Danube and Mosel) were restructured to make shipping goods and transporting people more efficient and to manage flooding.\textsuperscript{178} As also noted, the Germans cultivated many small-scale closed societies such as townships and cities, which functioned as self-contained entities. Some of these places were no bigger than towns but the inhabitants

\textsuperscript{177} Both of these mediums may be tied to the Grimms' \textit{Märchen}.

acted as an “incubator of German localism”.\textsuperscript{179} In Seigel’s eyes this localism bred a particular type of citizen, the \textit{Bürger}.

Drawing on Seigel’s insights into localism, it can be argued that the Grimms and their \textit{Märchen} exemplify the broader discussion which is raised in Seigel’s book. Seigel sets out to examine how these networks of means were constructed, appeared, and disappeared within three key countries together with their historical evolutions. Therefore, reconstructing an outline of the lives of the Brothers Grimm may aptly illustrate the way in which Seigel has conceived in particular the idea of communication as a network of means and provide a conceptual line of inquiry for the link to modernity.

\textbf{3.2 Book Production in the Eighteenth century}

\textbf{3.2.1 Rising Book Consumption}

While not explicitly linked to modernity, an examination of book production nevertheless informs the background of modernity in literary history. In \textit{Book Production, Fiction, and the German Reading Public 1740-1800}, Albert Ward captures the distribution and influence of books in Germany from 1740-1800. This periodization is useful, Ward notes, because even contemporaries from 1740 onwards viewed it as a new era in German literature. One critic even declared: “Unsere Literatur fängt zuerst von 1740 an.”\textsuperscript{180} The shift in literary genres moved from predominantly religious, instructive and translation texts to the rise of the novel, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing’s (1729-1781) \textit{Bürgertheater}, and \textit{Volksdichtung}. These genres represent the deepening awareness of and

\textsuperscript{179} Ibid. 116-7, citing Walker.  
\textsuperscript{180} Ward 59.
interest in the role of subjects living in the *bürgerliche Gesellschaft*. The topics switch from an overarching focus on mythologies and royalty to content embedded in the here and now of the day. Yet the growing book production and book reception did not really blossom until the later part of the eighteenth century. As Ward observes, even around 1761, the *Aufklärung* philosopher Johann Georg Sulzer (1720-1779) commented that, if there were other groups of people who possessed ‘learned members of society’, he had not met them yet, and as long as books remained in the hands of professors, students and journalists, he saw no reason to provide literature “für das gegenwärtige Geschlecht”.\(^1\) However, just 18 years later in 1779, Wieland could remark: “Nie ist mehr geschrieben oder gelesen worden”.\(^2\) So in a short space of time, about the equivalent of one generation, writers went from criticising to admiring the written text for the masses. Readers no longer stemmed exclusively from a privileged aristocratic or scholarly background, but could also be citizens and tradesmen. In the *Deutsches Museum* from 1780 a journalist observed:

> Heutiges Tages ist nicht leicht ein Frauenzimmer von einiger Erziehung, das nicht läse; der lesende Theil findet sich jetzt unter allen Ständen, in Städten und auf dem Lande, sogar die Musketiere in grossen Städten lassen sich aus der Leihbibliothek Bücher auf die Hauptwache holen.\(^3\)

Ward also refers to an example of a commoner, who had read all of Frederick the Great’s (1712-1786) works, and a tailor from Hanau who had amassed a collection of 3,600 books.\(^4\)

However, the accelerated pace of book production and consumption was met in some domains with great suspicion. Some feared that too much time was

\(^{1}\) Ibid. 59.
\(^{2}\) Ibid. 59.
\(^{3}\) Ibid. 60, quoting out of the *Deutsches Museum*, 1780, 176. My emphasis.
\(^{4}\) Ibid. 60.
being spent reading while the more important activities in life – in the case of women, for example, such as cooking, cleaning, and spinning – were neglected. One writer of this period commented: “wives have better things to do than seeking entertainment from novels.”\textsuperscript{185} This critique is not limited to female readers. For many individuals, who were caught up in this craze, too much reading was “dem Denken schädlich”.\textsuperscript{186} So opinion became split between the potential of literature and the popular escapist attitude that appears to arise out of this burgeoning industry. And industry it was indeed. Ward supports this conclusion by citing the catalogues that were released annually from the Leipzig fair. Between 1721-1763, the number of books produced increased by 265 volumes.\textsuperscript{187} Over the next decades from 1763-1805, the catalogues registered an astounding rise to 2,821 book publications.\textsuperscript{188} And this Vielschreiberei, as Ward terms it, justified onlookers in their feelings of dread for the effects reading might have on the general populace.\textsuperscript{189}

### 3.2.2 New Genres for Women?

This increase in book production and consumption was dubbed as “die unterhaltende Lektüre”.\textsuperscript{190} The new types of literature had to engage an audience with far more wide-ranging tastes than what had come before. Readers wanted to be immersed in the fictitious world of imaginative literature and experience the emotions of the characters, as if they were there in person in the book. One example Ward provides to substantiate this assertion is to be found

\textsuperscript{185} Ibid. 60, quoting Möser, J. Patriotische Phantasien (Deutsche Bibliothek in Berlin, 1774-1786) 57.
\textsuperscript{186} Ibid. 60, quoting Georg Christopher Lichtenberg, Die Bibliogenie oder die Entstehung der Bücherwelt (Weimar: Verlag der Bibliophilen, 1942,) 35.
\textsuperscript{187} Ibid. 61.
\textsuperscript{188} Ibid. 61.
\textsuperscript{189} Ibid. 61.
\textsuperscript{190} Ibid. 62.
with the teacher and preacher Johann Timotheus Hermes (1738-1821). Inspired by the English writer Samuel Richardson (1689-1761), Hermes wrote his novels with Richardson’s style in mind. Hermes made a break-through in the market with his novel *Sophiens Reise von Memel nach Sachsen* that appeared in five volumes from 1770-1772. It was reprinted multiple times and used as the basis for other stories with similar thematic qualities. Brüggermann maintains that a great deal of the popularity of this novel was due in no small part to many readers identifying themselves in Sophie, who represented a kind of transitional figure (and victim of the times) existing between periods.¹⁹¹ It is stated that while Sophie did not fit into the time in which she lived, her situation was applied more in order to criticise her behaviour and to warn others from following suit. Using Hermes as an example, Ward points out that the writer, particularly the novelist, became “a preacher and instructor in ethics”.¹⁹² Hermes’ novel is thus significant because it appears to represent the transition from the devotional literature of the early eighteenth century and earlier periods to the literature of the age of Aufklärung.

The target audience, which became the focus of writers like Hermes, was centred upon the wives and mothers of Germany. Ward states:

...the subject-matter [the writers] choose, centred on everyday family life, the characters they portray, and the problems they discuss and advise on are obviously aimed primarily at interesting and enlightening the female members of the German novel-reading public for, like the editors of the moral weeklies before them, they realized firstly, that women as a rule had more leisure time at their disposal in which to indulge in reading, and secondly, that through women they could achieve both a wider and more effective dissemination of their ideas – woman, in her capacity as mother, held the key to future generations.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ Ibid. 70, citing Brüggemann.
¹⁹² Ibid. 72.
¹⁹³ Ibid. 73.
Two significant notions stand out in Ward's comments here. First, the contents of the novels are concentrated on events and people of the everyday. Second, the fact that Ward highlights the role of the mother in particular as the "key to future generations", anticipates an important trend that will arise later with the fashion of folk and fairy tales.194 This shift therefore marks a major distinction between the content of all forms of devotional literature, which tended to be mythological, highly abstract, and usually required a specialist disseminator like a priest to interpret the meaning. But with the advent of the novel aimed at broader audiences, the content is altered to accommodate the demands and match the understanding of its public. Of especial importance to the subject of these novels, were the characters. Instead of only male protagonists, heroines began to enter the limelight. Examples characteristic of the era include Hermes’ Geschichte der Miss Fanny Wilkes (1766), the already mentioned Sophiens Reisen, Richardson’s Pamela and Sophie von La Roche’s (1731-1807) Die Geschichte des Fräulein von Sternheim (1771). The last novel mentioned is particularly noteworthy because its author was a woman, Germany’s first female author.195 La Roche’s success ensured her position as the first self-employed German woman in history.196 This fact in itself designates a significant moment in history, indicating that the old ways were changing.

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194 Consider Albert Ludwig Grimm (no relation to the Brothers Grimms) in his preface to his Kindermärchen in 1809 where he proclaimed: “Besonders Euch seyen diese Blätter geweyet, Ihr Mütter!”, Albert Ludwig Grimm,”Vorrede”, Albert Ludwig Grimm, Kindermärchen (1809), (Heidelberg: Olms- Weidmann, 1992), V.

195 However, Ward also points out that La Roche’s novel first appeared with Wieland’s name on the title page, reflecting the fact that writing was still generally perceived as un-lady-like, 79.

196 She was also one of the first publishers of a magazine called Frauenzeitschrift (1783-4).
3.2.3 Newspapers and Journals

Along with the many books produced, a large number of newspapers and journals began to be circulated with increasing frequency over the course of the eighteenth century. Journals and newspapers were not only shorter than books; they were also cheaper. This form of literature catered for a vast range of interests. Ward observes that all classes of society could participate in general reading from the lower classes in taverns and the middle-class in the coffee houses, to the Prince of Wallerstein at his breakfast table.\textsuperscript{197} A key part of cultural history that the journals played is that they helped literary criticism be freed from the overly academic and moral stance to which Germany had been restricted for many years.\textsuperscript{198} It enabled critics to situate their criticism in the realm of the everyday, making their writings and writings of others more accessible to the general public, which was in turn reflected back upon the critics. The rise of the literary critics is central to a history of modernity. It denotes a marked shift from the origins of control over what was being read, and how the literature was being approached. Ward sums up this shift succinctly:

Writers now began to look to criticism for help and guidance in their work, and though admittedly it was the experts who were at first asked for suggestions, there appeared in time a new confidence in the whole reading public, in the whole firm community of the educated classes of the towns, where both expert and amateur readers were to be found – and to help set the foundations on which the reader could base his criticism writers now began to use the preface to give a short historical and literary introduction to the work with a special mention of its predecessors in material or in genre.\textsuperscript{199}

\textsuperscript{197} Ward 80.
\textsuperscript{198} Ibid. 82. Consider that Kant’s epoch-making response to the question about \textit{Aufklärung} was published in a journal. See Section 2.1.
\textsuperscript{199} Ibid. 83.
The emergence of a reading public signifies that great changes were afoot in the field of writing. Hence these elements of the history of book production in Germany serve to portray the way in which reading and writing emerged as a widespread industry for the general public, and provides a crucial backdrop to an understanding of the social context into which the Grimms fit.

3.3 Literature for Children of the Eighteenth-Nineteenth Centuries

3.3.1 The Modern Child in the Biedermeier

The role children's literature has played to date in studies of modernity has been minimal. One way in which to grasp children's literature, in the light of modernity, is through the differing conceptions of children in earlier times. In this regard, changing notions of what constituted the child must to some degree reflect the events set in motion by the advent of modernity. In the European Enlightenment, for example, children were looked upon as ‘small adults’ rather than as individuals in their own right, with feelings and desires completely different to adults. Krohn notes that not until the Biedermeier period did children and young people's literature begin to properly emerge as an acceptable form of reading, leading Füller to the conclusion, "dass das

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200 Of particular interest to this thesis is the use of the ‘preface’, which, in the case of the Grimms' KHM, played an especially important role.
201 As will be discussed throughout the second half of the thesis, the Grimms and their work with the KHM in many ways exemplify what Ward describes with regard to the public reception of literature and the ways in which authors were able to respond as a result. See especially Section 6.2.
202 Perhaps the most significant contribution to this area of research is to be found in collection of essays: Religion, Children’s Literature and Modernity in Western Europe 1750-2000 (2005). However, the work concentrates mainly on religious literature. See Andreas Bode, "Religion, Children's Literature and Modernity in Western Europe: 1750-2000. (Book review)”, Bookbird, 45:4 (2007), 52.
Biedermeier die moderne Kindheit generiert hat”. An investigation of the Brothers Grimm and their *Märchen* must of necessity be considered in relation to a general history of children’s literature in Europe. The Grimms’ *Märchen* played a particularly significant role in this history because the *KHM* was one of the earliest and eventually became one of the most successful books for children of all time, forming a genre in its own right (“Gattung Grimm”). This was the case not only on German soil, but the vast number of translations, testify to the widespread influence. According to Bernhard Lauer, the first translation appeared as early as 1816 in Denmark. This was followed by translations in the Netherlands in 1820, England in 1823, Sweden and France in 1824, Portugal in 1837, Russia in 1862, Spain in 1863, and Japan in 1887, to name but the earliest. Today translations exist in over 160 languages. The success was due in part to the fact that the Grimms began to target children as their main audience.

### 3.3.2 The Changing Nature of Children’s Literature

In *Three Centuries of Children’s Books in Europe (1967)*, Bettina Hürlimann reads against a background of the trials and tribulations of the early children’s literature and authors, how the material was conceived for children, what found praise in society and what did not. In her introduction, Hürlimann describes the types of children’s books available in the seventeenth and eighteenth

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204 Klaus Dieter Füller, *Erfolgreiche Kinderbuchautoren des Biedermeier*, (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006), 12; cited in Koschorke 139.
205 See Jolles 219. It is not without reason that Andrés Jolles could establish the term “Gattung Grimm”, which is now a common piece of background terminology in the Grimm scholarship.
206 Director of the Brothers Grimm Society in Kassel, Germany; taken from a seminar given on the success story of *KHM*, presented at the 2012 International Brothers Grimm Conference in Kassel, 17.12.12.
207 The version in French was based on the English translation.
centuries. Most of these, according to her studies, were written as instruction manuals for what was regarded as good behaviour. The purpose of such books lay in the way in which children were viewed as living beings. It was believed that they were born with damned souls and needed saving by way of religious devotion and education. The only literary exceptions to be found were, for example, in 1685, a work written by Amos Comenius entitled *Orbus sensualium pictus* that depicted the child as an individual. Perrault published tales at the end of the seventeenth century and Daniel Defoes’ *Robinson Crusoe* appeared in 1719. However, more characteristic of the era was Madame de Genlis’ *Adele et Théodore, ou lettres sur l’éducation*, published in 1782. Madame de Genlis’ work was devoted to how children should act and the consequences to be expected for if they did not do so in accordance with the prescribed form.

Children’s literature, however, began to change over the course of the eighteenth century. This was perhaps hastened by the fact that a large number of children began to make up the readership for chapbooks in England at the time. An interesting point, which Hürlimann observes, was how a major realization occurred in the 1740s. John Newbery (1713-1767), a book publisher, moved from his house in Reading to London in 1743, two years later, opening a bookstore in St. Paul’s churchyard called the “Bible and Sun”. From this outlet, Newbery was able to support the growth of a new industry in the market of

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209 Hürlimann xi-xiii. C.f. Pestalozzi’s idea of the use of education to save the soul, suggesting that there is a connection between education and what types of literature should be provided for children (see Section 3.4.1).

210 And *Robinson Crusoe* was hardly considered children’s reading.
children’s literature. For his services, Newbery was dubbed “the Father of Children’s Literature”.

But this time marked merely the beginning of a slow process of change in the types of books published for children and the perceptions of children and what adults thought they needed. During this period the desire for reading also steadily grew in children. In Dichtung und Wahrheit, Goethe pointed out that libraries had not yet been established for children. In general, there existed very few actual texts dedicated to children when he was growing up. Goethe bears witness to the way in which he and other German children would devour the readily available “Volksschriften” and “Volksbücher” that could be bought for a few coppers from local book peddlers:

By the end of the eighteenth century in Germany, children’s literature had begun to emerge.

From approximately the time when Musäus published his Deutsche Volksmärchen (1782-1786), it can generally be assumed that children’s literature in essence was taking shape. In the Preface to the first volume of his collection of tales, Musäus referred to the importance of the imagination, which Märchen, in his opinion, appeared to best nurture:

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213 Hürlimann xv.

However, Musäus felt the need to defend the experience of the imagination from his contemporaries, who refused to adapt the old forms of literature to the changing perceptions of what children wanted in life. Musäus further wrote about the power of the Märchen:

...eine wunderbare Dichtung, seine Phantasie anfacht, hört stundenlang mit gespannter Aufmerksamkeit zu, da er bei der Erzählung wahrer Begebenheiten ermüdet und sobald es möglich dem instructiven Schröckh entläuft.

This comment not only extols the virtues of the Märchen and the imagination it stimulates, but simultaneously criticises the instructive literature for children of the Aufklärung. As discussed earlier, Musäus believed that the public also desired different types of reading, stating that his opinion was a new one at the time.

3.3.3 The Emergence of Märchen as Children’s Literature

Yet children’s literature would need several decades before it could be officially recognised in this way. Only in 1828 did the very first history of literature ever to appear that referenced literature for children and young people. In Die deutsche Literatur, according to Bernd Dolle-Weinkauf, the literary historian, Wolfgang Menzel (1798-1873), attacked pedagogical positions on literature. He complained about the zealous pedagogues who gave lip service to Märchen literature heedless of other views surrounding the matter, which led to the development of a market that was focused more on the sales’ quantity than the

214 Musäus, "Vorbericht", 5.  
215 Ibid. 5.  
216 For more on Musäus refer back to Section 2.3.4.  
quality of their products. One consequence was that many books were in fact harmful to young readers and therefore needed to be carefully monitored. In keeping with the principles of the Aufklärung, Menzel called for the “acceptance of the soul and imagination”, and for a rational way in which to convey them.\textsuperscript{218} The answer was, nevertheless, the fairy-tale. By also applying German Romantic principles to poetry, Menzel saw in fairy-tales a likeness to children themselves due to the fairy-tale’s origin in an imagined age of the childhood of human civilization.

Such views flourished during the Romantik, thus enabling a general understanding of children’s literature to slowly distance itself from the still instructive, moral literature of the Aufklärung. Following in Menzel’s footsteps, A. Detmer published \textit{Musterung unserer deutschen Literatur} in 1842 and also emphasised the ability of fairy-tales to save the soul of the child due to their narrative purity.\textsuperscript{219} Detmer’s model author was Albert Ludwig Grimm (1786-1872), who bears no actual relation to the Brothers Grimm. A. L. Grimm assumed a pivotal role in the targeting of fairy-tales to mothers (as educators) and children.

The \textit{Märchen}’s place as literature for children became consolidated in the mid-nineteenth century. Another commentator on children and young people’s literature observed that there were two key developments in this area. In Georg Wilhelm Hopf’s \textit{Über Jugendschriften. Mittheilungen an Eltern und Lehrer”} (1850),

\textsuperscript{218} Quoted in Dolle-Weinkauff 166.
\textsuperscript{219} Ibid. 166-7; A. Detmer, \textit{Musterung unserer deutschen Jugendliteratur, zugleich ein Wegweiser für Eltern in der Auswahl von passenden, zu Weihnachtsgeschenken sich eignenden Büchern}, (Hamburg: Herold, 1842), 12.
he observed that fairy-tales had found a solid place in the curriculum of many elementary schools. He further noted that most of the tales used in the school originated from the Grimms. Identifying the Grimms as the source for the development of children’s literature marks them and the *KHM* as being closely associated with the emergence of modernity in Germany.

There was also a major development in the theoretical framing of fairy-tales over the period of the nineteenth century, which essentially evolved out of the Grimms’ own critical works. The pedagogue, Karl Kühner’s (1804-1872) article, written for the most significant pedagogical encyclopaedia of the nineteenth century, detailed a comprehensive study of children’s literature. A key thought he offered, which links his ideas to the Grimms, was his belief that children’s literature arose from oral sources. He stated:

> Literature for young people appears to have its natural origins as part of the oral entertainment with which adults, referring to their own experience or handed down tradition, sought to amuse and at the same time instruct youth in illiterate times.\(^{220}\)

Julius Klaiber supported this view in his short article entitled “Das Märchen und die kindliche Phantasie”. Published in 1866, Klaiber’s article was incredibly influential for the development of critical positions on fairy-tales. Dolle-Weinkauff argues that its importance at the time is second only to the Grimms’ prefaces to the *KHM* with regard to the theoretical approach to *Märchen*.\(^{221}\) Klaiber believed that fairy-tales were also related to the childhood age of human history. In his eyes, fairy-tales, like poetry emerged in the earliest of times and were akin to the child itself: “The fairy tale is itself a child... it is the younger sister of poetry... the same magic is potent in both, it is the magic of the

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\(^{220}\) Ibid. 168, quoting Kühner.

\(^{221}\) Ibid. 168.
imagination.” Dolle-Weinkauf maintains that Klaiber lauded the fairy-tales and their power of stimulating the imagination because they offered a fresh way of imparting to children important educational messages. This was particularly so because Märchen subjects appeared to break free of the old, conventional, moralistic, religious tales yet maintained a rational core that could nevertheless guide children to proper forms of behaviour and moral conduct. Klaiber argued that children who listened to Märchen did not blur fiction with reality but were fully cognisant of the nature of the tale as a fantasy due to the ritual of storytelling. The use of the balance struck between the fictional circumstances and the realistic decisions often made in the tales was a key site where pedagogical tools could be utilised. Klaiber further advanced a theory that linked children's play with the telling of stories together. Klaiber's ideas paved the way for the establishment of a pedagogical system centred upon the use of fairy-tales in education.

The major proponent of the Märchen as an integral tool for childhood education was the Herbart-Ziller school. The programme for this school was constructed linguistically in a speech by Otto Willmann in 1867 called “Volksmärchen und Robinson als Lehrstoffe”.222 In the speech Willmann outlined the first didactic curriculum using fairy-tales, which was based predominantly upon Klaiber's ideas. Support for this view enabled the Märchen to gain a strong foothold in Germany as simultaneously important to its cultural history and to the future generations of children, who were to learn from the tales and therefore continue Germany's cultural knowledge.

222 Ibid. 169.
3.4 The Educational Turn, Muttermund and the Kernfamilie

3.4.1 The Educational Turn: Pestalozzi, the German Nation

During the transition to the nineteenth century several social shifts took place, which were centred upon education, the role of the mother-child relationship, and the family. The main thrust of the educational turn, as it is known, is the way in which social problems came to be theorised as educational problems. Until the mid-eighteenth century in Germany, there did not exist any institutional or state-led policy of education that dictated the management of social questions. A major problem with the way social issues were conceived prior to this time was that they were not viewed in relation to education. According to Daniel Tröhler in *Pestalozzi and the Educationalization of the World* (2013), the roots of the educational turn developed in Europe over the course of the late seventeenth to mid-eighteenth centuries, manifesting in two fundamental ways.

The first manifestation emerged from the way history was viewed and the second emerged out of the relationship between money and politics. Tröhler argues that history came to be understood in linear future-orientated terms, moving away from the idea of an eternal cycle linked to the seasons. This view was a result of the *Querelle des anciens et moderns*. Previous views of history had glorified the achievements of the ancients, thereby undermining anything that was created in the present. However, from the onset of the scientific revolution, philosophers such as Francis Bacon (1561-1626), had begun to

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223 Friedrich the Great, for example, introduced compulsory schooling in Prussia for the first time in 1763.
224 Calinescu 23.
advance the idea of progress, which characterised the passing of time. Tröhler argues that the idea of progress had merged with the political and social spheres by the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Second, the questions of money and politics also played a major role in the educational turn. Prior to the eighteenth century, accumulating wealth had not been regarded as a godly pursuit. While prosperity per se was not demonized, acquiring more money than one needed often went against the notions of virtue held dear by the Church. Tröhler argues that England was a particularly susceptible birthing ground for a shift in the perception of wealth. At the end of the seventeenth century, England experienced a financial crisis, which crippled her economy. In order to maintain face in front of the other great powers in Europe, the Scotsman William Patterson suggested that wealthy citizens join forces to form an association (of creditors). The proposal led to the founding of the Bank of England in 1694. Investing privately in the coffers of the state allowed individuals to obtain a great deal of influence into the way laws were made and the country was run.

The changes that occurred over this period slowly but surely led to major developments on the level of the state and the individual; one of these outcomes was the educational turn. The figure of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi is of utmost significance in this context. Pestalozzi was a Swiss pedagogue who made a large

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225 Previously, it had been common to believe nothing accomplished in the present could ever outclass the creations of the ancients. However, Calinescu asserts that Bacon very likely set a new trend in viewing the present, wherein he argued that people in his (modern) time were the real ancients. Bacon believed the ancients had also been young and modern (see Calinescu 23-26).

226 Tröhler 5.

227 Ibid. 6.

228 Ibid. 6.
contribution to the development of education as a discipline. His major contribution was to lay the foundations for a formal educational system that placed the role of the nurturing mother at the centre. This notion originated out of the Reformation period, where protestant doctrine allowed individuals to commune with God without the need of priests. In the Protestant religion, it was taught that, in order to be praised in the eyes of God, one had to strengthen the soul. At heart, Protestants felt that this could be achieved through education, which was viewed as a means to resist temptation from the commercial world and enabled one to become a virtuous citizen. Over the course of the second half of the eighteenth century, the belief in education to ensure this process was gaining momentum. Pestalozzi’s role was to facilitate his own form of education on an institutional level.

In 1805, he founded a school in Yverdon for teaching students and training teachers alike. Many middle class families sent their sons there. At this school, Pestalozzi implemented the “Pestalozzi method” of teaching. Above and beyond the normal curriculum for the pupils (which was an astounding ten hours a day, six days a week), the teachers were to instil “good will” into their students. To underscore the initial success of Pestalozzi’s institute, Tröhler points out that, between 1805-1809, the combined student-teacher population went from 20 to 165. The sudden rise in student and teacher numbers was largely thanks to Fichte’s Reden an die deutsche Nation, which Fichte delivered during the Winter

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229 Ibid. 9.
230 The Aufklärung played a central role in reinforcing this belief over a widespread area, especially in the idea that through education one could achieve perfection (see Watson, 65-88).
231 Ibid. 96: It is also pointed out that 1809 was the peak of Pestalozzi’s success, after this time there were no more significant increases; however, before the institute shut down in 1825, a total of 920 pupils and 335 teachers and assistants had been through.
Semester of 1807-1808 in Berlin. Tröhler demonstrates that it was Fichte, who provided vital impetus for putting Pestalozzi on the map as one of Switzerland's leading pedagogues. In his Reden..., Fichte argued that the nation was in need of a new era of spiritual and moral conduct because of the French occupation. In his first address, he proposed that a total reform of the current education system was needed as the only way in which to rescue Germany's status as a nation. In the second and third addresses, he details how the new form of education should appear. Its basis, Fichte declared, should be to develop, on the one hand, the cognitive (geistig) side of the self, and on the other, the emotional side, which would enable the individual to carry out the actions learnt from the cognitive side. In his fourth to eighth addresses, Fichte claimed that Germany held all the conditions to make the Fatherland a suitable place for the new education to take effect. In keeping with Romantik ideals, he argued that, thanks to Luther, Germans were superior because they came from the original people (Urvolk), and their language was the least corrupted of all the modern languages (unlike French). The way in which education should take shape, Fichte stated, was to be found “an den von Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi erfundenen, vorgeschlagenen und unter dessen Augen schon in glücklicher Ausübung befindlichen Unterrichtsgang....”

232 Ibid. 100-101. See also Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Reden an die deutsche Nation, (Berlin: Reallbuchhandlung, 1808), 157-168.

233 C.f. Section 4.4.2


235 Fichte 157-8.
Fichte’s reference to Pestalozzi held major consequences for the interpretation of his message. This can be most clearly seen in the legacy that emerged after his death in 1827. By the end of his lifetime, modern schools had begun to sprout up. While Pestalozzi’s teachings did not lead initially to widespread modern school systems, for the next hundred years, he became revered as a model teacher. In several accounts of the history of education published at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century, Pestalozzi is singled out as the leading figure in educational development for children.236 In Tröhler’s study, a decisive image is conveyed of Pestalozzi’s influence.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, uncertainty characterized the way many people thought due to major changes occurring in Europe at the time. For Tröhler, the educational turn took place as a reaction against the rise of industry and economic wealth, which was perceived in some quarters as inherently corrupt, corrupting and destabilizing of the old ways of life.237 Pestalozzi’s branch of educational reform, centred upon Protestant ethics to teach children to cultivate morality and spirituality along with the normal schooling, emerged at the right time to gain support on an institutional level. Although Pestalozzi’s direct influence slowly faded out in later views of modern education, Tröhler’s findings suggest he played a major part in its foundations.

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236 For example, in 1901 the Scottish philosopher Thomas Davison wrote the following account in A History of Education: “The first man who took a notable step forward in education, on the lines of Rousseau and Kant – that is, toward Nature and Reason, is Pestalozzi… With little learning and less system, but with overwhelming faith and love for children, this warm-hearted, devoted man may be fairly said to be the founder of modern popular education.” Tröhler points out Pestalozzi was not the founder, but rather came to be seen this way due to a slant in the historiography of educational histories at the time for glorifying model figures of education. See Tröhler 136-139.

237 Tröhler 10.
3.4.2 Love, Mothers, and their (independent) Voice

Perhaps the most powerful message Pestalozzi left behind was to engender a type of education revolving around the “mind of the child” and “love”.\textsuperscript{238} Decades after Pestalozzi’s death in 1899, Levi Seely in his publication of The History of Education stated: “the greatest lesson that Pestalozzi taught is embodied in the word love.”\textsuperscript{239} The way love is emphasized indicates that it plays a very important role for the new form of education. In this regard, the new education began with newly emerging notions about the close bond a mother forms with her child and vice versa. While mothers have raised their young for millennia, the concept of an education, which positioned the mother-child relationship at the centre, first entered into a discourse around the end of the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{240} According to Kittler in Aufschreibesysteme 1800/1900 (1985),\textsuperscript{241} Friedrich August Wolf (1759-1824) in 1787 obtained an administrative mandate to set up an academic seminar as an institution for training teachers, which was started over twenty years before a social class of teachers arose.\textsuperscript{242} Kittler cites Pestalozzi’s work Das deutsche Mutterbuch (1803) to demonstrate the key role Pestalozzi played in the discursive formation of ideas and theories on education, which were eventually consolidated as educational systems in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

In order for the mother to be perceived as the natural choice for a new form of education, a recoding of the figure of the mother occurred which

\textsuperscript{238} Ibid. 138, quoting Monroe.  
\textsuperscript{239} Ibid. 138, quoting Seely.  
\textsuperscript{240} Ibid. 3.  
\textsuperscript{242} Kittler (1990) 60. Kittler states further that this would facilitate the grooming of scholars separate from the clutches of Church control.
Pestalozzi reinforced in his writings. The mother became synonymous with the idea of truth, and her position in the family and in society improved greatly from earlier times. Kittler remarked that a network is thus constructed to merge together the idea of motherhood and educational administration, which took root during the rise of the middle class:

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Social history interprets the fact that in 1800 women were suddenly no longer simply subordinate to the father of a household but were defined as standing in a polar and complementary relation to the other sex as a result of increasing bureaucratization, principally because the new definition arose within the new administrative, educated middle class.
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The mother’s role in this process was in many ways utilitarian. Kittler observes that the status of women had to inevitably change because the constitutional state was also on the move. One major reason for the state's interest in mothers in particular, was their role in educating children, and, consequentially, in what they were teaching. A key function of the new focus on the form education took was located in the realm of improving literacy. Thus it became a matter of state interest to encourage and facilitate citizens to gain appropriate skills for imbibing important social and cultural knowledge that could in turn be

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243 Consider Olympe de Gouge’s plea for equal rights for women in her Declaration of the Rights for Women and the Female Citizen in 1791. De Gouge’s Declaration... indicates the very large rift existing between men and women at that time (not to mention people of classes, ethnicity and religion termed “other” by those in authority), which certainly applied to Germany at the time. C.f. Fichte's view that women should not have active citizenship, civic freedom and property rights, and should submit completely to the dominance of father and husband. See Chris Clarke, Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600-1947, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 371.

244 Kittler (1990) 60.

245 Ibid. 60.

246 Isamitsu Murayama, Poesie – Natur – Kinder. Die Brüder Grimm und ihre Idee einer ‘natürlichen Bildung’ in den Kinder- und Hausmärchen. (Heidelberg: University Verlag Winter: Heidelberg, 2005), 362. Jack Zipes, The Brothers Grimm: From Enchanted Forests to the Modern World, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002). Zipes notes that “[t]hrough education and literacy, bourgeois ideas and practices were disseminated and institutionalized so that they became accepted in the life of each individual after a period of years as second nature; and especially as manifested in speech and writing, they had become the standards of behaviour for other social classes”, 56.
of further service to the state. In this sense, mothers and women in general began to play an increasing role in the management of the realm.247

Kittler argues that around the start of the nineteenth century, the voice of the mother became the subject of unchartered potential. It was claimed that the mother’s voice was absolutely essential for the educating and development of young children. The *Muttermund*, as Kittler terms it, was unique for a child. The child associated the *Muttermund* with care, security, joy and most of all love. Kittler suggests the notion of the *Muttermund* was a newly invented “Technik, Kindern eine Seele einzuflößen”.248 The idea that a mother’s voice could be perceived as possessing the ability to instil children with a soul stems from another work by Pestalozzi’s entitled *Über den Sinn des Gehörs in Hinsicht auf Menschenbildung durch Ton und Sprache* (1803-4). Here Pestalozzi discussed the ways in which the voice of the mother functioned as the most important medium for young children in order to learn how to comprehend the world around them.249 The *Muttermund* is the first sound that an infant hears when it is brought into the world. Before it learns to differentiate between other people, animals and nature, it hears the *Muttermund*: “Das erste Gefühl des Zusammenhangs eines Tones mit dem Gegenstand, der ihn hervorgebracht hat, ist das Gefühl des Zusammenhangs deiner Stimme mit dir, Mutter!”250 The mother and her voice were conceived as the starting point for all knowledge and experience in a child’s life. This meant that the mother was also the child’s

247 Albeit on a far less egalitarian level than by today’s standards.
250 Ibid. 60.
teacher, who was endowed with the ability to interact with the child on the
cchild's level, thus awakening in the child its “kindische Seele”.\textsuperscript{251} To Pestalozzi,
God ordained the mother’s role, thus tying his ideas to an \textit{Aufklärung} discourse.
Yet his understanding of how the mother’s designated role should be carried out
appears to have searched beyond this discourse.

Later on in this work, Pestalozzi also examined the relationship of learning
to read and write along with the \textit{Muttermund}.\textsuperscript{252} He observed that these two
attributes follow naturally from learning to speak. This, he asserted, should be
taught as “Vernunftübungen”. In these lessons, the child was to acquire the
knowledge of how to bring: “\textit{Sache, Ton und die den Ton dem Auge darstellenden Tonzeichen} in Übereinstimmung…”\textsuperscript{253} The idea of the signified, the signifier, and
the symbol representing the signifier (that is to be read aloud) is a key
formulation of Pestalozzi’s educational thought. The child must know what thing
it is that it sees, the way the sound is formed and how it is represented on paper.
The identification of these three elements as fundamental to a child’s learning
demonstrates Pestalozzi’s modern approach to education. While he was
influenced strongly by the \textit{Aufklärung}, which can be glimpsed when he asserted
that the child must be drawn away from his animal nature and taught how to be
a human: “\textit{Der Übergang der tierischen Ansicht der Gegenstände zur}
menschlichen hat also ihren Anfangspunkt in deiner Liebe und deiner
Sprache}.” \textsuperscript{254} Ultimately, Pestalozzi demonstrates a clear break with the
\textit{Aufklärung} values when he argued that learning should be conveyed to children

\textsuperscript{251} Ibid. 62.
\textsuperscript{252} Ibid. 67. “Die Kraft, reden, lesen und schreiben lernen zur Vernunftübung zu erheben, geht
wie alle Kräfte, die die Entwicklung deines Kindes bedarf, wesentlich von dir aus.”
\textsuperscript{253} Ibid. 66-67.
\textsuperscript{254} Ibid. 68.
through the mother's love and language (of the mother tongue), which shows a connection to Romantic thinking and beyond. The ideas of love and language were considered to be the fundamental tools needed for the education of children.

3.4.3 A New Family Institution: the Kernfamilie

The changing role of the mother and the educational turn coincided with changes occurring within the family institution. Whereas earlier forms of families often consisted of extended family members, the new family institution differed in several key ways. Known as the Kernfamilie (or nuclear family), this new type of family emerged with the German middle-class. A typical Kernfamilie consisted mainly of the father, mother, children and sometimes a small number of servants. This meant that it is characterised as a self-contained unit that supported itself through love, trust, financial security and education. The Kernfamilie, according to Kittler in Dichter, Mutter, Kind: Deutsche Literatur im Familiensystem 1760-1820 (1991), was also closely linked to the literary production of the Goethezeit, and can be understood as the result of a reformulation of the family code. In earlier times, as already noted, the family was male-dominated, due to allegiance to the Church and to tradition. However, during the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries, the structure of the family began to alter dramatically. Kittler maintains: “Diese

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255 Ibid. 68: "Die Mittel zu diesem Zweck sind deine Sprache und deine Liebe."
256 Zipes (2002) also observes that the development of the bourgeois culture was centred upon the family, which in his view was conceived as "a communal unit that decided its own purpose and was united by emotional bonds rather than by utilitarian and competitive relations in the public sphere", 54.
257 Term to describe the period of time in which Goethe lived (1749-1832).
Recodierung führte dazu, das altüberlieferte Familienoberhaupt namens Vater durch eine Familienmitte namens Mutter abzulösen, also anstelle von Initiationsritualen eine moderne Primärsozialisation zu setzen.”

To Kittler, therefore, the type of socialisation and education around this time were changed from principles of initiation to a focus on allowing the child-mother relationship to develop more or less naturally. While, as seen with Pestalozzi, the ways in which this could happen, were actually theorised and authorised by a man, the fact that the family was starting to be viewed as a realm in which the mother held more sway, was extremely significant for society in the transition to the modern era.

Kittler observed another crucial part of the ‘recoding’ of the family in Lessing’s Bürgertheater. The rise in theatre for ordinary, middle-class citizens reflected another part of the shift to the modern era. The interest in popular culture moved from a focus on kings and queens, and deities and myth, to characters set (often) in present times, with whom the audience were more likely to identify. Kittler notes that key words to describe this new form of drama include “Verbürgerlichung” and “Familiarisierung”. So the material used for creativity and entertainment were made more suitable for audiences consisting of “Bürger” and their families. A particularly important point to mention is that the subject matter dealt with the intimacy of the family home. To this end Kittler argues that the Bürgertheater served to preserve the memory of the

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259 Ibid. 15. This recoding took place, “Von der Aufklärung über den Sturm und Drang bis in die Klassik und Romantik…”.
261 Ibid. 20. “[Drama handelte sich] nicht mehr um Hof und Stadt sondern geht das Drama auf die Intimität der Familie ein.”
comings and goings of citizens’ lives, wherein the Kernfamilie was formed discursively.

A prime example for this conception of the family in literature can be found in Lessing’s Nathan der Weise (1779). The drama dealt with ideas of the Aufklärung centred upon humanism and tolerance. One of the major themes that Lessing touched on is the problem of adoption. Kittler observes that the noble class had ruled out the possibility of adoption due to a belief that ‘pure’ birth could not be replicated by foreign blood, which was not literally tied to the earth or place of birth. This made this theme rather provocative at the time. Lessing justified the theme of adoption in the drama by linking the story to a narrative about the way in which education can overcome the issue of birth. Here Kittler cites Kant to show how far the understanding of education had developed by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Kant observed:

Der Mensch ist das einzige Geschöpf, das erzogen werden muss […]. Der Mensch kann nur Mensch werden durch Erziehung. Er ist nichts, als was die Erziehung aus ihm macht. Es ist zu bemerken, dass der Mensch nur durch Menschen erzogen wird, durch Menschen, die ebenfalls erzogen sind.

By this Kittler suggests that one of the major conflicts Lessing presents in Nathan der Weise is between upbringing versus true paternity, and whether or not it makes a difference. The result is to support a conclusion that education and love can lead to a positive outcome, thus reflecting the discursive emergence and validity of the Kernfamilie.

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262 Ibid. 28. “Die adligen Erbfolgerechte waren zwar einerseits ‘Dei gratia’, anderseits aber auf Territorien der Erde bezogen und schlossen darum Adoption aus.”

263 Meinecke 235-249; 240.

264 Quoted in Kittler 28, from Gesammelte Schriften, Kant 1803/1923, IX, 1-8.

265 C.f Kleist’s der Findling where it has been shown that education does not guarantee success in raising a child. See, for example, Helmut Schneider, “The Facts of Life: Kleist’s Challenge to Humanism (Lessing)”, A Companion to the Works of Heinrich Von Kleist, ed. Bernd Fischer, (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2003), 141-63.
Part Two: The Romantik, Märchen, Modernity

Chapter Four: Biography and the Literary Formation of a Nation

4.1 Introduction

To begin Part Two, I first consider the early phase in the Grimms' lives in order to portray the social climate of the time. The time in which they lived (1785-1863) has many forms of representation. Throughout they experienced momentous changes in history, ranging from the French Revolution, the Vienna Congress, the advent of the telegram, railroads, photography, the revolutions in 1848, through to the discovery of the cell and all its implication for the views of humankind.266 Their work began and continued through the heights of the Napoleonic Wars (1799-1815), the Romantik (1795-1848), the Biedermeier period (1815-1848) and responses to Darwin's publication of On the Origin of Species in 1859. The Grimms also moved in the same circles as some of the most important figures of German history in the nineteenth century. They were taught by the law professor, Friedrich Carl von Savigny, collected old tales and worked together with the Romanticists Clemens Brentano and Achim von Arnim. They were acquainted with Goethe,267 the philosopher and Prussian minister, W. v. Humboldt, the scientist and explorer, Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859),268 the Schlegel brothers, the historian and politician Friedrich Dahlmann (1785-1860), and Wilhelm Eduard Weber [(1804-1891) the co-inventor of the electric telegraph with Carl Friedrich Gauss (1777-1855)]. At the recommendation of

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266 Watson 281-7.
267 In December, 1809, while en route to Berlin, Wilhelm visited Goethe at his home in Weimar several times, and was humbled by Goethe’s receptive nature. See Martus (2009) 169-173.
268 Martus (2009) 381.
Savigny and Bettina von Arnim [(1785-1859) Brentano’s sister, wife to Arnim and niece to Sophie von La Roche], they were personally invited to live in Berlin by the Prussian Kaiser Wilhelm IV (1796-1861) to carry out work on what was to be the largest and most comprehensive dictionary in the German language. In the following, I detail key moments in their early lives to depict how the Grimms came into contact with the study of Märchen and the ways in which “Wissenschaft” shaped who they were as individuals.

4.2 The Early Years of the Brothers Grimm

4.2.1 The Beginning

On January 4th 1785, Jakob Grimm was born. Wilhelm arrived just over a year later on the 24th of February 1786. Both grew up in a middle class family. Their father, Phillip Grimm (1751-1796), was a lawyer and their mother Dorothea Grimm (1755-1808) was strict yet doting. The Grimm family resided in Hanau at this time. The Brothers Grimm numbered in fact five – the others were Carl, Ferdinand and Ludwig Emil, and one sister named Charlotte. The days in Hanau left a fleeting impression on the boys as the whole family moved to Steinau in 1791 because their father had accepted a new position as district attorney. The brothers idolised Steinau, when they later reflected on their time there. Yet the idyll was not to last. In the first days of 1796, Phillip Grimm died of pneumonia and their world changed. Suddenly, Dorothea was left with six children and no money. She was forced to turn to other family members for support. Dorothea

269 In fact, it was one of his first decisions as King of Prussia upon assuming the role on June 7th 1840 after his father died. Ibid. 417.
270 The Grimms’ significance to “Wissenschaft” can be ascertained in Wilhelm Scherer, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung 1891), 637-38.
271 Maiden name: Dorothea Zimmer.
and her children moved to more modest accommodation, imploring help from her sister, Henriette Zimmer (1748-1815), the lady-in-waiting to the Countess of Kassel.272 Two years later, the eldest boys travelled to Kassel to live alongside their aunt and attend the Lyceum Fredericianum.273

The brothers progressed quickly at the lyceum. They leapfrogged classes and both completed their diplomas in half the usual time. In 1802, Jacob went off to Marburg to study at university. Wilhelm followed him a year later. For their tertiary education it was expected that they would follow in the footsteps of their father to uphold their family tradition, so they each enrolled in law. By a stroke of good fortune, this decision brought the brothers into contact with Savigny. Savigny was a private tutor on criminal law at Marburg University and made an enormous impression on the boys. Later, Jacob was to write about his former mentor: “Diesem Mann verdanke ich alle wissenschaftliche Anregung für mein Leben.”274 In particular, Savigny, as founder of the historical school of thought, influenced the Grimms in ‘historical thinking’ with which he armed them for their scholarly pursuits.275 Savigny, having befriended the brothers, opened up his personal library for their perusal. Jacob and he even got along so well that he invited Jacob to accompany him to Paris to assist him in research on a history of Roman law. So delighted was Jacob by this offer that he promptly accepted,

273 On top of the usual hours of class, they were given extra tutelage in Latin, French and history.
leaving for Paris soon after and missing the last semester of his law degree.\footnote{In fact Jacob never graduated from Marburg.} But it was in Savigny’s library that the real turning point took place in the Grimms’ lives. Within the shelves of books, one stood out in particular. It was a collection of tales in a fantastic, only half understandable, old German, which spoke to Jacob’s soul (he being the finder).\footnote{Ibid. 83-84. “Mit dieser Auswahl aus dem Codex Manesse versuchte Tieck auf romantische Art, altdeutsche Literatur durch behutsame Modernisierung zu popularisieren.”} The work was the Romanticist Ludwig Tieck’s (1773-1853) \textit{Minnelieder aus dem Schwäbischen Zeitalter} (1803).\footnote{Here I have made an analogous connection to the Grimms and to what Friedrich Schlegel termed the three greatest tendencies of the Age in the \textit{Athenäum} in 1798 referring to the German Romanticists. These were namely, the French Revolution (1789), Joahn Gottlieb Fichtes \textit{Wissenschaftslehre} (1794) and Goethe’s \textit{Wihelm Meister} (1795-1796). See Watson 119. This connection is relevant in so far as the passion for \textit{Volksdichtung} becomes in many respects epoch-making in terms of the meaning with which it was imbued and how the ‘tendencies’ instructed the contemporary German.} With this collection a new passion emerged in the boys: \textit{Volksdichtung}. It did not take long for the Grimms to begin assembling a collection of their own.

\textbf{4.2.2 Switching to Sachen Märchen}

The Grimms’ fascination with old languages provides a salient point for suggesting a connection between their \textit{KHM} and modernity. It is in language itself that the tendencies of the age begin to develop in the Grimms’ approach to their studies.\footnote{Martus, 151.} They became focused on the words of the past, which they were to re-position in the present time. This approach to literature became the trademark of the Grimms because they were capable of adopting multiple viewpoints.\footnote{Martus (2009), 79-85.} Perhaps this ability arose from their close investigation of so many differing views on history and ways in which to perceive human rights, theology, philosophy, society and science. Being able to perceive something from a number of diverging perspectives is a feature of the modern consciousness.
wherein multiple perspectives are the norm. At the time when the Grimms lived, however, allowing other views to impact on the way one saw the world was very challenging indeed; yet this is exactly what the artists and philosophers of the Romantik did.

The impact of the Romantik on the Grimms cannot be more clearly illustrated than by the relationships cultivated with the writers Brentano and Arnim who were the central figures of the Romantik circle in Heidelberg.281 The two fully-fledged Romanticists had already come across the idea of collecting and publishing old German songs and tales during a journey down the Rhein in 1802.282 By 1805, they had gathered enough material to publish the first volume of what they called Des Knaben Wunderhorn (1805-1808), named after the first song in the collection. Two more volumes were to follow the first, but in order to increase their gathering potential, Brentano and Arnim sent out their feelers for recruits. Savigny, who was married to Brentano’s older sister Kunigunde, put Brentano in contact with the Grimms, who by this time had already amassed a sizeable number of their own folk texts. On the 16th of July 1806, Brentano wrote excitedly to Arnim: “In Cassel suche auf Herrn Kriegssekretair Grimm (…) er sammelt Lieder für uns”.283 The Grimms were taken on board with gusto. For volumes II and III, the Grimms contributed approximately two-dozen texts, especially “Kinderlieder aus mündlicher Tradition”.284 The Grimms even continued to compile folk texts for another collection, which was meant to

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281 Along with Joseph Freiherr von Eichendorff (1788-1856), who wrote such Kunstmärchen as Die Zauberei im Herbst (1808) and Das Marmorbild (1819).
282 Lampart 172.
284 Ibid. 35-36.
include “Volkssagen und –märchen”. The influence Brentano and Arnim had on the Grimms is vast. This is especially evident in Arnim’s formulation of the meaning of poetry as being locked in history: “Alles geschieht in der Welt der Poesie wegen, die Geschichte ist der allgemeinen Ausdruck dafür”, which emanated deeply within the Grimms’ own approach to the study of old poetry. Another related concern, which influenced the Grimms, was the subject matter of the *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*. In a key letter to Arnim in February 1805, Brentano defined the way in which he believed their folk song collection had been portrayed as closely bound to the every day life of the characters and the Romantik beliefs of the time. This work was especially important for the notions of social and natural tranquillity depicted in the songs.

4.2.3 Under Napoleon

On November 1\textsuperscript{st} 1806, two weeks after Napoleon’s defeat of the Prussians at Jena and Auerstedt, French troops laid siege to Kassel, which the Grimm family now called home. The Elector, Wilhelm I. of Hessen-Kassel, had to flee with his family. Several months after the French occupation of Kassel on August 18 in 1807, Napoleon joined together Kurhessen, Braunschweig, Osnabrück and southern parts of Hamburg to form a new kingdom, renaming it Westphalen and placing his youngest brother Jerome Bonaparte on the throne. Steffen Martus

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285 This fourth volume never came to fruition but it did act to stimulate the Grimms into uncovering further sources for old tales.

286 Rölleke (2011) stresses Brentano’s role in particular here: "Kriterien für die Auswahl märchenhafter Texte dürften in erster Linie in Gesprächen mit Brentano entwickelt worden sein", 36. Through Brentano and Arnim, the brothers also became aware of Phillip Otto Runge, whose influence is discussed in Section 6.3.3.

287 Lampart 177.

288 Quoted in Lampart 179: “... es muss sehr zwischen den romantischen und alltäglichen [Gesängen] schweben, es muss geistliche Handwerks-, Tagewerks-, Jahrzeits- und Scherzlieder ohne Zote enthalten, die Klage über das Mildhelmische ist allgemein.” Gerhard Schulz lists key themes such as birth, childhood, love, marriage and death (see Lampart 182).
observes that Napoleon had begun the laborious effort of unification for Germany albeit unintentionally and in a rudimentary way. Even the political Geist with which Napoleon composed the new order, hinted at changes brought on by modernity. According to Martus, this took place “über die Entmachtung der alten Eliten durch ein Gesetz, vor dem alle Menschen gleich sein sollten, und durch eine Verwaltung, die sich dem Staat gegenüber verantwortlich fühlte und das Land ebenmäßig durchzog.” However, the initial reactions of the Grimms to the occupation were far from grateful.

The Napoleonic regime was a political catastrophe for the Grimms. While they accepted the situation relatively calmly at the time, the brothers certainly could not ignore the "Bitterkeit" they felt towards their new rulers. In his Selbstbiographie (1831), Wilhelm wrote: “jener Tag des Zusammenbruchs aller bisherigen Verhältnisse wird mir immer vor Augen stehen”, indicating just how profoundly he was affected by the invasion. On a communal level, the French occupation heralded the end of the old powers, leaving a void in its wake, which kindled the desire to engender an imaginary idea of unity in many individuals. Martus notes that the Germans discovered their interest in Volksdichtung as a protest against the foreign rulers and developed a sense of patriotism and nationalism. The Grimms, in this light, appear to have been exemplary Germans of the time. Wilhelm voiced his patriotic views in a sonnet he wrote, demonstrating a deep connection to his idea of Germany’s greatness; the first four lines of which read as follows:

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289 Ibid. 116.
290 Ibid. 112.
Du deutscher Ruhm, in Unruhm nicht versinke,
So sehr uns drängen hartverworrne Zeiten.
Der Schmach Erkenntnis mögen zubereiten
So alter Glorie tiebedeut'ge Wink!

Jacob returned from Paris to Kassel and worked variously as war secretary and as an administrator of the provisions committee during the initial stages of the occupation; however, he was most unsatisfied with this line of work, and wrote often of his longing to focus on his true calling, the study of Volksdichtung.294

Tragedy struck the Grimm household in May 1808. Mutter Grimm died. To Jacob was consigned responsibility for all family affairs at the age of 23. As Wilhelm suffered from poor health, Jacob had to go in search of a decent paying vocation. Fortunately, thanks to an acquaintance by the name of Johannes Müller already working in Kassel-Wilhelmshöhe at the palace of the King Jerome, Jacob was put in charge of the King’s private library on the 5th of July 1808. Jacob’s salary began at two thousand talars a year, which increased to three thousand not long after. In 1809, Jacob took on the role of assessor at the city council and received an even higher wage. Jacob’s job turned out to be extremely simple, as King Jerome almost never made any requests from the library, so, along with help from his brother, he was able to dedicate much of his energy to his favourite pasttime. Martus shows that it was the zeal with which they devoted themselves to this pasttime that enabled the Grimms to overcome the issues of occupation and acquire a sense of stability:

Nicht mit Hilfe der Gegenstände, der Inhalte, mit denen sich Jacob und Wilhelm beschäftigten, bewältigten sie die politische Katastrophe, sondern durch den <<Eifer>>, die Art und Weise also, mit der deutschen Geschichte

293 Ibid. 113, quoting Wilhelm Grimm.
umzugehen. Somit verknüpfen die <<altdeutschen Studien>> gegensätzliche Momente: Sie zielen auf das Alte und spenden <<Trost>>, weil sie ein Zeichen der Stabilität inmitten unruhiger Zeiten geben; zugleich bieten sie <<dem Auge etwas Neues>> dar und stehen für Innovation und Fortschritt der Wissenschaft.295

The Grimms saw in their studies, and in scholarship in general, a medium of communication through which they could exercise influence over society, opening up new pathways of knowledge as they went.

4.2.4 The Foundation For All Later Studies

Coinciding with these events, the Grimms began to work earnestly on their own collection project. Between 1806 and 1810, they had acquired approximately fifty tales. At the request of Brentano in 1810, now in Berlin, all the material was painstakingly copied and sent to him. Brentano wrote on September 3rd of that year: “Ich habe jetzt angeschaffte Kindermärchen zu schreiben, und ihr könnt mir eine grosse Liebe erweisen wenn Ihr mir mitteilt, was Ihr derart besitzet […] Sendet mir doch, was Ihr habt.”296 Before replying to Brentano, Jacob wrote to Wilhelm in the middle of September stating: “Unsere Kindermärchen, verlangt er […] Das muss man gewiss thun, doch halte ich für nötig, von unserm Gesammelten vorher Abschrift zu nehmen, denn sonst geht’s verloren.”297 Jacob wrote back later that month: “Die Kindermärchen, die wir gesammelt haben, sollen Sie kürzlich erhalten.”298 Brentano received the tales on the 2nd of November in 1810, and after writing to confirm that they had arrived, appeared to forget them entirely. Despite the express wish that he should send back the tales, Brentano never did. While the Grimms’ version mysteriously disappeared

295 Ibid. 114.
297 Ibid. 7. (12.09.1810).
298 Ibid. 7. (24.09.1810).
(most likely burnt), this manuscript, known as Die handschriftliche Urfassung von 1810, was never returned and thus serendipitously remained safe in a monastery until it was discovered shortly after World War I.299

Despite Brentano’s noncompliance, the Grimms carried on industriously with their project. In fact, the early phase of collecting folk and fairy-tales acted as the central driving force in the Grimms’ lives. In a letter to Wilhelm, Jacob wrote from Kassel in November 1809: “Das schon vor deiner Abreise angefangene Verzeichnis aller Sagenelemente ist beträchtlich u. vollständig.”300 He further notes:

Ich halte diese Arbeit zwar für noch sehr weitaussehend, allein du wirst sie mit mir für die allernothwendigste halten u. sie muss die Grundlage zu unserm künftigen Studium geben; ich wüsste nicht wie man auf andere Weise in das innere Wesen der Geschichte der Poesie gelangen wollte. Sobald du kannst, musst du das ganze, Blatt für Blatt durchgehen u. alles was du weißt eintragen. Wenn ich ferner vor etwas Respekt u. zu etwas Lust bekommen habe, so sind es etymologische Studien, welche in die Geschichte der Poesie von allen Seiten leuchten (24.11.1809).301

Here Jacob emphatically confesses the magnitude of the collection of “Sagenelemente” for his scholarly endeavours. In particular, it is noteworthy that the collection should form the “Grundlage zu unserm künftigen Studium”, which, he stated, was the only way to penetrate the “innere Wesen der Geschichte der Poesie”, and how “etymologische Studien” could reveal so much about the history of poetry (“von allen Seiten leuchten”). These statements can be seen to reflect Jacob’s attitude towards Poesie and how firmly he believed in his and his

301 Ibid. 191. Emphasis in original.
brother's studies. A few days later in the very beginning of December 1809 in Halle, Wilhelm replied to Jacob declaring:


It is interesting to note that Wilhelm placed such earnest emphasis on his and his brothers' collection of *Sagenelemente*. He was also confident enough to argue that their collection was in fact superior to other collections because the approach they followed to collecting the *Sagenelemente* yielded better results. Martus finds the Grimms' confidence quite surprising at this stage in their lives, especially in the face of the Danish scholar Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen (1780-1856), to whom Wilhelm refers, for already by 1809, von der Hagen had established himself as a formidable intellect. Martus sees Hagen's presence to the Grimms as a challenge:

Sie mussten sich als Buchautoren profilieren, sie mussten ihr Netzwerk ausbauen, und sie mussten erreichen, dass ihre Arbeitsethik in der Zukunft zum Kriterium für die Unterscheidung zwischen den guten und den schlechtern Forschen werden würde.303

The Grimms were driven to make their mark in the scholarly world. In order to do this, they had to display the importance of their work so that it could gain purchase in the eyes of their contemporaries. Like so many of the characters in the *KHM*, they could only achieve recognition through absolute devotion to their work through self-belief, “Fleiss” and “Eifer”.

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302 Ibid. 191.
4.3 The Makings of an International Success (1811-1829)

4.3.1 Expanding the Network

Prior to the publication of the two volumes of the *KHM*, Jacob published his first book called “Über den altdeutschen Meistergesang” in 1811. In this book Jacob demonstrated his intention to distinguish between the concepts *Volksdichtung* and *Naturpoesie*. In the same year Wilhelm translated and published “Altdänische Heldenlieder, Balladen und Märchen.” Wilhelm also compiled a collection of Nordic “Heldengedichte” over which he became very excited. He sent a copy of this collection to Brentano, Arnim and Goethe. Goethe was especially delighted by the poems and praised them considerably. In 1813, Wilhelm published three old Scottish songs in the original and with a translation into German. Both Grimms published “Die beiden ältesten deutschen Gedichte aus dem 8. Jahrhundert: Das Lied von Hildebrand und Hadubrand und das Weissenbrunner (Wessobrunn) Gebet zum 1. Mal in ihrem Metrum dargestellt und herausgegeben durch die Brüder Grimm.” Thus the Grimms had begun to flex their muscles as serious scholars and make an impact on the intellectual scene of Germany.

Another significant work the Grimms edited was “Die Lieder der alten Edda.” In a letter to Goethe, Wilhelm wrote about the way in which the study of the *alte Edda* satisfied simultaneously their urge to engage with scholarship and poetry. Both brothers found this connection was tangible through studying the works of Homer due to the inherent purity of ancient texts. As academics,

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304 Gerstner 31.
305 Ibid. “Bei der Edda kam es uns darauf an, sowohl die wissenschaftlichen Forderungen nach unsern Kräften zu befriedigen, als auch die ausgezeichnete und gewaltige Poesie darin so nah als möglich zu rücken”, 35.
they felt as if it was their “erste Sorge auf einen korrekten und reinen Originaltext zu gehen.”\textsuperscript{306} This emphasis on finding purity in the old texts is significant because it indicates how firmly the Grimms stood by the ‘philosophy’ that it was central to their academic prowess to maintain the original pure side of the texts as far as was humanly possible, whilst engaging simultaneously with works of poetry.

Due to their disappointment with the current intellectual climate surrounding their zeal for old poetry, the brothers published their own literary magazine called \textit{Altdutsche Wälder} (3 Volumes: 1813, 1814 & 1816).\textsuperscript{307} The title echoed Herder’s \textit{Critische Wälder} (1768-69) and included articles mainly from the Grimms, two from the “Germanist”, Bernhard Joseph Docen (1782-1828), and one from the philologist, Georg Friedrich Benecke (1762-1844). The programme for the magazine was to propagate the “Vielfalt der Gegenstände” and “Einheit der Methode”— and, as Wilhelm told Goethe, “wir haben diese Zeitschrift streng für Leute vom Handwerk bestimmt.”\textsuperscript{308} However, \textit{Altdutsche Wälder} was generally considered to be a failure. Printed at the expense of the Grimms, August Wilhelm Schlegel (1767-1845) took the Grimms to task by complaining that it was the specialized nature of the subject matter that was its very downfall. The magazine also gave the art historian, Sulpiz Boisserée (1783-1854), occasion to write to Goethe indignantly that the Grimms showed too much “Andacht zum Unbedeutenden.”\textsuperscript{309} Intriguingly, this formulation is precisely one of the reasons to consider the Grimms as advocates of modernity.

\textsuperscript{306} Ibid. 35.
\textsuperscript{307} Martus (2009) 195.
\textsuperscript{308} Ibid. 195.
\textsuperscript{309} Ibid. 54.
“Andacht zum Unbedeutenden”, while intended as a critique, highlights a key element in the both brothers’ approach to their studies. Put simply, they were fanatically methodical. The study of words, old stories and poems, was to them the same as being a scientist who observes cells under a microscope and desires above all to distinguish between the cells to know their various functions. With this in mind, it is now fitting to move on to that collection of tales so world famous today.

4.3.2 Die Kinder- und Hausmärchen, gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm

Between 1812-1815, the Brothers Grimm published the very first edition of the KHM, thanks to a final burst of encouragement from Arnim.310 The first volume appeared just before Christmas on December 20th 1812, while the second volume appeared in the year 1815.311 Volume I comprised 86 tales and volume II 69. During this time the Grimms compiled their most significant number of the Märchen. What is especially crucial about the early tales is the type of individuals from whom they came. The vast majority of the tales came from young, educated, middle and upper class women. Many of them were well known to the brothers already, or became acquainted with them during the early stages of the collecting and publishing phase.

Possibly the earliest contributors were the Wild sisters, Henriette, Dorothea, Marie Elisabeth and Margarete Marianne, who lived above their fathers apothecary across the road from the Grimms’ family home in Kassel.312

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310 Rölleke (1985) 75.
311 Despite the fact that it was already finished by July 1814.
312 Marie told Der Gevatter Tod; to Henriette, Rölleke attributes Die Drei Männlein im Walde, Frau Holle, Allerlei-Rauh, Der singende Knochen, die Sechs Schwäne, Vom süßen Brei, die klugen Leute.
Their mother Dorothea Catharina also contributed certain tales. From the Wild family came such tales as *Frau Holle, Allerlei-Rauh, Der Gevatter Tod* and *Läuschen und Flöhchen*. Other key female contributors to the first volume were the Hassenpflug sisters: Amalie, Jeanette and Marie. The sisters shared numerous tales with the brothers including *Rotkäppchen, Der gestiefelte Kater, Dornröschen* and *Das Mädchen ohne Hände*. Frederike Mannel, Ludovika Jorridis-Brentano, Julia and Charlotte Ramus also fit into this category.

The male contingent was in fact more numerous than their female counterparts, but they provided far fewer in total for the Grimms' collection. Among the most important contributors was an old retired soldier called Johann Friedrich Krause who exchanged several tales for clothing. Other names worth mentioning for historical purposes were Friedrich Wilhelm Carové, Ferdinand Siebert, Paul Wigand and Phillip Otto Runge.

For the second volume, Wilhelm spent some time in 1813 at the von Haxthausen family estate, an old aristocratic family of Huguenot descent. The contributors from the von Haxthausens included the sisters Marianne, Ludovine

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313 Ibid. Strohhalm, Kohle und Bohne auf der Reise, Läuschen und Flöehchen. See Rölleke & Schindehütte (2011) for the entire list of Märchen and their contributors.
315 For details on the Märchen each contributor provided, refer to Rölleke (1985) 69-85; Rölleke & Schindehütte (2011); See also ibid. and Sennewald 29-71, for the socio-cultural and poetic roles the contributors played in the construction of the KHM, especially the initial publications of 1812/1815.
316 Krause's tales include *Herr Fix und Fertig, der alte Sultan and Von der Serviette, dem Tornister, dem Kanonenhüt und dem Horn* (later replaced by KHM37 Daumesdick, as another version of this tale was found with which it became contaminated). See Rölleke (2011) for an enlightening discussion on this tale and its contributor, 94-7; and on the tale itself, 102-105. Also Brüder Grimm, "Anhang", *Kinder- und Hausmärchen Band 3: Ausgabe letzter Hand mit den Originalanmerkungen der Brüder Grimm*, ed. Heinz Rölleke, (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2006), 522-4.
317 For individual background portraits and tales contributed refer to Rölleke & Schindehütte (2011) 273-282 (Carové); 307-328 (Wigand); 218-223 (Siebert); 157-171 (Runge).
and their brother August. A group began to gather on a regular basis at this time to tell each other tales. It was known as the *Bökendorfer Märchenkreis*\(^{318}\). In Hermann Gerstner’s biography of the Grimms, he wrote: “Hier war eine Gruppe Leute, die zusammen durch die Wälder liefen, Volkslieder sangen und Waldhorn und Flöte spielten.”\(^{319}\) Such experiences for Wilhelm added greatly to his perception of the power of the folk and fairy-tale for the creating of community spirit.

However, perhaps the most important contributor above all others was Dorothea Viehmann (1755-1816). Viehmann was a tailor’s wife in her mid-fifties, who made ends meet by selling vegetables at the markets in Kassel. The Grimms came into contact with her through the von Haxthausens. They could not have been gifted a more glowing example of a traditional German storyteller, as they saw it. Viehmann appeared to fit all the characteristics. For this reason, the Grimms described her in detail in the Preface to the second edition of the *KHM* in 1819. They note with precision her facial features: “Ihre Gesichtszüge hatten etwas Festes, Verständiges und Angenehmes, und aus großen Augen blickte sie hell und scharf” (*KHM* 1819, “Vorrede”, XII). They also emphasised her authenticity as a storyteller, proclaiming how perfectly suited and unique she was for this task:


\(^{318}\) Gerstner 40.  
\(^{319}\) Ibid. 40.
The Grimms explained that Viehmann was a rare person who could repeat stories word for word if required, and could even correct herself if she made a mistake. Anyone who did not believe them only had to hear her tell stories to know the truth:

Wer an leichte Verfälschung der Ueberlieferung, Nachlässigkeit bei Aufbewahrung, und daher an Unmöglichkeit langer Dauer als Regel glaubt, der hätte hören müssen, wie genau sie immer bei der Erzählung blieb, und auf ihre Richtigkeit eifrig war; sie änderte niemals bei einer Wiederholung etwas in der Sache ab, und besserte ein Versehen, sobald sie es bemerkte, mitten in der Rede gleich selber (KHM 1819, "Vorrede", XII-XIII).

Although the Grimms claimed that Viehmann and the other contributors had provided tales from a genuine oral tradition, the reality was much different. However, as already noted, the truth did not surface until 1975. Yet this did not mean that the Grimms’ claims remained uncontested by their contemporaries. In fact, far from it – there were many critical voices raised against the Grimms and the validity of their collection.

**4.3.3 Naturpoesie vs. Kunstpoesie**

Despite the well-meaning approach of the Grimms, even contemporary commentary on the Grimms’ work did not always play to the same tune. No sooner had the *KHM* been published, then it came under fire. For example, A. W. Schlegel vented his discontent with the Grimms when he stated that only a few “Ammenmärchen” are worth notice; the rest being no more use than to put small children to sleep.\(^{320}\) Arnim became especially embroiled in the intellectual

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\(^{320}\) August Wilhelm Schlegel, *Sämtliche Schriften: Vermischte und Kritische Schriften Bd. XII, Hg. Eduard Böcking*, (New York: Hildesheim 1971), 391. Martus (2009, 202) refers to Schlegel’s critique in relation to the *KHM* although Schlegel actually wrote about the Grimms’ self-published journal “Altdeutsche Wälder” (published between 1813-1816), which he argued was far too specialized and did not provide ample explanation to entice non-expert readers. The quote, nevertheless, reflects an appropriate critical voice of the Grimms’ perceptions of their tales at the time. C.f. Schiller: “Deeper meaning resides in the fairy tales told to me in my childhood than in the truth that is taught by life” [quoted in Bettelheim (1975, 5)].
debate. This argument was more than just a minor clash of opinions; it also
served to establish his and Jacob’s differing conceptual foundations of Poesie. Arnim contended with Jacob over the true meaning of the tales and whether they
could be regarded as Naturpoesie or Kunstpoesie. The attempt to define these
ideas had already begun several years earlier, when Jacob wrote Gedanken wie
sich die Sagen zur Poesie und Geschichte verhalten (1808), that was published in
Brentano and Arnim’s journal Die Zeitung für Einsiedler. In summarising the
article, Martus states:

Die Naturpoesie sei für das ganze Volk beziehungsweise die gesamte Nation da; sie gehe aus seiner kollektiven Autorschaft hervor und verbreite sich
mündlich. Die <<Kunstpoesie>> hingegen verbucht Jacob als historisch
spätere Erscheinung. Sie zirkuliere schriftlich unter den Gebildeten und lasse
sich einzelnen Autoren zurechnen.

Wilhelm published some of his first translations of Altdänischer Heldenlieder in
Arnim and Brentano’s journal. According to Martus, these writings are
significant as Wilhelm assumes a counter position to Jacob’s views on matters
concerning Naturpoesie. The difference in opinion over the definition of
Naturpoesie and Kunstpoesie was to become a key feature in later years,
particularly in their reception, which is crucial to the understanding and
consequences of the tales. In a programmatic letter to Arnim in May 1811,
Jacob outlined his views:

... die Volkspoesie tritt aus dem Gemüt des Ganzen hervor; was ich unter
Kunstpoesie meine, aus dem des einzelnen. Darum nennt die neue Poesie

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321 Lampart views Brentano and Arnim more as re-creators of an ideal conception of the Naturpoesie into Kunstpoesie, whereas the Grimms were first and foremost collectors and philologists who belied themselves mere conduits in giving expression to pure Naturpoesie, 183.
322 Martus (2009), 138. See also Jacob Grimm, “Gedanken wie sich die Sagen zur Poesie und Geschichte verhalten”, Zeitung für Einsiedler, (Heidelberg: Mohr und Zimmer, 1808), Heft 19-20, 152-156.
323 Ibid. 138. C.f. also Baumann and Briggs’ thesis about inequality in linguistic productions, for example in Chapters Five and Six on Johann Gottfried Herder and the Grimms respectively.
324 Ibid. 139.
325 Murayama 17-29; Lampart 173.
Jacob defended his nature philosophy approach to poetry by drawing on the mythical notion that all things in times of unrecorded history are intrinsically of higher poetic value than the modern examples. This was a preoccupation with the belief that old poetry stems from the collective and has no individual author, thus making it superior to all other forms of modern (Kunst)poesie. This view shaped Jacob’s conceptualisation of poetry for most of his life. Nevertheless, despite his convictions, Arnim did not see eye to eye with him. In response to Jacob’s claims about the tales in July 1811, Arnim asserted that he saw this differently:

Natur- und Kunstpoesie. Nie habe ich den Einfluß der Geschichte auf die Poesie geleugnet, aber eben weil es keinen Moment ohne Geschichte gibt als den absolut ersten der Schöpfung, so ist keine absolute Naturpoesie vorhanden, es ist immer nur ein Unterschied von mehr oder weniger in der Entwicklung beider...327

Although Arnim played a vital role in the publication of the first volume of the KHM, he did not withdraw from his position on how to conceptualise Natur- and Kunstpoesie. In a letter to Jacob on the Christmas Eve of 1812, only four days after the KHM had been officially released, Arnim disagreed wholeheartedly with the brothers’ claims about the purity of the Märchen:

Ich glaube es Euch nimmermehr, selbst wenn ihr es glaubt, dass die Kindermärchen von Euch so aufgeschrieben sind, wie ihr empfangen habt,

326 Seitz 48.
327 Seitz 48.
But Arnim’s was not the only critical voice. Other folklore gatherers and authors – among them Brentano and A. L. Grimm – disagreed with the Grimms’ practice. Brentano, for example, also shared Arnim’s viewpoint and was even blunter in his critique, although he confided his honest thoughts only to Arnim. In a letter to Arnim, Brentano uttered that “die Erzählung [sei] äußert liederlich, und versudelt, und in Manchen dadurch sehr langweilig.” In fact, Brentano described many of the tales as dirty, torn apart clothing, asserting that he was glad he and Arnim had taken a different approach to the Wunderhorn project. Brentano and Arnim’s views demonstrate that the Grimms’ hold over the idea of their tales was not in any way absolute, although, ironically, the Grimms’ approach to the tales was very similar to Brentano’s and Arnim’s own.

Nevertheless, the criticism struck a nerve with the Grimms and several significant changes were made to the KHM to counteract the failings. The ensuing developments, however, were to see Jacob turn to other projects while Wilhelm stayed on as the sole editor of the collection after the 1812-1815 publication. While Wilhelm did not enter so directly into conflict over the different meanings of Natur- and Kunstpoesie, it is worth noting his convergent views from Jacob. In a letter to Savigny, Wilhelm confided that: “Die alle Wahrheiten der Philosophie müssen notwending in die Poesie übergehen und gleichsam leiblich werden…” Through this formulation, Wilhelm felt that he had identified a fundamental

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330 Lambert 171-2.
332 Seitz 48.
difference to Jacob. For Wilhelm, poetry existed not by itself but in its relationship to man and through his enjoyment of it. This shows that Wilhelm conceived of personal insight and engagement with poetry as the key to experiencing it, which, as he informed Savigny, contrasted with his brother's view significantly. Whereas Jacob stood by the notion of natural poetry from the collective, Wilhelm took a far more practical position. He demonstrated this at the end of his letter: "ein Gleichnis ist, daß wir durch uns, durch unsre Augen sehen, wenn wir sie zutun, ist es Nacht, und ohne unsre Augen würde die Sonne nicht leuchten."\textsuperscript{333} Wilhelm appears to argue for an empirical perspective on how to view poetry, in contrast to Jacob's natural philosophy, which presents a case for why Wilhelm's approach to poetry, and more specifically, to the KHM, was far more appropriate to edit the tales.\textsuperscript{334}

4.3.4 Years of Plenty in Kassel (1816-1829)

The time after the initial publication of the KHM is looked upon as a period of prosperity for the Grimms. When reflecting on those years later in life, Jacob thought of the time spent in Kassel as the most peaceful and joyful in their lives: "in solcher ruhe [...] ergrünête unser herz wie auf einer aue."\textsuperscript{335} Over this period the Grimms published a host of significant scholarly works. Jacob released the first systematic study of German grammar in 1819 entitled \textit{Die Deutsche Grammatik}. This work was very well received. It even atoned for the vehement critique from A. W. Schlegel on Jacob's earlier work, as he admitted in a letter to

\textsuperscript{333} Ibid. 48.
\textsuperscript{334} Especially in light of the fact that Jacob did not necessarily see any immediate connection between children and the Märchen; for him, it was more a coincidence: "Das Märchenbuch ist mir daher nicht für Kinder geschrieben, aber es kommt ihnen recht erwünscht und das freut mich sehr… Diese Märchen wohnen darum bei Kindern und Alten." Gerstner 41.
\textsuperscript{335} Martus (2009) 261.
W. v. Humboldt. 336 Wilhelm was no less productive, releasing the second edition of the *KHM* in 1819, having removed tales unworthy for children's eyes or of foreign influence, rewritten and embellished many others: “Daher ist der erste Band fast ganz umgearbeitet, das Unvollständige ergänzt, manches einfacher und reiner erzählt, und nicht viele Stücke werden sich finden, die nicht gewonnen hätten” (*KHM* 1819, “Vorrede”, XIV). Together the brothers also compiled *Deutsche Sagen (DS)*, which appeared in two volumes in 1816 and 1818. While this collection was later to inspire many of the great German writers of the nineteenth century, including Heinrich Heine (1797-1856), E. T. A. Hoffmann (1776-1822) and Richard Wagner (1813-1883), it was commercially a failure. Unlike the *KHM*, the *DS* did not receive any significant editing or embellishing. However, the Grimms did use the Preface in the *DS* to posit their belief in the power of the sagas to transgress political and even natural boundaries and pave the way to a united country:

Allein es ist klar, daß man sich dabei am wenigsten an die heutigen Teilungen Deutschlands, denen zufolge zum Beispiel: Meißen Sachsen; ein großer Teil des wahren Sachsens aber Hannover genannt, im kleinen, einzelnen noch viel mehr untereinander gewengt wird, hätte halten dürfen. War also eine andere Einteilung, nicht nach Gebirgen und Flüssen, sondern nach der eigentlichen Richtung und Lage der deutschen Völkerstämme, unbekümmert um unsere politischen Grenzen, aufzustellen, so ist hierzu wenig Sicheres und Gutes vorgearbeitet, daß gerade eine sorgsamere Prüfung der aus gleichem Grund verschmähten und versäumten Mundarten und Sagen des Volks erst muß dazu *den Weg bahnen helfen* (*DS* 1816, "Vorrede", 13, my emphasis).

The Grimms felt that the *Märchen* like their country were all connected. 337

During the later period in Kassel, two other significant publications appeared that would lead to the rise in popularity of the *KHM*. The first was the third volume of the *KHM* entitled *Anmerkungen*, published first in 1822 and then

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337 Ibid. 14. “Lebendig ineinander verwachsen”.

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again in 1856, and was intended to emphasise the scholarly nature of the Grimms’ methodology of “Treu und Wahrheit”. The Anmerkungen contained all variants of their collection that the Grimms could find in languages such as German, French, English, Swedish and Spanish. This compilation of tale variants many years later sparked the establishment of modern comparative philology.

The other and far more significant publication for the popularity of the KHM was the release of the Kleine Ausgabe. In 1823, the British author Edgar Taylor (1793-1839), translated a selection of Grimms’ tales, calling it German Popular Tales. Not long after its appearance, Wilhelm was sent a copy from Taylor. It is generally believed this was the first break-through in the KHM’s history that would transform it into a reading book for children. The Kleine Ausgabe contained only fifty of the most popular, children-friendly tales and featured drawings by the Grimms’ younger brother, Ludwig Emil. The reduced size and inclusion of illustrations to the tales was a resounding success. It not only became more affordable, it also set a landmark in children’s literature with the use of pictures, which were particularly convenient for the not-yet literate readers. With the Kleine Ausgabe, Wilhelm showed his true colours in regard to how the tales should be received. While the Anmerkungen was clearly a scholarly publication, the Kleine Ausgabe was specifically designed for children.

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339 For example, the tale Antti Aarne’s motif index that was expanded by Stith Thompson. See Antti Aarne, The Types of the Folktales: A Classification and Bibliography, (Helsinki: The Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, 1961). Stith Thompson, Motif Index of Folk Literature (1932-36, 6 Volumes), Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1955.
340 Rölleke (1985) 84-85. Rölleke notes another significant contribution to the KHM’s success was due to the switch from publishing companies in Berlin to the Dieterichische Buchhandlung in Göttingen. Consider also Benedict Anderson’s view that book sellers were interested in profit and thus only sold what interested the public as early as the sixteenth century and has continued to influence the market to the present (37).
342 Rölleke (1985) 84.
work, the direction the tales would take moved further and further away from the strictly scholarly beginnings.343

4.4 The Concept of Volksgemeinschaft through the Lens of the Romantik

4.4.1 Folk Literature as Unifying Force

The concept “Volksgemeinschaft” is of central concern to the historical background of the KHM.344 It can be interpreted as part of the KHM project viewed in terms of a romantisches Buch, which is conceived through its poetic nature. In the Romantik-Handbuch (1994), folk literature is defined as follows: “...die romantische Volksliteratur, die nach 1800 entsteht, [will] meist als Beitrag zur kulturellen und politischen Einheit Deutschlands verstanden werden...”.345

This fact also marks the perceptible interference of modernity in relation to the construction of the KHM. Portraying Germany as a united land befitted the Romantics’ desire for harmony where there were only contradictions and divisions to be found. Thus it is argued that many Germans sought individual ways in which to bridge the gulls that were apparent through geographic, cultural, political, linguistic and religious differences.346 The Grimms’ mentor, Savigny, for example, saw the possibility of unity in the formation of a law book

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343 However, Alfred and Mary Elizabeth David’s interpretation of the child-friendliness must be noted: “When the Grimms’ entitled their collection of folktales Kinder- und Hausmärchen, they did not mean to imply they had compiled a volume of stories for the nursery. In the foreword to the [KHM 1812], Wilhelm wrote: >>These stories are pervaded by the same purity that makes children appear so marvelous and blessed to us.<< In other words, it is not the stories that are primarily for children, but the stories are like children, have lived among children and are treasured and preserved within the family.” See Alfred and Mary Elizabeth David, “A Literary Approach to the Brothers Grimm”, Journal of the Folklore Institute, 1:3 (1964), 180-196; 180-1, emphasis in original.

344 Sennewald notes, for example, that the Märchen become “Zeugnis der Erzähltradition einer Volksgemeinschaft”, 33.

345 By contrast to the “Kunstmärchen” of the early romantic period. See Stefan Greif, Märchen/Volksdichtung, Romantik-Handbuch, Hg. Helmut Schanze (Tübingen: Kröner Verlag, 1994), 257-275, 257.

346 See, for example, Seigel. 114-123; Koenigsberger 36-38; Lampart 179-180.
for the German states that bound all together through common aspects of culture such as language, custom and constitution, imbuing Germany with its own distinct identity.\(^{347}\)

Considering the Grimms’ educational upbringing, it is not surprising they too shared these goals. One crucial way in which this can be seen in terms of a connection between land and culture is in the depiction of the *Märchen* as part of nature:

> [Die Darstellung der Märchen] gleicht einer Pflanze, deren Sprossen und Zweige jedes Frühjahr in einer anderen Richtung hervorwachsen, und die doch Gestalt, Blüte und Frucht darum niemals verändert; oder es ist der lebendige Odem, der über diese Poesie hingehnt und ihre Wellen auf und ab treibt und bewegt (*KHM* 1819, ”Vorrede”, XXV).

Such metaphorical language introduces another level of poetic value into the *KHM*, which draws its credibility from the language of the *Romantik*.

### 4.4.2 Unity in Plant Life: *die Urform*

The *Romantik* is characterised to some degree by the idea of an eternal longing for fulfilment, love and unity. Such feelings could sometimes be fulfilled within nature. The Grimms’ preoccupation with nature metaphors indicates their awareness of a trend in thinking that many poets and artists of the time tried to capture. For example, one influential document of this trend is to be found in Goethe’s *Metamorphosen der Pflanzen* (1790), in which he unfolded his teachings on morphology through his botanical studies. Goethe’s interest in plants was first kindled during his Italian journey between 1786-1788. During this time he

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developed the concept of the *Urpflanze*, from which, Goethe asserted, all plants of each specific plant type must have come.\textsuperscript{348} Ernst Haeckel has defined Goethe’s botanical notions as precursory to the theory of evolution.\textsuperscript{349} Goethe’s principal interest was in the intermingling of poetry and science. While Goethe’s approach did not find much footing in Western science, in his introduction to Goethe’s *Metamorphosen* Gordon Miller states:

This mode of inquiry aims to overcome subject/object dualism by endowing detailed sense experience of the outward forms of nature with the enlivening inward power of imagination, while also grounding subjective imagination in objective forms and facts.\textsuperscript{350}

In Goethe’s eyes, science and poetry were actually complementary. Despite criticism from friends and acquaintances, Goethe’s theories managed to take root amongst several key scientific minds of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{351}

Importantly, Goethe transposed the notion of metamorphosis to animals and humans, which appeared to have significant ramifications for the way in which the Grimms’ viewed their *Märchen*. This transposition referred to an understanding of animals and humans in which they too developed, like plants, from an *Urform*. Such a view argued that life forms changed in line with certain observable laws or principles. The Grimms followed this mode of thinking in their conception of *Märchen* as *Naturpoesie*. The parallel asserted here between


\textsuperscript{349}Robert Richards, *The Romantic Conception of Life: Science and Philosophy in the Age of Goethe*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 407. “Indeed, one might even say, without distortion, that evolutionary theory was *Goethean* morphology working on geological time.”

\textsuperscript{350}Goethe (2009), xxiii.

\textsuperscript{351}Ibid. xxiv. For example, Alexander von Humboldt dedicated a book in 1806 to Goethe, including an image from *Metamorphosen der Pflanzen*, and, as Miller notes, demonstrated Humboldt’s own predilections for poetry and science as a medium to unveil secrets in nature. Goethe’s ideas can also be found in Charles Darwin’s *On the Origin of Species*: “…as Helmholtz observed… Goethe’s morphology made the way for the quick acceptance of Darwin’s evolutionary theory in Germany. …Goethe’s ideas were instrumental in the construction of Darwin’s theory’, 435. For an especially illuminating study of the connections between Romanticism, Science and Darwin, see Richards (2002), particularly Chapter Fourteen, 514-552.
Märchen and nature encapsulates a striking feature of the Romantik. The Grimms attempted to draw together a vast array of tales (of varying origins) and reconstitute them as part of a unified whole. Furthermore, they connected the figure and voice of the mother with the power of conveying the stories in a pure form. The child recipients of the tale telling correspondingly became subjected to a specifically Germanic form of socialisation. The tales were all printed in German, mainly Hochdeutsch, and they were to be read out loud, imbuing the tales with the particular qualities of whichever regional dialect the teller spoke. All these notions the Grimms enveloped within the assertion that the tales were also intrinsically German or Germanic in origin. They based this claim on the theory that all tales, like Goethe's plants, must stem from an Urbild. Thus the Grimms developed the concept of the Urmärchen. This notion played a key role in the conception of the KHM as part of the collective German history.

4.4.3 KHM as Creator of Communities

In Martus’ socio-historically critical biography of the Grimms, he states: “Die Kinder- und Hausmärchen erzeugten Gemeinschaft – das hatte vielfältige Dimensionen: soziale, politische, ökonomische.” Interestingly, Martus contrasts the Grimms’ tales with Musäus’ Volksmärchen, arguing that Musäus’ audience was still very much situated in the spirit of the Aufklärung, whereas the Grimms were to have provided the public sugared pills to counter the “Lesewut”

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352 Zipes (2002b) 190. Zipes also observes: “If one studies the notes to the tales that the Grimms compiled, it is apparent that they wanted to stress the relationship of each tale to an ideal Urvolk (primeval people) and Ursprache (primeval language), recognizing their universality and international ties while at the same time focusing on German tradition with the express purpose of discovering something new about the origins of German customs and laws”, 69.

experienced in Musäus’ time. The tales, according to Jacob, should not be read all at once. Rather, they could be read a few at a time and more than once. The Grimms both emphasised the tales as part of the constant ebb of time that could be experienced as “etwas Ruhiges, Stilles und Reines.” Thus in their eyes the KHM was viewed as an antidote to the inexorable speeding up of time evident in early nineteenth century Germany and to the literal fragmentation that reflected their nation. Wilhelm even declared that the Märchen should be a communal good for the Fatherland. In From Enchanted Forests to the Modern World (2002b), Jack Zipes notes that the Grimms constructed an ideology, which drew upon a multitude of social, political, historical and cultural layers that lent powerful support to the public’s view of the tales. Zipes maintains:

In general, ..., [the Grimms’] tales tend to blend their ideal notions of the people, their trust in a monarchical constitutional state, and their empirical findings about customs and law that reveal what they believed were basic truths about the origins of language and Gemeinschaft (community).

The connection of the KHM to the Germanic folk was a major factor in their popular appeal, particularly in their conception as creating an idea of collective heritage and thus a space in which Germany could be viewed as a unified land.

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354 Ibid. 220; see also Steig (1904) 239: “Wenn ihr unsere Kindermärchen lest, müßt Ihr sie nur recht nach und nach, nicht auf einmal lesen, denn es ist nicht eine sondern viele Geschichten, jeden Abend eins oder ein paar, sonst macht’s müde...” (Jacob to Arnim, 29.10.1812).
355 See, for example, Jacob’s letter to Paul Wigand in 1813: “Deine Kinder sollen, wie ich hoffe, viel aus dem Buch lernen, es ist unsere bestimmte Absicht, dass man es als ein Erziehungsbuch betrachte; du musst nur erst warten, bis sie es verstehen können, und dann nur nicht zu viel auf einmal sondern nach und nach immer einen Brocken dieser süßen Speise geben.” Gerstner 42.
356 Ibid. 220.
359 Zipes (2002b) 79.

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Above all, the *KHM* represented a symbolic stand against the negative transformations occurring in Germany during the early nineteenth century.
Chapter Five: *Die Grimm’sche Perspektive: A Product of Poesie and Wissenschaft*

5.1 Introduction: the Critical Platform

Since Rölleke’s influential work in the 1970s and 1980s, the history of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen, gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm* was fundamentally altered. The critical factor here is that the reception of the tales *had to change*. These findings have certainly not detracted from their popularity or their use as literature for children yet scholars of the Brothers Grimm were forced to reconsider any ‘romanticised’ (in terms of mythologizing) notions of the origins of these tales. The long-held belief of the *urdeutsche Märchen* was replaced by a greater European tradition of folklore and fairy-tales. Above all, however, the notion that the tales reflected the essence of the folk, that within the tales the life-blood of the folk had been captured and preserved, is not true in the way the Grimms argued. Instead, the tales have come to be viewed as highly sophisticated and extensive projections of the Grimms’ poetic and scholarly imagination, which form a complex history in their own right and is in many ways still open to new interpretations.

Recent scholarship on the Brothers Grimm has begun to investigate the extent to which the *Märchen* can be called modern and can be comprehended within certain socio-historical processes that led to the shift to modernity. For the purposes of this thesis, I argue that it is no coincidence that the *Märchen*

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360 See Rölleke (1985b) 38. “[U]berhaupt ist die Vorstellung die Brüder Grimm seien zu irgendeiner Zeit märchensammelnd über Land gezogen, falsch.”

361 Albeit Aarne and Thompson’s epic undertaking to categorize tales by motif was originally based on this conjecture and remains relevant to this day as a mode in which tales can be classified.
emerge during the same period in which Koselleck locates the *Sattelzeit* and German societies underwent major changes in their horizons of expectation and experience. I adopt the idea that this period of time can be characterized as a time of transition; of the falling apart and reconstruction of social order. The concept of transition is central to this chapter and suggests that the *KHM* reflect both the poetic and scholarly endeavours of the Grimms, making the *Märchen* suitable for adaptation at the hands of the Grimms. By treating the tales as products of *Poesie* and *Wissenschaft*, they were always considered works in progress. The *Märchen* thus never possessed concrete forms, for, despite being fixed in writing, each time a tale was told, it could be told differently. The idea of the mutability of the *Märchen* can be viewed as a consequence of the period in which they were published. This suggests that the application of modernity as a point of departure for an examination of the Grimms and their *Märchen* is viable. Accordingly, I consider several key theories from the secondary literature as a critical platform through which to examine the *KHM* as a product of modernity.

The first critical approach deals with the ideas of aesthetic education and the voice of the mother. Two major proponents of this approach are Rüdiger Steinlein and Isumitsu Murayama. In the essay *Märchen als Poetische Erziehungsform: zum Kinderliterarischen Status der Grimmschen Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (1993), Steinlein argues that the power of the Grimms’ tales was enhanced by what he called the “Mutterstimme” or the mother’s voice. Steinlein derived his notion from Kittler’s ‘*Muttermund*’. In Steinlein’s view, the mother and her voice was a major component in the dissemination of *Märchen* to children due to her capacity as both main carer and educator. As discussed in
Chapter Three, the mother’s importance to children and to fairy-tales was continually reinforced over the nineteenth century at the same time as the Kernfamilie emerged. It is Steinlein’s theory that the Grimms’ tales contributed to some of these changes.

Building upon Steinlein’s theory, in Poesie – Natur – Kinder. Die Brüder Grimm und ihre Idee einer ‘natürlichen Bildung’ in den Kinder- und Hausmärchen (2005), Murayama contends that the Grimms viewed women as analogous to Märchen. The female’s voice, to Murayama, became a medium to win back nature that was seen as lost due to the advent of the “moderne Zerrissenheit”. Through the female voice, Wilhelm supposedly believed that a national and aesthetic education was passed on to its children audiences to overcome this social problem.

The second approach is to be found in Jens Sennewald’s Das Buch, das Wir Sind: zur Poetik der KHM, gesammelt durch die Bruder Grimm (2004), in which he investigates the Grimms’ tales as modern literature. According to Sennewald, the tales enable a form of knowledge to be imparted which is transferrable to the modern era. Sennewald identifies the source of this knowledge emanating from the Märchen, due in part to the theme of the disestablishment and the reconstruction of social order. He also argues that the KHM can be regarded as self-referential in its capacity as a romantisches Buch.

The third and final approach centres upon the ways in which the period starting from 1800 saw the beginning of an economic and social shift from
agrarian-based to industry-based societies. In central Europe, this process reached far into the twentieth century. The shift from an agrarian way of life affected not only society as a whole but also impinged upon issues surrounding the ways in which individuals constructed their world views and recorded knowledge. The Romantik constituted a transition period that set new modes of thinking and behaving into motion. This is the subject of Albrecht Koschorke’s study on the way in which nineteenth century authors of Märchen during the Romantik appear to wrangle with the changes when the social and economic shift entailed. In order for the authors of Märchen to do this, they had to follow a particular type of rhetorical construct to justify the importance of their work. Koschorke examines the Grimms and their Märchen, looking at the way in which they applied the concepts of Volk, purity and truth. Koschorke further claims that a particular ‘liminal dynamic’ enters into the Märchen due to the nature of the subject matter.

5.2 The Mother’s Voice and Aesthetic Education

5.2.1 The Background

Mothers have been a central part of the story telling tradition for millenia. As has already been demonstrated, over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the importance of this role took on educational, social, cultural and political dimensions. The figure of the mother became instrumental in the eyes of the state for raising children to be upstanding citizens. For this process to function, mothers and their voices were required to educate their children from infancy until they could think for themselves. The most appropriate medium to inculcate the desired teachings was believed to exist in fairy-tales. The Grimms’ Märchen
stood at the heart of this development. For this reason, it is worth examining the ways in which the concept of aesthetic education and the voice of the mother were linked to the *KHM*.

In *Märchen als poetische Erziehungsform: zum Kinderliterarischen Status der Grimmschen Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, Steinlein explores the ways in which the *KHM* evolved to be well-suited to children’s education. The tales, he notes, contain a particular “Erziehungsform” which first emerged at the beginning of the nineteenth century in Germany. The focus on “Erziehung” can be discerned in the first two *Große Ausgaben* of the *KHM*. Steinlein asserts that the “…Formulierung ist programmatisch zu lesen und stößt das Tor zu kinderliterarisch bis dahin kaum betretenem Neuland auf: zum Bereich des Märchens nämlich als einer erzieherisch besonders relevanten Literaturgattung.” In Steinlein’s view, the emphasis was not so much on establishing a new form of literature for children, but rather the establishment of the educational value of the literature, which allowed the fairy-tales to gain favour in the eyes of the public and pedagogues.

According to Steinlein, the shift of the target audiences of folk tales from predominantly adults to children occurred at the end of the eighteenth century. This can be identified, as discussed above, in Musäus’ *Volksmärchen der Deutschen* (1782-86) which can be read as representative of a transitional form of literature between the differing conceptions of *Märchen* from the *Aufklärung*

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365 Ibid. 5. Emphasis in original.
366 Steinlein 7.
to the *Romantik*. In 1809, just over two decades after Musäus’ publication, the writer A. L. Grimm published *Die Kindermärchen*. This collection bears witness to distinct changes that had occurred in relation to the perception of *Märchen*. The target audience of the collection is identified immediately in the dedication: “An Aeltern und Erzieher”. This sets the tone of the collection and is further reinforced in the Preface. A. L. Grimm maintained that “…die Jugend Märchen haben muss”, and “Märchen-Poesie, möchte ich sagen, [ist] die Poesie der Kindheit des poetischen Lebensalters.” Interestingly, A. L. Grimm made special mention of *Aschenputtel, Hänsel und Grethel* and *Schneewittchen*, highlighting their particular resonance as educational tales. In the Preface, A. L. Grimm also specifically addressed mothers: “Besonders Euch seyen diese Blätter geweyht, Ihr Mütter!” Steinlein views A. L. Grimm’s publication as a paradigm shift away from Herder’s early conception of *Märchen*. However, A. L. Grimm’s collection did not enjoy the same popular success of the *KHM*.

### 5.2.2 Success of the *KHM*: Educating Children with Poetry through the Voice of the Mother

Steinlein questions how the Grimms’ *Märchen* came to be perceived as the more important and well-received version of German tales, arguing that they portrayed their collection as educational for children, which was to be imparted by mothers. This process did not happen immediately but evolved in stages. At the time of the *KHM*’s conception, the Grimms exchanged many letters and wrote

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367 Ibid. 6. For more details see Section 2.3.4.  
369 Ibid. III-VI.  
370 Ibid. IV. "Und Ich möchte behaupten, dass ein Märchen von dem Aschenpittchen, dem Lebkuchenhäuschen, dem Schneewittchen u. d. gl. eben so gut (wo nicht besser) in eine gute Erziehung eingreift, als die hundert… Erzählungen…".  
371 Ibid. V.  
372 Steinlein 7.
several programmatic prefaces to various collections of folk and fairy-tales that they published. These concentrated on two main threads of argument: on the child-friendliness of the tales and the aesthetic qualities of which the texts were comprised. It is somewhat peculiar, therefore, notes Steinlein, that Jacob wrote to Arnim in 1813 pointing out that he did not believe their tales were in fact meant for children: “Sind diese Kindermärchen für Kinder erdacht und erfunden? Ich glaube dies so wenig, als ich die allgemeine Frage nicht bejahen werde, ob man überhaupt für Kinder etwas eigenes einrichten müsse.” Jacob’s view represents more a pre-modern view of children. Significantly, then, for the KHM’s history, it was Wilhelm and not Jacob who had the final say in the form the tales were to take.

Steinlein contends that it was Wilhelm’s emphasis on the notion of the KHM as an Erziehungsbuch that gave their tales a unique power. The concept of the Erziehungsbuch found a foothold in the minds of the public and the critics due to the methodology the Grimms established, which also resonated with principles of the Romantik. The Grimms dedicated themselves to the portrayal of their Märchen as ‘pure’. In terms of aesthetics, the Grimms understood purity as neither to add to nor beautify the Märchen but rather to present them precisely as they were found. This can be seen in the following statement in the Preface to the 1812 edition:

Wir haben uns bemüht, diese Märchen so rein als möglich war aufzufassen, man wird in vielen die Erzählung von Reimen und Versen unterbrochen finden, die sogar manchmal deutlich alliterieren, beim Erzählen aber niemals gesungen werden, und gerade diese sind die ältesten und besten. Kein

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373 For example, other relevant prefaces or forewords refer to the Grimms’ DS (1816-1818), Die irische Elfenmärchen, Wilhelm Grimm’s Altdänischen Heldenliedern, Balladen und Märchen (1811), and Jacob Grimm’s Die deutsche Mythologie (1835).  
374 Steig (1904) 269.
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. In diesem Sinne existiert noch keine Sammlung in Deutschland... (*KHM* 1812, "Vorrede", XVIII-X-IX).

The claims made here regarding the purity of the tales were geared to justify their suitability specifically for "German" children. Purely Germanic stories that exuded educational teachings were believed to be apt for little minds. Thus Wilhelm was encouraged to emphasise the value of the *KHM* as educational in the Preface to the second edition:

> Das ist der Grund, warum wir durch unsere Sammlung nicht bloß der Geschichte der Poesie einen Dienst erweisen wollten, sondern es zugleich Absicht war, daß die Poesie selbst, die darin lebendig ist, wirke und erfreue, wen sie erfreuen kann, also auch, daß es ein eigentliches Erziehungsbuch werde (*KHM* 1819, "Vorrede", VIII).\(^{375}\)

In this particular Preface, the Grimms linked the educational aspirations of the tales to their patriotic fervour for the Fatherland. The power of this statement rested not so much in the *Märchenbuch* conceived as an *Erziehungsbuch*, but in the fact that the *KHM* appeared to naturally become an *Erziehungsbuch* due to the purity of "Poesie" in itself.

In the scholarship today, Wilhelm’s editorial work on the *KHM* is often deemed a process of "Verbürgerlichung", "Familiarisierung" or "Verkindlichung" that began between the first and second editions. This process, Steinlein argues, represents a benchmark of literary socialization.\(^{376}\) To expand on his assertion, Steinlein discusses the overarching notion of an increased intimacy that is experienced by families in the nineteenth century (which can also be read in terms of the *Kernfamilie*). In the *KHM*, the process of "Familiarisierung" came to fruition through the standardizing of structural and stylization principles in the

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\(^{375}\) My emphasis.

\(^{376}\) Steinlein 13. "…Meilenstein literarischer Sozialisation...".
tales.\textsuperscript{377} In other words, the \textit{KHM} became thematically orientated around the written formation of bourgeois families and heightened intimacy, which also constituted the subject matter of many of the \textit{Märchen}.\textsuperscript{378} Here Steinlein identifies the concept of the “Haus” as the space in which “kernfamilialer Beziehungsintensität und Heimlichkeit” was generated.\textsuperscript{379} The house, then, is transformed into an ideal location for children as the major target audience of the tales, who could be read these \textit{“Kinder- und Hausmärchen”} by their mothers.\textsuperscript{380}

The \textit{KHM} as an “Erziehungsbuch” is closely bound to the mother-child relationship that evolved predominantly around the start of the nineteenth century in the German-speaking realm. This relationship becomes an agent of socialization for the first time during the \textit{Romantik}.\textsuperscript{381} In close association with Kittler’s notion of the \textit{Muttermund}, Steinlein applies the term “Mutterstimme” to the discussion. The “Mutterstimme” was instinctively turned into an instrument of socialization, which found true expression within the region of \textit{Naturpoesie}. Steinlein asserts that this enabled the Grimms to conceive of mothers and therefore female voices in general as a medium for their tales.\textsuperscript{382} Steinlein cites

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{377} Ibid. 13-14. "maßgebliche Strukturierungs- wie Stilisationsprinzip".
\item \textsuperscript{378} For example, \textit{Marienkind, Hänsel und Gretel, Brüderchen und Schwesterchen, Schneewittchen und Rosenrot}.
\item \textsuperscript{379} Steinlein contrasts the notion of “Heimlichkeit” with Freud’s “das Unheimliche”. (14); C.f. Zipes (2002b) 52: “...in terms of the Grimms we are certainly dealing with ‘bourgeois appropriation’ and the institutionalization of a bourgeois genre.”
\item \textsuperscript{380} Ibid. 14. Steinlein points out that the house functions as Foucault’s “Macht dispositiv”, wherein the poetic “Verschriftlichung der Märchen” reflects the potential released by its conception as an educational manual.
\item \textsuperscript{381} Ibid. 14-15.
\item \textsuperscript{382} Ibid. 16.
\end{itemize}
the 1825 *Kleine Ausgabe* as an especially apt example of the “familiarisierten Märchen”, which exuded a distinct “mütterlich codierte[r] Hörraum[].”

The new formulation of the “Mutterstimme” begins with Dorothea Viehmann. The Grimms valued Viehmann highly, referencing not only her name and describing her personality, in the Preface to the second edition of the *KHM*, albeit under the false guise of authenticating their own claims, but also including a drawing of her by the Grimms’ younger brother Ludwig Emil which appeared in the second volume of the first edition and every edition thereafter. The Grimms intermingled Viehmann’s persona as an older, motherly storyteller with the concept of *Naturpoesie*. Of particular importance to Viehmann’s connection to *Naturpoesie* was the following idea from Jacob’s letter addressed to Arnim cited above: “Ich sehe also in der Kunstpoesie... eine Zubereitung, in der Naturpoesie ein Sichvonselbstmachen.” The Grimms thus transformed Viehmann into the quintessential fairy-tale teller. Viehmann embodied not only the ideal storyteller but also a storyteller of the collective folk. The tales Viehmann told were not seen to belong to her. Rather, she provided a link to times long forgotten by acting as a conduit. In the eyes of the Grimms the stories flowed through Viehmann. They could enhance the educational value of the tales and their purity because they appeared to emanate out of themselves (“ein Sichvonselbstmachen”). This, in Jacob’s view, was the form in which the tales had been passed on from generation to generation. It was a form that was claimed to

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383 Ibid. 16.
384 Seitz 49. Jacob to Arnim (20.5.1811). Also see Section 4.3.3. For a dispute over this concept, refer to Max Lüthi, “Urform und Zielform in Sage und Märchen”, *Fabula*, 9.1 (1967), 41-54, 47-54.
385 C.f. Sennewald 68-71. For Sennewald, this image performed not merely a perfunctory role, but actually formulated a key part of the myth surrounding the Grimms and the gathering of the tales. See also Section 4.3.2.
be natural, folk-related and reflect a kernel of truth from the history of the Germanic people. It is also fascinating, notes Steinlein, that it was Kant who observed, “it is the form of the product that is integral to the insight conveyed.” 386 Such an idea relates to the aesthetic configuration of what constitutes the desired output of the Märchen. In this case, the form the KHM took is central to the concept of “Erziehungsbuch” which, the Grimms claimed, emerged in its own right through the nature of the tales. To view the Grimms’ tales as educational therefore complemented the conception of the female as the mouthpiece of Naturpoesie for children in the household.

5.2.3 Poetry, Nature, Children: the Nationalistic and the Aesthetic

In Poesie – Natur – Kinder: Die Brüder Grimm und ihre Idee einer ‘natürlichen Bildung’ in den Kinder- und Hausmärchen (2005), Murayama argues that the role of the Muttermund in educating the young had nationalistic and aesthetic implications. She asserts that Wilhelm had become fascinated by the interplay of the mother-child relationship, which resulted from games, feasts and the general language of children.387 Wilhelm illustrates this interest in his essay Kinderwesen und Kindersitten, published in the second edition of the KHM in 1819. Murayama observes that Wilhelm discussed the meaning of the term “Mündlichkeit”, linking it with a particular understanding of “Natürlichkeit” through a play with words.388

386 Cassirer 323. Kant actually referred to his Theory of Genius but the notion is relevant to the Romantic view of how the aesthetic imagination is the “begetter of the world and reality”. See also Watson 145.
387 Murayama 352-3. “unsinnige Wörter, neckende Sprüche”.
388 Ibid. 353. “Hier wird die Mündlichkeit mit dem Begriff Natürlichkeit verbunden: die Körperlichkeit der Reime und des Rhythmus, die irrationalen wie phonetischen Aspekte der Sprache wie unsinnige Wortspiele und der Klang der Wörter, das individuelle organische Leben
This notion was first established in the publication of Brentano and Arnim's *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*. Hans-Heino Ewers calls their work a complete paradigm shift in children's writing that is governed by expressing meaning in predominantly, moral-didactic lyrics of the *Aufklärung* through to the *Romantik* folk-related songs for children, in which a specific form and formula come forth.\(^\text{389}\) Murayama argues that while Wilhelm claimed the viewpoint of the child, in actual fact he drew his understanding from the sentimental feeling adults experience when thinking about their childhood. For Murayama, the notion of nostalgia for one's childhood presented in the prefaces and the essay *Kinderwesen und Kindersitten* enabled the *KHM* to psychologically prepare the modern family for the tales.\(^\text{390}\) By eliciting sentimentality, the Grimms could distinguish their work from the past and therefore tailor it for modern readership. This distinction highlights a key factor in the *KHM*'s position as a document of modernity because it refers to a specific type of semantic construction that heralds a new form of consciousness surrounding the *KHM*'s application;\(^\text{391}\) an awareness of itself as distinct from the past.

The new consciousness arose out of the growing importance of the mother-child relationship. Murayama also draws on Kittler's *Aufschreibesysteme der Mundarten, die lebendige sprachliche Kommunikation, der Austausch der liebevollen Emotionen.*

\(^{389}\) Quoted in Muryama 353. My translation; emphasis in original.

\(^{390}\) Ibid. 354: 'Der Aufsatz hat die erwachsenen eher zum Adressaten und soll die – besonders weiblichen – Erwachsenen, die Kindern die Märchen vorlesen, in die verlorene, verklärte Kindheit zurückversetzen, damit sie sich psychologisch auf das Erzählen der Märchen in der modernen Familie vorbereiten können. In light of this comment it should be noted that Hans-Jörg Uther, Murayama notes, emphasized the patriarchal and authoritarian bent of the tales. This, however, states Murayama, is misinformed because there are a huge number of contributions the role of the mother made to notions of "ethischer, ästethischer, nationaler, emotionaler, körperlicher" elements that are framed within the concept of the *KHM* as an educational manual.

\(^{391}\) Ibid. 354. The use of the preface as a methodological tool to shape the reader's thinking of a text only began to be commonplace in the late eighteenth century. Ward observes that the Grimms' time of writing the first two prefaces (1812 and 1819), it had become already standard practice. See Ward 83.

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Kittler’s idea of discourse network holds a close affinity to the ‘networks of means’ also discussed above in that the mother-child relationship was conceived as a discourse for the communication of ideas.\(^{392}\) By viewing this relationship as a discourse, its significance became embedded in a specific context and actualised by state authorities that stood in charge of its construction and dissemination. Murayama highlights the importance of the concept of the *Muttermund* as a discourse network and emphasises the connection between mothers and truth.\(^{393}\) The Grimms appear to apply this notion in their depiction of Viehmann and the purity she conveyed in her tales. In this regard, Murayama maintains that the role of the mother’s voice as educator was imperative for the Grimms’ tales to find purchase with the public. The *Muttermund* conveyed to the folk a nationalistic education by sharing with the child the mother’s warmth and affection, and at the same time, imprinting the child with the collective memory of the past and the cultural specificities of the *Volk*.\(^{394}\) This came to the surface through the mother’s use of personal dialects, which were believed to hold more cultural, poetic and therefore educational value than *Hochdeutsch*. In this way, the education was able to adopt a nationally grounded basis. Thus it was argued that women were symbolically close to nature (“naturna’h”) despite, what Murayama calls the growing

\(^{392}\) See Section 3.1.

\(^{393}\) Kittler (1990) 53.

\(^{394}\) Murayama 358. This meant that mothers could speak to their children, not literally in the written language but in their own, regional dialect. Murayama remarks that the dialect meant to the Grimms: “die ursprüngliche, eigentliche und ‘natürliche’ Form der Sprache, in deren Lebendigkeit sich der Mensch ohne Selbstentfremdung ‘richtig’ entwickeln kann” (emphasis in original, 363-364.) Also note in the Grimms’ own words: “Wären wir so glücklich gewesen, [die Märchen] in einem recht bestimmten Dialect erzählen zu können, so zweifeln wir nicht, würden sie viel gewonnen haben; es ist hier ein Fall, wo alle erlangte Bildung, Feinheit und Kunst der Sprache zu Schanden wird, und wo man fühlt, daß eine gelauterte Schriftsprache, so gewandt sie in allem andern seyn mag, heller und durchsichtiger aber auch schmackloser geworden, und nicht mehr fest an den Kern sich schließe” (*KHM* 1812, "Vorrede", XX-XXI).
dominance of the textual education in the modern, educated society.\textsuperscript{395} Mothers were able to extract the truth from the fixed “Buchmärchen” and return the tales into the culture of the voice, the “Stimmkultur”.\textsuperscript{396} Murayama describes this process as the institutionalization of the mother as educator.\textsuperscript{397} For the brothers, this implied two different but converging views on the purpose of the tales: for Jacob, the mothers provided a direct connection to the older times (“Altertum”); and for Wilhelm it meant the winning back of the natural state through a new form of orality (“Mündlichkeit”).\textsuperscript{398} Both these views converged in that the Muttermund functioned as a medium to overcome what Murayama has termed, “die moderne Zerrissenheit”.\textsuperscript{399} The public, therefore, was offered a book that encased a language that could be brought back to life by the act of reading out loud and opened up a bridge between past and present. This, coupled with the claims for a nationally valid education, appeared to turn the KHM into far more than just a book. It became a household item that could provide solace in the face of the rapidly changing world.\textsuperscript{400}

5.3 KHM as Modern Literature?

5.3.1 Tensions between Old and New

In Sennewald’s Das Buch das wir sind: zur Poetik der KHM, gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm, the Grimms’ Märchen are defined as modern literature. To

\textsuperscript{395} Murayama 358: “... [Frauen] trotz schriftlich dominierten Erziehung in der modernen, gebildeten Gesellschaft dieser noch naturnah bleiben.”

\textsuperscript{396} Ibid. 358.

\textsuperscript{397} Ibid. 362. “die Mutter als Erzieherin wird auch institutionalisiert.”

\textsuperscript{398} Ibid. 359. A notion which also drew Wilhelm to the same tradition as Rousseau’s natural education, exhibited in Emile ou L’education (1762).

\textsuperscript{399} Ibid. 359.

\textsuperscript{400} In this light it is worth noting Hans Blumenberg’s observation of Hannah Arendt’s thesis: “Es muss daran erinnert werden, daß die Signatur der Neuzeit nicht nur Weltgewinn und Weltzuwachs, sondern auch als Weltverlust beschrieben worden ist.... als der Mensch die Hoffnung auf Jenseits verlor, wurden sie aus der jenseitigen und der diesseitigen auf sich selbst zurück geworfen.” Hans Blumenberg, Säkulisierung und Selbstbehauptung, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1974), 15.
substantiate this claim, Sennewald begins by stating that the *KHM* are a multilayered literary and philological text that presents a form of knowledge that is located in the past but accessible to the present. Sennewald addresses the central question regarding the ways in which the *KHM's* specific textual forms are presented. The approach is founded on the formulation of a particular type of “Schrift” and the corresponding structure of the *KHM* as a ‘book’, which is construed as a ‘natural order’. In this context, Sennewald applies Foucault’s notion of “discursive formations” because Foucault engaged with the disappearance of the spoken word and the type of knowledge this entails, subsequently leading to the rise of the printed word (predominantly in *Hochdeutsch*). Foucault defines the idea of a discursive formation as the following:

> Whenever one can describe, between a number of statements, such a system of dispersion, whenever, between objects, types of statement, concepts, or thematic choices, one can define a regularity (an order, correlations, positions and functionings, transformations), we will say... that we are dealing with a discursive formation.

Foucault further notes that

> [t]he conditions to which the elements of this division (object, mode of statement, concepts, thematic choices) are subjected we shall call the rules of formation. The rules of formation are conditions of existence (but also of coexistence, maintenance, modification, and disappearance) in a given discursive division.

Sennewald suggests that the *KHM* underwent this process because the Grimms took a large body of tales they claimed to be of oral origin and put them together

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401 Sennewald 20. “[W]ie genau die (spezifische) Erscheinungsweisen beschrieben werden können und welche spezifische Eigenschaften die *KHM* kennzeichnen.”
403 Ibid. 20.
405 Foucault 42. Emphasis in original.
within the covers of a book. In doing so, the *KHM* was turned into a “Buch, das wir sind”, a book that represents the German cultural identity through its carefully selected themes and objects of concern.406

Sennewald’s main point of departure is to engage with the *Grosse Ausgaben* because they are more scholarly and poetic and lend themselves to an investigation in light of the “rules of formation”.407 In this way, the knowledge of which the *KHM* is comprised can be understood as a result of the poetic mode in which it was formed. Sennewald argues that the *KHM* bear witness to a live tradition of oral storytelling, emphasising the fact that the *KHM* emerged during the *Romantik*. On the one hand, Sennewald adopts the idea of “symbolische Spielräume der Schrift” in order to view the *KHM* critically from a distance.408 On the other, he wishes to contrast the use of scholarly writing against the “Spielräume” of the *KHM* that inevitably locked the writing within the bounds of the poetic work.409 In this context, the tales can be perceived under the lens of a large group of theoretical, literary and scholarly texts, which constructs for itself its own discourse.410

406 Ibid. 21. The concept of “Buch, das wir sind” plays an integral role in Sennewald’s investigation because he recognizes in the process of the *KHM*’s construction an inseparable link between the poetics of the *KHM* and the *KHM* as a document of German cultural identity.
408 Sennewald’s choice of words calls to mind Schreiber’s notion of Moritz’s “Spielräume”, which Schreiber ascribes to social institutions and the ability to restructure perspectives of these institutions.
409 Ibid. 26. These two contrasting approaches to the “Schrift” of the *KHM* is also portrayed as the difference between Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm’s personalities. Jacob is viewed as the strict academic, and Wilhelm as harbouring more of a flexible artistic disposition. Also, c.f. Martus (2009) 151.
410 Ibid. 22.
Thus Sennewald identifies the constituent elements that make up the whole of the collection (singular tales, prefaces and tales, and prefaces and the Anmerkungen).\textsuperscript{411} This matter raises the problem of the written form of the KHM. For it is the written form that gives the KHM its historicising and ordering character and symbolic potential of which is unveiled through the work of the Grimms and can be understood in its poetic construction.\textsuperscript{412} This can be illustrated, for example, by the connection which the Grimms identified in their Anmerkungen between the Attic comedy Frogs (405BC) by the Greek playwright Aristophanes and the Grimms' Der süße Brei (KHM103). The fact that the Grimms were able to associate one of their Märchen with classical Greek literature provides a reference to the Querelle.\textsuperscript{413} Thematically, Der süße Brei deals with the Querelle in the form of the mother and daughter conflict.\textsuperscript{414} The dispute between old and new generations functions linguistically as a central theme of the entire KHM anthology. By referring back to Sennewald's assertion that the KHM contains philological knowledge that is still relevant today, it is possible to identify how this is conceivable in close association with the themes and subject matter of specific tales. In Sennewald's view, the editorial process that the Grimms' Märchen underwent, reflects the conflict of old and new generations, making them readable in light of this primary theme. In other words, the Grimms' work with the Märchen can be grasped philologically as an engagement with oral and literary texts, while simultaneously treating the

\textsuperscript{411} Sennewald 25.
\textsuperscript{412} Ibid. 24. My translation.
\textsuperscript{413} Ibid. 172-3; see also Brüder Grimm (1856) 183-4.
\textsuperscript{414} Ibid. 172. "Mutter und Tochter werden in ihrer Gegenüberstellung beispielsweise auch als Darstellung eines poetologischen Streits lesbar, der seit dem 17. bis ins frühe 19. Jahrhundert auch in Deutschland, vertreten durch beispielsweise Herder und Friedrich Schlegel, ausgetragen wurde: der Streit der Alten mit den Neuen, der Antiqui mit den Moderni."
philosophical problem of what was and what was not considered modern at the time. To build upon this discussion, Sennewald considers the KHM as a self-referential romantisches Buch.

5.3.2 The Self-Referential romantisches Buch

To shed light on this notion, Sennewald emphasizes the importance of representing the KHM as modern literature through the lens of the Romantik. It is well-known that the KHM are viewed as a book conceived as a product of the Romantik, but what takes the Grimms' Märchen beyond this conception to be viewed in line with modernity is the way in which the Märchen can be understood as self-referential due to the language with which they were written.\footnote{Ibid. 346.} Sennewald argues:

Nimmt man die KHM in den Grenzen ihrer Poetizität als ’romantisches Buch’ ernst, zeigt sich deren Modernität: Selbstreferenzialität und eine Sprache, die zum historischen Gegenstand geworden ist, sind deren wesentliche Elemente.\footnote{Ibid. 346. Emphasis in original.}

Through an examination of one of the Kinderlegenden called Das alte Mütterchen,\footnote{Ten Kinderlegenden were included at the end of the main body of Märchen in the second edition of the KHM onwards.} Sennewald illustrates the view that the KHM’s modernity becomes visible through the collection’s overarching self-referential character, whereby the tales are interconnected through the type of “Schrift” in which they were written (mainly Hochdeutsch). In this tale, an old woman broods over the loss of all of her loved ones. She is especially angry about the death of her two little sons and blames God for taking them away from her. That night the woman becomes aware that a church bell is ringing. Wondering why a church bell should be ringing so early in the morning, she wanders over to the church and goes inside.
In the church, she spies a room full of people, who she realises are all dead relatives. As she walks down the aisle, a long-dead aunt points to two figures upon the altar. As the old woman draws near, she sees that the two figures are her sons. One hangs from a noose and the other is stretched out over a torture wheel. The aunt spoke to her then, saying that this is what would have become of her sons, if they had lived long enough. As soon as the old woman heard this, she left the church, thanking God her children had died as innocents rather than committing crimes that would lead to their execution. She died two days later.

The tale confronts its own problem with a solution, which brings the conflict back to order by philological means. The theme of Das alte Mütterchen is, according to Sennewald, “der Verstreuung oder Störung einer ganzen, unversehrten Ordnung und deren Wiederherstellung”, which can be regarded as a “Grundthema der Märchen wie ihrer Sammlung.”\(^\text{418}\) This observation is central to understanding Sennewald’s study. If Das alte Mütterchen is comprehensible through the enactment of “Verstreuung oder Streuung” and “Wiederherstellung” of order, as with the rest of the collection, then significant headway might be made with the analyses of other individual tales in the same light. In this context, Sennewald notes that, according to Bluhm, the idea of “Verstreuung” constitutes German philological work from the ground up.\(^\text{419}\) One of the major problems that faced the Grimms from the outset of their scholarly pursuits as philologists was literally the scattered nature of the objects of study with which they were concerned. The KHM project is just one of several major compilations of their

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\(^\text{418}\) Ibid. 44.
\(^\text{419}\) Ibid. 44, footnote 72.
work which reflect this process.\footnote{The extent to which they carried out these projects which began with vast amounts of widely dispersed data is briefly summarised here: In the Grimms’ lifetimes they compiled the \textit{Sagenkongordanz} is a gargantuan list of sagas, legends, folk poetry, folk songs, and fairy-tales, which gave rise to modern comparative philology and \textit{Germanistik}. Jacob Grimm constructed the first systematic German grammar book: \textit{Die deutsche Grammatik} (1819). Together the brothers also compiled the DS (1816-1818), and \textit{Das deutsche Wörterbuch} (1850-1963).} A central part of their challenge as philologists was thus to wrangle with language itself. Once language had been written down, it led to the death of the lively quality of the language. In the case of \textit{Das alte Mütterchen}, the problem is solved when the tale is perceived as a self-referential unit that is brought back to life through the \textit{Erzählerin}. Because, by being selected in the first place as part of the \textit{KHM}, the tale enters into an exchange between different tellers/contributors of the tale as it moved from telling to writing and back to the telling again (in the act of reading the tale):

\begin{quote}
Nehmen wir die Selbstreferenzialität dieser Legende auf, dann würde die \textit{Erzählerin}, nachdem durch sie erzählt werden konnte, selbst in der Schrift aufgehen, um dann erneut wieder, nun durch \textit{das Volk} erzählt zu werden, dann das wiederum als \textit{Beiträgerin} in den \textit{KHM} aufgeht, die darauf von den Brüdern Grimm erzählt werden etc.\footnote{Ibid. 45. Emphasis in original.}
\end{quote}

From this angle, all the \textit{Märchen}, according to Sennewald, are part of an interrelated network of telling and re-telling, which is performed by the poetic voice of the narrator, the folk, the contributors, the Grimms and others who followed them.

Furthermore, the exchange between the tellers of the tales justifies the means to continue altering the tales by the Grimms through an “objektive wissenschaftliche Hand”.\footnote{Ibid. 146.} In Sennewald’s view, the process of editing represents the way in which the \textit{KHM} can be comprehended as modern literature. At the same time, the \textit{KHM} history can be said to reflect the history of story-telling in general that illustrates a type of all-encompassing poetic law of
nature. Above all, however, the configuration of the KHM as a whole is to be regarded as a type of Märchen novel; an idea that Sennewald shows led Wilhelm to grasp the KHM in terms of reflecting the establishment of social order:


Thus the individual tales, and the problems which they raise in the text themselves, are portrayed as self-referential through their inclusion within the covers of a specifically romantisch-conceived book. The notion of the book can be seen to represent the establishment of order as the result of both the act of collecting the disparate oral tales and setting them to print. The order established, however, was not a rigid one but fluid, as is visible in the fact that the Grimms maintained editorial incursions into the ‘fixed’ forms of earlier versions, which raises the KHM above the main body of the Grimms’ philological work and emphasizes its particular relevance as modern literature. In sum, the KHM as a romantisches Buch with self-referential qualities can be portrayed through the theme of the disestablishment of old and reestablishment of new orders with regard to single Märchen and to the collection as a whole. In the final chapter, I apply this approach to a reading of Hänsel und Gretel.

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423 Ibid. 146. “Die KHM sollten als Sammlung eine Geschichte der Märchenerzählern und damit ein allwaltendes poetisches Naturgesetz belegen.”
424 Ibid. 147.
5.4 Achsenzeit, the Volk

5.4.1 The Romantik as Achsenzeit: the Liminal Dynamic in the KHM

To many scholars, the Romantik is viewed as the period of transition to the modern era. This is commonly understood with regard to the shift from agrarian to industrial societies. In Kindermärchen. Liminalität in der Biedermeierfamilie (2010), Koschorke’s concern was to argue that the Grimms’ Märchen played a pivotal role in this process. His project is oriented around the argument that a social and economic shift took place between these two periods and can be read in the undertakings of folk- and fairy-tale writers. Such a view is linked with the way in which Märchen came to be perceived as ‘educational’, thereby acquiring an appearance of a natural justification for why such tales were suitable for children. In this way, Koschorke identifies the Grimms and their collection as characteristic of the period. He uses this claim to provide a space wherein he can assert that the KHM were a key part of heralding the modern era.

Koschorke identifies the concept of the liminal dynamic as key to understanding the Grimms’ KHM from an historical vantage point. Koschorke is concerned with the way in which the Grimms were able to introduce their collection of tales into the nurseries and households of the “Bürgertum” and fill them with fantasy. The collection, he insists, actually consists of a completely foreign language and sphere of socialisation for its time.425 In other words, nothing like this had occurred before, even though other similar collections existed. The main reason why this was possible was due to the nature of the tales

425 Koschorke 154.
themselves, which were built upon the concept of the *liminal dynamic* and crossing thresholds.426

In addition, the term *Biedermeier* (1815-1848) can also refer to a transition from agrarian to an industrial way of life in central Europe. This transition refers to the increasing mobility in terms of trade across expansive transnational networks and the countermovement of complacency and territorialisation.427 At the same time, there was a growing migration from the countryside to towns and cities, creating in its wake a sense of homelessness. It is thus intriguing, Koschorke observes, that the *KHM* are filled to the brim with characters, who appear to be constantly on the move, ultimately seeking a place to set down their roots and call home, as they struggle to survive in harsh social climates.428 While the Grimms have often been criticised for moulding the tales into mouthfuls of *Biedermeier* morality or bourgeois propaganda,429 the content of the tales is nevertheless comprised of characters and social settings that harken back to the agrarian way of life. Indeed, it is often thought that fairy-tales reflect an earlier form of existence. Although referring to France of the eighteenth century, Robert Darnton provides some insight into the factual basis for the tales. In *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (1988), Darnton asserts that the tales stem from events in the real world because they are founded upon two basic concepts which pertain to peasant life in the Old

426 Koschorke states that the tales mostly deal with "Schwellensituationen", 154.
427 Koschorke 154.
Regime.

Life for peasants oscillated between, “on the one hand, the household and the village; on the other, the open road.” In Zipes’ view, this sense of movement is supported by the fact that Perrault had attempted to defend the *contes de fees*’ modernity in the *Querelle* and thus their relationship to the types of audiences of his time.

Koschorke maintains that life in eighteenth century Germany was quite similar. Germany was filled with wandering people. In *Arme Leute, Bettler und Gauner im Franken des 18. Jahrhunderts* (1983), Ernst Schubert paints an ominous picture of this period. He notes that the majority of the simple folk were extremely poor and so many turned to the life of the wanderer or rogue. Large numbers of beggars, performers, gypsies, retired soldiers and criminals travelled the lands, presenting intermittent problems to farming communities and local authorities.

The “herrenlose Gesindel”, as Schubert describes them, could exist because the armed forces of the states were neither numerous enough to keep tabs on all the wanderers nor did they patrol far enough to keep them at bay. Yet despite the lawless potential of many of the roaming types, it became commonplace to romanticise these people as the embodiment of being free.

Even so, Koschorke points out that, only after the roadways had been increasingly secured by the beginning of the nineteenth century, could the Romantic heroes set off on their adventures through forest and foreign lands,

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431 Ibid. 41.
433 Such as the case in Georg Büchner’s *Woyceck* (1879). Büchner probably began writing this play between June and September 1836.
435 Ibid. 2.
which further emphasises the KHM’s relationship to the Biedermeier and thus to modernity.\textsuperscript{436}

The nineteenth century also saw a change in the type of individuals on the roads. Academics and merchants began to replace the less wholesome folk, who previously traversed the countryside. This occurred through the systematic constricting of access to land via state expansion and control, which Schubert puts down to better managed political spheres thanks to the Bildungs- und Staatsbürger.\textsuperscript{437} The rise in the safety of travel was another marker of the shift from the agrarian to the industrial way of life. Koschorke claims that the altered type of social climate into which the KHM entered actually created an image that contradicted the reality.\textsuperscript{438} The Grimms were hard placed in many ways to take tales from social settings that only marginally reflected the conditions of existence in their day. Koschorke calls this process ‘translating from one milieu into another’.\textsuperscript{439} Countless tales that appear in the KHM reflect a transition from a small rural setting to sprawling urban hubs (and positions of social influence). This process can also be seen in terms of the Grimms’ editing incursions to make the Märchen more fitting to the bourgeois sensibility.

5.4.2 The Communicative Chain and the Aesthetic Convention

According to Korschorke, the Grimms’ Märchenbuch became a standard work in children’s literature for a variety of reasons. The first reason is that children only become the target audience for writers at the beginning of the nineteenth

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{436} Koschorke 158.  
\textsuperscript{437} Schubert 2.  
\textsuperscript{438} Koschorke 160.  
\textsuperscript{439} Ibid. 161. “... der Übersetzung von einem Milieu ins andere...”. My translation.}
century in Germany.\textsuperscript{440} Over the same period of time, the genre of the \textit{Märchen} went through a series of structural and perceptual changes. As noted with Herder and Musäus, there were considerably differing views on the meaning and use of this type of literature. Between Herder and Musäus, the target audience remained predominantly within the learned public. However, after the publication of \textit{Des Knaben Wunderhorn}, the type of \textit{Märchen} that is produced appears to have found a foothold within the minds of author and pedagogue alike. Korschorke remarks that the general view of pedagogical-poetic thought becomes newly defined: no longer do people wish to read youth literature of the \textit{Aufklärung} with its strict didactic intentions, but rather the readings are centred upon the individual will as the foundation for following generations.\textsuperscript{441} Paradigmatic for the new conception of the pedagogical-poetic thought were the Grimms’ prefaces, which drew from the tradition of \textit{Volksdichtung} they had inherited.\textsuperscript{442} Underlying these ideas were a grouping of notions that were constructed as a \textit{communicative chain}.

The communicative chain the Grimms formed was based on a system of analogies to enhance their claims. They linked the uneducated folk of their day to the purity of early human cultures, and the innocence and close affinity to nature thus perceived in women and children. These notions are defined as constructing a chain of equivalent terms that communicated with one another.\textsuperscript{443} The myth that arose out of these ideas bound together nature and art; and from this connection the Grimms could extract the oral story telling traditions that

\textsuperscript{440} Ibid. 140.
\textsuperscript{441} Ibid. 140.
\textsuperscript{442} Ibid. 140.
\textsuperscript{443} Ibid. 141. “Äquivalenzenkette in eine Kette von Kommunikanten”. My translation.
had been preserved through the uneducated folk, consequentially solidifying these traditions in writing. This process, Koschorke asserts, is supported by Kittler’s view that a new form of socialization came to be realized at this time by providing children with material to stimulate their fantasies.  

Another reason why the Grimms created their views is based upon the emergence of a new aesthetic convention around the early 1800s. This convention dealt with a break from old categories of art such as true/false and useful/useless. The youth literature of the Aufklärung tended to be produced in this light, aimed at guiding children away from irrational and immoral behaviour and thought. The author usually displayed strong ‘paternal’ views as a father figure. It was exactly this strain of literature against which the Romantik rebelled. German Romanticists wished to harness fantasy to stimulate further fantastical thoughts, rather than allow it to be a mere medium to communicate reason. In this respect, children’s literature around the beginning of the nineteenth century was increasingly altered to carry out new functions. Korschorke adduces that this change was in part altered by the view that adults should in fact learn from children, not the other way around. Such a change had significant historical consequences for the development of literature. Ewers states:

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\text{Die romantischen Dichter fühlen sich hierzu aufgrund ihres Kindheitsverhältnisses berufen, gelten ihnen Kindheit doch als seine selbst}
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445 Korschorke 141.
447 Ibid. 142.
poetische Daseinsform, Kinder als geborene Poeten und Dichter als kindgebliebene Erwachsene.

Ewers noted that the German Romanticists rejected the project of the *Aufklärung* and embraced a much different approach to life. In this way, the Romantic poet felt that he was more akin to the child and could therefore express a child’s feelings far more accurately and completely than an *Aufklärung*-oriented pedagogue, who thought only of readying a child for adulthood. Korschorke concludes from a discussion on E.T.A Hoffmann’s *Das fremde Kind* (1817) and *Märchen als Almanach* (1826) by Wilhelm Hauff (1802-1827), that the role of cultivating the imagination becomes a common feature of the evening time activities.

To Koschorke, the Grimms’ programme was thus clear. They wanted to portray the *Märchen* as part of an organic and orally transmitted tradition that was linked to the folk of Germany and targeted mothers upon whose shoulders the ordering of the household and the children fell. In order to fulfil all these functions, the *KHM* had to go through a series of editions that enabled them to gain an overarching “*Märchen-, Volks und Erzählton*”. These texts were written by men and read *aloud* by women. Koschorke contends that the masculine authority that supported the communicative chain carried out an act of disruption. Male authority disrupts the oral chain of the folk in order preserve it from any harmful additions, which the simple folk sometimes included, and

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448 Ibid. 142.
449 Ewers defines the enlightenment literature for children and youths as based on two main principles: “Dämpfung der Affekte, Leidenschaften, Triebe auf der einen, strenge Zügelung der Einbildungskraft und Phantasie auf der anderen Seite”. Koschorke 142.
450 Ibid. 142.
451 Koschorke 142-5.
453 Koschorke 146.
protected the tales from the threat of loss. This process is conceived simultaneously as a process of separating and connecting and is to be understood as a power technique with political ramifications.\footnote{Ibid. 147. “Es handelt sich dabei bei diesem Trennen und Verbinden um eine Machttechnik mit erheblichen politischen Implikationen.”} An example of the Grimms’ position here can be found in the case of the \textit{Göttinger-Sieben} in 1837. This event involved the new King of Hannover, Ernst August, who reinstated sovereign law and demanded a pledge of fealty from all of his subjects. His move marked an end to the previous constitution that had allowed much greater freedom of speech. Following this undemocratic act, seven professors at Göttingen University signed a protest stating their expressed refusal to swear an oath to the new king. This event, more than any other in the Grimms’ lives, symbolised their modern thinking. Martus remarks that, at the heart of the conflict, was a struggle between the old hierarchy and, not just seven individuals, but public opinion in general.\footnote{Martus (2009) 389: “... der König agierte ja nicht mehr allein gegen sieben Personen, sondern gegen die <<öffentliche Meinung>>...”} According to Dahlmann (one of the \textit{Göttinger-Sieben}) in his \textit{Politik} (1835), public opinion could bring forth a power far superior than political institutions could ever hope to amass.\footnote{Ibid. 389.} In fact, it could overthrow the traditional seat of power because, through the “Macht der Sprache”, a man who means nothing (alone) can become “übermächtig”.\footnote{Friedrich Christoph Dahlmann, \textit{Die Politik: auf den Grund und Maaß der gegebenen Zustände zurückgeführt} (Erster Band), (Göttingen: Verlag der Dieterischen Buchhandlung, 1835), 285. “Es ist die Macht der Sprache, welche durch Unterricht ausgebildet jetzt so stark im Staatsbürger in die Außenwelt hervorbringt, daß sie ganz allein einen Mann, der nichts bedeutet, übermächtig machen kann... Ich kann mein ungesprochenes Wort in Schrift verkörpern und es übt tonlos auf tausend Meilen dieselbe Gewalt, unendlich viel weiter als Schießpulver wirkt. Es übt seine Macht ohne alle Beziehung auf den Vortheil, die Verbesserung der Lage des Angeredeten...”} At the same time, the place of the folk is brought under the lens of scrutiny. In his political discourse, Dahlmann located the folk at the centre of the conflict,
because, to take away one man’s freedom of speech was to bereave the voice of the people.458 With this in mind, the KHM can be seen to construct a chain of communicative terms that authorised its use amongst the public. Yet it also leaves open the question of how the Grimms understood the idea of the Volk.

5.4.3 Concept of the Volk, Purity and Truth

In the context of the Göttinger-Sieben, Koschorke questions the term Volk and the way in which the Grimms perceived it. In the political thinking of the time, as in literature, the concept of the Volk was highly contentious and became the object of numerous idealized viewpoints.459 Koschorke lists five different forms that it took:

1/ intellectual: the Volk acts as a counterpoint to the educated circles of society, characterised by innocence and connected to the past.

2/poetic: the Volk preserves an artistic quality that is different to all other social groups.

3/ moralistic: the Volk presides over a traditional moral core.

4/political: the Volk lends substance to the rising importance of political nationalism in the nineteenth century; natural law stems from the Volk.

5/ state law: despite the reinstatement of old European rule after the Vienna Congress, the idea of a ‘self-governing’ Volk can no longer be forgotten.

All these notions of Volk existed in tension with the empirical reality of the real Volk, which created a large degree of ambiguity.460 This, however, was to the Grimms’ advantage. The Grimms utilised the ambivalent distinctions to further heighten the connection of the KHM to the Fatherland. This was done, in Koschorke’s opinion, by using a series of blind spots that enabled them to

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458 Martus (2009) 389. This was not to say that Dahlmann supported freedom of speech without censorship.
460 Until the time of the Napoleonic wars, what was understood by the term Volk was merely an idea, according to Novalis in his Blüthenstaub-Fragmenten. See Greif 257.
overcome the paradoxical nature of the *Volk*. The blind spots, which are referred to, are the notions of purity and truth that the Grimms merge with the concept of *Volk* time and again, especially in the earliest prefaces to the *KHM* (1812 and 1819) and in other early writings (such as the prefaces to the *DS*). The Grimms claim to have succeeded in uncovering the tales of the *Volk* in their pure, unadulterated form. They carried this out by describing the *Volk* and the *Märchen* as natural entities, which, if not disturbed, could still be beheld in their original form. By the same token, the Grimms also sought to comfort parents that they had carefully filtered the tales between the two editions (1812-1815 with 1819) in order to make the stories more child-friendly:


In addition to these changes, the Grimms emphasised their dedication to loyalty and truth as the fundamental guiding principles of their collection: “Was die Weise betrifft, in der wir gesammelt haben, so ist es uns zuerst auf Treue und Wahrheit angekommen” (*KHM* 1819, “Vorrede“, XV). Claiming in this regard, that no tale had been altered in any way.

> Yet even while the Grimms tried to minimize their role in the presentation of the tales as mere conduits, they nevertheless admit, “daß der

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462 Ibid. IX. “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 hatten...”.
Ausdruck und die Ausführung des einzelnen großenteils *von uns herrührt*, versteht sich von selbst...” (*KHM* 1819, “Vorrede”, XV, my emphasis). This shows that even though lofty claims of truth and purity were made throughout the prefaces, the true nature of the Grimms’ textual practice can be detected. In other words, the Grimms could state freely their own incursions into the tales because they had established a mode of discourse that removed any tampering ‘they committed’ from being viewed as harmful. Koschorke regards the Grimms, in this light, as constructing a literary formula which places the “Geist des Volkes” at the centre.463 The great achievement here, then, is that the tales were seen to have originated from the collective *Volk* and been harnessed by the Grimms, who but acted in their interest as humble servants of an otherwise endangered tradition.

463 Koschorke 153.
Chapter Six: Connecting the Dots: *KHM and Modernity*

6.1 Introduction: The Uncertain, The Fleeting, the Contingent

6.1.1 Napoleon as Bringer of Modernity

The first major point of departure for the connection between modernity and the *KHM* is to be found in the events of the Napoleonic Wars. Around the same time as the French forces entered German soil, the Grimms began gathering folk- and fairy-tales.\(^{464}\) As detailed in Chapter Four, the wars made a deep impression on the Grimms. The following passage from the Preface to the 1812 edition illustrates a key component of the concept of modernity – the link between the *KHM* and the Napoleonic wars in terms of the idea of fear or threat of loss:

> ...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 (*KHM* 1812, "Vorrede", V-VI).

Here the Grimms described a deep sense of longing to cling to relics of the past, which appear endangered to them. This can be read at once as a reference to the fragile nature of *Volksdichtung*, as conceived by Herder, and the instability of the Grimms’ present brought on by the wars.\(^{465}\) Although they did not explicitly mention the wars in the 1812 Preface, the publication of the first volume of the *KHM* warrants consideration that it is synchronically linked.\(^{466}\) This conclusion is

\(^{464}\) Nipperdey argues that it was the French revolution that laid the foundations of the modern world but for the Germans it was the “... Umsturz der alten Ordnung reale Erfahrung erst unter Napoleon und in der Form des Militärimperiums geworden”, 11. C.f. Lampart argues Napoleon’s wars affected the daily lives of the German people so fundamentally it caused a loss of “metaphysical security”, as described by thinkers of the *Aufklärung*. Lampart also views the Napoleonic regime as a “disruptive force” in the consciousness of the *Volk*, showing allegiance to Bauman and Briggs viewpoint (173-4).

\(^{465}\) C.f. Section 2.4.3.

\(^{466}\) Zipes (2002b) supports this conclusion, pointing out that there are 10 soldier tales in the *KHM*, ascribing the reason for the significant proportion of soldier tales to the Napoleonic Wars and the increase in soldiering as a vocation (80-4). Another significant connection between the
supported by the fact that both volumes of the first edition of the *KHM* were finished and released at key moments of the Napoleonic regime and the immediate aftermath. Martus observes:

> Es gehört zu den symbolisch hochbedeutenden Zufällen im Leben der Brüder Grimm, dass die Erscheinungsdaten der beiden ersten Bände der *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* den Niedergang der napoleonischen Herrschaft nach dem Russlandfeldzug (1812) und die Neuordnung Europas auf dem Wiener Kongress (1814/15) rahmen.\(^{467}\)

And indeed Wilhelm was very preoccupied with the *Märchen* while the effects of the wartime could be heard in the next room:

> ... kann ich eine bessere Zeit wünschen um mit diesen Märchen mich wieder zu beschäftigen? hätte ich doch auch im Jahr 1813 an dem zweiten Band geschrieben, als wir Geschwister von der Einquartierung bedrängt waren, und russische Soldaten neben in dem Zimmer lärmten...\(^{468}\)

The events after the French invasion caused in many Germans not only a fear of loss of cultural and national identity, but also a sense of urgency, immediacy, increased awareness of time, uncertainty and a general awareness of the collapse of the old ways of life. As noted earlier, during the occupation in the German territories, a great dissatisfaction arose amongst many of the German people.\(^{469}\) The French overlords did not merely conquer the land; in many ways they attempted to force their own culture onto the Germans. French became the main language for administrators and the court of law; French influence even entered the type of education offered in Germany at the time.\(^{470}\) While some

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467 Martus (2009) 221.
469 For example, Kleist, felt this sense of loss particularly heavily, culminating to some degree in his suicide in 1811, before the end of the regime (see High 198). Friedrich Schlegel called for a “gänzlichen Vernichtungskrieg”, and Ernst Moritz Arndt declared the French should be shown “hemmungslose Abscheu” (see Martus 2009, 114.).
470 Ibid. 20.
states actually accepted French rule,\textsuperscript{471} by 1810, the resistance toward the French invaders was growing steadily. The coming of Napoleon thus inspired many to construct ideas of Germany, not as a fragmented grouping of territories, but as one unified nation. Bauman and Briggs interpret the fear of loss and the loss of certainty as a reaction to modernity, thus perceiving modernity as a bringer of destruction.

In the following example, Jacob can be seen to be conscious of the necessity of responding to the forces of modernity by undertaking his own project (alongside his brother) to prevent German cultural goods from wasting away. In his \textit{Zirkular, die Sammlung der Volkspoesie betreffend} written in 1815, Jacob’s first aim was to emphasize that \textit{Volksdichtung} must be collected and saved. In the first paragraph, Jacob addressed “eine Gesellschaft” of learned “Herr[en]” whom he tasked with the mission “zu retten und sammeln”, “…was unter dem gemeinen deutschen Landvolke von Lied und Sage vorhanden ist…”.\textsuperscript{472} In conclusion to the \textit{Zirkular…}, Jacob again declared the need to preserve these songs and tales, stressing the usefulness (“Nützlichkeit”) and urgency (“Dringlichkeit”) of this task. Addressing the learned society, “In fester Zuversicht,” Jacob wrote:

\begin{quote}
\begin{adjustwidth}{-2cm}{-2cm}
\begin{center}
däß Sie, geehrtester Herr, von der Nützlichkeit und Dringlichkeit unsers Zweckes, der sich bei dem heut zu Tage immer mehr einreiβenden Untergange und Abschleifen der Volkssitten nicht länger ohne großen Schaden aufschieben lässt, bewegt werden…\textsuperscript{473}
\end{center}
\end{adjustwidth}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{471} For example, Baden, Württemberg, Bayern and Hessen-Darmstadt all allowed Napoleon’s occupation in exchange for keeping a certain amount of autonomy. See Nipperdey 12.
\textsuperscript{473} Ibid. 183. Consider also Seigel’s discussion on the development of such learned societies in Germany throughout the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries that enabled an intellectual culture to flourish (see especially “Localism, State-building, and \textit{die bürgerliche Gesellschaft}: Germany” 114-149).
By stressing that time was of the essence, Jacob underpinned one of the prime motivations for his scholarly endeavour – which can be viewed as a negative response to modernity.

6.1.2 National Consciousness, New “Erziehungswesen”: Protestant Ethic

The Napoleonic wars encouraged many Germans to develop a sense of national consciousness that took on socio-political importance through the notion of a new form of education. This may also be interpreted as a response to the destructive power of modernity. The best example is to be found in Fichte's Reden an die deutsche Nation. Although the initial talks did not extend much influence, the later publication was able to reach out to a broad audience where it found many willing readers. According to Nipperdey, the Reden... wrought a new national ideology, which pushed the idea of a culture and folk nation tied together with democratic ideas that emerged from the French Revolution (which Napoleon had betrayed by his ascension to dictator).474 As discussed in Section 3.4.1, in Fichte's Reden... a new form of education was called for (the Pestalozzi method), which aroused patriotism for the homeland. It is said that Fichte cried out for a change in the current “Erziehungswesen” as the only “Mittel” to obtain “die deutsche Nation im Dasein” – a form of education that constituted a “Nationalerziehung”.475 Fichte's voice rallied many to strive for the idea of collective political unity. Martus argues: “Konsequent führt diese Vorstellung einer politischen Gemeinschaft zum Kern romantischer Politik: Fichte wie Grimms verankern das Politische in den psychischen Tiefen des Subjekts.”476 In this context Martus observes that the national consciousness and Romantik

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474 Nipperdey 30.
476 Ibid. 160-1.
ideals also rang true with the Grimms and was given expression in their scholarly work. For example, the Grimms adopted these ideas in their endeavours to claim the national heritage of the *Märchen*.\(^{477}\) Not only can the *KHM* be seen as a response to the loss of certainty Napoleon's regime had brought to Germany, it also functioned as a symbol of national identity by being conceived as a Germanic cultural good embedded in their history. Thus, applying Bauman and Briggs’ notion, the Grimms can be regarded as counteracting the negative consequences of modernity with their own efforts to establish and preserve a foundation of cultural knowledge that embodied the German *Geist*.\(^{478}\)

Yet while the *KHM* did eventually attain this status, it was not a guaranteed outcome. Therefore, it is possible to view the Grimms’ representation of the *KHM* as an *Erziehungsbuch*, which was to be read aloud by mothers to children, as another response to counter the negative side of modernity. The Grimms were compelled to formulate arguments to legitimize the importance of their *Märchen* and to convince the public of their validity for Germany. From this angle the following statement in the Preface of the second edition of the *KHM* in 1819 can be read: “...es [war] zugleich Absicht ..., daß die Poesie selbst, die darin lebendig ist, wirke und erfreue, wen sie erfreuen kann, also auch, daß es ein eigentliches *Erziehungsbuch* werde” (*KHM* 1819, “Vorrede”, VIII, my emphasis). This statement is commonly held to suggest the *KHM* were envisaged in light of educational principles, which enabled them to be transformed into a medium

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\(^{477}\) Lampart 171; consider also Degh 93. “The harmonious whole, created from scraps of accidentally found traditional materials fitted scientific and subjective tastes and gave an ideology for German nationalism and folk romanticism.”

\(^{478}\) Angela Gracia notes, for example, that Jacob Grimm’s interest in language was politically motivated. With the unification of the language disseminated through education, the national unity of Germany could be brought about. Angela Gracia, “Jacob Grims Syntaxkonzeption”, *Deutsch in Spanien: Aus der Sicht der Europäischen Integration*, (Sitges: Palau Maricel, 1990), 1-6, 1.
through which to convey morality representing German cultural beliefs and customs in the face of the social upheaval caused by the Napoleonic Wars.

Zipes links the concept of the *Erziehungsbuch* to the idea of the *Protestant ethic*.\(^{479}\) The importance of the concept of the Protestant ethic is entrenched in the rise of the bourgeoisie throughout the nineteenth century. The Grimms were brought up in a society in which the norms and standards were ordained by the Protestant ethic. Hence the relationship between the *KHM* and the Protestant ethic can be seen as another way in which the educational value of the *Märchen* was enhanced. As Zipes demonstrates in *Fairy-Tales and The Art of Subversion* (2012a), there is a definite link between the emergence of the civilizing process, behaviour codes, bourgeois education and the way in which the fairy-tale becomes an institution over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.\(^{480}\) Furthermore, Zipes notes: “In terms of the Grimms we are certainly dealing with ... the institutionalization of a bourgeois genre.”\(^{481}\) The idea of establishing an insitution can be read here as stabilising the otherwise disorderly state of the *Märchen*. These notions constitute a framework for the way in which the *KHM* can be read as a product of modernity.

6.2 A Hybrid Literature

6.2.1 Development of the Rational *Märchen* Methodology

A further connection between the *KHM* and modernity is the way in which the Grimms developed a rational methodological approach in order to systematize

\(^{479}\) See, for example, Zipes (2002b) and his analysis of the *Märchen* about soldiers that reinforce the idea of the Protestant ethic: “Implicit in the normative behavior of the “good soldier” is a patriarchal reinforcement of the Protestant ethic”, 80-84.


\(^{481}\) Zipes (2002b) 53.
their research on *Volksdichtung*, which Bauman and Briggs conceive as the formation of a hybrid literature. In this case, the Grimms’ scholarly approach can be grasped in terms of the process of mediation in order to merge different and divergent categories to produce new (hybrid) types of literature. In order to consolidate their theories, the brothers systematically developed a rational philological methodology in which to categorize their *Märchen* and other *Volksdichtung*.482 This is exemplified in Jacob’s aforementioned *Zirkular, die Sammlung der Volkspoesie betreffend* from 1815, which was first and foremost an academic work, not poetic. Here Jacob defined his notions of “Lied und Sage” by listing six different types, each receiving a generic description. These types consisted of: “1/ Volkslieder und Reime; 2/ Sagen; 3/ Lustige Schalksknechtsstreiche und Schwänke; 4/ Volksfeste, Sitten, Bräuche und Spiele; 5/ Aberglaube; 6/ Sprichwörter”.483 Each of the “Gegenstände”, Jacob requested, were to be written down “…getreu und wahr, ohne Schminke und Zutat, aus dem Munde der Ezählernden…”.484 By distinguishing different types of *Volksdichtung*, Jacob can be seen to gain ownership over these types in that he placed himself (and Wilhelm) at the centre of a scholarly network to administer the

482 See Section 4.2.4 for reference to the *Sagenkordanz* that formed the basis of the Grimms’ philological excursions into *Volksdichtung*; also Linda Degh, “Grimms’ Household Tales and its Place in the Household: the Social Relevance of a Controversial Classic”, Western States Folklore Society, 38:2 (1979), 83-103, 87. “The Grimm brothers were primarily scholars-linguists, historians of religion and literature, and students of customary law. Although their nationalistic vocation was obvious, the comparative method they initiated opened a new chapter in philology. They established a new discipline: the science of folklore. Their example of collecting oral literature launched general fieldwork in most European countries and resulted in the cooperative scholarly study of their prime focus of interest: the Märchen.”

483 Grimm, J. (1815) 182.

484 Ibid. 182.
institutionalization of otherwise widely disparate oral and old literary material.  

Another crucial element of the rational philological methodology was the way in which the Grimms both emphasized their attention to “Treue und Wahrheit.” These two notions were crucial to the justification of both the Grimms’ scholarly and poetic work. In the quotation above, where Jacob sets out certain criteria for obtaining the Volksdichtung, he succinctly emphasised his rationale: “getreu und wahr... aus dem Munde der Erzählenden...”. A year after the Zirkular appeared, the Grimms again stated the nature of their methodological approach to the gathering and presentation of “Sagen” in the Preface to DS: “Das erste, was wir bei Sammlung der Sagen nicht aus den Augen gelassen haben, ist Treue und Wahrheit” (DS. 1816, “Vorrede”, 10). The programmatic expression for this view is to be found in the 1819 Preface of the KHM: “Was die Weise betrifft, in der wir gesammelt haben, so ist es uns zuerst auf Treue und Wahrheit angekommen” (KHM 1819, “Vorrede”, XV, my emphasis). This guiding principle of the rational methodology enabled the Grimms to imbue cultural value into the tales published in both German dialects and Hochdeutsch. However, while the Grimms extolled the authenticity of the tales they released in the dialects, the tales that found the most publicity, were in Hochdeutsch. Thus their “Treue und Wahrheit” may have played a critical part in disseminating and justifying the use of Hochdeutsch as the literary language in the German-speaking world, whose proliferation played an integral role in the emergence of the

485 This point is further accentuated in light of the Grimms’ KHM Band III: Die Anmerkungen.  
486 For example: Schneewittchen, Hänsel und Gretel, Aschenputtel, Rumpelstilzchen. The only tales in dialects to find significant acclaim were Hans mein Igel, and Runge’s tales Vom Machhandel Boom and Der Fyscher und syn Fru.

From these examples, it can be argued that the establishment of a rational philological methodology was central to the Grimms’ scholarship. According to Bauman and Briggs, these principles ensured the Grimms could overcome the inherent contradictions that existed within their claims regarding the origin of the Märchen and justify the significance of their hybrid literature. The fact that they are regarded as having constructed their own genre (“Gattung Grimm”) is telling here. The methodology also distanced the Grimms from appearing as if they had tampered with the actual content of the Märchen. Instead, the Grimms presented themselves as true patriots and scholars, represented under the banner of “Treue und Wahrheit”.488 Bauman and Briggs assert that if the identity of a nation was formed by tradition and modernity destabilises this connection, then any individual who “specialised” in seeking out significant cultural products played an essential part in counteracting the harmful side of modernity.489 Viewed in this light, the Grimms were able to authorise the authenticity of their specific scholarly practice to collect and present the Märchen to the German public.490 The Grimms and their work therefore came to embody the old values of tradition they perceived as intrinsic to the German nation (which they

488 Ibid. 206.
489 Bauman and Briggs 205. “Central to the Grimms’ purifying practices was the time-worn construction of tradition as vanishing, as unable to sustain the onslaught of modernity.”
490 C.f. Bettelheim applies a similar logic to justify the importance of his interpretations of fairy-tales as tools that children can use to make sense of their worlds. See the introduction in Bruno Bettelheim, The Uses of Enchantment: the Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales. (New York : Vintage Books, 1975), 3-19.
inherited from Herder),\textsuperscript{491} while simultaneously harnessing the emerging network of writing predominantly in Hochdeutsch in order to solidify a particular authorized form of German history.\textsuperscript{492} The result of this practice was to construct a hybrid literature whose adaptability in the modern world demonstrates its importance in the relationship between the KHM and modernity.

\textbf{6.2.2 Der transformative Augenblick}

Another significant concept, which played a role in the conception of modernity, is the transformative Augenblick. Goethe first composed the transformative Augenblick or instant in his Die Leiden des jungen Werthers (1774) published during the reading craze that struck Germany in the mid- to late eighteenth century. In \textit{Topography of Modernity: Karl Philipp Moritz and the Space of Autonomy}, Schreiber observes that Goethe remarked in his autobiography how Die Leiden... appeared at just the right time: “weil es genau in die rechte Zeit traf”.\textsuperscript{493} For Schreiber this claim is justified because the novel captured the idea of the increasing pace of the modern experience of change caused in part by the reading craze, especially through Goethe’s depiction of the transformative instant.\textsuperscript{494} According to Schreiber, the transformative instant is the only constant in the perpetual changing of the modern age.\textsuperscript{495} In a manner parallel to Goethe’s remark, “weil es genau in die rechte Zeit traf”, the Grimms appear to claim a similar connection to the ‘times’ in the Preface to the KHM of 1812: “Es war vielleicht gerade Zeit, diese Märchen festzuhalten, da diejenigen, die sie

\textsuperscript{491} Refer to Section 2.3.4 and 2.4.2. Cf. Degh 92.
\textsuperscript{492} Ibid. 206; refer also to Sections 3.1-3.
\textsuperscript{493} Schreiber 17.
\textsuperscript{494} Ibid. 17.
\textsuperscript{495} Ibid. 17.
bewahren sollen, immer seltener werden...” (KHM 1812, “Vorrede”, VII).\textsuperscript{496} Here the Grimms refer to the loss of certainty and the need for a particular kind of subject to rescue what they can (as previously discussed), at the same time as they display a keen awareness of a notion akin to the transformative instant. They state their uncertainty in the “vielleicht” while sanctioning the moment, which they say is now to gather the tales. In their rhetorical construction, they utilise the idea of loss to overcome the unpredictability of the times in which they lived. The power of the transformative instant can thus be identified as a playing an influential role in the shaping of action to take up the pen.

6.2.3 Perspectival Shifts

In reference to the editing, the act of altering the texts itself can be perceived as a consequence of modernity. It is useful, then, to recall Moritz’s “perspectival shifts” and the deconstructing and reconstructing of institutions. The process through which Moritz put institutions may be seen as closely associated with the process to which the Grimms subjected the KHM. Between the publication of the first and second editions, Wilhelm took over the reigns of the KHM, while Jacob turned his mind to other projects. This enabled Wilhelm to reformulate the character and outward appearance of the tales away from a scholarly enterprise to one developed increasingly for children and youth. This is especially apparent in 1825 after Wilhelm published the Kleine Ausgabe of the KHM. Over the following thirty-three years, Wilhelm published nine more editions of the Kleine Ausgabe, along with five more versions of the Große Ausgabe. The shift in trajectory from a scholarly to a child- and youth-centred audience reflects the flexible thinking of which the Grimms were capable. In particular, Wilhelm

\textsuperscript{496} See also Brüder Grimm, DS, “Vorrede”: “Es schien uns nunmehr Zeit, hervorzutreten...”, 17-18.
showed that he could respond to contemporary criticism of the *KHM* and successfully change the tales in order to accommodate the demands the public appeared to make. Evidence that Wilhelm remained mindful of public opinion of the *Märchen* and that he never considered the *KHM* a complete project, is to be found in the Preface to the sixth edition published in 1850:


Here it is clearly mentioned that the tales kept receiving improvements, and, most importantly, that Wilhelm continued to draw actual inspiration from the language of the folk, “auf die ich immer horche“. While belief regarding the origin of the tales remained, Wilhelm also stated openly his readiness to adapt and transform his tales if necessary based on the experience of the moment.

The modernity of the Grimms in general terms may thus be registered through their ability to perceive the world from multiple points of view. Martus argues that the Grimms' peculiar connection to modernity comes in their unique relationship as brothers and scholars. To be precise, Jacob and Wilhelm represent two sides of one coin: Jacob was a blunt and coarse man (the academic), while Wilhelm adopted a more malleable position (the poet). Over time the Grimms fundamentally unified their viewpoints opting for diversity as the guiding principle:

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497 See Section 4.3.3.
Jacob und Wilhelm repräsentieren zwei Seiten einer Medaille: Während Jacob sich herausnahm, offen und entsprechend grob zu agieren, bezog Wilhelm eine flexible Position. Im Lauf der Zeit stellte er sich auf einen ausgleichenden Standpunkt und votierte für Meinungsvielfalt bei grundsätzlicher Einigkeit. Jacob und Wilhelm entwickelten auf diese Weise zwei Lösungsmodelle für ein und dasselbe Problem. Darin liegt ihre unbedingte Modernität. Sie verbanden Eigensinn und Flexibilität, unnachgiebige Härte wider alle Regeln des Anstands und die Fähigkeit, unterschiedliche Perspektiven zuzulassen.\textsuperscript{499}

It is this notion of the “die Fähigkeit, unterschiedliche Perspektiven zuzulassen” which stands out. This viewpoint is to be regarded as an underlying concept upon which the \textit{KHM} as a document of modernity can be read in that the Grimms were capable of “perspectival shifts” which influenced the editorial process and which might be identified in individual \textit{Märchen}.\textsuperscript{500}

6.3 The Editorial Process as a Product of Modernity

6.3.1 Conflicts with Purity

There are many examples where the Grimms deliberately edited or removed material from the tales to increase the appearance of their purity and suitability for children of a Germanic upbringing. The editing process can be traced from \textit{Die handschriftliche Urfassung von 1810} to \textit{Die Ausgabe letzter Hand} of 1857.\textsuperscript{501} The collecting phase, however, began as early as 1807,\textsuperscript{502} making the total time in which they were engaged with the collection fifty years. This allowed for numerous socio-cultural influences to alter the shape of the tales and standardize them.\textsuperscript{503} The most salient point here is that the Grimms turned the tales and thus the (romantic, modern) book as a whole into a product of

\textsuperscript{499} Martus (2009) 151.
\textsuperscript{500} Consider the many contributors to the \textit{KHM}.
\textsuperscript{501} In 1858, Wilhelm also published the tenth and final \textit{Kleine Ausgabe}, which is, however, not in consideration for the ensuing discussion.
\textsuperscript{502} Rölleke writes that the Grimms began in the Autumn of 1807. Already on the 22\textsuperscript{nd} of October of the same year, Brentano could write to Arnim: "Ich habe hier zwei sehr liebe, liebe, alteutsche vertraute Freunde…". See Rölleke (1985b) 31-32.
\textsuperscript{503} Degh 90.
modernity because they put the tales through the process of editing. In the following, I provide an overview of what those editorial incursions were.

One of the most apparent reasons for altering the Grimms' collection was the 'infiltration' of foreign tales. In response to this realisation, the Grimms stated in the 1819 Preface: “Es ist noch einmal geprüft, was verdächtig schien, d. h. was etwa hätte fremden Ursprungs oder durch Zusätze verfälscht seyn können, und dann alles ausgeschieden” (KHM 1819, “Vorrede”, XIV). Tales such as *Der gestiefelte Kater* and *Blaubart* were discarded from the collection after appearing only in the 1812/15 volumes (due to their explicitly French origin).

Another step taken to disconnect the *KHM* from its French background was to remove all mention of “Feen” from the *Märchen*.

Anything that appeared to be offensive or inappropriate for children was also slashed from the collection. *Die Kinder in Hungersnot* and *Wie die Kinder Schlachtens miteinander gespielt haben* were ejected because of their plainly gruesome content. Arnim, for example, informed the Grimms that a mother had complained to him that she could not put the *KHM* in her child’s hands on account of the latter tale.

Sexual innuendo or connotations such as Rapunzels’ belly were expunged. For example, this can been seen when comparing the 1812 with the 1857 versions: “sag’ sie mir doch Frau Gothel, meine Kleiderchen werden mir so eng

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504 See KHM33a and KHM62a.
505 Sutton 64. For example, KHM50 Dornröschen (C.f KHM 1812, 225: “Die Feen”; to KHM 1819, 249: “die weisen Frauen”) and KHM12 Rapunzel (C.f. KHM 1812, 39 “in den Garten einer Fee” to KHM 1819, “in den Garten einer Zauberin”).
506 “Dabei haben wir jeden für das Kinderalter nicht passenden Ausdruck in dieser neuen Auflage sorgfältig gelöscht.” Brüder Grimm (1819) VIII.
507 See respectively KHM22a and KHM143a.
A different story unfolds ever so slightly in the later variant:


Wilhelm edited this passage so it remained largely intact. Yet subtle as the change may be, it clearly indicated that a moral judgment had been passed in the act of deleting the implication about Rapunzel’s pregnancy, as that was deemed offensive to young children at the time. Another famous example where the original sexual implications of a tale were not included can be seen when comparing Perrault’s Le Petit Chaperon Rouge with the Grimms’ Rotkäppchen. Iconic in this regard, is the alteration at the end of the tale. In Perrault’s version, the wolf makes Little Red Riding Hood take off her clothes before devouring her whole.509 This passage is followed by a moral to young women, who are warned to be wary of would-be lovers with base intentions. In the Grimms’ story, however, a hunter appears in the nick of time and saves the day, ensuring the Happy Ending for its readers. The happy end being a notion which the Grimms were to standardize (followed later by Walt Disney).

A categorical change made to many of the tales was the use of the stepmother figure. In the 1812 tales, the mother was often the perpetrator of evil. However, this was viewed as harmful to the biological figure of the mother

509 After the famous passage about the size of the wolf’s body parts in his disguise as Little Red Riding Hood’s grandmother, the final passage goes: “Grand-mama, what great teeth you have. That is to eat thee up. And, saying these words, this wicked wolf fell upon poor Little Red Riding Hood, and ate her all up.” [Perrault, C. Tales of Passed times by Mother Goose. With Morals. Written in French by M. Perrault, and Englished by R.S. Gent. To which is added a new one, viz, The Discreet Princess. T.Bootsey: London, 1796, 10 (7th ed., corrected and adorned with fine cuts)].
so the Grimms went to great lengths to transform all mothers into stepmothers. A prime example of this editing pattern can be found in *Hänsel und Gretel*. In the 1812 version, the story read: “Die zwei Kinder waren auch noch wach von Hunger, und hatten alles gehört, was die Mutter zum Vater gesagt hatte” (*KHM* 1812, 50). In the 1843 variant, the tale had received the paradigmatic change: “Die zwei Kinder hatten vor Hunger auch nicht einschlafen können und hatten gehört was die Stiefmutter zum Vater gesagt hatte” (*KHM* 1843, 92). The stepmother motif was a common element of story telling for centuries and appeared to fit naturally into the *Märchen-, Erzähl und Volkston* of the collection.\(^{510}\) Koenigsberger argues that there is a factual basis for this motif due to the high death and remarriage rates in the early modern period.\(^{511}\) Yet it was an intentional inclusion aimed at reinforcing a poetic image of Romantik principles and child-friendliness that motivated the Grimms to make this particular change, rather than historical fact.\(^{512}\)

### 6.3.2 Characteristic of the Editorial Process

A prime illustration of the overarching approach to the editorial process can be gained by comparing several variants of a single *Märchen*.\(^{513}\) In the opening line to the 1810 version of *Der Froschkönig oder der eiserne Heinrich*,\(^{514}\) the first tale to appear in every edition of the Grimms’ collection, it reads: “Die jüngste Tochter des Königs ging hinaus in den Wald, und setzte sich an einen kühlen

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\(^{511}\) Koenigsberger 97: “The obsession of fairytales and other popular literature with stepfathers and stepmothers therefore had a firm root in experience.”

\(^{512}\) On the other hand, Degh questions just how child-friendly the Grimms’ *Märchen* really were. According to her study, Bolte and Polivka only list 18 of the Grimms’ *Märchen* as children’s tales. Degh 91.

\(^{513}\) C.f. Martus (2009), 217-218; Degh 89-90.

\(^{514}\) Henceforth, *Der Froschkönig.*
Brunnen."\textsuperscript{515} When juxtaposed with the 1812 version, a marked difference appears: “Es war einmal eine Königstochter, die ging hinaus in den Wald und setzte sich an einen kühlen Brunnen” (\textit{KHM}, 1812, 1).” In the 1819 version, yet more changes were made: “Es war einmal eine Königstochter, die wußte nicht was sie anfangen sollte vor langer Weile.” Here several clear additions and alterations can be identified. Of particular noteworthiness is the phrase “Es war einmal” that was included in the 1812 version of \textit{Der Froschkönig}. This line is perhaps the most famous of expressions ever to appear in a fairy-tale, for to this very day it is immediately associated with a fairy-tale setting.\textsuperscript{516} “Es war einmal” contributed massively to the capturing of the \textit{Märchen-, Erzähl und Volkston} that all the tales were generally meant to convey. In many ways it was crucial that “Es war einmal” was uttered in order to invigorate the idea of being transported to a timeless place where magic and fantasy come alive. In fact, Zipes maintains that to this day the Grimms’ use of “Es war einmal”, “keeps alive our longing for a better modern world that can be created out of our dreams and actions.”\textsuperscript{517}

Again referring to the opening line of \textit{Der Froschkönig}, in the final edition a programmatic change can be observed:

\begin{center}
\textit{In den alten Zeiten, wo das Wünschen noch geholfen hat, lebte ein König, dessen Töchter waren alle schön, aber die jüngste war so schön, daß sich die Sonne selber, die doch so vieles gesehen hat, darüber verwunderte so oft sie ihr ins Gesicht schien (\textit{KHM} 1837, 1).}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{515} Brüder Grimm, \textit{die handschriftliche Urfassung von 1810}, 44. The original title was \textit{Die Königstochter und der verzauberte Prinz. Froschkönig.}

\textsuperscript{516} With the possible exception of the closing line: \textit{They lived happily ever after}. This ending is not from Runge’s own tales and belongs far more to the Grimms’ “Verkindlichung” of the tales. Achim von Arnim lamented the lack of “rung’sche” endings, in reference to the more unhappy outcomes: „mancher Märchenschluß wäre mehr befriedigend ausgefallen, ich meine in der Art, wie Runge mit seinen beiden Märchen verfahren ist” [see Steig (1903) 12].

\textsuperscript{517} Zipes (2002) 64.
Intriguingly, the use of the “Es war einmal” has been omitted. Yet, to Martus, Wilhelm had grown much bolder in his tale-writing and editing skills. Martus maintains that Wilhelm had learnt how to identify pithy sayings and vocabulary that indicated the spoken word. Wilhelm applied formal expressions, expanded the passages of dialogue, and integrated particular narrative techniques to enhance the quality of the *Märchen-, Erzähl und Volkston* (such as the “Es war einmal” and “Nun trug es sich einmal zu…”). In reference to the quoted passages from *Der Froschkönig*, it is possible to perceive a coherent and increasingly poeticized description of the setting in which the story unfolds. It was in this manner that the KHM gained its overall image as a book for reading and reading out loud, and demonstrates the continually changing nature of many of the tales of the collection.

6.3.3 The Impact of the “Runge’sche Muster”

The Grimms were the central figures in the rise to popularity of the expression “Es war einmal”, yet they did not invent it but merely applied it systematically to the tales as a poetic device because they firmly believed it captured the sense of the true *Märchen* that stemmed from the *Volk*. The original creator of “Es war einmal” was in actual fact one of the most important painters of the early German Romantic period, Philipp Otto Runge (1770-1810). While Runge is far better known for his work as a painter, he also wrote two *Volksmärchen*, which

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518 This fact also points back to the earlier discussion where I examined how Kittler identified a new technique that had surfaced in the early nineteenth century centred upon education of young children via the use of the *Muttermund* using the mother tongue (refer to Section 3.4).


520 Ibid. 218.

521 Together with Caspar David Friedrich (1774-1840) they are considered the most important painters of the North German Romanticists. Carsten-Peter Warncke, "Die Deutsche Malerei der Romantik“, *Das Romantik-Handbuch*, Hg. Helmut Schanze, (Tübingen: Alfred Kröner, 1994), 392-397.
he sent to Arnim on the 24th of January 1806. These tales were called *Vom Machhandel Boom* and *Der Fischer und syn Fru*. In the letter, Runge claimed to have drawn inspiration from oral sources. Arnim was impressed.\textsuperscript{522} In 1808, Arnim included *vom Machhandel Boom* in *die Zeitung für Einsiedler*.\textsuperscript{523} Through Arnim the brothers learned of Runge’s tales. Most eye-catching of all was the use of the dialect *Plattdeutsch*, which can be illustrated with the “Es war einmal” equivalent: “Dar wöör maal eens”.\textsuperscript{524} The sound quality of the dialect lent the tales the authentic flavor for which the Grimms had longed. As Rölleke details extensively in his work *Die Märchen der Brüder Grimm: eine Einführung* (1985b), Runge’s writing style became a template for many of their tales.\textsuperscript{525} Rölleke describes Runge’s *Märchen* as a “Vorbild” or “Mustertexte” for the Grimms.\textsuperscript{526} On the 22nd of January 1811, Jacob wrote to Brentano explaining his intention to use “das Runge’sche Muster” for the design of the *Märchenbuch*.\textsuperscript{527}

Runge’s texts were to be more influential than he would ever know. Runge died of tuberculosis in 1810. But the legacy left behind was especially great. In 1903, Reinhold Steig remarked in his essay “Literarische Umbildung des Märchens vom *Fischer und siner Fru*” that Runge’s tale about the fisherman and


\textsuperscript{523} For this particular version of *Vom Machhandel Boom* see: Philipp Otto Runge, *Vom Machhandel Boom*, ed. Achim von Arnim, *Zeitung für Einsiedler* (Juli 1808), 229–237.


\textsuperscript{525} For an extensive analysis of the “Rung'sche Muster” in the Grimms’ *Märchen*, see Rölleke (1985b), 52-61.

\textsuperscript{526} Rölleke (1985b) 51-52. The Grimms were not the only ones inspired by Runge’s texts; Brentano, Arnim, Büsching, and Albert Ludwig Grimm can also be included.

his power-hungry wife reflected an entire dynasty. The tale is about a poor fisherman who catches a magical fish, and is rewarded with a nice new house after living in his “Pispott”.\footnote{Steig (1903) 9. Emphasis in original.} But his wife becomes ever more greedy, demanding larger and larger rewards until the couple ended up with the “Pispott” again. At the time of writing, this tale could not have found a more poignant connection to current events than with Napoleon himself. In April 1814 in a letter to Jacob, Savigny observed:

\begin{quote}
Wissen Sie in der ganzen Geschichte eine größere Begebenheit, die in ihrem Gang und ihrer Entwicklung so einfach, anschaulich und vollständig wäre wie die, welche uns zu erleben vergönnt war? Besonders merkwürdig ist, wie alles durch eine unaufhaltsame, innere Bestimmung zu diesem Ziel getrieben wurde, nicht durch festen Entschluß derer, die es bewirken konnten, was besonders in dem Kongreß zu Chatillon recht klar wird. \textit{Hier hat jemand den Fischer und sine Fru aus Ihrem Buch besonders drucken lassen, was als Biographie Bonapartes stark gekauft und gelesen wird.}\footnote{Steig (1903) 9.}\end{quote}

Steig describes this as the most esteemed comment that could have been made about Runge’s tales.\footnote{Ibid. 9.} Indeed, the influence of Runge’s stories is justifiably vast, if unbeknownst to most. Rölleke states: “hinsichtlich ihrer [Runge’schen Märchens] Herkunft, Aufzeichnung, stilistischen Form, Motivik und vor allem ihres Gehalts alles zu bieten schienen, was man sich von der Gattung ‘Volkmärchen’ erwartete.”\footnote{Rölleke (1985b) 53.} For the purposes of this thesis, the importance of Runge’s tales to the Grimms is measured in the application of the linguistic techniques and reveals their indebtedness to the \textit{Romantik} which further places the Grimms at the centre of this movement in terms of the \textit{Märchen}.
Chapter Seven: Märchen Analyses

7.1 Introduction

In Kleist's novella, Michael Kohlhaas (1810), the protagonist, from whose name the title is derived, comes to a powerful realisation about the time in which he is living: he must takes matters into his own hands to seek improvement and justice for society. Kleist's formulation of the way in which Kohlhaas must express his individualism delved deep into the German Geist of the early nineteenth century. A few years before writing this story, Kleist pessimistically observed: “Die Zeit scheint eine neue Ordnung der Dinge herbeiführen zu wollen, und wir werden davon nichts, als bloß den Umsturz der alten erleben.” Kleist’s programmatic utterance was written to his friend, Rühle von Lilienstern in 1805, just a few months before Napoleon defeated Prussia at Jena and Auerstedt.

The Grimms were aware of Kleist and had admired the story and figure of Michael Kohlhaas. Despite the fact that the ideal citizen, Kohlhaas, turns into a vengeful murderer, Jacob could still find a strong sense of “das Menschliche” in this troubled character. Wilhelm discovered in Kohlhaas an expression of strength, he was a figure “der sich von einer Idee begeistert fühlte [sodass] selbst die durch Ausschweifung oder Schärmerei entstellte Idee nicht ohne eine gewisse Größe ist.” While perhaps a far cry from the Märchen of the Grimms, Kleist’s Kohlhaas and the reference to the old order collapsing, provide a parallel

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533 Heinrich von Kleist, Sämtliche Werke und Briefe (Band II), Hg. Helmust Sembner, (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuchverlag, 2008), 761.
536 Ibid. 179, quoting Wilhelm.
example of a text and an author who, like the Grimms and their Märchen, were intimately related to the events of the time and the changes which took place.

In order to demonstrate how the notion of modernity is useful as a conceptual tool to analyse the KHM, I propose the following: The Märchen are particularly readable in light of modernity because they are simultaneously a product of poetry and a product of a scholarly enterprise. This fact creates a tension in viewing the Märchen from the modern day perspective. This tension acts as a point of departure that enables the editorial process to be viewed as an appropriate space in which to enhance the “purity” and “truth” of the Märchen, which functioned as a way to imbue the tales with social and cultural significance and thus protect them from the onslaught of modernity. The general importance and cultural value of the Märchen were further enhanced by the pedagogical ideas surrounding the use of the KHM as an Erziehungsbuch. The notion of the mother-child relationship acted as another way in which these ideas appeared justified. Around the same time, an educational turn took place during the period when the KHM were created that also enhanced the collection’s educational value. Finally, the KHM can be seen as playing a key role in the emergence of the Kernfamilie in the nineteenth century. The three overarching and interrelating critical approaches that I propose to consider are: first, the disestablishment and reestablishment of order, which is derived from Sennewald’s study; second, the application of Koschorke’s idea of the liminal dynamic, which characterizes the texts through viewing characters in folk and fairy-tales as wanderers, and the subject matter as referring to the crossing of

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537 See Section 5.2.
538 Lampart views the editorial process as reflective of contemporary society, using Dornröschen as exemplary of reality around the beginning of the nineteenth century (184-6).
thresholds; third, the role of money and its connection to the accumulation of capital, as it was conceptualised by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

7.2 Out with the Old, in with the... New?

7.2.1 A Brief Background to Hänsel und Gretel

The first Märchen to be considered is Hänsel und Gretel (KHM15). This tale is known throughout the Western world. During the first half of the nineteenth century, Hänsel und Gretel sparked considerable interest in many German authors of fairy-tales such as Karoline Stahl (1776-1837), August Stöber (1808-1884), Ludwig Bechstein (1801-1860) and Heinrich Pröhle (1822-1895). The first version that is known in literary form can be traced back to early seventeenth century Italy. Europe’s original fairy-tale author, Giambattista Basile (1575-1632), wrote the tale Ninnillo und Nennella, which appeared in a collection of tales called the Pentamerone (1634/6). The beginning and the end of the tale are very similar to Hänsel und Gretel, but Ninnillo und Nennella also shares structural affinities with several other tales. The next most significant early variant was Perrault’s Le Petit Poucet, which may have served as the basis

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539 In the Aarne-Thompson-index as tale type 327A.
541 Originally called Lo cunto de li cunti, ovvero Lo trattenemiento de peccerille, which translates into German as “Das Märchen der Märchen oder Unterhaltung für Kinder.” Basile's tales were all written in the Neapolitan dialect, making them a vibrant source of cultural information of the period in which he lived.
542 For example, Perrault’s Le Petit Poucet, Carlo Colodis’ Pinnochio, and the Grimms’ Brüderchen und Schwesterchen (KHM 11) and Das Lämmchen und Fischchen (KHM 141).
for the Grimms’ original 1810 tale, along with several others. The original name was in fact Brüderchen und Schwesterchen. The title of “Hänsel und Gretel” was first added to the version that was published in 1812. However, in the Grimms’ “Anmerkungen” (1856), it is stated that their tale was drawn from several versions of the Hessen region. Rölleke concurs in his “Anmerkungen” to Die handschriftliche Urfassung, noting that Hänsel und Gretel most likely was first told to the Grimms in the house of the Wild family.

7.2.2 The Analysis

The major points on which to focus with regard to the theme disestablishment and reconstruction of order are to consider key transformative instants in the beginning, the middle during the encounter with the witch, and the return home at the end of the tale. Hänsel und Gretel is especially relevant to this theme because the story unfolds within the collapse of the family order (the children are abandoned in the forest due to a lack of bread and a mother/stepmother bent on maintaining the old order), followed by the resolution to the conflict (after the two children successfully return home bearing riches, which creates and makes possible a new order in the family).

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543 de Blécourt 41-3. De Bléciyrt argues that Hänsel und Gretel is the result of merging several different motifs and structural elements of other tales together, which demonstrate the influence of key female contributors Marie Hassenpflug and Dortchen Wild.


545 Brüder Grimm (1856) 25.


In the opening lines, it is possible to identify several changes made by the Grimms to the text between 1810 and 1843 that deal with the issue surrounding the collapse of the old order.\textsuperscript{548} The first instance of the collapse emerged in the alterations to the first two sentences of the 1810 version, in the 1812 and 1843 versions:

\begin{quote}
Es war einmal ein armer Holzhacker, der wohnte vor einem großen Wald. Es ging ihm gar jämmerlich, daß er kaum seine Frau, und seine zwei Kinder ernähren konnte. Einsmals hatte er auch kein Brod mehr und war in großer Angst... (1810).
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Vor einem großen Walde wohnte ein armer Holzhacker, der hatte nichts zu beißen und zu brechen, und kaum das tägliche Brod für seine Frau und seine zwei Kinder, Hänsel und Gretel. Einmal konnte er auch das nicht mehr schaffen, und wußte sich nicht zu helfen in seiner Noth (KHM 1812, 49).
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Vor einem grossen Walde wohnte ein armer Holzhacker mit seiner Frau und seinen zwei Kindern; das Bübchen hiess Hänsel und das Mädchen Gretel. Er hatte wenig zu beissen und zu brechen, und einmal, als grosse Teuerung ins Land kam, konnte er auch das tägliche Brot nicht mehr schaffen (KHM 1843, 91).
\end{quote}

These passages indicate a clear development of key details added in terms of the collapse of the family order. At first, the reason for the family's poverty is merely stated in the 1810 variant and is embellished slightly for the 1812 version. Yet, in the 1843 edition, the narrative instructs the reader, "als grosse Teuerung ins Land kam, konnte er auch das tägliche Brot nicht mehr schaffen".\textsuperscript{549} This line removes the necessity of laying blame on any of the family members for the poverty and may reflect the difficulty in general of making a living off the land in the time when this tale was published.\textsuperscript{550} The main factor to observe is the change from the woodcutter simply not having enough to feed his children, to the occurrence of an external event that caused all of the woe. By embellishing

\textsuperscript{548} Please note, the original 1810 version, entitled \textit{Brüderchen und Schwesterchen}, is listed under Appendix A.
\textsuperscript{549} Brüder Grimm (1856), 25. This addition appeared in the \textit{KHM} after August Stöber released a version in 1842 called \textit{Das Eierkuchenhauslein}. See Stöber 102.
\textsuperscript{550} This also acts in support of Koschorke's claim about the process of writing fairy-tales reflecting a shift from agrarian to industrial societies. Refer to Section 5.4.
the motivation behind why the parents abandon their children, the context of uncertainty, fleetingness and contingency are pushed into focus. It is important, then, to be reminded of the role which money and power assumed in the shift to the modern era, as Seigel argued (see Section 3.1). Only with these factors in play can progress be made. The lack of food and the inability to make ends meet function as destabilising factors in the textual structure of Hänsel und Gretel. These factors motivate the parents to consider drastic measures so that they might maintain their way of life, or, in other words, the old order.

While the parents are portrayed as the enforcers of the old order, the two children demonstrate initiative to counteract the actions of their parents. This is especially visible in the beginning in Hänsel’s efforts to secretly drop stones and breadcrumbs along the pathway they take while the parents lead them deep inside the forest. In the 1810 version, the instant when Hänsel and Gretel overheard their parents discussing what to do with their situation, Hänsel takes charge:

Aber die Kinder hatten alles gehört, was die Mutter gesagt hatte das Schwesterchen fing an gar sehr zu weinen, das Brüderchen sagte ihm es solle still seyn und tröstete es. Dann stand er leis[e] auf und ging hinaus vor die Thüre, da wats Mondenschein und die weißen Kieselsteine glänzten vor dem Haus. Der Knabe las sie sorgfältig auf und füllte sein Rocktäschlein damit, soviel er nur hineinbringen konnte. Darauf ging er wieder zu seinem Schwesterchen ins Bett, und schlief ein.

In the 1812 edition, this scenario is altered in several instances:

Die zwei Kinder waren auch noch wach von Hunger, und hatten alles gehört, was die Mutter zum Vater gesagt hatte. Gretel dachte, nun ist es um mich geschehen und fing erbärmlich an zu weinen, Hänsel aber sprach: „sey still, Gretel, und gräm dich nicht, ich will uns helfen.“ Damit stieg er auf, zog sein Röcklein an, machte die Unterthüre auf und schlich hinaus. Da schien der Mond hell und die weißen Kieselsteine glänzten wie lauter Batzen. Hänsel bückte sich und machte sich sein ganz Rocktäschlein voll davon, so viel nur hinein wollten, dann ging er zurück ins Haus: „tröste dich, Gretel, und schlaf nur ruhig,” legte sich wieder ins Bett und schlief ein (KHM 1812, 50).
In particular, Hänsel’s efforts to act on his own volition to help himself and his sister receive editorial attention. This is emphasized clearly when Hänsel assures Gretel that everything will be all right: “tröste dich, Gretel, und schlaf nur ruhig.” In the 1843 edition, the mother was turned into the stepmother, shifting the focus of the story away from the mother as an evildoer, which better suited the Grimms’ poetic vision. Furthermore, Hänsel’s character is later depicted as placing his faith in God that everything will work out, calling to mind Zipes’ reference to the Protestant ethic: “Dann gieng er wieder zurück, sprach zu Grethel „sei getrost, liebes Schwestern, und schlaf nur ruhig ein, Gott wird uns nicht verlassen”, und legte sich wieder in sein Bett” (KHM 1843, 92). In these passages, it is thus possible to determine a pattern in which Hänsel is portrayed as resisting his parents’ attempt to get rid of the children. In this scene, Hänsel is the active character. Gretel can only cry helplessly, exclaiming “nun ists um uns geschehen”. Gretel’s fear of their situation contrasts markedly during the scenes with the witch at the house made of gingerbread.

During the encounter with the witch, a key instance to highlight is the way in which Gretel’s confrontation involving the oven is altered several times, indicating the use of perspectival shift in terms of action from Hänsel to Gretel and the overcoming of the old order represented by the witch. In the 1810 version, the witch tells the little sister to prepare the oven, but because she notices what the witch has in mind, she says: “ich versteh das nicht, setz dich zuerst darauf, ich will dich hineinschieben. Die Alte setzte sich darauf, und das Schwesterchen schob sie hinein, machte die Thüre zu, und die Hexe

551Brüder Grim (1843) 92. “Die zwei Kinder hatten aber auch vor Hunger nicht einschlafen können, und hatten gehört was die Stiefmutter zum Vater gesagt hatte.”
552 See Section 6.3.1.
verbrannte." In the 1812 version, an alteration was made that linked Gretel's action to God's will:

Gott gab es aber Gretel ein und sie sagte: „ich weiß nicht, wie ich das anfangen soll, zeigs mirs erst, setz dich drauf, ich will dich hineinschieben."

Und die Alte setzte sich auf das Brett, und weil sie leicht war, schob sie Gretel hinein so weit sie konnte, und dann machte sie geschwind die Thüre zu, und steckte den eisernen Riegel vor (KHM 1812, 57).

The encounter where God intervenes is changed slightly in the 1819 edition: “Gott gab es aber dem Mädchen ein” (KHM 1819, 5); and in the 1837 edition: “Gott gab es aber dem Mädchen in den Sinn” (KHM 1837, 100). Then in the 1840 version God is removed from the picture: “Da merkte das Mädchen, was sie im Sinn hatte” (KHM 1840, 100). In the 1843 variant, Gretel’s name is added to the sentence: “Aber Grethel merkte was sie im Sinn hatte...” (KHM 1843, 99). For this moment, there is a distinct focus on Gretel’s role in the story. Because Hänsel is locked up in the cage, he must remain passive until he is freed. Gretel’s response can be read as a counterpoint to the collapse of her world. Initially, Gretel had only cried or had to be consoled every time something happened.553 Yet when Gretel takes control of the situation, she appears to stabilize order in the story. By thwarting the witch, she is able to rescue Hänsel and together they return home laden with riches. Although the removal of God to set in motion Gretel's active role appears as a minor change, it may be read as an attempt to characterize the importance of the individual’s ability to make decisions on her own.554 By placing the decision-making into Gretel’s hands, she is imbued with the ability to bring back order to her own life and that of her family.

553 See KHM 1812, 50-53; 56. C.f. 57-8, where Gretel fights back.
554 Rölleke also shows that God in a tale can be deleted without doing harm to the story in his discussion on the tales Antonio Gramsci translated into Italian: "Gramsci zeigt eindeutig, die Entlassung der Gottesnennungen ändern Märchenlogik und Handlungsgang nicht. See Heinz Rölleke, "Das Bild Gottes in den Märchen der Brüder Grimm", in In: Wo das Wunschen noch
Once the children can escape, in the 1812 version the children grab some treasure and are able to find their way home without any more mishaps.\textsuperscript{555} However, in the 1819 version, the final scene has been expanded to include a river crossing where a white duck helps the children across. Gretel is the first to act:

\begin{quote}
Sie kamen aber vor ein großes Wasser und konnten nicht hinüber. Da sah das Schwesterchen ein weißes Entchen hin und her schwimmen, dem rief es zu: „ach, liebes Entchen nimm uns auf deinen Rücken“ als das Entchen das hörte, kam es geschwommen und trug das Grethel hinüber und hernach holte es auch das Hänsel (\textit{KHM} 1812, 87).
\end{quote}

In the 1843 version, the whole scene is enlarged again, further emphasizing Grethel’s role. Grethel not only calls the white duck over to help them across, she actively stops her brother from just jumping on the duck, warning him they will otherwise be too heavy:

\begin{quote}
Als sie aber ein paar Stunden gegangen waren, kamen sie an ein großes Wasser. „Wir können nicht hinüber,“ sprach Hänsel, ich sehe keinen Steg und keine Brücke.” „Es kommt auch kein Schiffchen,” antwortete Grethel, „aber da schwimmt eine weiße Ente, wenn ich die bitte, so hilft sie uns hinüber.” Da rief sie

„Entchen, Entchen, da steht Grethel und Hänsel. Kein Steg und keine Brücke, nimm uns auf deinen weißen Rücken!”

Das Entchen kam auch heran, und Hänsel setzte sich auf, und bat sein Schwesterchen sich zu ihm zu setzen. „Nein,” antwortete Grethel, „es wird dem Entchen zu schwer, es soll uns nach einander hinüber bringen.” Das that das gute Thierchen... (\textit{KHM} 1843, 100).
\end{quote}

These passages highlight the active role Gretel’s character played in the tale. Simultaneously, they show that with Grethel’s level head she can solve difficult

\textsuperscript{555}To de Blécourt, the "Magic Flight" motif, which applies to the escape from the witch’s house, plays a central role in the editorial variations Wilhelm entered into many of his stories (for example, \textit{Fundevogel, der Okerlo,} and \textit{der liebste Roland}). However, de Blécourt asserts that the variations originated from the female contributors rather than from the Grimms. De Blécourt 43-44.
situations, which emphasizes Wilhelm’s focus on restoring the order of the tale through the children, especially Gretel.

The ending was subjected to multiple changes centred upon the children’s actions and the notion of money. In the 1810 edition, the tale finishes right after the children have escaped from the witch. The last line reads: “Sie fanden das Häuschen voll Edelstein, damit füllten sie alle Taschen und brachten sie ihrem Vater, der ward ein reicher Mann, die Mutter aber war gestorben.” There are three significant points to make here. The first is the recipient of the “Edelstein”. In this case, the father alone becomes a “reicher Mann” and the tale finishes on the note that the mother had died. In the climax of the 1812 version, this scene has been built up:

Das ganze Häuschen war voll von Edelgesteinen und Perlen, davon füllten sie ihre Taschen, gingen fort und fanden den Weg nach Haus. Der Vater freute sich als er sie wieder sah, er hatte keinen vergnügten Tag gehabt, seit seine Kinder fort waren, und ward nun ein reicher Mann. Die Mutter aber war gestorben (KHM 1812, 58).

The “Edelsteinen” and the father’s reactions to the children have received emphasis. It is now “Edelsteinen und Perlen”, yet it is once again the father who becomes a “reicher Mann”, and the mother dying remains the final line. The second point is in the fact that the final lines of the 1819 version were changed to: “Die Mutter war aber gestorben. Nun brachten die Kinder Reichthümer genug mit und sie brauchten für Essen und Trinken nicht mehr zu sorgen” (KHM 1819, 87-8). This alteration is significant because now the children are moved into the limelight. It suggests not only the importance of the value of riches, but also that the children are the recipients of their good fortune rather than just the father,

556 Note that Marx’s concept of money is treated separately in 7.4.2-3. The following analysis on money is based on my own observations.
and the mother's death no longer dominates the ending. The third and final observation to make is that, by the 1843 version, the emphasis on the father receiving the riches and the (now) stepmother dying clearly fades from view, as the final outcome becomes the whole family benefitting from the children's efforts:

Der Mann hatte keine frohe Stunde gehabt, seitdem er die Kinder im Walde gelassen hatte, die Frau aber war gestorben. Grethel schüttete sein Schürzchen aus daß die Perlen und Edelsteine in der Stube herumsprangen, und Hänsel warf eine Handvoll nach der andern aus seiner Tasche dazu. Da hatten alle Sorgen ein Ende, und sie lebten in lauter Freude zusammen (KHM 1843, 100).

That the finding of the riches was changed again and again, leads to the conclusion that Wilhelm consciously wanted the importance of money to stand out in the story. He emphasized the lack of money in the beginning, which then clearly contrasts with the abundance in the outcome of the tale, indicating the importance of money as the basis for order or disorder in the tale. It also functions as a key difference between the earlier versions and the later versions, that the father is no longer the recipient of the riches, but rather they all are. By switching around who receives the money, one may pinpoint the changing perceptions of fathers and children, emphasizing perhaps the emerging importance of the Kernfamilie. In other words, the view of children appears to become altered to accommodate their own voices, so to speak, in contradistinction to the Aufklärung notions of the child.\footnote{557 See Section 3.3.1.} Furthermore, Gretel's character is shown to develop from a child who cries and must be consoled in the early stages of the tale, to someone who acts on her initiative to save her and her brother's lives just as her brother did in the opening of the tale. This fact also appears to counteract the old powers present in the old order that is depicted at
the outset of the tale. By continually bolstering Gretel’s character as resourceful, intelligent and loving, she paves the way into the future for her family as an individual. She embodies characteristics that all children should aim to internalise.\(^{558}\) It is also important that both Gretel and Hänsel are not little princes but children of a poor woodcutter. Thus, for many children of the \emph{bürgerliche Gesellschaft} in nineteenth century Germany, these two young protagonists were much easier to identify with than characters in other tales of royal status.

### 7.3 The Liminal Dynamic: Wandering Figures and Crossing Thresholds

#### 7.3.1 A Brief Background to the Tale Type Däumling

The \emph{Däumlingfigur (DF)} is a classic folk and fairy-tale character that appears as a wanderer who breaks traditional boundaries and pokes fun at others in supposedly superior societal and physical positions. The use of a character, who was no bigger than a thumb (“Daumens groß”) and extremely light, has appeared in many tales reaching as far back as ancient Greece.\(^{559}\) The Grimms claimed that their version of the \emph{Däumlingmärchen} was of oral origin\(^{560}\) and in their \emph{Anmerkungen} (1856) they observed that it came “aus den Maiingegenden, dem Hessischen und Paderbörnischen”,\(^{561}\) which Rölleke has since proven to refer originally to the mixing of a version from Marie Hassenpflug and the von

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\(^{558}\) C.f. de Blécourt 45. “When Hänsel und Gretel became one of the most popular stories in Germany, it was not because it inhabited a centuries-old oral tradition, or that it recapitulated contemporary social realities, but because it had become German in its specific composition. It also conformed to a developing custom of reading stories to children.”

\(^{559}\) See Brüder Grimm (1856) 71. “Die Griechen hatten ähnliche Däumlingssagen. Von Philotas, einem Dichter aus Cos, wurde erzählt er habe Blei in den Sohlen getragen, um nicht vom Winde weggeweht zu werden: von Arhcestratus, als er von den Feinden gefangen und auf eine Wage gelegt worden, habe er nur so viel als ein Obolus gewogen....”


\(^{561}\) Brüder Grimm (1856) 71.
Haxthausen family. The Grimms also identified several instances in old manuscripts where a character was described as weighing very little, leading them to adduce the frequency with which the Däumlingfigur appeared in Volksdichtung. The first version of which they were aware that carried the name relating to the figure of the Däumling was Perrault’s Petit Poucet published in 1697. While the Grimms had included a brief German version of this tale in Die handschriftliche Urfassung von 1810, it did not feature in the KHM. During the Grimms’ lives, there were also several other German folk and fairy-tale authors who published a version of a Däumlingmärchen.

The DF was the subject of many alterations at the hands of the Grimms, as is demonstrated by the extant versions. I have selected Daumerlings Wanderschaft (KHM45) because this tale type was subjected to significant changes over the period between 1810-1857. The DF is particularly suited to an analysis through the lens of the liminal dynamic because the Märchen in which he features always involve a journey. During the journey the DF must outsmart wrongdoers and escape from danger. There were evil people such as thieves, vagabonds and hungry animals, who wanted nothing more than to use the DF for their own ends. The adventures reflect the real potential of danger when travelling in the olden times.

563 Refer to Perrault 122-159.
564 C.f. Ludwig Bechstein, "Der kleine Däumling", 136-140.
565 See, for example, Karoline Stahl, "Der Däumling. Ein Märchen", 13-19; Ludwig Bechstein, "Der kleine Däumling", 136-140; and Heinrich Pröhle, "Daumgroß", 131-2. While Bechstein’s version is a reproduction of Perrault’s, Stahl’s and Pröhle’s versions draw more from the characteristics of the Däumlingfigur to present a different Märchen from the Grimms’ and Bechstein’s altogether.
566 The DF is not immune to misfortune, as can be ascertained from Pröhle’s Daumgroß, whose DF is cooked to death: "...und darauf stirbt der liebe Daumgroß, denn das Kochen hat er doch nicht gut vertragen können" (132).
7.3.2 Discussion of Daumerlings Wanderschaft

What is striking about the original tale of the 1810 edition is a general sparseness of colourful language and an almost total absence of punctuation. By taking a careful look at each edition of this KHM, it is possible to identify key instants in the tales, which the Grimms consciously embellished to fit their Märchen-, Erzähl und Volkston, and in my view, essential features of modernity. The first item of interest to analyse is the changing in the name of the tale from Die handschriftliche Urfassung von 1810 through to the seventh edition of 1857:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>Vom Schneiderlein Daumerling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1812-1837</td>
<td>Des Schneiderers Daumerling Wanderschaft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840- present</td>
<td>Daumerlings Wanderschaft</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The altered titles of this Däumlingmärchen suggest that this tale underwent rigorous scrutiny. In view of the liminal dynamic, the shift in emphasis in the title from “Schneider” to “Wanderschaft” is telling here. The change demonstrates that Wilhelm wished to draw out the fact that this Märchen is firstly about the journey itself. In this light, Koselleck’s concept of the Sattelzeit links neatly with the subject matter in reference to the desire to travel and the crossing of thresholds. The focus on the journey is further reinforced when considering that, unlike other Däumlingmärchen, in Daumerlings Wanderschaft, the DF chooses to travel for his own reason as is already visible in the 1810 unpublished version: “Vater, ich will auf die Wanderschaft gehen” (my emphasis). According to the concept of the liminal dynamic, the desire or will to travel or to exercise mobility is one of the key subjects, which received editorial attention in this

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567 For a full reproduction of the 1810 version, please refer to Appendix B.
568 C.f. Perrault 122-4; Stahl 13-14; Bechstein 136-7; Pröhle 131-2; Brüder Grimm (1819): KHM37 Daumesdick 191-3; KHM90 Der junge Riese 22.
Däumlingmärchen. In the 1819 edition, the protagonist asserts himself even more regarding his trip, when he announces to his father: “Vater, ich soll und muß in die Welt hinaus.” The added emphasis on the desire to travel with “soll und muß” is noteworthy on two key levels. On the surface the DF is expressing a characteristic that reflects his very nature as a Märchenfigur, but the desire to travel is also comprehensible as an attribute of the socio-historical context in which the DF is situated.

By contrast, the omission of “Schneiderlein” and “Schneider” pushes the DF’s trade more into the background of the story. On the other hand, throughout the various editions, the use of the title of Däumling’s trade “Schneiderlein” is increasingly used from just twice in the 1810 version, seven times in the 1812 version, nine times in the 1819-1837 versions, to ten times from 1840 onwards. This fact appears to further serve the purpose of justifying why the DF can travel and find work, although he never seems to agree with the prospects that greet him, leading to his premature departure from each employer. Thus the notion of the journey and DF’s trade are complementary motifs of this Märchen.

In From Enchanted Forests to the Modern World, Zipes embarks on an exploration of social types, which appear in the Grimms’ Märchen. In Zipes’ view, focusing on the alterations and subjective selection process the Grimms made, enables the development of a method through which to grasp the entire meaning of the Märchen in relation to their socio-historical backdrop. Zipes is very

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569 Many tales that received multiple alterations (such as KHM53 Sneewittchen, KHM12 Rapunzel and KHM15 Hänsel und Gretel) deal with a protagonist who is forced to travel, and so might be interpreted from the reversed position. See above Section 5.4.1.

570 As observed earlier in this thesis, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century witnessed a major rise in the ability and willingness for individuals to undertake great journeys for the betterment of themselves, and ultimately, humanity. See Section 2.3.
economical in his treatment of individual tales, opting more for breadth than depth in his research here.\textsuperscript{571} Therefore, I expand Zipes’ notion of the social type visible in Daumerlings Wanderschaft. The DF’s trade as a tailor opens up the line of inquiry to the social setting in which the Grimms compiled their Märchen. Not only does Daumerlings Wanderschaft deal with a journey, it can be also perceived as a special type of journey (known as the Wanderjahre), on which journeymen traditionally would venture out to seek their fortune and gain Bildung in their specific vocation by crossing a multitude of unknown lands and borders.\textsuperscript{572} There is a strong link here to the concept of the Bildungsreise as a way in which to perceive the relevance of the crossing of thresholds in the tale. The Bildungsreise is well known in German literature of the Romantik; in fact, most educated members of the bourgeoisie would have read one of the first and most famous examples of the Bildungsreise, namely, Goethe’s Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre (1795-6).\textsuperscript{573} In this Bildungsroman, Wilhelm Meister experiences many different adventures on his path to self-improvement and self-mastery. Daumerlings Wanderschaft can be viewed as a Bildungsroman in miniature, due to the nature of the DF’s adventures, which occur in part because he is not only a DF but also a Schneider. Aspects of both can be discerned when investigating the textual construction of this Märchen with the socio-historical context in mind.

\textsuperscript{571} Zipes (2002b) 98-9; 102; 105. This is not to undermine Zipes’ overall work, which is as deep as it is broad in many ways; I merely point out in this circumstance, his examples of tales are mainly summarized in one or two sentences, and do not delve into the editorial history on any significant level, making his interpretations a shade superficial for my purposes.

\textsuperscript{572} A tradition dating back to medieval times still running today in Germany, the journeyman was not allowed to return to their home until they have completed a certain number of years abroad, during which time they must make ends meet with the clothing on their back and the work they can find on the way.

\textsuperscript{573} Published in two parts respectively in 1795 and 1796.
To expand on this, a connection is to be found between the DF and certain ideas that characterize the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie. Zipes observes that tailors in the Grimms’ Märchen are more than willing to stop working, “because at the time the guilds were declining and tailoring was no longer profitable.” According to Zipes, the reference to the weakening value of traditional types of handwork justifies many male protagonists in the Grimms’ Märchen setting off on their own in search of fortune, self-improvement, and, most significantly, economic survival. These characteristics imbue male Märchen protagonists with a “bourgeois entrepreneurial spirit.” Zipes has tied the DF for this reason to philosophers Max Horkheimer (1895-1973) and Theodor Adorno’s (1903-1969) depiction of Odysseus as the proto bourgeois entrepreneur in their book *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1972):

For Adorno and Horkheimer, Odysseus is the prototype of the bourgeois individual, and they analyse his struggles philosophically as representing both the general and particular form that the struggle against nature takes. Odysseus battles his way home while demonstrating what qualities one needs in order to retain control over inner and outer nature. According to Adorno and Horkheimer, Odysseus is mostly concerned with his own vested interests and self-preservation, not with the welfare of the collective… In the eyes of Adorno and Horkheimer, each trial and test experienced by Odysseus represents a stage in self-mastery. During the course of his voyage, Odysseus learns how to dominate by developing and making instrumental a personal system of rational calculation. The authors argue that this mythic model

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574 Zipes (2002b) 94. See also Lampart 182-3, for a discussion on how folksongs can be linked historically to social issues.
575 Ibid. 94-5.
576 Ibid. 95.
577 Zipes’ connection originates from Wilhelm’s own interest in the DF that he displayed in the edition to the 1819 version of the KHM. In his essay Über das Wesen der Märchen, Wilhelm noted, “Bei ihm aber ist alles in Klugheit ausgeschlagen, er ist aller List und Behendigkeit voll, so daß er sich aus jedem Unfall, in den ihn seine kleine Gestalt so oft bringt, jedesmal zu helfen, selbst noch Vortheil daraus für sich zu ziehen weiß. Jedermann äfft er und zeigt eine Lust an gutmüthiger Neckerei, überhaupt die Natur der Zwerge; auch mögen alte Sagen von diesen hier noch fortduern. Manchmal ist er als ein kluges Schneiderlein dargestellt, das mit seinem feinen und schnellen Verstand die Riesen schreckt, die Ungeheuer tötet und die Königstochter erwirbt; er allein kann die vorgelegten Räthsel lösen.” Here Brüder Grimm, “Über das Wesen der Märchen”, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, (Göttingen: Dieterischen Verlag, 1819), LII.
became general and historical for Western bourgeois men by the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{578}

Zipes argues that the *Daümlingmärchen*, like *The Odyssey*, deal with self-preservation and self-improvement through the application of reason to escape dangerous situations. Zipes states: “The voyage in the Thumbling tales is an apprenticeship in which the small hero learns self-control and how to control others.”\textsuperscript{579} Wilhelm himself drew the connection between the *DF* and Odysseus as early as the 1812 edition of the *KHM*, while discussing the possible origin of the *Märchen*:

Eine Analyse, die vor einer Ausgabe steht, sieht es so an, als habe Perrault sie [die Märchen] zuerst erfunden, und von ihm [...] seyen sie zuerst unter das Volk gekommen; bei dem Däumling wird sogar eine absichtliche Nachahmung Homers behauptet, welche Kindern die Noth des Odysseus beim Polyphem habe verständlich machen wollen (*KHM* 1812, “Vorrede”, XVII).

Wilhelm interpreted the *DF* as an imitation figure of Odysseus due to the *DF’s* cunning nature, his underdog status and ability to outwit his larger less clever opponents. While the adversaries view the *DF’s* small stature as a disadvantage, this is in fact the complete opposite to the truth.

The *DF* uses his size to great effect, as can be seen in the opening paragraph to *Daumerlings Wanderschaft* through the editorial alterations. Before the *DF* wants to leave he finds out what his mother is cooking (also an added scene):


\textsuperscript{578} Zipes (2002b) 95-6.
\textsuperscript{579} Ibid. 101.
In the 1819 version, the *DF* accidentally gets whisked away by the steam rising from the meal his mother is preparing, indicating that he had no choice in the matter. This moment was changed for the 1837 and 1840 versions:

Da sprang Daumerling auf den Herd, und guckte in die Schüssel: weil er aber den Hals zu weit hineinstreckte, faßte ihn der Dampf von der Speise, und trieb ihn zum Schornstein hinaus. Eine Weile ritt er auf dem Dampf in der Luft herum, bis er endlich wieder auf die Erde herabsank (*KHM* 1837, 264).

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The major development here is notable in the use of the verbs: "hinaustreiben", "bis es endlich wieder herabsank"; “führen” and “reiten”. The pattern to be observed is that Wilhelm transplanted the *DF* from a position of passivity to one of activity. In the 1819 and 1837 versions the *DF* must go wherever the steam takes him; yet, in the 1840 edition the *DF* “ritt auf dem Dampf” until he settled back down on the ground. Although minor, such shifts from passive to active roles in the story also characterize Wilhelm’s editorial incursions, which I argue reflects the involvement of the *liminal dynamic* and the crossing of thresholds.

This feature of the narrative points to the relevance of modernity to the analysis of individual *KHM*. These shifts in the *DF*’s characterization can be uncovered throughout the various editions of *Daumerlings Wanderschaft*.

The first encounter in the story is with the “Meister” or master craftsman (“Zuerst kommt er zu einem Meister in Arbeit...”), which fits with the *DF* having a trade. In the 1810 version, the first encounter is only a sentence long. Yet the *DF*’s dissatisfaction with the food and thus his treatment by the “Meister” and his wife is plain to see. In the 1812 edition, the following dialogue is added: “Frau Meisterin, wenn sie uns kein besser Essen giebt, sagte der Daumerling, schreib...”
ich morgenfrüh mit Kreide an ihre Hausthüre: “Kartoffel zu viel, Fleisch zu wenig, Adies, Herr Kartoffelkönig! und gehe fort” (KHM 1812, 196). The fact that the DF complained about receiving less than what he thought to be his fair share of the food, represents the general miserliness of many master craftsmen, who took advantage of the young journeymen passing by on their travels.\footnote{C.f. Darnton’s example of a bourgeois family’s treatment of workmen in their printing press workshop in eighteenth century France, 83-84.} For the purposes of the story, the DF is, however, simply able to express his disgust at this treatment and is soon back on the road in search of a new adventure.

The next encounter is with a band of robbers that he meets in a forest. The editorial process for this situation is significant. Both the reaction from the robbers and DF’s are tinkered with multiple times throughout the versions. While the 1810 version merely describes what happens in the situation, as the robbers see the DF coming in the 1812 version, “denken sie, der kann uns viel nützen, reden es an, sagen, es sey ein tüchtiger Kerl, es solle mit zur Schatzkammer gehen, sich hineinschleichen und ihnen das Geld herauswerfen” (KHM 1812, 197). Again in the 1819, 1837 and 1850 editions more alterations were made:

\begin{quote}
...dachten sie, so ein Instrument kann uns viel nützen. „Heda, rief einer, du gewaltiger Kerl, willst du mit zur Schatzkammer gehen, du kannst dich hineinschleichen und das Geld herauswerfen.” Der Daumling besann sich, endlich sagte er ja und ging mit zu der Schatzkammer (KHM 1819, 220).
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
...dachten sie „so ein Instrument kann uns viel nützen.” „Heda,” rief einer, „du Riese Goliath, willst du mit zur Schatzkammer gehen? du kannst dich hineinschleichen und das Geld herauswerfen.” Der Daumerling besann sich, endlich sagte er ja... (KHM 1837, 265).
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
...dachten sie „so ein kleiner Kerl kann durch ein Schlüsselloch kriechen und uns als Dietrich dienen.” „Heda,” rief einer, „du Riese Goliath, willst du mit zur Schatzkammer gehen? du kannst dich hineinschleichen, und das Geld heraus werfen.” Der Daumerling besann sich, endlich sagte er „ja”... (KHM 1850, 258)
\end{quote}
Several points must be addressed at this juncture. The first point is that a tense change was made from present to past between 1812 and 1819 ("denken sie" to "dachten sie"). This signifies a moment in which the passing of time in the story takes on more of a reflexive quality and offers a moment for readers to accentuate. Second, the nature of the robbers is also embellished ("...kann uns viel nützen", "...so ein Instrument kann uns viel nützen", to "so ein kleiner Kerl kann durch ein Schlüsselloch kriechen und uns als Dietrich dienen"). Their address to the DF is also markedly increased, which is changed again for the 1837 version: from “tüchtiger Kerl”, to “Heda ... du gewaltiger Kerl”, to “... du Riese Goliath”. Third, the DF’s reaction to the thieves is altered toward attributing his position in the story with more control in the situation. In the 1810 version, the DF was simply carried off to the king’s treasure chamber ("die tragen ihm auf”); but in 1812 the DF “...läßt sich drauf ein...”, showing that he has acted as the agent in the situation. By the 1819 version, the DF gives the robbers’ request due thought before agreeing to help them (“Der Daumerling besann sich, endlich sagte er ja...”). In the 1850 edition, the affirmative is even given speech marks (“ja”) to simultaneously indicate speech and can be interpreted as the DF’s willingness to undertake the new line of work, reinforcing his cunning and confidence despite his small stature and the robbers’ intention to exploit him for their own ends.

After the DF has helped out the robbers, politely turning down their offer to be their leader, he heads off on his journey. In the 1810 version, the DF goes straight to an inn to work. Again, as in earlier scenes, the first published version reveals much more to the story. While on his way, the DF attempts to gain work
from his trade, but he is unsuccessful, eventually having to accept doing menial tasks as a farm-hand: “Darauf nahm es den Weg wieder zwischen die Beine, und endlich, weils mit dem Handwerk schlecht ging, verdingte es sich als Hausknecht in einem Gasthof” (KHM 1812, 198). In the 1819 version, this opening line of the paragraph is split into two sentences:

Darauf schnallte es seinen Degen wieder um den Leib, sagte den Räubern guten Tag und nahm den Weg zwischen die Beine. Bei etlichen Meistern ging es in Arbeit, endlich aber, weils mit dem Handwerk nicht recht fort wollte, verdingte es sich als Hausknecht in einen Gasthof (KHM 1819, 221-222).

Once again DF’s skills as a tailor to find suitable employment do not pay off. Instead he must cope with (“verdingen”) a role as a farmhand. Years later in the 1850 edition, Wilhelm altered one part of the second sentence that further emphasized the active nature of the DF’s characterization: “Es gieng bei einigen Meistern in Arbeit, aber sie wollte ihm nicht schmecken...” (KHM 1850, 260). The DF’s distaste for the master craftsman (“ihm nicht schmecken”) illustrates that Wilhelm was consciously shaping the DF’s individual drive to assert his personality, which consequentially shows an unwillingness to submit to the old traditional hierarchy in the work force. The DF’s unwillingness to be tied down to any of these “Meister” may also suggest the conditions of work as a tailor were not accommodating to his profession.

The “Gasthof” where the DF ends up does not suit him either. He proves a thorn in the side of the maids, who cannot do anything in secret without the DF knowing about it. The DF’s ability to eavesdrop appears in other Däumlingmärchen,581 and receives attention in Daumerlings Wanderschaft. The DF’s trickery in this case becomes increasingly a focus for Wilhelm to expand on.

581 C.f. Perrault 122-4; Stahl 13-14; Bechstein 136-7; Pröhle 131-2; Brüder Grimm (1819): KHM37 Daumesdick 191-3.
for the motivation of the maids to seek revenge. In this context, the DF’s miraculous escape from not one but five perilous situations reinforces his active character and justifies his title as hero of this story (also showing a link to Odysseus who also faced a large number of obstacles, one after another, on his journey home).

The final encounter before the DF returns home is with a fox. In the 1810 version, a fox promptly eats him after the DF has narrowly avoided death at the “Gasthof”. The DF slyly gets the fox to take him back home, which, true to his word, his father rewards the fox for its effort and the DF can even compensate his father for the lost chickens.

A central mode of representation for the tale is to be found in the repeated use of the words pertaining to “wandern”. In the 1810 version, once the DF is able to escape the sausage, “springt er heraus u. lauft weiter in die Wanderschaft.” In the 1812 version, “[d]as Schneiderlein wanderte wieder...”. The final form the sentence takes is in the 1819 version: “In dem Hause aber, wo es ihm so übel ergangen war, wollte das Schneiderlein nicht länger bleiben, sondern es begab sich gleich wieder auf die Wanderung.” The reference to the journey is clearly significant, as the Grimms saw fit to alter this particular transition sentence several times. What also comes to attention is the use of “Schneiderlein” instead of “er”, mostly present in the Die handschriftliche Urfassung von 1810. As noted earlier, the use of “Schneiderlein” increased from two to seven times between 1810 and 1812. The connection between the use of der Schneider and the DF as two complementary attributes of the same character

582 C.f. Above 1810; KHM 1812, 198-199; KHM 1819, 222.
appears to be consistently referred to throughout the text. The word “Wanderschaft” remains in the final sentence in every version. The DF’s characterization also receives some attention with regard to his honesty as is exemplified by the following comparisons: “Das gelobte es, und da trug es der Fuchs heim, und kriegte alle Hüner im Hof” (KHM 1812, 199); “versprichst du mir die Hühner in deines Vaters Hof, so will ich dich los lassen.” „Von Herzen gern, antwortete der Daumling, die Hühner sollst du alle haben; das gelobe ich dir“ (KHM 1819, 224). The DF and his father are both true to their word and the fox is rewarded while the DF can return home safely, having learnt many things about the world after successfully crossing many thresholds in the unknown.

In addition, the use of “Ich” further demonstrates the assertive nature of the DF. These assertions appear reminiscent of Goethe’s transformative instant. In the 1810 version, four moments in the story already exist where the DF asserts his “Ich” status and the fifth was included in the 1812 version onwards. The first is in the beginning when the DF declares: “ich will auf die Wanderschaft”. The second, which was added to the 1812 version, is when the DF announces his displeasure with the food cooked by the master craftman’s wife: “Frau Meisterin, wenn sie uns kein besser Essen giebt, sagte der Daumerling, schreib ich morgenfrüh mit Kreide an ihre Hausthüre: (KHM 1812, 196). The third was while he hid from the king’s guards: “das Schneiderlein setzt sich unter einen Thaler u. ruft: hier bin ich!” The fourth was when the DF was trapped in the cow and the sausage: “Die Kuh soll geschlachtet werden. er ruft: ich bin hier.” Finally, the fifth moment occurs when the fox gobbles him up: “Herr
Fuchs ich bin hier”. The emphasis on the DF’s “Ich” is prevalent throughout the editorial history. Because these instants received editorial attention between 1810 and 1857, the Grimms (mainly Wilhelm) thus appear to have identified the key instants in the text when the DF is involved in a conflict as transformative. In *Die handschriftliche Urfas sung von 1810*, his role as an agent of action is certainly visible; yet within the editorial process it is possible to observe a sense of a developmental schema, which locates the DF as an agent at the centre, raising his status in the text to a level befitting a true hero, whose status within the *liminal dynamic* can be read in light of the concept of modernity.

7.4 The Accumulation of Capital in Light of the Editorial History of *Rumpelstilzchen*

7.4.1 A Brief Background to *Rumpelstilzchen*

The final tale I examine is *KHM55 Rumpelstilzchen*. There are in fact two early versions of this tale, one that dates back to 1808 which Jacob Grimm sent to his friend and mentor Savigny;584 the other very similar example appeared in *die handschriftliche Urfas sung von 1810* (see Appendix C for a full reproduction). Both these versions introduce only a partial number of the basic ideas of the tale. By comparison, the first published version demonstrates significant changes, which provide the basis of the ensuing analysis. The key changes came initially from a merging of a version from Dortchen Wild and another from the Hassenpflug family.585 The tale type of *Rumpelstilzchen* is referred to under the category *Supernatural Helpers*, which is listed in the Aarne-Thompson index as

Although the first use of the name Rumpelstilzchen appeared with the Grimms’ first published version in 1812, there are many examples of a Rumpelstilzchen character in other variants.\textsuperscript{586} For example, \textit{Ricdin-Ricdon}, published in 1705 by the French fairy-tale author Marie-Jeanne Lhéritherie de Villandon (1664-1734), which was the first literary version. Other variants include Stahl’s, “das Stäbchen”, Bechstein’s, “Die Spinnerin im Mondlicht”,\textsuperscript{587} Pröhle’s “Jungfer Schön”,\textsuperscript{588} Karl Müllendorf’s “De Markgraef to Sleewik unn de Buer to Boklund”,\textsuperscript{589} and Carl and Theodor Colshorn’s “Lehnort”.\textsuperscript{590} In the \textit{Anmerkungen}, the Grimms noted that already with the early New High German writer, Johann Fischart (c.a. 1545-1591), an early version of Rumpelstilzchen could be discerned in the line “Rumpelstilt oder der Poppart” from his \textit{Affentheuerlich Naupengeheurliche Geschichtsklitterung} (1575).\textsuperscript{591}

The variants of the \textit{KHM}, however, demonstrate a distinct twist that may reflect ideas of modernity. In particular, it is the subject matter of gold that stands out. Rumpelstilzchen’s connection to gold as a concept is visible due to the relationships in the story, which, I argue, are established as a result of the desire to accumulate wealth. The subject matter is not in any way unusual to a folk- or fairy-tale. However, what makes the Grimms’ Rumpelstilzchen relevant to a discussion in relation to modernity is the fact that certain key attributes were

\textsuperscript{586} The original name went Rumpenstünzchen.
\textsuperscript{587} Ludwig Bechstein, \textit{Bechsteins Märchen für Kinder: neues Märchenbuch}. (Stuttgart: Loewes Verlag Ferdinand Carl, 1900), 100-103.
\textsuperscript{588} Pröhle 76.
\textsuperscript{589} Karl Müllendorf, Märchen und Sagen der Herzogthümer Schleswig Holstein und Lauernburg. (Kiel: Schwersche Buchhandlung, 1845), 12-13.
\textsuperscript{590} Carl und Theodor Colshorn, \textit{Märchen und Sagen aus Hannover}. (Hannover: Rumpler, 1854), 83-84.
\textsuperscript{591} See Brüder Grimm (1856), 95.
increasingly embellished over the course of almost fifty years in this tale (1808-1857). It is intended to read the variants of *Rumpelstilzchen* against Marx’s concept of money and its relationship to the capitalist spirit,\(^5^9^2^\) represented by the accumulation of wealth through the production of goods.

### 7.4.2 Conceptual Framework

In order to elucidate these ideas, it is first useful to consider the editorial history of *Rumpelstilzchen* in conjunction with the writings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Central to the background context of the analysis is Marx and Engels’ *Das Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*\(^5^9^3^\) published in 1848. The publication date makes this text and its subject matter important in laying down the socio-political context in which the Grimms set the final touches to *Rumpelstilzchen*. The most crucial text to be examined is Marx’s *Kapital I* (1867), which provides a conceptual framework with which to conduct the analysis. Here Marx attempted to develop a dialectical approach to an understanding of capital and its operations, and, as he saw it, an entirely new framework of economic thought for his time, which demonstrated his awareness of the perpetually changing state of systems of production in society. Key to my analysis here are the figures of the hoarder (of money or gold), the debtor and creditor, each of which Marx conceived as ‘socially necessary’ roles for the capitalist market to function.

According to Marx, these roles were to be performed in order for money to continue flowing in and out of the economy system. These texts may offer insight

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\(^{5^9^2}\) A key text that is not mentioned in this analysis but is useful to bare in mind is Max Weber’s *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus* (1920). This work was a landmark text in sociological thought of the early twentieth century, particularly as a commentary of the development of capitalism in light of religion. It also links the concept of “Geist” for the first time to the economic role capitalism played in society of the time. Originally published in two parts by the journal *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* in 1904-5 (20. Band, Heft 1, 1-54, 1904; 21. Band, Heft 1, 1-110, 1905).

\(^{5^9^3}\) Henceforth, The *Manifesto*. 

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into the characters and themes in *Rumpelstilzchen* and therefore demonstrate another significant link in the relationship of modernity to the *KHM*.

The *Manifesto* deals with the ways in which the modern bourgeois society in Germany became oriented around creating and controlling modes of production, and the accumulation of capital. The process of industrialization specifically in Western Europe, to which this work refers, begins and gains momentum over the course of the nineteenth century. This process caused a major cultural shift in many countries leading to widespread social and economic improvements. However, Marx and Engels observed that it also caused alienation and exploitation; social effects for which at the time, no real government regulations had been put in place to counter.

In particular, Marx and Engels' the *Manifesto* is a thought-provoking text in which a new class of workers (the proletariat) was conceived not as individuals but as a grouping of commodities commensurate with the goods they helped produce. Marx and Engels discussed how age and sex made no difference to the drive for profit and that even the family became a site for exploitation.\(^{594}\) In this context, Marx and Engels compared the bourgeois family that is based on the capitalist desire for accumulation compared to the lack thereof in the family unit of the proletariat.\(^{595}\) The importance of improved networks of communication also features in the development of the capitalist regime, making the transportation of information and distribution of goods increasingly more

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\(^{594}\) For example, Marx and Engels implied this in the following statement on the bourgeois family: “Do you charge us [the communists] with wanting us to stop the exploitation of children by their parents? To this crime we plead guilty”. Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto (1848)*, trans. Samuel Moore in cooperation with Friedrich Engels in 1888, (London: Pluto Press, 2008), 59.

\(^{595}\) Marx & Engels 59. “On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family, based? On capital, on private gain.”
efficient. On the other hand, this led to increased demand for ever more efficient deadlines, which meant industrial workers were constantly being overworked to meet the needs of the suppliers and consumers.

In Marx's *Kapital I*, the principal interest is the chapter on money and commodities, “Geld und Waare”. In this chapter, Marx presents money as a commodity. Under this light, money is to be understood as a duality: as a measure of value (“Mass der Werthe”) and as a measure of price (“Massstab der Preise”). In order to provide money with a concrete base, Marx suggests that gold has the ideal form of appearance that money should have, because gold functions for his objective as a universal equivalent for any commodity. This makes it the “money commodity”. Gold is conceived as having two basic functions: a relative value that is stable and a limited supply. Gold’s stability ensures that any fluctuations in the commodity value would not disrupt regular trade in the market, and the limited supply prevents too many people from getting it. Gold thus comes to represent the socially necessary labour-time function.

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596 Marx & Engels 46-7.
597 In *Kapital I*, Marx described, for example, the way in which the production of bread grew and grew, creating demand for increased labour-time in order to maintain the amounts of bread needed at the same opening hours as earlier. Not only did the poor bakers have to work more hours, they also did not receive more money to match the hours (12 hours pay for up to 18 hours work). This exploitation by the baker-masters, according to Marx, laid the foundation “zur kapitalistischen Produktion, zur masslosen Verlängerung des Arbeitstages und Nachtarbeit gelegt, obgleich letztere selbst in London erst 1824 ernsthaft Fuss fasste.” Karl Marx, *Das Kapital I: Kritik der politischen Oekonomie: Der Produktionsprocess des Kapitals (Buch I)*, Otto Meissner Verlag: Hamburg, 1883, 237-8.
598 “Als Mass der Werthe und als Massstab der Preise verrichtet das Geld zwei ganz verschiedene Funktionen. Mass der Werthe ist es als die gesellschaftliche Inkarnation der menschlichen Arbeit, Massstab der Preise als ein festgesetztes Metallgewicht.” Ibid. 68.
(“gesellschaftlich nothwendige Arbeit”) required to produce the commodities, which can be translated into a particular currency as needed.600

Marx also explored the concept of money as a means for circulation (“Cirkulationsmittel”). He begins by referring to the notion of the metamorphosis of commodities (“Die Metamorphose der Waaren”).601 For Marx, this becomes the study of perpetual motion known as social metabolism. Marx demonstrated four stages through which levels of exchange of commodity circulation took place in the economy.602 Marx moved first from the notion of trading a commodity for a commodity to placing money in the middle of the transaction as a moderator or medium. This formula is expressed as ‘commodity to money that is traded for another commodity’ (which equals C-M-C, or particular to universal to particular).603 For the goods manufacturer, however, this presented a problem because in order for his goods to sell, they must have a use-value (“Gebrauchswerth”) for the potential buyer.604 In this Marx displayed his awareness of the changeable nature of the demand and supply of goods.605 The uncertainty of demand for a particular product gave rise to the relevance of another formula: if one sells a commodity to get money, it can also mean that one sells money to gain a commodity (C-M becomes M-C).606

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600 Marx (1883) 72. “Gesellschaftlich nothwendige Arbeit von gleicher Grösse stelle sich in 1 Quarter Weizen in 2 Pfund St. (ungefähr 1/2 Unze Gold) dar.”
601 Marx 74.
602 Nelson 138.
603 Ibid. 76: “Der Austauschprocess der Waare vollzieht sich also in zwei entgegengesetzten und einander ergänzenden Metamorphosen – Verwandlung der Waare in Geld und ihre Rückverwandlung aus Geld in Waare.” Also, 77 for C-M-C or “Waare- Geld- Waare” (W-G-W).
604 Ibid. 77.
605 Ibid. 77. “Das Produkt befriedigt heute ein gesellschaftliches Bedürfniss. Morgen wird es vielleicht ganz oder theilweise von einer ähnlichen Produktenart aus seinem Platze verdrängt.”
606 Ibid. 79-82.
However, this idea evolved into a final stage: money to commodity to make more money (M-C-M). In other words, making a profit becomes the central driving force of the market and the hallmark of capitalism. Marx expressed the validity of this argument as the desire for the limitless potential of the universal equivalent. Having money comes to determine social power: the more one has the more power one has. And, due to human greed, the desire to obtain more money becomes limitless. Money therefore is transformed into the basis of class power as modern societies become oriented more and more around this drive. Nothing can withstand it.

This leads Marx to reflect on the role of the hoarder ("Schatzbildner") in the economy:


The hoarder is encouraged to hoard because “more gold is more than less gold”. Marx understands the hoarder as a role that is socially necessary to the economy. The act of hoarding ceases, to mean piling up hoards of treasure and refers rather to the accumulation of capital as a type of reserve fund to shield one against unforeseen crises in the market which gives the power to moderate money's ebb and flow through the market. This understanding brings with it a

607 Marx (1883) 77.
608 "Die moderne Gesellschaft, ... begrüsst im Goldgral die glänzende Inkarnation ihres eigensten Lebensprincips." Ibid. 106; David Harvey, A Companion to Marx's Capital, (London: Verso, 2010), 71.
609 Marx (1883) 103.
610 Nelson 116.
611 Marx (1883) 108. "Die Schatzreservoirs dienen zugleich als Abfuhr- und Zufuhrkanäle des cirkulierenden Geldes, welches seine Umlaufskanäle daher nie überfüllt."
contradiction between the desire for money-power and the socially necessary role hoarding must play. According to Marx, it is this very contradiction “zwischen der quantitativen Schranke und der qualitativen Schrankenlosigkeit des Geldes treibt den Schatzbildner stets zurück zur Sisyphusarbeit der Akkumulation.” 612 In this sense, “[m]it der Möglichkeit, die Waare als Tauschwert oder den Tauschwerth als Waare festzuhalten, erwacht die Goldgier”. 613 According to David Harvey, Marx suggested that once a price can be set on something, eventually everything receives a monetary value (even for an individual’s soul). 614 As Marx stated, “Der Trieb der Schatzbildung ist von Natur masslos”. 615

The value of the hoard, however, depends on how well it is used in the market. At this stage of Das Kapital, Marx raised the ideas of the creditor ("Gläubiger") and debtor ("Schuldner"). Marx observed: “Der Verkäufer wird Gläubiger, der Käufer Schuldner”. 616 This discussion concentrated on the possibility that the use of certain commodities could not immediately be obtained, such as in the case of seasonal yields. For this situation, the notion of purchasing things as credit emerged. 617 Thus for Marx money became known as a means of payment (“Zahlungsmittel”) which enabled his concept of money to

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612 Ibid. 107. Also see Harvey 73. Here Harvey refers specifically to Marx’s citation of Christopher Columbus: “Gold ist ein wunderbares Ding! Wer dasselbe besitzt, ist Herr von allem, was er wünscht. Durch Gold kann man sogar Seelen in das Paradies gelangen lassen.” Marx (1883) 105.
613 Marx (1883) 105.
614 As in the case of Catholic Church selling absolutions for entry into Heaven. Harvey 72; Marx (1883) 105.
615 Ibid.106.
616 Ibid. 109.
617 David Graber observes in Debt: the First 5000 Years (2011), that in communities of England for many centuries, all trade was done in this way. However, Marx focused on the idea and use of money within a much larger spread of exchange potential.
assert its validity in the constantly changing state of the capitalist market. It is now time to consider *Rumpelstilzchen*.

### 7.4.3 *Die Auseinandersetzung*

For the purposes of this analysis, I identify key moments of the tale, using the first two variants (1810 and 1812) as a starting point for identifying the relevant connection points between *Rumpelstilzchen* and Marx and Engels’ writings. The editorial history concerning *Rumpelstilzchen* appears to have focused substantially on the subject of money. In comparing the 1810 version with the 1812 version, a major difference in the way this subject is approached becomes instantly apparent:

**Es war einmal ein kleines Mädchen, dem war ein Flachs knoten gegeben, Flachs daraus zu spinnen, was es aber span war immer Goldfaden und kein Flachs konnte herauskommen. Es ward sehr traurig und setzte sich auf das Dach und fing an zu spinnen, und span drei Tage aber immer nichts als Gold. Da trat ein kleines Mänchen herzu, das sprach: ich will dir helfen aus all deiner Noth, dein junger Prinz wird vorbeikommen der wird dich heirathen und dich wegführen...**

Yet in the 1812 version:

**Es war einmal ein Müller, der war arm, aber er hatte eine schöne Tochter. Und es traf sich, daß er mit dem König zu sprechen kam und ihm sagte: „ich habe eine Tochter, die weiß die Kunst, Stroh in Gold zu verwandeln“ (KHM1812, 253).**

In 1810, the little girl’s ability to turn flax into gold is perceived to be a curse, reminiscent of the story of King Midas from Greek mythology. Furthermore, the girl is offered a choice in her fate over whether or not she would like to marry a prince; whereas the 1812 version did no such thing. The 1812 variant resembled the classic tale most are familiar with today. So the change in the story is fundamental. Now a miller goes to his king, advertising that his daughter has the
The king is intrigued by the sound of this potentially lucrative proposition and immediately sends for her. Thus the miller's daughter has gone from having no control over her ability to being forced into a contract over which she has no power. This shift in the trajectory of the story is significant, and gives grounds for the ensuing discussion.

The exchange that takes place between the king and the miller can be portrayed as establishing the following criteria for a Marxist view. Namely, once you can put a price tag on it, you can put a price on anything, including “Conscience, honour... body parts and children.” Therefore, in keeping with the idea that money is also a commodity, the miller’s daughter can be seen to become a commodity in an exchange between the miller and the king. That parents in Marx's time would sell their children into slavery for money was not an unknown scenario. This also meant that the fruits of the daughter’s labour will not return to her but be alienated instead (ending up in the king’s coffers). Due to the exchange, it may be stated that the king represents a quasi- capitalist businessman and hoarder who is bent on accumulating capital. In addition, this contract bears a close relationship to Marx and Engels' view, in which they asserted that it mattered not with regard to age and gender to the development

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618 In the following analysis, gold, money and capital will refer to the same idea of accumulation of wealth.
619 Harvey 60; Marx (1883) 73.
620 "...as the bourgeoisie, i.e., capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working class, developed – a class of labourers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labour increases capital. These labourers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market.” Marx and Engels, 43, my emphasis.
621 Marx cited, for example, the observation of Mr. Charles Pearson, a house surgeon at North Staffordshire Hospital from a letter on the conditions of children he saw from the workplaces of industrial factories: "Ich kann nur aus persönlicher Beobachtung, nicht statistisch sprechen, aber ich stehe nicht an zu versichern, dass meine Empörung wieder und wieder aufkocht bei dem Anblick dieser armen Kinder, deren Gesundheit geopfert wurde, um der Habgier ihrer Eltern und Arbeitsgeber zu fröhnen.” Marx (1883) 230.
of modern industry for “all are instruments of labour.”622 In this light, it may be possible to read the episodes in *Rumpelstilzchen* as a symbolic representation of a comment on the social class structure and political economy at large during the middle of the nineteenth century that ultimately allowed for new social dynamics to take place.

In the 1812 version, the king lays out the terms of the exchange: “Da ließ der König die Müllerstochter alsogleich kommen, und befahl ihr, eine ganze Kammer voll Stroh in einer Nacht in Gold zu verwandeln, und könne sie es nicht, so müsse sie sterben” (*KHM* 1812, 253). The king tells the Miller's daughter that if she spins straw into gold for him he will marry her, if not, he will have her executed. However, she has but one night in which to complete the night impossible task, which certainly suggests a link to conditions of industrial period workers. In the 1819 version, a change was made to accentuate the king's eagerness to get richer. The text receives quotation marks, indicating that the king is now directly verbalizing his terms to the Miller's daughter: “wenn du diese Nacht durch bis morgen früh dieses Stroh nicht zu Gold versponnen hast, so mußt du sterben” (*KHM* 1819, 280). Then in the 1850 variant, just two years after Marx and Engel's published the *Manifest*, the king's eagerness is once again embellished by his character stating, “jetzt mache dich an die Arbeit, und wenn du diese...” (*KHM* 1850, 326). Thus, already in the very first paragraph of *Rumpelstilzchen*, it can be shown that the editorial history demonstrates an increasing focus on the king's desire to make money by extorting the poor girl's labour. This drive to accumulate wealth therefore points the finger directly at Marx's notion of the hoarder.

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622 Marx & Engels 44.
As with any diligent capitalist, the king’s response to the prospect of making easy money is to bring the miller’s daughter to a chamber full of straw right away. Clearly, the eagerness to acquire and hoard wealth is central to this text. This characteristic is further emphasized in the 1819 version, when the king is depicted as showing even more interest in the girl’s unusual talent (compared to the 1812 edition cited above): “Dem König, der das Gold lieb hatte, gefiel die Kunst gar wohl und er befahl, die Müllerstochter sollte alsbald vor ihn gebracht werden” (*KHM* 1819, 280). By the 1850 version, in the opening paragraph the king actually responds to the miller by saying: “das ist eine Kunst, die mir wohl gefällt, wenn deine Tochter so geschickt ist, wie du sagst, so bring sie Morgen in mein Schloß, da will ich sie auf die Probe stellen” (*KHM* 1850, 326). This illustrates the king’s desire to obtain more wealth received increasing editorial attention, which is displayed by the personalized response of the king to the miller evident in the final *KHM* of 1850. In the very next scene, the king’s desire for more capital is again accentuated.

In the 1812 version, once the girl is brought to the castle: “Sie wurde in die Kammer eingesperrt” (*KHM* 1812, 253). This is changed to “Darauf ward die Kammer verschlossen” (*KHM* 1819, 280) in the 1819 edition; and in the 1850 version, the story goes: “Darauf schloß er, die Kammer selbst zu”, (*KHM* 1850, 326, my emphasis). The switch from an anonymous person locking the girl in the chamber full of straw to the king doing it himself, places yet more emphasis on the king’s personal interest in accumulating wealth from the girl. This is significantly demonstrated through a shift in the construction of the sentence from passive to active (“Sie wurde” or “Darauf ward” becomes “Darauf schloß
er”). This also reinforces the view that the king in this tale plays an increasingly important role in the direction the story takes.

Now this is crucial to consider here due to the fact that the king is not punished for his greed, even though it contradicts what might be expected in a Grimms’ Märchen. Characteristic in this sense are the tales Simeliberg (KHM142), Die Geschenke des kleinen Volkes (KHM182), and der Arme und der Reiche (KHM87) in which all greedy characters are punished. However, Marx’s depiction of the hoarder as socially necessary may justify the fact that the king is not punished.

The following passages formulate the most significant section around which the tale revolves, especially regarding the editorial history and the notion of the hoarder. In the 1812 version, after the first night where the miller’s daughter promises her ring in exchange for Rumpelstilzchen to spin all the straw into gold:

...fand der König die ganze Kammer voll Gold; aber sein Herz wurde dadurch nur noch begieriger, und er ließ die Müllerstochter in eine andere, noch größere Kammer voll Stroh thun, das sollte sie auch zu Gold machen (KHM 1812, 253).

Here I refer to the line used to describe the king: “aber sein Herz wurde dadurch nur noch begieriger”. Although the sentence construction in the 1819 version changes, in the 1840 variant, the sentence then read: “Bei Sonnenaufgang kam schon der König und als er das Gold erblickte, erstaunte er und freute sich, aber

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623 For example, in der Arme und der Reiche, God is disguised as an old wanderer, again exhibiting a character in the state of movement, seeking shelter for the night. He first inquires by the rich person’s house, but is promptly sent away. At the house of the poor couple, however, God as the stranger is received with open arms, and is given what meager provisions they have. The next day God goes on his way after granting the couple three wishes. When the rich man wakes up and sees what his neighbours have received, he becomes jealous and chases after the stranger. He demands three wishes, which God grants, but all three wishes work to the rich man’s misfortune. The moral of the tale is that riches do not make people good; it must come from within, and for that one can be richly rewarded. A very protestant ethic, indeed.
sein Herz ward nur noch *goldgieriger*" (*KHM* 1840, 334, my emphasis). But this is not all.

This “Goldgier” is also visible in the king’s response to the girl after the second night in the even bigger chamber. While in the 1812 version nothing is mentioned about the king’s desire for gold, in the 1819 edition, the story had been changed to: “Der König freute sich über die Maßen bei dem Anblick des Goldes, war aber noch nicht satt” (*KHM* 1819, 281). A further step was taken in the 1837 variant where it can be seen that the king is “noch immer nicht Goldes satt” (*KHM* 1837, 333, my emphasis).

The king’s passion for gold is heightened even more when, in the 1837 edition, after he has directed the girl to the third chamber, telling her if she fills it with gold she will become his queen, the story goes: “Denn,” dachte er, „eine reichere Frau kannst du auf der Welt nicht haben” (*KHM* 1837, 334). And in the 1857 edition, the king now says: “Wenns auch eine Müllerstochter ist,” dachte er, „eine reichere Frau finde ich in der ganzen Welt nicht” (*KHM* 1857, 282). That the editorial history could deviate in the direction of a new social dynamic arising may be put down to the fact that money alters people’s behaviour in their all-consuming push to gain wealth.\footnote{Harvey 73. Harvey states, with Marx’s voice in mind, “A capitalist mode of production is essentially based on infinite accumulation and limitless growth”.

All of these examples present a developing schema, which is focused on how the concept of money becomes more embellished over the various editions of this tale from the *KHM*. It illustrates that the selection process was centred upon the increasing the “Goldgier” of the king. At this juncture, then, Marx’s
observation assumes supreme relevance: “[m]it der Möglichkeit, die Waare als Tauschwert oder den Tauschwerth als Waare festzuhalten, erwacht die Goldgier”. Therefore the king can be understood as an example of Marx’s concept of the hoarder due to the way in which the depiction of his character reflects the key principle of the hoarder, that the drive to hoard is “von Natur masslos”. In this sense the accumulation of gold or capital is the guiding principle in this tale if read against the background of Marx and Engels’ works.

Yet what about Rumpelstilzchen? The other key element in this tale is the miller’s daughter’s exchanges with this funny little man. In the Manifest, Marx and Engels observed that there is a portion of the bourgeoisie who lived off the lower social classes and other less well-to-do parts of the social strata. Marx and Engels described them as “the landlord, the shopkeeper, the pawnbroker, etc.” Each of these figures in one way or another acquired something of value from their customers. In the case where the customer could not pay, they allowed that customer to obtain their services in credit. In other words, the customer became indebted to someone such as the shopkeeper for being able to buy his wares without paying upfront. Thus Rumpelstilzchen can be characterized here as the creditor, while the miller’s daughter acts as the debtor in their series of exchanges.

Between the 1812 and the 1819 versions, a significant amount was added to the first exchange between the miller’s daughter and Rumpelstilzchen. This

625 Marx & Engels 44.
626 “Da trat auf einmal ein klein Männlein zu ihr, das sprach: „was giebst du mir, daß ich alles zu Gold mache?“ Sie that ihr Halsband ab und gabs dem Männlein, und es that, wie es versprochen hatte” (KHM, 1812, 253).
Da ging auf einmal die Thüre auf und trat ein kleines Männchen herein und sprach: „guten Abend, Jungfer Müllerin, warum weint sie so sehr?“ „Ach! antwortete das Mädchen, ich soll Stroh zu Gold spinnen und verstehe es nicht.“ Sprach das Männchen: „was gibst du mir, wenn ich dir spinne?“ „Mein Halsband,“ sagte das Mädchen. Das Männchen nahm das Halsband, setzte sich vor das Rädchen und schnurr! schnurr! schnurr! dreimal gezogen, war die Spule voll. Dann steckte es eine andere auf und schnurr! schnurr! schnurr! dreimal gezogen, war auch die zweite voll, und so gings fort bis zum Morgen, da war alles Stroh versponnen und alle Spulen voll Gold“ (KHM 1819, 280-1).

627 „Am andern Morgen fand der König die ganze Kammer voll Gold; aber sein Herz wurde dadurch nur noch begieriger, und er ließ die Müllerstochter in eine andere, noch größere Kammer voll Stroh thun, das sollte sie auch zu Gold machen. Und das Männlein kam wieder, sie gab ihm ihren Ring von der Hand, und alles wurde wieder zu Gold (KHM 1812, 253).

Als der König kam und nachsah, da erstaunte er und freute sich, aber sein Herz wurde nur noch begieriger und er ließ die Müllerstochter in eine andere Kammervoll Stroh bringen, die noch viel größer war und befahl ihr, das auch in einer Nacht zu spinne, wenn ihr das Leben lieb wäre. Das Mädchen wußte sich nicht zu helfen und weinte, da ging abermals die Thüre auf und das kleine Männchen kam und sprach: „was gibst du mir, wenn ich dir das Stroh zu Gold spinne?“ „Meinen Ring von der Hand,“ antwortete das Mädchen. Das Männchen nahm den Ring und fing wieder an zu schnurrn mit dem Rade, und hatte bis zum Morgen alles Stroh zu glänzendem Gold gesponnen“ (KHM 1819, 281).

628 „Der König aber hieß sie die dritte Nacht wieder in eine dritte Kammer sperren, die war noch größer als die beiden ersten und ganz voll Stroh, „und wenn dir das auch gelingt, sollst du meine Gemahlin werden.“ Da kam das Männlein und sagte: „ich will es noch einmal thun, aber du mußt mir das erste Kind versprechen, das du mit dem König bekommst.“ Sie versprach es in der Noth, und wie nun der König auch dieses Stroh in Gold verwandelt sah, nahm er die schöne Müllerstochter zu seiner Gemahlin“ (KHM 1812, 253-4).

Der König freute sich über die Maßen bei dem Anblick des Goldes, war aber noch nicht satt, sondern ließ die Müllerstochter in eine noch größere Kammer voll Stroh bringen und sprach: „die mußt du noch in dieser Nacht verspinnen, wann dir das gelingt, sollst du meine Gemahlin werden;“ denn, dachte er, eine reichere Frau kannst du auf der Welt nicht haben. Als das Mädchen allein war, kam das Männlein zum drittenmal wieder und sprach: „was gibst du mir, wenn ich dir noch diesmal das Stroh spinne?“ „Ich habe nichts mehr,“ antwortete das Mädchen. „So versprich mir, wann du Königin wirst, dein erstes Kind.“ Wer weiß, wie das noch geht, dachte die Müllerstochter und wußte sich auch in der Noth nicht anders zu helfen, so daß sie es dem Männchen versprach und die Männer spann noch einmal das Stroh zu Gold. Und als am Morgen der König kam und alles fand, wie er gewünscht hatte, so hielt er Hochzeit mit ihr und die schöne Müllerstochter ward eine Königin“ (KHM 1819, 281-2).
more gold, the girl must sacrifice more and more of her own belongings. The final sacrifice is giving up the ownership of her flesh and blood. By accepting the terms of the exchange (or otherwise face death), the miller’s daughter is enslaved under the yolk of debt, one of the characteristics of the modern world. The use of the baby as an object of exchange shows how even children before they are born can be chained to the desires of wealthy businessman as occurred time and again in the industrial factories of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe (which has not yet ended today).

In the case of this Grimms’ Märchen, of course, the ending is a happy one. Through good fortune the new queen is able to guess Rumpelstilzchen’s name correctly and is freed of her debt to him. What is worth mentioning here is that even the queen was not exempt from debt (immediately). She had to rely on her servants to help her discover the answer to Rumpelstilzchen’s riddle. While most things can be bought in this tale including a daughter’s labour and marriage, the moral of the story is that money or the accumulation of capital is the answer to life’s difficulties.

In this tale, the king is indeed rewarded for his greed due to what Marx called the social necessity of hoarding, which contradicts other outcomes of tales in the KHM. But at the same time, by virtue of his marrying the miller’s daughter, the king participates in the creation of a new form of marital potential. The king truly believes he is getting a girl who can turn straw into gold. In other words he is marrying her for her ability, and therefore doing away with the issue of her social position into which she was born. In the 1857 edition, he even makes the point of considering the issue – “[w]enns auch eine Müllerstochter ist” – but due
to the irrefusable drive to accumulate wealth, he accepts her without any more questioning. This moment can be taken to mean that money’s symbolic value in this tale overrides any issues of traditional law and rule. Money as a value is therefore caught in an evolutionary trend where it acts as a vessel to enable social change or social mobility to take place legitimately.

Furthermore, while Rumpelstilzchen the creditor is outsmarted in the end, his character carried out an essential function to ensure the king’s desire for gold could be fulfilled. Significantly, the girl is forced into debt, a situation, which very much reflects the socio-economic conditions of many poor people of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, the miller’s daughter’s ascension to royalty may thus be viewed as a demonstration of what can happen once wealth has been accumulated. In other words, to the king, accumulating wealth is far more important than the issue of class status.
Conclusion

In this thesis, I have addressed the overarching question of to what degree modernity might have played a role in the construction of Die Kinder- und Hausmärchen, gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm. The main thread of argument has been to investigate the ways in which the Grimms' KHM could be interpreted as a product of modernity. The first half of the thesis identified and defined key aspects of modernity, which related specifically to the socio-historical context leading up to and during the time, in which the Grimms lived. The second detailed key aspects of the Grimms' early lives, followed by consideration of several important literary ideas and analytical concepts in relation to the KHM. I then attempted to piece together what appear to be the most significant elements that link the Grimms and the KHM to the concept of modernity regarding the editorial process. Finally, three Märchen are examined to demonstrate the applicability of the analytical tools that were formulated in Chapters Three and Five.

The tales were selected because they demonstrate a great deal of editorial attention that could be identified between the earliest form in which they were to be found (1810) and the final form (1857). My analyses build on the groundwork of the first six chapters of this thesis. Each conceptual tool was used for the first time to investigate the editorial history of the specifically chosen KHM. In this light, it was possible to understand in what way a Grimms' Märchen might be construed as a document of certain processes of modernity, processes which were underway around the time when the Grimms were collecting, editing and publishing the KHM.
The connection between the Grimms’ *Märchen* and modernity is not immediately obvious; nevertheless, it can be shown that there are without doubt multiple facets of modernity, which are or may be related to the *KHM*. If it is accepted that modernity is a legitimate concept to apply to the Grimms’ *Märchen* at all, then further research must certainly be conducted to ascertain its relative value in relation to analyses of a much larger sample of the *KHM*. Due to the scope of this thesis, I could only adequately investigate a limited number of Grimms’ *Märchen*. For future studies, it would be worthwhile to develop a greater understanding of modernity in a wider variety of disciplines, before venturing into an in-depth foray into this area of research. Furthermore, many other folk- and fairy-tale authors of the period should be considered, followed by a study looking closely at fairy-tale usage in the German school system of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries up until the end of the Nazi era. This would more clearly portray the way in which fairy-tales in general might be conceived as documents and agents of modernity in light of their specific socio-historical context, with the Grimms at the forefront of this paradigm shift due to the systematic and disciplined way in which their scholarly endeavours have marked modern research and thought on *Märchen* and *Volksdichtung* in the German-speaking world and beyond.
Brüder Grimm Gravestone at St.-Matthäus-Kirchhof, Berlin, Germany. Photo taken by Tama Braithwaite-Westoby, 26.08.2012)
Es war einmal ein armer Holzhacker, der wohnte vor einem großen Wald. Es ging ihm gar jämmerlich, daß er kaum seine Frau, und seine zwei Kinder ernähren konnte. Einsmals hatte er auch kein Brod mehr und war in großer Angst, da sprach seine Frau Abends im Bett zu ihm: nimm die beiden Kinder morgen früh und führ sie in den großen Wald, gib ihnen das noch übrige Brod, und mach' ihnen ein groß Feuer an und danach geh weg und laß sie allein. Der Mann wollte lang nicht, aber die Frau ließ sie allein. Der Mann wollte lang nicht, aber die Frau ließ ihm keine Ruh, bis er endlich einwilligte.

Aber die Kinder hatten alles gehört, was die Mutter gesagt hatte das Schwesternen fing an gar sehr zu weinen, das Brüderchen sagte ihm es solle still seyn und tröstete es. Dann stand er leis auf und ging hinaus vor die Thüre, da wars Mondenschein und die weißen Kieselsteine glänzten vor dem Haus. Der Knabe las sie sorgfältig auf und füllte sein Rocktäschlein damit, soviel er nur hineinbringen konnte. Darauf ging er wieder zu seinem Schwesternen ins Bett, und schlief ein.

geh nur fort, es ist dein Taübchen nicht, es ist das Morgenroth, das auf den Schornstein scheint. Aber das Brüderchen blickte immer noch zurück, und immer ließ es ein Krümchen fallen.

Als sie mitten in den großen Wald gekommen, machte der Vater wieder ein großes Feuer an, die Mutter sprach wieder dieselben Worte, und beide gingen fort. Das Schwesterchen gab dem Brüderchen die Hälfte von seinem Stücklein Brot, denn das Brüderchen hatte seins auf den Wege geworfen, und sie warteten bis zum Abend, da wollte das Brüderchen das Schwesternchen beim Mondscheiner wieder zurückführen. Aber die Vögel hatten die Brodkräümchen aufgefressen und sie konnten den Weg nicht finden. Sie gingen immer fort, und verirrten sich im großen Wald. Am dritten Tag kamen sie an ein Häuschen, das war aus Brod gemacht, das Dach war mit Kuchen gedeckt und die Fenster von Zucker. Die Kinder waren gar froh, wie sie das sahen und das Brüderchen aß von dem Dach und das Schwesterchen von dem Fenster, Wie sie so standen und sichs gut schmecken ließen, da rief eine feine Stimme heraus:

Knup, knuper, Kneischen!
wer knupert an mein Häüschen?


Appendix B: Vom Schneiderlein Daümerling (1810) 630

es war einmal ein Schneider, der hatte einen Sohn, der war nur eines Daumens groß, der sprach zu seinem Vater: Vater, ich will auf die Wanderschaft gehen. Da nahm der alte Schneider eine große Stopfnadel u. machte einen Knotten von Siegellack dran u. gab ihm die als einen Degen mit auf den Weg.

630 The following version is reprinted as found in Brüder Grimm, Die handschriftliche Urfassung von 1810, (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2007), 28-30, including all grammar, spelling and punctuation.
Zuerst kommt er zu einem Meister in Arbeit, da ist ihm das Eßen nicht gut genug u. wie er nicht eßen will, wird die Meisterfrau bös u. will ihn schlagen, er kriecht aber behend untern Fingerhut u. macht allerlei streiche u. verbirgt sich unter den Lappen, Tischritzen u.s.w. sobald man an ihn will, endlich wird er fortgejagt. Darauf wandert er durch einen Wald u. begegnet einem Haufen Räubern, die des Königs Schatz bestehlen wollen, die tragen ihm auf, er soll sich in die Schatzkammer schleichen u. ihnen das Geld zum Fenster hinaus werfen.

Wie er bei der Wache vorbei geht, so sieht ihn einer u. spricht: was kriecht denn da für eine garstige Spinne, die muß man todtreten – ach was hat sie dir dann gethan, laß sie doch leben.

So kommt er glückl. in die Schatzkammer und wirft einen Thaler nach dem andern zum Fenster hinaus. Der König merkt, daß sein Geld immer abnimmt u. weiß nicht wie u. läßt dabei wachen, um den Dieb zu ergreifen. Aber das Schneiderlein setzt sich unter einen Thaler u. ruft: hier bin ich! u. wie man dahin geht, springt er geschwind in eine andre Ecke unter einen andern u. ruft wieder: hier bin ich u. so immer fort, bis endlich die Wächter müd werden, weil sie nichts sehen und davon gehen. Der Daümerling wirft nun nach u. nach die Thaler alle hinaus u. setzt sich auf den letzten u. fliegt mit zum Fenster hinaus. Die Räuber machen ihn zu ihrem Hauptmann u. theilen die Beute untereinander, der Daümerling kann aber nicht mehr nehmen, als einen Kreuzer, weil er nicht bei sich tragen kann. Darauf geht er in ein Wirtshaus, die Mägde können ihn aber nicht leiden, weil er alles sieht was sie im Haus thun, ohne daß sie ihn merken u. alles angibt, sie werfen ihn daher der Kuh unterm Gras vor.


Er wird von einem Fuchs gefreßen und spricht: Herr Fuchs ich bin hier, laßt mich frei – ja wenn du machst daß mir dein Vater alle Hüner im Hof gibt. Das gelobt der Daümerling, der Fuchs bringt ihn zu seinen Eltern u. kriegt dafür die Hüner zu freßen und der Schneider bringt seinen Eltern seinen erworbenen Kreuzer von der Wanderschaft mit:

Warum hat denn der Fuchs die armen Hüner zu freßen kriegt? – ei du Narr, dem Vater wird ja sein Kind lieber seyn als die Hüner

Appendix C: Rumpenstünzchen (1810)\textsuperscript{631}

Es war einmal ein kleines Mädchen, dem war ein Fluchs knoten gegeben, Flachs darzu zu spinnen, was e saber span war immer Goldfaden und kein Flachs konnte herauskommen. Es ward sehr traurig und setzte sich auf das Dach und fing an zu spinnen, und span drei Tage aber immer nichts als Gold. Da trat ein kleines Mänchen herzu, das sprach: ich will dir helfen aus all deiner Noth, dein junger Prinz wird vorbeikommen der wird dich heirathen und dich wegführen aber du mußt mir versprechen, daß dein erstes Kind mein soll seyn. Das kleine Mänchen versprach ihm alles. Bald darauf kam ein schöner junger Prinz vorbei, der nahm es mit sich, und machte es zu seiner Gemahlin. Nach einem Jahr gebar sie einen schönen

\textsuperscript{631}The following version is reprinted as found in Brüder Grimm, \textit{Die handschriftliche Urfassung von 1810}, (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2007), 73-4, including all grammar, spelling and punctuation.
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