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Volume II

INTRODUCTION: REDISCOVERING THE ORIGINAL TALES OF THE BROTHERS GRIMM

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Just a little over two hundred years ago, in December of 1812, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm published the first volume of their *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (*Children's and Household Tales*), followed by a second volume in 1815. Little did the Grimms realize at that time that their tales would become the most famous "fairy tales" in the world and that the bicentennial of these two extraordinary books would be celebrated in conferences and ceremonies worldwide between 2012 and 2015. Ironically, few people today are familiar with the original tales of the first edition, for the Grimms went on to publish six more editions and made immense changes in them so that the final 1857 edition has relatively little in common with the first edition. From 1812 to 1857 the Brothers deleted numerous tales from the first edition, replaced them with new or different versions, added over fifty tales, withdrew the footnotes and published them in a separate volume, revised the prefaces and introductions,

added illustrations in a separate small edition directed more at children and families, and embellished the tales so that they became polished artistic "gems."

All these editorial changes to the tales in the first edition of 1812/15 should not lead us to believe that the tales were crude, needed improvement, and do not deserve our attention. On the contrary. I would argue that the first edition is just as important, if not more important than the final seventh edition of 1857, especially if one wants to grasp the original intentions of the Grimms and the overall significance of their accomplishments. In fact, many of the tales in the first edition are more fabulous and baffling than those refined versions in the final edition, for they retain the pungent and naïve flavor of the oral tradition. They are stunning narratives precisely because they are so blunt and unpretentious. Moreover, the Grimms had not yet "vaccinated" or censored them with their sentimental Christianity and puritanical ideology. In fact, the Brothers endeavored to keep their hands off the tales, so to speak, and reproduce them more or less as they heard them or received them. That is, the tales were not their own in the first place. Though they gradually made them their own, these stories retained other voices and still do. They originated through the storytelling of various friends and anonymous sources and were often taken from print materials. Then they were edited for publication by the Grimms, who wanted to retain their ancient and contemporary voices as much as possible.

It was not until the second edition of 1819 that there was a clear editorial change of policy that led to the refinement of the tales, especially by Wilhelm, who became the major editor from 1816 onward. The break in policy was not a sudden one; rather, it was gradual, and Jacob was always of the opinion that the tales should not be altered very much and tried to resist embellishment. But he was occupied by so many other projects that he did not object vociferously to Wilhelm's changes as long as his brother preserved what he felt to be the essence of the tales. However, Wilhelm could not control his desire to make the tales more artistic to appeal to middle-class reading audiences. The result is that the essence of the tales is more vivid in the two volumes of the first edition, for it is here that the

Grimms made the greatest effort to respect the voices of the original storytellers or collectors.

It is important to remember that the Grimms did not travel about the land themselves to collect the tales from peasants, as many contemporary readers have come to believe. They were brilliant philologists and scholars who did most of their work at desks. They depended on many different informants from diverse social classes to provide them with oral tales or literary tales that were rooted in oral traditions. Although they did at times leave their home—for example, to find and write down tales from several young women in Kassel and Münster and from some lower-class people in the surrounding villages—they collected their tales and variants primarily from educated friends and colleagues or from books. At first, they did not greatly alter the tales that they received because they were young and inexperienced and did not have enough material from other collectors to make comparisons. And, indeed, this is why the first edition of 1812/15 is so appealing and unique: the unknown tales in this edition are formed by multiple and diverse voices that speak to us more frankly than the tales of the so-called definitive 1857 edition, which had been heavily edited by Wilhelm over forty years. These first-edition Grimms' tales have a beguiling honesty and an unusual perspective on human behavior and culture, and it is time we know more about their history.

Little-Known History about the Quest of the Brothers Grimm

In the past twenty-five years, scholars of folklore, conversant in German and familiar with the biographies and collecting practices of the Brothers Grimm, have made great progress in exposing false notions about their works and have also added immensely to our knowledge and understanding of how the Grimms shaped the folk and fairy tales that they collected. However, the general English-speaking public is not fully aware of all the facts and how important it is to know just how drastically the Grimms began changing their tales after the publication of the first edition of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, which included scholarly annotations as well as an appendix with notes about the beliefs of children. Moreover, most

people do not know how the Grimms more or less "stumbled" onto folklore and accidentally became world famous as the foremost collectors of folk and fairy tales.

Jacob (1785–1863) and Wilhelm Grimm (1786–1859) did not demonstrate a particular interest in folk or fairy tales during their youth in the small towns of Hanau and Steinau in Hesse, where they spent their childhood. Certainly, they were familiar with them, but they were schooled in a traditional classical manner that included learning Greek and Latin. In fact, there were few if any books of folk or fairy tales for children to read in those days, and there is no evidence that they were exposed to any of them. Their father, Philip Wilhelm Grimm, a prominent district magistrate in Hanau, provided them with private tutors so that they could pursue a classical education, but he died suddenly in 1796 and left his large family in difficult pecuniary circumstances. Their mother had to depend on financial aid from relatives to support Jacob, Wilhelm, and their three younger brothers (Carl, Ferdinand, and Ludwig) and a sister (Lotte). Socially disadvantaged, the Grimms sought to compensate for their "handicap" by demonstrating unusual talents and distinguishing themselves in their studies at school.

In 1798 the Brothers were sent to attend the Lyzeum in the nearby city of Kassel, where they proved themselves to be precocious and ambitious students. They prepared to study law at the University of Marburg and hoped eventually to find secure employment as civil servants so that they could help support their family. Philology and folklore were not on their minds or on their agenda. They intended to follow diligently in their father's footsteps. In the end, however, their paths diverged, and neither of the brothers became a lawyer or magistrate.

While studying at the University of Marburg from 1802 to 1806, the Grimms were inspired and mentored by Friedrich Carl von Savigny, a young professor of jurisprudence, who opened their eyes to the historical, philological, and philosophical aspects of law as well as literature. It was Savigny's historical approach to jurisprudence, his belief in the organic connection of all cultural creations of the *Volk* (understood as an entire ethnic group) and to the historical development of this *Volk*, that drew the

attention of the Grimms. Savigny stressed that the present could only be fully grasped and appreciated by studying the past. And he insisted that the legal system had to be studied through an interdisciplinary method if the relationship between laws, customs, beliefs, and values were to be fully grasped.. For Savigny—and also for the Grimms—culture was originally the common property of *all* members of a *Volk*. The Germanic culture had become academically divided over the years into different disciplines such as religion, law, literature, and so on, and its cohesion could be restored only through historical investigation. The Brothers eventually came to believe that language rather than law was the ultimate bond that united the German people and were thus drawn to the study of old German literature—though they remained in agreement with Savigny's methods and desire to create a stronger legal sense of justice and community among the German people.

The Grimms had always been voracious readers of all kinds of literature and had digested popular courtly romances in their teens. During their university years they turned more and more to a serious study of medieval and ancient literature. Since literature and philology were not yet fully recognized fields at German universities, however, they set their sights on becoming librarians and independent scholars of German literature. They began collecting old books, tracts, calendars, newspapers, and manuscripts, wrote about medieval literature, and even debated with formidable professors and researchers of old Germanic and Nordic texts by writing contentious essays and editing scholarly collections of ancient sagas and legends. They made a brotherly pact to remain and work together for the rest of their lives, and together they cultivated a passion for recovering the "true" nature of the German people through their so-called natural *Poesie*, the term that the Grimms often used to describe the formidable ancient Germanic and Nordic literature. Yet these were difficult times, and their plans to gain recognition and respect through their academic work were not easily realized.

By 1805 the entire family had moved to Kassel, and the Brothers were constantly plagued by money problems and concerns about the future of their siblings. Their situation was further aggravated by the rampant Napoleonic Wars. Jacob interrupted his studies to serve the Hessian War

Commission in 1806. Meanwhile, Wilhelm fortunately passed his law exams, enabling him to become a civil servant and to find work as a librarian in the royal library in Kassel with a meager salary. In 1807 Jacob lost his position with the War Commission when the French occupied the city, but he was then hired as a librarian for the new King Jérome, Napoleon's brother, who now ruled Westphalia. Amid all the upheavals, their mother died in 1808, and Jacob, only twenty-three, and Wilhelm, twenty-two, became fully responsible for their brothers and sister. Yet, despite the loss of their mother and difficult personal and financial circumstances from 1805 to 1812, the Brothers managed to prove themselves as innovative scholars in the new field of German philology and literature.

Thanks to Savigny, who remained a good friend and mentor for the rest of their lives, the Grimms made two acquaintances who were to change their lives: in 1803 they met Clemens Brentano, one of the most gifted German romantic poets at that time, and in 1806, Achim von Arnim, one of the foremost German romantic novelists. These encounters had a profound impact on their lives, for Brentano and Arnim had already begun collecting old songs, tales, and manuscripts and shared the Grimms' interest in reviving ancient and medieval German literature. In the fall of 1805 Arnim and Brentano published the first volume of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (*The Boy's Wonder Horn*), a collection of old German folk songs, and they wanted to continue publishing more songs and folk tales in additional volumes. Since they were aware of the Grimms' remarkable talents as scholars of old German literature, they requested help from them in 1807, and the Brothers made a major contribution to the final two volumes of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, published in 1808. At the same time, Brentano enlisted them to help him collect folk tales, fables, and other stories for a new project that was to focus on fairy tales. The Grimms responded by gathering *all kinds* of folk tales from ancient books, not just fairy tales, and by recruiting friends and acquaintances in and around Kassel to tell them tales or to record tales from acquaintances. In this initial phase the Grimms were unable to devote all their energies to their research and did not have a clear idea about the profound significance of collecting folk tales. However, the more they began gathering tales, the more they became

totally devoted to uncovering the "natural poetry" (*Naturpoesie*) of the German people, and all their research was geared toward exploring the epics, sagas, and tales that contained what they thought were essential truths about the German cultural heritage. Underlying their work was a pronounced romantic urge to excavate and preserve German cultural contributions made by the common people before the stories became extinct. In this respect their focus on collecting what they thought were "Germanic" tales was a gesture of protest against French occupation and a gesture of solidarity with those people who wanted to forge a unified German nation. It should also be noted, however, that most of their tales were regional and emanated largely from Hesse and Westphalia. There was no such thing as a German nation at that time.

What fascinated or compelled the Grimms to concentrate on ancient German literature was a belief that the most natural and pure forms of culture—those that held communities together like the close-knit ones in Hesse and northern Germany—were linguistic and were to be located in the past. Moreover, in their opinion, "modern" literature, even though it might be remarkably rich, was artificial and thus could not express the genuine essence of *Volk* culture that emanated organically from people's experiences and bound the people together. In their letters, essays, and books, written between 1806 and 1812, the Brothers began to formulate their views about the origins of literature based on tales, legends, myths, and pagan beliefs, or what was once oral art and to a certain extent continued to be a precious art form. The purpose of their collecting folk songs, tales, proverbs, legends, anecdotes, and documents was to write a history of old German *Poesie* and to demonstrate how *Kunstpoesie* ("cultivated literature") evolved out of traditional folk material and myths and how *Kunstpoesie* had gradually forced *Naturpoesie* (tales, legends, fables, anecdotes, and so on) to recede during the Renaissance and take refuge among the folk in oral traditions. Very early in their careers, the Brothers saw their task as literary historians who were to preserve the pure sources of modern German literature and to reveal the debt or connection of literate culture to the oral tradition. For them the tales were second nature, and their profound significance deserved recognition. As they state in the "Preface" to the 1812 volume:

> Wherever the tales still exist, they continue to live in such a way that nobody ponders whether they are good or bad, poetic or crude. People know them and love them because they have simply absorbed them in a habitual way. And they take pleasure in them without having any reason. This is exactly why the custom of storytelling is so marvelous, and it is just what this poetic art has in common with everything eternal: people are obliged to be disposed toward it despite the objections of others. Incidentally, it is easy to observe that the custom of storytelling has stuck only where poetry has enjoyed a lively reception and where the imagination has not yet been obliterated by the perversities of life. In that same regard we don't want to praise the tales or even defend them against a contrary opinion: their mere *existence* suffices to defend them. That which has managed to provide so much pleasure time and again and has moved people and taught them something carries its own necessity in itself and has certainly emanated from that eternal source that moistens all life, and even if it were only a single drop that a folded leaf embraces, it will nevertheless glitter in the early dawn.

As their research and correspondence expanded, they also became more aware of how widespread oral storytelling was throughout Europe and of how the cultures of these other European countries at once resembled and differed from their own.

By 1809 the Grimms had amassed about fifty-four tales, legends, animal stories, and other kinds of narratives, and they sent the texts to Brentano, who was living in the Ölenberg Monastery in Alsace. He had told them that he would probably adapt them freely, and that they could also make use of the tales as they wished. Consequently, before they sent him these tales, they copied them. Brentano was not particularly impressed by the tales he received, and never made use of them, though, fortunately, he left them in the monastery. I say fortunately because the Grimms destroyed their texts after using them in their first edition of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* in 1812. The handwritten texts that the Grimms had sent to Brentano, now referred to as the Ölenberg Manuscript by scholars, were discovered only much later, in 1920, and have provided researchers with important information about the Grimms' editing process.[1] All the tales of the Ölenberg Manuscript,

most of them written down by Jacob, were very rough and often fragments. Sometimes they were skeletons of stories. For the most part, however, the raw stories were transformed in their first edition of 1812 by the Brothers into complete tales with clear transitions that corresponded to the Grimms' philological and poetical concept of the genuine, dialect folk tale. In addition they often retained fragments and nonsensical ditties that they considered valuable for comprehending folk beliefs and customs. The two models they kept in mind were "The Juniper Tree" and "The Fisherman and His Wife," two tales written down in Hamburg and Pomeranian dialect by the painter Philipp Otto Runge and sent to them by Achim von Arnim, who had published "The Juniper Tree" in 1808 in his short-lived weekly, *Zeitung für Einsiedler*. The Grimms edited these tales slightly and published them in dialect from the first edition to the last. It should be noted, however, that the Grimms' editing in 1812 was relatively moderate compared to Wilhelm's editing in later editions of their tales.

In 1812, Arnim, perhaps Brentano's closest friend at that time, visited the Grimms in Kassel. At that point, he was aware that Brentano was not about to do anything with their texts, and he also knew that the Grimms had spent an enormous amount of time collecting all sorts of tales, legends, anecdotes, and animal stories, even more than they had sent to Brentano. So he encouraged the Grimms to publish their own collection, which would represent their ideal of "natural poetry," and he provided them with the contact to the publisher Georg Andreas Reimer in Berlin. Thanks to Arnim's advice and intervention, the Brothers spent the rest of the year organizing and editing eighty-six tales for publication in volume one of the first edition of 1812.

Although the Grimms had not entirely formalized their concept while they worked on the publication of the first edition, their editorial principles could already be seen in their previous works and were clearly stated in the preface to the first volume of 1812:

> We have tried to grasp and interpret these tales as purely as possible. In many of them one will find that the narrative is interrupted by rhymes and verses that even possess clear alliteration at times but are never sung during the telling of a tale, and these are precisely the oldest and best

> tales. No incident has been added or embellished and changed, for we would have shied away from expanding tales already so rich in and of themselves with their own analogies and similarities. They cannot be invented. In this regard no collection like this one has yet to appear in Germany.

Of course, this statement is only relatively true. The Grimms edited the tales that were not their tales and were compelled to make changes because many of the narratives were rough and incomplete. Yet, fidelity to the words and essential features of the tales was a guiding principle, and in the first edition, they refrained from embellishment and making major alterations in substance and plot.

This first volume of 1812 was only fairly well received by friends and critics. Some thought that the stories were too crude, were not shaped enough to appeal to children, and were weighed down by the scholarly notes. Other writers wondered why the Grimms were wasting their time on such trivial stories, and they also felt that there should at least be some illustrations, as did the Grimms themselves. Also, the Brothers entered into a debate with Arnim, who believed that they were too idealistic and too negative in their critique of literary tales and modern literature. Nevertheless, the Brothers were not deterred from following their original philological and poetical strategy of remaining faithful to the etymology of words and language. Even though, as I have already pointed out, there were some differences between Jacob and Wilhelm, who later favored more drastic poetical editing of the collected tales, they largely held to their original goal of salvaging relics from the past. Just how important this goal was can be seen in their debate and correspondence with Arnim between 1812 and 1815, when the second volume of the first edition appeared. In fact their disagreement had actually begun earlier, as can be seen in a very long letter of October 29, 1810, that Jacob had written to Arnim:

> Contrary to your viewpoint, I am firmly convinced that all the tales in our collection without exception had already been told with all their particulars centuries ago. Many beautiful things were only gradually left out. In this sense all the tales have long since been fixed, while they

continue to move around in endless variations. That is, they do not fix themselves. Such variations are similar to the manifold dialects that should not suffer any violation either.[2]

Then, in another letter, written on January 28, 1813, Jacob wrote in support of Wilhelm's views:

> The difference between children's and household tales and the reproach we have received for using this combination in our title is more hair-splitting than true. Otherwise one would literally have to bring the children out of the house where they have belonged forever and confine them in a room. Have children's tales really been conceived and invented for children? I don't believe this at all just as I don't affirm the general question, whether we must set up something specific at all for them. What we possess in publicized and traditional teachings and precepts is accepted by old and young, and what children do not grasp about them, all that glides away from their minds, they will do so when they are ready to learn it. This is the case with all true teachings that ignite and illuminate everything that was already present and known, not teaching that brings both wood and fire with it.[3]

Though the Grimms made it clear in the preface to the second volume of the first edition of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, published in 1815, that they would follow the agenda of their first volume, they also explained the important difference they made between a book for children and an educational primer (*Erziehungsbuch*):

> In publishing our collection we wanted to do more than just perform a service for the history of *Poesie*. We intended at the same time to enable *Poesie* itself, which is alive in the collection, to have an effect: it was to give pleasure to anyone who could take pleasure in it, and therefore, our collection was also to become an intrinsic educational primer. Some people have complained about this latter intention and asserted that there are things here and there [in our collection] that cause embarrassment and are unsuitable for children or offensive (such as the references to certain incidents and conditions, and they also think children

should not hear about the devil and anything evil). Accordingly, parents should not offer the collection to children. In individual cases this concern may be correct, and thus one can easily choose which tales are to be read. On the whole it is certainly not necessary. Nothing can better defend us than nature itself, which has let certain flowers and leaves grow in a particular color and shape. People who do not find them beneficial, suitable for their special needs, which cannot be known, can easily walk right by them. But they cannot demand that the flowers and leaves be colored and cut in another way.[4]

Though mindful of the educational value of their collection, the Grimms shied away from making their tales moralistic or overly didactic. They viewed the morality in the tales as naïve and organic, and readers, young and old, could intuit lessons from them spontaneously because of their essential poetry. As André Jolles has demonstrated in his book *Einfache Formen*, the Grimms responded to the paradoxical morality of the miraculous in fairy tales. Jolles writes that the basic foundation of the fairy tale derives from the paradox that the miraculous is not miraculous in the fairy tale; rather it is natural, self-evident, a matter of course. "The miraculous is here the only possible guarantee that the immorality of reality has stopped."[5] The readers' interpretations of fairy tales are natural because of the profound if not divine nature of the tales, and in this sense, the Grimms envisioned themselves as moral cultivators or tillers of the soil; they viewed their collection as an educational primer of ethics, values, and customs that would grow on readers, who would themselves grow by reading these living relics of the past. Here it should be pointed out that the Grimms tales are not strictly speaking "fairy tales," and they never used that term, which, in German, would be *Feenmärchen*. Their collection is a much more diverse and includes animal tales, legends, tall tales, nonsense stories, fables, anecdotes, and, of course, magic tales (*Zaubermärchen*), which are clearly related to the great European tradition of fairy tales that can be traced back to ancient Greece and Rome. It is because their collection had such deep roots and a broad European heritage that the Grimms firmly believed that reading these tales would serve as an education for

young and old alike. In some ways their book was intended to be part of the European civilizing process, and to a certain extent, the formative body of their tales, which have been translated into 150 languages, has become an international educational primer.

After the publication of the second volume in 1815, however, the Grimms were somewhat disappointed by the critical reception. They were convinced that reviewers and readers were misunderstanding the purpose of their collection. Although they did not abandon their basic notions about the "pure" origins and significance of folk tales when they published the second edition in 1819, there are significant indications that they had been influenced by their critics to make the tales more accessible to a general public and more considerate of children as readers and listeners of the stories. Altogether, there had been 156 tales published in the two volumes of the first edition, intended primarily for scholars and educated readers, and the number grew to 170 in the second edition of 1819 without the extensive scholarly notes, which appeared later in a separate volume in 1822. Wilhelm did most if not all of the editing and often made changes to downplay overt cruelty, eliminated tales that might be offensive to middle-class taste, replaced tales with more interesting variants, added some Christian homilies, and stylized them to evoke their folk poetry and original virtues. Yet, despite these changes, it was clear that the Grimms continued to place great emphasis on the philological significance of the collection that was to make a major contribution to understanding the origins and evolution of language and storytelling.

Restituting the Significance of the Unknown Tales of the First Edition

As I have already stated, most readers of the Grimms' tales throughout the world are familiar mainly with the seventh edition of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* published in 1857, considered the standard if not definitive edition. Most people are not even aware of the fact that there were seven editions that Wilhelm, for the most part, kept amending and changing after 1815. Nor are most readers aware that there was a smaller edition

of fifty tales intended more for children and families and published ten times from 1825 to 1858. Some contemporary critics have reprimanded the Grimms or even denigrated their work because they kept transforming oral tales into literary stories and often appealed to Christian and puritanical standards. In fact, several scholars have accused the Grimms of lying to their readers and making it seem that the tales in their collection were from the mouths of peasants and represented an authentic folk tradition.

Though there is some truth to these claims, they are misleading and disregard the fact that the Grimms were transparent about their editorial principles and never purposely deceived their readers. If anything, their romantic idealism and devotion to the German people led them to exaggerate the "genuine" folk qualities of the tales. In this regard, the Grimms were very much a part of the romantic movement in Germany. Ironically, the contradictions in their method of collecting and shaping the corpus of their tales—that is, the seven editions that they kept altering—stem from their profound belief that their tales were like gems, thousands of years old and part of a vast Indo-European oral tradition. Wilhelm, sometimes with the aid of Jacob, chiseled and honed their tales, often comparing multiple versions of the same tale type to make their tales glisten and to uncover their deep-rooted philological significance. It did not matter who their informants were because they regarded them only as mediators of the treasures of ancient storytelling of ordinary people. What mattered was that their informants took the tales seriously and made every effort to preserve the simple orality and naïve morality of the tales. As I have mentioned before, the Grimms envisaged themselves—and their collaborators—as moral cultivators of these tales, or tillers of the soil. Their mission was to excavate them, study them, sort them carefully, and to keep shaping them so that they remained artistically and philologically resilient and retained their primal essence.

In the first edition of 1812/1815 the Brothers relied on all sorts of people who either told folk tales to them that they recorded or correspondents who wrote them down as they themselves had heard them and sent written copies to the Grimms; they also relied on their research and discoveries in ancient manuscripts and books. There was a group of middle-class

young women in Kassel consisting of Marie, Jeanette, and Amalie Hassenpflug and Lisette, Johanna, Gretchen, Mimi, and Dortchen Wild, and other members of these families, who provided over twenty stories. These young women often gathered in social circles and recited the tales, or in other places such as gardens or homes, where the Brothers recorded them. The young women were well-educated and had either read or heard the tales from their nannies and servants. Nearby, in Allendorf, Friederike Mannel, a minister's daughter, was a talented storyteller and writer who sent several unusual tales to Wilhelm. In another nearby city, Treysa, the teacher and later pastor Friedrich Siebert provided eight important tales that he had collected in the region, as did the pastor Georg August Friedrich Goldmann in Hannover. Then there were the members of the aristocratic von Haxthausen family in Münster: August, Ludowine, and Anna along with Jenny von Droste-Hülshof, who contributed approximately sixty stories, some of which they heard from peasants or soldiers. Sometimes the tales were told and written down in the local dialect and printed in dialect. The Grimms visited the Haxthausens and recorded many of the tales that stemmed from people who lived on August von Haxthausen's estate Bökerhof in Westphalia.

However, the most consummate storyteller was Dorothea Viehmann, a tailor's wife, who lived in the village of Niederzwehren outside Kassel and told them about forty tales. She was the mother of six children, and since the family was poor, she sold vegetables at a market in Kassel and would go to the Grimms' home for a few hours of storytelling on market days. The Grimms portrayed her as the exemplary peasant storyteller. Though there has been a debate about her status as a "peasant," it is quite clear that she belonged to the lower classes and had a much different perspective on life than the young women of Kassel or the aristocrats of Münster. Another important contributor was the retired soldier Johann Friedrich Krause, who exchanged seven tales for some leggings. He told several stories that involved discharged soldiers who upset kings or heroes and gained revenge after being mistreated. Aside from collecting oral tales, many of the Grimms' narratives were taken from books dating back to the sixteenth century and were adapted. The Grimms were familiar with all the major

European collections of folk and fairy tales. They knew the Italian works of Giovan Francesco Straparola and Giambattista Basile and the French collections of Charles Perrault, Mme Catherine d'Aulnoy, and Mlle de la Force. They were also aware of recent German anthologies of folk and fairy tales by Benedikte Naubert, Johann Gustav Büsching, Otmar, Adalbert Grimm (no relation), the anonymous *Feen-Mähchen*, and other collections. Moreover, they transcribed tales from such authors as Johannes Praetorius (*Der abentheurliche Glücks-Topf*, 1668), Johann Karl August Musäus (*Volksmährchen der Deutschen*, 1782), and other authors and collectors. Consequently, the first edition of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* is an unusual mix of diverse voices and tales conveyed by peasants, craftsmen, ministers, teachers, middle-class women, and aristocrats. As Heinz Rölleke, the foremost German scholar of the Grimms' tales, has explained in his important book, *Es war einmal . . . Die wahren Märchen der Brüder Grimm und wer sie ihnen erzählte* (*Once Upon a Time . . . The True Tales of the Brothers Grimm and Who Told Them to Them*, 2011),[6] the tales in the first edition tend to be more raw and stamped by an "authentically" oral tradition than the tales published in later editions because the Grimms did not make vast changes at the beginning of their work. These tales are fascinating because they bear the imprint of their informants and are largely unknown to the general public. To grasp the historical significance of these first-edition tales, it is important to know something about the background of the informants and sources as well as the sociocultural context in which they were gathered. Yet it is somewhat difficult to gain this knowledge because the Grimms and other collectors at the beginning of the nineteenth century did not pay much attention to the storytellers and the social context of the storytelling. They were more interested in the tales per se, and the tradition of the tales. Clearly, the oral tradition of storytelling was strong and deep in all social classes, but very few historians or scholars of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries wrote in detail about how and why the tales were transmitted and about the lives of the storytellers. It was only in the latter part of the nineteenth century that researchers began providing and recording information about the informants, storytellers, and sources. Nevertheless, there are some clues in the Grimms' tales themselves and their styles

that provide background information about the views of the tellers of the tales and the sociohistorical context.

Here it is important to stress that the tales of the first edition are often about "wounded" young people, and many of them were told to illustrate ongoing conflicts that continue to exist in our present day. For instance, the tales frequently depict the disputes that young protagonists have with their parents; children brutally treated and abandoned; soldiers in need; young women persecuted; sibling rivalry; exploitation and oppression of young people; dangerous predators; spiteful kings and queens abusing their power; and Death punishing greedy people and rewarding a virtuous boy. While many of these tales were a few hundred years old before they were gathered and told by the Grimms' informants, they bear the personal and peculiar marks of the storytellers themselves, who kept them in their memory for a purpose. Despite the unusually different styles of each of the tales—and eleven were told and written down in the local dialect—they are all notable because of their terse and frank qualities. As I have already stressed, these tales were not told for children, nor can they be considered truly children's tales, though children heard them, and some perhaps read them. If anything, they are *about* children, as can be seen in "How Some Children Played at Slaughtering," "Death and the Goose Boy," or "The Stubborn Child." The beginning of "Good Bowling and Card Playing" is indicative of the spirit and perspective of many tales: "Now, there was a young man from a poor family who thought to himself, 'Why not risk my life? I've got nothing to lose and a lot to win. What's there to think about?'"

Throughout all the tales of the first edition, there is what I call an "underdog" perspective. That is, there is almost always a clear hostility toward abusive kings, cannibals, witches, giants, and nasty people and animals. There is always a clear sympathy for innocent and simple-minded protagonists, male and female, little people, and helpless but courageous animals. Kings often renege on their promises or abuse and exploit their subjects, including their daughters, and they are either exposed, dethroned, or killed. The majority of the protagonists are innocents. Some are aristocrats, but most are farmers, tailors, servants, smiths, fishermen, soldiers, shoemakers, spinners, poor children, and little animals. Innocence is

never enough by itself to be rewarded. Innocence is always tested, and the protagonists must prove their integrity and demonstrate virtues such as kindness to be worthy of a reward, whether it be wealth, marriage, bliss, or peace. There are a number of tales in the first edition in which young men are called simpletons, such as "Simple Hans," "The Simpleton," and "The Poor Miller's Apprentice." Inevitably, these bumpkins turn out to be much smarter than they appear, have a great deal of courage, and use their wits to overcome oppression. They achieve their goals through humility and kindness. This is also true of the tales about persecuted young women, such as "The Three Little Men in the Forest," "Maiden without Hands," "The Robber Bridegroom," "Princess Mouseskin," and "The Clever Farmer's Daughter." Though patriarchal notions flourish in most of the tales, there are subversive tendencies that can be seen in the resistance of young women, who are not satisfied with their positions in life.

The Grimms' tales that are not their own enable other voices to be heard. Indeed, whether folk or fairy tale, the miraculous makes self-evident what is wrong in the "real" world. There is a wide spectrum of tale types and genres in the first edition of 1812/15—fables, legends, jokes, farces, animal stories, and anecdotes—that are connected to events of the times and the personal experiences of the tellers. The descriptions are bare; the dialogues, curt; and the action, swift. The storytellers get to the point quickly, and there is generally a fulfillment of social justice or naïve morality at the end. What is justly fulfilled in all these tales was certainly lacking at the time they were told and is still lacking today.

Some of these tales in the first edition were printed in the following six editions of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, but in much different versions and often with different titles. Others were deleted or were placed in the scholarly notes. It is difficult to explain why the Grimms made all these deletions and changes because the reasons were different or unknown. For instance, tales like "How Children Played at Slaughtering" and "The Children of Famine" were omitted because they were gruesome. "Bluebeard," "Puss in Boots," and "Okerlo" were not reprinted because they stemmed from the French literary tradition. The same is true for "Simple Hans" because of its Italian origins. Some tales like "Good Bowling and Card Playing," "Herr Fix-It-Up," "Prince Swan," and "The Devil in the Green

Coat" among many others were simply replaced by other stories in later editions because the Grimms found versions that they preferred or combined different versions. The changes made by the Grimms indicated their ideological and artistic preferences. For instance, in the 1812/1815 edition of "Little Snow White" and "Hansel and Gretel" the wicked stepmother is actually a biological mother, and these characters were changed to become stepmothers in 1819 clearly because the Grimms held motherhood sacred. In the first edition "Rapunzel" is a very short provocative tale in which the young girl gets pregnant. The 1819 version is longer, much more sentimental, and without a hint of pregnancy. Here are two examples of how Wilhelm changed the tales to accord with middle-class notions of taste, decorum, and style. The contrasts between the different versions are clear. The second version of "The Frog King," which was called "The Frog Prince," was deleted in all the following editions.

THE FROG KING, OR IRON HENRY (1812)

Once upon a time there was a princess who went out into the forest and sat down at the edge of a cool well. She had a golden ball that was her favorite plaything. She threw it up high and caught it in the air and was delighted by all this. One time the ball flew up very high, and as she stretched out her hand and bent her fingers to catch it again, the ball hit the ground near her and rolled and rolled until it fell right into the water.

The princess was horrified, and when she went to look for the ball, she found the well was so deep that she couldn't see the bottom. So she began to weep miserably and to lament: "Oh, if only I had my ball again! I'd give anything—my clothes, my jewels, my pearls and anything else in the world—to get my ball back!"

As she sat there grieving, a frog stuck its head out of the water and said: "Why are you weeping so miserably?"

THE FROG PRINCE (1815)

Once upon a time there was a king who had three daughters, and in his courtyard there was a well with beautiful clear water. On a hot summer's day the eldest daughter went down to the well and scooped out

a glass full of water. However, when she looked at it and held it up to the sun, she saw that the water was murky. She found this very unusual and wanted to scoop out another glass when a frog stirred in the water, stuck its head up high, and finally jumped on to the edge of the well, where he spoke:

"If you'll be my sweetheart, my dear,
I'll give you water clearer than clear."

"Oh, who'd ever want to be a nasty frog's sweetheart?" she cried out and ran away.

Then she told her sisters that there was an odd frog down at the well that made the water murky. The second sister became curious, and so she went down to the well and scooped a glass of water for herself, but it was just as murky as her sister's glass so that she wasn't able to drink it. Once again, however, the frog was on the edge of the well and said:

"If you'll be my sweetheart, my dear,
I'll give you water clearer than clear."

"Do you think that would suit me?" the princess replied and ran away.

Finally, the third sister went, and things were no better. But when the frog spoke,

"If you'll be my sweetheart, my dear,
I'll give you water clearer than clear,"

she replied, "Yes, why not? I'll be your sweetheart. Get me some clean water."

However, she thought, "That won't do any harm. I can speak to him just as I please. A dumb frog can never become my sweetheart."

THE FROG KING, OR IRON HENRY (1857)

In olden times, when wishing still helped, there lived a king whose daughters were all beautiful, but the youngest was so beautiful that the sun itself, which had seen many things, was always filled with amazement each time it cast its rays upon her face. Now, there was a great

dark forest near the king's castle, and in this forest, beneath an old linden tree, was a well. Whenever the days were very hot, the king's daughter would go into this forest and sit down by the edge of the cool well. If she became bored, she would take her golden ball, throw it into the air, and catch it. More than anything else she loved playing with this ball.

One day it so happened that the ball did not fall back into the princess's little hand as she reached out to catch it. Instead, it bounced right by her and rolled straight into the water. The princess followed it with her eyes, but the ball disappeared, and the well was deep, so very deep that she could not see the bottom. She began to cry, and she cried louder and louder, for there was nothing that could comfort her. As she sat there, grieving over her loss, a voice called out to her, "What's the matter, princess? Your eyes could move even a stone to pity."

RAPUNZEL (1812)

One day, a young prince went riding through the forest and came upon the tower. He looked up and saw beautiful Rapunzel at the window. When he heard her singing with such a sweet voice, he fell completely in love with her. However, since there were no doors in the tower and no ladder could ever reach her high window, he fell into despair. Nevertheless, he went into the forest every day until one time he saw the fairy who called out:

"Rapunzel, Rapunzel,
let down your hair."

As a result, he now knew what kind of ladder he needed to climb up into the tower. He took careful note of the words he had to say, and the next day at dusk, he went to the tower and called out:

"Rapunzel, Rapunzel,
let down your hair."

So she let her hair drop, and when her braids were at the bottom of the tower, he tied them around him, and she pulled him up. At first, Rapunzel was terribly afraid, but soon the young prince pleased her

so much that she agreed to see him every day and pull him up into the tower. Thus, for a while they had a merry time and enjoyed each other's company. The fairy didn't become aware of this until, one day, Rapunzel began talking and said to her, "Tell me, Mother Gothel, why are my clothes becoming too tight? They don't fit me anymore."

"Oh, you godless child!" the fairy replied. "What's this I hear?"

RAPUNZEL (1857)

A few years later a king's son happened to be riding through the forest and passed by the tower. Suddenly, he heard a song so lovely that he stopped to listen. It was Rapunzel, who passed the time in her solitude by letting her sweet voice resound in the forest. The prince wanted to climb up to her, and he looked for a door but could not find one. So he rode home. However, the song had touched his heart so deeply that he rode out into the forest every day and listened. One time, as he was standing behind a tree, he saw the sorceress approach and heard her call out:

"Rapunzel, Rapunzel,
let down your hair."

Then Rapunzel let down her braids, and the sorceress climbed up to her.

"If that's the ladder one needs to get up there, I'm also going to try my luck," the prince declared.

The next day, as it began to get dark, he went to the tower and called out:

"Rapunzel, Rapunzel,
let down your hair."

All at once the hair dropped down, and the prince climbed up. When he entered the tower, Rapunzel was at first terribly afraid, for she had never laid eyes on a man before. However, the prince began to talk to her in a friendly way and told her that her song had touched his heart so deeply that he had not been able to rest until he had seen her. Rapunzel then lost her fear, and when he asked her whether she would have

him for her husband, and she saw that he was young and handsome, she thought, "He'll certainly love me better than old Mother Gothel." So she said yes and placed her hand in his.

"I want to go with you very much," she said, "but I don't know how I can get down. Every time you come, you must bring a skein of silk with you, and I'll weave it into a ladder. When it's finished, then I'll climb down, and you can take me away on your horse."

They agreed that until then he would come to her every evening, for the old woman came during the day. Meanwhile, the sorceress did not notice anything until one day Rapunzel blurted out, "Mother Gothel, how is it that you're much heavier than the prince? When I pull him up, he's here in a second."

"Ah, you godless child!" exclaimed the corceress. "What's this I hear? I thought I had made sure that you had no contact with the outside world, but you've deceived me."

The florid descriptions, smooth transitions, and explanations are characteristic of most of the tales in the 1857 edition. Wilhelm embellished and elaborated the tales with good intentions—to enhance their value as part of an educational primer. So, in the case of "Rapunzel," he demonized a fairy by changing her into a sorceress and minimized gender and class struggle. Though the Grimms were politically "liberal" for their times, they shied away from printing tales that were too radical in depicting resistance to patriarchal authority and opposition to monarchs. This may be the reason why they eliminated tales like "The Tablecloth, the Knapsack, the Cannon, and the Horn," in which a common man defeats a king and takes his daughter for his wife. On the other hand, the Grimms were very much disposed toward presenting the underdog in positive ways and toward publishing animal tales in which the weak almost always triumph over the strong who abuse their power. This can be seen in a major group of animal tales in the first edition, such as "The Wolf and the Seven Kids," "The Sparrow and His Four Children," "Old Sultan," "Loyal Godfather Sparrow," "The Fox and the Geese," "The Wren and the Bear," and "The Faithful Animals." In many tales the protagonists who respect animals, birds, and fish and are kind to them are later helped by them. There is a strong

bond between humans and talking animals in the Grimms' collection. In general the Brothers show a predilection for collecting tales that focus on the cooperation of brothers, brothers and sisters, and humans and animals who work to overcome evil. It is striking how much this theme of cooperation among underdogs who work together to attain justice is central to the narratives in the first edition and often reinforced in the later editions of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. Unfortunately, many of the best tales in the first edition were excluded or shunned in later editions.

In many respects the unknown original tales in the present republication of the first edition read like startling "new" tales that are closer to traditional oral storytelling than the final collection of 210 tales in the 1857 edition. This is not to minimize or discredit the changes that the Grimms made but to insist that the history of the Grimms' tales needs to be known to fully comprehend the accomplishments of the Grimms as folklorists. In every edition of their tales, they began with "The Frog King," also known as "The Frog Prince," and ended with "The Golden Key." The reason they did this is, in my opinion, because "The Frog King"—and there are two different versions in the first edition—is an optimistic tale about miraculous regeneration, love, and loyalty and signals to readers that the tales in the collection will bring hope to readers and listeners despite the conflicts filled with blood and gore. The final tale, "The Golden Key," is highly significant because it leaves readers in suspense and indicates that tales are mysterious treasures. We just need the right key to discover and appreciate them. In this respect, however, the tales that are to be rediscovered and will become known are never the end of our quest to understand the mysteries of life, only the beginning. And so it is with the unknown original tales of the Brothers Grimm. They are only the beginning.

Notes

1. See Franz Schultz, *Die Märchen der Brüder Grimm in der Urform* (Frankfurt am Main: Frankfurter Bibliophilen-Gesellschaft, 1924); Joseph Lefftz, "Die Märchenhandschrift der Brüder Grimm im Kloster Ölenberg," *Elsassland* 4 (1924): 361–65; Joseph Lefftz, ed., *Märchen der Brüder Grimm. Urfassung nach der Originalhandschrift der Abtei Ölenberg im Elsaß* (Heidelberg: Schriften der Elsaß-Lothringischen

Wissenschaft, 1927); and Heinz Rölleke, ed., *Die älteste Märchensammlung der Brüder Grimm. Synopse der handschriftlichen Urfassung von 1810 und der Erstdrucke von 1812* (Cologny-Geneva: Fondation Martin Bodmer, 1975).

2. Reinhold Steig and Herman Grimm, eds., *Achim von Arnim und die ihm nahe standen*, vol. 3 (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1904): 237.

3. Ibid., 269.

4. *Kinder- und Hausmärchen gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm* [1812/1815, Erstausgabe], ed. Ulrike Marquardt and Heinz Rölleke, vol. 2. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986): viii–ix.

5. André Jolles, *Einfache Formen: Legende/Sage/Mythe/Spruch Kasus/Memorabile, Märchen/Witz*. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1958): 243. Reprint of the 1930 edition.

6. See Heinz Rölleke, ed., *Es war einmal . . . Die wahren Märchen der Brüder Grimm und wer sie ihnen erzählte*, illustr. Albert Schindehütte (Frankfurt am Main: Eichorn, 2011).

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