

Ferdinand himself, however, never utters these words in the text of the tale, neither in the First Edition nor in any subsequent edition. If he had, then one could cite at least one example of a male who successfully lays a spell, which grows out of a male association with an apparently natural being, for the form of the spell fits the requirements if one allows for an implied imperative form, "Be" (Sei) before the word "peace" (still).

The final spells laid by men occur in "Brother Lustig" (no. 81) and suggest that men's verbal efficacy derives from different sources than women's. Here a soldier watches Saint Peter resurrect a dead princess by dismembering the corpse, boiling the bones, rearranging them properly, and saying three times: "In the name of the holy Trinity, dead woman, arise" (Im Namen der allerheiligsten Dreifaltigkeit, Tote, steh auf). However, when Brother Lustig tries to revive another dead princess in a separate episode, he fails dismally, because he cannot put the bones in the proper order. His flawed knowledge of nature thus prevents the formula from working.

First impressions deceive. It would seem that *Grimms' Tales* is sprinkled with conjuring witches, but instead it is young and beautiful women who call forth and direct powerful natural forces. Each of these young females is also unmarried, and within the terms of these tales, presumably virgin. The forms spells take and the conjurers apparently regarded as licit in the Grimms' collection point toward a latent belief in the natural powers of women, especially of virgins. Unlike the more familiar and thoroughly Christianized French medieval image of the virgin with her inherent ability to attract the magical mythical unicorn, German tradition as it appears in *Grimms' Tales* defines a sharp boundary between female spell-laying powers and Christian belief. ¹⁶

Patterns of Speech



s significant as tales of conjuring, the subject of the last chapter, are for offering a paradigm for who can use words to control natural forces, they nonetheless represent a vanishingly small proportion of speech use among the 210 tales of the Grimms' collection. General patterns of direct speech in Grimms' Tales, that is, who speaks and in what manner,

comprise an essential component of content analysis, for they involve the very language in which the tales are told. The most recent summations of scholarship on this subject call for a systematic categorization of folk narrative dialogue as well as a quantifying comparison in tales of different cultures, which chapters 5–7 address.²

A scholarly treatise is not needed to document centuries of male impatience with and irritation at women talking. Titles like Language and Sex (1975), Language, Gender and Society (1983), Les Mots et Les Femmes (1979), Man Made Language (1980, 1985), Gewalt durch Sprache (1984), and Sex Differences in Human Speech (1978) all betray an eager curiosity about and compelling concern with the question of who speaks in given situations, because discourse can be understood as a form of domination, and speech use as an index of social values and the distribution of power within a society. Discourse in canonical

This chapter examines two aspects of speech in Grimms' Tales: frequency of direct and indirect speech and the nature of the verbs that introduce direct speech. Many additional diestions can be asked of this material. Other researchers may wish, for example, to characterize differences according to John Searle's or John Austin's systems (see chap. 4, n. 5). For the questions I pursue in this chapter, I continue to take linguistics as a guide, principally sociolinguistics (and in particular, those studies relevant to gender-specific language use), rather dian structural or generative linguistic theory (see n. 3). In the Appendix, I touch on such seemingly transparent questions as the relationship of tale length to the gender of the protagonist. The extent, as distinct from the frequency of discourse is another area for possible investigation. Responsive discourse and discourse that initiates action are further categories of the protagonist of the protagonist area for possible investigation.

Lüthi, "Dialog"; see also Moser-Rath, "Frau," and Köhler, "Die geschwätzige Frau."
The material in this chapter represents an extension into literary history of the lively statement in linguistic circles about the relationship between gender, language, and social

^{16.} This is all the more fascinating, since the Church had attempted, often successfully, to Christianize incantations used in daily life in Germany. For a recent discussion of this subject, see Robert Scribner, "Cosmic Order and Daily Life."

literary texts, which preserve carefully and consciously crafted speech use and language, offers implicit evidence as well as explicit information about an author's or editor's disposition toward speech use in general and that of specific characters in particular.

Both speech and silencing can be analyzed on at least five levels in a literary text: historical, narrative, textual, lexical, and editorial. (1) At the historical level, the reader discerns whose pen may write. If women regularly use a male pseudonym as a literary subterfuge or if they have no voice in literary gatherings, the reader can infer a historical silencing. (2) The character who is condemned or cursed to a period of silence experiences narrative silencing in the plot. (3) The distribution of direct and indirect or reported speech offers the potential for silencing a character at a third—textual—level, one that is rarely, if ever, investigated in folk or canonical literature. (4) Silencing may also grow out of the verbs used to introduce direct or indirect speech. Certain verbs in *Grimms' Tales* validate the speech that follows, while other introductory verbs mark subsequent speech as illicit. (5) Finally, the author or editor may comment on the text within the text.

In Grimms' Tales the language of narration is particularly important in connection with direct and indirect speech. A century of criticism has celebrated Wilhelm Grimm's shift from indirect speech in the earliest versions of individual tales to direct speech in later and final versions. No critic has asked, "Who speaks?" or "Under what circumstances?" Even writers themselves, from whom one would expect sensitivity to nuances of language and speech patterns, have stopped at the level of plot in their scrutiny of Grimms' Tales.⁴

Several tales, among them the best known, purvey images of women muted narratively by the very language in which the tales are told. Alongside the frog's curt command to the princess, "Be quiet" (Sei still in "The Frog-King" (no. 1), the reader sees the princess' numerous compliant reactions to the frog's imperious commands: to lift him to the table, to eat from her golden plate, and to take him to rest. Only when he adds that he expects to share her bed does the princess respond with spirited outrage, which turns out in fact to be Wilhelm Grimm's rather than hers. In "Hansel and Gretel" (no. 15) Hansel speaks not only more often than Gretel, but also at greater length, and his first words to Gretel are "Quiet, Gretel" (Still, Gretel).

Textual silencing also exists in Rapunzel (no. 12) when Wilhelm Grimm describes her feelings rather than letting her give voice to her own reactions

structure. For illuminating discussions and an extensive bibliography, see Thorne, Kramarae, and Henley, eds., Language, Gender and Society.

and thoughts. We learn of her "song" (Gesang) and "her sweet voice" (ihre süße Stimme), but do not hear her sing. We are told that "at first Rapunzel was terribly frightened when a man, such as her eyes had never yet beheld, came to her" (anfangs erschrak Rapunzel gewaltig, als ein Mann zu ihr hereinkam, wie ihre Augen noch nie einen erblickt hatten), but the prince cries out his surprise and his intention: "If that is the ladder by which one mounts, I too will try my fortune" (Ist das die Leiter, auf welcher man hinaufkommt, so will ich auch einmal mein Glück versuchen).

In "Cinderella" (no. 21) textual silence and powerlessness unite in the titular protagonist, despite her manifest conjuring abilities and eventual betrothal to a prince. After her piously expressed wish that her father bring her the first branch that brushes against his hat, Cinderella, aside from her formulaic incantations, says nothing. Silent at the ball, speechless among the ashes, mute when trying on the tiny slipper, Cinderella endures the barbs and jibes of her loquacious and delinquent stepsisters. It is not an overt curse that condemns her to silence; it is the pattern of discourse in *Grimms' Tales* that discriminates against "good" girls and produces functionally silent heroines.

Within the text of the collection, Grimm characterizes women's speech editorially both explicitly and implicitly. The lazy spinner's (no. 128) sloth-fulness parallels her readiness to speak: "she was always ready with her tongue" (so war sie mit ihrem Maul doch vornen), we are told, and furthermore she uses her speech to maintain her slothful ways when she tricks her husband with spooky chanting.

Implicit in most tales is the narrative, textual, and lexical silence of the biological mother. Snow-White's mother thinks to herself but never speaks (no. 53), and when her daughter is born, she dies. The same is true of Cinderella's mother, who first adjures her to be good and pious—and then dies. Hansel and Gretel's mother is entirely absent (no. 15), while the mother in "The Twelve Brothers" (no. 9) speaks once before disappearing forever from the tale, a pattern which recurs even in that ultimate tale of powerful womanhood, "The Goose-Girl" (no. 89). Opposed to these patterns established for girls and women, and especially to that of "The Lazy Spinner," is Master Pfriem's (no. 178) scolding tongue, which castigates his wife and lashes his apprentices from morning to night, both on earth and in heaven. For this shrill and strident male, punishment occurs only in a dream about heaven while his earthly life proceeds without change or chastisement.

How much speech Wilhelm Grimm accorded any single character resulted from apparently conscious choices. How that speech was introduced lexically, however, seems not to have been under any such conscious control, for the patterns that emerge, though generally regular, are not exact. Five verbs form the principal introductory group: "asked" (fragte), "answered" (antwortete), "cried" (rief), "said" (sagte), and "spoke" (sprach).

Asked must have represented something particularly problematic to Wil-

^{4.} When P. L. Travers writes that "Every woman—maiden, mother, or crone, Kore, Demeter, or Hecate—can find [in *Grimmi' Tales*] her prototype, a model for her role in life," she describes only what happens in these tales, and not how these events are presented verbally ("Grimm's Women").

^{5.} See chap. 14.

helm, for he generally introduces questions not with asked, but with said or spoke. 6 Asked seldom introduces a woman's question; when it does make an infrequent appearance, asked generally introduces a question posed either by an acknowledged authority figure (St. Peter, a king, or a father) or by a character already known to be wicked or who will turn out to be wicked or disastrous in the course of the tale, such as the wife in "The Gold-Children" (no. 85).7 Those rare occasions on which asked introduces a good girl's question seem to mark the fact that Wilhelm did not consciously distinguish among introductory verbs, but instead unconsciously expressed his basic feelings and beliefs about gender differences through them. Typical examples of how Wilhelm avoided using asked occur in "The Robber-Bridegroom" (no. 40): "Then said the bridegroom to the bride: 'Come, my darling, do you know nothing?' "(Da sprach der Bräutigam zur Braut: "Nun, mein Herz, weißt du nichts?"). Within the context of a dream, his bride then recounts having asked a question, but immediately discounts everything she has said by adding, "My darling, I only dreamt this" (Mein Schatz, das träumte mir nur). The following formulation is more typical: "'Can you not tell me,' said the maiden, 'if my betrothed lives here?'" ("Könnt Ihr mir nicht sagen," sprach das Mädchen, "ob mein Bräutigam hier wohnt?"). Little Briar-Rose (no. 50) also uses spoke rather than asked to introduce a straightforward query: "What sort of thing is that, that rattles round so merrily? said the girl ("Was für ein Ding, das so lustig herumspringt?" sprach das Mädchen). Younger questioners use said:

But the young child grew impatient and said: "Dear mother, how can I cover my father's face when I have no father in this world?"

Da ward das Knäbchen ungeduldig und sagte: "Liebe Mutter, wie kann ich meinem Vater das Gesicht zudecken, ich habe keinen Vater auf der Welt?"

Answered on the other hand, is quite unproblematic on its numerous appearances. Although both men and women use it, a clear pattern emerges of the female voice as responsive to the male voice, for it appears more often in

7. Her irrepressible curiosity twice breaks the spell that has brought wealth to her and her husband, and causes it all to fade away.

good girls' mouths than in their suitors', their fathers', or their kings'. In like manner cried (out) introduces female speech more often than male speech, perhaps because the plots of the tales jeopardize women more often than men. Of all the introductory verbs, only said seems user-neutral. It introduces the speech of male and female, good and evil, high and low without distinction. Spoke, however, is charged with meaning.8 Like asked, spoke is reserved primarily for acknowledged authority figures. If used too frequently to introduce female speech, it usually heralds a bad hat. The princess' first use of spoke in "The Three Snake-Leaves" (no. 16) presents no problem, for it introduces a question, a licit use of the verb in connection with women's speech, but its second occurrence marks the point in the narrative at which her actively evil nature becomes clear. A further and more tantalizing use of spoke occurs in "The Story of the Youth Who Went Forth to Learn What Fear Was" (no. 4). Here a potential social distinction emerges and suggests that working people are subject to rules different from those governing precursor (and real) princesses' and princes' speech, as the innkeeper's wife and the chambermaid each use spoke once, and the sexton's wife poses a question with asked, while the boy/king's wife remains mute. 9 She is described as annoved but is given no direct speech to express her irritation, whereas the youth expresses a broad range of emotions in his various direct speeches.

The Grimms' Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache (dictionary of the German language) distinguishes sprechen ("speak") from sagen ("say") by pointing out that sprechen has given way to sagen in general usage and has taken on a somewhat ceremonial character. Whereas sprechen places more emphasis on the act of speaking itself, the use of sagen emphasizes the content of an utterance. 10

The five principal introductory verbs "focalize" the character who speaks, putting him or her into a certain psychological perspective. ¹¹ Patterns in the focalizing process admit the reader to the narrator's psychological stance, while speech itself and the manner in which it is introduced form part of the textual "chain of authority." The fact that the patterns which emerge from a close reading of the fairy tales are regular but not rigorously so suggests that they represent unconscious expressions of Wilhelm Grimm's deeply held convictions. Thus, the extent of a girl or woman's association with *speak* is more important than whether the verb appears in female company at all.

^{6.} Typical of stylistic discussions of Grimms' Tales is Elisabeth Freitag, Die Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm im ersten Stadium ihrer stilgeschichtlichen Entwicklung, where she introduces her work thus: the dissertation "legt die Beobachtungen in typischen Beispielen vor, verzichtet jedoch darauf, über die Vergleichsergebnissen zu reflektieren" (p. 1, "presents observations in the form of typical examples, foregoes however reflecting on comparative results"). With reference to the question of sagen vs. sprechen she says only "... das bibelmäßige 'sprach' der Urform ist fast überall durch 'sagte' ersetzt ..." (p. 55, "the Biblical spoke of the original version has been replaced nearly everywhere By said"). She avoids drawing general conclusions from her data and raises no questions concerning gender, as do most stylistic inquiries into Grimms' Tales.

^{8.} As the reader has probably observed, this distinction is often erased in the process of translation.

^{9.} This use of *spoke* for peasant, artisan, and petty bourgeois speakers recurs in jest tales (*Schwänke*). See my Appendix.

^{10.} These definitions were not composed by the Grimms themselve, who only got as far as "E" during their lifetimes, but they correspond to the way Wilhelm Grimm uses sagen and sprechen.

^{11.} The vocabulary of the following paragraph draws on Susan Sniader Lanser, "From Person to Persona," in The Marrative Act, 108-48, esp. 140-41.

Furthermore, since asked is regularly avoided in favor of said or spoke, the appearance of spoke can be further refined into those instances that represent a displacement down the scale of authority from asked and those that represent the act of speaking. In "The Frog-King" the frog "speaks" while the princess uses only said and answered. Both the Virgin Mary and the king use spoke exclusively in "Our Lady's Child" (no. 3), while the disobedient but longsuffering girl uses spoke twice, answered once, said twice, and cried out once. In "The Story of the Youth Who Went Forth to Learn What Fear Was," the first instance of the verb spoke marks the narrative point at which the youth assumes authority. Furthermore, the same character associates "speaking" with candid male characteristics when he calls out, "Speak, if you are an honest fellow" (Sprich, wenn du ein ehrlicher Kerl bist). The same lexical pattern emerges in "Faithful John" (no. 6), whose hero Grimm restricts to said and answered until the moment in which he acts independently and suggests a solution to the king's problems: "At length he thought of a way, and said to the king . . . ' (Endlich hat er ein Mittel ausgedacht und sprach zu dem König . . .). Indeed, the adjective candid (redlich), which evokes the act of talking (reden) is regularly and preferentially applied to men in German from at least the Middle Ages onward. 12 This analysis of the use of spoke to distinguish between male and female as well as between good and evil speech holds up even in animal tales, where spoke introduces the bad wolf's speeches, while the fright end old nanny goat uses said and the endangered kids cry out their fear ("The Wolf and the Seven Little Kids," no. 5).

These distinctions of frequency and particularity can be used predictively with some reliability. Knowing that the plot of "Mother Holle" (no. 24) includes a beautiful diligent maiden and her ugly and lazy stepsister, one can assume that the latter will talk more often. Brief though this tale is, it, too, maintains the pattern in which bad girls talk more frequently (2:1).

To scrutinize the phenomenon of patterns of speech in *Grimms' Tales* properly, both intensive and extensive examinations are necessary. Because the collection is so popular and widely read, and because its constellation of characters conforms to general patterns in other popular tales, "Cinderella" makes an ideal choice for a close reading. ¹³

12. For numerous examples see the article on *redlich* in the Grimms' Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache, 8: cols. 476–82.

6

"Cinderella"



n addition to offering a plot familiar throughout the world, "Cinderella" (no. 21) exists in numerous easily accessible versions so that readers may continue the study presented here among other versions of the tale. It is also a tale thought to have been collected by Wilhelm Grimm, so that a close scrutiny of the tale is not necessarily clouded by ques-

tions of a shift from Jacob's gathering to Wilhelm's editing.² For the European tradition as it impinges on *Grimms' Tales*, Perrault's 1697 publication serves as a convenient starting point. His heroine, like Wilhelm Grimm's, is an exemplar of kindness and virtue, whereas Basile's Zezolla in "La Gatta Cenerentola" exhibits character traits alien to later "good" fairy tale heroines in England, France, and Germany.

Of the eight tales in Perrault's original volume, seven were widely translated, adapted, and imitated. That the eighth, "Riquet à la Houppe" (Ricky of the Tuft), remained a commodity unexportable to Germany may well have to do with its subject, for it details the story of two sisters, one beautiful but stupide, the other ugly but articulate. In return for the beautiful princess' love, the ugly Riquet confers eloquence upon her, uniting two qualities which perfect her as a woman in Perrault's seventeenth-century French courtly vision. This romance of beautiful articulate womanhood has dropped out of the canon of children's literature and it never seems to have entered the German tradition. Of the seven other tales, however, "Cinderella" probably occupies pride of place in its many translations (Robert Samber's 1729 version introduced it to the English-speaking tradition).

The general outlines of the Grimm version of "Cinderella" belong to central and northern Europe together with the areas it influenced.³ Consistent with

^{13.} To confirm the validity of conclusions drawn from a single tale, even though it can be taken as paradigmatic for the collection as a whole, this discussion continues with a survey of five groups of tales in the Appendix.

^{1.} See Cox, Cinderella: Three Hundred and Forty-Five Variants; Rooth, The Cinderella Cycle; and Dundes, Cinderella: A Folklore Casebook.

^{2.} Rölleke, Kinder- und Hausmärchen (1857), 3:451. Jacob collected approximately two-thirds of the tales in the earliest edition.

^{3.} The Scottish tale of Rashin Coatie, for example, would seem to derive from Scandinavian ources.

Germanic beliefs in women's ability to conjure, these tales unite the powers of the godmother and the sufferings of the pariah in the figure of a cinder-girl able to lay spells. Cinderella is an effective conjurer, but as a daughter and sister, she remains conspicuously silent in the face of verbal abuse from her stepsisters and stepmother. When Wilhelm Grimm had edited "Cinderella" for the last Large Edition (1857), the text contained the following number of spontaneous direct statements, questions, or thoughts as defined not only by punctuation marks but also by pronoun use consistent with direct speech. 4

Cinderella: I Stepsisters: 5 Stepmother: 7 Father: 3 Prince: 8

The prince, with eight direct statements, dominates the direct speech of this tale, while the stepmother's seven speeches mark her as a woman to beware of. The stepsisters appear as relatively undifferentiated; three of their utterances are expressed in common, while each has only a single statement of her own. Consistent with the general paternal ineffectuality one finds in *Grimms' Tales*, two of Cinderella's father's statements are unspoken but directly rendered thoughts, while the third is a kindly question. Cinderella utters five incantations in addition to responding once to her father's question concerning what she would like him to bring her from his trip.

These figures, representing the final point on a continuum of editorial reworking, are most revealing when assessed from the broader perspective of the entire editorial history of this tale, beginning with the first edition in 1812.⁵ The incidence of indirect as well as direct speech follows a pattern, not, as has been asserted, a simple pattern of replacing indirect with direct speech. Rather direct speech has tended to be transferred from women to men, and from good to bad girls and women (see table 6.1). This simple tabulation counters the long-held orthodoxy that Wilhelm Grimm replaced indirect with direct speech. Instead it reveals a stark reduction in direct speech for Cinderella (from 14 to 6), her stepsisters (16–5) and the doves (10–3), with an equally notable increase in direct speech for the stepmother (4–7), the father (0–3) and the prince (4–8). Furthermore, it shows an *increase* in indirect speech for Cinderella (0–1), her stepmother (0–1) (1819), and even for her father (0–1), while the significant reduction in indirect speech for the prince in 1819 (5–2) is followed by an increase in indirect speech in 1857 (2–4).

4. Cinderella's formulaic incantations are considered separately.

Table 6.1: Direct Speech and Thought in "Cinderella"

		1812	1819	1857
Good Girls and	Women and Their Associates			
Cinderella:	indirect		2	1
	direct (includes spells)	14	6	6
Doves:	indirect			
	direct	10	3	3
Mother:	indirect `			_
	direct	1	1	1
Total indirect		0		$\overline{1}$
Total direct		25	10	10
Bad Girls and	Women			
Stepsisters:	indirect			
	direct	16	4	5
Stepmother:	indirect		1	
	direct	4	8	7
Total indirect	11	0	<u></u>	0
Total direct	•	20	12	12
Men				
Father:	indirect	_	1	1
	direct		3	3
Prince:	indirect	5	2	
	direct	4		4 <u>8</u> 5
Total indirect		5	$\frac{9}{3}$	5
Total direct		4	12	11

When the characters are grouped by their relationships to one another, the shifts in the number of their utterances become even more obvious. Direct speeches by good characters—Cinderella, her mother, and her agents, the doves—are reduced from 25 (1812) to 10 (1857). Utterances by the wicked female constellation—the stepsisters and their mother—are also reduced, but not as drastically, from 20 (1812) to 12 (1957), while the prince and Cinderella's father, Cinderella's two possessors, increase the number of their utterances from 4 to 11. These results indicate that the distribution of direct speech to various characters is part of a highly selective process. No clear pattern is established, however, in the incidence of indirect speech. Together, these two observations nullify a long-held belief about Wilhelm Grimm's editorial policy, for this tale shows that he did not simply animate early versions of the tales by replacing indirect with direct speech. Instead, a detailed analysis reveals that Grimm removed direct speech from women and gave it to men.

^{5.} The 1810 version of this tale is assumed to have been lost by Clemens Brentano. Although the Grimms subsequently refer to it in their correspondence with Brentano, it does not form a part of the Ölenberg collection.

A closer inspection shows that Grimm used speech to define character. Thus, the stepmother's increased frequency of speaking defines her wicked intentions, realized when she heartlessly makes her daughters mutilate their feet to fit them into the tiny royal slipper. In one of the many internal contradictions of this and other tales, the lamed sisters subsequently walk to church and back, during which perambulation they are further savagely punished by having their eyes pecked out. By most standards of justice it should be the stepmother who suffers punishment, but, perhaps as part of its normative function, this text punishes bad girls, presumably as a warning against juvenile "wickedness and falsehood" (Bosheit und Falschheit).

The tabulated figures confirm a significant plot alteration that occurs between the 1812 and the 1819 editions and accompanies the shifts in direct speech. In the first edition (1812), as in Perrault's version, Cinderella's chief antagonists are her stepsisters. The reduction in the number of their speeches and the increase in their mother's speeches in the second edition (1819) signals the shift of antagonism from the sisters to the stepmother. The father is virtually absent as a character in 1812, but he enters as an amiable though feckless foil to his second wife in the 1819 and subsequent editions. This selective process in assigning speech produces some startling contrasts. In 1812, for example, Cinderella actively questions her situation and wonders how she can get to the ball when she says, "Oh, how can I go, I have no clothes" (Ach, ja, wie kann ich aber hingehen, ich habe keine Kleider). The same point in the text in 1857 assumes she can't go and emphasizes her obedient misery:

Cinderella obeyed, but wept, because she too would have liked to go with them to the dance, and begged her step-mother to allow her to do so.

Aschenputtel gehorchte, weinte aber, weil es gern zum Tanz mitgegangen wäre, und bat die Stiefmutter, sie möchte es ihm erlauben.

The stepsisters' incidence of direct speeches and thought breaks down differently in the 1812, 1819, and 1857 versions:

	1812	1819	1857
Older sister	6	1	1
Younger sister	2	1	1
Both sisters in unison	8	2	3
Total	16	4	5

As is almost always the case in fairy tales, the younger sister in the 1812 version is also the more sympathetic. Her smaller number of speeches suggests that and the text confirms it: "then the youngest, who still retained a bit of

sympathy in her heart, said . . ." (da sagte die jüngste, die noch ein wenig Mitleid im Herzen hatte. . .). By 1819, however, the stepsisters have become undifferentiated antagonists, speaking less often, but more often than not voicing their taunts in unison. The overall reduction in the number of speeches Cinderella and the stepsisters have at their disposal also contracts their range of expression. This is best seen by listing all instances of their direct speech in the 1812 and the 1857 editions.

Cinderella's Direct Speech in the First Edition (1812)

"Oh," she said and sighed, "how can I go, I have no dresses."
"Ach ja, wie kann ich aber hingehen, ich habe keine Kleider."

"Oh," she said and sighed, "then I'll have to pick til midnight and I daren't shut my eyes, even if they hurt ever so much, if only my mother knew about that." "Ach, sagte es und seufzte dabei, da muß ich dran lesen bis Mitternacht und darf die Augen nicht zufallen lassen, und wenn sie mir noch so weh thun, wenn das meine Mutter wüßte."

"Yes," answered Cinderella:
"the bad into the crop
the good into the pot."
"Ja, antwortete Aschenputtel:
die schlechten ins Kröpfchen
die guten ins Töpfchen."

"Yes," said Cinderella, "I saw the lights shimmering, that must have been really magnificent."

"Ja, sagte Aschenputtel, ich habe die Lichter flimmern sehen, das mag recht prächtig gewesen seyn."

"I stood up on the dovecote."

"Ich hab' oben auf den Taubenstall gestanden."

"Yes,—the bad into the crop, the good into the pot."

"Ja,—die schlechten ins Kröpfchen, die guten ins Töpfchen."

"Oh, my God," she said, "how can I go in my ugly clothes?

Little tree, shiver and shake

Throw beautiful clothes down for me."

"O du mein Gott, sagte es, wie kann ich in meinen schlechten Kleidern hingehen?"
"Bäumlein rüttel und schüttel dich,
wirf schöne Kleider herab für mich."

"Little tree, shiver and shake!
Take my clothes back for me."
"Bäumlein rüttel dich und schüttel dich!
nimm die Kleider wieder für dich!"

"you probably had lots of fun last night"

"ihr habt wohl gestern abend viel Freude gehabt"

"Was it perhaps the one who drove in the magnificent coach with the six black horses?"

"Ist es vielleicht die gewesen, die in den prächtigen Wagen mit den sechs Rappen gefahren ist?"

"I stood in the doorway and saw them drive past."

"Ich stand in der Hausthüre, da sah ich sie vorbeifahren."

"Yes, the bad into the crop the good into the pot."

"Ja, die schlechten ins Kröpfchen die guten ins Töpfchen."

"Little tree, shiver and shake, throw beautiful clothes down for me." "Bäumlein rüttel dich und schüttel dich, wirf schöne Kleider herab für mich."

Cinderella explains, conjectures, conjures, questions, assumes, and lies in her fourteen speaking appearances in the 1812 edition. She even echoes Falada's intimation in "The Goose-Girl" (no. 89) of an unseen but powerful maternal presence: "If only my mother knew abut that" (Wenn das meine Mutter wüßte). Her extended and varied talk ends abruptly with the narrator's statement, "Cinderella well knew who the unknown princess was, but she said nary a word" (Aschenputtel wußte wohl wer die fremde Prinzessin war, aber es sagte kein Wörtchen).

Cinderella's Direct Speech in the Last Large Edition (1857)

The 1857 version presents a far different picture. Here Cinderella has nearly lost her filial voice, responding only to her father's inquiry about what he should bring her from his trip: "'Father, break off for me the first branch which knocks against your hat on your way home'" ("Vater, das erste Reis, das Euch auf Eurem Heimweg an den Hut stößt, das brecht für mich ab"). After this she twice conjures the birds:

"You tame pigeons, you turtledoves, and all you birds beneath the sky, come and help me to pick

The good into the pot,

The bad into the crop."

"Ihr zahmen Turteltäubchen, ihr Turteltäubchen, all ihr Vöglein unter dem Himmel, kommt und helft mir lesen,

die guten ins Töpfchen, die schlechten ins Kröpfchen."

and thrice the tree:

"Shiver and quiver, my little tree, Silver and gold throw down over me."

"Bäumchen, rüttel dich und schüttel dich, wirf Gold und Silber über mich."

In depriving Cinderella of her voice, Grimm has further isolated her within the tale, relegating nearly all her talk with people to indirect discourse, but leaving her the unvarying incantations addressed to birds and tree.

The Stepsisters' Direct Speech in the First Edition (1812)

The stepsisters, beautiful of face but proud of heart, 6 manifest a different set of concerns in their early (1812) conversation, straying but rarely from clothing and coiffure. Snatching Cinderella's beautiful gowns away from her and giving her an old gray dress, they say:

"that's all right for you!"

"der ist gut für dich!"

"Cinderella," they called, "come upstairs, comb our hair, brush our shoes and fasten them up, we're going to the ball to [see] the prince."

"Aschenputtel, riefen sie, komm herauf, kämme uns die Haare, bürst uns die Schuhe und schnalle sie fest, wir gehen auf den Ball zu den Prinzen."

[They] asked sarcastically, "Cinderella, you'd probably like to go along to the ball?"

[Sie] fragten spöttisch: "Aschenputtel, du gingst wohl gern mit auf den Ball?"

"No," said the eldest, "that would be a fine thing for you to be seen there, we'd certainly be embarrassed when people heard you were our sister; you belong in the kitchen. You have a dish of lentils; when we come back they have to be sorted, and watch out that not a single bad one is [left] among the good ones, otherwise you'll have nothing good to expect."

"Nein, sagte die älteste, das wär mir recht, daß du dich dort sehen ließest, wir müßten uns schämen, wenn die Leute hörten, daß du unsere Schwester wärest; du gehörst in die Küche, da hast du eine Schüssel voll Linsen, wann wir wieder kommen muß sie gelesen seyn, und hüt dich, daß keine böse darunter ist, sonst hast du nichts Gutes zu erwarten."

On their return, the stepsisters breathlessly flaunt their pleasure in the glories of the prince's ball:

"Cinderella, it was a joy, at the dance, the prince, the handsomest one in the world, led us out, and one of us will be his wife."

6. Subsequently changed to "black of heart but white of face."

"Aschenputtel, das ist ein Lust gewesen, bei dem Tanz, der Prinz, der allerschönste auf der Welt hat uns dazu geführt, und eine von uns wird seine Gemanlin werden."

When Cinderella, who has magically witnessed it all through the dovecote, knowingly comments on the chandeliers, they interrogate her: "'Hey! how do you know that?' asked the eldest" ("Ei! wie hast du das angefangen," fragte die älteste). The next day Cinderella must help prepare them for the ball again.

Then the youngest one, who still had a bit of compassion in her heart, said, "Cinderella, when it's dark you can go out and peek in through the window." "No," said the eldest, "that'll only make her lazy. You have a sack of vetch, Cinderella. Sort the good from the bad and work well, and if you haven't done it by tomorrow, then I'll dump them into the ashes and you'll go hungry until you've picked them all out again."

Da sagte die jüngste, die noch ein wenig Mitleid im Herzen hatte: "Aschenputtel, wenns dunkel ist, kannst du hinzugehen und von außen durch die Fenster gucken!" "Nein, sagte die älteste, das macht sie nur faul, da hast du einen Sack voll Wicken, Aschenputtel, da lese die guten und bösen auseinander und sey fleißig, und wenn du sie morgen nicht rein hast, so schütte ich dir sie in die Asche und du mußt hungern, bis du sie alle herausgesucht hast."

Their spirits dampened by the unknown princess' stunning success at the ball, the stepsisters appear morosely in the kitchen the next morning. Angered by Cinderella's disingenuous suggestion that they had again had a wonderful time, they say:

"No, there was a princess there, the prince danced with her almost the whole time, but nobody recognized her and nobody knew where she came from."

"Nein, es war eine Prinzessin da, mit der hat der Prinz fast immer getanzt, es hat sie aber niemand gekannt und niemand gewußt, woher sie gekommen ist."

Cinderella asks whether it was the princess who had arrived in the coach pulled by six black horses. "'How do you know that?'" ("Woher weißt du das?"), they ask. She had stood in the doorway and watched them pass by.

"In the future stay at your work," said the eldest and looked at Cinderella angrily. "Why do you need to stand in the doorway?"

"In Zukunft bleib bei deiner Arbeit, sagte die älteste und sah Aschenputtel böse an, was brauchst du in der Hausthüre zu stehen."

For the third time Cinderella assists at the stepsisters' toilette, and this time she has to sort a dish of peas. "'And don't you dare leave your work,' the eldest called out as she left" ("und daß du dich nicht unterstehst von der Arbeit wegzugehen, rief die älteste noch nach"). On their return the stepsisters querulously require Cinderella's services: "'Cinderella, get up and light the way for us'" ("Aschenputtel, steh auf und leucht uns"). At her appearance they grumble:

"God knows who the cursed princess is, I wish she were dead and buried! The prince danced only with her, and when she was gone, he didn't want to stay any longer and the whole party was over."

"Gott weiß, wer die verwünschte Prinzessin ist, daß sie in der Erde begraben läg! der Prinz hat nur mit ihr getanzt und als sie weg war, hat er gar nicht mehr bleiben wollen und das ganze Fest hat ein Ende gehabt."

"It was as if all the lights were blown out all of a sudden," said the other.

"Es war recht, als wären alle Lichter auf einmal ausgeblasen worden," sagte die andere.

Thus ends the stepsisters' vocal participation as it is rendered in the 1812 First Edition, where the large number of speeches allows a certain complexity and differentiation of character between the younger and the more wicked older sister.

The Stepsisters' Direct Speech in the Final Edition (1857)

The textual description of the stepsisters' appearance and behavior is markedly reduced in the final (1857) form: they are described as "beautiful and fair of face, but vile and black of heart" (schön und weiß von Angesicht . . . aber garstig und schwarz von Herzen). Similarly, the incidence of and differentiation within their speeches also decreases. Spoken in unison, their first statements outline their relationship with Cinderella:

"Is the stupid goose to sit in the parlor with us?" they said.

"Soll die dumme Gans bei uns in der Stube sitzen!" sprachen sie.

"Whoever wants to eat bread must earn it; out with the kitchen-wench."

"Wer Brot essen will, muß es verdienen: hinaus mit der Küchenmagd."

"Just look at the proud princess, how decked out she is!"

"Seht einmal die stolze Prinzessin, wie sie geputzt ist!" riefen sie, lachten und führten es in die Küche.

Individually they respond greedily to their father's question about what they'd like from his trip: "'Beautiful dresses,' said one, 'pearls and jewels,' said the second" ("Schöne Kleider," sagte die eine, "Perlen und Edelsteine" die zweite). They speak in unison once again, ordering Cinderella to serve them.

"Comb our hair for us, brush our shoes and fasten our buckles, for we are going to the wedding at the King's palace."

"Kämm uns die Haare, bürste uns die Schuhe und mache uns die Schnallen fest, wir gehen zur Hochzeit auf des Königs Schloß."

The unsisterly taunts of 1812 have disappeared from their mouths, and they seem more spoiled than evil.

The Stepmother's Direct Speech (1812)

A very different transformation is made to take place within the stepmother. In the 1812 edition the stepmother is the one who sends Cinderella off into the kitchen, who urges her daughters to maim their feet, and who denies that Cinderella might be the girl the prince seeks:

"What's that disgusting good-for-nothing doing in the parlor . . . out with her and into the kitchen, if she wants to eat bread, she has to earn it first, she can be our maid."

"Was macht der garstige Unnütz in den Stuben . . . fort mit ihr in die Küche, wenn sie Brod essen will, muß sies erst verdient haben, sie kann unsere Magd seyn."

"Listen," said the mother secretly, "here's a knife, and if the slipper is still too tight for you, then cut a piece of your foot off, it'll hurt a little, but what's the harm, it'll soon pass and one of you will become the queen."

"Hört," sagte die Mutter heimlich, da habt ihr ein Messer, und wenn euch der Pantoffel doch noch zu eng ist, so schneidet euch ein Stück vom Fuß ab, es thut ein bischen weh, was schadet das aber, es vergeht bald und eine von euch wird Königin."

But the mother said to the second daughter, "You take the slipper, and if it's too short for you, cut'the end of your toes off."

Die Mutter aber sagte zur zweiten Tochter: "nimm du den Pantoffel, und wenn er dir zu kurz ist, so schneide lieber vorne an den Zehen ab."

"No," said the mother, "there's only an ugly scullery maid left, she's sitting downstairs among the ashes, the slipper can't possibly fit her."

"Nein, sagte die Mutter, nur ein garstiges Aschenputtel ist noch da, das sitzt ungen in der Asche, dem kann der Pantoffel nicht passen.

The Stepmother's Direct Speech (1857)

In the 1857 version, malevolence concentrates and speech use expands in the stepmother as the time frame within which she speaks contracts and she fills this time by plaguing her beautiful but hapless stepdaughter.

"You go, Cinderella!" said she; "covered in dust and dirt as you are, and would go to the festivities? You have no clothes and shoes, and yet would dance!"

"Du, Aschenputtel," sprach sie, "bist voll Staub und Schmutz und willst zur Hochzeit? Du hast keine Kleider und Schuhe und willst tanzen!"

"I have emptied a dish of lentils into the ashes for you, if you have picked them out again in two hours, you shall go with us."

"Da habe ich dir eine Schüssel Linsen in die Asche geschüttet, wenn du die Linsen in zwei Stunden wieder ausgelesen hast, so sollst du mitgehen."

"No, Cinderella, you have no clothes and you can not dance; you would only be laughed at."

"Nein, Aschenputtel, du hast keine Kleider und kannst nicht tanzen: du wirst nur ausgelacht."

"If you can pick two dishes of lentils out of the ashes for me in one hour, you shall go with us."

"Wenn du mir zwei Schüsseln voll Linsen in einer Stunde aus der Asche rein lesen kannst, so söllst du mit gehen."

"All of this will not help; you cannot go with us, for you have no clothes and can not dance; we should be ashamed of you!"

"Es hilft dir alles nichts: du kommst nicht mit, denn du hast keine Kleider und kannst nicht tanzen; wir müßten uns deiner schämen."

"Cut the toe off; when you are Queen you will have no more need to go on foot." "Hau die Zehe ab: wann du Königin bist, so brauchst du nicht mehr zu Fuß zu gehen."

"Cut a bit off your heel; when you are Queen you will have no more need to go on foot."

"Hau ein Stück von der Ferse ab: wann du Königin bist, brauchst du nicht mehr zu Fuß zu gehen."

Herself the cause of Cinderella's destitution, the stepmother charges her with an inadequate wardrobe, and when Cinderella satisfies her senseless preconditions of picking lentils from the ashes, the wicked woman still refuses to allow her to go to the dance.

The Prince's Direct Speech (1812)

In the first edition, the prince's four utterances encompass Cinderella's experiences from the point at which she first appears at the ball to the moment when he confirms her as his betrothed. As soon as Cinderella appears at the ball, the prince reflects: "'I'm supposed to pick out a bride for myself, I know none but this one for me'" ("Ich soll mir eine Braut aussuchen, da weiß ich mir keine als diese"). And after he finds her shoe, he comments on two of the three attempts:

"That's not the right bride, either; isn't there another daughter in the house."

"Das ist auch nicht die rechte Braut; aber ist nicht noch eine Tochter im Haus."

"Try it on! and if it fits you, you'll be my wife."

"Probier ihn an! und wenn er dir paßt, wirst du meine Gemahlin."

"That's the right bride."

"Das ist die rechte Braut."

The Prince's Direct Speech (1857)

The utterances added in subsequent editions and codified in 1857 establish not only the prince's recognition of the right bride but his proprietary interest in her, as he thrice repeats that she is *bis* dancing partner.

"This is my partner."

"Das ist meine Tänzerin."

"I will go with you and bear you company."

"Ich gehe mit und begleite dich."

"This is my partner."

"Das ist meine Tänzerin."

"The unknown maiden has escaped from me, and I believe she has climbed up the pear-tree."

"Das fremde Mädchen ist mir entwischt, und ich glaube, es ist auf den Birnbaum gesprungen."

"This is my partner."

"Das ist meine Tänzerin."

"No one shall be my wife but she whose foot this golden slipper fits."

"Keine andere soll meine Gemahlin werden als die, an deren Fuß dieser goldene Schuh paßt."

"This also is not the right one," said he, "have you no other daughter?"

"Das ist auch nicht die rechte," sprach er, "habt Ihr keine andere Tochter?"

"That is the true bride!"

"Das ist die rechte Braut!"

Beyond establishing his proprietary interest in Cinderella, the prince also sets the condition for identifying his betrothed. In addition, he joins forces with the other male character, Cinderella's father, when he tells him he thinks she has leapt into the pear tree, whereupon the father chops down the tree in an effort to find and identify the mysterious princess, whom he finally suspects of being his own daughter.7

The Father's Direct Speech (1812)

The father's position changes more radically than any other figure's in "Cinderella," for in the 1812 version he serves only to open the tale, disappearing without a trace after the first sentence. The majority of the most popular tales share a five-person list of significant characters: good girl, mother, evil figure, father or king, and suitor. This does not mean, of course, that these tales have only five characters, but that these five usually form the base line for the plot. Part of Grimm's editorial concern in bringing the father into higher relief in this tale might have been to align "Cinderella" with this consistent pattern. The father's genteel ineffectuality links him, in any case, with other father figures in popular tales such as "Hansel and Gretel" (no. 15), "Snow-White" (no. 53), "Rapunzel" (no. 12), and "Little Briar-Rose" (no. 50).

The Father's Direct Speech (1857)

The 1857 version of "Cinderella" opens with a mention of the father, whose relationship with daughter and stepdaughters alike is established when he asks all three (in indirect discourse) what they would like him to bring home from his journey. Although Grimm-or Georg Reimer, his publisher-punctuates much of the girls' direct speech indirectly, he treats the father's recurring thoughts as direct speech:

The old man thought: "Can it be Cinderella?" Der Alte dachte: "Sollte es Aschenputtel sein."

The father thought: "Can it be Cinderella?" Der Vater dachte: "Sollte es Aschenputtel sein."

Neutralizing him in words as his inaction has neutralized him in the plot, his spoken words confirm his paternal ignorance of his own daughter, despite previously expressed presentiments:

"No," said the man, "there is still a little stunted kitchen-wench which my late wife left behind her, but she cannot possibly be the bride."

"Nein," sagte der Mann, "nur von meiner verstorbenen Frau ist noch ein kleines verbuttetes Aschenputtel da: das kann unmöglich die Braut sein."

This statement puts him in complete agreement with his evil wife, the stepmother, who also insists that the remaining girl could not be the one sought by the prince.

The changes discussed here represent a shift within a German-language fairy tale tradition. Fairy tales read in German by the German bourgeoisie in the early years of the nineteenth century still derived largely from French sources. The French "Cinderella" tradition, together with the English tradition based on it, has a very different narrative, textual, and lexical character and history. Cinderella's last speech is also the last direct speech in Perrault's tale, and in it she herself, highly amused because she already knows the outcome, suggests that she try on the fateful slipper: "Cinderella was looking on and recognized her slipper: 'Let me see,' she cried, laughingly, 'if it will not fit me.'"8 An early translator into English even has the fairy godmother evaluate Cinderella's speech as praiseworthy in the following exchange: "I'll go and look into the Trapp for Rats, whether I'll find a Rat or other for a Coachman. Well said, said the Fairie. Go and see." As in the tale of "Riquet à la Houppe," beauty can also articulate its fate in the French and English tradition, while Grimm's Cinderella had to be called (mußte gerufen werden).

A close analysis of this single tale reveals a truth about the tale itself and also represents a broader phenomenon in conjunction with speech use in Grimms'

^{7.} Cinderella disappearing into a pear tree is a special instance of the special relationship of girls, women, and trees, which is explored in chap. 10.

^{8.} Taken from A. E. Johnson's translation of Perrault's Fairy Tales.

Tales. The incidence, distribution, and presentation of direct speech in "Cinderella" express a skewed view of the sexes and their speech use. Speech is also used to indicate inner qualities of good and evil. Together they form a pressing editorial concern that surfaces in other tales in the collection (examined in detail in the appendix).

7

Paradigms for Powerlessness



great gulf separates the mentality producing tales in which women lay spells in order to direct natural forces from one that insistently condemns women to a silence during which they are often exposed to mortal danger. Both extremes are represented in *Grimms' Tales*, but tales in which women are narratively silenced as opposed to textually silent far out-

number those in which they conjure. ¹ In the following eight text samples, the first five pertain to girls, the next three to boys.

"You must be dumb for seven years, and may not speak or laugh."

"The Twelve Brothers" (no. 9)

... she could bring forth no sound.

"Our Lady's Child" (no. 3)

"For six years you may neither speak nor laugh."

"The Six Swans" (no. 49)

. . . but she was not to say more to her father than three words.

"The Iron Stove" (no. 127)

"I found that speech was taken away from me by an unknown force."
"The Glass Coffin" (no. 163)

'... be silent; give them no answer [until midnight]."

"The King of the Golden Mountain" (no. 92)

. . . he must for a whole year not speak to them.

"The Three Black Princesses" (no. 137)

"You must pass three nights in the great hall of this enchanted castle . . . without letting a sound escape you."

"The King's Son Who Feared Nothing" (no. 121)

1. Volker Roloff addresses "Märchenmotive des Schweigens" in *Reden und Schweigen*; he discusses "The Twelve Brothers" and the variants of "The Seven Ravens," "The Six Swans," and "Our Lady's Child" in terms of origins (taboo, ritual, initiation) and asserts "den ursprünglichen Tabucharakter des Schweigemotivs" (p. 189, "the original taboo character of the motif of silence"). In *Beredtes Schweigen in lebrhafter und erzählender deutscher Literatur des Mittelalters*, Uwe Ruberg works out the situational distinctions in different kinds of silence and discusses the literary-historical roots of silence, first as a monastic approach to and knowledge of God (30ff.).

The subject of women and silence occupies a central position in much recent research, as an already voluminous and still growing bibliography attests. It indicates that medieval writers targeted women as the recipients of their dogma of silence and silencing with wearisome regularity, because of their nearly axiomatic identity as mulier loquax. An unbroken tradition from Ambrosius on analyzes Eve's transgression and prescribes all women's consequently necessary silencing. Heinrich Vigilis von Weissenburg pins the blame squarely on Eve in his 1497 "Von dem heilgen swygenhaltten" (Of the Holy Maintenance of silence):

But why women should be silent and in subjection, that is from three causes. For the first: the first woman incurred guilt in Paradise, she was the first to be deceived and led astray and not the man. Eve was deceived and followed and favored him to whom by nature she has no relationship nor partnership nor heart nor love. That was the devil in the image of the serpent. But Adam was not deceived by the same [creature], but he is overcome by one who was his nature and body and life and his half part, to whom he was bound so closely with natural love that he does not grieve her.

The author continues with reasons two and three: woman is supposed to be silent because she is made from man's rib and not he from hers, and, finally, woman should be quiet because she *should* be quiet by nature!⁴

Grimms' Tales demonstrates a similarly persistent pattern of silencing and silence. Chapter 5 discusses textual silences resulting from the narrator's or editor's choice in distributing direct and indirect speech as well as in conferring vocal authority lexically by the verbs which introduce direct speech. Far more conspicuous, however, are the silences within the narrative which apparent necessity—the threat of violence or a malevolent witch's influence—forces upon fairy tale heroines or heroes. How differently silencing women is viewed in Grimms' Tales and in Perrault's Tales is clear from "Le Petit Poucet" (Little Tom Thumb), where speech itself becomes a legitimate subject for the narrator:

He threatened to beat her if sheadid not hold her tongue. It was not that the woodcutter was less grieved than his wife, but she browbeat him, and he was of the same opinion as many other people, who like a woman to have the knack of saying the right thing, but not the trick of being always in the right.⁵

Scholars from many disciplines have taken a peripheral interest in silence in their analyses of society and of fairy tales. Of particular importance to my

formulation of silence are linguistic studies from the 1970s and 1980s that relate language use to social power and social roles, and thus in this chapter I shall venture beyond content analysis to try to relate these patterns to the society in which they took shape. In historiographic terms, fairy tale silence can be understood as a transformation and elevation of daily experience to folk literary status. For instance, in past centuries the desperately poor have had to endure great deprivation without complaint: hunger, the possibility of sudden orphandom, and crippling disease. In this theoretical framework a historical understanding of fairy tales leads to the conclusion that insistent privation or imminent deprivation can be and have been recast into a narrative in which silence and being condemned to silence stand for the domestic, political and social experience of the poor.⁶

Both past and present folk and fairy tale scholarship has been unable or unwilling to see individual cases of silenced women as part of a broader gender-specific phenomenon. When Heinz Rölleke notes that the introductory paragraph of the 1819 edition of "The Twelve Brothers" excises mention of the queen's 1812 attempt to talk her husband out of his infanticidal intentions, he explains, "By removing the indication of the queen's rejoinder . . . the activity emanates from a single person, corresponding to the genre peculiarities of the folk tale." Until recently, gender has clearly bowed to genre as an acceptable category for data and its interpretation.

Feminist literary criticism draws on sociological and anthropological thought on occasion, pursuing the relationship between art and society. "The persistent exclusion of women from significant historical events [resides] in their limited education, in their general socialization, in their internalization of restricting views of their creative potential" so that "their use of language must, no doubt, suffer." A fortuitous glimpse of an image linking women's chatter to being burned to death at the stake for witchcraft emerges from a cheaply produced and much-used 1855 almanac for children:

I well know that in times of old Many witches were burned, But you are igniting yourself! For chattering this punishment seems new indeed.⁹

^{2.} See "Discourse" in the Modern Language Association Bibliography or the bibliography in Freeman, "Marie de France's Poetics of Silence"; also Knüsel, "Reden und Schweigen im Märchen."

^{3.} Ruberg, 40.

^{4.} Ibid., 276.

^{5.} Perrault's Fairy Tales, 99.

^{6.} In "Fairies and Hard Facts," Weber argues that fairy and folk tales, especially those which begin with "once upon a time" (es war einmal), tell about genuine situations in which real people were powerless to alter the course of events. "So it is not surprising that in a lot of folktales, enduring in silence is one of the most common tests a heroine (or even a hero) has to pass" (110). In assuming the similarity of male and female silences, Weber joins generations of scholars who do not or cannot perceive the distinct functional gender differentiation between male and female fairy and folk tale characters. In *Grimms' Tales* the quality, extent, and viciousness of silence and its associated images clearly breaks down along gender lines.

^{7.} Kinder- und Hausmärchen (Cologne: Diederichs, 1982), 2:569.

^{8.} Landy, "The Silent Woman," 21.

^{9.} Deutscher Jugend-Kalender, ed. H. Bückner (1855), 59.

Within the folk and fairy tale tradition a comparative approach throws specific themes into high relief. When a theme, such as the extent and mode of female speech, is absent in one tradition but widely represented in another, it can be assumed to occupy an important position in the latter tradition. For instance, mute women do not appear in Perrault's collection of tales. On the contrary, eloquence is highly prized, as the little tale "Riquet à la Houppe" (Ricky of the Tuft) amply illustrates. The fact that this tale did not enter the German fairy and folk tale tradition, whereas Perrault's other tales thrived on German soil, indicates a preference for silent or silenced women in the German tradition that is realized in the name of Thomas Mann's female character in *Dr. Faustus*, Schweigestill.

Lexically, speech or its absence correlates neatly with legal personhood in German tradition. *Mündig*, one of many words linking the power of speech (*Mund*-mouth) with personal rights, refers to legal majority and underlines the potential consequences of silencing in "Our Lady's Child": "but she could bring forth no sound" (ihr war der Mund verschlossen). ¹⁰

A verse Wilhelm Grimm inscribed for Jenny von Droste-Hülshoff (July 1813) hints that the image of beauty united with silence had particular importance for him:

In the moss grows a blossom true,
It has such eyes of blue.
It is so mute, cannot move about . . .
Im Moos wächst ein Blümlein treu,
Das hat so blaue Augen.
Es ist so stumm, ist gar nicht frei, 11

This rhyme exemplifies the same values that the Grimms' tales express and often encapsulate and that prepare us for heroines who not only do not speak but have frequently been condemned to silence, for example in "The Robber-Bridegroom" (no. 40): "The bride sat still, and said nothing" (Die Braut saß still und redete nichts).

In a purely literary sense, enforced silence can perform useful narrative services. It can retard the final resolution by postponing the moment in which all is explained, clarified, or excused. A prolonged silence can ensure plot elaboration by providing narrative time in which characters reveal themselves through situations and relationships that determine how they may act. Silence can be oral (a missed cue, no response) or epistolary (a purloined or lost letter); it can be male or female without gender bias. In *Grimms' Tales*, however, silence is almost exclusively female; enforced silence exists for both heroines

and heroes as a precondition for redeeming oneself or others; and it also exists as a punishment for heroines (but not heroes) and as a narrative necessity for heroines (but not heroes), as in "The Robber-Bridegroom."

In "The Twelve Brothers," the youngest sibling, a sister, must neither speak nor laugh for seven years. A single word will cause her brothers' death. She is bound to the stake about to be immolated when the last minute of the seven years passes and her brothers appear and save her. An old tale, "The Twelve Brothers" has two close relatives in the Grimms' collection: "The Seven Ravens" (no. 25) and "The Six Swans" (see chapter 3). In "The Six Swans" the sister figure accepts the condition of six years' silence—both laughter and speech are forbidden—to redeem her brothers, whom their stepmother's spell has changed into swans. Exposed to the uncertain dangers of murderous robbers in the wood, she too is powerless against the world until she marries a king. She bears children, whom her wicked mother-in-law whisks away, which leads again to the stake where she stands bound just as the last moment of the sixth year passes. Her brothers fly in to the rescue, and her mother-in-law is executed instead.

Silence is similarly enjoined in "The Iron Stove" as a precondition for redeeming an imprisoned prince whom the heroine encounters in the forest. He can be released from the iron stove in which he has been imprisoned only if she limits her conversation to three words when she visits her family before setting off with the prince. However, her joy at seeing her father is so great that she unintentionally breaks the condition.

Silence in "Our Lady's Child" appears in a problematic light. ¹² In the surface message of this tale, which has been popular in Germany for generations, the Virgin Mary imposes silence to bring the disobedient girl back into the fold, thus the silence is seen as a redemptive effort. But a second and more obvious aspect of the prescribed silence is punishment. After the child, Marienkind, refuses to confess that she has opened a forbidden door, the Virgin Mary deprives her of speech and casts her out of heaven. Her muteness leaves her defenseless against the accusations of cannibalism that arise when her infants disappear one by one, taken away by the Virgin Mary. Only at the last moment, tied to the stake and about to be burned, does Marienkind submit, saving herself by confessing her misdeed.

Silence in connection with girls and women, an occasional element of other traditions, seems to have become so ingrained in the German fairy tale tradition that it grew into a narrative necessity in newly revived or composed nineteenth-century fairy tales. Thus, it appears almost compulsively in "The Glass Coffin." Rather longer than other tales, it is an eighteenth-century

^{10.} Both Mund and Stimme form compounds that relate to individual autonomy. Mundtot = dead in law; Mündigsprechung = emancipation; stimmberechtigt = enfranchised; keine Stimme haben = to have no say in the matter.

^{11.} Quoted in Seitz, Die Brüder Grimm: Leben, Werk, Zeit, 72.

^{12.} Going to the heart of the matter, the tale was entitled "The Mute Maiden" in the Ölenberg MS of 1810.

^{13.} Dietmar Peschel discusses the textual history of this tale, first published in 1728, in "Märchenüberlieferung: Fundsachen und Einfälle zur literarischen Vorlage des Grimmschen Märchens 'Der gläserne Sarg.'"

German literary fairy tale. Motivations are accounted for, and it is full of symbolic actions, self-consciously employed magic, the sophistication of a frame tale, and the particularity absent from most fairy tales. As in "Our Lady's Child," the heroine is struck dumb in conjunction with her willful refusal to comply with a demand. In "Our Lady's Child" the text justifies the punishment by reference to the nature of the transgression—Marienkind has opened a door forbidden her by no less a personage than the Virgin Mary herself—while in "The Glass Coffin" the female protagonist loses her voice at the appearance of the man who wishes to claim her hand in marriage. This tale's use of the theme of silence in conjunction with marriage links it with a persistent European tradition of folk tales, beginning in the Middle Ages, in which the heroine loses her voice at betrothal, marriage, or childbirth.

Male silence exists, too, but it is far briefer and much less restrictive. For instance, in "The King of the Golden Mountain," a merchant's son can break the magic spell binding a princess only if he silently endures the torments inflicted by twelve black men for three nights in a row. Similarly, the poor fisher's son in "The Three Black Princesses" may not speak for the space of a year to the three princesses he has undertaken to redeem, but during that time he is bound by no other proscription against speech. A similar plot drives "The King's Son Who Feared Nothing." He too must silently endure whatever terrifying sights and sounds confront him in an enchanted castle in order to redeem a princess who is beautiful by day but black by night. And, finally, in one of the legends appended to *Grimms' Tales*, "Poverty and Humility Lead to Heaven" (leg. 4), we become acquainted with a prince who renounces not only his position at court but also everyday speech, spending seven years praying to God.

Female and male silence differ markedly from on another in the foregoing tales. The redemptive female silences of "The Twelve Brothers" and "The Six Swans" last for years, but redemptive male silence is both brief and attenuated. The putatively self-redemptive silence of "Our Lady's Child" is prescribed as a punishment that generates the threat of a graver punishment in secular society—being burned at the stake. On the other hand, a genuinely self-redemptive male silence is taken on voluntarily. In social terms, women and girls at every level from peasant to princess may be deprived of speech, whereas the two men on whom silence is imposed as a redemptive precondition both emerge from lower social orders (artisan and merchant families).

It becomes clear through a detailed examination of the editorial history of one tale, "Our Lady's Child," that depriving a girl of speech is particularly effective in breaking her will. This completes the equation of speech with individual power and autonomy. It is precisely the deprivation and transformation of power that seems to motivate the shifts evident in the transformation of individual folk and fairy tale heroines during the Early Modern period in European history. Positively presented, powerful female figures either were

deprived of their inherent power or else had their power transformed in the tales into the godless potency of witchcraft, punishable by unimaginably vicious executions; on the other hand, a large proportion of "happy" endings were preceded by the loss or deprivation of female speech. ¹⁴

The images associated with muted girls and women clearly establish the relationship between language and autonomy. The pawn of external forces, Marienkind is banished from heaven, imprisoned by an impenetrable thorn hedge, nourished on roots and berries, exposed naked to ice and snow, condemned as a cannibal, and tied to a stake with flames beginning to burn. The sister in "The Twelve Brothers" also ends up bound to the stake:

And when she was bound fast to the stake, and the fire was licking at her clothes with its red tongue . . .

Und als sie schon an den Pfahl festgebunden war und das Feuer an ihren Kleidern mit roten Zungen leckte...

The youngest sibling, the sister in "The Six Swans," experiences the same fate, though in her case the fire has not yet been lit as she stands on the faggots. The nine days' hunger endured by the princess in "The Iron Stove" as a punishment for speaking more than the allotted three words to her father seems mild in comparison to those ghastly conclusions.

Sexual vulnerability also permeates tales of muteness. Marienkind's clothes rot and fall off her body in the several years she spends in the forest, before a king out hunting discovers her. Wielding a sword, he hacks his way through the thicket and carries her off naked to his castle. The central fact of the girl's sexual vulnerability, her nakedness, is raised in high relief when it is retained in "The Six Swans," where against all contemporary logic the treed girl tries to drive off the king's hunters by throwing her clothes down at them, piece by piece, until only her shift is left.

The huntsmen, however, did not let themselves be turned aside by that, but climbed the tree and fetched the maiden down and led her before the king.

Die Jäger ließen sich aber damit nicht abweisen, stiegen auf den Baum, hoben das Mädchen herab und führten es vor den König.

The evident fact that no amount of security is protection enough for a woman emerges from my reading of "The Glass Coffin," where the onset of speechlessness coincides with the revelation of the young woman's vulnerability, that is, her powerlessness against an intrusion that can be read sexually as well as spatially:

Hardly had I fallen off to sleep, when the sound of faint and delightful music awoke me. As I could not conceive from whence it came, I wanted to summon my waiting-

14. See Bottigheimer, "The Transformed Queen."

maid who slept in the next room, but to my astonishment I found that speech was taken away from me by an unknown force. I felt as if a nightmare were weighing down my breast, and was unable to make the very slightest sound. In the meantime, by the light of my nightlamp, I saw the stranger enter my room through two doors which were fast bolted.

Kaum war ich ein wenig eingeschlummert, so weckten mich die Tine einer zarten und lieblichen Musik. Da ich nicht begreifen konnte, woher sie kamen, so wollte ich mein im Nebenzimmer schlafendes Kammermädchen rufen, allein zu meinem Erstaunen fand ich, daß mir, als lastete ein Alp auf meiner Brust, von einer unbekannten Gewalt die Sprache benommen und ich unvermögend war, den geringsten Laut von mir zu geben. Indem sah ich bei dem Schein der Nachtlampe den Fremden in mein durch zwei Türen fest verschlossenes Zimmer eintreten.

Many silenced heroines, fleeing from wild animals or pursued by men or by witches, take refuge in trees, and fill their quiet hours with spinning and sewing, traditional female occupations. Some of the most stringent silencings occur in a Christian framework or with a Christian coloration, easily anticipated given the specific prohibitions against female speech in the New Testament epistles. For example, Paul's letter to the Corinthians urges:

As in all congregations of God's people, women should not address the meeting. They have no license to speak, but should keep their place as the law directs. If there is something they want to know, they can ask their own husbands at home. It is a shocking thing that a woman should address the congregation. (I Cor. 14:34–35)

One tale in Grimms' collection contradicts the foregoing conclusions. Danish in origin, "Maid Maleen" (no. 198) incorporates an autonomous heroine within a traditional set of themes and motifs. For defying her father's wishes, she is walled into a tower for seven years to break her stubborn spirit. Windowless and sunless, her chamber is completely cut off from the world. But unlike the imprisoned queen in "The Pink" (no. 76) this princess is given seven years' provision; and unlike the total isolation of every other fairy tale heroine being punished, this princess has the company of her maid-inwaiting. When the seven years approach their end, as they knew

by the decline of food and drink . . . and [they] saw a miserable death awaiting them, Maid Maleen said: "We must try our last chance, and see if we can break through the wall."

an der Abnahme von Speise und Trank . . . und [sie sahen] einen jämmerlichen Tod voraus, da sprach die Jungfrau Maleen: Wir müssen das letzte versuchen und sehen, ob wir die Mauer durchbrechen.

Here, at last, is a fairy tale heroine among Grimms' girls who has retained both voice and initiative, who acts on her own behalf, who senses danger and takes measures to avert disaster, and who does not wait passively. Maid Maleen took up

the bread-knife, and picked and bored at the mortar of a stone, and when she was tired the waiting maid took her turn . . . and when three days were over the first ray of light fell on their darkness.

das Brotmesser, grub und bohrte an dem Mörtel eines Steins, und wenn sie müd war, so löste sie die Kammerjungfer ab . . . und nach drei Tagen fiel der erste Lichtstrahl in ihre Dunkelheit.

The two emerge into a desolate wasteland. Her father and family gone, the princess wanders to a foreign kingdom, where she finds work in the royal scullery, but she falls prey to the machinations of an evil false bride who "told the servants that the scullery-maid was an impostor, and that they must take her out into the court-yard and strike off her head" (sagte den Dienern, das Aschenputtel sei eine Betrügerin, sie sollten es in den Hof abführen und ihm den Kopf abschlagen). A new voice emerges: Maid Maleen shouts for help.

The servants laid hold of Maid Maleen and wanted to drag her out, but she screamed so loudly for help, that the King's son heard her voice.

Die Diener packten es und wollten es fortschleppen, aber es schrie so laut um Hilfe, daß der Königssohn seine Stimme vernahm.

Female silence has been shattered in the 198th tale. In no other tale in the Grimms' collection does the innocent victim raise her voice to protest or to seek help. What is the significance of this lone exception?

Maid Maleen is part of a Danish tradition of feisty and independent active heroines that includes Proud Elin, Proud Senild, Proud Lyborg, and Proud Signild, as well as Little Christel. Wilhelm Grimm had certainly been acquainted with these active and articulate heroines at least since 1811, when he published Altdänische Heldenlieder, Balladen und Märchen (Ancient Danish Hero Lays, Ballads, and Tales). 15 Although some of these heroines (e.g., no. 64) fall victim to their mothers-in-law, like their German counterparts, others hold their ground against malevolent older female relatives (no. 84): Yet others find help and succor with their mothers (no. 64) or mothers-in-law (no. 55). Homicidal antagonism more often arises between husband and wife (nos. 50, 44), and this relationship can end with the wife returning to her own realm (nos. 64, 50).

Wilhelm Grimm was under pressure from two directions to expand his collection. The Hessian core of the first volume of the first edition was probably too restricted geographically for his expanding sense of the German nation. In 1850, when he added "Maid Maleen" to the *Tales*, he and his brother Jacob had already lived in Berlin in the service of the King of Prussia for ten years. Frederick William IV was laying covetous eyes on the Duchy of

^{15.} There is no stylistic distinction in the texts between the "ballads" and "tales" of the title. They are both in rhymed meters characteristic of ballads, but are designated "ballads and tales" because of their more recent genesis, according to Wilhelm.

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Schleswig-Holstein, the focus of a controversial inheritance. Jacob himself had concluded that his monarch was eminently justified in claiming Schleswig-Holstein, though he legitimated the grab not dynastically but philologically. He held that language defined race: since the people of Schleswig-Holstein spoke German, they were ipso facto German and should be governed not by King Christian of Denmark but by King Frederick William of Prussia. At about this time, "Maid Maleen" came to Wilhelm Grimm's attention—it was published in Karl Müllenhoff's volume, Sagen, Märchen und Lieder der Herzogthümer Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg (Kiel, 1845). The tale itself was rendered in German but was socioculturally Danish, having been collected in the village of Meldorf in Holstein, which had been under Danish rule for three generations. 16 Thus, Wilhelm's including "Maid Maleen" in his volume in 1850 was a political act. In his foreword to the sixth edition (1850), Wilhelm Grimm states that he has added six new tales and that he has been at pains to incorporate sayings and indigenous idioms of the people. Whereas he dated each of the other editions from his legal residence (Cassel, Göttingen, or Berlin) this foreword is dated "Erdmannsdorf in Schlesien," Silesia (Schlesien), an annexation of the previous century by Frederick the Great, may covertly refer to Wilhelm's support for the future military annexation of Schleswig-Holstein, thus adding his own to Jacob's vociferous support of this expansionist political venture.

Whatever the political import of the inclusion of "Maid Maleen," literarfly it clearly reveals its foreign provenance in preserving an active and autonomous heroine familiar from so many Scandinavian tales. 17 The Danish and Norwegian tales contain familiar folkloric material in terms of motif and theme but not the insistent and pervasive requirements for female silence found in Grimms' Tales. The heroine of "The Twelve Wild Ducks" (no. 33 in the collection Norske Folkeeventyr), an analogue of the Grimms' "The Twelve Brothers," saves her own life by begging "so prettily," whereas in the Grimms' version, the girl's brother Benjamin speaks on her behalf. 18 Both the Danish and the Norwegian heroines freely question, comment, and respond, suffering occasionally from traditional narrative silences but not from textual silencing. Like Maid Maleen, they shout for help and devise their own solutions for escape. The Danish voice we hear in "Maid Maleen" thus contrasts with and confirms the German silence of so many heroines in the rest of the collection. In Grimms' Tales silence prevails where in other tale traditions speech had carried the day.

Prohibitions, Transgressions, and Punishments



general pattern of exculpating men and incriminating women permeates *Grimms' Tales*. This pattern is clearly evident in the post-1819 versions of "Hansel and Gretel" (no. 15), "Snow-White" (no. 53) and "Cinderella" (no. 21), each of which provides a stepmother who assumes the burden of blame while the father, virtually absent, shoulders no

share of the responsibility for his children's fates. ¹ The theme of prohibition, transgression, and punishment offers an incisive example of this more generalized pattern. "Our Lady's Child" (no. 3) and "Brother Lustig" (no. 81) are two of several tales that embody and exemplify the gender-specific consequences of transgressing prohibitions. ² "Our Lady's Child" and "Brother

I. "Snow-White" and "Hansel and Gretel" both add a stepmother figure to exculpate the natural mother. The good biological mothers' early deaths do not alter the fact that succeeding versions of these two tales exculpate the father-figures who remain alive but do nothing to protect their children against the evil machinations of their second wives. This contrasts sharply with Ludwig Bechstein's contemporary and very popular collection, *Deutsches Märchenbuch*, in which mothers and fathers routinely share both guilt and responsibility. See for example a "Hansel and Gretel" analogue, "Der kleine Däumling": "Da beratschlagten eines Abends, als die Kinder zu Bette waren, die beiden Eltern miteinander was sie anfangen wollten, und wurden Rates, die Kinder mit in den Wald zu nehmen wo die Weiden wachsen, aus denen man Körbe flicht, und sie heimlich zu verlassen" (1857: "When the children were in bed one evening, both parents discussed what they should do, and they decided to take the children along into the wood where the willows grow from which one weaves baskets and to leave them there on the sly").

For a further contrast, see Perrault's "Hansel and Gretel" analogue, "Little Tom Thumb" (Le Petit Poucet), where the mother openly accuses the father of being a monster for suggesting—even if sorrowfully—that they abandon their children in the woods.

2. These gender distinctions echo those in tales where the wicked mother-in-law is discovered to be a witch/cannibal. She is generally executed summarily amid astonishingly gory detail—a pit of vipers, boiling oil, a nail-studded barrel in which she is rolled downhill, a blazing pyre—whereas in the one tale in which a male cannibal is caught, he is turned over to the authorities and executed, but no details are given. Even the detested Jew in "The Jew

^{16.} Walter Liungmann also asserts that "Maid Maleen" is a Danish tale. See his comments appended to Ranke, "Der Einfluß der Grimmschen 'Kinder- und Hausmärchen' auf das volkstümliche deutsche Erzählgut," 134.

^{17.} East o' the Sun and West o' the Moon, a translation from Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, Norske Folkeeventyr (1852).

^{18.} East o' the Sun, 54.

Lustig" alone contain a specific prohibition, clearly presented to a character, that functions solely to determine his or her obedience. Both the heroine and the hero knowingly violate this prohibition, but only the heroine is punished; the hero is rewarded.³

A comparison of the consequences of transgressing prohibitions in *Grimms' Tales* with those in other popular children's books of the nineteenth century—

Max und Moritz or Struwwelpeter, for example—indicates that only the Grimms' are gender-specific. In other German children's literature of the nineteenth century, bad boys and bad girls alike suffer the grisly consequences of their disobedience: Paulinchen plays with matches and burns to a crisp, Kaspar refuses his soup and promptly dies of starvation, while Max and Moritz end their Spitzbuben careers ground up as feed for their neighbors' geese.

Male transgressors who go scot-free recall the trickster figure, whose real ability is "the power of avoiding consequences." On the surface, the literary history of the traditional male trickster figure would appear to account for the gender specificity of punishment in *Grimms' Tales*, but in the following discussion I conclude that all male figures in *Grimms' Tales*, whether tricksters or not, enjoy the boon of exoneration as well as the trickster's capacity to escape.

The two tales, "Our Lady's Child" and "Brother Lustig," differ in form: the first is a spare sequence of events that precipitates its female protagonist into mortal danger; while the second, a humorous tale, recounts the outrageously artful stratagems of a vagabond soldier who tricks his way into heaven. "Our Lady's Child" appeared both in the Large Edition intended for a scholarly audience and in the Small Edition, fifty tales selected by Wilhelm Grimm for a young readership, but "Brother Lustig" appeared only in the Large Edition, which suggests that Wilhelm Grimm had reservations about the morality expressed by the latter and chose to keep it from young children's eyes.

In 1807, twenty-one-year-old Wilhelm Grimm sat with Gretchen Wild, then twenty, transcribing the simple tale she told about a poor woodcutter's child whom the Virgin Mary saves from starvation and carries off to heaven. Until her fourteenth year the child plays with angels and wears golden clothes, but one day she opens a forbidden door behind which the Trinity sits in indescribable glory. For denying her deed, the girl is banished from heaven,

4. Welsford, The Fool, 50-51.

and cast—mute—into a great forest, where she remains for years until a king hunting in the forest discovers her, takes her to his castle, and marries her. At the end of her first year of marriage, the mute queen bears a son, but in the following night the Virgin Mary appears, warning her that unless she acknowledges her former transgression, her son will disappear. The queen refuses, the Virgin Mary takes her son away, and on the following day the king's ministers advise burning her at the stake for having—they are convinced—devoured the missing child.

In the following two years the same sequence of events is repeated, and the king can protect her no longer. She is condemned to be burned at the stake. As she stands on the faggots, the desire to confess overcomes her. At that moment the Virgin Mary appears with her children, asking once again if she will confess. "Yes," answers the queen. Mary returns her children, the queen regains her speech and lives happily ever after.

Eight years later, one of Jacob Grimm's Viennese Wollzeilergesellschaft friends, Georg Passy, a bookseller, brought in a humorous narrative he had heard from an aged Viennese woman. Called "Brother Lustig," it tells of an old soldier discharged from the army with a paltry severance pay of one loaf of bread and four kreuzers. Nonetheless, he generously shares money and bread with a beggar, who is actually St. Peter in disguise. Rewarding him for his generosity, St. Peter offers to share his earnings from the practice of medicine with the soldier, though he stipulates that they limit their earnings to what they need for their subsistence. Their first case is paid for with a lamb, which St. Peter gives to Brother Lustig to cook; St. Peter enjoins him not to eat any of it, then leaves him in charge of the pot while he steps out for a walk. Thinking that St. Peter will never miss the heart, Brother Lustig sneaks it from the pot, but on his return St. Peter asks for the lamb's heart. Brother Lustig not only denies that he has eaten it, but he also lies, asserting that lambs have no hearts! No amount of pressure can make Brother Lustig confess. Next St. Peter restores a princess to life. He refuses a reward, but the soldier cunningly gets the king to fill his own pack with gold. St. Peter takes the gold and cleverly divides it into three piles, one for himself, one for the soldier, and one for the person who has eaten the lamb's heart. "Oh, that was me," replies the soldier coolly, scooping up the gold and revealing, but not confessing, his guilt.

Some time later Brother Lustig, having run out of money hopes to obtain a substantial reward by restoring a princess to life on his own; however, he fails. Suddenly, St. Peter appears, resurrects the princess himself, and saves the soldier from ignominy, but forbids him to solicit or to accept the smallest reward from the king. "By hints and cunning" (durch Anspielung und Listigkeit), however, Brother Lustig gets his pack filled with gold. Thereafter, to protect the soldier from treading "in forbidden paths" (auf unerlaubten Wegen), St. Peter gives him the power to fill his pack with whatever he wants

Among Thorns" (no. 110) is spared the indignity of summary execution; a judge must first pronounce the sentence and justify it, even if he does so in violently anti-Semitic terms. Gender prevails over justice. Males inhabit the public sphere and women are subject to private justice. See chaps. 9 and 12 for a detailed discussion.

^{3.} Walter Scherf points out that "eine gründliche Untersuchung des Märchentyps vom Marienkind steht noch aus" (275). See "Marienkind" in *Lexikon der Zaubermärchen*, 273–76.