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The Reluctant Witches in Benedikte Naubert's
Neue Volksmärchen der Deutschen (1789-1792)

by

Yvonne Alice Vogele

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

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(Chairman of the Supervisory Committee)

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Doctoral Dissertation

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Abstract

The Reluctant Witches in Benedikte Naubert's
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by Yvonne Alice Vogeles

Chairperson of the Supervisory Committee:
Professor Diana Behler
Department of Germanics

Benedikte Naubert (1756-1819) lived at a time of significant literary awakening and production in Germany. It was also a momentous time in European history. In spite of the promising renewal Enlightenment thinking held, women still did not experience the same freedom as men, especially in education. Naubert's extensive oeuvre includes historical fiction, essays and literary fairy tales. But especially in her fairy tales she makes a personal statement regarding women's place in society. Without openly attacking the status quo, she points out that a real woman is neither a witch nor a saint. She does this through fairy tale heroines who are witches in the sense that they act rebelliously and in a manner unbecoming of a woman.

The witch-theory of the sixteenth and seventeenth century holds that unless a woman is a submissive, saintly wife and mother, she is an inherently evil, rebellious witch. Neither idea allows the woman her own personality. Witch-trial records are evidence that often the real, historical woman accused of being a witch also had a personality judged unacceptable for a woman. Benedikte Naubert's fairy tales show female characters with distinct personalities such as the historical women had.

This study contains biographical information and scholarship about Naubert and discusses how the intellectual witch-theory and fairy tale witches are interrelated. A comparison between Naubert, the Grimms and J.K.A. Musäus is made. The analysis of sixteen heroines in Naubert's collection focuses on Naubert's witch-like heroines: how they show their 'personality' by being entrepreneurial, eager to learn, refuse to be taken for fools and rebel against decisions imposed on them against their will.

Benedikte Naubert shows alternatives to traditional female roles through her *reluctant* witches' untraditional behavior. She saw new hope and possibilities for women in the message of the Enlightenment and for that reason her fairy tales are a contribution to women's issues.

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Now that I finished writing the dissertation, many of my friends wonder: "What are you going to do next?" Maybe my cat Alex knows and will not tell. He sat on my lap for countless hours while I was typing and thinking away. Maybe I should write that novel!

Dedication

To my parents.

My father, Wilhelm Hickel (1904-1996), who told me that I could go to the University if I wanted to; and my mother, Alice Hickel-Fasnacht (b. 1905), who still tells me that books are wonderful!

Introduction

"O sterbliches Mädchen,
im Arm eines unterrichtenden Engels
Aeonen hindurch von Planeten zu Planeten zu fliegen,
und alle Wunder der Schöpfung
und ihre geheimsten Urkräfte zu spähen...

(*Otilie*. 340)

This quote from Benedikte Naubert's *Neue Volksmärchen der Deutschen*,¹ illustrates the enthusiastic wish of many female protagonists in these fairy tales: the wish to learn.¹ In the same vein, many fight for self-determination or seek independence, even entrepreneurial freedom; some simply refuse to be taken for fools, and many rebel against decisions imposed on them against their will. And yet, there is a constant critique of and warning against such wishes and behavior running through the text. Why does Naubert caution her heroines against what seems to be a commendable desire, such as education or self-determination? A study of the ubiquitous figure of the witch in fairy tales helps answer this question.

The well-known, stereotypical fairy-tale-witch is an ugly old hag, sometimes a beautiful queen or step-mother, casting spells on innocent people. This image holds, as its most distinct features, that a witch is an inherently cruel woman capable of magic. In Naubert's fairy tales this image of the witch appears in a new and original way: some of her female protagonists may or may not be mean or magic, but they are noticeable for

¹My thanks to Jeannine Blackwell, University of Kentucky, for bringing this author to my attention at the *Deutsche Schrift Seminar* in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1988.

¹ Benedikte Naubert, *Neue Volksmärchen der Deutschen* (Leipzig: Weygandsche Buchhandlung, 1789-1792) Unless stated otherwise, all quotes will be from this First Edition, available on microfilm, University of Cincinnati.

their independent acting and thinking, trying to take charge of their lives or simply following their innate feelings for self-determination. I call these heroines 'witches' because the behavior often has serious or dangerous consequences, and because the historical woman accused of witchcraft--which means sorcery in some of its many forms--was accused because of her insubordinate behavior and not because she was actually capable of magic. Carol Karlsen, for example, states that often the behavior was the women's "desire for the independence and power embodied in the symbol of the witch or to live out more autonomous self-directed lives."² These characteristics seem positive nowadays, but they were not commendable for women for a long time; indeed, these traits were often seen as unwomanly, impertinent, aggressive and dangerous to the status quo in society or the church. To question too much or to seek autonomy in knowledge or in one's conduct could present grounds for accusations of witchcraft. The woman who was accused of casting a malicious spell on her neighbor would only admit to the crime with the greatest reluctance and under severe duress. She was hesitant not because she wanted to keep her craft a secret, but because she knew the consequences of being accused, and she never did such a thing in the first place. Most likely though, and historical documents attest to this, she was outspoken, noisy, maybe beautiful or otherwise conspicuous among her neighbors.

Nevertheless, the historical witch-beliefs were specific within their own course of thought. Once the underlying logic of these beliefs was replaced by the rise of science, the most salient and spectacular features of the historical witch-beliefs became literary

² Carol F. Karlsen. *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman* (New York: Vintage Books. 1989) 247.249.

attributes, and certain activities and distinguishing characteristics remained to help 'form' the traditional, stereotypical witch-image: mean, magic and woman. One example of what is meant by 'magic' in the historical beliefs, later to become a stereotypical activity of the fairy-tale-witch, is the brewing of potions. Witches were thought to concoct potions as love elixirs, poisons or to anoint their paraphernalia to fly to the witches' sabbat. A famous literary example of this belief is Snow-White's beautiful but mean step-mother who tries to poison Snow-White; or then there is the ugly old witch in "Hänsel und Gretel," who exemplifies the fact that most of the historical witches were older women. These witches used their magic for malicious purposes and are examples of yet another, very important, factor in the historical witch-beliefs: witches are women who are intrinsically evil. The malevolence, it is believed, is part of being female. Women, simply by being female, supposedly enjoy these witch-activities and succumb to the temptation to witchcraft easily.

In Naubert's tales my definition of 'witch' is based on these uncommon and undesirable traits; in this sense the witch in these tales is a woman fighting for self-determination, is enterprising, often learned and not the intrinsically malevolent destructive force of nature. Since the fairy tale is a place where magic and reality blend, where mortals and immortals intermingle, a witch in Naubert's tales may be able to do magic but it is not a condition for being a witch. Furthermore, as Naubert is an author of the late eighteenth century, the issue of learning and education is important to her. That this topic deeply concerns Naubert is clearly expressed in the last of her fifteen tales, "Ottbert," where the authorial voice alludes to the fact that a learned woman is 'called a

witch as soon as her erudition becomes evident.' Naubert's stand on what women are supposed to do within a restrictive society is expressed with subtle irony throughout her tales. Again, she is most concise in the last tale, when one of the male characters is told to 'end his attacks on women.' Overall, the aspect of the learned or knowledgeable woman is emphasized in this study because as learned women they are often likely to be chastised by society.

The relationship between a learned woman and the witch is old. Sophisticated sorceresses, Medea, Morgane, Cundry, as well as the simplest and poorest witch were thought to possess some secret and special knowledge. Learning includes curiosity, an inquisitive mind, awareness of differences; learning leads to autonomy and independence, all qualities and capabilities thought unfitting for women, and at the advent of an enlightened age still barely accepted. Unrestricted learning for women, access to books, formal education or attending universities was extremely slow to become recognized. Reasons for holding women back from learning are many, one being that a woman who knows too much could be dangerous. But Benedikte Naubert's special kind of witch often behaves as if knowing and learning were perfectly natural for her, and independence, if not granted, was certainly worth fighting for. A study of the witch in Naubert's fairy tales therefore means a study of this kind of woman. But as they are pushed into acts of rebellion or meanness, rather than having committed them out of an inborn desire to be mean, I would like to call them *reluctant* witches.

Reluctant is understood and used in several definitions from the Latin roots as to “struggle against,” but also as being just “unwilling” or “disinclined.”³ Naubert’s literary witches can be categorized in all three definitions. Some are truly fighting against accusations and for independence or both, others may be resolutely unwilling, and still others are just merely disinclined to simply follow orders they do not understand. They are not typical fairy tale witches, mean and magic brewers of potions, eager to perform evil tasks. The term *reluctant* may therefore also be understood as somewhat playful: reluctant witches are not necessarily dangerous, as Naubert’s tales and, quite surprisingly, even some tales from the Grimms’ will show.

Benedikte Naubert (1756-1819) was one of the earliest, very productive and well liked German women writers who flourished during the age of Goethe. She wrote historical novels and fairy tales and, towards the later part of her career, she also published extensively in journals. Scholarship on Naubert has been negligible, and her collection of fifteen fairy tales has never been studied as a work complete in itself, although they were among the very first works in the new genre of literary fairy tales and were the first written by a woman. Ironically, the first volume was published, in 1789, a time symbolizing the apex of the Enlightenment, though still not free of witch-beliefs, since the last legal witch execution in Europe was in 1782.⁴

³ Unwilling, disinclined: offering resistance; opposing (Latin: *reluctor* = to struggle) In: *The American Dictionary of the English Language*, 3rd Edition.

⁴ In Glarus, Switzerland, June 18, 1782. The trial was, according to Kaspar Freuler, “ein Prozess ... der weit über alle Grenzen Aufsehen erregte.” Kaspar Freuler, *Anna Göldi. Die Geschichte der letzten Hexe*. (Zürich: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1947) 8.

Naubert's obscurity as an author is considered the result of her gender by some scholars, while others regard her writing as inferior. Both aspects of her reception will be discussed. Naubert was very successful and popular at her time, but her extensive literary achievements, from historical novels to fairy tales, have subsequently received little appreciation. She is not part of the canonical or regularly accessible texts for the student of German or the casual reader, and it is equally difficult to locate and obtain reviews by her contemporaries.⁵ But the *Neue Volksmärchen der Deutschen* received high praises, and that they are enjoyable to read is reflected in the opinions of her contemporaries as well of recent reviewers. "In den Märchen gab Benedicte Naubert den sprechendsten Beweis für ihre Begabung ... ausgebreitete Bilder, lebhafter historischer Sinn, treffende Beobachtungen und feine geistreiche Einzelheiten zeichnen diese Dichtungen aus," says Christine Touaillon (1919) and Kurt Schreinert (1941) praises her "andächtige Bejahung des Geheimnisvollen... und erstaunliche Vertrautheit mit echtem Märchen und Sagengut."⁶ Joseph Nadler (1931) states that her "...*Neue Volksmärchen der Deutschen* ... haben entwicklungsgeschichtliche Bedeutung für die Entdeckung von Sage

⁵ Nikolaus Dorsch calls it a "katastrophale Forschungslage" attributed to the "höchst problematische Überlieferungssituation ... Viele Romane sind nur noch in einem Exemplar nachweisbar, manche völlig verschollen, die Hefte der Journale und Taschenbücher, in denen ihre Novellen und Erzählungen erschienen, über mehrere Bibliotheken zerstreut." Nikolaus Dorsch.. "Sich rettend aus der kalten Wirklichkeit." *Die Briefe Benedikte Nauberts*. (Frankfurt am Main, Bern, New York: Peter Lang, 1986) 143.

⁶ Christine Touaillon, *Der deutsche Frauenroman des 18. Jahrhunderts*. (Wien und Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1919) 416; Kurt Schreinert, *Benedikte Naubert. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte des historischen Romans in Deutschland*. (Berlin: Verlag Dr. Emil Ebering, 1941) 28, available under the Uniform Title Series *Germanische Studien*, Bd. 230.

und Märchen...”⁷ Among her contemporaries, Achim von Arnim (1808) admired the tales’ “reiche Eigenthümlichkeit.”⁸ Arnim’s words in the “*Zeitung für Einsiedler*” in 1808 represent a significant example of Naubert’s reception. Aside from praising her talents Arnim’s words touch upon the issue of recognition: the question of whose opinion or influence will make or break an author’s reputation is a perennial occurrence in literary history.

Diesen neuen Volksmärchen, die vielleicht durchaus keinen Fehler als eine allzu geregelte breite Sprache haben, ist das gewöhnliche Schicksal trefflicher Bücher begegnet aus Nachsprecherey irgend eines tonangebenden Kritikers immerdar verachtet zu seyn. Noch neulich giebt ihnen ein guter Schriftsteller Schuld, daß sie dem Musäus nicht glücklich nachgeahmt sind, unbegreiflich ist dies Verkennen einer reichen Eigenthümlichkeit, an die Musäus, ungeachtet seines Talents nie anreichen konnte, nicht zu gedenken, daß sie rein sind von den widrigen literarischen Anspielungen der Zeit, die zu den Zeiten des Musäus für Witz gelten mußten

The author mentioned by Arnim, Johann Karl August Musäus (1735-1787), published *Volksmärchen der Deutschen* in 1782-1786, only a few years before Naubert’s first volume of fairy tales appeared in 1789. The similarity of the titles puzzled at least one of her contemporaries. “So hätte also geschwind einer sich der Stelle bemächtigt, die durch *Musäus* Tod auf dem deutschen Parnaß erledigt worden!”⁹ an anonymous reviewer of Naubert’s tales remarked tersely. It is clear that Naubert knew about Musäus and that she owned his book at least by 1788, as a remark in one of the letters to her cousins

⁷ Joseph Nadler, *Literaturgeschichte der deutschen Stämme und Landschaften*. 3. Auflage. (Regensburg: Josef Habel, 1931) III. 551.

⁸ Achim von Arnim, in “*Zeitung für Einsiedler*”. Nr. 32. July 20. 1808. p. 256.

⁹ “*Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*”. (Mittwoch. 12. August. 1789) 398.

indicates: “auch für die Volcksmärchen habe Danck.”¹⁰ Musäus and Naubert work in the same “Manier”¹¹ or style, taking legends, folktales and fairy tales to make their own personal version of tales. But their narrative styles and the tales’ contents are very different and, as Arnim confirms, there is little resemblance in their use of the material.¹² Research indicates that Naubert hardly wanted to misuse¹³ Musäus’ work. She was too busy, honest and genuinely inspired by the Muse.¹⁴

Naubert is very often cited in conjunction with Musäus by her contemporaries and also by later reviewers. Since Musäus’ texts are available and scholarship is extensive, Naubert’s absence is therefore all the more puzzling. Some examples are the anonymous reviewer quoted above, Arnim, the Grimms and, of the more recent ones, Touaillon, Grätz, Rölleke and Maria Tatar.¹⁵ A comparison of Musäus’ and Naubert’s texts side-by-

¹⁰ Dorsch, 17.

¹¹ Grätz, 233.

¹² Other instances in German literature where themes are used in different ways: For example, the theme of ‘the woman who completely isolates herself from time to time’ is treated in Ludwig Tieck’s “Sehr wunderbare Historie von der Melusine” (1800) and in Naubert’s “Erlkönigs Tochter.” (1792). Both heroines, Tieck’s and Naubert’s, are magic women and also utterly devoted wives, but Tieck’s Melusine will only be released from a spell upon her death, whereas Naubert’s Edda fights a determined battle with her opposing forces and wins. Another example is the legend of Saint Genoveva. Tieck’s “Leben und Tod der heiligen Genoveva” and Naubert’s “Genoveve oder die Träume” keep the central theme of the innocent woman accused of adultery by her attacker, in other words: victimization of the victim. In Tieck’s version a witch gives false testimony and is burned at the stake; Naubert shows the psychological involvement between accuser and accused.

¹³ Grätz, for example, discusses Musäus’ imitators, 196-206, but does not include Naubert as imitator.

¹⁴ Discussed in Chapter One.

¹⁵ Dorsch comments that “Quellenabhängigkeit” is not established. (Dorsch, 147) Arnim’s comment is in the “Literatur-Zeitung” quoted above; the reviewer is documented in footnote 13; the Grimms comment is in the footnote to the 1812 edition of their fairy tales and is discussed in chapter four. Touaillon, 419; Manfred Grätz *Das Märchen in der deutschen Aufklärung* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1988) 233; Heinz Rölleke, Nachwort, *Grimms Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (Köln: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1982)

side does not seem to exist. The only reason they are so often mentioned in tandem must be their manner of using local legends for their tales, in spite of the vast differences within their texts. Musäus' satire is, to say the least, "unendlich variirt"¹⁶, as opposed to Naubert's absorbing and gentle narrative. But for a witch to be a believable character, she cannot be just ridiculous. She has to be somewhat frightening if she is supposed to be mean. On the other hand, if she is a blameless, good woman who finds herself accused as witch or otherwise in dire circumstances, she cannot be a flawless goddess to be creditable. Musäus' unique style of wit makes it impossible not to laugh at even his worst or best protagonists. Or as Richli says: "Es ist schlechterdings unmöglich, die ... Wunderschilderungen von Musäus mit ehrfürchtigem ernstem Sinn zu lesen."¹⁷

Musäus and Naubert are similar in their free use of the genre of fairy tale. The terminology of legend, myth, fairytale or fable was very fluid at the time, and choosing 'Volksmärchen' as part of the title was Musäus' conscious decision. He even mentions in his introduction that he wants to make a contribution "unter den verschiedenen Gattungen von Märchen" and especially to the genre of "Volksmärchen, auf dessen Kultur bisher noch kein deutscher Skribent verfallen war."¹⁸ Naubert has similar ideas when she states at the beginning of her novel *Werner, Graf von Bernburg*: "Die Geschichte ... ist eine

526: Maria Tatar. *The hard Facts of the Grimms' Fairy Tales*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987) 15.

¹⁶ Alfred Richli. "Johann Karl August Musäus: Die Volksmärchen der Deutschen." In: *Zürcher Beiträge zur deutschen Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte*. Hrsg. Emil Staiger. (Zürich und Freiburg im Breisgau: Atlantis Verlag, 1957) 72.

¹⁷ Richli, 149.

¹⁸ Musäus, 10.

sittsame Matrone, zu stolz oder zu bescheiden mit Reizen zu prangen, welche den ernsten Blick der Wahrheit nicht aushalten können; die Sage ist eine muthwillige Dirne voll Begierde zu gefallen, und unbekümmert wo sie ihren Schmuck erborgt.”¹⁹ Bechstein in 1854 still calls these four forms of literature a “vielblüthige Wunderblume” and says that “Sage, Märe und Fabel sind drei verschiedene Klänge, und doch *ein* Klang, dem früheren Volksthum galten sie als ein und derselbe Begriff, und vielen gelten sie noch heute so....”²⁰ As the fairy tale was not a defined genre, it is not surprising that two collections with almost identical titles could be so different. Naubert may have intentionally chosen her title and cast her often bold ladies in response to Musäus’ traditional depiction of women.

To summarize: this dissertation discusses the figure of the witch in Benedikte Naubert’s folk fairy tales. The witch in Naubert’s tales is a woman who, in some way, is not acting as is expected of a woman of the times. She is expressing wishes for independence and learning and, for this reason, she often finds herself in a perilous situation, a fate similar to the fate of the women accused of witchcraft during the persecutions. She is a *reluctant* witch in that she is a woman who ‘becomes’ a witch due to circumstances around her. Naubert carefully hides her criticism of society in the *Neue Volksmärchen* in an often humorous, lightly ironical style. For example, in her tales the

¹⁹ Benedikte Naubert, *Werner, Graf von Bernburg*. Wien: 1791. 5.

²⁰ Ludwig Bechstein. *Mythe, Sage, Märe und Fabel im Bewusstsein des deutschen Volkes. 1854-1855* (Neudruck: Osanbrück: Biblio Verlag. 1969). 1.

independent woman is often criticized by the narrator, while the real perpetrator, who is often a male figure, is not. Since Naubert successfully maintained a male persona the criticism was ambiguous and overlooked by readers and critics alike. With the discovery of her gender, however, her oeuvre was relegated to trivial literature and largely forgotten.²¹

Naubert's fairy tales not only comment on education for women, but also on their situation as wives and daughters in the late eighteenth century. The striving for autonomy, such as the wish for knowledge, entrepreneurial freedom, and self-determination, has been a struggle for women even past Naubert's time. Naubert is very modern in that she consciously and continuously exposes such issues. That this rebellion is profound can also be seen in the legal position of the times, as a woman was still her husband's property and not a legal individual. In the *Neue Volksmärchen* Naubert is encouraging, yet advising to be careful with these progressive wishes.

Since Benedikte Naubert is virtually unknown, Chapter One introduces her as woman and author. In the section "Biographical Background" I use her letters extensively to make her more visible as a person in her own historical setting. Her personal ideas about learning and knowledge as well as her opinions about anonymity can be gleaned from her letters and from some of her other writings. When quoting from her letters I have maintained her exact spelling. In "Critical Scholarship" I first investigate

²¹ Older texts can lead to a new understanding of existing ones, as well as provide insights for an understanding of earlier ages, therefore "Republication of texts is still the most pressing need for women's studies of this period." Jeannine Blackwell, "Select Bibliography in German Social History and Women Writers". In: *Women in German Yearbook 5*. (Lanham: University of America Press. 1989) 112.

what her contemporaries thought of her work and then turn to more recent scholarship, beginning in 1919. “Learning and Anonymity” addresses the question as to why she chose to publish anonymously and how the prevailing attitude about educated women may have influenced this decision.

Chapter Two explains and compares the concepts of the historical witch and the literary fairy tale-witch. “The Reluctant Historical Witches” explains how the intellectual idea of the witch, the ‘witch theory’ of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, relates to the reality of the witch-hunts, and why at the height of witch-beliefs in Europe it was deadly to be called a witch. “Fairy tale-witches and the Grimms’ *Kinder und Hausmärchen*” deals with the influence the Grimms’ popular fairy tales had on the image of the witch and how this is related to the historical witch. The section also explains how some of the female heroines in the Grimms’ tales are similar to those in Naubert’s, thus showing continuation in the development of female self-determination. The section “Narrative Differences in J.K.A. Musäus’ *Volksmärchen der Deutschen* and Benedikte Naubert’s *Neue Volksmärchen der Deutschen*” is a comparison between some of Musäus’ and Naubert’s tales. Specifically, it deals with how Musäus depicts themes or figures similar to Naubert’s and how his particular style of writing affects the depiction. The chapter focuses on female characters that are comparable to Naubert’s and explains the major differences between the two authors.

Chapter Three analyzes each of Naubert’s tales individually. The chapter is organized with the distinctions of the term *reluctant* in mind as delineated above: the struggling, the unwilling and the disinclined witches. This means that all the tales are

analyzed, but not necessarily in chronological order. Each analysis has a short plot summary in Appendix A. The summaries, presented in the order they appeared in the first editions from 1789 to 1792, omit parts of the tale not pertinent to the analysis but they should help to clarify the discussion of that particular tale. One of the tales, “Die Fischer,” does not have a witch-like character fitting into my analysis, but it shows Naubert’s unique sense of humor and reveals some of her thoughts on imagination and education. An analysis of the tale pertaining to imagination is at the end of Chapter Three; her thoughts on education are included in the conclusion.

The conclusion starts with my thoughts on Naubert’s style and her use of legends as fairy tales. It finishes with a discussion of the findings in Chapter Three, delineating how Naubert’s concerns for women’s issues are depicted in her fairy tales via the witch image.

The appendices, besides the previously mentioned summaries of the fairy tales in Appendix A, offers two documents helpful for an understanding of the age and the author. Appendix B presents Achim von Arnim’s article with his remarks about Naubert in the “*Zeitung für Einsiedler*”, and Appendix C is Naubert’s essay “*Sévigné, Déshoulières, Dacier, oder die goldene Lyra.*”

Chapter One

Biographical Background and Scholarship

1. Biographical Background

Benedikte Naubert was born Christiane Benedikte Eugenie Hebenstreit on September 13, 1756, in Leipzig.¹ She was the youngest daughter of the professor of medicine Johann Ernst Hebenstreit. Her father died of typhoid fever in December 1757 while working in the field hospitals of the Seven Years' war. Her two older brothers taught her philosophy, history, classical languages, English, French and Italian, but she was also instructed in the more typically female subjects, such as piano, harp and embroidery. She started to publish in 1779, contributing financially to the family. In 1797, at the age of forty-one, she married the merchant Lorenz Wilhelm Holdenrieder and moved to Naumburg, but her husband died in 1800. She remained in Naumburg and married Johann Georg Naubert in 1802. In 1806 she took her brother's orphaned son into her household to raise him as her foster-son. In 1808 she started to suffer from an eye infection that caused almost total blindness and was to last until her death. In 1818 she moved to Leipzig to prepare for eye surgery, but died there of complications on January 12, 1819, at the age of 63.²

¹ Her year of birth is unclear. Touaillon: 1756; Schreinert: 1757; an introductory biographical note in *Deutsche Classiker* of 1842 has it as 1753. Schindel's date, 1756, is probably accurate: he claims to have received the information from Naubert herself. "Nach ihrer eignen Angabe". Carl August von Schindel. *Die deutschen Schriftstellerinnen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*. (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1823) 32

² For more details on her vita see Dorsch 225-229; Schreinert 106-107 and 36-37; *Untersuchungen zum Roman von Frauen um 1800*, (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990) 216; Schindel. II. 32 - 46.

Her letters, transcribed and commented by Nikolaus Dorsch, help to better understand the thoughts and life of the woman who anonymously published over fifty books as from the “Verfasser des....” Judging from her letters, she was a practical lady, aware of herself and of the time she lived in. To be as informed about history and literature as she was, to find the time to write the enormous amount she did and, at the same time raise a child, Naubert must have maintained a certain balance in body and mind. “Einen guten Menschen bilden ist mehr als hundert Bücher schreiben”³ she writes good humoredly to her friend and publisher Rochlitz in 1805 about the education of her nephew and foster-son Edouard. She spends sleepless nights at the sick child’s bedside, using the time to think and write: “Verzeihen Sie die ungebührliche Länge dieses Briefes einer einsamen Nacht, und wenn Sie keine andere Muse haben so lesen Sie ihn zu ähnlicher Zeit.”⁴ Wilhelm Grimm, who visited her in Naumburg in 1813, said : “Ich fand eine kleine bucklichte, schwer sehende und hörende Frau mit einem blassen, guten und feinen Gesicht...”⁵ One of her letters permits a glimpse into what might be called an eighteenth-century ‘superwoman doing it all.’ She worries about her writing but about her laundry too, and she is looking forward to inspiration in the form of the literary journal “Selene”,

³ Dorsch. 34.

⁴ Dorsch. 57.

⁵ Dorsch. 228. Dorsch quotes from: “Briefwechsel zwischen Jakob und Wilhelm Grimm aus der Jugendzeit.” Hrsg. Von Hermann Grimm und Gustav Hinrichs.- Weimar 1818. 202.

usually sent to her by her publisher. She tells him that work and laundry will be done--in time:

Meine Arbeit in künftiger Woche nach geendigter Wäsche, zu welcher ich bey Ihnen um gut Wetter bitte, soll seyn, meine *Arinthia* und die *Azimuntiner* um welche jetzt gefreyt wird, vollends auszustatten, binnen der Zeit schreiben Sie wieder, sagen mir vielleicht wieviele Hefte von der *Selene* heraus sind, und was ich für neue Nahrung für den Geist zu hoffen habe.⁶

Taken from these lines, she did not try to make a choice between career and home, but combined the two. Schreinert cannot find enough praise for her “Freude in der Erfüllung hausfraulicher Pflichten...”⁷ Yet, she knew the difficulty of carving out time to write, research and think, and knew how to appreciate the benefits of peace: “Die Zeit da ich hier ohne alle häuslichen Sorgen lebe und der Quelle der Erudition nahe bin, ist zu Studien dieser Art recht geeignet, ist die einzige für mich, ...”⁸ she writes to Rochlitz from Leipzig. There are some formulaic expressions of modesty in her letters, such as references to the “irrende Schreiberin.”⁹ Another time she writes: “Vorrätig habe ich nichts, Gefühl, Phantasie oder ein anderer Genius ... Keine gelehrte Schreiberin bin ich nicht”¹⁰ Such passages have added to the notion that she must have been very modest

⁶ Dorsch. 62.

⁷ Schreinert. 37.

⁸ Dorsch. 30.

⁹ Dorsch. 29.

¹⁰ Dorsch. 23.

or unassuming.¹¹ But, given her love of learning and writing, I think a great part of this perceived modesty is sheer politeness, maybe womanly politeness, inherent in her upbringing and culture. Bragging was not--and still is not--well received, and flaunting erudition not advisable in an age where learning for women was looked upon as an unfitting occupation.

Typical of Naubert is her practicality and realism. Schreinert calls Naubert “ein echtes Kind des pragmatischen Zeitalters...”¹² For example, her historical novel *Ulrich Holzer, Bürgermeister in Wien* (1793) is, according to Schreinert, a clear call to reason: the fate of the mayor of Vienna resembles her own time. Naubert was thirty-two years old when the French Revolution shook the world. In 1793, Louis XVI and his family were executed in Paris. She experienced the Napoleonic wars at close range; her house in Naumburg was used as lodging for French officers. After the Russian defeat in 1812, Naumburg became a field-hospital to the retreating French Army. In May 1813 she writes: “Unsere Existenz ist traurig: immer Angst, äußeres Elend, Geschrey des Schmerzens das das Herz zerreißt, Anblicke bey denen man geschwächte Augen glücklich preißen muß, und dabei Fähigkeit zu lindern nur im kleinen.”¹³ Naubert lived in politically exciting and dangerous times. But she raised a child and wrote over fifty books, and she

¹¹ The German word is “bescheiden” or “Bescheidenheit”. Schreinert, Dorsch, Touaillon use this expression.

¹² Schreinert, 84.

¹³ Dorsch, 90.

did this with humor and sensitivity, balancing house and job in her own way: "Heute besann ich mich beym Nährahmen auf ein paar niedliche Charaden... wo meine geliebtesten Kinder ihr erstes Daseyn erhielten."¹⁴

One might say that Benedikte Naubert led a triple life: obviously that of a housewife for her family; as an author for her readers who thought she was a male author; and as a woman-author with her own particular problems and concerns. In a letter to Louise Brachmann, also a contributor to "Journal für deutsche Frauen," Naubert expresses the necessity for self control, the beauty of a rich inner life:

Ich besorgte immer, ich möchte Ihnen zu kalt sein oder scheinen. Doch Sie wissen das selbst. Wir Dienerinnen am Altar der Musen - (daß es ja niemand höre, daß ich dieses stolze WIR sage) - tragen das Kleid unserer Weihe nicht wie ein Alltagskleid, sind in unserem Hause gute Mädchen, stille häusliche Frauen, gefällige ergebene Ehegattinnen, geduldige Mütter, Köchinnen, Nähterinnen, Spinnerinnen beiher. Es lässt sich recht gut mit uns umgehen, und eine höhere Stimmung beginnt nur im Allerheiligsten der Einsamkeit, oder dem Freunde, der Freundin gegenüber, die uns versteht. Diese Stimmung, dieses heilige Feuer ist's aber eigentlich, das jenes alles belebt, und macht, dass kein Mensch weiss, wie wir jenes alles weit besser und in höherem Grade sind oder zu sein streben, als es nur gefordert werden kann.¹⁵

There is much personal information in these words of a world understandable to those familiar with it. Housework is not presented as drudgery but as necessary skill; the 'service to the muses,' the 'holy flame' not just a way to cope with some horrible slavery, but to enliven the regular.

¹⁴ Dorsch. 51.

¹⁵ Dorsch. 35-36.

Naubert understood her situation as a woman and writer. In the same letter, she admits having been full of “Schwärmerei”, but that her own mother had taught her to keep this under control: “Die Männer, selbst die Dichter, hassen das bisschen Schwärmerei recht hartnäckig an uns, man darf es ihnen gar nicht sehen lassen, ... aber wie willkommen ist ihnen das, was sie Herzlichkeit nennen, und das im Grunde nichts ist, als die milde Wärme, von jenem heilig gehaltenen Feuer erzeugt.”¹⁶ Manipulation, simple diplomacy or smart psychology? Maybe this wisdom was a necessity, as Schiller’s and Jean Paul’s treatment of Charlotte von Kalb indicates: “Beide Dichter wenden sich von der Begeisterten ab...”¹⁷ Besides being practical advice, it also makes it clear that it matters what men think of women. The next sentence shows Naubert’s humorously detached disposition: “So sind sie nun [die Männer], und doch sind wir ihnen gut...”¹⁸ If the passage quoted from the letter to Louise Brachmann is Naubert’s idea of the artist, it is the opposite of the dreamy artist ‘whose eyes don’t see the ground,’¹⁹ and affirms her practical nature.

¹⁶ Dorsch, 36.

¹⁷ Christa Bürger, *Leben Schreiben. Die Klassik, die Romantik und der Ort der Frauen*. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1990) 3.

¹⁸ Dorsch, 36.

¹⁹ J.W. Goethe, *Torquato Tasso*, 1.1 (Reclam) 8. “Sein Auge weilt auf dieser Erde kaum”.

2. Critical Scholarship since 1919

Benedikte Naubert vanished completely from the literary scene until 1919, when Christine Touaillon wrote her seminal work, *Der deutsche Frauenroman des 18. Jahrhunderts*, providing a solid base for all further study.²⁰ It is difficult to fit Naubert into categories. Literary history and references usually mention her books under categories such as historical novels and fairy tales, as a contributor to journals and as an author of “well loved and family novels” or as influence on other writers; but most often she is listed under “Ritter- und Räuberromane”.²¹ The words by one reviewer in *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* exemplifies her category-defying style: “Stoffe und Motive verschiedenster Herkunft werden ... zusammengewoben: örtliche Volkssage, literarische Überlieferungen des Spätmittelalters, Legenden, Dramen der Stürmer und Dränger, Goethe’s Balladen, Nibelungenlied und Rosengarten.”²²

Naubert was included in studies on trivial literature by Marianne Thalmann in 1923, Rudolf Bauer in 1930 and Martin Greiner in 1964. The only other woman author

²⁰ Christine Touaillon. *Der deutsche Frauenroman des 18. Jahrhunderts*. (Wien und Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller. 1919) Touaillon’s study is used by virtually everyone concerned with novels by women in the 18th and 19th centuries.

²¹ *The Oxford Companion to German Literature*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1967). 626; Helmut de Boor and Richard Newald. *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. Band 6. 1. Teil. von Klopstock bis Goethes Tod. 1750-1832. (München: C.H. Beck. 1967). 375; *Die Zeitschrift der Romantik*, (Leipzig: H. Hassel Verlag. 1911). 369. Naubert is mentioned very briefly by Fritz Martini in *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte* (Stuttgart: Kröner Verlag. 1984). 330. as very “betriebsam” in writing family- and historical novels. H and E. Frenzel in *Daten deutscher Dichtung* (München: DTV. 1980). 355. mention her as influencing Scott.

²² *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, 375.

discussed in one of these studies is Sophie von LaRoche, discussed by Greiner.

Otherwise, Naubert's works are compared only with male authors, such as Vulpius, Fessler, Veit Weber, Wächter and Heinse.²³ Thalmann analyses Naubert's fairy tales and novels, whereas Bauer and Greiner focus on her historical novels. That these studies were influential in placing Naubert's oeuvre in the slighted category of trivial literature seems obvious; often they are scathing. For instance, Bauer's analysis of Naubert and Wächter is mostly a discussion and refutation of Touaillon's more favorable findings and comments on Naubert's works.²⁴ But Touaillon's overall conclusion about novels by women in the eighteenth century may have contributed to including Naubert within trivial literature. Touaillon states that, except for being inspirational to male authors of the time, women authors had no creativity: "...die Frauen übernahmen Motive, Gestalten und Umwelt von dem Manne und setzten aus ihnen eine Handlung zusammen, deren Grundzüge sich nicht wesentlich von der Handlung des Männerromans unterschieden."²⁵ Women, Touaillon says, deal in their writing only with what is closest to them, which is house and hearth, or in Greiner's words: "Das Banale ist also das Gewöhnliche ...

²³ Martin Greiner. *Die Entstehung der modernen Unterhaltungsliteratur. Studien zum Trivialroman des 18. Jahrhunderts.* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1964); Marianne Thalmann. *Der Trivialroman des 18. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Geheimbundmystik* (Berlin: Emil Ebering, 1923); Rudolf Bauer. *Der historische Trivialroman in Deutschland im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert* (Plauen i.V.: Otto Adam, 1930)

²⁴ Some of the comments by Greiner and Bauer are especially stinging. "Die Geschichten dieser Frau [Naubert] langweilen uns heute genau so..." (Greiner, 110); "Von einer künstlerischen Technik des Erzählens kann keine Rede sein..." (Bauer, 79).

²⁵ Touaillon, 633.

innerhalb einer bestimmten und umgrenzten Gemeinschaft, das allzu Alltägliche.

Selbstverständliche...²⁶ Other findings by Touaillon are that women's novels lack

imagination, are shallow in feelings and are untouched by current events; there is no wish

to know the secrets of the world; women are blind to nature, humorless and heavy

handed.²⁷ However, Touaillon names the lack of education for women as the main reason

for this penchant towards mediocrity:

Die Art ihres Unterrichtes, und das Frauenideal ihrer Zeit lehrten sie, von allem nur einwenig zu wissen und zu können, während regelrechte Ausbildung in einem einzigen Fach und ausschliessliche Beschäftigung mit ihm, bereits als unweiblich empfunden wurde... Die deutschen Schriftstellerinnen mussten fast ausnahmslos eine ursprünglich lückenhafte Bildung autodidaktisch ergänzen und genossen fast nie eine der männlichen Bildung entsprechenden Schulung. Vielfach kamen sie nur dadurch zur Schriftstellerei, dass sie aus Gelehrten oder Künstlerkreisen stammten.²⁸

This quote precisely illustrates Benedikte Naubert's experience of education.²⁹ That it

results in mediocre literary production, as Touaillon concludes, has been debated by

²⁶ Greiner. 143.

²⁷ Touaillon. 634-655. "Die Phantasie der Romanschriftstellerin des 18. Jahrhunderts ist nicht gross. Es ist nicht ihre Domäne Neues zu erfinden...(635) "Während der Mann sich häufig seinen Gefühlen ganz hingibt, treibt die Frau stets eine gewisse Realpolitik ihren Gefühlen gegenüber."(637) "Ganz ablehnend verhält sich die Frau des 18. Jahrhunderts gegen Kriege und staatliche Erschütterungen." (639) "Bei keiner Frau, auch nicht der bedeutendsten, findet sich eine Spur jenes heissen Ringens um die Weltgeheimnisse, wie es Goethe und Klinger, Schiller und Lessing... kennzeichnet, ja, wie es im 18. Jahrhundert bei den Männern geradezu das Merkmal jedes grossen Geistes ist." (640) "Ebenso spröde verhält sich die Frau der Natur gegenüber...für die Kunst fehlt ihr die glühende Hingabe des Mannes... der Humor fehlt ihnen fast völlig...sie stecken tiefer [im Leben] erheben sich schwerer darüber und vermögen es nur selten als Stoff zu benützen." (641, 643).

²⁸ Touaillon. 643.

²⁹ Barbara Becker-Cantarino, speaking of Sophie von La Roche, remarks: "Sie war, wie alle literarisch tätigen oder geistig hervorragenden Frauen eine Autodidaktin, da ihr eine höhere Schulbildung als Frau verschlossen war. Bildungsanstösse kamen von den Männern ihres häuslichen Kreises...". In: Sophie

feminist scholars. To reclaim a forgotten author, who was firmly placed in the category of trivial literature, demanded a new approach in research and perspective. The literary production by women might just be very different, and aspects of this difference have been worked out by feminist scholars.

Scholars have credited Naubert with innovative ideas and quality of writing. Kurt Schreinert, analyzing Naubert's historical novels, credits her with a methodological invention he calls the "Zweischichtenroman": "Ein Roman mit einem festeren historischen Hintergrund und bewegtem Vordergrund, wurde auf dem Gebiet des Mittelalterromans zuerst in den Werken der Benedikte Naubert durchgeführt."³⁰ Manfred Grätz acknowledges her popularity and productivity and her importance in the development of the fairy tale, even though he categorizes her fairy tales according to the Grimmian model. Nikolaus Dorsch's publication of her letters in 1986 and Georg Sauder's republication of *Heerfort und Klärchen*,³¹ Naubert's first novel, represent the effort to save documents of the past. Distinctly different, however, is the scholarship and the research inspired by the feminist movement during the 1970's. This scholarship is represented by Shawn C. Jarvis' Ph.D. thesis *Literary Legerdemain and the "Märchen" Tradition of Nineteenth*

von La Roche, *Die Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim*. Hrsg. Barbara Becker-Cantarino. (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1983) 383

³⁰ Schreinert. 27. What Schreinert sees as major achievement is called "skizzierende Andeutung eines neuen Formgedankens" by Bauer. (Bauer. 93) Just one well known example of this method would be C.F. Meyer's *Der Heilige*. (1880)

³¹ Benedikte Naubert, *Heerfort und Klärchen. Etwas für empfindsame Seelen*. (Leipzig: Reiffenstein, 1779; Neudruck: Hildesheim 1982) Mit einem Nachwort von Gerhard Sauder.

Century German Women Writers,³² and Jeannine Blackwell's two essays, *Weibliche Gelehrsamkeit oder die Grenzen der Toleranz: Die Fälle Karsch, Naubert und Gottsched* and *Die verlorene Lehre der Benedikte Naubert: die Verbindung zwischen Phantasie und Geschichtsschreibung*³³. Blackwell's essay *Fractured Fairy Tales: German Women Authors and the Grimm Tradition* is discussed in Chapter Three, since the essay specifically deals with two of Naubert's tales from the *Neue Volksmärchen*.

Jarvis explores German fairy tales written by German women, and analyzes tales by Benedikte Naubert, Amalia Schoppe and Gisela von Arnim. The chapter on Naubert is published in *In the Shadow of Olympus*³⁴ under the title "The Vanished Woman of Great Influence: Benedikte Naubert's Legacy and German Women's Fairy tales." Naubert's influence on other writers is a subject in itself, and Jarvis presents a long list of authors influenced by Naubert.³⁵ Most importantly, Jarvis points out that the fairy tales at the end of the 18th and into the 19th century, "compiled or written by women, almost always

³² Shawn C. Jarvis. *Literary Legerdemain and the "Märchen" Tradition of Nineteenth Century German Women Writers*. (Ph.D. Thesis. University of Minnesota. 1990.)

³³ Jeannine Blackwell. "Weibliche Gelehrsamkeit oder die Grenzen der Toleranz: die Fälle Karsch, Naubert und Gottsched." In: *Lessing und die Toleranz: Beiträge der vierten internationalen Konferenz der Lessing Society in Hamburg; vom 27. - 29. Juni 1985*, hrsg. Peter Freimark, Franklin Kopitzsch und Helga Slessarev." (Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1986): "Die verlorene Lehre der Benedikte Naubert: die Verbindung zwischen Phantasie und Geschichtsschreibung". In: *Untersuchungen zum Roman von Frauen um 1800*: hrsg. Helga Gallas und Magdalena Heuser." (Tübingen: Niemeyer. 1990)

³⁴ Katherine R. Goodmann and Edith Waldstein. Ed. *In the Shadow of Olympus. German Women Writers around 1800*. (Albany: State University of New York Press. 1992.)

³⁵ Jarvis. *Olympus*, 193. One other writer who was influenced by Naubert and who is not mentioned by Jarvis, is Novalis. The article by Michael Neumann discusses this: "Novalis und Walter von Montbarry". In: *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch im Auftrage der Görres-Gesellschaft*. Vol. 30, 317-321. (Berlin: 1989) 319.

confront [the reader] with a different view of the fairy tale world”³⁶ than one would expect from the familiar tales. When Touaillon says that the women authors describe what is close to their everyday lives, she obviously means home, children, kitchen. Jarvis finds that the same authors describe a world where the “spiritual rather than material wealth” are important, allowing for “spiritual and intellectual independence and the personal autonomy such independence makes possible: a fantastic speculation for most women in the nineteenth century.”³⁷ Naubert is a master at subtly conveying messages through a technique called “Literary Legerdemain,”³⁸ says Jarvis. While telling a story, the author weaves in other messages that will certainly be understood by those they are meant for. Unusual in these fairy tales are “female communities outside of traditional society”, communities of self sufficient women and the “rejection of redemption”; the female protagonist redeems herself, she may not marry and still be happy. Often there is no significant male figure in the tale or, instead of the normal nuclear family, there is a ‘female triade,’³⁹ a magical wise woman, a mother and her daughter. The wise woman is often responsible for the girl’s education. Jarvis uses *Velleda, ein Zauberroman* as paradigmatic text for her study of Naubert, but her findings are also relevant to the

³⁶ Jarvis, *Olympus*, 42.

³⁷ Jarvis, *Literary Legerdemain*, 44.

³⁸ From the French “Leger de Main”, light-of-hand. It is also called “coding” by Joann Radner and Susan S. Landis, “The Feminist Voice. Strategies of Coding in Folklore and Literature.” In: *Journal of American Folklore*. (Vol. 100, 1987, Oct.-Dec.), 398, 412-425.

³⁹ These terms are from Shawn Jarvis.

Neue Volksmärchen. In this sense, Jarvis concludes, Naubert and many other women writers rewrote the usual narrative.

Jeannine Blackwell's essay *Weibliche Gelehrsamkeit oder die Grenzen der Toleranz* deals with the problem of the educated woman at the end of the 18th century. Blackwell shows that education or knowledge for women outside the usual duties at home was generally considered useless, the learned woman slightly ridiculous, and knowledge dangerous: "Die ... von den Kirchenvätern bewiesene Verbindung zwischen Vanitas und Wissen, sowie die vererbte weibliche Neugier Evas mit dem Frauenstudium haben lange die europäischen Frauen vom Lernen abgehalten."⁴⁰ The attitude against learning for women pushes some of them into virtual seclusion, says Blackwell. Naubert chose anonymity. Blackwell then traces the evolution of this attitude. The pietism of the early 18th century encourages women to learn to read and write in order to examine their souls, to describe their religious salvation.⁴¹ But the increased tolerance towards female learning is very conditional: to examine one's own soul is fine as long as one remains in the sphere of womanly duties.⁴² Complicating the issue, says Blackwell, is the court lady or

⁴⁰ Blackwell. *Gelehrsamkeit*, 326.

⁴¹ Examples of this tradition are the thousands of diaries written by the Herrnhuter Pietists who came to the US around 1740. The diaries are written in the German Script and are kept in the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, PA.

⁴² See also Schindel's very interesting essay which he wrote as an introduction to the third part of his pioneering work about German women authors: "Ueber die Schriftstellerei der Frauen und ihren Beruf dazu." V - XXVII. Schindel in 1823 is very understanding of the problems facing a woman who wishes to write. But his overall suggestion is similar: he highly praises women who became famous and had many children.

“Hofdame”, the worldly educated woman: “...eine öffentliche Frau, die Französisch spricht, die sich mit Putz und den sinnlichen Genüssen beschäftigt, die mit dem Wissen ohne Nutzen prahlt und die das Familienleben und die stille Tugend verwirft - wird der gelehrten Frau gleichgesetzt.”⁴³ This is intensified later through the writings of Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Kant and Fichte, among others, who still see the ideal woman as a sweet, family-oriented housewife and mother, without any need for higher education. This general ambiguity about education and learning for women, says Blackwell, leads the practical Naubert to issue warnings in her fairy tales and other stories. Blackwell quotes from “Die weisse Frau”, one of the fairy tales in the *Neue Volksmärchen*, where the protagonist deploras the uselessness of learning dark mysticism and dead languages; it is more practical to ‘accept fate and love the people around you.’⁴⁴

In her essay *Die verlorene Lehre der Benedikte Naubert*, Jeannine Blackwell explores Naubert’s use of history and Naubert’s contribution to the development of literature by women. Blackwell looks at developments in France in the 17th century and how they influenced German literature, especially the fairy tale. It starts with the famous quarrel at the Academie Francaise in 1687, the “Querelle des anciens et des modernes.”

⁴³ Blackwell. *Gelehrsamkeit*. 327.

⁴⁴ Blackwell. *Gelehrsamkeit*, 332: “Füge dich in dein Schicksal ein. lass dich nicht zum fanatischen Studium bringen. lerne statt dessen die Menschen um dich lieben.”

The belief in tradition versus the belief in progress is at the heart of the ‘Querelle’ and it significantly changed the perception of history and aesthetic taste. The moderns interpreted history as an organic development, a progression towards a future, whereas the traditionalists saw history’s golden peak in the great past of antiquity. The moderns found that aesthetic taste is time-bound, today’s art is just as valuable as works of the ancients. Beauty is therefore relative and must be newly defined with each new epoch. Antiquity becomes a style among styles, since art is specific to a time in history. This “institutionalized discourse” produced the “intellectual woman.”⁴⁵ While women were excluded from the actual debates, the final victory of the moderns, allowed women the intellectual participation in the form of literature. The result was a new appreciation of women’s intellectual capabilities, their intuitive gifts, sensibility and closeness to the vernacular. The novel, the national myth and the artistic fairy tale are reclaimed. Women authors everywhere in Europe used the new forms with enthusiasm. But, Blackwell continues, if the results of the quarrel was an opening up of old boundaries, new boundaries went up: “... Einschränkungen im Hinblick auf Geschlecht und Gattung... Die grosse Welt der Querelle, das Gefecht zwischen dem Klassischen und dem Modernen, wurde reduziert auf den Zweikampf zwischen dem Lateinsprudelnden, pedantischen ... Frauentzimmer und der sensiblen, empfänglichen und natürlich gebildeten ‘schönen Seele’

⁴⁵ Blackwell, *Die Verlorene Lehre*. 151.

als der Verkörperung der Modernen.”⁴⁶ Between these extremes are the mixed forms, says Blackwell, novels that are neither clearly novel or fairy tale, legend or myth, history or imagination. Naubert’s novels and fairy tales are prime examples of this dissolving of boundaries between genres: “...das verwickelte Märchen-Legende-psychologischer Roman-Gemisch mit geographischer und chronologischer Festlegung.”⁴⁷ Naubert does this best in her two-level novel, the “Zweischichtenroman” described by Schreinert. She brings women and family, people of the lower classes and non-nobility into her novels and fairy tales and lets them participate in front of a well-known historical background; in this manner people of lesser importance are given a voice and responsibility, says Blackwell.

These essays illustrate a changing scholarship, changing ways of interpreting texts. Whether texts are considered inferior or superior may be a matter of changing times. Through her careful defense of tradition alongside the support for the new - democratic? - ideals, Naubert exposes two sides of the human experience. Clearly, in her *Neue Volksmärchen* Naubert debates ideas of change versus tradition. August Wilhelm Schlegel’s reflections on antiquity versus modernity in his lecture in 1808 expand and explicate this idea:

Ein echter Kenner kann nicht sein ohne Universalität des Geistes, d.h. ohne die Biagsamkeit, welche uns in den Stand setzt, mit Verleugnung persönlicher Vorliebe und blinder Gewöhnung, uns in die Eigenheiten anderer ... zu versetzen, sie gleichsam aus ihrem Mittelpunkte heraus zu fühlen ... ja bisweilen unter

⁴⁶ Blackwell. *Die verlorene Lehre*. 155.

⁴⁷ Blackwell. *Die verlorene Lehre*, 156.

befremdlich scheinenden Verkleidungen zu erkennen und gehörig zu würdigen. Es gibt kein Monopol der Poesie für gewisse Zeitalter und Völker...⁴⁸

Manfred Grätz, in his extensive study on the fairy tale during the Enlightenment, mentions Naubert as the most successful German woman author: “Mit diesem, von den Zeitgenossen sehr geschätzten Oeuvre [*Neue Volksmärchen*] ist die Naubert als eine der grössten deutschen Erfolgsschriftstellerinnen überhaupt anzusehen...⁴⁹ Like Touaillon and Schreinert, he blames her lack of renown on the difficulties of classifying her work and, like Jarvis, he recognizes the Grimms’ enormous influence on the genre: “Als Triviallektüre erschienen diese Erzählungen dem 19. Jahrhundert vermutlich zu anspruchsvoll ... als eventuelle Kinderlektüre waren sie wegen ihrer Schicksals- und Liebesproblematik ebenfalls nicht recht geeignet, und thematisch standen sie seit dem Erscheinen der Grimmschen Märchensammlung in deren Schatten.”⁵⁰ Grätz confirms that the Grimms are absolute ruling authorities in matters of fairy tales, and Naubert, according to Grätz, was supposed to conform in research and production: “Märchen im Grimmschen Sinne bieten ihre *Neue Volksmärchen der Deutschen* nicht, auch ist nirgends eine Bekanntschaft der Autorin mit eventuell vorhandenen, mündlich

⁴⁸ August Wilhelm Schlegel. *Über dramatische Kunst und Literatur*. Vorlesungen in Wien. 1808. (Giovanni Vittorio Amoretti. Hrsg. Bonn und Leipzig. 1923)

⁴⁹ Grätz. 234.

⁵⁰ Grätz. 234. He gives short summaries only of the eight tales republished in 1839, instead of all of the fifteen original tales. Valuable for the researcher is a short discussion of the fifth volume of the *Neue Volksmärchen*, which seems to be lost (verschollen). Volume V was published in 1793 under the title *Wallfahrten oder Erzählungen der Pilger*.

überlieferten Vorfahren der Grimmschen Stücke erkennbar.”⁵¹ Different from social and artistic issues is Nikolaus Dorsch’s work on Naubert’s letters. Letters are a window into the past, or into the soul of their writer. Dorsch does not critique Naubert’s writings, but enthusiastically says that

Briefe zu lesen erregt die gleichen Gefühle wie in Grossmutter’s Schränken zu wühlen, in denen man, eingehüllt in eine Wolke von Naphtalin und Staub, verborgene Überraschungen und Schätze wittert. Und wenngleich solche selten zu Tage treten, dringt man in beiden Fällen nicht nur tief in die private Sphäre des Einzelnen ein, es enthüllt sich zugleich ein individuelles Segment geschichtlichen Erlebens.⁵²

Gerhard Sauder’s afterword to the facsimile edition of Naubert’s first novel, *Heerfort und Klärchen* (1779), does not have such romantic overtones, but he does research of literary history a great service in the republication of an old and interesting text. This novel, says Sauder, was extremely successful, had several republications and is “ein bedeutsames Dokument der empfindsamen Tendenz.”⁵³

Reasons as to why literature by women was so often overlooked has been part of the feminist discourse. “Frauenliteratur wieder in den Mittelpunkt der Diskussion gerückt zu haben ... ist das unbestreitbare Verdienst der feministischen Literaturwissenschaft...”

⁵¹ Grätz. 237.

⁵² Dorsch. 1.

⁵³ Gerhard Sauder. Nachwort to *Heerfort und Klärchen*. 15.

says Lydia Schieth.⁵⁴ To discover the vast body of late eighteenth century literature by women⁵⁵ took a new kind of critical research such as re-reading established reference works:

A firm refusal of the hierarchy of genres is a basic premise for feminist scholarship. While erudition and stylistic finesse certainly have their place in literary judgment, categorical rejection of forms will not only endanger experimental genre, it also ignores the specific virtuoso contributions of individual women who worked out of no tradition. The equation of 'Frauenliteratur' and 'Trivilliteratur' is an outgrowth of this hierarchy of genres.⁵⁶

Jarvis states that Naubert's reception for example, is clearly related to the "revelation of her gender."⁵⁷ Naubert's practice of creating a new narrative meant that "the literary canon had little place for texts like Naubert's ... which treat the establishment, confirmation and celebration of women's relationship with other women."⁵⁸

Jarvis is supported by Lydia Schieth's study, *Die Entwicklung des deutschen Frauenromans im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert*, which investigates the possibilities for women authors of the time. Publishing and writing involved the cooperation of men, a cooperation which may consist of reading manuscripts, writing forewords,

⁵⁴ Lydia Schieth. *Die Entwicklung des deutschen Frauenromans im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert*. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1987) 22.

⁵⁵ The appendix of Jarvis' dissertation lists over two hundred fairy tales by women from 1840 on.

⁵⁶ Jeannine Blackwell. "Anonym, verschollen, trivial: Methodological hindrances in researching German Women's Literature". In: *Women in German Yearbook 1* (Lanham, New York, London: University Press of America, 1985), 50.

⁵⁷ Jarvis. *Olympus*, 192.

⁵⁸ Jarvis. *Olympus*, 196.

recommendations or reviews. Schieth examines the foreword, written by Wieland, to the first successful novel written by a woman that was published in Germany, *Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim* (1771) by Sophie von La Roche. Schieth concludes that the foreword by Wieland led to a “poetologische[m] Konzept, das lange Zeit für die Verfasserinnen von Frauenromanen verbindlich blieb...”⁵⁹ Women authors had to please in some way and write according to ideas of what was expected of women. “Liebe, Ehe, Familie bilden die zentralen Themen... Schwangerschaft, Geburt, Pubertätserfahrungen werden bewusst ausgeklammert, die Darstellung erotischer Szenen vermieden...”⁶⁰ Through her book the author is responsible for incorporating “den moralisch-didaktischen Auftrag” of society, says Schieth, and to teach other women proper conduct. Modesty, submission, permission, are key words, which Schieth calls “Nützlichkeitsaspekt”.⁶¹ For a while the women authors modestly sought introductions by a male mentor who would legitimize their morally correct intentions. How did the women eventually circumvent these restrictions? They fictionalized the forewords by a publisher or mentor, they published anonymously, and they carefully exaggerated the stance of modesty. Benedikte Naubert used all these means: she wrote legitimizing introductions, for which Schieth gives the example of the *Amtmännin von Hohenweiler* (1786), and she also clearly used a stance of modesty in her fiction. But a remark by Schindel, written in 1823, confirms once

⁵⁹ Schieth. 48.

⁶⁰ Schieth. 160.

⁶¹ Schieth. 64.

again that the dependence on a sympathetic man was often needed: “Bei ihren früheren Schriften war ihr [Naubert’s] Bruder, der Professor in Leipzig, der verschwiegene Vermittler zwischen ihr und dem Verleger.”⁶²

Naubert wrote at a time of “male literary hegemony”⁶³ when women were barely being recognized as capable of authorship. In spite of that, she was able to publish novels, fairy tales and later in journals. Her achievements during her lifetime are impressive and have subsequently been neglected, but scholarship has since recognized her contributions to the historical novel and fairy tale. Being aware of the hindrance her gender presented, she published anonymously.

3. Learning and Anonymity

As stated before, academic learning for the woman at the end of the 18th century was not normally accepted as a matter of course.⁶⁴ However, Benedikte Naubert advocates learning and its practical and beneficial uses in many of her works, letters and fiction. And Naubert is consistent: learning must be useful and helpful in living a good and

⁶² Schindel. II.26.

⁶³ Jarvis. *Legerdemain*, 72.

⁶⁴ One study on the genesis of the inferiority of women: Rosemary Agotino. *History of Ideas on Women* (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1977). Also see: Renate Bridenthal, Claudia Koonz, ed. *Becoming Visible. Women in European History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977), especially the introduction and the essays by Abby R. Kleinbaum, “Women in the Age of Light” and Ruth Graham, “Loaves and Liberty: Women in the French Revolution”; Priscilla Robertson, “The Academic Woman”. In: *An Experience of Women. Pattern and Change in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982)

worthy life; otherwise it is useless and frivolous. Rather than undiplomatically challenging existing authority through boasting, she turns to her fiction, as Lessing turned to the stage, to convey her messages to attentive readers. She politely welcomes guidance as a positive reflection on the guided, and with her usual mix of humor and irony, she accepts male leadership: "...ist's nicht vielmehr ein guter Zug an uns wenn wir uns gern leiten lassen?"⁶⁵ Naubert also seems to belittle her own capabilities when she says in a letter to Rochlitz: "...ich ganz Ungelehrte kann mich mit keiner der Dichterinnen des Frauenjournals messen."⁶⁶ She also does not praise erudition when she says that to be called 'learned' is "ein unnützes Prädikat für Frauenzimmer."⁶⁷ She even warns about reading and learning, "... Dank einer weisen Mutter und einer strengen Schwester, die mich vor allen schädlichen Lesereyen hüteten..."⁶⁸ a care that guarded her against ridicule.

Her ideas on learning are expressed as early as 1791 in the novel *Werner, Graf von Bernburg, eine Geschichte aus den Zeiten des Mittelalters*.⁶⁹ In 1805 Naubert wrote the

⁶⁵ Dorsch, 43.

⁶⁶ Dorsch, 44.

⁶⁷ Dorsch, 23.

⁶⁸ Dorsch, 43.

⁶⁹ *Werner, Graf von Bernburg, eine Geschichte aus den Zeiten des Mittelalters*. Vom Verfasser Herrmanns von Unna und Walters von Montbarry. Wien: 1791. V. 1. "Die Damen von Gandersheim". 40-49.

essay *Sévigné, Déshoulières, Dacier, oder die goldene Lyra*⁷⁰, maintaining that an education must be useful. The differentiation between the ‘useless Latin verse spouting’ of a learned writer and a natural,⁷¹ sensitive pupil, putting knowledge to good use, is explained in *Werner, Graf von Bernburg*. The twelve-year-old heroine, Luitgard, lives in the convent of Gandersheim, brought there by the Gräfin von Nordheim, to learn how to read and write. In this community of women, she meets the famous Roswitha, who wrote her Ottonian family dramas in Latin. Luitgard thinks that Roswitha and other latinizing ladies are not to be imitated: “...die andern Nonnen sind ältlich und etwas hässlich, und die Gelehrtesten immer am meisten, sonderbar! was mich anbelangt, ich will nicht gelehrt werden.”⁷² But Luitgard also expresses her joy in learning in a letter to her benefactress.

Den Brief habe ich sogleich angefangen, nachdem die Stickerei geendet war, er wird nicht sobald fertig werden, als das Nadelwerk, denn schreiben kostet mehr Mühe als nähen, auch werde ich viel schreiben, und keine Verzierungen sparen, damit ihr den Brief, wenn ihr wollt, als ein Bild in eurem Kabinet aufhängen könnt. Ich bin sehr eitel, liebe Gräfin! Könnt Ihr glauben, dass mir in diesem Augenblick der Gedanke ein zuvor noch nie gefühltes Entzücken verursacht, dass dieser Brief, den ich ohne Ursache auf Pergament schreibe, bey eurem Hause bleiben, und dass man sich noch nach hundert Jahren sagen wird, die Tochter des Marggrafen von Meißen, des heldenmüthigen Eccards, die zwölfjährige Luitgard, habe dieses gerschrieben.⁷³

This passage could be called Naubert’s manifesto on learning with its emphasis on first

⁷⁰ In: *Journal für deutsche Frauen*, (Heft 10. 1805) 46-71. See Appendix C for the complete text.

⁷¹ These terms are from Jeannine Blackwell’s essay *Die verlorene Lehre*.

⁷² *Werner, Graf von Bernburg*, 48.

⁷³ *Werner, Graf von Bernburg*, 47.

finishing one's duties. It sounds similar to Sophie von La Roche's words in *Fräulein von Sternheim* twenty years earlier: asked whether young women should become learned, Fräulein von Sternheim is adamant: "Gott bewahre Sie vor diesem Gedanken [of learned women], der unter tausend Frauenzimmern des Privatstandes kaum bei einer mit ihren Umständen paßt! ... aber lassen Sie sie ... eine einfache Kenntniss von der Luft, die sie atmen, von der Erde, die sie betreten, der Pflanzen und Tiere, ... erlangen."⁷⁴ For Luitgard the newly learned and useful craft is writing, applied creatively for charity:

Nun wißt ihr, liebe Gräfin, was für Mittel zum Gutesthun in meinen Händen sind, und Walburga hat nur wenig über das sie frey gebieten kann, aber wir kaufen für das, was in unserer Gewalt ist, allerley köstliche Materialien zu kunstreichen Arbeiten; unser Fleiß erhöht ihren Werth mehr als fünffach; eine Bekannte aus der Welt, welche meine geliebte Walburga zuweilen besucht, verkauft unsere Werke; die Weltleute nennen Sie Meisterstücke, und überbieten sich in ihrem Werth, dadurch werden wir in Stand gesetzt, unbekannt manchen Armen zu erquicken...⁷⁵

In the *Golden Lyra*, Naubert again cautions against useless learning. A charming get-together in the salon of the wise Madame de Sévigné, where Mademoiselle de Scudéry is meant to read from her latest work, turns into a meeting of minds when some uninvited guests show up: Corneille, Molière, Le Fèvre, Racine. These famous men serve as shining examples of accomplished writers and scientists, but Naubert also uses them to show the difference in expectations between men and women: "... einer schönen Hand wird jeder Missgriff auf der goldenen Lyra verziehen," says Molière to Antoinette Déshoulières.

⁷⁴ La Roche, *Sternheim*, 271.

⁷⁵ *Werner, Graf von Bernburg*, 48.

The authorial voice, scolding Molière for not taking the young woman's efforts seriously, comments: "Sehr galant war, was der verbindliche Greis sagte, ob auch wahr? Was kümmert das die Männer bei ihren Complimenten!"⁷⁶ Déshoulières is the misled natural talent, because her education lacks the specifics to write good poetry, while her teachers are in disagreement on what to teach. She is beautiful and too young to distinguish between real praise and mere flattery. Dacier is the example of the brilliant woman scholar, educated like a man. Madame de Sévigné represents Naubert's personal stance. A wise and well educated woman, writing for enjoyment and pleasure for herself and others, Madame de Sévigné's suggestion to Déshoulières is that education should help to lead a good life. For her it meant "frohe Erfüllung meiner Pflichten... - Muth im Unglück."⁷⁷

According to Naubert's philosophy, as expressed in these passages, learning is enjoyable, it brings freedom to express thoughts, it is admirable and difficult at the same time, can be done by women, even young ones, has practical, satisfying application and it can even be a way to fame. But fame, therefore vanity, could get out of hand and needs to be controlled. Luitgard's words echo those of Naubert in her letters:

Stolz ist, wie ich merke, von Wissenschaft nicht zu trennen! Doch ich denke auch diesen Fehler zu verbessern, wenn ich so viele meiner Bekannten bemerke, welche weit über mir stehen, und welche ich in ihrer Höhe weder erreichen kann und will. Der Grad des Wissens, welchen sich Fräulein Walburga, die Base Graf Werner's zu eigen gemacht hat, genügt mir vollkommen. Sie führt

⁷⁶ *Goldene Lyra*, 53 - 54.

⁷⁷ *Goldene Lyra*, 59.

die Nadel und die Feder mit gleicher Vollkommenheit, und war in beidem meine Lehrerin.⁷⁸

The following passage from Schindel shows that Benedikte Naubert loved to learn, to explore and to delve into her subjects:

Die Kenntniß der französischen, italienischen und englischen Sprache verdankte sie ihrem eigenen Studium. Mythologie der Griechen und Römer, Geschichte des Mittelalters und neue Sprachen waren ihre Lieblingsbeschäftigungen ... Oft erzählte sie dies und den Gang ihrer Bildung im hohen Alter, und wie sie als Grundlage ihrer geschichtlichen Romane späterhin Tage lang mit enthusiastischem Eifer alte bestaubte Chroniken durchblättert habe... Die Beschäftigung ihres regen Geistes - denn sie war die fruchtbarste deutsche Schriftstellerin - waren ihr in den frühesten Zeiten Erholung, in den spätern Jahren - wo sie an Schwäche des Gesichts und des Gehörs unendlich litt und alles dictiren mußte - Bedürfniß.⁷⁹

From 1779 on, when Benedikte Naubert started publishing, she was able to maintain an almost perfect anonymity. It simply begs the question: why? Annie Russel Marble states that a writer's reason to remain hidden from publicity is very personal. It may be playful, expedient or necessary. The author may wish to be "someone else;" his or her own name may simply be too complicated to remember; or, on a more serious note, the published material could even mean "pillory and imprisonment," if the published material is by a political dissenter.⁸⁰ The economic factor of publishing is important as

⁷⁸ *Werner. Graf von Bernburg*. 47.

⁷⁹ Schindel. II. 33. 34.

⁸⁰ Annie Russel Marble, *Pen Names and Personalities* (New York: D. Appleton, 1930) 3. Daniel Defoe published anonymously "Shortest Way with the Dissenters" in 1702: but his authorship was discovered

well.⁸¹ As shown, though, for German woman authors it was better to be unknown or a man, as it was considered inappropriate to be a woman writing books.⁸² For Naubert, selling books was important, since she helped support her family,⁸³ but so was privacy. Naubert's own words on anonymity are contained in a letter to her friend Friedrich Rochlitz of March 1805, and show that the anonymity was getting harder to maintain, but also how strongly she felt about it:

Sie kennen mich nun, wie es scheint, dem Namen nach, und ich danke Ihnen für das wiederholte Versprechen, ... diesen Namen nicht lauter werden zu

and resulted in 'pillory and imprisonment.' Marble's study is dealing in depth with many famous authors and their pseudonyms in English and American literature. i.e. Dickens, the Brontes, J.F. Cooper, Swift etc.

⁸¹ Catherine Gallagher. *Nobody's Story. The Vanishing Acts of Women Writers in the Marketplace, 1670-1820* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) Gallagher explores English women authors and the question of intellectual property. Ultimately, the act of publishing a text involves money, it is a 'marketplace,' and who will be paid when the text is published means livelihood for many writers. But "Texts are odd commodities" (XXII), so who or how can one own it? Especially texts produced in a vague cooperation of, for example father and daughter, as Gallagher's discussion of Maria Edgeworth shows. (257ff.) Gallagher's discussion of Edgeworth's *Letters for Literary Ladies*, (275-276) is reminiscent of Naubert's *Golden Lyra*, except the issue is reading, not writing. Since fiction is about "Nobody" why read (or write) it? The answer to the female reader (or writer) at the time is: to become a better person. The concern to read good literature, to read not just for pleasure, but to "create stable, reliable, domestic women" reminds us of the utilitarian aspect of Madame Sévigné's advice. Reading and writing, for the 18th century person, was still in the process of being defined.

⁸² For example, Fichte's opinion on the subject was that "Not only would her works have little literary value... but the moral character of the authoress would also be greatly injured". Fichte is cited by Barbara Becker-Cantarino, "'Gender Censorship': On Literary Production in German Romanticism". In: *Women in German Yearbook 11* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995) 82. Another remark is by Julie Bondeli in a letter to Sophie von La Roche (1772) about La Roche's publishing success. Bondeli sarcastically warns La Roche that she may not get the acclaim she deserves because she is a woman: "Vielleicht wird man aber auch sagen: das ist kein Genie, weil -- weil Sie ein Weib sind, und ein Weib -- mit Ihrer gütigen Erlaubnis -- unmöglich Genie haben kann, da es doch immer nicht von der Währung sein könnte, wie dasjenige eines Mannes." In: La Roche, *Sternheim*, 366.

⁸³ Schindel provides a list of her publications according to which she sometimes published three or four novels in one year. Another valuable source of information of her publishing history is: Wilpert/Gührung, *Erstausgaben deutscher Dichtung. Eine Bibliographie zur deutschen Literatur 1600 - 1990. 2. Auflage*. Stuttgart: Körner, 1992) 1130-1132.

lassen als er leider schon ist. Wider meinen Willen ward er dieses, und weder Eigensinn noch Affektion war und ist es was mich dem entgegen macht. - Ach der grössere Theil unsrer Schreiberinnen! Ach unsere Publicität! Ach die viel glücklichere Verborgenheit, die sichere Hülle, der vestialische Schleyer vor Lob und Tadel!⁸⁴

These words seem to express fear of criticism, and she even wished to be protected from both, praise and criticism. Her works were well received, so why not proudly admit authorship? She could have chosen another name, male or female. Instead she chose to be nameless. Her novels were “Vom Verfasser des Walter von Montbarry,”⁸⁵ carefully using the masculine form in the German version of the word ‘author’. It all points to another reason: not to be recognized as female writer, in order to be judged without prejudice.⁸⁶ If indeed, one of her main reasons was to be judged on the merits of her works, and nothing else, her reasons were valid. What she had to say, and did say, may, as Dorsch suspects, have been a disadvantage to her publishing career. Learning for women was seen as useless, and so the “Zwecklosigkeit als Gelehrte,”⁸⁷ made many women turn away from publicity, Naubert among them. In fact, Schreinert’s many

⁸⁴ Dorsch, 22.

⁸⁵ She did this after the success of this novel. Before that no author is named; after 1808 she occasionally signed her essays, i.e. *Goldene Lyra*, in the “Journale” with BN.

⁸⁶ Hermann Hesse published *Demian* in 1917 under the pseudonym Emil Sinclair, specifically to be judged on his work and not his reputation. “Er bat jedoch um strengste Diskretion, schrieb, dass ihm jede Freude an dem Buck zerstört wäre, wenn die Öffentlichkeit von seiner Autorenschaft erführe; er hätte einen neuen Ton angeschlagen und wünsche vorurteilslos gelesen zu werden.” he wrote to Brigitte Fischer’s mother, Brigitte B. Fischer. *Sie schrieben mir oder was aus meinem Poesiealbum wurde*. (München: DTV, 1994) 173.

⁸⁷ Blackwell, *Weibliche Gelehrsamkeit*, 326.

references to Naubert's womanhood in his analysis of her work--saying for example that as a woman she cannot repress her subjectivity completely, or that her feminine sentiment is determining her conclusions--supports the assumption that she published anonymously because she wanted to hide her gender.⁸⁸ Schreinert's remarks prove that knowing the author does make a difference in one's judgement.

Naubert's incognito was lifted, much to her dismay, by K.J. Schütz in the "Zeitung für die elegante Welt" in 1817.⁸⁹ As mentioned before, Naubert did reveal personal views in her works, as stated by Dorsch: "Wie sehr Benedikte Naubert sich selbst in ihren Werken spiegelte ... kristallisiert sich anhand der hier dokumentierten Äusserungen deutlich heraus..."⁹⁰ Touaillon, Schreinert and Grätz attribute the anonymity to nothing more than Naubert's modesty: "Denn schriftstellerische Eitelkeit lag ihr völlig fern, und die Anonymität, ... entsprang ihrem zutiefst natürlichen und bescheidenen Wesen."⁹¹ If it was a form of modesty, I think it was so on a deeper level. Benedikte Naubert knew that it was not proper for a woman to be learned. For Jarvis it is clear that since Naubert knew that, as a female writer she did not have the same chance of recognition, she "went to

⁸⁸ "...sowenig ist sie doch als Frau imstande, das subjektive Element ganz zu unterdrücken." 47: "...Hier gibt wiederum ihr Geschlechtsempfinden den Ausschlag..." 50. See also pp. 52 and 69.

⁸⁹ Schreinert, 32.

⁹⁰ Dorsch, 2-3.

⁹¹ Schreinert, 36. See also Touaillon, 341 and Grätz 233.

some lengths to establish a male persona”⁹² in her works. Another reason may have been the wish to protect her family’s name, since she contributed significantly to an income with her writing: “Es ginge nicht, dass eine Dreissigjährige Unverheiratete die Familie unterhalte, und daher bewahrte sie streng die Anonymität...,”⁹³ says Blackwell. Anonymity as well as modesty were indeed part of the *Zeitgeist* and used as tactics for women authors, as mentioned by Lydia Schieth. In other words, the modesty, so praised by Touaillon and Schreinert, may have been Naubert’s particular temperament, but in Naubert’s case, I think, she knew how to deal with reality, knew what might have been helpful or necessary to be published. Naubert was “eine ernsthafte Konkurrenz für die männlichen Kollegen,”⁹⁴ says Lydia Schieth. Naubert was familiar with subjects usually reserved for men, as Christian Gottlieb Körner’s remark to Schiller proves. Körner suggested to his friend that he imitate the method of this unknown author, “... von einem Manne und von keinem mittelmässigen Kopfe.”⁹⁵ What is seen as traditional female modesty may also be interpreted as practical insight into the time’s demands.

⁹² Jarvis. *Olympus*. 191

⁹³ Blackwell. *Weibliche Gelehrsamkeit*

⁹⁴ Schieth. 57

⁹⁵ Schreinert. 28.

Benedikte Naubert lived at a time of significant literary awakening and production in Germany. She was a contemporary of Goethe, Schiller, and the Romantics. Historically, the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars marked a time of tremendous political upheaval. But if there was exuberance in the air, borne of Enlightenment thinking, she must have seen the other side of the literary and intellectual flourishing. Women did not have the educational possibilities and freedom of men; ‘Liberté’ and ‘Egalité’ for women was not quite at hand. She received her own, for the time exceptional, education through the help of her brothers and her own efforts. Learning, not considered proper for a woman, was indeed getting more difficult, especially towards the end of the century of which Dorothea Friderika Baldinger’s *Versuch über meine Verstandeserziehung*, published in 1791, is just one example: “Ich wünschte so gar gelehrt zu werden, und ärgerte mich, dass mich mein Geschlecht davon ausschloss. Je so willst du wenigstens klug werden, dachte ich, und dies wird man aus Büchern, du willst brav lesen. - Aber woher nun die Bücher?”⁹⁶ Dorothea Christine Leporin’s essay, published in 1742, with an introduction by her father, was even earlier. The essay’s elaborate title, *in muce*, affirms the problem and calls for rectification: “Gründliche Untersuchung der Ursachen, die das weibliche Geschlecht vom Studiren abhalten, darin deren Unerheblichkeit gezeigt, und wie möglich, nöthig und nützlich es sey, daß dieses Geschlecht der Gelahrtheit sich beflüsse, umständlich dargelegt wird von Dorotheen

Christianen Leporinin. Nebst einer Vorrede ihres Vaters D. Christiani Polycarpi Leporin, Med. Pract. in Quedlinburg.”⁹⁷ Prejudices and reasons, that learning is unseemly for women and the lack of opportunities, are identified and dealt with in scholarly fashion by Leporin.

What mattered most to Benedikte Naubert was to be balanced, to search for practical solutions, not to alienate, but to survive, a stance Dorsch calls “... das ihr heilig gehaltene Mittelmaß...”⁹⁸ She dealt with these questions in *Neue Volksmärchen*, and there specifically through some women characters, interested in learning, in life, and to find ways of independence. But before turning to Naubert’s fairy tales the connection between the historical witch and the literary witch should be discussed, specifically the continuity from the historical ideas to the literary depiction.

⁹⁶ Magdalena Heuser, Ortrun Niethammer, Marion Roitzheim-Eisfeld, Petra Wulbusch, Ed. “*Ich wünschte so gar gelehrt zu werden.*” *Drei Autobiographien von Frauen des 18. Jahrhunderts.* Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 1994. 16.

⁹⁷ Dorothea Christine Leporin. *Gründliche Untersuchung der Ursachen, die das weibliche Geschlecht vom Studieren abhalten.* (Berlin, 1742; Nachdruck: New York: Hildesheim, 1987)

⁹⁸ Dorsch, 195.

Chapter Two

Witches and Fairy Tales

1. The Reluctant Historical Witches

Witches: the word brings to mind the image of a mean woman with magic powers. But its meaning and usage is far more complex than that: “The word itself evokes images so diverse, ultimately so contradictory, as to defy definition,” says Carol Karlsen, “It is associated with old age, frightful ugliness, and female wickedness on the one hand, with youth, beauty and female sexual power on the other.”¹ Karlsen’s words pinpoint the changing nature of the witch image over the centuries. The image is used so subjectively, according to personal ideas and feelings, societal needs, mores and ethics that its study fills reams of books and has occupied, and still occupies, many minds.

Anthropological studies show that there are universal elements in the idea of the witch. For example, work in African Sociology has been done by E.E. Evans-Pritchard and Lucy Mair, and by Clyde Kluckhohn on the Navaho Indians.² From their observations of tribal cultures the anthropologists agree that witchcraft is always meant to harm by occult means, that is, the witch can do harm without touching her victim or using obvious physical action. Witchcraft as remedy in distress also must make sense to all who believe in it. Lucy Mair succinctly states, “in a world where there are few assured techniques for

¹ Karlsen, xi.

² E.E. Evans-Pritchard. *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azandes*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937). Clyde Kluckhohn. *Navaho Witchcraft*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1944). Lucy Mair. *Witchcraft* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1969).

dealing with everyday crises, ... a belief in witches, or the equivalent of one, is not only not foolish, it is indispensable.”³ The witch here has a distinct function, namely to explain evil and misfortune, which is the same utility and significance she had for pre-Enlightenment Europeans. Mair, for example, states that “The Navaho Indians hold, in common with many African peoples and with Roman and medieval Europe, that witches can turn themselves into animals, ... that witches can shoot into bodies of their victims alien substances which the detectors of witchcraft can find and remove.”⁴ This quote alludes to a world of mysterious activities, such as ‘shooting alien substances into bodies’ and ‘turning into animals.’ Mair also mentions the ‘detectors of witchcraft,’ people who counter the harm done by the witch and represent the constructive force which is also believed to be active in the universe. There is a ‘counter-witch’ active in these societies, usually a revered member of the community and popularly known as ‘witch-doctor.’ He detects and combats the harm done by the witch and may also find her. Such societies possess a practical, balanced system of belief. The individual has some assurance of protection from the uncontrollable forces around him: “They need not live in continual dread of witchcraft.”⁵ The Azandes are therefore a very cheerful people, Evans-Pritchard concludes from his observations of this African tribe.

³ Mair 9.

⁴ Mair. 37.

⁵ Evans-Pritchard. 148.

The European context is different, however. Keith Thomas in his study of sixteenth and seventeenth century England finds that the local wizard or the 'white witch,' similar to the witch-doctor of tribal cultures, helps identify and combat the sources of the misfortune. But both wizard and white witch themselves are never very far from being accused of the crime of witchcraft, which was punishable by death. Should the white witch, the wizard or other cunning men or women fail in their attempt to provide relief, then witchcraft is blamed, and "all sorts of magical activity is lumped together under the blanket title of witchcraft."⁶

Discussed by Carlo Ginzburg in *The Night Battles* and by Robert Muchembled in *La Sorcière au village* are two instances of European witch-beliefs where 'counter-witches' are active in European society.⁷ Ginzburg's work in seventeenth century Italy is about the Friulian 'benandanti,' the 'do-gooders.' They are armed with fennel stalks and protect the peasants from evil witches and warlocks, who are armed with sorghums. The belief is also termed a fertility cult by some scholars, but it clearly exemplifies a balanced situation where good witches battle evil witches. Muchembled describes the village-life of fifteenth and sixteenth century France, the difficulties faced by the villagers, their fights for survival and an existence threatened by unpredictability. Weather and illness, a horizon of experience often not much further than the next village, amount to a sense of helplessness vis-a-vis the microcosm within and the macrocosm without. The village-witch or sorcerer

⁶ Thomas. *Religion and the Decline of Magic*. (New York: Scribner. 1971). 435.

⁷ Carlo Ginzburg. *The Night Battles. Witchcraft & Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth & the Seventeenth Centuries*. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1983). Robert Muchembled. *La sorcière au village*. (Editions Julliard/Gallimard. 1979)

in the environment described by Muchembled may be simultaneously good and bad, and thus combine the powers of healing and killing within themselves. How individual and personal the application of the term 'witch' can be is succinctly stated by Muchembled. Since the witch can be seen as good by some and as bad by others, he says, one is always someone's witch: "On est toujours le sorcier de quelqu'un."⁸

A major difference in the witch-beliefs as observed in tribal cultures and early modern Europe is that Europe at that time developed a witch-theory. Witch-beliefs are thus recorded in a multitude of texts by scholars and intellectuals, especially from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries. The witch is clearly an emotional and practical necessity for the villager, but she is also an intellectual necessity for the demonologist. Stuart Clark in *Thinking with Demons. The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* provides an eminently plausible explanation of the intellectual history of witch-beliefs.⁹ The world to the scholars and intellectuals at the time, so argues Clark, was seen as a place where two hierarchical, opposing energies are at work; two categories dependent on each other, one representing the good and the other the bad. When explored in depth, this "binary aspect of experience"¹⁰ is endlessly challenging to the mind and the imagination. It inspires exploring the laws of nature, the will of God, mankind's purpose on earth. For the people at the time of the witch-hunts it literally

⁸ Muchembled, 43.

⁹ Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons. The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997)

¹⁰ Clark, 38. Clark gives a detailed history and explanation of this idea in the first chapter. "Langage:" especially pages 31-68.

permeated existence. At the heart of this idea lurks the constant fear that the world will be turned upside down by evil. Along with the devil, demons and fallen angels, the witch is part of this other, inverted world, and the demonologists were constantly trying to comprehend and warn their fellow men about it. The famous witches' sabbat is just one example of this inversion; as ceremony it is a perversion of the catholic mass. How Clark deduces the woman's situation or, more exactly, the human being in this scheme of thought, is highly theoretical as well. But he arrives at a conclusion remarkably similar to Carol Karlsen and Sigrid Brauner's, discussed below in this chapter, the real issue being the *personality* of the woman seen as witch.

This linguistically¹¹ constructed world, saw hierarchical opposites at every turn. Witches, members of the inverted world, are 'contrariety personified' and so there is a short step from "contrariety in witches to contrariety in women."¹² Woman was opposite and below man, and contrariety and rebellion is the essence of woman. For the demonologist, Clark concludes, citing a variety of scholarly evidence, that "women in general, and certain types of women in particular, were more likely to be associated with the crime [of witchcraft]."¹³ These 'anomalous' women were women who

¹¹ Clark states on the outset of his work. that witchcraft can be seen as a category in language. or as an example how "language authorizes any kind of belief." (3) The language did not meet a reality. "witchcraft-beliefs are an obvious example of signs that had no referents in the real world" but "those who believed in witchcraft thought their beliefs did correspond with reality" even though "there is simply no way to arrive at an extra-linguistic answer to it." (7)

¹² Clark. 107.

¹³ Clark. 107.

aimed to overthrow the natural order of things and end up on top. Women who challenged patriarchal rule or were willful and domineering ('shrews', 'amazons'); women who usurped male control of language ('scolds', 'gossips', women preachers); women who sought sexual superiority or behaved like men ('whores', seductresses, viragos) -- these were the stereotypes of disorderly and criminal females made possible by the prevailing classification of gender.¹⁴

The specifics of Clark's categories of anomaly evidently have to do with personality: the forceful, independent woman is the witch. In Clark's delineation, the demonologists had no choice but to see women rather than men as witches. In this consistently binary view of the world, there is no allowance made for women on the good side of the equation, and 'female virtue' or 'male vice' does not exist. Intellectually, Clark admits, female witches made perfect sense from a "particular male culture perspective" in that "in the high culture of the age, the conceptual link between witchcraft and highly anomalous women was provided by the symmetries of inversion."¹⁵ There is a uniformly applied intellectual consensus that women are created to oppose men.¹⁶ The woman with the argumentative personality is the woman most likely to be accused of the crime of witchcraft, and the term 'intellectual' all too often translated into death sentences. The argumentative woman risked her life, whereas her submissive sister did not. But, since there obviously are good women, the category 'female' splits up in opposites and "Thus early modern culture seems to have endorsed and enriched the traditional acknowledgment of only two main

¹⁴ Clark, 131.

¹⁵ Clark, 133.

stereotypes of female behavior--signified by the bipolar figures of Mary and Eve."¹⁷ The witch is the inverted image of the ideal woman and in this asymmetrical arrangement "the best woman is always worse than the best man."¹⁸

Another aspect of witchcraft and witch-beliefs that may briefly be considered is a twentieth century idea. It is the notion of witches being members of a pagan, pre-Christian fertility rite, organized in covens. The theory was propagated by the Egyptologist Margaret Murray in her book *Witch-Cult in Western Europe* (1921) and has never been historically proven. Norman Cohn's refutation of Murray's concept is generally accepted by historians.¹⁹ Murray, Cohn states, used actual historical documents and simply "passes over in silence"²⁰ sections not fitting her thesis. Painful, deadly persecution was not an issue for such witches, and they did not seem to be reluctant being witches. I found a reference to a "lady witch doctor" in another anthropological study in Africa, written in 1957.²¹ The author, however, studies the phenomenon of the belief in witch doctors in general and not specifically of one woman

¹⁶ Clark calls Aristotle the "anthropologist... whose report that the Pythagorean dualisms were arranged in 'two columns of cognates' guaranteed their transmission to every subsequent scholastic discussion of women." 121.

¹⁷ Clark. 125.

¹⁸ Clark. 126.

¹⁹ Chapter Six in Cohn's *Europe's Inner Demons*. As critics of Murray's ideas Cohn cites "Georg Lincoln Burr. Cecil L'Estrange Ewen. Professor Russel Hope Robbins. W. Elliot Rose. Professor Hugh Trevor-Roper. Mr. Keith Thomas ... amongst those who, from the 1920s to the 1970s, have either weighed the theory and found it wantig, or else have dismissed as unworthy of consideration." 109-110.

²⁰ Cohn. 110.

²¹ Harry B. Wright. *Witness to Witchcraft* (New York: Funk & Wagnell. 1957) 1.

who happened to be a witch doctor. Wright agrees with other anthropologists' findings that these witch doctors are certainly "recognized by the community as necessary to its life."²² Tanya Luhrmann even investigates witchcraft in contemporary England, and puzzles whether to give some credence to magic and witchcraft, or at least to question its validity.²³ But again, the witches, sorcerers and even druids Luhrmann investigated, did not have to fear deadly persecution in today's England.²⁴ They were not reluctant to admit to their craft. The women of the age of witch persecution, on the other hand, had every reason to be reluctant to be witches.

In the following, I will condense the essence of the 'witch theory' of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and explain how it applies to the issue of fairy tales. Since the imagery evolves from a mix of fantasy and purpose, it is important to remember that historical witches were individuals with character and personality, accused of the most sensational crimes, crimes to which they confessed--but only with great hesitation.

Witch-beliefs emerged with fresh vigor just prior and during the European witch-hunts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They were elaborated primarily in clerical texts, and also depicted in graphic arts, such as the artistic illustrations for the witch-manuals that were popular at the time. The beliefs discuss and describe an

²² Wright. 229.

²³ T.M. Luhrmann, *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1989).

²⁴ Unless ridicule is considered a form of persecution.

inherently evil woman, an individual so disproportionately anti-social that she is a threat to life and society. A different view of the witch is presented in the study of trial records. They show that the historical witch, the woman accused of witchcraft, had every reason to be reluctant to admit to any kind of witch-activity. There is evidence that the real woman who was accused as witch and fought against accusations, was not necessarily poor, old and ugly.

Joseph Hansen,²⁵ one of the early researchers on European Witch-beliefs, said in 1900 that

witches are chiefly women, who made a covenant with the devil for the purpose of inflicting, with the helps of various magic nostrums, all sorts of injuries to their fellow men's body, life, possession, crops and fruit;... who participated in the nocturnal Sabbat presided over by the devil, ... who shamelessly renounced Christ, the Church and the Sacraments; who ... fly swiftly through the air to this Sabbat .. who committed sexual excesses of the worst kind, ... who, finally, could easily change into animals, especially werewolves, cats or mice...²⁶

The gist of this condensed version of what a witch is like has not changed since Hansen's days, even after the intensified attention the research received in the 1970's and 1980's,²⁷

²⁵ Joseph Hansen. *Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexenprozesse*. (München: Scientia Verlag, 1900/ Neudruck: Hildesheim 1964). Hansen published his research material in *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter*. (Bonn: 1901; Neudruck: Hildesheim 1963).

²⁶ Hansen, quoted from: William E. Monter. *European Witchcraft*. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1969) 5-6.

²⁷ Most of the works in the following bibliography were written in the 1970' and 1980's; Sigrid Brauner's monograph is based on her doctoral dissertation, written in 1989.

For a general information on European Witch-beliefs and Witch-hunts in English see: Brian P. Levack. *The Witchhunt in Early Modern Europe*. (London: London Group UK Limited, 1987); Joseph Klaitz. *Servants of Satan. The Age of the Witch Hunts*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985); Norman Cohn. *Europe's Inner Demons. An Inquiry Inspired by the Great Witch-Hunts*. (New York: NAL, 1975); Richard Kieckhefer. *European Witch Trials. Their Foundation in Popular and Learned Culture, 1300-1500*. (Berkeley: U of California Press, 1976); Jeffrey Burton Russel. *Witchcraft*

especially under the influence of the Women's Movement.²⁸ The idea of the woman as witch evolved over centuries,²⁹ in collaboration between clergy and peasants,³⁰ written down in treatises, papal bulls and sermons. At the apex of this literature figures the well-known *Malleus Maleficarum* of 1487, the collaboration of two Dominican inquisitors, Heinrich (Krämer) Institoris and Jacob Sprenger.³¹ Although certainly not the only book,

in the Middle Ages. (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1972.); Keith Thomas. *Religion and the Decline of Magic.* (New York: Scribner, 1971); Sigrid Brauner. *Fearless Wives and Frightened Shrews. The Construction of the Witch in Early Modern Europe.* (Amherst: U of Massachusetts Press, 1995); H.C. Erik Midelfort. *Witch Hunting in Southwestern Germany, 1562-1684. The Social and Intellectual Foundations.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972.); Henry Kamen. *The Iron Century. Social Changes in Europe 1550-1659.* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971) Carol F. Karlsen. *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman. Witchcraft in Colonial New England.* (New York: First Vintage Books Edition, 1989).

In German:

Joseph Hansen is mentioned above; W.G. Soldan und H. Heppe. *Geschichte der Hexenprozesse.* (First Edition: 1843; Kettwig: Magnus Verlag, 1986); Gerhard Schormann. *Hexenprozesse in Deutschland.* (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck, 1981); Wolfgang Beringer. *Mit dem Feuer vom Leben zum Tod. Hexengesetzgebung in Bayern.* (München: Hugendubel, 1988); Andreas Blauert. *Ketzer, Zauberer, Hexen. Die Anfänge der europäischen Hexenverfolgung.* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1990); Becker, Bovenschen, Brackert u.a.. *Aus der Zeit der Verzweiflung. Zur Genese und Aktualität des Hexenbildes.* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1977); Claudia Honegger. *Die Hexen der Neuzeit. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte eines kulturellen Deutungsmusters.* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1978).

²⁸ Women's movements seem to spark interest in the history of women. Interest in witches, according to Ruth-Ellen Boetcher-Jores, were already a "common theme of the socially critical women writers in the 1850's." Luise Otto, passionately involved in women's and worker's issues, published *Merkwürdige und geheimnisvolle Frauen* (Leipzig: Heinrich Matthes, 1868). See the article by Ruth-Ellen Boetcher-Jores. " 'Ein Nebel schliesst uns ein.' Social Comment in the Novels of German Women Writers, 1850-1870." In: *Women in German Yearbook 3* (Lanham, New York, London: University of America Press, 1986). 101-122; especially her discussion of Fanny Lewald's *Das Mädchen von Hela* (1857).

²⁹ An overview of the development using original documents is: Alan C. Kors & Edward Peters. *Witchcraft in Europe 1100-1700. A Documentary History.* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania Press, 1986). In German: Wolfgang Behringer. *Hexen und Hexenprozesse in Deutschland.* (München: DTV, 1988).

³⁰ On the influence popular and learned ideas had on each other, see especially Richard Kieckhefer.

³¹ Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger. *The Malleus Maleficarum.* Translated with Introductions, Bibliography and Notes by Rev. Montague Summers. (New York: Dover, 1971; originally published in London 1928).

the *Malleus* is by far the most influential one.³² It gave exact descriptions of the witches' activities, how to detect them and what to do about them. The imagery was highly effective, and inspired artists and authors at the time of the witch-hunts and those of centuries to come. Jane P. Davidson, in her article about illustrations to the many guidebooks for witch-hunters published during the 16th century, states that the *Malleus* provided the

blueprint of what witches were and how they functioned in their realm of evil ... Institoris and Sprenger spoke graphically of night rides on pitchforks and broomsticks, of persons turning into beasts by sorcery, of sexual excesses, of maleficia such as, bewitching cattle, causing storms, ruining grain, milking ax handles, and the like, and of the so-called witches' sabbath.³³

Davidson then shows how well-known artists, such as Albrecht Dürer and Hans Baldung Grien, used the texts of the witch-manuals for their art.³⁴ Clark, in fact, offers a convincing discussion of Hans Baldung Grien's engraving "Three Witches." one of the witches is bent over and looks at the spectator, wide-eyed and upside-down she is the artist's reminder that "witchcraft is an act of pure inversion."³⁵ Since all these books

³² The *Malleus*, "the most prominent, the most important, the most authoritative volume... had fourteen editions between 1487 and 1520 and at least sixteen editions between 1574 and 1669." (Summers, VII - VIII) There were English, French, Italian and German translations. Even those who think its importance is exaggerated (Norman Cohn) cannot overlook it. The *Malleus* is the hunter's manual with the most publications, according to Summers, and I found it also to be the most easily accessible (obtainable) old text: it is quoted by every scholar.

³³ Jane P. Davidson, "Great Black Goats and Evil little Women: The Image of the Witch in Sixteenth-Century German Art". In: *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association*, January 1985, vol. 6. 141-142.

³⁴ For example: *Witches' Sabbath*, (1510) *Three Witches* (1514) both engravings by Hans Baldung Grien; *The Witch*, (about 1500) engraving by Albrecht Dürer.

³⁵ Clark, 13

discussed similar imagery, the works of art resulted in a “remarkably uniform”³⁶ representation of the witch and her deeds, the most fascinating and sensational activities being witches preparing for night rides on pitchforks, causing storms, gathering at the sabbat--clearly the ingredients of witch-lore in literature such as fairy tales.

The witch-manuals, and most specifically the *Malleus*, give explicit reasons why women are more likely than men to be witches, citing as most convincing proof that women imitated the “first woman, Eve,”³⁷ whose wickedness is obvious. Although Clark for example, maintains that the witch-experts in what they said about women “were entirely representative of their age and culture” and that it was not misogyny but just “what [the demonologists] thought the world was about,”³⁸ the *Malleus*’ insistent tone surely contributed to the notion that witchcraft was committed by women out of an inborn, natural desire. Women’s weakness, lack of moderation in everything, wickedness, carnality and so forth is clearly elaborated upon and substantiated by ‘authority.’ For example Terence is referred to as authority on intellect: “For as regards intellect, or the understanding of spiritual things, they seem to be of a different nature from men; a fact which is vouched for by the logic of the authorities. Terence says: Women are intellectually like children....”³⁹ The *Malleus*’ authors find few words of praise for the

³⁶ Davidson. 142.

³⁷ Karlsen. 155. Karlsen offers a very concise summary of the *Malleus*’ ideas on women.

³⁸ Clark. 115.

³⁹ *Malleus*, 44. This section, Part I. Question 6, deals with the issue of why women are “chiefly addicted to Evil Superstitions.” The *Malleus*’ sources are of course questionable: Terence is known as writer of comedies.

good woman, mainly the virgin and the saint, but neither virgin nor saint can be considered a real person. William Monter points out that one idea of womanhood puts her on a pedestal, the other burns her at the stake.⁴⁰ The chapter on the character of women in the *Malleus* is argued thoroughly, and the resulting stereotype is that of a vicious, antisocial person: “What else is woman but a foe to friendship, ... an evil of nature ... a woman either loves or hates... when a woman thinks alone, she thinks evil.”⁴¹ Would anyone doubt the evil intentions of such a woman, and her predisposition to be a mean witch?

However, what is known about witches is not limited to the stereotypes created in literature such as the *Malleus* or the pictures by Albrecht Dürer and Hans Baldung Grien. Witches confessed to their alleged crimes, and in this sense the trial was the place where the accused witch did have a voice: “Willing or not, witchcraft trials are one context in which women ‘speak’ at greater length and receive more attention than perhaps any other,” states Lyndal Roper.⁴² In church and state, which were the “...hexenjagenden Institutionen”⁴³ she faced truly formidable opponents.⁴⁴ Furthermore, the change from accusatorial to inquisitorial procedure in the European legal system at the beginning of the

⁴⁰ William E. Monter. “The Pedestal and the Stake. Courtly Love and Witchcraft”. In: Renate Bridenthal. Claudia Koonze (Hrsg.). *Becoming Visible. Women in European History*. (Boston: 1977) 119-136.

⁴¹ *Malleus*, 48.

⁴² Lyndal Roper. *Oedipus and the Devil. Witchcraft, sexuality and religion in early modern Europe*. (London: Routledge. 1994) 20

⁴³ Jeannine Blackwell, “ ‘Die Zunge, der Geistliche und das Weib’: Überlegungen zur strukturellen Bedeutung der Hexenbekenntnisse von 1500-1700.” In: *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Germanistische Reihe Band 31: “Der Widerspenstigen Zähmung.”* 98.

⁴⁴ Joan of Arc’s fate is just one famous example.

thirteenth century⁴⁵ demanded a confession of guilt from the accused witch; the means to obtain the confession was torture. Often torture was used “so ruthlessly, that many who refused to make false confessions died under it.”⁴⁶ For this reason Friedrich Spee, in his *Cautio Criminalis* (1631) urged an imprisoned witch to admit guilt immediately, not to avoid certain death, but to avoid at least torture: “Unglückliche, was hast du gehofft? Warum hast du dich nicht beim ersten Betreten des Kerkers für schuldig erklärt?”⁴⁷

There are many examples in the historical records of accused witches trying to make themselves heard. The convicted witch Rebekka Lemp secretly wrote to her husband from prison: “Ich bin so unschuldig als Gott im Himmel... O wie geschieht mir so unrecht...”⁴⁸ Although four-fifths of the accused witches were women, men were not entirely exempt from accusations. The Burgomaster of Bamberg, in 1628, secretly wrote from the prison to his daughter Veronica: “Innocent have I come to prison, innocent have I been tortured, innocent must I die. For whoever comes into the witch-prison must become a witch or be tortured until he invents something out of his head...”⁴⁹ Anna Vogel, 1701, in Wasterkingen, adamantly maintains that she did not commit any of the sins she is charged with: “...deren Sünd halber...um derentwillen sie allhier in Verhaft

⁴⁵ Levack. 64-70.

⁴⁶ Cohn. 226.

⁴⁷ Friedrich von Spee. *Cautio Criminalis oder Rechtliches Bedenken wegen der Hexenprozesse*. (München: DTV, 1982. originally published in 1631) 286.

⁴⁸ Blackwell. *Zunge*, 115.

⁴⁹ Alan C. Kors & Edward Peters. *Witchcraft in Europe, 1100-1700. A Documentary History*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972. seventh edition, 1986) 257.

sitze, seie sie lauter und rein vor Gott, sie habe ein gut Gewüssen....”⁵⁰ Finally, there is the example of Thomas Schreiber, a “wealthy innkeeper in Mergentheim.”⁵¹ Schreiber criticized the courts for injustice and was forced to flee; when he was later captured and tortured to admit to various crimes of witch-craft he insisted that “...as truly as Christ died on the cross, and God created me, I am innocent.”⁵² In short: “Das ‘erfolgreiche’ Ende eines Prozesses war ein vollständiges Bekenntnis, ... und eine Hinrichtung/Verbrennung.”⁵³ Since the crimes were imaginary, “keine Angeklagte hat ... ohne Folter oder Folterdrohung zugegeben,”⁵⁴ the women were intimidated and confused about what was expected of them, the situation hopeless, the torture terrible--historical witches were very, very reluctant to ‘be’ witches.

Nevertheless, in spite of the obvious danger, there are indications that the accused witches were indeed unusual, rebellious and feisty. They were the scolds, quarrelers, gossips and so forth, as listed by Clark. Sometimes they were desperately poor women, on the outer limits of society for any number of reasons. But they were in some way also conspicuous and drew attention to themselves through behavior that was unallowable for a woman. In his recent study, Robin Briggs states that “the popular image of the witch was that of a person motivated by ill-will and spite ... Suspects were often alleged to have

⁵⁰ David Meili. *Hexen in Wasterkingen. Magie und Lebensform in einem Dorf des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts.* (Basel: Verlag Krebs AG. 1980) 96.

⁵¹ Midelfort. 150.

⁵² Midelfort. 153.

⁵³ Blackwell. *Zunge*, 100.

⁵⁴ Blackwell. *Zunge*, 104.

shown themselves resentful in their dealings with others and unwilling to accept delays or excuses in small matters. There seems little doubt that some of them were notoriously quarrelsome. . . .”⁵⁵ The historian Erik Midelfort, for instance, surmises, that, probably due to overpopulation and economic constraints, there was a ‘surplus’ of women, who either did not marry or married late. This resulted in an unusual number of women without male supervision in a patriarchal society--socially ‘anomalous’ women, to use Clark’s terminology once again--which in turn makes these women susceptible to accusations. Women taking care of aspects of their lives normally done by the husband, brother or father, just were not the norm, to the point where the situation disrupted life as usual in society and created tensions. In his study of the big trials in Southwestern Germany, Midelfort also makes the important point that, early on in the witch-hunts, the stereotype of the ugly, poor and old woman as witch is mostly intact. But as time wore on this changed: wars and the plague created so much tragedy that everybody accused everybody of being a witch.⁵⁶ Midelfort’s claim reminds very much of Muchembled: one is always someone’s witch. The established image, whatever its exact nature in that part of the country, became unclear as the stereotype broke down: recognizing a witch became difficult.⁵⁷ That a stereotype can ‘break down’ is a good proof of a lively imagination,

⁵⁵ Robin Briggs. *Witches & Neighbors. The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft.* (London: HarperCollinsPublishers. 1996) 23.

⁵⁶ The Thirty Years War (1618-1648) was instrumental in the devastation: “Terrible condition in Germany. Irreparable losses of men and wealth. Destruction of towns and trade. Reduction of population; increase of poverty;...” William L. Langer. *An Encyclopedia of World History.* Fifth Edition. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1972) 436.

⁵⁷ Midelfort. 121.

adjusting the existing stereotype as needed to the changes within society. Making assumptions about the character of the accused is admittedly difficult, but trial records do give some information about the witch. If she was rude, or perceived rude,⁵⁸ there usually is an explanation for the behavior. Overall, these women were in situations where their livelihood was at stake, and often they must have been noisy and unruly. Whatever the reason for the accused women's stubbornness was, certainly they all had individuality and personality.

The studies by Carol Karlsen and Sigrid Brauner⁵⁹ give a good picture of the type of women the witches might have been. Karlsen's historical study explains witchcraft accusations as a result of changing gender roles in Puritan thought of New England, whereas Brauner examines how literary texts of sixteenth century Germany relate to such changes. Both, Brauner and Karlsen, arrive at the same conclusion, which holds that trial evidence as well as clerical and literary texts see the witch as the epitome of an unruly, uncontrollable female. A brief outline of Karlsen's and Brauner's work also shows how 'theory,' such as the Latin *Malleus*, and 'literature,' such as the popular shrove-tide plays, work together to promote and distribute ideas.

The essence of the conflict for the Puritans of New England, with regards to the nature of women, is that the idea of women as inherently evil, so clearly expounded in the

⁵⁸ Such as the poor beggar woman, mumbling something when turned away empty-handed at the door, the mumbling then interpreted as an evil curse. Thomas, 560-569. "Witchcraft and Society."

⁵⁹ Carol Karlsen has been mentioned before; Sigrid Brauner, *Fearless Wives and Frightened Shrews. The Construction of the Witch in Early modern Europe*. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995).

Malleus, was challenged by some of New England's Puritan ministers, such as John Cotton:⁶⁰ "Most of [the ministers] agreed with John Cotton, that women were not a 'necessary evil' but a 'necessary good.'"⁶¹ There was an attempt at equality of the sexes in this thought, but the equality was limited to spirituality: "Puritans argued that men and women were spiritual equals, but ... equality of the sexes would threaten the very foundations of New England's social hierarchy."⁶² The women accused as witches threatened the patriarchal hierarchy, the male authority which was understood as absolute necessity for a well-ordered, well-functioning society. But what kind of woman is she, and just how would she accomplish this?

Karlsen in her study on Puritan New England, 1620-1725, is quite specific in describing personality and characteristics of the women accused of being witches. Karlsen points out that the accused were often older women, about to inherit some property, but were without brothers or sons, a fact that made them "more vulnerable than other women at all stages of the process."⁶³ Since not all women without sons or brothers and eligible for inheritance were accused as witches, the question is: what is special or different about those who were accused, what set them apart? Karlsen states that

character or personalities ... made them suspect in their neighbor's eyes. ... witches were generally portrayed in the literature as disagreeable women, at best aggressive and abrasive, at worst ill-tempered, quarrelsome and spiteful. They are

⁶⁰ English-born, American cleric, 1584-1652, civil and religious leader in Boston, Massachusetts.

⁶¹ Karlsen, 161. For more detail, see especially Chapter 5, "Handmaids of the Lord," 153-181.

⁶² Karlsen, 19.

⁶³ Karlsen, 104.

almost always described as deviants - disorderly women who failed to, or refused to abide by the behavioral norms of their society.⁶⁴

One of Karlsen's many examples is a woman accused as witch who had shown 'skill and patience' in a dispute over the quality of work carpenters did for her. This woman, Anne Hibbens, was from a higher social rank than was normally the case for accused witches. She tried to show to the court that the real problem in the dispute was the carpenters' laziness and overpricing; they were bad businessmen and she knew it--but the court took offense at her personality. She was uncommonly tenacious in her grievance, showed "great pride of spirit" and "she persisted in seeing the 'sin in this business' as the actions of the joiners [carpenters]."⁶⁵ One rumor, says Karlsen, is that Anne Hibbens was executed for "having more wit than her neighbors."⁶⁶ This accused woman clearly fought for self-determination and entrepreneurial freedom; she did not want to be taken for a fool, and did not see why she should humbly accept decisions imposed on her that did not make any sense and were against her rights. One of the grievances against her was that she was "usurping authority over [her husband] whom God hath made her head."⁶⁷ Pride, in Puritan thought, and especially "female pride"⁶⁸ is a grave sin, perceived to disrupt the social order: this woman was playing a male role, she thus contradicted the "gender 'complimentarity', which assigned to each sex a distinct

⁶⁴ Karlsen. 117-118.

⁶⁵ Karlsen. 151.

⁶⁶ Karlsen. 152.

⁶⁷ Karlsen. 151.

⁶⁸ Karlsen. 150.

sphere of activity.”⁶⁹ Or, as Karlsen says: “Woman was called for only one employment, the work of a wife.”⁷⁰ Having overstepped her boundaries, Anne Hibbens was executed in 1656.

Sigrid Brauner bases her inquiry of sixteenth century beliefs on clerical texts and then shows how they are reflected in literature. She first investigates the “construction of the witch”⁷¹ in the texts of the witch-manuals, foremost the *Malleus*, and then how Martin Luther (1483-1547), Paul Rebhuhn (1505-1546) and Hans Sachs (1494-1576) internalize and exemplify these beliefs in their sermons or plays. Brauner’s findings agree with Karlsen in that “with the publication of the *Malleus*, a general consensus was established in early modern Germany on the evil nature of women as witches.”⁷² Luther was convinced that their execution would be a deterrent.⁷³ Summarizing the basic tenets of these authors, Brauner concludes that for Luther witches are bad wives, for Paul Rebhuhn witches are the embodiment of female disobedience, and for Hans Sachs they epitomize laziness and incompetence as homemaker.

Brauner explains how in the minds of these men witches are disobedient and insubordinate woman. But Luther’s highly influential ideas of a good woman culminate in

⁶⁹ Brauner, 23.

⁷⁰ Karlsen, 165.

⁷¹ The subtitle of Sigrid Brauner’s book is: *The Constuction of the Witch in Early Modern Germany*.

⁷² Brauner, 49.

⁷³ Brauner, 55. This is also discussed by Henry Kamen in *Rise of Toleration*. (New York: World University Library, 1967)

the obedient mother-housewife. According to Luther the woman is “ordained to educate her husband in moral virtue by displaying humility and submission in marriage,”⁷⁴ says Brauner. The counterpart, the witch, is a nagging shrew who neglects her duties as submissive housewife and mother, so “witches and shrewish housewives are closely related.”⁷⁵ To be a ‘bad wife’ also means to be fearless, proud, unruly, and independent. The old woman who has “outlived her husband” appears not only superfluous but dangerous - lacking a male master; she is potentially out of control.⁷⁶ Paul Rebhuhn’s shrove-tide play “The Wedding of Cana” (ca. 1538) contains gender-reversal roles, where the character Simon becomes a “she-man (Siemann)”⁷⁷ who helps his wife with household chores. But instead of making this a model-behavior for men, says Brauner, Rebhuhn ridicules such action as at least unmanly and effeminate, or worse yet, a clear example of lost control, because the “most important thing to remember about manhood is to keep firm control over the woman in one’s household.”⁷⁸ Brauner sums up that “the old woman is ... the embodiment of female disobedience and inappropriate gender behavior. Her notions of gender equality are diabolical and therefore forbidden; women are supposed to obey male authority without question, possibly enduring any suffering that

⁷⁴ Brauner, 60. Women do carry immense responsibility, according to Luther in his “Tischreden”: especially in “Eines Weibes Lob” where the woman is portrayed as taking care of all of her family’s psychological and physical needs. Martin Luther. *Tischreden* (1536-1540). Hrsg. Walter Rehm. (München: Chr. Kaiser, 1934)

⁷⁵ Brauner, 71.

⁷⁶ Brauner, 73.

⁷⁷ Brauner, 85.

⁷⁸ Brauner, 86.

strict obedience might entail.”⁷⁹ Brauner’s examples from the writings of Hans Sachs confirm the “nightmare of female rebellion”⁸⁰ which Sachs expresses in his poems and plays, especially the strophe-tide play “The Devil with the old Woman” (1545). In Sachs’ play, the old woman “displays all four characteristics of the modern witch: she uses harmful sorcery, already has a pact with the devil, conspires with demons and witches and carries a pitchfork... Sachs calls her ‘Hex’, ‘Unhuld’ and ‘Wettermacherin’, all popular terms for the modern witch.”⁸¹ The witch in this play is so mean that she even scares the devil, who yells at her: “I don’t dare fight you ... you are much too harsh and evil for me.”⁸² A female not even controllable by the devil!

Sachs’ idea on the nature of women as well has very much to do with personality: “A woman, [Sachs] says, is by nature as lusty as a pig, as noisy as a barking dog, and as recalcitrant as an unbridled horse; but she can also be as industrious as a honeybee”.⁸³ A husband’s duty is to domesticate her and bring out the best side of her qualities. Sachs’ notion is that “lurking within every housewife is an angry old witch ready to pounce on her unsuspecting husband. Her arrogance, obstinacy and voracious appetite, all part of her fourfold animal nature as a woman, must be suppressed.”⁸⁴ All these authors speak in

⁷⁹ Brauner. 92.

⁸⁰ Brauner. 98.

⁸¹ Brauner. 110.

⁸² Brauner, 99.

⁸³ Brauner. 107.

⁸⁴ Brauner. 107.

one voice about the need to exercise firm control over women, and the authors examined by Sigrid Brauner were particularly popular; their words from the pulpit or the stage were heard by many--‘popular’ being an understatement for Luther’s work--and so the combined force of word and text undoubtedly helped to promote and popularize the imagery and the ideas about women. All told, a woman who is openly trying to use her mind risks to be categorized a witch.

2. Fairy Tale-Witches in the Grimms’ *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*

The purpose of the discussion about the historical witches is to show that a witch is not just a funny, ridiculous old crone “flying around on a broomstick, pointing her long skinny finger at her intended victim”⁸⁵ or “quaint and faintly amusing,”⁸⁶ as portrayed in fairy tales. What also emerged from the discussion is that there are two strands of ideas about women at work. One opinion is that women are either quarrelsome, rebellious, wicked and inherently evil, and prone to be witches because they are women, or they are the submissive, saintly housewife and mother. The other opinion is that women are not inherently evil, but that they have a reason for being quarrelsome. The former is a theoretical and scholarly construct, the latter emerges from a study of trial-records and therefore has a claim for reality.

⁸⁵ Monter. v.

⁸⁶ Karlsen. xi.

The affinity between the historical and the literary witch is based on a past and chronicled reality. The depiction of the evil witch in the Grimms' fairy tales is largely based on the first notion, which sees women as either inherently evil or good. Naubert's depiction is much more in the vein of the second opinion, according to which women are not such intrinsically evil creatures. If they rebel there is a reason for it. A reading of the Grimms' tales shows that the notion of what a witch is has been so thoroughly internalized that the reader needs only occasional reminders of her. Yet even the Grimms' tales do have a few surprisingly enterprising female heroines who show much determination in shaping their own fate. They do not, however, reach the level of self-sufficiency of Naubert's heroines, and there are very few of them.

The enormous success of the Grimms' fairy tales must be kept in mind to understand the influence these tales had in creating the mean fairy tale-witch. Fairy tales are a never-ending source of curiosity and interest, and the Grimms' collection has become a literary monument among them. They are the most translated German book,⁸⁷ second only to the Bible in publishing success; the third edition in 1837 is the "Geburtsstunde eines Welterfolges,"⁸⁸ states Heinz Rölleke. The *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* constitute "one of the most powerful formative influences on generations of European ... and American children in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries" according to Ruth B.

⁸⁷ Heinz Rölleke. *Die wahren Märchen der Brüder Grimm*. (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1989) 305.

⁸⁸ Heinz Rölleke. hrsg. *Kinder und Hausmärchen gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm*. Vollständige Ausgabe auf der Grundlage der dritten Auflage 1837. (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1985) 1167.

Bottigheimer.⁸⁹ There is no doubting this last statement when one considers the popularity of Walt Disney movies.⁹⁰

Scholars agree that the immense popularity of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* helped to keep the image alive in everyone's imagination, and that the stereotype of the woman as witch depends largely on the *Malleus*, the famous witch-hunters' manual, and one of the most influential books in concretizing the historical witch. Dingeldein states: "Als Kumulationspunkt der verschiedenen Vorstellungen vom 'sein' der Hexe [im Märchen] ist der *Hexenhammer* ... anzusehen."⁹¹ Very often in the Grimms' fairy tales the witch is not only an old, ugly woman and she shares this role with other figures, stepmothers, mothers, old women, mothers-in-law. Mean female figures go about their business of doing evil deeds in a matter-of-fact way, to the point where the word 'witch' functions just like a job description: "Das Wort 'Hexe' wird von den Brüdern Grimm wie eine Berufsbezeichnung verwendet und bedeutet in den Märchen fast ausschliesslich: des

⁸⁹ Ruth B. Bottigheimer. *Grimm's Bad Girls & Bold Boys. The Moral & Social Vision of the 'Tales'* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1987) VII.

⁹⁰ Linda Degh. "Grimm's Household Tales and its place in the Household: the social relevance of a controversial classic." In: *Fairytales as Ways of Knowing*. Degh shows how the tales' characters are used as figures of speech, on TV, as metaphors, even costumed disguises. She states: "The common knowledge of the tales is so profound, so deeply ingrained, that ... a reference or casual hint is enough to communicate the meaning of the essential message of a tale." 44.

⁹¹ Heinrich J. Dingeldein. "'Hexe' und Märchen." Überlegungen zum Hexenbildnis in den 'Kinder- und Hausmärchen' der Brüder Grimm". In: *Die Frau im Märchen* (Kassel: Erich Röth Verlag, 1985) 53. Other scholars share this view:

Maria Tatar. *The Hard Facts of the Grimms' Fairy Tales*. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987). One group of 'ogres'. Tatar says "...and this group easily outnumber the members of ... other categories, is composed of women. These are the various cooks, stepmothers, witches, and mothers-in-law with voracious appetites for human fare." 139.

Blauert in *Ketzer, Zauberer Hexen* comments: "Dem Bild der historischen Hexe. entspricht über weite Strecken das heute (noch) geläufige vorwissenschaftliche populäre Hexenbild, wie es beispielsweise die Märchen vermitteln." 11.

bösen Zaubers kundig.”⁹² When caught, the punishments these witches receive also reflect historical witch beliefs, at least in their level of cruelty.

Some of the most famous tales by the Grimms, “Snow White,” “Sleeping Beauty” and “Cinderella,” do not actually call the mean character ‘witch.’⁹³ In “Cinderella” the stepmother and two stepsisters are “garstig und schwarz von Herzen.” In “Sleeping Beauty” the uninvited fairy is a vengeful “Zauberweib,” and in “Snow White” the stepmother is “schön aber stolz,” “gottlos” and “ein böses Weib.”⁹⁴ The vengeful fairy, surprisingly, is not talked about any more, but Snow White’s stepmother does her famous dance in the red-hot slippers and dies. Cinderella’s stepsisters have both of their eyes picked out by doves and are ‘punished for life with blindness for their meanness.’ Some characters are matter-of-factly called ‘witch,’ and they end up duly punished for their various crimes. In “Brüderchen und Schwesterchen” the “böse Stiefmutter aber war eine Hexe,” and her death is the typical death suffered by many historical witches: “... die Hexe wurde ins Feuer gelegt und musste jammervoll verbrennen.”⁹⁵ Of course there is the evil, children-devouring witch in “Hänsel und Gretel”⁹⁶ and her death in an oven. In “Die

⁹² Elisabeth Müller. *Das Bild der Frau im Märchen*, (München: Profil Verlag, 1986) 44. Heinz Rölleke. *Die Märchen der Brüder Grimm*. (München und Zürich: Artemis Verlag, 1985) 33.

⁹³ Brüder Grimm. *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. Hrsg. Heinz Rölleke. Nach der zweiten vermehrten und verbesserten Auflage von 1819. (Köln: Eugen Diedrichs Verlag, 1982) “Aschenputtel” Nr. 21. “Dornröschen” Nr. 50. “Sneewittchen” (old spelling) Nr.53. I am using this 1819-edition of the Grimms’ tales because it contains “die Mehrzahl (170:...) jener 210 Texte, die nachmals durch die Ausgabe letzter Hand von 1857 gleichsam kanonisch wurden.” 525.

⁹⁴ KHM 1819. 85. 177. 193.

⁹⁵ KHM 1819. “Brüderchen und Schwesterchen” Nr. 11.

⁹⁶ KHM 1819. “Hänsel und Gretel” Nr. 15.

sechs Schwäne” the description of the witch, aside from being perfectly traditional, makes her an object, rather than a human: “Da sah [der König] etwas auf sich zukommen, das ging wie eine alte Frau gebückt und mit wackelndem Kopf und war eine Hexe.”⁹⁷ She also ends up burned at the stake. In short, clear references to a witch as the meanest of the mean come up regularly throughout the one hundred and seventy tales.⁹⁸ Mostly ugly and old, but sometimes a cold and ‘frightening beauty,’⁹⁹ she is a woman whose powers of magic and meanness are inborn, “ein übernatürliches Wesen, dem seine Zauberkraft als selbstverständlich gegeben ist.”¹⁰⁰ Out of the one hundred and seventy tales there are twelve¹⁰¹ stories in which an old woman, or a woman and her daughter, are clearly referred to as witches, where the word ‘Hexe’ is actually used. But there are stories where the task of the mean witch is in the hands of a stepmother or a sorceress. Most of the very famous stories are still the best known today: “Hänsel und Gretel,” “Aschenputtel,” “Rothkäppchen,” “Dornröschen,” “Sneewittchen,”¹⁰² “Rapunzel,” “Frau Holle,” and “Rumpelstilzchen.” Except for “Hänsel und Gretel,” none of these well

⁹⁷ KHM 1819. “Die sechs Schwäne” Nr. 49.

⁹⁸ KHM 1819. “Der liebste Roland” Nr. 56: “Vom Fundevogel” Nr. 51: “Die zwei Brüder” Nr. 60: “Das blaue Licht” Nr. 116: “Der Krautesel” Nr. 122: “Die Alte im Walde” Nr. 123: “Der Eisen-Ofen” Nr. 127: “Die weisse und die schwarze Braut” Nr. 135: “Das Lämmchen und Fischchen” Nr. 141.

⁹⁹ *Enzyklopädie des Märchens: Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung*. Kurt Ranke. Hermann Bausinger. Hrsg. (Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 1977- in progress) 964.

¹⁰⁰ *Enzyklopädie*, 963. That this image of woman is as variable as it is resilient is shown in one of the recent Walt Disney productions. *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*. The gypsy is what I would call a *reluctant* witch. Beautiful, resourceful and quite human, she rebels when she has a good reason for it.

¹⁰¹ KHM 1819, Nr. 11, 15, 49, 51, 56, 60, 116, 122, 123, 127, 135, 141.

¹⁰² Spelled as in the second edition of the Grimms’ tales.

known tales makes specific use of the word 'witch.' The witch, it seems, needs no further explaining; who she is and what she does is self-evident.

The self-evidence has an historical connection. As shown above, the Grimms' witches or their mean substitutes act as if this were simply a job to do. To be a 'witch' is a professional designation, a 'Berufsbezeichnung,' and the punishments received are also obvious and beyond further discussion. A way of explaining this situation is to go back to Karlsen's study of witch-beliefs in Puritan New England.¹⁰³ Karlsen found it to be a paradox that no colonist ever thought it necessary to say why witches were mostly women, or why some behavior--such as self-determination--made women more suspect than men. "Indeed, New Englanders did not openly discuss most of their widely shared assumptions about women-as-witches," Karlsen concludes.¹⁰⁴ Even though such writings as the *Malleus* certainly gave very specific details about the reasons why women were likely to be witches, the Puritans did not find it necessary to document or validate their beliefs by referring to the original sources. Karlsen finds an explanation for this phenomenon in what she calls "social construction of knowledge,"¹⁰⁵ which has been

¹⁰³ Psychological explanations explore the human need to personify evil. Two well-known studies are: Bruno Bettelheim's *The Uses of Enchantment* (New York: Random House, 1975), and Marie-Louise von Franz' *Das Weibliche im Märchen* (Stuttgart: Verlag Adolf Bonz, 1977) The subject is unendingly fascinating. The German title of Bettelheim's work is *Kinder brauchen Märchen*, which expresses in itself an opinion. Sander L. Gilman's *Difference and Pathology. Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race and Madness*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985) definitely fits into the discussion: stereotyping also means creating opposites.

¹⁰⁴ Karlsen, 153.

¹⁰⁵ Karlsen, 154.

explored by anthropologists and other scholars.¹⁰⁶ The essence of this explanation is that ideas which have been overwhelmingly disputed and affected society deeply will eventually be relegated to the “category of self-evident truth.”¹⁰⁷ What one knows to be self-evidently true does not need any more discussion. The explicit descriptions by the authors of the witch treatises became implicit knowledge and surfaced in literature, such as in the Grimms’ fairy tales.¹⁰⁸ It is in this sense that the image of the witch became embedded in the Grimms’ tales. If this statement seems a daring leap of imagination, one only has to remember that the ideas ‘why women are witches’ have been discussed for centuries and had plenty of time to become passive or implicit ‘knowledge.’

But what about some of the intrepid princesses or not-so-evil female characters in the Grimms’ tales? Some witch-like old women are actually helpful. In “Der Räuberbräutigam,”¹⁰⁹ a story so bloody it rivals a horror film, a “steinalte Frau” saves the young bride from certain death, first by warning her about the danger she is in, and then by diverting the robbers from finding her in her hiding place. Quite humorous are “Der Teufel mit den drei goldenen Haaren” and “Der Teufel und seine Grossmutter.”¹¹⁰ In both tales an old woman helps outsmart the devil, and obtains crucially needed answers to

¹⁰⁶ Karlsen especially cites the anthropologist Mary Douglas’ essay *Implicit Meanings: Essays in Anthropology* (London, 1976)

¹⁰⁷ Karlsen, 154.

¹⁰⁸ This issue is discussed by Karlsen in much greater detail, in her chapter “Handmaidens of the Lord.” 153-181.

¹⁰⁹ KHM 1819. “Der Räuberbräutigam” Nr. 40.

¹¹⁰ KHM 1819. “Der Teufel mit den drei goldenen Haaren” Nr.29: “Der Teufel und seine Grossmutter” Nr. 125.

riddles for the hero or heroine. In “Die zertanzten Schuhe”¹¹¹ an old woman gives the poor soldier good advice and a coat to render him invisible.

There are also some resolute heroines that can be called ‘reluctant witches,’ meaning that they are not evil by nature, or ugly and old, but they dare to take matters into their own hands when faced with problems. They are more life-like in their way of handling adventures than the simply evil witches or good princesses.

Ruth Bottigheimer has thoroughly researched this issue, and she shows how in some specific tales,¹¹² especially those that “grew out of the oldest material ...it is possible to tease out an underlying image of power-bearing.”¹¹³ By ‘oldest material’ Bottigheimer points to tales that have old roots, possibly going back to ancient agrarian cults. ‘Power bearing’ female figures show unexpected powers and motivations, which can also be understood in the sense of ‘independent.’ For example Bottigheimer’s findings about the young Queen in the Grimms’ tale “Die Gänsemagd” mirror female figures in Naubert’s tales. The goosegirl is actually a young and beautiful princess who was sent out in the company of a maid to marry a king. She has the ability to conjure up the elements and speak to a dead horse. The three drops of blood on a handkerchief, given to her by her mother, symbolically bestow the old Queen’s power on her daughter. The young princess,

¹¹¹ KHM1819. “Die zertanzten Schuhe” Nr. 133.

¹¹² Ruth B. Bottigheimer. “The transformed Queen: A Search for the Origins of Negative Female Archetypes in the Grimms’ Fairy Tales.” In *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur Neueren Germanistik*. Nr. 10. 1980. (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi. 1980) 3.

¹¹³ “Die Gänsemagd” (KHM 89). “Allerleirauh” (KHM 65). “Die zwölf Brüder” (KHM 9). “Die sieben Raben” (KHM 25). “Die sechs Schwäne” (KHM 49)

Bottigheimer concludes, “derives her power from the realm of nature, where she is queen in her own right.”¹¹⁴ The goosegirl is a perfect example of a reluctant witch. She is not malicious by nature but asserts herself--being unwomanly feisty--when the need arises. She is using her conjuring powers in a practical, and very humorous, way. To avoid the gooseboy’s unwanted attention she conjures up the wind to blow his hat away and he promptly chases after it. Receiving her power from the old queen makes her a magic woman, but she also goes about her job as a goosegirl diligently until she is vindicated. Instead of being a weeping Damsel in distress, waiting for help, she works.

Another example of a determined heroine is in “Der arme Müllerbursche und das Kätzchen.”¹¹⁵ A miller has three hired-hands who set out to find a horse for the miller, and whoever brings the best horse will have the mill for himself. The youngest, Hans, is abandoned in the forest by his fellow-workers where a little cat finds him and takes him to her house. There he stays for seven years and works for her. The little cat is in fact a princess who knows exactly what she wants. She uses her magic to help Hans fulfill what he set out to do, to find a horse for the miller. She is not vengeful against the two other hired-hands who abandoned Hans, and she lets the miller keep his mill. She then chooses Hans to be her husband because of his diligence and good heart--which pleased him very much.

¹¹⁴ Bottigheimer. *Transformed Queen*, 7.

¹¹⁵ KHM 1819. “Der arme Müllerbursche und das Kätzchen” Nr. 106.

A female figure with determination also appears in “Die zwölf Jäger.”¹¹⁶ The heroine is betrothed to a prince, but he gives his dying father his word that he will marry the princess his father had chosen for him. Devastated by this discovery, the heroine finds eleven ladies who look just like her, to be hired as huntsmen by the prince, who does not recognize his former bride-to-be. The prince has a lion ‘who knows everything,’ however, and reveals the gender of his twelve hunters, suggesting a test to the unbelieving prince: “Lass nur Erbsen in dein Vorzimmer streuen...da wirst du’s gleich sehen, Männer haben einen festen Tritt, wenn die darüber hingehen, da regt sich keine, aber Mädchen, die trippeln und trappeln, und schlurfeln und die Erbsen rollen.”¹¹⁷ Warned by a friendly servant, the twelve disguised women step firmly on the peas so that none rolls away. The lion thinks of another test: when seeing a spinning wheel, women would immediately sit down and start spinning. Again, the ladies are warned, and simply ignore the spinning wheels. The prince is now convinced that they are men. When the new bride arrives, the faithful ‘hunting-lady’ finally reveals her identity. The prince and his true bride celebrate their wedding, “und der Löwe kam wieder in Gnade, weil er doch die Wahrheit gesagt hatte.”¹¹⁸ The tale makes fun of feminine behavior, how women walk and think. The ease with which the tests are ‘passed’ shows how absurd and funny such cliches are and that inventiveness and determination are not reserved for men. Finally, the lion, the symbol of masculine know-how and strength, is gently ridiculed, simply by the tale’s last sentence:

¹¹⁶ KHM 1819. “Die zwölf Jäger” Nr. 67.

¹¹⁷ KHM 1819. 255.

¹¹⁸ KHM 1819. 256.

“...and the lion regained favor with the king, for he had really been telling the truth all along.”¹¹⁹ In what sense was he right about the hunter’s gender? Even though the purpose of these heroines’ quest is love and marriage, they are not meekly waiting for Prince Charming. The witch as the personification of the inherently evil feminine figures in the Grimms’ tales as an obvious part of a world view, originating in the old historical beliefs, whereas the independent heroine was often removed or ‘adjusted,’ since the Grimms’ were recurrently “keeping in line with the Protestant ethic and patriarchal notion of sex roles.”¹²⁰

The similarities between the few self-determined women figures of the Grimms’ tales and the far more numerous of Naubert’s tales show that such women are not just Naubert’s creations but, like the witch, must have been in tales and imagination long before Naubert. The Grimms’ tales, in spite of their monolithic status, were not researched and published in a vacuum, but were painstakingly assembled by the brothers.¹²¹ To collect the material for their tales they had to search in libraries, ask friends and relatives, peruse old literature: “Die Sammlung märchenhafter Passagen aus

¹¹⁹ This translation is from Zipes’ *The Complete Fairy Tales*, 267. See foot note 120 for citation.

¹²⁰ Jack Zipes. Introduction: “Once there were two Brothers named Grimm.” *The Complete Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm*. Expanded Edition (Bantam: New York, 1992) xxviii.

¹²¹ One example of this is Jacob Grimm’s formation of the “Wollzeilergesellschaft”(1814) in Vienna, with the explicit purpose “der Weisheit, die da geht auf der Gasse, und da wohnt in den Häußern der Armen, treue Hand zu legen... Volker Schupp, *‘Wollzeilergesellschaft’ und ‘Kette’*. *Impulse der frühen Volkskunde und Germanistik*. (Marburg: N.G. Elwert Verlag, 1983) 33.36. This quote is from the “Gründungsurkunde”, which was later used for the “Circular wegen Aufsammlung der Volkspoesie.”

älterer Kunstdichtung (z.B. Texte nach Hans Sachs, ...”¹²² The *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*’s long publishing history shows that the tales were altered steadily during the Grimms’ lifetime and subject to their “narrative mastery” in editing.¹²³ From the first edition, Volume I in 1812 and Volume II in 1815, to the “Ausgabe letzter Hand” of 1857, seventeen editions were constantly revised to suit requirements of taste or finance¹²⁴ and “vermischte sich mit Aufzeichnungen von Sagen und Märchen mündlicher Provenienz....”¹²⁵ Benedikte Naubert must have had similar sources at her disposition. She also perused old literary sources in the hope that she could “from the dust call up the sleeping hero,”¹²⁶ sources obtainable in libraries or from friends and her brothers’ book collection. But she chose to give the bold and fearless, the enterprising and spirited heroine, a much greater voice than the Grimms did later.

Discussed in the next section are the tales by Musäus, published 1782-1786, shortly before Naubert’s. His tales depict female characters who are closer to the Grimms’ version in that their wishes for happiness are conventional, are for marriage and

¹²² See Sigrid Brauner’s *Fearless Wives* on the use of Hans Sachs and other authors of the 16th century for the ‘making of the witch’.

¹²³ Bottigheimer. *Grimms’ Bad Girls*, 6. The quote is from a letter by Moritz Haupt to the Grimms, as he was submitting a contribution to the collection.

¹²⁴ Rölleke. *KHM gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm*, 1170-1177. For a discussion of the Grimms’ possible financial motifs when editing their tales see Maria Tatar. *The Hard Facts*. For a discussion on the Grimms’ use or ‘misuse’ of sources see John M. Ellis. *One Fairy Story too many. The Brothers Grimm and their Tales*. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1983)

¹²⁵ Rölleke. *KHM gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm*, 1154. Also in Bottigheimer’s *Grimms’ Bad Girls*, especially pp. 1-7.

¹²⁶ Her historical novel *Walter von Montbarry*, is introduced by a quote from (Edward, 1683-1765?) Young: “We ransack tombs for pastime; from the dust call up the sleeping hero; bid him tread the scene for our amusement.”

motherhood. In Musäus' tales the mean characters may repent or change their minds and the sweetly innocent heroines handle their problems with surprising ease. The comparison between Naubert and Musäus analyzes how narrative differences help influence the image of the witch.

3. Narrative Differences in J.K.A. Musäus' *Volksmärchen der Deutschen* and Benedikte Naubert's *Neue Volksmärchen der Deutschen*

The fairy tales by Musäus and Naubert invite comparison for several reasons. Musäus and Naubert lived and published in close succession, and their tales have almost identical titles. They are mentioned in one breath by many reviewers, then and now.¹²⁷ They advocated a rational outlook on life, and even show a similar scepticism towards some of the Enlightenment's achievements. The fact that the famous Grimms distinguished themselves from Musäus' and Naubert's work, calls for questioning the reasons for this response. And then: who is Naubert? A compelling difference can be detected in the treatment of women characters by Naubert and Musäus, and the techniques by which they conveyed their opinions through these fictional characters' fates. Musäus, like the Grimms, evidences the 'traditional' woman, Naubert a 'modern'

¹²⁷ See Introduction. 8.

one: the obedient, submissive and quiet woman as opposed to an inquisitive, determined and outspoken one.¹²⁸

What distinguishes Johann Karl August Musäus' *Volksmärchen der Deutschen* (1782-1786) from Benedikte Naubert's *Neue Volksmärchen der Deutschen* (1789-1792) is mainly the style in which they are told: Musäus' satirical irony versus Naubert's engrossing narrative. Musäus never lets his readers forget reality, and he achieves this with his unique style of jokes and allusions; Naubert lets her readers become absorbed by the story and the narrator's friendly voice. Musäus' world is comfortable and patriarchal, where one might have some good fun with his stories; Naubert's world is much harsher where real and magic people face genuine problems. This difference in style is reflected in the rebellious protagonists I have defined as witches: Naubert's stand out among their neighbors, but they are real people, whereas Musäus' stand out as caricatures. None of the woman figures can be called a witch in Musäus' tales and even the meanest women are described with so many funny digressions that the reader can be quite confident that nothing serious is going to happen. Musäus' irony is his 'Verfremdungseffekt,' his alienation effect.

Achim von Arnim, although partial to Naubert, also suggests that the narrative style or tone distinguishes the tales of the two authors. Of Naubert's tone, Arnim says in

¹²⁸ See Ruth B. Bottigheimer. *Grimms' Bad Girls*. Chapters 5 and 6 discuss patterns of speech. Bottigheimer convincingly argues that "bad girls talk more frequently" (56) than good girls. The good woman is submissively silent, but the bad woman too talkative. A similar investigation could be done on Naubert's fairy tales, where the woman who speaks up also often gets into trouble. For example, Beate's maid, Gertraud, is not merely being talkative, but wants to warn Beate about the elves: for this apparently helpful action—she dies. Rose is punished every time she relaxes her vigilance and talks to her cousin and her aunt.

the “Zeitung für Einsiedler”¹²⁹ that it is “Zierlich und tiefsinnig im Ergreifen des flachsten modernen Treibens, sie will nie ganz alterthümlich seyn,” and he also praises her “reiche Eigenthümlichkeit.” But he criticizes Musäus for his “widrigen literarischen Anspielungen der Zeit, die zu den Zeiten des Musäus für Witz gelten mussten.” An understanding of Arnim’s critique of Musäus and his admiration for Naubert explains what is meant by ‘difference in style’ here.

Musäus and Naubert both make comments about society and reflect the Enlightenment sentiment of the eighteenth century, which advocates a “vernünftige Weltordnung...,”¹³⁰ rather than the magical one that produced the witch-beliefs. Or as Alfred Richli says, the thinkers of the time worked “im Dienste der Vernunft.”¹³¹ Musäus is clearly a person of the Enlightenment, turning away from metaphysical questions. Naubert’s writing, however, is close to the era of Romanticism in style and time. In Grätz’ words Musäus’ position can be summarized, as “aufklärerisch-rationalistisch.” Naubert’s as “romantisch-rationalistisch.”¹³² Musäus, the quiet, witty professor in Weimar,¹³³ wrote most of his work as satire, his unique way of ironically exposing what

¹²⁹ See Appendix B for the full text of this article.

¹³⁰ Norbert Miller. Afterword. *Volksmärchen der Deutschen* by Johann Karl August Musäus. Ed. Norbert Miller. (München: Winkler Verlag, 1961) 882.

¹³¹ Alfred Richli. “Johann Karl August Musäus. Die Volksmärchen der Deutschen.” In: *Zürcher Beiträge zur deutschen Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte*. Hrsg. Emil Staiger. (Zürich und Freiburg im Breisgau: Atlantis Verlag, 1957). 10.

¹³² Grätz. 200.

¹³³ Born 1735. he studied in Jena and was hired by Herzogin Anna Amalia in 1763. In 1769 he became Professor at the Gymnasium in Weimar where he taught classic languages, history and German. He died in 1787, apparently never having left “Ostmitteldeutschland.” From: Richli. 13; Barbara Carville, in: *Deutsche Dichter. Band 3, Aufklärung und Empfindsamkeit*. (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1988) 249-299.

he considered his contemporaries' follies: "Aber- und Wunderglaube, kirchliche Institutionen und Dogma," literary excesses of the time, such as "Richardson Nachahmer" or those with "Werther-Fieber."¹³⁴ Musäus finds the "Sentimentalsucht in der modischen Büchermanufaktur" revolting and suggests "Herzgefühle eine Zeitlang ruhen zu lassen, das weinerliche Adagio der Empfindsamkeit zu endigen...."¹³⁵ He chose the form of fairy tales because "der Hang zum Wunderbaren und Ausserordentlichen liegt so tief in unserer Seele, dass es sich niemals auswurzeln lässt."¹³⁶

The use of satire and irony in fairy tales differs drastically from the Grimms' idea of what fairy tales are. The Grimms' work was influenced by the understanding of fairy tales as the poetic voice of a child-like people, the kind of thinking influenced by Herder,¹³⁷ and such texts were to be treated with the reverence accorded to the witnesses of an idealized time gone by. Reverence, however, was not what Musäus had in mind when he penned his folk-tales: "Als im neunzehnten Jahrhundert durch die Brüder Grimm der naiv-gläubige Märchenton der Brüder Grimm sanktioniert wurde, sah man in Musäus' spielerisch-ironischem Stil eine Sünde wider den Heiligen Geist des Märchens," Barbara Carvill correctly notes.¹³⁸ Miller also comments on the difference between the naïve voice of the Grimmian fairy tales and Musäus: "[Musäus] lag nichts ferner als die andächtige

¹³⁴ Richli. 76-81.

¹³⁵ Musäus. 7.

¹³⁶ Musäus. 7.

¹³⁷ Grätz. 207-208.

¹³⁸ Carville. 298.

Versenkung in das Märchen als Urform der Poesie,¹³⁹ and he calls Musäus' style "kontrollierter Übermut."¹⁴⁰ Other comments are that Musäus is the "Bekämpfer der 'Feerei'" and his style a "Schwanken zwischen Idylle und Satire."¹⁴¹

The Grimm brothers pointed out what they thought was the distinguishing factor between their work and forerunners in the field of fairy tales: "Musäus und Naubert verarbeiten meist was wir vorhin Localsage nannten..."¹⁴² With these words in Volume I of the first edition of their fairy tales in 1812 the Grimms characterize Musäus and Naubert and at the same time distance their own work from them. The Grimms further comment in the foreword, "Wir haben uns bemüht, diese Märchen so rein als möglich war aufzufassen... kein Umstand ist hinzugedichtet oder verschönert oder abgeändert worden..." continuing that "In diesem Sinne existiert noch keine Sammlung in Deutschland, man hat sie fast immer nur als Stoff benutzt, um grössere Erzählungen daraus zu machen, die willkürlich erweitert, verändert..."¹⁴³ The Grimms' intentions were noble, but research has since shown that they did some 'arbitrary adding and

¹³⁹ Müller. 877.

¹⁴⁰ Müller. 905.

¹⁴¹ Felix Karlinger. *Grundzüge einer Geschichte des Märchens im deutschen Sprachraum*. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. 1983) 25.28.

¹⁴² *Kinder und Hausmärchen. Gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm*. Ed. Heinz Rölleke. Vergrößerter Nachdruck der zweibändigen Erstausgabe von 1812 und 1815. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986) XIX.

¹⁴³ *Kinder und Hausmärchen. Gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm*, XIX.

changing' themselves.¹⁴⁴ But Naubert and Musäus did exactly that: they used tales, 'Localsagen' and others, to weave into these tales their own ideas, concerns or comments, and since every author has his or her own personality, Musäus and Naubert created their own distinct literary texts. Musäus even calls his tales "vaterländische Originale" and assures his readers of his uniqueness and creativity since "unter den verschiedenen Gattungen von Märchen, das Volksmärchen auf dessen Kultur bisher noch kein deutscher Skribent verfallen war."¹⁴⁵

At Musäus' time the fairy tale did not have a clear definition. In fact, says Richli, "Alle Art von Literatur, die das Element des Wunderbaren enthielt, ging unter dem Namen eines Märchens."¹⁴⁶ When Naubert published her tales, the same undefined ideas about fairy tales still existed and could explain why she used *Volksmärchen* in the title, being aware of Musäus' just published tales and the similarity in the use of basic material. Musäus' tales actually demand quite a knowledge of literature, language, politics, psychology and procreation. One of Musäus' first publishers pointed out that "was den Märchen des Musäus bei den Lesern seiner Generation zum Nachteil gereichen könne, die zahlreichen Verweise auf vergessene Schriften, auf mancherlei literarische und tagespolitische Ereignisse seien, die seinem Leserpublikum mit Sicherheit unbekannt und unverständlich bleiben müssten."¹⁴⁷ Benedikte Naubert's style is much more in the

¹⁴⁴ Also discussed by Jack Zipes. John Ellis, among others.

¹⁴⁵ Musäus, 11, 10.

¹⁴⁶ Richli, 133.

¹⁴⁷ Miller, 827.

Grimmian way of ‘Versenkung’ into the spirit of a story. Like Musäus she uses ‘Localsagen,’ and she is often humorous and ironical, although never to Musäus’ extent. As Grätz notices, Naubert is “vom Thematischen her und... auch vom Stil her als eine Vorläuferin der Romantik anzusprechen.”¹⁴⁸ Touaillon, who also sees her as the “ausgesprochenste Vorläuferin der Romantik,”¹⁴⁹ says that “Der Grundton ihrer Märchen liegt zwischen dem Skeptizismus der Aufklärung und der Schwermut der Romantik,”¹⁵⁰ and like Achim von Arnim, who found Musäus’ comments tasteless, she does not think much of Musäus’ jokes: “[Musäus’] aufdringlichem Skeptizismus stellt sich [Nauberts] feine Ironie wohltuend gegenüber.”¹⁵¹ Clearly, what the Grimms merely called ‘use’ of local legend reveals distinct differences: with his everpresent mockery Musäus suspends the possibility of becoming immersed in the world of wonders, whereas Naubert’s friendly narrator invites the reader into the miraculous, to be absorbed by it. How then do Musäus’ ‘caricatures’ compare to Naubert’s ‘real people?’

Two very mean and also very beautiful heroines are Musäus’ Richilde in the tale with the same title and Naubert’s Grimhild in “Die zwölf Ritter von Bern oder das Märchen vom Hort der Nibelungen.” Musäus’ tale is a version of “Snow White,” and Richilde is the mean step-mother of Blanca, the sweet daughter of a widower. Grimhilde is corrupted by her wish for the Nibelungengold, and Naubert does not leave any doubt

¹⁴⁸ Grätz. 237

¹⁴⁹ Touaillon. 420.

¹⁵⁰ Touaillon. 416.

¹⁵¹ Touaillon. 420.

about how profoundly disturbed by her greed Grimhilde is. Richilde is corrupted by flattery at the court and by her own vanity. However, simply saying that Richilde was corrupted by flattery would be ignoring Musäus! How the flattery is done is just as important as that it is done. To make their point the courtiers denigrate the most famous beauties in favor of Richilde:

Die schöne Judith war zu plump und vierschrötig, wenigstens nach dem Malerkostüm, das ihr vor undenklichen Zeiten her die robuste Gestalt eines Schlächterweibes attribuiert, wenn sie den krausbärtigen Kapitän Holofernes entgurgelt; die schöne Esther war zu rachsüchtig, weil sie die zehn hübschen Jungen des Exministers Hamans, die doch nichts verschuldet hatten, henken liess; von der schönen Helena hiess es, sie sei ein artiger Rotkopf gewesen, und habe aller Vermutung nach Sommersprossen gehabt; an der Königin Kleopatra wurde der kleine Mund gelobt, aber die wulstig aufgeworfenen Lippen und die hochstehenden ägyptischen Ohren, die Professor Blumbach noch vor kurzem an den Mumien bemerkt haben will, getadelt; die Königin Thalestris musste bei aller Gelegenheit wegen der, nach amazonischer Gewohnheit zerstörten rechten Brust herhalten, und ihre schiefe Taille, welche sich bei diesem wesentlichen Schönheitsmangel nicht verhehlen liess, wollte kein Höfling goutieren, weil der künstliche Panzer der ausgepolsterten Schnürbrüste, die so manchen weiblichen Mangel bedecken, damals noch nicht erfunden war.¹⁵²

At the end of this description--and it demands to be quoted fully--Musäus could assume that his readers were amused, possibly admiring his knowledge of literature, but probably not troubled by Richilde's extreme vanity. It is obvious that in this passage Musäus aims to expose many prejudices and ills of his time, but he certainly exposes what Naubert reveals more than once: the importance attached to female beauty. When Richilde's magic mirror tells her that someone else is more beautiful than she is, she flies into a rage, however "das hätte man ihr verzeihen müssen: denn für eine Dame, die kein

¹⁵² Musäus. 84.

anderes Talent als Schönheit empfangen hat, gibt es keine grössere Kränkung, als die, wenn ihr der Wahrheitsfreund auf der Toilette den unwiederbringlichen Verlust des ganzen Wertes ihrer Existenz verkündet.”¹⁵³ All of Musäus’ descriptions and comments serve to lighten the situation and make its extremes ridiculous, to laugh at it rather than to cry. The manner in which Richilde and Grimhilde are punished also reflects the authors’ style. Richilde fails in her attempts to kill her step-daughter and is forced to dance with the red-hot slippers, so “...die Zwerglein schuheten ihr die glühenden Pantoffeln an und Gunzelin schliff mit ihr einen so raschen Schleifer längs dem Saal hinab, dass der Erdboden rauchte und ihre zarten, wohlgebratenen Füße kein Hühnerauge mehr quälte...”¹⁵⁴ And not only is Richilde allowed to do ‘Pönitzenz’ in a prison, a doctor is allowed to give her ointments for her blistered feet, whereas Grimhilde’s bloody death at the hand of Hildebrand seems as deserved as the Grimm’s evil step-mother in “Snow White” who is forced to dance until she dies. Musäus’ Richilde is ridiculous rather than frightening.

The theme of the old woman using young men for rejuvenation is presented in “Rolands Knappen” in Musäus’ collection and “Die hamelschen Kinder oder das Märchen vom Ritter Sankt Georg” in Naubert’s. Musäus introduces the old woman as “dürres, steinaltes Mütterchen,”¹⁵⁵ who lives alone in the forest with a cat and is quite friendly. The three young soldiers are invited into the house, given some food and, with the help of some magic, are persuaded to sleep with the old woman. Naubert’s old woman is

¹⁵³ Musäus. 99.

¹⁵⁴ Musäus. 116.

¹⁵⁵ Musäus. 128.

presented as a powerful voice from a dark cave, who also lives in the forest, but her surroundings inspire fear, are motionless and dead. In the beginning of the tale, Naubert's old woman is strongly alluded to as a witch in connection with the devil, which makes her a very dangerous person indeed. For the rejuvenation she steals a young boy away from his father and keeps him prisoner in mind and body for fifty years. Both witches are very old and well versed in bookish magic and astrology. Most importantly though, they are interested in keeping up a youthful appearance. Women's vanity is one of Musäus' favorite themes throughout the tales, and I suspect that in this case his digressions are to leave the reader feeling rather sorry for the unfortunate old hag and her problem with beauty:

Der Mutter Natur hat es beliebt, die äussersten Grenzlinien der Schönheit und Hässlichkeit in dem weiblichen Körper zu vereinbaren: das höchste Ideal der Schönheit ist ein Weib, und das höchste Ideal der Hässlichkeit ist auch ein Weib, und es ist eine etwas demütigende Bemerkung für stolze Schönen, dass diese beiden Endpunkte gewöhnlich in einer und der nämlichen Person, wiewohl in ganz verschiedenen Epoken, zusammentreffen. [The old hag] stund auf der äussersten Abstufung der Menschengestalt... und schien das non plus ultra der Hässlichkeit zu sein; ob sie das auch ehemals in Absicht der Schönheit war, ist nicht leicht auszumachen.¹⁵⁶

Such passages should be savored "Wort für Wort"¹⁵⁷ for their humor and observations on human nature: why are women so obsessed with their appearance, with youth, and what about the women as carriers of the extremes of beauty and ugliness? Maybe Musäus is belittling the entire significance of concern with external beauty or ugliness. But the old

¹⁵⁶ Musäus. 131-132.

¹⁵⁷ Miller. 905.

woman in the story is rejuvenated by thirty years each time she sleeps with a young man. This leads to one of the passages in *Musäus* which Arnim finds so repulsive: “Ohne das Gesetz der Keuschheit weder mit Gedanken, Worten oder Werken im mindesten zu verletzen, hatten die drei Knappen genotdrungen der Alten den verlangten Dienst geleistet, sie hatte sich mit guter Manier neunzig Jahre vom Hals geschafft, ging wieder ganz flink und keck einher...”¹⁵⁸ This old hag, even though she is an accomplished sorceress, does not inspire fear, whereas Naubert’s does.

The famous *Rübezahl* legends receive entirely different treatments by *Musäus* and *Naubert*. Both see *Rübezahl* as a mischievous mountain-spirit, but the stories about *Rübezahl* told by the two authors are not alike, either in style or in content. However, the following example seems to show *Musäus*’ concern for women. Usually untiring when making fun of women’s vanity, cunning and talkativeness, *Musäus* here takes an open stab at one societal ill: wife-beating. And unlike *Naubert*, who as a female author is carefully hiding her criticism, *Musäus* is blunt with his message.

Rübezahl is observing a young woman with four small children, struggling to keep the children happy while she is working to provide for them. So *Rübezahl* muses by himself that “eine Mutter ist doch wahrlich ein gutes Geschöpf, schleppt sich mit vier Kindern, und wartet dabei ihres Berufes ohne Murren..., das heisst die Freuden der Liebe teuer bezahlen!”¹⁵⁹ The spirited young woman gets into a discussion with *Rübezahl* and defends her role as mother, inspite of the hard work:

¹⁵⁸ *Musäus*. 133.

¹⁵⁹ *Musäus*. 234.

Der Geist: "So! Hat denn dein Mann keine Hände, die arbeiten können?"

Sie: "Oh ja, die hat er! Er rührt sie auch und ich fühl's zuweilen."

Der Geist aufgebracht: "Wie? Dein Mann erküht sich die Hand gegen dich aufzuheben? Gegen solch ein Weib? Das Genick will ich ihm brechen dem Mörder!"

Sie lachend: "Da hättet Ihr traun viel Hälse zu brechen, wenn alle Männer mit dem Hals büssen sollten, die sich an der Frau vergreifen. Die Männer sind eine schlimme Nation, drum heisst's Ehstand Wehstand, muss mich drein ergeben, warum hab ich gefreit."¹⁶⁰

This is clearly a very outspoken support for a nice, hard-working housewife, and sharpest criticism of an abusive husband. Naubert, on the other hand, barely criticizes Otilie's father Rörich, for example, who mistreats his daughter cruelly. Instead, Naubert exposes the problem by telling the detailed story of the unfortunate heroine and her suffering, and just enough of her tormentor to make the point. The woman in Musäus' Rubezahl legend later receives magic help from Rubezahl in the form of gold. She cleverly hides the treasure from her good-for-nothing husband with the help of a village priest, problems are worked out and, in the end, the husband is "der geschmeidigste gefälligste Ehemann, ein liebevoller Vater seiner Kinder, und dabei ein fleissiger, ordentlicher Wirt."¹⁶¹ Otilie is spirited out of this world, instead of being allowed to solve her problems. Musäus' story has an 'And all's well that ends well' conclusion, but Naubert's is closer to desperation.

The character of the Dottorena in "Ulrich mit dem Bühel" is representative of a learned woman. She easily accomplishes what some of Naubert's heroines wished for and not always achieved: learning, a profession, self-confidence and autonomy. In Musäus'

¹⁶⁰ Musäus. 237.

¹⁶¹ Musäus. 249.

story “Ulrich mit dem Bühel,” the love-sick Ulrich is rejected by the beautiful Lukrezia because of his hunchback. He falls asleep in a hut in the mountains and is awakened by a skeletal old woman who introduces herself as “Kräuterfrau der Signora Dottorena aus Padua.”¹⁶² The Dottorena is able to heal Ulrich and sends him on his way. Neither the herb-woman nor the Dottorena, both learned in their own way, inspire the necessary fear of being witch-like characters. The Dottorena had studied the writings of her late husband, a physician, and apparently became so accomplished, “dass die hohe Schule ihrer Vaterstadt ihr den Doktorhut aufgesetzt, und einen öffentlichen Lehrstuhl zugestanden habe.”¹⁶³ But this learnedness came about as natural as dawn and dusk: she studied the medical scripts which brought her the official honors of her city, and at the same time “Arzneikunst,” since what interested her most was “natürliche Magie.” She therefore spends summers in the Tirolean Alps and “im Winter halte sie sich zu Padua auf und lehre daselbst die Geheimnisse der Natur.”¹⁶⁴ The ease with which all this learning, teaching and gracious living is accomplished, stands in stark contrast to the struggles of Rose or Otilie, or even Magdalena, in Naubert’s tales. If the Dottorena’s interest in herbs and the ‘secrets of nature’ should make her a suspect for the literary witch-finder--as witches are notorious brewers of potions, and herbs are among the ingredients--Musäus assures his readers that the Dottorena is a very normal woman according to Musäus’ definitions of what is most basically female: “Signora war ein Frauzimmer, so klug und verständig sie

¹⁶² Musäus. 610.

¹⁶³ Musäus. 615.

¹⁶⁴ Musäus. 615.

auch war, konnte sie sich doch das Attribut ihres Geschlechts, den Hang zur Neugierde, mit aller Weisheit nicht verleugnen.”¹⁶⁵ Her experience of learning is entirely opposite of what the norm of learning for women was, and Musäus makes it sound very easy.

In one of Musäus’ Rübezahl legends Gräfin Cäcilie mocks the world of ghosts as much as Naubert’s Cäcilie in “Die Legende von Sankt Julian.” Both heroines openly claim to trust their eyes and experience and find themselves fooled. Yet, the Gräfin is not demonized for it, while Naubert’s Cäcilie pays bitterly for her scorn of the supernatural. Gräfin Cäcilie, a pupil of Voltaire’s, laughs at the idea of ghosts as “Ausgeburten einer kranken Einbildungskraft.”¹⁶⁶ However, on her way to Karlsbad she meets the mountain ghost Rübezahl, who appears on a frightening mountain pass in the shape of as a very gentlemanly Oberst von Riesenthal, and he politely invites the lady and her retinue to spend some time at his nearby castle. During a splendidly arranged dinner Gräfin Cäcilie makes fun of the mountain ghost, ridicules prejudices and imagination and calls Rübezahl “ein armseliges Uding von Geist.”¹⁶⁷ Herr von Riesenthal answers: “Sie haben die Geisterwelt völlig entvölkert, gnädige Frau, die ganze Schöpfung der Einbildungskraft ist durch Ihre Belehrung wie ein leichter Nebel vor unsern Augen dahingeschwunden,”¹⁶⁸ and then continues to undermine her logic by ‘what if’ clauses: “...und wenn ich Ihnen sagte, dass ich in dieser Gesellschaft, als Wirt vom Hause, mich nicht einen Fuss breit

¹⁶⁵ Musäus. 614.

¹⁶⁶ Musäus. 253.

¹⁶⁷ Musäus. 260.

¹⁶⁸ Musäus. 260.

entfernt habe? dass Sie durch einen Unbekannten in meine Wohnung sind eingeföhret worden, der nicht vorhanden ist?...¹⁶⁹ Not much troubled by such observations, the Gräfin later has to realize that nobody knows Herr von Riesenthal, and that her eyes and mind, so confident in empirical and observable knowledge, had in ‘fact’ been wrong. From then on she believes “von ganzem Herzen an die Existenz der Geister...”¹⁷⁰ Naubert’s Cäcilie also mocks the supernatural. She laughs at her husband’s ‘quirks,’ his trust in a trial by ordeal. She burns her arms severely and is later brutally punished. Musäus and Naubert work from the same basic idea, to expose superstition. But in Musäus’ satire his Gräfin Cäcilie ends up richer for the experience, whereas Naubert’s Cäcilie suffers bitterly for trusting her mind.

A blameless and beautiful heroine such as Edda, Genoveve or Otilie in Naubert’s tales is Libussa in Musäus’ tale with the same title. But Libussa is a goddess on a pedestal rather than a live being. As the daughter of an elf- mother and a mortal father, belonging to the world of spirits like Edda, she is powerful by becoming the queen of Böhmen. Her intelligence is superior, her rule is as wise as Salomon’s. Her beauty is blinding, her gentleness and patience proverbial. Nothing she attempts ever fails. The only problem she encounters is her people’s wish that she marry, and she cleverly figures out a way to marry the ‘Wildschütz’ whom she had loved long before she became queen. Once he becomes her husband, he is the perfect match for a queen: submissive but not dumb. Of

¹⁶⁹ Musäus. 260.

¹⁷⁰ Musäus. 275.

course, all this is full of Musäus' allusions, especially one about women being better rulers than men, but as a woman Libussa does not have much personality. There is nothing of the determined struggle Edda fought to be the wife of the man she loved or the sacrifices she made as his wife. Libussa is never in danger simply because she is entangled in a relationship such as Genoveve is with Rubin. Libussa is also not struggling for her independence or acceptance of her ideas as valid, or even being the victim of an insufficient education, such as Otilie. Libussa's life and how she handles it is blameless and smooth and without much of a struggle, the perfect dream of a woman. The idea of her being a witch does not come to mind.

Unlike the reluctant witches described in Naubert's tales, who change from good to bad, Musäus' characters often do the opposite and undergo a change for the better. In "Der Schatzgräber" Ilse Vollbrecht is the quarrelsome shrew, who keeps her husband under tight control-- a perfect witch as described by Hans Sachs. When she finally becomes Peter Bloch's wife, Musäus describes the ominous outlook for this marriage: "Das traute Paar war kaum vom Altar zurück, so führte schon die Zwietracht den Hochzeitsreihen an... der Ehekalender prophezeite den Brautleuten stürmische unfreundliche Witterung, schwere Donnerwetter mit Schlossen und Platzregen, wenig Sonnenschein und viel kalte Nächte."¹⁷¹ But even this shrewish hag had missed her husband like the "Feuerzeug den Stein."¹⁷² Similarly, Lukrezia in "Ulrich mit dem Bühel" at first is haughty and abusive. But once she is settled with her husband, she is an

¹⁷¹ Musäus. 757.

¹⁷² Musäus. 783.

exemplary wife, "...die schöne Lukrezia bewies... dass die spröden Schönen zuweilen die gefälligsten Gattinnen werden."¹⁷³ Frau Brigitte in "Stumme Liebe" is a hard working, humorless mother. Her only aim in life is to marry her daughter off to a rich man, for "Töchter sind bei uns ein Kapital."¹⁷⁴ But then Frau Brigitte eventually does let her daughter marry the man she loves and so becomes "die leidlichste Schwiegermutter, die jemals ist erfunden worden."¹⁷⁵ And the husband of Rübezahl's protégé becomes a perfect family-man. There are only two characters who are as mean as one might expect from a proverbial Grimmian witch: Urraca in "Rolands Knappen" and the mother-in-law in "Die Nympe des Brunnens." Urraca is a beautiful but vain princess who exploits her husband and her lovers. She ends immured "vierzig Klafter tief unter [der] Erde."¹⁷⁶ The mother-in-law conspires with a servant to kill her son's young wife and children, but their plots fail and the evil servant dies in her stead in a 'Badestube:' "...da fing das Feuer im Ofen an lustig zu brennen, die Flammen wirbelten hoch empor, und das teuflische Weib schwitzte ohne Verzug ihre schwarze Seele aus."¹⁷⁷ Both of these characters end in a way

¹⁷³ Musäus. 627.

¹⁷⁴ Musäus. 507.

¹⁷⁵ Musäus. 577.

¹⁷⁶ Musäus. 164.

¹⁷⁷ Musäus. 325.

the historical witches did: immurement and burning were favored methods to bring witches from “life to death.”¹⁷⁸

Briefly reviewed: most of the Grimms female characters represent the idea that the woman is either the gentle, submissive, housewife and mother, or she is the intrinsically mean witch or witch-like woman. Together these views represent the ‘witch or saint’ idea of womanhood that already existed in the historical witch-literature. As revealed in historical court documents, accused witches were singled out for prosecution for very human reasons, such as a strident or determined personality. Naubert portrays female characters in her tales who are not inherently evil as the witch-literature would have it, but show determination and assertiveness similar to the historical ‘witches.’ The Grimmian witches represent the inherently evil woman of the historical witch-literature, whereas Naubert’s are ‘reluctant witches,’ one of the differences being that the former wants to be a witch, the latter is reluctant to be a witch. A few of Naubert’s characters are almost saintly, but they too show ‘unsaintly’ determination, rather than saintly submission.

Exept for the two minor characters of Urraca and the mean step-mother, Musäus has no such mean women figures in his tales. It is not that his women characters show no pluck at all, which would be boring, they just do not concern themselves with problems

¹⁷⁸ Article I of the Bavarian “Hexenmandat” in 1611 says: “Ein jedwederer so den bösen Geist oder den Teuffel solcher gestalt und mainung /als wie Gott ausstrucklich anruffet oder anbettet/ soll mit dem Feuer vom leben zum todt gerichtet/ und seine Haab und Güter der Obrigkeit mit der mass und Ordnung/ wie in gemeinen beschribenen Rechten herkombt/ ut liberis portiones relinquantur. eingezogen werden.” Wolfgang Behringer. *Mit dem Feuer vom Leben zum Tod. Hexengesetzgebung in Bayern.* (München: Hugendubel. 1988) 265.

other than the traditional female roles.¹⁷⁹ Musäus was probably as deeply concerned with social issues as Naubert, but his portrayal of women shows no apparent alternatives to the traditional female role. Naubert, on the other hand, is adding a new dimension to this traditional role through her many examples of women's untraditional behavior, especially the wish for knowledge, self-determination and so forth. The explanations that accompany the behavior of all characters clearly show that Naubert's stand is that women are neither saints nor witches. Naubert is careful in her own way though, and often seems to be traditional, as for instance in her philosophy of rationality--called 'Mittelmass' by Dorsch--and of prudence about change, since changes can be dangerous and make many people unhappy. This warning is exemplified, for instance, in the fate of Beate, whose unbridled efforts to modernize everything around her led to her and her family's demise; or Bertha's experience with inappropriate literature, which hurt rather than helped her. One sentence in "Die hamelschen Kinder" encapsulates Naubert's traditional sentiments: "Die Hausfrau wartete daselbst schon ihres Herrn mit dem Mittagsmahl..."¹⁸⁰ I think that every word in this sentence could be seen as 'female submission' to her lord and master. But the words describe Georg's step-mother, who is, unlike in the Grimms' tales, a very wise and loving person, and as a fairy tale character further illustrates Naubert's unconventionality.

¹⁷⁹ Grätz actually deplors the lack of scholarship on Musäus' obvious concern with "Probleme[n] der Ehe." Grätz. 189.

¹⁸⁰ "Die hamelschen Kinder." 425.

Complementing Musäus' traditional view of women is at least one similarly humorous predecessor, Abraham a Santa Clara, and his idea of a witch from a sermon of 1704.¹⁸¹

...Ihr Haar waren nit ungleich einer weissen Woll/ die schon 70 Jahr in einer Matratzen gesteckt; die Stirn ist dergestalt durchgraben gewest mit Falten/dass sie wie ein Brach-Acker ausgesehen/und weil die Wangen beederseits wie ein Grotta von Tupht-Steinen/also hat man die Nasen leicht können für ein verdorbene Wasserkunst halten; das Maul ist mir vorkommen wie ein rostiges Schlüssel-Loch an einer alten Keller-Tür; einwendig ware es beschaffen wie eine Orgel/die alle Pfeiffen verlohren...

The witch's name is 'Curiositas,' and she knew Eve personally. The sermon is specifically aimed at female curiosity, and the witch personifies this vice, so "behüt mich Gott vor einer solchen alten Hexen."¹⁸² The word 'why' should be banned, Abraham claims, and "alle Weibs-Bilder" are infested with curiosity; the best example being Lot's wife. Abraham seems convinced of the reality of witches in this sermon, but his humor is a relief, yet points to a more serious allegation: he clearly supports the idea of women as a personification of curiosity or 'Vorwitz,' just as does Musäus many times in his tales. Naubert breaks this stereotype in a convincing way when her Otilie refuses an awesome temptation for curiosity: to know the nature and meaning of the universe.

¹⁸¹ Abraham a Santa Clara. "Heilsames Gemisch Gemasch." Sermon against curiosity. 1704. 284. Abraham a Santa Clara (1644-1709) was an Augustinian monk who with 'wit, spirit, comic and bluntness' showed his contemporaries the ills of the time. From: Grabert, Mulo, Nürnberger. *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*. (München: Bayrischer Schulbuch Verlag. 1982). 80.

¹⁸² Abraham. 285.

Fairy tales and psychology open a Pandora's Box of possibilities for an interpretation. Only a very well known one should be mentioned here, Bruno Bettelheim's *The Uses of Enchantment*,¹⁸³ in connection to my findings that neither Musäus nor Naubert present characters in their tales that are black or white. Bettelheim says that fairy tale-figures "are not ambivalent, not good or bad at the same time, as we all are in reality."¹⁸⁴ The statement refers to the "juxtaposition of good and bad person"¹⁸⁵ which can be found in the Grimms' tales and certainly in the witch-theories. This kind of polarization, according to Bettelheim, is helpful for the child in dealing with the world's complexities when he or she grows up. It is better to see good and evil clearly separated into two individual people, rather than having to understand that one person could be both. Aside from the debate about the pros or cons of whether fairy tales are for children, Bettelheim's contentions about the black and white characters in fairy tales is worth looking at, ironically, because neither Musäus nor Naubert have such characters. Naubert's fairy tales especially, are a "verwickelte[s] Märchen-Legende-psychologischer Roman-Gemisch,"¹⁸⁶ but Musäus' people are not polarizing as well. Of course the two

¹⁸³ Bruno Bettelheim. *The Uses of Enchantment* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977) Just a hint of a Jungian interpretation: Edda, for instance, is using the 'animus,' or masculine, side of her personality in her fight to be happy in her own way, yet to her husband she is the perfect 'anima,' or feminine complement. Marie Louise von Franz says, that the woman who neglects her 'anima' "verfällt ihrer eigenen inneren Männlichkeit" and becomes a "dumpfe[...] primitive[...] Urmutter, ein xantippenhaftes Erdweib." Edda certainly does not. Marie Louise von Franz, *Das Weibliche im Märchen* (Stuttgart: Verlag Adolf Bonz, 1977) 12. In her interpretation of "Die sechs Schwäne" (KHM #49) von Franz calls the old witch "die 'grosse Mutter' in ihrer bösen Gestalt." 115.

¹⁸⁴ Bettelheim, 9.

¹⁸⁵ Bettelheim, 9.

¹⁸⁶ See Blackwell's comments in Chapter Two.

authors did not write for children: Musäus even clearly indicates his intentions in the ‘Vorbericht’. To think fairy tales are only for children would be a “mächtig windschiefes Urteil,” he jokes.¹⁸⁷ And accompanied by his jokes, Musäus’ mean characters do not give the impression of being demonic or to be feared. The controversial Melechsala in the story of the ‘Knight with two wives’ is described in such a way that no sensibility could be harmed; Melechsala is lovely, reasonable and practical. Old women are nothing more than old women and they can not be imagined as dangerous witches. Overall, they are a lively group, even though in the final analysis, their interests are traditionally female interests. Naubert’s women characters are much more vulnerable and problematic. If they suffer consequences of evil deeds, Naubert shows that they were not always evil. If they are truly good, even the best and most honest personality does not necessarily protect from grief or against evil deeds by others. Surely, Musäus is not naïve, but he hides behind his jokes. Naubert’s heroines often deal with what Bettelheim calls the “Existential Predicament,”¹⁸⁸ which are life’s complexities and sometimes harsh realities.

Despite the many similarities, Musäus and Naubert represent very different viewpoints, which can be called traditional and modern, respectively. One area where their viewpoints can be observed is in the depiction of some of their heroines. Musäus’ female characters do not show much curiosity beyond their clothes and looks and housewifely chores. They become loving wives and are clever and determined until the husband

¹⁸⁷ Musäus. 6.

¹⁸⁸ Bettelheim. 6

is found or the daughter married. Melechsala's interest in gardening, for example, is genuine, but soon is geared towards the gardener, rather than the garden. That any one of them could be tempted by the idea of discovering the secrets of the universe seems remote.

Musäus' critique is mostly literary, whereas Naubert's is social, or at least a social commentary about society's restrictive treatment of women. Musäus' goal was to 'instruct while amusing,'¹⁸⁹ but learning is not a subject mentioned explicitly in his tales, as with Naubert. Naubert, who saw new hope and new possibilities in the message of the Enlightenment, and discerned what learning and independence could bring to women, gave women a voice in her tales, hence the adjective in the title: *Neue Volksmärchen der Deutschen*.

The next chapter provides the analysis of Naubert's fairy tales, according to the three categories of the term 'reluctant.' The first group of women, whom I call the 'struggling' witches, are the innocent heroines, drawn into a maelstrom of problems because of an inclination towards independence and struggle for recognition or against accusations. The women 'unwilling' to be witches in the next section are often enterprising and loath to accept anything that does not seem reasonable to them, and as a result find themselves in precarious situations. Some of the protagonists in the last group are quite mean, as one would tacitly expect from a fairy tale witch. But the meanness often starts simply as defiance in an unprovoked situation that had turned against them.

The guiding thought then, for reading the chapter, is that these argumentative women are not intrinsically hostile nags or contrariety personified and therefore witches, as is expected of such a personality, but are *reluctant* to be nags and witches. As alluded to in the introduction, Naubert's enthusiasm for the Enlightenment's possibilities for women, such as autonomy and education, is accompanied by her warning from too much exuberance. The warning is couched in her careful irony, maybe ambiguity, but it reveals the traditional side of Naubert's personality.

¹⁸⁹ Richli, 19. Richli calls this tenet "gemeinaufklärerisch."

Chapter Three

The Reluctant Witches in the *Neue Volksmärchen der Deutschen*

1. The three struggling witches: Otilie, Edda and Genoveve

These three protagonists are quite the opposite of the mean, magic and ugly witch. Otilie, Edda and Genoveve are beautiful, pleasant and self-assured. Each in her own way demonstrates independent thinking and action which brings her in a perilous situation. None of the three heroines is contradictory by nature, nor did they provoke these situations carelessly, but they see a need to protect their self-worth. Rebellion makes them witches, and the fact that the rebellion was forced on them makes them *reluctant* witches. As always in the world of fairy tales, magic and reality flow together, the three heroines are mysterious, human and magic at the same time, but they do show very human emotions in their struggle for acceptance. The world they inhabit is an equally mysterious mix between magic and reality, since all the places referred to can be found on a map.

Otilie's mother was cast out by her philandering father. Otilie is born in the middle of winter with the help of Marie, whom Naubert calls Queen of 'Heaven.' Marie takes on the role of many of Naubert's powerful magic women, who give assistance to a younger woman when the real mother is unable to do so. Otilie is raised in a heavenly place by her god-mother. But Otilie's education is insufficient for her needs, and Naubert demonstrates throughout the tale the results of an inadequate education, and the often helpless situation of women in society. Her mentor god-mother spirits Otilie to a

mysterious lovely place in the skies, sometimes referred to as the moon. In the company of ‘immortals,’ she spends her time protected by any unpleasantness, and grows into a self-assured, inquisitive girl. Since she is really an earthling, her godmother tries to prepare her for a return to earth, warning her about the “gröbere Luft”¹ on her home-planet. The guidelines of this warning are in a poem which Otilie diligently repeats to herself over and over:

Strebe nicht nach höherm Himmelsglücke; Sieh, es droht der Sterblichen Gefahr.-
 Schaue nicht ins Erdenthal zurücke, das zu Tod und Elend dich gebahr.
 Und o wende deine kühnen Blicke nie nach dem , was dir verboten war.²

But these philosophical and moral issues are completely foreign to Otilie. Modesty, permission or submission, dangers such as death and misery, are not within her experience. Since no one helps her understand the warnings, she promptly forgets the “drei güldene Regeln.”³ She is beautiful and well behaved as is expected of a woman, but unaware of the customs in society, and how to adjust to them.

When she returns to her father, her life at first looks like a continuation of her heavenly upbringing. Introduced as future Queen by her father, assured of an inheritance, worshipped by the people for her beauty and gentle disposition, everything looks promising indeed. But she soon realizes that the meaning of ‘submission and permission’

¹ “Otilie.” 294.

² “Otilie”. 295.

³ “Otilie”. 295.

signify marrying a man not of her choosing, and only for the purpose of producing an heir. The meaning of 'modesty' is not to criticize her father. When her father tries to force her into a marriage with a despicable groom, she cannot understand or accept this imposition and asserts herself. She rejects the crown, flatly refuses to enter "eine von euren gezwungenen Verbindungen"⁴ and is banned from the court. This outcome is the result of Otilie's upbringing in heaven, which leaves her unprepared for life on earth, and her godmother's instructions were insufficient to deal with society's realities. It may well be one of Benedikte Naubert's concerns⁵ with education as exemplified in the following: "...eine halb vollendete Erziehung, und wär es die beste von der Welt, kann nie großen Nutzen schaffen."⁶

A witch-like feature of Otilie is her association with a 'mean spirit,' the "Böser Geist."⁷ In the historical witch-beliefs the bond between witch and devil is an important feature, as she is believed to be his servant and helper. Likewise, in Naubert's tale the mission of this evil spirit is to tempt Otilie away from the path prescribed by society. He had appeared to her before while she was in 'heaven,' and her natural curiosity resulted in her being expelled. This time he tempts Otilie with knowledge and freedom. He appears in the body of a beautiful and very knowledgeable man, whom she instantly loves as her soul-mate. After her unhappy experiences with court-life and her father's cruelty, she

⁴ "Otilie", 329.

⁵ See Naubert's remarks in the essay *Goldene Lyra*.

⁶ "Otilie", 293.

⁷ "Otilie", 299.

now finds herself faced with a difficult choice: if she accepts him as her beloved companion she will have eternal life, and knowledge about the most secret forces of creation:

Der ganze Weltraum, die ganze Ewigkeit ist unser, und wir geben sie, wem wir wollen... O sterbliches Mädchen, im Arm eines unterrichtenden Engels Aeonen hindurch von Planeten zu Planeten zu fliegen, und alle Wunder der Schöpfung und ihre geheimsten Urkräfte zu spähen...⁸

Otilie seems to dimly remember that to follow his advice is dangerous and might separate her from society, as it had done before. She hesitates and demands to know his name, and to know him better before she can promise love: “Wie kann ich dir Liebe gestehen, ohne dich zu kennen!”⁹ When she implores him in the name of heaven, he dissolves ‘like mist,’ removing the choice she had. But what were the alternatives? To submit to her father’s wishes Otilie would have had to endure an unhappy marriage and her subjects suffer under a despotic ruler. Overall, the choice seems all too obvious: a wonderful friend, “... ich fühle es, er ist der meinige, der mein Herz erfüllt! Alles möchte ich mit ihm theilen, selbst das Elend!”¹⁰ versus a life with someone known for “thierische Ausschweifungen und ... Ruchlosigkeit seines Wandels.”¹¹ These extremes are so harsh

⁸ “Otilie”. 340.

⁹ “Otilie”. 341.

¹⁰ “Otilie”. 342-343.

¹¹ “Otilie”. 344.

that Otilie calls out for her godmother and Marie takes her protégé back into her mysterious world.

What is the meaning of this enormous difference between the two options to Otilie? Since the situation so clearly invites pity with the unlucky heroine, a social commentary is likely. The stranger is gentle, friendly and interesting, whereas the future husband is ugly in body and mind: “Die Gestalt seines Körpers war so abscheulich wie seine Seele.”¹² The ‘mean spirit’ also personifies learning and knowledge, tempting human curiosity at its deepest level with his offer to show the secrets of the world. Unlike literary Faust-figures, Otilie is not even bound to the ‘usual’ devil’s pact conditions, the twenty-four years of bliss. Eons of happiness are promised to her. Not only is he offering her knowledge, he is the complete opposite of the historical imagery, which portrays the devil usually as a hairy, hooved beast with a tail. Otilie’s tempting spirit is more like Mephistopheles, but without asking her to do anything else but to go with him.

Naubert here cautiously satirizes the very idea of the devil tempting the woman by making him such an attractive choice for Otilie. Otilie here shows a strength of character women simply were not thought to possess. Otilie’s refusal of the temptation can be interpreted with Naubert’s cautious stance towards learning,¹³ which emphasizes that learning should be enjoyable, useful and practical, even helpful for the people around her. How would Otilie know that this ultimate knowledge, the Faustian wish to know the

¹² “Otilie”. 344.

¹³ Discussed in Chapter Two.

secrets of creation, would make her happy, or how useful it would be? How would she know whether what he wants to teach her is worth knowing? Naubert's warning to enthusiasts of the Enlightenment is not to go overboard, in spite of its wonderful new possibilities. Naubert accomplishes this warning through Otilie, who is punished for her demand for autonomy by being banned from society and made thoroughly unhappy. The rebelliousness makes her a witch, but since this was forced on her and she really did not wish to be a rebellious witch, I call her a reluctant witch.

Edda, in the tale "Erlkönigs Tochter" is a most gentle and loving wife to her husband Hiolm. So pure and generous is their love for each other, that it overcomes one of the biggest obstacles to a lasting union: the wife's superior powers. One of the historical witch-beliefs' tenets is that women become witches because they want to revenge themselves, the 'revenge of the weak,'¹⁴ a powerful woman is a witch just by being powerful. Edda is a beautiful, but also very determined fairy-princess. In the all-important question for a woman, whom to marry, she adamantly refuses her father's wishes and those of an unwanted suitor. Edda, like Otilie, is a reluctant witch by her sheer determination not to submit to demands imposed on her. She is not seeking trouble, but when problems arise she deals with them.

¹⁴ See Keith Thomas' chapter on witchcraft. Witches, especially if old, poor and woman are the 'weakest of the weak,' their way of revenge could only happen with the help of the devil, or at least maleficious magic.

First, Naubert establishes the basis for such determination: love as a mystery, the attraction between two people and its reasons unknown to logic. When Hiolm meets Edda he simply falls in love: “O Edda! Edda! Welche Gewalt übst du über mein Herz! Sage, wer bist du, daß dein erster Blick mich so mächtig hinriß? Du bist meiner Seele verwandt... Mir ists als wenn ich dich mein ganzes Leben hindurch ruhelos gesucht hätte...”¹⁵ Edda answers similarly: “Hiolm, ...ob ich dich zuvor gesehen, ob ich dich gesucht und nun gefunden habe, das weiß ich nicht, aber daß mir wohl ist unter deiner Hand, daß mir wehe wird wenn ich ans Scheiden denke, das ist wahr...”¹⁶ Through Edda and Hiolm, the perfect couple in their devotion to each other, Naubert affirms family-life and shows again that not forced marriages, where daughters are treated as investments,¹⁷ but free choices might be a better option for society and individual.

The tests of their love occur when they arrive in Hiolm’s city and are received coolly by Hiolm’s father and the people. They live in a little house by the sea, without any luxuries. But Edda, daughter of a king, is unperturbed: “Edda liess sich alles gefallen und schmiegte sich mit bewundernswürdiger Geduld in ein Leben zu welchem sie wahrscheinlich nicht geboren war.”¹⁸ If Edda is somewhat a mystery to Hiolm he accepts it without malice or grudge. She does not say much about her family or where she is from, but Hiolm is content to have a loving and beautiful wife: “er genoss das Glück, die

¹⁵ “Erlkönigs Tochter”. 421–422.

¹⁶ “Erlkönigs Tochter”. 422.

¹⁷ See Chapter Two. about Musäus’ tale “Stumme Liebe.”

¹⁸ “Erlkönigs Tochter”. 430.

schönste Person der Welt, die liebevollste Gattin sein Eigenthum zu nennen, ohne verbitternden Zusatz."¹⁹ 'Eigenthum' within this context of marital bliss, loses all its connotations of ownership and becomes acceptable. When Hiolm's disgruntled father tries to make him suspicious towards his wife, he remains faithful towards her. Edda has her own parental problem, knowing of her father's disapproval in her choice of husband. Naturally Hiolm is surprised when he finds out that his wife is a powerful spirit and a princess whose father's realm is "das große Reich des Erlkönigs, das sich über die ganze Welt ausbreitet,"²⁰ and Hiolm is first worried about being the husband of such a mysterious and powerful woman. But there is no reason for concern; Edda's love is real: "O Hiolm! Ich sah dich, meine Augen kannten dich nicht mehr, aber mein Herz that es! ... Ich liebe in Hiolm keinen gemeinen Sterblichen, ich liebe in ihm den edelsten seines Geschlechts."²¹ Naubert describes touchingly this union grown out of love and not duty. By casting the wife in a power-position, rather than the husband--who would have the power-position by virtue of being a man--who is whose 'possession' is at least questioned:

Hiolm suchte den hohen Stand seiner Gattin zu vergessen, soviel er konnte, und sie kam ihm darin treulich zu Hülfe. Ihm zu Liebe stieg sie ganz von ihrer Höhe herab, war sanft, unterthänig, ohne alle Ansprüche, ein vollkommenes irdisches Weib von der besten Gattung, die es auf diesem Erdenrund giebt; sie kannte ihren Vortheil, sie wußte, daß man nicht blenden muß, wenn man gefallen will und daß scheue Ehrfurcht sich nicht mit inniger Liebe verträgt. Zärtlich theilte sie jede Freude, jeden Kummer mit ihm, ...²²

¹⁹ "Erlkönigs Tochter". 425.

²⁰ "Erlkönigs Tochter". 452.

²¹ "Erlkönigs Tochter". 461.

²² "Erlkönigs Tochter". 464-465.

The last proof of their love is when, at the point of death, she gives Hiolm “jenes berühmte Geschenk, den goldenen Becher, den noch jetzt die Gesänge unserer Barden feyern.”²³

Edda is a woman in a power-position, but she is careful in using it. To know her “Vorthail” is enough, she does not have to take advantage of it. Naubert uses this configuration to point to the demands made on women in general: the perfect wife is gentle, submissive, makes no demands and is modest. The remark, that ‘shy reverence is not compatible with deep love’ is significant. Edda submits to her husband out of love, ‘tenderly she shared all joy and sorrow with him.’ ‘Shy reverence’ is therefore a sign of mere submission, and not comparable to or compatible with love. The narrator, in fact, openly claims that mutual love and respect, and certainly not ‘shy reverence’ i.e. submission, are the essence of a good marriage, and not a domineering spouse, male or female. This is a remarkably open statement in a time of male hegemony. But both, reverence and submission are openly expected of Otilie, as she was taught by Marie. Otilie and Edda are equally stubborn in asserting what they perceive to be their rights. Otilie bluntly refuses a forced marriage, but only the more powerful Edda manages to be happy. In giving a woman the power in a marital relationship Naubert carefully points out that such power is possible, that powerful women, ‘women on top,’ are not necessarily a threat to men. Naubert simultaneously exposes and questions the status quo.

²³ “Erlkönigs Tochter”. 493.

In “Genoveve oder die Träume” the heroine is accused of serious crimes against social and Christian morals and actually suffers a true witch-trial. It is a situation where the victim is criminalized by the perpetrator of the crime, and illustrates the long history of woman’s helplessness in such accusations. Naubert’s version of Genoveve’s story is surprisingly modern in its awareness of yet another issue: the attempted seduction of Genoveve, in modern terminology is called acquaintance-rape.

Genoveve, just like Edda and Otilie, is an innocent and sweet woman. After her father’s death she and her mother support themselves with a small business. Genoveve works as shepherdess, and she is later married to Sigfried of Nanterre. During one of her husband’s absences she is charged with having an affair with her cousin Konrad. Knowing this accusation is all untrue she is desperately trying to defend her innocence and her honor. Sigfried’s brother Golo, the “phlegmatische Greis”,²⁴ is summoned to the castle to help Genoveve, but he is not experienced enough to handle the situation wisely, and what follows is a true witch-trial. Since the accused Genoveve does not confess, she is subjected to trial by ordeal, which she fails. Golo and Rubin have the power to help her, but they are convinced of her guilt. Thus, her fate is a foregone conclusion.

The situation is a clear allusion to the historical witch-trials, where the accused witch also had very little chance of being saved. Genoveve might as well have used Spee’s advice, to admit guilt right away and so to maybe avoid torture: “Unglückliche, was hast du gehofft?” What actually happened to Genoveve that led her into this

²⁴ “Genoveve oder die Träume”. 122.

predicament is shown to her husband Sigfried and her brother Ruprecht in a magic mirror, fairy tale-like, in the deepest basement of the castle. A deep fountain or well, its water frozen solid, melts immediately when the magician breathes on it; metaphorically, the truth is hidden, frozen in ice, but thawed quickly by the warmth of human compassion. The large basin, once freed from ice, turns into a mirror in which the truth of what has happened to Genoveve during the trial can be seen, somehow as on a video-tape. "Sie sahen ... Genoveven zur Unschuldsprobe führen, sahen ihre schönen Hände an der angeglühten Eisenstange ... erstarren, sahen sie im Wasser, in welches man sie gebunden versenkte, zu Grunde gehen, und als schuldig befunden, zu neuen Qualen wieder hervorgezogen werden."²⁵ Naubert seems concerned and knowledgeable about such events, including the role of the Church. Before Genoveve was accused of the crimes, she had initiated the construction of a chapel in honor of the famous Saint Genoveve. Naubert explains in a lengthy footnote how this chapel had the 'sad right' to house an instrument of torture, namely the iron rod used in the trial:

Die Gabe, welche der Genovevenkapelle, als ein sehr auszeichnender Vorzug vor vielen andern Kirchen zugestanden wurde, bestand in dem traurigen Recht, eine drey Pfund schwere eiserne Stange zu verwahren, welche man zur Bewährung der Unschuld mit einer Summe lösen mußte, die allemal mit dem Stande des Verbrechers bestimmt wurde. Nach dem was man von einigen Kirchen Teutschlands weiß, welche auf ähnliche Art begabt waren, bestanden die Ceremonien der Feuerprobe ohngefehr in folgenden Stücken. Der Verbrecher, welchem diese schreckliche Wohlthat zu seiner Rechtfertigung zugestanden ward, zahlte die bestimmte Summe, fastete drey Tage, communicierte, und legte den Eyd der Unschuld ab. Man netzte und tränkte ihn dann mit Weihwasser, glühte die Stange und gab sie ihm in die Hände; die Zeit, wie lange er sie halten mußte, hieng von dem Verbrechen ab.- Daß hier viel Begünstigung und viel Betrug statt fand, ist ausser Zweifel. Personen, wie die Sage hier Genoveven angiebt, waren gewiß

²⁵ "Genoveve oder die Träume", 136-137.

allemaal schuldig erfunden zu werden. Das nehmliche gilt von der Wasserprobe: korkene Stricke oder andere Erfindungen, erhielten gewiß allemal den über dem Wasser, welcher schwimmen sollte.²⁶

The quote may be a typical Enlightenment critique of Medieval superstition, but it also connects the reader emotionally to the tale. The reader is involved with the fate of Geneveve, and the grim fate of the witches in times past now happening to the tale's heroine is therefore quite effective. The reader, along with Sigfried and Ruprecht, is told by the magic mirror, later confirmed by Geneveve's own accounts, what events led to the accusations.

Naubert rarely uses any sexual innuendos, but the episode leading up to Geneveve's accusation is an example. Geneveve always considered her cousin Konrad her dearest friend, but when she meets the dashing Rubin for the first time, she is genuinely interested, even in love with him, "Ach, nur gar zu wahr war es, daß ihr Herz für den jungen Edelknaben mehr empfand als für [Konrad]".²⁷ She is conscious of the possible temptation and danger this can present, and therefore, upon marrying Siegfried, she removes Rubin to a far away castle by giving him an assignment there. At the same time she gives her friend Konrad work in the castle, knowing that he will present her no danger. The psychological motivation behind this action is clearly explained by the narrator as "vorsichtiges Bestreben der tugendhaften Gräfinn, einen jungen Menschen zu entfernen, der, wie wir wissen, ihr nicht gleichgültig war, und Beförderung eines Freundes, von dem

²⁶ "Geneveve oder die Träume". 136-137.

²⁷ "Geneveve oder die Träume". 45-46.

sie fühlte, daß er ihr nie gefährlich werden konnte, und den sie ohne Bedenken ganz nahe um sich wissen mochte.”²⁸ Geneveve also senses that Rubin, who was not interested in her when she was a poor shepherdess, is now very much interested in the beautiful wife of Graf Sigfried of Nanterre--Naubert here swiftly exposes some hypocritical thinking. Rubin conspires with a monk and together they convince Sigfried to go away on a pilgrimage. Once the protection of the husband is removed they are ready to execute their intricate plan: the Bishop of Saint Germain was going to appear to Geneveve the next night, a meeting requested by her namesake, the holy Geneveve of Nanterre. However, Geneveve is not that naïve and, suspecting foul play, she takes her maid to the meeting while stationing guards in the next room. She is still tricked. As Rubin makes a grand entrance through a hidden door in her chamber, she is momentarily confused when she recognizes him: “Mehr aus Schwachheit als aus Demuth sank ich vor dem strahlenden Bilde auf die Knie, es beugte sich zu mir herab, es schloß mich in seine Arme und ... ich sah mich in Rubins Armen.”²⁹ She fights back, screams for help and an old servant rushes in to help her. Rubin disappears through the secret passage. Rubin depended on her knowing him and therefore accepting his advances: “der falsche Heilige, [der] meinen Mund mit Küssen verschloß, und mir tausendmal zurief, er sei ja Rubin, den ich [Geneveve] liebe, und dessen Erscheinung mir also unmöglich Schrecken machen könne”.³⁰ Geneveve is firm in her refusal, although it takes “heroische

²⁸ “Geneveve oder die Träume”. 64.

²⁹ “Geneveve oder die Träume”. 87.

³⁰ “Geneveve oder die Träume”. 88.

Selbstüberwindung”, and it makes her victorious in the fight against his advances: “Siegerin in den Verfolgungen, ... die sie noch täglich von dem verräterischen Rubin auszustehen hatte... der ihr wenigstens ehemals nicht gleichgültig war.”³¹

The rejected Rubin does exactly what can be expected according to the formula: he accuses the victim of the crime; the violated Geneveve is accused of adultery with Konrad. The truth is finally ‘thawed out’ in the magic pool and Sigfried learns of “Rubins leidenschaftlicher Rolle” and Geneveve’s “heldenmüthige[m] Widerstand.”³² What was construed as adulterous meeting by Geneveve’s pursuers was in fact a meeting with Konrad, where she pleaded with him, to bring her husband and Golo to help her. The whole conspiracy is uncovered. How many historical witches could have used the help of such a magic mirror!

In Geneveve, Naubert created a heroine with astute psychological insights and practical abilities. As a young girl of six she travelled to the Ardennerwald alone with her widowed mother, and helped build a new life through inventiveness and industry. When the events just discussed take place, she is neither inexperienced nor timid but simply does everything practical she feels she can do to avoid difficulties. Sadly, however, these actions prove to be useless without male protection. The crime of which she was accused should have been adultery, but she is treated as a witch would have been treated.

³¹ “Geneveve oder die Träume”. 94.

³² “Geneveve oder die Träume”. 134.

Genoveve is a very reluctant witch, a woman pushed into dire circumstances, a woman who never seeks to hurt anyone.

These heroines demanded autonomy where it had been denied most women over the times. Otilie speaks up defiantly for her cause, Edda consciously and cautiously uses the power she has, and Genoveve fights for her honor against the slanderers. Naubert points out in what forms this fight for self-determination occurs and what perils it entails. Even though Otilie and Edda were not literally accused as witches, they behaved in ways that remind clearly of the path to an accusation. Otilie also is not accused of witchcraft in Naubert's tale, but there are the shadows of the danger, especially in her open defiance and her association with the devil-like spirit. According to the the witch-theory, of course, these heroines would have joyously surrendered to evil spirits, committed adultery or overpowered an unsuspecting husband. As fairy tale witches, such evil qualities would have made them similar to the Grimms' evil witches and stepmothers. However, as the historical example of Anne Hibbins shows, all it takes is a determined, spirited woman to create a witch. Whatever they did to be perceived as witch-like, they did reluctantly.

2. The four unwilling Witches: Beate, Rose, Cäcilie, Hedwig

These four heroines, whom I call 'unwilling' to be witches, represent in various ways women's wish for acceptance as thinking human beings. Beate is determined to change everything around her; Rose displays an entrepreneurial spirit; Cäcilie self-confidently and innocently ridicules magic beliefs and Hedwig is unwilling to be controlled

and taken for a fool. Such confidence is strange and unacceptable behavior for women, thus easily interpreted as witch-like. When their hopes are dashed they resist accepting defeat or punishment or to give up in their endeavors. None of these heroines is herself capable of magic, yet Beate is fighting elves, Rose's friendly mentor is a magic woman, and Cäcilie's scalded arms seem to be the result of a magic fountain. Hedwig is not in touch with anything magic, although her daughter's daring leap across the canyon can be called a magic feat. They are not 'technically' accused as witches, but their behavior illustrates how women with such ambitions can be made into witches.

At the heart of the tale "Das stille Volk" is the issue of sudden and traumatic changes. Most of the changes are initiated by Beate, a woman of unusual and untimely determination. Frau Beate's character can be described as superficial, self-absorbed, even narcissistic, a woman who destroys the 'quiet people,' the good elves living in her husband's castle. In doing so, she also indirectly kills her two children and several servants and contributes to the demise of her son-in-law and her grandchildren. She is interested in material rather than spiritual things and does a fair amount of scheming to suit her own wishes. She is not a devoted mother or wife and does not adjust to the new demands made on her in the new country. Truly afraid of the elves, she does not learn from any warnings they give her, refuses to recognize the good they do, and fails to respect their wishes. She seems to lack any kindness and goodwill. Similar to Otilie, the changes Beate initiates are criticized by the narrator, which implies that the status quo is better.

But there is another side to Beate's story. Her creativity and zest for life is constantly stifled. Growing up in Italy, Beate is a beautiful young woman who loves life and learns to enjoy it: "Beate war allerdings schön, eine hochgewachsene Ceder, Feuerblick war in ihrem schwarzen hochgebietenden Auge, lieblicher Scherz und sanftes Kosen saß auf der gewölbten Purpurlippe...."³³ She is unsuspecting when Ritter Gerhard marries this "Kleinod,"³⁴ and takes her, somewhat like his booty, from sunny Italy to gloomy Germany. She has no warning of what to expect from her new home and experiences many disappointments in her new surroundings. Her husband changes from the outgoing knight and hero he has been in Italy to a brooding, and pensive man who does not include her in his thoughts. He does not warn her or help her to understand the elves. Instead of exercising her wifely duties in the relative freedom of her house, Beate realizes that all that is expected of her is to produce an heir. Her firstborn son dies. Her daughter Helen lives and becomes a good friend of the elves; but since Beate has never understood the ways of the elves, she figuratively, loses her to them. Later in life she meets the fate of many women: having lost her most useful asset, her beauty, she is simply overlooked at the court.

Obviously, some of the problems are not her fault, such as her day of birth, which for mysterious reasons is unacceptable to the elves, or her husband's strange change of mood or growing old. But all her actions are motivated by an impulse to change. She changes country and language by moving to Germany and her social status by getting

³³ "Das stille Volk". 4.

³⁴ "Das stille Volk". 3.

married. Once in Germany, she first remodels the old, traditional bedroom and then the whole castle: “So geschah es denn, daß das ravensbergische Schlafzimmer so gänzlich vermodernisiert wurde, daß nichts von dem alten Hausgeräth überblieb...”³⁵ She happily moves out of the castle when the elves make her too uncomfortable. She does not like motherhood and leaves Helen back at the castle without wasting another thought on her child. When she returns to the castle as an old lady, Helen had just given birth to a child, and Beate promptly assumes the role of mother-in-law and grandmother. Energetically she changes her daughter’s beloved, traditional bedroom: “...es beliebte der geschäftigen Großmutter der Neugeborenen nicht, es bey der alten Sitte zu lassen”³⁶ and moves her to another room because “...sie wollte der Gefahr entgehen, bey irgend einer Nachtwache am Bette der Wöchnerinn, etwas von den ihr aufsäßigen Elfen zu hören, zu sehen oder zu erleiden, das ihr nicht lieb seyn könne.”³⁷

Beate embodies change. She is relentlessly active. She pushes her changes onto people and through them onto the elves, who are not ready for them. Her maid Gertraud explains to her: “Ihr zerstörtet die schauerlichen Winkel, in welchem sie am liebsten wohnten, rottet den Wald und den Rosenhayn, ihren liebsten Spaziergang, aus, drängt euch sogar in ihr innerstes Heiligthum, das unterirdische Gewölbe,....”³⁸ Beate does not

³⁵ “Das stille Volk”. 15.

³⁶ “Das stille Volk”. 105.

³⁷ “Das stille Volk”. 105

³⁸ “Das stille Volk”. 28.

learn from any of the occurrences. She does not reflect and goes on to make more changes and even after she has been warned about the quiet people's power, she just laughs at Gertraud's warnings as chimera: "Gertraud! Geisterseherinn!... rasest du!"³⁹

The confrontation between the elves and Frau Beate is the confrontation between tradition and change. The legend, in Wilhelm Grimms words, holds that elves like to be treated with respect, "Menschen, die vorwitzig sich nähern oder gar sie necken, bestrafen sie hart, sonst pflegen sie gegen wohlgesinnte, die ihnen vertrauen, freundlich und hilfreich zu sein,"⁴⁰ and Beate's eagerness to change things was not to their liking. Reflecting the historical time in which this tale was probably written, possibly about 1788, the elves also signify the disappearing belief in magic. The Age of Rationality was determined to doing away with such "erdachte Findeleyen,"⁴¹ as Beate calls Gertraud's explanations. The elves, representing the traditions, are as unable to accept changes as Beate is unable to accept the existing situation. However, Beate's daughter Helen again lives in harmony with the elves. By being happier with tradition and the past, Helen symbolizes the traumatic aspect and fragile nature of change: when she is confronted with it she is unable to fight back, she is "...zu schwach und zu nachgebend".⁴² The mother's introduction of change and the daughter's suffering from it show that Naubert is well aware of her time's

³⁹ "Das stille Volk". 28.

⁴⁰ Brüder Grimm. *Irische Elfenmärchen*. (Freiburg: Edition Herder, 1996) 11.

⁴¹ "Das stille Volk". 31.

⁴² "Das stille Volk". 105

profound developments, such as the French Revolution, and how these developments might also bring unhappiness.

Beate, opposing single-handedly the powerful numerous elves, reminds us that a revolution can be the idea of one person, who ultimately is misunderstood by the masses. The fight seems unbalanced, and in Naubert's tale nobody wins. Beate is completely alone in the end, and the elves leave the castle. Beate represents the sentiment of Enlightenment: always active, her mind never resting, clearly not believing in magic. She is quite cheerful and introduces her ideas simply because they make sense to her. Tradition then, embodied by the elves, deserves respect in Naubert's view, and is in this tale a gentle warning to her readers.

In "Der kurze Mantel" Naubert combines legends and fairy tales of different cultures, English Arthurian legend and German folk tale.⁴³ The story takes place at King Arthur's court and in Germany.

Pleasant and quite pretty--although she is not called beautiful--Rose is one of Naubert's exemplary business women. Rose works hard and is striving for education, and

⁴³ Translated first by George Soane. "The Mantle", in *Specimens of German Romance*. (London: Whittaker, 1826) and then recently by Jeannine Blackwell. "The Cloak", in *Bitter Healing. German Women Writers 1700-1830*. Edited by Jeannine Blackwell and Susanne Zantop. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1990). Also discussed by Blackwell in "Fractured Fairy tales: German Women Authors and the Grimm Tradition." In: *Germanic Review* 62 (Winter 1987) 162-174. Blackwell's article deals with the revision, or reconstruction fairy tales undergo in the hands of different authors and tellers of the tales. Female authors, Naubert among them, have been reshaping old tales. The essay deals with the wise women in two of Naubert's tales, "Der kurze Mantel" and "Die weisse Frau", but also with fairy tales by Bettina Arnim.

she is also very practical and unsentimental in her approach to life. She is aware that knowing a trade brings independence. Rose asks Frau Holle, who is her magic teacher, to make her the best spinner in the country in order to be prosperous. This is especially important to her after she marries a soldier and plans to build a respected household with him. Her wish reflects the idea of division of labor in a marriage, for very practical reasons, and she is certainly ready to do her share, even take charge: “Ich werde Frau Hullen bitten, mich zur künstlichsten Spinnerin im ganzen Lande zu machen; so bestellt Martin draussen das Feld und ich arbeite daheim und habe großen Verdienst, und wir sind gediehene Leute.”⁴⁴

Not just hard work but good judgment of others is equally important in this business world. Her teacher, the magic Frau Holle, gives Rose clear guidelines: “Aufrichtigkeit, Verschwiegenheit und Vorsicht,”⁴⁵ she warns. Naubert here gives very modern instructions through the magic woman in this tale. Honesty is important, and silence is golden, she seems to say. The talkative woman is often punished in Naubert’s tales. Rose’s connections to her magic mentor are always in jeopardy when she slacks off in her vigilance, talks unnecessarily or gives away secrets about her trade. For example, the workings of a magic ring and a spindle, given to her by Frau Holle, can be considered her trade-secrets. When she gives the secret away to her cousin and enemy Magdalena, Rose throws away the ring, but she cleverly keeps the spindle since she had not told

⁴⁴ “Der kurze Mantel”. 173.

⁴⁵ “Der kurze Mantel”. 188.

anyone about it, “der beste Riegel für alle Schätze ist: Niemand wußte, daß ich es besass.”⁴⁶

Rose is a model hard-worker. She is a ‘honey-bee’ in the words by Hans Sachs. Set-backs do not stop her from trying again and again. She even encourages partnership with the young orphan who comes to live with her for some time: “So ward [Genelas] denn in das Recht eingesetzt Theil an den Arbeiten des Hauses und der Spindel zu nehmen, und den Ertrag derselben mit ihrer Wirthinn zu theilen.”⁴⁷ Rose is unusual in her business-like approach to the realities of life, and she challenges “die engen Grenzen, die man damals der Wissenschaft eines Weibes setzte.”⁴⁸ In the course of the events in the tale she is punished most often when she is too daring and exhuberant and when things go well for her. This is all in the line of Naubert’s careful encouragement to her heroines, to reach out but to be careful as well. Rose’s display of independence is unwomanly behavior, however, and since she is a fairy tale character she might as well be a witch, but a very unwilling and reluctant one.

Cäcilie in “Die Legende von Sankt Julian,” like Beate, laughs at tradition and old customs, and also at her husband. She is punished severely. At the beginning of the tale, Cäcilie lives up to some of the allegations made by the authors of the *Malleus* about

⁴⁶ “Der kurze Mantel”. 188.

⁴⁷ “Der kurze Mantel”. 142.

⁴⁸ “Der kurze Mantel”. 114.

women being an ‘evil of nature.’ Insulting and selfish, she fools an unsuspecting, even happy husband: “Nie, nie muß es einen gefälligeren und nach seinem eignen Urtheile glücklichern Ehegatten gegeben haben, als den Edeln von Eckersberg”.⁴⁹ Her husband’s, Gangolf von Eckersberg, timid suggestion that she should be careful with Nimrod, her friend and secret lover, are scoffed at by Cäcilie: “die Dame verteidigte sich durch Lachen, Spott, Betheuerungen und Thränen...und erbot sich am Ende gar mit unglaublicher Frechheit, ihre Tugend durch Feuer und Wasserprobe zu erhärten.”⁵⁰ Gangolf’s cautionary response to this taunt shows that he is the voice of tradition: “Spottet nicht, Cäcilie, ... ich weiß, daß die Kinder dieser Welt wenig an solche Dinge glauben, auch trotz ihr vielleicht darauf, daß Prüfungen solcher Art in unsern regellosen Zeiten fast ganz abgeschafft sind, aber Gott thut auch heute zu Tage Wunder...”⁵¹ Cäcilie, who does not believe in a trial by ordeal, mockingly calls Gangolf’s ideas quirks, “fromme Grillen.”⁵² She burns her arms terribly when she dips them into a creek, and the wounds heal only slowly, but even then she does not accept this as proof of a higher justice. Cäcilie’s fate is also clearly Naubert’s word of caution for those laughing at tradition.

⁴⁹ “Die Legende von Sankt Julian”. 364.

⁵⁰ “Die Legende von Sankt Julian”. 368.

⁵¹ “Die Legende von Sankt Julian”. 368.

⁵² “Die Legende von Sankt Julian”. 368.

Cäcilie's lover, Nimrod, must briefly be mentioned because he is a controversial figure in his own right. Like the 'tempting spirit' in "Otilie" he is a reflection of the historical witch-theory that witch and devil are intimately connected. Nimrod is Cäcilie's companion in immoral behavior, and he clearly is also a devilish figure. It is rumored that he made a 'pact with the evil-one,' and Cäcilie loves him tenderly. The two are connected like witch and devil, the witch being the devil's partner in crime. Nonetheless, Cäcilie pays dearly for her mistakes as Nimrod jealously keeps her a virtual prisoner in his castle: "Nimrod war ein trefflicher Rächer Gangolfs, er machte die Quälerin dieses unschuldigen Heiligen [Gangolf], ... ganz unglücklich, und ließ sie jeden Seufzer, jede Thräne bezahlen, die sie diesem ausgepreßt hatte."⁵³ Nimrod himself, in spite of his terrible life and wild looks, loves Gangolf's son Julian, and takes care of him in an unselfish, generous way, assuring Julian's safety after Nimrod's death:

[Nimrod] schützte [Julian] bey den Rechten und Gütern, die ihm Sankt Gangolf hinterlassen hatte, that ein ansehnliches von seinen eigenen hinzu, entfernte ihn von allen verführerischen Auftritten, gab ihn unter die Zucht eines frommen Mönchs, und zeigte in allen Stücken, daß er gesonnen war, einen besseren Menschen aus ihm zu bilden, als er selbst war.⁵⁴

Nimrod knows quite well what a good, even traditional education is and does the best for his stepson. Nimrod, the wild and uncouth hunter, could therefore be called a 'reluctant devil.' Naubert here questions the idea of the devil as a product of imagination just as she questions the witch as such.

⁵³ "Die Legende von Sankt Julian". 376.

Cäcilie's unconcerned, easy acceptance of the trial by ordeal shows her ignorance of tradition. Like Beate, she finds magic of any sort ridiculous, and worrying about the ordeal completely unreasonable--but she does not have the grace or wisdom of an Edda to handle her disdain more politely. Social and church customs do not stop her unfaithfulness, and ridiculing her husband does not touch her conscience. Her husband's warning, that she might be mistaken to think that "Prüfungen dieser Art in unserer regellosen Zeit fast ganz abgeschafft sind..."⁵⁵ elicits much laughter and joking from her. What Cäcilie suffers when she plunges her hands and arms into the water is a combination of the fire and water tests during the witch-trials: she burns them terribly in the water: "Nicht kochendes Wasser, fließendes Feuer schien in das Becken zu strömen..."⁵⁶ She fails the test, but her laughing at everything makes a mockery of the idea of magic. A witch's quick healing after touching a red-hot iron, or sinking in the water with hands and feet bound, were both considered proof of innocence during the witch-trials. A remark by the narrator gives a logical explanation of the 'boiling water.' Her arms, he says, looked as if they had been in the boiling waters of an Icelandic geyser, "als wenn sie in dem siedenden Quell von Island abgebrüth worden wären."⁵⁷ Naubert reminds the enlightened reader that such hot springs do exist--maybe Cäcilie was right in her doubts about magic.

⁵⁴ "Die Legende von Sankt Julian". 377.

⁵⁵ "Die Legende von Sankt Julian". 368.

⁵⁶ "Die Legende von Sankt Julian". 369.

⁵⁷ "Die Legende von Sankt Julian". 369.

If initially Cäcilie seems to be evil by nature, a second look reveals a dilemma similar to that of many other heroines in the tales: she is young and beautiful and meant to adorn her elderly husband's castle with her beauty. But she also has a playful spirit and a realistic mind, and she tries to go through life unworried about higher magic powers, and she is very unwilling to believe in such 'quirks.' Such improper, defiant behavior is that of a witch. But she is very unwilling to see herself as behaving improperly, and therefore she can be called a reluctant witch. Cäcilie dies a violent death as Nimrod's wife, proper punishment for a witch.

The next heroine 'unwilling to be a witch' is Hedwig, in "Jungfernsprung und Rosstrab." She is a smart young woman who refuses to be taken for a fool. Realizing how helpless she is in determining her own destiny, she becomes mean and vengeful. But like all these heroines, she starts out confident and optimistic.

Hedwig is the daughter of an old knight, Ritter Markard, whose butler Genebald has embezzled most of Markard's possessions. Hedwig is young, pretty and in love with a poor knight. Hedwig recognizes her father's mistake in trusting his old butler, and she even urges her father to get rid of the "fressender Krebs."⁵⁸ But her warnings are ignored. When Markard is on his deathbed, Genebald talks him into marrying Hedwig to his son, Genebald; Hedwig's noble birth would improve their own standing in society. When her father agrees to the marriage, Hedwig understands that she is paying for her

⁵⁸ "Jungfernsprung und Rosstrab". 213.

father's mistake with her freedom and that she is alone with her problem. Her father is too old and weak to see through the scheme, the old Genebald is too greedy to care about the young woman's unhappiness, and his son is too dim-witted and greedy as well. But Hedwig has an unusual temperament which will not let her accept her stifling fate without a fight:

Hedwig war keine von den sanften, frommen Seelen, die es für Pflicht halten, sich mit guter Art in alles zu ergeben, was nun einmal nicht zu ändern ist, und es für Unrecht halten, andere unglücklich zu machen, weil sie es selbst sind. Stolz und Eigenwille waren die Hauptzüge von der Dame Genebald. Eine glückliche Verbindung mit einem geliebten Gemahl würde hier vielleicht viel zum Besten gekehrt haben, aber das widrige Geschick, das sie hatte erfahren müssen, machte sie zur Furie;...⁵⁹

Now that he is married to a noble-woman, young Genebald wants to show bravery. One of his notions of how to appear brave is to leave the castle every day and pretend to fight fierce enemies in the woods, from where he returns in the evening with only his shield in shreds. Hedwig wonders and finds it rather strange "daß eure [Genebald's] Gegner all ihre Wuth allein an eurem Schild verschwenden. Nie sah ich noch ein Tröpflein eures Bluts, nie eine Beule an euren Waffen oder auf eurem Helm... Mein tapfrer Vater kam so unblutig nicht aus seinen Fehden zurück, auch will ich die Rosse nicht zählen, die ihm unter dem Leibe niedergestoßen worden sind."⁶⁰ With this simple statement, showing some deductive reasoning, Hedwig humiliates her husband on many levels: first, she humiliates him intellectually by seeing through his tricks. Then she

⁵⁹ "Jungfernsprung und Rosstrab". 220.

⁶⁰ "Jungfernsprung und Rosstrab". 222.

disguises herself as man, fights him in the forest, where she easily subdues the surprised Genebald, and then fetches her lover to join her in festivities at her castle. By overpowering him she humiliates Genebald professionally and even sexually by making him lose a battle against a mere woman who then has the audacity to bring her lover into his house. Finally, there is the shame of being disgraced socially in front of friends and servants: “Genebald warf Messer und Gabel von sich und verliess voll Verzweiflung das Zimmer; das laute Gelächter der Übermütler folgte ihm...”⁶¹

So far, Hedwig has behaved like a mean witch, or a ‘Furie,’ towards her husband, literally emasculating him. That such behavior cries out for punishment seems obvious and, continuing on, the narrator seems to agree:

...und wir begleiten ihn mit unserem Mitleid, in welchem sich wenigstens einige unserer Leser mit uns vereinigen werden. Der schlechteste Mann behält gegen eine schlechte Frau immer noch einiges Recht; es ist uns natürlich von dem weiblichen Geschlecht etwas mehr zu fordern, als von dem männlichen, und die Übertretung der Pflichten, die wir ihm mit Recht auflegen, zieht immer den höchsten Grad von Verachtung und Unwillen nach sich.⁶²

Here, Naubert sounds sympathetic to the man, but in truth her comparison between the worst man and a merely bad woman is irony. Hedwig is certainly bad, in the sense that sweet submission is expected of women. Indeed, she is neither patient nor pious. The reader, however, to whom the narrator addresses himself directly, also knows first-hand how her tribulations came about, how her father’s carelessness led to her

⁶¹ “Jungfernsprung und Rosstrab”. 240.

⁶² “Jungfernsprung und Rosstrab”. 240.

troubles, and how the two Genebalds are driven by avarice and lack of all consideration. Hedwig's life has been at the mercy of others, she has had no say in one of the most important choices in a woman's life at the time: choosing a husband. That Naubert sees Genebald as a far worse man than Hedwig as a woman, becomes very clear in the second part of the tale.

So far, youth and inexperience, even his limited intelligence, may serve as an excuse for Genebald's behavior, but his small-mindedness seems inborn. Genebald leaves his wife and castle and spends eighteen years at the emperor's court. When he returns, however, he shows no improvement, and youth and inexperience are no longer a valid excuse for his attitudes and actions. Earning knighthood has not taught him that true nobility comes from the heart: "Rittermuth und Tapferkeit hatte sie [earning knighthood] ihm zwar überflüssig gegeben, aber kein edles Ritterherz, er konnte wohl Beleidigungen rächen, aber keine vergeben."⁶³ Happy that Hedwig has died, he has no qualms exploiting his daughter's beauty, much as he might have wished to exploit her mother:

Genebald liebte seine Tochter, er ließ es ihr an nichts fehlen, was seinen Stolz und ihre Eitelkeit befriedigen konnte, aber es lag nur allzusehr am Tage, daß sie diese Gunstbezeugungen mit ihrer Freiheit erkaufen sollte. Es war ihm nicht darum zu thun, sich des Herzens eines Mädchens zu versichern, [...], nein, sie so bald als möglich von sich zu entfernen, indem er seinem Hause durch ihre Schönheit irgend eine hohe oder reiche Verbindung erkaufte, dies war sein Bestreben, ...⁶⁴

⁶³ "Jungfernsprung und Rosstrab". 272.

⁶⁴ "Jungfernsprung und Rosstrab". 274.

Clearly, Genebald father and son are heartless and callous in the anguish they cause first Hedwig, and then her daughter Emma. In this light, the statement, that a bad woman deserves fewer rights than the worst man, is ironic indeed. Equally ironic is Naubert's statement, that a little more patience is expected from the female sex and that a woman 'neglecting this duty, justly imposed upon her, is so intolerable that she merits only highest disdain and contempt.' The truth of the matter is that Hedwig and Emma would have needed enormous amounts of patience to survive their ordeals, ordeals that were the results of their being women. Obviously, Genebald is an example of the 'worst man' and deserves very few rights. But then, Naubert, the unknown male author, asks, as it suits a forgiving heart, that at least a few of 'his' readers join 'him' in feeling pity for the humiliated man.

Hedwig is a reluctant witch because she has all the prerequisites to be a good woman, but is forced into her rebellious behavior. There is no indication in the text that she is a rebellious daughter, except that she realizes her father's mistakes and tries to warn him. Her rebellion as a wife is the result of her husband's uncaring and insensitive behavior. She is a witch because of her rebellion, which is unacceptable behavior, but the defining occurrences of that behavior make her a reluctant witch.

All four heroines discussed in this section have in common that they trust their own ideas, instincts and feelings. They are not intrinsically evil or rebellious, but they become defiant when their own fortune is at stake.

3. The nine disinclined Witches: Kunegunde, Magdalena, Bertha, Ludlam, Swana, the Witch, Klara, Grimhilde and Teuta.

Most of the nine female characters discussed in this section are closer to the common understanding of the ‘mean witch.’ Instead of ‘stuggling’ with determination against charges, or ‘unwillingly’ rejecting them, these women are merely ‘disinclined,’ meaning that they do not resist doing harm as adamantly as some of the women discussed in the other sections. Yet even the meanest among them merits some understanding.

In the tale “Ottilie” when Ottilie’s father Röhrich tires of his wife, he takes the beautiful Kunegunde as his lover. But Kunegunde’s ambitions are to be his wife, not merely his mistress, and so she plans to make sure that mother and child die in childbirth. When the queen retires to a castle to give birth, Kunegunde poses as midwife. However, the queen is warned in a dream of the danger awaiting her and flees, never to return. Kunegunde does become queen but meets the same fate as her predecessor: Röhrich soon tires of her and replaces her with a younger woman.

Kunegunde is witch-like in two aspects: posing as a mid-wife is a reference to the historical beliefs, which holds that midwives are in a good position to be witches. In the Grimmian fairy tale tradition the mean stepmother is often a witch, and, strictly speaking, Kunegunde is Ottilie’s stepmother, even though she never meets Ottilie. Kunegunde is vain, beautiful and selfish, quite like the step mother in “Snow White,” for instance. But another side of Kunegunde’s story can be detected in the words describing her fate after losing her husband’s favors:

Kunegundes Glück, das sie auf den Untergang einer unglücklichen Fürstin baute, dauerte kurze Zeit, die Rache des Himmels verfolgte sie das Blut Otiliens (the mother's name is also Otilie) von ihren Händen zu fordern. Der Verlust ihrer Reitze hatte ihr zeitig das Herz ihres Gemahls geraubt, sie mußte neuen, blühenden Schönheiten weichen, so wie [Otilie's mother] ihr gewichen war. Eine lange schmerzhaftete Krankheit führte sie dem Tode entgegen, und in den Augenblicken da sich das Grab vor ihren Füßen öffnete, war es, daß sie Röhrichen zu sich berief, und ihm das ganze Bekenntniß ihrer Sünden ablegte.⁶⁵

From this quote it can be argued that Kunegunde is trying to survive in a corrupt system represented by Röhrich and his behavior. Kunegunde is proud, cunningly uses her beauty to get a rich lover, and she ruthlessly eliminates whoever is in the way of her plans.

However, her deathbed-confessions expose her not as an inherently mean witch, but a woman who tries to survive against the odds in society and uses whatever means are at her disposition. As the discussion of "Otilie" already showed, Rörich is truly debauched. After Kunegunde's death, he only temporarily makes amends for the heartless treatment of his first wife by finding his lost daughter Otilie and taking her to his court. Later he keeps none of his promises to his daughter, but rather he tries to force her into submission. Kunegunde becomes a witch when she thinks that social pressure demands it.

Magdalena in "Der kurze Mantel" is Rose's antagonist. She seems to be the very image of a mean witch, happy when others suffer or when she can make them suffer. She lives with her mother in a house near Rose, and together they mistreat Rose physically, she

⁶⁵ "Otilie". 311.

is “gezwickelt und misshandelt.”⁶⁶ and mentally by chasing away Rose’s magic mentor, Frau Holle. Magdalena destroys Rose’s marriage simply through vicious talk: “...mein Mann schwieg, aber ich glaube, dass er innerlich mehr bey denselben litt ... [er] grämte sich heimlich, zehrte sich ab , und - starb.”⁶⁷ However, one of Rose’s remarks shows Magdalena in a different light:

Magdalena beschäftigte sich ungern mit der Spindel, so vorthailhaft ich ihr auch ihre Arbeit zu machen suchte, sie fühlte verborgene Talente in sich, welche sie besser nähren konnten. Sie wendete einen Theil des Jahres dazu an, im Lande umher zu ziehen, und die Wahrsagerin zu spielen. Die sonderbare Gattung von Häßlichkeit, die sie besaß, gab ihr so ziemlich das Ansehen von dem, was sie vorstellen wollte, sie besaß List, Kentniß des menschlichen Herzens, eine gute Gabe die Leute auszuforschen, welche von ihr belehrt sein wollten, und etwas Erfahrung; diese Ingredienzen bildeten sie ganz zu dem, was sie ward, das Orakel der umliegenden Gegend. Man kam viele Meilen weit, sie um Rath zu fragen, und belohnte ihre Ansprüche reichlich.⁶⁸

Magdalena is bored at the spinning wheel, and it takes her many years to discover her special capabilities: ‘knowledge of the human heart.’ She then cleverly uses this skill to become a successful psychic to whom the people flocked for advice. She even uses a woman’s biggest drawback to success, her ugliness, to her advantage. The ‘strange kind of ugliness’ is coupled with her cleverness, “sie scheint alles bereits zu wissen was sie fragt, und erfährt auf diese Art alles was sie erfahren will.”⁶⁹ Magdalena and her mother

⁶⁶ “Der kurze Mantel”. 145

⁶⁷ “Der kurze Mantel”. 212.

⁶⁸ “Der kurze Mantel”. 223-224.

⁶⁹ “Der kurze Mantel”. 229.

evoke the well-known stereotypes in fairy tales, the stepmother and the stepsister, mistreating the poor orphan. Magdalena is not a very sympathetic character, but she is a woman forced into an occupation she hates, releasing her frustration on the nearest victim. She is not inherently mean, although she falls prey to mean behavior quite easily.

Frau Bertha in “Die weisse Frau” is at first a frightening, powerful castle-ghost, causing mysterious death and injuries. Later in the tale she becomes a busy, harmless poltergeist. Frau Bertha’s destructive behavior in the beginning is not the result of simply being mean for its own sake, but it is the result of tragic events in her life. Through the story of Frau Bertha, Naubert also comments on reading and learning for women.

Frau Bertha has been raised by relatives in a dark and gloomy castle among depressing people, and has tried to overcome despondency through the study of dead languages and mysticism: “Mich von meinem Gram loszureissen, beschäftigte ich mich mit Studien, die für mein Geschlecht nicht gemacht sind, die finstere Mystik, die Erlernung der todten Sprachen, waren der Zeitvertreib meiner Einsamkeit.”⁷⁰ Bertha’s spirit is broken because of this upbringing and she is unable to overcome her sadness, even when she finally marries a good husband: “Ich wäre glücklich gewesen, hätte mich das Glück, das mir jetzt begegnete, um zehn Jahre früher betroffen, oder hätte man mich in der Erwartung erzogen, daß ich einst ein solches machen könnte.”⁷¹ Her gloomy disposition drives her

⁷⁰ “Die weisse Frau”. 172

⁷¹ “Die weiße Frau”. 172.

husband into adultery, her cruel rejections of him hasten his death. Her guilt over these events make her the restless, frightening ghost she is when, generations later, she meets her young namesake, Fräulein Bertha, who is also depressed and sad over the loss of her fiancé. Frau Bertha now relates her experiences about life and learning to the young woman, which helps Fräulein Bertha to overcome her sadness and Frau Bertha to be released from her ghostly existence.

In this tale, Naubert comments again on education, and maybe more specifically on useful versus useless reading and education. As Otilie's upbringing in 'heaven' is too optimistic, Bertha's is too pessimistic, and both are unfortunate extremes. Although Naubert is in favor of occupying the mind, here she seems to warn her readers against certain types of reading: a preoccupation with dark mysticism and dead languages is not suitable and therefore not practical for someone in a depressed state of mind. The warning reminds us of Luitgard, who enthusiastically uses her newly learned skill of reading and writing in a practical way, but mocks Roswitha's Latin verses.⁷² Fräulein Bertha also gets a mildly patronizing comment from her uncle, when she wants to read family documents in the library: "schade, [...] , daß du kein Knabe bist! Ein Mönch ist an dir verdorben, weil du so gern in dem Staube von alten Manuscripten wühlest."⁷³ I see this remark as one of Naubert's humorous comments on education. Do men, especially monks, spend their time with useless reading, or: does reading and studying really suit men better?

⁷² Discussed in Chapter One.

As a legendary specter, the Woman in White inspires fear, but later she behaves just like a “fussy old aunt.”⁷⁴ She does no more harm, and, using Blackwell’s terminology once more, is a lovable household spirit. The explanation to her mean and rebellious behavior shows that she was not inherently mean, but that suffering and unfortunate surroundings had forced such behavior on her.

The second chapter of the tale “Erdmann und Marie, ein Nachtrag zu den Legenden von Rübezahl” is the story of Mutter Ludlam, a mysterious woman who clearly refuses to be taken for a fool. She is also feared as one would fear a mean witch. But her meanness is a response to being treated without respect. As is typical for Naubert’s use of legends from different places in Europe, this tale takes place in England. It allows for comments on a woman’s situation in a marriage, and specifically about the handling of money. Mother Ludlam lives in a cave in southern England and gives away everything she has when it is needed by someone else. Realizing how ungrateful and greedy people are, she starts, instead, to loan things under very strict conditions. For example, once a man borrows a copper kettle from her, and when he fails to return it at the promised time, he is later found dead in his bed. Ludlam is feared as a mean witch, but she only resorts to her strict loan-practices out of necessity, which then are perceived as mean by the villagers. Richard and Marie, the parents of the Marie in the story’s title,

⁷³ “Die weiße Frau”. 157-158.

⁷⁴ Blackwell. “Fractured Fairy Tales”. 167.

are a young couple in the village. Richard secretly borrows money from Ludlam and gets deeper and deeper into debt, until he has to borrow from others to pay Ludlam back.

Naubert's description of this mystery woman reminds the modern reader of a bank, or even a credit card. Ludlam lives in a cave near a village in southern England, and it is difficult for a borrower to reach her, as they must pass through a 'narrow corridor and circle a fountain.' The wish must be reasonable, stated in a measured tone, "sittig und artig,"⁷⁵ and conditions of return must be included. The applicant then finds the requested item at the entrance of the cave upon leaving. This reminds one of loan officers in banks, who are tucked away in offices or behind counters, and for whom applicants must have good plans and be ready to discuss conditions in order to procure a check that is ready when leaving the bank. Loan officers are awe-inspiring, in that they have the power to decide whether to grant a loan or not, which may determine the fate of the person asking for it. To the inexperienced the whole process may seem rather mysterious. Ludlam, the 'loan officer,' is endowed with mysterious powers. She vanishes and appears and the loans are spirited out of thin air. But she is also generous yet firm with her conditions, because she has learned from her earlier misjudgments of human nature. Now she runs a "Leihhaus,"⁷⁶ similar to a bank. What Marie means when she calls Ludlam a "gefährliche Bekanntschaft,"⁷⁷ explains itself in the experience Richard has with the "Schuldfrau,"⁷⁸

⁷⁵ "Erdmann und Marie". 81.

⁷⁶ "Erdmann und Marie". 84.

⁷⁷ "Erdmann und Marie". 119.

⁷⁸ "Erdmann und Marie". 217.

the use and misuse of easily obtainable loans, and consequently its effects on the family, is a problem confronted by many credit card holders today

The positioning of this 'Schuldfrau' as an unforgiving loan-shark allows an important comment on a woman's situation within a marriage, as Marie's mother has to watch helplessly while her husband slips into debts, and she is powerless to prevent disaster. Marie and her husband Richard have received a loan from the villagers in the form of land, a house and some money, as means to get them started as a young couple. When the money the villagers have given them for their dowry is squandered by Richard through drinking and gambling, he starts to borrow from Ludlam. First he borrows seeds and machinery and successfully cultivates his land. But he loses the wealth he has made through a frivolous life style. The cycle of borrowing and losing is repeated, until he is forced to recognize that his situation is desperate and he admits to his wife:

Der Überfluß, in dem ich [Richard] nun auf so leichte Mittel leben konnte, verleitete mich zu Ausschweifungen. Das Spiel war mir ergiebiger als mein Acker, und der Acker wurde vernachlässigt, doch brachte auch er seinen Ertrag, und ich war immer im Stande, prompt zu bezahlen, und neue, noch größere Summen aufzunehmen, auf die letzte war Unsegen in allem was ich that, ich war genöthigt, mit geborgtem Geld in die Ludlamshöle zu gehen, und von dem, was ich dort als neues Darlehen von der unterirdischen Schuldfrau herauf brachte, die oberirdischen Schuldner zu befriedigen; ein endloses Labyrinth von Sorge, Unruhe und neuen Ausschweifungen!⁷⁹

Richard finally asks his wife to sell the house in the village, and then to return the money to Ludlam. Marie is afraid of both assignments, but facing the friendly villagers is much

⁷⁹ "Erdmann und Marie". 106.

more difficult than facing the mystery woman in the “Hexenhöle.”⁸⁰ Naubert understands the psychology here well:

[Marie] hatte zwei schwere Wege vor sich... Sie bebte vor dem Besuch bey Mutter Ludlam, aber fast wußte sie nicht, ob der bey ihren alten Wohlthätern im Dorfe ihr nicht noch mehrere Angst verursachte. Leute, die uns unter die Arme griffen, denen wir durch schlecht verdankte Wohlthaten, durch verschmähte Warnungen mißfällig wurden unter die Augen kommen, bey denen Mangel bekennen, die wir bisher durch Verschwendung und Großthun beleidigten, dies sind Aufgaben, für die ein ehrlicher Mann oder Weib wohl tausendmal lieber den Weg in eine Hexenhöle antreten würde. Marie hatte sich zwar von all dem, was ihre alten Freunde aufgebracht hatte, wenig zuzurechnen, aber die Schande des Mannes, so wie seine Ehre fällt mit auf die Frau zurück, ...⁸¹

Ludlam accepts the return and even hints at a willingness to loan more. She is in this sense quite a temptress to those without sufficient self-control, such as Marie’s husband Richard. But Marie refuses adamantly: “Nein! Frau Ludlam!... davor bewahre mich Gott! Sollte ich eine Bitte wagen, so wärs, euer Leihhaus für ewig vor uns zu verschliessen.”⁸² But Marie’s fears are justified: Richard is so addicted to ‘easy money’ that he has secretly hoped she would come back with another loan.

That Ludlam might be a witch, or at least witch-like is hinted at throughout the tale. Her mysterious ways, her unforgiving lending-practices, her involvement with spirits are interpreted as mean and dangerous. But Ludlam has been used to loaning things willingly, and only when the objects were not returned promptly, her punishments were swift and even cruel. Overall, however, Ludlam is portrayed as hesitant to be mean, in

⁸⁰ “Erdmann und Marie”, 108.

⁸¹ “Erdmann und Marie”, 108.

⁸² “Erdmann und Marie”, 116.

fact she is friendly, helpful and fair to those who treat her honestly, but she does punish when she is deceived. If she is seen as witch by the surrounding villagers, she is a reluctant witch. She would rather just give things away, or loan more, than be exacting, as the example with Marie shows.

While Ludlam entices those without self-restraint to borrow recklessly, Swana in the tale “Das oldenburgische Horn” tempts with land and power. An old prophecy tells of the Dukes of Oldenburg’s mission to conquer the “drey nordischen Kronen,”⁸³ Norway, Denmark and Sweden. Possession of the golden drinking horn should help entice its owner to pursue this goal brutally. Swana is the beautiful spirit of the golden horn and appears, seemingly uninvited, at any time to remind the horn’s owner of the bloody assignment. However, all the Dukes of Oldenburg, down to the horn’s last owner, Friedrich, are of such a peaceful disposition that Swana is unsuccessful in her attempts. Moreover, instead of conquering Scandinavia, Friedrich falls in love with Swana, and he sees in her the woman and not the airy spirit.

Swana is the character who propels the story forward, because without her the mild-mannered Dukes of Oldenburg would have forgotten the horn’s responsibilities a long time ago. She is also a consistently mean female character with no explanation for this meanness and, in this sense, she is a real witch. However, she does more than taunt Friedrich with dreams of power. She is also beautiful, and especially her knowledge and

⁸³ “Das oldenburgische Horn”. 235.

stimulating conversation wholly captivate Friedrich. She is in this sense a parallel to the ‘tempting spirit’ in “Otilie.” Swana and the spirit offer more excitement than either Otilie or Friedrich could hope for in their earthly, temporal world. Friedrich’s temptation to associate with the ghostly maiden offers him absorbing conversations and the excitement of the forbidden and the mysterious. Naubert is humorously clear about such desires:

Man sagt, jede menschliche Freude erhalte, wenn ein wenig Angst und Schauer damit verbunden ist, erst den rechten Hochgeschmack; ist diese Bemerkung der Psychologen wahr, so wundern wir uns nicht, daß [Swana] ihrem Ergebenen immer lieber wurde; ihre Reize, die ihn fesselten, waren so ganz von dem gewöhnlichen Reiz sterblicher Mädchen verschieden, ihre Unterhaltungen waren zugleich so belehrend und so mystisch und überirdisch, daß sie ihm immer neu blieb, daß zu der scheuen Ehrfurcht, die sie ihm einflößte, sich immer genug ahnende Hoffnung gesellte, sie einst besser zu verstehen, sich einst höher zu ihr aufzuschwingen, Vorstellungen, welche das seltsame Liebesband, wenn es erlaubt ist, dieses geistige Einverständnis so zu nennen, unauflösbar machten.⁸⁴

But the ‘Liebesband’ is undone when he speaks to his parents, especially his mother who is “die rechte Person”⁸⁵ for important confidentialities. His mother tells him the story of the horn and its ghostly guardian, and also warns him of the bloodshed and uncertain satisfaction the conquering of the nordic crowns would bring:

...du lebstest als ein elender Fürstengünstling... mit den Namen eines Räubers und Vatermörders gebrandmarkt, an dem Hofe des König’s von Dänemark...in der kläglichen Erwartung einer Krone, die... dir doch keine Nacht der Gewissensruhe verschaffen, keine Nacht die blutigen Schatten deiner Eltern von deinen dornigten Kissen bannen könnte; und dies war das Glück, das deine Swana dir bereitete....⁸⁶

⁸⁴ “Das oldenburgische Horn”. 295-296.

⁸⁵ “Das oldenburgische Horn”, 311.

⁸⁶ “Das oldenburgische Horn”. 313.

Swana punishes him cruelly by not returning to him, but reason finally prevails when Friedrich finds that “Beschäftigung sey die beste Arznei....”⁸⁷

Swana, more than any other character discussed, is completely unreal in the final analysis. All the other female figures who are spirits, whether good or bad, are firmly anchored in this world; there is reality in Ludlam and her presence in the cave, and Edda is truly the wife of a mortal. Swana can only be spirited--or conjured up?--into Friedrich's presence when he really wants her to be there, a phantom of imagination. Her absence, after he reveals his problems to his mother, can safely be interpreted as psychological ‘healing.’ Giving up dreams is never easy. To show that Swana is dangerous only if one believes in her, Naubert undermines this image with amusing descriptions of Swana. She is called a marble statue without soul,⁸⁸ citizen in the world of ghosts,⁸⁹ dangerous ethereal lady or stubborn Miss Ghost.⁹⁰ The most pointed humor Naubert uses when she says how ridiculous it is to get sick over a mere ghost with a temper: “Nach diesen Geschichten [Swana angrily withdrawing] begab es sich, daß Friedrich krank und traurig ward, denn Swana war und blieb ihm unsichtbar; weder wachend noch träumend wollte

⁸⁷ “Das oldenburgische Horn”. 314.

⁸⁸ “Marmorbild”. in “Das Oldenburgische Horn”. 235.

⁸⁹ “Bürgerin der Geisterwelt”. in “Das Oldenburgische Horn”. 291.

⁹⁰ “gefährliche ätherische Dame”. 297: “eigensinniges Geisterfräulein”. 310. in “Das oldenburgische Horn.”

sie sich ihm zeigen. Nie ist's wohl geschehen, daß ein Jüngling die Sprödigkeit einer Dame so tief bejammert hat, die schon zu Zeiten seines Großvater's florierte."⁹¹

Swana personifies the power of imagination, but her danger is only as actual as the tempted person's imagination, with no connection in the real world. The witch-theory of the centuries before might be a parallel here, since the witch of that theory also has 'no referent in reality.'⁹² What if someone had told the serious demonologists of the sixteenth or seventeenth century that the witches they so intensely described were just 'ghosts with a temper,' a mirage created by distorted imagination? Like Swana appears to the owner of the golden horn, the witch 'appears' only when she is imagined. Swana, in its most fairy tale-like meaning, is a very reluctant witch.

In "Die hamelschen Kinder, oder das Märchen vom Ritter St. Georg" a strange woman without a name has many witch-like characteristics, yet she also displays so many redeeming qualities that she is a typical reluctant witch. Again, it should be remembered that historically witches are thought to be inherently mean, often are in a pact with the devil, and their whole purpose is to disrupt life, and bring misery to their fellow human beings. But the witch in this tale seems to have a real change of heart, and in the end she rescues the victim.

⁹¹ "Das oldenburgische Horn". 310.

⁹² Discussed in Chapter Two.

First, there is the allusion to a pact with the devil. When Winnifred, the wife of Ritter Albret of Coventry, dreams that she will give birth to a dragon who will then kill her, Albret decides to ask a sorceress in a nearby forest to interpret the dream. A friend warns Albret to be cautious when seeking her advice, "...wollt ihr bey dem Teufel Hülfe suchen...?"⁹³ But the desperate Albret sets out anyway to find her. As is fitting for a witch she lives in a dark and frightening place, where her loathsome spirit poisons the forest:

Das aller Grauensvollste in diesem Gehölz, war das tiefe todtte Stillschweigen; denn so wie auf der Erde kein vierfüßiges Thier hier wandelte, sprang oder schlich, so wohnte auch auf den Gipfeln der Bäume kein Vogel. Auch das Geschrey der wandernden Schwalben und Krähen hörte man hier nimmer, weil ein geheimer Trieb sie lehrte, in ihrem Zuge diese Region zu vermeiden; nicht einmal ein Schmetterling flatterte hier, nicht ein Würmgen wand sich im Staube.⁹⁴

Albret is told that the child will be as strong as a dragon, but that his wife will die in childbirth. Devastated by the news, Albret forgets to pay the witch and she threatens him that she will get her reward. Her predictions about mother and child come true and Albret's son Georg is raised in a monastery. But her threat, "ich werde mir meinen Lohn selbst zu nehmen wissen,"⁹⁵ is no mere intimidation-tactic, it is real.

Being a witch, she is, of course, capable of changing her shape, and she typically seems to lack parental or motherly instincts. She cunningly separates the child from his father through a trick: in the shape of a serpent she attacks the father while he is still

⁹³ "Die hamelschen Kinder". 360.

⁹⁴ "Die hamelschen Kinder". 363.

⁹⁵ "Die hamelschen Kinder". 367.

outside the fence of the monastery's safety, knowing that she can count on the child's natural reaction to help the parent. When Georg is outside the protection of the monastery, she disappears with him. She takes the child away from the father, simply to serve her vanity: she uses him in a complicated process of rejuvenation for fifty years. To do so, Georg is kept at her side and all he has to do is to breathe on her nine times daily and wash her in a fountain. Georg does not age in mind or body while in her service and, to prevent his becoming bored, she makes him forget every evening he does on that day. But in doing this she keeps him prisoner in his own body. She does not let him grow up or play like a child, and she deprives him of a parent's love. She does not mistreat Georg but she steals his youth and keeps him as a child would keep a toy.

She changes, however, from a mean old witch to a helpful sorceress. At the end of the tale she is called "Fee"--a fairy. She is a strange mix between a learned sorceress, a mean witch and a friendly fairy. She knows how to wait, gauge her moment to strike and even how to use ancient knowledge. Her mother tongue is Arabic, which gives her an aura of being exotic and unusual, creating in most people's mind images of pyramids and ancient learning. Languages, in fact, seem to be no problem for this sorceress. She speaks English in England, German in Germany, Arabic with Georg. At one point we learn that she is over a thousand years old. She is very much a mysterious and powerful woman, but, as it turns out, her resources are somewhat limited; while in the shape of a snake she gets herself captured by a sorcerer and is stuck into a bag.

Many years and adventures later Georg is made prisoner by this same sorcerer, together with the children of Hameln. There he finds the bag with the witch still imprisoned in it. The words with which she tries to convince Georg to let her out of the Pied Pieper's bag reveal another side of her. She presents herself as an old, nice acquaintance, "Eine alte Bekannte... ein Wesen, das dir helfen kann, wenn du ihm helfen willst... Solltest du nicht deine alte Freundin aus dem Walde, die dich fünfzig Jahre in ihrer Wohnung pflegte und nährte, noch an der Stimme kennen, und ihr die ehemals erzeugte gastfreye Bewirthung durch Gegendienste erwidern?"⁹⁶ She calls herself an old friend and acquaintance, meaning not her age but her 'friendship', which lasted fifty years. Why should Georg believe her? The mean witch has changed into an 'old friend?' Georg performs a leap of faith and opens the bag. She keeps her promise: she kills the sorcerer, sets the children and Georg free and disappears forever. But the words with which she tries to convince Georg show that she knows about human qualities such as friendship, care, treating others as one would like to be treated, the value of loyalty and promises kept. Remembering her original complaint, being cheated out of her justly earned reward by Albret, her actions are more logical. She has not hurt anyone before, at least the tale does not say so, it is just assumed that she is an old witch because she lives in a strange place and does strange things. She was not responsible for the oracle predicting Winnifred's death, but Albret has made her pay for it. Her revenge was directed at Albret rather than Georg. She is a reluctant witch, mean only when she is defending herself.

“Der Müller von Eisenbüttel” is an unusually bloody and violent tale with a complicated conspiracy-scheme in which two abbesses act as schemers and avengers. The figure of the reluctant witch is in the disguise of a nun, the abbess of Bayern, Klara. Naubert sets up an intrigue, whereby the miller is the inventor of a ‘killing-machine,’ built to help his friend, Markgraf Egbert. The miller’s wife on the other hand is Egbert’s enemy by being a friend of his adversaries. The stakes are high, Egbert aims to overthrow the emperor. Fate sends Egbert into the miller’s house where the miller’s wife makes use of the machine and kills Egbert. The miller then kills his wife and moves to a town nearby. The mill is a frightening and spooky place henceforth. However, the miller’s wife has a friend in a powerful position, Adelheid, the Abbess of Quedlinburg. She suspects the miller of murdering his wife and delegates the task of finding proof to her friend Klara.

Klara is openly self-confident and has learned to overcome womanly weakness. She is a woman “die in einem langen schicksalsvollen Leben gelernt hatte, alle Furcht zu verbannen, die sonst ihrem Geschlecht eigen ist ... Die Cisterziensernonne wusste einen Anschlag, vor welchem Adelheid zitterte, dessen Ausführung jene aber ohne Bedenken über sich nahm.”⁹⁷ Klara dresses in worldly clothes and, accompanied by a servant, she travels to the abandoned mill. The servant is much too frightened to stay with her but she tells him, “ich werde hier übernachten, denn ich weiss einen Segen, dass kein Geist der Finsterniss einen Theil an mir haben kann, auch fehlt es mir nicht an Muth, den irrenden

⁹⁶ “Die hamelschen Kinder”. 454.

⁹⁷ “Der Müller von Eisenbüttel.” 351.

Schatten zu fragen, womit er zur Ruhe zu bringen ist.”⁹⁸ She spends the night in the ghostly place and, indeed, she has to muster unusual and unwomanly courage to survive this night.

The kafkaesque machine the miller had constructed, “[die] die Hölle nicht grausamer hätte erfinden können”,⁹⁹ works in terrible ways: “Die Hinwegnehmung eines einigen Schutzbrettes setzte Maschinen in Bewegung, die jeden Feind, der ihnen zu nahe kam, zerfleischten und zermalnten, und die verstümmelten Glieder so tief ins Wasser versenkten, daß Entdeckung der That unmöglich war.”¹⁰⁰ Klara confronts the situation using some knowledge of magic and much common sense:

Als Klara in die Mühle trat, so war es als ob die düstere schweigende Einsamkeit, die hier herrschte, selbst *ihr* einen Schauer einhauchte; doch es war nur vorübergehend, und ihn noch besser zu zerstreuen, suchte sie Stahl, Feuerzeug und geweihte Kerzen hervor, mit welchen sie sich genügend versehen hatte, wohl wissend, dass die alles belebende Flamme des Lichts, die Erdbewohner muthig, die Bürger der Unterwelt zittern macht.¹⁰¹

To keep her mind occupied and clear she cleans the place while waiting. But the worst is yet to come when the ghost of the murdered woman appears at midnight: “... da begannen die Balken zu knacken, da kamen die Getriebe in Schwung, bis... auf die Letzte die Mühle mit allen Rädern rauschte, mit all ihren Gängen tobte... die Tür flog

⁹⁸ “Der Müller von Eisenbüttel.” 353.

⁹⁹ “Der Müller von Eisenbüttel”. 328.

¹⁰⁰ “Der Müller von Eisenbüttel”. 327-328.

¹⁰¹ “Der Müller von Eisenbüttel”. 355.

auf, ein Weib mit blutigem Haar trat herein...¹⁰² The ghost, to find peace, demands that Klara put her cross into the wound. Klara does the ghost's bidding, then faints.

A sub-plot in the story shows how the miller and his wife, though unintentionally, work together to murder Egbert. Klara is 'undoing' the evil done by the miller and his wife and she does it by using some magic herself. She is, to stretch the term a little, a 'counter witch.' Other than that she is simply resolutely practical. Why should she be a reluctant witch? For her especially, the term should be used in a humorous way, even though her assignment is sinister indeed. Naubert's tone throughout Klara's spooky adventure is humorous. Klara's familiarity with the workings of magic and the world of ghosts makes her somewhat suspect of being part of this world. However, she is a nun and most of the 'magic' she uses is sanctioned by the church, she uses blessed candles and reads her missal. But it is precisely the level-headed courage and especially her "kühner Männermuth"¹⁰³ that make her an unusual woman and very unwilling to be a witch.

"Die zwölf Ritter von Bern, oder das Märchen vom der Hort der Nibelungen" is Naubert's version of the famous medieval poem. Here the celebrated Nibelungentreasure consists of two parts, one being the gold and the jewels, the other two old books of wisdom. Grimhilde, in her deadly determination to get the gold, misuses the wisdom in

¹⁰² "Der Müller von Eisenbüttel". 357-358.

¹⁰³ "Der Müller von Eisenbüttel". 357.

the books. The greatest irony is that the gold and jewels, the reason for much bloodshed and hate, in fact do not even exist. Grimhilde, the courtly maiden, undergoes an incredible metamorphosis from innocent girlhood to vengeful fury, from playful princess to mean witch and sorceress.

In the beginning of the tale Grimhilde is a “Blumenfreundin” and the good daughter of a benevolent father and king, “eine besondere Freundin von Rosen... trug Sorgfalt, die Schläfe ihres Vaters nie leer von diesem duftenden Schmucke zu lassen.”¹⁰⁴ Her father is a king who loves nature and who wishes to keep his children “in der frommen Einfalt der Natur.”¹⁰⁵ Never having been exposed to courtly elegance, Grimhild is unaware of her simple appearance. So when her sister-in-law, Brunhilde, mocks the beautiful but earthy princess, “daß sie schlecht wie eine Landdirne gekleidet sey,”¹⁰⁶ Grimhilde at first is just confused. Her father vaguely tells her that treasures are undesirable, but he does not tell her why. When her rising obsession with the famous treasure, gold and jewels, is bothering him he tells her “bald mit Unwillen, bald mit Lachen, ... daß er sich in seinem glücklichen Lande reicher schätze als zehn Könige von Niederland mit ihren verdächtigen Schätzen.”¹⁰⁷ Her father warns her that gold does not assure happiness, but Grimhilde does not understand the philosophy of this statement. In order to get to the treasure she marries Fradolf, Brunhilde’s brother, and together they live at the court in Worms. The

¹⁰⁴ “Die zwölf Ritter von Bern. oder das Märchen vom Hort der Nibelungen”. 160.

¹⁰⁵ “Die zwölf Ritter von Bern. oder das Märchen vom Hort der Nibelungen”. 163.

¹⁰⁶ “Die zwölf Ritter von Bern. oder das Märchen vom Hort der Nibelungen”. 163.

¹⁰⁷ “Die zwölf Ritter von Bern. oder das Märchen vom Hort der Nibelungen”. 166.

treasure is kept in trunks, all but two of which are beautifully decorated. The two undecorated ones hold books of wisdom.

But Grimhilde is not allowed to open the trunks and has no other choice but to imagine the treasure. Her husband's descriptions make her happy: "... in dieser mit rothem Sammt überzogenen Kiste, Goldstaub aus dem Wasser Pison, in jenen silbernen, Demanten aus Golkonda von der Größe eines Straußeneyes, und in dieser, goldenen, rosenfarbene Perlen us dem Grunde des stillen Meeres..."¹⁰⁸ She is allowed to see the books of wisdom in the two undecorated trunks, but they do not interest her at all. In the course of events, Grimhilde's husband is murdered by Hagen and she falls under the influence of Ilsan, a dishonest monk at her court. He encourages her to take possession of the treasure "Nehmt nun Besitz von den Kostbarkeiten... weidet Eure Augen! Geniesst! Spendet aus wie es Eure Großmuth heischt, und fürchtet nicht, daß Ihr eine Quelle austrocknen werdet, die, laut der Sage, unerschöpflich ist!"¹⁰⁹ However, as they open the trunks they find them empty! Grimhilde and Ilsan scream in disappointment. Her father did not know how true his words were when he spoke of the 'dubious treasure.' The wise king alluded to material wealth, gold and jewels, as corruptive power, but the gold did not even exist.

¹⁰⁸ "Die zwölf Ritter von Bern. oder das Märchen vom Hort der Nibelungen". 178.

¹⁰⁹ "Die zwölf Ritter von Bern. oder das Märchen vom Hort der Nibelungen". 193.

Naubert, by exposing this raw greed for luxury, shows the power of imagination of the human mind. Grimhilde's greed for gold reminds us of Gretchen's words: "Was hilft euch Schönheit, junges Blut?/ Das ist wohl alles schön und gut,/ Allein man läßt's auch alles sein;/ man lobt euch halb mit Erbarmen./ Nach Golde drängt,/ am Golde hängt/ doch alles. Ach wir Armen!" (*Faust I*, 2798-2804) Gretchen is aware of the power of gold, thus she can longingly say that 'simple beauty is just enough to merit some praise out of pity.' Grimhilde, of course, never reaches Gretchen's level of insight. As long as the treasure exists in the mind's eye it truly is 'unerschöpflich,' as Isan assures her, and the mind is therefore inexhaustible. When Grimhilde's fantasy is completely filled with thoughts of the treasure her imagination soars: "Ihr Geschmack an den Blumen und an allen anderen unschuldigen Vergnügungen, die sie sonst liebte, war auf einmal ganz hin. Sie träumte, sie dachte und sprach nichts, als jenen Schatz, den niemand gesehen hatte, von dem ihr aber jedermann zu versichern wußte, er übertreffe alles, was man sich von den seltensten Kostbarkeiten an Werth und Menge denken könne...."¹¹⁰ The trunk containing the books, however, is very different:

In der letzten Kiste, welche mit schlechtem, schwarzem Leder überzogen war, lag... der höchste Schatz der Nibelungen, zwey alte, aus dem grossen Brand von Aventikum gerettete Bücher voll himmlischer Weisheit. König Fradolf war freygibig genug, sich zur Eröffnung dieser letzten Kiste zu erbieten; aber Grimhilde, welche lieber ... etwas anderes von den hübschen Sachen ... gesehen hätte, verbat es, und machte sich diese Verleugnung zur großen Tugend.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ "Die zwölf Ritter von Bern. oder das Märchen vom Hort der Nibelungen". 164.

¹¹¹ "Die zwölf Ritter von Bern. oder das Märchen vom Hort der Nibelungen". 179.

This unassuming, available treasure gives Naubert the chance to talk about the importance of a meaningful education, and to make humorous remarks, specifically about what Grimhilde here calls ‘great virtue,’ her ‘grosse Tugend.’ Grimhilde declines to read the books at first, but nobody else shows any interest in learning their contents, neither her husband nor the clever monk Ilsan. The ‘heavenly wisdom’ is as elusive and imaginary as the earthly treasures. Ilsan does not even want to open the trunks containing the books; the holy man is not interested in wisdom from heaven: “...als er an die letzte Kiste kam, von welcher ihm Grimhilde gesagt hatte, daß sie die Bücher der himmlischen Weisheit enthielt, da wollte er sich nicht einmal die Mühe nehmen hineinzuschauen.”¹¹² Later Grimhilde realizes that half of the beautifully decorated boxes had been stolen, but the plain leather one was left. Her hypocrisy is positively comic, when she laments about “das Verderbniß der Menschen, welche immer Geld und Gut den Schätzen des Geistes vorziehen.”¹¹³ To make sure the reader understands the point, Naubert’s narrator comments further, that no one is interested in wisdom: “Grimhilde verfiel in ein tiefes Stillschweigen, vielleicht fand sie selbst Unbilligkeit in dem, was sie sagte; verdienten die Räuber Tadel, ihr ihre Kostbarkeiten genommen und die Schätze des Geistes gelassen zu haben, welche Entschuldigung hatte denn *sie*, daß sie sich nicht mit dem Besitz der letzten über den Verlust der ersten tröstete?”¹¹⁴ The box containing the books opens very easily, and the storyteller comments that the “Urschreiber unseres Märchens, welcher

¹¹² “Die zwölf Ritter von Bern. oder das Märchen vom Hort der Nibelungen”. 197.

¹¹³ “Die zwölf Ritter von Bern. oder das Märchen vom Hort der Nibelungen”. 207.

¹¹⁴ “Die zwölf Ritter von Bern. oder das Märchen vom Hort der Nibelungen”. 207.

überall gute Gedanken hat, es für einen Beweis des Satzes hält, daß der Weg zur Weisheit, dem, der ihn ernstlich sucht, durch eine unsichtbare Hand erleichtert werde.”¹¹⁵ Carefully using the masculine ending in the German word “Urschreiber”, the ‘original writer’, the female author Naubert is telling another woman, maybe Grimhilde or maybe one of her many female readers, that learning and reading is a treasure which is only slightly hidden. No special tricks are needed to get to it--except to open the book. The treasure of knowledge is unassuming and quite available.

But a warning follows these encouraging words, a reminder that in Naubert’s opinion it matters what one reads, and that she is concerned about aimless and superficial learning. Grimhilde reads for three days without stopping, eating or drinking. When she emerges she behaves so strangely that the servants think she is crazy. Fearing that reading may have corrupted her mind and “die Gesetze des Landes, ... jedem Wahnsinnigen das Leben absprachen”,¹¹⁶ she is urged to leave the reading room immediately, “diese Zaubenhöle, ... deren Pestluft den hellsten Verstand zerrütten konnte.”¹¹⁷ From the books Grimhilde has learned magic spells that help her become young again, and restore her dazzling beauty and youth. She uses both eventually to entice Etzel to marry her, all of which is part of the famous scheme of revenge against her brothers and Hagen. But the rejuvenation does not last. Her reading was done superficially and so the books did not

¹¹⁵ “Die zwölf Ritter von Bern. oder das Märchen vom Hort der Nibelungen”. 208.

¹¹⁶ “Die zwölf Ritter von Bern. oder das Märchen vom Hort der Nibelungen”. 210.

¹¹⁷ “Die zwölf Ritter von Bern. oder das Märchen vom Hort der Nibelungen”. 211.

yield the wisdom she was looking for. Worst of all, or most dangerous in Naubert's view, Grimhilde had only studied a few of the secrets but thinks herself on a new plane of power as "die künftige Gebieterinn der beseelten und unbeseelten Natur, die Eignerinn aller Schätze der Erde, die Königin der Geister..."¹¹⁸ She thinks that "Diese Tage des unablässigen Studierens haben mich zur Meisterinn zweyer oder dreyer Geheimnisse gemacht, die vielleicht die kleinsten aus der ganzen Anzahl seyn mögen, denen ich aber doch schon unbeschreiblich viel verdanke, und morgen noch mehr verdanken werde!"¹¹⁹ The storyteller comments humorously about the dubious fate of the world, should it be in such hands:

Es waren große Dinge, die sich Grimhilde von dem unerschöpflichen Weisheitsschatze versprach, den sie in ihrer Gewalt hatte, und wir wissen nicht, wären alle die Hoffnungen erfüllt worden, mit denen sie sich schmeichelte, ob sich die Welt allzuwohl dabey befunden haben würde; die unumschränkte Macht, über alles was ist, war und werden wird, von der sie träumte, wär in Händen wie die ihrigen wohl nicht zum besten aufgehoben gewesen...¹²⁰

Unlike the sweet Otilie, who was tempted with similar knowledge, Grimhilde's desire for knowledge is kindled by pure hate and vanity. She is not simply motivated by human curiosity, but she is ready to use her knowledge for revenge, "in mir glüht die Rache der Hölle!"¹²¹ At this point, Grimhilde's craving for the Nibelungengold had caused war and

¹¹⁸ "Die zwölf Ritter von Bern. oder das Märchen vom Hort der Nibelungen". 219-220.

¹¹⁹ "Die zwölf Ritter von Bern. oder das Märchen vom Hort der Nibelungen". 219.

¹²⁰ "Die zwölf Ritter von Bern. oder das Märchen vom Hort der Nibelungen". 220.

¹²¹ "Die zwölf Ritter von Bern. oder das Märchen vom Hort der Nibelungen". 222.

bloodshed. The natural, beautiful princess and lover of flowers has become a demonic harpy.

The narrator explains the reasons why the Nibelungen books fail Grimhilde: a higher power, sensing that she would misuse the knowledge, made the writing unreadable. Grimhilde had only learned a few beauty-tricks, “alles was sie nun wußte, waren einige Schönheitsmittel und ein paar andere Veblendungskünste, deren Kraft mit jedem Tag verschwand,... Nie hat man eine armseligere Zauberinn gesehen als diese Grimhilde, und sie verdiente wahrlich die Ehre nicht, den Medern, den Morganen und Libußen an die Seite gesetzt zu werden...”¹²² Since she had only learned the most trivial things she is doomed to be a mediocre sorceress. She creates the enchanting rose-garden where she sits like a spider and captures men for her amusement. Her desire for revenge is very much alive when she finally captures King Etzel for that purpose. Naubert reminds her readers that beauty alone makes for a rather monotonous relationship. Even Ilse tells Grimhilde that she might try to use ordinary means to hold a man, “Häuslichkeit, Treue, und gränzenlose Gefälligkeit,... sie sollen mehr vermögen als die größten Zauberkünste. Laßt auch auf eine Weile Euer Baden und versucht einmahl, ob ihr eurem Manne in eurer eigenen Gestalt gefallen könnt....”¹²³

Grimhilde becomes most witch-like when she is ready to sacrifice her son. When Fradolf's ghost promises to help her in her scheme of revenge, if she is ready to give up

¹²² “Die zwölf Ritter von Bern. oder das Märchen vom Hort der Nibelungen”. 223-224.

¹²³ “Die zwölf Ritter von Bern. oder das Märchen vom Hort der Nibelungen”. 237.

what she likes best, she first thinks of the treasure and not of her son. As if she had already forgotten her child, her first question is whether Fradolf demands of her to sacrifice the hope for the Nibelungen treasure, making clear that this would be utterly impossible. But when the ghost shouts that “Nur noch an einem Wesen [her son] hängt ein Theil deines verwahrlosten Herzens”, her answer is short and to the point: “An meinem Sohne? - Nimm ihn, wenn ich nur erlange was ich wünsche.”¹²⁴ She is virtually non-human in her cruelty, like an automaton which never stops until the spring runs down or someone crushes it; in her case: the sword of Hildebrand. Grimhilde’s youthful innocence almost completely vanishes under this burden of meanness. She certainly seems to be hardly resisting the path to witch-like meanness. But Naubert does show how Grimhilde changes over time and thus, I think, she is a reluctant witch.

In “Ottbert,” the character Teuta is quite mean and calculating. What makes her a reluctant witch is the unfortunate fate of being an illegitimate, ‘natural’ child, which puts her at the edge of society by definition of birth. To be born out of wedlock is not a reason for being mean, but it puts the child from the start of his life in a position where a defiant personality would thrive. Naubert makes a clear enough point of Teuta’s illegitimacy, that in this story it is valid. Together with her brother Humfried, Teuta tries to usurp power from her father by getting rid of her half-brother Ottbert and her father’s friend, the saintly

¹²⁴ “Die zwölf Ritter von Bern. oder das Märchen vom Hort der Nibelungen”. 284.

hermit Trutbert. Ottbert leaves to find Trutbert, a voyage that takes him to Egypt and through many adventures, and eventually back to Germany.

Teuta is in many ways very witch-like, a mean woman capable of magic. Just as the theory has it that witches were supposed to learn from their elders, Teuta learned her craft from her nurse-maid. Her scheme to do away with Ottbert and Trutbert are a combination of magical knowledge and clever psychological cunning: she gives Trutbert a water jug, bewitched to spill anything it contains. Trubert gets angry over the aggravating jug, and, very disturbed for having lost his temper, leaves the land. Ottbert searches for him through many countries, and finally arrives in Egypt, where Trutbert had exiled himself and built his own monastery. Teuta's plans now are to make sure both men stay where they are forever. She transforms a monkey into a beautiful woman whom Ottbert meets on an outing into the desert, "das schönste Weib, das je der Schöpfer bildete, das Ebenbild unserer ersten Mutter, und auch nicht viel anders bekleidet als sie."¹²⁵ The naked beauty introduces herself as Aurelia, and her presence in the story allows Naubert to comment on ideas on women.

The beautiful Aurelia is in fact a member of a group of women, 'hexed' (verwünscht) because they had been too vain while in the service of a queen. These women enjoy their monkeyhood, and Aurelia claims she had been living happily in the wilderness with them, a monkey among monkeys. Now she is standing naked in front of a stunned Ottbert in the middle of the desert and she is displeased. The very first thing she

¹²⁵ "Ottbert". 376.

does is to tell him angrily that she has an accusation against him. When he manages to say, “doch ist mir, ... dass ich über *Euch* klagen müßte”,¹²⁶ her answer to his hint at the havoc her naked beauty is doing to him, is quite sarcastic:

Nicht wahr, ..., über den Unfug, den meine Schönheit in deinem Herzen anrichtet? - O das ist die Sprache, die ihr alle führet! Ich kenne sie recht wohl, und weiß sie nach Würden zu schätzen. Bilde dir nicht ein, mich durch Schmeicheleyen abzufinden. Die Klage, die ich wider dich habe ist sehr ernstlich, und ich will, daß du mich ernsthaft hörest.¹²⁷

She is, of course, alluding to the accusation that woman tempts man with her sexual appeal, and Aurelia dismisses it as nice, but useless flattery. Then she energetically demands his attention for her grievance. Which is? That she and her friends had lived happily in the shape of monkeys, well adapted to the wilderness where they had been put. But now Trutbert's and Ottbert's prayers and exorcisms have returned them to their human forms, utterly unsuited to live in the desert: “Heimatlos, nackend und unfähig uns in dieser Wilderniß zu nähren, ..., ein Raub reissender Thiere, irren wir umher...”¹²⁸ Does Aurelia prefer to be a monkey, “die Vorrechte der Menschlichkeit zu verleugnen,”¹²⁹ rather than to be a beautiful woman?

The remark can be interpreted in different ways. Aurelia is referring to men in general when she says ‘this is the language in which you all speak.’ In this light, the wilderness is the world of men and men are the rapacious animals, which means that the

¹²⁶ “Ottbert”. 377.

¹²⁷ “Ottbert”. 377.

¹²⁸ “Ottbert”. 378.

beautiful naked lady is in danger indeed. As an ugly monkey she would simply be part of this wilderness and well equipped to survive. Would an ugly woman in the company of men therefore be well adapted? Or, the remark may simply mean that one needs to adapt to one's environment and that beauty helps to survive in the world, a men's world, and is nothing more miraculous than a monkey surviving in the wilderness. But what about the perceived nuisance (Unfug) women's beauty causes for men? If beautiful women are such a nuisance for men, why then do men still want to attract women and even use flattery (Schmeicheleyen) to win women's favors? Why court disaster? There seems to be no answer forthcoming from Naubert, but she hints at the danger beauty can be for a woman, as she had shown in many of her heroines' fates, Emma, Genoveve and Otilie, for example. Obviously, Aurelia and her friends seem to be happy as monkeys since they have no wish to be women again. The reversal of roles--posing the man as suffering around beautiful women, rather than the woman suffering from male pursuit because she is beautiful--simply exposes a problem beautiful women have to deal with. Moreover, taking sides with the man, just as she did in "Jungfernsprung und Rosstrab," also helps Naubert to keep her male persona as author intact.

But Aurelia may only appeal to Ottbert's protective instincts, and if so, Teuta's ruse is successful. Ottbert immediately decides to take care of the lady in distress and smuggles her into the monastery under the name of Aurelius. He even tries to make her his cell-partner and promises to marry her. In the course of events, however, Ottbert, Trutbert and Aurelia are magically transported back to Vindonissa in Germany. During

¹²⁹ "Ottbert." 378.

this voyage through the earth, when they fly through a form of purgatory, “eine Art von Reinigungsort der Seelen”,¹³⁰ Aurelia ends as many of the historical witches did: she is burning up in a fire.

Ottbert’s story is told by Albert, cousin of the famous Rudolf von Habsburg. Albert is an important character at the very end of this tale, which is also the end of the *Neue Volksmärchen*. Within the story of Ottbert is a comment about learned women, pointing out that a learned woman may well be called a witch, and Teuta is meant to be the learned woman. Teuta is obviously using knowledge, she is clever, determined and eager to try out her lore. Albert, who had put his tale into a remote past, says that in those good days in the past it was quite normal for a woman to be smart and possess supernatural powers without being called a witch:

Sonderbar kam es dem jungen Grafen [Ottbert] übrigens nicht vor, daß seine Schwester so klug war, es war in ganz Avendum bekannt, daß sie einige übernatürliche Kenntniße besaß, und man war damals noch nicht so streng wie heut bey Tage, jedes Weib, das etwas mehr wußte als ihre Schwestern, sogleich eine Hexe zu schelten.¹³¹

The remark reminds that the author, Naubert, writing at the end of the eighteenth century, knows the predicament the learned woman faces today, ‘heut bey Tage.’ The remark would be understood by Naubert’s readers, for whom it was meant.

¹³⁰ “Ottbert”. 400.

¹³¹ “Ottbert”. 356.

The mean, witch-like Teuta carries that special burden as a natural born child, which seems to predispose her for wickedness. Even the hermit Trutbert, who is friendly towards young Ottbert, shares society's prejudicial attitude: "Kinder eines verbotenen Liebesbündnisses ... waren der Schlechtesten Aufnahme gewiß. St. Trutbert glaubte an den Satz, welchen so viele Menschen behaupten, daß die sogenannten Kinder der Liebe zwar immer viel Glück, aber selten viel Tugend haben."¹³² It is the best explanation of Teuta's urge for power. Like a stepmother, who comes into the family through a widowed father, so 'natural' children come into the family by the errant father. Both are likely to be unwelcome as new family members and try to assert themselves in spite of the tacitly present rejection often present in society. In Naubert's tale Teuta takes the role of the usurping step-sister. Aurelia, Teuta's magic construct, illustrates what Teuta was capable of as a learned woman and sorceress, and then dies symbolically for her. She is not inclined to be a witch, but sees no other way out of her demise than to become witch-like.

An exchange between the story-teller Albert, the "Weiberhasser",¹³³ and his audience may well emphasize Naubert's perspective on women: women are human beings, good and bad. Albert's listeners in the story are all women. When he mixes unfavorable comments about women into his tale: "Ueberall, wo Unheil zu stiften ist, stehen Weiber an der Spitze. Traut ihnen nicht; und solltet Ihr Leben und Freyheit aus

¹³² "Ottbert". 328.

¹³³ "Ottbert". 405.

ihren Händen erhalten, so ist die Gabe besser weggeworfen als angenommen.”¹³⁴ he is sharply corrected: “Herr Graf, . . . , wolltet Ihr nicht so gut seyn, und Euren Ausfällen auf die Weiber ein Ende machen. Ihr seht, daß diese Damen hier Euch mit Verdruß hören.”¹³⁵ This remark, however, prompts another member of the group to point out that women are human and may be good and bad: “Laßt Euch nicht stören, . . . wir hören im Grunde Eure Schmähungen auf unsere bösen Schwestern nicht ungern. Unserer keine treffen Eure Worte, und wir freuen uns, aus Eurem Munde das Zeugniß zu hören, daß wir sehr gut seyn müßen, da andere so böse sind.”¹³⁶

This tale of “Ottbert,” is designed to expose a conspiracy to kill Albert. It functions exactly as Hamlet’s ‘The play’s the thing’. The conspirators, Teuta and Humfried, are found out and the powerful Albert in the story is the real Albert. Albert leaves the castle during the confusion his story created, lending truth to the statement “durch Märchenerzählen Leben und Freyheit erkaufen.”¹³⁷

4. The Tale without a Witch: “Die Fischer”

This tale does not lend itself to the analysis of a witch figure in the manner done so far. The tale contains, however, quite a comical juxtaposition of the devil and the

¹³⁴ “Ottbert”. 328.

¹³⁵ “Ottbert”. 330.

¹³⁶ “Ottbert”. 330.

¹³⁷ “Ottbert”. 327.

virgin. In this 'placing side by side' Naubert makes fun of the demonologists' theory that woman is either Mary or Eve, either witch or saint, and at the same time she is affirming the power of imagination. Also, in "Jungfernsprung und Rosstrab" Naubert hints at the opinion, grown out of the scholarly preoccupation with opposites, that the 'worst woman is always worse than the worst man.' By seemingly taking sides with the man Naubert mocks but also exposes the idea. The story of the monk Medardus shows how the best can be the worst and vice versa, and it may all be a matter of interpretation.

Three fishermen, Martin, his brother Veit, and his son Meinhard, sit by the Danube at dusk and tell stories to pass the time. Martin starts by telling the story of two brothers, Markgrafen Leopold and Albert who both want to marry emperor Heinrich's sister Itha. When she chooses Leopold, the angry Albert ravishes her, and Leopold's retaliation is to rape Albert's bride. The two brothers then are locked into hate and revenge, and in a final battle many are killed. A shadowy army of ghosts of those slain fight each other at night over the battle field.

Veit now tells the story of the monk Medardus who painted the most beautiful and perfect picture of the virgin. Absorbed in his work and inspired by many visitors' highest praise, Medardus also paints the opposite of this pure beauty, an ugly devil:

Das höchste Ideal der Schönheit hatte Medardus geliefert, nun ging auch das Nonplusultra der Häßlichkeit unter seinem zauberischen Pinsel hervor. Ein Teufel krümmte sich zu Mariens Füßen, den man nicht ohne Abscheu und Entsetzen ansehen konnte. Man schauderte vor ihm zurück, und konnte sich doch nicht entbrechen, wieder nach ihm zu blicken, weil der Kontrast zwischen ihm und der Göttin, die über ihm thronte, zwey der widersprechendsten Regungen so nah neben einander stellte, daß jeder, der das wunderbare Gemälde verließ, gestand, nie etwas ähnliches erfahren zu haben, und sich zusagte, nächstens wieder zu

kommen, um dieses seltsame wonniglich schauerliche Gefühl noch einmal zu haben.¹³⁸

In Naubert's tale, however, the devil's feelings are hurt. He is upset and tells Medardus in a dream that he is not such a monster, the picture an appalling injustice. "...das Konterfey die himmelschreiendste Ungerechtigkeit..."¹³⁹ How could Medardus paint a picture of him without ever having seen him: "... was bewog dich, wider aller Mahlertreue ein Bild von mir zu verfertigen, zu welchem ich dir nicht gesessen habe?"¹⁴⁰ The devil offers to pose for the artist at any time. But Medardus, defiantly and jokingly, adds another trait of meanness to the devil's picture, whereupon an invisible violent force throws Medardus from the scaffolding. The picture-virgin, stretching out her arms, rescues him from falling to death. In another dream the devil warns Medardus against this perfect virgin: "... hüte dich indessen, daß dir von ihr, welche du so schön gebildet hast, nicht mehr Gefahr drohe als von mir, den du hassest, und zum Abscheu der ganzen Welt aufstellst."¹⁴¹ The devil is warning Medardus not to be blinded by beauty.

Medardus, now sainted and famous, falls in love with a young nun who resembles his painting of the Madonna. Feeling guilty about his attraction, which he knows to be forbidden, Medardus disfigures the painting of the virgin with a few brushstrokes in order

¹³⁸ "Die Fischer". 17.

¹³⁹ "Die Fischer". 19.

¹⁴⁰ "Die Fischer". 18.

¹⁴¹ "Die Fischer". 23.

to erase the resemblance. He and the nun try to elope, but he is caught and thrown into prison. Promptly, the devil reappears. He offers help in return for ‘some satisfaction,’ meaning an improved image of himself. Medardus agrees and changes the devil’s picture, so that he now inspires pity rather than disgust--which seems to satisfy the devil’s vanity.

In the story of Medardus’ altar picture of the virgin and the devil, Naubert shows how easily ideas such as the perfect virgin and the hideous devil can be changed. As long as he was unknown and completely absorbed in his art work, Medardus was happy with an idea, his perfect woman: “...er berauschte sich im Anschauen von Reizen, die er selbst geschaffen hatte....”¹⁴² But when he becomes famous and meets more people, he also meets a real woman. He changes the virgin’s picture with a few brushstrokes, presumably to erase its similarity to his new love, and so to erase his guilt. The result is that the virgin is now much less attractive. It probably also means, the love-struck monk realizes that a real woman is more wonderful than a picture, while the virgin’s perfect beauty and the devil’s hideousness in the original, represent human fears and wishes. All Medardus had to do was to change his mind, to change the picture.

What Naubert here means to say is, I think, that the categories ‘virgin’ or ‘devil’ are obviously not a final state, but are changeable according to will and imagination. The devil even seems to be aware of the demonologists’ intellectual pursuits. Opposites can not stand alone but are intimately connected: “Aber ich weiss, alles geschah um die

¹⁴² “Die Fischer”. 23.

Heilige zu verschönern, deren Fuss du auf meinen Nacken gesetzt hast, und deren Vollkommenheit du ... glaubtest erhöhen zu können."¹⁴³

¹⁴³ "Die Fischer." 19.

Conclusion

Proceed, ner quit the tales, which simply told,
could once so well thy answering bosom please!
Proceed, in antic shapes and varying colours drest.
The native legends of thy land to hear!
T'is fancy's land to which thou setst thy foot,
where still, t'is said, the fairy people meet
beneath each birchen shade on mead or hill.

Collins

These lines appear on the title page of the *Neue Volksmärchen der Deutschen*'s first edition in 1789. The lines are taken quite randomly from an ode by the English poet William Collins (1721-1759), *Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland; Considered as the Subject of Poetry*. Arranged as a poem the lines invite the reader to an enjoyable, surprising and magic journey. They set the tone for a light-hearted enjoyment. Naubert's use of just a few lines from a work by an author who is almost her contemporary suggests that many knew this *Ode* and understood Naubert's message: legends can be the 'subject of poetry' and, as such, can be dressed in 'varying colours.' In short, the basic stories of legends can be changed to please the listener, the 'answering bosom.' Naubert agrees with Musäus and Bechstein, who both saw fairy tales as a form of poetry: "Die Mutter dieser holden Töchter, Mythe, Sage, Märe und Fabel ist keine andere als die Poesie" says Bechstein¹ and Musäus calls fairy tales a "wunderbare

¹ Bechstein. 2.

Dichtung.”² The lines on the title-page of her fairy tales might well be Naubert’s poetological statement.

The thought in the poem at the beginning of the *Neue Volksmärchen*—that in this land of fantasy ‘the fairy people meet beneath each birchen shade on mead or hill,’--relates to magic’s endangered status at the time when Naubert wrote her tales. The concern is already illustrated clearly in the first tale, “Das stille Volk,” where a logically thinking Beate tries to modernize but is not very successful at it. The elves in the story represent old beliefs in magic and they do not leave the castle without a fight for their rights. Metaphorically, magic is ‘pursued’ by logic, and neither really wins the race. “Ottbert,” in contrast to the first tale, is full of magic objects and people--magic has refused to leave.³ “Die Fischer” represents a very outspoken statement, that the mind informs the imagination that produces thoughts on magic. But the last sentence in “Ottbert” holds a promise that more such tales will be forthcoming: “Die Sage erzählt ausserordentliche Dinge ... welche ich Euch ein andermahl mitteilen will!” The thought reminds us of Achim von Arnim’s concern about the loss of imagination in his article in the “Einsidler.” Arnim’s words express the expectations of the age: that everything can be learned and understood: “...uns sucht die Erziehung das Wunderbarste gewöhnlich zu machen, weil sie keine Wunder thun kann.”⁴ The assurance that magic is not about to leave

² Musäus, 7.

³ Naubert’s fairy tales are full of magic and wonderful occurrences. I therefore question Grätz’ statement that there is nothing fairy tale-like in these tales: “Märchenhaftes findet sich ... nur selten, was sogar für die literarisch hochstehenden *Neue Volksmärchen der Deutschen* von Benedikte Naubert gilt.” (270)

⁴ See Arnim’s article in Appendix B.

completely, in spite of Enlightenment's 'rationality-fever,' also clearly confirms Naubert's affinity to Romanticism.

I have considered sixteen characters from the *Neue Volksmärchen* : Otilie, Edda and Genoveve; Beate, Rose, Cäcilie, Hedwig; Kunegunde, Magdalena, Bertha, Ludlam, Swana, the Witch, Klara, Grimhilde and Teuta. Naubert is consistent in that the women characters I analyzed in her fairy tales are reluctant to be mean, some more and some less. In order to explain the 'typology of potential witches' some definitions were made. The term, 'struggling against' accusations describes the woman who is good and pleasant, but who finds herself in a dangerous situation not through her own fault. Three of these women, Otilie, Edda and Genoveve, have to 'struggle against' serious accusations and other problems. 'Unwilling' refers to a woman unwilling to even think about magic, going about her business in life in a matter-of-fact way; if damage happens in her wake she is surprised as well. Four can be called 'unwilling': Beate, Rose, Cäcilie and Hedwig are going through life simply trying to make sense of their surroundings. 'Disinclined' describes the woman who would be quite willing to be good, especially if given better circumstances, but who more easily turns mean and even uses harmful magic if she is pushed into a situation in which she needs to defend herself. Nine women are 'disinclined' to be mean witches: Magdalena, Kunegunde, Ludlam, Swana, the Witch, Bertha, Klara, Grimhilde and Teuta. The term 'reluctant' is also used in a humorous way, which is consistent with Naubert's tone in many of the tales. Reluctant witches are not as dangerous as witches were meant to be: Naubert's women really should not have been

feared as witches. Some women in the tales are as free of blame as saints, some have the clear logic of the Enlightenment spirit in their personality, and some would simply like to be treated fairly. The fact that Naubert's protagonists are so diverse in their personality makes these women more life-like and often adds to the humor: to imagine a magic lender, Ludlam, is funny.

The struggling women, Otilie, Genoveve and Edda, have a sweet personality and a blameless character, but that is not enough to keep them in good standing. Eventually their personal wants, such as expression of a wish for self-determination, bring difficulties against which they struggle with determination, and not always successfully. Otilie's wishes are for a husband she can love as well as for freedom. Genoveve's only mistake is the fleeting attraction for a good-looking young man. Edda wisely places her power beneath her love for her husband, and eventually succeeds in attaining happiness for both.

The four 'unwilling' women, Beate, Rose, Cäcilie and Hedwig, are exceptionally straight forward in their approach to life. Beate is unsentimental, adventurous, ready for and initiating changes, and certainly no friend of magic. Rose's striving for education and the learning of a trade seems very practical. Sachs would probably call her a 'honeybee.' It goes almost unnoticed that she does everything herself and with a discipline that seems to be natural for her. Cäcilie, seemingly irresponsible and supercilious, laughs at magic even when it is working on her own body, as it happens when she undergoes the trial by

ordeal. Hedwig is a very level-headed young woman. Her unlucky situation is obviously the result of higher authorities who are interested in money and power.

Of the 'disinclined' nine women, Magdalena is clearly not satisfied in her work. Kunegunde is a victim of societal mores and prejudices. Ludlam is actually very helpful if treated with respect, and Swana is merely an imaginary construct. The witch in "Children of Hameln" is fair in a situation where she could have been treacherous. Bertha is clearly an unlucky and neglected woman who is not mean at heart. Klara displays a brave superiority over the world of ghosts which can be seen as funny reminder by Naubert that the fear of the supernatural--or witches--is in the mind. Finally, Grimhilde and Teuta, both very self-serving, have extenuating circumstances to their credit: Grimhilde's youthful innocence and Teuta's tainted social standing as a child born out of wedlock.

What all these women have in common, whether they are magic women, simply earthlings, spirits, princesses or witches, is that none is thoroughly and incorrigibly mean. None represents pure evil--although one, Grimhilde, comes close to do that. As the women are confronted by life, they react individually and not predictably: Naubert's Grimhilde, for instance, corrupted by her desire for the treasure, ends being driven by greed and vanity, but her upbringing does not warrant such an extreme outcome. In contrast, Rose's life is a string of abuse and disappointments, yet she remains honest and friendly.

But what is meant by 'Personality'? Naubert's heroines exhibit individual wishes and characteristics, just as expressed in the words of Beatrix in "Ottbert", women are 'gut und böse.' My discussion of the many protagonists proves that there is much variety

between the two extremes. The most distinct personal and individual characteristics I found in Naubert's tales are 'the wish to learn,' some of the heroine's 'entrepreneurial talents' and how 'beauty and self-determination' can interact. They all, eventually, refer back to 'personality.'

The 'wish to learn' is one of the most important themes running through Naubert's tales. It is particularly apparent in Otilie, Rose, both Berthas in the "Woman in White" and Erdmann's girl friend Marie. Rose and Marie wish to learn an honorable trade in order to achieve good standing in society. Both are very willing to improve their lot, not through marrying the proverbial rich prince, but by the work of their hands. The Woman in White and young Bertha are interested in books, whether for distraction or out of curiosity, and they ultimately do learn and profit from their readings: the Woman in White learns about the influence books can have on the mind, and young Bertha's curiosity leads her to better understand her ancestors. Otilie can be seen as a female version of Rousseau's *Emile* (1762), as she is allowed to follow her natural inclinations when brought up. But she can also be seen as an unconvinced and finally rebellious Sophie, in conflict with her own nature, when trying to be submissive, sweet, modest, and virtuous to please her father. Confronted with the possibility to know the secrets of the world, what would a young man have chosen in Otilie's situation?

Naubert exemplifies her own stance in the story "Die Fischer." A monk teaches young Meinhard to read and write and gives him valuable lessons as to what is really important to know in order to lead a happy life.

Du bist ein Fischer, Meinhard, sagte [der Mönch], nimm dir von den Dingen, mit denen du täglich umgehst, Lehren zur wahren Lebensweisheit: Heiter

und still sey deine Seele wie der Strom, wenn er ruhig dahin fließt, ... Sey stumm und taub wie die Fische in Dingen, die dich nicht angehen, hüte dich vor Netzen. ... Diese güldenen Regeln habe ich unabhängig in meinem Herzen...⁵

These cautious words of wisdom are here given to a young man by a wise, old teacher. They do not include modesty, submission and permission, as expected of females but, instead, the words tell Meinhard to be pleasant, quiet and careful, and not to talk about things that are not his business. In other words, Meinhard is instructed to be alert and to use his intelligence. As opposed to the rules for women, the rules for the young man are less patronizing. Still, all of the wise teacher's three rules are practical and completely in tune with Naubert's ideal that learning should be of use.

How then does Naubert critique groundless and inadequate learning in her fairy tales? Being aware of the shortcomings of education at the time that kept the woman secluded and ignorant of the world, Naubert is certainly justified in her concerns about inadequate education. Quite a few of her heroines have this kind of upbringing and are not happy. For example, Otilie and Grimhilde are sheltered from the reality of life when they are growing up. Both have to learn and adjust to new rules after their youthful years. But what Otilie has to learn through teachers at her father's court is ludicrous: to get along with a philandering, insensitive, cruel father and a criminal future husband. Grimhilde tries to learn from the books, but in her inexperience can not distinguish between the useful and the useless. The Woman in White, Bertha, openly attacks the learning of dead languages and mysticism as frivolous. Otilie rejects the opportunity to

⁵ "Die Fischer". 69-70.

learn about the secrets of the world--nothing good or useful seems to come from such knowledge. However, the joy of listening to someone knowledgeable is expressed by the two characters who listen, enraptured, to an ethereal voice. Otilie listens to the tempting spirit, her 'soul-mate,' and Friedrich cannot get enough of the maiden Swana's engaging conversations with him. Otilie's and Friedrich's fascination in listening illustrates the longing for the privilege and delight learning must have been for women at the time. As Friedrich is listening to a woman, maybe the hope was there that women could be equally learned and fascinating. Overall though, Naubert does not simply criticize or promote education, neither does she accuse patriarchy or bemoan the bad lot of women. She provides contexts, magic and real, and lets the reader decide.

The 'entrepreneurial spirit' of some characters is evident. Genoveve, the daughter of the 'knight who didn't know math,'⁶ and her mother support themselves by raising sheep. Rose is perfectly self-sufficient and business-oriented. Even Magdalena, once she finds her niche as a psychic, successfully earns her living. Genelas is not only encouraged to, but she ends up a partner in Rose's spinning business. In "Erdmann und Marie," mother and daughter energetically try to set up a proper situation to earn an income according to society's standards: the mother is thankful and willing to put the loans from the villagers to good use, and the daughter refuses to get married without having that money earned through work set aside. Hedwig has the perfectly good sense to recognize her father's mistakes in managing his estate and even tries to warn him about them.

⁶ "Genoveve oder die Träume". 3.

Again, Benedikte Naubert's critique and warning of the new and unusual developments of her time, such as learning and self-determination for women, is always very subtle. Naubert does not boldly accuse. Her warnings evolve from reading and listening to her story, from experiencing the heroine's pain along with her. Her exposure of injustice often is done indirectly. For example, Hedwig and Ottilie are, in essence, sold by their fathers to the most profitable party, which clearly makes them unhappy. Yet only the unlucky girls' suffering is described at length, and the fathers are only minimally criticized. Comments, or lack of comments, by the storyteller are worth noticing.

'Female beauty' is exploited for the purpose of power and wealth, as in the case of Hedwig, Emma, Ottilie and Helen. But other heroines, Grimhilde, Kunegunde and Teuta, deliberately exploit their beauty for their own purposes. Morgane, King Arthur's sister in "Der kurze Mantel," uses her beauty for the sheer fun of it; she thoroughly enjoys her affairs with men, twenty-seven to date, made even more pleasant with the help of some magic. Is this Naubert's humorous warning for men about female beauty, not to be too sure of their exploits?

Beauty makes the daughter marketable, as Musäus jokes with open sarcasm. The crucial choice of a husband is especially difficult for Ottilie, Hedwig and Edda, their fathers being absolutely opposed to the young women's wishes. Ottilie finally escapes the world altogether, and Hedwig dies unhappy and unfulfilled. Edda succeeds, but only after a determined battle of wits and power with her father. Helen and Emma, the daughters of Beate and Hedwig, are also used by their fathers in the marriage-game. Helen escapes with the help of the elves. Emma, fighting back with some determination, escapes from

her father in a daring leap over a dangerous canyon. The leap could well be interpreted as the dangerous leap away from and, in this way, opposing authority. Luckily and miraculously Emma succeeds. What all these women possess is beauty, or the form of beauty, best described by ‘charm.’ Genoveve, for example, is described as “ein recht artiges und angenehmes Mädchen. . . , ungeachtet wir sie nicht nach Art anderer Romanziers als Wunder der Schönheit ausgeben dürfen.”⁷ Helen’s advantages are a good figure, a good voice and a sweet face, but she was not “blendend schön,”⁸ and Fräulein Bertha was “ohne mächtig hervorstechende Reize.”⁹ Surely, Naubert here wants to make a distinction between a lifeless ‘beautiful woman’ on a pedestal and a woman with personality. Beauty is clearly a factor influencing these heroines’ plans and dreams, but not always for the best.

I began this study with the quote from “Otilie” and used it as symbol of the wish to learn, since it describes one of the most compelling questions, comparable to Faust’s wish to know about the forces of creation. To be even aware of such a question demands preliminary knowledge and education, which by the last quarter of the eighteenth century--Naubert’s time--was still difficult for women to receive. But the quote also expresses the notion that learning such great things are a temptation, a temptation Naubert’s heroines often reject. In rejecting such an incredible chance, Naubert does not

⁷ “Genoveve oder die Träume”. 37.

⁸ “Das stille Volk”. 48.

⁹ “Die weisse Frau”. 144.

symbolically reject 'Wissen-schaft,' science, or question the validity of such human curiosity. Rather, she cautions that only those with enough education and awareness of the responsibility should have such ambitions. Grimhilde's misuse of knowledge is an example of this warning. It is possible to follow Naubert's words of caution about learning and its ramifications--autonomy, self-assuredness, determination--throughout the text of the *Neue Volksmärchen*. But in the final analysis, these warnings can also be understood as encouragements. Telling the stories of these literary heroines, who are at once bold, timid, beautiful, ugly, magic, real, good and cruel, opens up other aspects of the fairy tale world than the one presented in tales such as the Grimms' or Musäus.'

Besides the unlucky Otilie or Genoveve, there are the forceful, independent Rose and Edda, and they are in the company of other determined characters, Emma and Beate. There are many allusions to books and to learning, but the most telling might be the inclusion of books in the Nibelungen treasure and Grimhilde's experience with books: the wish to learn is only the beginning of the journey, there is no final state of knowledge and, most important for Benedikte Naubert's ideals of learning, it involves a responsibility for its use.

Even though many of the historical witches were stubborn, unruly, and sometimes even rather nasty individuals, witches were also made of other stuff than old age and a non-conforming temperament. Anne Hibbens shines as real-life example of this kind of woman: hard working, intelligent, demanding attention. Maybe she was beautiful. Benedikte Naubert created some women characters of this spirit in her fairy tales. Issues

of education for women, how entrepreneurial women are, and how their physical beauty can be a hindrance to their autonomy are carefully exposed in the tales.

Since the title of Naubert's collection of tales promises "Märchen," one expects princesses and witches, but if one expects the meanest of the meanest of women, there are none to be found. The surprising discovery is that in Naubert's tales even the most demonic character has a life-story that makes her a real woman, rather than simply an imprint of evil. Naubert's witches are in their 'fairy tale reality,' close to the historical, real women-witches, who were human beings with individual life-stories. And as with the historical witches, Naubert's tales show that often the non-conforming, independent woman's striving for autonomy is deemed unacceptable. Naubert is aware of the woman's position of her time, especially the scholarly woman. She was sympathetic to women who simply sought independence and were determined try to find their way in society. Her fairy tale-witches provide, ironically, realistic images of woman of her time.

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Appendix A

Summaries of Benedikte Naubert's *Neue Volksmärchen der Deutschen*

The following summaries of Benedikte Naubert's tales are arranged chronologically as they were published in four volumes between 1789 and 1792 in Leipzig at the Weygandsche Buchhandlung.

Volume I: 1789

Das Stille Volk
Der kurze Mantel
Otilie
Die Legende von Sankt Julian

Das stille Volk

Beate von Meerfeld is raised in Italy and comes to Germany as the wife of Ritter Gerhard von Ravensburg. She is beautiful, light hearted and playful. In Germany she tries to modernize much of the old castle's interior. She feels especially uncomfortable in the big bedroom, but her husband insists on staying. Misfortunes occur: one of her Italian friends dies, so does her firstborn son. Bored and feeling rejected she starts to lead a life of promiscuity in her husband's absence. When more accidents happen, her daughter's nursemaid, Gertraud, tells her about the castle's other inhabitants, the "quiet people".

The quiet people are an old family of elves. They can be sweet and helpful but are very dangerous when provoked. They don't like changes. Beate interferes with them in many ways. She is offensive simply because she was born on a day unacceptable to the elves; her wishes to modernize are against their very nature. But Beate ridicules Gertraud's story and the nursemaid mysteriously dies. Finally, Beate convinces her husband to leave the castle, and they live at the Emperor's court in Regensburg.

Beate's daughter, Helen, who, unlike her mother, is quiet and introvert, stays peacefully at the castle and lives in complete harmony with the elves. She marries Heinrich, and they live in Ravensburg, blessed with good fortune. In the world of the elves there is a counterpart of Helen and Heinrich: the elves' matriarch has a niece, also named Helen. Elf-Helen was married on the same day as Helen and eventually sons are born to both of them on the same day. Their lives are now intimately connected; elf-Helen even renounces her immortality, so she can die with Helen.

After many years Frau Beate returns to Ravensburg. Old and no longer beautiful, she tries to control life in the castle according to her wishes. When Helen is about to give birth, Beate moves her out of the traditional bedroom. This highly upsets the elves, especially because elf-Helen is about to have her child at the same time. When the elves act as poltergeister and fly through the castle they scare Beate. Her screams shock her daughter so much that she dies, and so elf-Helen dies as well. When Helen is buried, her

counterpart from the elf-world is buried at the same time. then the elves leave the castle forever. When Heinrich returns, he finds nothing but an empty house, his wife dead and his children gone; he goes to war, never to return. Beate is left with the blame for all misfortune.

Der kurze Mantel

Morgane and Guenevre, sister and wife respectively of King Arthur, are in a fight over an insult done by Morgane. The beautiful young orphan Genelas from Wales is caught in the crossfire between the two proud and temperamental ladies when she is used as a spy by Queen Guenevre. Innocent in the ways of courts and intrigues, Genelas is blamed of conspiracy and is sent from the court. Wandering aimlessly through the English countryside she is taken in by the friendly Rose and stays with her. They happily live in the little house, but are occasionally bothered by a mean neighbor. Rose explains why this neighbor is so mean.

Magdalena is the daughter of an aunt with whom Rose was forced to live after her parents' death. Rose is the protégé of a magical wise woman, Frau Holle or Hulda, who lives in the house. Magdalena is lazy, mean and jealous of everything Rose has or does. She and her mother try to steal everything from Rose, including her 'magic helper', her fiancé Martin and the results of her hard work. Rose's most ardent wish is to learn a trade and become independent and finally marry Martin. Hulda teaches her the skill of weaving and spinning and through hard work Rose becomes wealthy. She elopes with Martin and they settle in England where they live happily, working and helping the sick and poor. A few years later Magdalena also comes to England as the wife of a soldier. Magdalena's husband dies and she is very ill, but Rose helps her and settles her in a house nearby. Magdalena has not changed and, jealous of Rose's happiness, she poisons her marriage through vicious talk.

Working the countryside as a psychic Magdalena becomes known to many, including Guenevre. Jealous of the friendship between Rose and Genelas, Magdalena influences Guenevre to call Genelas back to court, hoping to get her into some trouble. However, at a court feast the luck is finally turning in Genelas' and Rose's favor. A cloak is brought in by a mysterious knight in a white suit: it will fit the one who is faithful and blameless in character. The cloak only fits Genelas. She marries Kardos and they take Rose with them when they move to Scotland.

Ottilie

Ottilie's mother is the wife of Herr Röhrich in the Alsace. When he tires of his wife, Kunegunde becomes his consort. To marry Röhrich, Kunegunde plans to make sure that the Queen dies in childbirth. But the queen is warned in a dream about the plot against her and runs away in an icy cold December night. With the help of the Queen of heaven, Marie, she gives birth to a girl, names her Ottilie and dies. Young Ottilie, raised in a heavenly place on the moon, is beautiful and well behaved. At age seven she is told

that if she wants to stay in this privileged place she must renounce curiosity, stubbornness and pride. (Vorwitz, Eigensinn und Stolz.) Otilie fails the test on curiosity when a mysterious stranger shows her the planet Earth, strange and tempting against the black sky. She is banned from heaven and is given just one chance to call on Marie for help.

Kunegunde meanwhile had confessed her intrigues on her deathbed. Röhrich now wants his daughter back. A dream tells him that Otilie is waiting for him at her mother's grave. He takes her to the court and a new life begins for Otilie for which she is ill prepared. Marie had taught her to be modest, meek, compliant and not curious, but Otilie never understood the meaning of these instructions. Unable to understand why she should choose a husband she does not love, she finally chooses someone she likes quite well - unknowingly she had chosen her half-brother, her father's natural child, and therefore unsuitable for marriage. She scolds her father bitterly for not giving her brother his rightful place in the kingdom and is then banned to a faraway castle.

While crying about the sadness of her fate she hears a voice singing. She follows the voice and meets a beautiful stranger who seems to be her soul-mate. His promises are almost unbearable to resist: he could free her from her imprisonment, he loves her, promises her ultimate knowledge, eternal life - but she refuses. She now doubles her efforts to tame her rebellious spirit. She even agrees to marry the despicable groom her father had chosen for her. But when she overhears a plot, led by the groom, to kill her brother and offer his head to her as a wedding present, she flees in horror. When she cries out for help to Marie, the mountain opens and she disappears into it - giving the mountain its name, Ottilienberg.

Die Legende von Sankt Julian

At the time of emperor Sigismund, the French knight Gangolf, settles at the Eckardsburg near Eisleben, leading an exemplary life of fair rule and spiritual contemplation. He is quite old and his wife Cäcilie young and beautiful. To dispel boredom Cäcilie has many affairs. Her favorite suitor is Nimrod von Wettstein, a wild hunter and big fighter with a darkly tanned face and the strength of a few lions. Rumors are that he has a pact with the devil, permitting him three free shots a day, which would deliver venison from every part of the world.

Cäcilie laughs off Gangolf's suspicions about her secret affairs and to prove her innocence she even offers to submit to a trial by ordeal. Against Gangolf's warnings she dips her arms and hands in the water of a creek - and they are terribly destroyed. In spite of this warning she does not change her life style. When Gangolf dies after being struck by lightning, Cäcilie marries the devilish Nimrod - who unwittingly becomes Gangolf's avenger: Nimrod is so jealous that he holds her a virtual prisoner in the castle. But he is taking good care of a youth, whom he thinks is Gangolf's son. He gives him a good education and secures his heritage. Otherwise, Nimrod exploits his subjects and Cäcilie now suffers under the tyrannical husband who keeps her locked up at the castle. They

both die a violent death during a hunt when the wild, invisible army is rushing through the forest.

Gangolf's son, Julian, eventually becomes the legendary Saint, whose prayer helps lost pilgrims to find their way.

Volume II: 1791

Ermann und Marie, ein Nachtrag zu den Legenden von Rübezahl
 Das Oldenburgische Horn
 Die hamelschen Kinder oder das Märchen vom ritter St. Georg

Erdmann und Marie (Part 2: Ludlams Höle)

Marie's mother, also named Marie, grows up in a small village in England, Farnham, Surrey. At her wedding the village loans the young couple a house and some land to live and work for two years. At the wedding at Waverley Abbey the villagers take a big copper kettle along to prepare the food for the party. An old man at the wedding party tells the story of the pot:

Friendly Mother Ludlam lived in a cave three miles from Farnham and gave away everything she had. But people were not grateful, so she started to just loan things. If the objects were not returned when promised the punishment was harsh. To get the item requested meant to follow specific instructions, including the exact date of returning the object. A young groom borrowed the kettle and neglected to return it on time. He was found dead in his bed and mother Ludlam was gone.

Marie's father, Richard, is secretly borrowing money from Ludlam, and gets deeper and deeper into debts. He had borrowed until he had to borrow from others to pay Ludlam back. When Marie's mother sells the house to pay her, Ludlam wants to have little Marie instead. When her mother refuses Ludlam disappears. But little Marie finds a silver ring and Ludlam tells her in a dream to keep it as helper. Richard, his wife and daughter Marie, leave England and settle in Germany.

Das oldenburgische Horn

An old prophecy tells of the Dukes of Oldenburg conquering the three nordic crowns, Scandinavia. Possession of the Golden Drinking Horn would help entice the owner to brutally pursue this goal. The horn is given to Graf Otto by the beautiful maiden Swana, but it is filled with a strange liquid, looking like the blood of a slain person. The maiden predicts fights and loss of land, unless 'saved by women.'

The prophecy is almost forgotten until Otto's grandson, the mild and peaceful Huno, is forced to deal with it. Violence, corruption and wars plague his country and,

finally, the power-hungry Adalbert, Bishop of Bremen, seizes Oldenburg. Huno and his family are forced to flee. Amidst all this Huno's wife Guilla and his sister Rixa are determined to fight for peace and their families.

Huno's son Friedrich goes through many trials and adventures. He retrieves the golden horn from the occupied castle in Oldenburg - a dangerous mission, and Rixa, Huno's sister keeps it for him. But now he meets the spirit of the horn, the maiden Swana, who tries to entice him to seek the 'nordic crowns'. Friedrich desperately falls in love with her. His infatuation with Swana is healed when he confides in his parents and his mother warns him of the horn's dangerous temptation. Years of uncertainty follow. When Friedrich fights a lion in his father's place, Swana appears again to help him. When he refuses she disappears. Finally they are allowed to return to Oldenburg. The maiden of the horn interferes in his life one last time. He decides to marry the Danish princess Swanhildis, who looks very much like Swana. But Swanhildis suddenly dies before the wedding - the last revenge of the horn's mistress. He becomes a good and fair ruler and his cousin Elimar marries his sister Adika. Rixa, Guilla and Adika are the women who saved the land, as prophesied to Otto.

Die hamelschen Kinder, oder das Märchen vom Ritter St. Georg

Winnifred, the wife of Ritter Albret of Coventry, dreams that she will give birth to a dragon who will then kill her. Albret decides to ask a sorceress in a forest to interpret the dream. The sorceress tells him that the dragon means that the son will be as strong and unconquerable as a dragon but the son's birth will be Winnifred's death. Albret is devastated by this news and forgets to pay the witch, who calls after him that she would 'make sure to get her reward'.

As predicted, Winnifred dies and the child, Georg, is raised in a monastery. When he is seven years old a snake snatches him away from just outside the safety of the monastery's compound. She is the witch from the forest. She keeps the child for fifty years at her side, using him for her rejuvenation. She transforms into a snake from time to time and while she is in this state she is captured and stuck into a bag by a strange looking fellow, leaving Georg to his own devices.

Many years and adventures go by. George is reunited with his father, they travel together to the continent and the father teaches Georg much about life. When the father dies Georg is taken into the house of the mayor of Hameln. Together with other children Georg is taken prisoner by Thilo Hallad, pied piper and sorcerer, who did not receive his reward for cleansing the city from a terrible infestation of rats and mice. The snake/witch is still imprisoned in Thilo's bag. When she asks Georg to let her out, Georg, although suspicious when he recognizes her voice, decides to believe her promise to help him. He sets her free and she keeps her promise: she kills the sorcerer, helps the children escape and disappears forever.

Volume III: 1792

Die Fischer (no summary, see analysis in Chapter Three, and Conclusion)
 Die weisse Frau
 Jungfernsprung und Rosstrab
 Der Müller von Eisenbüttel
 Erbkönigs Tochter

Die weisse Frau

When the groom of seventeen year old Fräulein Bertha dies mysteriously on their wedding day, she is criticized by her relatives for her poor choice of a future husband, and so she comes to live at her uncle Mathias von Rosenberg's castle. She is often sad over the loss of groom and family, but is a good hostess for her uncle's household.

One night, while playing the lute and crying in her room, she is visited by an older woman, all dressed in white, who introduces herself as Bertha. She does not say much but visits her quite often and young Bertha likes her and feels drawn to her. In another night Frau Bertha leads young Bertha to a library in a remote part of the castle, but disappears at the stroke of midnight in front of a big door. Bertha now remembers hearing about libraries and archives in the castle and since she is intensely curious about the identity of the mysterious woman, she hopes to find answers behind the doors to which the woman led her. She asks her uncle for permission to enter the libraries. He agrees but teases her that with such interests she should be a boy. In the library Bertha finds the story of the woman in white, written in her own hand:

She is Bertha von Rosenberg, her parents were of high nobility in the times of emperor Sigismund. When her parents died she lost everything, honor, wealth and security. Instead of at the emperor's court she is raised in a dark and lonely castle in the forest. Her guardians remind her daily that she is poor and that her only choice in life is the convent. Those around her inspired her with nothing but sadness and melancholy, crushed all joy, leaving her utterly despondent. To alleviate this state of sadness she studies dead languages and mysticism. But suddenly she is married off to the friendly and noble Freiherr von Lichtenstein. Unable to overcome her profound listlessness she drives him away and enters an incestuous relationship with her brother. When her husband dies she regrets her harshness bitterly and spends the rest of her life taking care of the poor and her sister's children. As the ghostly Woman in White she warns young Bertha of a life wasted in mourning, and promises to watch over her and provide her with a new groom.

Alas, as ghostly match-maker she makes a bad choice in trying to couple the serious and quiet Bertha with the fifteen year old hot headed Prince von B.... The prince, however, having misbehaved enough in many ways, dies soon in a rather mysterious riding accident. Young Bertha marries Heinrich von Rosenberg and gives birth to a boy within a year. The Woman in White, sometimes annoyingly, always watches over her and her family.

Jungfernsprung und Rosstrab

Genebald, Ritter Markard's butler, has embezzled most of Markard's possessions. The knight's daughter, Hedwig, is young and pretty and in love with a poor knight. When Markard is on his deathbed Genebald talks him into marrying Hedwig to his son, also called Genebald. The father agrees, hoping to get help in his financial problems. Genebald, father and son are pleased only because Hedwig's noble birth would improve their own standing in society. The old Genebald dies of gluttony during the wedding celebration and Hedwig's father a few month later from grief.

Hedwig is unhappy about the forced marriage, but she is also not willing to simply submit to her fate just to please others. Her husband, the young Genebald is not bad looking, but he is a simpleton. To impress his wife he writes letters of defiance (Fehdebriefe) to himself, then fights fierce battles deep in the forest against trees and shrubs. After a while Hedwig discovers the trick, since nothing but his shield ever gets damaged. Disguised as a man she confronts him in the forest and easily disarms the completely flustered Genebald. He is ordered to remain in the forest until dusk, since Hedwig wants to spend some time with her lover and laugh about the adventure.

Genebald's humiliation becomes unbearable when he finally comes home and finds his wife's lover sitting in his place at the table, and everybody in great merriment. Genebald leaves the castle, feeling much shame. Crying he sits by a river when a monk comes by and encourages him to go home, face his wife and his rival and start learning and improving his intelligence. And Genebald listens: he orders the surprised Hedwig to do penance in a convent, fights his rival just to teach him a lesson then enters the emperor's services as soldier. When he returns eighteen years later, Hedwig had just died but left him a beautiful daughter, Emma.

However, even though Genebald had won knighthood in the emperor's service, his character had not improved. All he now aims for is to marry off his daughter to the highest bidder, in money and status. Emma loves the poor and brave knight Wilhelm from a neighboring castle, but Genebald decides to marry her to an old uncle who has the correct title. On the way to the wedding Emma escapes on Wilhelm's beautiful 'silvery horse'. Pursued by some members from the party she reaches one side of a deep canyon. Without the slightest hesitation the horse makes the daring leap to the other side, then carries her safely to Wilhelm's castle. The two mountains, flanking the canyon, henceforth are called Jungfernsprung and Rosstrab.

Der Müller von Eisenbüttel

Markgraf Egbert is a long-time enemy of emperor Heinrich IV. When Egbert is on the way to eliminate all his enemies once and for all, he and his servant are taking refuge in

the miller's house--and disappear forever. The miller, who is a good friend of Egbert, suspects his wife and secretly murders her. He then closes up his mill and settles, unrecognized by others, near Eichfeld.

Nearby is the monastery of Hülfenstein, which grew famous among the people because prayers made there were always answered. The abbott, Helso, is equally famous for his superior intelligence. Heinrich's sister Adelheid, abbess of Quedlinburg, covets the beautiful and prosperous monastery. During a drinking party with Heinrich, Helso agrees to give the place away, unless he, Helso, can answer three difficult questions, posed by the emperor. The miller, who is Helso's very good friend, answers the questions for him. Adelheid is angry that she lost in the game and decides to investigate the sudden disappearance of the miller's wife, whom she knew very well. For this task she enlists the help of the abbess of Bayern, St. Klara.

Klara goes to the mill, courageously spends the night there and releases the ghost, the miller's wife. The miller's wife had killed Egbert and his servant by letting them fall into the murderous machine. Then she was killed by her husband. Klara is barely escaping from the grisly assignment. It sets the legal proceedings against the miller in motion - but he disappears, rescued by the thankful monks of Hülfenstein. Over a hundred years later he still appears to merchants and pilgrims, trying to be helpful and atone for his sins.

Erlkönigs Tochter

The proud and beautiful Edda is the daughter of the king of a race of spirits living all over the Earth on abandoned islands and in places where Alders grow. The spirits are immortal and love humans. When Hiolm of Seeland is a twelve year-old youth, Edda discovers him on the island where she dances with her friends in moon light nights. He is sleeping behind a rosebush - and she falls in love with him. By her father's decree though, Edda is destined to marry the king of Scandinavia; and in addition the immortal Prince of the Island of Mona is in love with Edda. Edda refuses both suitors; the King of Scandinavia because she would lose her immortality and the Prince because he is so gloomy.

When Hiolm is eighteen he rescues Edda and her friend Thulis, the king of Thule's daughter, from pirates. Hiolm falls in love with Edda, who does not tell him who she is. With her full consent they get married on board his ship. Together, they overcome many problems: both fathers are unhappy with the marriage; the Prince of Mona seeks revenge for the rebuke; there are years of separation and financial hardships. But eventually Hiolm is made King of Thule and he and Edda live happily for many years.

Before Edda dies she gives Hiolm the golden goblet, telling him that drinking from it would help the pain of separation. Years later, Hiolm feels his end approach. He gives away all his possessions, but not the goblet. He takes one last drink from it, then throws it into the sea--and dies.

Volume VI: 1792

Genoveve oder die Träume

Die zwölf Ritter von Bern, oder das Märchen vom Hort der Nibelungen
Ottbert**Genoveve oder die Träume**

Genoveve is the daughter of the robber-knight, (Raubritter) Riddag von Riddagshausen, who leads a life of wasteful drinking and philandering. His wife, Marie, quietly performs her duties as a housewife. In a dream Saint Genoveve of Nanterre appears to her and tells her to name her daughter Genoveve. (The saint lived in the fifth century, close to Paris, and the Bishop of St. Germain consecrated her to celibacy.) When the emperor decides to put a stop to the robberies, Riddag's castle is burned to the ground and Marie with the six year old Genoveve barely escapes. She hopes to get refuge at her sister's castle. In a dream Marie learns that her sister is dead, but that her son Konrad is alive but missing. Marie's son Ruprecht, who was able to flee when his father's castle was burned, is missing as well. During their flight Marie is urged, again in a dream, by Saint Genoveve, to go to the Ardennerwald and Nanterre.

When Marie and Genoveve arrive at the Ardennerwald, it is thick and dark, but they find a real paradise when they cross a bridge over a deep stream. Arriving in a village they are greeted by a young shepherd who later turns out to be Genoveve's cousin, Konrad. Over the next few years the two women are able to buy a house, a few sheep and a dog and happily support themselves with their little business. Genoveve and Konrad meet and are inseparable friends - Konrad is deeply in love with Genoveve. Sigfried of Nanterre, the ruler of the country and interested in Marie and her daughter, invites them to live in his castle. A mutual interest develops between Genoveve and Sigfried's dashing nephew Rubin.

When Marie dies, the sixteen year old Genoveve marries Sigfried of Nanterre, who is over sixty years old. As his wife, Genoveve gives the job occupied by Rubin at the castle to Konrad and sends Rubin to a remote place. While Siegfried is on a pilgrimage, intrigue infiltrates life in the castle. Rubin is back at the castle and is enlisting the help of a confessor-monk to get Genoveve to accept his advances. When she refuses they plan a scheme of lies, accusing her of adultery, suicide and murder. When Sigfried returns finally from his long absence he finds the castle empty, his wife and his son reported dead, and his nephew killed in an accident. But Ruprecht, Genoveve's brother is summoned by a dream. Sigfried and Ruprecht find out the truth about her innocence by looking into a

magic mirror and are told that Genoveve and her son are hiding in a cave, deep in the forest.

When they all return to the castle, Genoveve asks Saint Genoveve to divide the remaining years of her life between her and Sigfried, so she would not outlive him. When she dies she becomes a saint, and 'heaven could not make up its mind which of the two Genoveves is to be preferred.'

Die zwölf Ritter von Bern oder das Märchen vom Hort der Nibelungen

Grimhilde is the beautiful daughter of king Gibich of Worms. He hates gold and prefers to wear a crown of iron or a wreath of flowers. Grimhilde loves flowers, especially roses, and makes sure her father's crown is always adorned with a rose. When her brother Gundacher marries princess Brunhilde from the Netherlands, Grimhilde learns about the immense treasure of gold and jewels in the possession of Brunhilde's father. Brunhilde mocks Grimhilde's joy in flowers and her simple dresses. When Grimhilde sees the glamour at the court of the Netherlands, her mind is forever set on possessing the famous treasure.

She realizes that the only way to the 'Nibelungengold' is to marry Brunhilde's brother Fradolf - Fradolf is called "Siegfried" in the Nibelungenlied. He is a scrawny old man, doing nothing else than to think of gold and guard the famous treasure. He had never really seen the treasure, since his father left it for him in beautifully decorated, locked trunks. Fradolf forbids his eager wife to open the boxes, but they both descend to the basement, look at them and Fradolf tells Grimhilde what each box, supposedly, contains. One of the trunks is covered with plain black leather and holds the biggest treasure of the Nibelungen: two books containing heavenly wisdom. Grimhilde is allowed to see these books - but she is not interested.

During this time Grimhild and Fradolf live at the court of Worms. Her three brothers meanwhile had conquered Burgundy and are on their way back. They send Hagen of Troy to inquire about life in Worms during their absence. Hagen finds that the greedy Fradolf had killed king Gibich, although unbeknownst to Grimhilde, and is now occupying the throne of Worms. Grimhilde, in her eagerness and greed had betrayed her former betrothed, the noble Rüdiger. Hagen kills Fradolf then rushes back to summon the brothers. The devilish monk Ilsan convinces Grimhilde that the treasure is hers alone, now that she is the widow of the original owner. From now on there are two opposing factions: Grimhilde and Ilsan versus her brothers and Hagen.

Ilsan and Grimhild now open the trunks - they are all empty, except the one containing the books. Grimhilde suspects Hagen to be the thief and swears bitter revenge. When she hears the Burgundians approach the castle she hides in the room where the treasure is kept. Having nothing else left to do, she starts reading.

She reads for three days then takes a bath which restores all her youthful and dazzling beauty. Simply by being beautiful she calms her brothers and the Burgundians. But when they realize that they were tricked, they leave the castle and let her know that they are convinced of her guilt in their father's murder. She now decides that Hagen and her brothers must be killed. But she also thinks that she possesses supernatural powers which she learned from the books. She creates a magic rose-garden, in which she entangles men and finally decides to capture and marry the old and famous King Etzel. Still desiring the treasure she suggests reconciliation with her brothers and Etzel invites her brothers and Hagen to a friendly tournament. They arrive with the twelve knights of Berne as part of their retinue. Grimhilde succeeds to inflame anger between the two parties, and it ends in a horrifying bloodbath. Hagen kills Grimhilde's son Ortlieb. The monk Ilsan is killed by Hagen. Grimhilde then kills Hagen and her brother Gundacher. She is finally killed by Hildebrand, one of the Bernese knights.

Ottbert

Albert, the cousin of Rudolf von Habsburg, is unjustly held prisoner in Parma for almost ten years. Although he is a very unpleasant person, who annoys and alienates everybody, he does not deserve this kind of treatment. When he is, almost accidentally, set free by a group of ladies during a big celebration at the castle, he knows that he still has enemies and has to fear for his life. To expose the plot against him, he tells the story of Ottbert, telling them that Ottbert is an ancestor, one of the first dukes of Habsburg.

“Ottbert has a son, also called Ottbert, and two natural children, Teuta and Humfried. The latter two are mean characters; Humfried is trying to cheat Ottbert out of his inheritance, Teuta is his partner in the hope to get her share of power and she is conniving and witch-like. The father often visits the old hermit Trutbert at Vindonissa, whom he respects and loves. Teuta and Humfried decide that young Ottbert and Trutbert must be removed, in order to manipulate old Ottbert out of his power. They provoke Trutbert to great anger with a hexed jug. Trutbert, thus losing the grace of forty years of penance, is extremely disturbed and flees to Egypt, searching for peace. When the father asks his son to search the world for the dear hermit, young Ottbert consults his cousin Albert, who is in touch with the supernatural. Albert is able to tell Ottbert the hermit's whereabouts. He also shows Ottbert a hammer and anvil in the basement of his castle: when Ottbert is needed at the castle, he will call him by striking the anvil several times, and it will be heard anywhere in the world. Of course Teuta and Humfried do not want Trutbert or Ottbert to ever come back.

Young Ottbert travels slowly, often hindered by Teuta's tricks, but he finally arrives in Egypt and finds the monastery where Trutbert is abbot. While he is waiting in the hot sun Ottbert eats one of the dates Teuta had given him. The date is magic and puts him into a pleasant state of oblivion, and he lives a pleasant life in the monastery. When the power fades Teuta sent another trick his way, a beautiful woman, whom he finds behind a bush when he is hunting. He is so enraptured that he disguises Aurelia and brings her into the monastery as Aurelius; he even convinces Trutbert to let them share a cell.

Meanwhile, Ottbert's father in Vindonissa is under Teuta's spells as well, and he has almost forgotten his son and Trutbert. Albert is imprisoned but manages to be led into the cellar and hit the anvil with the hammer. Ottbert hears the sound while standing between Trutbert and Aurelia. The three of them are transported back. During their passage Aurelia burns up in a fire of purification. They arrive in time to prevent Teuta and Humfried from taking over the kingdom."

Now Albert's listeners realize that he is the resourceful Albert from the story and and they flee, afraid of his powers. The story, told to shock and expose the enemies, accomplished its purpose.

Appendix B

Article by Achim von Arnim

Achim von Arnim in "Zeitung für Einsiedler", July 20, 1808, Nr. 32

This article is preceded by a legend, *Von Sante Otilien Leben. (Nach "Lombardica Historia" Msc. S. 101. Königshoven Straßburgische Chronik her von Schilter. Straßburg 1698, S. 515)*. Achim von Arnim contributed this legend to the "Einsiedler" as part of the effort to collect legends and fairytales "zur Wiederbelebung altdeutscher Dichtung"; discussed by Heinz Rölleke in *KHM gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm*, especially pp.1152-1153. Spelling and punctuation of my transcript below are left as in the original.

Diese Worte stehen als Umschrift der Kapsel über der heiligen Reliquien Hand der heiligen Attala, denn warum sollte uns das nicht heilig seyn, was an ein heiliges Leben erinnert, wie uns die Trümmern Roms groß sind, weil sie an ein großes Leben erinnern. Zur Vergleichung fällt uns hier eine sehr schöne Erzählung Otilie in den neuen Volksmärchen (Leipzig Weygand 1789-92, 4 Bände) in ganz anderm Sinne, minder ehrwürdig aber zierlich und tiefsinnig in Ergreifen des flachsten modernen Treibens, sie will nie ganz alterthümlich seyn. Diesen neuen Volksmärchen, die vielleicht durchaus keinen Fehler als eine alzu geregelte breite Sprache haben, ist das gewöhnliche Schicksal trefflicher Bücher begegnet aus Nachsprecherey irgend eines tonangebenden Kritikers immerdar verachtet zu seyn. Noch neulich giebt ihnen ein guter Schriftsteller Schuld, daß sie dem Musäus nicht glücklich nachgeahmt sind, unbegreiflich ist dies Verkennen einer reichen Eigenthümlichkeit, an die Musäus, ungeachtet seines Talents nie anreichen konnte, nicht zu gedenken, daß sie rein sind von den widrigen literarischen Anspielungen der Zeit, die zu den Zeiten des Musäus für Witz gelten mußten sie sind ein unbenutzter Stoff für Singspieldichter und Romanzensänger. Nie ist Kindergefühl so dargestellt worden wie in der Otilie, wie im Hiolm, in Walther und Maria, im St. Georg, nie der Ernst des schrecklichen Lebens wie im Ottbert, kein Heiligenkampf wie im Julian, kein Familienwesen wie im Stillen Volke - ich bin unerschöpflich in dem Lobe dieses Buches, das mir sehr traurige Nächte erhellte. Aus Dankbarkeit hoffe ich noch oft die Rechte des Sinnes gegen die Anmaßungen der Kritik zu verfechten, deren Nichtigkeit ich endlich ganz zum eigenen Bekenntniß bringe; die Kritik wird eingestehen, daß sie ihrer Natur nach Myserie gewesen, daß es ohne diese Myserie (wir brauchen das Wort um den Bock im Morgenblatt einwenig zu stutzen) bloße Täuschung sey, wo wir stille stehen, wohin wir fortschreiten mit einem universalhistorischen Gefühle für alle anzunehmen und der Welt also ganze Klassen Eindrücke aufzubürden - oder in ihrem Namen aufzugeben, was doch nur für den einen mückentanzenden Sonnenradius ohne Breite und Tiefe gilt, den der Kritiker in sich darstellt. Es wird sich zeigen, daß alle Kritik über das Mitlebende Scherz ist, es giebt darinn nur ein Anerkennen, ein Hinführen zum Anerkennen, und doch ist dies meist selbst überflüssig, die Würdigung ist nicht die Wirkung der Schrift, die immer ein Wunder bleibt, man mag sie nach Pestalozzi oder Olivier lernen, ein Wunder wie alle

Ansicht der Natur in ihrer Neuheit bei jeder Entdeckung, beim ersten absichtslosen Verse, den wir machen, wir erstaunen über uns, Indier und Perser erkannten das auch, wie wir gesehen haben, uns sucht die Erziehung das Wunderbarste gewöhnlich zu machen. weil sie keine Wunder thun kann. Um die Leerheit der Kritik darzuthun, die mit einem paar Einfällen ausstaffiert, alles Wunderbare übersehen, und die Bemühungen ganzer Völker berichtigen will, haben wir auf dem Umschlage des vorigen Hefts ein altes Gespräch über deutsche und welsche Wirthshäuser zur Vergleichung deutscher und italjänischer Sonette abgedruckt, nicht als wenn das wirklich paßte, nur um zu zeigen, wie alles in der Welt durch Kritik und zur Kritik abgenutzt werden kann.

Appendix C

Essay by Benedikte Naubert

The following essay by Benedikte Naubert was published in "Journal für deutsche Frauen von deutschen Frauen geschrieben", Besorgt von Wieland, Rochlitz und Seume. Leipzig: Heft 10, Oktober 1805. 46-71. Spelling and punctuation are kept as in the original, including the French accents.

Sevigne, Deshoulieres, Dacier, oder die goldene Lyra

Auf jener Flur entsant sie Phöbus Hand.
Wo Lyda weidete. die *ungesucht* sie fand.

Um die Mitte des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts, ungefähr gegen das Jahr 1636, lud die Marquise de Sevigne an einem festlichen Tage Mademoiselle de Scudery zu sich, um einem gewählten Cirkel von Freunden und Freundinnen einige Stellen aus ihrem neuesten Romane, ich weiß nicht, war es Artamenes oder Almahide, vorzulesen. Ach, diese Romane waren so voluminös, daß man sie nur stellenweise genießen konnte! Doch sie waren damals in der Mode, und ihre Weitschweifigkeit überstieg nicht allzusehr die Geduld des Publikums.

Ohne Einladung der Marquise, und diesmal gewiß gegen den Wunsch der gutmüthigen Dame, erschienen nach und nach auch einige andere Personen, die der guten Scudery die zgedachte Freude verdarben, einmal ganz allein unter denen zu seyn, die ihr Publikum ausmachten; es erschien der Verfasser des Cid, der große Corneille, es erschien ein Gelehrter aus der Provinz, der berühmte le Fevre, ein Mann, der mehr Geschmack für Wahrheit als romantische Dichtung hatte, es trat endlich auch ein der alte Moliere und mit ihm der Gedanke an seine *Pretiösen*, die gestern mit dem lautesten Beifall gegeben worden waren. Viele der Damen waren im Schauspiele gewesen, manches weibliche Genie, das sich nicht ganz sicher wußte, hüllte sich in doppelten Schleier. Leise steckte die Scudery ihre Hefte beiseite, und begann sich emsig mit einer weiblichen Arbeit zu beschäftigen, die sie sehr übel verfertigte. Viele der jüngeren anwesenden, die Scuderys Romane, besonders von ihr selbst gelesen, nicht ungerne hörten, murrten heimlich, und die edle Savigne warf auf alle einen mitleidigen Blick.

Die vorgehabte Lust war gestört, man beschäftigte sich so gut man konnte. Herr le Fevre hatte seine Gemahlin, eine junge lebenswürdige Frau ohne alle Ansprüche, mit

sich gebracht, und diese legte ihre kleine Tochter der Marquise, ihrer Pathe, in die Arme. Anne le Fevre, kaum ein Jahr alt, war das schönste Kind, das man sehen kann, und gab, während die Männer mit ihrem Gespräch schon tief in den Wissenschaften waren, den Frauen hinlängliche Unterhaltung, indessen die jüngeren Leute einen schönen Knaben von ungefähr fünf Jahren, den Zögling des Herrn le Fevre, zwischen sich genommen hatten; es war der junge Andre Dacier, der durch seine naiven Antworten einen Geist verrieth, welchen in der Folge nur tiefe Gelehrsamkeit mit Wolken umschleiern konnte.

An einem Fenster stand das liebenswürdigste Paar im ganzen Saale: ein junger Mann, von damals noch unberühmtem Namen, Johann Racine, und ein reizendes Mädchen, Antoinette du Ligiers. Sie sprachen sehr emsig, und es war unmöglich zu verkennen, wie die aufblühende Schönheit von achtzehn Jahren den neunzehnjährigen Jüngling interessierte.

Stand und Glück beider war verschieden, die Sache schien nicht gefährlich; er, ein junger Dichter, der sich vor kurzem erst durch eine wohlgerathene Ode¹ auf die Vermählung des Königs ein kleines Einkommen gewonnen hatte, das ihn in den Stand setzte, ein Talent, dessen Größe er selbst schwerlich ahnete, auszubilden; sie, eine junge Dame von großem Hause, von ansehnlichem Vermögen, und die versprochene Braut des Herrn Deshoulieres. Auch betrafen bei diesen Verhältnissen ihre Gespräche nichts, was einige lauschende Tanten hätte beunruhigen können.

Racine sagte der reizenden Antoinette nichts weiter, als einige verbindliche Worte über ein Kleinod in Gestalt einer Lyra, das sie im braunen, lockigen Haar trug - ein niedliches Epigramm, das wörtlich nicht auf uns gekommen ist, das aber der Sage nach, ungefähr den Sinn der Worte des alten Dichters haben mochte, welche wir schon erwähnt haben.

Auf jener Flur entfiel sie Phöbus hand
Wo Lyda weidete, die *ungesucht sie fand*.

Man konnte nichts wahrers, nicht passenders sagen. Antoinette war die süßeste Dichterin; der zarteste Ton der ländlichen Poesie, der zauberischen Idylle, war ihr Eigenthum, und ungesucht, ungesucht hatte sie das himmlische Saitenspiel gefunden. Die Natur war ihre einzige Lehrerin. Regellos und wild waren die ersten Versuche der holden Sappho, aber man sah, man fühlte hier keinen Fehler wider Regeln, die Antoinette nie gelernt hatte; man berauschte sich an ihren süßen Gefühlen, in ihren zauberischen Bildern, und - die Schönheit des Mundes, der so sang, gab den Vorzügen dieser Lieder keinen kleinen Zusatz.

Sie waren wenigen bekannt; Racine hatte durch Zufall, durch schalkhaften Raub, durch freundschaftliche Verrätherei einer Freundin Antoinettens vielleicht, sich zum Eigner einiger ihrer Idyllen gemacht, und in reizender Bestürzung stand sie jetzt ihm gegenüber. Sie fühlte die ganze Feinheit eines Lobes, das ihr aus diesem Munde, so

¹ Racinens Ode führte den titel. la Nimphe de la Seine: sie brachte ihm hundert goldne Louis und eine Pension von sechshundert Livres ein.

unberührt er noch war, unmöglich mißfallen konnte, und die glühende Röthe, die ihr schönes Gesicht überzog, gab ihr so sehr das Ansehen einer Person, die durch eine nicht unwillkommene Liebeserklärung überrascht wird, daßman in einer nicht allzugroßen, nicht übermäßig beschäftigten Gesellschaft, aufmerksam werden mußte.

Deshoulieres, der Verlobte des schönen Mädchens, war gegenwärtig; ohne Eifersucht, doch aufmerksam trat er herzu. Die Tanten drangen auf Erklärung. Racine schwieg voll Beschämung, Antoinette ward noch röther, Madame de Sevigne, die das Ganze errieth, mischte sich in die Sache, und so geschah es, daß die junge bescheidene Dichterin - nicht um noch mehr Lob einzuerndten, nein, um sich zu rechtfertigen, alles gestehen, endlich sogar erlauben mußte, daß die Marquise einige ihrer Gedichte, die in ihrer Hand waren, hervorsuchte, und sie mit der Liebe, mit dem Wohl laut, die der Grund ihres Wesens waren, der horchenden Gesellschaft vorlas. Arme Antoinette! Welch ein Schicksal, sich vor Corneille, vor Moliere, vor der berühmten Scudery vorlesen zu hören! - Wie mitleidig wird der Verfasser des Cid die Reime eines achtzehnjährigen Mädchens ansehen! Moliere wird wenigstens heimlich an sein letztes Stück denken! Und die Scudery - ? Ach was sind einige Strophen gegen so viele Bände!

Die Beschämung, die Antoinette besorgte, erfolgte nicht. Corneille lächelte beifällig, Moliere versicherte, in einer Bescheidenheit, die so sorgfältig verhehlte, was andere zur Schau trügen, das reizende Gegenbild zu seiner Pretiösen gefunden zu haben, und Scudery betheuerte mit einer Gutmüthigkeit, die ihr häßliches Gesicht ungemein verschönerte, sie wolle der jungen Dichterin gern ihre dicke Clelie für eine einzige ihrer Idyllen hingeben.

Nur Eins, setzte sie hinzu, nur Eins erlauben Sie einer ältern Freundin zu bemerken. Noch zu ungebildet ist Ihr herrliches Talent; lernen Sie nach Regeln, was Ihnen die Natur regellos gab; schmücken Sie aus, umschreiben Sie, wo sie nicht anders können. Nicht aller Geschmack ist fein genug für Quintessenzen; nicht fein genug, um die Fülle des Gefühls, in wenig geistige Tropfen concentrirt, ganz genießen zu können.

O, ums Himmels Willen, rief Corneille, umschreiben Sie *nicht*; feilen Sie lieber, concentriren Sie noch mehr! Wir hassen bogenlange Ausarbeitungen einer Dame!

Und bilden Sie nicht zu viel an einem Talent, das Ihnen die Muse so rein und treu darbot: Sie möchten es verbilden; sagte ganz leise der bescheidene Racine.

Und feilen Sie erst dann, wenn Sie nicht mehr schön sind, setzte Moliere hinzu; einer schönen Hand wird jeder Mißgriff auf der goldenen Lyra veziehen!

Sehr galant war, was der verbindliche Greis sagte, ob auch wahr? - Was kümmert das die Männer bei ihren Complimenten!

Antoinette hatte hier keine Stimme; sie schwieg, aber der laute Beifall hatte ihr Herz nicht verfehlt; der Rath ward in Ueberlegung genommen: welcher? - das entschied die Liebe.

Dehoulieres, entzückt, in dem angebeteten Mädchen auch die Dichterin zu sehen, stahl ihr heimlich alle ihre Idyllen, und da diese bald in den Händen des ganzen Hofes waren, so pränumerierte man der Verfasserin geschwind den Namen einer gelehrten Dame.

Gütiger Gott, welch ein Wort, kluge Bescheidenheit von jedem unschuldigen Versuch in die tiefste Dunkelheit zurückzuschrecken! Welch ein Wort, thörichte Einbildung zu den gewagtesten Dingen zu beflügeln

Zum Glück waren unter denen, welche die neue Muse kennen lernten, auch unbestochene Forscher; nicht alle hatten die schöne Antoinette gesehen, nicht alle liebten sie, weil sie schön war. An der Seite des Beifalls und der Bewunderung erhob sich auch mancher, ach so gerechte Tadel, daß Deshoulieres, der an der Gottheit keinen Tadel leiden konnte, darauf drang, Antoinetten schulgerecht Unterricht in der Kunst geben zu lassen, die sie die Natur so schön, so ganz befriedigend zu ihrem Glück, gelehrt hatte.

Madame de Sevigne fand sie einst an der Seite ihres Lehrers, des Dichters Henault. Was machst Du, mein Kind? rief sie. Du zählst Sylben? du zerkäuest Federn? du streichst aus? willst du verderben, was du ungebessert lassen solltest?

Aber, Madam, wie können diese Verse sich in dieser Form sehen lassen?

Sie sollen sich gar nicht sehen lassen! Für deinen Deshoulieres, für deine Freundinnen ist der reine Ausfluß deines Herzens das beste; singe ihnen deine Lieder mit deiner bezaubernden Stimme, und sie werden entzückt seyn. Und mein Gott! Wie lang! Willst du denn mit aller Gewalt der armen Scudery gleichen?²

Die gute Scudery, fuhr die Marquise fort, ist so häßlich, daß sie uns bloß durch ihren Geist interessieren kann, und ihre Schreibereien sind so lang, daß wir sie bloß aushören, weil wir ihr gut sind. Um zu gefallen, brauchst du weder bloß zu unserm Verstande, noch viel weniger zu unserer Nachsicht Zuflucht zu nehmen; du gefällst durch dein liebenswürdiges Selbst, und Gefallen ist nicht allein der Wunsch des Weibes, nein, auch seine Bestimmung.

Gefallen, Madam, aber wodurch? Einem Mann von Geist, wie mein Deshoulieres!- Nichts unvollendetes hält bei ihm die Probe, besonders wenn sich die angebetete Braut in die alltägliche Ehefrau verwandelt hat!

Du gefällst ihm dann gar nicht mehr durch steife Erudition. Du wirst dann die Fürstin seines Hauses, die Mutter seiner Kinder seyn, keine Dichterin.

O meine Gönnerin, nur ein wenig Poesie, wenn ich bitten darf, in die fade Alltäglichkeit des Lebens!

Nur keine *studierte*, Antoinette! Die heitre Phantasie, die dir überall ein Elisium bildet, die dich mitten in einem verderbten Zeitalter in einer unschuldigen Hirtenwelt leben läßt, die dich selbst Sitten lehrt, die des goldnen Alters würdig sind, diese ist dein, diese erhalte dir. Eigentliche Schriftstellerei ist dazu unnötig. - Dein Mann kommt nach Hause: du vernachlässigst ihn über eine Strophe, die dir noch zum Gemälde des häuslichen Glücks fehlt! Deine Kinder rufen nach dir: du fertigst sie kurz ab, weil du den Kopf voll Ideen zu einem vortrefflichen Erziehungs-Plane hast! Ach, und Gott, welche gelehrte Falten auf dieser jetzt so heitern Stirn.! Wie sieht man diesem schönen Kopfe die Beugung am

² Wie wenig Vorzüge die Gestalt der guten Scudery hatte, das beweist folgendes kleine Gedicht von ihr, auf ihr von Nanteuil gefertigtes Portrait.

Nanteuil, en faisant mon image.

A de son art divin signale de pouvoir:

Je hais mes traits dans mon miroir:

Je les aime dans son ouvrage!

Schreibtisch an! Wie leidet deine Gesundheit! Um deinen Pflichten nichts zu rauben, opferst du am Ende die Zeit unschuldiger Erholung der Feder! Opferst ihr vielleicht die Nacht und den frühesten Morgen!

Also dürfte eine Dame nie die Feder führen? Führt sie nicht die unterrichtete Sevigne selbst?

Unterrichtet bin ich, auch führe ich die Feder, und werde sie, trennt mich das Schicksal einmal von meiner Tochter, noch fleißiger führen; aber nur für sie, nicht zum Prunk.

Und ist nicht meine gelehrte Freundin mehr als unterrichtet?

Vielleicht, Antoinette! Aber niemand weiß davon, als allenfalls du und meine alten Lehrer. Das unnöthige Gerüste von Wissenschaften, die das Weib nicht braucht, ist abgebrochen, und sorgfältig versteckt, denn das heitre Gebäude steht da, das man, unter uns gesagt, mit leichten Kosten hätte ausführen können; es ist, frohe, genau berechnete Erfüllung meiner Pflichten, Wachsamkeit auf die Bildung meiner Kinder und - Muth im Unglück! Glaube mir, manche ganz gewöhnliche Frau übertrifft mich darin!

Die Marquise verließ Antoinetten mit einer Thräne im Auge; das Andenken an ihre Leiden, die nicht gemein waren, obgleich ihr hoher Muth den größten Theil derselben der Welt gänzlich zu entziehen wußte, erschütterte sie zu sehr, um eine Untersuchung fortsetzen zu können, die bei dem jungen Mädchen wenig fruchtete, wenig fruchten konnte, da all ihre andern Rathgeber der entgegengesetzten Meinung waren.

Die meisten Verwandten Antoinettens, besonders die Damen, drangen auf das Streben nach dem höchsten Gipfel eines Beifalls, der ihrer Eitelkeit weit mehr schmeichelte, als der jetzt noch unbefangenen Dichterin; wie die Verwandten riethen, so auch der Verlobte, so noch viel mehr der Lehrer, so am meisten Mademoiselle Scudery, die in einem aufblühenden Genie ihren eignen Frühling wieder zu finden glaubte. Antoinette mußte sich also entschließen, den schönen, den blumigten Pfad zu verlassen, den sie bisher betreten hatte, und der so gut auf weibliche Kräfte, auf weibliche Tugend berechnet war. Sie forschte, sie fühlte, wie viel ihr noch zu der neuen Laufbahn fehlte, die man ihr vorzeichnete. Sie war schon achtzehn Jahr, und sollte von neuem zu lernen beginnen. Und muß ich, muß ich denn all diese Tiefen ergründen, fragte sie, um etwas zu seyn? Kann, darf das Weib diese dornigen Pfade wandeln? Winkt ihr der Kranz der Vollendung nicht weit näher, im Arm des liebenden Gatten? im Kreise blühender Kinder?

Die junge Gemahlin des Herrn le Fevre, Antoinettens Busenfreundin, versicherte, sie habe ihr Glück sehr leicht auf diese Art gefunden, und gern möchte sie ihre kleine Annette den nehmlichen Weg führen, aber leider forderten manche Männer mehr, und Herr le Fevre bestehe darauf, dem Kinde eine durchaus gelehrte Erziehung zu geben, ganz die nehmliche, wie ihren ältern Brüder, und dem jungen Dacier.

Ach, seufzte Antoinette, dann hat sie siebzehn Jahre vor mir voraus; ich komme zu spät, ich werde sie nie erreichen!

Henault und Deshoulieres versicherten die Muthlose, hier sei nichts versäumt, Antoinette sei gemacht, alles zu verdunkeln, und Mademoiselle Scudery, die jetzt stets um die junge Dichterin war, stimmte ein, und feuerte sie an, sich in nichts zu beschränken, keine der Wissenschaften zu versäumen, die der Dichtkunst schwesterlich die Hand bieten.

Sie bat, da Antoinetten ein wenig vor diesen Labyrinthen schauderte, nur wenigstens sich nicht auf die Idylle einzuschränken; höhere, weitläufigere Dichtungen bedürften ihrer Meisterhand, und gern, gern würde sie sich von ihr übertroffen sehen.

Antoinette, die Scuderys Winke sehr wohl verstand, hatte keine Lust zur Nachahmung ihrer dicken Romane. Sie entschloß sich in der Folge zum Trauerspiel. - Ach unglücklicher Entschluß! Arme Deshoulieres, welche schöne Jahre raubte es dir! Wie fruchtlos war er! und wie sonderbar ist es, daß wir noch heut zu Tage nicht deine Eclogen, deine Madrigale, deine Trauerspiele, nur noch deine Idyllen lesen, von welchen uns noch vielleicht deine unzeitige Bedenklichkeit die süßen Erstlinge raubte, die dir die Muse ungefordert gab!

Corneille, der zuweilen das Haus Ligiere besuchte, sahe mit Unwillen, wie das liebliche Mädchen auf Irrwege geleitet ward. Er sprach unaufhörlich von den Gränzen der Wissenschaft des Weibes, und da er auf die alte unbeantwortliche Frage: ob Bestimmung und Fähigkeit beider Geschlechter nicht die nehmliche sei? nicht anders als durch die gewöhnlichen Einschränkungen antworten konnte, so sagten die Damen sich ins Ohr: nicht alle Männer seyen so vernünftig, als Herr le Fevre; dieß sei männlicher Neid, dieß sei Wunsch das Weib bloß zur Haushälterin und Kinderpflegerin herabzuwürdigen.

Herabzuwürdigen? rief die liebenswürdige Madame le Fevre, indem sie die Arme ausbreitete, um alle gegenwärtigen Kinder, die sich ihr entgegenstürzten, an sich zu ziehen.

Es war gut, daß die armen Kinder eine Zuflucht bei ihr hatten - Antoinettens kleine mutterlose Geschwister sowol, als die eignen Kinder der holden le Fevre. Sie war die Mutter aller; hier hatte man vor Nachdenken über die große Streitfrage keine Zeit an so unbedeutende Wesen zu denken.

Racine, überdem zu jung, um ein entscheidendes Wort zu sagen, besuchte das Haus Ligiere nicht mehr so fleißig, seit sich die Grazie des Hauses in eine Muse verwandelt hatte; ihm wars, als sei sie nicht mehr so schön, nicht mehr so gut, als in den Augenblicken, da sie die goldene Lyra ungesucht gefunden hatte.

Deshoulieres fühlte keine Veränderung; Antoinette beglückte ihn mit ihrer Hand, und er fand die gelehrte Gemahlin so entzückend, als die anspruchslose Braut. Er war stolz darauf, eine Frau, die allgemach berühmt zu werden begann, sein Eigenthum nennen zu können.

Gelehrte? berühmt? War das die neunzehnjährige Deshoulieres so geschwind geworden? - Ach man kannte damals noch nicht den goldenen Spruch:

A little learning is a dangerous thing!
Drink deep or taste not the Pierian Spring!

Man kostete den kastalischen Brunnen ein wenig, und weil man sich berauscht fühlte, glaubte man ihn erschöpft zu haben, oder man schöpfte noch tiefer, und befand sich desto übler dabei. Die Feindin jeder Vollkommenheit, die Schmeichelei, brachte zu zeitig den Kranz; man richtete sich hoch auf, man maß sich mit Männern; und da nun auch unter diesen zu den damaligen Zeiten so mancher war, der sich auf halbem Wege zum Tempel

des Ruhms schon am Ziel glaubte, so bewunderte man sich selbst, einige Schritte weiter zu seyn, und die halbgelehrte Pedantin war fertig.

Madame Deshoulieres, sich jedes männlichen Versuchs fähig haltend, hatte sich um diese Zeit in politische Händel gemischt, und war unglücklich genug, als Staatsgefängene nach Brüssel zu kommen. Ihr zärtlicher Gemahl glaubte ihr Leben bedroht, und unternahm ihre Rettung ganz im Geschmack jener romantischen Zeiten. Ihre Schönheit, ihre Jugend, ihr Unglück, die Zärtlichkeit eines Gemahls, der, ganz wider die Mode, nie aufhörte ihr Liebhaber zu seyn - alles vereinigte sich mit dem Ruhme, den sie bereits als Schriftstellerin besaß, bei ihrer Rückkehr nach Paris einen glänzenden Hof um sie zu versammeln. Er blieb nicht lange die Schule des guten Geschmacks, denn, ach, der bekannte Pradon führte hier neben der Gottheit des Tempels das Wort. Corneille kam nicht hieher, Racine schwieg, der schmeichlerische Reimer Pradon redete. Deshoulieres war schwach genug, das wahre Verdienst gegen das falsche zu vertauschen, sie begünstigte den Reimer gegen den Dichter. Um Pradon neben, wo möglich über Racinen zu heben, veranlaßte sie jenen, den nehmlichen Gegenstand zu bearbeiten, den Racine bearbeitet hatte. Die Sache fiel aus, wie man denken kann: die Phädra Pradons ist vergessen; wer kennt nicht die Phädra Racinens!

Was für Künste der niedrigsten Cabale wurden nicht gebraucht, dies Meisterstück jener Zeit zu stürzen! Falsche Abschriften, Auslassung der besten Stellen, eingeschobene Plattheiten, tausend andre niedrige Kunstgriffe können wir unmöglich auf die Rechnung der armen Deshoulieres schreiben; Pradon mag sie allein tragen. Ob die Dame jemals Leute besoldete, Racinens Schauspiel auszufleischen, wissen wir nicht, aber gutmüthig genug war sie, kein Geld zu schonen, den armen Pradon, den das Unglück ausgepfiffen zu werden regelmäßig bei Aufführung aller seiner Stücke traf, von dieser Demüthigung zu befreien. Eine Tages hätte diese Großmuth ihrem Schutzbefohlenen fast das Leben gekostet; er war bei der Vorstellung eines seiner Lieblingsschauspiele, und weil alles pfiß, so pfiß er in der Zerstreung, die sein gewöhnlicher Gemüthszustand war, getrost mit. Deshoulieres Freunde, die ihn nicht kannten, und denen er sich auch nicht zu erkennen gab, wehrten ihm, und endigten, als er sich nicht wehren ließ, mit Beleidigungen und Schlägen. Seiner Peruque und seines Huts beraubt, ging er pfeifend von dannen. Es kann seyn, sagte er, als man ihm die Sache auseinander setzte, es kann seyn, daß ich irre war; aber mich dünkte gar eigen ein Stück von Racine zu hören.

Läßt sich wohl Bosheit, Eigendünkel und Dummheit in wenigere Worte zusammen drängen?

Deshoulieres gab in der Folge einer Menge mittelmäßigen und einigen schlechten Versuchen das Daseyn; ihr fehlte der Rath des treuen Freundes. Sie hatte den guten Genius von sich gescheucht; der böse, in Gestalt des schmeichlerischen Pradons, war an ihrer Seite.

Mittlerweile ging die edle Sevigne ihren königlichen Weg, ohne nach Celebrität zu streben. Sie war unterrichtet, um andere unterrichten zu können, oder vielmehr, man kam, sich des heitern Lichts zu freuen, das sie umstrahlte, ohne daß es ihr einfiel, jemals Lehrerin zu seyn, als derer, die ihr die Natur verbunden hatte. Sie schrieb nur aus der

Fülle des edelsten Herzens, nie für den Ruhm. Sie triumphierte einzig in Erfüllung ihrer Pflichten, und in einer vollkommenen Tochter, der Gräfin von Grignan.

Deshoulieres bekam auch eine Tochter, die sie zum Unglück zu dem erziehen wollte, was sie selbst war - zur berühmten Frau. Die arme kleine Deshoulieres! Sie war nicht geistreich genug, um, wie ihre Mutter, gute Idyllen zu machen, und nicht schön genug, damit man ihr schlechte Trauerspiele verzieh! Sie ward Mitglied verschiedener gelehrten Gesellschaften, erhielt in ihrem fünf und zwanzigsten Jahre den Preis in der französischen Akademie, und starb im fünf und fünfzigsten, unvermählt, an einer Krankheit, die auch das Leben ihrer Mutter höchst traurig geendet hatte, und die, wie viele wollen, Folge, durch zweckloses Studiren verderbter Säfte war.

Indessen war die kleine Annette zur berühmten le Fevre herangewachsen. Ihr Vater hatte ihr ganz die gelehrte Erziehung gegeben, die er ihr zudachte. Sie war die Gattin Daciers geworden, den wir in jener sonderbaren Gesellschaft, welche die damaligen größten Geister Frankreichs, theils in voller Reife, theils in noch unenthüllter Blüthe versammelte, als Knaben gesehen haben. Der Pfad, den sie von der frühesten Kindheit an, an der Hand eines gelehrten Vaters, eines noch gelehrtern Gemahls betrat, ließ sie Fortschritte in der Wissenschaft machen, die wir - wenigstens die meisten unter uns, ohne Neid und ohne Nacheiferungstrieb anstaunen. Die Bahn, die dieser berühmten Frau das Schicksal bestimmt hatte, war eigen. Sich den tiefsten Studien zu widmen, war für sie die heiligste Pflicht gegen einen Vater, gegen einen Gemahl, denen sie *nichts* gewesen wäre, hätte sie nicht mit ihnen gleichen Schritt gehalten. Im Grunde war Madame Dacier weit mehr als ihr Gemahl, und nie ließ sie ihn den Vorzug ahnen, der jedem in die Augen fiel, und der ihr selbst unmöglich entgehen konnte. Pflichten gegen Kinder hatte sie nur kurze Zeit. Einen hoffnungsvollen Sohn und eine lebenswürdige Tochter, die sie *nicht* für den dornigen Pfad der Wissenschaft bewtimmt hatte, nahm ein frühes Grab; eine zweite Tochter bestimmte sich eben so früh zum Schleier. Madame Dacier fand in den Wissenschaften den Trost für diese Verluste. Ein Gedräng von gelehrten Geschäften, und die Stimme der mit Beifall lohnenden Welt, rissen sie schnell von den Gräbern der Geliebten zurück. Lange blieb bei dem Weihrauch, der sie umduftete, noch die Bescheidenheit auf ihrer Seite.

Sie hatte dem guten Moliere eine kritischen Streich über seinen Amphytrio zgedacht, und zog sich gutmüthig oder vorsichtig zurück, um nicht mit seinen *gelehrten Frauen*, die damals das Publikum zuerst sah, ins Gedränge zu kommen. Weiterhin kannte die Geißel ihrer Critik weniger Schonung. Armer Hardouin! armer Lamotte! ihr erfuhret die Streiche der zürnenden Muse! Der frevelhafte Träumer, wie der redliche, vielleicht irrende Mann, ward von ihr mit gleicher Strenge behandelt.

Voila un dispute bien inutile, sagte ein Philosoph späterer Zeit, qui n'a rien appris au genre humain, sinon que Madame Dacier avait encore moins de logique que la Motte ne savoit du Grec,

Wir Frauen, die wir gern das Andenken unserer gelehrten Schwestern feiern, und mit unserer Dacier beweisen können, was eine Frau vermochte, die sich entschloß, den leichten lieblichen Pfad zu verlassen, den uns die Natur vorzeichnet, gestehen uns gleichwohl vertraulich, daß sie uns weit weniger in ihren gelehrten Streitigkeiten gefällt,

als in der bescheidenen Aeusserung, welche ihr einst der Vorschlag eines Freundes abnöthigte, auch über unsere heiligen Bücher kritisch zu schreiben:

Une femme, sagte sie, doit lire et mediter l'écriture, pour regler sa conduite sur ce qu'elle enseigne, mais elle doit garder le silence, suivant le precept de St-Paul.

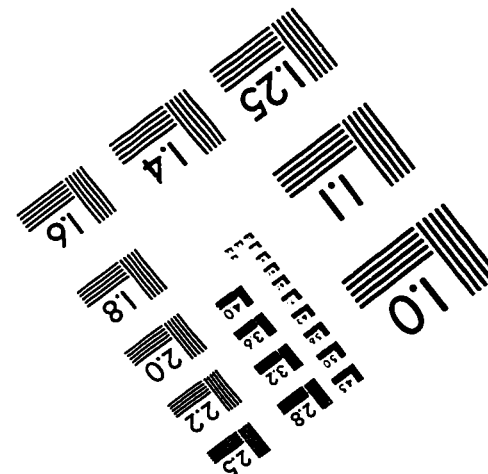
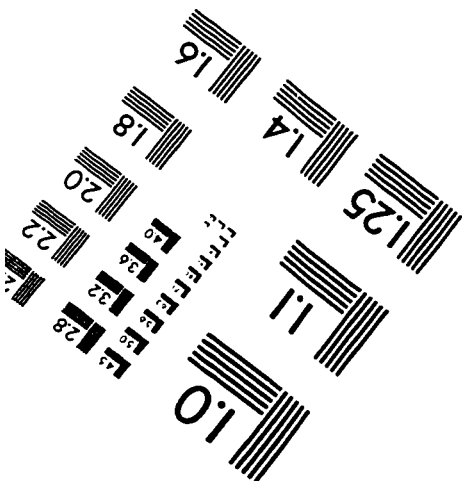
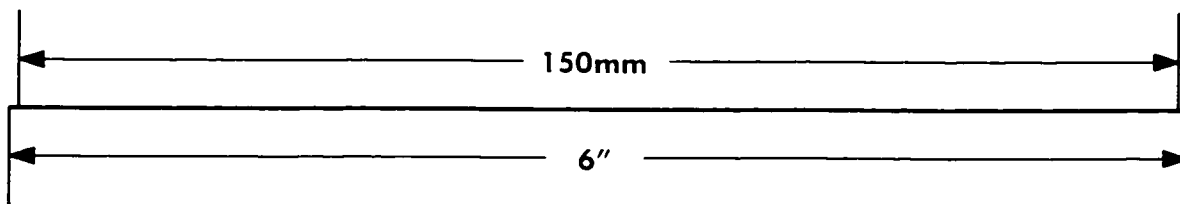
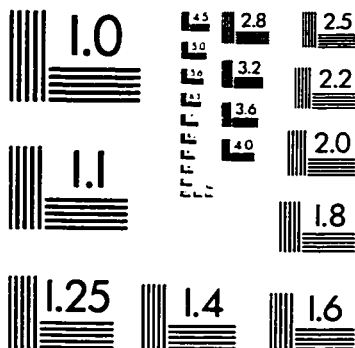
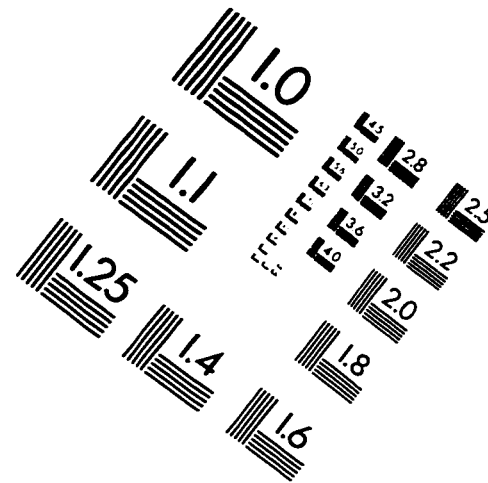
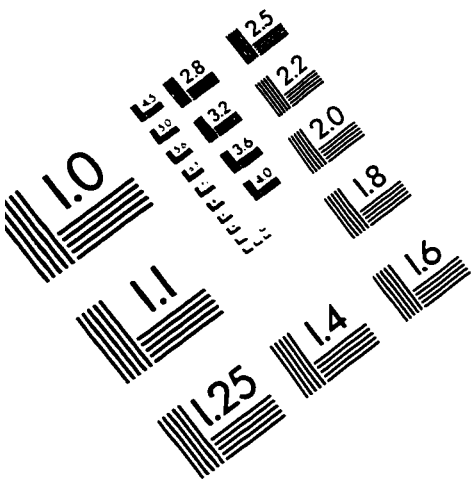
Vita

Yvonne Alice Vogele, née Hickel, was born on April 4, 1941 in Zürich, Switzerland. After completing the required school-years she absolved a two-year apprenticeship in retail. She spent two years in Lausanne, Switzerland, to become proficient in French and five months in London, England, to learn English. After returning to Geneva, Switzerland, she married Bruno Vogele in 1965. In 1967 they moved to the Seattle area, where they raised their family. They have three children, Gabriela, Thomas and Colette.

When all children reached school age and guided by her love for learning and interest for literature, Yvonne decided to resume her formal education. She attended Bellevue Community College from 1980-1983, acquiring a Pre-College Major. She graduated in 1985 from the University of Washington with a Bachelor of Arts in Germanics, and then continued her studies and graduated cum laude in 1987 with a Master of Arts in Germanics. She then decided to extend her studies towards the Ph.D. in Germanics.

Yvonne now lives in Kirkland, Washington, with her husband Bruno and her cat Alex.

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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