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Narrative Strategies in Benedikte Naubert's *Neue Volksmärchen der Deutschen*

I. Introduction

The *Neue Volksmärchen der Deutschen* came into the public realm in 1789-92, in four volumes, published anonymously.¹ The nature of the tales—their learned style, the lack of scenes of sentimentality, their tendency to heroic action over love stories, the incorporation of historical material and legendary material from different national traditions—led critics to assume that the author was probably a man. Naubert cultivated that misconception and was evidently quite put out when much later (in 1817) her identity as an author became known.² Throughout nearly thirty years of publishing, during which she produced these four volumes of tales, another volume of tales, some 55 novels and countless other productions in journals, she had managed to keep her identity hidden from the general public (though it is likely that some guessed at her literary productivity, not least the Grimms, who came to her for tales for their famous collection.)³

Despite her prolific production and the favourable reception she received in her own age and immediately after, until very recently she has been largely ignored in German Studies. Recent interest has been reawakened, as for so many other women writers from before the 20th century, in the last 15-20 years by feminist scholars, particularly in America. Jeannine Blackwell began writing on her in 1987, Shawn Jarvis has written an article (1992), and now there is a monograph by Victoria Scheibler (1997), and one article, by Anne Thiel, also deals with aspects of Naubert's work; there are one or two other items as well.⁴ This scholarship follows on from the single monograph written about Naubert before Scheibler's, namely Kurt Schreinert's 1941 *Benedikte Naubert. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte des historischen Romans in Deutschland*.⁵ Before Schreinert, Naubert had been mentioned, usually only in passing, in general works about the novel or about the writing in a particular age (Schindel, 1825; Touaillon, 1919)⁶ --though it must be said that most such studies have ignored her.⁷ One of her novels has been reprinted (*Heerfort und Klärchen. Etwas für empfindsame Seelen*: though it is uncharacteristic of her decidedly not generally 'sensible' work) and just recently (2001), Wallstein Verlag has published a 4-volume edition of Naubert's *Neue Volksmärchen der Deutschen*, the immediate impetus to my interest in her.⁸

The matter of Naubert's gender, though hidden during her lifetime, is nevertheless a very important one in reading her works, and not just because of its implications for the reception history. The arguments for and against the existence of an *écriture féminine* are

automatically raised by her very success as a 'male' author: if she managed to fool her contemporaries so well, can her works be studied now as examples of female-penned material? The mistake made by those contemporaries in assuming certain attributes of the writing--its erudition, the absence of sentimentality--as evidence of male authorship would only be repeated, it would seem, if any argument is made for studying Naubert just because she is a woman.

And yet, looking at some of the *Volksmärchen*, I must agree with both Thiel and Blackwell that these are examples which form an indispensable complement to other fairy tale writing, particularly the tales recorded by the Grimms, and this in particular because of the way men and women are portrayed in them. Perhaps Thiel, Blackwell and I have been more likely to notice this aspect because we now know Naubert's fairy tales to be penned by a woman, but in any case they would be remarkable for their difference from the Grimm norm.

Ruth Bottigheimer has described the way women characters in the Grimms' tales are silenced: women are frequently punished by long periods of silence; when they do speak in the tales, it is most commonly in order to agree to a father's or a brother's orders (unless of course, the character is a witch. Then she speaks plenty: in order to curse or otherwise to reveal her own evil propensities.) Unlike their precursors in the Grimms' 1812 (and later) editions, even the female heroines of the tales are always rewarded for passivity and acquiescence to male authority and punished when these behaviours are lacking.⁹ Maria Tatar sees this as part of a growing trend in the 19th century to moralise in tales, which had now become exclusively aimed at children. The Grimms' moralising, she argues, is all the more pernicious because they pretend they are *not* doing it, but merely recording long-held, traditional folk wisdom.¹⁰ Naubert's tales are different: they come from a slightly earlier age, they are admitted to be a particular author's version of an existing tale, and they were written down by a woman, not a man.

I wish to look at narrative structure in several tales by Benedikte Naubert, because I find that it is here that she does something very interesting. When I say 'structures' I speak warily, for her tales are generally very complex, often trailing one tale onto the end of another with seemingly little connection, or at times having tales within tales, as characters narrate dreams, stories, or their past histories. The parts of the structure I wish to look at generally concern the ends of stories, for it is here that Naubert often does the unexpected. A heroic tale ends in failure to achieve the original goal, but still seems a

‘happy ending’; promised wealth does not materialise, but no-one seems to care; the hero named in the title seems forgotten at the end of a story and the hitherto marginal characters, often the women, are the ones described as living happily ever after in the final paragraph. Consciously or unconsciously, Naubert often subverted the traditional structures she employed. I will look most closely at the tale *Das oldenburgische Horn*, where the heroic tale is most clearly meddled with. (As the tale will not be known to most readers, I will have to give a bit of plot summary.) It is not always clear in this particular tale just how much is conscious structuring (whether or not any subversiveness is meant) nor to what extent Naubert was simply struggling with her material—her writing style is admittedly uneven, and she is known to have sometimes written quite hastily. Yet, even here, the innovations—or differences from the norm—are revealing. I will refer more briefly to several other tales—*Erdmann und Marie*, *Ottolie*, and *Die Legende von Sankt Julian*—to show other occurrences of this same quality in her writing, which can be no mere accident, though questions of authorial intention must be left aside.¹¹

II. *Das oldenburgische Horn*.

Das oldenburgische Horn is a heroic tale that has many of the traditional aspects of the genre. The plot centres around Friedrich, son of the Graf von Oldenburg, who must develop into an adult by becoming independent from his parents, in particular, from his mother. Whereas his mother, Guilla, is depicted almost completely positively, there are several more dubious feminine figures that can be seen as obstacles for Friedrich to overcome—much as the hero of the traditional *Drachentöter* myth has to slay an (usually feminised) dragon: Beowulf slays Grindel, and Siegfried and many another hero has to escape the snares of devious females.¹² Heroic tales of slaying have, naturally, a great deal of violence in them, and this tale is no exception. However, as I hope to show below, Naubert’s version of the genre takes a different slant on aspects such as the role of the feminine and the place of violence in society.

Violence is thematised from the outset of the story. We are first introduced to Friedrich’s great-grandfather, Otto, who rules long and well, and is much respected by his people and later admired and honoured by his descendents. Otto, we are reminded again and again, has a balanced attitude towards violence, thanks mostly to his loyal and wise adviser, Sibbeth Papinga. Although Otto knows of the prophecy that the family of the Oldenburgs are destined one day to inherit the crown of Scandinavia, and often expresses his energetic desire to do something about it, Papinga wisely counsels him otherwise, saying that such blessings must be awaited for heaven to fulfil in its own good time, and should

not be striven after:

Er [Sibbeth Papinga] lenkte den geschäftigen Geist des jungen Helden [Ottos] auf einem andern Weg, stärkte ihn in der Überzeugung, daß die Größe des Fürsten nicht in einer Krone, sondern in dem Wohl und der Liebe seiner Untertanen bestehe, daß, so lang zu Befestigung dieser noch übrig genug sei, weitaussehendere Plane nachstehen müßten, und daß überhaupt die Erfüllung prophetischer Sagen nicht erkämpft, sondern erwartet sein wollte. (II, 130)

For many years, Otto is sufficiently distracted with a happy marriage, the building of castles and the righteous use of violence in order to protect his dominions and the people living in them. Thus, self-protection and the protection of one's dependents are clearly considered acceptable uses of violence in the tale.

One day, however, Otto is hunting alone in a forest far from his home. He is there to protect his people, as polar bears and wolves have been seen in the area, and it is up to him to free the forest from this threat. In an act with a faint odour of hybris, Otto leaves the rest of his party, sure of his ability to overcome any wild beast sent his way, and in this he is right. Exhausted at the end of a successful day, he sits down to rest and begins to rue his failure to achieve the Danish kingship¹³ when he spots a white deer. He automatically reaches for his weapon, then sinks back, feeling he is too old for such games, when he suddenly remembers how he used to hunt and capture just such creatures for his wife, who liked to keep a menagerie of the beasts before she died. He chases the animal ever deeper into the forest, but fails to capture it. Overcome with thirst, he exclaims, 'Ach Gott! Ich hier so einsam, und so ganz verschmachtet! O wer hier wenigstens einen kühlen Trunk hätte!' (II, 136), and the earth opens to reveal a beautiful woman holding a drinking/hunting horn, which she offers him. Drink from this horn, she says, and the family prophecy will be fulfilled.

Otto takes the horn, and finds it filled with human blood. He refuses to drink it. The ghostly figure curses him and his descendents, but Otto is unmoved by such threats. He spills some blood in disgust, and the drops burn the horse's skin; the horse carries him far away before it dies, and Otto has missed his chance to become king of Denmark. His desire for the crown is reawakened, and he dies before his time, as the apparition predicted:

Fluch über dir! rief jetzt die Geberin [the Valkyrie], indem sich eine Zornwolke auf ihrer Stirn zusammenzog, Fluch über dir, wenn du zweifelst! Siehe die nahe Erfüllung der Weissagung flieht fern in die Zukunft zu deinen späten Enkeln! Dich und deine nähern Nachkommen verfolgt das Unglück! dein wartet frühzeitiger Tod! Land- und heimlos leben deine Enkel der Gnade eines ungerechten Fürsten, und verbessert nicht einer ihrer Kinder deinen Fehler, so wehe, weher auch über sie! Und vergehen wird ihr Geschlecht, wenn es nicht durch Weiber erhalten wird! (II, 137)

Otto's meeting with the Valkyrie-like figure sets the scene for the generations that follow. Although he has a generally balanced idea of the uses of his power as *Graf*, the family myth and his longing for his wife lead him astray, and so the figure appears when he cries out in thirst, an expression of his desire. Hunting mysterious white animals is a fairy-tale metaphor for sex; here it is perhaps best read as desire for power, or for self-fulfilment. Missing his (positive) feminine side (as his wife is dead) Otto is tempted to become overly masculine, and is nearly subdued by the negative female figure (a Jungian would say 'anima') who tries to seduce him to drink human blood. The Valkyrie is the negative side of femininity, in Jungian terms; she lures men with her beauty and seemingly helpful attitude (she offers him a drink) to do destructive deeds. As she predicts, the generations which follow will have to face the consequences of Otto's decision.

The next generation is passed over in relative silence; Johannes is a brave soldier, but gives no credence to the family myth; he is immune to its allures. Huno, his son and the grandson of Otto, is also unmoved by the dream of domination, but in him the indifference degenerates into dangerous incompetence. It is, however, interesting to see how Naubert portrays Huno, for at first he appears in a positive light:

Er [Huno] hatte die beste Zeit seiner Jugend nicht nach der Weise seiner streitbaren Väter dem Schwert, sondern den Büchern und der Andacht gewidmet, und war auf dieser Art das geworden, was man einen guten Friedensfürsten nennt, ein Herr, den sich das Land nicht hätte besser wünschen können, wenn alle andere Länder von ähnlichen Fürsten beherrscht worden wären, wenn niemand daran gedacht hätte, den Nachbar zu beunruhigen, oder seine Ansprüche zu beeinträchtigen. (II, 142)

He would be a very able *Graf* if only his neighbours would behave, so his Christian passivity is not condemned outright, but merely found to be inadequate to the challenges

facing a medieval prince. As the story progresses, however, Huno's attitudes are increasingly ironised. His young son, his wife and his more Otto-like sister all itch to defend the castle from invaders. Here, Guilla is shown to be the one wearing the trousers:

Zu selbigen Zeit waren Ohnmachten noch nicht so etwas gewöhnliches als in unserm nervenschwachen Jahrhundert [...] Sie [Guilla] war Heldin genug, sich auch dieser [the fact that she is crying] zu schämen, und trocknete sie [her tears] aus den Augen, um den eintretenden Jünglingen kein Böses Beispiel zu geben.

Da der schwache Graf [Huno] geschont, da ihm jede böse Zeitung mit Behutsamkeit mußte beigebracht werden, so wußte er noch nichts von den schrecklichen Vorgängen, alles lag auf seiner Gemahlin, und sie fühlte es mächtig, daß man hier nicht müßig trauern, sondern handeln müsse. (II, 148)

Yet Huno merely fasts and prays: '...sondern in demselben mit Fasten und Beten auszuhalten...' (II, 150). And Huno's attitude has serious political ramifications: the people become disgusted with their lord, who sits with folded hands as they suffer:

'Das Volk murrte laut wider Huno, der es so schlecht vor seinen Feinden hatte zu schützen gewußt, und jetzt bei seiner Not mit in den Schoß geschlagenen Händen saß...' (II, 157-8).

This is the situation into which Friedrich, the hero of the tale, is born. His father is clearly too passive, and the womenfolk seem to have a better sense of the practical necessities of life for the nobility in the war-torn Middle Ages. Friedrich's challenge is to balance the competing, though not mutually exclusive, claims of family duty, family love and affection, sexual love, self-fulfilment, and his responsibilities as heir to the noble title. This balance he achieves after a long struggle, though like a Moses approaching the Promised Land, he is not able entirely to enjoy the fruits of his labours.

In Friedrich inhere all the qualities of his illustrious ancestors. He is as brave as Otto and Johannes, and as willing as the former to pursue the promise of increasing the family prestige. If Huno's passive brand of Christianity can be described as feminine, then Friedrich has inherited something from his father as well. He looks like a girl (he is repeatedly described as 'mädchenhaft' or 'jungfräulich') and is often able to overwhelm his enemies precisely because his physical strength is hidden beneath an effeminate exterior. Together with his cousin Elimar, young Friedrich is an avid hunter as well as

dancer: he is fully androgynous, taking part in both masculine and feminine pursuits. Whenever Friedrich is described, it is in androgynous terms:

...klirrte jetzt der holde Friedrich mit seinen Sporen durch den widerhallenden Kreuzgang, anzuschauen, wie Miltons gewaffnete Engel, denn der abgenommene Helm, den er unter dem Arme trug, ließ die volle Schönheit des jungfräulichen Gesichts und den verschwenderischen Wuchs der goldnen Locken sehen, welche seine Schultern umflossen. (II, 152)

And later:

Er ging ohne alle Rüstung, nur in einem leichtem ritterlichen Kleide, und war schier an Schönheit und zartem schlankem Wuchs eher einer zierlichen Jungfrau ähnlich, als dem Geschlecht, zu welchem er sich, wie das Schwert an seiner Hüfte bewies, zählte. (II, 190)

The Valkyrie, Swana, as her name is finally revealed to be, approaches Friedrich more subtly than she had Otto. Friedrich's heroic journey begins promisingly, as he takes matters in hand when his father's castles have been overrun and the family is reduced to cowering in an abbey. His aunt Rixa spurs him on to infiltrating an occupied castle, not only to rescue her son Elimar, but, more urgently, to rescue the drinking horn. Friedrich knows of the horn, but not of its import: the family myth has been kept from him by his otherwise occupied father. Rixa, then initiates Friedrich into heroic action and heroic sentiments. In a scene of quick-witted bravery, twelve-year old Friedrich steals the horn from under the noses of his enemies, though not till after a battle with an older and much stronger man: he comes thus into his own manhood. Rixa, whose motivations are still aligned with the machinations of Swana, solemnly commands Friedrich to drink some wine from the cup; for her, her young nephew represents the hope of her family's fortunes, since her weak-willed brother is incapable of defending their interests. Friedrich resists this temptation, so similar to Swana's blandishments of his great-grandfather generations earlier: the cup, he says, if it means power, is not rightfully his, but his father's. He then undermines the whole silly ritual when he informs Rixa that he has actually already drunk from the horn in the hall where he stole it. Clearly, Friedrich has a healthy resistance to mystical explanations and mythical justifications for political ambition.

With the possession of the horn come visits from the mysterious figure, and soon Friedrich is in love. The adolescent boy begins the difficult journey of separation from his parents, who are bewildered by his changed behaviour. Guilla calls him to account when she realises that he is receiving strange visits from a female friend (whom she takes to be real, and not a spirit). Next, Friedrich's enemies at his father's court convince Huno that his son has stolen his most valuable possession. Thus Swana, with the unwitting help from Rixa, stirs up trouble in the family, and by various means separates young Friedrich from his parents and cousin, with whom he no longer dances and hunts. Swana has given Friedrich a secret life, and a world of his own. She has sworn him to secrecy, for only thus will she enable him to fulfil the prophecy to attain the Scandinavian crown. In a vision, she shows Friedrich of his possible future: life at the court in Copenhagen, and with him a beautiful wife, the daughter of the Danish king, a mortal version of the otherworldly Swana. Time and again, she says that the tests to come will be ones requiring him to overcome his prejudices and stubbornness (*Eigenwille* means literally, 'own will', or stubbornness).¹⁴

Yet Friedrich, like Otto, proves strong enough to resist Swana's temptations. Although he will not admit to his mother the identity of the strange woman visitor, when later accused of plotting against his father, he comes clean immediately, begging forgiveness for keeping the horn secret and offering it to his father. Swana's plans are again demolished.

It is here that the interpretation of Swana and her promises becomes difficult, though not impossible. Having relinquished the cup to his father, Friedrich cries, '[...]was hilft mir das wunderbare Horn, was hilft mir eine Krone, wenn ich sie mit dem Unwillen meiner Eltern erkaufen soll, und wie wenig rührt mich eine Geliebte, die nur Swanas Ebenbild, nicht sie selbst ist' (p.179). One expects that Friedrich will either realise Swana's evil and destructive effects, and forswear her help and accept the mortal wife in place of the unrealistic vision, or that he will decide that what she has to offer is worth the sacrifice of his family, especially since even his aunt has been telling him that the Danish crown is his destiny. Yet Friedrich does not seem to be caught in a simple dilemma of family versus individual destiny or love versus duty. Earlier, Rixa had also made a confusing claim: spurring Friedrich on to action, she said that Otto had had particular challenges to face; he, Friedrich, would have different ones. Otto's successfully met challenge, however, was to *refuse* to drink from the blood-filled horn: Rixa, aligned with Swana in her attempts to make a brave man out of Friedrich, unwittingly appears here on the side of Otto *against* Swana. Rixa, like Friedrich, is clearly not sure just what Swana represents: fame and

fortune, or and greed and bloodlust.

Nor is the matter clarified in the final attempt Swana makes to gain Friedrich's loyalty: Weak-willed Huno is again beset by enemies, clearly due to his policies of appeasement. He is accused of plotting against the Kaiser. Friedrich appears in time to champion his father, and must face a hungry lion. Swana intervenes; seen only by him, she stops his arm as he strikes at the lion, and then offers her own assistance. Friedrich fights her off and dispatches the lion single-handed. He would be willing to give up everything for Swana, only not his 'Tugend'; Swana now disappears forever. What is strange here is that Swana repeats her command that Friedrich give up his 'Vorurteile' and humble his will towards her. The 'prejudices' we can read as what Friedrich calls his 'Tugend', his adherence to a moral code. But it is even more strange that what is called his 'will' is not to dispense with family ties and follow her (as she promises to the ultimate betterment of his family's position); rather his 'will' is something which works against Swana and which she strives to overcome. Friedrich's concept of virtue, then is a different one than a clear-cut hero would have, and his 'will' is to obey some different motivation than will lead to the achievement of what seems to be his heroic quest. Swana says he will be a hero if he accepts her help, metaphorically drinks human blood, and gains political power. Friedrich spurns her, and yet *is* a hero—winning his ordeal with the lion, after all—by fighting bravely against injustice, but not grasping for power, as much as it seems his destiny to get it. His 'will' or 'prejudice' is to reject the heroics of legend, and make a new kind of story for himself.

What might seem like mere inconsistency in the portrayal of Swana and her allures, or of the reactions to her of various characters (namely, of Otto, Friedrich, Rixa and Guilla) can profitably be interpreted as something quite different. It is here that Naubert is playing with the 'rules', so to speak, and opening new ways of portraying heroism. One way to view the tale is to see Friedrich as making the journey of growing up and becoming his own person. He must become a man despite the lack of any example to follow from Huno; and he must both meet the demands placed on him by Rixa to fulfil the family destiny, and escape the loving attentions of his own mother, who jealously guards his dependency on her when he falls in love. Swana inspires Friedrich to heroic action, and so helps him develop into manhood; the erotic attachment serves also to separate him from both mother and father. When Friedrich reneges on the implied promises to Swana and returns the horn to his father, he returns in a sense to the family nest, refusing to represent a political threat to his father or to allow another woman entirely to replace his

mother in his affections.

By all rights, according to the logic of the heroic tale, this step should be seen as a retreat and a failure on Friedrich's part. Yet it is not: like Otto's refusal to drink human blood, Friedrich's 'heroism' is revealed as both successful *and* distinctly anti-heroic. Friedrich overcomes his negative anima not by slaying her, but simply by ignoring her. The 'real' female characters in the tale are likewise not demonised, and so do not need murdering. Rixa's encouragement to ambition is exaggerated, but no more so than Otto's own ambition or, conversely, Huno's apathy. She is quite right to see in Friedrich the only way forward, as Huno seems ready to expose his family and his people to the worst his enemies can offer. Guilla, too, is not merely a jealous mother. She quite rightly explains to Friedrich that had he followed Swana's command to remain silent and so alienated himself from his family, he would certainly have caused his parents' early deaths, and would have been very unlikely to achieve any sort of happiness with their memories haunting him. The vision Swana grants him of life in Copenhagen could only indicate success on a superficial level; even if the promise was real, there was nothing to indicate Friedrich's happiness in this potential outcome. Moreover, Guilla had earlier, like Rixa, also been instrumental in developing a sense of proper manly behaviour in Friedrich, but never like the proverbial Spartan mother who demands her son return from battle carrying his shield or lying in it: her warmongering spirit is not nearly so merciless nor impossible to assuage.¹⁵

Thus, both Rixa and Guilla, although they function sometimes themselves as a part of the negative anima which Friedrich must overcome, also represent the voice of reasoned humanity, not unlike the role played by Sibbeth Papinga, who counselled Otto to build castles rather than lust after a throne. Though Rixa's advice to Friedrich to take the bull by the horns directly contravenes Papinga's advice to Otto to await God's will, in light of the excessive passivity of a Huno, and in the face of sure destruction at the hands of enemies, her advice is right for its time. Throughout the tale, excessive violence is condemned, as is violence used for inappropriate ends, not violence itself.

Naubert's contribution to the telling of the heroic tale is not simply that she makes the heroic virtues problematic; many a hero from Chrétien's *Perceval* to Tolkein's Frodo and Rowling's Harry Potter must learn the proper uses of violence, to resist the temptation to overweening ambition, or to include *caritas* along with the attributes of the warrior. What is different in this tale is the complexity in the depiction of women. Although they are

subsidiary characters, they are noticeably present throughout (one looks in vain for females in most hero stories, unless there is a love-interest episode brewing). Naubert manages to depict convincingly the psychological drama of a young boy growing up, and she does not allow her story to remain on a simplistic level. She has already been noted as an innovator on the way to 'psychological roundedness' in her fictions, as she gives her characters the kind of inner life we have come to expect in the realistic novel, for example.¹⁶ On this level, Friedrich's black-and-white dilemmas quickly become more complex, and so the tale can include both the standard Valkyrie fantasy as well as a realistic depiction of the problems faced by the women and children in a violent world when the father is not playing his protective role. Rixa and Guilla are not always right (no one in the story is), but they are very definitely humanised.

The ending of the tale provides another insight into its innovation. At first, all seems well: Friedrich wins back all the lands his father has lost, and eventually meets and becomes betrothed to the beautiful Danish princess once promised him by Swana as a reward for his loyalty to her. It looks as if he will achieve all the prophecy's promises without Swana's aid, and his rejection of her will be vindicated. But the princess dies before they marry, killed in an act of revenge by Swana. Friedrich, then, though he lives to a ripe old age and is loved as a great ruler, never achieves the Danish crown for his family. Yet his lands go upon his death to his cousin Elimar, who has married Friedrich's sister, and it is understood that a future generation will eventually inherit the much-promised crown. Swana had predicted this: if Otto did not get the crown immediately, future generations eventually would, if the women played their proper role. The narrator speculates that Rixa and Adila, Elimar's wife and Friedrich's sister, are the women meant. This ending represents, I think, a compromise between the rigours of the genre's form, which would demand that the hero get the fate he has earned, and more modern moral ideas from Naubert's own time. Friedrich has spurned the ultimate quest of the hero, and on these terms has failed the test and cannot be rewarded; future generations, on the distaff side and presumably centuries away from the scenes of violence which form the family's origin, however, do get the reward once promised them, and so Friedrich is ultimately vindicated in an attenuated fashion. He is, possibly (it is never made explicit, but why else would we have heard his tale?) the 'grandchild' who 'improved' on Otto's response to Swana, as she expresses it in her curse.

Naubert's tale thus quietly undermines some of the givens of the generic form; yet at times the irony is much more palpable, even outright, such as when she mocks Huno's

enemy, the Archbishop Adalbert, who abuses his power for worldly gain. (The Church comes in for similar criticism throughout the *Neue Volksmärchen*). Huno, as mentioned above, is at first only slightly ironised, but he is increasingly pilloried as the plot develops. Courtiers are openly mocked: for example, everyone is glad for a spectacle when Friedrich has to fight the strong man in order to win the cup from his enemy, Popke, and later courtiers at Huno's court come in for similar treatment when they are happy to find ways to sow discontent between father and son.

There is another, most subtle, way that the truth of the fairy tale or legend is undermined. The telling of tales functions throughout as a means to create meaning, to understand the circumstances in which a character finds him or herself. Otto hides his adventures with Swana from all but Papinga, but the latter writes them down, and thus the Oldenburg family myth is given its greatest impetus for future generations. Rixa persuades Friedrich to take on the burden by telling him this story, which has been handed down. Both 'legends and traditions' (p.165) tell the same tale, and upon hearing it, Friedrich becomes convinced that his role is determined by it. Thus, life is determined by art, in the form of tales told. Sometimes tales are outright lies or misrepresentations, such as when Huno's courtiers try to turn him against Friedrich. And other things beside stories can be hard to interpret: the figures on the ornate drinking horn were explained to the very young Friedrich as simple and harmless tales of adventure. Whereas Rixa cannot say for sure what the symbols mean, she attributes to them a very different importance by associating them with the family destiny. Just as Swana herself ultimately remains ambiguous, however, so does Rixa's interpretation: it is not in the end clear that she is right. Swana's prophecies, too, are suspect. She predicts Otto's early death, but this may well have been brought about by the prophecy itself, of course. She also prophesies that later generations will suffer discord, yet this is the very discord which she unsuccessfully seeks to sow between Friedrich and his parents, and which he quickly subverts. Lastly, the course of history itself seems tenuous: it is brought to the reader's attention several times that things could have been different had a character only made a different choice. In this way, the inevitability natural to the heroic tale or legend, the feeling that things must be just so and not otherwise, is constantly and deliberately counteracted in this hybrid tale, literary, psychologised version of an ancient form. Telling tales is an important part of communication and of meaning making, but the truth of the tale is far from absolute or immutable.

III. *Erdmann und Marie: Ein Nachtrag zu den Legenden von Rübezahl*

The delicate balance between ‘marvellous’ and ‘realism’ obtains, too, in this tale, where they title characters each have a supernatural patron, of sorts, whose gifts they must learn to use wisely before the story can end happily-ever-after. This tale takes its subject and structure from legend and fairy tale, and it dwells more on social and family life, without the political and wartime context of *Das oldenburgische Horn*. The full title indicates the source of Naubert’s tale, namely the *Legenden von Rubezahl* by Johann Karl August Musäus, from whom Naubert also borrowed the title of her collection.¹⁷ I have written in more detail elsewhere about the differences between these two versions of the Rubezahl legend, so will only make brief reference here, concentrating on aspects which serve to illustrate my point that Naubert, as a woman, took a more feminine-centred approach to her material than seen in most tales which have come down to us from the era.¹⁸

The most striking aspect is the way Naubert has sneaked a female protagonist into the story, and even into the title: Musäus’s tale has no Marie, no female character whose point of view is ever central to the narrative. Though Musäus does not actually have an Erdmann, either, his tale is entirely from a masculine perspective, since his telling of the legends focuses throughout on the point of view of the (male) giant Rubezahl. In the parts of *Erdmann und Marie* that dwell on Erdmann’s story, Naubert’s tale comes closest to an affinity with Musäus’s model, since Erdmann’s life is guided from earliest youth by the mountain spirit Rubezahl. So, though the focus has shifted from the supernatural Rubezahl to the human Erdmann in Naubert’s version, this aspect of her tale is recognisably an ‘addendum’ to Musäus’s five legends, which give an account of Rubezahl’s dealings with humans across the ages.

Simply by opening up the narrative perspective to the human view of the supernatural figure, rather than vice-versa, Naubert can then, of course, allow the point of view to shift to other human characters as well. She is not bound to a masculine point of view, as was Musäus, since all his ‘legends’ are told from Rubezahl’s perspective (though third-person). But Naubert takes this even further than just allowing the occasional female perspective --on the budding love affair between Marie and Erdmann, for example, which is in stark contrast to the voyeuristic scenes in the *Five Legends*. Instead, Naubert, in her psychologised version of the marvellous tale brings in an entire second story to counterbalance Erdmann’s tale of his dealings with Rubezahl. Though hardly alluded to in the title, this other tale concerns not only Marie, but also her patron Mother Ludlam and it opens the reference to things exotic, British, different. Not only is Marie’s development just as important as Erdmann’s, despite Mother Ludlam’s absence from the

title, it is this side of the tale which wins the day in the end, as Erdmann and Marie plan to leave Germany and Rubezahl for England and Mother Ludlam. Because of her accent, Marie has always been an outsider to the German town in the *Riesengebirge*, and she is earlier even accused of being a Jew. Allowing this side to prevail in the end is tantamount to allowing another story, another version of events to prevail—it is the version of the outsider, the foreigner, the woman.

England is described as a much friendlier society (and we hear enough about the Germans' anti-Semitism and xenophobia in this tale to know that Marie is not simply suffering from the exaggerations of homesickness):

Ach, sagte sie [Marie], daß ich dich und mich in die glücklichen Gegenden versetzen könnte, wo ich die Welt zuerst erblickte! Dort ist der Himmel milder, die Erde fruchtbarer, die Menschen gütiger als in deinem rauhen Vaterlande! (II, 126)

When they marry, the decision to go to England is said to be an example of Marie's ability to get her way with Erdmann; but throughout the story, Marie is nothing if not quiet and unassuming, so the implication cannot really be that she henpecks him, but rather that she generally has the best ideas (and she has, throughout):

Sie [the story] läßt uns die Neuvermählten auf der Reise nach England wiederfinden, und beweist dadurch, was wir schon früher bemerkten, daß Erdmann Marien nichts abzuschlagen vermochte. (p.127)

Moreover, not only the ending, but also the dénouement points to a witting or unwitting innovation on Naubert's part. Aarne and Thomson, in their catalogue of tale types and motifs list one known as the Dragon-Slayer or the tale of Two Brothers.¹⁹ The Grimms have a version²⁰ and it is a common one in the European tradition. In this tale, two brothers become separated, one slays a dragon and rescues a maiden. Then, before he is reunited with his brother, he rescues the maiden yet once again—this time from an impostor who claims to be the hero himself. The real hero reveals himself by sending tokens from his inn to the bride as she prepares for the wedding feast. The bride recognises the tokens, the false groom is revealed, and the hero takes the kingdom and the bride. In *Erdmann und Marie*, this scene is reversed, as Erdmann, who works in an inn, is helping prepare a feast for unknown guests. When the guests fail to appear, the innkeeper's daughter, Frau Else, who has had her eye on Erdmann for a long time,

wrongly assumes that she and Erdmann are meant to be the bridal couple. But Rübzahl's machinations are not yet complete: he finally sends Marie to the inn, having her lead back the innkeeper's lost donkey, which here serves as her token of authenticity. It is Marie, then, who rescues Erdmann from false marriage.

Lastly, the ending has another feature which distinguishes it from the traditional fairy tale conclusion: although early in the story, Rübzahl had promised Erdmann the return of a castle and vast wealth which had been squandered by his ancestors, this promise seems forgotten by the end. When Erdmann and Marie leave for England, it is to join a rural community as fellow farmers and peasants. Not only, then, does this tale lack any heroic dragon-slaying, but Erdmann is rescued by the bride, he goes to live in her country, and he eschews the usual fairy tale happy ending of magnificent wealth and a kingdom. Marie and Erdmann have a more prosaic path to their eventual prosperity through hard work and diligence:

Das kleine Gut, das Richard und Marie Turner [Marie's parents] ehemals besessen hatten, ward ihr Eigentum; Arbeit und gute Wirtschaft machten sie zu gesegneten Leuten, als die ehemaligen Besitzer es waren. (II, 127)

IV. Die Legende von St Julian

In German, a *Legende* normally means the story of a saint's life, and here we meet with another genre in Naubert's collection of tales, though one closely related to the folk or fairy tale.²¹ *Sankt Julian* is, to my eyes, less successful than the two tales discussed so far, but it does have interesting facets. Again, two stories are intermingled: the two-generational tale of Julian's background and upbringing, and his wife Rosamunde's confessional account of how she contrived to marry Julian. Both narratives are about sin and redemption, for both protagonists have murdered and are forgiven only when they go to great lengths to treat a boil-infected stranger with great kindness. Although standard gender-roles are very much in evidence throughout—Julian actively has to seek the whimpering stranger (an angel in disguise) on a cold, wet night, whereas Rosamunde has to accept him into her warm bed—another, contradictory tendency runs through the story. In the parents' generation, the pious Gangolf is as pitilessly mocked as was Huno in *Das oldenburgishse Horn*:

Herr Gangolf von Eckardsberg, der Ahnherr dieses alten Hauses, was bei seinem gehäuften Unglück durch Dulden und Leiden, Verleugnung und Meiden zum lebendigem

Heiligen geworden... (I, 211)

His 'denial and avoidance' can hardly be seen as positive attributes, although the 'bearing and suffering' might be. His frivolous, cheating wife is certainly castigated in the narrative, but, strangely, she shines forth as the far more interesting character, and she is to some extent exculpated by virtue of her youth and beauty. Gangolf, we are led to believe, simply cannot satisfy her verve for life:

Der Edle von Eckardsberg war ein bejahrter Herr, Cäcilie war jung und schön, er, wie zuvor gesagt, ein lebendiger Heiliger, sie eine Freundin der Lust und der Liebe. (I, 212)

The criticism of her is not so sharp as it might be:

...alle diese [Knaben, Ritter und Beichtväter] sahen, daß Cäcilie schön war, und sie war nicht so streng, daß sie ihnen das Geständnis ihrer Bewunderung hätte schwer machen, nicht so grausam, daß sie es hätte unbelohnt lassen sollen. (I, 212)

When she eventually marries her lover, Nimrod, he turns out to be a violent tyrant over both her and her people. A tiny, almost invisible subplot of a woman's plight in marriage underlies the more general political picture of lands badly ruled, a theme we have already seen in *Das oldenburgische Horn*:

Nimrod hatte bisher in ihren Armen gern seine rauhen Sitten gemildert, jetzt hielt er diesen Zwang für unnötig, er war so rauh und ungestüm in dem Schoße seiner Familie, als draußen, wenn er Feld und Wald bluttriefend durchzog [...] Nimrod war ein trefflicher Rächer Gangolfs, er machte die Quälerin dieses unschuldigen Heiligen, die boshafte Cäcile, ganz unglücklich, und ließ sie jeden Seufzer, jede Träne bezahlen, die sie diesem ausgepreßt hatte. (I, 219)

Cäcilie may have earned her fate, but the tone here is hardly one that makes the reader trust in the fairness of her new situation.

These assessments of tone, guesses about the author's intentions and assumptions about how one is to interpret the characters must remain, unfortunately, somewhat suspect

because unprovable, especially in light of the complexity of this particular story and the difficulties it presents. It is quite possible that the irony is so difficult to unpick here because Naubert herself was not quite in control of her material. Returning to *structures*, however, can bring us back to firmer ground. Again, it is the story's end that is most enlightening: the narrator tells us that though Rosamunde's story is not as well known as Julian's, it is every bit as interesting:

Von der Heiligkeit Rosemundens ist nie so viel Werks gemacht worden, als von der ihres Gemahls, auch habe ich nie gehört, daß sie zur Schutzheiligen irgend einer Art Bedrängten erkoren worden sei. (I, 256)

Julian, in fact, seems forgotten on the last pages of the story, where instead we hear how the three kinswomen, once at odds in their competition to win Julian, enjoy 'blissful days' in quite retreat from the world:

Vergessenheit vergangener Dinge verband Marien, Rosemunden und Hildegarden zu neuer Freundschaft, und es lassen sich keine seligeren Tage denken, als diejenigen, welche sie bei gegenseitigen Besuchen mit einander verlebten [...]. (I, 256)

It is a feminine idyll reminiscent of other scenes in Naubert (for example in *Der kurze Mantel*, and elsewhere). Moreover, as in *Erdmann und Marie*, a story about a male figure has been complemented by one about a female figure (though here it is in fact completely absent from the title!); both man and woman must learn to balance self-will with service to the community, activity with passivity. These lessons are learned in *Die Legende von Sankt Julian* differently by men and women, and accepted truths about gender roles are not much questioned. Yet Rosamunde's story is the more real and the more engaging; it makes Julian's struggles with his conscience and his feeble attempts to deal with his courtiers pale into insignificance. In the places where Naubert leaves off telling the tale as it has come down and veers towards realistic narrative, different truths tend to emerge: women's stories gain a vividness which outshines saintly morals. It may be mentioned here as well a quality of all of Naubert's stories: sexuality itself is not punished, in males or in females. There is thus none of the traditional double-standard prevalent in so much 'high' literature.²²

V. Otilie

Otilie is another tale with association with the genre of saints' legends. It has close parallels to a *Legende* found in the *Kinder-und Hausmärchen* called *Marienkind*.²³ Generically, it belongs as well to tales of female curiosity, and hence bears some resemblance to the Bluebeard tales. The Grimms follow the paradigm: their obsessively curious heroine is disobedient to the Virgin Mary, and so must be punished. It is interesting to see how Naubert's much more elaborate tale deals with this motif. First of all, like most of Naubert's tales, this one is first set in the parental generation. It is yet another case of a mismatched couple, this one a womanising, hard-drinking husband and the saintly Otilie, senior. Close to giving birth, Otilie must flee her murderous husband and his new mistress; in an inverse nativity scene, she runs through the snow in spite of her condition. She faints, and when she comes to, she finds the Virgin Mary holding her baby daughter, whom they christen Marie Otilie, as if to indicate her half divine, half mortal state. It is this child, at times called by her first name, at times by her second, who undergoes the test of curiosity. But it is no mortal, human test: little Marie is brought up in heaven (on the moon), and her curiosity concerns things of the earth, the place where she really belongs. (The set up is one leading to a *felix culpa*, very different from Pandora's story, but also different from Eve's.) She is led astray by an evil spirit to do three forbidden things: to search for heavenly bliss (she attends angelic parties where she is not welcome); to look back at the earth from the moon, and to bathe in forbidden pools belonging to the Virgin Mary. These are standard prohibitions and infringements of the same, yet several things set this story apart from its 'cousins': the first is that it is not disobedience which is a problem, but the lying about it. Furthermore, unlike Adam and Eve, and unlike the Grimm's *Marienkind*, Otilie Marie eventually does confess. Thirdly, the punishment is merely to return to the earth, i.e. exactly what the maturing girl desired—and after all, that is just real life. Although Mary calls the girl a 'second Eve', it is not so much that Marie Otilie is the epitome of female vice, but rather that she, as a human being, has to forfeit an exalted existence for a normal, sublunary one.

In fact, the character traits which lead to her fall are not all bad ones, and they *are* all merely human: Mary says that upon reaching the age of consciousness (at age seven) she will develop 'Vorwitz, Eigensinn und Stolz' (inquisitiveness, stubbornness and pride) and Mary relates these three qualities to the possession of free will—i.e., to a human, and not specifically female, quality:

Ach, sagte sie, du wirst größer werden, wirst Unarten annehmen, welche uns hier oben fremde sind, Vorwitz, Eigensinn und Stolz werden sich in deinen Handlungen äußern

[...] (I, 173)

And later:

Du siehst, daß ich es gut mit dir meine, und dir nichts untersage, als was dir schaden kann. Doch hast du deinen freien Willen; die Schlüssel zu allen Türen sind in deiner Hand, und du kannst tun, was dir gefällt. (I, 174)

Furthermore, the curiosity (*Vorwitz*), though elsewhere also called *Neugier* (the usual supposedly feminine vice), is sometimes referred to as *Wißbegierde* (a thirst for knowledge), curiosity in its more positive, scientific, enlightened aspect ('So lenkte er [the evil spirit] ihr Wißbegierde auf eine andere Seite [...] (I, 197)). In fact, the promises of the evil spirit are surprisingly Mephistophelean to Marie Otilie's Faustian desires: she wishes to see the whole world and know all there is to know:

O sterbliches Mädchen, im Arm eines unterrichtenden Engels Äonen hindurch von Planeten zu Planeten zu fliegen, und alle Wunder der Schöpfung und ihre geheimsten Urkräfte zu spähen, in meinem Arm, Otilie, die ganze lange Ewigkeit, die Fülle der Liebe zu genießen, deren inneres Wesen nur Unsterbliche kennen, welch ein Los! – Sprich nur ein Wort, und es ist das Deinige! (I, 198)

Lastly, the entire narrative context includes not only a rather conservative take on a girl's role, but also the masculine violence that makes her adherence to her principles all but impossible. Just as Otilie senior fled from her husband, Röhrich, Marie Otilie, too, must avoid his wrath when he demands she marry according to his designs. Young Otilie has her own desires, which contradict those of her father for her: she is still tempted by the evil spirit, as he seems a connection to the higher realms she once inhabited. Like Swana's temptations of Friedrich, the role of this spirit's blandishments is far from straightforward: are Marie Otilie's desires essentially good, or bad? In any case, when her father tries to marry her to a murderous beast, she, like her mother, flees, dies, is canonised. It is not much of a life, admittedly: women in this story have no way to survive whole. Still, Naubert's tale is not that of Pandora or Eve; Marie Otilie is not the root of evil in the world, but the victim of it, even before her birth, so she escapes even the slight association with guilt that Bluebeard's wife has, who, after all, did open the forbidden door. Yet even her victimhood is less than transparent. After all, she did decide to live in the world, she admits to having desires—yet these are not punished as such. In fact, it is

hard to think of Marie Ottilie as a girl gone wrong and therefore punished accordingly. Instead, she simply suffers human fate: the dream of something higher, beyond this existence, and concurrently the subjection to physical reality, in the form of violence caused by others. The tale might be read as a parody of extreme feminine virtue: even a protégée of the Virgin Mary herself cannot escape the machinations of the human world.

VI. Conclusion

Benedikte Naubert's *Neue Volksmärchen der Deutschen* represent a unique contribution to the literary production of the late Eighteenth Century, and to the recording of folktale and legendary material in that era. This they do not only on account of these tales' general handling of the material, material which Naubert to some extent was responsible for making known again through her archival research;²⁴ the tales are important, too, simply because they were written by a woman, and by this particular woman. Without ever taking the high moral ground, and without making overt statements about the role of women and of men, the place of violence and the problems it causes, or the human need for community and social structure, Naubert nevertheless *shows* in her work different solutions to these and other questions from the solutions which have become seemingly natural in the literary and folklore tradition. To argue for reading Naubert in part because she is a woman is not to argue for a special 'voice' of women, some sort of essential nature to which she has access by virtue of her birth; one could just as well argue that the point of view the author Naubert takes on these issues is one she learned through experience as a woman in the particular time and place she lived. Although the *Neue Volksmärchen* were not written for children, they represent the kind of tale and the kind of telling that later, with the Grimms, became so closely associated with the entertainment and socialisation of girls and boys. It is because of these later ramifications of the folktale that it is especially important to become aware of alternatives to what has become the narrative norm. Current writers of fairy tales, such as Jack Zipes, often modernise the moral lessons, recognising the inappropriateness of eighteenth or nineteenth-century role models for today's children;²⁵ yet it is also important to see that there was not really the 'Dark Age' such modern critics can at times imply. Benedikte Naubert is one writer who can show us this alternative stance.

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ENDNOTES

¹ *Neue Volksmärchen der Deutschen* (Leipzig: Weygand, 1789-93), 5 vols.

² Nikolaus Dorsch comments that the editor of *Die Zeitung der eleganten Welt*, Fr. Karl Julius Schütz, published Naubert's name along with a list of her works, saying it was with her permission, though Naubert's own comments in her letter to Friedrich Rochlitz of 5 March 1817 make this assertion dubious. Benedikte Naubert, '*Sich rettend aus der kalten Wirklichkeit*': *Die Briefe Benedikte Nauberts. Edition. Kritik. Kommentar*, ed. by Nikolaus Dorsch (Marburger Germanistische Studien, 6) (Frankfurt; New York: Lang, 1986); p. 99 and p. 198.

³ 'Nachwort' (no author given), in *Neue Volksmärchen der Deutschen*, by Benedikte Naubert, ed. by Marianne Henn, Paola Meyer, and Anita Runge, 4 vols (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2001), vol. 4, pp. 337-76 (p. 342).

⁴ Jeannine Blackwell, 'Die verlorene Lehre der Benedikte Naubert: Die Verbindung zwischen Phantasie und Geschichtsschreibung', in *Untersuchungen zum Roman von Frauen um 1800*, ed. by Helga Gallas and Magdalene Heuser (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990), pp. 148-59; Jeannine Blackwell, 'Fractured Fairy Tales: German Women Authors and the Grimm Tradition', *Germanic Review* 62. 4 (1987), 162-74; Shawn Jarvis, 'The Vanished Woman of Great Influence: Benedikte Naubert's Legacy and German Women's Fairy Tales', in *In the Shadow of Olympus: German Women Writers Around 1800*, ed. by Katherine R. Goodman and Edith Waldstein (Albany: SUNY Press, 1992), pp. 189-209; Victoria Scheibler, *Phantasie und Wirklichkeit. Benedikte Naubert im Spiegel ihrer späten Romane und Erzählungen (1802-1820)*, (Frankfurt; Berne: Lang, 1997); Anne Thiel, 'From Woman to Woman: Benedikte Naubert's "Der kurze Mantel"', in *Harmony in Discord: German Women Writers in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. by Laura Martin (Berne: Lang, 2002), pp. 125-144.

⁵ First published: (Berlin: Ebering, 1941), reprinted: (Kraus, 1969).

⁶ Carl Wilhelm Otto August von Schindel, *Die deutschen Schriftstellerinnen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts. Zweiter Theil*, (Leipzig: 1825), pp. 32-47; Christine Touaillon, 'Der rationalistische Frauenroman', in Christine Touaillon, *Der deutschen Frauenroman des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna; Leipzig: Braumüller, 1919; repr. Berne, 1979), pp. 233-447.

⁷ For example, the recent *Das Kunstmärchen. Geschichte, Botschaft und Erzählstrukturen* (Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag Hohengehren, 2003) by Paul-Wolfgang Wühl and Jens Tismar's *Kunstmärchen* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1983) (first edition: 1977) fail to mention Naubert. The situation is the same in studies of the novel.

⁸ See note 3, above. (NB: the modernised spelling of *Volksmärchen* in this edition.)

⁹ Ruth B. Bottigheimer, 'Silenced Women in the Grimms' Tales: The "Fit" Between Fairy Tales and Society in Their Historical Context', in *Fairy Tales and Society: Illusion, Allusion and Paradigm*, ed. by Ruth B. Bottigheimer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), pp. 115-32.

¹⁰ Maria Tatar, *Off With Their Heads! Fairy Tales and the Culture of Childhood* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992).

¹¹ I will cite all references to the 2001 edition of *Neue Volksmärchen*. The stories discussed here can be found as follows: *Das oldenburgische Horn*, vol. 2, pp. 129-205; *Erdmann und Marie: Ein Nachtrag zu den Legenden von Rübezahl*, vol. 2, pp. 7-128; *Otilie*, vol. 1, pp. 163-209; *Die Legende von Sankt Julian*, vol. 1, pp. 211-256.

¹² Killing female monsters and rescuing maidens from monsters are much the same thing, as noted by Heinrich Bertsch, who speaks of the 'Identität von Hüter und Behütetem'; *Weltanschauung, Volkssage und Volksbrauch* (Dortmund: Ruhfus, 1910), p. 188

¹³ NB: The kingdom in question is sometimes referred to as Denmark, sometimes as Scandinavia, without there being any evident distinction intended.

¹⁴ Usually it is girls who must overcome wilfulness, at least in the fairy tales that have come down to us since Grimms. See, especially, Bottigheimer and Tatar, *passim*.

¹⁵ In light of the moral implications of tale telling, including Naubert's, it is interesting to note that Guilla, like Rixa elsewhere in this story, teaches heroism through *narration* of heroic tales. See *Das oldenburgische Horn*, p. 146 and p. 165.

¹⁶ Touaillon, Blackwell, Jarvis, and Thiel have all noted the psychological roundedness of Naubert's characters.

¹⁷ Johann Karl August Musäus, 'Legenden von Rübezahl', in *Volksmärchen der Deutschen*, Johann Karl August Musäus, (München: Winckler, 1976) pp. 171-275. The *Volksmärchen* of Musäus were published from 1782-86, just before Naubert wrote and published her own collection.

¹⁸ My discussion is in 'The Rübezahl Legend in Benedikte Naubert and Johann Karl August Musäus', *Marvels and Tales* 17.2 (2003), 197-211. Most references to the *Neue Volksmärchen* make at least passing reference to Musäus, since his tales are clearly Naubert's precursors. Fuller discussions of the two collections can be found in Blackwell, 'Die verlorene Ehre'; Anita Runge, 'Legenden von Rübezahl und Erdmann und Marie, ein Nachtrag zu den Legenden von Rübezahl', in *Literarische Praxis von Frauen um 1800: Briefroman, Autobiographie, Märchen*, by Anita Runge (Hildesheim: Olms, 1997),

pp. 185-200; and in the 'Nachwort' to the 2001 edition of the *Neue Volksmärchen* (no author given), vol. 4, pp. 337-76.

¹⁹ The tale is No. 303 in the Aarne-Thompson list. Antii Aarne and Stith Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale. A Classification and Bibliography. Anti Aarne's Verzeichnis der Märchentypen (FF Communications No. 3)*, trans. and enlarged by Stith Thompson, 2nd revision (FF Communications No. 184) (Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1961).

²⁰ *Die zwei Brüder*, Tale no. 60, in *Die Märchen der Brüder Grimm, Vollständige Ausgabe* (Augsburg: Goldmann, 1983), pp. 220-236.

²¹ Max Lüthi, *Es war einmal. Vom Wesen des Volksmärchens* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998) (eighth edition) still has probably the best discussion of the genres of *Märchen, Sage, Mythe, and Legende*.

²² Tatar discusses the loss of sexuality in Grimms' tales in favour of moralising about good behaviour for children (obedience, docility). Is Naubert perhaps is closer to the oral tradition?

²³ Tale no. 3 in the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, pp. 21-25.

²⁴ Marianne Henn, et al. document Naubert's research in their *Quellenkommentar* to their edition of the *Neue Volksmärchen*.

²⁵ Jack Zipes, *Don't Bet on the Prince* (New York: Methuen, 1986).