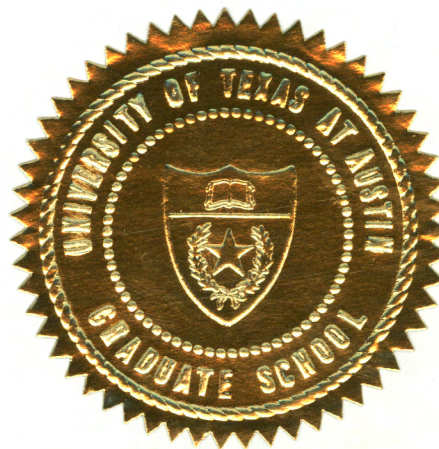


EDITORIAL MANIPULATION OF THE CARDINAL VIRTUES AND SINS
IN THE KINDER- UND HAUSMÄRCHEN DER BRÜDER GRIMM

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by

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A. W. T.

The University of Texas at Austin

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INTRODUCTION

Introduction of Major Works

The popularity of the Kinder- und Hausmärchen, first published in 1812 by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, has been undiminished for more than one hundred sixty years.¹ Through translations, the Märchen have reached into almost every corner of the globe. Their simplicity and unique content fascinate children and their symbolic content spurs the adult to interpretation or research.

In this thesis I will investigate the occurrence and usage of the cardinal virtues and sins in the KHM. The most comprehensive work to trace the history of the cardinal virtues and sins with regard to literature is Morton W. Bloomfield's The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature.² Bloomfield establishes the credibility of the cardinal virtues and sins as a theological, literary, and aristic entity.

The history of religion and its effect on the society of the Middle Ages is traced by Friedrich Heer in The Medieval World.³ Information on the German cultural, political, and intellectual background from the Middle Ages to the middle of the nineteenth century is provided by William J. Bossenbrook in The German Mind,

which traces in detail the development of German nationalism.⁴

Bloomfield, Heer, and Bossenbrook provide the background information against which the KHM will be read and against which certain passages containing cardinal virtues and sins will be investigated. All literature relating to the KHM will be listed in individual footnotes. There are no comprehensive or unquestionably accurate works which could be listed as authorities on the comprehensive subject of the Grimms' writings--let alone on the KHM. The publication of original materials and good objective evaluations are still needed to supersede much that has been written on the folk tales.

Short Historical Survey of the Cardinal Virtues and Sins

Learning to distinguish right from wrong has been a principal objective of all civilizations, because knowing what is right and acting accordingly has helped prepare the way to find an eternal resting place in the fold of tribal heavens. In his book Myth and Reality, Mircea Eliade gives many examples of civilizations past in which it had been the obligation of the older generation to teach the young the difference between right and wrong.⁵ Rules of conduct were handed down from generation to generation until these rules had found their way into

Western Christian Culture. In the Old Testament, Solomon was famous for his wisdom to choose between right and wrong and provided guidelines even to the modern world. Four cardinal virtues, Fortitude, Prudence, Temperance, and Justice, introduced by Cicero in the fourth century, but ultimately going back to Plato, are found in the "Wisdom of Solomon." In the New Testament countless examples in the life of Jesus and in his parables provide guidance to Christian followers, but the three theological virtues Faith, Hope, and Love were established by Saint Paul.⁶

The concept of cardinal sins was introduced in the fourth century to Western Christian Culture by Cassian. The number of sins varied through the years from seven to twelve as theologians, such as Gregory the Great (d. 604), Stephan Langton (d. 1228), and Thomas of Aquinas (d. 1274), tried to establish lists of cardinal sins in their respective guidelines on moral conduct. Other theologians, working in various parts of the Christian world, often arrived at similar sets of values with minor variations.⁷ As lists with appropriate interpretations became available at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the clergy used these to praise the virtuous and condemn the sinful. Artists devoted themselves to illustrating the properties of the virtues in woodcarvings, frescos, and

oil, and they were most often portrayed as women struggling with symbolic beasts which represented various temptations. The cardinal sins were also often portrayed in picture and word up to the sixteenth century, and special sets of virtues, called remedia, were invented by writers depicting struggles to match the seven cardinal sins on a one-to-one basis (Bloomfield 67).

When in the Middle Ages material prosperity was at its peak in the cities and in the country, the need to keep the population reminded of its spiritual obligation to God and society became urgent. The clergy was instructed to memorize the list of sins because many people did not know all of them and the confessors had to be able to name the sins to the penitent. The list of sins generally consisted of the seven cardinal sins in the order of their theological importance at that time: Pride, Avarice, Lust, Envy, Gluttony, Anger, and Sloth.

Between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries the confessional became well established, but it often happened that the confessor forgot to consider all the possible trespasses so that the penitent was left unaware that he had committed spiritual sins. It also happened that different clergymen applied varying punishments for a given offense. To remedy inequities elaborate handbooks were written which set guidelines governing the

confessional (Bloomfield 93). Spiritual sins, which were considered sufficient to condemn the sinner to eternal hellfire, were softened to be redeemable through proper punishment. After all, these cardinal sins were different from those mortal ones committed against the ten commandments. They were sins of the heart and so private as to be essentially unnoticeable by others. In fact, a person might not even know that he had wronged until the priest read him the list of cardinal sins.⁸ While the penitent listened to the confessor, he would search his heart, confess to a particular sin and accept the prescribed punishment in order to purify himself. Thus priests became increasingly adept at transmitting an understanding of these sins to the laymen. Books of exempla were written illustrating the cardinal sins (Bloomfield 92). The priest read these stories from the pulpit as a reminder to the congregation not to lead similar lives or be appropriately penitent. This Church procedure kept the layman forever in fear that he lived in sin, and this fear was institutionalized by Pope Boniface VIII who invented the Holy Year, proclaimed in 1300, to bring all Christendom to his feet. Heer considers this manipulation of the masses to be a "demonstration of the power of the papal theocracy and the full authority of papal rule over all Christian people" (p. 274).

The constant pressures of the Christian religion on the spiritual and moral life of its believers drove the layman to search for a less troublesome way to reach God. Anti-papal religious sects, such as the Cathars, Puritans, Spirituals (spiritual descendants of St. Francis of Assisi), and Beguines, who promised direct communication with God, peace of heart, and who even translated the New Testament into the vernaculars of their followers, attracted thousands. These groups and their followers were quickly labelled heretics and persecuted by the Church through the inquisition which was begun after the close of the Albigensian Crusade, a campaign from 1208 to 1229 to crush the Cathars in France, and which lasted well into the sixteenth century with some isolated prosecutions still being attempted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the fifteenth century the jurisdiction of the inquisition was gradually extended to include cases of sorcery, magic, and heresy.

In the sixteenth century Martin Luther's attack on the power of the Catholic Church came at a time of social crisis when society was confronted by new economic, social, and political forces in addition to the many demands of the Church. He emphasized the benefits of a personal religion and shifted the stress from dogmatic teaching to care for the souls of the believers, so that

the lists of virtues and sins lost their moral and punitive importance.⁹ The Protestant Church, lacking dogmas to keep its congregation aware of basic rules of moral conduct, eventually used the lists of cardinal virtues and sins in biblical stories and parables to give its congregation a set of golden rules.

During the following two centuries, as books in the German vernacular found their way into the hands of the public, the cardinal virtues and sins were incorporated in dictionaries, such as that of Kaspar Stieler, with definitions deriving from the Middle Ages. Numerous acknowledgments listed Martin Luther as contributor. He made biblical words like Zorn (ire) household words of the sixteenth century, and he is the most widely quoted source in the Grimms' Deutsches Wörterbuch, especially on the subject of the cardinal virtues and sins.¹⁰ Entries credited to Martin Luther relate mostly to a biblical context whereas the writers of the later Enlightenment, the Classical, and the Romantic periods are represented with quotes in which they secularize the virtues and sins to a large degree. This secularization came about when morality replaced religion in the lives of the bourgeoisie of the eighteenth century.¹¹ It became fashionable to exchange stories of moral behavior and an obsession with

some to improve their spiritual image for want of more rewarding public involvement. This was at a time when the French had won their social revolution and were successfully engaged in the public self-determination that was denied the aspiring German burgher. Countless despotic feudal lords in Germany denied the talented merchant, official, or educator any responsibilities outside of his family, business, or town.¹²

During the second half of the eighteenth century the European center of literary and social reforms was located in France, and Germany offered no fertile ground from which humane ideas could be fashioned into reality. The intellectuals were frustrated and, in their efforts to direct attention away from their own paralyzing misery, a search began into the past, but views were sharply divided since the choices were the Classical Greek heritage or the Germanic past. The first alternative appealed to those intellectuals who were already familiar with the Classical philosophers, whereas the Germanic past was a hitherto unexplored subject. To gain a foothold in the latter area folk songs, folk tales, legends, and pranks were collected through oral transmission or from handwritten manuscripts found in libraries and monasteries. Some collectors in the Romantic Period used folk tales as raw materials for their own literary creations. Others wrote

entirely new tales and songs in the folk style. It became fashionable to rewrite legends and sagas from the Middle Ages, as is exemplified by the enduring Faust legend, a story that as drama and epic has become a projection of the striving German national consciousness. In the search for its past the German intellectual spirit did not turn away from its moral-ethical beginnings, and thus the virtues and sins are reflected repeatedly in the entries of Germany's only nineteenth century parallel to the French Encyclopedia--the Grimms Wörterbuch.

Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm began collecting their folk tales at the urging of Clemens von Brentano and Achim von Arnim around 1806.¹³ They had previously contributed a number of folk songs to the second volume of Des Knaben Wunderhorn, and they knew good sources which could contribute to a third folk song volume. Because the editing policies of Arnim and Brentano regarding folk song as well as folk tale collecting displeased them, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm intended originally to collect their tales in a presumed scientific manner that should preserve them in their purest form. Their original plan was to go into the country and listen to and record tales told, at best, around the fire by old, illiterate peasants. This proved a difficult task to carry out because such peasants were not at ease in the presence of scholars.

Since the existence of their most publicized Märchen narrator, Old Marie, has been put to question by Heinz Rölleke, the main contributors seem on the contrary to have been young girls of well-educated Huguenot families.¹⁴ Furthermore, some of the tales were sent to them by friends, and others were copied from handwritten manuscripts or translated from foreign literatures by the Grimms themselves.

When in 1810 Brentano wanted to see their unpolished collection, they sent it to him without misgivings, knowing that he would adapt the Märchen to the public taste for them or incorporate them into new stories if he used them for himself. They made a copy of the manuscript before sending it to Brentano, planning to use it in their own way at a later date. In 1812 Arnim saw their collection and urged them to publish it as it was and not to wait for more material. When the manuscript went to the publisher in the fall of 1812, the tales were in slightly altered form compared to the manuscript sent to Brentano. Some fragments had been completed, some tales combined, and various inconsistencies clarified, however the subject matter remained essentially the same. With each of the eighty-six numbered Märchen appeared a notation, explaining the source and possible derivation. The public response was slow even though the simple

stories appealed to the popular taste. Contrary to the Grimms' expectations they were read to and by children, not by the researchers for whom they were intended. Indeed, the tales contained material quite offensive to children--at least as viewed through adult eyes. When plans were made to publish a second volume, Wilhelm Grimm decided to change or soften the wording somewhat so that it would not hurt young minds and also to add enough to the content of each Märchen to make it an educational experience. Jacob Grimm, the more scientifically inclined of the two brothers, was out of the country (serving as a secretary of the Hessian ambassador to France and later of the delegate to the Congress in Vienna) during the formative stages of the second volume and could not prevent Wilhelm from pursuing this independent course.

The new volume appeared in December of 1814 (it is usually referred to as having been published in 1815), and the style of the Märchen in this second volume is more uniform. Fragmentary narratives were given appropriate introductions and conclusions, the speech of many of the characters was converted to direct address, and the motivations of the actions of central figures was elaborated upon. The revision and reprinting of the two volumes in 1819 brought the first volume, KHM 1812, more into accordance with the polished style and structure of the tales

in the second volume, KHM 1814. One essential editorial change, the examination of which is the intent of this thesis, is reflected in an increased concern between 1812 and 1814 in the depicting of the cardinal virtues and sins in the KHM. The changes were of such a magnitude of editorial effort and pedagogical concern that, in general, no further changes were deemed necessary after 1819.

A word survey, which is part of this thesis, reveals the extent of the changes Wilhelm Grimm undertook after 1812 to make the Märchen more suitable for young minds. I hope to determine in this study whether Wilhelm Grimm produced a children's book to help mold the moral patterns of the young generation, or whether he was interested in recording evidence of a developing German national consciousness.

It is generally known that Jacob Grimm proceeded to collect and edit folk tales in a scientific manner and for their scientific value, whereas Wilhelm was more sensitive to the literary value of each individual tale and of the collection as a whole. Friedrich von der Leyen points out that Jacob would have liked to print all the folk tales in dialect. However, not all of them could have been reproduced in that form since the Grimms also took Märchen from books published in the sixteenth century and from handwritten manuscripts dating from the

Middle Ages. They even translated some from Latin. In this they were greatly aided by their knowledge of world literature and by a sensitive and trained understanding of language itself.¹⁶ Folklorists and literary scholars have argued with one another and will continue to do so for generations that the Grimms either destroyed or preserved an essential body of folk literature and wisdom through their editorial zeal. However, both sides will admit that the Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm comprise an essential first step in the birth of folklore as a scientific discipline. Hopefully the present study of the KHM will demonstrate that the Grimms, with regard to folk ethics at least, were as interested in the lore as in the literature of the German folk tales.

In this study I will sketch the development and popularity of the seven cardinal virtues and the seven cardinal sins from their entry into Western Christian Culture as far as the sixteenth century, when the last theological treatise was written on the subject, a time when the Church and "all it stood for provided a system of beliefs, a set of standards, and a world view founded on faith . . ." (Bloomfield 100). Then I will trace the occurrences of these virtues and sins, which were so important to moral conduct in the Middle Ages and which the Grimms were willing to see as a model for their own

generation, in the KHM. A list of the occurrences of words designating these virtues and sins will be the focal point of a case study through which I hope to shed some light on the Grimms' intent in using these words and their possible effect on the development of the nineteenth century. In the case study the frequency and nature of words depicting the cardinal virtues and sins in the seventh edition of the KHM, dated 1857, will be compared with corresponding sections of the relevant Märchen in the KHM 1812/1814 and the editorial changes will be analyzed. The seventh edition was chosen for comparison with the original publication because it is the last version that was overseen by Wilhelm Grimm himself. Intervening editions were checked for possible discrepancies on the subject of the virtues and sins, but the variations were found to be inconsequential to the scope of this study. Kurt Schmidt, after a detailed stylistic comparison of the original KHM in all their editions, states that little or no changes of content and stylistics were made after the second edition, which is that of 1819.¹⁶

The dates of publication of the seven complete editions of the KHM are as follows:

First edition	first volume	1812	(new complete reprinting of the first edition by Panzer, München, 1913 and 1955)
	second volume	1815	
Second edition	two volumes	1819	
Third edition	two volumes	1837	

Fourth edition	two volumes	1840
Fifth edition	two volumes	1843
Sixth edition	two volumes	1850
Seventh edition	two volumes	1857

FOOTNOTES

Introduction

¹I use two editions in this thesis: The first (1812) and the second (1815) volumes of the original first edition, reprinted by Friedrich Panzer (Wiesbaden, 1955), hereafter referred to as "KHM 1812" and "KHM 1814"; and the seventh edition, originally printed in 1857 and reprinted by the Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft (Darmstadt: 1970), hereafter referred to as "KHM 1857."

²Morton W. Bloomfield, The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature (Michigan State College Press, 1952). Further references to this work will be indicated in the text by "Bloomfield" and the page number.

³Friedrich Heer, The Medieval World: Europe 1100-1350, translated from the German by Janet Sondheimer (Cleveland and New York: the World Publishing Company, 1962). Further references to this work will be indicated in the text by "Heer" and the page number.

⁴William J. Bossenbrook, The German Mind (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1961). Further references to this work will be indicated in the text by "Bossenbrook" and the page number.

⁵Mircea Eliade, Myth and Reality (New York and Evanston: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1963). Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask.

⁶Heather Child and Dorothy Colles, Christian Symbols--Ancient and Modern (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), p. 237.

⁷Johannes Gründel, Die Lehre von den Umständen der menschlichen Handlung im Mittelalter (Münster, Westf.: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1963), p. 138.

⁸Siegfried Wenzel, The Sin of Sloth: Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature (Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1967), p. 72.

⁹W. H. Bruford, Germany in the Eighteenth Century: The Social Background of the Literary Revival (Cambridge: University Press, 1939), p. 252.

¹⁰Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1854-1954), hereafter referred to as DWB.

¹¹Bruford, p. 227.

¹²Bruford, p. 228.

¹³Hermann Gerstner, Die Brüder Grimm (Gerabronn-Crailsheim: Hohenloher Druck- und Verlagshaus, 1970), pp. 85-97.

¹⁴Heinz Rölleke, Die älteste Märchensammlung der Brüder Grimm (Cologne-Geneve: Fondation Martin Bodmer, 1975), p. 395. This work is a comparison of the oldest known, unpolished manuscript of the KHM and the first volume, KHM 1812. The relevant Märchen of the KHM 1812 are published here for the first time with all marginal notes found in the brothers' desk copy of KHM 1812 in Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm's own handwriting.

¹⁵Friedrich von der Leyen, Das deutsche Märchen und die Brüder Grimm (Düsseldorf-Köln: Eugen Diedrichs Verlag, 1964), p. 12.

¹⁶Kurt Schmidt, Die Entwicklung der Grimmschen Kinder- und Hausmärchen seit der Urhandschrift nebst einem kritischen Texte der in die Drucke übergegangenen Stücke (Halle/Saale: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1932), p. 4.

CHAPTER I
AN OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE
KINDER- UND HAUSMÄRCHEN

Popularity of the KHM

Jacob Grimm was born in Hanau on January 4, 1785, the oldest living child of the lawyer Philipp Wilhelm Grimm and his wife Dorothea. A year later, on February 24, 1786, the second son, Wilhelm Grimm, was born. Three more sons and a daughter were born to the couple, and all grew up as part of a close-knit family. In 1796 their father died suddenly, leaving behind a widow who did not have the means to raise six children. Fortunately a sister of Mother Grimm, Henriette Zimmer, made it possible for Jacob and Wilhelm to attend a secondary school in Kassel. In 1802, after four years of study in Kassel, the brothers had completed the prerequisites necessary to attend the university in Marburg. That same year, Jacob began his studies in the area of jurisprudence while Wilhelm had to remain at home because of ill health. A year later Wilhelm joined his brother at the university in Marburg. Because of their mother's limited financial resources, the Grimm brothers had to live frugally. They observed with dismay the workings of fate which doled out the fat-

test stipends to the richest students, but had not a penny to spare for the education of the poor orphans of a civil servant.¹

Their favorite teacher, Friedrich Karl von Savigny, allowed the brothers the use of his personal library which contained not only law books but literary works of writers of the Classical and Romantic periods, primarily Schiller and Goethe. Jacob and Wilhelm had already become familiar with the German literature of the Middle Ages through Ludwig Tieck in 1803, and now, in Savigny's library, they discovered books dealing with that area, especially Johann Jakob Bodmer's Sammlungen von Minnesängern (1758/59).

Savigny was engaged to Kunigunde Brentano and through her both the brothers were introduced to Kunigunde's brother Clemens Brentano, their other sister Bettina, and many of their friends.

In 1804 Savigny had gone to Paris--Europe's focal point since Napoleon came to power in the same year--to gather material for a history of the Roman Empire. Jacob received a letter from Savigny in 1805, asking him to join Savigny in Paris to help him in his work. This was the beginning of an inquiry into the cultural past of Germany which lasted throughout the lifetime of both brothers and resulted in the establishment of an expertise in the language and literature of its recorded past.

While Jacob was in Paris Wilhelm asked him to look for manuscripts containing old German poems and stories which might be unique and unknown.² On his way back to Germany Jacob stopped in Trier to visit the library there, and after a conversation with the librarian he made up his mind to dedicate himself to the thorough research of older German literature to the best of his ability. Jacob did not continue his studies at Marburg, but found a position as a secretary in the war ministry in Kassel and then used every available free moment to pursue his research in the literature and poetry of the Middle Ages.³

The literary knowledge of the twenty-year-old brothers was prodigious. Hermann Gerstner finds that they not only knew the authors of their field of research, such as Frauenlob, Gottfried von Strassburg, Hartmann von Aue, and others, but that they also were familiar with writers of Antiquity, such as Aristoteles, Cicero, Tacitus, Virgil, and many more. They were familiar with Spanish and English writers, with the older German writers of the eighteenth century, and personally acquainted with many writers of the Romantic Period.⁴

The brothers became contributors to learned journals and the works of other writers during 1805 and 1806. Their principal contributions concerned the literature of the Middle Ages such as minstrel songs, the

Nibelungen epic, and comparisons of old legends with poetry and history. Wilhelm wrote with respect to their personal hardships and reflecting on the turbulence of the Napoleonic years:

Das Drückende jener Zeiten zu überwinden half denn auch der Eifer, womit die altdeutschen Studien getrieben wurden. Ohne Zweifel hatten die Weltereignisse und das Bedürfnis, sich in den Frieden der Wissenschaften zurückzuziehen, beigetragen, dass jene lange vergessene Literatur wieder erweckt wurde; allein man suchte nicht bloss in der Vergangenheit einen Trost, auch die Hoffnung war natürlich, dass diese Richtung zu der Rückkehr einer andern Zeit etwas beitragen könne.⁵

The year 1811 saw the publication of their first independent works. Jacob published Über den altdeutschen Meistergesang in Göttingen, and Wilhelm's book Altdänische Heldenlieder, Balladen und Märchen Übersetzt, appeared in Heidelberg. During the following year a manuscript containing both of their names was sent to the publisher Reimer in Berlin. This manuscript, Kinder- und Hausmärchen, eventually made them famous the world over. It contained 86 numbered--but 100 individual--tales gathered as a by-product of the brothers' research and sent at this time to the publisher because the writer Achim von Arnim, a close friend and associate of Clemens Brentano, urged them not to waste any more time in perfecting the manuscript. The KHM had been gathered primarily during moments when the Grimms were not sitting behind their desks. The

Märchen were told to them on strolls in the countryside, in comfortable garden houses, and at dignified social gatherings. The Grimms saw in them a heritage of the German people which had its origins in ancient times.⁶ Since the tales were supposedly the inheritance of the common, unliterary folk, they were considered tales for children and the home. The Grimms had ready for publication another collection, that of legends (Sagen), and this was kept separate from the "children's and house tales" (Märchen) because of a distinct difference of audience appeal. Jacob Grimm defines this difference as follows:

Das Märchen ist poetischer, die Sage historischer; jenes stehet beinahe nur in sich selber fest, in seiner angeborenen Blüte und Vollendung; die Sage, von einer geringeren Mannigfaltigkeit der Farbe, hat noch das Besondere, dass sie an etwas Bekanntem und Bewusstem hafte, an einem Ort oder einem durch die Geschichte gesicherten Namen. Aus dieser ihrer Gebundenheit folgt, dass sie nicht, gleich dem Märchen, überall zu Hause sein könne.⁷

It was easy for the brothers to make yet another distinction, since they knew very well how they had acquired their product. The Märchen were collected primarily orally, whereas the Sagen were excerpted mostly from old texts. At the time the manuscript of the KHM was being edited for the publisher, the brothers had not had as clear a concept of the differences between varying types of Märchen, so that the KHM contain not only Märchen, as

the title implies, but also a number of Sagen and other stories lying outside the two definitions and considered to be pranks (Schwänke).

When the first manuscript of Märchen was published in 1812 as Kinder- und Hausmärchen, it was accepted by some and criticized by others but rejected by those for whom it was primarily intended, the researchers. Only a few copies sold, yet the brothers already had begun work on a second volume of KHM. Some of the objections to the KHM 1812 concerned the occasional cruelty and baseness of the content to which it was felt children should not be subjected. The brothers had not really intended to publish the KHM for children, but because of repeated criticism in relation to the potential harm to children, Wilhelm Grimm explained the brothers' stand in the foreword to the second volume of the KHM, published in 1814:

Wir wollten indess durch unsere Sammlung nicht blos der Geschichte der Poesie einen Dienst erweisen, es war zugleich Absicht, dass die Poesie selbst, die darin lebendig ist, wirke: erfreue, wen sie erfreuen kann, und darum auch, dass ein eigentliches Erziehungsbuch daraus werde. Gegen das letztere ist eingewendet worden, dass doch eins und das andere in Verlegenheit setze und für Kinder unpassend oder anstössig sey (wie die Berührung mancher Zustände und Verhältnisse, auch vom Teufel liess man sie nicht gern etwas böses hören) und Eltern es ihnen geradezu nicht in die Hände geben wollten. Für einzelne Fälle mag die Sorge recht seyn und da leicht ausgewählt werden; im Ganzen ist sie gewiss unnöthig. Nichts besser kann uns vertheidigen, als die Natur selber, welche gerade diese Blumen und Blätter in dieser Farbe und Gestalt hat wachsen

lassen; wem sie nicht zuträglich sind, nach besondern Bedürfnissen, wovon jene nichts weiss, kann leicht daran vorbeigehen, aber er kann nicht fordern, dass sie darnach anders gefärbt und geschnitten werden sollen. . . .⁸

Their position, reaffirmed repeatedly in letters to Savigny and Arnim, was that they had hoped the book would become an educational compendium for children, but that it would be unwise to take out offensive materials since the children could profit from that controlled exposure to reality.⁹ In Vienna, for example, the books were forbidden because they seemed to stress the superstitious, but the Grimms were not intimidated by such developments. The collection of the Märchen of the second volume was a joint effort by the brothers, but readying the manuscript for publication fell upon Wilhelm, since Jacob was out of the country--first as secretary to the Hessian ambassador in France and later as secretary to the Hessian delegate to the Congress of Vienna.

On December 20, 1814, Wilhelm wrote to Jacob in Vienna that the second volume of the KHM had appeared, and when Jacob received the copies late in January of 1815 and found that the book was smaller, inferior to its companion, and too expensive for a quick sale in Austria he nevertheless looked forward to the collecting of Märchen for a third volume. Before Jacob could return Wilhelm approached him by letter about a reprint of the first

volume, because the 900 copies were almost sold.¹⁰ However, Jacob suggested that they wait and revise the first and the second volumes for publication in a second, revised edition. In the meantime he wanted to publish the collection of Sagen, for which he expected a more learned audience, as evidenced by a letter to Arnim: "Die Lese-welt wird die Märchen anziehender finden, dagegen interessieren sich wohl schon einige Historici für die Sagen, an denen die Märchen vorbeiliefen."¹¹ The second revised and enlarged edition of the two previously published volumes of KHM appeared in 1819. A third volume, containing only notes to the 1819 edition, was printed in 1822. It was not until 1837 that the KHM were published, slightly revised and enlarged to 167 numbered tales, as the third complete edition. In the meantime the Grimms found it necessary to yield to public pressure in regard to the heterogeneous content of the complete editions of the KHM. They decided to publish the most popular Märchen of the complete KHM in a "small edition" in 1825. This small edition, containing 50 select Märchen of the 160 numbered tales in the KHM 1819, illustrated by their brother Ludwig Emil Grimm, became the actual Märchenbuch for children, and it quickly gained popularity throughout Germany. It filled a gap in entertaining but suitable books for children that had never

previously been acknowledged in German literature.¹²

During the lifetime of the Grimm brothers the small edition appeared ten times and the complete edition --usually with slight revisions, omissions, and additions --seven times. Wilhelm Grimm was responsible for all further editions after the first, while his brother Jacob became more and more involved in the study of German philology.

Ludwig Denecke writes that Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm gave the literary world a new Gattung, because the tale collected orally from a narrator had until then been considered unliterary and worthy of extinction.¹³ Criticism of oral tales had always existed. It came from the Church which found a moral intent to be lacking, from literary aesthetes who found the tales "boring" and without cultural relevance, and from pedagogues who preferred to force feed the child with ideologically controlled pap.

Each generation has found something in the KHM with which it can identify. Denecke emphasizes that when Jacob Grimm died in 1863, the commemorating speeches of philologists were respectful, free of prejudice, and critically positive toward the accomplishments of his scholarship.¹⁴ In 1885, on Jacob Grimm's 100th birthday, the patriotic hero-worship of a new generation determined the mood of the speeches. Now the Grimms began to be

misunderstood. Their unintended contribution to the content of Wagner's mythological operas contributed to a popular belief that they had encouraged the notion of a German national superiority. The twentieth century followed this unfortunate trend with the "Romanticizing" of the Grimms. Writers such as Ricarda Huch saw in many medieval German towns, for example, the ghosts of the Grimms' Märchen.¹⁵ The "Romantic" landscape traversed by the young Germans of the 1920's--like that of the 1820s--was populated by Märchen characters. Germany, the homeland, became the source of ancient Teutonic powers to which every German should return and Hitler popularized the Märchen with the idea of causing the young to espouse the "fairy tale" extremes of good and bad, reward and revenge, and making sure that the "bad" were clearly identifiable as the Jews and other unwanted societal elements. It is a sad commentary on the history of the Kinder- und Hausmärchen that the Grimms' Märchen collections were replaced during the nineteenth century by "softer" versions of popular German folk tales--only to be reintroduced in the twentieth century by the Nazis, who wanted a "tougher," more pagan Volk. For better or worse, both varieties of the Grimms' KHM are in abundance today, and it is pleasing to note that precisely in the "hard" sort a definite ethical, humane intent was the

conscious handiwork of Wilhelm Grimm. That becomes evident in analysis of the revisions made in the succeeding editions of the KHM in respect to the depicting of good and evil, virtue and sin.

The Seven Cardinal Virtues and
Sins in Western Christian Culture

While Jacob was still in Vienna, the brothers decided to revise the KHM 1812 before reprinting it. Three years passed before Wilhelm finally started to prepare both KHM 1812 and 1814 for publication. He made the decision to bring the first volume into stylistic conformity with the second. Major differences were "unliterary style," the fragmentary state of some of the tales, and the paucity of dialogue in the 1812 text. The second volume showed an increased use of direct speech, elaboration of plot, and only a small number of "foreign" (non-Germanic) words as compared to the first volume. In the second volume Wilhelm has also started to develop a simple, natural, narrative style which lacked the florid tone of popular literary tales.

The new edition of the KHM, which appeared in 1819, showed the complete stylistic revision of the first volume but only minor changes in the second. The collection was increased by five numbered tales to 160. From the older first edition about 30 numbered tales were

either totally replaced or combined with other numbered tales. None of the tales of the new edition showed the former traces of non-Germanic words such as Prinz or regieren, and this trend was maintained throughout the other five editions of the KHM during Wilhelm Grimm's lifetime. Another deletion affected the sections and stories offensive to children. Wilhelm wrote in his foreword to the second edition; "Wir suchen die Reinheit in Wahrheit einer geraden, nichts Unrechtes im Rückhalt bergenden Erzählung. Dabei haben wir jeden für das Kinderalter nicht passenden Ausdruck in dieser neuen Auflage sorgfältig gelöscht."

In a close reading of the KHM 1812/14 and the KHM 1857, I have noticed that the revisions described above also affected the textual demonstration of the seven cardinal virtues and sins. They are almost non-existent in the KHM 1812, but are manifestly present in the KHM 1814. The KHM 1857, the seventh revised edition, shows them present in both volumes, strongly revised in the first, but hardly changed in the second. My checks of the third, fourth, and fifth editions of the KHM found no deviations from the seventh edition. The major revisions must have been made either in the third edition of 1837, or the second edition of 1819. Since I was unable to consult the KHM 1819, I relied on Kurt Schmidt's

comparison of a select number of Märchen in all complete and selected editions, starting with the manuscript of 1810--called the Ölenberger Handschrift--which was lost by Brentano and found a century later among his papers in the Ölenberg Monastery.¹⁶ Schmidt's comparison shows that the major revisions took place in the second complete edition of 1819. After this edition, only minor changes, often only affecting word order, were made.

I assumed that the revision in regard to the enhanced representation of the cardinal virtues and sins might also have its origin in the popularity of the medieval words and biblical terms of the sixteenth century. To my knowledge, the most authoritative writer on the subject of the seven cardinal virtues and sins is Morton W. Bloomfield. His book The Seven Deadly Sins is an introduction to the history of a religious concept and, despite the title, concerns itself exclusively with the untangling of the seven cardinal virtues and sins from a confusing array of theological texts up to the fifteenth century.¹⁷ Other writers concerned with the subject generally specialize on particular virtues or sins and refer to Bloomfield for an overall historical discussion. I will quote them when specific considerations of cardinal virtues and sins need to be defined. In Die Lehre von den Umständen der menschlichen Handlung

im Mittelalter, Johannes Gründel confirms in painstaking detail, by excerpting vast amounts of source material, what Bloomfield has to say.¹⁸

The seven cardinal virtues in their present form are handed down to us from about the fourth century. The listing of sins was an ancient and widespread practice, which may be traced to the "power of the name" and the fear of committing sins unconsciously. Basically, the concept of the seven cardinal sins is a product of the Hellenistic Age, an age which is of obvious importance in an understanding of the bases of both Christian and Mohammedan civilizations. Bloomfield explains that Catholic theology has always made a distinction between the cardinal (or chief, or capital) sins and the deadly (or mortal) sins. The former set consisted simply of the most important spiritual sins, whose names became standardized and remained relatively unchanged. The latter set consisted of those sins listed in the Bible, which inevitably lead to damnation and the death of the soul. They chiefly comprised the ten commandments, but they were never standardized. However, when confessors administering the sacrament of penance needed a convenient and handy list of sins in their pastoral work, they used the list of cardinal sins. Laymen, especially after the cardinal sins became popular in liaterature and art from

the twelfth century on, tended to think of the cardinal sins as the deadly sins. Thomas Aquinas referred to the deadly sins as cardinal sins in his book Summa theologiae (1266-73). They were not the only causes of sin in his ethics, nor did their commission, if unconfessed, inevitably lead to damnation. Even though for a time laymen, especially artists and writers, were able to distinguish between the two sets, by the fourteenth century reference to the cardinal sins or the deadly sins brought about much confusion.

In the various appearances of the cardinal sins in theological writings, literature and art throughout the Middle Ages Bloomfield has found that the sins are predominately depicted as in contention with the virtues for man's soul. The virtuous life in Christianity was therefore regarded as an unrelenting struggle against evil. In Greek ethical thought as found in Plato and Aristotle the virtuous life was not conceived as a struggle or battle. Classical Greek philosophy tended to think that any example of misapplied reason was a vice, whereas in the Christian era vice was considered to be a force which came from without (the Devil) paralyzing man's ability to act freely. A Greek citizen was simply guilty of wrong judgment; a Christian (prior to the Reformation) was considered sinful.

The virtues and vices had origins independent of each other, and thus historically they did not develop as matched opposites. Special sets of virtues called remedia were invented by writers to depict the struggle against each of the seven cardinal sins, and in art depictions of the seven cardinal virtues prevailed over representations of the cardinal sins. Theologians usually recommended the seven cardinal virtues as antidotes to the cardinal sins, while being careful not to consider them matched pairs. The original seven cardinal virtues, which developed independently of the cardinal sins, represent a combination of the four cardinal virtues--Fortitude, Prudence, Temperance, and Justice--found in Cicero and ultimately going back to Plato, and the three Christian virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity. It is interesting to note that Faith and Hope introduce a future-orientation, an utopian element so-to-speak, into the canon. The four Greek virtues and the single all-pervading virtue of Love relate to the present.

The history of the seven cardinal sins in the Middle Ages begins with Cassian, a pupil of Evagrius. Writing mainly for monastics, he adhered to a list of eight cardinal sins which held that pride was the root and origin of all sins. Cassian was followed in these concerns by Gregory the Great (d. 604) a century and a half

later, who made important and significant changes in the concept of the cardinal sins, so that they achieved greater popularity and became part of the general theological and devotional tradition. He eventually merged vana gloria with superbia and thereby reduced the number to seven. The list became: superbia, ira, invidia, avaritia, acedia, gula, and luxuria. The sins at this stage were not necessarily considered of mortal concern, nor were they used at this time in the examination of individual conscience in the confessional.

The modern world since the Renaissance, with its emphasis on individualism, has tended to look upon Pride as a venial sin. Until then, Pride had been considered the sin of rebellion against God, the sin of exaggerated individualism. In the words of Bloomfield:

Pride meant rebellion, dangerous independent thinking, setting up one's own interests as supreme; meant disobedience, upsetting the divinely appointed order, --and--above all--ultimately heresy. So it was that to medieval order and discipline, pride appeared as the worst of all the sins and root of all evil.
(p. 75)

In the later Middle Ages, Avarice gained increasing emphasis as the cause of all sin, but it did not replace Pride officially, because by that time the cardinal sins had gained official status.

Bloomfield informs us further that the preachers often used the cardinal sins in their messages to the

people and that it would be hard to exaggerate their influence in popularizing this concept. In fact, they and the confessors impressed the cardinal sins so deeply on the popular mind that the cardinal sins came to occupy a much more important place in the lay conception of religion than their position in theology warranted. They became a vivid concept, much more vivid than the virtues or any other list of sins.

In the late twelfth and through the thirteenth century far-reaching changes in the life style of the population had begun to take place throughout Europe. The Crusades had opened up Islamic civilization to the East, towns were increasing in importance, the bourgeoisie became more powerful, national and private wealth increased, and intellectual life broadened. The Church began to stabilize its doctrine: Confession was made obligatory and the individual priest was given more power in judgment and absolution. Works of instruction were written, sermons were held in the vernacular to explain the faith to the masses, and handbooks on preaching as well as collections of stories called exempla appeared with increasing frequency in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Exempla or narrationes were of particular importance in popularizing a knowledge of the cardinal sins.

To be sure, changes of emphasis developed in the

treatment of the cardinal sins. Greater stress was laid on Avarice from the twelfth century on. The change of economic values from agrarian to mercantile was one of the contributing factors. There was also a change in acedia. Its spiritual meaning--"dryness of the spirit"--wore away and more and more frequently it was used as a synonym for Sloth. It eventually came to be known as Laziness. Bloomfield explains that:

Attacks on avarice are often directed against incipient capitalism, the despiritualization of sloth is a counterattack on feudalism. One is a foray of an aroused nobility fighting for its right; the other is a countercharge by the bourgeoisie. They both reflect a changing society and a conflict of ideologies. (p. 96)

Envy also seemed to become more significant in the Middle Ages as a result of social changes. The developing bourgeois point of view also had a tendency to emphasize the evils of drink as the most significant aspect of Gluttony. In the later sixteenth century Protestantism never gave essential consideration to the cardinal sins, since they were not listed in the Bible.

The Western medieval world has been considered a unity centering around Catholic theology and religion. However, Bloomfield has argued that a unity in the full sense of the term never existed. Still, the Church and all it stood for provided a system of beliefs, a set of standards, and a world view founded on faith which gave

Western civilization at least a sense of unity that has not been felt again since the sixteenth century.

The sixteenth century is known for drastic changes in the order of political systems and for having produced great men who helped shape our present society. William J. Bossenbrook, in his book The German Mind, has traced corporative and class structures in the late Middle Ages which led both to social turbulence and the sense of a breakdown of all ecclesiastical means of salvation.¹⁹ He writes that the peasant was becoming self-conscious for the first time in Western History. In the literature of the period peasants were shown as overcoming their burgher and noble competitors by shrewdness and wit. Such folk heroes were immortalized by Hans Sachs in his plays and pranks. On the one hand the upper class idealized the simplicity and naturalness of peasant life, on the other they regarded the peasant as a dumb brute who often broke out in terrible rages and went berserk in violent uprisings such as the peasant revolts on the colonial lands of the archbishopric of Bremen, which lasted five years (1229-34).

In the early sixteenth century class lines became blurred. Poverty forced knights to live like peasants, yet sons of peasants became successful in the wars and rose to noble rank, though princely oligarchy excluded

all but the nobility from imperial affairs. Bossenbrook says that in the peasant mind had long existed the image of a messianic emperor who would eventually ride out of the Black Forest on a white horse and make all things right. Originally associated with Frederick II in the fifteenth century, the legend was ultimately transferred to Frederick Barbarossa who then also came to be represented mythically as sitting in the Kyffhäuser Mountains, awaiting the call of his people for deliverance.

The loss of an assured sense of providential order led to a revival of that fear of dark forces which had also pervaded late ancient and early medieval times. Bossenbrook describes Western man as standing between the divine and the demonic and leaning more than ever on relic and wonder-working image, upon astrology and alchemy, and even upon witchcraft and demonology. Not only alchemists and astrologers but women also were generally suspected of being in league with the devil.

Out of this confusion, which the KHM reflect so well, were heard the voices of three men who tried to bring order and wisdom to the people and whose philosophies may live on in the content of the KHM. Erasmus, Paracelsus, and Luther helped create a rebirth of confidence in man's cultural achievements, in the creative forces of the universe, and in personal paths to salvation.

Bossenbrook describes the philosophy of Erasmus (1466-1536), who in his Praise of Folly presented Folly often as the highest wisdom. It is a wisdom that puts a higher value on the relations of men to one another than on mere technical mastery, philosophical profundity, or religious enthusiasm. Man is viewed as sharing the foibles and sufferings of his fellowman. Bossenbrook interprets further that the truly natural man appears no longer disguised by the theological conception of original sin or by the astrological notion of sidereal fate. He does not really need relic and saint nor horoscope and crucible to give him assurance of Salvation; he needs only the example of the Son of Man, who in His ministry and teaching revealed how truly human and divine are fused. Erasmus' vision of recovering the Christ-like life after centuries of encrustation of dogma, sacramentalism, and superstition lay in opening the way back for the enlightened few who could rid themselves of accumulated dogma and superstition and return to that universal conception of man which, foreshadowed by Socrates and the great Greek philosophers, was given complete form in Christ and in the teachings of the apostles and Church Fathers.

Bossenbrook goes on to say that what Christianity had in common with Greek philosophy lay in the realm of morality and ethics and not in the field of religion.

Erasmus was actively concerned with reform within the church, but primarily through the education of its leaders; as for the masses, they apparently, in his thinking, required a lower grade of religion involving assurances of salvation through sacrament, saint, and relic.

Sebastian Brant (1457-1521) was a German humorist and satirist who is known for his famous satire Das Narrenschiff. In the form of an allegory (a ship laden with fools and steered by fools via Schlauffenland to the fool's paradise of Narragonia) Brant exposes the human follies, weaknesses, and vices of his time. The fools represent the avaricious man, the liar, the lazy peasant, the "eternal" student, wicked woman, and countless others in grotesque pictures, few of whom managed to reach the shore of wisdom. Brant's eyes were opened to the abuses in the Church, and the Narrenschiff was a most effective preparation for the Protestant Reformation.

Martin Luther (1483-1546) had been reared in the peasant atmosphere of fear of hell, devil, demons, and witches. He developed in spite of this depressing background to stand for inner freedom in the face of a legalistic and outwardly controlled code of conduct, both in religious and moral matters. There were varying reactions to Luther's basic position, reactions which held that this position was based on sheer subjectivism and

would lead to individual license in moral and religious affairs since no objective ecclesiastic authority existed for determining for the common people either personal goodness or religious truth. But Luther for all of his belief in the justness of individual freedom was also convinced of the necessity of the individual's subjugation to local political authority. That is the dubious message of his essay Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen (1520), a message that in modern times impresses some as hypocritical.

The appeal of Paracelsus (1493-1541) was less broadly based, and the individualism he espoused was of a less political, more spiritual nature and therefore less ambivalent than that championed by Luther. Yet both are ultimately identified--in history as well as in popular tradition--with the espousal of that right of the individual to strive for personal satisfaction and self-salvation that is also the essence of the Märchen as a genre. Paracelsus insisted that the healing of the sick, the enhancement of the knowledge of the art of healing, and a sense of divine calling or mission must go hand in hand. A man who held such a pronounced view, who could affect apparently miraculous cures, and who virtually converted medicine into a priestly vocation necessarily gained both enemies and disciplines. Legends

ranged from his being on intimate terms with the devil to his being immortal. His philosophy was that the physician is a priest, the intermediary between man, Nature, and God. In sickness, man's intended accord with Nature is made apparent. Sickness is a disturbance of divine harmony. A specific remedy exists for each ailment, and every man may and should become his own physician. This highly speculative and rather mystical nature-philosophy exerted an enormous influence on German thought down to the second half of the nineteenth century, as Bossenbrook states: "Its basic notion of nature as a creative process is to be found especially in Goethe and the Romantics" (p. 102).

The Germans of the sixteenth century had no awareness of national continuity. They were separated from the ancient world by the era of Western Christian culture, whose unifying force had then been interrupted by tumultuous developments of two centuries of scientific discovery and intellectual progress in the Renaissance. Despite the desire for a steady, paralleling rebirth and reform of religion and culture, the phrase "return to the sources" came to have an ambiguous meaning to the German people. It might mean drinking at the Greek or Latin springs of Western religion and culture but it might also suggest national rebirth through return to the Germanic

folk sources. Consciousness of a conflict between these two paths became evident in the sixteenth century and was to be revived again and again down to the twentieth century. The folk tales of the West reflect this conflict in archetypal narrative patterns and character symbolism, and an essential step in the preservation of this multi-valent heritage has been the production--for scientific and cultural reasons--of the Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm. The collecting and editing of these tales by Jacob and Wilhelm were a part of the Romantic effort to reach back over the Revolution and the Enlightenment to a more harmonious threshold into the modern era--to the sixteenth century.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter I

¹This reference is found in Jacob Grimm's autobiography in Jacob Grimm: Kleinere Schriften, edited by K. Müllenhoff and E. Ippel, 8 volumes (Berlin: Ferd. Dümmlers Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1864-1890), I, p. 5.

²See the letter dated March 24, 1805 in modern edition of Briefwechsel zwischen Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm aus der Jugendzeit, edited by Herman Grimm and Gustav Hinrichs.--Second and enlarged edition by Wilhelm Schoof (Weimar: Herman Böhlau Nachfolger, 1963), p. 40.

³Jacob Grimm: Kleinere Schriften, Autobiography, I, p. 9.

⁴Hermann Gerstner, Brüder Grimm in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH, 1973), pp. 29-31.

⁵Kleinere Schriften von Wilhelm Grimm, edited by Gustav Hinrichs, 4 volumes (Berlin: Ferd. Dümmlers Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1881-1887), I, p. 12.

⁶Gerstner, Selbstzeugnisse, p. 41.

⁷Gerstner, p. 49.

⁸This introduction is seldom reprinted in new editions of the KHM because, of course, the 1857 edition is used as the "original." I quote the passage from Kleinere Schriften von Wilhelm Grimm, I, p. 331.

⁹The letter to Savigny is found in Briefe der Brüder Grimm an Savigny, edited in collaboration with Ingeborg Schnack, by Wilhelm Schoof (Berlin: E. Schmidt 1953), p. 143. Reference to the letter to Arnim is found in Gerstner, Selbstzeugnisse, p. 43.

¹⁰Briefwechsel aus der Jugendzeit, p. 452.

¹¹Gerstner, Selbstzeugnisse, p. 52.

¹²The continuing existence of many such gaps is discussed in the important annotated bibliography by Ludwig Denecke, Jacob Grimm und sein Bruder Wilhelm (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1971), pp. 76-77.

¹³Denecke, p. 83.

¹⁴Denecke, p. 179.

¹⁵Martin Hürlimann, Deutschland--Bilder seiner Landschaft und Kultur, with an introduction by Ricarda Huch (Freiburg i. Br. und Zürich: Atlantis Verlag, 1951). The introduction is printed here unrevised from the original edition, no date.

¹⁶Kurt Schmidt, Die Entwicklung der Grimmschen Kinder- und Hausmärchen seit der Urhandschrift nebst einem kritischen Texte der in die Drucke übergegangenen Stücke.

¹⁷My short survey of the history of the cardinal virtues and sins up to the fifteenth century is based on Bloomfield's study, pp. 40-100.

¹⁸Johannes Gründel, Die Lehre von den Umständen der menschlichen Handlung im Mittelalter.

¹⁹My survey of the development of a national consciousness and its major contributors during the sixteenth century is based on Bossenbrook's study, pp. 80-130.

CHAPTER II

THE FREQUENCY OF THE TERMS RELATING TO THE CARDINAL VIRTUES AND SINS DEPICTED IN THE KINDER- UND HAUSMÄRCHEN

Introduction to the List of Occurrences

In order to determine the importance of the vices and virtues in the KHM it was necessary to make a count of the occurrences of the nouns belonging to both categories. An attempt was made to find the German nominal equivalents of the virtues Fortitude, Prudence, Temperance, Justice, Faith, Hope, and Charity, and of the vices Pride, Avarice, Lust, Gluttony, Envy, Anger, and Sloth. In addition, a search was made also for the German words for Virtue and Vice. Even though the term "Virtue" was found to be represented, the word "Vice" could not once be located. Throughout the KHM the categories for Vice were found attributed to "Sin," so that "Vice" (Laster) had to be dropped and "Sin" (Sünde) adopted in its stead.

The avoidance by the Grimms of the word "Vice" was considered by me to be a significant factor in pursuing this investigation, since it seemed to remove the KHM semantically from a secular atmosphere of moralistic cliches and moved them more nearly into the scope of

theological history. A survey of scholarly works on the history of the cardinal virtues and sins revealed the carefully manipulated political and cultural influence of these concepts on German thought and action, through the ages, an influence which reached its peak at the end of the Middle Ages.

Throughout recorded theological and literary history, concern was apparently shown by theologians to limit the cardinal virtues and sins to a total of seven or eight in each category. A similar concern apparently was observed by the Grimms in the KHM; e.g., a person, whose heart was filled with Pride, might lie or kill but he could not be redeemed through divine or worldly grace until this Pride was broken. Social virtues--pursued by society in the late eighteenth century as illustrated by Bruford¹ and elaborated in works on morality by contemporary philosophers²--such as Industry, Frugality, Moderation, or Modesty, were mentioned by the Grimms but not in their best-known tales. Christian sins--contained in the ten commandments and illustrated in parables--such as Stealing, Lying, Murder, or Unfaithfulness were represented in a limited number. Contrasting pairs, such as Diligence and Laziness, Knowledge and Naivety, Loyalty and Disloyalty were part of several popular tales, but Love and Hate, Avarice and Generosity, or Gluttony and

Moderation were almost non-existent.

The KHM comprise 211 numbered tales, which includes ten appended Kinderlegenden and an apparently miscounted tale that assumes the number 151a ("Die zwölf faulen Knechte"). Though the second volume ends with the number 200, there are 201 numbered tales (excluding the Kinderlegenden), and several of these consist of two or three variants under a single title.

The following "list of occurrences" records the frequency in the 211 numbered tales of the KHM of the words designating the concept of Virtue, Sin, and their fourteen categories in noun forms, henceforth referred to as "cardinal nouns." The adjectives corresponding to these cardinal nouns were also counted and their numerical frequency is given in parentheses under the noun headings. The list of occurrences is based on the seventh edition of the KHM, which appeared in 1857 and was the last edition personally checked by Wilhelm Grimm. In a comparison of KHM 1857 with KHM 1812 and KHM 1814, i.e., volumes one and two of the first edition, I observed that the cardinal nouns were almost all in their final form in KHM 1814 but that the tales of KHM 1812 contained few of the cardinal nouns. Several times, when narrative situations in KHM 1812 were identical in structure to KHM 1857, adjectives had been used instead of nouns. In some instances, when

a cardinal noun was used in KHM 1812 but in later revisions did not seem important to the tale, the noun was changed to an adjective. It is because of such substitutions that I have also listed the adjective equivalents of the cardinal nouns. That a retention of the cardinal word concept from first to final edition--as substitute or adjective--was effected, seems to underscore the thematic importance in the eyes of the Grimms of the cardinal virtues and sins in the KHM and suggests that Wilhelm, who was responsible for revising KHM 1812, was clearly motivated by a didactic concern.

In the list of occurrences slightly less than 50 per cent, or specifically 100 of the tales, contain no cardinal nouns. The adjectival function is stressed in titles such as "Der gescheite Hans" (KHM 32), "Die kluge Bauerntochter" (KHM 94), "Ferenand getrü und ungetrü" (KHM 126), or "Die faule Spinnerin" (KHM 128), and 43 tales contain adjectives corresponding to the cardinal nouns. This leaves 57 tales which contain no references to the cardinal nouns. Some of these tales treat moral topics referring to Christian or social virtues and sins such as "Der Räuberbräutigam" (KHM 40), "Das eigensinnige Kind" (KHM 117), "Der undankbare Sohn" (KHM 145), or "Der gestohlene Heller" (KHM 154). In others the entire tale rather than well-placed moralistic terms emphasizes the

message for the reader. The tale "Der alte Grossvater und der Enkel" (KHM 78) illustrates the commandment "honor your father and your mother," using factual rather than moralistic semantics. "Der Fundevogel" (KHM 51), which is one of Jacob Grimm's contributions, illustrates love and hate, where love is explained but hate is not. "Der alte Hildebrand" (KHM 95) presents a case against a corrupt clergyman involved in adultery. In "Der gestohlene Heller" (KHM 154) only the title names the sin, for the story itself does not say explicitly that the hiding of a coin intended for a poor man was theft, even in its description of the child's restlessness in her grave.

"Der Nagel" (KHM 184) gives the impression that it illustrates Avarice, because the principle character has a bag of money but does not want to replace a nail in the shoe of his horse--which costs him his horse. The tale closes with the proverb "Eile mit Weile" (haste makes waste). A similar situation is referred to in Freidanks Bescheidenheit, a middle high German poem first published by Wilhelm Grimm in 1834 and later revised by him and reprinted in 1860.³ The poet had accompanied Emperor Frederick II on the sixth crusade (1228-29) and became known in literary history as Freidank. In a separate essay Wilhelm praises Freidank's Bescheidenheit for its tolerant view of contemporary society, referring to the

poem as a:

Weltspiegel, in welchem die verschiedenen Stände von dem Papste und Kaiser bis herab zu den Knechten, die öffentlichen und häuslichen Verhältnisse, der religiöse Glaube, Tugenden und Laster in mannigfaltiger Abwechslung berührt und dargestellt werden. . . . Die Ausfüllung des Werkes besteht grossenteils aus den dem ganzen Volke zugehörigen Sprichwörtern, die frisch und lebendig, frei und geistreich, häufig mit Anmut und Zierlichkeit ausgedrückt werden. Wir besitzen also zugleich . . . eine Popularphilosophie . . . die in der eigentümlichen und lebensvollen Bildung jenes Zeitalters lag.⁴

Wilhelm seems especially approving of Freidank's non-didactic, non-moralizing attitude. In the thirteenth century such authorial restraint might have been taken for granted, but at the onset of the nineteenth century a more progressive response to the inequities of a continuing feudal system in Germany could be expected. The Grimms had the same opportunity with the KHM that Freidank had with the Bescheidenheit. It remains to be seen whether they chose to make their "Weltspiegel" into a moralizing, didactic collection of exempla through manipulation of the cardinal virtues and sins or whether the KHM were to be simply a tableau depicting the German heritage in an undeniably entertaining format.

At any rate, both Freidank and Wilhelm Grimm found pleasure in the "story of the nail." Under the heading "VON DEN WISEN UNDE TOREN" Freidank writes:

ich hoere sagen die wîsen
ein nagel behalte ein îsen,

ein [^]isenz ros, ein ros den man,
 ein man die burc, der strüten kan:
 ein burc daz lant betwinget
 daz es nâch hulden ringet'.
 der nagel der ist wol bewant,
 der [^]isen ros man burc und lant
 solher êren geholfen hât,
 dâ von sîn name so hōhe stât.⁵

The point of the chain-narrative is not the reluctance of a stingy man to replace a nail but rather the willingness of wise men to honor the nail--the smallest element in a total system--because of its fundamental importance. If the reader knows this reference, he will think the rich man in the KHM story unwise; if he does not know the reference, he will think him simply miserly. The consequences are twofold: since the outcome was to the rich man's disadvantage, the reader who thought him unwise would feel sorry for him, but the reader who thought him miserly would think that he deserved to lose the horse. Wilhelm Grimm, who always tried to see the good in people, probably had the attitude of the former reader, but since he knew his contemporaries quite well, he added no interpretive clue other than the concluding proverb.

Freidank's poem from the thirteenth century, which is not a theological piece of writing, describes secular concern of virtues, vices, and sins. In his introductory remarks Wilhelm argues that Freidank "wollte . . . die welt belehren, und ihr einen spiegel vorhalten: er that

es auf eine geistreiche weise indem er dem überlieferten lebendigen wort, der weisheit des volks, das urtheil in den mund legte."⁶ It seems as if Wilhelm Grimm used the KHM to put wisdom and judgment into the mouth of the folk, because, of the three superficial sub-groups in the KHM--non-dialect and dialect tales, but also legends for children--two of them--the dialect tales and the legends for children--contain few or no cardinal nouns. Only three of the twenty tales printed in dialect contain cardinal nouns. Wilhelm Schoof writes of "Von dem Fischer un syner Fru" (KHM 19) that this low German tale was recorded by the painter Philipp Otto Runge, sent by his publisher to Achim von Arnim, and, when Arnim was visiting the Grimms in 1809, they made a copy of it.⁷ This tale, as well as Runge's "Von dem Machandelboom" (KHM 47), became stylistic models for the Grimms, but apparently the Grimms felt no compulsion to edit statements about sins or virtues into them. Runge suggested that these tales should be told, not read. Of the Kinderlegenden, also meant for a non-reading audience, only one of the ten tales (KHM/KL 6) contains cardinal nouns. Despite Runge's model, the Grimms must have realized that both divisions were geared to audiences less sophisticated than a typical reading public. Abstract vocabulary may have been intentionally avoided and messages conveyed by way of the subject matter.

Most of the tales printed in the KHM were originally told in dialect but recorded in High German. Of the twenty dialect tales published, none of them had its origin in Hesse. Wilhelm Grimm explains in the foreword to KHM 1819 that he and his brother retained tales in relatively pure dialects, but unfortunately the Lower Hessian dialect in the vicinity of Kassel was an impure mixture of Lower Saxon and High German and could therefore not be printed. It is also well known that the narrators who were the Grimms' major sources in Hesse were young, well-educated persons, some of whom had even spoken French in their childhood. Wilhelm writes in the same foreword that, when transcribing these tales, the brothers did not add anything to them, that they did not improve on circumstance or tone, but that idiom and execution of detail were understandably their own contribution.

An attempt is made in the following chapters to discover the intent of the addition of cardinal nouns to the remaining Märchen. However, the list of occurrences makes it possible to anticipate some broad divisions of tales in which these nouns are used. I am aware of the question V. Propp raises in regard to the categories of folk tales. In the first chapter of his Morphology of the Folktale, he describes the advantages and disadvantages of classification into tales with fantastic content, tales

of everyday life, and animal tales (proposed by V. F. Miller)--or mythological tale-fables, pure fairy tales, biological tales and fables, pure animal fables, "genealogical" tales, joke tales and fables, and moral fables (proposed by W. Wundt).⁸ The above are divisions into categories, and Propp attempts to label division according to theme as chaotic. He is dissatisfied with the Aarne-Thompson index of tales by types or themes, since the minuteness of variation between category types is confusing and makes it often impossible to tell where one theme or its variants ends and another begins. Aarne's index is made up of the following categories: animal tales, tales proper, and anecdotes, together with their sub-classes. One of these sub-classes is the fairy tale, which is again divided into the following categories: a supernatural adversary, a supernatural husband/wife, a supernatural task, a supernatural helper, a magic object, supernatural power or knowledge, and other supernatural motifs. Propp again is not satisfied, since no explanation is offered for proceeding when one fairy tale falls into more than one category. The Aarne-Thompson index has the advantage of being at best a practical reference (Propp's own italics), since no two researchers agree on the classification of tales. Rather than commencing their investigation from within the tale, researchers in

the Finnish/historical tradition impose a classification on the tale from without, just as language learning used to be approached from the point of view of the Latin grammar until descriptive linguistics persuaded teachers to seek their explanatory systems from within the particular target language.

Looking at the list of occurrences from within the Märchen it is obvious that of the total number of incidences of the cardinal nouns (300), more than half occur in the first 75 tales. The remaining ones are fairly evenly distributed over the continuing two-thirds of the KHM, with perhaps a slight increase in the last twenty tales. There is a sudden drop in usage to only two cardinal nouns in the ten children's legends added at the end. Most of the first 75 tales are either revisions or substitutions made in 1819. Another look at the list of occurrences reveals that most cardinal nouns occur in the popular tales, whose contents are known the world over. It is not the purpose of this thesis to classify the KHM as to their content. In order to determine what types of tales were most or least affected by the cardinal nouns, I looked for a convenient list of classifications of the KHM, against which I might compare the list of occurrences. Even though most KHM were categorized according to the Aarne-Thompson index, only separate historical studies

were available for some. I therefore decided to use the classification of the KHM by Walter A. Berendsohn in his book Grundformen volkstümlicher Erzählerkunst in den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm.⁹ He drew on Hermann Hamann's study of Die literarischen Vorlagen der Kinder- und Hausmärchen und ihre Bearbeitung durch die Brüder Grimm¹⁰ and disagreed with but quoted Ludwig Felix Weber's dissertation Märchen und Schwank: Eine stilkritische Studie zur Volksdichtung. Berendsohn divided the KHM into seven categories:

1. Actual tales or love tales ("eigentliche Märchen oder Liebesmärchen");
2. Literary love stories ("literarische Liebesgeschichten");
3. Animistic stories of two numbers ("animistische Zweizahlgeschichten");
4. Pranks ("Schwänke");
5. Legends ("Sagen");
6. Children's stories ("Kindergeschichten");
7. Miscellaneous: witty dialogs and social games, riddles, robbery and murder stories, vivid descriptions of proverbs and ethics, undetermined pieces ("Verschiedenes: Scherzgespräche und Gesellschaftsspiele, Rätsel, Raub- und Mordgeschichten; anschauliche Darstellungen von Sprichwörtern und Sittenlehren, unbestimmte Stücke").

The first category from the above list contains 32 "actual tales or love tales." They are given below by number and title, followed by the frequency of the occurrence in each Märchen.

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| 1. Der Froschkönig | 1 |
| 3. Marienkind | 9 |
| 9. Die zwölf Brüder | 1 |

11. Brüderchen und Schwesterchen	3
13. Die drei Männlein im Walde	2
17. Die weisse Schlange	5
21. Aschenputtel	2
29. Der Teufel mit den drei goldenen Haaren	3
49. Die sechs Schwäne	2
53. Sneewittchen	8
57. Der goldene Vogel	4
60. Die zwei Brüder	3
62. Die Bienenkönigin	0
63. Die drei Federn	2
65. Allerleirauh	3
67. Die zwölf Jäger	1
88. Das singende springende Löweneckerchen	0
89. Die Gänsemagd	1
91. Das Erdmännchen	0
92. Der König vom goldenen Berg	0
93. Die Rabe	1
97. Das Wasser des Lebens	1
106. Der arme Müllersbursch	0
111. Der gelernte Jäger	0
113. Die beiden Königskinder	0
123. Die Alte im Wald	0
127. Der Eisenofen	0
135. Die weisse und die schwarze Braut	3
136. Der Eisenhans	1
165. Der Vogel Greif	0
166. Der starke Hans	5
193. Der Trommler	6
	<u>67</u>

Berendsohn's second category enumerates 20 "literary love stories." They are listed below by number and title, and the number of cardinal nouns:

6. Der treue Johannes	10
12. Rapunzel	7
16. Die drei Schlangenblätter	7
31. Das Mädchen ohne Hände	1
50. Dornröschen	2
56. Der Liebste Roland	1
69. Jorinde und Joringel	0
76. Die Nelke	2
96. Die drei Vögelkinder	0
121. Der Königssohn, der sich vor nichts fürchtet	3

126. Ferenand getrü und Ferenand ungetrü	0
130. Einäuglein, Zweiäuglein und Dreiäuglein	2
144. Das Eselein	0
163. Der gläserne Sarg	5
179. Die Gänsehirtin	5
181. Die Nixe im Teich	4
186. Die wahre Braut	4
188. Spindel, Weberschiffchen und Nadel	0
197. Die Kristallkugel	1
198. Jungfrau Maleen	<u>2</u>
	56

The third category includes 5 "animistic stories."

They are listed below by number and title, and the number of cardinal nouns:

28. Der singende Knochen	1
47. Von dem Machandelboom	0
51. Fundevogel	0
79. Die Wassernixe	0
85. Die Goldkinder	<u>4</u>
	5

The fourth category enumerates 94 "pranks." Only those pranks involving cardinal nouns are listed by number and title; those which do not are listed by number only:

2. Katze und Maus in Gesellschaft	4
4. Märchen von einem der auszog das Fürchten zu lernen	1
7. Der gute Handel	9
10. Das Lumpengesindel	1
14. Die drei Spinnerinnen	3
19. Von dem Fischer un syner Fru	3
20. Das tapfere Schneiderlein	10
34. Die kluge Else	1
35. Der Schneider in Himmel	3
36. Tischchen deck dich, Goldesel und Knüttel aus dem Sack	4
37. Daumesdick	1
44. Der gevatter Tod	1
52. König Drosselbart	3
54. Der Ranzen, das Hüttlein und das Hörnlein	3

55. Rumpelstilzchen	2
58. Der Hund und der Sperling	4
70. Die drei Glückskinder	1
71. Sechse kommen durch die ganze Welt	3
72. Der Wolf und der Mensch	2
74. Der Fuchs und die Frau Gevatterin	1
75. Der Fuchs und die Katze	1
77. Das kluge Gretel	2
81. Bruder Lustig	3
84. Hans heiratet	1
87. Der Arme und der Reiche	1
90. Der junge Riese	4
101. Der Bärenhäuter	2
107. Die beiden Wanderer	3
110. Der Jude im Dorn	2
114. Vom klugen Schneiderlein	3
116. Das blaue Licht	1
118. Die drei Feldscherer	1
120. Die drei Handwerksburschen	1
122. Der Krautesel	3
132. Der Fuchs und das Pferd	2
133. Die zertanzten Schuhe	1
134. Die sechs Diener	6
142. Simeliberg	1
146. Die Rübe	8
149. Der Hahnenbalken	1
151a. Die zwölf faulen Knechte	6
156. Die Schlickerlinge	1
157. Der Sperling und seine vier Kinder	2
162. Der kluge Knecht	1
164. Der faule Heinz	2
167. Das Bärle im Himmel	1
170. Lieb' und Leid teilen	1
178. Meister Pfriem	3
182. Die Geschenke des kleinen Volkes	3
183. Der Riese und der Schneider	1
185. Der arme Junge im Grab	1
187. Der Hase und der Igel	2
191. Das Meerhäschen	1
192. Der Meisterdieb	4
195. Der Grabhügel	2
	<u>138</u>

The remaining "pranks," which do not use cardinal nouns
are:

22, 23, 27, 32, 38, 42, 45, 48, 59, 61, 64, 68, 73,
83, 94, 95, 98, 100, 102, 104, 108, 112, 119, 124,
125, 128, 129, 137, 138, 139, 143, 151, 152, 155,
158, 159, 168, 189, 199.

The fifth category involves 25 "legends." Only those with cardinal nouns are listed by number and title; those without cardinal nouns are listed by number only.

33. Die drei Sprachen	3
86. Der Fuchs und die Gänse	1
99. Der Geist im Glas	3
148. Des Herrn und des Teufels Getier	1
172. Die Scholle	3
173. Rohrdommel und Wiedehopf	1
174. Die Eule	2
KL6. Die drei grünen Zweige	<u>2</u>
	16

The remaining "legends," which do not contain cardinal nouns are:

18, 39, 82, 105, 109, 117, 145, 147, 154, 171, 175,
176, 180, 194, KL 4, KL 7, KL 10.

The sixth category contains 21 "children's stories." Only seven have cardinal nouns:

5. Der Wolf und die sieben jungen Geisslein	2
15. Hänsel und Gretel	2
24. Frau Holle	2
25. Die sieben Raben	2
26. Rotkäppchen	2
41. Herr Korbes	1
161. Schneeweisschen und Rosenrot	<u>1</u>
	12

The remainder utilize no cardinal nouns. They are:

30, 43, 66, 80, 103, 141, 153, 169, 190, 200,
KL 1, KL 2, KL 3, KL 9.

Berendsohn's seventh category is that of 14 "miscellaneous" pieces, only three of which include cardinal nouns:

8. Der wunderliche Spielmann	4
46. Fitchers Vogel	1
177. Die Boten des Todes	$\frac{1}{6}$

The remainder, which do not list cardinal nouns, are:

48, 78, 115, 131, 140, 150, 160, 184, 196,
KL 5, KL 8.

The percentile distribution of the cardinal nouns in the seven categories as outlined by Berendsohn is as follows:

	Per Cent of All Tales	Per Cent of All Cardinal Nouns	Approximate Ratio
1. Actual tales or love tales	15	22	3 : 4
2. Literary love stories	10	19	1 : 2
3. Animistic two- number stories	2	2	1 : 1
4. Pranks	45	46	1 : 1
5. Legends	12	5	2 : 1
6. Children's stories	10	4	5 : 2
7. Miscellaneous	6	2	3 : 1

If one considers the ratios revealed by this analysis, it becomes clear that the "actual tales" and "literary love stories" contain a proportionately greater percentage of the cardinal nouns. These are the tales farthest removed from the pure folk tale. The "pranks," which make up almost half of the KHM, reveal the largest number of cardinal nouns for a single category--but only a one-to-one ratio concentration.

Berendsohn compared his categories of tales to those designated in Ludwig Felix Weber's 1904 Kiel dissertation.¹¹ In his corresponding "actual tale" group Weber designated those which could be regarded as moral stories, a distinction Berendsohn did not attempt to make. Weber's list of moral stories is as follows:

33. Die drei Sprachen	3
78. Der alte Grossvater und der Enkel	0
145. Der undankbare Sohn	0
153. Die Sterntaler	0
154. Der gestohlene Heller	0
156. Die Schlickerlinge	1
167. Das B�rle im Himmel	1
176. Die Lebenszeit	0
177. Die Boten des Todes	1
179. Die G�nsehirtin	5
184. Der Nagel	0
185. Der Arme Junge im Grab	1
186. Die wahre Braut	4
194. Die Korn�hre	0
	<u>16</u>

Berendsohn relegates two of the tales, KHM 179 and KHM 186, from Weber's grouping above to the category of "literary love stories." Without these two stories, only seven cardinal nouns remain for twelve tales, and these seven are contained in only five of the above tales. The conclusion one can reach from these figures is that the seven cardinal virtues and sins are concentrated primarily in the "true, non-moralizing tales" ("eigentliche M rchen oder Liebesm rchen"). To a lesser degree they are also found in the numerous "pranks," which also are not moralizing tales. Only five moral stories from Weber's list contain cardinal nouns (after removing the

two literary tales). The remaining seven tales from his list make their point without the help of words denoting virtues and sins. The above conclusion reached from an external view of the KHM through the list of occurrences finds support in Wilhelm Grimm's introduction, entitled "Über das Wesen der Märchen," that was printed in the first volume of the second edition of the KHM in 1819, most accessible today in Gustav Hinrich's Kleinere Schriften von Wilhelm Grimm:

Jede wahre Poesie ist der mannigfaltigsten Auslegung fähig, denn da sie aus dem Leben aufgestiegen ist, kehrt sie auch immer wieder zu ihm zurück; sie trifft uns wie das Sonnenlicht, wo wir auch stehen; darin ist es gegründet, wenn sich so leicht aus diesen Märchen eine gute Lehre, eine Anwendung für die Gegenwart ergibt; es war weder ihr Zweck, noch sind sie, wenige ausgenommen, deshalb entstanden, aber es erwächst daraus, wie eine gute Frucht aus einer gesunden Blüthe, ohne Zuthun der Menschen.¹²

Except for a few, the tales were not meant to moralize. Wilhelm admits to these exceptions but stresses their non-thematic character:

Dagegen sind einige Märchen deutlich auf eine Lehre gerichtet, doch nur indem sie mit dem bestehenden Volksglauben zusammenhängt und daraus die Sage sich gebildet, nicht aber soll sie durch den ersonnenen Gang einer Geschichte, wobei zuletzt eine Erklärung nöthig wird, herausgekünstelt werden.¹³

In this introduction Wilhelm then cites the following tales which in his eyes were specifically moralistic in character:

- 78. Der alte Grossvater und der Enkel*
- 115. Die klare Sonne bringt es an den Tag
- 145. Der undankbare Sohn*
- 154. Der gestohlene Heller*
- 155. Die Brautschau
- 156. Die Schlickerlinge*
- KL 8. Das alte Mütterchen

Four of these tales (designated above by an asterisk) are included in Weber's list of "moral" stories.¹⁴ Only one of the moral tales in Grimm's list contains a cardinal noun (KHM 156), which supports the previous findings, that the cardinal nouns have been primarily used in the non-moralizing tales. Consequently, their function in the KHM seems to lie outside the traditional theological concern of Virtues and Sins.

Kinder- und Hausmärchen Seventh Edition 1857	CARDINAL VIRTUES							SÜNDE	CARDINAL SINS						
	1. Stärke Kraft Mut	2. Klugheit Verstand Weisheit	3. Geduld Großmut Tapferkeit	4. Wahrheit Treue Gerechtigkeit	5. Glaube	6. Hoff- nung	7. Liebe Freund- schaft		1. Stolz Hochmut Übermut	2. Geiz Habsucht Gier	3./4. Gelüsten Lust Begierde Neugier Vorwitz Verlangen	5. Neid Bosheit Mißgunst	6. Zorn Wut Ärger	7. Faulheit	
1. Der Froschkönig	1			(4)			(2) 2				2		(1)		
2. Katze und Maus in Gesellschaft				(2)				4	1		3				
3. Marienkind				1							1 (1)				
4. Von einem, der aus- zog, das Furchten...	(3)	(2)									2				
5. Der Wolf und die sieben j. Geisslein											2				
6. Der treue Johannes				5 (40)			3 (1)						(1)		
7. Der gute Handel			1 (1)	1			3	1			2		3 (2) 2		
8. Der wunderliche Spielmann															
9. Die zwölf Brüder							1						(1)		
10. Das Lumpengesindel									(1)		1		(1)		
11. Brüderchen und Schwesterchen	1											2			
12. Rapunzel				(1)		1					4 (2)		2 (1)		
13. Die drei Männlein im Walde									1 (1)		1	(3)	(1)		
14. Die drei Spinnerin- nen							1						1 (2)		
15. Hänsel und Gretel							(2)						2		

Kinder- und Hausmärchen Seventh Edition 1857	TUGEND	CARDINAL VIRTUES							SÜNDE	CARDINAL SINS						
		1. Stärke Kraft Mut.	2. Klugheit Verstand Weisheit	3. Geduld Großmut Tapfer- keit	4. Wahrheit Treue Gerechtig- keit	5. Glaube	6. Hoff- nung	7. Liebe Freund- schaft		1. Stolz Hochmut Übermut	2. Geiz Habgier Habsucht Gier	3./4. Gelüsten Lust Begierde Neugier Vorwitz Verlangen	5. Neid Bosheit Mißgunst	6. Zorn Wut Arges	7. Faulheit	
46. Fitchers Vogel			(1)					(1)			1					
47. Von dem Machandel- boom																
48. Der alte Sultan					(3)	1		1			(1)					
49. Die sechs Schwäne											1					
50. Dornröschen	1		(3)					(1)			1					
51. Fundevogel																
52. König Drosselbart								(1)	3 (3)		1	3 (2)	(1)			
53. Sneewittchen					2			(1)	(2)		1	(2)	2			
54. Der Ranz, das Hüt- lein und das Hüml.								(1)	(1)				2			
55. Rumpelstilzchen											(2)		2			
56. Der Liebste Roland					(3)							(1)	1			
57. Der goldene Vogel			1		(3)		1				2					
58. Der Hund und der Sperling													4			
59. Der Frieder und das Catherlieschen			(1)										(1)	(2)		
60. Die zwei Brüder			(1)		(2)			1 (1)			2	(2)	(1)	(1)		

	CARDINAL VIRTUES							SONDE	CARDINAL SINS						
	1. Stärke Kraft Mut	2. Klugheit Verstand Weisheit	3. Geduld Großmut Tapfer- keit	4. Wahrheit Treue Gerechtig- keit	5. Glaube nung	6. Hoff- nung	7. Liebe Freund- schaft		1. Stolz Hochmut Übermut	2. Geiz Habgier Habsucht Gier	3./4. Geldstolz Lust Begierde Neugier Vorwitz Verlangen	5. Neid Bosheit Mißgunst	6. Zorn Wut	7. Faulheit	
Kinder- und Hausmärchen Seventh Edition 1857															
61. Das Bärle										(1)		(1)			
62. Die Bienenkönigin		(1)													
63. Die drei Federn		2													
64. Die goldene Gans		(2)													
65. Allerleirauh		(3)				1	1	1		(1)		(1)			
66. Hänschenbräut															
67. Die zwölf Jäger				1											
68. De Gaudeif un sien Meester															
69. Jorinde und Joringel															
70. Die drei Glücks- kinder		(1)								1					
71. Sechse kommen durch die ganze Welt	1		(1)									2 (1)			
72. Der Wolf und der Mensch	2														
73. Der Wolf und der Fuchs										(1)					
74. Der Fuchs und die Frau Gevatterin		1													
75. Der Fuchs und die Katze		(1)						1							

	CARDINAL VIRTUES							SÜNDE	CARDINAL SINS						
	1. Stärke Kraft Mut	2. Klugheit Verstand Weisheit	3. Geduld Großmut Tapfer- keit	4. Wahrheit Treue Gerechtig- keit	5. Glaube nung	6. Hoff- nung	7. Liebe Freund- schaft		1. Stolz Hochmut Übermut	2. Geiz Habsucht Gier	3./4. Lust Begierde Neugier Vorwitz Verlangen	5. Neid Bosheit Mißgunst	6. Zorn Wut	7. Faulheit	
<u>Kinder- und Hausmärchen</u> Seventh Edition 1857								1							
76. Die Nelke								1							
77. Das kluge Gretel		(1)						1		1				(1)	
78. Der alte Grossvater und der Enkel															
79. Die Wassernixe															
80. Von dem Tode des Hühnchens															
81. Bruder Lustig	2	1		(1)									(1)		
82. De Spielhansl															
83. Hans im Glück				(1)											
84. Hans heiratet		(1)							1 (1)						
85. Die Goldkinder								1	1	1 (1)			1 (3)		
86. Der Fuchs und die Gänse									1						
87. Der Arme und der Reiche										(1)			1 (2)		
88. Das singende, spring- ende Löwenkeuchen															
89. Die Gänsemagd	1						(1)								
90. Der junge Riese									(1)		4		(1)		

	CARDINAL VIRTUES							SÜNDE	CARDINAL SINS						
	1. Stärke Kraft Mut.	2. Klugheit Verstand Weisheit	3. Geduld Großmut Tapfer- keit	4. Wahrheit Treue Gerechtig- keit	5. Glaube nung	6. Hoff- nung	7. Liebe Freund- schaft		1. Stolz Hochmut Übermut	2. Geiz Habgier Habsucht Gier	3./4. Gellüsten Lust Begierde Neugier Vorwitz Verlangen	5. Neid Bosheit Mißgunst	6. Zorn Wut Arger	7. Faulheit	
Kinder- und Hausmärchen Seventh Edition 1857															
106. Der arme Müllers- bursch		(2)		(1)			(1)								
107. Die beiden Wanderer											(1)		2		
108. Hans mein Igel													(1)		
109. Das Totenhemdchen			(1)												
110. Der Jude im Dorn									1	1					
111. Der gelehrnte Jäger													(1)		
112. Der Dreschflegel vom Himmel															
113. Die beiden Kuniges- kinner															
114. Vom klugen Schneiderlein		2 (1)											1		
115. Die klare Sonne bringt's an den Tag															
116. Das blaue Licht													1		
117. Das eigensinnige Kind															
118. Die drei Feldscherer								1							
119. Die sieben Schwaben			(1)												
120. Die drei Handwerks- burschen		(1)													

	CARDINAL VIRTUES							SÜNDE	CARDINAL SINS						
	1. Stärke Kraft Mut.	2. Klugheit Verstand Weisheit	3. Geduld Großmut Tapfer- keit	4. Wahrheit Treue Gerechtigkeit	5. Glaube	6. Hoff- nung	7. Liebe Freund- schaft		1. Stolz Hochmut Übermut	2. Geiz Habgier Habsucht Gier	3./4. Gellüsten Lust Begierde Neugier Vorwitz Verlangen	5. Neid Bosheit Mißgunst	6. Zorn Wut Arger	7. Faulheit	
Kinder- und Hausmärchen Seventh Edition 1857															
121. Der Königssohn, der s. v. nichts fürchtet	1 (1)	(1)		(2)								1 (1)			
122. Der Krautesel												3 (2)	(1)		
123. Die Alte im Wald															
124. Die drei Brüder							(1)								
125. Der Teufel und seine Grossmutter													(1)		
126. Ferenand getru und Ferenand ungetru				(14)							(1)				
127. Der Eisenofen															
128. Die faule Spinnerin													(1)		
129. Die vier kunstrei- chen Brüder															
130. Einäuglein, Zwei- äuglein, Dreiäuglein				2							(3)				
131. Die schöne Katrinelje				1 (1)					1						
132. Der Fuchs und das Pferd				1											
133. Die zertanzten Schuhe				1											
134. Die sechs Diener						1	2		2 (1)			1 (1)	(2)		
135. Die weisse und die schwarze Braut				(1)			1				1 (1)				

	CARDINAL VIRTUES							SÜNDE	CARDINAL SINS						
	TUGEND	1. Stärke Kraft Mut.	2. Klugheit Verstand Weisheit	3. Geduld Großmut Tapfer- keit	4. Wahrheit Treue Gerechtig- keit	5. Glaube Hoff- nung	6. Liebe Freund- schaft		1. Stolz Hochmut Übermut	2. Geiz Habgier Habsucht Gier	3./4. Gelüsten Lust Begierde Neugier Vorwitz Verlangen	5. Neid Bosheit Mißgunst	6. Zorn Wut	7. Krieger Faulheit	
Kinder- und Hausmärchen Seventh Edition 1857															
136. Der Eisenhans						1		(1)							
137. De drei schwatten Prinzessinnen															
138. Knoist um sine dre Söhne															
139. Dat Mäken von Brakel															
140. Das Hausgesinde															
141. Das Lämmchen und das Fischchen		(1)			1							(1)			
142. Simeliberg															
143. Up Reisen gohn															
144. Das Eselein					(1)										
145. Der undankbare Sohn															
146. Die Rübe			6 (2)								(1)		2		
147. Das junggegluhte Männlein															
148. Des Herrn und des Teufels Getier													1		
149. Der Hahnenbalken													1		
150. Die alte Bettelfrau			(1)												

	CARDINAL VIRTUES							SENDE	CARDINAL SINS						
	1. Stärke Kraft Mut	2. Klugheit Verstand Weisheit	3. Geduld Großmut Tapfer- keit	4. Wahrheit Treue Gerechtig- keit	5. Glaube nung	6. Hoff- nung	7. Liebe Freund- schaft		1. Stolz Hochmut Übermut	2. Geiz Habgier Habsucht Gier	3./4. Gelüsten Lust Begierde Neugier Vorwitz Verlangen	5. Neid Bosheit Mißgunst	6. Zorn Wut Arger	7. Faulheit	
Kinder- und Hausmärchen Seventh Edition 1857															
165. Der Vogel Greif		(1)									(1)	(1)			
166. Der starke Hans	2 (1)	(1)	1				1		(1)			2			
167. Das Bärle im Himmel															
168. Die hagere Liese													(2)		
169. Das Waldhaus		(2)													
170. Lieb' und Leid teilen							1					(1)			
171. Der Zaunkönig											1 (1)	(2)			
172. Die Scholle				2											
173. Rohrdornel und Wiedehopf	1 (1)														
174. Die Eule	1 (2)	(1)	(1)						1						
175. Der Mond															
176. Die Lebenszeit				(1)											
177. Die Boten des Todes	1														
178. Meister Pfrim												1	1 (1)		
179. Die Gänsehirtin	1	(1)	1 (1)			1	(1)					2 (1)			

[illegible]

FOOTNOTES

Chapter II

¹Bruford, p. 227.

²For example, Johann Heinrich Abicht, Neues System einer philosophischen Tugendlehre aus der Natur der Menschlichkeit entwickelt (Leipzig: Johann Ambrosius Bart, 1790); facsimile reprint (Bruxelles: Impression Anastaltique Culture et Civilisation, 1968).

³Wilhelm Grimm, Freidank, zweite Ausgabe (Göttingen: Verlag der Dieterichschen Buchhandlung, 1860).

⁴Kleinere Schriften von Wilhelm Grimm, II, p. 450.

⁵Freidank, p. 51, lines 79:19-80:1.

⁶Freidank, p. xix.

⁷Wilhelm Schoof, Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Grimmschen Märchen (Hamburg: Dr. Ernst Hauswedell & Co., 1959), pp. 13-14.

⁸V. Propp, Morphology of the Folktale, second edition, published for The American Folklore Society, Inc., and the Indiana University Research Center for the Language Sciences (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1968), pp. 5-16.

⁹Walter A. Berendsohn, Grundformen volkstümlicher Erzählerkunst in den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm, zweite, ergänzte Ausgabe (Wiesbaden: Dr. Martin Sändig oHG, 1968).

¹⁰Hermann Hamann, Die literarischen Vorlagen der Kinder- und Hausmärchen und ihre Bearbeitung durch die Brüder Grimm--Palaestra XLVII (Berlin: Mayer und Müller, 1906).

¹¹For the comparison with Weber's categories c.f. Berendsohn, p. 126.

¹²Kleinere Schriften von Wilhelm Grimm, I, p. 335.

¹³Kleinere Schriften, I, p. 351.

¹⁴KHM 1819 contains only 160 tales. Weber had the benefit of the complete collection for his analysis, and his list can therefore only partially relate to that of Wilhelm Grimm.

CHAPTER III

THE CARDINAL VIRTUES IN THE FIRST AND SEVENTH EDITIONS OF THE KINDER- UND HAUSMÄRCHEN

List of Variants

The cardinal virtues (1) Fortitude, (2) Prudence, (3) Temperance, (4) Justice, (5) Faith, (6) Hope, and (7) Love were used about 120 times in the seventh edition of the KHM (1857). In order to be able to count these occurrences, I had to find a set of German variants equivalent to the seven cardinal virtues. Johann Heinrich Abicht's book Neues System einer philosophischen Tugendlehre aus der Natur der Menschheit entwickelt, which appeared in 1790, offered sixty-seven variants for eleven virtues he considered of cardinal importance in his time. I checked these words against the Grimms' Wörterbuch and made a list of those which were defined as cardinal virtues of the Western Christian tradition handed down to us by Cicero and Saint Paul. Some of these words were synonymous so that I was able to assign about twenty words to seven categories. Of these twenty words four did not occur in the KHM. For instance, Unverdrossenheit, which is a variant of Temperance, occurred twice in adjectival form, but never as noun and had to be removed from the list. In case of doubt as to the correct categorization of a variant,

I used the DWB as a final authority. For instance, the variant Treue occurs most often in connection with Wahrheit and is not listed as a synonym of Liebe as is done in current dictionaries.

The sixteen German variants in the context of the cardinal virtues are:

1. Stärke, Kraft, Mut
2. Klugheit, Verstand, Weisheit
3. Geduld, Grossmut, Tapferkeit
4. Wahrheit, Treue, Gerechtigkeit
5. Glaube
6. Hoffnung
7. Liebe, Freundschaft

It remains to be seen, if these variants were used by the Grimms in the spirit of Western Christian tradition.

Comparison of the Cardinal Virtues Between the First and the Seventh Edition

In the first chapter of this thesis I have explained in detail the reasons for selecting the first edition (1812/14) and the seventh edition (1857) as a basis for this comparison. To summarize, the Grimms published their collection of 86 tales (numbered from 1 to 86) for the first time in one volume in 1812. They received praise and criticism for their attempt to present the tales in as pure a form as possible. The praise encouraged them to publish a second volume in 1814, containing 70 tales (numbered from 1 to 70), but the criticism caused them to adjust their objective. Instead of just preserving the tales

for the young and the young-at-heart the Grimms point out in the foreword to the second volume that the KHM are also intended as an educational book (Erziehungsbuch) for children. Instead of publishing a third volume a few years later, they decided to reprint and expand the first edition, consisting of the two volumes printed in 1812 and 1814. This second edition appeared in 1819. According to the Grimms it contained an almost completely revised first volume, in which fragments were expanded into tales, some tales were presented in a simpler and purer style, and no tale could be found which was not more polished than in the first edition. What was most important, the Grimms state in writing in the foreword to the 1819 edition that in this new text they carefully eliminated every word or phrase which was not appropriate for children. They also numbered the tales in the two volumes of the 1819 edition consecutively from 1 to 160, and added nine children's legends as an appendix.

Ideally, my study should have compared the 1812/14 edition with that of 1819. Unfortunately, the 1819 edition was never reprinted and is therefore not readily available for research.¹ I have examined the third (1837), fourth (1840), fifth (1843), and sixth (1850) editions and have found no changes in the use of the cardinal virtues compared to the seventh (1857) edition. I was able to

examine a select number of tales from the 1819 edition in Kurt Schmidt's study and found them almost identical to those in the 1857 edition.² By using the 1857 edition I have thus been able to give a complete overview of the distribution of the cardinal nouns elaborated upon in the preceding chapter.

In the following comparison I have put special emphasis on discrepancies and similarities occurring in those tales which are in both the 1812/14 and the 1857 editions. I will give examples of tales which were added after the first edition only if the use of a particular cardinal noun is different from the examples already cited or if it contributes to the understanding of the topic being discussed.

VIRTUE

The first word under consideration is the term for the cardinal virtues understood collectively as Tugend. It occurs in the following tales of the 1857 edition:

"Der Teufel mit den drei goldenen Haaren" (KHM 29)
 "Dornröschen" (KHM 50)
 "Die Gänsemagd" (KHM 89)

All three tales are part of the first edition and can be compared.

In "Der Teufel mit den drei goldenen Haaren" a baby boy is born to a poor woman with the prophecy that

he will marry the king's daughter at the age of fourteen and that he will always be lucky. The king heard about this child and proceeded to put obstacles in his way. The first obstacle was an attempt to drown the boy by putting him in a box and throwing him in the river. A miller found the boy still alive and raised him as his own son. "Er wuchs in allen Tugenden heran" (KHM 29, 1857), and was described as handsome, friendly, and unafraid--especially of the devil. The 1812 version of KHM 29 has a different beginning. Nowhere is mention made of the virtues or even the characteristics of the boy.

In "Dornröschen" a king and a queen were married many years without having a child. When finally a girl was born to them, they were overjoyed and invited twelve wise women to a grand festival to celebrate the birth of the child. The 1812 version states that the fairies came and endowed the child with gifts: "die eine mit Tugend, die zweite mit Schönheit . . . Die Prinzessin aber wuchs heran, und war ein Wunder von Schönheit" (KHM 50, 1812). No further reference is made to Virtue in this version. In the revised version Dornröschen was also presented with magical gifts by the wise women: "die eine mit Tugend, die andere mit Schönheit . . ." (KHM 50, 1857). All of the gifts were fulfilled in the girl, "denn es war so schön, sittsam, freundlich und verständig" (1857).

The Tugend in the first version seemed simply to be a virtue the girl received as a gift, one that was supernatural and did not need any further definition. The Tugend in the final version was changed from an abstract generality to a summation of the specific characteristics of the girl.

The tale "Die Gänsemagd" illustrates further the definition of Tugend in concrete terms. A princess was engaged to a prince in a far away country. When it was time for the princess to go to her wedding, her mother, who loved her dearly, gave her many valuable things befitting a royal bride, including a talking horse, a maid-servant, and three drops of blood on a piece of cloth. The cloth was supposed to protect her on the road. While they were on their way, the maidservant, who had evil intentions, refused twice to fetch the princess a drink of water. The princess had to dismount and kneel at the water's edge to get her own drink. The second time, as the princess was bending over to get a drink, the cloth fell out of her dress and floated away. The servant noticed that and knew that her chance had come to take control of the princess, since she was now powerless. The princess was compelled to exchange garments and horses with the maid and had to swear not to talk to anyone about this exchange or she would be killed. After the maid-

servant had taken charge, the bride "war demütig, sagte nichts, und stieg wieder zu Pferde" (KHM 3, 1814 and KHM 89, 1857). The princess suffered great humiliation at the hands of the false bride. Finally, the prince's father sensed the girl's predicament but was unsuccessful in making her talk. She told him that she would be killed if she told her secret, whereupon he suggested that she tell her troubles to the iron oven. This is a favorite folk tale device, similar to a confessional where a person is alone and can speak freely about himself without directly betraying information that was sworn to secrecy. In church the priest, as the representative of God, is always listening in. Similarly, in the tale a confession made in an iron oven (the girl actually climbs in) will be overheard. In "Die Gänsemagd" the king was listening in and when goose-girl was finished he ordered her to come out of the oven, had her dressed in royal garments, and then told his son he had married the wrong bride. When the prince saw the "gewesene Gänsemagd," he was "herzensfroh, als er ihre Schönheit und Tugend erblickte" (KHM 3, 184 and KHM 89, 1857). Virtue is again used to show the visible make-up of the girl. It is not her actions but her appearance which display her virtue.

When Dornröschen is described as "schön, sittsam, freundlich und verständig" a certain picture of self-

imposed reserve comes to mind. She is beautiful in appearance, keeps her eyes lowered, smiles a lot, and nods her head in agreement--all very proper in a Christian setting. This is a picture far removed from ancient classical virtues which stressed an active participation in the process of life. The "virtue" of Dornröschen as well as Gänsemagd is one that equates beauty with passivity, for the latter a passivity that even becomes self-effacing.

FIRST CARDINAL VIRTUE: FORTITUDE

Fortitude occurs in the variants Stärke, Kraft, and Mut in the KHM. DWB identifies all three as synonyms of one another. Kraft is defined as the ability to proceed with a task, the strength to carry it out, and the greatness to stand by it. It is synonymous with Stärke. Mut is the mental process which focusses on a task and attacks it with thoughtfulness and sensibility. Only since the sixteenth century is Mut synonymous with courage.

The three variants were found in 18 tales of the 1857 edition. Only three of these are also part of the first edition and can be compared. They are:

- "Der Froschkönig" (KHM 1)
- "Das tapfere Schneiderlein" (KHM 20)
- "Brüderchen und Schwesterchen" (KHM 11)

In "Der Froschkönig" a young princess played with her golden ball near a well. The ball fell in the water

and the princess cried bitterly about her loss. A talking frog appeared and offered to help her, if she would make him her playmate and share her table and her bed with him. She promised everything and when he had retrieved the ball, she ran away, thinking that the frog would not be able to follow her. The frog arrived at supper time and the king forced his daughter to share her supper with the frog as she had promised. At bed time the king again reminded her of her promise to take the frog to bed. She obeyed reluctantly, picked up the frog with two fingers and carried him to her room. In the 1812 version she went to bed, but instead of putting the frog beside her, "warf sie ihn bratsch! an die Wand" (KHM 1, 1812). In the revised version, she put the frog in a corner of her bedroom and went to bed. But the frog reminded her of her promise. "Da ward sie erst bitterböse, holte ihn herauf und warf ihn aus allen Kräften wider die Wand" (KHM 1, 1857). In both versions the frog was not hurt but turned instead into a prince. In the first version the princess was "bitterböse in ihrem Herzen" when her father became very angry and ordered her to take the frog to her bedroom. In the 1857 version she became "bitterböse" when the frog itself insisted on being put into her bed. The strength with which she threw the frog against the wall was not from muscle power, but was generated out of her under-

standable resentment created by the demands of a repulsive creature--however symbolic the form and the situation were. The revision was probably intended to bring the inner frustration and its release closer together and illustrate cause and effect more vividly.

The tale "Das tapfere Schneiderlein" (KHM 20) as it is known today, appeared in two fragments in 1812. In the first fragment a tailor killed seven flies on an apple. He was an ignorant tailor but still smart enough to see his advantage in having a harness made with the inscription: seven killed at one stroke! He put on the harness and went into the street, and whoever saw him assumed that he had killed seven people. The tailor went to the king's court and frightened even the soldiers into resignation. The king did not want to lose his good men and decided to get rid of the fearsome "warrior" (no one knew he was a tailor) by setting him a difficult task. Should he kill two giants in the forest he would become the king's son-in-law. The tailor accomplished the task with cunning wit, but the king gave him two more tasks to perform. He had to capture a unicorn and a wild boar. Unfortunately for the king, the tailor was successful in both and the king had to give him his daughter. Once the princess heard him talk in his sleep and found out thereby that he was a common tailor. In her anxious desire to rid

herself of her husband she revealed her humiliation to the king, who suggested that soldiers stand guard outside the bedroom at night and seize him if he talked in his sleep again. The tailor was told of the plan and staged such a frightening scene that the soldiers ran away. The tailor remained a king for the rest of his life.

The first fragment does not contain the variants Stärke and Kraft. It does contain the variant Mut three times. Twice it refers to the tailor and once to the soldiers as the following examples show: "Der Schneider war wohl zu Muth" (1812/first fragment) when he heard the offer to become the king's son-in-law. Later, while sitting in a tree, he observed two giants fighting one another to the death. "Als solches der Schneider sahe, bass zu Muth ward, dann er nie gewesen war" (1812/first fragment), he climbed down from the tree and made his sword bloody as evidence of his supposed bravery. When the approaching soldiers saw the corpses they were frightened of the tailor "und noch übler zu Muth . . . , dann vor . . ." (1812/first fragment). Even though the sequence of the tale was not changed in the revision, Mut was eliminated and no longer attributed to the tailor.

In the second fragment of KHM 20 (1812) the tailor bought some jam from an old woman. He spread some on a piece of bread and was going to finish a garment before he

ate it. Flies came and sat on the jam, which irritated the tailor. The angry tailor took a piece of cloth and killed twenty-nine flies at one stroke. He was so proud of himself that he decided to travel, wearing a belt which advertised his deed. He put an old cheese in his pocket and later added a live bird. On top of a mountain he met a giant, who first thought that the tailor was a miserable weakling until the tailor showed him his belt. The tailor passed the giant's tests and they went on together. They found a cherry tree and the giant bent the crown to earth and gave it to the tailor. But he was too weak "und konnte der Stärke des Baums nicht widerstehen und ward in die Höhe geschneilt" (KHM 20, 1812/second fragment). The giant wondered that the tailor could not hold the weak switch, but the tailor countered by saying that he had to jump over the tree because the hunters were shooting into the bushes. The giant could not jump like this and thought therefore "es übertraf niemand auf der Welt das Schneiderlein an Stärke und Klugheit" (1812/second fragment).

Both 1812 fragments were later combined to make up the 1857 version. The variants Stärke and Mut were often eliminated and Kraft was used in new places. The 1857 version begins with the revised second fragment of 1812. When the little tailor bought jam and put it on the bread, he thought out loud: "Nun, das Mus soll mir Gott gesegnen

. . . und soll mir Kraft und Stärke geben" (KHM 20, 1857). Kraft and Stärke do not occur here in 1812. The jam attracted the flies, but in the 1857 version, the tailor only killed seven rather than twenty-nine. When the little tailor eventually decided to leave town in order to advertise his ability to kill seven at one stroke, he met a giant who performed certain tasks. In the 1812 version the giant insulted the tailor saying "so stark bist du doch nicht" (1812/second fragment). In the 1857 version the giant dared the tailor with the words: "Das mach mir nach . . . wenn du Stärke hast" (KHM 20, 1857). They came to the cherry tree and the tailor was catapulted over the tree, because he was too weak to withstand "der Stärke des Baumes" (1812/second fragment). This passage was changed in the 1857 revision and the tailor was simply too weak to hold down the tree. The 1857 revision becomes more positive, so that instead of thinking the tailor too weak to hold the tree, the giant asked the tailor: "was ist das, hast du nicht Kraft die schwache Gerte zu halten? An Kraft fehlt es nicht," answered the tailor and told him about his extraordinary feat as a fly-killer. In the 1857 revision, the giant's admiration for the tailor's Kraft and Klugheit (1812/second fragment) was omitted.

At this point of the tale, the revised first fragment of 1812 is used in the 1857 version. The tailor's

experience at the king's court is related but all reference to Mut is omitted. But the passage where the tailor tricked a unicorn to run into a tree was expanded. The 1812 version simply states that the unicorn ran against a tree and became stuck. The 1857 version expanded this episode so that the unicorn "rannte mit aller Kraft gegen den Baum und spiesste sein Horn so fest in den Stamm, dass es nicht Kraft genug hatte, es wieder herauszuziehen . . ." (KHM 20, 1857).

All in all, the tale of the brave little tailor accounted for seven of the 28 occurrences of Fortitude in the KHM 1857. The original use of Stärke in 1812, attributed to a tree, was probably discontinued in order to emphasize the figure of the little tailor and the fortitude he thought he had. To attribute the virtue of Fortitude to a tailor was as amusing and phony as when it was ascribed to a unicorn. The boastful little tailor, who performed all these heroic deeds, was not taken seriously by anyone, not even by his royal wife. His displays of virtue have therefore lost their importance as models.

In the third comparison the tale of "Brüderchen und Schwesterchen" describes the persecution of two children by their stepmother and their final good fortune and deliverance. As the children ran away from their wicked stepmother, the brother was turned into a deer and thereby

drew the attention of a hunting king to his sister. The sister eventually became the king's wife, but the evil stepmother managed to tend to her in childbirth. She prepared a bath for the young mother and said: "das wird euch wohlthun und stärken" (KHM 11, 1812). The 1857 version was changed to read: "Kommt, das Bad ist fertig, das wird Euch wohltun und frische Kräfte geben . . ." (KHM 11, 1857). The false attendant was speaking ironically, since it was her plan to kill the queen while she was bathing.

The use of the variants Stärke, Kraft, and Mut in those tales which cannot be compared to volumes 1812/14 is also for the most part negative. Fortitude, as illustrated by the preceding examples, has none of the expected qualities of virtue. It was attributed to a boastful tailor, to an angry, spoiled princess, and put into the mouth of a deceitful stepmother. Prudence, which an amazed giant attributed to a little tailor, was withheld in the revision. Other examples involving Prudence follow in the next comparison.

SECOND CARDINAL VIRTUE: PRUDENCE

Prudence occurs in the KHM in the variants Klugheit, Weisheit, and Verstand, terms that seem synonymous. Klugheit basically means the ability to reason, and Weisheit is moral reasoning. Verstand is the power to think.

Prudence was considered by pre-Reformation theologians the foremost of the seven cardinal virtues, without which the others could not exist. In the DWB Luther is quoted most in examples relating to Prudence, for Luther was mistrustful of the individual's trust in his own reasoning ability. If the Grimms were indeed impressed by Luther's conservative views, the negative attitude revealed by characterizations of prudent behavior in the KHM has an explanation. Though the Humanist influence was to champion individual wisdom, the history of human affairs reinforces the dictum that "tis folly to be wise."

The three variants of Prudence were found in eleven tales in the KHM 1857. Seven of these tales are also part of the first edition of the KHM 1812/14, and can be compared. They are:

- "Die weisse Schlange" (KHM 17)
- "Die kluge Else" (KHM 34)
- "Der goldene Vogel" (KHM 57)
- "Die drei Federn" (KHM 63)
- "Der Geist im Glas" (KHM 99)
- "Vom klugen Schneiderlein" (KHM 114)
- "Die Rübe" (KHM 146)

Three of the above mentioned tales, "Der goldene Vogel," "Die drei Federn," and "Vom klugen Schneiderlein" are examples of the Dummling theme. Dummling who is "the little stupid one" is usually the youngest of three brothers. The two older brothers are usually considered intelligent by their father, and when a task has to be

accomplished the father sends his first born, who goes on his way with proud self-confidence. But he uses arrogant reasoning to make decisions and is usually unsuccessful. The second son is like the first and also fails to resolve the problem. The father is reluctant to let the third son go, and usually makes him aware that he is slow-witted and clumsy in problem-solving. But the Dummling in his innocence stumbles upon the solution, sometimes through helping an animal who gratefully returns the favor, sometimes by politely following the instructions that are given to him. Wilhelm Grimm has commented on this theme: "Durch den Dummling wird die weltliche Klugheit gedemüthigt, denn er, weil er reinen Herzens ist, gewinnt allein das Glück."³

Several Dummling tales are found in the KHM but only three identify the attributes of the three brothers by using cardinal nouns. In "Der goldene Vogel" a king desired the golden bird which had visited his garden and stolen his fruit because he knew it was more valuable than his kingdom. His oldest son started on his way "und gedachte den goldene Vogel schon zu finden" (KHM 57, 1812). At this point in the 1812 version the son is not labelled as intelligent. In the 1857 version the oldest son started on his way, "verliess sich auf seine Klugheit und meinte den goldenen Vogel schon zu finden" (KHM 57, 1857).

He did not follow the advice given to him by a fox and accordingly did not come home. Now it was the second son's turn, who also failed to heed the fox's advice. When he did not come back the youngest son wanted to go. In the 1812 version the king did not want him to leave because he loved his son and was afraid that he would run into misfortune. In fact, no mention was made at all of the mental abilities of the three sons. The 1857 version adds the following information: first, the father does not trust his youngest son and then he is reluctant to let him go because he is afraid that the son cannot help himself in case of misfortune, since "es fehlt ihm am Besten" (KHM 57, 1857). Yet it is the third son who solves the problem and even marries a beautiful princess.

Martin Luther insisted that faith was the source from which good acts properly proceeded. Therefore the individual who trusted human wisdom--who acted prudently--was, in Luther's eyes, bound to end in folly, for he was thinking for himself rather than accepting divine guidance. Of course that divine guidance was neatly elaborated and kept readily available in church canon. Wilhelm's respect for Luther's theology may have been the motivation for the addition of a reference to Klugheit in the story of an unsuccessful prince in "Der goldene Vogel"--i.e., one who fails because he thinks for himself. Conversely,

Klugheit was removed as a stated attribute of a successful tailor on "Das tapfere Schneiderlein." Almost the entire generation of German Romantic writers accepted the thesis that piety and childlike trust in a benevolent fate were sure stepping stones to success, and the formula is measurably attributable to Luther's theology--a theology that the Grimms repeatedly reflect in their many citations from Luther in the Deutsches Wörterbuch.

In another Dummling tale, "Die drei Federn," a king wanted to determine which of his three sons should inherit his kingdom. He blew three feathers into the air, and the directions in which they flew determined the roads the sons had to take to find the best linen in the world. The son who brought the very best linen would win the kingdom. Two feathers flew away, but the third, which belonged to the third son, fell on a rock. It is here that the 1812 version describes the third son as a Dummling who was ridiculed by his brothers. When he brought back the desired linen the others were dissatisfied and urged their father to set another task. The Dummling performed three more tasks and finally received the crown "und hat lange in Weisheit regiert" (KHM 64, 1812/third fragment). Apparently his wisdom was of the naive, ingenuous sort.

The 1857 version's first sentence explains that once there was a king who had three sons. Two of them

were "klug und gescheit, aber der dritte sprach nicht viel, war einfältig und hiess nur der Dummling" (KHM 63, 1857). When the Dummling succeeded in bringing home the required item, the dissatisfaction of the two older sons was elaborated upon in the 1857 version. They argued that "unmöglich könnte der Dummling, dem es in allen Dingen an Verstand fehlte, König werden" (KHM 63, 1857). But even though the Dummling was lacking in reasoning power, he eventually received the crown "und hatte lange in Weisheit geherrscht" (KHM 63, 1857).

The tale "Vom klugen Schneiderlein" again contains the Dummling theme. In this tale the three persons are not brothers but tailors who work together. They had heard of a proud princess who posed baffling riddles to her suitors and dismissed in ridicule those who failed. The two older tailors decided to try their luck, but told the youngest to stay at home, because "du wirst mit deinem bisschen Verstand nicht weit kommen" (KHM 28, 1814 and KHM 114, 1857). They finally allowed him to come along, and when they arrived at the court, they introduced themselves to the princess as "die rechten Leute . . . , die hätten einen feinen Verstand" (1814 and 1857). As could be expected, it was the simpler Verstand of the simpleton that prevailed in the first and the succeeding tasks set by the devious princess.

"An Verstand fehlen" and "in Weisheit herrschen" are opposites combined by Erasmus in his Praise of Folly,⁴ where Folly is presented as the highest wisdom. The argument for this position touched on every aspect of human life and spared no class of men in its light-heartedness. Erasmus was a Humanist and thus a man of common sense. He set the earliest and most complete example of the principle that reason is the only guide of life, the supreme arbiter of all questions, politics and religion included. It is possible that the Dummling tales express the philosophy of Erasmus, since they include princes and tailors alike, and the switch from folly to wisdom is always a successful one. Luther's relegation of Prudence to Folly in matters of Christian conduct constitutes the opposite of Erasmus' philosophy. Since the losers in the Dummling tales are not the main characters, the possible influence of Luther's theology would be secondary to that of Erasmus'.

Luther's theology seems to be evident in a number of tales of which "Die kluge Else" is an example. A man had a daughter whose name was "clever Elsie." When she was old enough to marry, a suitor came to call. He wanted to marry her but only if she was smart. Her mother sent her to the cellar to fetch beer. In the cellar Elsie saw a two-bladed ax stuck in the ceiling. She imagined the

possibility that the ax could fall on the head of her son, whom she would one day send to get beer if she married the suitor, and she started to cry and did not return with the beer. Eventually the whole family assembled in the cellar and joined in the lamentation over the possible fate of Elsie's son. When the suitor joined them and listened to their story he said: "mehr Verstand ist für meinen Haushalt nicht nötig; weil du so eine kluge Else bist, so will ich dich haben" (KHM 34, 1857). This ironic introduction has no counterpart in 1812, but the remainder of this tale can be compared to "Hansens Trine" (KHM 34, 1812). Elsie had the habit of thinking out loud when decisions needed to be made. She decided to eat and sleep before she started her work. One evening her husband found her sleeping in the field instead of working, and he covered her with a bell-studded bird net. When Elsie awoke she was confused and did not know who she was. When she went home to ask if Elsie was in the house, her unrelenting husband said, "yes." She went from house to house to find a place to stay, but people would not open their doors because the noisy bells frightened them. Elsie left the village and was never seen again.

This story is an illustration of the undesirability of Verstand in woman--a funny but excessively chauvinistic characterization that, it must be stressed, is counter-

balanced with such unsympathetic masculine pictures of misdirected logic as "Hans in Glück" (KHM 83). If Elsie had kept her eyes lowered, in proper feminine modesty, she would not have seen the ax. And if she had done her work routinely, without reasoning about eating first or working first, she would not have lost her identity.

Another person, whose mental alertness perennially causes him trouble, is the student. At the end of the tale "Die Rübe" is a satirical account of a student's endeavor to gain wisdom. A poor farmer gave an oversized turnip to his king as a present and received valuable farmland in return. His rich brother was envious and reasoned, if he gave the king his valuable horse the king might reward him even more royally than his brother. But the king gave him instead the oversized turnip, explaining that it was worth much farmland. The rich man turned his anger on his unsuspecting brother. He arranged to have him murdered by some assassins, but the hired killers were disturbed in the process of carrying out their villainy by an apparent intruder and they quickly tied the victim in a sack and raised him high up into a tree. The person who had disturbed the murderers was a carefree student. As he passed under the tree the man in the sack spoke to him. The student looked up and asked what he was doing. The farmer replied that he was sitting in the "sack of wisdom."

He praised this sack in such glowing terms that the student wanted to partake of this wisdom. After the man let him wait a short while the student insisted impatiently that he should be admitted, since his thirst for wisdom was so very great. The man asked the student to help him from the "house of wisdom," and when he was on the ground he helped the student into the sack and pulled the "disciple of wisdom" up the tree. "Siehe, schon fühlst du, dass die Weisheit kommt, und machst gute Erfahrung, sitze also fein ruhig, bis du klüger wirst." (KHM 60, 1814 and KHM 146, 1857).

The farmer was eager to get down from the tree. In order to find someone to help him he assumed the role of the Devil in Paradise by offering a passer-by Wisdom, thereby tricking the victim into letting him down from the tree. The student who was so eager to acquire wisdom when the voice in the tree offered him the opportunity can be compared with Eve in Paradise, who listened to the Devil, who, in the form of a snake, offered the apple from the tree of knowledge to her. The student gained nothing from his experience except, perhaps, eventual self-ridicule, but Eve gained a knowledge of good and evil although she subsequently lost paradise for mankind. Luther said ironically: ". . . denn unser weisheit und klugheit in göttlichen sachen ist das auge, so der teufel im paradies

uns aufgethan hat" (DWB, Klugheit, 1c). In this sense, the Christian connotation is that "Wisdom from a snake is evil." One sentence added to the tale "Die weisse Schlange" conveys exactly the opposite. A king ate privately from a covered dish everyday. No one knew what was in the dish. One day a servant looked into the dish and saw a white snake. He ate a portion of the snake and suddenly was able to understand all the languages of the animals. The 1812 version never explained what kind of king it was who ate the snake. The 1857 revision begins with the following words: "Es ist nun schon lange her, da lebte ein König, dessen Weisheit im ganzen Land berühmt war. Nichts blieb ihm unbekannt, und es war, als ob ihm Nachricht von den verborgensten Dingen durch die Luft zugetragen würde" (KHM 17, 1857). In a Christian setting a snake usually symbolizes temptation, sin, or the Devil. White symbolizes purity, innocence, or simply goodness. The white color off-sets the negative symbolic meaning of the snake, so that eating of it does not lead to damnation but to wisdom and a better life, thereby restoring the pre-Christian symbolic meaning of wisdom to the snake.

Prudence, as illustrated in the preceding examples, has none of the qualities of virtue in the Western Christian tradition. As its variant Verstand it was attributed to arrogant persons or to a woman, who became subject to

ridicule. As its variant Weisheit it was attributed to underdogs, who used to be subject to ridicule, or it was acquired through unconventional means. Klugheit is frequently the trademark of incautious young people bound for failure.

THIRD CARDINAL VIRTUE: TEMPERANCE

Temperance is a term primarily associated with drinking. Before the Puritans made this word a synonym for abstinence, it meant the keeping of measure in all things. In the Middle Ages, Walther von der Vogelweide was a supporter of temperance, and later Martin Luther expounded this virtue in sermons and writings. Temperance occurs in the variants Geduld, Grossmut, and Tapferkeit in the KHM. Geduld was defined as the greatest virtue by Kaspar Stieler, who himself published a dictionary in "der teutschen sprache" in 1691 (DWB, Geduld, II, 2c). Starkmut or Tapferkeit were used for Grossmut before the latter became popular in New High German. All three variants were usually considered passive virtues. In the fifteenth century Tapferkeit eventually became synonymous to courage and in the eighteenth century Grossmut began to be used as a synonym for generosity.

The variants Geduld, Grossmut, and Tapferkeit were found in six tales of the 1857 edition. Their titles and

numbers are:

"Der gute Handel" (KHM 7)
 "Das tapfere Schneiderlein" (KHM 20)
 "Der Sperling und seine vier Kinder" (KHM 157)
 "Der starke Hans" (KHM 166)
 "Die Gänsehirtin am Brunnen" (KHM 179)
 "Der Meisterdieb" (KHM 192)

Only "Das tapfere Schneiderlein" and "Der Sperling und seine vier Kinder" are also part of the first edition of the KHM 1812/14 and can be compared.

In the 1812 version of "Das tapfere Schneiderlein" the little tailor became irritated at the flies who were sitting on his jam-covered bread. He took a piece of cloth and killed twenty-nine flies at one stroke. He was pleased with the results and said: "'Bist du so ein Kerl!' . . . und verwunderte sich über sich selbst" (KHM 20, 1812/second fragment). In the 1857 version the little tailor killed seven flies at one stroke. The revision is more specific as to what the tailor admired in himself. His statement was changed so that the tailor said to himself: "'Bist du so ein Kerl?' . . . und musste selbst seine Tapferkeit bewundern" (KHM 20, 1857).

"Der Sperling und seine vier Kinder" is a tale which was copied from a sixteenth-century manuscript. Four little sparrows were pushed out of their nest by bad boys. During the following summer months each young sparrow had to find his niche in life without the benefit of his father's good advice. They met their father several

months later in a field and each one of them had to tell about his success in coping with his particular environment. The fourth sparrow, whom the father considered simple-minded and in need for protection, had spent his days in a church. This pleased the father very much, because if he put his life in the hands of God he would be well protected. In both editions of the KHM the father closes with the rhyme:

Denn wer dem Herrn befiehlt seine Sach,
Schweigt, leidet, wartet, betet, braucht Glimpf,
thut gemach,
Bewahret Glaub und gut Gewissen rein,
Dess will Gott Schutz und Helfer seyn.
(KHM 35, 1812 and KHM 157, 1857)

The word "Glimpf" in the rhyme means Geduld, which is used here as a cardinal virtue.

For a better overview I will briefly describe the use of Temperance in the remaining tales, even though they have no equivalents in the 1812/14 edition of the KHM. In "Der gute Handel" a farmer was waiting for a butcher's dog to bring him money for beef he had given to him "und endlich riss ihm die Geduld" (KHM 7, 1857), so that he went to the dog's master to demand the money. In "Der starke Hans," a ten-year-old boy, who was abducted with his mother several years before by a band of robbers, over-powered his captors with a stick. His mother watched the fight "und war voll Verwunderung über seine Tapferkeit

und Stärke" (KHM 166, 1857). In "Die Gänsehirtin am Brunnen," a young count offered to help an old woman. She gave him her bundle, which seemed to get heavier and heavier. When the path went uphill, "da ging's über seine Kräfte." He tried to throw off the bundle, but it seemed to have grown to his back. The old woman admonished him and said: "Erzürnt Euch nicht, lieber Herr . . . Tragt Euer Bündel mit Geduld" (KHM 179, 1857), and she promised him a reward at her house. "Er musste sich in sein Schicksal fügen und geduldig hinter der Alten herschleichen." (KHM 179, 1857) In the last example, "Der Meisterdieb," a thief posed as his own Godfather one night and pretended that he had killed the thief (himself) who had tried to steal a valuable ring from the hand of the Godfather's wife. He called to her from the window: "Ich habe eine Anwandlung von Grossmut, gib mir noch den Ring; der Unglückliche hat sein Leben gewagt, so mag er ihn ins Grab mitnehmen" (KHM 192, 1857). In the above cases Temperance has been used in connection with a boastful tailor, a Dummling-type bird, a farmer, a ten-year-old boy, and a thief. None of them could seriously be considered as models of virtue. The most likely person would have been the count, because he was helpful. But the old woman recognized his noble upbringing, burdened him down to the breaking point and then forced him to be patient

and persevere.

FOURTH CARDINAL VIRTUE: JUSTICE

Justice occurs in the variants Wahrheit, Treue, and Gerechtigkeit in the KHM. Wahrheit is a virtue "nach welcher der mensch äusserlich redet und thut wie er . . . innerlich . . . gedencket und meinet" (DWB, Wahrheit, II, 11a). It is considered the confirmation of reality or a reflection of a set pattern. According to the examples given in the DWB, Wahrheit and Treue are often used in combination in Middle High German. The combination "Wahrheit und Gerechtigkeit" is most often found in the examples from the sixteenth century.

The three variants were found in eighteen tales of the 1857 edition. Seven tales are also part of the first edition of the KHM 1812/14 and can be compared. They are:

"Marienkind" (KHM 3)
 "Sneewittchen" (KHM 53)
 "Die zwölf Jäger" (KHM 67)
 "Die Rabe" (KHM 93)
 "Der Fuchs und das Pferd" (KHM 132)
 "Die zertanzten Schuhe" (KHM 133)
 "Simeliberg" (KHM 142)

"Marienkind" is the story of a poor woodcutter's daughter, who was adopted by the Virgin Mary and taken to heaven. The girl received good care and had many playmates. When she was fourteen years old, the Virgin Mary had to go on a trip. The girl received thirteen keys and

permission to open all but one of the doors to which the keys belonged. Temptation was strong and the girl could not resist opening the thirteenth door. When Mary returned, she questioned the girl three times and three times she denied having opened the door. Mary knew that the girl was guilty and told her she would have to expell her from heaven because she had lied. The girl found herself alone in the wilderness, unable to speak. A king, who was hunting in the vicinity, saw her and took her to his castle. He fell in love with her, married her, and within three years she bore him three children. Each time a child was born the Virgin Mary came and gave the young mother a chance to tell the truth. Each time she denied any wrongdoing. Mary took away her children, one by one. The people thought that their queen had eaten her children and urged the king to call for a trial. The queen was condemned to burn at the stake. As she was standing amidst the flames, her pride melted and she wanted to confess her wrong-doing. Suddenly her voice came back and she called out that she was guilty. Rain quenched the flames, Mary appeared with the three children, and all was well.

The cardinal nouns were extensively revised in this tale. Wahrheit occurred four times in 1812, but three times it was replaced. For example, when the queen had her first child, the Virgin Mary came and said to her:

"sag' jetzt die Wahrheit, dass du die verbotene Thür aufgeschlossen hast . . . bist du aber hartnäckig und willst es nicht gestehen, so nehm' ich dein Kind mit" (KHM 3, 1812). In the 1857 version Mary said: "willst du die Wahrheit sagen und gestehen, dass du die verbotene Tür aufgeschlossen hast, so will ich deinen Mund öffnen . . .: verharrst du aber in Sünde und leugnest hartnäckig, so nehm' ich dein neugebornes Kind mit mir" (KHM 3, 1857). After the birth of the second child, Mary returned and asked the queen again "nun die Wahrheit zu sagen, sonst verliere sie auch das zweite Kind" (KHM 3, 1812). The 1857 version is similar, but Wahrheit is not mentioned. When the queen finally was moved to admit her guilt at the burning stake, Mary came to her and said: "da du die Wahrheit hast sagen wollen, ist dir deine Schuld vergeben" (KHM 3, 1812). In the 1857 version Wahrheit was again eliminated. The Virgin Mary said instead: "wer seine Sünde bereut und eingesteht, dem ist sie vergeben" (KHM 3, 1857).

In the revision of the above tale, the emphasis was shifted from Wahrheit to Sünde, so that a more Christian image was achieved, serving as model for the reformed church. The topic of sin in "Marienkind" will be discussed in the chapter concerning cardinal sins.

In "Sneewittchen" a beautiful princess had a lethal

foe in her stepmother. The question of who was the most beautiful being in the land was answered by a magic mirror. The stepmother consulted the mirror regularly and when the mirror told her that she was most beautiful, she was satisfied "und da wusste sie gewiss, dass niemand schöner auf der Welt war" (KHM 53, 1812). In the 1857 version the queen's reaction was changed to include Wahrheit: "Da war sie zufrieden, denn sie wusste, dass der Spiegel die Wahrheit sagte" (KHM 53, 1857). As Snow White grew up, she became more and more beautiful. The queen consulted her mirror again and it told her that Snow White was more beautiful than she. The queen was filled with envy and decided to have Snow White killed. But the hunter she hired felt sorry for the girl and let her escape. In the 1812 version, when the stepmother consulted the mirror after she thought she had disposed of Snow White the mirror gave credit to the girl, even though she was very far away. "Wie die Königin das hörte erschrock sie und sah wohl, dass sie betrogen worden und der Jäger Sneewittchen nicht getötet hatte." (KHM 53, 1812) This reaction was revised in the later version to emphasize the role of the mirror: "Da erschrak sie [die Königin]; denn sie wusste, dass der Spiegel keine Unwahrheit sprach" (KHM 53, 1857).

The tale "Die zwölf Jäger" contains the theme of the "forgotten bride." A prince gave his bride a ring and

picture before he went home to see his dying father. When the prince did not return, the forgotten bride selected eleven girls and, disguised as hunters, the twelve went to see the prince. He thought they were men and hired them to go hunting with him. The prince had a lion, who discovered the real identity of the girls. He told his master, but the prince did not want to believe him. Three times the prince proved that the lion was wrong. One day, one of the hunters fainted while resting in the woods. When the prince removed the stricken hunter's glove, he discovered the ring he had given to his bride. The lion "hatte nicht gelogen, und kam wieder in Gnade bei dem König" (KHM 67, 1812). In the revision Wahrheit was added in the last sentence, so that the lion "kam wieder in Gnade, weil er doch die Wahrheit gesagt hatte" (KHM 67, 1857). Wahrheit may have been added in the revision so that the tale would end on a more positive note. The point that "lying denotes sinfulness" was emphasized in "Das Marienkind" and deemphasized in regard to the lion.

In the above three tales Wahrheit has been treated in connection with a sinful girl, a mirror, and an animal. The tales "Die Rabe," "Die zertanzten Schuhe," and "Simeliberg" do not have any better or more sincere subjects. In "Der Rabe" a young man was on his way to save an enchanted princess, when he came upon three robbers,

who told him that they had found three magic items. They did not know whether to divide them up between themselves or to sell them. The young man was interested in purchasing the items, but before he bought them, he wanted to test them "damit ich sehe, ob ihr auch die Wahrheit gesagt habt" (KHM 7, 1814 and KHM 93, 1857). The robbers gave the young man the items, which caused him to disappear. He continued his trip unmolested and the magic items enabled him to save the princess. In the above story, the validity of the robbers' claim that the items were magic was tested by a young man, who meant to deceive. A similar situation is described in "Die zertanzten Schuhe." Twelve princesses needed new shoes every day and no one knew how they wore out their old ones. The king let it be known that whoever could discover their secret would become king someday and marry one of his daughters. But if the secret could not be unlocked within three nights, the candidate would have to die. The princesses were careful to guard their secret and caused the death of several suitors. A soldier, who had the fortune of receiving a magic coat from an old woman, was able to discover the girls' secret. He presented his evidence to the father, who called for his daughters and asked them "ob der Soldat die Wahrheit gesagt hätte, und da sie sahen, dass sie verraten waren, und Leugnen nichts

half, so mussten sie alles eingestehen" (KHM 47, 1814 and KHM 133, 1857).

The last example for Wahrheit is similar to "Marienkind," except that the person who demanded that the truth be told was wicked and the person, who was threatened with dire consequences if he had not told the truth, was innocent. "Simeliberg" is the story of a rich and a poor brother (the Ali Baba theme). The poor brother had the good fortune to observe twelve men as they spoke some magic words to a mountain. The mountain opened, the men went in and returned with heavy sacks on their backs. They closed the mountain again and left. The poor man wanted to know what was in the mountain, used the magic words, and found gold, silver, and jewels in great quantity. He took some gold and became well-to-do. His rich brother noticed his brother's new found wealth and became envious. In order to find out where the wealth came from, he tricked his brother into supplying some evidence, and then threatened him "wenn er nicht die Wahrheit sagte, so wollt' er ihm beim Gericht verklagen" (KHM 56, 1814 and KHM 142, 1857). The accused brother told the truth, whereupon the rich brother rushed to the mountain. Unfortunately, he perished amidst the gold and silver because the sight of the treasures confused him so much that he forgot the magic words, which would have allowed him

to exit. Wahrheit reduced the rich brother to the level of a fool. Death was the punishment for his envy.

For the purposes of comparison, "Der Fuchs und das Pferd" is the only tale which contains Treue. A horse had served his master well for many years and was now too old to work. The farmer did not want to feed a worthless horse but told it that he would give it feed for the rest of its life if the horse could show its strength by bringing a lion to the door. The horse went away, met a fox, and complained: "Geiz und Treue wohnen nicht in einem Haus" (KHM 46, 1814 and KHM 132, 1857). The fox was able to help the horse to return with a lion and get fed for the rest of its life.

Treue is used five times in "Der treue Johannes" (KHM 6), two times in "Die drei Schlangenblätter" (KHM 16), and four times in "Der Trommler" (KHM 193). As in "Der Fuchs und das Pferd," Treue was badly rewarded and caused much suffering. Though no empirical evidence can be offered for the connection, one is reminded of the Grimms' loyalty to the kingdom of Hannover and how badly they fared when a new despotic monarch chose to disregard this loyalty and expelled them from the university at Göttingen and the country. The same chords are struck when the fish in "Die Scholle" cries out "Wie schön wäre es, wenn wir einen König hätten, der Recht und Gerechtigkeit bei uns

übte" (KHM 172, 1857). This tale was added to the fourth edition of KHM in 1840, after the Grimms had been expelled from the university at Göttingen for insisting on adhering to their oath of loyalty to their country.

Justice, as illustrated by the preceding examples, has none of the qualities of virtue. As the variant Wahrheit, it was required of a sinful girl, a mirror, an animal, three robbers, and twelve secretive princesses. Except for the sinful girl Marienkind, all were minor characters in the tales. The occurrence of Wahrheit in the "Marienkind" was reduced considerably in the revision and emphasis placed on Sünde. Treue was ill rewarded and Gerechtigkeit was lacking.

FIFTH CARDINAL VIRTUE: FAITH

Glaube is one of the three Christian virtues. It is a belief in God or the complete confidence in someone or something that is nevertheless open to question or suspicion. Glaube occurs in the following tales of the 1857 edition:

"Das tapfere Schneiderlein" (KHM 20)

"Die sechs Schwäne" (KHM 49)

"Der Sperling und seine vier Kinder" (KHM 157)

All three tales are part of the first edition and can be compared.

In "Das tapfere Schneiderlein" the little tailor

was given the task of killing two giants. One hundred soldiers accompanied him to the forest. The tailor ordered the soldiers to wait for him at the edge of the forest and then he went alone to find the giants. He teased the giants, who could not see him, until they had killed each other. The soldiers did not want to believe that the tailor had killed the two giants, and went into the forest to look for themselves (KHM 20, 1812). The 1857 version was changed to read: "Die Reiter wollten ihm keinen Glauben beimessen und ritten in den Wald hinein" (KHM 20, 1857). Their faith in the tailor's abilities was small and they became frightened of him when they saw his claim confirmed. He was as omnipotent as God, using lesser creatures to do his work.

In "Die sechs Schwäne" the mother of a king insisted that his mute wife was a witch and had eaten her new-born children. In the 1812 version, when the first child was born and disappeared, the king did not believe his mother out of great love for his wife (KHM 49, 1812). But when it happened again after the birth of his second child, he had his wife condemned to burn at the stake. In the 1857 version, the queen gave birth to three children. The first time, when the king's mother accused his wife of witchcraft, he simply did not want to believe it. The second time "der König konnte sich nicht entschliessen,

ihren Reden Glauben beizumessen" (KHM 49, 1857). The third time he ordered his wife burned at the stake. The king was torn between his wife, to whom he was bound by his own personal choice, and his mother, to whom he was bound by tradition. His faith in his wife as well as in himself was slowly eroded by the accusations of his mother, until finally he bent to her will.

"Der Sperling und seine vier Kinder" remains unchanged from its original version KHM 35 in 1812, only its position in the collection was altered in 1819 to KHM 157. In this tale the sparrow conferred with his children, who had had various experiences of survival. He was especially pleased with his youngest, most foolish son. This son happened to have been exposed to the church and showed great self-confidence in his well-being through God's help. The father commented:

Denn wer dem Herrn befiehlt seine Sach',
schweigt, leidet, wartet, betet, braucht Glimpf,
tut gemach, bewahrt Glaub' und gut Gewissen rein,
dem will Gott Schutz und Helfer sein.

(KHM 35, 1812 and KHM 157, 1857)

The three examples given above contain symbolic references to the position of the Volk towards the Church. The facetious example of the little tailor is none the less the example of an omnipotent person who manipulates his environment and gives such convincing shows of power that everyone believes in him. But this belief is based

on fear. Great humanists and mystics, such as Thomas of Aquinas and Meister Eckhardt, recognized the hopeless position of the Christian whose faith was based on fear preached by the Church. The writings of these men, dealing with direct faith in God and penetrated by love, were banned or burned. Luther's protest challenged the right of the Church to hold Christians to their faith by manipulating their fears. "Das tapfere Schneiderlein" appears to be a caricature of the power of the Church. In "Die sechs Schwäne" the king, being temporarily separated from his mother, falls in love. The mute girl of his choice resembles the new faith, based on love. His mother resembles the Church in the process staging a counter-reformation. She had to accuse the girl of a capital crime and paint her with blood to recapture her son. He was freed again from his predicament through his wife, since her time had come that she could speak again. The king and his wife burned his mother--and lived happily ever after. In the last example, the father was most pleased with his youngest son who was a Dummling. His statement, that "God will protect and help him who puts his worries in God's hands, is silent, suffers, waits, prays, is temperate, uses gentleness, keeps his faith and conscience pure," runs counter to human nature. It would require a great amount of personal constraint, or a lack

of interest in the world around brought about by age or infirmity, to satisfy the requirements. It is much simpler for children, the foolish and the old to come nearer to God, because they live in a concrete world, than it is for those burdened down by reason or other secular obstacles.

SIXTH CARDINAL VIRTUE: HOPE

Hoffnung is one of the three Christian virtues. It is a positive approach to deal with fate. The fulfillment of a wish is the target of Hope. Hoffnung occurs in eight tales of the 1857 edition. Seven tales are also part of the first edition of KHM 1812/14 and can be compared. They are:

- "Rapunzel" (KHM 12)
- "Die weisse Schlange" (KHM 17)
- "Die sieben Raben" (KHM 25)
- "Der goldene Vogel" (KHM 57)
- "Allerleirauh" (KHM 65)
- "Die sechs Diener" (KHM 134)
- "Der Eisenhans" (KHM 136)

Hope is used in two ways in the following tales. Either someone hoped for a happy event, or it had to be abandoned. In the traditional folk usage, pregnancy is described as "being in the state of hope" in German. "Rapunzel" in the 1812 version describes the predicament of such a married couple. According to the 1812 version, a husband and wife wanted a child for a long time, but

"endlich ward die Frau guter Hoffnung" (KHM 12, 1812).

During her time of pregnancy, the woman saw some beautiful rampions in a garden behind her house. The garden belonged to a fairy and no one was allowed to enter it. The woman desired the rampions so much that she fell ill and said she would die, if she could not eat some rampions. Her husband took a chance, climbed over the wall, and pulled out a handfull of rampions. His wife made a salad and ate it eagerly. The rampions tasted so good, that her desire for them tripled. Her husband climbed over the wall again, but this time he met the fairy, who scolded him that he had come into her garden to steal her rampions. He excused himself as well as he could "mit der Schwangerschaft seiner Frau, und wie gefährlich es sey, ihr dann etwas abzuschlagen" (KHM 12, 1812). The fairy was appeased and told him that he could take as many rampions as he wished, but under one condition: he had to give her the child which his wife was carrying.

In the above version Hoffnung refers to the state of pregnancy. This is further confirmed, when the husband used his wife's pregnancy as an excuse for stealing the rampions. The 1857 version clouds the issue and the reader is in doubt as to whether the woman was pregnant or simply hoped to become pregnant. The man and his wife "wünschten sich schon lange vergeblich ein Kind; endlich

machte sich die Frau Hoffnung, der liebe Gott werde ihren Wunsch erfüllen" (KHM 12, 1857). During the confrontation with the owner of the garden, who is a sorceress in the 1857 version, the husband only used his wife's great desire for rampions as his defense for theft. Hoffnung, which was a concrete term in the 1812 version, became ambiguous in the 1857 version.

"Die sieben Raben" is a variation of the 1812 tale "Die drei Raben" (KHM 25, 1812). The introduction was changed considerably so that Hoffnung does not occur in 1812. In the 1857 version a man had seven sons and no daughter, no matter how hard he wished to have one. Finally, his wife "gab ihm . . . wieder gute Hoffnung zu einem Kinde, und wie's zur Welt kam, war's auch ein Mädchen" (KHM 25, 1857). Hoffnung is here transferred to the husband. Instead of the wife "having been in good hope" as the traditional folk usage would have described the condition of pregnancy, the wife "gave her husband good hope," so that Hoffnung is again put in an ambiguous context.

In the remaining five tales Hoffnung is always used in a negative context. In "Die weisse Schlange" a young man had the task of finding the apple of the tree of life. He did not know where the tree was located, but started on his way, planning to go on and on, as long as

his legs would carry him ". . . aber er hatte keine Hoffnung, ihn [den Baum] zu finden" (KHM 17, 1857). The 1812 version does not mention the details of the young man's search. In the tale "Der goldene Vogel" a prince had to move a mountain to come closer to his goal of finding the golden bird. He started to dig and "grub und schaufelte, . . . als er aber sah, wie wenig er ausgerichtet hatte, . . . so fiel er in grosse Traurigkeit und gab alle Hoffnung auf" (KHM 57, 1857). In the 1812 version, the prince became depressed but no mention of Hope was made. In "Allerleirauh" a princess tried in vain to discourage her father in his plan to marry her. "Als nun die Königstochter sah, dass keine Hoffnung mehr war, ihres Vaters Herz umzuwenden, so fasste sie den Entschluss zu entfliehen" (KHM 65, 1857). No reference to Hope is made in the 1812 version. A similar problem exists in "Die sechs Diener." A prince fell in love with a beautiful but dangerous princess. When his father refused permission for his son to see her, he became ill, was near death for seven years, and no doctor could help him. "Als der Vater sah, dass keine Hoffnung mehr war, sprach er voll Herzenstraurigkeit zu ihm: 'zieh hin . . .'" (KHM 134, 1857). In the 1814 version the father saw that the son would be lost anyway and gave permission for him to go (KHM 48, 1814). In the last tale, "Der Eisenhans," a boy was abducted by a wild

man, under whose protection he grew up and became very successful. He invited his parents to his wedding. Father and mother were overjoyed "denn sie hatten schon alle Hoffnung aufgegeben, ihren lieben Sohn wiederzusehen" (KHM 136, 1857). The 1812 version of "Der Eisenhans" is a tale in dialect entitled "De wilde Mann" (KHM 50, 1814), and does not contain any reference to Hope.

The addition of Hope in the revision of the above tales seems to underscore a lack of confidence in one's self, even if magic help has previously been offered. It also apparently demonstrates a lack of confidence in others. Thus, the father restrained his son for seven years from seeing his beloved princess. The father had no confidence in his son and the son had no recourse except possible death through illness. That is also true for All-Kinds-of-Fur (Allerleirauh), who has no recourse against her mad father. Since no one came to her aid, she finally had to run away. The parents of the abducted son had given up all hope to see him again. Considering the possible availability of magic intervention, this attitude seems most defeatist.

SEVENTH CARDINAL VIRTUE: LOVE

Liebe is one of the three Christian virtues and considered the most important by Saint Paul. The defini-

tion of Liebe most appropriate to the KHM is given in the Grimms' Wörterbuch (Sp. 917, 1) in a quote by Luther:

"Liebe aber heisset auf deutsch (wie jederman weis) nichts anders, den von herzen einem günstig und hold sein, und alle güte und freundschaft erbieten, und erzeugen."

Liebe does not ask anything in return, and offers Güte and Freundschaft. In the KHM, Love occurs in the variants Liebe and Freundschaft. The two variants were found in seventeen tales of the 1857 edition. Eleven tales are also part of the first edition of the KHM 1812/14 and can be compared. They are:

- "Katze und Maus in Gesellschaft" (KHM 2)
- "Die zwölf Brüder" (KHM 9)
- "Die drei Spinnerinnen" (KHM 14)
- "Die weisse Schlange" (KHM 17)
- "Die sechs Schwäne" (KHM 49)
- "Die zwei Brüder" (KHM 60)
- "Allerleirauh" (KHM 65)
- "Die Goldkinder" (KHM 85)
- "Die drei Feldscherer" (KHM 118)
- "Die sechs Diener" (KHM 134)
- "Die weisse und die schwarze Braut" (KHM 135)

Only three of the above tales contain Liebe in the 1812/14 edition. Their titles are "Allerleirauh, "Die drei Feldscherer," and "Die sechs Diener." The variants Liebe and Freundschaft were added to the remaining eight tales as part of their revision.

Liebe is first mentioned in connection with Freundschaft, and both are desirable ingredients in a wholesome relationship. However, the tale is "Katze und

Maus in Gesellschaft," to which both variants were added as part of an introductory section of the 1857 version. Wilhelm Grimm added the following paragraph: "Eine Katze hatte Bekanntschaft mit einer Maus gemacht und ihr so viel von der grossen Liebe und Freundschaft vorgesagt, die sie zu ihr trüge, dass die Maus endlich einwilligte, mit ihr zusammen in einem Hause zu wohnen und gemeinschaftliche Wirtschaft zu führen" (KHM 2, 1857). Already with this first mention of Liebe and Freundschaft an element of deception is introduced. We cannot be happy with this relationship and our fears are proven well founded when the mouse becomes the victim of the arrangement.

"Der gute Handel," which has no counterpart in the 1812/14 edition, treats almost the same situation. A Jew was after a farmer's money and tried to get his share by accusing the farmer for disrespectful use of the king's name. The farmer was ordered to appear before the king, but before he went he wanted to use some of his money to buy a new coat. The Jew did not want the farmer to spend the money and told him "ich will Euch für die kurze Zeit einen schönen Rock leihen aus blosser Freundschaft; was tut der Mensch nicht alles aus Liebe!" (KHM 7, 1857). The Jew's use of Freundschaft and Liebe was clearly deceptive. The two variants again were used to trick someone.

In "Die drei Spinnerinnen" a young girl had to spin three rooms full of flax, a task she could not do, because she was lazy and had not had much practice in spinning. Her reward would have been the queen's son. She accomplished the task none the less with the help of three ugly, physically deformed women. The women had agreed to help her, if she invited them to her wedding. When the flax was spun, arrangements for the wedding were made. The groom was very pleased to get such a diligent wife and praised her highly. The girl received permission to invite the three women and when they arrived on her wedding day, she introduced them as her cousins. The groom was startled at the appearance of these women and asked his bride: "wie kommst du zu der garstigen Freundschaft?" (KHM 14, 1857). He asked the women about their physical deformities, and when they answered that they were the result of too much spinning, the groom would not allow his bride to touch a spinning wheel for the rest of her life. The successful outcome of this tale depended entirely on the deceptive use of Freundschaft.

"Die zwölf Brüder" contains the tale of a young girl in search of her brothers, who had had to leave home when she was born. The girl found her youngest brother deep in the woods, keeping house for his eleven older brothers. At the reunion she started to cry for joy, and

her brother also, "und sie küssten und herzten einander vor grosser Liebe" (KHM 9, 1857). This love was severely tested, when the girl caused the brothers to be turned into twelve ravens, who could only be redeemed if she neither spoke nor laughed for seven years. She accomplished the task under the severest conditions and proved her love for her brothers.

In "Die sechs Schwäne" a girl was also in search of her brothers, who had been turned into swans by an evil stepmother. She found them in the woods and was told that the brothers could only be saved if she neither spoke nor laughed for six years. She also had to make six shirts from starflowers during that time. The girl went deep into the woods, climbed a tree, and started to make the shirts for her brothers. But a king found her, saw her "und ob es gleich stumm war, liebte er es doch von Herzen, und es ward seine Gemahlin" (KHM 49, 1812). The 1857 version is slightly changed: "Weil es aber so schön war, so ward des Königs Herz gerührt, und er fasste eine grosse Liebe zu ihm" (KHM 49, 1857). The king married the girl and within a year she bore him a son. The king's mother, who did not like the mute girl, took the child away from her and accused the girl of having eaten it. "Der König aber, aus grosser Liebe, wollte es nicht glauben" (KHM 49, 1812). There is no such mention of "Liebe" in the

1857 version, even though the king protested several times before he passed judgment on his wife. In the 1812 version Love is most important when the king is alone, away from his mother. In the presence of his mother Love is not mentioned any more, so that the step from considering his wife innocent to passing judgment on her is not so drastic. In the 1857 version, attention was focused on the king's dilemma of having to choose between the love for his wife and the filial love toward his mother.

In "Die weisse Schlange" a wise king had the strange habit of eating from a covered dish in guarded privacy, so that no one knew what was in the dish. A servant became so curious to know what it contained, that he carried the dish to his room rather than to the kitchen, and uncovered it. He saw a white snake, and when he tasted it, he suddenly could understand the language of the animals in the courtyard. Endowed with this power he set out to find his luck in the world. He fell in love with a princess and wanted to marry her, but she set him impossible tasks to get rid of him. With his special power he solved all of them. When she wanted an apple from the tree of life, he was able to accomplish even this task. In the 1812 version it is related that he simply became the husband of the princess (KHM 17, 1812). The 1857 version is more elaborate: "Sie teilten den Apfel

des Lebens und assen ihn zusammen: da ward ihr Herz mit Liebe zu ihm erfüllt . . ." (KHM 17, 1857). According to the revised version, the apple of the tree of life contains the magic ingredient for love. Requiring the young man to find the tree of life is apparently no longer another impossible task to fulfill but a wish to find what the princess needed most: Love.

A similar tale is "Die sechs Diener." A princess had no intention of marrying a young man, whom she thought to be a commoner. She set him tasks and coldbloodedly calculated to get rid of him, but with the aid of his six servants the young man was able to fulfill all tasks. In one of these instances the 1814 version simply states: "Da sassen sie. . . Sie wachten alle bis elf Uhr" (KHM 48, 1814). In the 1857 version, they both sat there and "er tat nichts als sie anschauen, war voll Freude und Liebe" (KHM 134, 1857). She knew how great his love was for her and told him that she would not marry him until someone was willing to sit in the middle of a fire and come out alive. She hoped that none of his servants would do this, and "aus Liebe zu ihr würde er selber sich hineinsetzen, und dann wäre sie frei" (KHM 48, 1814 and KHM 134, 1857). But one of his servants was willing to sit in the fire and the young man was able to marry the princess. The young man was a prince and not a commoner.

In his great love he did not forget to humiliate her properly and to break her spirit before she could really be considered worthy of him. The process of this humiliation is described in the next chapter under the cardinal sin Pride.

"Allerleirauh" is the story of All-Kinds-of-Fur who had to flee from her father because he insisted on marrying her. In the 1812 version the king could not find a woman as beautiful as his deceased wife. Since only his daughter was equal to her, he thought "du musst deine Tochter heirathen, und fühlte in dem Augenblick eine so grosse Liebe zu ihr, dass er gleich den Räthen und der Prinzessin seinen Willen kund that" (KHM 65, 1812). The 1857 version reverses the order of the king's wedding plans. The king was looking for a wife who would have been as beautiful as his deceased wife. When his daughter was grown up he looked at her and saw "dass sie in allem seiner verstorbenen Gemahlin ähnlich war, und fühlte eine heftige Liebe zu ihr. Da sprach er zu seinen Räten: 'ich will meine Tochter heiraten'" (KHM 65, 1857). The king in the first version could not be excused. At the outset he calculated coldly and was later overwhelmed by love. The king in the revised version was blinded by his love first, and his decision to marry his daughter was an outgrowth of his infatuation. Luckily, the girl escaped and

found the man to whom she was betrothed. The love her father felt for her obviously does not belong in the category of virtues even though the revision had made it less of a crime.

The following three tales mainly illustrate Love in a number of different relationships. In "Die zwei Brüder" two brothers were going to part company and promised each other "brüderliche Liebe bis an den Tod" (KHM 60, 1857). During the course of their adventures they helped each other in such a way that they were successful in accomplishing their goals. In "Die weisse und die schwarze Braut" a girl was helpful to God as he walked on earth. He made her white and beautiful as a reward. The girl and her brother were extremely devoted to one another. He painted a picture of her, hung it in his room, and stopped to look at it every day, thanking God for the happiness of his sister (KHM 49, 1814). In the 1857 version direct speech was added before the brother painted the picture. He said to his sister: "Liebe Schwester, ich will dich abmalen, damit ich dich ständig vor Augen sehe; denn meine Liebe zu dir ist so gross, dass ich dich immer anblicken möchte" (KHM 135, 1857). The revision intensified the expression of Love between brother and sister, not to hint at the possibility of incest, but to make it more believable that the young man stood in front of the

picture so much, thereby drawing the attention of the king to it at whose court the young man was a coachman.

In "Die Goldkinder" two boys, who were completely golden, were born to a couple under magic conditions. When they had grown up they left home to travel. They stopped at an inn for the night, but when the people saw their color, they ridiculed them. One of the golden brothers went home, the other continued and came to a forest. He was about to enter, when people nearby told him not to go in because the robbers would assault him. Instead of turning back, he covered himself and his horse with bear hides and continued his travels. Disguised he came to a village and saw a girl, so beautiful, that he did not believe "es könnte ein schöneres auf der Welt seyn und fragte, ob es ihn heiraten wolle, und das Mädchen sagte ja . . ." (KHM 63, 1812). In the above version, no mention is made of falling in love. In the 1857 revision, the treatment of this encounter could be regarded as a model for true love and the ensuing marriage proposal. The disguised young man came to a village where he saw a girl, who was so beautiful, that he could not believe that a more beautiful girl could exist in this world. And because he felt such great love for the girl, he approached her and said: "ich habe dich so lieb, willst du meine Frau werden?" (KHM 85, 1857). Since the 1857

version was strongly altered, the presentation of Love and its proper consequences, in that instance at least, seemed to have concerned the Grimms. All was not well in the story, because the father of the girl, who was not consulted about the wedding plans, grew angry and almost killed the groom. Only the sight of the suitor's golden skin persuaded the father that his daughter's choice was acceptable.

The last example in the Love category is an account of a grotesque situation. In "Die drei Feldscherer" a group of men were bragging to an innkeeper about their healing abilities. They removed a hand, two eyes, and a heart, put them on a plate and told the innkeeper to store them in a cabinet to be reattached in the morning. But a love-blinded girl foiled the project. "Da schloss das Mädchen den Schrank auf und holte ihm [her secret lover] etwas, und über der grossen Liebe vergass sie, die Schranktür zuzumachen" (KHM 32, 1814 and KHM 118, 1857). A cat came into the room, saw the cabinet door open, and ate the hand, the eyes, and the heart. The girl and her lover replaced the hand with that of a dead thief, the eyes with those of the cat, and the heart with that of a pig, so that the men, who attached the items in the morning, acquired the characteristics of the animals and the thief. If it had not been for the secret love of the

girl, which caused her to be inattentive, the outcome would not have been grotesque at all. The men would have demonstrated their healing skills and gone on their way.

Liebe in the KHM is treated in various ways, but only a few times as the pure love, which is considered a virtue. The brotherly love in "Die zwei Brüder," and the love between brother and sister in "Die weisse und die schwarze Braut" are examples of Love as a virtue. In both tales Love ensured a positive solution of all problems. The girl's love for her brothers in "Die zwölf Brüder" is also virtuous. However, she had to suffer great hardship for their sake, all the while she was unable to defend herself. The love generated by a beautiful woman is not pure, because the man possessed by this love molds the conquered woman to suit his image as in "Die sechs Diener," and "Die weisse Schlange," or his love is dulled by the black magic of an envious mother as in "Die sechs Schwäne." A father's love for his daughter turns out to be most sinful as in "Allerleirauh," and a young man's love for a simple but beautiful village girl would have been fatal, if his adversary had not seen a glimpse of his true identity. The deceiving of the cat, the Jew, and the lazy girl are the extreme opponents of Love.

In general, Love is treated as a passion, which takes possession of a man so that his actions are no

longer those of his own rational self but the results of this possession. He remains passive and endures hardships, mostly at the hands of a beautiful woman. He ends up taking revenge by subduing the woman. If the person possessed by love is a woman, she is usually also very passive, because of some condition placed upon her to prove her love. She endures hardships imposed by another woman, even though a loving man stands by. Unfortunately, his loyalty is vacillating between the two women, one of whom represents his own personal love and the other the traditional love imposed by an institution, which can be parents, community, or church.

Love mentioned in connection with friendship, or friendship by itself, is always deception. The person who accepts love and friendship from his adversary will soon perish. In the case of the Jew, "Der gute Handel" was one of the few examples where the Jew was actively engaged in the tale as an aggressor. Since it was the seventh tale in the 1812 collection, the image presented of the deceptive Jew set the tone for all subsequent tales about Jews.

Summary

Virtue

The word Tugend in the tales, since the first edition of the KHM 1812/14, is always used in connection with character descriptions. This is a change from the 1812 volume and an indication that it was important to the Grimms to describe a virtuous person rather than just to label him as such. Virtue in the revised versions is a characteristic in a person as easily recognized as outward beauty. The person has to do nothing to establish his virtuousness, so that he is far removed from the ancient virtues which portrayed active participation in the process of life. The definitions show no connection with Virtue of Western Christian tradition. It seems then, that the Grimms were not interested in moralizing, but only in tale telling--and perhaps even in debunking Western morality.

The seven categories of the cardinal virtues must also have been important to the Grimms. The individual variants of the cardinal virtues were almost all added after 1814. Those found in the 1812 volume were often completely rearranged or entirely omitted in later editions. However, almost all occurrences of the variants of the cardinal virtues illustrate negative or grotesque situations or apply to lowly or deceitful persons, and

cannot be considered seriously as cardinal virtues.

1. Fortitude

Fortitude is attributed to a boastful tailor, an angry, spoiled princess, and put in the mouth of a deceitful stepmother. Other examples of the use of Fortitude are also negative, so that in no case the qualities of a cardinal virtue are apparent.

2. Prudence

Prudence has not once been used as the virtue handed down by Cicero from the Greeks. Basically, it seems to have been used to illustrate folly in the highest degree, especially in cases where the "foolish" youngest brother underscores the contrast between his thoughtful and wise actions and the haughty, high-handed ways of his "prudent" brothers. The grotesque is illustrated by the clever woman, who thought too much, or the student, who was looking for wisdom.

3. Temperance

Temperance occurs mostly in the revised versions. It has been used primarily in a negative way with lesser characters, such as a boastful tailor, a Dummling-type bird, a farmer, a ten-year-old boy, and a thief. None of them could seriously be considered as a model for virtue.

4. Justice

Justice has none of the qualities of virtue. It is ill rewarded, lacking altogether, or required of a sinful girl, a mirror, an animal, three robbers, and twelve secretive princesses. Except for the sinful girl Marienkind, all are minor characters.

5. Faith

Faith is a little illustrated virtue. Of the three occurrences in the comparisons, only one is of religious significance, and then in connection with a sparrow and his youngest, foolish son. It is illustrated in problematic conflicts between personal and filial trust, or facetiously in the omnipotent boastful tailor.

6. Hope

Hope seems to demonstrate a lack of confidence in one's self and in others, a wish to get away from an authoritarian figure, or a defeatist attitude. It is negative in all cases and does not illustrate the cardinal virtue Hope.

7. Love

Love, the highest among the Christian virtues, is found most often in comparisons of the original and final versions. Only a few examples illustrate Luther's concept of Güte and Freundschaft. Whenever Love is mentioned

in connection with Friendship, it is always deception. Generally Love is treated as a passion which so possesses a man that his actions are determined more by this possessive passion than by rationale. Generally both men and women possessed by love tend to be passive. The men so possessed suffer hardships imposed upon them by beautiful women while women similarly possessed are faced with the necessity of proving this love.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter III

¹I requested the second edition of KHM 1819 through the University of Texas Interlibrary Loan Service and was informed that this edition is noncirculating at all known U.S. locations, such as Harvard University Library, University of Chicago Library, and Indiana University Library.

²Kurt Schmidt, Die Entwicklung der Grimmschen Kinder- und Hausmärchen.

³Kleinere Schriften von Wilhelm Grimm, I, p. 335.

⁴Desiderius Erasmus, The Praise of Folly, translated from the Latin by Hoyt Hopewell Hudson (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1951).

CHAPTER IV

THE CARDINAL SINS IN THE FIRST AND SEVENTH EDITIONS OF THE KINDER- UND HAUSMÄRCHEN

List of Variants

The cardinal sins (1) Pride, (2) Avarice, (3 and 4) Lust and Gluttony, (5) Envy, (6) Ire, and (7) Sloth occur about 180 times in the seventh edition of the KHM 1857. In order to determine German variants equivalent to the cardinal sins, I consulted the Grimms' Wörterbuch and selected a set of twenty-five possible synonyms. Of these words, five are not used in the KHM. For instance, the common words Trägheit and Wollust, which are variants of Sloth and Lust, never appear in the KHM and had to be removed from the list. I did not count the variant Bosheit if it meant maliciousness. Similarly, whenever Lust occurred in the verb phrase Lust haben, I did not record it. The variants of Lust and Gluttony were not specifically distinct, so that I combined the two cardinal sins to avoid arbitrary assignment to one or the other category.

The twenty German variants in the context of the cardinal sins are:

1. Stolz, Hochmut, Übermut
2. Geiz, Habgier, Habsucht, Gier
- 3./4. Gelüsten, Lust, Begierde, Neugier, Vorwitz, Verlangen

5. Neid, Bosheit, Missgunst
6. Zorn, Wut, Ärger
7. Faulheit

The variants of Ire--Zorn, Wut, and Ärger--occur 68 times in the 1857 edition. Forty-five tales contain these nouns, but only twenty-seven of these tales are also part of the first edition. A closer look reveals that these twenty-seven tales contain only ten variants of Ire in the first edition, but forty in the 1857 edition. The extensiveness of the Grimms' revisings should be apparent from this example. It is the purpose of this study to determine if these variants are used simply as words describing a person's frame of mind or attitude, if they are causes of sin or sin themselves, thereby serving as models or deterrents in the teaching of good moral behavior, or if they reflect the inner helplessness and frustration experienced by the Grimms and the German population as a whole during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Comparison of the Cardinal Sins Between the First and the Seventh Edition

A comparison involving cardinal sins can be made in 75 tales, which are part of both the 1812/14 and the 1857 editions. The cardinal virtues offered only 43 such comparisons. In order to reduce repetition, I have put special emphasis on the differences but not on the similarities which occur in the comparable tales of both

editions. I will give examples of tales added after the first edition only if not enough examples concerning a particular cardinal sin are available for a complete overview.

SIN

Laster, the secular antonym for Tugend, is never mentioned in the KHM. However, Sünde and Sünder are used in fourteen tales of the KHM 1857. Nine of these tales are also part of the first edition of the KHM 1812/1814 and can be compared. They are:

- "Marienkind" (KHM 3)
- "Rotkäppchen" (KHM 26)
- "Der Teufel mit den drei goldenen Haaren" (KHM 29)
- "Das Mädchen ohne Hände" (KHM 31)
- "Allerleirauh" (KHM 65)
- "Die Nelke" (KHM 76)
- "Der Fuchs und die Gänse" (KHM 86)
- "Die drei Handwerksburschen" (KHM 120)
- "Die schwarze und die weisse Braut" (KHM 135)

I will illustrate the context in which Sünde or Sünder occurs in the above tales in order to determine the relationship between these terms and the individual variants of the cardinal sins. In the 1812 version of "Marienkind" the Virgin Mary entrusted a set of fourteen keys to a seventeen-year-old girl, who came to live with her in heaven. She gave the girl permission to open all but one door to which these keys belonged. The girl went through heaven looking at the twelve rooms. "Lange widerstand es

seiner Neugier" to open the thirteenth door, "endlich aber ward es davon überwältigt und öffnete auch die dreizehnte" (KHM 3, 1812). Upon her return, the Virgin Mary immediately knew what the girl had done, but the girl lied and no amount of prodding moved her to admit that she was guilty. During the course of the years the girl had three opportunities to tell the truth, but she insisted that she was not guilty. When the girl married and became a queen, the Virgin Mary took her children away, so that it looked as if the queen had eaten them. After her third child had disappeared, the queen was condemned to die at the stakes. Standing on the flaming wood, the queen's heart was moved and she wished she could confess that she had opened the forbidden door. Suddenly the Virgin Mary appeared and said to the queen: "da du die Wahrheit hast sagen wollen, ist dir deine Schuld vergeben" (KHM 3, 1812). In this version curiosity influences the girl's volition to open the door and causes her guilt. Sünde is not mentioned.

The 1857 version of "Marienkind" is an example of extensive revising, regarding the guilt theme. Instead of "Neugier" the girl felt "grosse Lust" to know what was behind the thirteenth door. She told the angels that she did not plan to open the door all the way, but only by a crack to look inside. The angels replied "das wäre

Sünde: die Jungfrau Maria hat's verboten!" (KHM 3, 1857). The girl grew silent, "aber die Begierde in seinem Herzen schwieg nicht still, sondern nagte und pickte ordentlich daran und liess ihm keine Ruhe" (KHM 3, 1857). Lust and Begierde are both desires which compel the girl to do something wrong. The angels tell her, opening the door would constitute sin, but despite this knowledge Begierde becomes animated in her heart, it pecks like a bird and gnaws like a mouse and eventually wears down her resistance. In the remainder of the tale, Sünde is used three more times. Twice the Virgin Mary gave the girl a choice: if she told the truth she would receive her voice back, if she remained in sin she would lose her children. The revision also makes clear that the cause of this stubbornness is Pride, which is not mentioned in the 1812 version. Standing in the midst of flames, the queen's "harte Eis des Stolzes" melted and she admitted that she had done wrong. The Virgin Mary appeared and said: "wer seine Sünde bereut und eingesteht, dem ist sie vergeben" (KHM 3, 1857). In the revision Sünde is used in combination with the variants Lust, Begierde, and Stolz. Begierde symbolizes a bird or a mouse, which attacks the heart, and Stolz symbolizes ice, which freezes the heart. In the 1812 version the emphasis is placed on guilt caused by wrongdoing and the redemption of guilt through

private, non-articulate confession illustrating Protestant religious theory. In the 1857 version the emphasis has shifted to sin caused by evil agents residing in the heart, and redemption of sins through public confession illustrating theological doctrine developed during the Middle Ages and revived again in the literature of the Romantic period.

The following example shows the changes that were made in order to define the moral implications of a father-daughter relationship. In the 1821 version of "Allerleirauh" a king had lost his wife and was unable to replace her with someone of equal beauty. He had a daughter who grew up to be as beautiful as her mother, so that the king decided to marry her. He subsequently fell in love with her and told his counsellors to make arrangements for the wedding. The counsellors objected to his plan, but he insisted on this course of action. At no time did they mention that such a relationship was sinful. But the princess was nevertheless frightened by this godless plan and made preparations to go to another kingdom in order to escape the king's uncontrollable "Begierde" (KHM 65, 1812). In the 1857 version the king fell in love with his daughter and then told his counsellors, that he wanted to marry her. They warned that "Gott hat es verboten, dass der Vater seine Tochter heirate, aus der

Sünde kann nichts Gutes springen" (KHM 65, 1857), but he would not withdraw from his evil intentions, so that the daughter had to run away. In the first version the marriage plan comes first and is sustained by the king's Begierde. In the revision Love for his daughter comes first and influences the king's decision, which is labelled Sünde. As in the "Marienkind," an active involvement in wrongdoing is transformed into sin caused by an evil agent.

An example of Sünder is related in "Rotkäppchen." Neither a cardinal sin nor the word Sünder are mentioned in the 1812 version. The wolf simply eats Red Ridinghood, considering her a delicious morsel. In the 1857 revision the wolf met Red Ridinghood in the forest, led her astray, and then swallowed her whole at her grandmother's house. When he had satisfied his "Geldüsten," he went to bed and slept. The hunter found him and said: "Finde ich dich hier, du alter Sünder, . . . ich habe dich lange gesucht" (KHM 26, 1857). In this version the ravenous appetite appears to be the agent which caused the wolf to become a sinner.

In all three examples above, the revised versions introduce agents within the main characters, which are the causes of sins being committed. Free will is influenced or held captive by these agents. No such cause and effect relationship can be found in the 1812/14 edition.

FIRST CARDINAL SIN: PRIDE

Pride occurs in the variants Stolz, Hochmut, and Übermut. To the medieval sense of order and discipline, Pride appeared the worst of all the sins and the root of all evil. Pride in the variants Hochmut and Übermut is an overbearing, arrogant attitude. According to the Grimms' Wörterbuch, Stolz is the opposite of Gottesfurcht or Demut, and therefore synonymous to above definition. Übermut is a Westgermanic word meaning superbia (Pride) until the sixteenth century. Hochmut is a modern synonym of Übermut, i.e. dünkelhafter Stolz.

The three variants were found in eleven tales of the 1857 edition. Eight of these tales are also part of the first edition of 1812/14 and can be compared. They are:

- "Marienkind" (KHM 3)
- "Die drei Männlein im Walde" (KHM 13)
- "König Drosselbart" (KHM 52)
- "Sneewittchen" (KHM 53)
- "Das Wasser des Lebens" (KHM 97)
- "Der Geist im Glas" (KHM 99)
- "Die beiden Wanderer" (KHM 107)
- "Die sechs Diener" (KHM 134)

Comparing the two KHM editions of 1812/14 and 1857, it is interesting to note that Pride is mentioned only twice in the 1814 volume and not at all in the 1812 volume. The three variants occur fifteen times in the entire 1857 edition and eleven times in the eight tales listed above.

It is therefore a prominent addition to later editions. The changes are significant, as can be seen in the following examples.

In "König Drosselbart" a proud and arrogant princess rejected all her suitors. Her father vowed to marry her to the first beggar who came to the door. Precisely that happened and the princess had to endure great hardships at the hands of her husband--who was really King Thrushbeard in disguise. The king finally revealed his identity at a dance, and he explained everything to her, concluding "und das alles ist nur dir zur Besserung und zur Strafe geschehen, weil du mich ehemals verspottet hast" (KHM 52, 1812). In this version no further reference is made to the pride and arrogance of the princess. This early story emphasizes the spiteful treatment she had given her suitor, King Thrushbeard, and her consequent punishment.

The 1857 version of "König Drosselbart" also introduces the princess as proud and arrogant, and she earns the same harsh treatment from her beggar-husband. One day, she went to the king's court to collect food scraps at the supposed wedding of his oldest son. When she saw everything full of beauty and magnificence, "da dachte sie mit betrübtem Herzen an ihr Schicksal und verwünschte ihren Stolz und Übermut, der sie erniedrigt

und in so grosse Armut gestürzt hatte" (KHM 52, 1857).

The prince wanted to dance with her, and when she saw his face, he was King Thrushbeard, a suitor she had rejected harshly. She tried to run away, but the string which held her pots of food under her apron broke and she stood mortified in the middle of the dance floor frantically wishing to disappear. The prince talked to her calmly and told her he was her beggar-husband as well as all the other men who had caused her great distress. He explained: "Das ist alles geschehen, um deinen stolzen Sinn zu beugen und dich für deinen Hochmut zu strafen, womit du mich verspottet hast" (KHM 52, 1857).

In "König Drosselbart" redemption took place after the princess thought about her fate and regretted her pride and arrogance. All three variants of Pride are used. The princess thinks of her sin as Übermut, which was a synonym of Stolz during the Middle Ages, whereas King Thrushbeard--her judge--punishes her Hochmut, a term more familiar through Luther's biblical language. The emphasis in the 1857 version is on Pride and psychological punishment of the princess.

A similar example of punished Pride concerns a young woman, who was considered beautiful and dangerous in the 1814 version of "Die sechs Diener." She felt vexed when one of her suitors, aided by his servants,

solved all the tasks she could think of in order to get rid of him. Nevertheless, she had to become the young man's wife. When she found herself destitute, herding pigs with her husband, she said: "ich habe es verdient mit meinem Stolz" (KHM 48, 1814). Her husband, who was a prince, revealed his identity and told her that he had suffered so much for her that she had to suffer for him too.

The 1857 version of "Die sechs Diener" first describes an old queen, who was a sorceress. She promised to give her daughter to the man who could solve three tasks. A young man succeeded, with the help of six servants, in solving these tasks, but the disappointed mother urged her daughter not to marry this man, since he appeared to be a commoner. "Da ward das stolze Herz der Jungfrau mit Zorn erfüllt" (KHM 134, 1857) and she prescribed yet another task. Unfortunately for her, the man was successful again and she found herself herding pigs at his side. She thought: "ich habe es verdient mit meinem Übermut und Stolz," and helped her husband for eight days before he revealed his identity and his reasons for punishment. This revision is in line with "König Drosselbart" and "Marienkind," which was discussed under Sünde. The 1814 version of "Die sechs Diener" only talks about a young and beautiful but dangerous princess who

felt vexed that someone solved her tasks. She later admitted the need for punishment because of her pride. The 1857 version also plays up her beauty, but instead of feeling vexed the daughter's proud heart filled with anger at the thought of having to marry a commoner. Her husband punished not only her Stolz and Hochmut but also the Zorn which had dwelled in her heart.

Not all proud people in the KHM find salvation in spite of their faults. For instance, "Sneewittchen" illustrates a conflict between mother and daughter. In the 1812 version the mother of Snow White was very proud of her beauty and resented the fact that Snow White grew up to be more beautiful than she. Envy drove the mother to persecute the girl, trying to kill her four times. In the 1857 version, Snow White's mother had died and the king married a beautiful but proud and arrogant woman. The new queen was told by her mirror that Snow White was more beautiful than she, and: "Von Stund an, wenn sie Sneewittchen erblickte, kehrte sich ihr Herz im Leibe herum, so hasste sie das Mädchen. Und der Neid und Hochmut wuchsen wie ein Unkraut in ihrem Herzen immer höher" (KHM 53, 1857). Here "Hochmut" relates to her pride and arrogance, whereas the envy refers to the hate she felt for the girl. As in previous examples, the cardinal sin Pride is likened to a concrete object. Hochmut and Envy

are already present in the queen's heart, and, in the form of weeds, they grow higher and higher. With these powerful agents working within her, she is unable to control her fate and rushes to her death.

"Das Wasser des Lebens" contains another example where Pride leads to punishment. In the 1814 version of this tale a king was ill and needed the water of life to get well. His three sons offered to accept the challenge to find it for him. The first son set out and met a little man. When he inquired as to the purpose of his trip, the prince told him haughtily to mind his own business. The little man, endowed with magic powers, retaliated and caused the prince to get stuck in a narrow mountain pass. The second brother followed, refused to answer the little man properly, "und ritt in seinem Stolz fort" (KHM 11, 1814). The magic little man caused this arrogant brother to get stuck also. The story teller interjected the observation: "So gehts aber den Hochmüthigen." However, the little man helped the youngest, simple-minded brother because of his polite manner. He told the youngest the fate of his older brothers and that he could find them in a narrow mountain pass, under a spell because they had been so "übermütig." The 1857 version omits reference to the second son's Stolz. The second son rode off without repaying a politeness and

the dwarf subsequently enchanted him. The third son was polite and "nicht übermütig" as his "falschen Brüder" (KHM 97, 1857), and received valuable hints about the location of the water of life. In this tale the narrator makes a moral observation. Because he addresses himself to the modern reader, he uses the modern term Hochmüthige for arrogant persons. The dwarf uses the archaic term übermütig for arrogant, and as the story unfolds the adjective stolz is used to describe the first brother. The variant Stolz, which occurs in the 1814 version in connection with the second prince, may have been omitted in the revision, since Stolz portrays an agent located in the heart of a woman in all occurrences of this variant in the 1857 edition.

In the cases recounted here, if Pride had been omitted, the text would not have made clear that that wickedness had been caused by this cardinal sin. Instead of allowing the reader to form his own judgment or just to follow the plot, references to Pride make him view the situation at hand in a prejudiced way. The addition of Pride shifts one's attention from punishment of the person to punishment of pride in the person, or an utterance or activity is prefixed with the addition of Pride so that it can not be read in any other way. In the 1814 version of "Der Geist im Glas" a ghost yielded to a taunt and

went back into the bottle from which he was released, in order to prove that he had the power to do so (KHM 9, 1814). In the 1857 version the ghost did not simply agree to prove his power, but "sprach voll Hochmut: 'das ist eine geringe Kunst' . . ." (KHM 99, 1857). The ghost of the 1814 version has become an arrogant ghost in the 1857 version. The ensuing argument concerning the release of the ghost is tainted by the knowledge that the ghost is arrogant. The 1814 version illustrates a contest between a powerful but stupid ghost and a quick-witted student. By the addition of Hochmut to the revised version the contest theme is minimized and punishment and submission of Pride is brought to the foreground.

In all the above tales Pride became the focal point in the revisions, so that instead of classifying a folk tale by determining its type or by structural analysis based on the actions of the dramatis personae, a classification could be achieved by focussing on the personal properties that relate to the cardinal virtues and the cardinal sins. Rather than tracing the activities of a hero until he wins the princess, it is only necessary to record that he subdued her pride and changed it to submissiveness. It is not really important what the evil people do, as long as their evil tendencies of arrogant Pride are properly punished. The tale "Marien-

kind" could therefore be paraphrased: "Proud young woman repents under pressure and is saved." "König Drosselbart" could be summarized: "King punishes the arrogant behavior of a princess and forces her proud spirit into submission." "Sneewittchen" could be summarized: "Proud and conceited queen carries her tendencies to excess. She fails to outwit her rival and is punished by death." "Die beiden Wanderer" might read: "Falsely accusing the tailor of excessive pride, a shoemaker tries to get rid of his rival." Or "Das Wasser des Lebens" as: "Two proud princes go the way of all arrogant people. Their brother interferes but cannot save them." Or "Der gläserne Sarg" paraphrases thus: "Superman's attempt to force noble woman into submission fails. He punishes her pride by transferring her into a miniature glass world."

SECOND CARDINAL SIN: AVARICE

Avarice is inordinate love of power, money, or other personal property. It occurs in the variants Geiz, Habgier, Habsucht, and Gier. The Grimms' Wörterbuch defines Geiz as being closest to the modern meaning of a grasping, dull, animalistic, passionate longing. Habsucht and Habgier are covetousness, or consuming desire for possessions. Gier in its dialectal form Girighait means also excessive lust for power. William F. May in his

Catalog of Sins defines Avarice as "the reduction of neighbor and oneself to objects at one's disposal."¹ He explains further that Avarice "is peculiar to the secular man. . . . Envy, hatred, and lust are often . . . the sins peculiar to the religious man. They often give evidence that man is controlled rather than controller, possessed rather than possessor of himself and his world."²

The four variants Geiz, Habgier, Habsucht, and Gier were found in eight tales of the 1857 edition. Four of these tales are also part of the first edition of the KHM 1812/14 and can be compared. They are:

- "Von dem Fischer un syner Fru" (KHM 19)
- "Der junge Riese" (KHM 90)
- "Der Jude im Dorn" (KHM 110)
- "Der Fuchs und das Pferd" (KHM 132)

"Der junge Riese" is the story of a young giant who wanted to work for specific privileges rather than money. He came to a village, "darin wohnte ein Schmied, der war ein Geizmann, gönnte keinem Menschen etwas und wollte alles allein haben. . . . Der Amtmann war auch ein Geizhals" (KHM 90, 1857). This tale was not much revised from its 1814 version (KHM 4, 1814). The blacksmith and the foreman became the employers of the young giant, but because of their avariciousness they fared badly.

"Der Jude im Dorn" has its original version in the 1814 volume. A young man had worked three years for a farmer, serving him diligently. He asked for his pay

saying: "' . . . darum so vertraue ich zu euch, dass ihr mir nun geben wollet, was mir von Gottes Recht gebührt.' Der Bauer aber war ein Filz und wusste, dass der Knecht ein einfältiges Gemüth hatte" (KHM 24, 1814). This version labels the young man as a simpleton, who knows what his god-given rights are. The subsequent smart dealings with the magic little man and the torture of the Jew do not seem to agree with the image of this simpleton. This version was apparently changed to make the young man's adventure more plausible. In the revision the young man went before his employer, who was a farmer, and said: "'Herr, ich habe Euch drei Jahre redlich gedient, seid so gut und gebt mir, was mir von Rechts wegen zukommt . . . ' Da antwortete der Geizhals: 'ja, mein lieber Knecht, du hast mir unverdrossen gedient, dafür sollst du mildiglich belohnet werden' . . . " (KHM 110, 1857). The only reference to the young man's shortcomings is made later, when the reader is informed that the good servant did not understand much about money and accepted happily what was given to him. The mention of Geizhals immediately prompts the reader to assume, that the young man was going to get short-changed. Obviously, the sympathies are with the cheated young man. No further mention is made of the Geizhals and the customary punishment is absent. However, someone else is punished and it would seem that the

Geizhals is used as a foil to insure that the young man appears to be a hero. The 1857 version relates that the young man happily took his money and went on his way. Later he met a magic little man who begged for some money. The young man gave him everything he had and received three magic items in return because he had demonstrated such a good, sympathetic heart. The items consisted of a magic blowgun, which never failed to hit its target, a fiddle, which forced everyone to dance when it was played, and the promise to have all his wishes granted. Soon after he left the magic man, the young man saw a Jew who was listening to a songbird. The Jew expressed the desire to have the bird, and the young man obligingly shot it down--but so that it fell into some thorny bushes. The young man encouraged the Jew, whom he called "Spitzbub," to get the bird. As soon as the Jew was in the midst of the bushes, the young man, plagued by mischievousness, took his fiddle and started playing. The Jew had to dance in the thorny shrubs which were tearing his clothing, until he offered the young man a bag of gold. As soon as the young man had left with the gold, the Jew went to the judge in town. The judge believed the Jew and had the young man arrested for robbery. Pleading innocent, the young man claimed that he never touched the Jew and that he had given him the money out of his own free will.

Amazed, the judge exclaimed: "das ist eine schlechte Entschuldigung, das tut kein Jude," and he sentenced the young man to death by hanging. A last wish was granted, the young man played his fiddle, and the judge, the Jew, and all the curious people in the market place had to dance. He did not stop playing until the Jew confessed that he had stolen the gold and cleared the young man of any crime. The Jew was led to the gallows and hanged as a thief. In the foregoing tale, the punishment of the farmer is transferred to another supposed Geizhals, a Jew. Without further explanation in this tale, he is considered guilty until he can prove his innocence. Yet because of some magical advantage falling to the favoured Christian, this innocence can never be established. This story can be reread today in psychological studies of Third Reich strongmen regarding their treatment of minority groups. In short, a member of an underprivileged class or minority group (the servant), mistreated severely in his subservient role, will not forget it. When he reaches a position of influence or power, he in turn will mistreat those in a weaker position (the Jew). If this person becomes one of a majority, it is possible that he can make the minority member the laughingstock of the town, who, being denied all legal redress, may be tortured at will. In the folk tales as well as in reality, the minority members de-

scribed above are primarily children, women, and non-Christians.

In "Von dem Fischer un syner Fru" a woman is described as being avaricious. The fisher's wife is obsessed with climbing the ladder of success so that ". . . de Girighait leet se nich slapen, se dachd jümmer, wat se noch warden wull" (KHM 19, 1812 and 1857). She was eventually reduced to her former state, because she could not be happy with any of her fulfilled wishes. In a letter to Jacob dated May 6, 1814 Wilhelm writes that he heard from Savigny that "Der Fischer un sine Fru" was copied from the KHM and reprinted under the title: "Bonapartes Biographie."

In "Der Fuchs und das Pferd" the proverb "Geitz und Treue wohnen nicht in einem Haus" (KHM 46, 1814) is cited to describe the environment of unfortunate people like the fisher's wife and all other Geizhälse. This version is kept unchanged in all editions including KHM 132, 1857.

In "Die Geschenke des kleinen Volkes" the cause, effect, and punishment for the cardinal sin of Avarice are illustrated. A goldsmith and a tailor ran into a bit of good luck: "Sie waren nun reiche Leute geworden, doch besass der Goldschmied, der seiner habgierigen Natur gemäss die Taschen besser gefüllt hatte, noch einmal so

viel als der Schneider. Ein Habgieriger, wenn er viel hat, verlangt noch mehr" (KHM 182, 1857). Unfortunately, when the goldsmith attempted to get even more gold, all the previously collected gold turned to coal. His misfortune was not yet over when he noticed that in addition to the hump on his back he now had one of the same size on his chest. "Da erkannte er die Strafe seiner Habgier und begann, laut zu weinen" (KHM 182, 1857).

The cardinal sin of Avarice is in every case a type of treason or betrayal. The evergrasping fisherwoman betrays the goodwill of husband and magic fish. Employers of all walks of life betray their servants by shortchanging them, so that even the horse, which serves his master faithfully all its life and is kicked out when it is old, comes to the conclusion that betrayal and loyalty do not live together in the same house. Punishment is always a result of Avarice and is administered in the form of physical deformity, loss of power, and loss of money. May, describing the treatment of treason in medieval literature, writes that

Dante reserves the innermost circle of hell for those who are guilty of treason. There he has placed Judas, Brutus, and Cassius, the most notorious of traitors--in the three mouths of Satan himself. Revealingly, the poet does not rely on the image of fire for his description of their plight. The souls of traitors are held fast in a lake of ice. Clearly, the worst of sins against the brothers are those of the frozen heart.³

The Grimms' possible knowledge of the connection between Habsucht and treason is illustrated in one of the last tales of the 1857 edition, "Der Grabhügel." The subject of Avarice is taken up in more detail than had been the case in all previous editions. A rich man, looking over his possessions heard a knock at the door of his heart and a voice which asked if he had done right by his people, seen the plight of the poor, shared his bread with the poor, if what he had was enough for him, or if he had desired even more. His heart did not hesitate to answer that it had been harsh and relentless and never showed good will to his people. When a poor man came, his heart had turned away. It did not care about God but thought only of increasing its possessions. Had everything under the sky belonged to it, the heart would not have had enough. The man was frightened when he heard this answer, his knees were shaking, and he had to sit down. Then a poor man, a neighbor, came to the house and wanted to borrow some grain, really expecting to be sent away empty-handed. "Der Reiche sah ihn lange an, da begann der erste Sonnenstrahl der Milde einen Tropfen von dem Eis der Habsucht abzuschmelzen" (KHM 195, 1857). The rich man gave the neighbor more than he had asked for. When the rich man died a few days later, the neighbor kept watch over his grave for the necessary three days and kept the

devil from taking his body, thus saving him from the mouth of Satan and the eternal lake of ice.

THIRD AND FOURTH CARDINAL SINS: LUST AND GLUTTONY

May defines Lust as the desire for sex and the pleasure of touch--and Gluttony as the desire for food.⁴ He states that "Lust takes its origin from a sexual passion in which the object of passion is not, finally, the sexual partner but rather the pleasure or services which the partner or the passion itself can provide."⁵ A secondary application is also present: all excesses in the pursuit of pleasure, even the pleasure of knowledge. It is difficult in the light of these definitions to keep Lust and Gluttony clearly separated.

Lust and Gluttony occur in the variants Gelüsten, Lust, Begierde, Neugier, Vorwitz, and Verlangen. According to the Grimms' Wörterbuch the definitions of these six variants intertwine. Basically, in Middle High German their meaning was simply a longing for something or someone which shifted to a more intense longing in New High German. Diversification took place, intensifying the meaning of desires by combining them with descriptive modifiers of which Habgier, Wollust, Machtgier, or Essgier are a few examples. In the middle of the eighteenth century, Gier changed to Begierde and, used in a degrading

manner, focussed on animalistic gratifications such as sexual pleasure and eating. Gelüst(en) is also a new version of Lust used seldom in early New High German and first mentioned in the dictionaries of the eighteenth century. It means covetousness, appetite, lustfulness, therefore combining the two animalistic instincts. Lust in Old High German used to mean sensual or sexual desire, but changed to the modern meaning of joy, such as joy of life or gladness.

The variants Gelüsten, Lust, Begierde, Neugier, Vorwitz, and Verlangen were found in 32 tales of the 1857 edition. Twenty tales are part of the first edition of the KHM 1812/1814 and can be compared. They are:

- "Katze und Maus in Gesellschaft" (KHM 2)
- "Marienkind" (KHM 3)
- "Märchen von einem der auszog das Fürchten zu lernen" (KHM 4)
- "Der Wolf und die sieben jungen Geisslein" (KHM 5)
- "Das Lumpengesindel" (KHM 10)
- "Rapunzel" (KHM 12)
- "Die drei Männlein im Walde" (KHM 13)
- "Die weisse Schlange" (KHM 17)
- "Frau Holle" (KHM 24)
- "Rotkäppchen" (KHM 26)
- "Der Gevatter Tod" (KHM 44)
- "Fitchers Vogel" (KHM 46)
- "Dornröschen" (KHM 50)
- "Sneewittchen" (KHM 53)
- "Der Ranzel, das Hüttlein, und das Hörnlein" (KHM 54)
- "Der goldene Vogel" (KHM 57)
- "Die zwei Brüder" (KHM 60)
- "Die Goldkinder" (KHM 85)
- "Der Jude im Dorn" (KHM 110)
- "Der Krautesel" (KHM 122)

In "Marienkind" an excessive desire to know what is behind the thirteenth door leads the young girl to sin. The 1812 version relates that Marienkind "lange widerstand . . . seiner Neugier, endlich ward es davon überwältigt und öffnete auch die dreizehnte [Tür]" (KHM 3, 1812). Neugier is the agent within Marienkind that overpowers her resistance and leads her onto a path of humiliation. The final version is didactic and illustrates that to disobey a command is sinful and leads to unhappiness. The catalytic forces leading to disobedience are Lust and Begierde. When Marienkind stood in front of the thirteenth door "empfand es eine grosse Lust zu wissen, was dahinter verborgen wäre" (KHM 3, 1857) she told the angels "ganz aufmachen will ich sie nicht . . . aber ich will sie aufschliessen, damit wir ein wenig durch den Ritz sehen." The angels warned her that she would commit a sin, whereupon the girl grew quiet, but "die Begierde in seinem Herzen schwieg nicht still, sondern nagte und pickte ordentlich daran und liess ihm keine Ruhe" (KHM 3, 1857) In this version the replacement of "Neugier" by "grosse Lust zu wissen" reduces the severity of pressure put on the girl in the first version. But the addition of "Begierde," which "gnaws and pecks" at her heart, gives a vivid idea that an evil agent in the form of a mouse or a bird has taken over and is wearing down the

resistance of the girl. In the continuation of the revised tale the girl waited until the angels had gone away and then she saw her chance to open the door, since no one could see what she was doing. "Es suchte den Schlüssel heraus, und als es ihn in der Hand hielt, steckte es ihn auch in das Schloss, und als es ihn hineingesteckt hatte, drehte es auch um. Da sprang die Türe auf . . ." (KHM 3, 1857). The deliberate step by step description of the opening of the door seems to heighten the suspense and intensify the dismal realization that the girl was no longer in control of herself.

In "Rapunzel" a pregnant woman saw beautiful rampions growing in a garden next to her house. The garden belonged to a fairy and no one was allowed to enter it. The woman "wurde so lüstern darnach [the rampions], und wusste doch, dass sie keine davon bekommen konnte, dass sie ganz abfiel und elend wurde" (KHM 12, 1812). Her husband, who loved her so much that he could not see her suffer, went over the garden wall to get her some of the desired rampions. The woman immediately prepared a salad from them "und ass sie in vollem Heisshunger auf." The rampions tasted so good, however, that she had "noch dreimal so viel Lust" on the following day. The man attempted to get more of the vegetable, but was confronted by the fairy in the garden. He excused himself

as best as he could "mit der Schwangerschaft seiner Frau, und wie gefährlich es sey, ihr dann etwas abzuschlagen." In this version it is clearly established that the woman is pregnant and that this pregnancy causes her to have an inordinate longing for a strange food which cannot be procured except through theft.

In the 1857 version of "Rapunzel" pregnancy is not explicit and, at best, only hinted at the beginning of the tale. The woman saw the rampions from her window and they looked so fresh and green "dass sie lüstern war und das grösste Verlangen empfand, von den Rapunzeln zu essen. . . . Das Verlangen nahm jeden Tag zu," and since she knew that she could not have any of them, she lost weight and looked pale and ill. She told her husband that she would die, if she did not get any rampions. Since he loved his wife, he decided to get some cost what it may. He brought her the desired rampions and "sie machte sogleich Salat daraus und ass sie in voller Begierde auf." The next day her longing for rampions had tripled and her husband went to get more. Once inside the garden, he was confronted by the owner, who was a sorceress. She accused him of theft, and he begged for mercy explaining that he acted out of great distress, since his wife had seen the rampions from the window and "emfindet ein so grosses Gelüsten, dass sie sterben würde,

wenn sie nicht davon zu essen bekäme." The sorceress agreed to let him have the rampions under one condition: "du musst mir das Kind geben, das deine Frau zur Welt bringen wird" (KHM 12, 1857). In this version "Begierde" replaces "Heisshunger" and the three variants "grösstes Verlangen," "das Verlangen," and "grosses Gelüsten" are added to the text. The husband does not use the pregnancy of his wife as an excuse, and since the issue is clouded in this version, the woman's words referring to the child could be considered as a prophesy. In the first version of "Rapunzel" the punishment for stealing the rampions is the loss of the child. The husband tries to impress on the fairy that his wife is pregnant, implying that craving for strange foods is one of the side effects of pregnancy and illicit but desperate attempts to procure these foods should therefore be excused. Demanding the child as a punishment for this theft seems out of proportion to the trespass. The revision brings the relationship between punishment and cause into a more plausible perspective. Since the husband begs for mercy, giving his wife's "Gelüsten" as a reason for the theft, loss of the child is now the punishment for the wife's "Gelüsten."

In further comparisons, though not in such detail, the following situations occur: In "Die drei Männlein im Walde" a stepmother's wish for strawberries gets changed

from "ich habe Lust Erdbeeren zu essen" (KHM 13, 1812) to "ich habe Verlangen danach" (KHM 13, 1857). "Verlangen" in the final version represents an unreasonable desire for food that was unobtainable in wintertime. The mother wanted to force her stepdaughter into her death. However, the stepdaughter found happiness and the stepmother perished. In "Die weisse Schlange" a servant was curious to know the content of a covered bowl. He carried it to his room, lifted the lid, and when he saw that the special treat was a white snake, he "bekam . . . Lust davon zu essen" (KHM 17, 1812). In the final version the servant was overcome by "Neugierde, dass er nicht widerstehen konnte" to see the content of the bowl. He carried it to his room, carefully locked the door, and opened the lid. When he saw the white snake, he "konnte . . . die Lust nicht zurückhalten, sie zu kosten" (KHM 17, 1857). The servant's curiosity was not punished, primarily because he received special powers from the snake which helped him out of a number of predicaments.

In the 1812 version of "Rotkäppchen" a wolf met Red Ridinghood in the woods on her way to her grandmother's house and thought "das ist ein guter fetter Bissen für mich, wie fängst du an, dass du ihn kriegst" (KHM 26, 1812). He encouraged her to look around and see the beautiful wildflowers. While Red Ridinghood was picking flowers,

the wolf went to grandmother's house, ate her, and waited in her bed for Red Ridinghood. After a while the girl came into the house and went to the bed to greet her grandmother. But the wolf jumped out of bed "sprang auf das arme Rotkäppchen, und verschlang es.--Wie der Wolf den fetten Bissen erlangt hatte, legte er sich wieder ins Bett . . ." (KHM 26, 1812). The hunter heard the loud snoring, checked on the grandmother and found the wolf instead. He had been looking for him for a long time. In this version the intention of the wolf seems to be the acquisition of food. No sinful activity is indicated.

The 1857 version of "Rotkäppchen" changes the image of the wolf. The wolf saw Red Ridinghood and recognized in her a young tender thing who would be a good fat morsel, much more delicious than the old grandmother. He made plans to eat both of them. When Red Ridinghood encountered the wolf in the house, he jumped out of the bed "und verschlang das arme Rotkäppchen.--Wie der Wolf sein Gelüsten gestillt hatte, legte er sich wieder ins Bett" (KHM 26, 1857). The hunter heard him snore and was glad to have found the old sinner. Instead of obtaining just a fat morsel for his stomach, the wolf satisfies his "Gelüsten" in the 1857 version. The addition of the words Gelüsten and Sünder demonstrates the willingness of Wilhelm to increase the possibilities of

the interpretation and accordingly enhance the literary depth of the passage. Since the wolf is labelled a sinner by the hunter and is punished for his sins, Lust seems to be a sufficient motivation for the appellation "sinner."

To ensure that the ambiguity of Gelüsten does not harm the image of Snow White a switch was made in "Sneewittchen." The 1812 version tells the story of Snow White and the attempts by the queen to kill her. The wicked woman showed her a poisoned apple which she had made so artificially beautiful, that everyone who saw it "bekam Lust dazu." Snow White observed that the woman ate the apple herself, "und sein Gelüsten darnach ward immer grösser" (KHM 53, 1812). Snow White, in general tradition, is much too precious to be guilty of Gelüsten, and the final version states: "Schneewittchen lusterte den schönen Apfel an . . . und konnte nicht länger widerstehen" (KHM 53, 1857). Since the word lustern occurs only this one time in the KHM 1857, one must assume the meaning to be mild enough to apply to a "Sneewittchen." Be it as it may, her purity seems to have been preserved, in literature, at least, with this semantic switch.

"Fitchers Vogel" contains another incident involving a locked door, girl with a key, and an order not to unlock it. In the 1812 version three girls were abducted by a magician, one by one. The magician brought the first

girl to his house and before he left again entrusted a key and an egg to her care impressing on her not to use the key. As soon as he was gone, she unlocked the door. The returning magician noticed her guilt through the bloody egg and he butchered her. The second girl also unlocked the forbidden door and had the same fate as the first. The third girl did likewise but avoided getting blood on the egg and was able to resurrect her sisters (KHM 46, 1812). This version is simply told with emphasis on the cruel treatment of the sisters. The 1857 version adds the cause of the girls disobedience--curiosity: "Endlich kam sie auch zu der verbotenen Tür, sie wollte vorübergehen, aber die Neugierde liess ihr keine Ruhe" (KHM 46, 1857). The fate of the second sister was similar, "sie liess sich von ihrer Neugierde verleiten, öffnete die Blutkammer und schaute hinein und musste es bei seiner Rückkehr mit dem Leben büssen." Keys, curiosity, trespass, and punishment compose a sequence observed in a significant number of the tales.

In "Dornröschen" a similar sequence develops. A girl was left alone to roam through her parents' castle. She looked everywhere "nach ihrer Lust, und endlich kam sie auch an einen alten Turm. Eine enge Treppe führte dazu, und da sie neugierig war, stieg sie hinauf" (KHM 50, 1812). At the top of the stairs she found a small door

and in it stuck a yellow key. She turned it, the door sprang open, and she ended up sleeping for one hundred years. In the 1857 version the girl looked into all rooms and storage areas, "wie es Lust hatte, und kam endlich auch an einen alten Turm. Es stieg die Wendeltreppe hinauf und gelangte zu einer kleinen Tür" (KHM 50, 1857). In the door stuck a rusty key and when she turned it the door sprang open. We have been conditioned to expect to find curiosity in connection with keys. However, all indication of curiosity is absent in the revision because it does not fit with the virtuous person Sleeping Beauty has become in this version. The evil powers at work in this story frame and trap the girl, and the key here is used to make sure that she will open the door. Few characters in the folktales have resisted the temptation of a locked door to which the key was available.

In "Die Goldkinder" a man caught a magic golden fish and received food and a carefree life as a reward for returning the fish into the sea. He had to promise not to reveal the source of his wealth or all will be gone. "Neugier" (KHM 85, 1857) robs his wife of her peace of mind, a situation that is not mentioned in the 1812 version of this tale (KHM 63). Curiosity lured all people to the market place in "Der Jude im Dorn," where they all had to dance to the tune of a magic fiddle (KHM 110, 1857).

In the 1812 version of this tale (KHM 24) the people simply came to watch an execution.

"Der Krautesel" is a light-hearted description of sweet revenge. It makes sure that all females in the tale are afflicted with an inordinate desire to taste a salad, just as the donkey is possessed to eat the green vegetable. A happy young hunter was the owner of a magic coat and a bird heart, which an old woman had given him. On his way through the woods he was spotted by a witch who told her beautiful daughter that the young man had magic powers which should be theirs. The daughter did not want to cooperate in the plan, but her mother forced her by threatening her with unhappiness. They lured the young man into their castle, and, with a magic drink, obtained his bird heart which had the ability to produce a gold piece every morning. The mother was not satisfied and wanted the daughter to obtain the coat also. In the presence of the hunter she walked to the window, looked into the country side and told him, that over there was the mountain where precious gems were growing: "Ich trage so gross Verlangen danach, dass, wenn ich daran denke, ich ganz traurig bin" (KHM 122, 1857). He spread out his magic coat and in an instant they were there. But the witch caused him to fall asleep so that the girl could take his coat also. When the hunter awoke, he felt very

hungry. There was nothing to eat except some lettuce heads in a field. He hardly had taken a bite, when he was transformed into a donkey. The lettuce tasted good, so he ate "mit grosser Gier immerzu." When he tasted another kind of lettuce, he was turned back into a human being. He took a head from both kinds of lettuce and set out to find the witch's castle. Disguised he gained entry and praised his lettuce so that the old woman "ward . . . lüstern und sprach: 'lieber Landsmann, lasst mich doch den wunderbaren Salat versuchen.'" She was so eager to eat the lettuce, that she went into the kitchen to prepare the salad herself. She tasted a few leaves and turned into a donkey. Then the maid came into the kitchen and saw the finished salad. She was going to carry it to be served, but on her way "überfiel sie, nach alter Gewohnheit, die Lust zu versuchen," and she ate a few leaves and also turned into a donkey. The hunter sat with the girl, and when no one came with the salad, "und es doch auch lüstern war," she wondered where the salad was. The man found it on the floor and brought it to the girl. She ate a few leaves and also turned into a donkey. The young man took the donkeys to the miller, who was given instructions how to treat them. After some time had passed, the oldest donkey died and the other two were near death. The hunter restored the maid and the beauti-

ful girl to their human shape. He received back his coat and, when he married the girl, also the bird heart. Had all three women been able to control their desire to taste the salad, the hunter's plan would not have worked.

In "Der Meisterdieb" a charlatan, who called himself a master thief, claimed that, "für mich gibt es weder Schloss noch Riegel: wonach mich gelüstet, das ist mein" (KHM 192). In "Der goldene Schlüssel" the little boy who found a little golden key and then a little iron box was obviously no "master thief." After much examination of the little box he found the keyhole, tried the key and it fit. He turned it once, but now we have to wait until he has completely unlocked the box before we know what wonderful things are inside. We anticipate an ominous surprise behind locked doors where the key is at hand: perhaps a gruesome scene, a dazzling picture, a compelling adventure, new knowledge, or even an old woman with a spindle. The locked door will change lives for the good or the bad. As long as it is locked we are tortured by the "pecking, gnawing" effects of curiosity. If we pass on to other things, we may pass up the best opportunity of our lives. So we wait, because we cannot resist temptation. The story of the Golden Key was the last story in the first edition: KHM 70 of 1814. It was the last story of every other edition, including the latest

of our versions, KHM 200 of 1857. This story is a fitting emphasis to a compulsion that is described not simply as one sin among others, but the very dynamic of sin expressed in them all. According to May, in its overall meaning, "concupiscence did not have a place among the seven deadly sins. It was original sin itself, the very matrix of sin, the context in which all others emerged."⁶ There is no end to this tale, no one knows what is in the box, because the boy is still turning the key.

FIFTH CARDINAL SIN: ENVY

Envy in its Old High German meaning is closely associated with Anger and Hate. In Middle High German it meant "malicious feeling," "jealousy," or "displeasure." The Grimms' Wörterbuch cites Immanuel Kant, who rejected all emotions in favor of reason in his philosophy, with the following quote: "die regungen des neides liegen in der natur des menschen, und nur der ausbruch derselben macht sie zu dem scheusslichsten laster einer . . . dem wunsch nach gerichteten leidenschaft." (DWB, Neid, 551, 5, 296f.) In another quote in the DWB, Johann W. Goethe comments on the close tie between envy and hate, asserting that "der hass ist ein aktives missvergnügen, der neid ein passives." (DWB, Neid, 551, 3.) May illuminates this passive nature of Envy by saying that "the envious man,

first and foremost, feels something. He may subsequently go on to do his neighbor harm, but such an act is not itself envy."⁷ He also connects Envy with Hate by citing the biblical acts committed because of envy. They all involved men, such as Cain, Esau, Joseph's brothers, and Saul, and in the case of each one of them "when a man sees the head of another garlanded with blessings, his hands graced with the power of God, then he hates and seeks to cancel the other out."⁸

In the KHM Envy occurs in the variants Neid, Bosheit, and Missgunst. The three variants were found in six tales of the 1857 edition. Four of these tales are also part of the first edition of the KHM 1812/14 and can be compared. They are:

- "Brüderchen und Schwesterchen" (KHM 11)
- "Aschenputtel" (KHM 21)
- "Sneewittchen" (KHM 53)
- "Die weisse und die schwarze Braut" (KHM 135)

In "Brüderchen und Schwesterchen" two children ran away from home to escape the cruelty of their stepmother. They came to a forest but found it enchanted by their stepmother's magic powers. The boy was turned into a deer, but the girl found happiness when a king found her and took her for his wife. Upon hearing the good news "die Hexe war so böse darüber, dass sie nur darauf dachte, wie sie ihr das Glück verderben konnte" (KHM 11, 1812). No mention is made of Envy in the 1812 version. The 1857 version is

different, explaining in detail where Envy resides and how it affects the inner being. When the evil stepmother heard that both the girl and the deer were happy and that they were well cared for "da wurden Neid und Missgunst in ihrem Herzen rege und liessen ihr keine Ruhe, und sie hatte keinen andern Gedanken als wie sie die beiden doch ins Unglück bringen könnte" (KHM 11, 1857). This explanation of Envy is close to Kant's definition, because before Envy can become active in the woman's heart, it must have been there in a dormant state. Only then can it erupt at the news of the children's happiness. As a passion it dominates the woman's thoughts.

In "Sneewittchen" the real mother of Snow White has reason to be envious. Her child grew up to become more beautiful than she. The mother's mirror, which always spoke the truth before, told her of the superior beauty of Snow White. In her reaction to the news she became "blass vor Neid," and from that moment on she hated the girl. Whenever she looked at her and thought that it was the girl's fault that she was no longer the most beautiful in the world, "kehrte sich ihr das Herz um. Da liess ihr der Neid keine Ruhe . . ." (KHM 53, 1812). After the mother had attempted to kill Snow White three times, she succeeded temporarily at the fourth try. Her mirror confirmed the mother's beauty as supreme and she

was satisfied. After a long time had passed, she was invited to a king's wedding. She consulted her mirror, which told her that the young queen was more beautiful than she. The woman was shocked "doch trieb sie der Neid, dass sie auf der Hochzeit die junge Königin sehen wollte." When she arrived she recognized Snow White. The woman had to step into glowing-hot iron slippers and could not stop dancing until she was dead.

In the 1857 version of "Sneewittchen" Envy is treated similarly to "Brüderchen und Schwesterchen." When Snow White's stepmother (no longer her real mother) consulted her mirror, she did not grow pale but "ward gelb und grün vor Neid" (KHM 53, 1857). The sight of Snow White made "her heart turn over" because of hate, and "der Neid und Hochmut wuchsen wie Unkraut in ihrem Herzen." Because she was not the most beautiful anymore "liess ihr der Neid keine Ruhe." When Snow White appeared to have died from the poisoned apple, "da hatte ihr neidisches Herz Ruhe, so gut ein neidisches Herz Ruhe haben kann." Even though the stepmother was driven to attend the wedding, it was by her restlessness, not envy, as in the 1812 version. The enviousness of the stepmother is increased dramatically in the revision. The illustration of Envy growing like a weed in her heart reaffirms Kant's definition of Envy. The beauty of the child caused the germina-

tion of the weed seeds, which until then were lying dormant in the stepmother's heart.

"Aschenputtel" is a tale of Neid in the 1812 edition. The 1857 version contains Envy only once in the variant Bosheit. Cinderella had two stepsisters who treated her cruelly. When a ball was announced by the king in order to find a bride for his son, the stepsisters forced Cinderella to comb their hair and get them ready for the dance. They had nothing but contempt for her ugly appearance. After they had left for the ball, Cinderella climbed into the pigeon loft to watch the dance. In the morning the sisters wanted to tell Cinderella about the dance, but she knew the details already. She told them that she had watched it from the pigeon loft. When the oldest stepsister heard this "trieb sie der Neid" and she ordered to have the loft cut down. That evening the sisters left again for the dance. Cinderella was able to go, too, with the help of a magic little tree which grew on her mother's grave. She received beautiful clothes from the tree and a horse-drawn coach, which took her to the ball. The sisters stood watching her arrival, and were angry about her beauty. But they did not recognize her. The prince danced only with her and at midnight accompanied her to the coach. Cinderella arrived at home unseen and put on her dirty clothes. The next day, the

prince was already waiting for her. The sisters stood in a corner "und waren blass vor Neid und hätten sie gewusst, dass das Aschenputtel war, . . . sie wären gestorben vor Neid" (KHM 21, 1812). Cinderella danced until midnight and was startled when the clock struck twelve. She rushed down the steps, lost a golden slipper, and saw her coach disappear in front of her eyes. She found herself in dirty clothes outside the palace and rushed home as fast as she could. The prince came with the slipper the following day. Both stepsisters tried it on, but their feet were too big. The slipper fit Cinderella and the stepsisters were shocked and pale, when the prince took her home as his bride.

The 1857 version of "Aschenputtel" does not contain the variant Neid. In the story Cinderella does not climb into the pigeon loft the first night but goes to the dance. The sisters do not recognize her. Neid is not mentioned in these cases. The sisters are "bleich vor Ärger" when the slipper fits Cinderella. The 1857 version adds the following ending: The sisters went to the wedding in order to share Cinderella's happiness. As the bride and groom entered the church, the oldest sister went on the right side and the youngest on the left. The pigeons came and pecked out one eye of each sister. When they came out, the pigeons pecked out each

sister's other eye. "Und waren sie also für ihre Bosheit und Falschheit mit Blindheit auf ihr Lebtage gestraft" (KHM 21, 1857). This ending would seem more appropriate for the 1812 version, where so much emphasis is put on the envy of the sisters. However, by removing most mention of Envy, the domestic problems of Cinderella became minimized and her magic transformation and adventure appear in the foreground. Bosheit, the Middle High German word for Envy, confuses the notion that an evil agent was at work through its modern ambiguity.

In "Die weisse und die schwarze Braut" a mother, her daughter, and her stepdaughter had an opportunity to help God when he was walking on earth. Mother and daughter were rude to him, but the stepdaughter was kind and showed him the way. God gave her beauty and a white skin as a reward, but her stepsister and stepmother were turned black and ugly. When the king saw the kind girl's picture and was overwhelmed by her beauty, he sent her brother, the coach driver, to bring her to the castle to become his bride. "Wie der Kutscher mit der Botschaft ankam, freute sich seine Schwester, allein die schwarze ärgerte sich über alle Massen vor grosser Eifersucht" (KHM 49, 1814). In the 1857 version the growth of Envy is first illustrated when the stepmother comes home with her daughter and sees that they had become black and ugly,

but the stepdaughter white and beautiful: "so stieg die Bosheit in ihrem Herzen noch höher, und sie hatte nichts anders im Sinn, als wie sie ihr ein Leid antun könnte" (KHM 135, 1857). "Eifersucht" is not mentioned in the final version.

In the foregoing examples, Neid, Missgunst, and Bosheit, are treated like living things, that grow in the heart of men and are responsible for their evil actions. Kant's definition of Envy applies to all human beings. May's biblical examples of Envy all concern men. However, all examples of Envy in the KHM deal with women. These women are introduced as evil before the condition of their heart is revealed, and all of them received severe punishments.

SIXTH CARDINAL SIN: IRE

Ire occurs in the variants Zorn, Wut, and Ager. Zorn used to be a striving for accomplishments through deeds or through battles. The new meaning, which took its place next to strife, was an inner excitement, or, as it may be understood from the entry in Wahrig's Deutsches Wörterbuch,⁹ a mood in which one tears something down. In the New High German, Zorn--a boiling anger--became an unusually expressive word. Its impulse was in large measure provided by Luther's Bible language

as well as by the change in sound due to the consonant change in High German from torn to Zorn (DWB, Zorn, 91). Zorn as an evil passion is labelled as sin in the Bible (DWB, Zorn, 101,5). Wut goes one step further than Zorn and is defined in the Grimms' Wörterbuch as a strong excitement and expression of the soul. It is not well documented up to early New High German, and it only becomes more numerous in the literature of the Baroque and Enlightenment. There it means intense Zorn, which is morbid and not possible to control. (DWB, Wut, 2474) Arger, a mild form of Zorn, is a new word, which appeared in the eighteenth century.

The three variants of Ire were found in 45 tales of the 1857 edition. Twenty-seven of these tales are also part of the first edition of the KHM 1812/1814 and can be compared. They are:

- "Rapunzel" (KHM 12)
- "Die drei Spinnerinnen" (KHM 14)
- "Von dem Fischer un syner Fru" (KHM 19)
- "Das tapfere Schneiderlein" (KHM 20)
- "Aschenputtel" (KHM 21)
- "Die sieben Raben" (KHM 25)
- "Der singende Knochen" (KHM 28)
- "Der Teufel mit den drei goldenen Haaren" (KHM 29)
- "Tischchen deck dich, Goldesel und Knüttel aus dem Sack" (KHM 36)
- "Herr Korbes" (KHM 41)
- "Sneewittchen" (KHM 53)
- "Der Ranzen, das Hüttlein und das Hörnlein" (KHM 54)
- "Rumpelstilzchen" (KHM 55)
- "Der Liebste Roland" (KHM 56)
- "Der Hund und der Sperling" (KHM 58)
- "Die Nelke" (KHM 76)

"Die Goldkinder" (KHM 85)
 "Der Arme und der Reiche" (KHM 87)
 "Der Geist im Glas" (KHM 99)
 "Der Bärenhäuter" (KHM 101)
 "Die beiden Wanderer" (KHM 107)
 "Vom klugen Schneiderlein" (KHM 114)
 "Das blaue Licht" (KHM 116)
 "Die sechs Diener" (KHM 134)
 "Die Rübe" (KHM 146)
 "Des Herrn und des Teufels Getier" (KHM 148)
 "Der Hahnenbalken" (KHM 149)

The fairy in the 1812 version of "Rapunzel" severely scolded the husband when he came into her garden to steal rampions. After she had listened to his excuse, she said that his excuse had satisfied her and that he could take home as many rampions as he wished (KHM 12, 1812). In the 1857 version the sorceress spoke "mit zornigem Blick," that she considered him a thief and after he had excused himself, "da liess die Zauberin in ihrem Zorne nach" (KHM 12, 1857), and said he could take home as many rampions as he wished. In the first version schelten (scolding) does not indicate Ire and the fairy could still be considered a friendly woman. But in the final version the sorceress is a formidable foe. When in the first version the fairy discovered the girl's secret companionship with a prince, she said "'ach du gottloses Kind' . . . und sie merkte gleich, wie sie betrogen wäre, und war ganz aufgebracht." Then she took Rapunzel's beautiful hair, wrapped it a few times around her left hand, and "ritsch, ritsch, waren sie abgeschnitten" (KHM 12, 1812). In the final version

the sorceress shouted, "'Ach, du gottloses Kind' . . .

In ihrem Zorne packte sie die schönen Haare des Rapunzel" and cut them off (KHM 12, 1857). Two kinds of trespasses arouse the Ire of the sorceress. The fairy shows less threatening reactions, even though she imposes the same kinds of punishment as the sorceress.

In "Tischlein deck dich, Goldesel und Knüttel aus dem Sack" a shoemaker's sons were charged with the care of a goat during the day. When the oldest son brought the goat home, the shoemaker asked him, if the goat was full. The son told him that it has eaten all day long. But the shoemaker went to ask the goat and it told him that it was still hungry. The shoemaker became irate and beat his son until he ran out of the house. The next day the second son brought home the goat and when he heard that the goat was still hungry he again became irate and beat his son out of the house. The scene was repeated the next day with his third son. When the shoemaker took the goat himself he let it graze all day long. In the evening he asked it, if it was full, and it said, "yes." But when he had tied it up in the stall, he asked it again and the goat said that it was hungry, because it had run around all day. The shoemaker realized that he had expelled his sons unjustly. He was so angry at the goat, that he shaved its head clean and sent it out into the world. In

the 1857 version the father was a tailor. When his first son seemed to lie to him, "in seinem Zorne nahm er die Elle von der Wand und jagte ihn mit Schlägen hinaus" (KHM 36, 1857). The same fate happened to the second son, but no Ire was mentioned. The third son drew even more wrath from his father than the two before him: "'einer so gottlos und pflichtvergessen wie der andere! Ihr sollt mich nicht länger zum Narren haben!'" und vor Zorn ganz ausser sich sprang er hinauf und gerbte dem armen Jungen . . . den Rücken so gewaltig, dass er zum Haus hinaussprang." The goat followed him the next day, and then the tailor was very lonely, because he knew he had unjustly expelled his sons. The sons were diligently learning trades far away from home. When several years had passed each hoped that the father's Zorn was forgotten and that they could please him with their magic souvenirs. The illustration of an irate father is dramatically improved in the final version. The picture of the father, out of his senses with anger, punishing his son, is adequately frightening.

In "Rumpelstilzchen" a little man had helped a young miller's daughter to spin straw to gold. When he came to collect his reward, the miller's daughter begged to be given another chance before she would hand him her first-born child. He reconsidered and told her that she could keep her child if she could find out his name.

The miller's daughter was able to solve this problem and told him that his name was Rumpelstilzchen. "'Das hat dir der Teufel gesagt!' schrie das Männlein, lief zornig fort und kam nimmermehr wieder" (KHM 55, 1812). In the new version this sentence of sixteen words becomes a ritual, connecting the word Zorn with its old meaning of torn, a tearing down: "'... das hat dir der Teufel gesagt,' schrie das Männlein und stiess mit dem rechten Fuss vor Zorn so tief in die Erde, dass er bis zum Leib hineinfuhr, dann packte es in seiner Wut den linken Fuss mit beiden Händen und riss sich selbst mitten entzwei" (KHM 55, 1857).

In "Der Hund und der Sperling" a man, while transporting barrels of wine, drove his team of horses over a sleeping dog which was lying in the road, even though a sparrow warned him not to do it. In retaliation the sparrow pulled out the plug from one of the wine barrels, setting the stage to arouse the man's ire and to eventually destroy him. In the 1812 version the man is described as being angry, evil, and full of poison. When he came home from his ill-fated trip, he found that his store of grain was being eaten by birds. He became "toll und blind vor Wut" (KHM 58, 1812) and beat everything to kindling. Finally he was killed by his wife as she tried to kill the sparrow in his mouth. The last version uses all three variants of Ire: Zorn, Wut, and Ärger. "Der

Fuhrmann schlug in seinem Zorne, ohne umzusehen, auf den Sperling los, . . . ging voll Zorn und Ärger heim" and "ganz toll und blind vor Wut schlägt [er] den Ofen entzwei" (KHM 58, 1857). All the adjectives relating to Ire in the 1812 version are changed to nouns in the 1857 version. By using Wut as the last variant in the series, Wilhelm has allowed the man to progress to the point of insanity in his angry self-destruction.

In "Der Geist im Glas" a father and his son went to work in the forest. The son, who was a student, had borrowed the neighbor's ax for cutting wood. Soon the son grew tired of working and while looking around he found an old bottle which contained a genie. He released the genie and received a magic cloth. One side of the cloth healed wounds and the other side turned metal to silver. The son turned the ax into silver and made it useless. The father was upset and wanted to send the son home, but the young man did not want to go unless his father went with him. In the end the father obliged and was surprised to find his son a rich man (KHM 9, 1814). The 1857 version describes the father as being upset when talking to his son about the ruined ax. The son insisted that his father come home with him and "weil sich der Zorn gelegt hatte, so liess der Vater sich endlich bereden und ging mit ihm heim" (KHM 99, 1857). In the first ver-

sion the father simply does as his son wishes after being presented with a reasonable explanation. In the revision the father grows angry. This tale is similar to "Tischlein deck dich . . ." because the father is also rewarded by his son. It seems that in the revision, parental anger is expected of him so that he can later reap the reward of a generous son.

"Der Bärenhäuter" involves three sisters. While one sister displayed great tolerance toward an unkempt man clothed in bearskin, the other two exhibited great pride. When the tolerant sister was rewarded with a handsome husband, the other two were very upset. "Die beiden Schwestern . . . waren so bös, dass . . . die eine sich ersäufte, die andre sich erhenkte" (KHM 15, 1814). "Bös sein" obviously was too direct and too much a part of a conscious decision to commit suicide. Being possessed by an evil passion keeps the afflicted persons more passive so that the two sisters appear as victims rather than as evil-hearted persons themselves. To that end the final version states that they "liefen . . . voll Zorn und Wut hinaus; die eine ersäufte sich im Brunnen, die andere erhenkte sich an einem Baum" (KHM 101, 1857). By using "Wut" the sisters seem to have lost control of their rationale and were driven to suicide.

"Die sechs Diener" describes a queen and her

daughter in their joint efforts to discourage suitors from winning the hand of the princess. In the first version the daughter treated her suitors on her own terms. When one of them solved all the tasks which would lead to marriage, "musste sie [the old queen] zwar still schweigen, aber es war ihr leid, und die Prinzessin kränkte es auch, dass sie einer sollte gewonnen haben" (KHM 48, 1814). The princess set the man yet another task but again found herself severely humiliated. In the final version the queen whispered into her daughter's ear that it would be to her shame to obey a commoner and not be able to select a husband of her own choosing: "Da ward das stolze Herz der Jungfrau mit Zorn erfüllt und sann auf Rache" (KHM 134, 1857). In the revision the princess has been changed from an emotionally responsive individual to one whose heart is immobilized by anger and whose desire for revenge has rendered her incapable of action. Ultimately she was saved by the efforts of the young man to cleanse her of her afflictions.

In the tale "Der Liebste Roland" a stepmother had killed her own child by mistake. "Da erschrack sie und merkte, dass sie betrogen war, und ward zornig . . ." (KHM 56, 1812). This sequence was changed in the revision so that when she discovered that she had killed her own child, "die Hexe geriet in Wut . . ." (KHM 56, 1857).

The first version seems more personal, and the reactions are more sensitive when compared with the simple statement in the revision. In "Das blaue Licht" the reaction of another witch was similarly changed from "da erbosste sich die Hexe . . ." (KHM 30, 1814) to "da geriet die Hexe in Wut . . ." (KHM 116, 1857).

In the foregoing comparisons a variety of adjectives depicting Ire were changed to the three variants Zorn, Wut, and Arger. The emotions describing Ire, such as heftig scheltend, aufgebracht, zornig, bös, giftig, gekränkt, and erbosst, are replaced by the three noun variants. These variants occur 68 times in the KHM and all but seven of these words were added after 1814. Use of the adjectives would have described the personal feelings of the characters in more detail. In the revisions and new additions, the characters have become possessed by the three variants of Ire which now act as causes for a variety of wicked deeds.

SEVENTH CARDINAL SIN: SLOTH

The meaning of Sloth has changed from "spiritual dryness" in the Middle Ages to "laziness" by the start of the industrial revolution. Sloth occurs as the variant Faulheit and was found in nine tales of the 1857 version. Only three of these tales are also part of the KHM 1812/

1814 and can be compared. They are:

"Die drei Spinnerinnen" (KHM 14)

"Hänsel und Gretel" (KHM 15)

"Frau Holle" (KHM 24)

In "Die drei Spinnerinnen" a lazy girl did not want to spin, no matter how much her mother scolded her. Angry and impatient the mother beat her one day, but the girl screamed so loudly that the queen could hear her as she was passing by the house. The queen stopped and asked the mother why she was punishing her daughter so severely. The mother was ashamed to admit the Faulheit of her daughter and answered that she could not keep her daughter from spinning and was unable to provide her with the flax she needed. The girl was taken to the castle to spin for the queen, and with the help of three magic old women she was able to spin and become the wife of the queen's son. In this story Faulheit has a twofold meaning. The girl is too lazy to spin and she does not respond to her mother. Sloth pertains to the second meaning and is the cause of the mother's lying. This portion of the tale is not in the 1812 version and can not be compared.

The witch in "Hänsel und Gretel" calls Gretel a "Faulenzerin" in both the 1812 and the 1857 versions. In "Frau Holle" a widow had two daughters. One was beautiful and diligent and the other one was ugly and lazy. The

lazy girl is referred to as "die Faule" several times in the story but the diligent girl is never referred to as "die Fleissige." The negative characteristics of the ugly daughter are therefore emphasized and the difference between the diligent and the lazy daughters is very much increased.

The cardinal sin Faulheit is not very important in the KHM. The reason may lie in the change of the meaning from "spiritual dryness," which is the proper cardinal sin, to the more popular vice of "laziness."

Summary

Sin

The word Sünde in the tales since the first edition of the KHM 1812/1814 is always used in connection with a cardinal sin which in the form of an evil agent in the heart or mind of the offender compells that person to commit a transgression. No such cause and effect relationship can be found in the 1812/14 edition.

The individual variants of the cardinal sins were almost all added since 1814. Those found in the 1812 volume were often completely rearranged or entirely omitted in later editions. However, almost all occurrences of the variants of the cardinal sins illustrate characters who are spiritually controlled by personified

agents of these sins. Most agents represent the cardinal sins as they were used in the Middle Ages. The meaning of the variants Übermut, Verlangen, Bosheit, or Zorn has to be sought in Middle High German definitions.

1. Pride

Pride, in its variants Stolz is a cardinal sin mainly attributed to women. As an agent Pride resides in the hearts of misled princesses and wicked queens, and it is the downfall of haughty brothers as well as a ghost who had planned to deceive a less able-witted or powerful person. In cases recounted in this chapter, if Pride had been omitted, the text of the folk tale would not have made clear that that wickedness was caused by this cardinal sin.

2. Avarice

Avarice is most often connected with physical punishment. It is in every case a type of treason or betrayal. The evergrasping fisherwoman betrays the goodwill of her husband and the magic fish. Employers in all walks of life betray their servants by shortchanging them, or the rich betray the people around them by not sharing their wealth. Punishment is most often a result of Avarice and is administered in the form of physical de-

formity, loss of power, and loss of money.

3. and 4. Lust and Gluttony

Lust and Gluttony are powerful sins in the KHM. The occurrences in the first edition were often softened or entirely omitted in later revisions to preserve the purity of the characters in the tales. Lust and Gluttony are powerful agents which control the volition of girls, women, and animals (particularly in connection with closed doors or food). Punishment for this cardinal sin is usually death for women and animals, but young girls are saved either through penitence or an external redemptive agent.

5. Envy

Envy, in its variants Neid, Missgunst, and Bosheit is treated like a living thing that grows in the hearts of men and is responsible for their evil actions. All examples of Envy in the KHM deal with women. These women are depicted as evil before the condition of their hearts is revealed, and all of them receive severe punishments.

6. Ire

The three variants of Ire occur 68 times in the 1857 edition of the KHM and only seven of these occurrences can also be found in the 1812/14 edition. Ire takes possession of persons such as princesses, sisters,

fathers, mothers, witches, and strange little men. In its most severe variant, Mut, Ire robs some of these characters of their self-control and drives them to insanity or suicide.

7. Sloth

Sloth is a seldom used cardinal sin in the KHM and occurs mostly in the revised versions. Its original meaning of "spiritual dryness" has been replaced by "laziness" in almost all occurrences.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter IV

¹William F. May, A Catalogue of Sins (New York, Chicago, San Francisco: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), p. 64.

²May, p. 65.

³May, p. 111/12.

⁴May, p. 162.

⁵May, p. 125.

⁶May, p. 156.

⁷May, p. 116.

⁸May, p. 77.

⁹Gerhard Wahrig, Deutsches Wörterbuch (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Lexikon-Verlag Reinhard Mohn, 1970), col. 4118.

SUMMARY AND AFTERTHOUGHT

Researching the use of the seven cardinal virtues and sins (cardinal nouns) has provided me with a variety of insights which I will outline here in the form of a summary corresponding to the questions raised in the introduction of this thesis.

I have shown that the cardinal nouns are increased considerably in the KHM 1814, the second volume of the first edition. In this volume Wilhelm Grimm outlined for the first time his objectives pertaining to the educational value of the KHM for children. My research has shown indirectly through Kurt Schmidt that in the revised second edition of 1819 the cardinal nouns were added to the first volume in considerable number. The question arose whether the cardinal nouns were added to the second edition of the KHM in order to make it more effective in molding the moral patterns of the young generation or if the addition of these specific nouns was an (indirect) attempt by the Grimms to record evidence of a developing national consciousness, using the "struggle theme" of the cardinal virtues versus the sins as it was known during the Middle Ages.

Before I could investigate the significance of the increased use of the cardinal nouns I needed a word count to determine in which tales the cardinal nouns were used. This word count resulted in a list of occurrences which, from an "internal point of view," revealed that Wilhelm Grimm chose the cardinal nouns systematically rather than arbitrarily, that more than fifty per cent of all cardinal nouns occurred in the first seventy-five tales, and that the "dialect tales" and "children's legends" contained almost no cardinal nouns. From an "external point of view" the highest concentration of the cardinal nouns is in the "literary and folk love tales," and the smallest number of occurrences are found in the "moralizing tales" which were identified as such by Wilhelm Grimm himself. Since the cardinal nouns were added primarily to the non-moralizing tales at the time of the first major revision, I supposed that the reason for this semantic updating could perhaps be sought in an intent by the Grimms to increase the didactic effectiveness of the non-moralizing tales.

Advancing to the case study, I have given examples of the cardinal virtues and illustrated their use in the KHM. The situations in which they occur are usually negative, perverse, or ridiculous, and the characters to whom

they are attributed are not deserving enough to give credit to the theological or moral importance of the virtues. Knowledge is for instance attributed to the downfall of the proud person who generally does not follow the good suggestions of a benevolent character. It is also described in relation to women and men who would proceed to engage in foolish activities. As a contrast to Verstand, Wisdom is generally bestowed on the person who conscientiously follows traditional routes and carries out certain tasks without concern for his personal welfare. This person was initially described as being foolish or incapable of taking care of himself. Wisdom is also used in connection with royalty and scholarship and is obtained or endeavored to be obtained by unconventional means. In the specific case of the Christian, future-oriented virtues Hope and Faith no positive inclination toward future activities was found. The characters were usually without Hope, and Faith was placed into the hands of a deceitful person. Love had to endure great hardships or was replaced in the characters by more objective concerns induced by ill-meaning individuals. In connection with Friendship it meant outright deceit.

Overall, the cardinal virtues do not seem to enhance their corresponding Christian or moral concepts. Their presence in the KHM rather seems to caution the

reader to be on the alert when similar words are mentioned so as not to make the assumption that, for instance, a person who offers Love and Friendship is trustworthy. The use of the cardinal virtues in the KHM also tends to stereotype certain members of society, especially intelligent women, and devaluates the reverent homage that one would expect to see paid to the virtues.

I also made a detailed presentation of the cardinal sins in the case study. Stylistically their use enhances the dramatic tension in the revised tales. Especially in the use of Ire the severity of an aggravating situation is greatly magnified and the effect this emotion has on the character, especially in the use of the variant Wut, is devastating. In most examples of the cardinal sins the "struggle theme" of the Middle Ages becomes apparent. Pride and Envy are exclusively assigned to women and are depicted as taking possession of their hearts and directing their actions into theologically unacceptable paths leading to the committing of sins. Redemption is possible if some persons care enough to subject the women to almost intolerable humiliation. Greed and Lust are equally possessive and are followed by unredeeming punishment of physical pain, deformity, loss of a loved one, expulsion from the family, or death. However, in some of

the stories such as "Sneewittchen," "Dornröschen," "Aschenputtel," or "Rapunzel" socially unacceptable situations indicated by cardinal sins were obscured in meaning at the time of revision, and any indication of a debasing trait in a virtuous character was eliminated.

Since most of the cardinal virtues were found in a negative context and the cardinal sins were depicted mainly as personified passions in the KHM, a possible interest by the Grimms in recording evidence of a developing national consciousness remains to be investigated. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to make a detailed study of Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm's political experience in a war-disturbed country during a time of extensive social change. However, I have observed from letters Jacob had written to his brother from Paris and Vienna that especially in the years 1814 and 1815 Jacob Grimm had to suffer severely from meaningless, arbitrary, and tiresome assignments under the ambassador to France and the delegate to the Congress in Vienna. The empathy which Wilhelm felt for his brother's despair over the German political situation could possibly have affected the choices and the editorial revising of individual Märchen, for the KHM can be seen as a morose and cynical picture of the real world--with wish-fulfillment usually possible

only upon the introduction of a supernatural helper or magic agent. The changes in the various versions around these years might have been motivated through the biography of the compilers and editors--the Grimms.

A delightful example of a biographical application of "Der Fischer und seine Frau" as political satire is mentioned in a letter of May 6, 1814 (begun May 5), from Wilhelm to Jacob. Wilhelm relates an incident that was told him by Savigny:

Er schreibt in meinem Brief noch, dass dort aus unserm Märchenbuch der Fischer und seine Frau besonders abgedruckt sei unter dem Titel:
Bonapartes Biographie.

It is remarkable that Wilhelm shows no particular reaction to this humorous testimony to the popularity of the KHM. His continuing remarks in the letter to Jacob related to publishing concerns, and this as well as other examples of a favorable public reaction to the KHM seem to suggest that Wilhelm took the allegorical political potential of the tales for granted. When Wilhelm writes to Jacob during this period it is nearly always to offer his sympathy for Jacob's depressing situation as a first-hand witness to the continuing frustration of the hopes for a united, progressive, and free Germany.

At the time the second volume, KHM 1814, was readied for the press, and later, when a revision of the first edition was considered, Jacob's letters to Wilhelm

reveal his pessimism concerning the fate of his beloved Germany and especially the plight of conscientious individuals. In a letter from France dated March 9, 1814, he writes:

Wenn ich jetzt auf mich kommen soll, so muss ich von Deutschland und den Aussichten, die wir Deutsche haben, sprechen, worüber ich mit jedem Tage trauriger im Sinn werde. . . . Der Herr lenke die Ratgeber unserer Fürsten und bekehre die Schwachen, was vermag der einzelne zu tun?

As can be seen from many letters written during his stay in France and later in Vienna, Jacob's own personal aspirations and frustrations mirror those of his suffering fatherland. He does not complain about his dwindling finances, because he knows that so many Germans suffer as a consequence of the war against Napoleon. He rejoices over Wilhelm's message concerning the progress of the second volume of the KHM, acknowledging in his letter dated March 10, 1814, that Wilhelm is doing the lion's share of the work. As Jacob had promised in his letters, he probably told Wilhelm the more troublesome news upon his return from France, news which he had withheld in his letters because of fear of censorship.

When Jacob left for Vienna in September 1814 the manuscript for the second volume of the first edition was not quite finished. His letters from Vienna were again sad and full of hope that he would soon be able to escape this

depressing environment, where he had the tedious assignment of copying the proceedings of the Congress for his employer. With every page he felt the "Unnützlichkeit und Verkehrtheit" of this writing activity, as he complained in his letter dated November 23, 1814. Again, on December 27, 1814, he wrote:

Über die Geldgeschichten kann ich heute weder schreiben noch etwas tun; es ist ein Elend, dass die Leute an mir sparen wollen, was bei andern im grossen fortgeht, während ich an der Sache unseres Vaterlands und Hessen so herzliche Sorge trage, das weiss Gott . . . Wie verkehrt ist all dieses Leben und Geschäft, taubes Stroh dreschen sie und sehen das am Ende ein, lassen sich aber augenblicks ein neu Gebund derselben Art unterlegen und arbeiten ebenso tapfer drauflos.

Jacob's personal financial concerns are sufficient for emotional upset, yet he also complains about the "Langsamkeit, Falschheit und Schwäche" which are everywhere about him--though slow to surface and then only timidly dealt with. Unfortunately, Jacob had hardly got settled after his return from Vienna in June of 1815 when he had to start a third trip to Paris the following September. Upon his return three months later he declined further employment in the service of the ambassador. He had started to organize materials for a German grammar, which appeared in 1818/19, and then he found employment as a librarian in Kassel, so that both brothers now had time to pursue their studies.

From the time of the publication of the second volume of the first KHM edition (1814) Wilhelm had shouldered the full editorial burden of the KHM, and in that second volume he published an editorial policy statement that made clear that he intended from then on that the collection should be an educational book for children. This would seem to indicate that Wilhelm, after all, looked upon the KHM primarily as a work of a general moralizing interest and not as one that contained some contemporary political-historical relevance. The folk tale connection was criticized repeatedly for its unseemly, frequently lewd detail (especially by Arnim), and Wilhelm made some tempering adjustments in deference to his young readers. Nevertheless, he refused to remove tales that dealt with, for example, rape or incest because he felt that children should be told about the world that actually exists.

Though I have found the educational value of the introduction of the cardinal virtues and sins in the KHM to be minimal, it is my belief that Wilhelm, and indirectly Jacob, sought through the several revisions to make their folk tale collection both suitable for and appealing not strictly to children but to the child in every adult--by making it first of all literature and secondly an allegorical picture of a really harsh world.

In defense of this didactic intent with respect to the obviously more polished content of the second volume, KHM 1814, Wilhelm writes to the critical Achim von Arnim, on Jan. 28, 1813:

Wenn du sagst, es sei ein gewisses Fortbilden und eigener Einfluss gar nicht zu vermeiden . . . , so hab ich das gar niemals leugnen wollen. Es ist natürlich, dass wenn wir etwas selbst empfunden, diese Empfindung auch sichtbar werden muss und ihren besonderen Ausdruck haben. Darum hab ich mir in den Worten, der Anordnung in Gleichnissen und dergleichen gar keine Schwierigkeiten gemacht und so gesprochen, wie ich in dem Augenblick Lust hatte . . .¹

Wilhelm seems to suggest here that he wrote only for the pleasure of writing, whereas Arnim apparently sensed a manipulative tendency at work in the KHM. We have seen that Wilhelm is indeed guilty of extensive alterations of the text of the folk tales, that he looked upon them as educational instruments, and that he and his brother were intimates of many of the significant Romantic, i.e., creative writers in Germany. To varying degrees it may be said that the Romanticists were generally concerned with bringing about an intellectual regeneration of Germany through their writing. Jacob shows his affinity to this cause in a letter of October 29, 1815, from Paris:

Die Lüge ist stets unrecht, selbst im Dichten.
Darum gibts nur zweierlei Poesie: die alte,
epische, deren Stoff unvertilglich im Glauben
des Volkes herumzieht: sodann, wenn neue Dichter,
was sie wahrhaft gelebt und gefühlt haben,
aufschreiben . . .

This brief characterization of Poesie reads like a catechism of Romantic catchwords--Glauben, Volk, Dichter--but also like a summary of the principles that went into the production of the KHM. But finally it must be admitted that the real intentions of the Grimms in producing the famous Märchenbuch of Germany are extremely difficult to define.

I have found that most of the cardinal virtues in the KHM do not seem to contribute to the morality of the tales. I have also determined that the cardinal sins are mainly depicted as personified passions which control the afflicted persons in the KHM and are used in a similar manner to the literature of the Middle Ages. A model which could have influenced the treatment of the cardinal nouns in the KHM stems from the thirteenth century and is a collection of proverbs popular among the Volk entitled Freidanks Bescheidenheit. Wilhelm Grimm was collecting manuscripts of this work at the time of the major KHM revisions. Grimm considered Freidank's collection a "Weltspiegel" which reflected the wisdom of the German people in the Middle Ages. Wilhelm could have attempted to mold the KHM into a similar "Weltspiegel" which would reflect--without moralizing--on Germany as it was in the early nineteenth century, making perhaps an indirect statement about a growing national consciousness. But it

must be acknowledged that if this was Wilhelm's intent, it would become apparent only through other avenues of research than an investigation of the Christian virtues and sins. Furthermore, this study did not intend at its outset to gather empirical evidence of a connection between the KHM and the developing awareness of a folk tradition. Even though--for however much the Grimms deserve to be criticized for their editorial manipulation of the Märchen--they did make these tales a much more significant part of the cultural responsibilities of the German people. The Kinder- und Hausmärchen became Kulturgut for every German, and the name Grimm a household word.

FOOTNOTES

Summary and Afterthought

¹Achim von Arnim und Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm,
edited by Reinhold Steig, Volume 3 of Achim von Arnim und
die ihm nahe standen, edited by Reinhold Steig and
Herman Grimm (Stuttgart and Berlin: Verlag der J. G.
Cotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1904), p. 267.

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