introduce the idea of release to eternal peace into the legend. In contrast, the folktale conceives of disenchantment in earthly terms. Folktale disenchantment does not transcend time in a Christian sense; rather, it frees characters so they can enjoy their worldly existence.

The differences between folktale and legend disenchantments correspond to the different historical stages of reality they embody. The original belief in transformation does not recognize the concept of disenchantment. Magic gradually replaces the universal ability to voluntarily change back into human form, and finally only disenchantment can undo transformations. The last stage coincides with the historical development of religious belief in salvation. Only the established high religions speak of "salvation"; early religion did not yet express this need.[96] Belief in disenchantment has developed through a series of stages: from breaking the spell by taking off the "covering," to killing and decapitation, and finally to a purely spiritual disenchantment through Christian remedies and acts of love.

Primitive elements in our European folk narratives are not always the oldest. The folktale can reproduce any of the historical stages of transformation and disenchantment, producing a different accent in each case. A given narrative, however, emphasizes one aspect over the others.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

Magic is only part of an entire world that once existed. We have inquired into the magical realm of this world, now we must also investigate other human activities that appear in the folktale and ask what they tell us about a past world-view and its conception of reality. Folk belief is not the only aspect of an archaic, once-believed reality that we recognize in the folktale. The folktale also provides historical information about actual ways of life. Of course, a narrative's cultural shading does not always indicate the actual age of the story: Cannons and cars can replace older requisitions in folk narrative. The magic rifle and bullet that never miss their target developed from the magic sword. Any clues that we do uncover apply only for the given text, not for the entire tale type, particularly when decorative motifs not essential to the plot contain this information.

Exemplifying this fallacy, Josef Prestel dates "Rumpelstiltskin" (KHM 55) to the baroque period, when (and because) spinning gold was in its heyday in order to supply the lace industry.[1] But clearly this is a false conclusion because it fails to recognize the folktale's central motif. It is also a mistake to ascribe "Rumpelstiltskin" to the sixteenth century and the discovery of the spinning wheel, because the spinning wheel is also not a vital element in this folktale's reality and therefore does not provide a criterion for dating, particularly because older versions of the tale about help with spinning mention the spindle.[2]

Humans and domestic animals live in small quarters in the folktale

(KHM 169). Hans Naumann draws conclusions about archaic ways of living on the basis of the giant who comes home and says, "I smell, smell human flesh" (cf. the devil in KHM 29). He sees this formula as proof that primeval man lived in homes or caves without windows or lighting. Only in such a house could the inhabitant smell if someone he could not see had crept into the dwelling while he was away.[3] Naumann's interpretation is not very convincing. The hero hides in the monster's house and therefore would not be visible even if it were well lit. Folktale demons obviously have an instinctual ability to detect the presence of a human in their home.

We cannot determine the age of KHM 87 on the basis of the potatoes that the poor man's wife puts on the fire even if we know that potatoes have been cultivated in Germany only since the middle of the eighteenth century. This tale type (Type 750) appears in Stricker's *Mären* from around 1250. Millet, which has tenaciously held its ground in the folktale (e.g., KHM 103), would provide a better historical index of folktale civilization: Its shallow roots make it workable with a hoe, and thus millet has long been one of the primary cultivated grains. Millet was the main source of nourishment among the lower classes from Germanic antiquity until the Middle Ages, by which time the upper classes had already switched to bread.[4]

The lace that the German Snow White (KHM 53) buys from her evil stepmother has been dated to the rococo period, but lace adornments date to at least the thirteenth century.[5] Besides, Icelandic versions of this tale contain rings, shoes, and belts, all of which are much older, instead of lace.[6] In short, we cannot date the tale type on the basis of the lace in the German text.

The folktale's depiction of occupations is also so varied that it does not allow us to draw a precise picture of some historical or social reality. Ancient Germanic wild men appear alongside medieval knights; discharged soldiers who apparently fought as mercenaries in the Thirty Years War meet craftsmen who could have lived in the late Middle Ages as well as the nineteenth century. All of these figures are largely interchangeable.

In this chapter we ask: To what extent does the folktale depict real manners and customs? In doing so we encounter familiar methodological problems. In a well-known effort, P. Saintyves attempts to trace Perrault's tales to ancient seasonal celebrations and initiation rituals. Sleeping Beauty is nature waking to the new year, Cinderella the bride oracle on Valentine's Day, Cap o' Rushes a Fasnacht costume, Little Red Riding-Hood the May Queen, Thumbling the consecration of youth, Bluebeard the ritual testing of a wife, Puss in Boots the indoctrination of the newly chosen king.[7]

False interpretations often take up customs that appear only in the folktale's decorative elements. For example, we can find evidence that the practice depicted in "The Three Feathers" (KHM 63) of blowing a feather into the air in order to decide which direction to follow has a basis in reality.[8] But even though the Grimm tale takes its title from this custom, its

appearance in the Grimm version is an exception and merely ornamental; it tells us nothing about the tale type. Other versions of this narrative (Type 402, "The Mouse, Cat, Frog, etc. as Bride") do not depict this custom.

Occasionally folktales pass something off as an "old practice" just so the hero follows the correct path. A modern Greek folktale, for example, describes a city where "according to an old practice, the first person to appear at the gate of the city after it was opened in the morning would replace the king who had died."[9] In this case the custom is invented for the sake of the story. Similarly, we cannot simply label cannibalism motifs in the folktale remnants of prehistoric times when cannibalism may have existed, especially since we can document criminal commissions of cannibalism as late as the nineteenth century. The folktale no longer depicts cannibalism in its original, magical form; instead it condemns it as a crime.[10] The emotional appeal of gruesome subjects seems to be a more important motive for including cannibalism in the folktale. In particular, the eating of children, like the common folktale motif of abandoning children, clearly first appeared as a motif designed specifically for the "warning tale," which was devised to frighten children. Thus we cannot conclude that abandoning children was once an actual practice. Jacob Grimm's documentation of the historical roots of abandoning children because of poverty and need (and then only immediately after birth) in his study of ancient law and the depiction of this practice as "an old custom" in certain folk narratives[11] do little for our understanding of "Hansel and Gretel," for example, where this cruel motif seems to have been invented only for the construction of the plot. The motif is absent in a large number of the versions.[12] We have no proof that the tale has a relationship to historical reality.

Since we cannot discuss every manner and custom here, we have chosen a single area to cover, namely, engagement and marriage in the folktale.[13] August von Löwis of Menar calculated that a hero's seeking a bride is the focal point in 72 percent of all tales of magic.[14] The folktale climaxes and ends when it reaches its goal of marriage. Of course, the wedding is occasionally simply a convenient formula for the happy ending. The folktale does not always logically require a wedding. A Russian folktale affixes this sentence at the end: "The daughter married a good man and lived happily and satisfied."[15] Despite the folktale's tendency to include a happy marriage, it is not a love story. The story is not about two people who belong together. The *obstacles* to marriage are often more important than the actual love and marriage.

We cannot expect the folktale to provide detailed descriptions of wedding customs because weddings occur so frequently at the story's end. We generally find such details only in recently recorded, often somewhat verbose narratives that describe a village wedding (cf. pp. 197–98, for example). But we have better sources than the folktale for details about modern country weddings. When the folktale does directly describe engagement

and marriage customs, reality is often quite clearly abandoned. For example, the man's method of deciding whether to remarry in KHM 13 has nothing to do with real marriage oracles. He tells his daughter: "Take this boot with a hole in the sole up to the attic, hang it on the big nail, and pour water into it. If the water stays, I'll remarry; if it runs through, I won't." This motif appears only in the Grimm version. Even another version collected by the brothers themselves lacks this opening.[16]

In other folktales, details about engagement and wedding customs are relatively recent decorative additions that reveal nothing about the tale type's age. "Darling Roland" (KHM 56) reports that "in that country it was the custom that a proclamation be made for all the girls for miles around to attend the wedding and sing in honor of the bridal couple." But this tells us very little. Wilhelm Grimm adopted this custom from Hessian folklife. Other narrators of this tale use different motifs in order to bring the true bride and Roland together once again.

We are more interested in asking whether the folktale can tell us anything about ancient wedding practices that no longer exist but that were once a real part of folklife. Even if the folktale seldom depicts the wedding itself, the conditions the tales require for marriage are a rich enough topic for the study of manners and customs. We are not trying to simply analyze the wedding's place in the folktale's structure and form; rather, we must attempt to place the folktale in the real historical, psychological, and sociological context in which its style corresponds with the way of thinking it depicts.

Some analyses date the folktale's strong emphasis on courtship to the Middle Ages, when love supposedly first became a poetic motif. But in the majority of folktales about courtship, love, oddly enough, plays almost no role. Those tales that do depict love, e.g., KHM 6 ("Faithful Johannes"), in which the young king becomes enamored of the portrait of the Princess of the Golden Roof, seem to have acquired this feature more recently. Falling in love with a picture surely does not belong to this folktale's original form, because in the majority of versions the hero becomes acquainted with the princess in some other way. The same applies for "The Black and the White Bride" (Type 403), where the Grimm version (KHM 135) again contains this motif.[17] In general, the folktale portrays love and marriage much less romantically: Notably, the folktale doesn't mention love when the hero's adventure is primary and the ruler's daughter is merely his reward. Similarly, there is no mention of love when a father promises his daughter in exchange for his freedom, without the engaged couple even knowing each other. In any case, the folktale does not depict marriage for love. As was often the case among peasants, people in the folktale often marry for practical reasons: The king wants to marry the girl who supposedly can spin straw into gold (KHM 55), or, more realistically, the queen chooses a girl who can spin three rooms full of flax to be her daughter-in-law (KHM 14). The silver tree with golden fruit is also a welcome dowry (KHM 130). A

knight wants to marry a "dragon" that has already killed two husbands simply to get its farm.[18] A peasant must take economic factors into account when choosing a wife who will provide important help with the work. The seven brothers decide to marry so they won't have to keep house themselves.[19] In one folktale, the king's son even marries a poor orphan because she is so industrious and skillful (KHM 188). In other tales a clever woman seems particularly desirable (KHM 94).

Not only stylistic demands prevent the folktale from requiring an extended period of engagement before the couple actually marries. In the folktale, engagement and marriage coincide; marriage immediately follows successful disenchantment. Although the folktale frequently speaks of true and false brides, it never mentions engagement and seldom a church wedding.[20] But folktales certainly contain the old practice of promising to give one's child in marriage, and the promise has greater validity than the marriage itself. According to the folk, "the Lord considers an engaged couple to be married." Thus in the folktale a marriage is easily absolved, even during the wedding celebration itself, if the former bride who can prove the groom promised to marry her reappears. This frequently occurs with the motif of the old and new keys (H1292.6), which perhaps derives from a legal formula.[21]

In "Cinderella" (KHM 21) the prince cunningly manages to attain one of the fleeing heroine's slippers and declares, "No girl shall be my wife but the one this golden shoe fits." Jacob Grimm traced the motif of using a shoe to discern the correct bride to a Germanic engagement custom.[22] We also find parallels in modern customs: Primarily among Romance peoples, the groom sometimes removes the bride's old shoes before the wedding. In Lorraine, for example, everyone at the wedding tries to remove the bride's shoes, but only the groom succeeds.[23]

But the folktale also seems to echo far more ancient wedding customs. The folktale's use of marriage to reward great deeds or accomplishment of difficult tests corresponds to the trials required to attain manhood in tribal societies. Before a young man may marry in these societies, he must prove himself at hunting or at war; he must bag a certain animal or kill a certain number of enemies. These tasks the suitor must undergo embody a basic folk idea: A woman can, and must, set conditions before she gives herself away; a man must prove his masculinity to the woman, he must be capable of bringing offerings even if he risks losing his life. Of course, the folktale fantastically exaggerates this reality. For example, before marrying the king's daughter in KHM 29, the suitor must bring the king three golden hairs from the devil's head back from hell; others must fetch the water of life. In other folktales the hero must wash black yarn until it turns white, sort rye and wheat (in some versions of KHM 113), or empty a pond with a thimble (KHM 193). In "The Griffin" (KHM 165) the suitor must build a ship that travels in water and on land, then he must take a hundred rabbits out to pasture and tend to them all day, and finally he must bring a feather

from the griffin's tail. As we said, the folktale consciously fabulates these tasks, freely inventing details. However, in other cases we discover real manners and customs when we peel back the folktale's exaggeration.

For example, the suitor's tasks of cutting down an entire forest (KHM 193), planting a vineyard, and building a house or castle (in some versions of KHM 113) closely resemble tribal requirements for marriage.[24] The requirements usually have something to do with farming, such as cultivating, digging, sowing, harvesting, draining ponds, cutting wood, building shelter, and protecting and caring for animals (since farmers also have livestock). Each of these tasks tests the suitor's ability to provide for the family. Of course, in tribal narratives the suitor's tasks correspond much more closely to real customs: For example, in West African Kpelle narratives the suitor must bring fruit, a chicken, or rice from the other side of a river; he must build a house on the cliffs, cut down a tree, or play a board game with the princess's father. Occasionally he must guess what is inside an amulet.[25] In South American Indian tales, the suitor must be able to build a house and a plantation for his father-in-law.[26] These tasks still correspond exactly to real customs.

The way in which the European folktale places these demands on the hero reflects ancient methods of contracting a marriage: The bride's father sets conditions that benefit him alone for his approval of the marriage. Tale 81 in Bünker's collection even depicts negotiation of the price for the bride. Such tales, like tribal narratives, seem to reflect the practice of buying a marriage.[27] Other tales—as well as numerous medieval ballads—indicate the possibility that brides were once stolen. This also applies to tales in which a king's daughter is abducted, even if the addition of a merchant gives the abduction a bourgeois guise (KHM 6).[28]

Many of the folktale suitor-hero's extraordinary feats have clear parallels among tribal initiation customs. This is no coincidence because in tribal societies, demonstrating the attainment of maturity through initiation originally meant that the initiate was ready to marry as well. The wedding immediately followed initiation. The initiate and the folktale hero who wants the princess must prove their strength, endurance, and wisdom. Many folktale tasks are designed to kill the hero. Those tales in which he does die and is then revived with the water of life (e.g., KHM 92) remind us of the initiation process that often imitates death and rebirth. The initiate experiences death before attaining maturity. Conversely, many tribal peoples think of death in terms of initiation.[29]

The solitary indoctrination which the tribal medicine man undergoes preceding the test of worth also reminds us of familiar folktale situations. Many versions of "Iron Hans" (KHM 136) depict one such situation: The wild man takes the young king's son into the forest and assigns him a task. Similarly, in "The Thief and His Master" (KHM 68) a magician raises a child away from the parents' home. In both cases a supernatural figure or a sorcerer rears the boy away from his normal environment. This indoctrina-

tion prepares him to pass the difficult tests he faces later.[30] A magical adviser in the form of a wise old man appears in innumerable folktales. There are many possible interpretations of this figure,[31] but the parallels to real initiatory leaders are striking: Like an initiator during ceremonies of maturation, the old figure in the folktale tests the hero's character and gives him the advice needed to accomplish the tasks. Likewise, the twelve brothers who live in a lonely house in the forest (KHM 9) and their declaration, "Whenever we meet a girl, her red blood will flow," remind us of the isolation of young men before their initiation and their strict seclusion from girls of the same age. The fact that the folktale hero who must leave home has hardly outgrown childhood and usually has not yet married also speaks to the parallels between initiation rites and the folktale: The boy in the folktale is exactly the same age as the initiates.

In tribal societies young girls are also strictly isolated and must live in solitude before they mature. As soon as a girl menstruates for the first time she is put in a puberty hut, where she must stay for a certain period. This female isolation also seems to have found expression in many folktales. Many scholars have shown the connection between "The Maiden in the Tower" (Type 310) and the girl's puberty hut. This provides an interpretation for Rapunzel (KHM 12, also see KHM 198), whom a witch locks in a tower at the age of twelve and who is then set free by a prince.[32] The fourteen-year-old Sleeping Beauty (KHM 50) also magically sleeps in a tower apart from the court society; when the prince awakens her, she is ready to marry. The folktale often exaggerates the duration (e.g., "Sleeping Beauty") and severity (e.g., the three stolen princesses, Type 301, who may not walk under the open sky before they turn fifteen) of the confinement,[33] but even these fantastic tales seem to rely on actual practices. Some tribal societies even use a tower as the girl's puberty hut, so that dangerous menstrual blood does not come into contact with the ground and destroy its fertility.

Before initiation, girls are also taught what they will need to know in their new social position. An old woman from the tribe usually provides the instruction. The folktale reflects this reality: Only the witch herself may visit Rapunzel in the tower, and she closely guards against anyone else gaining entrance. The development of the folktale described above makes it understandable that a witch has replaced the earlier magical attendant figure.[34]

Russian scholars have recently pursued the similarities between folktale motifs and actual social practices in much greater detail. They see the folktale's oldest and sole basis in initiation rites. Vladimir Y. Propp and Dmitrii Zelenin consider folktale motifs of sex change, abandoning children, abduction by a forest spirit, cutting off a finger, cutting the hero into pieces, and, in general, all motifs about the wandering hero who must bring something from a faraway land, survivals of puberty trials. For females, the motif of beauty in a chest (Cap o' Rushes), the forbidden

chamber, abduction of a girl by a dragon, and all motifs about magical birth have the same origins.[35] It is difficult to say just how far such explanations may go and whether one can infer a historical evolution on the basis of approximate parallels between tribal customs and folktale motifs. Viewing these customs as the folktale's actual basis says little about the folktale's modern form and, in any case, leaves questions unanswered about how the folktale evolved from a simple factual account to the fixed-form product of fantasy that we call a "folktale" today. We simply lack the basic evidence required to construct such a bridge. In any case, parallels among our own customs have more to do with the European folktale than the often constructed similarities to tribal customs. We now turn our attention to European tradition.

Riddling commonly provides amusement at peasant weddings.[36] Guests pose riddles for the couple and among themselves. The practice of solving riddles at weddings seems to be very old; perhaps an actual test of the suitor provides the basis for this playful fun. We do find parallels to a serious test in tribal maturation rites: The suitor must prove his knowledge as well as his endurance and strength. In the Eddic story, Thor riddles the dwarf Alwis, who wants to marry his daughter, all night. Obtaining a bride by solving riddles also appears as early as the Latin story of Apollonius of Tyrus.[37] Samson's wedding depicted in Judges 14 certainly belongs to the same group of motifs. Here the groom himself riddles the guests:

> Out of the eater came something to eat
> out of the strong came something sweet. (14:14)

The guests arrange for the bride to trick Samson into revealing the solution. The riddle refers to one of Samson's adventures: A bee swarm had nested in the stomach of a lion that he killed.

A well-known folktale (KHM 22) contains exactly the same type of riddling, and here too solving the riddle is the precondition for marriage. A princess "let it be known that she would marry the man who posed a riddle she couldn't solve, but that if she did solve the riddle his head would be cut off." The hero turns his experience of killing twelve robber-murderers with a soup containing poisoned raven meat into a riddle: "Here is my riddle: One killed none, yet killed twelve." The princess can't solve the riddle, and in the end she must marry the hero.[38]

Of course, riddles also appear in very different contexts in the folktale, for example, in "The Shepherd Boy" (KHM 152) and "The Peasant's Clever Daughter" (KHM 94). The devil also asks riddles, and the person who has sold his soul to the devil can annul the pact by solving them (e.g., KHM 125). But it is striking how often the folktale requires solving one or more riddles as the precondition for marriage.[39] In other tales the hero must guess what kind of birthmarks a girl has (KHM 114 is similar): Only the suitor who guesses that the rich gypsy's daughter has a star on one breast

and a moon on the other is allowed to buy (!) her as his wife.[40] In KHM 212 the hero must guess what material was used to make the king's daughter's dress. Through trickery he learns that it was sewn from the leather of a louse.[41] In some versions of "The Cast-iron Stove" (KHM 127) the false bride cannot solve the riddles, but the king's daughter knows the correct answers.[42] All of these examples suggest an ancient connection between solving riddles and actual wedding customs.

In the Grimm tale "The Mongoose" (KHM 191), the king's daughter will marry only the man who can hide himself so well that she cannot find him by looking through her twelve magic windows. A raven, a fish, and a fox help the hero to fulfill the task: The raven hides him in an egg, puts it in his nest, and sits on it; the fish swallows the hero and dives to the bottom of the lake. After the king's daughter finds him in both hiding places, the fox transforms the hero into a mongoose.[43] The mongoose-hero hides under the princess's braids, and she cannot spot him by looking through her magic windows. The princess gives up and the hero marries her. In other versions a horse hides the hero in its tooth.[44] Sometimes the hero must find the princess; in other words, a test of his ability to search replaces the hiding contest.[45] Occasionally both the hero and the princess hide from each other.[46]

Of course, these hiding places are typical folktale fantasies, but the hiding game itself is the well-known and common wedding custom of the bride and groom hiding from each other on the morning of the wedding or when returning from the ceremony. First the groom must find the bride. Then the groom suddenly disappears, perhaps during the wedding dance, and the bride must search for him. This custom was not always a game; it has roots in folk belief, where we can find its serious meaning. Paul Sartori calls this custom a "ritual refusal": The bride and groom are not allowed to change their marital status too quickly because evil powers enviously have their eyes on all transitions. Thus each new stage in life should be made to look as if it is forced upon the participants, who cannot be held responsible for the change.[47]

Another motif complex appears to be closely related to guessing and hiding: In numerous versions of Type 313 the hero must pick out the correct bride from among many women wearing similar veils. A helpful animal (a fly or a bird) lands on the correct girl (cf. KHM 62), thus allowing the hero to identify her. In other cases he recognizes his bride by some particular feature; e.g., she is missing her little toe or part of a finger.[48] The Snorra Edda contains the reverse form—i.e., the bride must pick the groom out of a group—in its description of how the giantess Skadi became the god Njord's wife: Skadi demanded compensation from the Aesir for killing her father; namely, she wanted to marry one of the gods. But when choosing, she was allowed to look only at their feet. She chose the one who had the smallest feet, convinced that it was Baldr, but it was Njord. Thus he became her husband.[49] This humorous tale has already modified the original

meaning, but the practice itself still corresponds to actual customs. Various peoples require the groom to identify his bride from among a number of women solely by looking at their feet. This is a particularly common wedding custom in France, Italy, and Serbia. Moreover, we can still recognize ancient ideas in this game. The idea is to deceive the demonic and evil powers so they cannot identify the actual couple getting married, i.e., the people in danger because of their transitional status. Perhaps bridesmaids, still common today, are a last remnant of this idea.[50]

According to Sartori, other wedding customs have the same meaning: For example, a small girl or an ugly old woman sometimes accompanies the groom when he goes to get the bride. The correct bride joins him only after this switch, which may be repeated several times.[51] In Egerland [a German-speaking area around the city of Eger in northwestern Sudetenland, now part of Czechoslovakia] a maid or day laborer in disguise, i.e., someone less desirable to the groom, greets him in place of the bride. People call this disguised substitute the "old bride," and she produces wedding presents the groom supposedly gave her. Finally the groom induces her to remove the costume by offering a monetary gift; only then does the real bride show herself. According to popular belief, the "old bride" takes the bad luck out of the house. This too is an apotropaic artificial premarriage. The harm threatening the true bride falls upon the false bride.[52] This substitution, like the folk customs mentioned above, supposedly diverts the danger away from the couple. This strongly reminds us of the folktale motif of the *substituted bride*, which also seems to have a basis in actual wedding customs. The folktale's altered, often fantastically expanded usage of this motif should not obscure the narrative's relationships to actual customs. On the way to the wedding, the stepsister, who is "as black as coal" and "ugly as the night," disposes of the white bride and takes her place (KHM 135). "The old witch [i.e., the stepmother] so beguiled the king and so deceived his eyes with her arts, that he let her and her daughter stay. In the end he decided that the daughter wasn't half bad and actually married her." In "The Cast-iron Stove" (KHM 127) the king's son is already planning to marry a different girl when, at the last moment, the correct bride appears; "The Lilting, Leaping Lark" (KHM 88) is quite similar. Maid Maleen (KHM 198) must stand in for the prince's unworthy bride during the wedding, but then she reveals herself as the proper bride who was once engaged to the groom.[53] In some folktales the substitution occurs at the young wife's childbed: In KHM 11 the evil stepmother replaces her stepdaughter, who had married the king, with her real daughter, "who was as ugly as the night and only had one eye," after the birth of the queen's first child. Some folktales include the motif of the substitute bride in completely different contexts: In KHM 127 the king and his daughter send the miller's and the swineherd's daughters to the unwanted suitor so the princess won't have to marry him. These efforts are usually in vain, as in many versions of the animal bridegroom tale.[54]

The false or substitute bride is not always a rival; the true bride's friend can also take her place. The latter case approximates the actual custom to a greater degree. A few folktales depict this proper substitution on the wedding night: In a few Danish and Icelandic versions of Type 401, the princess is changed into a sparrow or a deer on her wedding night. A friend or servant takes her place until the husband burns the animal skin at the right moment or breaks the spell with a blow from his sword.[55] These tales depict old protective customs used during weddings against magic of all sorts, as well as the actual dangers that can threaten the couple. A few narratives, such as "Faithful Johannes" (KHM 6), actually portray these dangers. Faithful Johannes sacrifices his own life to protect his master and his bride from the three magical, demonic events that threaten to keep the couple apart. Versions of "The Grateful Dead" in which the otherworld helper fights a demon or a dragon that tries to kill the groom on the wedding night show the extent of the dangers threatening the couple.[56] Again folk belief provides a background and starting point for these fantastic motifs.

Real wedding customs in all societies are full of taboos: Marriages may not take place during particular months and on particular days; the bride may not help bake the cake or work on the wedding dress; the bride should not be happy to move out of her parents' house and should not say "I do" in a happy tone. The wedding procession must follow a particular path and remain tightly knit; certain foods should not appear on the wedding table, and so on. Violating these proscriptions results in all sorts of bad luck.[57]

Obstacles to the folktale wedding are the same as those that folk belief says may interfere with real weddings. Carelessly breaking taboos, no matter how trivial they may seem, has dire consequences for the bride and groom: In numerous animal bridegroom tales the young wife is not allowed to see her husband; if she does, intentionally or not, the man must leave her. In "The Lilting, Leaping Lark" (KHM 88) the animal bridegroom cannot come into contact with "a ray of candlelight." The hero often forgets about his bride because he kisses or simply speaks to someone else against the wife's prohibition (e.g., KHM 127; cf. KHM 113, 186, and 193).[58] These taboos often refer to the couple's relationship to their parents (KHM 127 and 193). In KHM 186 the king's son forgets his true bride when he goes home one more time to obtain his father's approval of the marriage. We find the same motif in "The Drummer" (KHM 193): "Oh," the king's daughter tells her fiancé, "I implore you. When you get home, be careful not to kiss your parents on their right cheeks, because if you do you'll forget everything, and I'll be left here alone and forsaken." The king's son in "The Prince and the Princess" (KHM 113; also see KHM 56) also falls into a magical state of forgetfulness when his mother kisses him. According to folk belief, a kiss can magically cause forgetfulness as well as remembrance. In particular, someone can steal the bride by kissing the husband, thus making him

forget her. But a kiss also brings back the memory, as "Sleeping Beauty" (KHM 50) clearly demonstrates.[59]

Folk belief prescribes "Tobias nights" (cf. Tobit 6:8) for the same reason it suggests delivering a false bride to the groom. In many places the couple must (or used to) practice abstinence during the first days and nights of marriage in order to protect themselves from various sorts of harm.[60] We find similar practices in the folktale: In some versions of KHM 93 ("The Raven"), the hero sleeps next to the princess for three nights without touching her.[61] We can also assume that a wedding without sexual intercourse takes place in the tale about the eighteen soldiers who sleep with eighteen princesses in order to disenchant them: "The oldest said: 'Tonight you must complete the disenchantment; each of us will sleep with his fiancée, but everyone must lie there calm and quiet next to the princess without talking or moving until they play reveille.' And that's what they did. All thirty-six slept together and bravely endured the night. Only the drummer almost ruined the whole thing."[62] The three nights with her husband that the true bride buys (KHM 88, 113, 127, 193) also probably relate to this custom.[63] The sword placed between the man and woman is also a clear indication of a taboo that requires maintenance of chastity. The tale "The Two Brothers" (KHM 60) uses the sword motif in this way when one of the brothers sleeps with the other's wife. But the young queen no longer understands the custom's original meaning: "She didn't know what to make of it, but didn't dare to ask." This motif also appears in the *Nibelungenlied* and in the heroic legends of other cultures. But this practice was not always a motif designed to serve the epic purpose of proving the brother didn't touch the other's wife. Placing the sword between the couple was an actual legal custom that we can trace quite far back in history. For example, at both of Maximilian I's weddings, to Maria of Burgundy and to Maria of Brittany, someone stood in for the emperor. The substitute, fully clothed, lay beside the bride in the presence of the empire's dignitaries, and an exposed sword was placed between them.[64]

The need for customs designed to magically protect participants in a peasant wedding extends to the bride's bed.[65] People try to cleanse the place where the marriage will be consummated of all demonic influences. Any ritual or cultic purifications of the people themselves found in German wedding traditions, however, are only remnants. Sprinkling the bride with water can be included here. In Uckermarck [on the Oder River in eastern Pomerania], washing the bride's laundry provides an occasion for a small prewedding festival. In ancient India, Greece, and Rome, the bridal bath (λουτρὸν νυμφικόν) was among the most important wedding preparations. This custom has lived on in eastern Europe, where the bride bathes and is whipped with birch switches. According to Olaus Magnus, wedding baths took place in Sweden as often as weddings.[66] Such rites are supposed to purify the bride of all harmful influences.

We find somewhat similar elements in "The Monster's Bride" (Type 507A), a widely distributed folktale particularly well known from Andersen's "Traveling Companion."[67] A princess's lover is a sorcerer. Every night she goes to him to request help against her suitors. She then asks her suitors to guess her thoughts or to find a hidden object. The hero succeeds with the help of a grateful dead man. But before the princess can marry the hero, she must be purified of her contact with the sorcerer. In Bünker's, Ey's, Andersen's, and Asbjörnsen's versions, only a bath on the wedding night works.[68] In a Norwegian version[69] the hero must whip the princess with nine green birch switches and then bathe her in milk products; first he washes her in a vat of whey, then he rubs her down with sour milk, and finally he rinses her with sweet milk.

The groom must also undergo similar purification ceremonies before the folktale wedding if he has had contact with demonic powers. In "King Lindworm," one of the most beloved Danish folktales (Type 433B), the heroine must whip her husband in the bridal chamber with switches soaked in lye. Then she washes him off in sweet milk. The men from the king's court laugh at the bride and tell her such cleansing "works only in the peasant's imagination." But she turns out to be right: The process finally removes the spell from her lover, and "they congratulated the couple more than ever before."[70]

Some versions of "Faithful Ferdinand and Faithless Ferdinand" (KHM 126) also depict the groom bathing in hot milk. The ritual bath has become a test of courage in this tale. A king orders the hero to win him a princess; he does so. The girl places demand after demand on the king that the hero must fulfill for him before the marriage. In the end she declares that she will marry only the one who dares to bathe in hot milk. Again the king sends the hero in his place; but the hero's helpful magical horse blows the bath of boiled mare's milk cool for him, or the hero protects himself by covering his body with the horse's froth. Rejuvenated and beautified, he climbs out of the bath. The king tries to do the same but burns himself and dies. The princess marries the hero.[71] Treating the groom with water or milk and hitting him with birch switches is not "fertility magic," it magically purifies him of demonic influences before the marriage. The contexts of the folktale motifs reveal this more clearly than the actual customs, which have outlived their original meaning. Some customs practiced today are often not understood and no longer believed reality. On the other hand, the folktale, which on the surface seems to have been invented merely for entertainment, often describes living reality from the past.

The same observation applies to the motif complex to which we now turn as we move from engagement and wedding customs to the birth of the folktale hero. In particular we want to look at the special case in which the hero is promised to a demonic figure at birth—that is a motif complex which seems to lack any reference to reality.

It is striking how commonly and in what a variety of tales in the Grimm

collection this or a closely related motif plays a role: The witch in "Rapunzel" (KHM 12) tells the man who has intruded into her garden, " 'You may take as much rapunzel [a type of lettuce] as you like, but on one condition: you must give me the child that your wife will bear.' In his fright," the Grimm text continues, "the man agreed to everything, and the moment his wife was delivered the witch appeared, gave the child the name of Rapunzel, and took her away." The miller in KHM 181 promises the nixie of the pond that which "was just born in his house." " 'What could that be but a puppy or a little kitten?' thought the miller," but when he got home his wife had just given birth to a little boy. He doesn't fulfill his promise until the nixie herself finally comes and takes the boy to the pond. Rumpelstiltskin (KHM 55) "shouts" the well-known verse: "Brew today, tomorrow bake, / After that the child I'll take," because the girl who must spin straw into gold promised him her first-born in exchange for his help. She had already given him her necklace and ring.[72]

In other Grimm tales the child is promised sometime after birth, but the basic motif of giving a young person to an otherworld figure remains the same. The lion in KHM 88 ("The Lilting, Leaping Lark") tells the frightened man: "Nothing can save you unless you promise to give me the first creature you meet when you get home." The man finally gives in, and "when he reached home, the first creature he met was none other than his youngest, most beloved daughter." "An old man whom he had never seen before came up to" the poor miller in KHM 31 ("The Girl without Hands") "and said: 'Why wear yourself out chopping wood? I will make you rich if you promise to give me whatever is standing behind your mill.' " Without knowing what he is doing, the miller promises his daughter to the devil.[73] Similarly, the merchant in KHM 92 ("The King of the Golden Mountain") turns over his little boy to the black dwarf.

In "Mary's Child" (KHM 3) the poor woodsman who can no longer feed his family gives his only child to the Virgin Mary, who takes the girl to heaven. The Grimms' tale and other versions which approximate the saint's legend should not obscure the fact that this is simply a more recent branch of the tradition under discussion. In other versions of this tale (Type 710) the father gives the child to a demonic figure rather than a Christian figure.[74]

Bolte and Polivka's *Anmerkungen* document the distribution of this motif in tale types that do not contain it in the Grimm collection. In particular we should mention the numerous versions of "Iron Hans" (KHM 136): The wild man helps a childless couple get a son, but they must give him the child after a certain period.[75] In some versions of KHM 113 ("The Prince and the Princess") the father rashly promises the prince to a sorcerer or a witch,[76] and a few versions of KHM 206 ("The Three Green Branches") include the motif of freeing a boy given to the devil by his father.[77]

The reasons for giving the young person to an otherworld creature are quite diverse in these tales. Some offer a very explicit reason, such as the

momentary desires of a pregnant woman (KHM 12) or a poor man's greed (KHM 31, 92, 181); in others the parent unknowingly gives the child away because the demand for the child is not direct (e.g., KHM 31, 92, 181). In another group of tales the parent knowingly (albeit out of need) promises the child to the otherworld figure (KHM 3, 12, 55). Folktales often depict this motif as a sort of substitute sacrifice: Someone who falls into the power of an otherworld figure is freed after promising to sacrifice his or her child instead (KHM 12, 88). But in every case the basic motif of transferring a child to an otherworld figure remains the same. The folktale portrays a variety of otherworld figures on the receiving end: males and females, local demons of all sorts, the devil, the Virgin Mary, and various Christian saints. Various beliefs and aspects of reality appear to mingle in these tales, but above all they depict belief in the child-stealing demon. We also find this notion in the form of the changeling in folk belief. This belief is manifest in "Rumpelstiltskin" (KHM 55): When the queen offers him "all the riches in the kingdom," he makes it clear that "something living is worth more to me than all of the treasure in the world." The basic idea behind belief in the changeling is that dwarves want to get their hands on human children.[78] Pacts with the devil as we know them from legends about witches and freemasons also provide a basis for the child-stealing figure. Interestingly, the folktale usually speaks of "promising," not "signing over": Dr. Faustus and every folk legend character from the Middle Ages to the present who sells his soul to the devil signs himself over. Apparently the folktale reflects an older cultural practice than the legend, as it often does. The only devotion of one's soul to a demon that still appears in the legend is a pact with the devil empowered by signing oneself over in blood. In contrast, the folktale seems to have secondarily replaced some otherworld figures with the devil, and only these few cases (KHM 31 and 92) mention "signing and sealing" the agreement. All other transfers appear to belong to preliterate cultures.

The consequences of belonging to a demon in the folktale also occasionally differ considerably from the fate of the person who sells his soul to the devil. The witch in "Rapunzel" promises that the child "will have a good life and I shall care for it like a mother" (KHM 12). "Mary's Child" also has a good life, even in the versions in which she is given to a demon. In the versions of "Iron Hans" mentioned above, the golden boy does not suffer. The demon even tells him he "must" go out into the world; he "can't stay here [with the demon] any longer" (KHM 136). The boy's sojourn with the demon does not appear to be coerced upon him; we cannot compare this to a medieval pact with the devil and its notion of an apprenticeship to demons or the devil himself. Bonds to demons in the folktale seem to draw on an older stage of culture.

Otto Höfler has recently compiled the many instances of this motif in Germanic antiquity, where it is related to belief in Odin.[79] The Nordic tradition of King Víkar, which encompasses several ancient Scandinavian

texts, is one example. The Hálf saga describes Víkar's birth and youth; the Gautrek saga and Saxo Grammaticus portray his death. Taking these texts together, we see the close connection between the king's death and his birth: As determined before his birth, because his own mother "gave" her unborn child to Odin, Víkar's life ends on the gallows as a sacrifice to Odin. The Hálf saga depicts the mother's promise of the unborn child: Alrek, the king of Hordaland, was married to the princess Signy. A servant extolled the beauty of another woman, Geirhild, to Alrek. Höttr then approached Geirhild. The saga makes it clear that Höttr was none other than Odin, and Höfler correctly assumes that this was not a merely personal whim on the part of some scribe but rather the narrative's original meaning. Höttr then promised Geirhild that she would marry the king if she promised always to turn to him (Höttr) when she needed something. And so Víkar took Geirhild as his wife. But of course the king could not keep both wives. He promised to choose the one who brewed the best beer. Signy turned to Freyjo for help, Geirhild to Höttr. Höttr put his spear in the brew and, in exchange, demanded whatever was standing between Geirhild and the vat. The beer turned out well, and King Alrek said, "Geirhild take care! The beer is good—if nothing bad follows; I see your son hanging high on the gallows, woman, sacrificed to Odin." (This speech forms a stanza.) The same year Víkar was born, the son of Alrek and Geirhild.[80] Although this story already contains the folktale formula of unknowingly promising a child, the human sacrifice to Odin indicates that it also still embodies mythic belief in gods.[81]

The "Great Saga of Olaf" about Eyvind Kinnrifa renders a particularly striking account of this custom. This powerful north Norwegian chieftain, a pagan opponent of the converted Norwegian king Olaf Tryggvason, was devoted to Odin and therefore could not be baptized. The saga believingly reports the reality of the events. The story begins when the obstinate Eyvind is cunningly captured and brought before King Olaf:

> The king commanded him to take the baptism along with the others. Eyvind declined. The king kindly asked him to accept the correct belief and told him about Almighty God's many works and glory; the bishop did the same. But this did not move Eyvind. The king then offered him glorious gifts and large tracts of land and promised him his full friendship if he would reject paganism and take the baptism. But Eyvind brusquely rejected it all. Then the king threatened to torture or kill him, Eyvind would not be moved. The king had a basin of embers brought in and placed on Eyvind. And his body burst open. Then Eyvind spoke: "Take the basin off of me. I want to say a few words before I die." It was done. The king said: "Will you now believe in Christ?" "No," he said, "I couldn't be baptized even if I wanted to, because my parents' children always died, and they went to some Finns versed in magic and paid them a lot of money to magically help produce a child. They said that they couldn't do it. But the Finns said that my parents could possibly have a child that would live if

they took an oath that this child, if it lived, would serve Thor and Odin all his days. Then I was born and they gave me to Odin. I grew up and as soon as I was independent, I fulfilled their oath. I have served Odin with love ever since and have become a powerful chieftain. I have served Odin and been devoted to him more than once so I could not possibly break the oath, nor do I want to." At that Eyvind died. He was a man well versed in magic.[82]

The increasingly demonic and diabolical depiction of the pagan world finally brings our motif of dedicating a child into the numinous world of the legend and the folk ballad. For example, the Danish song of Germand Gladensvend, for which we have six sixteenth-century texts, tells of a young childless queen who—in distress at sea, but also out of a desire to bear a child—pledges the fruit of her body to a demon who appears in the form of a bird. The demon, who appears as an eagle, a raven, an invisible sea-troll, and finally a vulture, wants "his" boy. The sobbing mother confides the boy's secret background to her son. When he is fifteen years old, he wants to visit his bride in England and asks his mother to lend him her "feather shirt" so he can fly to his beloved. Before he flies off, his mother warns him that if he encounters the raven, he is lost. Despite her warning the youth flies away. He meets the raven:

"Welcome, Germand Gladensvend,
Where have you been all this time?
Before you were born of this world,
You were to be mine."

The youth asks permission to visit his bride before turning himself over on the way back. The demon concedes but wants to "mark" the boy first: He cuts out his right eye and drinks half of his blood.

Germand Gladensvend reaches his bride pale and bloody. She combs his bloody hair and curses his mother. He defends his mother and tries to console the girl. She puts on a feather shirt herself and slaughters all the birds in flight, but she can't catch the evil raven. In the carnage she finds only the boy's right hand.[83]

The best-known example of this motif's diabolical form is the legend "Robert the Devil." The duke and duchess of Normandy long in vain for an heir. In her despair the duchess promises that any child the devil grants her will belong to him. The marriage immediately becomes fruitful and the boy, born at great pain to the duchess, grows strong and handsome, although he does have a devilish evil streak. His bad deeds are depicted with disgust: Finally he becomes a thief and murderer.[84] The second part of the story depicts typical legend penance. The various local features of this "legend," which are depicted as actual events, prove that our motif appears here, for the last time, as believed historical reality.[85]

In addition to these demonic and diabolical forms, Höfler also traces the folktale's subdued versions back to the mythical motif of human sacrifice in ancient Germanic ritual. He sees a clear survival of Germanic devotion to Odin in the promise of a child to a demon.[86] Despite the many examples from Germanic antiquity Höfler provides, we should mention a few alternative ideas. Even if the folktale's fantasy-shaded motif of promising a child to a demon reflects an ancient believed reality, an ancient ritual, and actual family actions, we still do not know when this motif lost the element of reality in the folktale. Demonic and diabolical forms of the motif have appeared at least since the sixteenth century. The folktale's formulaic use of this motif to create tension from the start for the hero seems quite a bit more removed from the original belief than the Danish ballad and the Robert legend. How can we explain the motif's relatively late distribution in folktales around the world? The folktale motif's international distribution, which extends well beyond the Germanic area, makes it far more probable that the motif's early history does not belong only to Germanic antiquity. In this regard Höfler was too biased.

The motif's similar manifestations in ancient Jewish thought pose a particularly difficult stumbling block for Höfler's theses.[87] For example, Hanna, the mother of Samuel, was "greatly distressed, prayed to the Lord, and wept bitterly" because she had no children. "She made a vow and said, 'O lord of hosts, if Thou wilt indeed look on the affliction of Thy maidservant and remember me, and not forget Thy maidservant, but wilt give Thy maidservant a son, then I will give him to the Lord all the days of his life, and a razor shall never come on his head." Samuel—his name means "granted from God"—was dedicated to the Lord: "For this boy I prayed, and the Lord has given me my petition which I asked of Him. So I have also dedicated him to the Lord; as long as he lives he is dedicated to the Lord." (1 Sam. 1:10ff. and 27ff.).

The Old Testament calls a person dedicated to God a "Nazirite" (Hebrew Nazir). Numbers 6 devotes almost an entire chapter to extensively setting forth how one must fulfill this vow, and in Exodus 22:28, Mosaic law demands that "the first-born of your sons you shall give to Me."[88] Samson also is a Nazirite dedicated to the Lord, as described in Judges 13:

And there was a certain man of Zorah, of the tribe of the Danites, whose name was Manoah; and his wife was barren and had borne no children. Then the angel of the Lord appeared to the woman, and said to her, 'Behold now, you are barren and have borne no children, but you shall conceive and give birth to a son. Now therefore, be careful not to drink wine or strong drink, nor eat any unclean thing. For behold, you shall conceive and give birth to a son, and no razor shall come upon his head, for the boy shall be a Nazirite to God from the womb; and he shall begin to deliver Israel from the hands of the Philistines. . . .' Then the woman gave birth to a son and named him Samson; and the child grew up and the Lord blessed him. (Cf. ch. 16:17)

Finally, John the Baptist is also described as a Nazirite devoted to God like Samuel and Samson: His mother, Elisabeth, was barren and on in years, but the son promised her by an angel of the Lord was also supposed to be dedicated to God (Luke 1).

This ancient Jewish idea, which contains no demonic elements, could have gradually developed into the folktale version. With the advent of Christianity, religious interest in Nazirite tradition ceased because according to the new religion, all people are the children of God. Accordingly, a new form of discipleship replaced the Naziritic form.[89] In any case, Höfler ignores Nazirite tradition. But we cannot leave this realm aside when considering this motif. The question of the origin of this folktale motif must, of course, be the subject of a separate monographic investigation. The Old Testament's conception was clearly not limited to Judaism but rather is a general Oriental belief. It is plausible that the folktale derives from the eastern Mediterranean region. Gunkel, Peuckert, von Sydow, and Baumgartner have already conjectured this path of diffusion for other folktales.[90] Most important, the international distribution of this folktale motif suggests that we should not trace it only to a Germanic origin.

A number of this folktale complex's details are indeed more similar to the Nazirite narrative than to sacrifices to Odin found in the sagas. In contrast to the ancient Germanic conception in which Odin first receives the child when it dies or the child must actually be sacrificed, the folktale figure, like the Hebrew god, obtains the child during its lifetime. Life, not death, is dedicated to the supernatural figure. Folktales and Hebraic thought also both pose obligations for the child. The Old Testament's frequent demand that "no razor shall come upon [the Nazirite's] head" reminds us of the obligations set upon the folktale hero during his service to some otherworld figure: The devil's grimy brother (KHM 100) may not wash or comb his hair, trim his beard, or cut his nails for seven years. Rapunzel's hair finally grows to a length of twenty ells (yards), and when she violates her isolation, the witch cuts it off (KHM 12; cf. KHM 3). Perhaps an element from "Iron Hans" (KHM 136) also belongs here: The prince does not cut off the golden hair he acquires while serving Iron Hans; instead he hides it under his cap, which he never takes off so people won't see the hair.

While Germanic antiquity depicts dedicating only sons to a god, the vow of a Nazirite (Numbers 6) also explicitly includes dedication of women. In "Mary's Child," "Rapunzel," and "The Girl without Hands" (KHM 3, 12, 31), the parent gives a daughter to a supernatural being.

In Germanic tradition the child becomes Odin's warrior and spends his life killing Odin's enemies. The Old Testament requires strict separation of the Nazirite from death: If a Nazirite comes into contact with a dead person, his vow is contaminated, and he must precisely follow certain purification rites. A Nazirite shouldn't even contaminate himself with the death of a close family member (father, mother, brother, sister—Numbers

5:6ff.). In other words, the child is isolated from his family. The parallel Germanic figures do not face this restraint. But *all* of our folktale heroes do: They abandon their mother and father and live in complete isolation while serving the otherworld being to whom they were given.

The vow of the Nazirite lays down other taboos: Above all, the devoted souls must not contaminate themselves. This is also a well-known feature of the folktale. The golden boy has to protect Iron Hans's spring from contamination (KHM 136—"I want you to sit beside it and make sure that nothing falls in, for then the spring would be defiled"). After the boy violates this interdiction, he no longer has a close connection to Iron Hans. Other folktale heroes must also keep something clean while serving an otherworld figure, for example, in "Mother Holle" (KHM 24). The devil's grimy brother (KHM 100) must "clean house, carry the sweepings out the back door, and in general keep order" in hell. Only from the perspective of our modern concept of hygiene do these duties seem to contradict the promise not to cut one's hair and not to wash oneself. These conditions no longer have a meaningful function in our folktales; they even have a humorous tone. But as the vow of the Nazirite clearly shows, the prohibition against washing was originally an indication that no one should touch the child and thus violate his cultic purity.

CRUELTY IN THE FOLKTALE

Sharp criticism of the cruelty sometimes depicted in the folktale is not new. Plato's critique expressed by Socrates in *Politeia* is itself older than the oldest recorded European folktale: "Shall we simply allow children to listen to folktales, randomly invented by some unknown person, so that they take views into their soul that often contradict those that they should, in our opinion, have in later years . . . ? We must dismiss most current folktales."[1] Kant is as avid an opponent of the folktale as Plato: "The child's imagination is strong enough without them and need not be stretched even more by those stories."[2] A more recent pedagogue believes that telling folktales "rouses a need for magical drinks and opiates: Imbibing in folktales is followed by gaining pleasure from novels, which leads to the delights of the demi-mondaine. Folktales lead youthful intellect down the false path. And no wonder that after consuming stories about magic and spooks the intellect can no longer defend itself from the sick monstrosities of misguided novelesque writing."[3]

Even the Grimm brothers' *Tales for Young and Old*, which Wilhelm Grimm extensively reworked to make the stories more appropriate for children, have been harshly criticized for the cruelties they depict. Achim von Arnim objected to the brutality of some Grimm tales from the start, particularly to number 22 in the first edition ("How Some Children Played Slaughter Together") and "The Juniper Tree" (KHM 47). But the brothers defended themselves, positing the need to accurately record tradition, and