

Gramarye: The Journal of the Sussex Centre for Folklore, Fairy Tales and Fantasy, Summer 2017, Issue 11

The Wondrous and the Mundane: Everyday Foods in Fairy Tales

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ingerbread walls, talking sausages, herbs that can reattach decapitated heads — many of the most memorable foods found in fairy tales are tantalisingly wondrous. Rife with magic, they are used unusually to adorn the enchanted worlds where fairy tales occur. When found in tales, these miraculous foods can spur on the story and awe the audience. These foods can make mouths water and create desire for the magical properties they possess. Yet, if quantified and analysed statistically, the majority of food details contained within the texts of fairy tales are *not* the wondrous foods one might expect. Rather, a greater number of food details found in the tales are everyday, mundane references to the world from which each fairy-tale variant arose, contextual markers of reality which ground the tale before wonders and magic are able to happen.

These everyday foods are *objects* — material and concrete. This is mentioned at the outset because this essay does not attempt to interpret these foods symbolically or psychologically, even though there is much value in that type of analysis. However, as sociohistorical objects in folk and fairy tales, food must be seen and understood as food first. These mundane foods are nearly invisible, yet exceedingly important for setting a scene in which the fairy tale can occur, a 'scene' which is contextual to each variant's origin. As these food details provide a sense of familiarity which allows the contemporary reader or listener to continue without questioning the tale, this invisibility makes commonplace food details an ideal tool for modelling appropriate behaviour. This article seeks to show how fairy tales employ mundane foods to create a believable setting, give regional flavour or allude to a variant's contemporary circumstances, and impart didactic messages of appropriate social behaviour to audiences. This essay begins with a little background before then using examples of tales which specifically contain bread as a detail, a 'mundane' but very essential foodstuff.

Though there is no universally agreed-upon definition of fairy tales, an almost undisputable feature of fairy tales is that they take place in a world where magic might happen. 'Tales of magic' is the subset that delineates fairy tales within the context of the Aarne-Thompson tale index, as described by Steven Swann Jones: 'Fairy tales are considered one genre of the folktale, since they, like other genres of the folktale, employ ordinary protagonists to address issues of everyday life [...] While these other genres of the folktale

are reasonably mimetic—that is, they depict life in fairly realistic terms—fairy tales depict magical or marvellous events or phenomena as a valid part of human experience. There are many tales contained in fairy-tale collections which defy this definition by not containing incidents of magic, but I suggest that those tales still take place within a fairy-tale world where the potential for magic is understood by both the audience and the characters. Peter and Iona Opie also assert this in their introduction to The Classic Fairy Tales: A characteristic of the fairy tale, as told today, is that it is unbelievable. Although a fairy tale is seldom a tale about fairy-folk, and does not necessarily even feature a fairy, it does contain an enchantment or other supernatural element that is clearly imaginary.

If these stories are unbelievable, why can we trust the details (such as foods) to have any kind of sociohistorical accuracy or to represent any kind of everyday life? The Opies cover this point, by explaining that, despite their 'unbelievability', 'fairy tales are nothing if not realistic; and it is their cynicism that keeps them lively. Wonders may take place without remark; but a sharp eye is kept on practical details.' The details keep the audience from losing themselves in the wonder. The combs, the apples, and the everyday foods and objects of tales make us believe that the magic *could* happen, at least in this other fairy-tale world, because everything else is almost real and recognisable. Revisions to these types of details are sometimes undertaken to adjust them for new audiences, whether through censorship, addition, or substitution. One can find concrete sociohistorical information in these changes such as what foods, fears, and values were newly important in each variant's place and time.

Restricting the scope of this article to details concerning bread is a conscious decision; the expanse of food details within fairy tales is vast. It makes sense to restrict the analysis to the staple of the Western diet. It is a valid claim to say that grains were (and still are) the most important individual foodstuff. Prior to the Industrial Revolution, grains represented 75% of dietary calories, meaning that the inclusion of grains in fairy tales was a natural way to incorporate realistic daily eating habits.⁵ The grains used in fairy tales include cereals besides wheat, as grains such as oats, rye, and millet are mentioned in a number of the literary fairy tales which were generated before wheat took precedence.⁶ But even in the earliest fairy-tale texts, wheat is valued over other grains, as the introduction to 'Cannetella', from Giambattista Basile's 17th-century collection, The Tale of Tales, or Entertainment for Little Ones, stresses through a typical Baroque-style metaphor: 'It is a bad thing, ladies and gentlemen, to look for bread better than that made from wheat, because you end up desiring what you've thrown away.⁷ Aside from its ordinariness, the other key reason for looking at bread in particular is the use of the word 'bread' as a metonym for all food and sustenance. In the contexts in which some of these fairy tales were written, using 'bread' to mean 'food' was not quite the exaggeration it is today. Since bread was the primary source of calories, especially for the lower classes, a lack of 'daily bread' was a literal aspect of poverty. 'Bread' might also represent monetary earnings, and is used in this way across fairy tales from many places and eras. The phrase or notion of 'earning daily bread' appears, for example, in ten stories from the 1857 Kinder- und Hausmärchen by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm: 'Mary's Child', 'The Story of a Boy Who Went Forth to Learn Fear', 'The Three Snake Leaves', 'Cinderella', 'The Bremen Town Musicians', 'The Gold Children', 'The Spirit in the Glass Bottle', 'The Jew in the Thorns', 'The Three Black Princesses', and 'The Giant and the Tailor'. It also appears as a phrase repeatedly in 'The Story of Catherine and Her Fate' (contained in Thomas Crane's Italian Popular Tales), and in a variety of stories from the 16th-century writer Giovanni Straparola, the aforementioned Basile, and the 19th-century Danish author Hans Christian Andersen.⁸ So 'bread' is a tremendously important part of everyday culture and thus it follows that its representation in fairy tales is equally important. The variety of usage shows that this notion of bread as earnings or as all food is cross-cultural. 'Bread' represents the literal loaf of bread, a metonym for all food, and a part of the idiom for earnings, all of which are important for understanding the majority of the uses of bread in these tales. Through these three uses, bread becomes the sign of sustenance in its most basic form, but also a marker of reality which must be established before magic happens.

Due to the occasionally invisible nature of everyday details, it is sometimes difficult to ascertain specifics from the casual mentioning of objects such as bread. In other words, the non-specificity and lack of embellishment by simply using the word 'bread', or iterations of bread such as 'loaf' or 'crumbs', does not necessarily indicate the grain used, the shape of the loaf, the flavour, etc. The prevalence of bread in almost all Western European diets means that as the stories cross regional borders, the use of bread in the narrative arc of the tale may not change, but neither are particulars added to indicate that a white French bâtard is meant rather than a dark German rye or an Italian focaccia soaked in olive oil. However, by contextualising the fairy-tale variant, one can form some notion of what the author (or collector/editor) envisioned when penning or editing that version of the tale. Some fairy-tale collections do provide fairly concrete incidental details, which can be more easily positioned in precise locations and time periods. For example, Basile used both literal food details (such as the lists of region-specific food items found in Cienzo's farewell to Naples in the tale of 'The Merchant') as well as metaphors and similes which posit what Nancy Canepa terms the 'transcendent realm' alongside Basile's experience of 'the busy, polymorphous, and essentially anti-sublime guise of material life on earth'. Similarly Charles Perrault, in the tales contained in the 1697 collection Histoires ou Contes du Temps passé, included references to courtly food practices, such as the moment in 'Cendrillon' when the Prince gives oranges and citrons to Cinderella at the ball. This may seem to be a strange gift in a modern context, but in 17th-century France these fruits held high cultural capital. Oranges and citrons were a mark of wealth signifying that the prince can not only afford an orangerie to grow them in, but can perhaps also afford to employ a confectioner who can modify the fruits to match the trend of the day, which was to carve the rinds of the oranges and citrons with intricate designs and frost them with sugar. ¹⁰ I mention these tangible

examples particularly because, in the course of the genre's history, the concept of a 'fairy-tale world' was established and authors began consciously setting or adapting the scene to reflect an imagined past or rustic setting which never necessarily existed. The details in certain tales might no longer refer to the contemporary world of the variant's origin, but rather an imagined past which did not conform to any real era. Later adaptations sometimes attempt to 'emulate' older fairy tales, and thus may project notions of the foods of the past onto tales in order to make them feel more traditional or aged.

With that caveat in mind, an examination of a few tales can help to illustrate how bread is utilised in the genre. The use of bread in tales is wide-ranging, but contained here are some examples of the use of bread as representing everyday foods, use of bread as an indicator of need and lack, and use of bread as illustrative of appropriate modes of behaviour.

Everyday Foods

Aside from the above-mentioned use of bread as 'daily bread' (or as a representation of earning or eating), there are many instances where bread simply stands in as a quickly recognisable food when specificity is not necessary. However, in some cases, mentioning only bread and not referencing other foods is representative of the realistic diet of impoverished characters. For example, the poor woodcutter with seven children in Charles Perrault's 'Little Thumbling' is presented in the text as being from a class of rural working poor (emphasised by the opening paragraphs which stress not only pressing hunger, but also the family's reliance on the unreliable 'lord of the domain'). When the woodcutter and his wife run out of money, they send the children into the forest with no more than a piece of bread each. This would have been consistent with the diet of the French peasantry. 12 Perrault himself observed the slow starvation of the peasantry during times of famine, and the painful decisions that had to be made. 13 Thus, in the tale, if it were not for Thumbling's eavesdropping, there would have been no reason for the woodcutter's children to suspect that they were being abandoned, because their food was nothing out of the ordinary. Perrault's contemporary audience also would not have questioned the actions of abandonment, because like the expected piece of bread, the plot is unfortunately typical of events of that era. Perrault's fairy tales were published in 1697, very soon after the 1693-4 famine in France during which two million died of starvation. In our modern world of excess, this might seem like nothing more than a fairy-tale trope, but Perrault's experience meant that this inclusion of famine was an echo of contemporary concerns - children were, indeed, abandoned or even sold as a consequence of hunger, though historical evidence suggests that more children were left at the doorsteps of churches and institutions than in the woods. 14 This 'sharp eye' on the 'practical details' means that the audience does not stop to question the teller about a hunger so pervasive that parents would abandon their children. Thus, when Thumbling meets the fantastical ogre, the grounded details keep the audience — at least, the contemporary audience — from becoming disorientated in the wonder.

Bread was not, however, just for the lower classes to maintain basic sustenance. For example, in Basile's time, the Italian royal or affluent table was laid sumptuously, and bread was used in a multitude of recipes as an ingredient. Bartolomeo Scappi, a Renaissance chef of Pope Pius V writing in the time of Giovanni Straparola and just before Basile, used bread in many dishes as an ingredient, rather than as a staple on its own. Consider this sumptuous creation in which Scappi embellished bread to an extraordinary degree: a bread loaf stuffed with capon breast or goat's testicles, egg yolk, marzipan, *mostaccioli*, raisins, herbs, saffron, and cinnamon, all stewed together in a fat broth. Bread was also grated into many soups/sauces, or was ground up to add into the mix for 'dainty biscuit morsels'. Scappi included no recipe for the bread itself; this is unsurprising as it was not until the era of Mrs Beeton that cookbooks began to teach everyday recipes, sometime around the mid-19th century.

Tales like 'Sapia Liccarda' from Basile draw attention to the fact that the higher classes ate bread that was distinctively unlike the peasant loaf. In the tale, two sinful sisters request that their third sister, Sapia Liccarda (who is pure and kind), bring to them 'a bit of bread the king eats'. The king's bread in this tale is denoted as particularly more desirable than a dark, heavy peasant's bread, having most likely been made with fine-milled white flour. The king's bread trope is repeated in the Grimms' tale of 'The Two Brothers', in which the animal helpers of the tale retrieve food from the king's table for the huntsman protagonist in order to win a bet against an innkeeper. The bread serves as the foundational part of a requested meal, being the first and least outlandish thing which the huntsman wagers that he can procure from the king's table, demonstrating that, even in 19th-century Germany, there was a desire for a better loaf than that which was being eaten at the inn or by the peasantry. 17 Notably, it was not necessary for the tale to describe the king's loaf in any more specificity than 'the bread which the King eats'; the innkeeper to whom the bread is presented can tell by sight that this bread is finer than his own. Furthermore, if the audience typically consumed a lower grade of bread, their mouths might have watered at the thought of the king's bread. Though there are fairy-tale heroes who are requested to collect magical foods, it is also effective in fairy tales to incite the audience's craving for something that they themselves would have craved, rather than for wondrous, but maybe more alien, fairy-tale foods. Thus, using the everyday awakens the audience's sensory imagination, making the believable as engaging as the astonishing.

Need and Lack

Due to the frequent occurrence of famines during the Early Modern period, when many of the best-known fairy-tale variants were emerging, hunger remains at the heart of many fairy tales. Consequently, bread, or a lack of it, is the ultimate signifier for need. *Literally*, there is no material object that is bread, and *metonymically*, there is no money or other food. 'Hansel and Gretel' is a classic example. During a time of famine, a woodcutter must

abandon his children because of a lack of bread. ¹⁸ The lack of bread is answered with the appearance of a bread house in the forest. It is not a *gingerbread* house in the Grimms' editions, but a bread house with sugar windows and a cake roof. ¹⁹ While the Grimms never use 'lebkuchen' or gingerbread in the tale, it is commonly associated with the tale. Gingerbread can be found in texts from as early as 1818, first appearing in print in a version of the tale by Karoline Stahl (and, indeed, referenced in the Grimms' 1857 notes): 'Instead of roof tiles there was painted gingerbread, and the door and window shutters were likewise big brown gingerbreads.'²⁰ This variant was published after the first edition of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* but within the era in which scholars and general public alike were hungry for these tales.

Yet, in the Grimms' 'Hansel and Gretel', the witch's walls are made from bread, the practical answer to hunger, something which the Grimms did not alter despite the growing contemporary associations between 'Hansel and Gretel' and gingerbread. But, when the children succumb to the temptation, however, they choose the sugar window and the cake roof. The transgression of eating what they don't need, but what they desire (to excess, in some variants), transforms the eating from need-fulfilment to a surrender to indulgent greed. The sweet is more tempting than the nourishing. However, the fairy-tale child will often transgress and eat what is forbidden. Susan Honeyman argues that the food lure is acting to disempower the child who has little agency to begin with and remarks that 'even more than gender, national ideologies of diet, economics, and child-rearing explain the differences behind tales that caution to gorge, abstain, or conspicuously consume.' This leads into how the tale instructs, emphasising that the children's naughty choices are the force which brings danger and not the child-eating nature of the witch.

Modes of Behaviour

The didactic use of fairy tales for all ages has been discussed at length in a number of works, and the pedagogical use of everyday foods in tales certainly holds true to the argument that fairy tales teach appropriate social modes of behaviour.²³ Jack Zipes' application of Norbert Elias' theory of the civilising process to fairy tales is helpful for understanding the way that fairy tales inculcate readers and listeners with the expected social rules of the era. The ways in which food and food behaviour are used by Elias demonstrate that suitable table manners are considered important for the enactment of *civilité*. He begins by outlining early moves towards what might now be considered 'civilised' customs, beginning with the slowly developing table manners of the Middle Ages and the beginnings of *courtoisie*, *cortezia*, courtesy, etc., as a contrast to the significant and specific rules of the 18th-century court.²⁴ Questions of how and what to eat were beginning to mark 'refined' people, i.e., those who had power over others. The tales can therefore provide models for good boys and girls, men and women. Take, for example,

the Grimms' 'The Three Little Men in the Wood', a variant of the 'Kind and Unkind Girls' tale type (ATU-480). In this tale, the kind daughter shares her hard bread with three dwarves, despite its being all she has to eat (the sharing of food or water with magical helpers is a common motif in fairy tales).²⁵ This communal breaking of bread and demonstration of generosity wins a reward for the girl. That she shares something mundane is indicative of everyday rules of behaviour, and the reward indicates she has behaved 'correctly'. While it is true that giving up something more marvellous would also demonstrate correct behaviour, the sharing of the regular meal models the regular generosity expected of the kind girl, and of those reading or hearing the tale to whom the moral is being demonstrated.

Another example of the social importance of bread and the instilling of values through it can be seen in Hans Christian Andersen's 'The Girl Who Trod on the Loaf', about a girl given a loaf by her employer to take to her family. She throws the loaf into a bog so that she might step on it and cross without ruining her new shoes. Consequently, she is dragged down into the cesspit for her sins. The typically Christian values that Andersen embedded in his tales are at work in shunning the girl's preoccupation with vanity, and punishing her sheer wastefulness of what is truly good – the white loaf and satiety for her poor family. Wondrous food in fairy tales is rarely squandered in such a way, and it is unclear whether the wasting of something wondrous would have had the same effect. Wasting the everyday is something to be punished, a mark of reprehensible improvidence, especially if the character is of lower economic status.

Conclusion

These examples are not exhaustive, and represent only a small fraction of the uses of bread in fairy tales. Simple, everyday foods like this are far more prominent in tales and arguably more significant indicators of reality than magical foods. When the reality is established, wonder can take place. Thus, in fairy tales, it is imperative to consider the way in which those 'invisible' details are grounding readers in order to maintain the otherwise believable world where magic happens. Bread details, and other foods which ground the tales in reality, deserve the care and attention of scholars by being contextualised before being analysed as symbols beyond their existence as objects. By examining the food details in this way, and comparing one variant to another within tale types to see where food details change, fairy tales can illuminate sociohistorical food practices and didactic messages of appropriate behaviour. For the modern era, fairy tales from times of hunger offer stark reminders that we must be grateful for our daily bread, not waste it, and enjoy it as if it were meant for a king.

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Notes

Versions of this paper have been given at the International Conference for the Fantastic in the Arts in Orlando, Florida (March 2016) and the Folklore Society's 'Legendary Weekend' in York (September 2016). My gratitude to those who participated in the ensuing discussions.

- 1. This data comes from the Fairy-Tale Food Detail Database, a product of my doctoral research, which uses qualitative data analysis to track over seven hundred food details found in the collections of Giambattista Basile, Charles Perrault, and Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm. The word 'detail', used to describe food-related moments in tales, is a conscious choice to encompass ingredients, prepared foods, cooking objects and other food-related material goods, actions such as eating, drinking, and methods of cooking, characteristics and descriptors, and food-related occupations. In this context, I avoid the term 'motif', associated with the work by Stith Thompson, and 'symbol', which implies hidden meaning that is not always present.
- 2. Steven Swann Jones, The Fairy Tale: The Magic Mirror of the Imagination (Psychology Press, 2002), 9 (italics are Jones').
- 3. Iona Opie and Peter Opie, The Classic Fairy Tales (London: Granada, 1980), 15.
- 4. Opie and Opie, The Classic Fairy Tales, 16.
- 5. Grains provided roughly 75% of dietary calories since early man learned to cultivate grain until Europe became industrialised. See David Grigg, 'The Nutritional Transition in Western Europe', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 21.3 (1995), 247-61; Govind Sreenivasan, 'Chapter 1: Food Production', in *A Cultural History of Food. Volume 4: The Early Modern Age (1600-1800)*, ed. by Beat Kümin (Oxford: Berg, 2012), vol. IV, 16-17.
- Wheat now comprises 80% of the world's grain consumption, despite pre-industrial Europe consuming higher quantities of millet, barley, rye, etc. See Grigg, 253-54; E. J. T. Collins, 'Why Wheat? Choice of Food Grains in Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', *Journal of European Economic History*, 22.1 (1993), 7-38.
- 7. Giambattista Basile, The Tale of Tales, Or, Entertainment for Little Ones, trans. by Nancy L. Canepa (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2007), 217.
- 8. Indeed, the use of this phrase is not limited to these examples. The usage is consistent across multiple vernaculars. For example, in German from various tales from the Grimms: 'sie nicht mehr das tägliche Brot hatten' ['they no longer had daily bread'], 'du mußt auch etwas lernen womit du dein Brot verdienst' ['you must learn to earn your daily bread']. In Danish, from Andersen's 'The Cripple': 'Gifte med hinanden havde de Huset og det daglige Brød ved at luge og grave i Herregaardshaven ['Married to each other, they had/earned their house and daily bread by weeding and digging in the manor garden.'] In Neapolitan Italian (translated by Canepa), from Basile's 'Cagliuso': 'che stace appiso a lo muro, co lo quale te puoi guadaguare lo pane' ['take that sieve that's hanging on the wall, with which you'll be able to earn your bread']. Translations my own, except where otherwise stated.
- Basile, The Tale of Tales, p. 93; Nancy L. Canepa, From Court to Forest: Giambattista Basile's 'Lo Cunto de Li Cunti' and the Birth of the Literary Fairy Tale (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1999), 214, 248.
- 10. Charles Perrault, The Complete Fairy Tales in Verse and Prose/L'intégrale Des Contes En Vers et En Prose, trans. by Stanley Appelbaum (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover, 2003), 169; Ivan Day, 'The Art of Confectionery', in The Pleasure of the Table Exhibition Catalogue, ed. by Peter Brown (York Civic Trust, 1997), n. pag.
- 11. Perrault, The Complete Fairy Tales in Verse and Prose, 191.
- 12. Wheaten products, such as bread or gruel, were the staple of the French peasant diet. The calculation by Pierre Goubert that a household of six would require no less than ten pounds of bread per day and representing the majority of the average labourer's earnings, implies that the woodcutter's household of nine (including parents) was in a dire situation. See Pierre Goubert, 'The French Peasantry of the Seventeenth Century: A Regional Example', *Past & Present*, 1956, 55-77 (66-70).

- 13. Perrault even composed a poem called *Le Triomphe de Sainte-Geneviève*, a tribute to Saint Genevieve, the patron saint of Paris, since she was considered to have brought a famine to an end. See Charles Perrault, *The Complete Fairy Tales*, trans. by Christopher Betts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 204.
- 14. With relation to the Grimms on this topic, Zipes suggests that Wilhelm Grimm was 'sensitive to the problems of the peasantry', as shown in the child abandonment in 'Hansel and Gretel'. See Cormac Ó Gráda and Jean-Michel Chevet, 'Famine and Market in Ancien Régime France', The Journal of Economic History, 62.03 (2002), 706-33; Jack Zipes, Happily Ever After: Fairy Tales, Children, and the Culture Industry (Routledge, 2013), 49; Cormac Ó Gráda, Famine: A Short History (Princeton University Press, 2009), 61; John Boswell, The Kindness of Strangers: The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance (University of Chicago Press, 1988), 304.
- Bartolomeo Scappi, The Opera of Bartolomeo Scappi (1570): L'arte et Prudenza D'un Maestro Cuoco (The Art and Craft of a Master Cook), ed. & trans. by Terence Scully (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011). 569-70.
- 16. Scappi, The Opera of Bartolomeo Scappi, 533, 590.
- 17. Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Grimm's Household Tales, with the Author's Notes*, ed. & trans. by Margaret Hunt, 2 vols (London: G. Bell, 1884), vol. 1, 244-63.
- 18. Grimms, vol. 1, 62-9.
- 19. Since the 15th century, gingerbread has been a part of European baking. Germany in particular has a longstanding tradition of gingerbread, or *Lebkuchen*, with its popular Christmastime gingerbread figures. *Lebkuchen* eventually developed from figures of people and horses into that of houses, like the witch's house. By 1899, the gingerbread detail had obviously been introduced and endured, as in a version contained in Zipes' *The Golden Age of Folk and Fairy Tales* in which the house is made of gingerbread and the roof of marzipan, which is even more indulgent. See Adrienne Johnson, 'Gingerbread Art and the Allegory of Edibility', *Digest: A Journal of Foodways and Culture*, 3.2 (2014), n. pag.; Tarla Fallgatter, 'The History of Gingerbread', 1995, http://wwwiz.com/issue04/wiz_d04.html (accessed 30 January 2016); Jack Zipes, *The Golden Age of Folk and Fairy Tales: From the Brothers Grimm to Andrew Lang* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2013), 150.
- Karoline Stahl, Fabeln, M\u00e4hrchen und Erz\u00e4hlungen f\u00fcr Kinder (Erstdruck: 1818), n. pag.; The Oxford Companion to Sugar and Sweets, ed. by Darra Goldstein (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 137-8; Susan Honeyman, Consuming Agency in Fairy Tales, Childlore, and Folkliterature, Routledge Studies in Folklore and Fairy Tales (London: Routledge, 2010), 71-2. Many thanks to Camilla Schroeder for providing a full translation of Stahl's text.
- 21. Honeyman, 73-4.
- 22. Honeyman, 56-8, 72.
- 23. Maria Tatar, Off with Their Heads!: Fairy Tales and the Culture of Childhood (Princeton University Press, 1992); Jack Zipes, Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion: The Classical Genre for Children and the Process of Civilization (London: Routledge, 2012).
- 24. Norbert Elias, The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations, ed. by Eric Dunning, Johan Goudsblom, and Stephen Mennell, trans. by Edmund Jephcott (Blackwell, 2000), 54.
- 25. This commensality is not limited to the Grimms, as Roberts notes: 'In nearly every version [of ATU-480] the heroine shares her food with the beings she meets.' See Warren Everett Roberts, The Tale of the Kind and the Unkind Girls: AA-TH 480 and Related Titles (Wayne State University Press, 1958), 151; Grimm and Grimm, I.
- 26. The Classic Fairy Tales, ed. by Maria Tatar (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1999), 135-41.