Der Elchen Güdel.

Von den anfahenden mönschen in dem gots dienst.

The Persecuted History of Cinderella: A Case for Oral Tradition in Western Europe

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> There is nothing in the world more delicious … than to hear about the doings of others, nor without obvious reason did that great philosopher set the supreme happiness of man in hearing pleasant tales; since when you lend an ear to tasty items, cares evaporate, irksome thoughts are dispelled, and life is prolonged.

So exclaims Prince Tadeo in Giambattista Basile's *The Tale of Tales* (1634).[1] This description in the frame tale of the collection is enticing, as are the depictions of oral storytelling which follow in each of the stories, including what many consider the earliest European variant of Cinderella, 'La gatta cenerentola' or 'The Cinderella Cat'. Of course both Tadeo's description and the storytellers that follow all come to us by way of the written word. Whether Basile actually relied on oral narratives as his source material or merely described his tales in this way to entice the reader (i.e., not listener) is a mystery we will never truly solve. Naturally, we will never have access to the oral tradition of the period, save new advances in time travel. What is possible, however, is to identify evidence of an oral fairy-tale tradition within textual materials. Just as Tadeo's exclamations indicate a healthy appreciation for the spoken word, albeit in the form of the written word, so too can texts from the period indicate an oral tradition.

In the case of Cinderella, there is evidence of an oral tradition in German texts which predate Basile. Some of these texts have much in common with Basile's variant, and the story appeared to be popular with priests and religious men at the beginning of the Reformation. These German sermons, references, poems, and religious symbolism, when combined with references to folk traditions in variants from Marie de France, Basile, and Wilhelm and Jacob Grimm, all depict a rich oral tradition in Europe that was well established before Tadeo, Basile, and 'The Cinderella Cat'.

Basile's 'The Cinderella Cat' is the earliest complete European variant of 'Cinderella' that we have access to. In 1634, 'Basile created the first Cinderella', writes Ruth Bottigheimer in

the recent collection *Cinderella Across* Cultures.[2] She and others have long called for a 'book-based history of fairy tales', which places Basile and Giovanni Straparola in the position of the 'inventors of [the] fairy tale tradition'.[3] Basile's tale of a noble woman made to live as a servant in her own home inspired thousands of descendants across Europe, beginning with Charles Perrault and Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy in late 17th-century France. Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm's 19th-century 'Aschenputtel' was first printed 150 years later in 1812, and yet it had much in common with Basile's tale. A gift-granting tree associated with a protective female spirit appears in both; in 'Aschenputtel' she is the spirit of Cinderella's mother, who, like Charles Perrault's fairy godmother, helps Cinderella attend the ball each night.[4]

Indeed, 'Aschenputtel' resembles 'The Cinderella Cat' in other ways and the two stories have the following additional motifs in common: speaking dove-helpers, Cinderella's request for a gift from her father's trip, and a failure to present Cinderella at the first shoe-fitting. None of these motifs, however, appear in Perrault's 'Cendrillon' (1697) or d'Aulnoy's 'Finette Cendron' (1697).[5] These similarities are not, then, a result of the pattern described by Bottigheimer and others: 'German fairy tales in the Grimm collection rest on a rich layer of French fairy tales, beneath which are Italian ones.'[6] In this particular case, no French layer is readily evident to explain the connection between 'The Cinderella Cat' and 'Aschenputtel'.[7] Perhaps the history of this tale is much broader than the variants themselves, or even than these three traditions, and includes an oral layer of transmission prior to the publishing of chapbooks.

The existence of a fairy-tale oral tradition in the time before Basile would contradict the theories of Bottigheimer and others, like Willem de Blécourt. Blécourt argues that 'Throughout Europe a burgeoning popularity of printed fairy tales preceded the recording of their oral derivatives by several generations. Against that, notions of orality appear to be for the most part theoretical projections and unsubstantiated surmises.'[8] Bottigheimer and Blécourt identify Basile as Cinderella's creator, and moreover, Bottigheimer determines that Cinderella 'made its first appearance in Basile's collection' and that all subsequent European variants are based thereon.

While there are no other definitive written European variants before Basile's, there are other indicators of an oral tradition.[9] A re-examination of the already well-documented history of Cinderella in German reveals there are *appearances,* to use Bottigheimer's term, that predate Basile by as much as 150 years, and the proliferation of Cinderella variants has been a touchstone for scholarship throughout the centuries. The Grimms themselves recorded numerous terms for Cinderella in various German dialects starting in 1822: 'Aschenputtel [...] Eschengrudel [...] Askenpösel, Askenpüster, Askenböel [...] Askenpöselken, Sudelsödelken [...] Aschenbrödel, Aescherling [...] Aschenpuck.'[10] In addition, they provide numerous historical references dating back to the 15th century in their entry for the term 'Aschenbrödel' in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*.[11] In 1893, the English folklorist Marian Roalfe Cox produced a collection of 345 Cinderella tales, which examined the tale type ATU 510

(The Persecuted Heroine) 17 years before Aarne's classification system was published.[12] Cox's work demonstrated so clearly the existence of similar tales in different cultures that it pushed the question of monogenesis vs polygenesis (whether the variants came from a single source or multiple sources) to the forefront, inspiring Andrew Lang to concede in the same year that plots may be diffused across cultures, although varying details were still due to independent invention.[13] Forty years later Anna Birgitta Rooth took up the challenge of expanding Cox's work to include tales from around the globe in the even more exhaustive *The Cinderella Cycle*.[14] Nearly forty years after that Alan Dundes gathered variants and criticism together in his collection *Cinderella: A Casebook*.[15] Most recently, in *Cinderella Across Cultures,* Martine Hennard Dutheil de la Rochère, Gillian Lathey and Monika Wozniak gathered a rich collection of criticism that focused on the wide reach of the tale.

One of the earliest and most robust uses of the Cinderella tradition in Europe is found in the 1508 Strasbourg sermon by Johannes Geiler von Kaysersberg entitled *Der Eschengrüdel von dem anfahenden mönschen in dem gots dienst* (*Cinderella: On the Beginning of People in the Service of God*). Geiler was born in 1445 and rose to fame towards the end of the 15th century. A popular preacher, Geiler was known for using parables and common speech to make his sermons understandable to the common people. He was more than simply well liked, however, as Miriam Usher Chrisman explains, 'No chronicler of the period, no visitor to Strasbourg failed to comment on Geiler's preaching, and young men tried to imitate him.'[16] E. Jane Dempsey Douglass adds, 'many scholars have claimed him to be the most significant preacher of his time'.[17] His sermons were so popular that in 1486 a special pulpit was built so he could speak to a larger crowd at the Strasbourg Cathedral.[18] Geiler was also dedicated to Church reform and is sometimes seen as one of the forerunners to the Reformation.[19] His sermons were even listed on the Index of Prohibited Books in 1559, long after his death in 1510, because of his later association with Protestant thought.[20] Geiler represented and had access to many languages and cultures. He was a minister in Strasbourg in the Alsace-Lorraine region; although his sermons were performed in German, he probably spoke to a multi-lingual congregation. We know he had some knowledge of French himself, since the first publication of the sermon discussed here precedes a French document he had translated. Because his mother was originally from Switzerland, Samuel Singer concludes that he must have heard the story from his mother and, therefore, that this variant of Cinderella belonged originally to the Swiss.[21] So Geiler's knowledge base covered more than just his community in Strasbourg, and his influence was widespread in Western Europe. His sermons were heard by hundreds and probably read by many more. When they were published and reprinted in the early 16th century, the sermons represented a 'best seller for the printers of Strasbourg'.[22]

Geiler's 'Cinderella' sermon was popular enough to show up in two of these bestselling books. It was given on the 17th Sunday after Pentecost in 1508 and appears for the first time in print two years later as a preface to a translation of French theologian Jean Gerson's

work *Opera Omnia*, in a collection entitled *Das Irrig Schaf* (*The Lost Sheep*). This collection is one of the few works by Geiler that we know he wrote and edited alone.[23] The sermon appears again slightly altered seven years later in 1517, in a collection published by Johann Pauli after Geiler's death entitled *Die Brösamlin Doct. Kaiserbergs*.[24]

Popular in its own time, the sermon was still well known in the 19th century. The Grimms reference it in their notes to the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, and the 19th-century author Ludwig Uhland refers to it in his writings: 'Why shouldn't Cinderella be discussed in a lecture? It's already been preached about, preached about from the ornate pulpit of the Strasbourg Cathedral.'[25] The sermon outlines the characteristics of Cinderella, which can be interpreted as the characteristics of a good Christian. Geiler enumerates the many chores of Cinderella: 'so müß er das feuer machen ... so müß er wischen ... so müß er braten [He [Cinderella] must make the fire ... He must do the washing ... He must cook].'[26] Although Geiler uses the masculine 'er' as the pronoun for 'Eschengrüdel', the sermon is accompanied by an image of a woman working, and the word is used to refer to both men and women throughout the sermon. These chores are metaphors to describe the work of a good Christian: for instance, the ashes or cinders that Cinderella works in represent both mortality and an acknowledgment of original sin.

After listing the protagonist's traits, Geiler narrates a religious tale 'von einem solliche demütige eschegrüdel [of just such a humble Cinderella].'[27] In the story, a retelling of the legend of St Isidora, a nun comes to a cloister and is made to live like Cinderella, doing most of the hard work. God sends St Pitirim there to find this holy creature, but when St Pitirim arrives, he cannot find Cinderella among the nuns. One of the nuns tells him, 'There is also a fool back in the kitchen.'[28] When Cinderella is revealed, she recognises St Pitirim and falls to her knees before him. However, one of the other nuns still insists she is a fool, to which St Pitirim replies 'You are the fools,'[29] and the other nuns recognise him for who he is and beg forgiveness. Cinderella is vindicated as being morally superior to the other nuns.

This scene in which the Cinderella is hidden until specifically requested, and even then denigrated before St Pitirim, mirrors one of the motifs that variants by Basile and the Grimms share, a motif that is not found in Perrault's version of the tale: Cinderella is not brought forth immediately, but must be asked after and finally presented with resistance from the others. In Basile's variant, Zezolla is left at home when the women go to the castle to try the slipper, and her father tells the king when he asks after her, 'I have a daughter, but she looks after the hearth and is an unworthy wretch and does not deserve to sit at the same table at which you eat.'[30] And in the Grimms' 1812 variant the prince asks if there is another daughter at home and is told 'No, there is only a foul Cinderella left, who sits down in the ashes.'[31]

Another two elements mentioned by Geiler link his Cinderella to Basile's. The first is the reference to a cat. While listing all the elements of a Cinderella, Geiler says, 'The sixth trait of Cinderella is that he must watch the cat.'[32] Basile's Cinderella is entitled 'The Cinderella

Cat', which Rooth considers the more complete name of Cinderella prior to Perrault's variant in *The Cinderella Cycle*. Citing early references to Cinderella as a 'hearth cat' in Scandinavian and Greek traditions, Rooth explains the Cinderella Cat is 'more natural and in fuller accordance with popular usage concerning nicknames and description'.[33] Although Geiler warns his listeners and readers to watch the cats, it could have been a clever reference to this nickname familiar to his congregation or even a way to further connect his story to pagan hearth associations. Regardless, this would seem to be the first example of an association between Cinderella and a cat, over a century before Basile's text and the traditions Rooth referenced.

The other element is mentioned in the 1517 collection of Geiler's work, *Die Brösamlin*. Here he makes reference to Cinderella being one of many children: 'You have six or seven children and there is also a Cinderella therein.'[34] Basile's version is also the only major written version to give Cinderella six stepsisters – both Perrault and the Grimms grant her only two. This fact confuses Samuel Singer, who, as he retells the sermon asks, 'A mother with several daughters (more than the usual three?).'[35] Even Bottigheimer references the difference in Basile's work when she describes it: 'In Basile's tale the new wife has not two, but six greedy daughters.'[36] These similarities between Geiler's sermons and Basile's story indicate a broader tradition of Cinderella in the early modern period, leading me to propose that Basile drew on oral traditions in the creation of his 'The Cinderella Cat'.

Geiler's sermon is no isolated mention of Cinderella, for she (or he in some some texts) was invoked by many German religious men before Basile's tale. Johannes Bolte and Georg Polívka reference over 20 mentions of the designator or similar German terms in the 16th and 17th centuries. Many of these references use the designator in order to simply mean a servant, which is the case in the first written record of the word in a poem by Oswald from the mid-15th century.[37] However, others, like Geiler, use the word in a way that suggests it had a broader resonance beyond its use to designate a kitchen maid. It makes little sense for Geiler to tell his congregation to emulate a kitchen maid. More than simply a servant, an *Eschengrüdel* is a hardworking, often ill-treated servant who is rewarded in the end for her hard work. More to the point, the servant is generally someone of higher birth or spiritual worth, who ought not to be a servant in the first place, but nonetheless serves dutifully. As in the story of St Isidora, Cinderella is not only a servant, but one who has been abused and wronged or, more often, someone who serves regardless of class or position without question and is rewarded. Towards the end of the 15th and in the beginning of the 16th centuries, the word seems to be used specifically for women, though it is not always a feminine noun. Using the word to refer to a woman, Thomas Murner even makes reference to feet in a line about Adam's rib, saying that God did not build Eve from Adam's foot, so a woman should not be a man's 'asche gryddel'.[38] The first examples of the word being used exclusively for male characters come from Martin Luther's writings. Luther is the first, but not the last, to use the term to describe Jacob in the story of Esau and Jacob, a comparison

that would be also be exploited by Eyering Agricola and Valentin Boltz in the 16th century.[39] Luther also refers to Abel in the story of Cain and Abel as a Cinderella. This use of the term for an abused, but ultimately rewarded, brother is one the Grimms recognised as evidence of an early Cinderella variant.[40] The Grimms describe a variant from this period: 'There was once a fairy tale in which Cinderella was a boy hated by his proud brothers, similar to the relationship displayed in the fairy tale of the Iron-Hand Man (Nr. 136) and in 'Aschentagger' from [Ignaz and Josef] Zingerle.'[41] They base this statement on a reference in the preface to Georg Rollenhagen's 1595 *Froschmeuseler*, which describes 'the wonderful little household tale of the hated pious Cinderella and his proud, taunting brothers'.[42] Although it is uncertain exactly what the contents of the story were, it is noteworthy that here Cinderella is described as pious, similar to St Isidora, Jacob and Abel.

None of these many references, snippets, and motifs could be considered a complete variant on their own, and so they are often hard to categorise in the larger world of the fairy tale. In addition, they are often excluded from the genre on the basis of a missing key element: magic. In his 2012 text, *Tales of Magic, Tales in Print,* de Blécourt sees the role of magic as key to 'genuine fairy tales'.[43] Bottigheimer's most recent text, *Magic Tales and Fairy Tale Magic,* also carefully examines the role of magic in fairy tales, and identifies major differences in the treatment of magic in older tales.[44] Neither author discusses the Geiler sermon or other religious men's references to Cinderella in this period, perhaps because they lack any reference to magic. However, the lack of magic in these religious references does not imply that they were not discussing a known fairy tale. Instead, I would argue that the Cinderella motifs may have been exploited by religious writers such as Geiler and Martin Luther for the purpose of speaking about religion in a new way and reaching a new audience.

In Geiler's time and in the century that followed, the various versions of the servant Aschenputtel referenced a character from a well-known story, a character who was abused by his or her own kin, acted as a dutiful servant in spite of the abuse, and was ultimately rewarded for his or her service. Referencing these older stories, G. Ronald Murphy, who like Geiler also examines the spiritual side of fairy tales, says it is unimportant whether it is a story of brothers or sisters, 'the important element in the plot being that the humiliated sibling later becomes exalted'.[45] That the story and its variations were mentioned so frequently without one full printed source indicates that this story may have circulated orally in the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries and perhaps spread beyond the German-speaking world to Basile. Certainly, Basile's variant and Geiler's references have much in common that later variants lack, particularly the number of siblings, the cat reference, and the hiding of the Cinderella (which the Grimms' variant also shares). The frequency of the term in Geiler's period indicates that his use of the character and word was not a singular incident. And while we cannot cite his sermon as some sort of ur-text, the evidence presented here allows us to conclude that the tradition of Cinderella in Europe certainly predates Basile.

Geiler, Luther, and others used Cinderella as a metaphor for religious purposes and they were not the last to do so. It is also possible they were not the first. Religious themes may be another indicator of an older tradition of Cinderella, for two of the main connections between the Grimms' variant and 'The Cinderella Cat' are linked to Germanic paganism: magical doves and holy trees. Geiler may have incorporated such pagan references that he knew to be popular with his congregation into the tale for the sake of appeal. Like any number of Christian traditions and holidays, the pagan religious undertones of Cinderella may have been reconstituted for a Christian audience. The Grimms, of course, also made their own changes and additions to make the tale more Christian, but Murphy does not believe that they meant to sacrifice the pagan themes for the sake of Christian ones. Rather, he notes that 'the Grimms believed the fairy tales to be ... the remnants of ancient religious stories'.[46] And far from removing pagan elements in the story, the Grimms include an additional magical tree in which Cinderella hides.[47] They also emphasise the God-like power of the doves, by having the birds gouge out the eyes of the stepsisters at the end, which is in keeping with German pagan beliefs that the behavior of birds was used to discern the will of the gods.[48] Although the Grimms add more Christian language, it is certainly not at the expense of pagan elements, which the Grimms perhaps rightfully recognised as the real link to ancient tradition.

The worship of trees is apparent in both Basile's and the Grimms' variants. In 'The Cinderella Cat', the date tree, which Zezolla's father brought, grows 'as tall as a woman',[49] at which point a fairy emerges from it and tells Zezolla that the date tree will grant her whatever she wishes, if she sings a particular little song. On the day of the ball, she speaks in rhyme to the tree who grants her a gown and slippers. Similarly, in the Grimms' story, Cinderella plants a hazel branch, brought by her father, on her mother's grave (in the 1812 edition, this is on the mother's own command). A tree grows from the branch, and Cinderella chants to it, 'rüttel dich und schüttel dich, wirf Gold und Silber über mich [Shake and shiver, throw gold and silver onto me].'[50] The tree responds by giving her a gown and slippers for the king's ball. So in both Basile's and Grimm's variants, the trees respond to a rhyme or song and grant gifts to Cinderella for her care and songs.

These examples of tree worship are perhaps representations of what could be called a pillar of Germanic pagan belief. Murphy calls the tree 'Germanic pagan religion's highest symbol of constant salvation and eternal rescue'.[51] Groves of trees were sacred ground;[52] trees granted gifts to the worthy, such as Sigmund's sword; they represented the basic structure of the universe in Yggdrasil; and they were believed to embody the spirits of gods and the human dead.[53] Folk traditions and superstitions in the Grimms' time and even today still show remnants of this powerful belief in holy trees. The Saxons' worship of an Irminsul, a large tree trunk erected in a grove and referred to as a 'Pillar of Heaven', continues today in the form of the maypole.[54] And German

superstition holds that when one plants a tree on the grave of a loved one, much like the Grimms' Cinderella did, the loved one's soul will reside in the tree.[55]

In the Grimms' variant we have a reference to a hazel tree, a pear tree, and even an ash tree, in the form of Aschenputtel. In the Grimms' time and earlier, the word 'Esche' and its equivalent 'Asch' could be used to mean both the tree and ashes, as in English. In the Grimms' dictionary, this is even commented on in the entry for 'Esche': 'in the composition is *eschen* unclear, for it can convey the tree or the ashes.'[56] This point connects Marie de France's 12th-century 'Le Fresne' to the Cinderella cycle.[57] While not a fairy tale itself, like the German sermons and poetry, France's lai, a type of lyrical narrative poem from France and Germany, includes Cinderella motifs, again indicating an oral layer of transmission. In France's story twin sisters, Le Fresne (ash tree) and La Codre (hazel tree), are separated at birth. Le Fresne is raised at a convent as an orphan. She falls in love with a lord, but they cannot wed due to her status. He is betrothed to La Codre, who is unaware of her sister. Le Fresne is made to serve La Codre as a lady-in-waiting and does so dutifully and without complaint. On their wedding night Le Fresne attaches a brocade to the wedding bed that she was found with as a child; the brocade is recognised by La Codre's mother, Le Fresne's true birthright is revealed and she is able to wed the knight. La Codre is also given a wealthy nobleman as her husband and all ends well.

The hazel tree, which also appears in the Grimms' story, is particularly important in folk traditions. It is always associated with the feminine, and is often referred to as Frau Hasel. It is also believed to protect one from evil spirits, and its nuts are associated with fertility. There is even a folk story about the Virgin Mary hiding in a hazel tree.[58] This is perhaps why a number of scholars have linked Cinderella's tree worship with matriarchy. Heide Göttner-Abendroth sees the tree-worship as actual worship of Cinderella's mother and a sign of an early matriarchal religion in the Germanic tradition.[59] Louise Berkinow picks up on the matriarchal worship as well, claiming that Cinderella's association with the hearth and her worship of the tree are references to pre-Christian matriarchal religions that worshipped goddesses such as Hestia in Greek mythology, and that Cinderella takes part in a sort of witchcraft that dates back to Germanic pagan rites.[60] Each of these elements – the worship of the tree, the association with the hearth, and the saying of spells in the form of songs sung to the tree – are in Basile's and the Grimms' variants, but not in Perrault's. Such a connection hints at the likelihood that Basile was drawing on an older tradition that maintained such themes and motifs many years after the practice of them had passed. Instead of Basile's story coming to the Germans by way of France, Basile may have been the beneficiary of stories emanating from the older Germanic pagan tradition or other pagan sources, as well as medieval texts drawing from this earlier tradition.

On the surface, the similarities between Basile's 'The Cinderella Cat' and the Grimms' 'Aschenputtel' would seem to support claims that all fairy tales descend from Straparola

and Basile. However, examination of linguistic and textual evidence in the tale's history and transmission suggests that Cinderella's tradition in Europe, especially in German-speaking Europe, predates Basile and indicates the very real possibility of an oral tradition that Basile and others drew from. Over a hundred years earlier in German, Geiler's sermon and other writings have two important details found only in Basile's version: the reference to Cinderella as cat and the mention of six daughters. This combined with the evidence of the wide use of the term in Geiler's period indicates that Geiler was not the only one familiar with such a tale. Lastly, the motifs of speaking dove-helpers and tree-worship have been found by several scholars to date back to pre-Christian, Germanic, matriarchal rituals. The connection between the types of trees in the German tradition and in Marie de France's French story also raise the question of a missing layer of oral transmission that carried such themes across the centuries and language barriers. It is therefore reasonable to hypothesise that Cinderella could be the descendant of Germanic pagan tradition, and, in particular, of an oral Cinderella tradition that exhibited the traits of a pre-Christian Europe. As early scholars argued, Cinderella may have many ancestors or just one, but these pagan markers at least indicate that story has a longer tradition in Europe, going back further than Basile and Early Modern Europe. This connection to older beliefs was one which Geiler, Luther, and others may have exploited in their Christian writings. Unfortunately, the very nature of the oral tradition is such that we cannot determine for certain which tales people were telling at any given time in history, or what those tales might have been like. We can only use the written documents that we possess, and through comparative analyses, speculate carefully on what many writers themselves claimed about the sources of their tales. Though we only have books to rely on, this does not mean that these stories only ever appeared in books; moreover such texts can provide evidence of an oral history as well. When taken together these texts depict a web of written evidence that constitutes the missing layer of this fairy-tale history, a rich, varied, and wide-reaching oral tradition of Cinderella tales in Europe that pre-dates Basile's 'The Cinderella Cat'.

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Notes

1. Giambattista Basile, *Giambattista Basile's The Tale of Tales, or, Entertainment for Little Ones*, ed. and trans. Nancy L. Canepa (Detroit, 2007), 47.
2. Ruth B. Bottigheimer, 'Cinderella: The People's Princess', *Cinderella Across Cultures* (Detroit, 2016), 27-52; 27.
3. Ruth B. Bottigheimer, *Fairy Tales: A New History* (New York, 2009), 75.
4. Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, ed. Heinz Rölleke, 3 vols. (Göttingen, 1812), 1986 and (Stuttgart, 1857), 1984.
5. Charles Perrault, *Histoires ou Contes du Temps Passé* (Paris, 1697), 1991; Madame d'Aulnoy, *Les Contes des Fées* (1697).

6. Bottigheimer, *Fairy Tales*, 26.
7. There is a tree in Madame d'Aulnoy's 'Finette Cendron' (1697), though it is unrelated to the Cinderella motifs of the story; her version is something of a combination of a 'Children and the Ogre' tale (ATU 327) and a 'Cinderella' tale. In the story, Finette and her sisters are abandoned and, as in 'Hansel and Gretel' and other 'Children and the Ogre' variants, Finette leads her sisters home several times before they are lost for good. In the wilderness, Finette finds an acorn and plants it. When it is grown, she climbs it and spots a marvellous house, which she and her sisters go to. It turns out to be an ogre's house and the sisters are very nearly eaten, but they defeat the ogre and his wife and steal their riches, which they use to go to the prince's balls. The rest of the tale follows the traditional lost slipper motif.
8. Willem de Blécourt, 'Metamorphosing Men and Transmogrified Texts', *Fabula* (52.3-4, 2012), 280.
9. The Chinese ninth-century 'Ye Xian' predates Basile. This paper, however, aims to demonstrate merely that the story has a tradition in Europe that predates Early Modern Europe and therefore does not discuss 'Ye Xian.' In addition, the tale of 'Rhodopis' from the first century is another possible early Cinderella variant recorded by the Greek scholar Strabo. There is, however, no other variant or reference to bridge the gap between antiquity and Middle Ages. Graham Anderson, *Fairytale in the Ancient World* (London 2000), 27-9.
10. Heinz Rölleke (ed.), *Die älteste Märchensammlung der Brüder Grimm: Synopse der handschriftlichen Urfassung von 1810 und der Erstdrucke von 1812* (Cologny-Genève, 1975), 315.
11. Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm (eds), 'Aschenbrödel' in *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Göttingen, 1854; 1999), v.1, 581-2.
12. Marian R. Cox, *Cinderella: Three Hundred and Forty-Five Variants of Cinderella, Catskin, and Cap O'Rushes* (London, 1893).
13. Andrew Lang, 'Cinderella and the Diffusion of Tales', *Folklore* 4.4 (1893), 413-33; 415-16.
14. Anna B. Rooth and Marian R. Cox, *The Cinderella Cycle* (Lund, 1951).
15. Alan Dundes, *Cinderella: A Casebook* (Madison, 1988).
16. Miriam U. Chrisman, *Strasbourg and the Reform: A Study in the Process of Change* (New Haven, 1967), 73.
17. E. Jane Dempsey Douglass, *Justification in Late Medieval Preaching: A Study of John Geiler of Keisersberg* (Leiden, 1966), 5.
18. Chrisman, *Strasbourg and the Reform*, 68.
19. Douglass, *A Study of John Geiler*, 5.
20. Douglass, *A Study of John Geiler*, 10.
21. Samuel Singer, *Schweizer Märchen* (Munich, 1971), 1.
22. Douglass, *A Study of John Geiler*, 78.
23. Douglass, *A Study of John Geiler*, 20.
24. Pauli claimed to have heard all of these sermons at the cathedral in Strasbourg and to have recorded them upon returning home. Many of the sermons in the collection are considered suspect because there are no other records for them, but *Der Eschengrüdel* is the one exception, and Douglass uses its appearance in *Das Irrig Schaf* and *Die Brösamlin* to prove the authenticity of other sermons in Pauli's collection (p.26).
25. Grimms (1857), vol. 3, 46; 'Warum soll nicht über Aschenbrödel in einer Vorlesung gesprochen werden? Es wurde darüber gepredigt, gepredigt von der kunstreichen Kanzel des Straßburger Münsters.' Ludwig Uhland, *Uhlands Schriften zur Geschichte der Dichtung und Sage*, ed. Wilhelm Ludwig Holland (Stuttgart, 1865-73), vol. 8, 620.
26. Geiler (1517), 79a.
27. Geiler (1510), 148b.
28. 'Wir habend noch ein närrin da innen in der Küchen.' Geiler (1510), 148b-149a.
29. 'Ir sind närrinnen.' Geiler (1510), 150a.
30. Basile, *Tale of Tales*, 87.
31. 'Nein ... nur ein garstiges Aschenputtel ist noch da, das sitzt unten in der Asche.' Grimms, in Rölleke, *Märchensammlung der Brüder Grimm*, 313.
32. 'Die sechst eigenschafft des eschen grüdels ist das er den katzen weren müß.' Geiler (1510), 147b.
33. Rooth and Cox, *The Cinderella Cycle*, 113.
34. 'Du hast sechs oder siben Kinder, und ist etwas ein Eschengründelin auch darunter.' Geiler (1517), 32b.
35. 'Eine Mutter mit mehreren Töchtern (mehr als die gewöhnlichen drei?).' Singer, *Schweizer Märchen*, 4.

36. Bottigheimer, *Fairy Tales*, 88.
37. Johannes Bolte and Georg Polívka, 'Aschenputtel', *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* (Hildesheim, 1963), v.1, 182.
38. Thomas Murner, *Die Gäuchmatt*, ed. Wilhelm Uhl (Leipzig, 1519; 1896), 36.
39. Bolte and Polívka, *Anmerkungen*, 184.
40. Grimms (1857), vol. 3, 46.
41. 'Es gab sonst ein Märchen, wo Aschenprödel ein von stolzen Brüdern verachteter Knabe war, wie ein ähnliches Verhältnis in dem Märchen vom Eisenhand Mann (Nr. 136) vorkommt und im Aschentagger bei Zingerle.' Ibid.
42. '… den wunderbarlichen hausmehrlein von dem verachten frommen Aschenpössel und seinen stoltzen spöttischen Brüdern …', Georg Rollenhagen, *Froschmeuseler: Mit den Holzschnitten der Erstausgabe*, ed. Dietmar Peil (Frankfurt am Main, 1595; 1989), 22.
43. Willem de Blécourt, *Tales of Magic, Tales in Print* (Manchester, 2012), 5.
44. Ruth Bottigheimer, *Magic Tales and Fairy Tale Magic: From Ancient Egypt to the Italian Renaissance* (London, 2015).
45. G. Ronald Murphy, *The Owl, the Raven & the Dove: The Religious Meaning of the Grimms' Magic Fairy Tales* (New York, 2000), 86.
46. Murphy, *Religious Meaning of the Grimms*, 5.
47. The Grimms add the scene in which Cinderella hides from the prince in a pear tree. Her father cuts down the tree in order to find her, but ultimately finds no one in the tree. He later discovers Cinderella at home asleep in the ashes. It appears as if the tree magically assisted Cinderella home, though a case could be made for Cinderella simply being an accomplished tree climber. Grimms (1857).
48. Prudence Jones and Nigel Pennick, *A History of Pagan Europe* (London, 1995), 43, 115.
49. Basile, *Tale of Tales*, 86.
50. Grimms (1857), 143.
51. Murphy, *Religious Meaning of the Grimms* 58.
52. Jones and Pennick, *History of Pagan Europe*, 116.
53. Jones and Pennick, *History of Pagan Europe*, 176.
54. Jones and Pennick, *History of Pagan Europe*, 116.
55. G. Marzell, 'Baum', *Handwörterbuch des Deutschen Aberglaubens*, eds Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli and Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer (Berlin, 1987), 955.
56. '… in den zusammensetzungen wird eschen undeutlich, da es den baum und die asche ausdrücken kann.' Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm (eds), 'Esche', *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Göttingen, 1854; 1999), vol. 16, 578.
57. Marie de France, *The Lais of Marie de France,* ed. and trans. Glyn S. Burgess and Keith Busby (1170), 1999.
58. *Handwörterbuch des Deutschen Aberglaubens*, 1527-34.
59. Heide Göttner-Abendroth, *Die Göttin und ihr Heros: Die Matriarchalen Religionen in Mythos, Märchen und Dichtung* (Munich, 1988), 140-1.
60. Louise Berkinow, *Among Women* (New York, 1980), 29-32.