

ROMANTICISM, ORIENTALISM, AND NATIONAL IDENTITY:
GERMAN LITERARY FAIRY TALES, 1795-1848

By

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To my beloved parents Dr. Roman and Cornelia Schwabe

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My dissertation explores the relationship between Orientalism, German Romanticism, and national identity by examining German *Kunstmärchen* (literary fairy tales). In my study, I claim that literary fairy tales idealize the ancient Orient and reflect the *Morgenland* (morning-land) as an exotic realm, in which the harmony between nature and spirit has been preserved, and as a utopian fantasy world that is the home of poetry, wisdom, and mystery. In this context, I question Edward W. Said's socio-historical generalizations regarding Orientalism as a Western form of domination over the East. Specifically, I use German *Kunstmärchen* of the Romantic period to criticize Said's assertions concerning the intellectual and cultural supremacy of Westerners in literary works since German Romantic tales shed a positive light on "the Orient" and "Orientals," exhibit no disdain for Otherness, and even provide a critical lens through which to view Western society and its power structures. From Novalis's *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* (Henry of Ofterdingen, 1802), Achim von Arnim's *Melück Maria Blainville* (1812) and E.T.A. Hoffmann's *Der goldne Topf* (The Golden Pot, 1814) to Wilhelm Hauff's *Märchenalmanache* (Fairy Tale Almanacs, 1825-1827), I show how *Kunstmärchen* with Orientalist motifs served as vehicles for fantasmatic escapism during the Romantic era, became "the opium" for the German

people against the economical meagerness of the time, and reconfigured the idea of the Oriental woman.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

In einem ächten Märchen muß alles wunderbar, geheimnißvoll und zusammenhängend seyn; alles belebt, jedes auf eine andere Art. Die ganze Natur muß wunderlich mit der ganzen Geisterwelt gemischt seyn. . . . Das ächte Märchen muß zugleich prophetische Darstellung, idealische Darstellung, absolut nothwendige Darstellung seyn. Der ächte Märchendichter ist ein Seher der Zukunft. . . . Alle Märchen sind nur Träume von jener heimathlichen Welt, die überall und nirgends ist. . . . Die Sieste des Geisterreichs ist die Blumenwelt. In Indien schlummern die Menschen noch immer, und ihr heiliger Traum ist ein Garten, den Zucker- und Milchseen umfließen.

[In a true fairy tale everything must be marvelous, mysterious, and connected; everything must be animated, everything in a different fashion. The whole of nature must be interwoven in a wondrous manner with the entire spirit world. . . . The true fairy tale must be at once a prophetic representation, an ideal representation, and an absolutely necessary representation. The true poet of a fairy tale is a seer of the future. . . . All fairy tales are only dreams of that familiar world of home which is everywhere and nowhere. . . . The siesta of the spirit realm is the world of flowers. In India the people still slumber and their sacred dream is a garden surrounded by lakes of sugar and milk.]¹

—Novalis, *Blüthenstaub-Fragments*²

Inspired by Johann Wolfgang Goethe's (1749-1832) *Das Märchen* (The Fairy Tale of the Green Snake and the Beautiful Lily) of 1795, German poet Georg Philipp Friedrich Freiherr von Hardenberg (1772-1801), alias Novalis, called for the absolute fairy tale, a canon of poetry, which comprises the universal integration of fantastic elements.³ In his works, the Romantic philosopher also speaks of the principal duty of the fairy tale writer, which lies in the redemption of the world through a new Golden Age. Given the interest of the Romantics in the exotic Other and the longing for distant lands during the early-nineteenth century, it is not surprising that

¹ Throughout this dissertation translations from the German or French are my own if they are not followed by page numbers referencing a published translation.

² The quote was published in 1798 in the literary journal *Athenaeum*. Novalis, *Novalis Schriften*, 2: 230-31.

³ Goethe's *Märchen* was first published in 1795 at the end of his collection *Unterhaltungen Deutscher Ausgewanderten* (Conversations of German Refugees) in Friedrich Schiller's German magazine *Die Horen* (The Horae or Hours). The story revolves around the crossing and bridging of a river, which represents the divide between the outer life of the senses and the ideal aspirations of the human being.

many *Kunstmärchen* (literary, original, or poetic fairy tales) of that period are inextricably intertwined with “the Orient,” as well as with specific symbols and motifs, such as the Blue Flower, the hermit, the poet, the wanderer, the dream, nature, love, music, poetry, mystery, myth, destiny, the supernatural, and the marvelous. In this dissertation, I analyze these guiding themes of Romanticism in literary fairy tales written by Novalis, Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder (1773-1798), Ernst Theodor Amadeus “E.T.A.” Hoffmann (1776-1822), Achim von Arnim (1781-1831), and Wilhelm Hauff (1802-1827) in connection with the Romantic movement, whose followers associated the ancient Orient with the mythical origin of Western civilization.

This dissertation investigates the relationship between German literary fairy tales of the Romantic period, the Orientalist paradigm, and the formation of a German national identity. My work contributes to the understanding of the genre of the *Kunstmärchen*, brings a new perspective to the scholarly discourses on Orientalism and Othering, and sheds light on various philosophical, political, and socio-historic factors that influenced Romantic writers in early-nineteenth-century Germany. During that time, I argue, German authors used the genre of the *Kunstmärchen* to establish in versatile modalities, either through topographical, temporal, symbolical, cultural, or figure-related references, an idealized image of “the Orient,” and, within the parameters of Orientalism, employed the literary fairy tale as a space for criticism of the European colonial project. Specifically, *Kunstmärchen* served as a medium for Romantic writers to create an all-encompassing, transcendental poetry, to codify “the Orient” as the sublime Other, to celebrate exotic escapism from reality and the rational mind, to spread a nationalism-infused German *Volksgeist* (folk spirit), but also to represent a critique of a utilitarian, prosaic, bourgeois lifestyle, as well as a covert platform for satire and irony directed against Germany’s political system.

In this Introduction, I explain in more detail the terms “literary fairy tale,” “German Romanticism,” and “Orientalism,” as they are fundamental to my research project. I begin with answers to questions concerning the genre of the literary fairy tale. What are German *Kunstmärchen* and how do they differ from the traditional German *Volksmärchen* (folktales)? Who are the principal Romantic authors of German literary fairy tales? What are their most prominent productions that influenced the Romantic movement and inspired its followers? *Märchen*, a term that is now commonly used as a synonym for the folktale category called the fairy tale, is in fact the diminutive form of the Old German word *Mär* or *Märe*, meaning either a strange or mendacious story, short tale, saga, or message. There are certain characteristics specifically ascribed to the genre of the so-called German *Volksmärchen*, for example, indefinite specifications on time and date “Es war einmal . . .” (Once upon a time . . .). Unlike the sagas or legends in the historical novel or drama, the fairy tale is not anchored historically. Fairy tales include talking animals and plants; fantasy figures such as giants, dwarfs, witches, sorcerers, and fairies; fantastical events that occur in every-day-life (for instance a mountain that opens up and reveals a treasure, a stone that turns into gold, or a ginger-bread house in the woods); and they rely on a repetitive structure (e.g. a hero usually solves three riddles and there are oftentimes three siblings). Folk tales are easy to understand, have a simple structure, and a vividly pictorial style. In *Volksmärchen und Volkssage* (Folk Tale and Folk Saga, 1961), Swiss folklorist Max Lüthi describes the folktale as “eindimensional” (one-dimensional), depthless, and abstract (27-28). The characters of the *Volksmärchen* are usually of superficial nature, without spiritual or physical depth.

While the folk tale derives from popular oral tradition, the literary fairy tale is an author’s original invention. *Volksmärchen* are passed on by word of mouth and may thus be changed,

reshaped, shortened, lengthened, or embellished at will by the person who relates the tale. In contrast, the author of the *Kunstmärchen* not only determines the style and contents of the tale but also molds it to reflect the writer's particular artistic concerns. Although related to the folktale and impacted by it, "the literary fairy tale can incorporate influences completely foreign to the *Volksmärchen*" (Davies 227). *Kunstmärchen* are usually more comprehensive and literarily more ambitious, frequently employ metaphors, and provide extensive descriptions of people and events. Unlike folktales, *Kunstmärchen* do not always have a happy ending. Furthermore, literary fairy tales are not exclusively written for children but are oftentimes intended for an adult audience that can appreciate the sophisticated linguistic level and comprehend the artistic intentions of the author. According to Paul-Wolfgang Wührl, author of *Das deutsche Kunstmärchen* (The German Literary Fairy Tale, 2003), the genre of the literary fairy tale is far too multifaceted to restrict it to only one specific type of *Kunstmärchen*: There are *phantastische Novellen* (fantastic novels), *Phantasiestücke* (fantasy pieces), *Nachtstücke* (night pieces), *Märchen novellen* (fairy tale novellas), *Märchenromane* (fairy tale novels), *Märchendramen* (fairy tale dramas), *Märchenkomödien* (fairy tale comedies), *Märchen-Satiren* (fairy tale satires), *Märchenparodien* (fairy tale parodies), *Märchenparabeln* (fairy tale parables), *Anti-Märchen* (anti fairy tales), *Wirklichkeitsmärchen* (realistic fairy tales), *Natur-Märchen* (naturalistic fairy tales), and many more (2).

Literary fairy tales transfigure or mimic traditional folktales but aspire to the "higher" artistic goals of stylistic elegance and philosophical purpose. The German Romantics created their own myth and mythology by adopting motifs and narrative styles from the *Volksmärchen* and integrating them into their artistically ambitious *Kunstmärchen*. Following Novalis's philosophies on poetry, the Romantics considered fairy tales to be the purest form of poetic

creation. They strived toward producing literary fairy tales that synthesized the worlds of reality and fantasy by mixing realistic with supernatural elements. While the hero of the folktale is accustomed to a magical environment and the occurrence of supernatural events, the more modern hero of the *Kunstmärchen* is usually astonished and amazed by the wondrous world that discloses itself to him or her. The German words *wundervoll* (wonderful), *wundersam* (wondrous), *wunderbar* (marvelous), and *wunderlich* (fantastical) all mark the miraculous transition into the realm of fantasy and characterize strange happenings. Heroes of literary fairy tales, such as Heinrich in Novalis's *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* (Henry of Ofterdingen, 1802), are driven by the unfulfilled desire and melancholic *Sehnsucht* (yearning/longing) for a higher truth to leave their homes and embark on a journey of knowledge, self-awareness, as well as emotional and spiritual maturation. However, as the *Kunstmärchen* of Ludwig Tieck (1773-1853) show, the hero is often "too unsettled and unsteady to find lasting peace" (Davies 228). In contrast to the folktale hero of the *Volksmärchen*, love and poetry are of essential importance for the literary fairy tale hero. As in the example of E.T.A. Hoffmann's *Der goldne Topf* (The Golden Pot, 1814), the hero unites with his beloved at the end of the tale and, through this poetic bond of true love, is enabled to leave the real world behind and remain permanently in the realm of fantasy.

Goethe's *Das Märchen*, as stated at the beginning of this Introduction, not only inspired Novalis in his creation of *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* (including the embedded tale of Atlantis and "Klingsohr's Fairy Tale") but was also one of the most influential contributions to Early German Romanticism. Besides a syncretic blend of both Orientalist and Occidental motifs, the cryptic narrative interweaves several myths about life, death, and love. The allegorical tale includes a river, a green serpent, a lily, a temple, a sacrifice, and a magical transformation, yet one which,

when the time is ripe, can be experienced by every human being. Similarly to the Romantic tropes of love, poetry, and music, which constitute a recurring *Leitmotiv* (guiding theme), nature is a principal topic that resurfaces frequently in German *Kunstmärchen*. Ludwig Tieck's fairy tales *Der blonde Eckbert* (The Fair-Haired Eckbert, 1797) and *Der Runenberg* (The Rune Mountain, 1804) portray Romantic heroes who, in the attempt to fathom the mysteries of nature, ultimately fall victim to nature in the process. Based on their key concepts of *Waldeinsamkeit*⁴ (forest solitude), *Wahnsinn* (insanity), and the destructive side of nature, Tieck's tales serve as dark rejoinders to the utopian romanticism of *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*. While for Novalis's poet-in-the-making Heinrich, the mine and the mountain represent poetic places and privileged sites of initiation and revelation, Tieck's *Runenberg* demonstrates that the mystical realm can be demonic as well as divine. In *Der Liebeszauber* (The Love Spell, 1811) and *Der Pokal* (The Goblet, 1812), Tieck blends wondrous with realistic elements, whereas in *Undine* (1811), Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué plays on the idea of the metamorphosis of the mermaid, either into a spring or in the sense of gaining a soul.

German Romantic author E.T.A. Hoffmann adopted the Orientalist motif of the green snake from Goethe's *Märchen* and integrated it into his allegorical fairy tale *Der goldne Topf*. Furthermore, he followed Tieck's example in mixing realistic, miraculous, and demonic elements. Contrary to the strict limits of the fairy tale in the poetics of Enlightenment, where the marvelous could only occur in a well-defined space (e.g. the mysterious realm of "the Orient," enchanted forests), magical events can take place anywhere and at any time in Romantic *Kunstmärchen*. In other words, specific spaces and times, such as towns, well-known regions,

⁴ The word *Waldeinsamkeit*, probably invented by Tieck, encapsulates to this day the very spirit of German Romanticism. It implies the feelings of loneliness, melancholy, and solitude, which the German Romantic wanderer sought in nature.

and the daily life, were not excluded from the influence of the wondrous. The Romantic hero of Hoffmann's *Der goldne Topf*, for instance, experiences marvelous happenings in the midst of the everyday world of the bourgeoisie. Hoffmann's fantasies are firmly anchored in reality; however, the relations of reality and fantasy are different in each of his tales: *Der goldne Topf* depicts a happy-ending where the hero and his beloved triumph in Atlantis, the world of poetry; the hero in *Der Sandmann* (The Sandman, 1816) is driven into madness and suicide by his imagination; and *Meister Floh* (Master Flea, 1822) concludes with a rejection of fantasy since the hero finds happiness in a Biedermeierian⁵ idyll.

Hoffmann's realistic literary fairy tales influenced Adalbert von Chamisso (1781-1838), whose *Peter Schlemihls wundersame Geschichte* (Peter Schlemihl's Remarkable Story, 1814) places reality and the marvelous side by side. In the tale, the hero sells his shadow to the Devil in return for a bottomless wallet, only to find that a man without a shadow is shunned by human society. Chamisso's allegorical tale *Adelberts Fabel* (Adelbert's Fable, 1806), in contrast to *Peter Schlemihl*, reveals the influence of Novalis. Another important Romantic writer of German *Kunstmärchen* was Clemens Brentano (1778-1842), who produced two cyclical collections of literary fairy tales: the *Italienische Märchen* (Italian Fairy Tales, written between 1805-1811), an adaptation for children of tales from Italian fairy tale collector Giambattista Basile (1575-1632),

⁵ According to Christopher John Murray, "The term [Biedermeier] was first applied in the late-nineteenth century to the culture of German-speaking Europe and Scandinavia from the period spanning the peaks of Romanticism and realism – that is, approximately 1815-48. In this usage it referred to the simple, plebeian taste associated with the era's visual arts . . . ; subsequently it has been applied also to the literature and musical culture of the era, and has even come to denote the mood of the entire socio-historical epoch. . . . It also was tinged with nostalgia for what was perceived to be an uncomplicated idyll of domestic comfort and family values that were lost with the arrival of the industrial revolution" (88-89). The name *Biedermeier* derives from the fictitious naïve and unintentionally comic poet Gottlieb Biedermaier, lampooned in the Munich humorous weekly *Fliegende Blätter* ("Flying Sheets") as early as 1855. *Biedermeier* (the spelling with "e" is now universal) is compounded of *bieder* (worthy, honest, respectable) and *Meier*, which (in various forms, including Meyer, Maier, and Mayer) is a common German surname (Garland 85). Elfriede Neubuhr adds: "Man verstand unter 'Biedermaier' einen Menschentyp, der die Idylle, die Behaglichkeit, den kleinen Bereich des Häuslichen liebte und in stiller Bescheidenheit und Selbstzufriedenheit lebte" ("Biedermaier" defined a type of person, who loved the idyll, the comfortableness, the small domain of domesticity, and who lived in quiet humility and self-sufficiency) (8).

and the *Rheinmärchen* (Rhine Fairy Tales, written between 1810-1812), a collection of four stories which combines an overarching tale of the heroic miller Radlauf with traditional legends of the Lorelei⁶ and the river Rhine itself.

Gockel, Hinkel, und Gackeleia (The Rooster, Hen, and Little Cluck, 1838), a tale of Brentano's Italian collection, combines human and animal existence, symbolically expressed by the animal-like names of the three protagonists who are of human shape but occasionally act like hens. The tale emphasizes the Romantic image of childhood and the endeavor to regain its heavenly state. The language of Brentano's *Kunstmärchen* has a vivid musicality to it and, due to their cheerful and merry tone, the tales reflect an almost child-like belief in the miraculous. Together with his friend Achim von Arnim, Brentano also published an anthology of German *Volkslieder* (folk songs) called *Des Knaben Wunderhorn: Alte deutsche Lieder* (The Youth's Magic Horn, 1805-1808), which they dedicated to Goethe. Arnim's collection of fairy tale novellas from 1812 - *Isabella von Ägypten, Kaiser Karl des Fünften erste Jugendliebe* (Isabella of Egypt, Emperor Charles the Fifth's First Young Love), *Melück Maria Blainville, die Hausprophetin aus Arabien* (Melück Maria Blainville, the House Prophet from Arabia), and *Die drei liebevollen Schwestern und der glückliche Färber* (The Three Loving Sisters and the Lucky Dyer) - addresses a number of political aspects such as national unity regarding the relationship of the people to their leader.

Another prominent exponent of German Romanticism, Joseph Freiherr von Eichendorff wrote poetry and literary fairy tales that drew upon motifs and figures of German folklore. His *Kunstmärchen* represent a transition to the conservative homely realism of the *Biedermeier* and are characterized by the general artistic trends of the period: "a love of the small and the

⁶ In German folklore, works of music, art, and literature, the Lorelei is a feminine water spirit, similar to mermaids, sirens, or Rhine maidens, associated with a rock on the eastern bank of the Rhine River near St. Goarshausen, Germany.

insignificant, a need to lavish care and attention, a joy in collecting things, and a deep respect for the workings of God as reflected in everyday reality” (Davies 229). Wilhelm Hauff’s literary fairy tales *Zwerg Nase* (The Dwarf Nosey, 1827) and *Das kalte Herz* (The Cold Heart, 1828), as well as Eduard Mörike’s *Der Schatz* (The Treasure, 1836), portray heroes of the middle-class who experience a somewhat modest happiness. At the end of the tales, the protagonists return to their bourgeois lives in a prosaic reality. Hauff’s tales fuse Romantic and realistic elements and move away from the artistic idealism of Romanticism toward a more realistic portrayal of life. The fact that German *Kunstmärchen* of the Romantic era vary significantly in form, composition and style, reflects the individuality of their writers and their diverse conceptions of the ideas central to German Romanticism.

But what is German Romanticism? The question should not be reduced to: Who are the German Romantics? Before I turn to these questions, I will elaborate on the etymological origin of Romanticism. What does the term “romantic” imply? As Friedrich Schlegel pointed out in a letter to his brother August Wilhelm on December 1, 1793: “Meine Erklärung des Worts Romantisch kann ich Dir nicht gut schicken, weil sie – 125 Bogen lang ist” (I cannot send you my explanation of the word ‘romantic’ because it would be 125 sheets long) (*Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe* 53).⁷ When traced historically, the German word *romantisch* (romantic) derives from the French *roman* of which older forms are *romans* and *romant*. These and similar formations go back to the medieval Latin adverb *romanice* (Babbitt 3). *Roman* meant originally the various vernaculars derived from Latin. In German one still speaks of these vernaculars as “romanische Sprachen” and in French as “les langues romanes” (romance languages). The word *roman* came to be applied to tales written in the various vernaculars, especially in old French, Italian, Spanish, Catalan, Portuguese, and Provençal, which were developed from Latin. The

⁷ 125 sheets equals 2000 pages.

tales written in one of these romance languages came to be known as medieval *romance* or *romaunt* (Seyhan, *What is Romanticism* 1). They were often composed in verse and narrated a quest in which the element of fiction predominated over reality.

The *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (German dictionary) of the Brothers Grimm defines the term *romantisch* (romantic) through a passage from a fifteenth-century Latin manuscript: “Ex lectione quorundam romanticorum i.e. librorum compositorum in gallico poeticorum de gestis militaribus in quibus maxima pars fabulosa est” (Grimm, *Romantisch*) (From the reading of certain romantics, that is, books of poetry composed in French on military deeds which are for the most part fictitious) (Babbitt 4). These vernacular books of epic poetry contained tales of chivalry, magic, and love, such as the tales of King Arthur and his court. The *Romanzen* (romances), as they are still called, are the ancestors of today’s novel. At the end of the seventeenth century, the adjective *romantisch* (romantic, like a novel) appeared in Germany as an equivalent of the French word *romanesque* (novelistic) and the modern German *romanhaft* (novelistic). Due to the novel’s fantastic, picturesque, fanciful or adventurous subject matter, the connotations of the adjective “romantic” were not altogether positive at first. Around 1800, the German noun *Romantik*, usually regarded as the equivalent for “Romanticism,” was mainly used in the sense of the aesthetics of the novel, the German *Roman* (novel). The use of the word “romantic” as a denotation of a “school” or literary movement first developed among the conservative opponents of all romantic tendencies. German poet Johann Heinrich Voss (1751-1826), known mostly for his translation of Homer’s *Odyssey*, was the first to speak of a “Romantic school” in German literature and condemn it (Schulz 32-33).

A historical use of the terms “Early,” “High,” and “Late” Romanticism proves difficult, as the definition of these subunits varies considerably from country to country. However, it is

customary to distinguish three phases in the years between 1795 and 1848 within German Romanticism: Early Romanticism (*Frühromantik*), which partially overlaps with the European cultural and literary movement of Weimar Classicism (1772-1805), starting in the 1790s and lasting to about 1805; High Romanticism (*Hochromantik*) with an onset around 1805, which continues until 1815 or 1820; and Late Romanticism (*Spätromantik*), which equals in parts the Germanist's *Restaurationsepoche*⁸ (Epoch of Restoration), which begins around 1815 until 1848. Romanticism as a literary movement in Germany thus starts in the late-eighteenth century. Throughout its period, the intellectual centers for Romanticism shifted from Jena to Heidelberg, Dresden, Stuttgart, Berlin, and Vienna. Even though one generation dominated it, one can divide between the “old” and the “new” Romantics because there were two distinct phases in the development and the movement. Among the Jena Romantics were the Schlegel brothers, August Wilhelm and Friedrich Schlegel (1767-1845; 1772-1829), Novalis, Wilhelm Wackenroder, Ludwig Tieck, Karoline von Günderode (1780-1806), Caroline Schlegel (born Michaelis, 1763-1809), and the philosophers Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher (1768–1834), Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814), Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling (1775-1812), and Johann Wilhelm Ritter (1776-1810).

The Jena Romantics held no particular doctrine but rather an amorphous set of ideas that marked a break with the rationalism of eighteenth-century Enlightenment, which they bemoaned as nonpoetic and materialist. Although they did not reject rationality as such, the Romantics felt that the *Aufklärung* (Enlightenment) “had made a false idol of reason” and oppressed any other nonrational way of apprehending the world (Heuvel 104). The Jena *Romantiker* (Romantics) moved away from the canon of antiquity and, following their Romantic mentality, consciously set themselves off from the intellectual traditions of the eighteenth century. The Romantics, who

⁸ The Epoch of Restoration is also known as the *Biedermeierzeit* (Biedermeier era) or *Vormärz* (Pre-March) period.

tended to be young, embraced religious beliefs and the supernatural. They wanted to liberate the inner self and explore, muse, and speculate about the spiritual realm, which, as they believed, could not be grasped by rational empiricism. Their restlessness and longing for eternity mirrors their search for the sense of all life, the purpose of the world spirit, and the connections between the self and the universe. The Schlegel brothers published the literary journal *Athenaeum* (1789-1800), which formulated this new Romantic self-conception and the idea of a *progressive Universalpoesie* (progressive universal poetry) that encompasses all arts and sciences.

The group of the “new” German Romantics, living in Heidelberg, became more reactionary and nationalistic than the Jena group and firmly rejected the frequently favorable view of the French Revolution held by the early Romantics. The principal achievements of the Heidelberg group lie in the field of pioneering studies in Germanic philology and folklore. Driven by a nationalistic sentiment that arose in reaction against France and its cultural dominance, the movement found new appreciation for old German literature and looked at German folklore for a foundation for historical identity. In particular, *Volksmärchen*, *Volkslieder* (folk songs), and *Volkspoesie* (folk poetry) seemed to contain a uniquely Germanic quality, which was capable of reinvigorating an essential German spirit. The *Volksgeist*, with which one could identify, represented the essence of what it meant to be German and the Heidelberg Romantics hoped to find this “soul of Germany” in the simplicity of the customs and the art of the German people. Disappointed about the outcome of the French Revolution and given the defeat in the Napoleonic Wars, the Heidelberg Romantics believed that they were standing on the threshold of a new era and that they were in a position to draft its founding myths, to forge the spiritual foundations of a new Europe.

The most prominent representatives of the second generation of German Romantics included Achim von Arnim, Clemens Brentano, Joseph von Eichendorff, Johann Joseph von Görres (1776-1848), Friedrich Creuzer (1771-1858), and Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm (1785-1863; 1786-1859) in Heidelberg; Heinrich von Kleist (1777-1811) in Dresden; and the school of “Swabian Romanticism” (1805–1808) with Ludwig Uhland (1787-1862), Eduard Mörike (1804-1875), Justinus Kerner (1786-1862), Gustav Schwab (1792-18509), and Wilhlem Hauff in Tübingen and Stuttgart. E.T.A. Hoffmann, and two writers of French descent, Adelbert von Chamisso (1781-1838) and Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué (1777-1843), practically composed the literary wing of the Late Romantic movement in Germany with its center in Berlin.

Spearheaded by E.T.A. Hoffmann and Ludwig Tieck, the literary sub-genre of the *Schauerromantik* or *Schwarze Romantik* (Dark Romanticism) developed parallel to the Early Romantic period in Germany. This particular genre emphasizes the irrational, the grotesque, the gloomy, the morbid, the fantastic, and the melancholic. For authors of Dark Romanticism, the world is dark, decaying, bizarre, and mysterious. While the Romantics believed reality to be pale and empty, the Dark Romantics thought quite the opposite. Life to the Dark Romantics was colorful, capricious, and contradictory. Unlike the Romantics, the Dark Romantics acknowledged the evil of man and the horror of evil. Hence, their works depict the other side of Romanticism and are characterized by a somber, macabre, horrific, and satanic atmosphere. In their prose fictions, Dark Romantics favor Gothic landscapes, ruins, haunted mountains and castles, mines and caves, dark forests, moonlight nights, old monasteries and crypts, natural phenomenons, and tempests. Besides death, suicide, and decadence, frequent recurring motifs are the night, the uncanny, the occult, and darkness.

The interest of *Schauerromantik* in the “dark side” of human existence and the unfathomable contrasted sharply with the *Aufklärung* (Enlightenment), which had taken upon itself the task of illuminating darkness and shedding light. E.T.A. Hoffmann’s *Fantasiestücke* (Fantasy Pieces, 1814) and *Nachtstücke* (Night Pieces, 1817) portray above all the “dark side” of civilization, with the unearthly, the demonic, madness, and lawlessness as their focal point. In his literary fairy tale *Der Sandmann* (The Sandman, 1816) and his novel *Die Elixiere des Teufels* (The Devil’s Elixir, 1817), Hoffmann developed the motif of the *doppelgänger*, the bifurcated self whose good and evil nature split into separate identities. The loss of the sense of reality, the destruction of individuality, as well as persecution mania are depicted in Hoffmann’s tales as reactions symptomatic of a failure of social integration. His tales, such as *Der goldne Topf*, reflect the Romantic notion of the alienated individual, the poet or the artist, who isolates himself from the urban, modern, bourgeois world of a materialistic society and retreats to the solitary or fantasy world of the mind. Similarly to Hoffmann’s works, Tieck’s literary fairy tales *Der blonde Egbert* and *Der Runenberg* show the descent into madness of characters who lose touch with reality.

Among the various topics of the German Romantic interest – e.g. the irrational and the mysterious, the worship of nature, the religious embrace of Romanticism, the nationalist reaction to the Napoleonic conquests, the glorification of the fairy tale and of folk poetry, the renewed interest in German etymology – was the general enthusiasm for the Middle Ages and the medieval Orient. Inspired by Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) and his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (Reflections on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind, 1784-1791), the German Romantics believed “the Orient,” especially India, to be the real fatherland of language, poetry, culture, and the human race in its infancy. In the winter semester of 1822 and

1823, German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) remarked in his *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Weltgeschichte* (Lectures on the History of Philosophy) at the University of Berlin: “[Indien] lebt seit Jahrtausenden allgemein, ohne daß man es genauer gekannt hätte, vor der Vorstellung der Europäer als ein Wunderland. Der Ruhm, den es immer gehabt hat in Ansehung seiner Schätze, sowohl der natürlichen, als auch besonders seiner Weisheit, hat die Menschen dorthin gelockt” (344) (Without being known too well, [India] has existed for millennia in the imagination of the Europeans as a wonderland. Its fame, which it has always had with regard to its treasures both its natural ones, and, in particular, its wisdom, has lured men there). In Romantic literature, the exotic East functions as a signifier of mystical alterity that functions as a space for fantasmatic escapism. Shrouded in mystery and poetry, “the Orient” appears as a magical place where wondrous events happen beyond the realistic boundaries of Western imagination.

Euro-American scholars traditionally speak of “Romantic Orientalism” in reference to the turn of the Romantics to “the Orient,” their deep-seated fascination with the East expressed in their writings, and their immersion in the studies of Orientalist culture, history, and language. However, for the purpose of this dissertation, it is imperative to clarify the different definitions and connotations of the complex term “Orientalism” and the contexts in which I use “Orientalist” and “Orientalism.” The word “Orientalism” refers to “the Orient”⁹ or East, in contrast to the Occident or West. Since the eighteenth-century, “Orientalism,” in the primary sense of the term, referred to the academic discipline based on the philological study of original texts in Asian languages and the study of Eastern cultures. The traditional designation for a scholar of “Orientalism,” later known as “Oriental Studies” or “Asian Studies,” has been “Orientalist” (Varisco, *Orientalism and Islam* 3). In the same period, “Orientalism” came to acquire a second

⁹ The term “Orient” is derived from the Latin *oriens*, in reference to the direction of the rising sun or the east.

meaning, as “a term referring to the Romantic and exoticizing impulse of nineteenth-century European artistic culture” (Burke 10). In art, literature, and music, supposedly “Orientalist” subjects, such as exotic landscapes, bathing harem women, sensual bejeweled odalisques, slave markets, bustling bazaars, fierce tribesmen, ancient cities, mosques, and caravans, became commonplace. Gustave Flaubert (1821-1880), Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863), and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791), to name but a few of the leading artists of that period, incorporated such “Orientalist” settings, motifs, and tropes into their works.

In 1978, the Palestinian-American scholar Edward Said published his book *Orientalism*, in which he redefined the term Orientalism by applying it to European colonialism in an unprecedented and politically potent way. To be precise, Said assigns three different designations to the meaning of Orientalism in his book: Firstly, an academic designation: “Anyone who teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient . . . is an Orientalist, and what he or she does is Orientalism” (2). Secondly, a general designation: “Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between ‘the Orient’ and (most of the time) ‘the Occident’” (2). Thirdly, a designation that is more historically and materially defined than either of the other two: “Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient” (3). Even though Said distinguishes between these three definitions, he bases his work solely on his third definition, claiming that Western Orientalism dealt with “the Orient” by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, and ruling over it. Said asserts that “the Orient” is an object of scholarly knowledge, which was created and coded by the West as passive, reified, unchanging, and stagnant. Put most simply, Orientalism becomes in Said’s work synonymous for Western domination through imperialism and colonialism.

Several scholars including Andrea Fuchs-Sumiyoshi and Wilhelm Halbfass have argued that Romantic Orientalism, especially with regard to German Orientalists such as Goethe, constitutes an exception to Edward Said's political Orientalism.¹⁰ Furthermore, scholars have criticized Said's emphasis on negative aspects of Romantic Orientalism and a deliberate exclusion of the German case to make his material fit within his model of hostile, Western Orientalism. While Said exhibits indeed a predominantly monolithic view on the Orientalist paradigm, he does however acknowledge the change in attitude toward "the Orient" during the nineteenth century:

Many of the earliest oriental amateurs began by welcoming the Orient as a salutary dérangement of their European habits of mind and spirit. The Orient was overvalued for its pantheism, its spirituality, its stability, its longevity, its primitivity, and so forth. . . . Yet almost without exception such overesteem was followed by a counterresponse: the Orient suddenly appeared lamentably underhumanized, antidemocratic, backward, barbaric, and so forth (150).

Abdulla Al-Dabbagh writes in his book *Literary Orientalism, Postcolonialism, and Universalism* (2010) that one of the most significant objections to Said's Orientalism is that he regards Romantic Orientalism as "just another rung in the ladder of Western distortion and misunderstanding of the East, all the way from Aeschylus¹¹ to Bernard Lewis¹²" (7). He charges the fact that Said does not distinguish between different Orientalists and stages of Orientalism, namely, the Romantic phase of Orientalism (Al-Dabbagh calls this phase "Golden Age")

¹⁰ Compare Andrea Fuchs-Sumiyoshi (156) and Wilhelm Halbfass (11-12).

¹¹ Aeschylus (525 – 456 B.C.), the "Father of Tragedy," was a Greek poet and the first of the three ancient Greek tragedians, the others being Sophocles and Euripides, whose work has survived. His play entitled "The Persians," which was performed in Dionysus' theater in the year 472 B.C., dramatizes the Persian response to news of their military defeat at the Battle of Salamis (480 B.C.). Aeschylus portrays the sense of disaster overcoming the Persians when they learn that the Greeks destroyed their armies, which were led by King Xerxes (519 – 465 B.C.). The play focuses on Xerxes' defeat and depicts the "King of Kings," the personification of Persian supremacy, as a cowed and beaten figure.

¹² Bernard Lewis (born 1916) is a British-American historian, scholar in Oriental Studies, and political commentator. He is a widely read expert on the Middle East and public critic of Edward Said's book *Orientalism*.

between the early and middle nineteenth century and the “antagonistic and colonialist” phase of the modern, Orientalist movement that began in its final decades. According to Al-Dabbagh, all previous positive trends, from the Renaissance until the second half of the eighteenth century, and the great advance in the scientific investigation of the East, culminated in Romantic Orientalism (8).

In this dissertation I question Said’s overgeneralized and undifferentiated version of Orientalism, which implies that all European constructions of the East are not only *ipso facto* ethnocentric but also racist. I focus on German literary fairy tales with Orientalist topoi from the early-nineteenth century to highlight the existence of a German Romantic Orientalism, which was rooted in the idea of the East as the mystical origin and as a power for spiritual regeneration. Furthermore, I point out the exceptional position of Romantic Orientalism in Germany in comparison to those European nations, most notably France and Britain, which had a colonial interest and imperial stake in “the Orient.” By questioning the implicit assumption that Britain and France are necessarily representative of European Orientalism, I follow in the footsteps of Andrea Polaschegg’s *Der andere Orientalismus* (The Other Orientalism, 2005), who sought to distinguish and rehabilitate German Orientalism.

In Chapter 2, I argue that German *Kunstmärchen* and fairy tale novellas of the Romantic period idealize “the Orient” and reflect the *Morgenland*¹³ in a utopian light, as a paradisiacal realm of spiritual wholeness, wisdom, mystery, and exoticism. I assert first, that “the Orient” was a privileged concept in Romanticism and second, that German literary fairy tales perpetuated the Romantic stereotype of “the Orient” as Golden Age of past times and a gateway to a utopian future, as grand “fatherland” of poetry, and historic cradle of humankind. My scrutiny of

¹³ The German term “Morgenland” translates literally to “morning-land” and is used as a synonym for “Orient” in German.

Wackenroder's tale *Ein wunderbares morgenländisches Märchen von einem nackten Heiligen* (A Wondrous Oriental Tale of a Naked Saint, 1797) shows that Romantic authors oftentimes tie the tripartite leitmotif of love, music, and poetry in their literary fairy tales to "the Orient." In this context, I will analyze Novalis's *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, including the embedded tale of Atlantis and the "Klingsohrmärchen" (Klingsohr's Fairy Tale). Novalis, I claim further, links the Romantic emblem of the blue flower, that is the blue lotus *Nymphaea caerulea*, to the East and associates the flower with an imaginary Orient, which is quintessentially positive. In his literary fairy tale Novalis not only idealizes "the Orient" but also sheds a negative light on the Occident. A close reading of the *Kunstmärchen* reveals that Novalis opens up a space for a critical perspective of the crusaders, who represent an imperialist West, by exposing them as prejudiced, bloodthirsty, and religious extremists.

Wilhelm Hauff's *Märchenalmanache* (Fairy Tale Almanacs, 1825-1827) are the focal point of Chapter 3. I demonstrate that German literary fairy tales with Orientalist motifs served as vehicles for fantasy escapes during the Romantic era as they represented a place of material wealth and source of poetic inspiration. I discuss my argument in four different sections: The first sheds light on Hauff's literary strategies, such as a multilayered diegesis and his narrative perspective from "the Orient," which support the reader's escapism into the fantastic world of the *Arabian Nights*. The second part continues to focus on the literary techniques of the Swabian author and shows how Hauff ties his readership to his tales through cultural commonalities. The feeling of *Gemütlichkeit* (coziness), for example, serves as a cultural connection that facilitates identification of the Western reader with the Eastern characters by reducing the fear of the strange and the unknown. Moreover, Hauff uses "the Orient" to discuss *Biedermeier* values and to critique the political situation in Germany. Section three establishes that while the escapist

imagination is both fantasmatic, it also has a material, real dimension based on material luxury goods from “the Orient.” I illustrate my claim in the fourth section with the example of opium, which is a real drug that leads to fantasies that enable a writing, which in turn provides the fantasmatic escape for readers and becomes a metaphor in Marxist analysis of economic problems.

The fourth chapter elaborates on how the Romantic writer emerged at the end of the eighteenth century as a key figure in the creation process of a German national identity. I argue that myth, fairy tales, and story-telling played a significant role for German citizens in crafting a national identity and that Romantic literary fairy tales reflected the importance of “the Orient” and myth as a model form for a pan-German identity. I also assert that the increasing popularity of fairy tales, which illustrate Orientalist Otherness, served as counter-current to the ascent of *Volksmärchen* that were considered German to the core. My work on the German *Kunstmärchen* of the Romantic period goes to the heart of Said’s argument concerning the intellectual and cultural supremacy of Westerners in literary works by showing that German Romantic tales, such as E.T.A. Hoffmann’s *Der goldne Topf*, idealize “the Orient,” show no disdain for Otherness, and instead provide a critical lens through which to view Western society and a philistine bourgeois world. Furthermore, as literary products of German Orientalism during Romanticism, *Kunstmärchen* with Orientalist topoi do not mirror colonial or imperial ambitions of Germany to dominate the East.

Chapter 5 examines at greater length how Arnim’s literary fairy tales *Melück Maria Blainville* and *Isabella von Ägypten* portray the figure of the Oriental woman I propose that German literary fairy tales of the Romantic period exalt the *Exotin* (exotic female) by depicting her as the embodiment of a higher truth and soulful existence. Furthermore, the tales contradict

the clichéd nineteenth-century notions of the Oriental woman as a sexually charged figure. My exploration of travel literature about Oriental women written by German and Austrian female authors of Romanticism demonstrates that European female travelers contributed to the depiction of the Oriental woman not only by reinforcing certain stereotypes but also by debunking specific “masculine” clichés. In this connection, I argue that Romantic *Kunstmärchen* were a particular genre that reconfigured the idea of the Oriental woman and that the relationship of Said’s binary model - the sexual, seductive, silenced Oriental woman vis-à-vis the rational Western man in a male dominated, rational discourse – was more complex due to the fact that Western women participated in the discourse of the West. Finally, I draw on Meyda Yeğenoğlu, whose book *Colonial Fantasies* (1998) examines the veil as a site both of fantasy and of nationalist ideologies and discourses of gender identity. My research explores German *Kunstmärchen* in depth for the symbolism of the veil, which, as I believe, encapsulates its own power toward the colonizer or Western voyeur.

The purpose of this Introduction was to lay the groundwork for an in-depth discussion of the present dissertation and to help the reader understand the contributions made by prominent German Romanticists, writers, and scholars of Orientalism in their respective fields. My explanations of the terms “literary fairy tale,” “German Romanticism,” and “Orientalism” served to convey important background knowledge that is necessary for an understanding of the cultural, social, political, historic, and spatial factors influencing the relationships between the period of German Romanticism, the genre of the literary fairy tale, Romantic authors, and the Orientalist paradigm. Building on the terms introduced in this chapter my research project investigates primarily the portrayal of the East in what Novalis called the absolute fairy tale. Novalis who revered Goethe at first and referred to him in his *Blüthenstaub-Fragments* as “der

wahre Statthalter des poetischen Geistes auf Erden” (the true governor of the poetic spirit on earth), later repudiated Goethe’s novel *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (Wilhelm Meister’s Apprenticeship, 1795-1796) as thoroughly prosaic and modern (*Novalis Schriften*, 3: 164). Novalis bemoaned that *Wilhelm Meister* merely deals with ordinary, human things and generally lacks Romantic quality, nature poetry, mysticism, and the marvelous. Thus, Novalis conceived *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* as true Romantic art to counter Goethe’s *Wilhelm Meister* and to answer his own demand “Göthe wird und muss übertroffen werden” (Goethe will and must be surpassed) (*Novalis Schriften*, 3: 175). Chapter 2 explores in more detail Novalis’s fragmentary *Kunstmärchen* that perhaps exemplifies best the connection between early German Romantic thought, the longing for origins, and Romantic nostalgia for the mythical Orient.

CHAPTER 2 ROMANTIC NOSTALGIA: LONGING FOR THE FAIRY TALE MORGENLAND

German writers, poets, and philosophers of opposing literary movements alike, from Weimar Classicism (1772–1805) to Romanticism (1795–1848) were fascinated by the Eastern world and incorporated their passion for the exotic lands into their works. In this dissertation I propose that German *Kunstmärchen* (literary fairy tales) and fairy tale novellas of the Romantic period idealize “the Orient” and reflect the *Morgenland* (morning-land) in a utopian light, as a paradisiacal realm of spiritual wholeness, wisdom, mystery, and exoticism. According to Novalis, the East is the ultimate fountainhead of poetry and thus constitutes the answer to the Romantic *Sehnsucht* (longing), a sense of infinite longing at the heart of the Romantic notion of harmonious wholeness.¹ This outlook goes hand in hand with Friedrich Schlegel’s perception to search for new sources of poetry in “the Orient,” specifically India. In his *Dialogue on Poetry: Talk on Mythology* (1800) he proposes: “Welche neue Quelle von Poesie könnte uns aus Indien fließen. . . . Im Orient müssen wir das höchste Romantische suchen.” (What new sources of poetry might flow from India. . . . It is in the Orient that we must seek the highest Romanticism) (*Athenaeum* 3:101-04). Thus, I argue in this chapter first, that the idea of “the Orient” was central to Romanticism and second, that German *Kunstmärchen* perpetuated the Romantic stereotype of “the Orient” as Golden Age of past times and a gateway to a utopian future, as grand “fatherland” of poetry, and historic cradle of humankind.

Throughout the past centuries the term “Orient” underwent fundamental changes as a term that refers to various parts of Asia. Not only did the connotations and associations that tied the appellation “Orient” to Europe shift but the concept itself transformed. Since this conceptual change does not set “the Orient” apart from other terms, I will refrain from using the obligatory

¹ For Novalis, the “Morgenland” is the fatherland of poetry, compare quote on page 32.

quotation marks in my text. Influenced by different discourses of politics, history, aesthetics, geography, and linguistics, one cannot assume that the notion of the Orient in the nineteenth century was the same as it is in the twenty-first century. No more can one expect that all countries share a similar view regarding the idea of the Orient. Nowadays, the German conception on the topographic Orient is usually synonymous with the Arabic world and Persia, or rather the Middle East, excluding East and Southeast Asia. In the United States however, the term is primarily associated with the Far East and used as a metonym describing Eastern Asia. To unravel the various meanings of Orient one has to take a closer look at the etymological background. The designation derives from the Latin word *oriens* (east, morning, sunrise) and describes, depending upon the spatial location of the speaking person, the direction of the sunrise, the “morning,” and the region where the “land of the morning” is located.

In the German-language context, Martin Luther was the first to use the expression *Morgenland* in his translation of the Bible. Presumably the most popular reference in this context is the nativity story of Jesus Christ in the Gospel of Matthew, the only one of the four Gospels, to mention the so-called “Magi,” or “Kings” who came “from the East.” In Luther’s translation, the “Wise Men,” Caspar, Melchior, and Balthasar, arrived from the “morning-land” to bring Jesus the gifts of gold, myrrh, and frankincense:

Da Jesus geboren war zu Bethlehem im jüdischen Lande, zur Zeit des Königs Herodes, siehe, da kamen die Weisen vom Morgenlande gen Jerusalem, und sprachen: Wo ist der neugeborene König der Juden? Wir haben seinen Stern gesehen im Morgenlande und sind gekommen ihn anzubeten. (*Lutherbibel*, Matthäus, 2:1)

[Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea in the days of Herod the king, behold there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem, Saying, Where is he that is born king of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him.] (*King James Bible*, Matthew, 2:1)

The *Morgenland* here refers to a region located east of Israel, where “the sun rises.” From a

geographical perspective, the Orient thus began with Persia, or modern-day Iran. However, when the centers of Christian religion moved westwards in later centuries, the perception of the Orient and the iconography of the “Wise Men” moved with it (Polaschegg 66). On a late-sixth-century mosaic in the Italian church “Sant’ Apollinare Nuovo,” the three Magi wear Phrygian caps.² Phrygia however was located to the west of Palestine, in Asia Minor.³

Luther’s “land of the sunrise” evokes the Latin phrase *Ex oriente lux* (from the East [comes] light) originally referring to the sunrise but later associated with Christianity, which, from a European standpoint, originated in the East. The Classicists and Romanticists in turn, reinterpreted the phrase according to their ideological and philosophical credo that humankind and human culture derived from the Orient. In his early prose works (1788-1791) Novalis describes the *Morgenland* as the “eigentliche Vaterlande der Menschheit, Sprache, Dichtkunst und daher auch der Begeisterung, von woher eigentlich wie vom Urstamme sich alles in die übrigen Erdgegenden und Zonen nur fortgepflanzt hat und eingepropft worden ist” (the original fatherland of humanity, language, poetry, and therefore also of the exaltation, from where, similar to the primal tribe, procreation emanated and was grafted into other areas and zones of the earth) (Novalis, *Schriften*, 6.1: 359). This statement evokes several important questions that I will discuss in the first part of this chapter: What exactly was the geographical conception of the Orient during the eighteenth and nineteenth century? How did the notion of the imaginary Orient transform during this time period? What did the Romantics associate with the Eastern world? Was Orientalism a privileged concept in Romanticism? Did the Romantics feel a nostalgic longing to “return” to the *Morgenland* and if so, why?

² The Phrygian cap is a soft conical cap with the top pulled forward, associated in antiquity with the inhabitants of Phrygia, a region of central Anatolia.

³ In antiquity, Phrygia was a kingdom in the west central part of Anatolia, in what is now modern-day Turkey.

Edward Said claims that the Orient consisted until the early-nineteenth century only of “India and the Biblical lands” (4). In his analysis of Orientalism he therefore ignores the Far East and limits himself to the discussion on the European “experience of the Arabs and Islam, which for almost a thousand years stood for the Orient” (17). In contrast, in her book *Der andere Orientalismus* (The Other Orientalism, 2005), Andrea Polaschegg provides a more detailed and accurate topographic description of the eighteenth and nineteenth century understanding of the *Morgenland*.

The geographical conception of the Orient during the eighteenth and nineteenth century was not limited to the Asian continent or a specific part of it but consisted of a much broader dimension on the world map. In order to travel from the German states to the Orient, one did not have to leave contemporary Europe. Right next to Austria lay “the gate” to the realm of the exotic Other. Novalis described this geographic relationship in his burlesque poem *Die Sündfluth* (The Deluge): “im fernen Morgenland von Wien ein wenig linker Hand” (“in the faraway morning-land, a little to the left of Vienna”) (Novalis, *Schriften*, 6.1: 412). To the east of Vienna and the southwest of Toulouse, the Orient stretched over the West and North African coast to Egypt and down to Ethiopia, comprised the Near and Middle East, Greece, the Balkans, Asia Minor, Persia, India, Indonesia, Japan, and China.⁴ A trip to Spain or Sicily already qualified as a journey to the *Morgenland* where one could witness the traces of Islamic history in form of architecture and “Moorish” culture. When August Jacob Liebeskind, a protestant minister and Martin Wieland’s son in law, published his first volume of *Palmblätter. Erlesene morgenländische Erzählungen für die Jugend* (Palm Leaves. Selected Oriental Stories for the Youth) in 1786, he located his 131 Orientalist Tales in Arabia, Persia, India, as well as in Christian Spain. Consequently, the Orient did not represent a single history, society, or religion

⁴ Russia however, an Asian Empire then, was considered Occidental (Stockinger 81).

but rather a meta-cultural area. The imaginary Orient was in fact so closely associated with both, Africa and Asia, that the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula could be considered African and the Spanish thought of as Asian.

In his essay on Spanish romance poetry, published in the *Adrastea* (1801), Johann Gottfried Herder refers to the Spanish as “European Asians” and describes their country as “magic land” and “beautiful desert of our fantasy” (169). Indeed, the desert was the sole, purely topographic figuration that evoked the *Morgenland*, especially in combination with other Orientalist marks such as palm trees, mummified nomads, caravans, or a life-giving oasis. Due to its vague geographic dimensions, the literary and iconographic representation of the Orient was multifaceted, ranging from Biblical motifs to Egyptian landmarks, and from Ottoman Sultans and African Moors to the topos of the freedom-loving Arabian Bedouin. This (inter)changeable “costume” of the Orient prevails throughout the late-eighteenth and nineteenth century. The following texts include a wide range of codes that characterize the Orient: Martin Wieland’s collection of fairy tales entitled *Dschinnistan* (1786-1789), Ludwig Tieck’s *Almansur* (1790) and *Abdallah* (1795), August Langbein’s trilogy *Talismane gegen die lange Weile* (Talismans against the Boredom, 1801-1802), Karoline von Günderrode’s *Gedichte und Phantasien* (Poems and Fantasies, 1804), Goethe’s *West-östlicher Divan* (West-Eastern Divan, 1819), Wilhelm Hauff’s *Fairy Tale Almanacs* (1825-1827), August von Platen-Hallermünde’s *Die Abbasiden* (The Abbasids, 1829), Heinrich Stieglitz’s *Bilder des Orients* (Pictures of the Orient, 1831–1833), Ferdinand Freiligrath’s *Poems* (1838), and Karl May’s six-volume *Orientzyklus* (Orient Cycle, 1892).

In the course of the late-seventeenth and eighteenth century, the image of the *Morgenland* underwent a remarkable paradigm shift due to different factors: On the one hand, the notion of

the “Turkish Threat,” which prevailed in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, gave way to a more objective view, and religious conflicts yielded political and personal interests (Fuchs-Sumiyoshi 26-27). According to Wilhelm Gerstenberg, “the Turk” was *en vogue* and popular during that period, which explains the increase in Orientalist *sujets* in the form of plays and operas (21). *Türkenopern* (Turkish Operas) accentuated a colorful and idealized representation of the Orient, the most successful example being Mozart’s *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (The Abduction from the Seraglio, 1782). On the other hand, Antoine Galland’s French translation of *Les Mille et une Nuits: Contes Arabes* (The Thousand and One Nights: Arab Stories, 1704-1717) changed the view of educated Europeans who no longer saw the Islamic East as the home of the Antichrist and heresy (Fück 101). Another noteworthy change in the shift of the concept of the Orient was the first scholarly and objective translation of the Qur’an from Arabic into English by Georg Sale in 1734.⁵ Around mid-century, *Orientalistik* (Oriental or Asian and Middle Eastern Studies) detached itself from the paternalism of the church, which drew upon a Qur’an interpretation by abbot Peter Venerabilis (1141), in which Mohammed appears consistently as *auctor mali* (originator of evil) (Fuchs-Sumiyoshi 27). By 1772, David Friedrich Megerlin produced the first direct German translation titled *Die türkische Bibel, oder der Koran* (The Turkish Bible or the Qur’an).

Beyond that, the Western stance toward the *Morgenland* was also significantly impacted by the philosophies of the Enlightenment, which highlighted reason and rationalism as common denominators shared with Orientalist cultures, such as China’s political system or the interpretation of Islam as a natural religion.⁶ While Christianity emphasized the differences

⁵ Theodor Arnold translated Georg Sale’s English version into German in 1746. Arnold’s Qur’an translation served later as an important source for Goethe’s *West-Eastern Divan*.

⁶ Natural religion rested on the basic assumption that man is guided by the dictates of reason.

between the Oriental and the Occidental worlds, followers of the Enlightenment justified their own position, religious toleration and the basic oneness of human nature, with reference to the “universal character of reason.”⁷ By the mid-eighteenth century, two different conceptions emerged that later influenced the perception of the Orient by the early Romanticists. The first thesis, based on Johann Gottfried Herder’s work, emphasized the unity of humankind by declaring Asia as the origin of human culture and by interpreting the differences between Orient and Occident as the result of mutual influence. The second thesis recognized the past contributions of Oriental cultures to the progress of humankind but either ignored or devalued their importance for the enlightened European civilization of the present. Self-reflection, self-awareness, and critical questioning of morals and values predominated the phase that followed in the last third of the eighteenth century. This enlightened pattern of thought led to a fundamental reinterpretation of the relationship between the East and the West.

Gotthold Ephraim Lessing’s play *Nathan der Weise* (Nathan the Wise, 1779) mirrors the paradigm shift not only by emphasizing humanism and friendship but also by portraying an Orient of religious tolerance and openness. Set in Jerusalem during the Third Crusade (1189–1192), which stands here *pars pro toto* for the *Morgenland*, the play stages how the wise Jewish merchant Nathan, the enlightened sultan Saladin and the Templar who represent Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, learn that there is no “one true faith” via Nathan’s Ring Parable.⁸ Only

⁷ Already Leibniz pointed out the rational character of the Islamic Religion in his *Essais de Théodicée sur la bonté de Dieu, la liberté de l’homme et l’origine du mal* (Theodicy Essays on the Goodness of God, the Freedom of Man and the Origin of Evil) (1710) (quoted in Fuchs-Sumiyoshi 27).

⁸ Nathan narrates the Ring Parable when asked by Saladin which religion is true: An heirloom ring with the magical ability to render its owner pleasant in the eyes of God and mankind had been passed from father to the son he loved most. When it came to a father of three sons whom he loved equally, he promised it to each of them. Looking for a way to keep his promise, he had two replicas made, which were indistinguishable from the original, and gave on his deathbed a ring to each of them. The brothers quarreled over who owned the real ring. A wise judge admonished them that it was impossible to tell at that time and that, to find out whether one of them had the real ring, it was up to them to live in such a way that their ring’s powers could prove true, to live a life that is pleasant in the eyes of God

five years after Lessing's publication of *Nathan the Wise*, Herder created his main work *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (Reflections on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind, 1784-1791), in which he follows the footsteps of Immanuel Kant with his concept of history as a linear progress toward reason and the perfection of mankind (21-39).⁹ In his research, Herder locates the cradle of humanity in the river valleys and the mountains of inner Asia and links the Orient to the origin of language, the oldest poetry, and the first forms of religion:

Asien ward zuerst bewohnbar, weil es die höchsten und breitesten Bergketten und auf seinem Rücken eine Ebne besaß, die nie das Meer erreicht hat. Hier war also nach aller Wahrscheinlichkeit irgend in einem glückseligen Tal am Fuß und im Busen der Gebürge der erste erlesene Wohnsitz der Menschen. . . . Der Gang der Kultur und Geschichte gibt historische Beweise, dass das Menschengeschlecht in Asien entstanden sei. (VI,1: 43)

[At first, Asia was inhabitable because it had the highest and widest mountain chains and a plain on its back that never reached the sea. So in all likelihood, here, in some blissful valley at the foot and in the bosom of the mountains was the first selected dwelling place of humankind. The course of the culture and history are historical proof that humankind originated in Asia.]

The connection of Early Romanticism between the *Morgenland* and the origin of humankind thus goes back to Herder's historical philosophy. Herder further states that the final outcomes of the historical process are ideals such as humanity, freedom, and universal happiness (149, 167, 343). In other words, at the heart of Herder's philosophical concept of history lies the existence of a utopian state of perfection, or as the Romantics put it, a Golden Age.

and mankind. Nathan compares this to religion, saying that each of us lives by the religion we have learned from those we respect.

⁹ Herder's *magnus opus* rests on the ideas that he had already published in smaller historico-philosophical pamphlets, such as *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit* (Another Philosophy of History Concerning the Development of Mankind) (1774). Herder argued that humans develop according to their individual cultural areas.

Herder's ethnological thesis about the Orient coincides with a new perception of history. By the end of the eighteenth century, "history" itself had become a rather unstable term, a synonym for insecurity, unpredictability, and contingency due to seminal events such as the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, and Germany's political occupation (Lampart 174). Accordingly, philosophical thinking in Germany was dominated by the question of "how to cope with the new incalculability of the historical world" (Lampart 175). In the face of the political and economic revolution in Europe, the Early Romantics embraced Herder's philosophies on history and cultural morphology and integrated them into their own worldviews.

Besides this new experience of an uncertain history, the Early Romantics found themselves trapped in a rationalized and disenchanting world. Their "enlightened" reality was marked by demystification and the suspension of religious beliefs. The era of Enlightenment had not only separated nature from superstitious beliefs but also, from a Romantic point of view, eliminated the connection to the divine creation and thus, robbed nature of its soul. The Romantics diagnosed the world of their century to be ill and in need of healing.¹⁰ They not only ascribed this "disease" of ever-increasing division and fragmentation of the individual and society to the age of Enlightenment but also to the new technological developments. The Industrial Revolution, which represented in the eyes of the Romantics the triumph of the desire for profit motive over spiritual values, was another contributing factor to the isolation of the individual and its *Entfremdung* (alienation) from nature. The sentiments of alienation and *Weltschmerz* (world-weariness) therefore mark the *Zeitgeist* (spirit of the time) of Romanticism and are attended by the issue of identity formation and identity loss respectively.

¹⁰ In contrast, Goethe described the Romantic movement on April 2, 1829 as "sick": "Das Klassische nenne ich das Gesunde, und das Romantische das Kranke" (The "classical" I call *healthy* and the "romantic" I call *sick*) (Jenisch 50-79).

The followers of the Romantic movement understood that the physical reality of their time could never satisfy the demands of their minds and hence felt a sense of infinite *Sehnsucht* (longing) for a different world. The dichotomy between reality and Romantic idealism created a painful feeling of sadness and melancholy. The Romantics were faced with the dilemma how to escape this negative emotional state. If, as Herder stated it, a utopian age existed in the future of humankind, how was one able to reach it? The solution for the Romantics lay in the ages before the present time. They had to look back to the past ages in which man was not yet alienated from nature. In other words, to create the fundamentals of a new Golden Age, it was necessary to take a circular route via the harmonious past. Only there, so the Romantics believed, could man find and reconnect with the ideal state of natural unity and wholeness.

This conviction was articulated in a triadic scheme of history consisting of an idealized prehistoric age, a present with negative qualities, and an ideal future. Many German philosophers and writers of the nineteenth century founded their ideas on the basic structure of this scheme, e.g. Herder, Kant, Schelling, Schiller, Hölderlin, Novalis, and Hegel (Lampart 175). The Romantic thinkers drew an analogy between the ages of history and the development of the *Volk* (people or nation) as collective individuals. Comparable to a human being, in Romantic thought, the *Volk* could be educated and shaped to become a harmonious personality (Lampart 176). Herder expresses this understanding of history in his historico-philosophical pamphlet *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit* (Another Philosophy of History Concerning the Development of Mankind, 1774), through four phases of human civilization and culture tied to geographical locations: While “Das goldene Zeitalter der kindlichen Menschheit” (the Golden Age of childlike mankind) is located in the *Morgenland*, the Egyptians (or rather the Phoenicians) represent the *Knabenalter* (age of boyhood), the Greeks constitute the

Jünglingsalter (age of youth), and the Romans mark the *Mannesalter* (age of adulthood) (481). From this historical perspective, the childhood stage – that is “the ancient Orient” – is the anthropological state nearest to natural harmony. In this earliest phase, man is not yet alienated from himself by education and correspondingly, the state or nation is not yet “contaminated” by civilization and historical development. Therefore, the Romantics felt that a return to the *Morgenland* would bring about a spiritual transformation and the rebirth of a new mythology. Symbolically speaking, the Orient was a key to recover ancient and lost knowledge of the past, and granted access to primeval sources of poetry, beauty, archaic unity, and perfect harmony.

But how could one go back in history to that first epoch far removed from the present? For the Romantics, the answer to this question was *Poesie*, which in this context is not poetry in its narrow sense but rather “a general force, a creative entity that synthesizes subjective and objective as well as individual and collective parts of reality” (Lampart 176). In the *Athenaeum-Fragment* no. 116 (1798), Friedrich Schlegel defines Romantic poetry as *progressive Universalpoesie* (progressive universal poetry), which means both poetry as genre and faculty and the source of creativity to form poetry:

Die romantische Poesie ist eine progressive Universalpoesie. Ihre Bestimmung ist nicht bloß, alle getrennten Gattungen der Poesie wieder zu vereinigen und die Poesie mit der Philosophie und Rhetorik in Berührung zu setzen. Sie will und soll auch Poesie und Prosa, Genialität und Kritik, Kunstpoesie und Naturpoesie bald mischen, bald verschmelzen, die Poesie lebendig und gesellig und das Leben und die Gesellschaft poetisch machen, den Witz poetisieren und die Formen der Kunst mit gediegnem Bildungsstoff jeder Art anfüllen und sättigen und durch die Schwingungen des Humors beseelen. Sie umfasst alles, was nur poetisch ist, vom größten wieder mehrere Systeme in sich enthaltenden Systeme der Kunst bis zu dem Seufzer, dem Kuss, den das dichtende Kind aushaucht in kunstlosem Gesang. (37-38)

[Romantic poetry is a progressive universal poetry. Its destiny is not merely to reunite all of the different genres and to put poetry in touch with philosophy and rhetoric. Romantic poetry wants to and should combine and fuse poetry and prose, genius and criticism, art poetry and nature poetry. It should make poetry lively and sociable, and make life and society poetic. It should poeticize wit and fill all of art's

forms with sound material of every kind to form the human soul, to animate it with flights of humor. Romantic poetry embraces everything that is purely poetic, from the greatest art systems, which contain within them still more systems, all the way down to the sigh, the kiss that a poeticizing child breathes out in an artless song.] (37-38)

Schlegel claims poetry's ability to unify the heterogeneous and contradictory aspects of reality.

Universal poetry is progressive because it is *ewig im Werden* (eternal in the process of becoming). Consequently, fragmentary works are of great significance in Romantic literature, for example Samuel Taylor Coleridge's poem *Kubla Khan* (completed in 1797, published in 1816) or Novalis's literary fairy tale *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* (Henry of Ofterdingen, 1802).

In Romantic aesthetics, the *Morgenland* is thus more than a source of poetic inspiration – it is the home of *Poesie*, a metaphysical, divine, and creative force that moves everything. History, in comparison, is the visible expression or manifestation of *Poesie* in reality (Lampart 177). In order to recover the lost *Poesie* of the past, to reconnect with it and to give birth to a new mythology, the Romantics used different approaches: they researched the history, cultures, religions, languages, and literary works of the East, and immersed themselves in the study and translation of Arabic as well as Sanskrit texts. Friedrich Schlegel and Goethe wrote the two most renowned German works in this context.¹¹ In 1808, Schlegel published his monograph *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* (On the Speech and Wisdom of the Indians), the first attempt at comparative Indo-Germanic linguistics and the starting point of the study of Indian languages. Goethe on the other hand, inspired by the Persian poet Hafez, wrote the *West-östlicher Divan* (West-Eastern Divan, 1819-1827), a collection of lyrical poems in which he attempted to tie the Orient to the Occident. Other authors, e.g. Wieland, Novalis, Hauff, Wackenroder, and Achim

¹¹ In his early days Goethe was connected with the literary movement *Sturm und Drang* (Storm and Stress), which was an attempt to break out of what he saw as both the unduly narrow confines of prudent practicality and the Enlightenment vision of reasonableness. But when Goethe outgrew this phase of romantic rebellion, he denounced the Romantic movement, compare footnote 10.

von Arnim, to name but a few, focused on Orientalist tropes in literary fairy tales.¹² To amplify my argument that German *Kunstmärchen* of the eighteenth and nineteenth century idealize the East, I devote the second part of this chapter to an analysis of Wackenroder's literary fairy tale *Ein wunderbares morgenländisches Märchen von einem nackten Heiligen* (A Wondrous Oriental Tale of a Naked Saint, 1797) and Novalis's fairy tale novella *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*. These two *Kunstmärchen* lend themselves especially well for discussion, because they are frequently cited sources of the Romantic period and contain multiple references that directly link the protagonist to the Orient and to Orientals.

Gifted in the fields of music and literature, young writer Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder lived only long enough to complete one small volume of essays on Renaissance painting titled *Herzensergießungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders* (Outpourings of an Art-Loving Friar, 1797). Before his death, Wackenroder had begun to write a second volume of essays, *Phantasien über die Kunst, für Freunde der Kunst* (Fantasies on the Subject of Art for Friends of Art, 1799), dedicated this time to a discussion of music. Due to his premature passing, however, his friend Ludwig Tieck finished *Phantasien über die Kunst* but included Wackenroder's *Oriental Fairy Tale* in their collaborative work. In the introduction to his literary fairy tale Wackenroder not only locates the fantastic in the East but also identifies the *Morgenland* as "home" of all that is wondrous: "Das Morgenland ist die Heimat alles Wunderbaren, in dem Altertume und der Kindheit der dortigen Meinungen findet man auch höchst seltsame Winke und Rätsel, die immer

¹² The search for the original *Poesie* however was not limited to the realm of the *Morgenland*. Another and by no means less important source for primal, religious, and natural unity was the idea of the European Middle Ages. Schlegel and Novalis, for instance, linked in their works the Germanic Middle Ages, Catholicism, and the Orient and underlined the general philosophic value of *Poesie* as an absolute, unifying force. Arnim, Brentano, and the Grimm Brothers in turn searched for *Poesie* in the living collective traditions of the people, e.g. in legends, myths, and fairy tales. This "second generation" of Romantics interpreted the concept of *Poesie* in relation to history. However, the authors disagreed on their understandings of *Volkspoesie* (folk poetry) or *Naturpoesie* (natural poetry), as collectively created poetry (e.g. the medieval epic *The Song of the Nibelungs*), and *Kunstpoesie* (artistic poetry), as individually created poetry (Schanze 89-90). I will further elaborate on the difference between *Naturpoesie* and *Kunstpoesie* in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

noch dem Verstande, der sich für klüger hält, aufgegeben werden” (Wackenroder 304). (The Orient is the home of all that is marvelous. In the ancient, childlike views prevailing there one finds strange signs and riddles still unsolved by Reason, which considers itself so much more clever) (Browning and Ryder 47). This introduction echoes the credo of the German Romantics as well as Herder’s stages of human development and ties the Orient to myth, the cryptic, and the miraculous. At the same time, the second sentence of the introduction takes a critical, even ironic stance toward rational thought and thus, the philosophies of Enlightenment.

The *Kunstmärchen* narrates the story of “strange creatures” who live in a remote cliff grotto in the wilderness of the Orient. This opening recalls the fairy tale motif of the hermit in his remote, isolated cave; a motif, which commonly occurs in other Early Romantic works, most notably in Novalis’s *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*.¹³ In contrast to Novalis’s positively portrayed figures (the Count of Hohenzollern, the physician Sylvester), however, the hermit in Wackenroder’s tale appears as a negative and desperate character. He is possessed by the compulsive idea that he must unceasingly turn the raging Wheel of Time in order to prevent the slightest, momentary standstill of time. While he endures the physical pains of his fate, the “wondrous being” attempts to “enlighten” those who pilgrimage to his dwelling about the importance of his work. Even though the travelers worship the hermit as a “wayward vessel of a higher intelligence or genius” and “naked saint,” they do not understand him in his suffering:

Er wütete, wenn er sah, daß die Wanderer, die zu ihm wallfahrteten, ganz ruhig standen, und ihm zusahen, oder hin und wieder gingen und miteinander sprachen. Er zitterte vor Heftigkeit, und zeigte ihnen den unaufhaltsamen Umschwung des ewigen Rades, das einförmige, taktmäßige Fortsauen der Zeit; er knirschte mit den Zähnen, daß sie von dem Getriebe, in dem auch sie verwickelt und fortgezogen

¹³ Compare Friedrich Hölderlin’s *Hyperion oder Der Eremit in Griechenland* (Hyperion or The Hermit in Greece, 1797-1799); *Zeitung für Einsiedler* (Newspaper for Hermits, 1808) the voice of the Heidelberg Romantics published by Achim von Arnim, Joseph von Eichendorff’s poem *Der Einsiedler* (The Hermit, 1835). The word *Eremit* or *Einsiedler* (hermit) (Ancient Greek *eremites*, from *erēmos* [“desert,” “uninhabited”]) translates to “desert inhabitant,” which evokes the Orient.

würden, nichts fühlten und bemerkten; er schleuderte sie von sich, wenn sie ihm in der Raserei zu nahe kamen. (Wackenroder 305)

[He (the hermit) was enraged when he saw that those who had made a pilgrimage to see him standing idly by watching or strolling up and down engaged in conversation. Then he trembled with agitation and pointed out to them the incessant rotating of the eternal wheel, the monotonous, metronomic, unceasing onrush of Time. He gnashed his teeth when he saw that the bystanders were totally unaware of the machinery in which they too were involved and by which they too were pulled along.] (Browning and Ryder 48)

Only during beautiful, moonlight nights, the hermit takes his hands off the wheel and starts crying like a child. He then bemoans his occupation, which makes it impossible for him to act, to affect or to create anything on earth. Although he feels a “consuming longing” for unknown beautiful things, he cannot rescue himself (Browning and Ryder 49).

After several torturous years, the hermit’s fate changes when two lovers cross his path and he hears ethereal music and enchanting instruments playing, which transform his world into sounds and harmonies. Wackenroder emphasizes this narrative change stylistically by switching from prose to poetry. The lovers’ song immediately frees the hermit of the Wheel of Time, releases his soul, and magically turns him into a divine entity:

Die Gestalt des Heiligen war verschwunden, eine engelschöne Geisterbildung, aus leichtem Dufte gewebt, schwebte aus der Höhle, streckte die schlanken Arme sehnsuchtsvoll zum Himmel empor, und hob sich nach den Tönen der Musik in tanzender Bewegung von dem Boden in die Höhe. (Wackenroder 308)

[The saint’s earthly form had vanished, and an angelically beautiful spirit form, woven of delicate mist, came floating out of the cave, stretched its slender arms longingly to heaven, and rose with a dancing movement from the ground to the measure of the music.] (Browning and Ryder 50)

The luminous figure flies toward the stars of the night and finally disappears into the infinite firmament, which the lovers perceive as “the Genius of Love and Music” (Browning and Ryder 51).

I propose that Wackenroder's *Oriental Fairy Tale* thematizes two kinds of escape that reverberated throughout the Romantic period: first, the escape of an artist from a philistine life, and second, the escape from an enlightened, technology driven modernity into the world of Romanticism. Wackenroder himself was a creative spirit and educated in composing and playing the violin. To obey his father's wishes however, he studied law and became a jurist. Thus, the young writer was torn between his desire for musical self-realization and his bourgeois environment, between his love for music and the dull, mechanic work processes at the superior Court of Justice in Berlin (1796) (Wühl 65). Wackenroder's *Kunstmärchen* mirrors this personal struggle and evokes E.T.A. Hoffmann's *Der goldne Topf* (The Golden Pot, 1814). Both protagonists suffer physically before love and music set them free.¹⁴

While Hoffmann brings the realm of the fantastic to Germany, Wackenroder (like Hauff) sets his fairy tale in the Eastern world. Only the topography of the tale resembles the Orient; the attitude of the hermit toward life is a modern one and reflects the Western bourgeois world. Hence, the saint also personifies the suffering of a restless humanity from spinning the roaring Wheel of Time. Modern society, like the hermit, is fatigued with endless toil, which prevents it from seeing or hearing anything but how the frightful wheel turns.¹⁵ The nakedness of the main character not only stands for asceticism but also stresses the isolation, alienation, and

¹⁴ In *Der goldene Topf*, the main character, student Anselmus, is in a love relationship with the snake Serpentina and listens to her enchanting singing sound of crystal bells on their first encounter. Serpentina's father, the Archivist Lindhorst, imprisons Anselmus in a crystal bottle as punishment for splashing one of his original manuscripts with ink. Entrapped in the crystal, Anselmus suffers physical pains and mental torment before Serpentina reminds him of the power of their love for each other. Serpentina's musical voice rescues Anselmus and the Archivist Lindhorst frees him from the bottle (85).

¹⁵ "Er konnte vor dem Getöse nichts tun, nichts vornehmen, die gewaltige Angst, die ihn in immerwährender Arbeit anstrenge, verhinderte ihn, irgend etwas zu sehn und zu hören, als wie sich mit Brausen, mit gewaltigem Sturmwindssausen das fürchterliche Rad drehte und wieder drehte, das bis an die Sterne und hinüber reichte" (Wackenroder 304) [Because of this din he could do nothing, plan nothing – the overwhelming anxiety that kept him in constant, strenuous activity prevented him from anything except the way this dreadful wheel, which reached to the stars and beyond them, turned and turned, roaring like a mighty storm] (Browning and Ryder 47-48).

fragmentation of the individual. For as long as mankind keeps spinning the Wheel of Time, its monotonous sounds will drown out the music, meaning the force of *Poesie*.

In the song of the two lovers, Wackenroder praises “der Liebe Ton” (the sound of love) and interweaves the verses with references to the Orient’s natural topography, marked by an attractive, fertile region of palm trees, flowers, and venerable groves:

Mondschein liegt auf allen Blumen,
Alle Palmen schlummern schon,
In der Waldung Heiligtumen
Waltet, klingt der Liebe Ton:
Schlafend verkündigen alle Töne,
Palmen und Blumen der Liebe Schöne.
(Wackenroder 307-08)

[Moonlight lies on every blossom,
All the palms are fast asleep,
In the woodland’s sacred places
Ringing rule the tone Love keeps.
Even in sleeping all tones proclaim,
Palmtrees and blossoms, Love’s sweet domain.]
(Browning and Ryder 50)

The romanticized *Morgenland* depicted in the song ties the Orient to a synthesis of love, nature, music, and religion, the very foundations of Romantic *Poesie*. To further elucidate the close relationship between love, poetry, and music in Romanticism, I draw on Tieck’s anthology *Minnelieder aus dem Schwäbischen Zeitalter* (Courtly Love Songs of the Swabian Age), published in 1803. According to Tieck, it is the poet’s love for sounds and his longing to create rhymes of related tones that fuel his desire to turn words into poetry:

Es ist nichts weniger als Trieb zur Künstlichkeit, oder zu Schwierigkeiten, welche den Reim zuerst in die Poesie eingeführt hat, sondern die Liebe zum Ton und Klang, das Gefühl, daß die ähnlichlautenden Worte in deutliche oder geheimnißvollere Verwandtschaft stehn müssen, das Bestreben die Poesie in Musik, in etwas Bestimmt-Unbestimmtes zu verwandeln. . . . Eine unerklärliche Liebe zu den Tönen ist es, die seinen (des reimenden Dichters) Sinn regiert, eine Sehnsucht, die Laute, die in der Sprache einzeln und unverbunden stehn, näher zu bringen, damit sie ihre Verwandtschaft erkennen, und sich gleichsam in Liebe vermählen.
(Tieck i-xxx)

[It is nothing less than the drive to artificiality, or to difficulties, which firstly introduced the rhyme into poetry, but the love for tone and sound, the feeling, that similar sounding words must be in a clear or more mysterious relationship, the aspiration to transform poetry into music, into something defined-undefined. . . . It is an unexplainable love for tones, that rules his (the rhyming poet's) mind, a longing, to bring the single and unconnected sounds of the language closer together, so that they recognize their relationship, and they quasi wed in love.]

The creative act of the poet is an act inspired by love, a work of passion that unifies sounds and ultimately transforms them into music. For Wackenroder, in turn, music is “der Weg zur allgemeinen, umfassenden Liebe” (the way to general, all-embracing love), through which one approximates “die Nähe göttlicher Seligkeit” (the closeness to divine bliss) (Wackenroder 310-11). Therefore, the *Morgenland* of Wackenroder's literary fairy tale not only epitomizes the miraculous but also the triadic conjunction of love, poetry, and music.

The same tripartite *Leitmotiv* (guiding theme) permeates Novalis's fragmentary novel *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, which, in unison with Schlegel's progressive universal *Poesie*, comprises several different genres. The novel contains fairy tales, dreams, and songs, fuses prose and poetry, and joins seemingly disparate aspects in the areas of philosophy, science, religion, and mythology. Even though *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* exhibits characteristics of a *Bildungsroman* (coming-of-age novel), this “apotheosis of poetry,” as Novalis puts it in a letter to his friend Ludwig Tieck, was supposed to gradually transform into a *Märchen* (Novalis, *Schriften*, 4: 322).¹⁶ In his report on the continuation of Novalis's posthumous work, Tieck cites the author's vision: “Die Märchenwelt wird ganz sichtbar, die wirkliche Welt selbst wird wie ein Märchen angesehen” (The fairy tale world becomes fully visible; the real world is itself regarded as a fairy tale) (qtd. in Novalis 187). The novel consists of two parts, titled *Die Erwartung* (The Expectation) and *Die Erfüllung* (The Fulfillment). However, due to Novalis's

¹⁶ “Das Ganze soll eine Apotheose der Poësie seyn,” qtd. in “Letter from 23. February 1800 to Ludwig Tieck.” In: Novalis, *Schriften*, 4, 1975, 322.

early death on March 25, 1801, five weeks before his thirtieth birthday, the novel remained a fragmentary piece and thus reflects, from a Romantic viewpoint, an “eternal process of becoming” (see my earlier discussion of Schlegel’s expression *ewig im Werden* on page 42).

The main character, Henry of Ofterdingen, is based on a quasi-fictional *Minnesänger* (minstrel) of the Middle Ages who participated in the alleged *Sängerkrieg* (minstrel contest) at the Thuringian Wartburg castle in 1207.¹⁷ In “The Expectation,” young Henry, son of a goldsmith in Eisenach, reminisces about the story of a mysterious blue flower that a visiting stranger told him. Driven by an unspeakable desire, a deep longing and feelings of unknown passion that stimulate his poetic mind, the youngster feels empowered to truly understand nature by sharing a common language with animals, trees, and rocks. While his thoughts are in musical harmony, Henry dreams about the blue flower and discovers in its calyx the *visage* (face) of his future wife Matilda. At first, Henry is overwhelmed by the powerful images and unfamiliar emotions, but over time becomes increasingly introverted and falls into a state of silent melancholy. Shortly after his twentieth birthday, he joins his mother and some merchants on a journey to his grandfather Schwaning in Augsburg. The friendly travel companions recognize Henry’s poetic nature and narrate two fairy tales that highlight the art of poetry and the role of the poet.

After several days, the small party spends the night at a castle of an old war veteran. Here, Henry encounters crusaders who celebrate their cause of “liberating” the Holy Sepulcher from the “infidels” and of fighting for Christian supremacy in the Holy Land. Thrilled to be amongst the crusaders, Henry feels inspired with warlike ardor. However, after a meeting with Zulima, a young woman from the Orient and kidnapping victim of the latest Crusade, Henry is deeply

¹⁷ Both historical (Wolfram von Eschenbach and Walther von der Vogelweide) and fictional (Klingsohr of Hungary and Henry of Ofterdingen) minstrels were alleged to have participated in the competition (“Wartburgkrieg”).

moved by her fate. At the following stopover of their journey, the travelers converse with a Bohemian miner in a village tavern who eventually leads them to explore his recent discovery of a nearby cave. To everyone's surprise they discover that an aristocratic hermit, the Count of Hohenzollern, inhabits the cave. Amongst the belongings of the hermit, Henry finds an illustrated book written in an unknown language, which seems to tell his own life-story similar to a *mise-en-abîme*, even though with a fragmentary ending.¹⁸ Eventually, the journey ends in Augsburg where Henry meets the poet Klingsohr and his daughter Matilda. He now realizes, that he has seen Klingsohr's picture before in the mysterious book of the hermit and recognizes Matilda's face from his dream of the blue flower. Matilda and Henry immediately fall in love and soon after they are engaged to be married. At the evening of the engagement festivities, Klingsohr tells an intricate, allegorical fairy tale, which ends the first part of the novel.

In the prolog of "The Fulfillment," Astralis, the androgynous, poetic child of Henry and Matilda, heralds the beginning of a new era of love and a golden future for mankind. In the meantime, Matilda has passed away and Henry, now a mournful pilgrim, leaves Augsburg. When Matilda's comforting voice suddenly comes out of a tree, Henry witnesses an epiphanic vision of his beloved. This revelation frees Henry from his heartfelt pains and changes his entire attitude toward life and death. Next, Henry meets the girl Cyane, the daughter of the Count of Hohenzollern. She brings him to the hermit and physician Sylvester who converses with the pilgrim about the language of nature, the Golden Age, and religious aspects. Even though the novel ends at this point, Novalis's personal notes in conjunction with Tieck's report shed light on the continuation of Ofterdingen's journey. Henry would have visited a monastery, as well as Switzerland, Italy, and the Orient, met with the German Emperor to discuss politics, and

¹⁸ The term *mise-en-abîme* (placing into infinity) refers to the containment of an entity within another identical entity.

participated in the legendary *Sängerkrieg*. Finally, Henry's death would have been his apotheosis and the picking of the blue flower would have given rise to the Golden Age of eternal love and peace (Novalis 176-218).

Since the symbol of the blue flower resurfaces as central motif throughout the novel, it serves as starting point for my analysis. I argue first that Novalis links the Romantic emblem of the blue flower to the East and second that he associates the flower with an imaginary Orient, which is quintessentially positive. As romantic symbol *par excellence*, the flower represents the forces of nature: the various stages of growth, blossom, and decay (or the eternal circle of life: birth, life, death, rebirth).¹⁹ On the one hand, its blue color evokes the infinite expanse of the sky and the sea, and, on the other hand, it epitomizes the feelings of *Sehnsucht* and nostalgia (Freeman 112). Given the flower's symbolism and the significance it holds for the Romantics, one cannot examine the fairy tale without discussing the significance of the novel's main metaphor. Furthermore, in the context of the dissertation at hand, the question arises whether Novalis ties the image of the blue flower to his vision of the Orient. Much has been written about possible references to botanic prototypes, speculations range from the blue gentian, chicory, hyacinth, bellflower, and forget-me-not to the cornflower, the latter one being indeed a popular motif in Romantic poetry and painting (Kandeler 101-14). The fact that Novalis named one of his characters "Cyane," however, does not necessarily allude to the cornflower's Latin name *centaurea cyanus* but simply to the color "cyan blue" (also called aqua or blue-green).

¹⁹ In July/August 1800, Novalis wrote the word *Metempsychose* (reincarnation) in his notes for *Henry of Ofterdingen* (see addenda *Die Berliner Papiere* [The Berlin Papers]). Consequently, the author was familiar with Indian religious traditions and thought about working the reincarnation doctrine into his novel (200). Furthermore, the protagonist of *Henry of Ofterdingen* experiences metempsychosis in his dream of the blue flower: "Er durchlebte ein unendlich buntes Leben; starb und kam wieder, liebte bis zur höchsten Leidenschaft und war dann wieder auf ewig von seiner Geliebten getrennt" (10) [His life was an unending tissue of the brightest colors. Then came death, a return to life; he loved, loved intensely, and was separated from the object of his passion] (24).

I propose, however, that for Novalis the blue flower was much more than solely a *Phantasieblume* (fantasy flower) embodying an “unattainable goal” as Hans-Werner Retterath states (411). Instead I would like to highlight the connection between the blue flower and the blue lotus *Nymphaea caerulea* (also called “Blue Egyptian water lily” or “sacred blue lily”), based on the works of Amos Leslie Willson, Sarah Roche-Mahdi, Kamakshi Murti, and Robert Cowan. In his book *The Indo-German Identification* (2010), Cowan points out that ancient and medieval Hindu literature, such as Kalidasa’s play *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* (The Recognition of Shakuntala; ca A.D. 400), inspired the Jena Romantics and proved to be the most profoundly influential Sanskrit text for Novalis (Cowan 79). In fact, the name *Sakontala* appears twice in the *paralipomena* (addenda) of the novel, identifying it as a crucial source for the author (198, 200).²⁰

The connection between the blue flower and the lotus has been traced in scholarship. Drawing on Amos Leslie Willson and Raymond Schwab, Sarah Roche-Mahdi writes in her essay *The Cultural and Intellectual Background of German Orientalism* (1997) that the German Romantic image of the Orient was mainly based on Georg Forster’s German version (1791) of Sir William Jones’ translation (1789) of Kalidasa’s *Shakuntala* (114). Forster describes the blue lotus in his translation notes as unusually large and beautiful, and emphasizes its leading role in Eastern mythology:

Lotos. Es gibt in Indien zwei Blumenarten aus der Gattung der Wasserlilien, *Nymphaea Lotus* und *Nymphaea Nelumbo* Linn [syn. *Nucifera*]. Jenes ist die in Aegypten ehemals den Göttern geweihte Pflanze; allein aus einem Umstande scheint es fast, daß die andere in Indien den Vorzug hat, in der Mythologie ihre Rolle zu spielen. . . . Die Lotosblume mußte wegen ihrer ausnehmenden Schönheit und Größe die Aufmerksamkeit der Inder auf sich ziehen . . . sie ist die Blume der Nacht, die kühlende Blume, die sich ängstet, wenn der Tag erscheint, die sich

²⁰ After reading Georg Forster’s translation, Novalis addressed his fiancée, Sophie von Kühn, as *Sakontala* and linked her early death, at age fifteen, “to the idea of India as the prematurely vanished site of humanity’s childhood” (Cowan 81, see also Buck 30, Willson 158).

fürchtet vor den Sternen; die nur dem Monde sich öffnet, ihm allein duftet, und ihr Haupt herabsenkt vor dem Strahl der Sonne. (Kalidasa 231-33)

[Lotus. There are two kinds of flowers in India that belong to the family of the water lilies, *Nymphaea Lotus* and *Nymphaea Nelumbo* Linn (syn. *Nucifera*). The former is the plant anciently consecrated to the Gods in Egypt; it seems almost that due to this circumstance alone, the latter has its precedence in Indian mythology. . . . The lotus flower had to attract attention of the Indians because of its exquisite beauty and size . . . it is the flower of night, the timid flower which is alarmed by the light of day and frightened by the stars. It opens and is fragrant only to the moon, and sinks its head under the rays of the sun.] (Willson 77-78)

While the above-mentioned scholars have established a link between Novalis and the blue lotus of Kalidasa's *Shakuntala*, they have not provided textual evidence for their claims with reference to the fairy tale novel *Henry of Ofterdingen* and the blue water lily of the Orient. The following passage of Henry's dream does indeed suggest an aquatic plant:

Er fand sich auf einem weichen Rasen am Rande einer Quelle, die in die Luft hinausquoll und sich darin zu verzehren schien. . . . Was ihn aber mit voller Macht anzog war eine hohe lichtblaue Blume, die zunächst an der Quelle stand, und ihn mit ihren breiten Blättern berührte. (11)

[He dreamed that he was sitting on the soft turf by the margin of a fountain, whose waters flowed into the air, and seemed to vanish in it. . . . But what most attracted his notice, was a tall, light-blue flower, which stood nearest the fountain and touched (him) with its broad, glossy leaves.] (26)

Another indication that ties the blue flower to the element of water and thus to the blue lotus *Nymphaea caerulea* appears in context with Matilda's death. After all, it is Matilda who personifies the blue flower in the first place and whose face appears in its calyx (11-12). The following text passage confirms that Henry's premonition dream of Matilda's drowning in the "fearful, mysterious stream" does come true:

Der ungeheure Wald bog sich mit tröstlichem Ernst zu dem Wanderer, das gezackte Gebirge ruhte so bedeutend über der Ebene, und beide schienen zu sagen: "Eile nur, Strom, du entfliehst uns nicht; ich will dir folgen mit geflügelten Schiffen; ich will dich brechen und halten und dich verschlucken in meinem Schoß! vertraue du uns Pilgrim, er ist auch unser Feind, den wir selbst erzeugten, laß ihn eilen mit seinem Raub, er entflieht uns nicht." (158-59)

[The mighty forest bowed with grave sympathy toward the wanderer; the notched mountain rested meaningfully upon the plain, and both seemed to say, "Hasten on, O stream, thou dost not escape us. I will follow thee with winged ships. I will break thee, restrain thee, and swallow thee up in my bosom! O pilgrim, confide in us! Even he is our enemy whom we ourselves begat; let him make haste with his booty, he escapes us not."] (196-97)

Matilda, or rather the blue flower, "blossoms" and "perishes" in water, evoking the Egyptian water lily or lotus rather than any of the other speculated flowers. The lotus in turn is an ancient polyvalent symbol in Asian culture, which stands inter alia for purity, transcendence, divine beauty, creation, primordial purity, elegance, perfection, grace, and cosmic renewal. (Balz, Krause, and Müller 412). Cosmic renewal and rebirth also mark the end of the novel when Henry plucks the blue flower and brings Matilda from her death, which was only an enchanted sleep, back to life.

Even though the author drew on Indian mythology for his novel and considered the Orient as synonym for "origin," René Gérard emphasizes that India formed only the periphery of Novalis's world, the center of which was Judea (80). Hence, the positive portrayal of the *Morgenland* culminates in "The Expectation" when Henry has his first encounter with native Easterners, the Arabian girl Zulima and her child, who are both victims of the last Crusade (55-60). This episode depicts a very clear, black and white image of East and West: the Orient as epitome of poetry, generosity, religious tolerance, and a *locus amoenus* versus the *Abendland* as Western aggressor, the crusaders who want to crush the *ruchloses Volk* (heinous people) of "wild infidels" through military conquest (51-54).²¹ Here, Novalis opens up a space for a critical perspective of the crusaders by exposing them as prejudiced, bloodthirsty, and religious extremists. Fueled by their ignorance and belligerent manner, the crusaders come across as the actual barbarians and uncivilized savages. In stark contrast, pacifism, cultural openness, and

²¹ The German term "Abendland" translates literally to "evening-land" and is used as a synonym for "Occident" in German.

amity mark the encounter between Henry and Zulima. The protagonist is initially drawn to Zulima by her singing and playing the lute. As personification of the Orient, the exotic woman incorporates love, poetry, and music, the tripartite *Leitmotiv* that pervades Novalis's novel and echoes the guiding theme of Wackenroder's literary fairy tale *A Wondrous Oriental Tale of a Naked Saint*. At the same time, Zulima's song expresses her longing to return home, mirroring the Romantic *Sehnsucht* for the lost Golden Age. Indeed, the descriptions of her fellow countrymen and native land bear resemblance to poets living in an Edenic paradise of natural harmony:

Sie schilderte den Edelmut derselben (der Landsleute), und ihre reine starke Empfänglichkeit für die Poesie des Lebens und die wunderbare, geheimnisvolle Anmut der Natur. Sie beschrieb die romantischen Schönheiten der fruchtbaren arabischen Gegenden, die wie glückliche Inseln in unwegsamen Sandwüsteneien lägen, wie Zufluchtsstätte der Bedrängten und Ruhebedürftigen, wie Kolonien des Paradieses, voll frischer Quellen, die über dichten Rasen und funkelnde Steine durch alte, ehrwürdige Haine rieselten, voll bunter Vögel mit melodischen Kehlen und anziehend durch mannigfaltige Überbleibsel ehemaliger denkwürdiger Zeiten. (57-58)

[She portrayed their (the countrymen's) loftiness of soul, and their pure, strong susceptibility of life's poetry, and the wonderfully mysterious charms of nature. She described the romantic beauties of the fertile regions of Arabia, which lay like happy islands in the midst of impassable, sandy wastes, refuge places for the oppressed and weary, like colonies of Paradise, - full of fresh wells, whose streams trilled over dense meadows and glittering stones, through venerable groves, filled with every variety of singing birds; regions attractive also in numerous monuments of memorable past time.] (79-80)

In this connection, the Orient represents both the known and the unknown, the familiar and the foreign, the perceptible and the mysterious. Zulima tells Henry about some curious traces and images upon old stone slabs that are cryptic remainders of the ancestral world: "Sie scheinen so bekannt und nicht ohne Ursach so wohl erhalten zu ein. Man sinnt und sinnt, einzelne Bedeutungen ahnet man, und wird um so begieriger den tiefsinnigen Zusammenhang dieser uralten Schrift zu erraten" (58). (They seem to have been always well known; nor have they been

preserved without a reason. You muse and muse, you conjecture single meanings, and become more and more curious to arrive at the deep coherence of these old writings) (80). Even if one cannot demystify the enigma and ancient past of the *Morgenland*, its spirit still serves as a source for reflective thought and vitality. The attempt to reveal the secrets of the East suffices to attain a new kind of self-awareness, which results in a positive perspective on life: “Der unbekannte Geist derselben erregt ein ungewöhnliches Nachdenken, und wenn man auch ohne den gewünschten Fund von dannen geht, so hat man doch tausend merkwürdige Entdeckungen in sich selbst gemacht, die dem Leben einen neuen Glanz und dem Gemüt eine lange, belohnende Beschäftigung gegen” (58). (Their unknown meaning excites unwonted meditation; and even though you depart without having solved the enigmas, you have yet made a thousand remarkable discoveries in yourself, which give to life a new refulgence, and to the mind an ever profitable occupation) (80).

Novalis employs Zulima’s character and speech to emphasize religious tolerance between Easterners and Westerners for it is her who advocates cultural synthesis, respect, and cooperation amongst Muslims and Christians. The Arabian woman portrays her home country as a place where nature appears “more human;” a world that stimulates magic poetry and fable of the mind. Furthermore, she identifies the Orient as origin of mankind, the *alte Heimat* (old home) of the *Geschlecht* (race), evoking Herder’s historical philosophy (58). According to the Oriental maiden, the Holy Sepulcher could have been “die Wiege eines glücklichen Einverständnisses, der Anlass ewiger wohltätiger Bündnisse” (59) (the cradle of a happy union, the source of an alliance blessing all forever) (81), since her fellow countrymen honored Jesus Christ as a prophet and permitted pilgrimages to the sacred tomb. The Crusades, however, separated forever the *Morgenland* from Europe (59). The author uses Henry’s first-hand encounter with the Orient to

enlighten the reader about Western stereotypes toward the East. As Novalis's mouthpiece, Zulima argues against the prejudice of Eastern barbarism and cruelty and instead stresses in an illuminating monologue Jerusalem's hospitality and Arabian generosity. Deeply touched by her fate and story, Henry sympathizes with the young woman and distances himself from the crusaders, whom he had previously admired with fervent devotion. After the conversation with Zulima, the protagonist chooses not to rejoin the "noisy" knights and hence, symbolically, turns his back on colonialist and imperialist ventures of the Western powers (59-60).

In his literary fairy tale Novalis not only idealizes the Orient but also sheds a negative light on the Occident. Farther along on his journey, Henry hears another tragic story from the Count of Hohenzollern that confirms the destructive, contaminating influence of the West on Eastern existence. The children of the hermit, a metaphor for the "childlike" Orient, growth, and development, do not survive the transition from the East to the West: "Meine Marie hatte mir zwei Kinder im Orient geboren. Sie waren die Freude unseres Lebens. Die Seefahrt und die rauhere abendländische Luft störte ihre Blüte. Ich begrub sie wenig Tage nach meiner Ankunft in Europa" (89). (My Maria had borne me two children in the East. They were the joy of our existence. The voyage and the rough air of the West destroyed their bloom; they were buried a few days after my arrival in Europe) (114). Not only is the harsh Western climate deadly to his children, his wife also passes away soon after. In contrast to the negatively portrayed West, Henry comes to know the *Morgenland* as a place of ancient resources and treasures of the soil: "Wenn man", sagte der Unbekannte, "die Schätze bedenkt, die im Orient zu Hause sind, so ist daran kein Zweifel, und ist das ferne Indien, Afrika und Spanien nicht schon im Altertum durch die Reichtümer seines Bodens bekannt gewesen?" (88). ('When,' said the unknown, 'one remembers the treasures which are hidden in the East, he cannot doubt what you remark; and

have not distant India, Africa, and Spain been distinguished even from antiquity, by the richness of their soil?” (114).

Here again, text passages of the literary fairy tale bear autobiographical traces, since Novalis himself was a scholar of geology, mineralogy, and mining, and later on became an assessor of salt mines. While the Count of Hohenzollern connects the Orient with treasures of the earth, such as jewels and costly metals, the Bohemian miner locates the origin of his profession in the ancient East: “Unsere Kunst ist uralt und weit verbreitet. Sie mag wohl aus Morgen, mit der Sonne, wie unser Geschlecht, nach Abend gegangen sein, und von der Mitten nach den Enden zu” (85). (Our art is very ancient and extended. It may indeed, like our race, have migrated with the sun from the East toward the West, from the middle to the extremities) (110). The miner embodies Novalis’s conviction that the Orient was the original source of various sciences and wisdom. In his *Mathematische Fragmente* (Mathematical Fragments, 1799), the writer claims that the *Morgenland* is the home of “true mathematics” (“Im Morgenlande ist die ächte Mathematik zu Hause”) a form of knowledge that refers to the absolute while in Europe mathematics has degenerated into a purely technical science (*Schriften*, 3: 594).²²

The extensive, manifold forms of Eastern knowledge also emanate from Novalis’s notes on the continuation of *Henry of Ofterdingen*. In the *paralipomena* of the fairy tale novel, Henry travels to Jerusalem – a journey Novalis himself never embarked on – and has wondrous conversations with the dead: “Gespräche mit dem alten Mann über Physik etc. besonders Arzeneykunde, Physiognomik, Medicinische Ansicht der Welt. Theophrast Paracels Philosophie,

²² In his *Mathematical Fragments*, Novalis asserts that the highest life is mathematics and its purest form is religion (*Schriften*, 3: 593-594). Further, he claims genuine mathematics is the true element of the magician (*Schriften*, 3: 593). In music, it appears formally, as revelation - as creative Idealism (*Schriften*, 3: 593). All enjoyment is musical, and hence mathematical (*Schriften*, 3: 593). In a nutshell, Novalis fuses seemingly disparate disciplines, e.g. mathematics, philosophy, poetics, and states that they are one.

Magie etc. Geographie. Astrologie” (204-05). (Discussions with the old man about physics etc. especially pharmacology, physiognomy, medical outlook of the world. Theophrast Paracel’s philosophy, magic etc. geography, astrology). Scholars Ludwig Stockinger and Gabriele Rommel who researched Novalis’s geographical understanding of the Orient for their contribution to the catalogue *Novalis und der Orient* (Novalis and the Orient, 2007), highlighted the following associations of the author: India (Forster’s *Sakontala* and Herder’s *Ideen*), Egypt (magic, medicine, and Isis-myth), Arabia (mathematics, geometry, astronomy, alchemy), Persia (ancient Persian religion of the Parsee – the Zoroastrian; history, mining), China (medicine), Palestine and Jerusalem (history of Christianity) (127). Hence, to quench his thirst for knowledge in various fields, Novalis’s protagonist must seek the Orient of the past, where he finds the fountainhead of sciences and ancient wisdom.

When Henry finally arrives at his grandfather’s house in Augsburg he meets for the first time in his life a true poet. Klingsohr, who also becomes his mentor and future father-in-law, names the romantic *Morgenland*, the *Land der Poesie* (land of poetry) (113), which has “greeted” Henry with its “sweet wistfulness.” While the feeling of romantic nostalgia lies at the heart of the novel’s portrait of the Orient, there is also textual evidence that characterizes the *Morgenland* as the epitome of love. In the second part of the literary fairy tale, “The Fulfillment,” it is the physician Sylvester who affiliates the East with love, amorousness, and renewal: “Über die ganze trockne Welt ist dieser grüne, geheimnisvolle Teppich der Liebe gezogen. Mit jedem Frühjahr wird er erneuert, und seine seltsame Schrift ist nur dem Geliebten lesbar, wie der Blumenstrauß des Orients” (169).²³ (Over all the sterile world is spread this

²³ Sylvester’s monologue on the *unschuldige Blumenwelt* (innocent world of flowers) and the Orient evokes Novalis’s citation in his *Jugendwerke* (youth works): “Die *Sieste* des Geisterreichs ist die Blumenwelt. In Indien schlummern die Menschen noch immer, und ihr heiliger Traum ist ein Garten, den Zucker- und Milchseen

green, mysterious carpet of love. Every Spring it is renewed, and its peculiar writing is legible only to the loved one, like the nosegay of the East) (208). The image of the Orient thus unites a look back into the past of “what was” with a look ahead into the future of “what will be,” leaving the foretime behind and awaking to a new dawn of mankind, a Golden Age founded on the pillars of love and poetry.

For Novalis, the highest form of poetry, its apotheosis, is the fairy tale. Ever since he was a little boy, poems and fairy tales were his favorite amusement (Novalis, *His Life, Thoughts, and Works*, 25). As the writer grew older, the outer world no longer mirrored his inner reality and he found his personal “truth” to life in *Märchen* (Fife 245). Novalis’s definition of “poetry” signifies “das ächt absolut Reelle ... Je poetischer, je wahrer” (the truly absolute real ... The more poetic, the more true) (Novalis, *Schriften*, 2: 647). In his literary fragments, the author ties “poetry” to his characterization of the term “fairy tale”: “Das Märchen ist gleichsam der Canon der Poësie - alles poetische muß märchenhaft seyn” (Novalis, *Schriften*, 3: 449). “Im Märchen glaube ich am besten meine Gemüthsstimmung ausdrücken zu können. Poëtik. Alles ist ein Märchen” (Novalis, *Schriften*, 1: 431). (The fairy tale is entirely the canon of poetry. Everything poetic must be fairytale-like. I believe I am able to express my mood best in a fairy tale. Everything is a fairy tale). Hence, from a Romantic stand point, the fairy tale genre is nothing predominantly childish or naïve but typifies the ultimate truth of reality and the final, self-contained expression of universal poetry. To ensure a thorough investigation on all narrative levels, the concluding part of this chapter scrutinizes the three smaller fairy tales imbedded in the overarching frame story of the novel, the Arion tale, the Atlantis tale, and the Klingsohr tale, for references of the Orient.

umfließen” (310) [The siesta of the spirit realm is the world of flowers. In India the people still slumber and their sacred dream is a garden surrounded by lakes of sugar and milk].

The first fairy tale alludes to the classical Greek myth of the Dionysiac poet Arion, who could use the power of his talented lyre-play and singing voice to charm the nature around him. On their voyage to Augsburg, the merchants tell this story about the triumph of art over narrow-minded materialism to Henry. The legendary singer Arion, equipped with riches and treasures, falls victim to a rapacious ship's crew that intends to throw him overboard. Upon Arion's poignant plea, however, the sailors allow him to sing a final song while they block their ears. With his magical music, the minstrel calls upon a creature of the deep sea to rescue him and to return him safely to the shore. The greedy mariners clash in a murderous quarrel over the riches that the poet had left behind and the ship eventually founders. At the end of the tale, the sea-monster gathers up the treasures from the bottom of the ocean and returns them to Arion.

Even though there are no direct references to the Orient within the narrative, the merchants establish the time and place at the beginning of the fairy tale as follows: "So sollen vor uralten Zeiten in den Ländern des jetzigen griechischen Kaisertums. . . . Dichter gewesen sein . . ." (28) (Thus it is said that there were poets in very ancient times, in the regions of the present Greek empire . . .) (45). The appellation "Greek Empire" refers to the Byzantine Empire, which constituted the eastern part of the Roman Empire throughout Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages (306 AD to 1453 AD). Since Novalis's legendary main character *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* supposedly lived in the thirteenth century, the merchant's "very ancient" tale can be traced back to the beginnings of the Byzantine Empire almost one thousand years earlier. The regions of the empire back then stretched from southern Spain, and Gibraltar in the West, to the northern parts of Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Libya, and Egypt in the South, and from Jordan, Israel, Lebanon, Syria, and Asia Minor in the East, to the Balkan States, Greece, and Italy in the North. In other

words, the topographic frame of the Arion fairy tale corresponds to those areas that were also part of the geographical Orient conception during the eighteenth and nineteenth century.

Based on the merchants' story, the poets who inhabited the lands of the ancient East were at the same time "Wahrsager und Priester, Gesetzgeber und Ärzte" (soothsayers and priests, legislators and physicians) with special abilities reminiscent of demigods and the powers of the Greek musician Orpheus (28). By the magical sound of their instruments, the poets could control the forces of nature and shape human mentality:

[Die Dichter haben] das geheime Leben der Wälder, die in den Stämmen verborgenen Geister aufgeweckt, in wüsten, verödeten Gegenden toten Pflanzensamen erregt, und blühende Gärten hervorgerufen, grausame Tiere gezähmt und verwilderte Menschen zur Ordnung und Sitte gewöhnt, sanfte Neigungen und Künste des Friedens in ihnen rege gemacht, reißende Flüsse in milde Gewässer verwandelt, und selbst die totesten Steine in regelmäßige tanzende Bewegungen hingerissen. . . . (28)

[(There were poets who) stirred up a secret life in the woods, those spirits hidden in their trunks; who gave life to the dead seeds of plants in waste and desert regions, and called blooming gardens into existence; who tamed savage beasts, and accustomed wild men to order and civilization; who brought forth the tender affections, and the arts of peace, changed raging floods into mild waters, and even tore away the rocks in dancing movements.] (45)

Moreover, the bewitching artistry of the poets even drew down the "higher beings" who revealed to them the mysteries of futurity, the harmony and natural arrangement of all things, the inner virtues and healing powers of numbers, of plants and of all creatures (28). In summary, the Arion tale projects the Orient positively as the home of spiritual mythology and the supernatural, the origin of the arts, culture, and sciences, and last but not least the amalgamation of poetry, theurgy, religion, justice, and medicine, incarnated by the poet of the past.

The second fairy tale imbedded in the frame story is also recounted by one of the merchants accompanying Henry on his journey to his grandfather. The Atlantis tale is about an old king who rules over a paradisiacal realm and loves nothing more than his daughter and

poetry. Given his high age, the king searches for a worthy successor. Due to his excessive pride of his royal ancestry, however, he finds every proposing prince inferior and unsuitable to marry his beloved daughter. One day, the princess falls in love with a young man who lives secluded with his father in the woods. The youngling returns to her a lost carbuncle, teaches her about nature, and protects the maiden from a sudden storm in the wilderness. When the princess decides to stay with the young man in the woods, the king falls into misery and perceives his daughter's traceless disappearance to be the punishment for his pride. After one year, the princess returns to her father's court together with the young man, and their newborn son. Now a poet, the youngling sings for the king who happily welcomes his lost daughter and the new members to his family.

The *Märchen* of Atlantis thematizes first and foremost the power of love, poetry, and true knowledge of nature, while at the same time passing criticism on the constraints of hierarchy and prejudice. Similar to the Arion tale, the hero of this story is a poet but, unlike his precursor, without the magical powers to rule nature. Here, the young man instead embodies the forces of nature, which in unison with the princess, a symbol for poesy, produce an offspring and herald of the new Golden Age to come.²⁴ Novalis ties the "earthly paradise" of his tale directly to the Orient by defining the origins of the king and his early deceased queen as follows: "Er war aus einer uralten morgenländischen Königsfamilie entsprossen. Seine Gemahlin war der letzte Zweig der Nachkommenschaft des berühmten Helden Rustan gewesen" (33).²⁵ (He was descended from a very old royal family of the East. His consort had been the last of the descendants of the

²⁴ I interpret the princess as the personification of *Poesie*, since the princess grew up amidst poetry, and her soul became a "zartes Lied" (tender song), the artless expression of longing and of wistfulness. Furthermore, she possesses the "süßeste Einbildungskraft" (sweetest imagination) (32).

²⁵ The Persian Rustan defeated and slayed the vicious spirit Akuman at the coast of the Persian Gulf. During the battle, which lasted seven days and nights, the evil monster threw Rustan into the ocean once (*Wörterbuch der Mythologie aller Völker* 24).

renowned hero Rustan) (52). Consequently, I surmise that Atlantis represents the imaginary *Morgenland* of ancient times, a poetic, peaceful, and harmonic utopia, free of any human discord: “Frieden der Seele und innres seliges Anschauen einer selbst geschaffenen Welt war das Eigentum dieser wunderbaren Zeit geworden, und die Zwietracht erschien nur in den alten Sagen der Dichter, als eine ehemalige Feindin der Menschen” (32). (Peace of soul, and beautiful contemplations of a self-created happy world, had become the possession of this wonderful time, and dissension appeared only in the old legends of the poets, as a former enemy of man) (50).

Another textual reference evoking the Orient is the first line after the amorous night of the two young lovers - that is the union of “nature” and “poesy”: “Der Anbruch des lichten blauen Morgens war für sie das Erwachen in einer neuen seligen Welt” (41). (The break of the light blue morning was to them the awakening of a new, blissful world) (61). I propose that Novalis chose the phrase “light blue morning” to deliberately evoke the association with the Romantic credo *ex oriente lux*, the blue color symbolic for Romantic longing, and the word *Morgen* as synonym for the East. Finally, the king’s admiration for poets, his initial preconception for the men of lower rank coupled with his belief in the splendor of his descent and noble class are reminiscent of the Hindu caste system, at the pinnacle of which stood the Brahman, the poet-priest (Willson 161). Noteworthy is the fact, however, that the king is not portrayed as the archetypal Oriental despot *à la* Hārūn al-Rashīd, the cruel, brutal and willful Abbasid Caliph of Iraq in 694 AD, who most notably became known in the West as fairy tale figure in the *Arabian Nights* (*The Arabian Nights Encyclopedia* 586). In contrast to the negative stereotype of the absolute, indulgent ruler of the East living in distant splendor, with power of life and death over his people (e.g. the Ottoman Sultan), Novalis portrays the king of Atlantis as primarily caring, good-hearted, sentimental, and

remorseful character who in the end successfully overcomes his human flaws of arrogance and prejudice.

By far the longest, most complex and allegorical of the three embedded fairy tales is the so-called *Klingsohrmärchen* (Klingsohr's Fairy Tale). Not unlike a *Bildungsroman*, the tale addresses maturity and development, echoing to some degree the frame story of the novel *Henry of Ofterdingen*. The *Märchen* takes place on three different yet interwoven levels: the upper world, the human world, and the underworld. Ever since Iron (war) has thrown his sword into the world and Sophia (wisdom) descended to the humans, the realm of king Arcturus is frozen in ice and his daughter Freya (peace) lays in deep sleep. The Mother (heart) and the Father (sense) have begotten the son Eros (love). His half-sister Fable (poetry) is the fruit of the Father and the wet nurse Ginnistan (imagination). Ginnistan travels with Eros to her father, the moon, and seduces Eros in the disguise of his mother. Meanwhile, the Scribe (Enlightenment, rationalism) usurps the reign and burns the Mother at the stake. Little Fable flees into the underworld and outwits the Fates who spin and cut the threads of life. Sophia dissolves the ashes of the Mother in her bowl of water and passes it around for everyone to drink. All experience unspeakable joy through the mysterious presence of the Mother. Finally, the Scribe is defeated and Fable breaks the spell, causing the ice to melt. King Arcturus marries Sophia, the Father marries Ginnistan, and Eros marries the awakened Freya. Eros and Freya now rule together over "the kingdom of eternity."

At first glance, the extensive *Klingsohrmärchen* does not seem to contain any specific references to the Orient but rather underlines the general Romantic notion of world salvation through love and poesy. A second glance reveals, however, that Novalis included some textual leads that point toward the East and are therefore worth a more in-depth examination. The

character of the wet nurse “Ginnistan” stands for the power of imagination and fantasy. Here, the author alludes to Christoph Martin Wieland’s collection of Oriental fairy tales *Dschinnistan oder auserlesene Feen- und Geistermärchen* (Dschinnistan). The title “Dschinnistan” refers to the “Jinn” (also “Djinn,” “Genie”) spirits in Arab folklore and Islamic teachings, which also appear in the Qur’an and *The Thousand and One Nights*. In Persian, the ending “sthan” means “land” or “place” (Murti 20). Thus, Novalis refers to the Orient as first, the land of the spirits and supernatural, and second, the source of imagination that “nurtures” love and poetry (Ginnistan suckles Eros and Fable).

In the tale, Ginnistan transforms a small slender rod of iron into a serpent that bites its own tale.²⁶ By the power of her breath, evoking the divine act of creation, the wet nurse produces the shape of a so-called “ouroboros”: “Ginnistan nahm es auch in die Hand, bog es, drückte es, hauchte es an, und hatte ihm bald die Gestalt einer Schlange gegeben, die sich nun plötzlich in den Schwanz biss (126).” “Ginnistan also took it in her hand, bent it, pressed it, breathed upon it, and soon gave it the form of a serpent biting its own tail” (160). As soon as Eros touches the ouroboros, the little boy grows instantly into a young man:

Da fing der Knabe an wach zu werden, schlug die Decke zurück, hielt die eine Hand gegen das Licht, und langte mit der andern nach der Schlange. Wie er sie erhielt, sprang er rüstig . . . aus der Wiege, . . . und betrachtete mit unaussprechlicher Freude das Kleinod. . . . Zusehends wuchs er. (126-27)

[The child awoke, threw off his covering, and holding one hand toward the light, reached after the serpent with the other. As soon as he received it, he leaped . . . from the cradle . . . and gazed with speechless joy upon the prize. . . . He grew visibly.] (160)

Unlike in the Judeo-Christian tradition, the serpent in Hindu and Buddhist mythology has a very positive symbolism, e.g. “the nāgas,” a group of serpent deities including “Mucalinda,” the king

²⁶ Novalis’s serpent motif recalls Goethe’s *Märchen* in which the “Ouroboros” protects the dead youngling magically from decay.

of snakes who shielded the meditating Buddha from the elements. Due to the casting of its skin (molting), the serpent here represents primarily wisdom, rebirth, reincarnation, timelessness, and immortality. The O-shape of the ancient ouroboros symbol reinforces this infinity or “eternal cycle.” Hence, Novalis portrays the Orient positively as he ties it on the one hand to rebirth and renewal, and on the other hand to the enhancement of growth, that is to a higher and more mature level of development.

Yet more favorable references to the *Morgenland* can be unearthed in this fairy tale. The author writes about a “beautiful Sphinx” who guards the entrance to the cave of the Fates. Only after Fable solves all of the Sphinx’s riddles, the winged creature grants the little girl passage through the gate. Besides this “hint” toward the “mysterious” nature of the East, Novalis returns to the *Leitmotiv* of the Blue Flower or rather the water lily of the Orient:

Eine wunderschöne Blume schwamm glänzend auf den sanften Wogen. . . . Ein Lilienblatt bog sich über den Kelch der schwimmenden Blume; die kleine Fabel sass auf demselben, und sang zur Harfe die süßesten Lieder. In dem Kelche lag Eros selbst, über ein schönes schlummerndes Mädchen hergebeugt, die ihn fest umschlungen hielt. (132-33)

[A flower, wonderful in beauty, floated glittering upon the gentle billows. . . . A lily leaf bent over the chalice of the floating flower. The little Fable sat upon it, and sang to the harp of the sweetest song. In the chalice sat Eros himself, bending over a beautiful slumbering maiden who held him fast embraced.] (167)

As Leslie Willson states in his book *A Mythical Image* (1964), this particular scene is reminiscent of a Hindu painting that depicts Hindu deities floating on a lotus blossom in a “most intimate embrace” (164). In the novel’s *paralipomena*, Novalis even mentions “ostindianische Pflanzen” (East Indian plants) and “etwas indische Mythologie” (some Indian mythology), which supports my argument that the author’s vision of the Blue Flower was indeed inspired by the blue lotus *Nymphaea caerulea*. The *paralipomena* also reveal that Novalis did not limit himself to German *Kunstmärchen* and wonder tales, placing his own heritage on an ethnocentric

pedestal. His final notes confirm his intention to include Persian fairy tales as well and to combine Oriental, Greek, Christian and biblical sagas with Indian and Nordic mythologies.

In conclusion, I have elaborated in this chapter on how the two *Kunstmärchen*, Wackenroder's *A Wondrous Oriental Tale of a Naked Saint* and Novalis's *Henry of Ofterdingen*, substantiate my assertion that German literary fairy tales of the Romantic period idealize the eastern world. Specifically, textual evidence suggests a connection between the Blue Flower of Romanticism and the blue lotus of the East. I determined that the Orient was a privileged concept in the eighteenth and nineteenth century since the Romantics tied it to the Golden Age, the "fatherland" of poetry, and the historic cradle of humankind. Furthermore, I explained that the Romantics felt a nostalgic longing to "return" to the *Morgenland* as they believed it would bring about a spiritual transformation and the rebirth of a new mythology. A nostalgic yearning and the rising interest in the exotic Other, however, were not the sole reasons why the quixotic Romantics turned toward literary fairy tales. In Chapter 3 of this dissertation I propose that German *Kunstmärchen* with Orientalist motifs served as vehicles for escapist imagination during the Romantic era. In this context, I will discuss why the Romantics longed to "take refuge" in the fantastic world of the *Arabian Nights* and examine closely the relation between fictive prose and poetry, escapist imagination, and the intoxicating substance opium. Specifically, I focus on the cycles of literary fairy tales written by Wilhelm Hauff, *Die Karawane* (The Caravan, 1826), *Der Scheik von Alexandria und seine Sklaven* (The Sheik of Alexandria and his Slaves, 1827), and *Das Wirtshaus im Spessart* (The Inn in Spessart, 1828, posthumously published), and the poem *Kubla Khan* (completed in 1797, published in 1816) by English Romanticist Samuel Taylor Coleridge.

CHAPTER 3 BETWEEN BIEDERMEIER AND EXOTICISM: FANTASMATIC ESCAPES TO THE INTOXICATING WORLD OF THE ARABIAN NIGHTS

The German *Vormärz* (pre-March), 1815-1848, and *Biedermeier* periods, 1820-1830, were marked by the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, political restoration, literary censorship, as well as a growing urbanization and industrialization leading to a new urban middle class. In the face of these turbulent times of intense political and social upheaval, accompanied by economical and geographical transformation, the German people, in particular followers of the Romantic movement sought ways to elude the modern realities of the early-nineteenth century. Thus, in an attempt to escape the confines of the Industrial Revolution, population growth, and urban sprawl, they turned toward the private sphere, the provincial idyll of the *Biedermeier* on the one hand, and toward the world of fantasy, unreality, and the exotic on the other. In this chapter I show how literary fairy tales with Orientalist motifs served as vehicles for escapism during the Romantic era, especially during the 1820s when the fashion of the literary Orient reached its heyday in Germany (Ammann 5).

I develop my argument in four different sections: The first sheds light on Hauff's literary strategies, such as a multilayered diegesis and his narrative perspective from the Orient, which support the reader's escapism into the fantastic world of the *Arabian Nights*. The second part continues to focus on the literary techniques of the Swabian author and shows how Hauff ties his readership to his tales through cultural commonalities. The feeling of coziness (*Gemütlichkeit*), for example, serves as a cultural connection that facilitates identification of the Western reader with the Eastern characters by reducing the fear of the strange and the unknown. Furthermore, Hauff uses the Orient to discuss *Biedermeier* values and to critique the political situation in Germany. Section three establishes that while escapist imagination is fantasmatic, it also has a material, real dimension based on luxury goods from the Orient. I illustrate my claim in the

fourth section with the example of opium, which is a real drug that leads to fantasies that enable a writing, which in turn provides the fantasmatic escape for readers and becomes a metaphor in Marxist analysis of economic problems. While I limit my focus to the particular topic of opium at the end of this chapter, I expand my geographical view to Britain at the same time. Chapter 3 thus demonstrates that the idea of the Orient was not only central to German Romanticism but to British Romanticism as well.

Enchanting fairy tales, most notably those about distant lands and foreign cultures such as the *Tausendundeine Nacht* (The Thousand and One Nights, also known as The Arabian Nights and Alf Layla Wa-Layla), offered German readership an opportunity to leave gray postwar realities behind and to embark on fantastic journeys, far away from fears of political power struggles and economic hardship. According to Ludwig Ammann's study *Östliche Spiegel* (Eastern Mirrors, 1989), the number of publications that featured Orientalist topoi, including translations of Eastern texts into German, rose to 245 in the peak year 1828. Between 1820 and 1830 alone, three new German translations and one opera of *Tausendundeine Nacht* appeared (7).¹ Ever since Antoine Galland's translation of *Les Mille et une Nuits* (The Thousand and One Nights, 1704-1717) into French, the image of a fairy-tale, sensual Orient pervaded Europe.² Almost over night, the book reached an unprecedented high level of popularity in France and hence contributed significantly to the increasing "goût pour l'Orient" (taste for the Orient) of the eighteenth century (79). No other work or event was more influential in revolutionizing the European perception of the Orient than the collection of Eastern tales in the *Arabian Nights*: "der

¹ *One Thousand and One Nights* was translated by Albert Ludwig Grimm (1820), Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1823/24), Max Habicht, Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen, and Karl Schall (1825).

² The final two of the twelve volumes of *Les Mille et une Nuits* were published in 1717, two years after Galland's death. Dates of the eighteenth-century German translations of *One Thousand and One Nights* based on Galland's work: 1706 (anonymous), 1711 (August Bohse "Talander"), 1781-1785 (Johann Heinrich Voß).

Beitrag, den dies Buch zur Verbreitung eines freundlichen Orientbildes leistete, ist unmöglich zu hoch zu veranschlagen” (it is impossible to assess too highly the contribution of this book toward a friendly image of the Orient) (15). The book not only emerged as one of the most frequently read literary works of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, it also triggered an artistic vogue that went hand in hand with the importation and adoption of cultural products in the areas of literature, music, architecture, and consumer goods (Polaschegg 153, Beller and Leerssen 391).

The unparalleled popularity of *The Thousand and One Nights* evokes the question what made it so successful. As Galland points out in his preface, the tales are “agréables et divertissans par le merveilleux qui règne d’ordinaire” (pleasant and entertaining through the marvelous which appears ordinary) (xxx). In other words, they are first and foremost amusing wonder tales that enchant the rationalized and demystified reality of Europeans. Furthermore, the stories contain “des exemples de vertu et de vice” (examples of virtues and vices) suitable to improve mores and hence fulfill an educational purpose (xxxii). Lastly, they satisfy the interest in Eastern cultures and curiosity about the exotic Other by offering an alternative to travel journals and costly voyages to faraway lands: “Ainsi, sans avoir essuyé la fatigue d’aller chercher ces peuples dans leurs pays, le lecteur aura ici le plaisir de les voir agir et de les entendre parler” (So, without the effort to seek out the peoples in their countries, the reader has the pleasure here to see them in action and to hear them talking) (xxx).

After the publication of the *Arabian Nights* the Orient *per se* became a synonym for the fabulous and magical during the Romantic period (Apel 59). This, I suggest, results from the fact that the *Morgenland* and its inhabitants depicted in *The Thousand and One Nights* are distant from the European reader on three levels: temporally, spatially, and culturally. In *The Thousand and One Nights*, the first sentence of the frame narrative *Die Geschichte von König Schahriyar*

und Schahrasad, der Tochter seines Wesirs (The Tale of King Shahryar and of his Brother, King Shahzaman) highlights the temporal, spatial, and cultural difference: “Man hat erzählt – doch Gott allein kennt das Verborgene, und nur Er weiß, was einst wirklich geschah in den längst vergangenen Geschichten der Völker -, daß es in alter Zeit, als noch die Könige der Sasaniden herrschten, im Inselreich von Indien und China zwei Könige gab” (Mahdi and Ott 9) (It is related - but Allah is all wise and all knowing, all powerful and all beneficent - that there was, in the tide and show of ancient time and the passage of the age and of the moment, a king among the kings of Sasan, in the isles of India and China) (Madrus and Mathers 1).

This “triple distance” claims credibility for the miraculous inasmuch as it cannot be refuted from a perspective of experience. In that respect, the tales of the *Arabian Nights* set themselves apart from the salon tales established in France, such as *Les Contes des Fées* (Tales of Fairies, 1696-1698) and *Contes Nouveaux ou Les Fées à la Mode* (New Tales, or Fairies in Fashion, 1698) by Marie-Catherine Le Jumel de Barneville, Comtesse d’Aulnoy, and the folk-based fairy tales of Charles Perrault, who frequented the same salon gatherings as Madame d’Aulnoy.³ From a cultural and temporal perspective, these tales echo the national French character and etiquette rules of the royal courts in the age of Louis XIV that is in the time of the authors. Thus, Richard Benz remarks in *Märchen und Aufklärung im 18. Jahrhundert* (Fairy Tales and Enlightenment in the 18th Century, 1907), all surroundings of the elegantly dressed characters in the Perrault tales “breathe the fine perfume of the salons” (17). With regard to spatial distance, Perrault locates the frame narrative of his *Histoires* (stories) in Paris remaining closely connected to the home of his readers.

³ In 1697 Charles Perrault published his *Histoires ou Contes du Temps Passé* (Tales and Stories of the Past with Morals), with the subtitle *Les Contes de ma Mère l’Oie* (Tales of Mother Goose).

Based on these observations, I suggest that the threefold dissociation from the European reader is integral to the success of the *Arabian Nights*. Drawing on the triumphant model of *The Thousand and One Nights*, German writer Wilhelm Hauff adopted the literary concept of framing devices as well as various fairy tale motifs and integrated them into his own *Märchen-Almanach* (almanac of fairy tales).⁴ Despite the fact that the German market of the 1820s was already saturated with Orientalist prose, Hauff's trilogy *Die Karawane* (The Caravan, 1826), *Der Scheik von Alexandria und seine Sklaven* (The Sheik of Alexandria and his Slaves, 1827), and *Das Wirtshaus im Spessart* (The Inn in Spessart, 1828, posthumously published), was much sought-after by the German population (Polaschegg 405). With an estimated circulation of 36,000 copies in the first three and a half decennia after publication, the Hauff tales were among the top four market leaders of their time (Ammann 17, 24). These facts lead me to pose several questions that I will address in the first part of this chapter to determine the relationship between the Hauff tales and the escapism during the Romantic era: What distinguishes the Hauff tales from the *Arabian Nights*? Do the tales embody the aesthetics of Romanticism and Realism, the two opposing movements of the early-nineteenth century? Did the author tailor his work to a specific audience? Why did the sale of the Hauff tales flourish despite an omnipresent *Morgenland* on the German book market? What literary strategies, if any, did the author employ to appeal to his Biedermeierian readership?

I begin by proposing that even though Hauff stylistically and thematically followed the model of the *Arabian Nights*, the German *Kunstmärchen* differ significantly from the original template. On the one hand Hauff's literary fairy tales guide the reader into the mysterious and magical world of the Orient, but on the other hand the escape from reality is relatively short-

⁴ This concept of framing devices refers to "a story within a story," or in other words a scene that appears at the beginning of the telling, then reappears later on, and usually at the end of the story. The repeated element thus creates a frame within which the main tale can develop.

lived. In the same breath as Hauff opens up an exotic world of exciting adventures, filled with hidden treasures, enchanted heroes, desert bandits, and pirate ghosts, he returns to the disenchanting Germany of the nineteenth century. Volker Klotz, German scholar of literature and author of *Das Europäische Kunstmärchen* (The European Literary Fairy Tale, 1985), interprets Hauff's image of the Orient as a mere "costume," a carefully designed masquerade of exoticism to cover Biedermeierian bourgeoisie (Klotz 211). In the sequence of his trilogy, Hauff's tales increasingly drift away from the Eastern locale toward the German homeland. While all stories of the first almanac, *The Caravan*, are set in the *Morgenland*, the tales of the second almanac, *The Sheik of Alexandria and his Slaves*, equally take place in Eastern as well as Western localities.⁵ At last, the third collection, *The Inn in Spessart*, contains only one story set in the Orient, *Saids Schicksale* (Said's Adventures), whereas the other tales are bound to German and European areas.

The spatial trajectory from the East toward the West in Hauff's stories, however, is not analogous to the transition from the miraculous toward the realistic.⁶ Indeed, it is striking that Hauff does not connect the *Morgenland* with the marvelous from the outset. Located in the Orient, the narratives *Abner, der Jude, der nichts gesehen hat* (Abner, the Jew, Who Saw Nothing), *Die Errettung Fatmes* (The Rescue of Fatima), *Die Geschichte von der abgehauenen Hand* (The Story of the Amputated Hand), and *Die Geschichte Almansors* (The Story of Almansor) are potentially just as realistic as those stories set in German areas, e.g. *Die Sage vom Hirschgulden* (The Story of the Stag-Florin), and *Der Affe als Mensch* (The Young Englishman). Furthermore, the German tales *Zwerg Nase* (The Dwarf Nosey) and *Das kalte Herz* (The Cold

⁵ *Zwerg Nase* (The Dwarf Nosey) and *Der Affe als Mensch* (The Young Englishman) are set in Germany, *Abner, der Jude, der nichts gesehen hat* (Abner, The Jew, Who Saw Nothing) and *Die Geschichte Almansors* (The Story of Almansor) are set in Arabia.

⁶ See Polaschegg 409.

Heart) deal with supernaturalness by the same token as the Orientalist narratives *Die Geschichte von Kalif Storch* (The Story of the Caliph Stork) and *Die Geschichte vom kleinen Muck* (The Story of Little Muck). Lastly, Hauff's frame narratives of *The Caravan* and *The Sheik of Alexandria and his Slaves* bear no traces of magical references at all, supporting my claim that Hauff does not tie the East a priori to the miraculous.

Hauff's dynamic interplay of border crossings between East and West is unparalleled in other Orient-inspired literary fairy tales at the time, e.g. Christoph Martin Wieland's *Dschinnistan* (1786-1789), Johann Karl August Musäus' *Melechsala* (1786), Ludwig Tieck's *Almansur* (1790) and *Abdallah* (1795), August Langbein's trilogy *Talismane gegen die lange Weile* (Talismans against the Boredom, 1801-1802), and August von Platen-Hallermünde's *Die Abbasiden* (The Abbasids, 1829). Hauff cumulatively fuses romantic with realistic elements, thereby moving away from the artistic idealism of Romanticism "toward a more realistic portrayal of life, from the magical-metaphysical sphere into the psychological one" (Cobbs 444). Throughout his fairy tale almanacs Hauff bridges the chasm between Romanticism and Realism by uniting dichotomies such as unreality versus reality, irrationality versus rationality, distance versus locality, the exotic versus the domestic, the supernatural versus the natural, and the Oriental versus the Teutonic. The author's approach of demystifying the miraculous, his educational intentions, and his emphasis on realistic aspects of everyday life, e.g. living spaces, costumes, meals, and customs, fit well into the *Zeitgeist* (spirit of the age) of his time on the threshold of the Realist movement.

Already the allegorical narrative *Märchen als Almanach* (Fairy Tale as Almanac) in the prologue to the first volume of the almanacs reminds readers that they live in a reality ruled by reason and rational thought. The anecdote I am about to discuss reveals Hauff's critical stance

toward contemporary censorship laws and emphasizes his subversive intentions to bypass them.⁷ The protagonist of the story, Fairy Tale, complains to her mother, the Queen Fantasy that she has been denied entrance to the world of the humans and that even the children sneer at her. The evil aunt Fashion who prefers other literary genres has spread malignant rumors against Fairy Tale. Now, astute watchmen patrol the borders between the land of Fantasy and the human world to prevent Fairy Tale from entering. The Queen responds by dressing her daughter in a colorful, exquisite garment, which disguises Fairy Tale as an almanac. In this form, Fairy Tale descends to earth to seek out the audience of children. At the gate, the elderly watchmen who are armed with sharp quills mock Fairy Tale and her appearance. Thanks to her story telling powers the daughter of Queen Fantasy lulls the watchmen and slips through the now unguarded gate. Finally, a friendly man invites Fairy Tale into his home to entertain his educated sons and daughters.

This allegorical preface sheds light on the intended readership of Hauff's stories and echos the subtitle of the fairy tale almanacs: *für Söhne und Töchter gebildeter Stände* (for Sons and Daughters of the Educated Ranks). However, the tales are ultimately directed at two seemingly disparate but by no means mutually exclusive readerships: an overt audience of bourgeois children and an implied audience of aesthetically and politically sophisticated adults. While Hauff draws on traditional folk- and fairytale motifs to create a magical world that allows a childlike play of fantasy, he also uses strategies of ironic reversal and indirection, makes socio-critical allusions, and provides numerous clues, which calls for a more complex interpretation of his multi-layered texts.⁸ The tales invite children to engage their imagination and call on adults,

⁷ In 1819 the states of the German Confederation introduced *Die Karlsbader Beschlüsse* (The Carlsbad Decrees), a set of restrictions, which called for a uniform press censorship, the abolition of liberal student organizations, and state supervision of universities. The *German Bundestag* (Federal parliament) abolished the Carlsbad Decrees during the 1848 revolutions of the German states.

⁸ For his second volume *The Sheik of Alexandria and His Slaves*, Hauff adopted Wilhelm Grimm's tales *Schneeweißchen und Rosenrot* (Snow-White and Rose-Red) and *Das Fest der Unterirdischen* (The Feast of the Subterraneans), of which the latter one is not included in the published Grimm tales. His third volume *The Inn in*

as in the introductory *Märchen als Almanach*, to critically engage with the deeper meanings of the concealed moral and social matters such as provincial narrowness, communal prejudice, and the question of social identity. Hauff's second almanac *The Sheik of Alexandria and his Slaves* contains an explicit reference to an implied adult readership. Here, a young man ponders about the nature of the stories' charm and admits that when he was a child he could always be quieted with a fairy tale or fable. As he grew older those short stories failed to satisfy him. He now yearns for longer narratives so that he could relate to them: "Sie [die Märchen] mussten schon länger sein, mussten von Menschen und ihren wunderbaren Schicksalen handeln" (139) (I required longer ones [fairy tales], which treated too of people and their wonderful fortunes) (338).

Furthermore, I propose that the Swabian writer strategically and with financial prospects in mind tailored his three cycles of literary fairy tales to suit a German audience and its fashionable taste for the exotic. While Hauff wanted to benefit from the *vogue* of Orientalist literature in Germany he also aimed to set himself apart from other authors and contemporary works on the book market.⁹ His fairy tales even had to compete with a complete translation of the *Arabian Nights* from French into German (based on Galland's version), which was published in the same year as Hauff's first almanac (1825). In the end, Hauff's success was a result of his innovative approaches and combined strategies: first, he marketed his fairy tales in the popular form of

Spessart contains sagas rather than fairy tales. Most popular is the saga of the Blackforest *Das kalte Herz* (The Cold Heart).

⁹ From the 1780s to the 1820s, Orientalist literature continuously bloomed in Germany. The variety of works ranged from Martin Wieland's selected fairy and ghost stories *Dschinnistan* (1786-1789), Ludwig Tieck's *Abdallah* (1795) and *Almansur* (1798), August Jakob Liebeskind's collection of moral parables for young readers *Palmblätter* (Palm Leaves, 1786-1816) with contributions by Johann Gottfried Herder and Friedrich Adolf Krummacker, Johann Peter Hebel's educational anecdotes *Schatzkästlein des rheinischen Hausfreundes* (Treasure Chest of the Family Friend by the Rhine, 1811). Popular British works included Lord Byron's "Turkish Tales" (1813-1814), Samuel Taylor Coleridge's Orientalist poem *Kubla Khan* (1816), Thomas Moore's Orientalist romance *Lalla Rookh* (1817), and James Justinian Morier's *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Isphahan* (1824).

almanacs, second, he tailored his work to a broad audience of children, youngsters, and adults, third, he fused romantic with realistic elements in his stories, and fourth, he included exotic *sujets* of the East as well as traditional German and European fairy tale motifs in his almanacs. Despite Hauff's stress on natural *Geschichten* (stories) rather than supernatural *Märchen* (fairy tales) in the strict sense of the word, the narratives at large still remain extraordinary and wonderful. His tales are "entertaining and full of adventure, with puzzling entanglements and unexpected twists and turns" (Cobbs 445).

In the frame narrative of his second volume *The Sheik of Alexandria and his Slaves*, Hauff's alter ego, the aged and erudite dervish Mustapha, draws a clear line between the genres of stories and fairy tales. The holy man explains to his listeners that from the outset the telling of a fairy tale evokes notions of the miraculous and expectations of events outside of the usual course of life: "Ihr werdet bei dem Märchen auf die Erscheinung anderer Wesen als allein sterblicher Menschen rechnen können; es greifen in das Schicksal der Person, von welcher das Märchen handelt, fremde Mächte, wie Feen und Zauberer, Genien und Geisterfürsten, ein" (151) (in a fairy tale you would look for other people as well as mortals to appear; strange powers, such as fairies and magicians, genii and ruling spirits, are concerned in the fate of the person of whom the tale treats) (350). Hauff's stories in contrast "bleiben ganz ordentlich auf der Erde" (152) (are located in an orderly way on the earth) (351) as they deal with the usual affairs of everyday life. Here, wondrous happenings are mostly connected through the links of fate drawn about a human being. It is not by magic potions, fairy dust, or enchantments, as in the tale, that a human becomes wealthy or indigent, happy or unhappy but by his own actions and the mysterious strokes of fate. An unexpected fortune or strange twist of fate suffices to help the protagonist find his happily ever after in a world without fairies and sorcerous powers.

Hauff justifies the predominance of non-magical *Geschichten* rather than *Märchen* with reference to the *Arabian Nights* in his almanacs as the *Geschichten* have the same effect on the reader, which is the immersion into a fabulous, unusual, and astonishing world:

Solche reine Geschichten finden sich auch in den herrlichen Erzählungen der Scheherazade, die man "Tausendundeine Nacht" nennt. . . . Aber am Ende ist es dennoch eine Grundursache, die beiden [Geschichten und Märchen] ihren eigentümlichen Reiz gibt, nämlich das, dass wir etwas Auffallendes, Außergewöhnliches miterleben. Bei dem Märchen liegt dieses Außergewöhnliche in jener Einmischung eines fabelhaften Zaubers in das gewöhnliche Menschenleben, bei den Geschichten geschieht etwas zwar nach natürlichen Gesetzen, aber auf überraschende, ungewöhnliche Weise. (152)

[And such stories are also to be found in the glorious tales of Scheherazade called "The Thousand and One Nights". . . . But after all there is an original cause for the distinctive charms possessed by both styles (stories and fairy tales) – namely, that we live to experience many things striking and unusual. In the fairy tales, this element of the unusual is supplied by the introduction of a fabulous magic into the ordinary life of mortals; while in the stories something happens that, although in keeping with the natural laws, is totally unexpected and out of the usual course of events.] (351)

I conclude from Hauff's argument that he considered both styles of narratives, stories as well as fairy tales, as equally charming and suitable to serve as vehicles for escapist imagination. In his second almanac, Hauff deliberately creates the desire for such a flight from reality by designing a tragic background story for the Sheik of Alessandria, a main character in the frame narrative. The wise Sheik Ali Banu, whose son Kairam had been taken hostage by the Franks and whose wife died from motherly heartache, surrounds himself every year with tale-tellers and listens to their stories to forget about his sadness. Hauff demonstrates that both genres, natural stories and supernatural tales, are powerful tools to get away from a gloomy reality and to dispel the shadows of grief and sorrow. Throughout the frame narrative, the characters reflect about the nature of the tales' captivating power, and a young writer suggests that listening to a story is the best way of escaping a painful reality: "Soll er [der Scheik] zum Getränke seine Zuflucht nehmen, oder Opium speisen, um den Schmerz zu vergessen? Ich bleibe dabei, es ist die

anständigste Unterhaltung in Leid und Freude, sich erzählen zu lassen” (149) (Should he [the Sheik] take refuge in the drink or dine opium to forget the pain? I stick to it. The most decent diversion in sorrow and happiness is a story told).¹⁰

Even though Hauff drew on the stories of the *Arabian Nights*, his fairy tale characters do not share the same spatial, temporal, and cultural distance to the European reader throughout the three volumes. German readers can never completely step into the realm of the *Morgenland* but always remain anchored in their homeland and present reality because of the oscillation between Eastern and Western tales as well as the intercultural encounters within the frame narratives and embedded tales. For example, in the frame story of *The Caravan* a small group of merchants passes through the Arabian Desert on their journey home from Mecca. Among the Turkish travelers is Zaleukos, the son of a Greek *Dragoman* (interpreter) who grew up at the Ottoman Court. As a young man he travelled to Paris, then returned to Constantinople, and later in life traded merchandise in Italy and France before moving back home. Such frequent geographical moves between East and West are even more pronounced in the mysterious character of Selim Baruch who joins the group at the outset and reveals his background and secret identities toward the end of *The Caravan*. Disguised as Robber Orbasan and “the man in the red mantle,” the Egyptian-born son of a French consul crossed the border between the Orient and the Occident a total of four times in his life.

Slaves of “every race and nation” serve Sheik Ali Banu in the frame story of Hauff’s second almanac *The Sheik of Alexandria and his Slaves* (303). Because their master is about to set them free, the slaves conform to the custom of his house and tell stories. Among the selected ones who share tales of their homelands are not only Easterners, but also two Germans, and one

¹⁰ English translations of the Hauff tales omit several paragraphs of the German version, including this passage, which is translated by me.

Norwegian. Hauff uses the theme of intercontinental slave trade to create a multinational community of tale-tellers that allows for a diverse and entertaining *mélange* (blend) of narratives from different parts of the world. East and West grow noticeably closer together in this mix of international narrators as well as in the tales they tell. The embedded story *Die Geschichte Almansors* (The Story of Almansor) for instance strongly interweaves the Orient with the Occident. In this tale, the “Franks” abducted a young Egyptian boy, Almansor, and brought him to Paris. Forced to adopt French culture, Almansor has to wear French clothing, adhere to French etiquette, and learn how to speak, write, think, and salute in French. It is not until he makes the acquaintance of an elderly professor of Orientalist languages that Almansor is exposed to Eastern culture again.

Hauff caricatures the hype of Orientalist scholarship of his time by portraying the character of a scholar, presumably a parody of the popular Parisian professor Silvestre de Sacy, who goes so far as to recreate the Orient within the domestic space. Out of passion for his profession the old scholar has turned the *salon* (parlor) of his Parisian apartment into a second Orient called *Kleinarabien* (Little Arabia). The room is appointed with Eastern décor, such as Persian carpets and cushions, and adorned with artificially grown palm trees, bamboos, and cedars. Several times a week the youngster converses with the aged scholar who dresses during these meetings in a Persian costume and smokes from a pipe two yards long:

Um den Kopf hatte er einen feinen türkischen Shawl als Turban gewunden, er hatte einen grauen Bart umgeknüpft, der ihm bis zum Gürtel reichte. . . . Dazu trug er einen Talar, den er aus einem brokatnen Schlafrock hatte machen lassen, weite türkische Beinkleider, gelbe Pantoffeln, und so friedlich er sonst war, an diesen Tagen hatte er einen türkischen Säbel umgeschnallt, und im Gürtel stak ein Dolch, mit falschen Steinen besetzt. (181)

[He had wound a fine Turkish shawl about his head for a turban, and had fastened on a gray beard, that reached to his sash. . . . With these he wore a robe that he had made from a brocaded dressing-gown, baggy Turkish trowsers, yellow slippers,

and, peaceful as he generally was, on these days he had buckled on a Turkish sword, while in his sash stuck a dagger set with false stones.] (386)

In this cultural “oasis” the young Easterner enjoys exotic fruits and Turkish sherbets, gives peace-greetings, wears Egyptian clothes, speaks in his native tongue, and thus regains a part of his lost identity. For Almansor these occasions are like a “holiday” since he feels as if he were at home once more in his own country (385). Hauff’s play with cross-cultural encounters, overlaps of East and West, and ostensibly “cosmopolitan” entanglements create an intriguing, sometimes amusing charm. However, the dynamic geographical jumps and frequent intercultural changes between the Orient and Occident also interfere to some degree with the spatial and cultural detachment of the German reader and as a result with his ability to escape his own reality and Western identity. This makes the encounters safe for the reader, since the own cultural perspective does not need to be questioned and is almost always reiterated as being safely in place for the German reader to return.

Apart from this recurring pendulousness between East and West, the Swabian author compensates the deficiency of geographical and ethnic distance that facilitates escapism by employing an exceptional literary strategy: a multi-leveled diegesis combined with the gaze of the Other. In her book *Der andere Orientalismus* (The Other Orientalism, 2005), Polaschegg distinguishes between four “diegetic levels” which Hauff advances most impressively in his fairy tale *Die Geschichte vom kleinen Muck* (The Story of Little Muck, 1826) embedded in his first almanac *The Caravan* (432). In this popular *Kunstmärchen*, an external narrator who is not part of any diegesis (extradiegetic level) tells the tale of a caravan travelling through the Arabian Desert (intradiegetic level). The characters, a group of merchants, in turn narrate stories during their rest periods to pass the time (metadiegetic level). One of the merchants is Muley who talks about his childhood foolishness when he and his gang played boyish pranks on an old, deformed

man named Muck. As punishment for mistreating and humiliating the elderly Muck, Muley receives twenty-five strokes from his father who subsequently narrates a pedagogical telling about the life story of dwarf-sized Muck (metametadiegetic level).

With this technique of a multilayered diegesis, Hauff takes the reader deeper and deeper into his fictitious world of narrated events while simultaneously distancing him or her further and further from reality. In addition, the author expands his intradiegetic level of narration to a continuous narrative space. While the writers of other cyclical compositions, e.g. the *Arabian Nights* and Giovanni Boccaccio's *Das Decameron* (The Decameron, 1353), limit the function of the frame story to enclose the embedded tales, Hauff repeatedly returns to the narrative level of his self-contained intradiegeses throughout his almanacs.¹¹ By locating the frame stories of his first two almanacs in the Orient, the author creates an Eastern perspective at the intradiegetic level. In *The Caravan* and *The Sheik of Alessandria and his Slaves*, the community of narrators tells tales to an audience of Easterners not from a Western angle but from the viewpoint of the Other.¹² German readers find themselves in an inner textual reality that is foreign and unfamiliar to them since the Western readers do not share the same spatial and cultural reference areas as the Eastern narrators. Instead of returning the reader to the Western realm after each embedded tale, Hauff instead continues to perpetuate the view from a performed Eastern lens. In

¹¹ *The Decameron* (1350-1353) is a collection of one hundred novellas by Italian author Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375). It is a medieval allegorical work best known for its bawdy tales of love, appearing in all its possibilities from the erotic to the tragic. In contrast to the Hauff tales, the frame narrative of *The Decameron* appears only at the beginning and at the end of each cycle. In *The Thousand and One Nights*, the frame narrative is reduced to a minimum to connect the embedded tales: "Schehersad bemerkte den Tag und schwieg; in der folgenden Nacht erzählte sie weiter" (Lewald 393) (Scheherazad seeing the day begin to dawn, said no more, but the following night continued the story) (Scott 3,7).

¹² In the tale *The Sheik of Alessandria and his Slaves* in Hauff's second volume, a group of Easterners gathers at the Sheik's palace and listens to the narrations of several slaves. Many slaves are native Easterners as well and thus tell their tales from an Eastern perspective to an Eastern audience. For the German readership of the Hauff tales, however, this Eastern angle is the perspective of the Other. The only exceptions in this context are two slaves from Germany and Norway, who tell their stories from a Western viewpoint to the Eastern audience in the tale.

comparison with the *Arabian Nights*, the author does not slip into the role of Sheherazade but into the role of her Arabian, Indian, and Persian authors (Polaschegg 434). Consequently, the extradiegetic narrator remains either neutral or adopts a perspective from the Orient: “So erzählte der Sklave aus Frankistan” (138) (Such was the story of the Frankish slave) (337).

Through the gaze of the Other, the portrayal of the Orient remains (for the most part) positive in Hauff’s literary fairy tales whereas the Occident appears in a very negative light. I argue that Hauff uses the Orient as a masquerade to critique the societal and political situation in his home country Germany and therefore intentionally reverses the stereotypes of East and West that prevailed at that time. Specifically the second almanac *The Sheik of Alessandria and his Slaves* contains manifold references that contrast the East with the West, the latter becoming a synonym for barbarism, savagery, and ignorance. Hauff refrains from forthrightly criticizing single Western countries but rather resorts to the general term *Frankistan* (the country of the Franks), which implies all of Western Europe. In the majority of references, however, the gaze of the Other focuses on France and looks down on the conduct of the French people.¹³ The author purposely employs the character of a wise and highly educated man, the holy dervish Mustapha, to remind the reader of relatively recent political events such as Napoleon’s *Expédition d’Egypte* (The Egyptian Campaign, 1798-1801)¹⁴ and the French Revolution (1789-1799):

Es war damals die Zeit, wo die Franken wie hungrige Wölfe herüberkamen in unser Land und Krieg mit uns führten . . . sei es, weil sie lüstern waren nach seinen [des Scheiks] Schätzen . . . ich weiß es nicht genau . . . denn die Franken sind ein rohes,

¹³ Hauff also uses the terms “Franken” and “fränkisch” to refer to the British and the Germans: “Ein anderes fränkisches Volk, die Engländer, führten damals Krieg mit dem Kaiser auf der See” (186) (Another race of Franks, the English, were carrying on a naval warfare with the emperor) (393). “Es muss doch sonderbare Leute geben unter diesen Franken und wahrhaftig, da bin ich lieber beim Scheik und Mufti von Alessandria, als in Gesellschaft des Oberpfarrers, des Bürgermeisters und ihrer törrichten Frauen in Grünwiesel!” (170) (There must be a singular people among these Franks; and, of a truth, I would rather be here with the sheik and mufti in Alessandria, than in the company of the minister, the mayor, and their silly wives in Gruenwiesel!) (374).

¹⁴ The Egyptian Campaign was Napoleon Bonaparte’s campaign in the Orient to protect French trade interests and undermine Britain’s access to India.

hartherziges Volk, wenn es darauf ankommt, Geld zu erpressen. Sie nahmen also seinen [des Scheiks] jungen Sohn, Kairam geheißen, als Geisel in ihr Lager. . . . Sie [der Scheik und sein Gefolge] schifften sich ein und waren lange Zeit auf dem Meere, und kamen endlich in das Land jener Giaurs, jener Ungläubigen, die in Alessandria gewesen waren. Aber dort soll es gerade schrecklich zugegangen sein. Sie hatten ihren Sultan umgebracht, und die Pascha, und die Reichen und Armen schlugen einander die Köpfe ab, und es war keine Ordnung im Lande. (107-08)

[It was at the time when the Franks, like hungry wolves, invaded our land, and waged war against us . . . whether it was because they had designs on his (the Scheik's) treasure . . . I do not know for a certainty . . . the Franks are a rough, hardhearted people, when it is a question of extorting money. They took his (the Scheik's) young son, Kairam, as a hostage to their camp. . . . They (the Sheik and his men) set sail, and had a long passage before reaching the land of those Giaours, those Infidels, who had been in Alessandria. But there every thing was in horrible tumult. They had just beheaded their sultan; and the pashas and the rich and the poor were now engaged in taking each other's heads off, and there was no order or law in the land.] (299)

The enemy in this frame story is the merciless and avaricious man of the West, who embodies terror, lawlessness, and above all aggressiveness. Following the satirical tale *The Young Englishman*, one of the young merchants at the Sheik's palace remarks: "In Frankistan möchte ich nicht tot sein. Die Franken sind ein rohes, wildes, barbarisches Volk, und für einen gebildeten Türken oder Perser müsste es schrecklich sein, dort zu leben" (170) (I should not care to die in the Frank's country. They are coarse, wild, barbaric people, and it must be terrible for a cultivated Turk or Persian to live there) (374). One exception is the tale *The Story of the Amputated Hand*, in which a Frenchman befriends the young Greek Zaleukos, pays for Zaleukos' trip to Paris, and enables the young man to receive a gratuitous medical education.

The Easterners, in contrast, constitute a more civilized, if not idealized, society and especially the figure of the Sheik personifies wisdom, generosity, wealth, and venerability (171). "He, who is wiser than all Egypt" donates large amounts of his riches to the poor and surprises his guests with lavish gifts (374). Even though the Sheik has slaves, he treats them with kindness and receives their love, loyalty, and devotion in return. In fact, Hauff emphasizes the strong,

emotional relationship between the ruler and his servants whose feelings reflect the affective states of the Sheik: “Da waren Sklaven aller Art und aller Nationen. Aber alle sahen kummervoll aus; denn sie liebten ihren Herrn und trauerten mit ihm. . . . Und alle Anwesenden teilten seine Freude; denn sie liebten den Scheik, und jedem unter ihnen war es, als wäre ihm heute ein Sohn geschenkt worden” (There were slaves of every race and nation. But everybody wore a sorrowful expression, for they all loved their master and shared his grief [303]. . . . And all present shared in his joy, for they loved the sheik, and to each one of them it was as if a son had that day been sent to him [396]).

It is noteworthy that one of the first human rights the Eastern ruler grants the liberated slaves is the freedom of speech. Hauff who wrote his fairy tale almanacs during a period of harsh literary and uniform press censorship enforced by the Carlsbad Decrees (1819-1848) undoubtedly alludes with this tale to the political shortcomings in his own society. The Swabian author constructs a fictitious parallel world that enables him to use the gaze of the Other to hold a mirror up to his readership, drawing its attention to the lack of liberalism in the German states. Moreover, in *The Story of Almansor* Hauff takes the narrative perspective from the East to direct the reader’s focus on Europe’s political situation. The tale thematizes the loss of Almansor’s cultural identity and thus calls upon the reader to critically reflect on the colonial aspirations of the European powers in the early-nineteenth century.

Similarly to the close relationship between Sheik Ali Banu and his servants in the second fairy tale almanac is the *rapport* between Caliph Chasid of Bagdad and his subjects in *The Story of the Caliph Stork*. Even though Hauff portrays the figure of the ruler here in a slightly ironic light, as somewhat naïve and imprudent yet with a “courageous heart,” the people love their ruler fervently (22): “Man hatte ihn [den Kalifen] für tot ausgegeben, und das Volk war daher

hocherfreut, seinen geliebten Herrscher wiederzuhaben” (27) (He [the Caliph] had long since been given up for dead, and the joy of the people at getting back their beloved ruler knew no bounds [27]). While the power of the Caliph’s sovereignty is absolute, Hauff is far from characterizing him as the stereotypical Eastern despot but rather cunningly aligns Chasid’s will with that of his subjects. Ultimately, in this tale it is the collective of the people that acts as extended arm of the law and brings the treacherous sorcerer to justice: “Um so mehr aber entbrannte ihr [des Volkes] Haß gegen den Betrüger Mizra. Sie zogen in den Palast und nahmen den alten Zauberer und seinen Sohn gefangen” (27) (All the more was their [the people’s] wrath inflamed against the traitor Mizra. They rushed to the palace, and took the old sorcerer and his son prisoners [27]). The final judgment of the Caliph, however, is somewhat macabre: while the traitor Mizra gets hanged, his son has the “choice” between death and a pinch of the magical powder. When the prisoner chooses the latter and transforms into a stork, the Caliph secures him in an iron cage, which he then places in the garden.

In *Said’s Schicksale* (Said’s Adventures), an Orientalist tale embedded in the frame narrative *Das Wirtshaus im Spessart* (The Inn in Spessart), Hauff uses the gaze of the Other to euphemize the historical figure of the allegedly cruel and tyrannical Abbasid ruler Hārūn al-Rashīd (Caliph of Iraq in 694 AD) by transforming him into an idealized sovereign who stands out for his *Gerechtigkeitsliebe* (love of justice) and *Scharfsinn* (astuteness) (Johnson 668, Hauff 249). Disguised as a middle-class citizen of a prosperous Bagdad, the powerful Caliph walks among his people to learn about its true needs and hardships. The tale climaxes in a courtroom scene, in which Hārūn judges Said’s case “with the wisdom of Salomo” (219). Said, who saved the Caliph from a malicious robbery and received a financial reward for his good deed, is accused of theft later on by his former employer, the merchant Kalum-Bek. I surmise that Hauff

intended to create a positive image of Eastern rulers as striking contrast to the German sovereigns of his own time.

Hauff uses the “protective” masquerade of the Orient in his literary fairy tales to hide his criticism of the societal landscape and political power structures in Germany. As a matter of fact, in the tale *Zwerg Nase* (The Dwarf Nosey), the author does not shy away from using satire and irony to mock the monarchs of the Restoration period. In this telling of the second fairy tale almanac, Hauff depicts a Grand Duke from “an important town” in Germany, who is a well-known glutton and lover of exquisite food (112, 125). If the meals are not prepared to his liking, the notorious *gourmand* usually throws “plates and dishes at the cook’s head” (130). Once in a fit of rage, the voracious Duke even threw a fried calf’s foot that was not sufficiently tender with such violence at his master cook’s forehead that “the latter fell to the ground, and was compelled for three days to keep his bed” (130). Becoming fatter every day, the Grand Duke invites a neighboring Prince to his court to show off his new chef, the skilled dwarf “Nose.” When the Prince asks for the pie *Souzeraine* (Suzerain) the Duke threatens the dwarf to hack him into pieces and bake him into a pie, or to chop off his head and spear it on the gate of the palace, if he fails at making this “queen of pies” (134). Much to the amusement of the Prince, Nose does not know about the special ingredient of the pie, a herb called *Niesmitlust* (Sneeze-with-pleasure), and consequently cannot fulfill his task. At the end of the tale, the two Lords quarrel over the absence of the dwarf and this circumstance gives rise to the *Kräuterkrieg* (Herb War), a great war between the two sovereigns (137). After several battles, the *Pastetenfrieden* (Pie Peace) follows at last: at the reconciliation banquet, the Prince’s cook serves the celebrated *Souzeraine* pie, so that the Grand Duke should taste it in perfection (137-38).

With his word choice of the pie's name *Souzeraine*, Hauff hints at the political term "suzerainty" in connection with the *Deutsche Bund* (German Confederation, 1815-1848, 1850-1866), a loose association of 38 Central European states founded by the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815). The German Grand Duke and the neighboring Prince in Hauff's tale presumably represent the rivalry between the Kingdom of Prussia and the Austrian Empire (also known as "German Dualism"¹⁵), the two largest and most powerful member states that dominated the German Confederation. On the one hand, the tale satirizes the role of the German Confederation as suzerain and on the other hand, it highlights the arbitrariness of the kings, princes, and dukes, each of whom was concerned with maintaining sovereignty over his own state in the *Vormärz* (pre-March) period. In the second part of this chapter I therefore focus on the bourgeois character of *The Dwarf Nosey* by scrutinizing the Hauff tales for Biedermeierian motifs, such as morals, virtues, idylls, domesticity, sociability, and *Gemütlichkeit* (coziness).

Even though it appears paradox, I assert that the exotic stories of the Orient share striking parallels with the middle-class sensibilities of the *Biedermeier* era in Germany between 1815 and 1848. Unlike in any previous German literary fairy tale, the author illustrates in *Zwerg Nase* (The Dwarf Nosey), the reality of workman's everyday life (Wührl 193). The narrator takes the reader along to primarily work places and urban locations: the vegetable market, a narrow street, a barber's shop, the church, and the kitchen in the Grand Duke's palace. The tale presents the average citizen pursuing his daily business: the cobbler "hammering his shoe" and "drawing out at great length the twine with both hands," the cobbler's wife as a market woman selling fruits, vegetables, various herbs and seeds, the laughing barber, the Duke's service personnel, the master cook, and the busy kitchen staff "running about, rattling kettles and pans, and with forks

¹⁵ The term "German Dualism" refers to the long running conflict between Prussia and Austria and their rivalry for supremacy in Central Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. While wars were a part of the rivalry, it was also a race for prestige to be seen as the legitimate political representation of the German-speaking peoples.

and ladles in their hands” (323). Still, even those narratives that are firmly located on German soil and feature the *petite bourgeoisie* bear traces of the *Morgenland*. Hauff’s constant interplay between the exotic and the domestic occurs not only on the macro level – the oscillation between Eastern and Western topography as well as the intercultural encounters within the cyclical frame narratives of the almanacs – but also on the micro level – through textual references to culinary and sartorial details of the everyday life within the embedded tales. In *The Dwarf Nosey* for instance, the wicked fairy *Kräuterweis* wears coconut shells instead of slippers; her servants are guinea pigs and squirrels in large, wide Turkish trousers with small caps of green velvet on their heads; and the kitchen in the palace is equipped with “every thing costly and rare for the palate that could be found in the entire country of the Franks and even in the Levant” (323). In addition, Hauff swings back and forth between the cultural perspectives at the diegetic level: the German narrator (intradiegetic level) interrupts his tale (metadiegetic level) to explain “foreign words,” such as e.g. *paternoster* (The Lord’s Prayer), to the Eastern audience in the frame narrative: “Kaum waren sie aber halb so lange da, als man ein Paternoster spricht (es ist dies das Gebet der Franken, o Herr, und dauert nicht halb so lange, als das Gebet der Gläubigen) so kam schon ein Bote und rief den Oberküchenmeister zum Herrn” (129) (They had scarcely sat down long enough to say half a paternoster [such is the name of the Franks’ prayer, O Sire, and it does not take half as long to say it as to speak the prayer of the Faithful], when a messenger came and called the head cook to the Duke [325-26]).

On closer inspection, Hauff’s *Kunstmärchen* mirror the world of the *Biedermeier* and the middle-class norms promoted during that period, such as diligence, honesty, loyalty, conscientiousness, faith, cleanliness, obedience, discipline, decorum, moderation, modesty,

national pride, and a strong work ethic.¹⁶ The cultural focal point during the *Biedermeier* era was no longer on representation but on domestic happiness, personal welfare, and family bliss within the walls of one's own house. Driven by the disappointment of political events in the early-nineteenth century (Napoleonic Wars, Congress of Vienna), the German burghers turned to the private sphere and retreated to the sanctuaries of their homes. The core of the Biedermeierian concept was the idyll all-around: in the domains of family, society, and nature. Furthermore, economic progress and modernization during the restoration of the feudal police regime contributed to the appearance of commoners who were either apolitical or leaned toward the conservative side. Hence, returning to the Hauff almanacs, it comes as no surprise that the author places emphasis in his tales on the order of society, thereby defending the stability of the traditional social hierarchy and the separation of the bourgeois class from the nobility.

Already the introduction of the fairy tale cycles alludes to the reflection on ethical principles and moral virtues. According to the German proverb "Ohne Fleiß, kein Preis" ("No pains, no gains" or "No sweet without sweat"), the author reinforces *ab initio* the goodness of assiduity and studiousness. In the allegory *Märchen als Almanach*, the friendly man invites Fairy Tale into his home to reward his educated sons and daughters with a "heiteres Stündchen" (cheerful hour) after they have studied well and diligently (11). To find their "happily ever after," the protagonists in Hauff's tales cannot rely on magic alone but must rather trust in their own strengths, abilities, and learned skills. In the tale *Das kalte Herz* (The Cold Heart), a kind little sprite and guardian of traditions named *Glasmännlein* (Glass-man) admonishes the charcoal

¹⁶ In her work *Begriffsbestimmung des literarischen Biedermeier* ([Definition of the literary Biedermeier] 1974), Elfriede Neubuhr puts the values and norms of the Biedermeierian middle-class into keen focus: "Abgesunken in die untere Schicht des naiven, in seine Arbeit gebundenen Kleinbürgertums, . . . hat sich das klare, reinliche Dasein des Biedermeier als ein namenlos gewordener Lebensstil bewahrt, als Familienbindung, Ordnungssinn, Leistungsethos, Treue, Ehr- und Pflichtgefühl, als . . . anständige, zuverlässige bürgerliche Substanz" (172) (Sagged into the lower layer of the naïve, work-bound middle-class . . . the clear, neat existence of the *Biedermeier* has conserved itself as a nameless style of living, as family bond, sense of order, ethic of achievement, loyalty, sense of honor and duty, as . . . respectable, reliable civic substance).

burner Peter Munk (called Kohlenmunk-Peter) to honor his occupation like his ancestors did before him: “Du musst dein Handwerk nicht verachten; dein Vater und Großvater waren Ehrenleute und haben es auch getrieben” (230) (You must not despise your trade; your father and grandfather were honest people, . . . and they carried on the same trade).

The story of Kohlenmunk-Peter and his wish for a better life shows that the search for riches, fame, and power often produces greed, inhumanity, and violence. Set in the Black Forest, the glass manikin fulfills Peter’s wishes for money and popularity. The young man however becomes idle, fails miserably, and eventually falls victim to the *Holländer Michel* (Hollander Michael), the evil spirit who exchanges Peter’s heart with a stone. Only after he kills his wife, the remorseful hero of the tale comes to his senses and with the assistance of the Glass-man recovers his original heart. The good spirit restores Peter’s wife back to life and advises him to remain on the path of humbleness and honesty: “Zieh jetzt heim in deines Vaters Hütte, und sei ein Köhler wie zuvor; bist du brav und bieder, so wirst du dein Handwerk ehren und deine Nachbarn werden dich mehr lieben und achten, als wenn du zehn Tonnen Gold hättest” (319) (Go home now, to your father’s hut, and be a charcoal-burner as before; if you are active and honest, you will do credit to your trade, and your neighbors will love and esteem you more than if you possessed ten tons of gold). At the end of the tale, the protagonist resumes his former occupation as charcoal burner and prospers due to his own physical labor. As antidote to modern revolutions, Hauff thus promotes a return to respectable virtues connected with the traditional forms of economic activities and the structure of a reliable society with different social layers and classes. “Von jetzt an wurde Peter ein fleißiger und wackerer Mann. Er war zufrieden mit dem, was er hatte, trieb sein Handwerk unverdrossen und so kam es, dass er durch eigene Kraft wohlhabend wurde, und angesehen und beliebt im ganzen Wald” (319) (Henceforth Peter Munk

became an industrious and honest man. He was content with what he had, carried on his trade cheerfully, and thus it was that he became wealthy by his own energy, and respected and beloved in the whole forest).

In the critical-satirical fairy tale *Das Märchen vom falschen Prinzen* (The Story of the False Prince) located in the first almanac *The Caravan*, the Biedermeierian values of virtue, honesty, and diligence come to the fore. Hauff defends the stability of the hierarchical structure of society once more by emphasizing the return to traditional trade and venerable craftsmanship. The main protagonist of the story, which takes place in an Orientalist setting, is the ambitious tailor Labakan who attempts to break through the societal order by impersonating royalty. Masqueraded as prince Omar, the tailor arrives at the palace of Saad, sultan of the *Wechabiten* (Wahhabi), and competes with the true heir to the throne in an identity-revealing contest.¹⁷ When Labakan has to choose between two magical boxes with the inscriptions “Honor and Fame” and “Fortune and Riches,” he decides on the latter and finds a needle and thread instead of a crown. According to Ulrich Kittstein and his research on Wilhelm Hauff, the author of the tale refers in this passage to the differing intrinsic measures of value of the German middle class versus the nobility to legitimize the barrier between both groups (28). The fairy Adolzaide provided the sultan with the magical boxes because she presumably foresaw that Labakan could not repudiate his bourgeois provenance and would therefore pick the box that promised the tangible reward of financial wealth. At the same time, the needle and thread emblemize that the key to social advancement of the middle class lies in its work ethic.

The old proverb of the sultan “Der Schuster bleibe bei seinem Leist[en]” (95) (The shoemaker should stick to his last) reinforces Hauff’s standpoint that, even though there is some

¹⁷ The Wahhabi are members of a puritanical Muslim sect founded in Arabia in the 18th century by Muhammad ibn-Abdul Wahhab and revived by ibn-Saud in the 20th century (“Wahhabi”).

room for climbing up the social ladder, every member of society has his ancestral and firm place. Hence, the tale echoes the believe system of the Restoration period that sees the drive for economic and personal advancement as positive for as long as the dynamic does not disrupt the given political and social order (Kittstein 29). In the end, Labakan obtains many customers, becomes the “most famous tailor” after all, and acquires riches “in bescheidenem Maße” (in moderate measure) (Hauff 97). “The false prince” is not the only protagonist in Hauff’s literary fairy tales that ultimately turns to the Biedermeierian virtues of modesty and meekness. After Achmet, the hero of the spine-chilling tale *Die Geschichte von dem Gespensterschiff* (The Tale of the Ghost Ship), gained “riches and fortune” as a business man, he lives a humble, self-sufficient, and pious life: “Ich aber lebte ruhig und in Frieden, und alle fünf Jahre machte ich eine Reise nach Mekka, um dem Herrn an heiliger Stätte, für seinen Segen zu danken, und für den Kapitano und seine Leute zu bitten, daß er sie in sein Paradies aufnehme (34) (But I lived quietly and peacefully, and every five years undertook a journey to Mecca, in order to thank the Lord for His blessing at this sacred shrine, and pray for the Captain and his crew that He might receive them into His Paradise).

Other fairy tale endings adhere to the Biedermeierian image of the family idyll, reflecting the conservative mentality of Romanticism. While Kohlenmunk-Peter reunites with his wife and mother in *The Cold Heart*, Jacob returns to his family in *The Dwarf Nosey* as a handsome and wealthy man after he managed to break the transfiguration curse of the wicked fairy *Kräuterweis*. His parents welcome the former midget with great joy and identify Jacob as their “verlorenen Sohn” (prodigal son) (137). The biblical motif of the “lost son” who returns home is a reoccurring theme in Hauff’s tales, appearing also in *The Story of the False Prince* and in *The Story of Almansor*, which merges seamlessly into the frame story of the second almanac *The*

Sheik of Alessandria and his Slaves. The notion of a blissful family and harmonious private sphere is closely linked to the idea of an idyllic home-and-hearth atmosphere that evokes the feelings of domesticity and sentimental coziness. The German term *Gemütlichkeit*, presumably coined during the *Biedermeier* era, does not merely describe a place that is compact, well heated, and nicely furnished, but connotes the notion of belonging, social acceptance, and cheerfulness. Most importantly, the term implies the absence of anything hectic and stressful, and alludes to the opportunity of spending “quality time” with friends and family. In *Ethnic Groups of Europe: An Encyclopedia* (2011), Johannes Moser associates the term *Gemütlichkeit* with the middle class, candlelight, soft plush pillows, and naïve paintings of the countryside and of animals (177). To this day, however, a popular singing toast by German composer Georg Kunoth (1863-1927) suggests that Germans do not limit the term to cozy, female-dominated *Kaffeekränzchen* (coffee parties) in the home’s parlor but tied it already in the nineteenth century to the so-called *Stammtisch* (regular’s table) and the consumption of alcoholic beverages in public houses: “Ein Prosit, ein Prosit, der Gemütlichkeit” (A toast, a toast, to sociability). While the *Stammtisch* represented a place of retreat for the petty bourgeois, it evokes the feeling of *Gemütlichkeit* usually shared by a group of men, similar to the all-male conversation groups in Hauff’s stories.

The Orientalist style of comfort and conviviality that Hauff represents in his tales reflects the German perception of *Gemütlichkeit* as well as the *Biedermeier* culture of domesticity, social gatherings in *Kaffeehäusern* (coffee houses), and *Stammtisch* meetings. Further, Hauff deliberately created an atmosphere of *Gemütlichkeit* firstly to fabricate a cultural bridge between the German readership and the Easterners depicted in his fairy tales and secondly to satisfy the Biedermeierian demand for coziness. The cultural conjunction facilitates identification of the reader with the Eastern characters in the frame stories and dispels any feelings of unease toward

the strange, the different, and the unknown. At the same time, the pleasure of enjoying a taste of the exotic remains intact. With the complexity of a multilayered diegesis, this identification process is essential to the author's integration of his readers into the frame story at the intradiegetic level that merges the implied Western audience with the intradiegetic audience of the *Morgenland*. In other words, Hauff tailored his tales to the penchant of his Biedermeierian readership, knowing that the sensation of *Gemütlichkeit* could function as a common denominator of both civilizations or at least be perceived as just that by the German reader. Based on this commonality, the German reader easily overcomes any feelings of cultural alienation and undergoes more smoothly the change of ethnic perspective (gaze of the Other) intended by the author.

By taking his readership along into a romanticized realm set in the East, Hauff corresponds to the eighteenth and nineteenth century stereotype of a fairy-tale Orient. With his colorful and picturesque descriptions, the Swabian writer brings the ambience of a German living room and the coziness of a Biedermeierian parlor into the vast Arabian Desert. In the frame story of *The Caravan* for instance, a group of travelling merchants rests in "a tent of blue silk cloth." When Selim Baruch, a stranger who intends to accompany the caravan enters the tent through a "curtain," he finds the merchants sitting on "gold embroidered cushions." Together, they eat from proper dishes, drink Turkish sherbets, and on the conclusion of the repast smoke long pipes of tobacco. Presumably Hauff had an adult audience in mind when he wrote in explicit detail about the smoking habit of his characters throughout the tales: "Die Kaufleute saßen lange schweigend, indem sie die bläulichen Rauchwolken vor sich hinbliesen und zusahen, wie sie sich ringelten und verzogen und endlich in die Luft verschwebten" (14) (The merchants sat silently watching the blue clouds of smoke as they formed into rings and finally vanished in the air).

In a smooth textual transition, the feeling of *Gemütlichkeit* carries over from the frame narrative into the first fairy tale, *The Story of the Caliph Stork*, of the almanac. Here, Hauff creates a mood of ease and comfort immediately in the opening paragraph:

Der Kalif Chasid zu Bagdad saß einmal an einem schönen Nachmittag behaglich auf seinem Sofa; er hatte ein wenig geschlafen, denn es war ein heißer Tag, und sah nun nach seinem Schläfchen recht heiter aus. Er rauchte aus seiner langen Pfeife von Rosenholz, trank hie und da ein wenig Kaffee, den ihm ein Sklave einschenkte und strich sich allemal vergnügt den Bart, wenn es ihm geschmeckt hatte. Kurz man sah dem Kalifen an, dass es ihm recht wohl war. (15)

[One fine afternoon, Chasid, Caliph of Bagdad, reclined on his divan. Owing to the heat of the day he had fallen asleep, and was now but just awakened, feeling much refreshed by his nap. He puffed at a long-stemmed rosewood pipe, pausing now and then to sip the coffee handed him by an attentive slave, and testifying his approval of the same by stroking his beard. In short, one could see at a glance that the Caliph was in an excellent humor.]

After every embedded tale and exciting adventure, the narrative returns to the overarching story of the travelling merchants. The members of this exclusively male group gradually form a social bond and welcome the stranger Selim Baruch into their midst. In this connection, the author stresses the hospitable nature of the Easterners who provide for the newcomer “as bountifully as if he had been their most honored guest” and make him feel at home. By the time the travelers reach a caravansary, the whole company is in high spirits, jocular, and “more confidential than ever.” Besides sociability, the caravan emanates an exhilarant cheerfulness and playfulness, evoking once again the image of the Biedermeierian idyll: “Muley, der junge lustige Kaufmann, tanzte einen komischen Tanz, und sang Lieder dazu, die selbst dem ernstesten Griechen Zaleukos ein Lächeln entlockten. . . . Die gestrige Fröhlichkeit ging auch auf diesen Tag über, und sie ergötzten sich in allerlei Spielen” (66, 82) (Muley, the active young merchant, danced a comic dance, accompanying himself with songs, until even the sad features of Zaleukos, the Greek, relaxed into a smile. . . . The gaiety of the day before continued, and they amused themselves with all kinds of games).

Not only did the literary fairy tales by Hauff cater to the Biedermeierian longing for *Gemütlichkeit*, they also provided the audience of the Romantic period with thrilling entertainment, exotic adventures, and escapes into a magical world full of material wealth and riches. Friedrich Sengle, one of Germany's most noted historians and scholars of German language and literature, suggests in his three-volume *Biedermeierzeit* (Biedermeier period, 1972) that the Hauff tales had a "narcotic" or "intoxicating" effect on the German people during a time of poor economical prospects: "Diese Märchen sind auch 'Opium' gegen die ökonomische Armseligkeit der Zeit" (967) (These fairy tales are also the "opium" against the economical meagerness of the time). Sengle's statement underscores my argument that German *Kunstmärchen* represented the Orient not only as a source of poetic inspiration set in a paradisiacal environment, but also as a place of luxuriousness and prosperity. Whether precious treasures, ornate room décors, lavish garments or opulent meals, the Orient resembled a "New Eden," a pristine garden of bountiful provision and abundance. Comparable to the *Arabian Nights*, the readership of the tales could indulge in the exotic fruits of the Edenic tree and, on an imaginary level, "consume" luxury goods such as coffee, sugar, tobacco, fruits, spices, precious textiles, ivory, pearls, jewelry, and gold.

Especially noticeable in this context are Hauff's elaborate descriptions of clothing worn by his protagonists. Whether it is a splendid caftan of golden cloth, a white cashmere shawl or a turban ornamented with sparkling jewels, the style of dress and specific articles of clothing play a prominent role in the tales. At the outset of the frame narrative *The Caravan*, the author illustrates in great detail the appearance of the stranger Selim Baruch:

Er ritt ein schönes Pferd mit einer Tigerdecke behängt, an dem hochroten Riemenwerk hingen silberne Glöckchen, und auf dem Kopf des Pferdes wehte ein schöner Reiherbusch. Der Reiter sah stattlich aus, und sein Anzug entsprach der Pracht seines Rosses; ein weißer Turban, reich mit Gold bestickt, bedeckte das

Haupt; der Rock und die weiten Beinkleider in brennendem Rot, ein gekrümmtes Schwert mit reichem Griff an seiner Seite. (12)

[He rode a fine Arabian horse, covered with a tiger skin; from the deep-red trappings depended little silver bells, while on the horse's head waved a plume of heron feathers. The horseman was of stately bearing, and his attire corresponded in richness with that of his horse. A white turban, richly embroidered with gold, covered his head; his coat and Turkish trousers were of scarlet; while a curved sword, with a rich hilt, hung at his side.]

It is not until the final sentence of the tale that Baruch discloses his secret identity by revealing himself as the dreaded robber Orbasan and the mysterious *Rotmantel* (man in the red mantle) who encountered the Greek merchant Zaleukos in *The Story of the Amputated Hand*. Therein, Baruch's sumptuous cloak becomes the recurrent theme of the narrative, which Hauff depicts with painstaking attention to detail: "Er war von schwerem genuesischem Samt, purpurrot, mit astrachenischem Pelz verbrämt und reich mit Gold bestickt" (39) (It was of heavy reddish-purple Genoese velvet, with a border of Astrachan fur, and richly embroidered with gold). According to the German proverb "Kleider machen Leute" (clothes make the man), the author plays in his *Kunstmärchen* with the popular fairy tale topics of masquerading, disguise, and role reversal. The fifth merchant of the caravan, Ali Sizah, tells *The Story of the False Prince*, in which the tailor Labakan, driven by his "admiration over the splendor of the embroidery and the various shades of velvet and silk," dresses in the court costume of prince Omar. Similarly, the hero of *Said's Adventures* changes his appearance by using a fairy's magic lotion that disguises his features and by putting on an extravagant apparel: "[ein] Turban vom feinsten Gewebe mit einer Agraffe von Diamanten und hohen Reiherfedern, [ein] Kleid von schwerem roten Seidenzeug mit silbernen Blumen durchwirkt, . . . eine Damaszenerklinge in reich verzierter Scheide, mit einem Griff, dessen Steine Said unschätzbar deuchten" (258-59) (a turban of finest muslin with a diamond aigrette and feathers, a coat of cloth of gold worked with silver flowers, . . . a Damascene blade in a rich sheath, with a hilt set with priceless jewels).

Hauff's *Kunstmärchen* offered the Germans a fantasy escape from their own time of pauperism, economic hardship, and granted them fantasmatic access to shopping expeditions among bustling bazaars and market places.¹⁸ The tales are filled with stories about local hawkers as well as international merchants, and emphasize luxury goods, e.g. costly hand-made carpets, crimson velvet coats, silken rugs, splendidly covered cushions, and golden censers. Since the early-seventeenth century, West Europe imported such precious textiles and other *Kolonialwaren* (colonial goods) from the East, which contributed significantly to the semiotic constitution of the Orient.¹⁹ Imported goods from China, Japan, the Arabic world, India, and Persia, included inter alia silk, damask, wall paper, carpets, and porcelain, spices like pepper, cinnamon, saffron, cloves, and not least cocoa, tea, and coffee (Polaschegg 88). Since the early-nineteenth century, Hanseatic as well as Prussian merchant ships in Germany's overseas trade focused primarily on groceries from the West Indies (America), e.g. sugar, rum, coffee, tobacco, cigars, cotton wool, and logwood (Boelcke 105). In contrast to the other Western naval powers though it is noteworthy to mention that Germany's colonial efforts in seeking a "place in the sun" did not begin until 1884.²⁰

Already in the eighteenth century, a wide strata of the German population consumed colonial goods on a daily basis resulting in a gradual decrease of their luxurious nimbus and of their measure of social distinction (Merki 83; Maurer 44). Over time, *Genussmittel* ("luxury

¹⁸ The term pauperism describes the catastrophic mass poverty during the time of pre-industrialism, as for instance in Germany during the 1830s and 1840s. Excessive population growth and the growth of a *Proletariat* ("rootless people with no fixed place in the social order") contributed to the widespread crisis of pauperism in Germany (Tipton 61).

¹⁹ In many Germanic languages 'colonial goods' exists as a concept: in German (*Kolonialwaren*), Dutch (*Koloniale Waren*), Danish (*Kolonialvarer*) or Swedish (*Kolonialvaror*). Nowadays, the term covers many different sorts of groceries, including coffee, sugar, tea, spices, and other goods. The original meaning of the term comes from the colonial connection of many of these goods, but this meaning has been lost over time.

²⁰ Even though there were some short-lived colonial efforts by individual German states in preceding centuries, the domain of the German colonial empire did not form until the late nineteenth century.

food” or “stimulants”) such as coffee, tea, chocolate, and sugar were no longer reserved for the upper social classes and the *salon* culture but found their way into the circles of the bourgeoisie. Tobacco, alcohol, and opium, which were among the imported luxury foods of the early-nineteenth century, bore a predominantly positive and salutary label rather than one of intoxication or psychic and physical dependence. When Sengle refers to the Hauff fairy tales as opiate in his above-mentioned quote, the assumption suggests itself that at the bottom of this analogy lies a more profound connection between drugs, fantasy escapes, and the Romantic period, which for the purpose of this dissertation calls for further investigation. Specifically, I examine the ties between Romantic writers and opium consumption, and how literary productions of opium-addicted writers might have influenced the image of the Orient in the nineteenth century.

In the last section of this chapter I expand my geographical view from Germany to Britain and focus primarily on British Romantics to show how literature connects opium to exotic travels and Orientalist fantasies without leaving home. I investigate the link between opium-infused visions, creativity, and the Orient, as well as the influence of the drug on dreams. At the end of this chapter I will return to the literary Orient to demonstrate that the East is portrayed positively in British poetry. I am particularly interested in answering the following questions: Did writers of the Romantic movement consume any intoxicating substances such as opium? And if so, is there any literary evidence that suggests an enhancement of creative powers after the use of opium? What positive and negative effects were ascribed to opium consumption in the early-nineteenth century? What is the relationship between opiates, the Romantic vision of the Orient, and literary productions?

Many Romantic writers indeed took opium for various reasons: as “medicine” whose nonmedical side effects might also be enjoyed, as mental stimulant to overcome writer’s block and to foster creative inspiration, as means of transcendence and to experience another level of consciousness, as “calmative,” as natural “antidepressant” and “mood stabilizer,” and lastly to escape the hardships of reality into the world of dreams and imagination. Opium poppy has a long history both in myth and in reality. Already the ancient Greeks associated the poppy in their mythology with sleep, oblivion, death, and fertility.²¹ In Mesopotamia, the Sumerians referred to it as “joy plant,” as early as 3000 B.C. Techniques of opium productions were passed on to other countries in the Near and Middle East, to Egypt around 1500 B.C., to Persia probably around 900 B.C., and to Asia Minor around 500 B.C. By the end of the first millennium, opium became a popular household remedy in India, where it was cultivated and consumed throughout the country (United Nations 10). In the following centuries, opium was introduced in China and exported into the West by international trading companies, such as the British East India Company, which was instrumental in expanding the opium trade toward the end of the eighteenth century (United Nations 12).

By the time of the early-nineteenth century, opium was a widespread sedative and pain reliever, not unlike today’s aspirin. Family doctors prescribed it frequently as a remedy to migraines, travel nerves, and to overcome conditions of hysteria and nervousness. The narcotic was an integral part of every medicine chest in a bourgeois household and commonly used in syrups and juices for children to lull them to sleep (Schivelbusch 217). Furthermore, the working class consumed opium on a regular basis, predominantly in the form of laudanum (an alcoholic tincture of opium), because it was easily accessible and above all cheap (Kloppe 147; Milligan

²¹ Demeter (the goddess of the earth, fertility, and agriculture), in despair over the seizure of her daughter Persephone by Hades, ate poppy seeds with a view to fall asleep and forget her painful grief (Kapoor 4).

22).²² When Karl Marx coined the well-known phrase “religion is the opium of the people” in 1843, he was well aware of the daily drug consumption by the German *Proletariat*. Similarly, drug use within the circles of the artistic and literary avantgarde at the turn of the century was nothing unusual. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, John Keats, Lord Byron, Walter Scott, Percy Shelley, Thomas De Quincey, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Jane Welsh Carlyle, Francis Thompson, Charles Dickens, Edgar Allen Poe, Charles Baudelaire, Gérard de Nerval, Théophile Gautier, Novalis, E.T.A. Hoffmann, Wilhelm and Friedrich Schlegel, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Friedrich Wilhelm Schelling, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Christian Grabbe, and Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche are all among those well-known writers who at various points in their lives consumed opium, laudanum, or hashish (Schivelbusch 220; Boon 31; Kloppe 148; Milligan 4, 27; Jungblut 30; Marbacher Magazin 1995, 72: 78).²³ According to Marcus Boon and his book *The Road of Excess: A History of Writers on Drugs* (2002), the early German Romantics believed that drugs contain in them “the promise of the reunion of mind and matter, the transcendental and the material realms” (12). To answer the question of why so many poets of Romanticism used opium, one has to consider the specific societal situation at that time. The Romantic movement with its search for transcendence was a rebellion against the scientific-materialistic, reason-based culture of Enlightenment that destroyed religious consciousness. The Romantic subject could not come to terms with the cold, disillusioning truth of the mind and experienced the growing

²² The Swiss-German alchemist Paracelsus, born Phillippus Aureolus Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim (1493–1541), discovered laudanum already in the sixteenth century in Salzburg, Austria. Opium was sold in various forms, such as in pills, powders, and plasters, liniments, lozenges, and laudanum, syrups, suppositories, and seed capsules straight off the poppy stalk (Milligan 22).

²³ Even though it remains unclear whether Goethe made his own experiences with opium, his pharmacy bills indicate a regular demand of laudanum (Behr 58). Friedrich Schlegel thought that he should have taken more opium to turn his *Alarcos* (1802) into a true antique tragedy (Von Chézy 89).

industrialization of an environment driven by rationality, which left no room for religious comfort and hope, as a new “expulsion from paradise.”

Novalis, who suffered from tuberculosis used the “wunderbare Heilkräfte” (wonderful healing powers) of opium to alleviate his pains (Holst 266). For the young Romantic, opium was a “universal medicine,” (Novalis, *Schriften*, 4: 241) whose immanent healing powers could raise one up into “Sfären, die ein ewiger Sonnenschein umgiebt” (spheres that are surrounded by eternal sunshine) (Novalis, *Schriften*, 4: 202).²⁴ Novalis tied intoxicating substances, such as wine and opium to his highly ambiguous theory of “sickness,” which in turn became a principle of evolution for him. All sicknesses, so the author believed, were deviations from nature and ultimately represented transcendences. The use of narcotics was a chemical means to produce sickness, an “unnatural state of health - of revolt against the limits of the animal body,” which Novalis paradoxically considered necessary for the development of a new body that could overcome the “sickness” of the alienated and fragmented man of modernity (Boon 31). This transformation was a way of perceiving the world anew and, in a Romantic sense, could lead the soul beyond nature. In his cycle of poems *Hymnen an die Nacht* (Hymns to the Night, 1800), Novalis speaks of opium in relation to the night, dreams, and darkness: “Hast auch du ein Gefallen an uns, dunkle Nacht? Was hältst du unter deinem Mantel, das mir unsichtbar kräftig an die Seele geht? Köstlicher Balsam träuft aus deiner Hand, aus dem Bündel Mohn. Die schweren Flügel des Gemüths hebst du empor” (Novalis, *Schriften*, 1: 131) (Do you too find pleasure in us dark Night? What do you conceal beneath your cloak that presses upon my soul with invisible power? Precious balm drips for your hand, out of the bundle of poppies. You lift the heavy wings of heart and mind) (Browning 109).

²⁴ Quoted by Novalis from letters to Friedrich Schlegel on December 26, 1797 and to his brother Erasmus in 1797.

Novalis elevates the night as a sacral element to a timeless space of religious experiences, a gathering place for old (Orient) and new (opium) spiritual forces (Boon 30). The author views the realm of the night, the dream world, as a divine sphere that is accessible also during daytime through the *Rausch* (intoxication) of wine, bitter almond oil, and opium. In another passage of the *Hymns*, he elaborates on the dark pleasures of narcotic substances:

Ewig ist die Dauer des Schlafs. Heiliger Schlaf - beglücke zu selten nicht der Nacht Geweihte in diesem irdischen Tagewerk. Nur die Thoren verkennen dich und wissen von keinem Schläfe, als den Schatten, den du in jener Dämmerung der wahrhaften Nacht mitleidig auf uns wirfst. Sie fühlen dich nicht in der goldnen Flut der Trauben - in des Mandelbaums Wunderöl, und dem braunen Safte des Mohns. (Novalis, *Schriften*, 1: 133-35)

[Eternal is the duration of Sleep. Holy Sleep – bless not too seldom in their daily tasks those consecrated to Night. Only fools fail to recognize you and know no other sleep than the shadow you mercifully cast over us in that dusk of the true Night. They do not sense you in the grape’s golden flood – in the almond tree’s miraculous oil, in the brown juice of the poppy.] (Browning 111)

Forced to retreat by the light (Enlightenment), the night also becomes a place of refuge for “the gods,” in other words religion. Although the term “night” is often interpreted as referring simply to death, the Romantic author associates it in this context with “renewal” and “rebirth,” while “sleep” paves the way to a new mythology and age of mankind:

Nicht mehr war das Licht der Götter Aufenthalt und himmlisches Zeichen - den Schleyer der Nacht warfen sie über sich. Die Nacht ward der Offenbarungen mächtiger Schooß - in ihn kehrten die Götter zurück - schlummerten ein, um in neuen herrlichern Gestalten auszugehn über die veränderte Welt. (Novalis, *Schriften*, 1: 145)

[No longer was Light the sojourning place of the gods and a heaven-sent sign – these had thrown the veil of Night about them. Night became the mighty womb of revelations – into it the gods returned – fell asleep, to rise again in new, more splendid form and go forth into the changed world.] (Browning 121)²⁵

²⁵ Even though morphine was unknown to Novalis when he published his *Hymns* in 1800 in the *Athenaeum* (a German pharmacist, Friedrich Wilhelm Adam Sertürner, discovered the opiate only four years later), this particular passage of the poem evokes Morpheus, the Greek god of sleep and dreams, after whom Sertürner named his new discovery.

Marked by his illness, the use of opium was for Novalis a medical blessing and not an “evil” act as Baudelaire characterized it much later in his volume of French poetry *Les Fleurs du Mal* (The Flowers of Evil, 1857). Besides tuberculosis, medicines containing opium were used until the second half of the nineteenth century to treat a long list of common afflictions including ague, bronchitis, cancer, cholera, diabetes, diarrhea, delirium tremens, depression, fatigue, gangrene, gout, insanity, intestinal obstruction, malaria, menstrual symptoms, neuralgia, pneumonia, sciatica, sleeplessness, tetanus, and ulcers (Berridge and Edwards 32-34, 66-72; Milligan 22).

Before I return to the topic of the Orient, I will sum up in a very brief detour why some British authors of the Romantic period turned to the drug in the first place. With a view to British writers, Thomas De Quincey and Samuel Taylor Coleridge stand out for their opium-inspired literary works and their connection between opium, dreams, and the Orient. Similar to Novalis, both authors initially took opium (in the form of laudanum) for medical reasons; De Quincey suffered from a rheumatic toothache as well as neuralgia and Coleridge from rheumatism, depression, and crippling bouts of anxiety. Positive effects of the drug included the alleviation of their symptoms but also the production of sublime visions, which the writers found irresistible. In *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* (1821-1822), De Quincey evokes the German Romantics and portrays opium as a gateway to paradises and hells. The English author stresses the pleasures of the opiate when taken in a controlled manner and insists that opium does not intoxicate but rather helps to clear the mind: “Whereas wine disorders the mental faculties, opium, on the contrary (if taken in the most proper manner), introduces amongst them the most exquisite order, legislation, and harmony” (197). However, De Quincey also elaborates on the pains and side effects of taking the drug, such as insomnia, deep-seated anxiety, funereal

melancholy, frightening visions, and other difficult physical symptoms.²⁶ Oftentimes, he experienced terrifying, inescapable nightmares: “I seemed every night to descend - not metaphorically, but literally to descend - into chasms and sunless abysses, depths below depths, from which it seemed hopeless that I could ever re-ascend. Nor did I, by waking, feel that I had re-ascended” (259).

Opium consumption is connected in literature to travels and fantasy escapes without leaving one’s own home. In his autobiographical account, De Quincey unexpectedly meets a turban-wearing, opium-gobbling Malay with “fiery eyes;” a mysterious encounter that causes the author nightmares with Orientalist imagery set in an Asiatic scenery lasting for months (266). Without leaving his bed, the author undertakes an Odyssean voyage from England to China, India, and Egypt. De Quincey associates Southern Asia with unimaginable horrors and awful fears due to the mere antiquity of anything Asiatic. The vast age of the Asiatic race, its elaborate religions, ancient history, culture, and above all mythologies, are so impressive to him that they overpower “the sense of youth in the individual” (267). In his time-distorted dreams and opium-infused visions, De Quincey suffers under the tropical heat of the exotic regions, is haunted by ugly birds, snakes, crocodiles, and monkeys, and tormented by the deities of the East: “I fled from the wrath of Brama through the forests of Asia; Vishnu hated me; Seeva lay in wait for me. I came suddenly upon Isis and Osiris. . . . Thousands of years I lived and was buried in stone coffins, with mummies and sphinxes, in narrow chambers at the heart of the eternal pyramids” (286).

²⁶ In his book *Pleasures and Pains: Opium and the Orient in Nineteenth-Century British Culture* (1995), Milligan states more specific negative effects of opium addiction. Withdrawal symptoms include in the early stages “frequent yawning, sneezing, runny nose, and goose bumps and, in the later stages violent diarrhea, alternating chills and sweats, hypersensitivity to touch, irritability, depression, and spontaneous orgasms” (23).

For De Quincey and Coleridge, the drinking of laudanum evoked pleasurable as well as unpleasurable images and mythical visions of the Orient. Despite his painful experiences, De Quincey consumed laudanum for pleasure on a regular basis, especially before going to the opera or wandering through the poorer neighborhoods of London and conversing with people. He believed that opium excites the system, increases the activity of the mind, and stimulates the senses (203, 207). According to Joyce Madancy, both authors, De Quincey and Coleridge, claimed that much of their best work was done under the influence of opium (31).²⁷ Coleridge, who shared a similar sense of enthusiastic joy in his early days of drug use, speaks of laudanum in one of his letters written in 1789 to his brother George Coleridge as “divine repose” and “a spot of enchantment, a green spot of fountains and flowers and trees, in the very heart of a waste of sands” (1: 394). In another letter written the year before, he captures an opiate moment with Orientalist images: “I should much wish, like the Indian Vishna, . . . to float about along an infinite ocean cradled in the flower of the Lotus, and wake once in a million years for a few minutes – just to know that I was going to sleep a million years more” (1: 350). The imagery in both cases is strongly reminiscent of that of Coleridge’s most famous poem *Kubla Khan* (completed in 1797, published in 1816) in its topography and Orientalist references. Ever since his childhood, the Romantic writer nurtured his sublime imagination by reading fairy tales and, at the early age of six years, the *Arabian Nights*’ entertainments. His attraction to the Orient and the sensual pleasures it promised, however, met the disapproval of his father, a clergyman, who eventually burnt the books (Milligan 34).

²⁷ The publication of *The Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* in 1821 started a debate over the creative powers of opium that continues until today. M.H. Abrams’s *The Milk of Paradise* (1934) attempted to establish that opium-using writers share a common imagery, which stems directly from opium. Elisabeth Schneider’s *Coleridge, Opium and Kubla Khan* (1953) and Molly Lefebure’s *Samuel Taylor Coleridge: A Bondage of Opium* (1974) conclude that opium did not stimulate creativity (Lefebure sees opium as having destroyed rather than enhanced Coleridge’s creativity), whereas Alethea Hayter’s *Opium and the Romantic Imagination* (1968) contends that Coleridge did produce at least a draft of *Kubla Khan* under the influence of laudanum. Barry Milligan’s *Pleasures and Pains* (1995) focuses more on the ways in which opium shaped Orientalist notions in Victorian England (Madancy 31).

For Coleridge and other Romantics, opium embodied Orientalist wisdom (as did the figure of Kubla Khan) and offered hope of experiencing the absolute union of mind and world (Boon 34). In his introduction to the poem, Coleridge describes how he fell asleep after having taken two grains of opium. Beforehand, the author was reading *Purchas's Pilgrimage* (1614), a work depicting the palace of Kublai Khan, Tartar king and founder of the Mongol dynasty in China. In his opium-colored dream, Coleridge saw before him the exotic and paradisiacal Orientalist landscape he attempts to recreate through his poem. Through his poetic portrayal of the Eastern place Xanadu, Coleridge's Orient becomes a symbol of mystery, splendor, opulence, and enchantment. Upon waking, the Romantic author began to write down what he remembered from the dream, only to be interrupted by a person from Porlock. The poem remained fragmentary according to its original two hundred to three hundred line plan as the unexpected disturbance caused Coleridge to forget the lines. The first stanza of the poem describes the exotic landscape and Khan's pleasure dome built alongside a sacred river fed by a mighty fountain. The second stanza of the poem focuses on the poet's former vision of an Abyssinian maid playing a dulcimer. Her powerful song enraptures and inspires the poet but once the vision is gone, leaves him unable to put his creativity and imaginativeness into practice unless he could revive her music within him again.

Coleridge's reverie evokes the Romantic motif of *Sehnsucht* (longing) for the mysterious and ancient Orient, which for the Romantics signified freedom and giving in to human desires. The author makes an analogy between the creation of an earthly paradise in the Orient, reminiscent of *Shangri-La*, and the poet's creation of an imaginary paradise with its sacred river of inspiration.²⁸ Furthermore, the poem celebrates a fascination for the East and its untouched,

²⁸ Shangri-La is a remote, idyllic, imaginary land depicted in the novel *Lost Horizon* (1933) by James Hilton ("Shangri-La").

lush nature. On the one hand, the landscape is peaceful, harmonic, and old. There are majestic but fenced gardens that convey the image of a piece of land “tamed” by man:

So twice five miles of fertile ground
With walls and towers were girdled round:
And here were gardens bright with sinuous rills,
Where blossomed many an incense-bearing tree;
And here were forests ancient as the hills,
Enfolding sunny spots of greenery.
(Fleissner xix)

On the other hand, Coleridge describes the Orient as a wild, romantic, sacral, and magical place that cannot be conquered by man:

But oh! That deep romantic chasm which slanted
Down the green hill athwart a cedarn cover!
A savage place! As holy and enchanted
As e'er beneath the waning moon was haunted
By woman wailing for her demon-lover!
.....
Through wood and dale the sacred river ran,
Then reached the caverns measureless to man
.....
(Fleissner xix)

I interpret the caverns as a symbol of everything in nature that man cannot understand, control or dominate. These caverns are dark, mysterious, and full of secrets, and ultimately represent the unknown, the foreign, and the Other. Moreover, Coleridge’s juxtaposition in his poem of the fountain and the cave, strongly evoke associations of the union of lingam (phallus) and yoni (female genitalia):

The shadow of the dome of pleasure
Floated midway on the waves;
Where was heard the mingled measure
From the fountain and the caves.
(Fleissner xix)

Coleridge alludes to the feminine character of the Orient by using references such as “fertile ground,” “woman wailing,” “damsel with a dulcimer,” and “Abyssinian maid.” The author

highlights this feminization of the East once more in the final line of the poem when he finishes the second stanza with the expression “the milk of Paradise,” a possible metaphor for laudanum. The opium tincture in this connection represents both, an Orientalist commodity and, symbolically speaking, the “milk” from the “female body” of the Orient.²⁹ While the text’s main focus is on the yearning for an Edenic paradise on earth, the poet laments his loss and hopes for the revival of his poetic powers. In contrast to the struggling poet in his work, Coleridge’s production of *Kubla Khan* serves as a piece of literary evidence supporting the assumption that the use of opium can significantly influence a person’s creativity and imaginativeness.³⁰

Against the background of the prominent role opiates played in German and British Romanticism, Sengle’s analogy of *Kunstmärchen* to opium appears in a new light. Considering the economic hardship, political oppression, and societal struggles during the *Biedermeier* era, the *Volk* (people) could indulge in the “drug” of fairy tales to temporarily forget about everyday worries, remedy its anguish, and drown its fears about an uncertain future in poetic utopias. Thus, *Kunstmärchen* potentially functioned as “pain relievers,” not only for the individual but also as “Romantic means” to cure the ills of society as a whole. Hauff’s literary fairy tales are a prominent example of such a “drug” that invited the German readership of the early-nineteenth century to experience the world of the imaginary Orient from the viewpoint of the exotic Other. While Hauff designed his multilayered diegesis to distance the reader further from reality, he emphasized a cultural connection through Biedermeierian values and the sensation of *Gemütlichkeit*, and used the Orientalist stories to “mask” his critique of the German political

²⁹ The reference “milk of Paradise” evokes the cultural anxieties surrounding Oriental women’s wet-nursing English children as it orientalizes the drinker’s consciousness (Milligan 38).

³⁰ Even after the period of Romanticism, the close relationship between narcotics, especially opium, and the Orient continuously finds its way into literary productions: e.g. Lewis Carroll’s *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* (1865), Charles Dickens’s unfinished *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* (1870), and Oscar Wilde’s fin-de-siècle Gothic *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891).

apparatus. Besides the fantastic dimension of escapist imagination, I have discussed the material aspect and elaborated on luxury goods from the East with a focus on the real drug opium. I have drawn on the works of Novalis, Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Thomas De Quincey, to demonstrate that opium consumption lead to pleasurable and unpleasurable dreams of the Orient that served as an inspiration for fantasy writing during the era of Romanticism. The opium infused literary productions in turn provided the fantasmatic escape for the reader and became a metaphor in Marxist analysis of economic hardship.

The Romantics were convinced that *Poesie* of any kind, e.g. fairy tales, myths, legends, sagas, and songs, could counteract individual's estrangement from community, human alienation from nature, as well as the increasing division and fragmentation of modernity. This *Entfremdung* (alienation) marked the zeitgeist of Romanticism and corresponds to the issues of identity formation, identity change, and identity loss respectively, which I will analyze further in connection with national identity in Chapter 4 of this dissertation. Similar to the effects of intoxicants, literary fairy tales enable a person to embark on imaginary journeys to exotic places and fantasy worlds such as Coleridge's *Kubla Khan* or E.T.A. Hoffmann's *Atlantis*. E.T.A Hoffmann's literary fairy tale novella *Der goldne Topf* (The Golden Pot, 1814), a story influenced by the author's alcohol consumption, will also be a principal topic in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4 THE PLACE OF THE ORIENT IN THE QUEST FOR GERMAN NATIONAL IDENTITY

Two conflicting paradigms influenced the German construction of national identity in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries: the definition of the self in opposition to the foreign Other and a Romantic conception of national identity as continuous with national histories and origins. During this time, the image of the Orient, particularly India, paradoxically became a synonym for both: the Other and the origin. In this chapter, I argue that myth, fairy tales, and story-telling played a significant role for German citizens in crafting a national identity and that Romantic literary fairy tales reflected the importance of the Orient and myth as a model form for a pan-German identity. I also assert that the increasing popularity of fairy tales, which illustrate Orientalist Otherness, served as counter-current to the ascent of *Volksmärchen* (folk fairy tales) that were considered German to the core. Within the framework of a developing Romantic nationalist concept, the Brothers Grimm created an idealized collection of tales, which they labeled “authentically” German. While foreign fairy tales and *Kunstmärchen* (literary fairy tales) with Orientalist motifs served as examples of “non-Germanness” and differentiation, they were treasured just as much as the “purely German” Grimm tales and German sagas, for example the *Nibelungen*.

This chapter consists of three sections: the first takes a closer look at the relevance of the terms “patriotism” and “nation” in the context of the emergence of German nationalism at the beginning of the nineteenth century and provides a brief historical overview of major political events. I draw on the works of several prominent German writers at the time, such as Christoph Martin Wieland and the philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte, explore Friedrich Schlegel’s Indo-European connections, highlight Herder’s ideas of a folk spirit or soul, and elaborate on the nationalist project by the Brothers Grimm. In the second section I question Edward W. Said’s

socio-historical generalizations regarding Orientalism as a Western form of domination over the East (Said 3). Based on but also departing from Said's universalist approach to Orientalism, a term that implies imperial aspirations of the West, I offer a more refined approach that highlights the German case in its appropriate socio-historical frame. The third section provides a close reading of E.T.A. Hoffmann's *Der goldne Topf* (The Golden Pot, 1814), links the poetical realm of Atlantis to the Romantic conception of the Golden Age and the ancient Orient, reveals textual references that evoke the exotic nature and mythology of the East, and ties the fairy tale to German Orientalism, the study of Orientalist languages, and to Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan* (West-Eastern Divan, 1819).

At the end of the eighteenth century, patriotic sentiments in Germany underwent a significant transition to a modern nationalist consciousness that would eventually lead to the formation of the German nation-state. The pre-revolutionary patriotism of the German middle class and of German intellectuals was first and foremost provincial and pre-political (Kontje 99). German patriots were obedient to their local lords and guided by personal virtue and civic loyalty. However, with the French Revolution and Napoleon came the inspiration of a new militant nationalism to Germany that replaced the prior local patriotism. The German subject no longer felt a strong loyal obligation toward the regional sovereign but rather solidarity with the fellow countrymen and citizens. This particular development evokes Benedict Anderson's concept of "imagined communities" and his argument that "the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (7).¹ In the literary magazine *Der Teutsche Merkur* (The German Mercury) of 1793, Christoph Martin Wieland commented in his essay "Ueber teutschen Patriotismus: Betrachtungen, Fragen und Zweifel" (About German Patriotism: Reflections,

¹ Anderson believes that a nation is a community socially constructed, imagined by the people who perceive themselves as part of that group (6-7).

Questions, and Doubts) on the new invention of the word *Teutschheit* (Germanness). In his childhood, Wieland had learned about his duties to God, to oneself, and to others, to his parents and teachers, and to authorities such as the Roman Emperor and the mayor of his hometown. However, Wieland points out, he had not heard of his duty to be a German patriot (“Ueber teutschen Patriotismus” 139). While he calls German patriotism a *Modetugend* (fashion virtue) (*Sämtliche Werke* 246) he could only see local patriotisms, such as “Märkische, Sächsische, Bayerische, Württembergische, Hamburgische, Nürnbergische, Frankfurtische Patrioten” (patriots of the Brandenburg Mark, Bavaria, Wuerttemberg, Hamburg, Nuremberg, Frankfurt) but no pan-German patriotism (*Sämtliche Werke* 252). Furthermore, Wieland refers to Germany in his essay as an “aggregation of many nations” since the term “nation” also applied to larger principalities such as the “Bavarian nation” or the “Saxon nation.”

The idea of a political unity of the German nation was not only new but practically unimaginable for those generations that had grown up before the French Revolution (Schulz 22). In his essays Wieland bemoans the absence of a public and national spirit and Germany’s geographical fragmentation through *Kleinstaaterei* (a system of mini-states), which divides “Germania” into *Völkerschaften* (nations/peoples) with different interests (553). Under the heading *Das deutsche Reich* (The German Empire), Goethe and Schiller queried in a satirical epigram in their *Xenien* (1797) the very existence of Germany: “Deutschland? Aber wo liegt es? Ich weiß das Land nicht zu finden. Wo das gelehrte beginnt, hört das politische auf” (Germany? But where is it located? I don’t know how to find the country. Where the scholarly knowledge begins, the political ends). While Goethe and Schiller used irony to criticize unworldly scholars and politicians, they also alluded to the vague topography of the Holy Roman Empire. In fact, at the time of the French Revolution, the Holy Roman Empire consisted of over 300 sovereign

kingdoms, territorial states, electorates, duchies, principalities, and other small, independent, political-confessional districts such as dioceses, shires, and knightoods (Schulz 21-22). This kind of particularism represented not only an impediment to the economical and social development of Germany but was also obstructive to the prospects of German unity and a common national identity.

The Romantic writer emerges at the end of the eighteenth century as a key figure in the creation process of a German national identity. Wieland saw the “cure” for Germany’s “Gleichgültigkeit und Kälte gegen allgemeines Nationalinteresse” (indifference and coldness toward a general national interest) in the influence of those writers who are inspired by true patriotism (*Sämtliche Werke* 553). Writers had the power, according to Wieland, to spread the love for the German fatherland and to unite the *Volk* (people), which is separated by different states, diverse dialects, ways of living, as well as religious and political constitutions. Furthermore, he called for an aesthetic education that would instill in the people patriotic sentiments and public spirit. Goethe and Schiller in contrast, were less concerned about finding an “antidote” against the lack of German national interest. Instead, their epigram *Der deutsche Nationalcharacter* (The German National Character) stated in the *Xenien*, encapsulates the recommendation for an education in becoming more human: “Zur Nation euch zu bilden, ihr hoffet es, Deutsche, vergebens; Bildet . . . dafür freier zu Menschen euch aus” (Forget, O Germans, your hopes of becoming a nation; Educate yourselves instead . . . to be human beings) (Segeberg 155). In contrast to his friend and colleague Schiller, Goethe at his time was no “man of the nation” and thus did not gear his works to be read or understood by the masses but reserved for an aristocratic audience, the elite, and the salon (Golz 104).

The German population enthusiastically approved of the French Revolution at first. However, when France crossed the German border to claim the Alsace region and the land areas along the left side of the Rhine River, a general feeling of resentment against the French spread among the German people. The failing health of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation and its collapse in 1806, Napoleon's invasion of Germany, the country's long lasting occupation by French armies and eventual liberation, resulted in several decades of permanent fluctuations in the German states. During this time, France, spearheaded by the "Corsican Tyrant," increasingly emerged as the nemesis of the German nationalists. After Napoleon's decisive defeat of the Prussian troops in the fall of 1806, the German resistance movement had the predominant goal to expel the invading military forces from their native land (Kontje, *The German Nation* 95). During the early years of the *Rheinbund* (Rhine Confederation, 1806-1813), a confederation of German princes and their states under French protectorate, some anti-French writers and nationalist poets urged their fellow Germans to take military action. Theodor Körner and Ernst Moritz Arndt, for instance, composed poems to inspire German soldiers in the fight against Napoleon's armies. Furthermore, Heinrich von Kleist's ode "Germania an ihre Kinder" (Germania to Her Children, 1809) contains truculent verses about banking the Rhine with French Corpses ("Dämmt den Rhein mit ihren Leichen") (*Gesammelte Werke* 469) and his drama *Die Hermannsschlacht* (The Battle of Arminius, 1808) celebrates the Germanic hero's victory over a Roman army, here representative for French imperialism, in the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest.

Although Germans were divided politically into separate states, they were united by language and culture. Therefore, German intellectual Johann Gottlieb Fichte focused mainly on the distinguishing cultures of Germany and France, declaring the true supremacy of the former. While the German *Kultur* (culture) was conceived to be synonymous with nationalism, it

represented the antithesis to French *Zivilisation* (civilization), “a French perception of politeness and sophistication, urban society, materialism, commerce and superficiality” (Fisher 25). In Fichte’s *Reden an die deutsche Nation* (Addresses to the German Nation, 1808), the philosopher calls for a reform of educational policies, a *Deutsche Nationalerziehung* (German national education) with the goal of educating not only single classes but all Germans joined as a nation. According to Fichte, Germans are better suited to this sort of education than other European nations because they constitute a *Stammvolk* (aborigines), which has stayed in its original place for centuries without emigrating to other areas and has preserved the “purity” of its native tongue without an amalgamation of foreign influences. Due to the Germans’ living linguistic tradition and uncorrupted ethnic roots, they supposedly have a superior culture and thus distinguish themselves as *Kulturnation* (culture nation) from other, “inferior” European nations, especially the French. Because Germans still speak the same *Ursprache* (original language) as their ancestors, the philosopher argues, they are conjoined with the collective experience of the German people and are not cut off from their natural roots, as are the speakers of neo-Latin. Hence, an eternal, patriotic bond exists between the Germans and their nation, which elevates them to a spiritual existence:

Der Glaube des edlen Menschen an die ewige Fortdauer seiner Wirksamkeit auch auf dieser Erde gründet sich demnach auf die Hoffnung der ewigen Fortdauer des Volkes, aus dem er selber sich entwickelt hat. . . . Sein Glaube und sein Streben, Unvergängliches zu pflanzen, sein Begriff, in welchem er sein eigenes Leben als ein ewiges Leben erfasst, ist das Band, welches zunächst seine Nation, und vermittelt ihrer das ganze Menschengeschlecht innigst mit ihm selber verknüpft . . . Dies ist seine Liebe zu seinem Volke, zuvörderst achtend, vertrauend, desselben sich freuend, mit der Abstammung daraus sich ehrend. Es ist Göttliches in ihm erschienen, und das Ursprüngliche hat dasselbe gewürdigt, es zu seiner Hülle und zu seinem unmittelbaren Verflössungsmittel in die Welt zu machen; es wird darum auch ferner Göttliches aus ihm hervorbrechen. (253)

[The noble-minded man’s belief in the eternal continuation of his influence even on this earth is thus founded on the hope of the eternal continuation of the people from which he has developed. . . . His belief and his struggle to plant what is permanent,

his conception in which he comprehends his own life as an eternal life, is the bond which unites first his nation, and then, through his nation, the whole human race. . . . This is his love for his people, respecting, trusting, and rejoicing in it, and feeling honoured by descent from it. The divine has appeared in it, and that which is original has deemed this people worthy to be made its vesture and its means of directly influencing the world; for this reason there will be further manifestations of the divine in it.]

Fichte's *Reden* about the German *Volk* (people) reverberate the discussion surrounding linguistic relationships, which had dominated the works of the Early Romantics over the previous decade.

The search for a German national identity went hand in hand with reflections about the origin and development of language. Already literary critic and philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder articulated in his *Fragmente über die neuere deutsche Literatur* (Fragments on Recent German Literature, 1764-1767) the central thesis that each language is an expression of national identity of those people who speak the language: "Jede Nation spricht also, nach dem sie denkt, und denkt, nach dem sie spricht" (341) (Each nation speaks in accordance with its thoughts and thinks in accordance with its speech). While Herder had speculated about the cultural influence from the Orient on early Germans, it was Sir William Jones who first demonstrated deep structural similarities between the historical Indo-Aryan language Sanskrit (and its archaic form Vedic Sanskrit²) and European languages including German (Germana 137). Early Romanticist Karl Wilhelm Friedrich von Schlegel expanded on Herder's and Jones's thoughts and made far-reaching claims that it was possible to differentiate between single nations and peoples based on their language which he understood as a characteristic trait of a common origin. Ethnic homogeneity as well as national unity are therefore intertwined with and dependent on linguistic usage.

² The oldest known stage of Sanskrit is Vedic or Vedic Sanskrit, so-called because it was the language of the Veda, the most ancient extant scriptures of Hinduism.

Schlegel's work was one of the most significant pieces to theorize the link between Germany and the Orient. In his *Vorlesungen über Universalgeschichte* (Lectures on Universal History, 1805-1806) and the monography *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* (On the Language and Wisdom of the Indians, 1808), Schlegel took an anthropological viewpoint and emphasized the actual familial relationship between the speakers of Sanskrit and German. According to Schlegel, who was the first German Indologist to study Sanskrit and Indian religion and philosophy in depth, "everything" originated from India. In a letter from Paris dated September 15, 1803 to his friend Ludwig Tieck, Schlegel stated "Hier ist eigentlich die Quelle aller Sprachen, aller Gedanken und Gedichte des menschlichen Geistes; alles, alles, stammt aus Indien ohne Ausnahme" (*Briefe an Ludwig Tieck* 329) (Here is actually the source of all languages, all thoughts and poems of the human spirit; everything, everything without exception comes from India). Schlegel traced the commonalities he had identified among ancient Indian and European languages, mythologies, literatures, and philosophies, back to migration and to the existence of an original tribe of people located in India, the *Urvolk* (indigenous people). He suggested that people from India migrated through Persia, the Caucasus, the region of the Caspian Sea, and finally settled in north-central Europe, in Scandinavia, and in northern Germany (*Germana* 138). Schlegel's migration theory was a groundbreaking novelty as it implied a kinship and not just a relationship between Indians and Germans.

The works of Friedrich Schlegel paved the way for a new image of India, which no longer presented ancient Indians as Herder's child-like, primitive *Wilde* of the Orient but rather as the noble ancestors of the German people. Schlegel's connection between the two human groups not only anchored the Germans historically but also tied their identity to India and thus, in his estimation, to the oldest and most advanced culture in the world (*Germana* 140). In other words,

the German *Volk* was the heir to a culture that epitomized the foundation of the civilized world with its modern political, philosophical, and theological ideas. While the desire for a German identity led Romantic scholars, such as Schlegel to seek for cultural origins in the ancient East, they also turned to the literature of the medieval past (e.g. the epic poem *Nibelungenlied* [The Song of the Nibelungs, ca. 1205]), to legends of heroes such as Barbarossa,³ as well as to Teutonic or North Germanic mythology and folk tales, in an attempt to determine what constitutes “Germanness.” In fact, the Romantics glorified the Orient as well as the German Middle Ages, since both represented, in the embellished vision of the Romantics, a model of spiritual wholeness and unity in art and society.

By returning to their cultural past of Nordic-Germanic, pre-Christian times, the German Romantics hoped to revive the previously neglected ancient literature, the powerful mythology of their nation that chronicled their roots and encapsulated the German folk spirit. In a short essay of 1777 entitled “Von Ähnlichkeit der mittleren englischen und deutschen Dichtkunst” (On the Similarity of Medieval English and German Poetry) Herder developed the idea that each nation has its own *Volksgeist* (folk spirit) or *Volksseele* (folk soul), an inimitable individuality and unique character that manifests in the common language, customs, arts, crafts, religion, values and virtues, traditions and superstitions, and *Volkspoesie* (folk poetry) of a nation:

Auch die gemeinen Volkssagen, Märchen und Mythologie gehören hierher. Sie sind gewissermassen Resultat des Volksglaubens, seiner sinnlichen Anschauung, Kräfte und Triebe, wo man träumt, weil man nicht weiss, glaubt, weil man nicht siehet, und mit der ganzen, unzertheilten und ungebildeten Seele wirkt. (*Kleinere Aufsätze* 34)

[Also the common folk sagas, fairy tales, and mythology belong here. They are in a way the result of the popular belief, its sensual view, strengths, and drives, where

³ Frederick I Barbarossa (1122 – 1190) was a German Holy Roman Emperor. According to old Germanic legend, a hero does not die but remains sleeping in a mountain until Judgment Day or until he is summoned to arise with his knights to defend the nation in a time of deadly peril. The omen that presages the hero’s rising will be the extinction of the birds (usually ravens) that trigger his awakening.

one dreams because one does not know, believes, because one does not see, and acts with the entire, undivided, and uneducated soul.]

Herder differentiated between *Volkspoesie* or *Naturpoesie* (natural poetry), the natural poetic creations of a people, such as folk songs and fairy tales, chapbooks, mythology, legends and sagas, in contrast to *Kunstpoesie*, the artificial poetry of individual writers. Even though the Romantics generally shared Herder's belief in the existence of a German *Volksseele* and that folk poetry embodies the unconscious, collective creation thereof, opinions on how to recover the lost national ethos diverged among the devotees of the Romantic movement.

For the second generation of Romantic thinkers who sought to revitalize a national identity prior to the founding of a new German nation state, Herder's concepts of poetry took on special significance. Prominent Romantic writers such as Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano did not differentiate between the two concepts *Naturpoesie* and *Kunstpoesie* but rather perceived them to be one and the same. From their point of view, poetry stands outside of history and can realize itself in any historical epoch. Thus, it is the task of the poet to capture the folk spirit in his poetic creations and to make his poetry accessible to the people. While working on their collection of German folk poems and songs *Des Knaben Wunderhorn: Alte deutsche Lieder* (The Youth's Magic Horn: Old German Songs, 1805-1808), Arnim and Brentano relied heavily on their own creative contributions, or *Kunstpoesie*, by changing, revising, and modifying the ancient ballads. This "artificial" approach was much to the distaste of the brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, who considered *Naturpoesie* to be the sole legitimate way of unearthing the lost soul of the folk.

Jacob Grimm in particular insisted on the impossibility for individuals to create something like *Volks-* or *Naturpoesie* under the conditions of modern life of the early-nineteenth century (Schanze 90-91). In his mind, the work of Arnim and Brentano represented a new literary form

that, though inspired by folk tradition, was not a genuine representation of the German *Volk*. In a letter to Arnim dated 1811, Jacob Grimm took great pains to explain his theoretical creed:

Die Poesie ist das, was rein aus dem Gemüt ins Wort kommt. . . . Die Volkspoesie tritt aus dem Gemüt des Ganzen hervor, was ich unter Kunstpoesie meine, aus dem des Einzelnen. Darum nennt die neue Poesie ihre Dichter, die alte weiß keine zu nennen, sie ist durchaus nicht von einem oder zweien oder dreien gemacht worden, sondern eine Summe des Ganzen. (Wellek 531)

[Poesie is that which only emanates from the soul and turns into words . . . folk poesie (Naturpoesie) stems from the soul of the entire community. What I call cultivated poetry (Kunstpoesie, or in the case of fairy tales, Kunstmärchen) stems from the individual. That is why new poetry names its poets; the old knows none to name. It was not made by one or two or three, but it is the sum of the entire community.] (Paradiž 61)

Thus, the authors of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (Children's and Household Tales, 1812) strived to collect the orally transmitted texts without altering and manipulating their original qualities. Contemporary scholarship has shown that the Grimms' theoretical convictions did not translate into their practical work. It is a well-documented fact that the brothers followed Fichte's footsteps and pursued his ideal of a *Deutsche Nationalerziehung* by reworking the tales in order to mould their collection into an *Erziehungsbuch* (pedagogical guide) (Tully 136-37). In doing so, the patriotic scholars hoped to preserve the German culture under the influence of Napoleon's foreign rule, to unify the German *Volk*, and to promote their Romantic vision of a cohesive national identity.

In the 1812 edition of *Children's and Household Tales*, the Grimms explained in the preface their intention to reproduce the tales recounted to them "so rein als möglich" (as purely as possible). However, many of the allegedly authentic German texts that the brothers claimed to have acquired orally from peasants proved to stem from educated women, such as Dorothea Viehmann, the Hassenpflugs, and the Wilds in whose French Huguenot ancestry the stories had been told and retold. Much of the repertoire of these aristocratic women was drawn from the

French writer Charles Perrault and his *Contes de Fées* (Tales of Fairies, 1696-1698): *Le Petit Chaperon rouge* (Little Red Riding Hood), *La Belle au bois dormant* (Sleeping Beauty), *Le Maître chat ou le Chat botté* (Puss in Boots), *Cendrillon ou la petite pantoufle de verre* (Cinderella). Apart from the French influence, the Grimms were also inspired by the stories of *Tausendundeine Nacht* (The Thousand and One Nights).

The brothers not only appreciated the charming and imaginative character of the tales but also incorporated some of the archetypal fairy tale motifs into their collection (Volkman 23). The tale “Simeliberg” (Simeli Mountain, KHM⁴ 142) for instance echoes the story of “Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves,” in which the magical words “Open Sesame” (in Grimms’ version “Berg Sems, Berg Sems, tu dich auf” [“Semi mountain, Semi mountain, open”]) lead to marvelous treasures hidden inside a mountain. Another tale, “Der Geist im Glas” (The Spirit in the Bottle, KHM 99), alludes to “Aladdin” and the genie in his magic lamp.⁵ Furthermore, “De drei Vügelgens” (The Three Little Birds, KHM 96) bears a striking resemblance to the tale of the 756th night in the *Arabian Nights* “The Story of Two Sisters Who Were Jealous of Their Younger Sister.” Despite these foreign influences and the fact that the Grimms significantly reworked the original stories (they embellished literary expressions and vocabulary, added pedagogical values and Christian elements, censored erotic passages, and eliminated profanities), the *Children’s and Household Tales* became a best-seller by 1837 as it reflected the gusto of the early-nineteenth century: “Old Germanic” literature and folk poetry (Fries 337). The Grimms’

⁴ The acronym “KHM” stands for the original title *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (Children’s and Household Tales).

⁵ While almost certainly genuine Middle-Eastern folk tales, the stories “Aladdin’s Wonderful Lamp,” “Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves” and “The Seven Voyages of Sindbad the Sailor” were not part of the Arabic versions of *One Thousand and One Nights*, but were interpolated into the collection by French translator Antoine Galland. In the preface of his book *Aladdin and the Enchanted Lamp and Other Stories* (1901), John Payne gives details of Galland’s encounter with the allegedly original storyteller “Hanna” in 1709 and of the discovery in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris of two Arabic manuscripts containing “Aladdin” and two more of the interpolated tales (vii-xxx).

fairy tale collection became an epitome of “Germanness” and, for the Romantics, an expression of the collective German soul.

As advocats of the nationalist project and the endeavor of the Romantics to reshape the thinking of the German people, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm attempted to give their collection of tales a “German” tone wherever possible. In her comparative study of German and Spanish Romanticism entitled *Creating a National Identity* (1997), Carol Lisa Tully highlights the Grimms’ tendency to create and revise fairy tales so that they appear more authentically Germanic (150). One of the techniques the brothers employed was to write down several tales in the dialect *Plattdeutsch* (Low German) instead of *Hochdeutsch* (High German), which linked the tales geographically to northern Germany: “Von dem Fischer un syner Fru” (Vom Fischer und seiner Frau, [The Fisherman and His Wife], KHM 19), “De drei Vügelkens” (Die drei Vögelchen [The Three Little Birds], KHM 96), “Von dem Machandelboom” (Vom Wachholderbaum [The Juniper Tree], KHM 47), and “De Gaudeif un sien Meester” (Der Dieb und sein Meister [The Thief and His Master], KHM 68). Another strategy was the renaming of titles from High German into Low German such as “Sneewittchen” (originally “Schneeweißchen” [Snow White], KHM 53) and the use of the diminutive form of traditional German names in “Hänsel und Gretel” (originally “Das Brüderchen und das Schwesterchen” [Little Brother and Little Sister], KHM 15), to anchor the tales in the German culture (150-151). Furthermore, the renowned philologists sought to establish more Germanic forms of the stories by replacing foreign words such as *Prinz* (prince) and *Prinzessin* (princess) with Teutonic terms such as *Königssohn* (king’s son) and *Königstochter* (king’s daughter), by turning the French-inspired word *Fee* (fairy) into *Zauberin* (enchantress) and *Weise Frau* (wise woman), and by supplying missing plot-elements from historic sources.

Paralleling the ascent of “authentic” German literature was a fast-expanding interest of the German readership in literary works that portrayed Otherness, the exotic, and samples of “non-Germanness.” Throughout the Romantic era, artifacts of “genuine” Germanic origin, folktales, for example Karl August Musäus’s *Volksmärchen der Deutschen* (Folktales of the Germans, 1782-1786), Grimms’ seven editions of *Children’s and Household Tales* (1812-1857), and Ludwig Bechstein’s *Deutsches Märchenbuch* (German Fairy Tale Book, 1845), songs, such as “The Youth’s Magic Horn,” and myth, as for example “The Nibelungen Saga,” found wide acclaim among the German people and satisfied the longing for a German identity. At the same time, the Orient came into vogue, first among scholars, travelers and poets, and later among the educated bourgeoisie. Ludwig Ammann’s research in his book *Östliche Spiegel* (Eastern Mirrors, 1989) documents that the number of publications dealing with Orientalist topoi rose from 125 in the years 1807-1810 to 245 in the years 1827-1830 (4). The most popular contributions consisted inter alia of translated poetic works (“Nala and Damayanti,” “Sakuntala,” “The Maqamat of Al-Hariri”), heroic tales (Friedrich Rückert’s *Rostem and Suhrab*, 1838), songs (Friedrich von Bodenstedt’s *The Songs of Mirza Schaffy*, 1851; Heinrich Heine’s *Book of Songs*, 1827), foreign fairy tales (*The Thousand and One Nights*), literary fairy tales with Orientalist motifs (Hauff’s fairytale almanacs), and travel reports (17). Within the scope of constructing a national identity, I propose, the readers of these publications were more likely inclined to define themselves as German in opposition to the foreign Other. In this process of “identification through differentiation” the Orient emerges as the two faces of Janus – one side looking westward and the other eastward, into the known and the unknown – embodying the self and the Other but basically being one and the same.

In *Östliche Spiegel*, Ammann advises against labeling the turning toward the Orient as “Orientalism.”⁶ Although the term refers to a non-scientific engagement with the Orient, scholars and artists mainly use it in the context of literary and art history (11-12). For the purpose of this research project and to avoid possible misconceptions, I devote the following section to a closer examination of the word “Orientalism” and scrutinize German literary fairy tales of the Romantic period in relation to Orientalist imagery and textual references to the East. As stated in the Introduction of this dissertation, Edward Said ascribes in his book *Orientalism* (1978) three different designations to the meaning of Orientalism. Even though I concur with Said’s first two definitions of Orientalism, I dissent from his third definition in reference to the German case: On the one hand, Germany had no colonial interests which could compare with the empires of Britain, Spain, and France until the late-nineteenth century. On the other hand, German Orientalism was highly influenced by Romantic philosophies and the German Romantic response to the Orient in turn was purely positive, characterized by an admiration for the Other and a curiosity tempered with respect.

Throughout his book, Said continues to define Orientalism as a form of “intellectual authority” over the Orient within Western culture, which is directly linked to the exercise of power (5, 19). Most generally, the author describes Orientalism as a distinctive means of representing race, nationality, and Otherness and interprets the term as a strand of colonialist discourse in Western culture that had served as an implicit justification for European and American colonialist and imperialist ventures. To put it in a nutshell, Orientalism for Said is first and foremost a political doctrine and ideology created by the West as a form of domination over

⁶ In his study *Östliche Spiegel*, Ammann researches representative sources, such as encyclopaedias, travel reports, and orientaling fiction to determine general opinions about the Orient in the age of its “discovery” by the German reader from 1800 to 1850. His analysis reveals that the relationship between the German public and the Orient was extremely ambivalent and oscillated between ethnocentric rejection and exotic romanticization.

the East. One central argument the scholar puts forth is that the three great empires – British, French, American – created a false, imaginary concept of the Orient in an act of selfish interest, which misrepresents the “real” East. As a consequence, Said claims, the works of individual authors who wrote in this “intellectual and imaginative territory” imply a superiority of Occidentals to Orientals as well (15). Said analyzes in his book, among other things, scholarly energies that went into the making of an imperialist tradition and examines in this connection also literary works, such as novel-writing and lyric poetry.

My work on the German *Kunstmärchen* of the Romantic period goes to the heart of Said’s argument concerning the intellectual and cultural supremacy of Westerners in literary works by showing that German Romantic tales idealize the Orient, show no disdain for Otherness, and even provide a critical lens through which to view Western society and its power structures. Furthermore, as literary products of German Orientalism during Romanticism, *Kunstmärchen* with Orientalist topoi do not mirror any colonial or imperial ambitions of Germany to dominate the East. In her essay “The Study of Islam, Orientalism and America” (1997), the Iraqi-American islamologist Muhsin Mahdi states, “If there ever was an idea that was not intentionally political, or at least whose intention was neither massively nor directly political, and was self-centered rather than directed to the domination of others, that was the image of the East in early German Romanticism” (151). Moreover, the fact that Orientalism flourished in Germany before the country began its short-lived colonial efforts in 1884 indicates the limitations of Said’s postulated theory that Orientalism inherently served imperialism. Consequently, Said’s argument that Orientalism is inseparably bound with political power seems to hold little weight since German Orientalists dominated the field for a long time even though Germany had no imperial stake in the Arab world.

My critique, however, is not only limited to a proposed particularity of the case of the German nation. Instead, highlighting this national difference allows me to question Said's definition of Orientalism as well as his discussion of the Orientalist paradigm. Published scholars have criticized the Saidean definition of Orientalism in the past since the author intentionally limits his research to the Anglo-French-American triangle and hence focuses on countries that represented the greatest colonial powers to begin with. Even though he mentions Russian, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Dutch, German, and Swiss Orientalism, he does not include these discourses in his discussion, precluding a complete history or general account of Orientalism (24). Said justifies his decision to omit German scholarship on the Orient from his analysis by claiming that German Orientalists came to the field later than the British and French, and merely elaborated on the work originally done by their European rivals (19). He not only admits that his examination of domination and systematic interest does not do justice to other European countries, he even "freely reproaches" himself for not including the German case in his study on academic Orientalism (18). In his following analysis however, Said does not restrain himself from making general statements and claims about "the West" and "Europe," when in fact he only draws on information about France, Britain, and the United States: "Once we begin to think of Orientalism as a kind of Western projection onto and will to govern over the Orient, we will encounter few surprises" (95). "Every European, in what he could say about the Orient, was consequently a racist, an imperialist, and almost totally ethnocentric" (204). Thus, when Said refers to "the strength of European mastery of the Orient," or when he speaks of "a problematic European attitude towards Islam," his approach universalizes Orientalism (88). Said's lack of attention toward the German case is integral to his construction of Orientalism as imperialist. Thus my attention to the German fantasies about the Orient engages with Said's argument

beyond the particularity of the German case and instead challenges his notion of scholarship on the Orient as inherently imperialist.⁷

Said's generalized view of Orientalism does not distinguish between positive and negative images of the East. Although both types of depictions represent possible clichés of the Orient, positive images often served Europeans as a means to criticize their own society. Literary examples are German *Kunstmärchen* and fairy tale novellas of the Romantic period that portray the Eastern world in a romanticized, utopian, but above all positive light, as a paradisiacal realm of poetry, wisdom, natural beauty, mystery, and exoticism. Rather than separating between positive and negative illustrations of the East and of Easterners, Said differentiates in his book between manifest and latent Orientalism. Manifest Orientalism refers to what is spoken and acted upon, that is, to all concrete actions and statements, which serve the Western world to describe and rule over the East: "the various views about Oriental society, languages, literatures, history, sociology, and so forth" (206). The manifest form of Orientalism constitutes the image of the Orient reflected in sciences, includes information and changes in knowledge about the Orient, as well as policy decisions founded in Orientalist thinking: "Whatever change occurs in knowledge of the Orient is found almost exclusively in manifest Orientalism" (206). To sum up, manifest Orientalism is the expression in words and actions of latent Orientalism.

Latent Orientalism is an "almost unconscious" and untouchable certainty about the nature of the Orient (206). Its basic content is static, durable, stable, and unanimous. It embodies the basic assumptions about the Orient as a mystical place in the East that is inhabited by irrational people, feminized men and alluring, docile women, whose ancestors are the founders of

⁷ Seven years after *Orientalism* was published, Said spoke to his critics in his essay *Orientalism Reconsidered* (1985) about his deliberate exclusion of German Orientalism: "Other observations - like my exclusion of German Orientalism, which no one has given any reason for me to have included - have frankly struck me as superficial or trivial, and there seems no point in even responding to them" (90).

languages and religions. Latent Orientalism incorporates a set of convictions that determines the perception of the Orient as the locale of a stagnating people. This arrested culture depends on Western guidance and leadership to evolve into halfway human beings on the one hand and represents an uncontrollable, barbaric threat for Western civilization on the other. Further, Said associates with latent Orientalism the unconscious idea of a separate, eccentric, backward, seminal, and passive Orient that displays “silent indifference, feminine penetrability, and supine malleability” (206). Its progress and value are judged in terms of, and in comparison to, the West, situating it in binary models as the Other, the conquerable, and the inferior. Thus, the notion of the Orient turns into a projection screen for the wishful thinking of the Western population: the longing to escape the daily grind, to break out of the moral corset of civilization, to leave the rotten, false world of the petty bourgeoisie behind, and to flee the inexorably organized, knowledge-based society of the rational, cold industrial era.

According to Said, “the major component in European culture” is “the idea of European identity as a superior one in comparison with all non-European peoples and cultures” (7). Due to the relationship of power between East and West, the Occident could “Orientalize” the East and make it “Oriental” (5-6). A consequence of this hegemonic structure was allegedly the Western creation of the Orient and the tendency to project a complex array of “Oriental ideas,” e.g. despotism, splendor, cruelty, and sensuality, onto the Eastern world (4). Even though Said acknowledges that the “German Orient” was almost exclusively scholarly as it became the subject of lyrics, fantasies, and novels, he claims it was never “actual, the way Egypt and Syria were actual for Chateaubriand, Lane, Lamartine, Burton, Disraeli, or Nerval” (19).⁸ While all of

⁸ François-René de Chateaubriand (1768–1848) and Alphonse de Lamartine (1790–1869) were French writers, Gérard Labrunie alias Gérard de Nerval (1808-1855) was a Romantic French poet, Edward William Lane (1801-1876) and Richard Francis Burton (1821–1890) were British Orientalists, Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881) was a British Prime Minister and writer.

the French and British writers mentioned had experienced the Eastern world first-hand, neither Goethe nor Friedrich Schlegel for instance had ever travelled to the Orient in person. Hence, Said concludes that at no point in the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century did Germany have a “protracted, sustained national interest in the Orient” (19). If his statement refers to a direct material stake in foreign colonies in the East, Said is correct but he nevertheless fails to specify that Germany did not exist as a unified nation-state until 1871. However, Todd Kontje emphasizes in his book *German Orientalisms* (2004) the existence of a German national interest in the East as an intellectual endeavor to “locate and preserve a sense of communal identity” (2).

Said reduces the term Orientalism to a “set of structures inherited from the past” and distinguishes neither between various Orientalists nor different stages of Orientalism (122).⁹ The author concentrates on mostly negative pre-Romantic and Romantic representations of the Orient, ranging from “pseudomedieval idylls” to “visions of barbaric splendor and cruelty,” and makes them fit his conception of a hostile, western Orientalist imagination (118). In the process, Said misinterprets, dismisses, or simply ignores the contributions of prominent writers and thinkers of that time period, e.g. Goethe, Schlegel, Scott, who identified with the Eastern culture and added to its positive portrayal and understanding.¹⁰ Romantic Orientalism thus becomes for Said just another piece of the daunting puzzle, allegedly constructed by Western powers, which shows a distorted picture of the Eastern world.

⁹ Abdullah Al-Dabbagh elaborates in his book *Literary Orientalism, Postcolonialism, and Universalism* (2010) on the different stages the term Orientalism underwent: “The orientalist initially meant the person who loved the East and sympathized with it. Then the word began to mean the one who studied the East, and investigated the areas connected with it. Finally, it acquired the meaning of the antagonist to the East, working in the service of its colonizers” (15).

¹⁰ Already Daniel Varisco’s *Reading Orientalism: Said and the Unsaid* (2007) and Ibn Warraq’s *Defending the West: A Critique of Edward Said’s Orientalism* (2007) criticize Said’s lack of accuracy in this regard and expose his tendency to take words and phrases out of contexts.

The great turning to the *Morgenland* covered not only the Romantic period, but extended over the whole of the nineteenth century in something resembling an intellectual revival. French historian Raymond Schwab termed this cultural phenomenon “Oriental Renaissance.” He argues in his magnum opus on the history of European Orientalism, *La Renaissance Orientale* (The Oriental Renaissance, 1950), for an extraordinary influence of Eastern texts, such as newly discovered ancient manuscripts and translations of Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit writings into European languages, especially during Romanticism.¹¹ The impact of this profound influence was a renewal of Western literary culture comparable in importance and extent to the first Renaissance. To put it in the words of Luther Luedtke, the Oriental Renaissance was “a time when the language, literature, and imagination of Europe were reborn through Indic rather than Hellenistic inspiration” (xix). The cultural exploration of the East and increased attention devoted to the Orient accompanied the advent of *Orientalistik* (Orientalist language and literature studies) as an academic discipline in Europe. Translations by prominent scholars of the Orient and philologists, e.g. Antoine Galland, Friedrich Schlegel, William Jones, and Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron, along with the 1799 discovery of the Rosetta Stone in the Nile delta by one of Napoleon’s engineers, made the new or recovered languages of the East accessible to the intellectual elite of the West for the first time.

These trends also manifested themselves in the literature of the Romantic period, particularly in the literary fairy tales. Authors, such as E.T.A. Hoffmann, incorporated Orientalist imagery, languages, and mythologies into their stories. In the upcoming final section I examine Hoffmann’s fairy tale novella *Der goldne Topf* (The Golden Pot, 1814), which not only thematizes the significance of Orientalist language studies but also broaches the issues of

¹¹ Schwab credits Edgar Quinet, *Le Génie des Religions* (The Genius of Religions, 1841), with having coined the term “Oriental Renaissance” when describing the impact of Sanskrit translations on Europe.

Entfremdung (alienation), identity formation, and identity loss. Specifically, the tale takes on the subject of self-discovery by contrasting the identity of the Romantic in the figure of the artist versus the philistine.¹² *The Golden Pot* reflects the vital importance of deciphering unknown words and the exotic alphabets of “original” languages, such as Persian, Ancient Egyptian, and Sanskrit, in order to fathom the Orient. From a Romantic viewpoint, the “return to the source” of nature and humanness is only possible by immersing oneself in the study of Eastern languages and thus entering the gateway to the past of the ancient Orient. Hoffmann turns Otherness in his fairy tale into a positive character trait that represents the key to a life in eternal bliss. However, the world of the Other reveals itself only to those who engage with it and embrace it. The protagonist of the fairy tale, the student Anselmus, is torn between imagination and reason, an existence as creative artist and a bourgeois life as Counselor. His situation reflects Hoffmann’s personal conflict of professions, who struggled between the two roles of bureaucrat and writer.

I propose that Hoffmann equates his literary creation of the land “Atlantis,” as mythological source of artistry and poetry, with the Orient, and that the author places the Eastern culture above the Western bourgeois world. Unlike other authors of Romanticism, Hoffmann does not set his fairy tale in the East, but instead brings the realm of the fantastic to Germany. The modern fairytale begins with the young student Anselmus running through his hometown Dresden, where he knocks over the market basket of the old *Äpfelweib* (apple woman). The ugly woman execrates the clumsy student and prophesies his downfall into a crystal (“ins Kristall bald dein Fall”) (5).¹³ Anselmus flees in horror and stops only at the banks of the River Elbe under an elder tree. Here, he hears the lovely, melodious voices of three green-gold snakes and when he

¹² The Romantics invented the figure of the “philistine,” a caricature of the petty bourgeois who is too dull for aesthetic pleasures. Marked by a blunt comfortableness and indifferent attitude, the German *Spießler* (middle-class person) spends his time on unimportant details of everyday life and business.

¹³ The curse of the apple woman foreshadows Anselmus’ magical entrapment in a bottle made of glass and crystal.

looks up, falls immediately in love with the blue eyes of the snake Serpentina. After a chance encounter with his friend Sub-Rector Paulmann, who invites Anselmus to his home, Paulmann's blue-eyed daughter Veronica falls in love with the student. Anselmus also makes the acquaintance of Registrary Heerbrand, who procures for him a job as scribe with the Archivist Lindhorst.

A couple of days later, Anselmus meets the Archivist personally and finds out that the three green-gold snakes are Lindhorst's daughters.¹⁴ When Anselmus begins with his work of copying Arabic and Coptic texts for the Archivist, who is also an eccentric alchemist and magician, the student cannot decipher the strange letters at first. However, the more Anselmus immerses himself in the old manuscripts, the more he learns about their content. The foreign texts reveal that Lindhorst is in reality a salamander and elemental spirit of fire, who has been banished by Phosphorus, the prince of the spirits, from the legendary realm Atlantis. In order to be able to return to his fabulous homeland, the Salamander has to wed his three daughters to loving younglings with a "child-like poetic spirit" (56). The dowry for each daughter is a radiant golden pot. Meanwhile, the Archivist warns Anselmus not to spill any ink on the manuscripts and with the support of Serpentina, the student performs an impeccable job of copying the texts.

Afraid of losing Anselmus, Veronica turns for help to her old nurse Lizzie (the apple woman), who performs a ritual to conjure up a magic metal mirror. Later, as Anselmus glances into the mirror, he believes that Serpentina and the story of Atlantis were merely products of his imagination and falls in love with Veronica instead. The student promises Veronica to marry her as soon as he becomes a Counselor. When Anselmus returns to Lindhorst's house and attempts to copy another text, which now seems alien to him, he accidentally splashes ink on the original

¹⁴ Lindhorst, who is a salamander in disguise, and his daughters are mythological beings from the legendary realm Atlantis.

manuscript. The student finds himself suddenly trapped in a crystal bottle on a shelf in the library of the Archivist. Shortly after the incident, a witch (the apple woman) magically appears to steal the golden pot from the Salamander. In a fierce battle, Lindhorst and his parrot defeat the witch and her black cat and transform the hag into a beet. Finally, the Archivist frees Anselmus from his crystal prison and unites him with his daughter Serpentina. While Veronica accepts a marriage proposal by Heerbrand, who now has become a Counselor, Serpentina returns with Anselmus to Atlantis where both live a blissful “life in poetry” (83).

Hoffmann juxtaposes two worlds in his literary fairy tale: the poetic world of fantasy, dreams, and artistry that is Atlantis or rather the Orient versus the prosaic world of reality, reason, and bourgeois values that is Germany. The fairy tale hero Anselmus – and with him the reader – oscillates between both spaces, becomes increasingly ensnared in the plethora of ambiguous events, and “stumbles” back and forth, until he is unable to determine anymore where the familiar reality of experiences ends and the miraculous begins. The illusion of a topographically verified space is the basis on which the author takes the reader gradually out of his known environment into an alternate reality, perceivable through fantastic fluctuations surfacing in the tale. Every time the phantasmagoria breaks through the invisible barrier of the impossible, however, the text immediately returns to the rational dimension and brings the reader back down to earth.

The author employs the literary technique of incorporating “real” facts into his writing to highlight the alleged authenticity of the tale, ranging from exact temporal specifications and topographic particulars to everyday objects. Precise dates and times are for instance: “Am Himmelfahrtstage, nachmittags um drei Uhr” (5) (On Ascension Day, at three in the afternoon) (1) and “Mitternachts in der Tag- und Nachtgleiche” (94), (At midnight on the equinox) (76).

Hoffmann also uses the names of real existing places in an attempt to make his fairy tale scenery more realistic. The fairy tale locale is the German city of Dresden at the time of the Napoleonic War of the Sixth Coalition, around 1812 to 1814. The tale opens with Anselmus running through the *Schwarze Tor* (5) (Black Gate) (1), which existed as a part of the town fortification of Dresden until 1812 (Wührl, *Der goldne Topf*, 4). Some other authentic locations Hoffmann mentions include *Linkisches Bad* (6) (Linke's Restaurant) (2), *Elbe* (7) (River Elbe) (2), *Schlossgasse* (20) (Castle Lane) (13), *Conradis Laden* (20) (Conradi's Shop) (13), *Kreuzkirche* (20) (Cross Church) (13-14), *Koselscher Garten* (35) (Kosel's Garden) (25), and *Seetor* (41) (Lake Gate) (31). Even though the author integrates these authentic places and landmarks into his story, he avoids elaborate descriptions so that the cityscape appears as a backdrop on a stage. Similarly, the interior spaces of the middle-class residential milieu remain "transparent" due to a lack of more detailed depictions. In contrast to the "façade" of the bourgeois world, the interior spaces of the fantastical places, the houses of Archivist Lindhorst and the apple woman, come across as far more realistic because Hoffmann illustrates them with great attention to detail. Excerpts of a bourgeois life mostly take place in Paulmann's house, such as an evening with family music, a coffee party, Veronica's engagement, and a punch-drinking spree. All objects Hoffmann alludes to, from the piano, the mirror, the oven, the coffee pot, and the pipe, to the punch bowl, the sewing-box, and the sewing-frame, are reduced to mere stage props since the text alludes to the objects only when a character engages with them: e.g. "Hinter jedem Schränkchen, das Veronica wegrückte, hinter den Notenbüchern, die sie vom Klavier, hinter jeder Tasse, hinter jeder Kaffeekanne, die sie aus dem Schrank nahm . . ." (39) (But from behind every cabinet that Veronica moved, from behind the music-books that she removed from the piano, from behind every cup, from behind the coffee-pot that she took from the cupboard) (29).

Although the objects are only sparse indications and appear to be of little informative value, they still evoke, almost unconsciously, the picture of a Biedermeierian family idyll in the reader's mind.

The scarce portrayal of the petit-bourgeois home becomes more striking in comparison with the in-depth descriptions of the homes of the fairy tale characters. While the "little red house" of Mrs. Rauer (the apple woman), who lives "in a distant street near the Lake Gate" (31), turns out to be the ambivalent construct of a small, proletarian cottage and a witch's kitchen, Lindhorst's "old house in a remote part of town" (12) is in reality a paradisiacal palace. As soon as the protagonist enters the home of the Archivist, he not only crosses the magical frontier to the realm Atlantis, he also takes his first, cautious steps into the world of the exotic Other, the Orient. Anselmus takes over the role of the Western traveler with the desire to explore the unknown but beautiful territory carefully. The student pauses in the hallway, showing signs of hesitation and uncertainty about where to go. He enjoys the "Duft des seltenen Räucherwerks" (47) (scent of the rare perfumes) (37) wafting through the house, takes visual pleasure in the fine interior, and is greeted by "the native" Lindhorst. Dressed in a damask gown, the Archivist represents "the Oriental," who guides the Western visitor through the foreign surroundings.

The narrative structure and spatial construction in *The Golden Pot* configure the Orient as central and positive. Hoffmann portrays the Orient as a utopia that embodies the source of fantasy, poetry, and wisdom. The first stop on Anselmus' journey is a "magnificent conservatory," which resembles an Edenic garden or magical forest with rare plants, tall trees with strangely shaped leaves, marvelous flowers, and many-colored birds fluttering around:

Ein magisches blendendes Licht verbreitete sich überall, ohne das man bemerken konnte, wo es herkam, da durchaus kein Fenster zu sehen war. Sowie der Student Anselmus in die Büsche und Bäume hineinblickte, schienen lange Gänge sich in weiter Ferne auszudehnen. – Im tiefen Dunkel dicker Zypressenstauden

schimmerten Marmorbecken, aus denen sich wunderliche Figuren erhoben, Kristallstrahlen hervorspritzend, die plätschernd niederfielen in leuchtende Lilienkelche; seltsame Stimmen rauchten und säuselten durch den Wald der wunderbaren Gewächse, und herrliche Düfte strömten auf und nieder. (48)

[A dazzling magical light was everywhere, though one could not tell where it came from, since not a single window was to be seen. As Anselmus looked into the bushes and trees, long avenues seemed to stretch into the far distance. In the shadows of thick cypress bushes he saw the gleam of marble basins, from which wondrous figures rose and scattered crystal jets that fell splashing into the cups of luminous lilies; strange voices murmured and whistled amid the forest of wondrous plants, and glorious perfumes rose and descended.] (37)

Anselmus is enchanted by this fairy garden and his senses are overcome with stimuli that render him “intoxicated” (37). While the flora of the jungle (Hoffmann specifically mentions palm-trees, lilies, a cactus, as well as cypress and myrtle bushes) accentuates the exotic atmosphere, the fabulous shines through in form of mocking birds that talk and act like human beings (Lindhorst’s grey parrot not only speaks in an overblown manner, it also wears spectacles on its beak). The Archivist continues to guide the mesmerized protagonist through many more rooms with outlandish decorations, strangely shaped furniture, and unfamiliar objects. The final destination of the tour is the library and study of the Archivist, a “magnificent sight” on which Anselmus feasts his eyes:

Aus den azurblauen Wänden traten die goldbronzenen Stämme hoher Palmbäume hervor, welche ihre kolossalen, wie funkelnde Blätter oben zur Decke wölbten; in der Mitte des Zimmers ruhte auf drei aus dunkler Bronze gegossenen ägyptischen Löwen eine Porphyrlatte, auf welcher ein einfacher goldener Topf stand. (49)

[From the azure walls there emerged the bronze-colored trunks of lofty palm-trees, whose colossal leaves, gleaming like sparkling emeralds, formed an arch just below the ceiling. In the middle of the room three Egyptian lions made of dark bronze supported a porphyry slab on which stood a simple golden pot.] (38)

By locating the golden pot, the symbol for poetry, in the library of the Archivist, Hoffmann places creative imagination at the heart of the Orient and establishes the East as the origin of sageness and knowledge.

Hoffmann describes Anselmus' visits to Lindhorst's house as the happiest times of the protagonist's life, illustrating the positive influence of the culture and imaginary space of the Orient on the Westerner. Inspired by his love for Serpentina, Anselmus feels an unknown sense of well-being that sometimes rises "to the highest pitch of bliss" (50). The snake, another reference to the exotic East, awaits the student in the library and according to the Archivist, so do *Bhagovotgitas Meister* (63) (the Masters of Bhagavadgita) (50).¹⁵ The more Anselmus immerses himself in the realm of the Other and develops as a poet, the more his perception of the world around him changes and his synesthetic abilities grow stronger. After several days of working for the Archivist, the hero of the tale experiences the Orientalist garden anew. He now realizes that the "strange flowers" are in fact "insects resplendent in gleaming colors," the "small emerald-green leaves" of the palm-trees are rolls of parchment, and the "rose-pink and sky-blue birds" are rather "fragrant flowers":

Und der Geruch, den sie verbreiteten, stieg aus ihren Kelchen empor in leisen lieblichen Tönen, die sich mit dem Geplätscher der fernen Brunnen, mit dem Säuseln der hohen Stauden und Bäume zu geheimnisvollen Akkorden einer tiefklagenden Sehnsucht vermischten. (64)

[And the scent they emitted rose from their cupped petals in soft, lovely tones, which mingled with the whisper of distant fountains and the murmuring of the lofty trees and shrubs to form mysterious chords that uttered a deep, sorrowful yearning.] (51)

Hoffmann uses the Romantic ideal of synesthesia to highlight Anselmus' encounters with the magical.¹⁶ During these encounters, the student "perceives" rather than "sees" his immediate environment and his senses of hearing, smell, and vision blend together. Thus, the fragrance of

¹⁵ The *Bhagavad Gītā* (Song of God) is a 700-verse didactic poem which forms part of the ancient Hindu epic *Mahabharata*; Hoffmann found the name in Friedrich Schlegel's *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Inder* (On the Language and Wisdom of the Indians, 1808) (402).

¹⁶ Synesthesia refers to the merging of the senses that are separated in every day life. The amalgamation of various sensations is a stylistic device favored by Romantic writers.

flowers turns into “the wondrous singing of a thousand flute-like voices” (6), music surrounds him with “sweet and delightful scents” (52), and “lovely crystalline notes” appear to *strahlen* (65) (radiate).

The author’s use of synesthesia as a plot device culminates at the end of the novella, when the fairy tale hero and his beloved Serpentina are finally united in Atlantis and live a “life in poetry” (83).¹⁷ Hoffmann illustrates the legendary land as an exotic grove with palm-trees, hyacinths, tulips, roses, colorful birds, a temple, trees, bushes, springs, and streams. With his literary creation of Atlantis, the place where “the holy harmony of all things is revealed as the deepest secret of nature,” Hoffmann alludes to the Romantic image of the ancient Orient as the source of *Universalpoesie* (universal poetry) (83). Anselmus’ rapture into the utopian realm is only possible because the protagonist has left his prosaic life behind and embraced his new existence as artist and poet. While Anselmus’ imaginative mind is susceptible to the Atlantis myth told by Archivist Lindhorst, the vacuous bourgeois society, embodied by Registrar Heerbrand, considers it solely “Oriental bombast” (16). Since the petit-bourgeois is far too close-minded and unreceptive to fantastic ideas, he cannot picture the mythological realm of Lindhorst’s story nor believe in the existence thereof. In his vision of Atlantis, however, the narrator of the tale leads the reader into a space that is primarily “felt” and not “seen,” a place where different sounds (“murmur,” “sigh,” “rustle,” “whisper,” “rejoice,” “gush,” “plash,” “ring,” “jubilate,” “twitter,” “sing,” “notes of a harp”), lights (“dazzling,” “bright,” “burning,” “glowing,” “flaming,” “radiant”), movements (“stir,” “rise,” “move,” “float,” “whirl,” “revolve,” “spring,” “dance,” “waft”), and scents mix together to form a synesthetic ensemble.¹⁸ At the

¹⁷ Hoffmann uses synesthesia as a plot device over and over to bring the wondrous to mind linguistically.

¹⁸ For a better overview, I chose to cite the verbs used by Hoffmann in their infinitive forms.

same time, the colors that the narrator perceives are not simply “green,” “blue,” and “yellow,” but “emerald,” “azure,” and “golden” (Wührl, *Die poetische Wirklichkeit* 103). Hoffmann uses these “embellished” color descriptions as well as precious materials, such as “gold,” “crystal,” “colored marble,” and “diamonds,” to evoke the images of exotic luxury, unattainability, distance, and exquisite rarity.

By contrasting the poetic and enchanting life of a Romantic artist with the dullness of a bourgeois existence, Hoffmann emphasizes the identity crisis of his protagonist, which represents the identity search of the Romantic subject for his “true inner self” versus his “superficial social self.” Anselmus is not only torn between the dimensions of fantasy and reality, but also between several geographical, cultural, intellectual, societal, and mental dichotomies, which are all constructed as binaries: Atlantis versus Dresden, Orient versus Occident, Otherness versus Germanness, poet versus bureaucrat, artist versus philistine, and imagination versus reason. Even though Anselmus possesses a childlike spirit, which enables him to glimpse fragments of the fantasy world that parallels his reality, he bears several bourgeois character traits such as the craving for mundane pleasures. He smokes *Sanitätsknaster* (7) (health tobacco) (2) in his pipe, enjoys drinking alcohol, and is interested in women:

Denn auch er hatte . . . an der Glückseligkeit des Linkischen Paradieses teilnehmen, ja er hatte es bis zu einer Portion Kaffee mit Rum und einer Bouteille Doppelbier treiben wollen, und um so richtig schlampampen zu können, mehr Geld eingesteckt, als eigentlich erlaubt und tunlich war. Und nun hatte ihn der fatale Tritt in den Apfelkorb um alles gebracht was er bei sich getragen. An Kaffee, an Doppelbier, an Musik, an den Anblick der geputzten Mädchen – kurz! – an alle geträumten Genüsse war nicht zu denken. (6)

[He too had wanted to share the delights of Linke’s paradise and even indulge himself in half a cup of coffee with rum and a bottle of strong beer, and in order to make a night of it he had brought more money with him than was proper or prudent. And now his misadventure in knocking over the basket of apples had cost him all the money on his person. Coffee, strong beer, music, the sight of girls in their finery, in a word, all the pleasures he had dreamt of, were now beyond his reach.] (2)

Apart from seeking satisfaction of his earthly desires, however, the student realizes that he struggles to “fit” into society. He considers himself an unlucky fellow and *Kümmeltürke*¹⁹ (7) (duffer) (3), who has never been chosen *Bohnenkönig*²⁰ (7) (King of the Twelfth-Night revels) (3), whose toast always falls on the buttered side, and who is always late for a lecture, or any other appointment. Anselmus’s gait, posture, and unfashionable clothes reflect his role as a societal misfit: “Sein hechtgrauer Frack war nämlich so zugeschnitten, als habe der Schneider, der ihn gearbeitet, die moderne Form nur vom Hörensagen gekannt” (6) (The cut of his bluish-grey tailcoat suggested that the tailor who made it had known the modern style only from hearsay) (2). It is specifically the clumsiness of the protagonist though, his accidental stumble over the market baskets of the apple woman, which triggers the chain of magical events in the story of *The Golden Pot*.

Hoffmann’s blurring of boundaries and his use of anthropomorphism²¹ as well as pananimism²² in a realist setting create the illusion that the wondrous is a natural part of reality and that it is simply a matter of outlook, whether a certain event, object, or person belongs to a “higher world” or the every day life of the philistine. Are there really little golden snakes swimming through the waves of the River Elbe or is it a reflection of the fireworks? (9). Does the Archivist transform into a grey vulture or does the wind merely blow the tails of his

¹⁹ “A *Kümmeltürke* (caraway Turk) is a student whose home is in or near the town where he studies. Such a person was looked down upon at a time when German students normally studied at several universities remote from their homes” (Robertson 402). The term was coined in the eighteenth century in an area called *Kümmeltürkei* (Caraway Turkey) close to the German city Halle, which was famous for cultivating *Kümmel* (caraway). Bleak and unedifying areas in Germany were also called *Türkei* (Turkey) (Kluge 412).

²⁰ “On Twelfth Night or Epiphany (6 January) it was customary to serve cakes, one of which contained a bean; whoever found the bean in his cake was King for the evening and received a mock homage” (Robertson 402).

²¹ Anthropomorphism is any attribution of human characteristics to non-human beings or objects, such as animals, spirits, deities, and non-living things.

²² Pananimism refers to the “fantastic ensoulment of all things”: snakes sing, fountains whisper, trees murmur, the color azure “leaves” the walls, and so forth (Wührl 1982, 77).

capacious coat apart? (25).²³ One moment, Anselmus sees an “orange lily” in front of him only to realize in the next moment that it is Lindhorst whose dressing-gown with its brilliant red and yellow flowers deceived his sight (38). Since the fairy tale hero has been an outsider all of his life, he is more receptive to Otherness than the average bourgeois. Although he readily accepts the influence of the fantastic in his life, he believes at the outset of the tale that he has fallen victim to the whims of the wondrous powers: “Denn ich sehe und fühle nun wohl, dass alle die fremden Gestalten aus einer fernen wundervollen Welt, die ich sonst nur in ganz besondern merkwürdigen Träumen schaute, jetzt in mein waches reges Leben geschritten sind und ihr Spiel mit mir treiben” (35) (For I can see and feel that all the strange figures from a distant world of wonders, which before I saw only in rare and remarkable dreams, have now entered my waking life and are making me their plaything) (25). Alienated and estranged from society, the protagonist has yet to discover his artistic nature and further develop his own identity as a Romantic poet.

Anselmus’ perception of his immediate environment and his vacillation between fantasy and reality derives not least from his varying affection for Serpentina and Veronica. Through the eyes of a “nascent poet” who is in love with the enchanting snake, the library of the Archivist resembles an Orientalist palace, but from the perspective of a “philistine” who is enamored of Veronica, ordinariness is all around:

Er sah nichts als gewöhnliche Scherbenpflanzen, allerlei Geranien, Myrtenstöcke u. dergl. Statt der glänzenden bunten Vögel, die ihn sonst geneckt, flatterten nur einige Sperlinge hin und her, die ein unverständiges unangenehmes Geschrei erhoben, als sie den Anselmus gewahr wurden. Das blaue Zimmer kam ihm auch ganz anders vor, und er begriff nicht, wie ihm das grelle Blau und die unnatürlichen goldenen Stämme der Palmbäume mit den unförmlich blinkenden Blättern nur einen Augenblick hatten gefallen können. (80)

²³ In Ritchie Robertson’s translation of *The Golden Pot*, the Archivist transforms into a “kite” instead of a *Geier* (vulture).

[He could see nothing but ordinary potted plants, various kinds of geraniums, myrtle-bushes, and so forth. Instead of the brilliantly colored birds that had teased him in the past, there were only a few sparrows fluttering to and fro, which made an unintelligible and unpleasant noise on catching sight of Anselmus. The blue room also looked quite different, and he could not understand how the garish blue color and the unnatural golden trunks of the palm trees with their shapeless gleaming leaves could have appealed to him for one minute.] (64-65)

Even though the average, prosaic citizen can never enter Atlantis, he can still catch a glimpse of the fantastic realm through the effects of intoxicants, as for instance alcoholic beverages.

Hoffmann, who displayed a lifelong tendency toward the consumption of alcohol himself, attaches importance to various alcoholic beverages in the story of *The Golden Pot*, e.g. brandy (1), strong beer (2), liqueur (7), Rhine wine (41), punch (62), and arrack (62).²⁴ The author describes in the famous scene of the *Punschgesellschaft* (73) (punch-drinkers) (59), how the intoxicating effect of the punch (made of arrack, lemons, and sugar) sparks the imagination of Registrary Heerbrand and Sub-Rector Paulmann. Under the influence of alcohol, the bureaucrats chatter about the phantasmagorical figures whose very existence they fundamentally repudiate. Like a magic potion or elixir, the alcoholic drink leads the bourgeois characters out of their banality and opens their minds to the idea of fantasy.

The *Bürger* (burgher), as Hoffmann draws him, associates in his mentality anything abnormal, including Anselmus' "strange" behavior and talk about Atlantis with "drunkenness." Even the protagonist displays this bourgeois thought-pattern during the process of his identity formation. After Anselmus' encounter with the ensorcelled door knocker of Lindhorst's house, which suddenly changed into the grim face of the apple woman, the most obvious explanation for the phenomenon that comes to the student's mind is the effect of liqueur: "Es kann aber auch sein, sprach der Student Anselmus zu sich selbst, dass der superfeine starke Magenlikör, den ich bei dem Monsieur Conradi etwas begierig genossen, alle die tollen Phantasmata geschaffen, die

²⁴ See also Victoria Dutchman-Smith, *E.T.A. Hoffmann and Alcohol: Biography, Reception and Art* (2009).

mich vor der Haustür des Archivarius Lindhorst ängsteten” (46) (‘After all,’ said the student Anselmus to himself, ‘it may have been the extra-special strong liqueur, of which I partook somewhat too freely in Mr. Conradi’s shop, that created all the wild phantoms that frightened me outside the Archivist’s front door’) (36). Hoffmann uses the intoxicant alcohol not only as design element for the image he paints of a middle-class life but also as a means to blur the boundaries between reality and fantasy and to uphold the double world with its double identities: Is Lindhorst an archivist or a salamander? Is the apple woman Veronica’s old nurse Lizzie or a witch? Is Lindhorst’s companion a grey parrot or a “funny little man”? Is Serpentina a snake or a human being?

In order to mature from a copyist to a poet during his journey of self-discovery, Anselmus has to immerse himself in the contents of cryptic Middle Eastern texts. By linking Arabic and Coptic scriptures with the mysterious realm Atlantis and ancient mythology, Hoffmann indicates that the study of and engagement with Orientalist languages represent the key to access the true treasures of the Orient. At first, the student cannot read the foreign lettering, the many dots, strokes, dashes, and curlicues, “die bald Pflanzen, bald Moose, bald Tiergestalten darzustellen schienen” (65) (which seemed by turns to represent plants, or mosses, or animal shapes) (52). However, the more often he engages with the texts and the closer he examines the strange characters on the rolls of parchment, the better he understands their meaning: “Der Student Anselmus . . . richtete immer fester und fester Sinn und Gedanken auf die Überschrift der Pergamentrolle, und bald fühlte er wie aus dem Innersten heraus, dass die Zeichen nichts anderes bedeuten könnten, als die Worte: Von der Vermählung des Salamanders mit der grünen Schlange” (66) (Anselmus concentrated ever more firmly on the inscriptions on the parchment, and soon an inner intuition told him that the characters could have no other meaning than ‘Of the

Marriage of the Salamander and the Green Snake') (52). Encouraged by Serpentina's love, Anselmus eventually succeeds in deciphering the hieroglyphs and pictograms of the manuscripts, and thereby returns to a state when the human language was still closely connected to the natural world. Through his work, Anselmus learns about Lindhorst's life story, which is interwoven with the mythological genesis of Atlantis and the "fall of man" (the destruction of the Paradise Garden by the Salamander), causing the end of the Golden Age.

In accordance with Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's famous demand, "wir müssen uns orientalisieren, der Orient wird nicht zu uns herüberkommen" (we have to orientalize ourselves, the Orient will not come over to us), Anselmus slowly "orientalizes" himself by delving into the unknown lettering (*Berliner Ausgabe*, 226). The protagonist embodies the ignorant European, who has no choice but to deal with the pure *Schriftgestalt* (font design) and to reduce the inscrutable Orientalist writings to their pictorial dimension. In her essay "Diese geistig technischen Bemühungen . . ." (These Intellectual Technical Efforts . . . , 2005), Andrea Polaschegg draws striking parallels between Anselmus' and Goethe's writing exercises. During his work on the *West-östlicher Divan* (West-Eastern Divan, 1814-1819), an omnibus volume containing a collection of over two hundred fifty lyrical poems, Goethe practiced the copying of Arabic and Persian words without understanding their semantic meaning. As stated in a letter to Christian Heinrich Schlosser on January 23, 1815, Goethe believed that the Arabic language was the locus of a "uranfänglich zusammengekörpert" (primordially combined) wholeness of spirit, word, and writing (*Weimarer Ausgabe* 165). In both cases, however, the literary case of Anselmus and the historic case of Goethe, the lack of the referential parameter – the meaning of the lettering – proves necessary to comprehend the *Sinnwelt* (meaning system) of the opaque texts (Polaschegg, "Diese geistig technischen Bemühungen . . ." 279).

Since Goethe had never traveled to the Orient, he hoped that his philological turn toward Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman writings would enable his acculturation. Based on his performative attempts, which, except for very few calligraphic efforts, lacked aesthetic presentation, Polaschegg concludes that the written product was of lesser importance for Goethe than the active writing process, the physical act of imitation, to grasp the “true” sense of the word (*Der andere Orientalismus* 342). The ultimate goal of this “hands-on” approach was for the German writer to overcome the geographical and historical distance to the ancient Orient by “entering” the Eastern world through a practical acquisition. During such a process of reproducing Arabic names and words, the poet in fact directly “incorporates” the Orient and thus transforms himself into an “Oriental.” The same concept of “internalization” and identity metamorphosis (the change from a Westerner into an Easterner) applies to Hoffmann’s main character Anselmus, who draws his poetic inspirations from the manuscripts he has to copy. Strictly speaking, the German word *Abschreiben* (to copy) (which implies the act of “writing”) does not seem entirely applicable since Anselmus, like Goethe, has no prior knowledge of the Arabic language and is therefore effectively “painting” the strange characters and complex flourishes. Textual evidence supports that Hoffmann valued the distinction between the two terms *Abschreiben* and *Nachmalen* (to paint/to retrace): In the Eighth Vigil, Lindhorst explains to his protégé “das Wichtigste bleibt aber noch zu tun übrig, und das ist das Abschreiben oder vielmehr Nachmalen gewisser in besonderen Zeichen geschriebener Werke ” (64) (But the most important task that remains to be done, and that is to copy, or rather paint, certain works written in special characters) (51). Indeed, Hoffmann uses the vocabulary *Nachmalen* several times in the German version of the fairy tale novella. Richie Robertson’s English edition employs the term “to copy,” losing in the translation the difference between the processes of “writing” and “painting” the

Orientalist texts, the former implying a certain degree of familiarity and previous knowledge of the language to copy.²⁵

In conclusion, Hoffmann's literary figure Anselmus and Germany's renowned genius Goethe share three significant characteristics. First, they are both *Reisende* (travelers) who use their poetic powers to "travel" through time and space back to the ancient Orient. I interpret the fictitious journey to the East as a metaphor for poetry and the traveler as a metaphor for the poet. In Goethe's *Noten und Abhandlungen zum besseren Verständnis des west-östlichen Divans* (Notes and Queries for a Better Understanding of the West-Eastern Divan), the author informs the reader that he considers himself a "traveler":

Am liebsten aber wünschte der Verfasser vorstehender Gedichte, als ein Reisender angesehen zu werden, dem es zum Lobe gereicht, wenn er sich der fremden Lebensart mit Neigung bequemt, deren Sprachgebrauch sich anzueignen trachtet, Gesinnungen zu teilen, Sitten aufzunehmen versteht. (228)

[The author of the preceding poems would choose to be regarded as a traveler who is applauded if he accommodates to the customs of foreign countries, tries to appropriate their ways of speech, to share their sentiments and adopt their manners.] (Dowden 92)

In *The Golden Pot*, Anselmus assumes the role of a German explorer as soon as he enters the realm of the Other, Lindhorst's house, and later on journeys from Dresden to the legendary land Atlantis. Furthermore, his character "travels" or rather "jumps" several times back and forth between the dimensions of fantasy and reality throughout the fairy tale.

Second, Anselmus and Goethe both "escape" from Germany to an idealized place in the East. Anselmus takes flight from the prosaic, dull bourgeoisie and the constraints of artistic development in a reason-based society. Goethe on the other hand, shaken by the horrid,

²⁵ To cure Anselmus' "madness," Registrary Heerbrand recommends the "Nachmalen der Manuskripte" (26) (the copying of manuscripts) (18) in the service of Archivist Lindhorst. On sight of the Orientalist scripture, the protagonist doubts his abilities "alles genau nachmalen zu können" (65) (to be able to copy all these signs exactly) (52). Under Veronica's spell, Anselmus' uncertainty about his poetic capabilities grows to the point where he finds it almost impossible "das alles genau nachzumalen" (81) (it seemed wellnigh impossible to copy) (65).

lugubrious years of the German Campaign²⁶ (1813-1815), strives to get away from grey postwar realities in Thuringia and therefore embarks on a literary escape to the Orientalist culture.

Already his first poem “Hegire”²⁷ (emigration/ flight/ departure) in the “Buch der Sanger” (Book of Singers) of his *West-ostlicher Divan* (West-Eastern Divan) alludes to the eastward journey, which marks the beginning of a new phase in life:

Nord und West und Sud zersplittern
Throne bersten, Reiche zittern,
Fluchte du! im reinen Osten
Patriarchenluft zu kosten.
Unter Lieben, Trinken, Singen,
Soll dich Chisers²⁸ Quell verjungen.
(7)

[North and West and South are cracking,
Thrones are toppling, empires shaking:
Flee though to the veritable East
To try the air of the Patriarchs.
With loving, drinking, singing
Chiser’s source will make thee young.]
(Ruth ApRoberts 87)

This often-cited poem announces to the reader the prime reason for Goethe’s Orientalist studies, as attested by one of his letters to Christian Gottlob von Voigt dated mid-January 1815: “Genau gesehen sind solche Studien . . . eine Art Hegire, man fluchtet aus der Zeit in ferne Jahrhunderte und Gegenden, wo man sich etwas Paradiesahnliches erwartet” (*Weimarer Ausgabe* 154) (To be precise, such studies are a sort of Hegire, an escape from the present age to centuries and areas of the remote past, where one expects to find something akin to Paradise). Goethe intends to flee to

²⁶ The German Campaign, also known as *Befreiungskriege* (Wars of Liberation) or *Freiheitskriege* (Wars of Freedom), ended the War of the Sixth Coalition, itself part of the Napoleonic Wars. It took place in Germany during Napoleon’s retreat from Russia.

²⁷ *Hegire* is the French spelling of the Arabian word هجرة (Hegira/Hijra), which refers to the emigration of the Islamic prophet Muhammad and his followers from Mecca to Medina in 622 CE, marking the beginning of the Muslim Era (Goethe, *Berliner Ausgabe* 715).

²⁸ Chiser was the old guardian of the spring of life, the Fountain of Youth, who promised the fourteenth-century Persian poet Hafiz immortal fame (Goethe, *Berliner Ausgabe* 715).

the “pure” East, where the heavenly teachings of God are still received in earthly languages, in order to lead the race of man to the depths of its origin.

Third, Anselmus and Goethe leave their German identities behind to become “Orientals” and they do so by fusing Orientalist studies with poetic writings. While Anselmus undergoes his identity transformation to find true love, eternal happiness, and a life in poetry, Goethe wants to rejuvenate his creative spirit, return to the source of human history, and enjoy the safe haven of the ancient Golden Age. Besides his explicit call to “orientalize oneself,” however, Goethe delivers another essential message to the Western reader of his *Divan*. In the poem “Talismane” (Talismans), Goethe moves beyond his personal venture of philo-ethnological acculturation by proclaiming solemnly the “sacred” unity of Orient and Occident. The following verses are not only a dunning plea for tolerance and peace, they also imply the equal validity of all cultures, viewed as coexisting in the hands of God:

Gottes ist der Orient!
Gottes ist der Okzident!
Nord und südliches Gelände
Ruht im Frieden seiner Hände.
(*West-östlicher Divan* 12)

[God’s is the Orient!
God’s is the Occident!
Northern and southern lands
Repose in the peace of His hands.]

The poem echoes a passage of the Qur’an (“To God belongs the east and the west; wherever you go there will be the presence of God. God is omnipresent, omniscient.”) (Sura 2:115, Khalifa 32) that Goethe found as a motto in the *Fundgruben des Orient* (Treasures of the Orient) (1809-1818), a periodical devoted to Orientalist subjects, edited by Austrian Orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774 – 1856) (Bell 207). Hence, Goethe’s turn toward the Orient and his *West-Eastern Divan* are not only a *Hegire* into the world of the exotic Other but an attempt to

integrate the Orient into Western religious tradition. Finally, the poem reveals the place where East and West can find common ground: the divine genesis of mankind. The sentiment of Otherness that Orient and Occident share with each other is nullified, when both cease to view themselves as absolute entities but focus on their mutual relationship and their common *Ursprung* (origin) instead. In this way, East and West can complement one another.

To conclude this chapter it remains to sum up that a number of German intellectuals, Romantics, and members of the German literary public turned to the East in the quest of crafting a German national identity for several reasons, perhaps the most important of which was the function of the Orient and its mythology as a model form for a pan-German identity. United by little more than geography and a common language, the German states had been at war with France since 1792, which, followed by the French occupation and Napoleon's dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806, gave rise to a new German national consciousness. Seeking the formation of a united German *Volk*, the Romantics believed to find the "lost spirit" and the rejuvenating power of the German *Volksseele* in folk poetry, fairy tales, folk songs, and sagas. Grimms' "pure" German folk tales as well as literary fairy tales with Orientalist motifs enabled readers to define their national identity either in opposition to the foreign Other or through the Romantic conception that placed the origins of mankind - and therefore of the Germans - in the East.

My analysis of E.T.A. Hoffmann's literary fairy tale *The Golden Pot* has revealed that the magical realm of Atlantis represents an idealized Orient. The protagonist Anselmus, who struggles to find his "true" identity as a Romantic artist, develops his poetic talents and thus gains access to the fairy tale world and a life of eternal happiness. In contrast to the paradisiacal portrayal of the Orient and its exotic inhabitants, the Western bourgeois world appears as dull

and its citizens as narrow-minded and tedious. Hence, the literary fairy tale contradicts Said's assertions concerning the supremacy of Westerners in literary works. In his book *Orientalism*, Said interprets the term "Orientalism" as a political doctrine and ideology created by the West as a form of domination over the East. Since Orientalism was a masculine domain with sexist blinders, Said argues, Western novelists and travelers portray Eastern women in their writings as sensual creatures of male power-fantasies and envision the Orient as the locus of sexual pleasures and inhibitions (207). Therefore, Chapter 5 of my dissertation addresses the female Other and scrutinizes the depiction of the Oriental woman in Romantic *Kunstmärchen* in order to determine whether German literary fairy tales feminize and eroticize the East. While Achim von Arnim's works *Melück Maria Blainville, die Hausprophetin aus Arabien* (Meluck Maria Blainville, the House Prophet from Arabia, 1812) and *Isabella von Ägypten, Kaiser Karl des Fünften erste Jugendliebe* (Isabella of Egypt, Emperor Charles the Fifth's First Young Love, 1812) constitute the literary texts that I analyze in Chapter 5, I also discuss travel journal entries written by women as historic sources of German Orientalism to critique Said's assertion that imperialist men created Orientalism as an exclusively male province.

CHAPTER 5 WOMEN IN KUNSTMÄRCHEN UNVEILED: COLONIAL AND EROTIC FANTASIES

In the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, various European writers and artists portrayed Oriental women in their works as exotic beauties, enigmatic seductresses, and objects of sexual fantasy. Whether lounging in a Turkish bath, hidden behind her veil, or revealed in the harem, the image of the female Other depicted in a multitude of Western paintings and literary pieces embodied the Romantic conception of a mysterious Orient on the one hand and was explicitly linked with eroticism on the other. In this chapter, I propose that German literary fairy tales of the Romantic period exalt the *Exotin* (exotic female) by depicting her as the embodiment of a higher truth and soulful existence. Furthermore, the tales contradict the clichéd nineteenth-century notions of the Oriental woman as a sexually charged figure, that is the figure of the odalisque, a female slave or chambermaid in an Ottoman seraglio.¹

The figure of the Oriental woman, I argue, does not appear in *Kunstmärchen* as a degraded individual entrapped in the harem of a polygamous oppressor and in need of a civilized liberator from Europe or a powerful Western emancipator. In Achim von Arnim's literary fairy tales *Melück Maria Blainville, die Hausprophetin aus Arabien* (Meluck Maria Blainville, the House Prophet from Arabia, 1812) and *Isabella von Ägypten, Kaiser Karl des Fünften erste Jugendliebe* (Isabella of Egypt, Emperor Charles the Fifth's First Young Love, 1812), the protagonists are Eastern women who triumph as autonomous heroines over Western men, French salon culture, and a worldly existence. In both tales, Arnim inverts the balance of power that prevailed between

¹ The word *odalisque* began to appear in French at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The term derives from the Turkish *odalik* (*oda* meaning chamber), which means "chambermaid." "Initially a chambermaid or a slave in the service of the women of the harem, the odalisque was metamorphosed by Orientalist painting . . . into the sublimated image of the one enclosed by the harem . . . the prohibited space is endowed by Western imagination with a strong erotic connotation" (Alloula 130).

East and West at the turn of the eighteenth century since his female protagonists Melück and Isabella, personifications of the Orient, are connected with a higher power, truth, and destiny.

Divided into four sections, this chapter begins with a focus on the portrayal of Oriental women in European paintings and literature of the nineteenth century. By comparison, I assert that German literary fairy tales solely feminize but do not eroticize the Orient. On the one hand, I follow Edward Said's claim in his book *Orientalism* (1978) of a Western tendency to imagine the East, and hence the Oriental woman, as mysterious, enigmatic, and magical, which is coupled with the desire to uncover the presumed secrets of the Orient. German *Kunstmärchen* reflect Said's claim by depicting Eastern women oftentimes closely connected to the supernatural and the divine.² On the other hand, however, I depart from Said's argument that Oriental women are generally represented as passive, silent, submissive, dependent, and supine individuals in European literature. German literary fairy tales, I argue, constitute an exception regarding the depiction of Eastern women.

In the second section, I closely analyze the figure of the Oriental woman in Achim von Arnim's two literary fairy tales *Melück Maria Blainville* and *Isabella von Ägypten*. To include another author in my analysis, I also return to Novalis's *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* (Henry of Ofterdingen, 1802) and the illustration of the Arabian girl Zulima. I argue that Novalis portrays the Arabian girl positively, as epitome of knowledge, music, poetry, and religious tolerance. Further, he presents the Eastern maiden as a sad victim of the latest crusade to stress the renunciation of imperialism and colonial conquest. My investigation addresses the following questions: Are Eastern women stereotyped in these tales as delicate "flowers," exotic beauties,

² Compare Achim von Arnim's female protagonists Melück and Isabella, E.T.A. Hoffmann's Serpentina in *The Golden Pot*, and Hauff's Ahavzi in *The Story of Little Muck*.

sensual belly dancers, and symbols of fecundity? Or are female Orientals depicted as mysterious enchantresses, veiled seductresses, and ominous *femmes fatales*?

In the third section, I draw on Meyda Yeğenoğlu's book *Colonial Fantasies* (1998), which examines the veil as a site both of fantasy and of nationalist ideologies and discourses of gender identity. My research explores German *Kunstmärchen* in depth for the symbolism of the veil, which, as I believe, encapsulates its own power toward the colonizer or Western voyeur. Are Eastern women in German literary fairy tales veiled at all? Are there any references in the tales about penetrating or the mere desire of penetrating the veils of the Oriental woman? In this context, I also scrutinize whether there is any textual evidence of what German scholar Susanne Zantop coined as "colonial fantasies": "stories of sexual conquest and surrender, love and blissful domestic relations between colonizer and colonized, set in colonial territory" (2).

The fourth section offers an analysis of travel literature about Oriental women written by German and Austrian female authors of Romanticism, such as Wolfhardine von Minutoli (1794-1868), Therese von Bacheracht (1804-1852), Ida Pfeiffer (1797-1858), and Countess Ida von Hahn-Hahn (1805-1880). I argue that the relationship of Said's binary model - the sexual, seductive, silenced Oriental woman vis-à-vis the rational Western man in a male dominated, rational discourse - was more complex due to the fact that Western women participated in the discourse of the West. European women travelers in the nineteenth century, I assert, participated in perpetuating stereotypes about the foreign Other in non-European countries, especially about the *Exotin*. Contrary to the myth of the silenced and voiceless odalisque in the Orientalist discourse, several noble female authors foreground the conversations with the harem women in their travel reports. I draw on authentic travel journal entries made by German and Austrian female travelers to demonstrate that they contributed to the depiction of the Oriental woman not

only by reinforcing certain stereotypes but also by debunking specific “masculine” clichés. Furthermore, I question Edward Said’s claims that firstly, European travelers and novelists generally produced literary works about the East with evident sexist blinders - “Woman are usually the creatures of a male power-fantasy. They express unlimited sensuality, they are more or less stupid, and above all they are willing” – and that secondly, Orientalism was “an exclusively male province” (207).

In the history of Western imagination, the world of the exotic Other was often explicitly linked with erotic sensations and sensual temptations: “Why the Orient seems still to suggest not only fecundity but sexual promise (and threat), untiring sensuality, unlimited desire, deep generative energies, is something on which one could speculate . . .” (Said 188). There are numerous reasons that contributed to the painting of the Orient as a locale of sensual pleasures and erotic adventures. Some important ones include: firstly, the myth that the Orient, in particular the Levant (modern-day Lebanon, Syria, and Israel), enjoyed a laxity of morals quite unthinkable in Europe; secondly, the separation of gender in the East and the myth of the harem as an institution to serve male pleasures;³ thirdly, the impressions and conceptions deriving from novels and plays of the Baroque era (e.g. the so-called “Turkish operas”), which were oftentimes set in the cultural distance of Mediterranean and Eastern places and depicted the Oriental woman as a fascinating but threatening *femme fatale*; fourthly, the images of Antoine Galland’s French translation of *Les Mille et une Nuits: Contes Arabes* (The Thousand and One Nights: Arab Stories, 1704-1717) and the figure of Scheherazade (Ohnesorg 205-08, Stamm 239-40).⁴ Even

³ Closely related to the myth of the harem as a place of sexual pleasures was also the propagated, yet limited knowledge in the West of the Islamic afterlife and the alleged “love services” of the “houris” (eternal virgins of Paradise), which evoked a sensual Paradise.

⁴ In *The Thousand and One Nights*, the clever Scheherazade narrates a fascinating story to entertain a violent, despotic king every night but stops her tale each dawn so the king has to spare her life in order to hear the tale’s completion the next evening. The book perpetuates the archetypal stereotypes of the Oriental despot and the servility of Arab women.

though “Scheherazade” appears as an active, intelligent, and strong character in the *Arabian Nights*, painters and writers expanded on the notion of the Oriental woman and linked it in their works with sexually charged scenarios of female submissiveness and passivity. Thus, they presented the Orient not only as an exotic but also an erotic Other.

From a Western perspective, the figure of the Oriental woman ultimately became the personification of a sensual, beautiful, and mystical Orient.⁵ The odalisque in particular emerged as an icon in Orientalist art. Her female body represented an erotic cliché that signified the mystery of the East as a stage for playing out forbidden passions at a suitable distance. Typically portrayed nude or scantily clad and in a languid or reclining pose, the odalisque served as object of projection for sexual fantasies constricted by the tight-laced corset of a repressive and inhibitive sexual morality in Western culture. According to scholar Billie Melman, the odalisque embodies the “essence of the feminized Orient, sensuality, and violence. At the same time she embodies the ‘Other’ of the ideal man-of-letters⁶ of the Enlightenment. She is enslaved by her sex and imprisoned by her femininity. And she is expressionless” (71). Places associated with the odalisque such as the harem, the Turkish bath, or the slave market turned into metaphorically determined spaces that tied the Orient to sensual allures and erotic fantasies.

The transformation of the odalisque in Western art works is but one example of what Said describes in his book *Orientalism* as a Western way of “orientalizing” the East. According to Said, the relationship of power between East and West enabled the Occident to *make* the East “Oriental” (5-6). Consequently, Western artists had the power to dominate the Oriental woman by representing or rather misrepresenting her culturally and sexually. Among the French

⁵ Compare Ulrike Stamm (239) and Meyda Yeğenoğlu (73-74).

⁶ The term “Man of Letters” has been used in some Western cultures to denote contemporary intellectual men.

neoclassical paintings of the nineteenth century, *La Grande Odalisque*, painted in 1814 by Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780-1867), launched the genre of the odalisque (Varisco, *Reading Orientalism* 165). The oil painting shows a reclining naked woman who looks over her right shoulder at the viewer. Her glance is seductive, yet cool and unexpressive as if she does not mind the display of her nude body nor the voyeuristic gaze of the spectator. In her right hand, she somewhat teasingly grasps a peacock-feather fan. Fur, satin, silk, golden sheets, luscious royal blue curtains, jewelry, a turban-like headdress, and an opium pipe surrounding the naked woman emphasize the idea of the forbidden, foreign, and erotic to the European viewer who can indulge in her exotic sexuality from afar. The painting depicts the odalisque as epitome of female submission and passivity. She is reduced to a sex slave whose life in a seraglio is “hedonistic and morally alien to the Western eye” (Mahon 44).

The imagery of the odalisque as nude or seminude concubine and pleasure servant illustrated in nineteenth-century Orientalist art was itself a projection of Western artists that were predominantly male. Even though some odalisques were trained to be concubines, they usually served the women of the harem as chambermaids or slaves (Alloula 130). Furthermore, various Orientalist paintings such as Ingres’s *La Grande Odalisque* (1814), and *Odalisque and Slave* (1842) as well as Théodore Chassériau’s (1819-1856) *The Toilette of Esther* (1841), and *Harem* (1851), portray the complexion of the harem woman in a strikingly unrealistic pallor.⁷ While the ivory-white skin of the odalisque blurs her racial identity, her figure oscillates between being like and not like European women. The passive, marble-skinned odalisque appears in Orientalist art even more as a template of European femininity, since she is often visually contrasted with a dark-skinned, masculine-looking female servant whose unfeminine features underline the fact

⁷ See Appendix.

that she is not to be imagined as an object of sexual fantasies.⁸ Ivan Kalmar asserts in “The Houkah in the Harem” that to this extent, odalisque paintings are “not a projection of the East into the West, but a perverse projection of the Western woman into the subject position of a powerless sex slave” to the Western man (222).

Although Ingres was not the only painter to misrepresent and mythologize Eastern women, his Orientalist-themed art works infused European culture with the archetypal vision of the lascivious and salacious female Arab. Ingres, like various other Orientalist painters and writers, had never traveled to the Near or Middle East.⁹ His art works were pure conjecture and staged in his Paris studio with European models and Turkish props (Mahon 44). These so-called “armchair” Orientalist artists who had never left European soil found inspiration for their canvases and books from written accounts of life in the Orient, such as *The Thousand and One Nights*, Montesquieu’s (1689-1755) *Lettres Persanes* (Persian Letters, 1721), Lord Byron’s (1788-1824) series of “Turkish Tales” (1813-1814), Victor Hugo’s collection of poems *Les Orientales* (The Orientals, 1829), Edward William Lane’s classic (1801-1876) *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1836), and travel accounts, e.g. the *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* (Itinerary from Paris to Jerusalem, 1811) by François-René de Chateaubriand (1768-1848), *Voyage en Orient* (Voyage to the Orient, 1851) by Gérard de Nerval, and *A Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Meccah* (1855) by Richard Francis Burton (1821-

⁸ Examples of a dark-skinned servant attending a white harem inmate are innumerable in Orientalist art: e.g. Ingres’s *Odalisque and Slave*, Chassériau’s *The Toilette of Esther and Harem*, Jean-Léon Gérôme’s (1824-1904) *Moorish Bath* (1872). The odalisque evokes the European woman as willing prisoner in a harem that has been taken into the imagined possession of a male European spectator.

⁹ Other European Orientalists, painters, and writers who never travelled to the Orient include: Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866), Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), John Martin (1789-1854), Francesco Hayez (1791-1882), Antoine-Jean Gros (1771-1835), Victor Hugo (1802-1885), Honoré Daumier (1808-1879), and Thomas Moore (1779-1852).

1890).¹⁰ Works by Heinrich Heine (1797-1856), Alexandre Dumas père (1802-1870), Alphonse de Lamartine (1790-1869) and Théophile Gautier (1811-1872) were also among the sources widely enjoyed. Over a century later, Edward Said drew on the same literary sources and European authors for his analysis on colonial ideology in Western literature and on the construction of the Orient as a negative inversion of Western culture.

Said's critical reading of the discourse of Orientalism establishes that the body of Western representations of the East reflected the perception of an active, dominant, progressive, masculine, strong, and hence superior Occident versus a passive, submissive, backward, feminine, weak, and hence inferior Orient. Throughout his book *Orientalism*, Said frequently quotes British and French authors of the nineteenth century (e.g. Burton, Lane, Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Nerval) and relies on European Orientalist texts to support his views on the relationship of power between East and West. European writers, like the painters, had the ability to create, present, and misrepresent the Orient, and therefore also to mirror the dominant position of the West in their works. In the example of the Gustave Flaubert (1821-1880), Said emphasizes that the French novelist *spoke for* Kuchuk Hanem (1850-1870), a beautiful Egyptian dancer and courtesan, which became a key figure in Flaubert's Orientalist accounts of the East:

[She never spoke of herself, she never represented her emotions, presence, or history. He spoke for and represented her. He was foreign, comparatively wealthy, male, and these were historical facts of domination that allowed him not only to possess Kuchuck Hanem physically but to speak for her and tell his readers in what way she was "typically Oriental." (6)

Said's main argument in this context is that Flaubert's situation of strength in relation to the Egyptian woman was not an isolated instance. Rather, the example highlights the power balance between Orient and Occident (6).

¹⁰ By 1812, *The Thousand and One Nights* was believed to provide "authentic portraits of oriental nations" giving "a perfect insight into the private habits, the domestic comforts and deprivations of the orientals" (*Tales of the East* ii-iii).

As a key symbol in Flaubert's writings, Kuchuk Hanem not only represents a feminized but first and foremost eroticized Orient. Based on Flaubert's travel notes from Egypt, Said views the construction of the Oriental woman as "a disturbing symbol of fecundity, peculiarly Oriental in her luxuriant and seemingly unbounded sexuality" (187). In his letters, Flaubert describes Kuchuk as nothing more than a machine: "she makes no distinction between one man and another man" (187). Her "dumb and irreducible sexuality," self-sufficiency, and emotional carelessness, Said asserts, allowed the Frenchman to think and muse. Presumably the prototype of several of Flaubert's novels' female characters as well as pornographic novels (e.g. Pierre Louÿs's *Aphrodite*, 1896), the Eastern courtesan embodies carnal female temptation and an impressive but verbally inarticulate femininity (187, 208). According to Said, Flaubert's Kuchuk Hanem was emblematic of the West's relationship with the East and of how Western literature continually stereotyped the Oriental woman: as a silenced, passive, over-sexualized, and stupid object of male power-fantasies (207). In the following section, I scrutinize portrayals of the Oriental woman in Achim von Arnim's literary fairy tales *Melüch Maria Blainville* and *Isabella of Egypt* for traces of these stereotypical features.

Departing from Said's notion that Western texts of the nineteenth century depicted Eastern women as passive, silent, odalisque-like, submissive, dependent, supine, and altogether inferior, I argue that German literary fairy tales constitute an exception. Even though multiple characters contribute to an ambivalent representation of the Oriental figure, the female protagonists of the tales are predominantly depicted as independent, active, strong, sophisticated, and chaste individuals. In Arnim's fairy tale novella *Melüch* of 1812, a young Oriental woman, born "im glücklichen Arabien" (157) (in happy Arabia) and forced to flee to Smyrna, arrives on a Turkish

ship in the French city Toulon at the time just before the French Revolution.¹¹ Melück, daughter of an emir but now an orphan, gets baptized in the main church in Marseilles and receives the names Melück Maria Blainville (the first from her Arabian homeland; the second for the Mother of God; the third from her confessor). After her conversion to Christianity, she joins a nunnery for several months before she becomes an actress in Marseille. When the talented woman recites passages from “Phaedra” with her “oriental pathos” in front of a social party she meets her match in Count Saintree. The young Arab woman falls in love with Saintree despite his engagement with Mathilde. Banned from court due to an affair, the count spends his time with Melück in Marseille.

One day, Saintree sojourns in Melück’s house and puts his favorite coat, a symbol of Mathilde’s love, on a large mannequin. Suddenly, the dummy comes alive and crosses its arms across its chest to keep hold of the coat. To save himself from an embarrassing situation, the count hides out at Melück’s home and spends the night with her. One month after the beginning of the secret liaison, Mathilde arrives in Marseille to tell Saintree that even though he is no longer tolerated at court, the king acceded to their marriage. The count abandons Melück and boos her off the stage during a public performance. Saintree marries Mathilde, leaving behind a desperate Melück. When the count falls ill and complains about heart pains, his doctor and loyal friend Frenel declares the Oriental woman to be a “heart-devouring” sorceress. He rushes to Melück who bears Saintree’s heart within her. Melück agrees to rescue Saintree’s life and commands the mannequin, which has turned in the meantime into an exact copy of Saintree, to release the count’s cloak. However, since Saintree needs his heart to survive, Melück’s presence at his side is vital. From now on, the Arab woman lives together with Saintree and Mathilde in

¹¹ The term “Happy Arabia” is a translation of the Latin name “Arabia felix,” previously used by geographers to describe the southern parts of the Arabian Peninsula, including modern Yemen. *Felix* means “happy, fortunate, blessed.”

harmony. Mathilde gives birth to three children who are all similar in appearance to Melück. When the French Revolution reaches the South, the sorceress predicts the annihilation of the aristocracy but Saintree refuses to abandon his beloved homeland. While the outraged populace takes over the castle, Melück gets stabbed from behind. Melück and the count both die instantly. Beforehand, Melück saved Mathilde by disguising herself as the countess. Mathilde survives and flees with her children and Frenel to Switzerland where he commits suicide.

Far from evoking the image of a weak, servile, imprisoned harem concubine, waiting to be rescued by the Western man, Arnim conceived his central character as a highly ambivalent figure with a complex personality that remains poised and determined, yet mysterious and compassionate until the very end of the tale. Already her arrival in Toulon on a Turkish ship that is relentlessly pursued by a Maltesian galley ties the Oriental woman to the inexplicable and the fantastic. When the Turkish ship just barely reaches the safe harbor, observers are uncertain whether the rescue they witnessed is attributed to a “fortuitous gust of wind” or a “Turkish wind-conjurer,” in other words a “coincidence” or a “miracle” (97). Melück first appears as enigmatic beauty and refugee who immediately assumes the roles of interpreter, mediator, and cultural peacemaker. Only her “stately female figure” and the sound of her voice speaking the mother tongue of the Frenchmen can disarm and mollify the rapacious crew of Maltesian knights. Not only does Melück save the Turkish ship, prevent a battle, and open peace talks between the Turkish and Maltesian men, the female protagonist also manages to ward off romantic advances from Saint Luc, the leader of the Maltesian knights.

Melück personifies an indomitable Orient that cannot be conquered nor colonized by the imperial powers. Her tall, feminine stature adds to the superior appearance of the Middle Eastern woman. In contrast, Saint Luc embodies the Western man whose attempts to conquer the

Oriental woman failed twice, first as adversarial pursuer of the Turkish ship and second as romantic pursuer of a sexual relationship: “Saint Lük machte der schönen Unbekannten scheidend eine Art von Liebeserklärung, indem er sein Schicksal bedauerte, ihr nicht angehören zu können, oder sie zu erobern . . .” (156) (Saint Luc made a kind of parting declaration of love to the beautiful stranger, regretting that Fate permitted him neither to enter her service nor to win her by conquest) (98). As Susanne Zantop and Sigrid Weigel have demonstrated, (virgin) land is oftentimes synonymous with the female body and the conquest of a foreign territory is commonly emblemized in the erotic possession of women.¹²

Even though the protagonist of the tale is an attractive woman, her ambivalent character distinguishes her from the stereotypical conception of the erotic female Other. Melück is a sophisticated and charismatic person whose ambivalence is already expressed in her three names: the Middle-Eastern name “Melück” refers to the mystical, magical Orient and Romantic origin of poetry, the name “Maria” stands for Saint Mary and the conversion to Christianity, and the French name “Blainville” alludes to the seducing Comtesse Blainville in Tieck’s *William Lovell* (1795-1796) (Fischer 109-10).¹³ Besides her “großen, herrlichen, weiblichen Charakters” (157) (great and splendid feminine character) (98) she seems to combine “alle Vorzüge beider Geschlechter” (157) (all the positive attributes of both sexes) (98). One can only speculate what kind of “positive attributes” Arnim had in mind when he conceived his protagonist. However, based on her mix of features – beauty, kindness, femininity, passion, sophistication, intelligence, dominance, assertiveness, seriousness, composure – she represents an androgynous figure (even though not physically) that attracts and fascinates both genders. In fact, she has just as many

¹² Compare Susanne Zantop (44-45) and Siegfried Weigel (171-199).

¹³ In Tieck’s *William Lovell*, a three-volume novel in letters, the Comtesse Blainville is a *femme fatale* who seduces young Lovell in Paris and inducts him into the secrets of sensual lovemaking and sexual lust (Fischer 110).

female as she has male devotees who admire the Middle Eastern woman also for her ability to move smoothly between the cultures of Orient and Occident.

Melück's profoundly serious manner, her powerful spirit, her multilayered personality, and her ability to quickly adapt to the conventions of French society contradict the clichéd nineteenth-century notions of the delicate, passive, submissive Oriental woman as well as of the uneducated, uncivilized native Other. During her stay in the monastery, the "courteous stranger" (99) reveals little information about herself and thus remains a mystery to the citizens of Toulon. They only know that the Arab woman "who charmed everyone" (99) became acquainted with European languages and customs as well as the Christian religion in the homes of prominent merchants in Smyrna. Melück's exotic appearance reinforces her mysterious identity and raises questions about her actual age: "[Das] Mädchen[], das nicht mehr ganz jung zu sein schien, was aber in ihrer dunklern Farbe nicht leicht zu unterscheiden war . . ." (157) (She appeared no longer young, although her dark coloring made that hard to judge) (98). The fact that Arnim specifically describes Melück's skin color as *dunkel* (dark) sets the figure even further apart from the image of the predominantly lighter-skinned odalisque in neoclassical art. Furthermore, while the motif of the odalisque evokes the thought of material wealth such as jewelry, gold, and other riches, Melück donates her money to the nunnery. Through this action, Arnim disassociates his protagonist from the stereotypical conception of Orientalist opulence and luxuriousness, and highlights Melück's non-materialistic, philanthropic nature.

Despite the fact that Melück does not reflect the picture of the sexualized and inferiorized odalisque, she remains the target of persistent romantic advances by masculine "conquistadors." Before the end of her probationary year, Melück leaves the monastery to receive dramatic instruction from her friend, the respected old actress Banal, who idolizes the Oriental woman:

“Sie war ihr eine Gottheit” (157) (She apotheosized her). Once again, Arnim emphasizes Melück’s superiority and sublime charisma. As soon as the young Arab woman displays an extraordinary talent for acting, she is included in the most prominent circles where she takes center stage. Her “Sinn für gesellschaftliche Schicklichkeit” (158) (aptitude for social decorum) (99) and “eingeborenes zartes Gefühl” (158) (inborn sensitivity) (99) enable her to easily assimilate the customs of the class in which she lives. Melück’s adaptability, versatility, and the dignity of her bearing captivate her suitors who believe her resistance to their advances should be ascribed to “Keuschheit, List oder Überdruß” (159) (chasteness, deviousness, or satiety) (100):

Der Ruf unbezwinglich guter Sitten vermehrte diese Zahl ihrer Verehrer, indem jeder Neuhinzukommende den Glanz seiner gehofften Eroberung durch die größere Zahl der Zurückgeschlagen vermehrt glaubte, bis er selbst unter die Zahl der ruhigen Verehrer zurücktrat, die ihr Glück ohne Ungestüm erwarten wollen. (158-59)

[Her reputation for unassailably high morals increased the quantity of her admirers, for each new suitor believed that a larger number of rejections would only add luster to his hoped-for conquest, until he himself finally joined the group of quiet devotees willing to wait patiently for the attainment of their desire.] (100)

Due to her virginal demeanor and avoidance of “vice,” however, Melück also becomes the victim of malicious rumors and wicked explanations spread by some of her admirers.

I read Arnim’s repetitive use of vocabulary terms such as *erobern* (conquer), *Eroberung* (conquest), *Besitz* (possession), and *unbezwinglich* (indomitable/unconquerable) as a reference to France’s colonial ambitions in the Orient, specifically Napoleon’s *Expédition d’Egypte* (The Egyptian Campaign, 1798-1801). Melück’s position as female “hunting trophy” amongst a rivaling pack of love-crazed men and her tragic demise at the end of the tale, I argue further, express Arnim’s underlying critique of imperialistic endeavors by Western powers. Saint Luc, furious about the fact that he was unable to “conquer” Melück at sea, returns to France and continues his amatory pursuit of the inapproachable woman: “[Sie entzückte ihn und als er von

seinen Freunden die Schwierigkeit ihres Besitzes vernommen, schwor er ihnen feierlich, daß er sie zu Lande erobern wolle, was es koste, da sie ihm auf dem Meere durch so sonderbaren Zufall entrissen sei” (159) (She fascinated him, and when he discovered from his friends how difficult it was to possess her, he swore with great fanfare that, no matter what the cost, he would conquer her on land after such a remarkable coincidence had denied her to him at sea) (100). Greedy, rash, and vicious by nature, Saint Luc is willing to resort to any means to “possess” Melück but ultimately fails in the attempt to drug her with an opium drink. In the end, violence is the only option left for him to dominate and “subdue” the Eastern woman, and he does so by killing her.

Although Arnim’s protagonist is an aloof woman who keeps her distance from importunate male suitors, she is not unreceptive to romantic love that is honest and true. When Melück makes the acquaintance of Count Saintree, a young aristocrat known as “der liebenswürdigste Mann aus der großen Welt” (160) (the most charming man in the fashionable world) (101), she feels obliged to acknowledge his superior ability in the art of acting. It is her sincere love for Saintree that causes the Oriental woman to lose some of her usual self-confidence and fortitude. However, while Melück’s admirers rejoice that “Frankreich doch einen Mann hervorgebracht [hatte], der diese stolze Morgenländerin bändigen könnte” (161) (France had finally produced a man capably of subduing this proud Easterner) (101), it is Count Saintree who literally loses his heart to the actress as well as his identity and independence throughout the novel. In fact, Saintree’s survival, and thus symbolically the life of the Western man, depends completely on the compassion of the Oriental woman, her mercy, and willingness to forgive. On the basis of Said’s statement “The relationship between Occident and Orient is a relationship of power . . .” (5), I propose that Arnim inverts the balance of power that prevailed between East and West at the turn of the eighteenth century. In his literary fairy tale, the source of (magical) power lies with Melück and

hence the Orient. The Easterner, who represents the “true” life, a higher truth, and a soulful existence, triumphs over the superficial life of the French salon culture, Western ratio, and a worldly existence.

While Melück possesses magical powers, which moves her figure closer to that of a mysterious enchantress, she does not use them to seduce Saintree nor to willfully harm him. Her passion for the count is rooted in “true love” and not in cruel jealousy and personal revenge. The first palpable magic occurs during Saintree’s visit in Melück’s house. In order to declaim the closing speech of Jean Racine’s (1639-1699) *Phèdre* (Phaedra, 1677) unhampered, the count, “leichtsinnig von Natur” (162) (somewhat frivolous by nature) (102), takes off his coat and wraps it jokingly around a mannequin.¹⁴ It is the same coat he wore at the farewell of his beloved Mathilde whose tears fell on the left side of Saintree’s chest. After his recitation, the dummy suddenly comes alive, claps its hands together, and crosses its arms across its chest. In the past, researchers have commonly interpreted this scene as follows: Melück uses her magical powers to create an opportunity to seduce Saintree. However, already Helene Kastinger Riley and Bernd Fischer pointed out that Melück explicitly warns Saintree beforehand “daß die Statue durch den geheimnisvollen Rock nur nicht belebt werde” (162) (that the statue did not come to life in the mysterious garment) (102), and that the magical event frightens the Oriental woman significantly: “Sie aber schien fast ohnmächtig von dem Schrecke dieses Ereignisses; sie versicherte, diese Einrichtung der Puppe nicht zu kennen” (163) (She, however, seemed almost to have fainted

¹⁴ “Phèdre” is a dramatic tragedy in five acts written in alexandrine verse. In the absence of her royal husband Thésée, Phèdre confesses her love for Hippolyte, Thésée’s son from a previous marriage, to her nurse Œnone. The nurse convinces Phèdre to confess her love to the stepson. Hippolyte, however, is in love with the Athenian princess Aricia and rejects Phèdre. When Thésée returns to the palace, Phèdre is afraid of what will happen if Hippolyte tells him of her unnatural advances. Œnone convinces Phèdre to tell her husband that Hippolyte attempted to rape her. Thésée, incensed by such disrespect, calls upon Neptune to destroy Hippolyte. After hearing of his death, Phèdre tells her husband the truth and then kills herself.

from horror at the occurrence. She swore that she knew of no such device in the dummy) (103).¹⁵ Since the enchantment takes place unintentionally, Melück is not an evil sorceress but rather embodies the unhappy lover who becomes a victim of rejection and ultimately sacrifices herself in the name of love.

Melück does not “rob” Saintree of his heart; the count gives it to her voluntarily and Melück “incorporates” it because she believes he truly loves her. Saintree cannot return home without his coat since he is afraid of becoming the subject of wild rumors. To save him from an embarrassing situation, Melück offers to hide the count in her study until nightfall. In return, Saintree “küsst seiner Beschützerin die Hand” (164) (kisses the hand of his protectress) (103) and agrees to be her “prisoner” for the day. Once again, Arnim assigns the Eastern woman a dominant role and depicts her as a superior figure that wields power over the Western man. Melück leads Saintree into “das herrlichste kleine Seitenzimmer” (164) (a splendid little adjoining room) (103) of the house, a place staged with an arsenal of Orientalist imagery that evokes an inverted harem motif – the room, a symbolic representation of the Orient, serves the Western man as “protective space.” At the same time, Saintree considers himself “völlig gefangen” (164) (completely trapped) in this Orientalist environment and feels “wunderbar” (164) (wonderful), which generates the fantasy of the Orientalist harem as “sexual prison” with slaves who are perfectly happy in their captivity:

Aber ein näherer Garten vor dem Fenster und in den Vertiefungen des Zimmers zauberte eine morgenländische Frühlingsluft vor alle Sinnen. Der ganze Grund des Zimmers bestand aus Rosen, die auf Gold gemalt waren; was am Boden nicht als Teppich glänzte war Ruhebette aus dem buntesten weichsten Wollenzeuge. Sanfte Glockenspiele wurden von den Vögeln in angenehmen Akkorden bewegt, wenn diese zu ihrem Futter, das dazwischen verborgen war, flogen. . . . Das Zimmer war so duftig, blumig, weichlich, in Melück’s Händen zerfloß sein sanftes Herz, wie ein köstlicher Balsam; alles drängte zum Genuß, und Melück versagte ihm nichts.

¹⁵ Compare Bernd Fischer (113) and Helene Kastinger Riley (105-07).

(164)

[But an even closer garden in front of the window and in the room's recesses conjured up an oriental breath of spring for all the senses. The whole room consisted of roses painted on gold. Bright carpets covered the floor everywhere, except where cushions of colorful, soft wool lay. Gentle chimes played lovely chords when set in motion by flying birds searching for hidden food among them. . . . The room was so fragrant, flowery, yielding. His heart dissolved in Melück's hands like a precious balm. His whole being strove toward pleasure, and Melück denied him nothing.] (104)

Melück indulges in sexual pleasures with Saintree because she is blinded by her love for him.

For one month, Saintree continuously enjoys this "süße[] Gefangenschaft" (164) (delightful imprisonment) before he returns to Mathilde and marries her.

Since Melück's love for Saintree is so much stronger than his feelings for the Arab woman, the count believes himself to be in a superior position but it is Saintree whose health and survival depend on the Oriental woman. When Saintree publicly humiliates Melück by booing her performance of Phaedra, she glares at him in a way "daß er für einige Augenblicke erblindete und in einem Krampfe niederstürzte" (169-70) (that he was momentarily blinded and sank to the floor in a convulsion) (107). Melück's gaze at Saintree, however, is not an evil magic spell intended to kill him. The Oriental woman rather looks deep into the conscience of Saintree, who boos his former beloved "mit innigster Verzweiflung" (169) (in complete despair) (107). Forced to face his guilt, Saintree's bad conscience suddenly unloads and causes him to have a seizure. Saintree's following illness, his fever, weight loss, and the "Schmerz am Herzen" (170) (pain in his heart) (108) are in fact symptoms of his "heartlessness." Frenel, an Orientalist and doctor friend of the count, suspects Melück to be a "herzfressende Zauberin" (171) (heart-devouring sorceress) (108) and sets out to retrieve his friend's heart from the "witch." It turns out though that Melück awaited death herself and did not imagine that the count "noch wünsche zu leben" (173) (still wishes to live). As soon as she hears about Saintree's suffering, the Easterner

immediately promises to help restore his health by returning Saintree's coat, the symbol of love between Mathilde and the count.

Arnim uses the motif of the doppelgänger, reminiscent of the *Automat* (automaton, robot) in E.T.A. Hoffmann's Night Piece *Der Sandmann* (The Sandman, 1816), to demonstrate that the Oriental woman not only holds power over the life and fate of the Western man but also shapes his identity. Frenel discovers with astonishment that Melück used her "Bildnertalent" (173) (craft) (110) to model the face of the mannequin into "ein getreues Abbild des Grafen, sowohl in Form, wie in Farbe" (173) (a perfect representation of the count, both in form and color) (110), just as he had appeared to Melück in happier times. This passage evokes Ovid's narrative of Pygmalion, a Cypriot sculptor who fell in love with a statue he had carved, with the difference that Melück's *Gliederpuppe* (jointed doll) remains a statue and does not transform into a human being.¹⁶ The dressing dummy represents the doppelgänger, a figure that has slowly assumed Saintree's looks and identity. Melück knows now how to command the statue and with a gentle pressure she unfolds the arms of the dummy and returns Saintree's cloak to Frenel. The knowledge of the Eastern woman on how to "operate" the *Automat* surpasses Frenel's knowledge, although he is a "Meister vieler Künste" (171) (master of many arts) (109). Since the foreigner Melück has "conquered" and incorporated the heart of the "native" Saintree, her ability to handle the *Automat* offers an analogy to colonialists' superior knowledge of machines.

In the final part of the fairy tale, Melück appears as self-sacrificing, altruistic, and mysterious "house prophet" whose self-destruction is prevented by the arrangement of a "household of three." The Arab woman cannot return Saintree's heart but, upon Mathilde's

¹⁶ The Roman poet Ovid narrates in his *Metamorphoses* (a Latin narrative poem in fifteen books) how the sculptor Pygmalion carved a woman out of ivory, creating a statue so fair and realistic that he fell in love with it. On Aphrodite's festival day, Pygmalion made offerings at the altar of the goddess of love and quietly wished that his ivory sculpture would be changed to a real woman. When he returned home, he kissed his ivory statue and found that Aphrodite had granted his wish and the statue had become alive.

request, is willing to move in with the count and his wife since only her continuous presence can fill Saintree's "gap" in his chest. While some scholars such as Axel Dunker refer in this context to a "ménage à trois," there is no textual evidence that suggests a sexual relationship between Melück and the married couple. Instead, Mathilde bids Melück to live forever as Saintree's "nächste Verwandte" (174) (nearest relative) (111) in their house. Furthermore, it is Mathilde and not Melück who gives birth to "beautiful oriental children" with "oriental eyes" and "delightful" long lashes (112). Arnim thus emphasizes that several physical features of the Easterner are asexually passed on to the European children.¹⁷ The children in turn represent cultural hybrids of Eastern and Western origin and epitomize the mysteries of the Orient. Melück is a "wahrhaft morgenländische Seele" (186) (tuly oriental soul) (119) who foresees the outcome of the French Revolution and predicts the annihilation of the aristocracy. In the end, she sacrifices her historical mission "Prophet einer ganzen abendländischen Welt für Jahrhunderte zu werden" (186) (to become the prophet of an entire occidental world for centuries) (119) and is satisfied to be a prophet in a house to which she had attached herself out of passion.

In Arnim's best-known novella collection of 1812 (commonly known as *Novellensammlung* 1812), strong and active women are always heroines and figures of salvation.¹⁸ In a poem that connects the tales *Isabella of Egypt* and *Melück Maria Blainville*, Arnim envisages the dissolution of the patriarchy and proclaims:

Wo große Zeichen hin zur Zukunft deuten,
 Da wollen wir nicht stets nach Männern schauen,
 Es ändern sich auch einmal wohl die Zeiten:
 Vielleicht beginnt nun bald die Zeit der Frauen!

¹⁷ This textual reference also alludes to Goethe's *Wahlverwandschaften* (Elective Affinities, 1809).

¹⁸ Achim von Arnim's *Novellensammlung* of 1812 comprises four novellas: *Isabella von Ägypten. Kaiser Karl des Fünften erste Jugendliebe* (Isabella of Egypt), *Melück Maria Blainville*, *Die drei liebeichen Schwestern und der glückliche Färber* (The Three Loving Sisters and the Lucky Dyer), and *Angelika, die Genueserin, und Cosmus, der Seilspringer* (Angelika the Genoese and Cosmus the Tightrope-Walker).

.....
Wenn Bella sich erhebt wie der Komete,
So sinket Melück's Stern als Hausprophete.
(*Sämmtliche Werke* 187-88)

[Where great signs signify the future,
We shall not always look toward men,
Times are changing:
Perhaps finally the time of women is about to commence!

.....
When Bella rises like the comet,
Melück's star as house prophet descends.]

The poem positions the heroines of both tales in a close oppositional parallelism. Both are foreigners, both are of royal parentage, both originated from the Orient and Eastern cultures, both possess magical abilities, and both have a mythical destiny. Furthermore, the fates of both women are tied to a historical time of change: the transition to the Modern era and the French Revolution. Arnim calls the “anecdote” *Melück Maria Blainville* the “Zwillingschwester” (twin sister) of *Isabella of Egypt*. The difference between the two protagonists and figures of “vergangener Größe” (past greatness) is that the paths of their lives takes them into polar directions: Isabella succeeds in her prophetic mission, while Melück is led astray and therefore does not follow her historical predestination (*Sämmtliche Werke* 188).

I propose that Arnim's literary fairy tale *Isabella of Egypt* apotheosizes the Oriental woman and represents her, in analogy to the Virgin Mary, as the embodiment of innocence, virtue, and purity. Set in the early sixteenth century, the narrative begins in *medias res* with the young and beautiful Isabella (Bella), who has learned about her father's death and is about to attend to his last rites. Her father, the Gypsy Duke Michael, was wrongly accused and hanged, a casualty of the persecution of gypsies in Europe. Now, all hopes of her people lie on “the Gypsy princess” and the prophecy of her son, born from Bella's union with a Western emperor, who should unite the Gypsies and lead them back to Egypt, the legendary land of their origin. Bella

lives with her old guardian, Braka, in an abandoned, supposedly haunted house on the river at the outskirts of town. Following Braka's advice, Bella seeks the magical root that sprouted from the tears of her hanged father and grows it into an *Alraun* (mandrake), a miniature man and ugly creature who calls himself Cornelius Nepos. In their efforts to unearth hidden treasures, Cornelius, Bella, and Braka are helped by the *Bärenhäuter* (Bearskinner), the ghost of a slave who has sold his soul to the devil.

The small group travels to Ghent, where Bella hopes to win the heart of the young prince Charles V with whom she has fallen in love. In Ghent, Charles meets with Bella, returns her affection, and arranges for a nocturnal encounter. To distract the jealous mandrake, Charles enlists the help of an old Jewish magician who creates a golem,¹⁹ a copy of Bella, identical in appearance with the real woman but in fact, a soulless and shallow apparition. Cornelius falls in love with the Golem Bella, but so does Charles. Since he cannot tell the two Bellas apart, the young prince sleeps with the clone. Eventually, Charles realizes the truth and destroys the golem. After a maze of intrigue and misunderstanding, Charles and Bella become estranged from one another. Although pregnant, Bella abandons Charles one night and returns to her people. In the end it is Bella, not her son, who leads the Gypsies back to Egypt. During the journey, she gives birth to her son Lrak. After Bella's departure, Charles becomes emperor but ultimately retires to a monastery. Charles and Bella both die on the same day and by their own will. Bella dies in her homeland after a long and successful reign, surrounded with the praise and love of her people. Charles deceases after a vision of his beloved Isabella.

¹⁹ "In Jewish folklore, [the golem is] an image endowed with life. The term is used in the Bible (Psalms 139:16) and in Talmudic literature to refer to an embryonic or incomplete substance. It assumed its present connotation in the Middle Ages, when many legends arose of wise men who could bring effigies to life by means of a charm or of a combination of letters forming a sacred word or one of the names of God. The letters, written on paper, were placed in the golem's mouth or affixed to its head. The letters' removal deanimated the golem. In early golem tales the golem was usually a perfect servant, his only fault being a too literal or mechanical fulfillment of his master's orders" ("Golem").

Due to the mysterious origin and peripatetic life of the *Zigeuner* (Gypsies), the Romantics generally perceived the nomadic people as a symbol of a “poetic” lifestyle that is more “free” than that of the philistines. In European Romanticism of the early-nineteenth century, the popularity of the Gypsy motif became a fashion that also manifested itself in the expression *Zigeunerromantik* (Gypsy romanticism). As idealized *Naturvölker* (nature people), free-spirited wanderers and outcasts who prefer the freedom of nature to the confines of civilization, Gypsies took center stage in a multitude of literary texts: Bonaventura’s *Nachtwachen* (Nightwatches, 1804), Heinrich von Kleist’s *Michael Kohlhaas* (1810), Ludwig Tieck’s *Die Elfen* (The Elves, 1812), Clemens Brentano’s *Aloys und Imelde* (1811/12, first published in 1912) and *Die mehreren Wehmüller und ungarischen Nationalgesichter* (The Various Wehmüller and Hungarian National Faces, 1817), Joseph von Eichendorff’s *Ahnung und Gegenwart* (Premonition and Present, 1815), and E.T.A Hoffmann’s *Das öde Haus* (The Deserted House, 1817). The concept of the Romantic, which emblemizes amongst other things the strange, the foreign, the distant, the anti-bourgeois, the unconstrained, freedom of fantasy, the wonderful, the incomprehensible, and the unusual in opposition to the “normal,” is linked to the central stereotypes about the Gypsies and their “social construction” as ethnic and societal outsiders, perpetual aliens, symbol of the “unintegratable wild,” and representatives of nature (Kugler 113-14). In Arnim’s poetic-historical novella *Isabella of Egypt*, the author aestheticizes the Gypsies, which in turn become crystallized and transfigured in the person of Isabella, an Oriental woman of Christian faith who serves as a positively coded model of popular sovereignty.

While Bella’s physical appearance evokes the image of the marble-skinned odalisque depicted in French neoclassical paintings - she is young and beautiful, her skin is “bleich” (38) (pale), she has “schimmernde[] Füße[]” (45) (shimmering feet), and a “holdes Angesicht” (95)

(graceful face) with “lovely dark curls and shining black eyes” (5) – her character traits are diametrically opposed to the erotic cliché of the Eastern woman and the sexualized harem slave.²⁰ On the one hand, Bella epitomizes a madonna-like figure that is chaste, saintly, and pious yet with a childish naïveté. On the other hand, the Gypsy girl develops throughout the tale into a strong leader, independent woman, and ideal sovereign, who possesses the inner strength to fulfill her prophetic mission. Adored by her people, Bella is a charismatic Gypsy princess whose nature is also “liebenswert wie eine Prinzessin” (42) (as loveable as a princess) (11). As the daughter of the Dutch noble House of Hogstraaten and the Gypsy Duke Michael, Bella is born into a superior position but lives in poverty and isolated from the rest of society. In contrast of the stereotypical opulence and wealth associated with the Orient and the image of the harem odalisque, Isabella inhabits a deserted, rundown garden house with Braka, her old Gypsy duenna, and lives off stolen food. Even after her father’s death, Bella finds herself without any financial means and is thoroughly disappointed that instead of “exotic clothes and jewels,” her father has left her nothing but bundles of herbs, bags full of roots, and a few rocks (9).

Similarly to Melück, Arnim ties his protagonist early on to the mystical and the realm of the fantastic. Isabella’s *Lebensraum* (living space) is the night, a sign of her societal degradation but also of her sublimity: the Gypsy girl is without legal rights and has to live in secrecy but at the same time, she experiences visions and dreams that forebode her destiny as the chosen one. Not unlike Saint Mary, Isabella redeems her people and releases them from their sin by giving birth to a son.²¹ Furthermore, the astrological sign, the “wunderbarste[] Sohn der Venus und des Mars” (106) (most miraculous son of Mars and Venus) (58), which appears in the night when

²⁰ The name “Bella” is related to the Italian, Latin, and French words for “beautiful.” In Hebrew, “Isabella” means “God’s promise.”

²¹ According to Arnim, the Gypsies had sinned by failing to shelter the Holy Family on their Flight to Egypt. When they later recognized in death the Savior they had rejected in life, half the people chose to do penance for their hard-heartedness with a pilgrimage extending as far Christians could be found (7).

Bella conceives her child, evokes the biblical Star of Bethlehem.²² Her close relationship with the stars as well as her religiousness put the Eastern woman in touch with the divine and the role of a high priestess:

Es lag ihr die Hoheit ihres ägyptischen Stammes im Blute und sie sah zu den Sternen zutraulich, als zu ihren Ahnen, . . . aber sie wußte auch das alte Verbrechen ihres Volks, daß sie der heiligen Mutter Maria auf ihrer Flucht nach Ägypten kein Obdach geben wollten, als sie mit ihrem seligmachenden Kinde im starken Regen einritt; da erhob aber dieses seine Hand im Kreise und über ihnen stand ein Regenbogen, der keinen tropfen auf sie niederfallen ließ. “Ist unsere Schuld noch nicht gebüßt!” seufzte Bella, und rings um den Mond erblickte sie einen wunderbar farbigen Kreis, daß ihr Herz aufjauchzte und ohne Worte betete. (71)

[The grandeur of her Egyptian tribe was in her blood, and she looked at the stars as if to her ancestors . . . but she was also aware of her people’s ancient transgression, that they had not wanted to give the Holy Mother Mary shelter on her flight to Egypt, when she rode there with her blessed child in the pouring rain; He, however, had raised His hand and described a circle with it, and above them there stood a rainbow, which did not allow a single drop to fall upon them. “Is our sin still unatoned!” sighed Bella, and around the moon she spied a marvelous colored ring, so that her heart rejoiced and prayed without words.] (32)

Isabella sees a rainbow reflected in the spectrum colors of a halo, which is the biblical emblem of mercy, peace, and reconciliation in God to man, after he had destroyed the world by a flood. The Gypsy girl, who is “zu vertraulich bekannt . . . mit dem Laufe des Mondes [und] mit den Sternen” (49) (too familiar with the courses of the moon and the stars) (16), also evokes Astræa, the goddess of justice in Greek mythology. Known as “Star Maiden,” the celestial virgin was associated with innocence, purity, and the return of the utopian Golden Age (“Astræa” 79). Already at the beginning of the tale, Bella gazes out of a window and sees “einen Engel” (34) (an angel) (5) smiling at her. When Braka shudders at the thought of the apparition and gasps, “Kind, was siehst du?” (Child, what do you see?), Bella replies matter-of-factly “den Mond” (34) (the

²² Arnim was presumably inspired by the Great Comet of 1811, a comet that was visible to the naked eye for around 260 days.

moon) (5). Due to her transcendental awareness, the Oriental girl moves between the natural and the supernatural spheres without any effort. For her, neither reality excludes the other.

As a royal and mysterious Gypsy woman with “the sight,” Isabella is the ultimate representation of the exotic Other. Her Otherness takes on many faces: she is an Oriental princess and later on Egyptian queen, a saintly figure and redeemer, an enchantress and creator of the *Alraun*, a doppelgänger, and she appears to Charles in a variety of misleading roles, such as a ghost, a golem, a dream, a parvenue, and a servant boy. Since her mother’s death, Bella had led a “verstecktes, nächtliches Leben” (48-49) (secret, nocturnal life) (16) and now lives hidden in an allegedly haunted house otherwise shunned by the local populace. Throughout the novella, Arnim ties his protagonist to the metaphysical realm and the marvelous. The Eastern maiden consults dreams, visions, cryptic writings, and signs from nature to chart the course of her destiny. Not only does Bella appear “wie ein Gespenst” (38) (like a ghost) (8) when she first steps out the door in the middle of the night to hold a funeral feast for her father, she also wants to “become a ghost” after studying her father’s books of strange stories of magic, and ultimately plays the role of a ghost when she first encounters Charles in the abandoned house.²³

Bella’s access to the occult through reading wonderful “Zauberhistorien” (40) (magic tales) and deciphering ancient texts invests her with the power of invention, creation, and prophecy, all of which are domains of the poetic in the Romantic view (Seyhan, *Representation* 130). Braka tells the enamored girl that she will need money in order to wander safely about the city and rejoin her beloved prince. Seeking advice, Bella turns to her father’s old manuscripts and grimoires but is deeply disappointed about the intricacy of the enchantments the books hold for her:

²³ The prince felt challenged by the rumors that the abandoned house is haunted and wanted to debunk the commonly held superstition by spending the night there. To scare him off the premises, Bella appears to him as he sleeps, disguised as a ghost.

Viele geheime Regeln, Zeichnungen, von denen sie nichts verstand, den Stein der Weisen zu finden, Geister zu zitieren, Krankheiten zu beschwören, das Vieh zu verzaubern, endlich auch ein Mittel Gold zu machen, aber dies Mittel so weitläufig, als müßte man zwei Monden anspannen, um zur Sonne zu fahren. (47)

[Many secret rules, drawings of which she understood nothing, telling one how to find the Philosopher's Stone, to channel spirits, to conjure up illnesses, to cast spells on animals, finally even a way to manufacture gold, but the means were so elaborate, it was like hitching up two moons to travel to the sun.] (15)

Freely subscribing to the esoteric and steeping herself in the magic spells of her father's bequest, the Oriental girl chooses "die leichteste von allen Zaubereien" (47) (the easiest of all forms of witchcraft) (15) and produces an *Alraun*. Bella represents a sorceress who loves with her soul and, in contrast to the passionate and ardent Melück, is a woman "ohne Begierde zur Lust ihres Geschlechtes" (48) (without the carnal desires of her sex) (15). Since the Gypsies had always treated their princess like a "higher being," Bella can recognize herself as such and is susceptible to the art of sorcery, which requires "the strictest discipline of all" (15). Without the knowledge Bella gleans from the grimoires, her powerful imagination, and "übermännliche[n] Mut" (48) (more-than-manly courage) (15), the Easterner could not have conjured up the homunculus from a mandrake root, nor carried out her mission to lead her people to freedom. Melück Maria Blainville and Isabella of Egypt are prefigured as personifications of the Orient in the character of Zulima in Novalis's *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* (Henry of Ofterdingen, 1802).

Novalis portrays Zulima as epitome of knowledge, music, poetry, religious tolerance, and as a positive figure that represents a feminized but not eroticized East. While Arnim's Oriental protagonists are superior, of noble birth, and equipped with magical abilities, Zulima appears in a dramatically different role: imprisoned by the Western man, she is a sad victim of the last Crusade and therefore desperate and heartbroken. The Eastern woman, whose family had been slaughtered, was torn from her homeland to live with her child in German exile. As a captive and "war trophy," Zulima's body is the property of the knights, evoking the idea of the Oriental sex

slave. Instead of erotic fantasies and feelings, however, the Arabian girl elicits deep sympathy from Henry of Ofterdingen as well as from the reader. Novalis describes the young mother as “bleiches, abgehärmtes Mädchen” (57) (pale, languishing girl) (78), emphasizing that the trauma of slavery and presumably sexual abuse have taken their toll on her body. Although Zulima does not possess any supernatural powers and appears inferior to the crusaders, her child gives her enough strength and will to survive: “Wäre nicht dies Kind vorhanden, längst hätt ich des Lebens Banden aufgelöst mit kühner Hand” (56) (Thou, O child, alone dost save me from the thought that anguish gave me, life to quench with hardy hand) (78).

Despite the fact that Zulima’s portrayal as Oriental woman differs significantly from the depictions of Melück and Isabella, all three Easterners share striking commonalities: they are young, beautiful, honest, virtuous, modest, honorable, sincere, cordial, impecunious and, as far as the tales reveal, monogamous.²⁴ In his book *German Orientalisms* (2004), Todd Kontje argues that the encounter between Henry and Zulima reflects “the Oriental woman as a helpless victim who needs to be rescued and protected by the Western man” (94-95), referring to Henry of Ofterdingen. The key aspects of this scene, I propose however, are different ones: Novalis uses this brief episode firstly, to stress the renunciation of imperialism and colonial conquest, and secondly, to shed a positive light on the Oriental woman or rather the “poetic” East and a negative light on the “unimaginative” West. Based on Novalis’s description of Zulima’s desperate situation and her victimhood, the reader is inclined to condemn the military actions of the crusaders. At the same time, Novalis highlights the positive influence of the Eastern woman on the protagonist since Zulima’s elaborate and colorful depictions of the Orient further Henry’s development from an innocent adolescent to a profound poet.

²⁴ Solely Melück’s poverty is by choice (she donates her money to the nunnery and moves in with her friend Banal). Later, the successful actress can afford to live in her own house.

Henry does not personify a strong, masculine, and dominant West but rather represents a romanticized Germany, which distances itself from the Western imperial powers, allegorized by the crusaders. Zulima's fate moves Henry emotionally (he even cries when he bids Zulima farewell) and the stories of her homeland inspire his poetic nature. Henry cannot "rescue" nor "protect" the young woman but only ease her pain through comforting words: "Eine besondere Kraft schien in seinen einfachen Worten zu liegen, denn Zulima empfand eine ungewohnte Beruhigung und dankte ihm für seine Zusprache auf die rührendste Weise" (59) (A strange power seemed to lie in his simple words, for Zulima felt an unwonted tranquility, and thanked him in the most touching manner for his consolation) (82). While Henry is at first thrilled to be amongst the crusaders and feels imbued with warlike ardor, he avoids returning to the knights after his conversation with the Arabian maiden. Hence Henry disassociates himself from the crusaders who personate the Western man, portrayed by Novalis as the embodiment of aggressive masculinity and military conquest.

Although the Middle Eastern woman in *Henry of Ofterdingen* feminizes the Orient, only the crusaders view her as an erotic object. From Henry's perspective, which implies the reader's point of view as well, Zulima remains a "Morgenländerin" (99) (Oriental woman) with a pitiful fate who is still a "Mädchen" (57) (girl), a term used by the narrator to emphasize her innocence and purity. Furthermore, Zulima is the epitome of *Poesie* (poetry), knowledge, and music, which she is generously willing to share with Henry. The protagonist is drawn to Zulima by her "tender and impressive song" and "wonderful" lute playing (77). At their farewell, Zulima wants to give Henry her lute, the only property she had saved when the crusaders captivated her. Instead, however, Henry takes a golden band from her hair ornamented with strange characters, which Zulima reveals to be her name in the letters of her mother tongue. This special gift, I propose, is

a symbolic gesture that hints at the transmission of “knowledge” of an Eastern language (presumably either Arabic or Hebrew) to the German Romantics. The gesture alludes to the quest of the German Romantics to recover and reconnect with the poetry of the ancient Orient, and their desire to create a new mythology by immersing themselves in the study and translation of Arabic, Hebrew, and Sanskrit texts. In return, Henry gives the young woman his mother’s veil. This token of friendship eminently evokes the metaphorical dimension of the “veiled woman.” In the following section, I examine more closely the polysemous character of the veil in Orientalist discourse and investigate how the dichotomies of uncovering versus covering, revealing versus concealing, unveiling versus veiling, disclosing versus deceiving, and truth versus untruth relate to the presentation of the Oriental woman in the three literary fairy tales *Melüick*, *Isabella*, and *Henry*.

The signifier “veil” is used in the Orientalist context as a multilayered symbol, which refers at once to the attire that covers the face of the pious Muslim woman and conceals her features, and to that which hides and conceals the Orient from apprehension. The veil encapsulates its own power toward the Western voyeur, since it denies the spectator access to real women and keeps the truth from Western knowledge. In her book *Colonial Fantasies* (1998), Meyda Yeğenoğlu examines the veil as a site both of fantasy and of nationalist ideologies and discourses of gender identity. According to Yeğenoğlu, the veil is also “a metaphor of membrane, serving as a screen around which Western fantasies of penetration revolve” (47). She demonstrates that the very desire to penetrate the veiled surface of Otherness is constitutive of hegemonic, colonial identity. Since the veil plays such a crucial role in the depiction of the Oriental woman and, through her, the very being of the Orient, I begin my analysis with Arnim’s literary fairy tale *Melüick Maria Blainville*.

It is striking that Melück remains hidden from the Western gaze even without a veil and its power of concealing from the outset of the tale. Arnim does not describe her garment or mention a veil when she arrives on the Turkish ship. Nevertheless, the Eastern woman is still able to conceal herself from Western eyes and thus perpetuates the notion of the “mysterious Orient.” Her first stop is in a quarantine house, while rumors and curiosity about her arrival spread through the city. Then, Melück “täuscht” (156) (deceives) the public by keeping her departure date and her travel route a secret. Finally, she disappoints the people by leaving in a “zugemachten Wagen” (156) (covered carriage). Her next destination is a convent, which evokes the institution of the harem as a safe feminine space: “Die Männer verzweifelten, dass sie durch den Klosterzwang verhindert wurden, sie zu sprechen” (157) (The men became desperate because the conventions of the monastery prevented them from talking to her).²⁵ For almost a year only the women of the town can see and talk to Melück. After her time in the nunnery, Melück decides to become an actress, which implies another kind of masquerade, deception, and disguise of the “true self.” As a result of this continuous concealment and reservation, more and more Western men try to win Melück’s affection.

At the end of the tale, the Oriental woman in fact resorts to the veil and its power of disguise to save Mathilde’s life from the enraged mob of revolutionists: “Ihr Haupt verdeckt mit dem Schal der Gräfin, trat sie unter die Menge, die in den Gängen die Gräfin aufsuchten, wo sie von der Magd für die Gräfin angesehen und auf den Richtplatz geschleppt wurde” (182) (Her head covered with Mathilde’s scarf, she stepped into the crowd that was searching for the countess. There the maid mistook her for the woman she sought, and she was dragged off to the place of judgement) (117). Shortly before her own death, Melück’s scarf is removed by force –

²⁵ Despite their different connotations - harems are defined by sensuality and convents by asceticism – the connection lies in the fact that in both spaces women devote themselves to a higher being.

an action that refers to the unveiling of the Oriental woman – and Saint Luc, the leader of the Maltesian knights, recognizes her. Now that the veil is lifted and Melück's true identity revealed, the Western subject, personified by Saint Luc, can conquer her body and, metaphorically speaking, the Orient. Instead of rape, however, Saint Luc penetrates the body of the Eastern woman with a knife and murders her insidiously from behind.

Masquerade and various forms of disguise, veiling, and deception, also mark the encounters between the Gypsy princess Isabella and the Western emperor Charles, in Arnim's tale *Isabella of Egypt*. Similarly to the actress Melück, Bella frequently plays a role that conceals the truth about herself. Covered in darkness and mystery, the Oriental woman appears as a ghost when she meets Charles for the first time. Scared to death by this uncanny apparition, Charles cries out in breathless terror and hurles himself into the next room. The scene evokes the horror and threat of the unknown, of the obscure, and that, which is masked, or rather, of what is assumed to be hidden behind the Orientalist veil of exotic Otherness. In another guise, Bella deceives Charles by pretending to be a nouveau riche. During their second face-to-face encounter, the Gypsy girl hides her face behind a veil while Charles impersonates a Spanish doctor only to gain access to Bella's room and to satisfy his desire of gazing at Bella's beauty. However, as soon as Bella discloses that she put on an act and confesses her feint, Charles, feeling angry and betrayed, leaves her. As Yeğenoğlu stated in *Colonial Fantasies*, "the truth of the Orient is thus an effect of the veil; it emerges in the traumatic encounter with its untruth, i.e. veil" (48). The unexpected confrontation with the truth, Bella's sudden unveiling has rendered the Western man disillusioned.

Even though the veil is emblematic of seclusion and confinement, it is also permeable since it signifies a means to simultaneously enter and exit the possibilities of another sphere,

another self, and another sexuality (Smalls 103). Before Bella meets Charles for the third time, she masquerades as a serving boy, hiding not only her true identity but also her gender. Charles does not recognize Bella who has darkened her skin with plant juices, shortened her hair, and wears pieced trousers, a jerkin, and a beret. His attention is solely focused on Golem Bella, the artificial dummy, who wears a black cloak wrapped around her instead of a veil. Bella's unveiling, the moment when Charles uncovers her disguise, leads up to the "death" or rather collapse of the doppelgänger. Driven by her jealousy of Bella's living body and soul, the undead Golem Bella attacks Bella with a golden, arrow-shaped hairpin in the attempt to stab her. Charles, however, holds Golem Bella back and erases the first syllable of the word *Aemaeth*, the writing on her forehead, to undo the magic that created her.²⁶ If Bella is defined by her ability to love, her innocence, and her frugality, Golem Bella presents a debased caricature of Bella's virtues. The golem is an artificially created simulacrum of Bella, Arnim's idealized portrayal of the Oriental woman, and a creature of pride, greed, and sexual lust that knows merely materialist wants and demands. In *The Seduction of the Occult and the Rise of the Fantastic Tale* (2003), Dorothea von Mücke describes Golem Bella fittingly: "She is mere surface, mere looks, mere appearance, made of clay and of borrowed thoughts; she has no flesh, no blood, nor a desire and will of her own" (209). As a shallow, over-sexualized, dependent, supine, and passive construction, Golem Bella evokes Gustave Flaubert's descriptions of Kuchuk Hanem and Said's claims regarding the stereotypical image of the Oriental woman in Western thought and discourse.

²⁶ *Aemaeth* is the Hebrew word for "truth." Kabbalist Jews believe that God is the truth and all life comes from that single source. Just one letter apart is *maeth*, which means "death." By removing the Latin letter *Ae*, "truth" becomes "death" and the golem falls back onto the ground as lifeless clay once again. They believe that since God created all life, life can be just as easily returned to God.

In Western eyes, the veiled Oriental woman, that is to say the Orient, is always *more* than what it appears to be while the Western man attempts to uncover and unmask its hidden essence, in order to grasp, know, and apprehend the Eastern world. Even after the destruction of the golem, the truth about Golem Bella's essence remains cloaked: "Der Mantel lag über der formlosen Masse, als ob eine Magd, die in der Stadtsandgrube sich Sand ausgegraben hat weggerufen wird und ihren Mantel darüber legt, damit kein anderer ihr den Haufen wegnimmt" (130-31) (The coat lay over the formless heap, as if a servant-girl had been called away from digging in the town quarry and laid her coat over her sand-pile, so that no one would take it) (76). According to Yeğenoğlu, the veil makes it impossible to apprehend the true character and nature of the Orient:

But precisely because this essence is grasped 'in' and 'as' concealment, the essence *as essence* is never grasped. One always misses it – the veil is that curtain which simultaneously conceals and reveals; it conceals the Orient's truth and at the same time reveals its mode of existence, its very being – a being which always exists in a disguised and deceptive manner, a being which exists only behind its veil. (48)

Hence, when Charles sees through Bella's disguise and recognizes her for who she really is, the Eastern woman immediately receives Charles's own cloak, which functions as a new veil to cover her.

The veil offers protection from unwanted attention, creates distance, and plays on the dynamics of voyeurism in that it both discourages and entices voyeuristic desire. In Novalis's literary fairy tale *Henry of Ofterdingen*, the protagonist finds in Zulima a girl from the holy land who has already been unveiled by Western men in the form of crusaders. Since Zulima is the victim and war slave of the crusaders, I propose that the knights unveiled the Eastern woman by force, in this connection an allusion to sexual abuse and rape, when they took her from her homeland. Metaphorically speaking, the Western man committed the colonial act of penetrating and conquering the East. In contrast to Melüch and Isabella, the young Easterner has no means

left to shield herself from the gazes of the Western voyeur. When Zulima receives a veil from Henry's mother as a token of friendship, the Oriental woman regains some of her dignity, identity, and power to conceal and thus protect herself from voyeurism and unwanted sexual attention. As personification of a romanticized, poeticized Germany, it is in Henry's interest to maintain the mystery of the Orient and even though the veil gives birth to an irresistible urge for knowledge and control, to assure that the essence of the Eastern world remains a secret. For only if the Orient preserves its enigmatic character of Otherness, the Romantics can turn to the *Morgenland* (morning-land) as a realm of fantasy and poetic inspiration.

All three fairy tale novellas (*Melück, Isabella, Henry*), in one way or another, deal with what German scholar Susanne Zantop coined as "colonial urfantasy," the encounter between Westerners and "natives," here European men (Saintree/Saint Luc, Charles, Henry) and Oriental women (Melück, Isabella, Zulima). In her book *Colonial Fantasies* (1997) Zantop argues that "colonial fantasies" - "stories of sexual conquest and surrender, love and blissful domestic relations between colonizer and colonized, set in colonial territory" - took any generic form in Germany as stories of sexual or familial encounters (2). Even though she does not specifically mention the fairy tale genre, Zantop states that colonial fantasies were cast as children's books or entertainment for adults, as narratives, poetry, or drama. While the analyzed *Kunstmärchen* are tied to colonialist imagination and romantic desire, if only to a limited degree, none of them corresponds to Zantop's prerequisite of a seductive master fantasy set in colonial territory. On closer examination, the encounters between the figures of the Western man and the Oriental woman in all three fairy tale novellas occur either on French or German soil rather than on exotic terrain or distant locations set in the Eastern world. Furthermore, the roles of colonizer and colonized are virtually reversed in the relationship between Melück and Saintree in the tale

Melück Maria Blainville. Throughout the development of this cross-racial, cross-cultural romance, it becomes manifest that Melück takes on the role of conquistador in France, whereas Saintree represents the inferior native who is more or less powerless against the knowledge and mastery of the Middle Eastern woman. Melück uses magic, albeit without malicious intent, and makes Count Saintree's survival, and thus symbolically the life of the Western man, dependent on her.

Arnim portrays the Oriental woman in *Melück* as "colonial mistress," who, for the first half of the tale, dominates the French salon society, wins over both genders, and captivates everyone around her. Apart from this inverted relationship between Western conqueror and Eastern native, the tale emphasizes blissful domestic relations between colonizer and colonized. Even though the plot of *Melück* is an elaborate variation of the German legend "Der Graf von Gleichen" (The Count von Gleichen), the tale does not allude to the traditional story to advocate bigamy.²⁷ As far as the text reveals, Melück lives together with Saintree and Mathilde, not in a bigamous marriage, but rather in a community of friendship. Arnim uses the legend as a vehicle to promote universal tolerance, respect for unusual personal circumstances, acceptance of Otherness, as well as domestic and social harmony.²⁸ Similarly, Novalis employs Zulima's figure and tragic fate to stress religious tolerance between Easterners and Westerners for it is she who advocates cultural synthesis, respect, and cooperation amongst Muslims and Christians. Zulima has been enslaved, humiliated, and overpowered by Western men. The desperate situation of the Oriental woman

²⁷ According to a Thuringian legend, the Graf von Gleichen (Count von Gleichen) is captured on crusade and enslaved for several years. The sultan's daughter, a beautiful Muslim woman, feels attracted to him and releases him from his imprisonment. After receiving a papal dispensation, which allows him to live with two wives at the same time, the Count returns home to Erfurt, Germany. His first wife receives the second and both women get along very well with each other. Both share the Count's bed and after their deaths, they share a grave.

²⁸ Compare Goethe's drama *Stella* (1776); Johann August Musäus's fifth volume of German fairy tales: "Melechsala oder die Sage vom Grafen Ernst zu Gleichen und seinen zwei Frauen" (Melechsala or the Legend of Count Ernst zu Gleichen and his Two Wives, 1786); Grimms' collection of *Deutsche Sagen* (German Sagas, 1816-1818), nr. 581: "Der Graf von Gleichen" (The Count von Gleichen); Arnim's play *Die Gleichen* (1819).

shows the reader quite plainly the *other* side of the European colonial project and the horrific consequences of imperial expansion suffered by the subdued peoples. Within the context of imperialism, Novalis thus criticises the colonizer's mission and his justification, which was based on a distinction between the "native" and the "civilized" mind, that is between the "savage" and "enlightened" individual.

Dehumanizing stereotypes and colonial prejudice toward Easterners in Western art and literature are central to Said's interrogation of the Orientalist discourse in his book *Orientalism* (1978). While Said claims that Orientalism was an "exclusively male province," it is the scholar himself who appears blind to gender issues by turning his discussion of Orientalism into a "male-dominated" domain (207). Several feminist critics of Said's oeuvre have argued that his theories construct the position of enunciation in colonialist or Orientalist discourse as essentially male. Orientalism, writes Reina Lewis in *Gendering Orientalism* (1996), is for Said "a homogeneous discourse enunciated by a colonial subject that is unified, intentional and irredeemably male" (17). Valerie Kennedy suggests in *Edward Said: A Critical Introduction* (2000): "Western women have no place in his analysis of the 'white middle-class Westerner.' As a representative of imperial and post-colonial political and economic power, the latter is identified unambiguously as 'he'" (43). Although it is true that European women, in comparison to their male counterparts, were not as predominant in the canon of Orientalist works and had less expressed agency in the Romantic period, they nevertheless wrote about their travels in the East, portrayed "Orientals" in their writings, and imagined an Orient in their paintings. Daniel Martin Varisco points out in *Reading Orientalism, Said and the Unsaid* (2006) that women were not only among the producers but also among the consumers in this broad discourse of Orientalism (156). In the final section of this chapter, I examine nineteenth-century female travel and

missionary narratives to demonstrate how German and Austrian women of the Romantic period revised as well as reinforced clichés of the Oriental woman and thus contributed to the dominant discourse of Orientalism at the time.

European women travelers in the nineteenth century participated in perpetuating stereotypes about the Other in non-European countries, especially about the *Exotin*. Unlike the uniform and authoritative discourse on the Eastern woman in Said's discussion of male Orientalism, Billie Melman asserts in *Women's Orients* (1995) that the representation of the Muslim woman was not unified in female Orientalism (3). Most women shared the prevalent colonialist discourse about the inferiority of the "native." However, some women confirmed the myth of the "beautiful, sensitive, graceful Oriental woman," while others deliberately refuted the topos and portrayed "the other woman" as epitome of ugliness, laziness, and raggedness. Indeed, women not only contributed a female perspective to the discourse of Orientalism, they were also able to "penetrate" spaces forbidden to the male gaze, such as the harem (Eigler 134). When Prussian writer and Egyptologist Wolfradine (Wolfradine) A. von Minutoli²⁹ (1794-1868), for instance, inspected the women in the harem of the "Aga," the governor of the province, in Damietta in Northern Egypt, she noted in her travelogue of 1826:

Doch wir kehren zu unsern schönen Odalisken zurück. Fast alle waren aus Syrien, Circassien und Georgien gebürtig, und so konnte ich also nach Gefallen diese Schönheiten untersuchen, die eine so große Berühmtheit genießen. Sie verdienen ihren Ruf; aber dennoch kann ich, um meine liebenswürdige [sic] Landsmänninnen zu trösten, der Wahrheit gemäß sagen, daß Europa gewiß Schönheiten enthält, welche denen des Orients gleich sind. (*Reise der Frau Generalin von Minutoli* 164)

[But to return to my fair odaliskes. They were nearly all natives of Syria, Circassia, and Georgia, and I had thus leisure to survey these beauties who enjoy so much celebrity. They undoubtedly merit their reputation; I can, however, tell my fair countrywomen, to comfort them, and to do justice to truth, that Europe

²⁹ Wolfradine Minutoli, born as Countess von Schulenburg, married the Prussian Generalmajor, explorer and archeologist, Heinrich Menu *Freiherr* (Baron) von Minutoli in 1820. She accompanied her husband during a two-year expedition to Egypt.

certainly can boast of beauties equal to those of the East.] (*Recollections of Egypt* 189)

Minutoli perpetuates the image of the “beautiful odalisque,” but, in the same breath, is careful not to elevate the looks of the *Exotin* above the European woman and thus takes a rather diplomatic stance in her travelogue.

Aristocratic women generally present the harem and its inhabitants in a less negative tone than bourgeois women: the noble female visitors from Europe neither deplore the luxurious lifestyle nor the idleness of the secluded harem women. Ulrike Stamm sees the reason for this predominantly positive portrayal in firstly, the social affiliation to aristocracy, which functions as connecting element between the European woman and the Oriental woman, and secondly, in the absence of a bourgeois “work ethic” and values (*Der weibliche Blick* 63). Furthermore, aristocratic women either do not touch on the topic of polygamy in their travel notes or relate the subject matter to masculine misconduct. Contrary to the myth of the silenced and voiceless odalisque in the Orientalist discourse, several noble female authors foreground the conversations with the harem women in their travel reports. In the case of Wolfhardine Minutoli, the author relishes the “first-contact-scenes” and, due to some initial communication issues, converses with the Easterners in Italian, Turkish, and Arabian. The linguistic misunderstandings and confusions, however, foster a closer human relationship and establish an emotional rapport that bridges the cultural gap between the two groups of women: “Auch waren die aus unsern Fragen und Antworten entstehenden *quid pro quo*’s sehr komisch und gewährten eine solche Lust, daß sehr bald of schallendes Gelächter unser Einverständniß bekräftigte” (162) (In fact, the *quid pro quo* resulting from the bad translations of our questions and answers were truly comic, and excited so much gaiety that loud and repeated bursts of laughter soon established a good understanding between us) (187). It is especially the language difference and the “speechlessness” among the

women, between the European traveler and the inhabitants of the harem, which serve as starting point for a basic bond.

The travel diary of Therese von Bacheracht (Lützow)³⁰ (1804-1852) contains a rare scene of an erotically charged encounter between a European woman and an Armenian woman. In her *Briefe aus dem Süden* (Letters from the South, 1841), the female author confesses about her attraction to female beauty and sensuality. Bacheracht describes her hostess with the following words:

Unsere Hausfrau ist eine der schönsten Frauen, die ich je sah, sie hat schwarze italienische Augen, deren Feuer durch Zärtlichkeit gedämpft ist, die grade edle Nase erinnert an die griechischen Meisterwerke, ihr Körper ist voll Rundung. Wenn sie mit der Grazie ihrer Bewegungen vor mir kniet . . . wie gerne kniete ich dann neben ihr und liebkos't das holde Antlitz. . . . (243-44)

[Our hostess is one of the most beautiful women I ever saw. She has black, Italian eyes, whose fire is damped by tenderness; the straight noble nose is reminiscent of Greek masterpieces, her body is fully curved. When she kneels before me with the gracefulness of her movements . . . how much I would like to kneel next to her and caress her lovely face.]

Bacheracht does not look at the Armenian woman from a masculine, objectifying perspective but rather sees her as an idealized image of the European woman, a positively coded “hybrid” figure that fuses Italian and Greek characteristics with specific Orientalist features, such as “fiery” eyes. Moreover, Bacheracht approaches the Other by lifting the hierarchy of the colonial structure between the “superior European” and the “inferior native.” Illustrated by the kneeling posture, Bacheracht visualizes physical contact with the Easterner on the same level, thereby surrendering her central gaze position as “Western voyeur.” Hence, Bacheracht’s representation of the Armenian woman extends beyond the stereotypical portrayal of the *Exotin* but at the same time still maintains the distinguishing “Otherness” that characterizes the Oriental woman.

³⁰ Therese von Bacheracht was a German author who lived in Hamburg and later Saint Petersburg, where her father, H. von Struve, was ambassador. She accompanied her second husband, Colonel von Lützow, to Java, where she died.

Ida Pfeiffer (1797-1858) and Countess Ida von Hahn-Hahn (1805-1880), known already to their contemporaries, are famous female travelers whose representations of the Oriental woman are foremost pejorative and interspersed with racist and Eurocentric remarks.³¹ In *Der weibliche Blick auf den Orient* (2011) (the female gaze on the Orient), Gabriele Habinger points out that even though the untitled Austrian commoner Pfeiffer was curious to experience the Other, she was incapable of reporting from an objective point of view, as well as of recognizing and accepting cultural difference (43). Based on her Catholic upbringing and normative bourgeois ideals of femininity, Pfeiffer soon realizes after she embarked on her voyage to the Holy Land that neither the behavior nor the appearance of the Easterners she encounters meet her expectations and maxims. At the outset of her travelogue, the Austrian “pilgrim” solely negates the masculine myth of the “beautiful Eastern women” in her writings.³² Throughout her journey, however, the degradation of the Oriental woman intensifies drastically. In Jerusalem she writes: “Allein die Weiber von 26 bis 28 Jahren sind schon sehr verblüht und häßlich, so daß man in den tropischen Ländern immer eine sehr große Zahl garstiger Gesichter und nur hin und wieder gleich einem Meteor, etwas Hübsches hervorschimmern sieht” (123) (But the women who have attained the age of twenty-six or twenty-eight years already look worn and ugly; so that here, as in all tropical countries, we behold a great number of very plain faces, among which handsome one shine forth at long intervals, like meteors) (130). As far as issues of female social status in

³¹ Although coming from different national, social, and religious backgrounds (Pfeiffer was Austrian, middle-class, and Catholic whereas Hahn-Hahn was German, aristocratic, and Protestant) the two women had several things in common: they were divorced from their husbands, they went on their journeys without male company, and it was their first journey to the Orient in the years of 1842 and 1843 respectively.

³² Journeys to the Holy Land were generally seen as pilgrimages in nineteenth-century Europe. Female travellers without male company were nevertheless exceptions since Jerusalem was part of the Ottoman Empire and regarded an unsafe place for women.

general are concerned, Pfeiffer describes Oriental women as seemingly satisfied and happy individuals and takes a balanced position toward the institution of the harem.³³

Countess Ida von Hahn-Hahn portrays the *Exotin* even more negatively than her namesake Ida Pfeiffer as an uncivilized, atrophied, and almost grotesque “creature” with non-human features. Similarly to her male counterparts, Hahn-Hahn reduces the Eastern woman to her “object-like” status, while at the same time destroying the myth of the Oriental *femme fatale* nurtured by male fantasies. Not only does the Countess disenchant the image of the charmingly erotic female Other, she also uses detailed descriptions to distort the body of the *Exotin* by tying it to inanimate shapes and animal characteristics: “Wie Fleischklumpen sehen sie aus, die sich nicht aufrecht halten können, und in sich selbst zusammen sinken. . . . Plumpe Bären mit weißen Köpfen” (*Orientalische Briefe* 1991, 56) (It looks like a mass of flesh, that cannot keep itself upright, and that drops together in a heap . . . awkward brown bears with white heads) (46). After a dinner together with some harem women who used their hands to eat instead of knife and fork, Hahn-Hahn depicts this “truly remarkable sight” to her brother: “Es waren kleine, fleischige Hände, mit kurzen, stumpfen, unterentwickelten Fingern, mit Fingern die nie andere Thätigkeiten als in die unserer Gabeln kommen mogten [sic]; ich gestehe Dir, mir war, also ob sie durch eine Schwimnhaut verbunden wären! (*Orientalische Briefe* 1844, 273-74) (They were little fleshy hands, with short, stumpy, undeveloped fingers, that could never be useful in any other way than as representatives of forks. I confess to you I thought that every lady was web-handed) (86).³⁴ Already Ida Pfeiffer made a connection between animalism and the Oriental

³³ “Im Ganzen mögen sie glücklich seyn, wie wir Europäerinnen, dieß schließe ich theils aus ihrer Beleibtheit, - theils aus ihren ruhigen Gesichtszügen” (25) [Perhaps they may be more happy than European women; I should suppose they were, to judge from their comfortable figures and their contended features] (165).

³⁴ This excerpt is missing in Gabriele Habinger’s shortened edition of Ida von Hahn-Hahn’s *Orientalische Briefe*, Vienna: Promedia, 1991.

woman when she compared Egyptian women in their black silk garments to “Fledermäuse mit ausgespannten Flügeln” (98) (bats with outstretched wings) (234).

Hahn-Hahn devotes multiple pages in her travelogue to the presentation of the harem and its inhabitants, who, from her point of view, are mentally retarded as a result from male control and female suppression in Eastern society. In the eyes of the German traveler, the harem debases the woman to “the level of a beast” (109), “contains within its walls neither beauty nor genius,” and is in fact a prison for the female body and mind (66). Furthermore, Hahn-Hahn expresses her certainty that “the harem makes people stupid and rude” (109) and feels utterly uncomfortable and miserable within the harem walls: “So eine Masse roher Weiber zu sehen, ist mir schrecklich. Lieber sehe ich eine Heerde Kühe oder Schafe [sic]. . . . Der Harem ist eine Wiese, die den Bedürfnissen des animalischen Lebens genügt” (*Orientalische Briefe* 1991, 153) (To look upon such a mass of female barbarity is odious. How much more preferable the sight of a herd of cows – a flock of sheep! . . . The harem is . . . a meadow, satisfying the exigencies of animal life) (109). However, it is not only within the space of the harem but also outside in nature where the Countess encounters Oriental women to whom she ascribes non-human, almost diabolical traits and physical handicaps:

In der Wirklichkeit, in der schönen freien Natur, sind sie etwas leblos und plump, denn ich finde dies ewige Kauern auf der Erde höchst ungraziös, ich möchte sagen monströs, weil man die menschliche Gestalt immer nur zur Hälfte sieht. Aber wohl den Frauen, wenn man sie nur sitzend erblickt! Welch ein Gang, welche krummen Beine, welche einwärts gekehrten Füße! Nicht einen Tanzmeister – nur einen Exerziermeister möcht’ ich ihnen gönnen, damit sie nicht so gräßlich watschelten. Es ist schon besser, daß sie sich lagern! (*Orientalische Briefe* 1991, 32)

[In the reality, where Nature herself is so fair and free, they are too lifeless and awkward; for this everlasting squatting on the ground, which permits you to see never more than half of the human form, is a terrible destroyer of grace. Yet, well for the women when they are caught sitting. For what a gait! what crookshanks! what turned-in feet! Not a dancing-master, but a drill-sergeant, would I send them, to cure that ugly waddling! Well, it is better, after all, that they should settle down.] (34)

Hahn-Hahn thus excludes the Eastern woman twice: on the one hand, from the domain of femininity since the *Exotin* is not graceful and requires a dominant male figure such as a drill-sergeant, and on the other hand, from the domain of humanity altogether due to her “monstrous” appearance.

Irrespective of the women she describes, the German aristocrat makes derogatory observations of female slaves at a slave market and very painstakingly records them in her travelogue with the intention of abolishing male fantasies about the female Other as sexual object. In a letter from Constantinopel dated September 14, 1843, Hahn-Hahn invites her brother Dinand in an ironical manner to “accompany” her to a female slave market, to see the “flowers of Georgia, and Circassia and ripe black Ethiopian beauties” (42). Incapable of perceiving the slaves as individuals and human beings, the author subsequently exposes the expected beauties as ugly black women and dehumanizes the “loveliest women in the world” by portraying them as repulsive “monstrosities” (*Orientalische Briefe* 1991, 50-51): “O Entsetzen! Schauerhafter, abstoßender Anblick! Nimm Deine Einbildungskraft zusammen, stelle Dir Monstra vor, und Du bleibst noch weit hinter den Negerinnen zurück von denen sich Dein beleidigendes Auge mit Widerwillen abwendet” (*Orientalische Briefe* 1991, 50-51) (O horror! dreadful, revolting sight! Summon your whole faculty of imagination – picture yourself monsters – and you still fail to conceive such objects as yon negresses, from whom your outraged eye recoils with loathing) (43).³⁵ Overall, Hahn-Hahn emphasizes “das unerhört Tierische der ganzen Erscheinung, Form, und Ausdruck inbegriffen” (the incredible animalism of the whole thing, form and expression combined) (*Orientalische Briefe* 1991, 50-51). Her classifying descriptions of the physical

³⁵ It is noteworthy that Ida Pfeiffer – who also visited a slave market – praised the beauty of two “Negermädchen” (negro girls): “Ich hätte nie gedacht, so etwas Vollkommenes zu finden. . . . Ihre Haut, von einer unvergleichlichen, sammtartigen Schwärze, besaß einen wunderschönen Glanz. Die Zähne waren schön geformt und von einer blendenden Weiße” (112) (I had not deemed it possible to find anything so perfect. Their skin was of a velvety black and shone with a peculiar luster. Their teeth were beautifully formed and of dazzling whiteness) (246).

composition of the Oriental woman anticipate, as Ulrike Stamm points out in *Der Orient der Frauen* (2010) (the Orient of the women), a biologicistic (genetic) racism that followed later (277).³⁶

My analysis of travel literature written by German and Austrian women travelers in the nineteenth century demonstrates that the Orientalist paradigm was not, as Said claims in his book *Orientalism*, an exclusively male province but that European women as well contributed to the depiction of the Oriental woman not only by reinforcing certain stereotypes but also by debunking specific “masculine” clichés. While Wolfhardine von Minutoli and Therese von Bacheracht perpetuated in their writings the myth of the beautiful odalisque and sexually attractive *Exotin*, Ida Pfeiffer and Countess Ida von Hahn-Hahn deliberately deconstructed the image of the Oriental *femme fatale*. Other European female travelers of the eighteenth and nineteenth century that are frequently cited by scholars in this context are Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762),³⁷ Anna Hafner-Forneris (1789-1847),³⁸ Regula Engel-Egli (1761-1853),³⁹

³⁶ Hahn-Hahn writes: “die deprimierte Stirn, tief eingedrückt über die Augenbrauen wie bei den Kretiens, fällt zuerst auf, dann das große rollende nichtssagende Auge, dann die Nase, die ohne Nasenbein eine unförmliche Masse zu sein scheint, dann der Mund mit der affrösen tierischen Bildung der vorspringenden Kinnladen, und mit den klaffenden schwarzen Lippen . . . dann die langfingerigen äffischen Hände mit häßlich farblosen Nägeln, dann die spindeldürren Beine mit der heraustretenden Ferse. . . .” (*Orientalische Briefe* 1991, 50) (You are struck – first, with the depressed forehead, squeezed over the eyebrows, as in the Cretiens; then with the large, rolling, inexpressive eye; then with the nose, innocent of a bridge – a great misshapen mass, then with the mouth, and the frightful animal formation of projecting jawbone, and gaping, black lips . . . ; then with the longfingered, apelike hands, and hideous, colourless nails; then with the meagre spindleshanks and projecting heel) (43).

³⁷ Lady Montagu was an English aristocrat and writer who is today chiefly remembered for her letters, particularly her letters from Turkey, as wife to the British ambassador, which have been described by Billie Melman as “the very first example of a secular work by a woman about the Muslim Orient” (2).

³⁸ Anna Forneris from Carinthia, Austria spent decades in the Middle East, often traveling alone. She published her travelogue in 1849 entitled: *Schicksale und Erlebnisse einer Kärntnerin während ihrer Reisen in verschiedenen Ländern und fast 30jährigen Aufenthaltes im Oriente, als: in Malta, Corfu, Constantinopel, Smyrna, Tiflis, Tauris, Jerusalem, Rom, etc.* (Destinies and Experiences of a Carinthian Woman in Various Countries and a Nearly Thirty Year Stay in the Orient, as: in Malta, Corfu, Constantinopel, Smyrna, Tiflis, Tauris, Jerusalem, Rome, etc.).

³⁹ Regula Engel-Egli, born in Zurich, travelled with her husband, a sergeant major in the French army through Europe. Commonly known as the “Swiss Amazon,” she followed her husband to battlefields in various countries and in 1798 she took part in an expedition to Egypt.

Maria Schuber (1799-1881),⁴⁰ Luise Mühlbach (1814-1873),⁴¹ and Marie Espérance von Schwartz (1818-1899).⁴²

In conclusion, my investigation of the literary portrayal of the exotic heroine within the German context has revealed that German literary fairy tales of the Romantic period elevate the Oriental woman to a figure that personifies a higher truth and spirituality, a meaningful and soulful existence, and a capacity for transcendence. The female protagonists portrayed in Achim von Arnim's tales *Melück Maria Blainville* and *Isabella of Egypt* are born for a higher destiny and display the power of mystic insight, which enables them to access a less rational reality. While the character of Zulima in Novalis's *Henry of Ofterdingen* does not share the same close relationship with the mystical realm as Melück and Isabella, her figure is still exalted since it stands for a veritable aesthetic myth, poetic inspiration, religious tolerance, love, music, generosity, wisdom, and virtue. Although German *Kunstmärchen* allude to the desire of the European man to unveil the inaccessible, contained, female body of the veiled woman, that is the desire to conquer and colonize the Orient (e.g. the Crusaders, Saint Luc, Charles), the tales do not eroticize the *Exotin*. In fact, I have found no textual evidence in the tales, which evokes the stereotypical image of the seductive, supine odalisque in a forbidden harem. The Arabian and Gypsy women are not described as passive, silent, submissive, and dependent, as Said has argued, but rather as independent, active, strong, and superior. Still, Oriental women in German

⁴⁰ Maria Schuber undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem on her own in 1847-1848. Her travelogue was published in 1950 in Graz under the title: *Meine Pilgerreise über Rom, Griechenland und Aegypten durch die Wüste nach Jerusalem und zurück. Vom 4. Oct. 1847 bis 25. Sept 1848* (A Pilgrimage to the Land of my Fathers; or, Narrative of Travel and Sojourn in Judea and Egypt).

⁴¹ Luise Mühlbach was the pen name of Clara Mundt, a German writer best known for her works of historical fiction. After the death of her husband (1861), Mühlbach undertook numerous journeys, including one to Egypt. In 1871 her *Reisebriefe aus Ägypten* (Letters from Egypt) were published.

⁴² Marie Espérance von Schwartz was an Anglo-German writer who published under the name of Elpis Melena. In 1844, her *Blätter aus dem africanischen Reisetagebuch einer Dame* (Leaves from a Lady's Diary of her Travels in Barbary) were published anonymously.

literary fairy tales uphold the clichés of beauty, femininity, and mystery, and thus contribute to a romanticized, idealized, enigmatic image of the Orient. This positive portrayal was in the interest of the Romantic followers, who, in their longing for poetic inspiration, a new mythology, and fantasy escapes from reality, could only turn to the East for as long as it preserved its reputation as a mystical and enchanting realm of Otherness.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

In this dissertation I have researched how German literary fairy tales and fairy tale novellas written by various authors of the Romantic period portray the Orient and the foreign Other. At the outset of this investigation, I stated my thesis that *Kunstmärchen* (literary fairy tales) idealize the ancient Orient and reflect the *Morgenland* (morning-land) as an exotic realm, in which the harmony between nature and spirit has been preserved, and as a utopian fantasy world that is the home of *Poesie* (poetry), wisdom, and mystery. Driven by a nostalgic yearning for a retrieval of man's innocence in nature, the Romantics sought to return to the Golden Age of the ancient Orient as they believed would bring about a spiritual transformation and the rebirth of a new mythology. As "fatherland" of poetry, birthplace of humankind, and original fountainhead of civilization, the Orient was a privileged concept in the Romantic period of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. In his literary fairy tale *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* (Henry of Ofterdingen, 1802), Romantic writer Novalis links the *Blaue Blume* (Blue Flower), the very emblem of German Romanticism, to the East and associates with the flower an imaginary Orient, which is quintessentially positive. In my analysis of Novalis's tale, I demonstrated that the Blue Flower in fact derives from the blue lotus of the Orient and represents a symbol of mythic immanence, transcendental love, eternal longing, and total reconciliation of all dualities.

German literary fairy tales with Orientalist motifs served as vehicles for escapist imagination and thus functioned as an "opiate" for German readers of the early-nineteenth century who longed to flee their war-torn country and take refuge in the fantastic world of the *Arabian Nights*. Considering the harsh realities of political repression, economic hardship, and the burdens of social struggle during the period of the *Biedermeier* era, the *Volk* (people) could indulge in the "drug" of fairy tales to temporarily forget about the sorrows of workaday life,

remedy its anguish, and drown its fears about an uncertain future in poetic utopias. Literary fairy tales with Orientalist topoi, such as Wilhelm Hauff's *Märchenalmanache* (Fairy Tale Almanacs, 1825-1827), offered the German readership a fantasy alternative to their daily routine in a demystified, modern world of a rationalized society. While the individual could resort to the tales as "narcotic" to find personal comfort, the Romantics emphasized the potential of the *Kunstmärchen* to cure the ills of society as a whole. In his *Fairy Tale Almanacs*, Hauff uses the design of a multilayered diegesis to distance the reader further from reality, stresses a cultural connection through Biedermeierian values and the sensation of *Gemütlichkeit* (coziness), and employs veiled criticism of the German political apparatus through the narrative perspective of the Other. Besides the fantastic dimension of escapist imagination, I discussed the material aspect and elaborated on luxury goods from the East with a focus on the real drug opium. My research on the works of German as well as British Romantic authors has shown that opium consumption lead to pleasurable and unpleasurable dreams of the Orient that served as an inspiration for fantasy writing during the era of Romanticism.

For the German Romantics and the educated classes, the ancient Orient and its rich mythological heritage represented a model form for a pan-German identity. Thus, in the quest for crafting a German national identity, the academic German bourgeois intelligentsia turned to the East. United by little more than geography and a common language, the German states had been at war with France since 1792, which, followed by the French occupation and Napoleon's dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806, gave rise to a new German national consciousness. Folk poetry, fairy tales, folk songs, and sagas, so the Romantics believed, encapsulated the "true" *Volksgeist* (folk spirit) of the German people that had gone lost over time. In order to unite the German people once more, the Romantics' poetic mission was to

unearth and spread the rejuvenating power of the German folk soul that was buried within the remnants of traditional folk tales. Besides the “authentic” collection of German *Volksmärchen* (folk tales) by the Brothers Grimm, literary fairy tales with Orientalist themes enabled readers to define their national identity either in opposition to the foreign Other or through the Romantic conception that placed the origins of mankind - and therefore of the Germans - in the East.

In my study of E.T.A. Hoffmann’s literary fairy tale *Der goldne Topf* (The Golden Pot, 1814) I established that Hoffmann’s portrayal of Atlantis alludes to the Orient as a utopian and elysian place. In sharp contrast to the paradisiacal depiction of the East and its exotic inhabitants, the Western bourgeois world appears as dull and its citizens as narrow-minded and tedious. The literary fairy tales scrutinized in this dissertation, and especially *Der goldne Topf*, contradict Edward Said’s assertions concerning the supremacy of Westerners in literary works. In his book *Orientalism* (1978), Said defines the term “Orientalism” as a political doctrine and ideology created by the West as a form of domination over the East. Further, he argues that Western novelists and travelers portray Eastern women in their writings as sensual creatures of male power-fantasies and envision the Orient as the locus of sexual pleasures and inhibitions (207). However, my analysis of Achim von Arnim’s *Melüch Maria Blainville* (1812) and *Isabella von Ägypten* (Isabella of Egypt, 1812) has revealed that German literary fairy tales shed a positive light on exotic heroines and elevate the Oriental woman to a figure that personifies a higher truth and spirituality, a meaningful and soulful existence, and a capacity for transcendence. In contradiction to Said’s claims, German *Kunstmärchen* do not eroticize the *Exotin* nor evoke the stereotypical image of the seductive, supine odalisque in a forbidden harem. Oriental women are not described as passive, silent, submissive, and dependent, as Said has argued, but rather as independent, active, strong, and superior. Still, Oriental women in German literary fairy tales

uphold the clichés of beauty, femininity, and mystery, and thus contribute to a romanticized, idealized, enigmatic image of the Orient.

The research of my dissertation was limited to the genre of literary fairy tales and the time period of German Romanticism from 1795 to 1848, which leaves scope for further research in the pre- and post-Romantic eras. Furthermore, the genres of poetry, songs, folk tales, novels, and adventure novels, deserve closer examination. In particular, I have solely touched on Martin Wieland's collection of fairy tales entitled *Dschinnistan* (1786-1789), Johann Karl August Musäus' *Melechsala* (1786), Ludwig Tieck's *Almansur* (1790) and *Abdallah* (1795), August Langbein's trilogy *Talismane gegen die lange Weile* (Talismans against the Boredom, 1801-1802), Karoline von Günderrode's *Gedichte und Phantasien* (Poems and Fantasies, 1804), Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan* (West-Eastern Divan, 1819), August von Platen-Hallermünde's *Die Abbasiden* (The Abbasids, 1829), Heinrich Stieglitz's *Bilder des Orients* (Pictures of the Orient, 1831–1833), Ferdinand Freiligrath's *Orient Poetry* (1838), and Karl May's six-volume *Orient Cycle* (1892). An important question for future research is whether the portrayal of the East in German literary productions changed toward the end of the nineteenth century when Germany became a unified nation-state in 1871 and, in 1884, decided to join the race for colonies in Africa.

Additional research should be conducted to determine if German writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth century used Othering in their literary works to make anti-Enlightenment, anti-European, or anti-political statements. Based on my study, German *Kunstmärchen* with Orientalist topoi were not created as a space for subversion and for rebellious ideas to grow. However, authors such as Wilhelm Hauff employed literary fairy tales as a space for criticism of the colonial project of the West, for critiquing a utilitarian, prosaic, bourgeois lifestyle, and as a

space for satire and irony with regard to the German political system. Moreover, German *Kunstmärchen* were not written to make an anti-Enlightenment argument. The Romantic creed, which is rooted in Friedrich Schlegel's idea of a "progressive universal poetry," does not exclude science but rather seeks to embrace scientific knowledge as integral part of various art forms and to create wholeness by fusing empiricism and reason with mysticism and the irrational. Except for Novalis, François-René de Chateaubriand, and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, few Romantic writers had much to say for or against the Enlightenment, a term that did not exist in the early-nineteenth century.

Finally, further research should examine in depth the representation of the Orient in German literature as mysterious locale. Albert Einstein (1870-1955) once said in his *Glaubensbekenntnis* (Creed, 1932): "Das Schönste und Tiefste, was der Mensch erleben kann, ist das Gefühl des Geheimnisvollen. Es liegt der Religion sowie allem tieferen Streben in Kunst und Wissenschaft zugrunde" (The most beautiful thing we can experience is the mysterious. It is the source of religion as well as of all true art and all science) (Pfeifer 27-28). As I have highlighted in my dissertation, literary fairy tales served as a medium for Romantic writers to codify the Orient as mysterious. This mysteriousness encapsulates a quintessentially positive meaning since it is inextricably interwoven with the wondrous, the fantastic, and the divine. The Romantics could only turn to the East for poetic inspiration and fantasy escapes from reality for as long as the Orient preserved its enigmatic nature as an exotic locus of magical wonders. Hence, according to the credo of the Romantics, the Eastern world must always remain a mystery and, metaphorically speaking, the Oriental woman must remain veiled.

APPENDIX
EUROPEAN REPRESENTATIONS OF ORIENTAL WOMEN

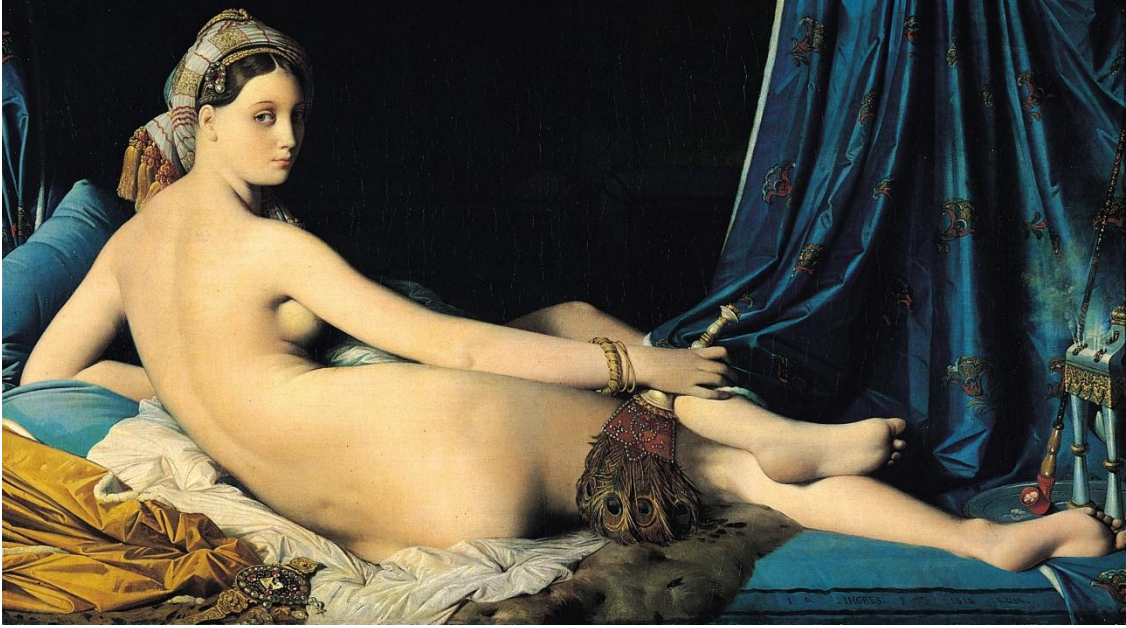


Figure A-1. *The Grand Odalisque* (1814) painted by Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres.



Figure A-2. *Odalisque and Slave* (1842) painted by Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres.

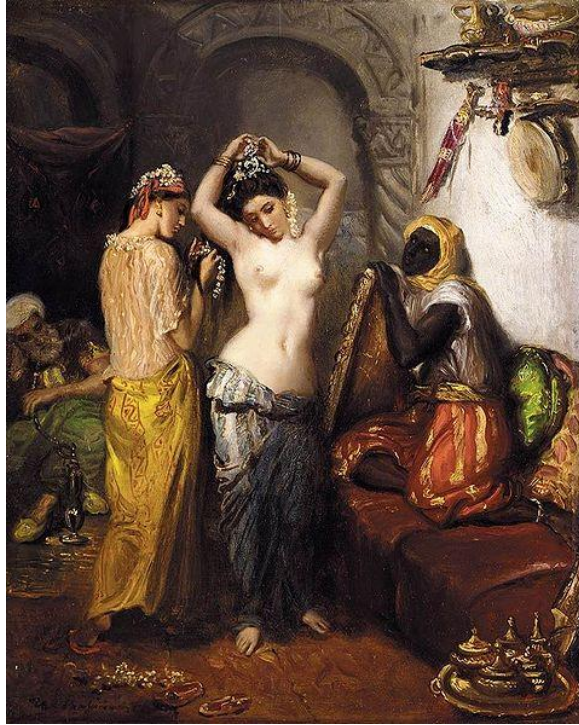


Figure A-3. *Harem* (1851) painted by Théodore Chassériau.



Figure A-4. *The Toilette of Esther* (1841) painted by Théodore Chassériau.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Claudia Mareike Katrin Schwabe, a native of Germany, graduated from Friedrich-Ebert Gymnasium Mühlheim am Main in 2000. She holds two bachelor's degrees in International Business Administration from the University of Northumbria in Newcastle, England and in International Administrative Management from the Business School Accadis in Bad Homburg, Germany. After she decided to focus on a teaching career, she obtained her master's degree in Teaching Business Education from Georgia College and State University in 2006. That same year, she received the Outstanding Student Award. For two years, she taught German, French, and Business Education at high school level. In 2008, she entered the Ph.D. program in German Studies at the University of Florida. Her principal research interests are in the area of eighteenth and nineteenth century Romantic literature, German folklore, children's literature as well as literary and folk fairy tales. In 2010, she received the Graduate Student Teaching Award for exceptional achievement in teaching and in 2011, she emerged as scholar award finalist of the Association for Academic Women's Madelyn Lockhart Dissertation Fellowship Award. She received her Ph.D. from the University of Florida in the spring of 2012 and accepted the position of Assistant Professor of German at Utah State University.