

## ORAL AND LITERARY CONTINUITY\*

Kurt Ranke  
Georg-August Universität  
Göttingen, Germany

The question of the continuity of a cultural phenomenon is not an urgent matter of discussion today, at least not for folklorists. Karl Sigismund Kramer, a historian in our field of study has stated:

Whereas older research on customs was concerned mainly with the history of the form of individual customs, and attempted to work out continuous chains and broad spatial connections through structural analysis, recently the main stress has been placed upon traditions in their temporal, spatial, and social environment.<sup>1</sup>

Hermann Bausinger has formulated the noteworthy aphorism: "The category of continuity is always of a mythical nature."<sup>2</sup> Wolfgang Brückner, identifying with Percy Ernst Schramm's demand that priority be given to historical change rather than to a falsely understood search for continuity, takes issue with the theory of continuity in no less than twenty-three places in his study "Bildnis und Brauch" (Image and Custom).<sup>3</sup> Last but not least, Hans Moser has a place in this chorus of opponents to continuity:

In the face of the continuous changes that all spheres of folk culture have experienced and are still experiencing, one will have to raise strong doubts to the view that the strong traditions of the folk world remain constant.<sup>4</sup>

In the face of these far-ranging volleys which are only a small selection of contemporary points of view, the suspicion comes to me that there must be something to this problem of continuity after all; one doesn't shoot sparrows with cannons. Perhaps the continuity fanatics have themselves to blame for this modern controversy. In the words of Anton E. Schönbach:

German mythology shows that we are living contemporaries, not only descendants, but also the genuine, proper heirs of the old Teutonic character; a continuous link binds prehistoric paganism, the legendary world of the Germanic heroic age, and the millenium of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation with the folk tradition of our immediate present, forming a tightly knit oneness; from the heaven of the Teutonic gods the most marvelous figures descend to earth and live in märchen and legends, forgetting their supernatural origins. These characters are led by a chorus of demons that manifests its separate existence in spooks and superstitions, in children's rhymes and riddles, in games and customs, festival observances and proverbs.<sup>5</sup>

That was around 1900; perhaps Schönbach is one of the exponents of the first wave of a postromantic folkloric-antiquarian reaction addressed by Hans Moser.

---

\* Translated by Josephine Lombardo, W.K. McNeil, and Richard C. Sweterlitsch with permission of the author and the publisher from "Orale und literale Kontinuität," in *Kontinuität. Festschrift für Hans Moser*, ed. Hermann Bausinger and Wolfgang Brückner (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1969), pp. 102-116.

A second period, even more clearly accentuated, is that of National Socialism. House markings are interpreted as runes, the Christmas tree is of Indo-European origin, the biers of Bavaria are even found among one of the early Teutonic tribes, the European division of labor during the harvest is determined within neolithic cultural strata, the folk play is a descendant of Germanic cult plays, and the proof for a continuity of the religious essence of the Teutonic tribes in history is demanded.<sup>6</sup> This cocky, highly reactionary, political misuse of the concept of continuity has thus produced a gastric aversion to the concept in our time.

Another reason for the aversion can surely be traced to 150 years of folklore research during which the problem of permanence dominated the field. At present, however, under the ever stronger influence of a prehistory enriched with new insights and aspects, we are able to project backward into still older strata of time. Carl Wilhelm von Sydow places the origins of *märchen* in the culture of the megalithic era. Will-Erich Peuckert speaks of continuities of agrarian thinking, and is assisted by Walter Wiora: "The stream of history, from the planters and shepherds of early history up to the masses of refugees of the present" should be the field of study of folklore. I myself have tried to trace wide areas of beliefs and rites associated with death back to similar Indo-European phenomena.<sup>7</sup>

In the third place, probably a kind of generation conflict led to the rejection of research in continuity. *Ecrasez les infâmes!* Set new horizons, new problems, new aspects! But, to be sure, one can shoot down the old, without shooting down a problem--if it is a real problem! Perhaps one only needs to set things into correct relationships again; a sin against the spirit does not negate it. I think, therefore, that besides the justly requested observation of epochal, regional, social, and functional conditions of our cultural world and the permanence of its traditional modes of behavior and thinking, the continuity factors should not be forgotten, which likewise and yet not unimportantly have contributed to and still contribute to their existence. If, among other things, experiences determine life, they are mostly comprised of acceptance and rejection--compromise, therefore--in the face of life-styles and modes of behavior. Certainly a good piece of knowledge about the value of constancy and security is contained in them, and, if I am correct, lately this knowledge has risen considerably in value in the face of the dynamism and turbulence of our times.

You see, honored Hans Moser, I have not yet changed my opinions, and it gives me very special satisfaction to be asked by the highly esteemed editors of this your *festschrift* to be invited to contribute a few thoughts to the problem of continuity and its many facets. I do this with even more pleasure because it seems to me that you also do not stand mercilessly on the side of the liquidators, since you suggest that the last five centuries of our history should be systematically investigated for the sources of folklife (and surely within so much material many a continuity will appear).<sup>8</sup> It need not always be the Ice Age to which we look back. Indeed tradition and consciousness about it are highly dubious matters. Tradition can span secular periods, it can, likewise, as group consciousness, be of such brief duration that its often vehement usage has an almost embarrassing effect.

You will understand that I like to sharpen my beak on the diamond mountain of the body of folktales as once did the little bird in "Kaiser und Abt." In that, we have one of those images of mythical duration that the human spirit has invented since the beginning of time. If life demands continuity, then

this longing has repeatedly been transformed into images; images of an indifferent type as the one just mentioned, images of mythical, lasting happiness and of eternal terror. "And they lived happily ever after . . ." is the märchen-like formula for such endeavor, and its topoi are the fountains of life, the green islands of youth and the paradises of all kinds of religions. Its opposites are the eternal torments of the Danaides, of the abyss of Hell, and never-ending wandering. Thus, horror, too, desires its own continuity.

But in fact, I didn't want to talk about that, but about the powers that drive these imaginations of human emotion through time. In the preface to the second volume of my Schleswig-Holstein folktales I pointed out:

What drives these stories through time and peoples? What is the spirit, the soul, the inner active force of these processes? We don't know, we can only observe in astonishment. But we know something about the outer events and occasions: the laborer, Hans Bensien, living in Sagau, about 85 years old, told Wisser märchen around the turn of the century that he had heard from his grandmother around 1820. Bensien was then a ten year old boy. This woman, likewise 85 years old around 1820, had also been told the stories in her early youth. Within just this single exchange of tradition there lies a time span of about 140 years between the time she heard the tales and the time they were told by her grandchild. Märchen from the beginning of our century stretch in direct continuity back to the middle of the eighteenth century. One should not generalize about something like this, but surely it is not an isolated case. There are numerous such examples in which the exchange of tradition occurs between grandparents and grandchildren. In order to get back to the Middle Ages, one might himself check to see how often in such a chain of tradition the märchen have changed owners---four or five times! Astonishing how close we sometimes still stand to the sources.<sup>9</sup>

This has since been substantiated. Even eight to ten exchanges, which probably comes much nearer the norm, shows how few places of conjunction are necessary in such processes of transmission.

However, what does a statistic of continuity mean faced with the fact that in the last decades a large number of legends have been given archaeological confirmation, and therewith the verification of their oral continuity through thousands of years and often even through one or more changes of population. Herbert Jankuhn has forcibly called attention to such circumstances.<sup>10</sup> The matter at hand concerns the Dronninghoi, a burial mound in the area of Schuby, northwest of Schleswig, which can be dated back to the period between the Stone<sup>11</sup> and the Bronze Ages. A legend collected about this in 1634 by Paulus Cypraeus,<sup>11</sup> then expanded by Karl Müllenhoff and Gustav Friedrich Meyer is given as follows:

In the Deckerkrüge near Schuby, in the neighborhood of Lohheide, is a small hill that is called Dronninghoi. It was formed by soldiers who carried the earth in their helmets. There Black Margaret once slew a prince.<sup>12</sup> She was at war with him; but when she saw that it would not turn out well for her, the cunning woman sent a message to him in which he was told that it would be wrong for so many brave people to die for her sake; it would be better if she and he alone settled the quarrel. The prince thought he could defeat the

woman and accepted the offer. While they were fighting with one another, the queen asked him to give her a moment of time, she only wanted to tighten her helmet a little. The prince gave her permission to do this. But she said that she would not trust him if he didn't stick his sword into the ground up to the handle. This the prince did as well. Then she attacked him and cut off his head. He is buried in Dronninghoi and the people who live there have often seen him sitting in front of a silver table with a silver tea pot, a silver cream pitcher and a silver cup.<sup>13</sup>

The obvious *cherchez la femme* motif should not interest us here, but rather the report of the excavation by W. Splieth who examined the hill at the end of the last century.<sup>14</sup> According to this report, a skeleton was found, the skull of which lay at its feet. Thus, a confirmation of the legend core. About 160 centimeters away from it an undamaged skeleton was found. And then something strange happened. The news of the find spread quickly in the area and soon oral folklore had found an explanation for the second corpse: it was said to be that of Queen Margaret. It was told that in penance for her deed she asked to be buried after her death at the side of the prince, and that her wish had been granted. Thus tradition and newly invented legend are here peacefully united in space.

Jankuhn points out other such connections between legend and burial custom, and exposes two links of tradition:

If one observes the known cases in which a tradition is linked to such burial places, then one can distinguish easily two groups of entirely different character. In the one group, names of historic personalities or those known from legends appear in connection with the monuments that tie tradition to a region, as we, for example can recognize with King Björns Hús in Sweden or with Swen's Wall of Siege in Haithabu. In the other group, something else stands in the core, namely, certain events said to have happened near the grave, for instance the triple coffin at the grave of a king at Seddin or the great fire in the hill of Grunhof-Tesperhude. To be sure, also within this group names occasionally appear, but they play only a subordinate role; essentially, a definite event almost always connected with a burial stands in the center of the tradition. In the first group, the correctness of the tradition can be proven or made probable only in a small number of cases, and it reaches back then only a little beyond the Viking period. In other cases, the origin can probably be traced back to scholarly speculations of past centuries. On the other hand, the tenacity of tradition in the second group is downright astonishing. To be sure, the original meaning and details of the events have almost always been blurred so that they cannot be recognized; remaining, however, is the memory of the result of the action. Thus, Dronninghoi conforms to this pattern along with the monument whose traditions can be traced back the farthest. The superiority of the findings in that place excludes a later defacing on the basis of a subsequent opening of the grave, and nothing else remains than to suppose that we are dealing here in fact with a tradition that harks back to the end of the Stone Age and that has been handed down orally for almost four thousand years.

But what has endured through the millenia? The legend of Black Margaret was first attested to in 1634. Up until the new recording by Mullenhoff it had lived around 200 years. If it had existed before, it can have originated only after 1412, the death of Semiramis of the North. What was before, a similar legend perhaps with other actors, or a memorat about a decapitated warrior who rests in the grave, we don't know. A "simplest form" must have existed and must have survived the millenia until the first written report.

If you, honored Hans Moser, demand an "exact written history" of folk culture, which boundlessly encompasses the great and the small,<sup>15</sup> then it seems to me that such phenomena of tradition should be given their rightful place in this program. For it is a question not of the study of our early ancestors, but of the knowledge of important, intellectual capabilities, which make the tradition bearers pass on such stories from link to link. And it is also a question of the almost incomprehensible fascination that these stories have exercised on the long rows of narrating generations. There must be indeed an immanent strength not only in the story just quoted, but in all narratives that have been transmitted for thousands of years--a strength that makes people keep them and hand them on again and again. What must their meaning, their message, their world and life view have meant for these people that they could not rid themselves of them? There is hardly anything of similar constancy. The laws of the folk fade, their languages change, their thinking dies out as well. These their stories, however, continue to exist through all the exigencies of life.

I stated that the legend of Dronninghoi is not an individual case. Therefore permit me to present in quick succession a few equivalent examples that perhaps might have remained unknown to folklorists who, unlike me in my work as co-editor of the new Hoops, are not daily confronted with the findings of very old and early stories.

Before K. Kersten examined the burial mound of Grünhof-Tesperhude in Lauenburg he was told that long ago in the mound great fires had burned and that in the mountain a pyre had been located. Digging disclosed that in that place a large death house containing two corpses had been burnt and later covered with a burial mound.<sup>16</sup>

About the Rummelsberg in Peccatell near Schwerin the legend reports that cave men held their feasts there and that they borrowed a kettle from a neighboring mound for these feasts. The archaeological examination unearthed a fire and sacrifice place in the larger mound, and an exquisite kettle wagon dating from the mid-Bronze Age in the smaller mound.<sup>17</sup>

In Hinzerberg von Seddin, Ostpriegnitz, according to legend a king was buried in a triple coffin. The investigation confirmed the tradition: the burial mound contained a grave erected out of stone plates with a domelike vault, a large clay vessel within it, and within the clay vessel, a bronze kettle with the burnt remains of a male corpse and rich gifts.<sup>18</sup>

The legend in fact tells of a gold coffin that was enclosed by a silver one, the latter encased by a bronze one. But these are the usual stylistic means of the homo narrans who likes to transform everything into exaggerated images. The decisive thing is perhaps that the memory of the triple burial has been preserved through thousands of years, and in fact in the memorats from Grünhof-Tesperhude, Seddin, and Peccatell, beyond the time of a Slavic emigration from these areas. It can thus be inferred that either with the Slavic population there was a strong Germanic element that carried these traditions, or that the

Slavs themselves took over the traditions and later handed them on to the colonizing Germans. Since the transmission of oral traditions over ethnic and linguistic boundaries is nothing unusual, the wide propagation of many folktales can be attributed to this; the second possibility cannot be discounted.

A few further examples of legend continuity will conclude this part of my observations. According to the report of W. Wegewitz a king with a golden ring lay in the great Hamberg mound. When it was leveled, H. Müller-Ravel<sup>19</sup> found besides a few bronze needles a golden ring on the hand of the corpse.

In the neighborhood of Harsefeld in Lower Saxony lies the Osterberg on which spring fires are still burnt. In the legend, a king rests on a table with his eating implements. When they opened the burial mound, they found a stone grave chamber containing the ashes of a corpse. This lay, however, neither free in the grave nor in an urn, but on a stone table. Also found were two beautifully wrought knife-like tools, the gifts for the dead.<sup>20</sup>

Leo Frobenius reports that when the Friedrich-Franz road from Neubrandenburg to Rostock was planned, it was decided that the road should cross a mound on the Gevezin estate. The inhabitants protested because their parents had told them that in olden times a king had driven a golden wagon into this hill. When the mound was leveled, an untouched grave was found, in the center of which lay a small bronze wagon, now located in the Schwerin historical museum.<sup>21</sup>

In the Byciskal cave in Moravia a fiery steer is said to guard a treasure. In addition to valuable bronze objects, the excavation yielded the bronze figure of a steer. We are probably dealing with an early Iron Age shrine of a god-steer. Again the tradition must have been preserved through several waves of population (Illyrians, Celts, Swabians, Slavs, Germans, Czechs).<sup>22</sup>

Enough examples! Collecting variants is just as meaningless as the search after continuity. I merely wanted to demonstrate the astonishing achievement of these processes of tradition that have nothing in common with the form of tradition known to us, namely the written tradition. We are obviously dealing with a psycho-mental function that is no longer characteristic of people in the present. If the singers of byliny have thousands of strophes at their disposal, and if tellers of tales hundreds of long and complicated stories that they are able to recite over and over without change, then this phenomenon is one of those primary intellectual capacities that is perhaps connected with the illiteracy of these people. The person who transmitted traditions orally had a different sense of the past than we and had at his disposal powers of memory that have been lost to us. Thus, it was possible for him not only to carry certain historical events wrapped up in stories of changing content, but also to carry the stable form itself for thousands of years. If the Egyptian story of the Two Brothers (AT303), written down about 3,000 B. C., became known after more than 3,000 years of oral continuity (there are no literary links between) only again in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when it, in fact, became known in numerous versions, then this proves quite clearly the above-mentioned fascination exercised by its contents upon the storytelling people of the Eurasian world, as it also proves the exciting persistence with which these people carried the story through time and space. Here it is unnecessary to mention further examples; the literature about it is accessible.<sup>23</sup>

It is also unnecessary to go into all the various survival theories that have,

most likely, contributed greatly to the bad reputation of the study of continuity. These theories unhesitatingly identified by way of association the age of an insignificant motif contained in a tale with the antiquity of the entire story, thus constructing vague, unsubstantiated continuities. I believe I have covered this point briefly and adequately in my "Einfache Formen":

That a motif probably belongs in the realm of horticulture means nothing about the complex story in which it appears, as long as we realize the tremendous vitality of ideas that have long been superceded and that drag along for thousands of years through different stages of human culture without losing any part of their vitality. It would even then mean nothing if their meaning and essence had been consciously preserved, because we know, on the other hand, about the "Ur-" as the timelessness of these mental and imaginative constructs. Therefore, I think that a motif stemming from, perhaps, the life and world view of the horticulturist need say nothing about the age of its formation, and even less about the age of the entire story into which it is incorporated.<sup>24</sup>

In turning back to the Egyptian story, however, the phenomenon becomes highly interesting in that the first literary fixation of such a plot does not necessarily insure continuity. The Egyptian *märchen* consists of three parts: the Potiphar motif, the story about the golden-haired maiden, and the tale of the hero's invincibility. But the enormous--even if later--mass of Eurasian variants has not been touched by the Egyptian conglomerate. The motifs always appear there separately as single stories. This is not an isolated case. The Homeric version of the fairy tale of Polyphemus, for instance, which combines the blinding of the giant with the no-man motif, is not repeated. In the traditions of more than two and a half thousand years, the two parts of the composition occur only as individual stories. As in the case of other literary first versions, the objection that we are dealing here with very early single versions for which the possibility of a broad distribution was lacking due to faulty means of communication, is unfounded. Each of the many complicated fairy tales known in many variants is the invention of a single person, and yet has survived continuously up until today without literary support.

Of course almost any knowledge of oral or literary continuity and of the ubiquity of early narrative material is missing to us. The few facts that we have are a favor of fate, but are no basis for any conclusions. And perhaps it is also not allowable to project backward similar diagnoses stemming from the better-grounded situations of modern times. I have once pointed to the fact that the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* of the Brothers Grimm, in spite of their tremendous popularity, have hardly influenced oral storytelling material of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>25</sup> Today I admit hesitantly to this hypothesis. First, because we are concerned here with later periods of our traditions in which, under the growing influence of modern life, the old forms begin to crumble and the powers of transmission to decay. Then, too, oral continuities are perishing over long periods of time and are later revived again in a second world of aesthetics, of sentimentality, of secondary experience. Societies for "Preservation of Märchen of the European Folk" are now being established. In cultural evenings of reading "at the fireplace" (it is typical that only female *märchen* tellers are active here) these societies try to dictate an open and heart-warming manner of storytelling.<sup>26</sup>

On the other hand in spite of Anderson's vehement opposition,<sup>27</sup> I have far

more respect now than I had twenty years ago for the oddly too modified opinion of Albert Wesselski that the permanent literary fixation of a story has, indeed, a stabilizing effect upon oral narrative.<sup>28</sup> Here again we owe it to a Moser, this time to his wife, that matters were brought into their correct relationships. In the preface to her Predigtmärlein, Moser-Rath writes:

Without any doubt more was read and the material that was read was handed over orally in earlier times more than has been previously believed. On the other hand, certain areas of tradition remain untouched by literary and oral sources.<sup>29</sup>

Furthermore, Anderson agrees that a story stemming from a book can occasionally become a folk story.<sup>30</sup>

A survey of the history of the "simple forms," in so far as they have one, results in the expected, namely, that it is the "applied" forms that tend to be fixed in writing. Not only the fairy tales used in the preaching of the Baroque era show a strong literary continuity to which the important apparatus of remarks in the above-mentioned work of Moser-Rath points, but likewise the saints' legends, exempla, fables, and jests of the Middle Ages, as soon as they get into the homiletic, didactic, pedagogical, or literary-devotional areas of usage. Here they necessarily had to be literarily fixed because many of those who used them had at their disposal neither the above-mentioned capacities of the orally transmitting person, nor the naturally inherited possession of such traditions. In addition there is the strange tendency of people (not only in those times) toward plagiarism. The person who studies the schwank and joke collections of posthumanistic centuries will be astonished at the ease with which one person copies from the other, often so rigorously that entire collections seem identical. This also holds for the other categories of folk narrative.

No matter what the reasons may be, by their change into secondary oral or literary agency, these applied paradigms exert a stabilizing and regenerative influence upon folk narrative material. Of course perhaps these processes are aimed only towards the structure of narrative. It seems to me, however, that the statement made by Gottfried Henssen in the introduction to his book Überlieferung und Persönlichkeit is highly important.<sup>31</sup> Henssen maintains that the folk narrator always minimizes the literarisms of his model and assimilates them wherever it is necessary to the contents of the inherited oral forms. Linda Dégh makes the same statement for the Hungarian storytellers, and I can confirm this also for my Schleswig-Holstein informants.<sup>32</sup> This self-correction of the märchen style in the mouth of the narrators is analagous to what has been stated by Anderson about the structure of the stories when they have been changed by disturbing influences.<sup>33</sup> As it were, the fluctuation of powers, not only the effect upon literary continuity and the countereffect upon oral continuity, but also the tendencies toward assimilation on the part of the storyteller, are obviously quite evident here, and the intertwining of the resulting scientific aspects is so thorough that none of it can be isolated or even eliminated. The problem of continuity stands inter pares and is not to be glossed over beside the questions of the functional, social, epochal, or regional importance of these traditions.

This concerns the tradition of individual forms, types, and motifs as well as that of categories. A schwank such as Unibos,<sup>34</sup> which has cut across the genres of Western literature since the tenth century, is also carried permanently by



oral tradition. Both branches touch each other from time to time, attract each other and repulse each other and yet form together the great linear unity of oral-literary continuity up to our time. The same holds true for the migratory legend first mentioned by Ovid about the donkey ears of King Midas,<sup>35</sup> for Avian's fable about the envious man and the stingy man,<sup>36</sup> or for Herodotus's *märchen* about the treasure house of Rhampsinitus.<sup>37</sup>

Naturally it is very interesting to note how the variants of these types of stories migrate in the chronological course of their tradition through the most different intellectual areas of usage. One time they get into the field of edification, another time into a didactic current; here they are used allegorically, there they are crudely misused. No variant is similar, at least in older times, to another one, functionally and stylistically. In plot, in the structure of their contents, however, they all do belong together and are proof of an astounding, immanently vital power of continuity that carries them constantly through the centuries and through thousands of years, supported by the already mentioned process of self-correction--this in spite of the inroads made by utilitarian or cultural factors at different times and places.

This holds especially true for the categories of folk prose. One may differ about the age and manner of origin, about the problem of phases of variation or idiosyncratic special forms, of their development, or also about the different intensity of their power of dissemination over time and space. For instance, the categories of folk prose may depend upon epochally defined presuppositions such as the world view or the intellectual occupation of a certain period,<sup>38</sup> or they may receive their special character only through late social functions,<sup>39</sup> or they may be, finally, elementary expressions of simple events of soul and intellect and thereby of the common human epic creation of form.<sup>40</sup> But it is certain that even the oldest literary monuments of humanity show us all genres of folk prose known to us: etiological, as well as historical or mythical legends, *märchen* and *schwanks*, myths and fables, etc. Certainly one does not want to maintain that these genres owe their origin only to the invention of writing.

Objections have often been raised to the problem of categories on the grounds that the terminology and determinations are the machinations of an abstract science and not the product of the creative and formative talents of the storyteller. Furthermore this science has been reproached with the fact that all determination of genres of ideal-typical nature are in danger of alienation from reality. I may repeat what I said about that recently:

There is the *märchen*, the saga, the *schwank*, the legend, the etiological legend, the *memorat*, etc. He who has dealt his whole life, as most of us have, with these more simple or more complicated forms of folk poetry knows for sure that the total sum of the really pure forms that exist necessarily merges with corresponding genres from time to time. Of course there are forms of transition and mixture.<sup>41</sup>

"That is just as natural as the mixture of lyric and epic or epic and dramatic," said Max Lüthi once very clearly.<sup>42</sup>

Therefore the constancy and continuity of the pure forms since those early days of the beginning of writing cultures is just as astonishing as that of their individual narrative types and motifs. But is it really like that? If one starts out from the fact that the telling of stories of any kind originates

from one of the most elementary needs of human character, and that the individual genres of these folk stories are primary forms of human expressions that have come from dreams and emotions, from magic, mythical and rational processes of thinking, from the joy of play and fabrication, and that each of these genres must be considered as a binding statement of the person about his own specially situated explanation of the world around him and within him, then each genre must also have its own primary function, that is, a function of statement, and must have its own power of effect. But then, in connection with the phenomenon of age and the ubiquity of their existence, the categories of folk poetry prove to be an anthropological, perhaps even a genuinely anthropological problem.<sup>43</sup>

The binding force of their statement about human processes of emotion and nationality, in general, has given to these categories up until today the strength for their continuous existence. If this is really so, if the earth-bound qualities as well as the spiritual side of the genres of folk poetry are dominant, and the preservation of their form and their effectiveness so compelling, then the question arises already stated above: Can the continuities of this world of tradition survive the disruptive features of our civilization? Will they thus emerge again in a second world, a world of secondary experience, of economical preformation, of a directed participation in tradition and its forms and contents? But this is a question for the future, and perhaps a favorable fate gives us still the possibility to have hinted at it or even to have solved it.

#### NOTES

1. Karl Sigismund Kramer, "Brauchtum und Recht," in Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte, vol. 1 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1965), p. 507; see also a similar article, "Agrarisches Brauchtum," by the same author in Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1968), pp. 93 ff.
2. Hermann Bausinger, Volkskultur in der technischen Welt (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1961), p. 17.
3. Wolfgang Brückner, Bildnis und Brauch (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1966), p. 14; see also p. 356.
4. Hans Moser, "Gedanken zur heutigen Volkskunde," in Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde, 1954, p. 231.
5. Anton E. Schönbach, Studien zur Erzählliteratur des Mittelalters (Vienna: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1893-1909).
6. See Adolf Bach, Deutsche Volkskunde, 3rd ed. (Heidelberg: Quelle and Meyer, 1960), pp. 91 ff; Gunter Wiegelmann, "Zum Problem der bäuerlichen Arbeitsteilung in Mitteleuropa," in Festschrift für Franz Steinbach (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1960), pp. 637 ff.
7. Carl Wilhelm von Sydow, "Folksagan sasom indoeuropeisk tradition," in Archiv f. Nordisk Filologi 42 (1926): 1 ff; Will-Erich Peuckert, Deutsches

- Volkstum in Märchen und Sage, Schwank und Rätsel (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1937), Geheimkulte (Heidelberg: Carl Pfeffer, 1951), Ehe (Hamburg: Claassen, 1955); Walter Wiora, "Die Stellung der Volkskunde im Kreise der Geisteswissenschaften," in Bericht über den Allgemeinen volkskundlichen Kongress in Jugenheim (Stuttgart, 1952), pp. 8 ff.; Kurt Ranke, Indogermanische Totenverehrung, vol. 1, "Der 30 und 40 Tag im Totenkult der Indogermanen" (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1951).
8. See note 4, p. 218.
  9. Kurt Ranke, Schleswig-holsteinische Volksmärchen, vol. 2 (Kiel: F. Hirt, 1958), p. 6.
  10. Herbert Jankuhn, "Eine stein-bronzezeitliche Grabsitte und ihr Fortleben im späteren Brauchtum," Offa 4 (1939): 92 ff.
  11. Paulus Cypraeus, Annales episcoporum slesvicensium (1634), p. 275.
  12. Margaret of Denmark, who united the kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden under her rule in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.
  13. Karl Müllenhoff, Sagen, Märchen und Lieder der Herzogtümer Schleswig-Holstein und Lauenburg (1848), p. 19; Gustav Friedrich Meyer, Schleswig-Holsteiner Sagen (Jena: Diederichs, 1929), p. 144.
  14. Archiv für Anthropologie 1 (1895): 13 ff.
  15. See note 4, p. 218.
  16. K. Kersten, "Das Totenhaus von Grünhof-Tesperhude," Offa 1 (1936): 56 ff.
  17. Robert Forrer, Reallexikon der prähistorischen, klassischen und frühchristlichen Altertümer (Berlin and Stuttgart: W. Spemann, 1907), under "Peccatell"; pictured in Jankuhn-Boockmann-Treue: Athenaion-Bilderatlas zur deutschen Geschichte (Frankfurt am Main: Athenaion, 1968), p. 198, plate 14.
  18. Albert Kiekebusch, Das Königsgrab von Seddin (1928).
  19. Offa 1 (1936): 87.
  20. M. Schumann, "Volksgedächtnis und Überlieferung," in Germanien (1941), pp. 187
  21. Leo Frobenius, Schicksalskunde im Sinn des Kulturwerdens (Leipzig: R. Voigtländer, 1932).
  22. Kieler Nachrichten, (November 12, 1952), no. 286, p. 4.
  23. Compare, for example, Kurt Ranke, "Einfache Formen," Fischers Literaturlexikon 2:1 (1965): 184 ff.
  24. Ibid., p. 193.
  25. Kurt Ranke, "Der Einfluss der Grimmschen Kinder- und Hausmärchen auf

- das volkstümliche deutsche Erzählgut," in Papers of the International Congress of European and Western Ethnology (Stockholm, 1961), pp. 126 ff.
26. Die Freundesgabe. Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft zur Pflege des Märchengutes der europäischen Völker (1968), p. 4.
  27. Albert Wesselski, Versuch einer Theorie des Märchens (Reichenberg: B. F. Kraus, 1931).
  28. Walter Anderson, Zu Albert Wesselskis Angriffen auf die finnische folkloristische Arbeitsmethode (Tartu: K. Mattiesens, 1935).
  29. Elfriede Moser-Rath, Predigtmärlein der Barockzeit (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1964), p. vii.
  30. Walter Anderson, "Buchvariante," in Handwörterbuch des deutschen Märchens, vol. 1 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1930/33), p. 348.
  31. Gottfried Henssen, Überlieferung und Persönlichkeit (Münster: W. Aschen-dorffsche, 1951), pp. 16 ff.
  32. Linda Dégh, Märchen, Erzähler und Erzählgemeinschaft (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962); Kurt Ranke, Schleswig-holsteinische Volksmärchen, 3 vols. (Kiel: F. Hirt, 1955, 1958, 1962).
  33. Walter Anderson, Ein volkskundliches Experiment (1951) ; Kurt Schier, "Praktische Untersuchung zur mündlichen Wiedergabe von Volkserzählungen" (Ph. D. diss., 1955); to the whole problem see Max Lüthi, Das europäische Volksmärchen, 3rd ed. (Bern and München: Francke-Verlag, 1968), pp. 101 ff.
  34. Bolte-Polívka, vol. 2, pp. 1 ff.; Josef Müller, Das Märchen vom Unibos (Jena: Diederichs, 1934).
  35. Maja Boskovic-Stulli, Narodna predaja o vladarevoj tajni (Zagreb: Institut za Narodnu umjetnost, 1967).
  36. Johannes Pauli, Schimpf und Ernst, vol. 2, ed. Johannes Bolte (Berlin: H. Stubenrauch, 1924) no. 647, pp. 396 ff.; my pupil G. Selk, Göttingen; is making a study of this material.
  37. Bolte-Polívka, vol. 3, pp. 395 ff.
  38. Wilhelm Mohr, "Einfache Formen," in Reallexikon der Deutschen Literaturgeschichte, by Merker-Stammler, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1958), pp. 321 ff.
  39. Natalia Pavloona Kolpakova, Russkaja narodnaja bytovaja pesnja (Moscow-Leningrad, 1962), pp. 25 ff.; K. V. Chistov, "Das Problem der Kategorien mündlicher Volksprosa nicht-märchenhaften Charakters" Fabula 9 (1967): 27 ff.
  40. Kurt Ranke, "Einfache Formen," in Internationaler Kongress der Volks-erzählforscher in Kiel und Kopenhagen (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1961), pp. 1 ff.
  41. Kurt Ranke, "Kategorienprobleme der Volksprosa," Fabula 9 (1967): 4 ff.
  42. Max Lüthi, Das europäische Volksmärchen, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Franck-Verlag, 1960), p. 98.