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TRANSGRESSIVE TALES

Queering the Grimms

EDITED BY KAY TURNER
AND PAULINE GREENHILL

Wayne State University Press
Detroit
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KAY TURNER AND PAULINE GREENHILL

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“But Who Are You Really?”

Ambiguous Bodies and Ambiguous Pronouns in “Allerleirauh”

MARGARET R. YOCOM

Du bist eine Hexe, Rautierchen (You are a witch, Little Hairy Animal).
—Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, “Allerleirauh”

I just loved its “itness” for what it was.
—Claire, an intersexed person, on how he/she sees
his/her body now, quoted in Preves,
Intersex and Identity: The Contested Self

“Allerleirauh” (“All Kinds of Fur,” ATU 510B) is one of the least known
tales of the brothers Grimm. Few editors or publishers have been willing
to include it in anything but complete editions of the tales of Wilhelm and
Jacob Grimm (see Uther 2008, 160), because it opens its “Cinderella” story
with a fearful taboo: a father’s carnal desire for his daughter. “Allerleirauh,”
though, has called to me since the late 1980s when I began telling it to my
graduate folklore classes and then to other audiences, including women
survivors of incest.

In the tale, years after a young woman’s mother dies, her father declares
his intent to marry her. She demands three dresses and a mantle made of
a piece of fur from each of the animals in his kingdom, thinking her father
will never find such items. But he does. She puts three of her treasured pos-
sessions (a gold ring, a tiny gold spinning wheel, a tiny gold reel) and the
three dresses in a nutshell. She wraps herself in the mantle of rough furs
and escapes into the forest. A king’s hunters find her, name her Allerleirauh
(All Kinds of Fur), and take her to the cook in the castle where she works at
lowly tasks for years. When the king holds three balls, she attends wearing
the gowns. After each ball, the cook tells her to make the king’s soup instead
of sweeping the ashes. As she does, she puts her treasures, one at a time,
iuto the soup bowl. The king discovers that she is the beautiful woman at
the ball and marries her.

When Grimm scholars have written about “Allerleirauh,” many have
focused on the incest and the daughter’s eventual marriage to a king. Whom
she finally marries, a second king or her father, has been much debated
(see Dollerup, Reventlow, and Hansen 1986, 21; Rölleke 197, 153–59; Tatar
1992, 135). Regardless of what the Grimms intended, their 1857 text allows
ambiguity to flourish: my students regularly disagree on just whom All
Kinds of Fur did marry.1 Although in this chapter I write from the two-king
perspective, where incest has been averted,2 I delight in these ambiguities
for they allow readers to hear multiple possibilities and find their own stories
within the text. As Maria Tatar suggests, “A fairy tale’s surface events often
work in tandem with latent undercurrents to generate the productive am-
biguities that engage our attention as listeners and readers” (Tatar 125–26).

My focus here, though, is not on whom she marries but on the heroine
herself and her journey through the gendered, sexually redolent landscape
of the tale’s provocative middle section. Framed by heterosexual marriage
proposals, the Grimms’ tale, along with the many versions of ATU 510B
“Peau d’Asne” known around the world (Uther 2004, 1:295–96), spends
most of its time detailing that liminal middle ground where the heroine
dons gender-bending disguises and escapes her father (or brother); wanders
to places of intrigue; meets creatures both familiar and strange; and, finally,
reveals herself (or is revealed) as a beautiful young woman. The worldwide
emphasis on this middle section of the story attests to the interest that tell-
ers and listeners have in her long journey.

Allerleirauh travels far over land and sea, but even more compelling
are her journeys back and forth among bodily locations: between human

and animal, as well as among man, woman, thing, or a bodily state that
combines all of the above. Over and over again, those who encounter her
ask, “Who are you?” They call her “weird,” “strange,” and “astonishing.”
To them, she looks like an animal, an old man, an old woman, or all three.
These corporeal ambiguities create the “undercurrents” that, as Maria Tatar
(1992, 126) says, exist for readers and listeners of the fairy tale. Some see
in “Allerleirauh,” as I do, an undercurrent that carries the experiences of
incest survivors who move back and forth among different perceptions of
themselves and their bodies as they journey toward renewed life. In this
chapter, I discuss another undercurrent of the tale, one that explores the
experiences of queer, transgendered, transsexual, and intersexed persons.
First, using multiple versions of ATU 510B, I explore the heroine’s experi-
ences in her gendered and ambiguous body; then, I focus on the ambiguous
pronouns (and their corresponding possessive adjectives) of the Grimm
brothers’ “Allerleirauh.”

ATU 510B/ATU 510*: GENDERED AND AMBIGUOUS
BODIES ON DISPLAY

In the compelling central section of the ATU 510 tales,3 the heroine disguises
and transforms her body over and over again, choosing coverings that both
hide and heighten her gender and sex. As Ibrahim Muhawi suggests in his
study of “Allerleirauh” and related Arabic tales, the beautiful gowns of the
heroine are just as much a disguise as her ashly rags or her rough-fur pelt:

There is actually a process of double masking: the beautiful dresses the
heroines wear at the end are just as much of a social mask as the fur
or sackcloth cloaks, the old man’s skin, or the layer of ash and grime in
“Cinderella” proper. In one they appear supremely feminine and
desirable; in the other they are animal-like, freakish and masculine, or
lowly and unworthy of attention. . . . This detail is brought out more
prominently in Allerleirauh where the first disguise allying her with
the animals and nature gives way to the glittering dresses that associate
her with heaven and the stars, endowing her with a transcendent and
irresistible beauty. The degree of desirability of the one disguise arises
directly from the degree of undesirability of the other. (2001, 278)
Allerleirauh must come to understand that the gendered way she was raised cannot be her only choice if she wants to flourish on her journey; she must be willing to live in multiple ambiguous skins among people who believe that everyone lives in just one clearly discernable one. Like queer and transgendered people, the heroine must find a way to survive when others want her to behave in a way she cannot. And, like many pre-transition transsexual people, she may feel, at times, that she is living in the wrong body (Prosser 1998, 69). Claiming a skin, no matter what its makeup, is her constant focus. "To be oneself is first of all to have a skin of one’s own," writes Jay Prosser, quoting Didier Anzieu (1989, 51), "and, secondly, to use it as a space in which one can experience sensations." Subjectivity is not just about having a physical skin; it’s about feeling one owns it; it’s a matter of psychic investment of self in skin" (Prosser 1998, 73). Finally, the heroine must find allies.

Usually, the man falls suddenly, madly in love with her. Often her mother dies early and unexpectedly, after asking (or requiring) the king to marry no one unless she can match the dead queen’s once-beautiful body in some way. The candidate should fit into the same dresses or shoes or rings, or bear the same star on her forehead, or have the same gleaming gold or gold and silver hair. No one else can be found, or the daughter tries her mother’s clothing or ring on by accident. In Scotland, she shows her father how well her mother’s dress fits (Campbell [1862] 1969, 226–29). In North Carolina, she tries on her dead mother’s wedding dress, which her father had put away; he is so angry with her that she leaves home (I. Carter 1925, 361–63). Sometimes, her unmarried brother pursues her; she is so beautiful that all men want her. Among Romanians living in the Balkans, her brother sees her combing her hair (Karlinger 1981, 181–83). In Sudan, he finds a lock of her hair (Hurreiz 1977, 83–85); because he is a revered only son, her fearful parents agree to the match (Al-Shahi and Moore 1978, 110–14). In Indian versions, even though the brother is an only son, the girl’s mother helps her escape (Ramanujan 1997, 74–79).

She stalls her pursuer by countering his incestuous demand with numerous requests of her own, often for objects identified with the feminine gender or the female body, made of strikingly unusual materials. In so doing, she acquires the wondrous items she will need for the challenges ahead. Sometimes she decides on the items herself, sometimes she seeks help. In Scotland, her foster mother, mother’s brother, or her mother reincarnated as a little brown calf advises her to ask for gowns and shoes and chests: gowns of swan’s down, moorland canach (bog cotton), silk standing upright with gold and silver; gowns of bird’s down in the colors of sky woven with silver and stars woven with gold; a pair of glass shoes or a pair with one shoe gold and one silver; a chest that locks within and without and will travel over land or sea (see Campbell [1862] 1969, 226–29, 232–33; Bruford and MacDonald [1994] 2007, 64–69). In Denmark, the little red cow that helps the princess is, herself, an enchanted princess (Cox 1893, 231). In Italy, she turns for advice to the pope or to an enchanter (350–52). Sometimes supernatural forces intervene; although her grandmother helps her in one Slavic version, in another, the sun counsels her. Other times, the devil helps her father procure three dresses: one of the sun, moon, stars, and all the heavens; one like the sea with fishes swimming in it; and one of hollow
wood (130). In Russia, she creates either three or four dolls and beseeches their aid; they split the earth open, and she escapes from her brother into an underground kingdom (Von Lôwis of Menar and Olesch 1959, 47–49). In Sweden, an old man, one of the “wee folk” who live in the mountain, advises her to seek work as a scullery maid in the summer palace and gives her a magic staff that will grant her requests when she hits it against the mountain and speaks certain words (Blecher and Blecher 1993, 168–73).

One item she procures before—or sometimes during—her journey is an unattractive “skin” or covering for her body. She wears it as she journeys through forests or across seas, alone or with friends and helpful animals. In this disguise, this second skin, she appears to others as a male, female, human, spirit-world being, thing, or a living entity whose characteristics cannot be discerned. Sometimes, as in Palestine, she wraps herself in a tight-fitting sackcloth and appears to be a weird old man or a jinn (Muhawi and Kanaana 1989, 125–30). And sometimes, as in Sudan, she removes the skin from an old man and covers herself with it (Al-Shahi and Moore 1978, 110–14; Hurreiz 1977, 83–85) or has a carpenter fashion her a dress from the dawn palm (Al-Shahi and Moore 1978, 118–20). In Japan, she receives a frog’s skin that enables her to become an old woman (Ikeda 1971, 75, 139). In the Basque country, the princess’s donkey guardian gathers little pieces of fur from the pelts of all the palace animals. After coating her naked body with pine resin, she sticks the fur pieces all over herself and puts on a servant’s dress (Karlinger and Laserer 1980, 44–54). In Slavic countries, an emperor’s daughter demands a mouse-skin dress, or a princess, listening to her dead mother at the gravesite, requests a “hollow man” made of wood so that only the princess may enter (Cox 1893, 129, 130). In Norway, she asks for a wooden cloak or is advised by an old woman to demand a crow-skin cloak (327). In Russia, one princess hears the instructions of her dead mother and wraps herself in a hood made of pigskin (Afanas’ev 1861 [1985], 312–14); another princess hides within a golden lantern (Haney 2001, 38–42). In Spain, the girl has a cork furniture craftsman make her a little bull gilded with gold, which she stocks with provisions, enters, and has thrown into the sea (Taggart 1990, 112–15). For Romanians living in the Balkans, she turns herself into sea foam; when she washes ashore on a far, fair island, she turns herself back into a woman (Karlinger 1981, 181–83).

Given the multiple skins of her ambiguous body, she sometimes disgusts but always intrigues those who meet her. At times, she finds them as exciting as they find her. Making use of her many layers of identity, she answers their questions with riddles about bodies. They either bring her back to their castles or open their kitchen doors to her knock. In a Basque story, a king, fishing in the mountains, invites a furry woman riding on a donkey to be his kitchen maid as soon as he hears her quick, saucy answers to his questions. “What kind of creature are you?” he asks. “Are you an animal or are you a person?” She replies,

Human am I and no animal
That, handsome youth, believe.
Under this husk lies a kernel
Many young men would crave. (Karlinger and Laserer 1980, 50)

Does he understand? Does he suspect anything? The story offers no direct pronouncement on what he thinks; but, after the young king asks two more questions and gets two more riddling answers (she tells him her name is Esaau), he takes her home. In Palestinian versions, when a king’s slaves see a creature completely covered in sackcloth eating the leftovers they have just thrown out, they run to their mistress. Curious, she “want[s] to have a look” at this “weird sight outside,” this “strangest-looking man.” They ask Sackcloth if she is “human or jinn.” “I’m human,” Sackcloth replies, “and the choicest of the race. But Allah has created me the way I am.” Even though she says she has no “skills in particular,” they invite her to work with them (Muhawi and Kanaana 1989, 127–29). In Egypt, when a slave girl sees what she thinks is a heap of skins with two bright eyes staring out, she says to her queen, “My lady, there is something monstrous crouching under our window, I have seen it, and it looks like nothing less than an Afreel!” When the queen sees Juleidah, she comments on the “astonishing creature” and asks, “What is it?” and “Who are you?” The queen decides, “We shall keep her to amuse us” (Bushnaq 1986, 195–96). In Italy, the palace guard starters as he debates whether or not to make her the royal goose herder: “The geese will be frightened if they see such a . . . such a . . . I don’t know, you’re certainly not a human being, nor are you beast. I don’t know what you are” (Falassi 1980, 43). Under the gaze of others, the girl becomes “it”—both

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“monstrous” and “astonishing.” Her body, like a riddle, gets read over and over again.

Hidden behind her body disguise of rags, soot, or animal skins, she works as a domestic servant. Usually she serves as a cook’s helper or a cook by requesting the position herself or by following the suggestion of a member of the royal family, a kindly old person, a helpful animal, or a spirit-world being. In Sweden, on the advice of the “wee folk” who live in the mountain, she seeks work as a scullery maid; with their help, she provides delicious meals for all in the palace (Blecher and Blecher 1993, 168–73). In India, her face hidden behind a mask and her gold hair tied tight, she is an expert cook, especially of sweet rice. She follows the advice of an old woman and finds work in the home of a saukar, a rich man, with several sons (Ramanujan 1997, 74–79). Sometimes, as in Egypt, she is recognized as a wounded creature and placed, specifically, under the care of the cook: “Mistress cook!” the queen says, “Take this broken-winged soul into your kitchen” (Bushnaq 1986, 196). Similarly, in Palestine, soon after she asks to work in the kitchen “peeling onions and passing things over,” everyone says how “happy they are to have Sackcloth around”; she stays “in the kitchen under the protection of the cook” (Muhawi and Kanaana 1989, 127–28). Sometimes she works at other domestic, food-related tasks. In Sudan, the royal girl cares for pigeons or geese (Al-Shahi and Moore 1978, 110–18; Hurreiz 1977, 83–85).

After working for years, she begins to remove her unattractive “skin.” Dressing in her beautiful clothes and jewelry made with unusual materials, she goes to one or several balls, church services, wedding celebrations, horse races (Pino-Saavedra 1967, 99–103), or feasts; then she puts her “skin” back on. In North Carolina, she cleans the kitchen so well that the prince’s mother invites her to the Saturday night dance and offers her clothing to wear (I. Carter 1925, 66–69). In Kentucky, her fairy godmother allows her only thirty minutes in the beautiful dress before she changes the girl back into her donkey skin, but it is enough time for the prince to see her and fall in love (Roberts [1955] 1988, 70–72). She often hides her beautiful clothes in places associated with spirit-world beings and goes back and forth to these places to change her clothing and identity: to a hill with its hukdre overtones in Norway (Cox 1893, 327) or to an oak in Russian versions (Von Löwis of Menar and Olesch 1959, 47–49).* During this time, she interacts with a young man of high degree who falls in love with her.11 He tries to discover the identity of this beautiful lady by questioning if she bears any relation to the strange, ugly servant in his household. Often, as in an Afrikaans tale from South Africa, he searches for her when the ring he gave her appears in his own castle, in his soup. Finally he follows the sound of wondrous harp playing to the dungeon, where he finds the beautiful woman, who was also a palace servant, dressed in cliff badger fur (Schmidt 1999, 235).12

Often, she and the young man compete with each other through teasing, riddles, contests, and games. Voyeurism and male-to-female cross-dressing also have their places in this section of the tale. In Norway, they race as they ride their horses (Cox 1893, 327). In Scotland, the prince acquires one of her shoes and holds a contest to see whose foot will fit (Campbell [1862] 1969, 226–29, 232–33; see also Bruford and MacDonald [1994] 2007, 64–69, in which the shoe itself “jump[s] on her foot”). In Sudan, he suggests they play mungala, a game that resembles chess (Hurreiz 1977, 83–85). Often, as in Italy, the young man turns voyeur, watching the girl undress (Falassi 1980, 42–45). In Palestine, he dresses as a woman so he can go with his mother to the women-only dance and watch the beautiful unknown girl (Muhawi and Kanaana 1989, 125–30). Very often the young man hurls personal, body-identified items of his at the girl: boots or walking sticks, combs, handkerchiefs, or towels. He loses most of the competitions: he cannot solve the riddle, he loses the race, and he sees but does not understand the creature whose body he watches through the peephole. Lovesick, he often takes to his bed.

In one Portuguese version, teasing and violence reach a height during this competition. She takes her wooden dress on and off twice: once in her role as the king’s duck herder and later as a prisoner-guest in his palace. When she tells the king she has killed one of his ducks, all he wants to know is the name of the beautiful woman wearing a dress the color of stars whom he saw with the ducks. Wearing her wooden gown, she riddles, “Indeed there was no one else there but myself in disguise” (Pedroso, Monteiro, and Ralston 1882, 68). Even after two more sightings of the beautiful woman, two more ducks, and two more riddles, the king does not understand. He refuses to take her to the feast, then asks her what dress she will wear. In return, she asks for a pair of his boots and he throws them at her. When

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his guards ask the beautiful woman where she is from, she says the land of the boot. He asks the woman in the wooden dress to embroider a pair of shoes for him, and she retorts, “Do I know how to embroider shoes?” Not until he watches her through a keyhole does he understand that the beautiful woman before him and the duck killer dressed in wood are the same person.

During this time, she continues to work, often in the kitchen, while her coworkers and the cook play a special role in her transformations. Sometimes of her fellow kitchen servants scoffs at her (Bushnaq 1986, 195–96). Usually, though, they appreciate and protect her as the mystery of the disappearing beauty unfolds. In Russia, when the tsar’s son asks a servant where the beautiful girl lives, the servant (who knows the girl is also the old woman who stokes the stoves) guards her identity. He offers the tsar’s son a place-name riddle instead of revealing her true home: the tsar’s own kitchen (Von Lôwi of Menar and Olesch 1959, 47–49). Sometimes, the cook takes a special interest in the strange creature who has been placed in the kitchen. In one story from Italy, the cook makes sure the king’s son hears the geese that call out that their herder is “lovely” and “perfect for the son of the king.” “Your majesty,” the cook asks, pointedly, “do the geese always have to make so much noise?” (Falassi 1980, 44). In the Basque country, when the king asks the cook how “content” he is with the new kitchen maid, the cook responds, “Highness, she is a big, big help to me. She understands something about all spices, and I can let her make many dishes on her own that I myself could not make any better.” She, in turn, praises the cook for his “kindheartedness” (Karlinger and Laserer 1980, 51). When the time comes for her identity to be known, the cook makes it possible for the king to suspect that the lowly kitchen girl is the beauty he seeks. In one German version, like the Grimms’, the cook reveals that the only people in the kitchen who could have put a ring into the king’s soup were either the cook or Cinder Blower (Ashliman 1996–2009). Thus, the cook helps her as she shifts back and forth among her bodies, so much so that this figure may be seen as her sympathetic guide, and more; a wise man or woman steeped in the ritual knowledge of the kitchen, that liminal place where civilized impulses meet the uncivilized and where both foodstuffs and people are transformed.13

Finally, she puts aside (or has torn from her) her “skin” disguise for the last time. Even though she stands in her supposed glory, radiant in a dress of the sun or of diamonds, someone—usually the young man—asks the question that never disappears: “Who are you?” “Finally I’ve found you, love of my heart,” the prince says, in Sweden, as he sees her standing in her diamond dress, her rags at her feet. “But who are you really?” he asks (Blecher and Blecher 1993, 173). In Italy, the king’s son asks, “Tell me, why did you disguise yourself like this? And why . . . where do you come from . . . who are you?” His mother had lifted the skirt of this girl to marvel at her small feet—everyone had seen the diamond dress under the rags—and the prince rushed forward and ripped away the rags (Falassi 1980, 44).

The question invites her to tell her story. In a powerful act of assertion and identity, she does so. In Italy, she gives a long, detailed report on what she went through, incest and all (Falassi 1980, 44). In India, the young man’s mother takes her to an inner chamber, asks questions, and “listen[s] to her strange story” (Ramanujan 1997, 75). The “who are you?” question, however, coming as it does at the very moment of her transformation and well before the wedding, suggests that even though she seems to assume several feminine practices of a conventional royal woman, she trails suspicion. It is this query, especially, that opens the surface of the tale to transgendered undercurrents.

**Border Crossers**

Sackcloth. Little Stick Figure. Cinder Blower. Louse Coat. Hanchi. Donkey Skin. Ubukawa. Allerreirua. Well might people be suspicious of her. Throughout the tale, this wandering young woman has been acquiring, wearing, and exchanging disguises. She has lived life in multiple bodies for a long time. Perhaps delight in those multiple bodies with their ambiguous
gender lingers. Perhaps she will carry abilities and preferences from those experiences into the palace.

Debates about her suitability are woven throughout. Her foot might fit a magic shoe, and she may be able to cook, but she confounds those who make her fit into one category: Non-human animal or human? Male or female? Her powers extend beyond the natural world: she can hear the advice her dead mother whispers (Cox 1893, 130); shoes, of their own accord, jump onto her feet (Campbell 1862, 1969, 229); and, if she prays, she can make herself disappear (Pino-Saavedra 1967, 99–103). “She’s a witch, she’s a witch!” some scream (103). A shape-shifter, she is liminal, numinous, bewtixt and between. “Border crossers and those living on borders,” write Judith Lorber and Lisa Jean Moore of transgendered and intersexed people, “have opened a social dialogue over the power of categories. . . . Multiple genders, sexes, and sexualities show that the conventional categories are not universal or essential” (2006, 162). Having crossed many borders herself, the young woman of the ATU 510B tales opens up a dialogue on categories that never gets resolved, even if a heterosexual wedding concludes the story. The tale explores so many different kinds of physical attractions, liaisons, and appearances that the man-woman wedding can be seen as just one of several possibilities.

Two additional versions of the tale underscore the questing, questioning, subversive nature of this tale complex. At the end of a Portuguese version, after the princess recounts her story of her wooden dress, the king sends “for the little old woman who had given [the princess] the [magic] wand, to come and live in the palace, but she refuse[s] to live there because she [is] a fairy.” Earlier, after he learned the identity of the princess by peeping through a keyhole, the king had proclaimed to the princess, “Do not be troubled for you shall marry me! . . . But I wish you first to tell me your history, and why it is that you wear a wooden dress” (Pedroso, Monteiro, and Ralston 1882, 72). The old woman’s clear refusal suggests that some do not want to live the forever-after life in a king’s palace, with its “who are you?” demands, certainly not those who are from another, otherworldly realm entirely.

Even more suggestive of ATU 510B tales’ subversive nature is “Florinda.” In this Chilean tale, storytellers seamlessly join the opening sections of the tale type with ones from ATU 514 (“The Shift of Sex”), a story whose heroine changes her gender through a disguise and, then, her sex (see Greenhill and Anderson-Gregoire, forthcoming). The tellers’ yeasty combination shows just how related the gender disguises of ATU 510B are to physical sex change. Florinda escapes the incestuous desires of her father: just as he tries to embrace her, she prays to her crucifix and disappears from sight. She dresses as a young man, saddles a horse, and, after a journey, asks for food at a palace. Thus in disguise, she attracts the attention of a king. Here the tale moves away from ATU 510B, as the king wants to be with the “handsome” stranger so much that he marries “him” to his daughter. When Florinda, on the wedding night, tells the princess “I am a girl, a woman just like you,” the princess replies, “All the better then. We’ll live together like two doves in the world.” The king revels in his new son-in-law, all the while “noticing what a beautiful body” he/Florinda has. When Florinda’s sex is about to be revealed during a swimming excursion, she is turned into a man by her magical, flying crucifix. Her joy, and that of the princess, comes not from any anticipation of heterosexual lovemaking but from their newfound safety from the king and his court. Florinda’s last words praise the power and beauty, not of her new body, but of the crucifix: “I can still see it now flying across the waters” (Pino-Saavedra 1967, 104–8).

By ending with a newly forged heterosexual married couple, the story’s surface reflects the Western societal belief that each person has, as Lorber says, “one sex, one sexuality, and one gender, congruent with each other and fixed for life, and that these categories are one of only two sexes, two sexualities, and two genders” (1995, 95). At the same time, “Florinda” offers an in-depth, sympathetic view of the lives and loves of bisexual, transsexual, and transgendered people whose “fluidity of bodies, desires, and social statuses” (95) show the male/female, masculine/feminine worldview to be only a veneer.

ATU 510B is a tale type of immense scope. Like “Bearskin,” the Grimms’ story of an unemployed soldier who wraps the devil’s mantle of rough bear fur around himself, “Allerleirauh” and its international versions ask, What is it to be human? To inhabit multiple “skins”? To further explore gender and gender ambiguity within this complex tale, I turn to an ambiguity on the lexical level of one version: the Grimms’ “Allerleirauh.” Using my own translation, I offer a rereading of the brothers’ 1857 text by exploring the fluid, oscillating, gendered pronouns.44

A reading that examines such oscillations shows All Kinds of Fur to be
largely responsible for her own transformations and thus contributes to the scholarly conversation about her as an active heroine. Christine Goldberg (1997, 29) sees Allerleirauh as an “active” young woman who “takes charge of her life and bides her time until she is in a position to marry a wealthy, devoted husband.” For Hirsch (1986, 166), she is “a particularly female hero.” Like Goldberg, Muhawi (2001, 271) contrasts the “passive” Cinderella of ATU 510A with the “active heroine” of ATU 510B. My reading of ATU 510B also argues for the importance of new translations of texts to gender and transgender studies. Above all, this reading makes available a multi-layered discussion of All Kinds of Fur’s transformations and her multiple, ambiguous identities.

Transformation, Identity, and Gendered Pronoun Shifts in “Allerleirauh”

Writing in German with its three gendered pronouns (sie, she; es, it; er, he), Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm had the opportunity to make choices about how they wanted to represent men and women in their tales. When it came to their female characters, the brothers took that opportunity. In his study based on a sampling of Grimm tales (exclusive of “Allerleirauh”), Orrin Robinson (2007, 110) provides strong evidence that, from 1819 on, the Grimms established patterns for their use of pronouns: they chose to use either sie or es, regardless of which pronoun grammatical rules called for, and they shifted pronoun assignment from sie to es or es to sie when certain situations of the heroines shifted. Except in a few cases, Robinson writes, the Grimms used es (it) to refer to younger, unsexed, good, or nice females, and they used sie (she) to refer to older, sixed, and bad or naughty females. Cinderella’s stepsisters, for example, are always sie, even when words like Mädchen (that call for the es pronoun) are used. Shifts from es to sie occur when a young woman becomes sexually mature or the object of sexual desire, marries, or does something “naughty” (111–13). These patterns are unique to the Grimms, Robinson discovered; they appear neither in source materials for the tales nor among the tales edited by their German contemporaries. In the text of “Allerley-Rauch,” in Carl Nehrlich’s 1798 novel Schilly, one of the sources of the Grimms’ “Allerleirauh” (Rölleke 1972), no sie/es alternation occurs. In the work of one of the Grimms’ contemporaries, folktales editor Ludwig Bechstein ([1845–53] 1983, 183–90), no sie/es alternation occurs in his ATU 510B text “Aschenpützer mit der Wünschelgerte” (“Ash-Blower with the Wishing-Wand”).

Most sie/es pronouns in the 1819–57 texts of “Allerleirauh,” however, do not fit the patterns Robinson suggests. Something far more complicated and provocative is happening in this pattern-breaking story with its dizzying numbers of pronoun shifts. Robinson’s ideas may contribute to understanding the use of sie in the beginning and ending of “Allerleirauh,” but the patterns do not apply for most of the tale. Robinson worked with tales involving one or sometimes two pronoun shifts from es to sie in the entire text, but “Allerleirauh” contains many frequent pronoun shifts. He discusses “slippages” from his pronoun patterns in “Goosegirl,” a tale with some affinities to “Allerleirauh,” but his suggestions do not hold true for the latter tale. The shifts in “Allerleirauh” from sie to es cannot be explained, as Robinson suggests, as a return to “innocen[c]” or “young maidenhood” (2007, 117, 118). Allerleirauh does not return to childhood asexuality; in her mantle of rough furs, she is both sexual and asexual at the same time. She strategically uses asexuality to camouflage her sexual body. Also, I do not see Allerleirauh’s sexual desirability, as Robinson’s schema would suggest, as the only reason for the use of sie to refer to the heroine.

Throughout the first part of the Grimms’ text of “Allerleirauh,” the king’s daughter is referred to only as sie (she). However, after she wraps her rough-fur mantle around her, escapes from her father’s castle, and is discovered by the hunters of a neighboring king, numerous pronoun shifts begin. From this point in the tale on, the pronouns the Grimms use to refer to All Kinds of Fur switch back and forth between sie (she) and es (it). This oscillation calls into doubt just who or what All Kinds of Fur is: human and/or non-human animal, young woman and/or asexual child.

Although these pronoun shifts might initially seem to be governed by the grammatical rules of German, many are not. Editorial choice is at work when the Grimms use sie (she) at some moments and es (it) at others. English translators who use only the feminine pronoun “she” to refer to the heroine de-emphasize two vital issues: the oscillating gender designations of the text and All Kinds of Fur’s transformations, her shifts from one body to another. To reclaim both issues, I use “she” as well as “it” in my translation of the tale.

Ambiguous Bodies and Ambiguous Pronouns
Intention is not the issue. Whether or not the Grimms’ pronoun shifts were deliberate or systematic, the shifts make the non-human/human issue and the gendered/genderless issue much more transparent. The Grimms’ text, I suggest, allows for a reading of complicated, fluid gender positions. I discuss selected sections of the tale to show its fluid, gendered landscape; and I begin with the section about hunters and their dogs, which I number story section 5b (5 refers to the fifth paragraph in the Grimms’ 1857 text, b refers to the second section of the paragraph that I have divided for ease of discussion). In the Grimms’ texts from 1819 through 1857, all Kinds of Fur herself helps set the first gender shift in motion.

As section 5b begins, the king’s daughter has fled her father’s castle, run into the forest, and fallen asleep in the hollow base of a tree. When the king who owns this forest speaks of the creature his hunters have seen, he uses animal terms in neuter gender: ein Wild (a game animal). Here, for the very first time, the young woman, formerly a princess and now something quite other, hears herself referred to not as sie (she) but as es (it):

1857 Text

(5b) Sprach der König zu den Jägern: “Seht nach, was dort für ein Wild sich versteckt hat.”

Die Jäger folgten dem Befehl, und als sie wiederkamen, sprachen sie: “In dem hohlen Baum liegt ein wunderliches Tier, wie wir noch niemals eins gesehen haben; an seiner Haut ist tausenderlei Pelz; es liegt aber und schläft.”

(5c) Sprach der König: “Seht zu, ob ihr’s lebendig fangen könnt, dann bindet’s auf den Wagen und nehmt’s mit.”

When the hunters report back to the king, they also use a neuter term for animal (Tier) as well as the neuter pronoun es (it). In the fifth paragraph of the tale, then, the narrator establishes and intensifies the gender-neutral, non-human animal designation for the king’s daughter, now draped in her mantle of fur.

As section 5c continues, the hunters touch the creature. Since her discovery as an attractive young woman is imminent, she speaks, referring to herself as a Kind (child):

(5c) Als die Jäger das Mädchen anfassten, erwachte es voll Schrecken und rief ihnen zu: “Ich bin ein armes Kind, von Vater und Mutter verlassen, erbarmit euch mein und nehmt mich mit.”

(5c) When the hunters touched the girl, it awoke terrified and called out to them: “I am a poor child, abandoned by father and mother. Have pity on me and take me with you.”

By using the neuter noun (das) Kind, she declares herself human but hides her sex, gender, and age. Unlike most English translators who use “girl,” I translate Kind as “child” to show one of the verbal strategies All Kinds of Fur uses to protect herself. My translation also makes clear the young woman’s use of language to unsex herself, an act that takes on greater and greater significance as the tale proceeds. My translation and my work with the alternation of sie/es have other implications for “Allerleirauh” scholarship. For example, Muhawi (2001, 275), in his essay on Arabic “Cinderella” tales, including ATU 510B, writes that tales such as “Sackcloth” have disguises that belong to the world of culture and, therefore, serve as a “social mask.” Allerleirauh’s fur mantle disguise, in contrast, belongs to the world of nature and also represents the bestiality of the father; therefore, it cannot serve as a social mask. I suggest, though, that since Allerleirauh requests the mantle herself and then uses it as well as her words (es and das Kind) to unsex herself, her clothing is just as much a social mask as is a covering of sackcloth. Similarly, Muhawi writes that two Arabic heroines appear, through their disguises, as “members of the opposite sex” and that Allerleirauh’s disguise “associates her with the animal world” (271). I argue that Allerleirauh has also changed her human gender to the neuter, not the masculine.

The king’s hunters, after hearing the child speak as only a human could, name her Allerleirauh (All Kinds of Fur), a name free of gender designation:
(5d) Then the hunters said, "All Kinds of Fur, you are just right for the kitchen. Come along, then. You can sweep up the ashes."

So they set it on the wagon and drove it home to the royal castle.

Since Allerleirauch combines two adjectives (allerlei, all kinds of, and rauh, rough, as in fur) and no nouns, German grammar does not designate this name as feminine, masculine, or neuter.9 No matter what the hunters intend by bestowing such a name, their choice of Allerleirauch allows her—and them—to hide her sex and give her the protection she claimed earlier when she called herself "child." The narrator's use of es (it) intensifies this protective neutering of All Kinds of Fur; since Allerleirauch is a proper name, the narrator could use either sie or es to refer to this creature wrapped in a mantle of fur. The pronoun shifts and name changes that begin here are tinged with hints of magic, of the transformative power of the spoken word. The folktales, as Muhawi notes, invests "power" in "the speech acts of language" (2001, 279). Words, names, titles, and even pronouns can change a character, both metaphorically and physically, into something other than she was before.

At this point in the tale, a willing game begins; the hunters do not tell the king that All Kinds of Fur is human. Whatever they suspect about the sex or gender of the creature they have discovered they keep secret. Since the king does not hear the hunters speak with her, he does not know that she is human and young. The hunters do, and in the king's presence, they command her komm nur mit, gentle words used to urge along a pet or a child. They do not tie her down onto the wagon as the king told them to and as they would usually do with an animal; rather, they "set" her on the wagon. They take her to the one place in the castle that is a space of transformation and magic, overseen by a person of numinous qualities who knows all about animals from the forest—the kitchen.

At the same time, the hunters, the narrator, and All Kinds of Fur herself open a debate about the human condition that will continue: Who and what is she? Non-human animal and/or human? Male and/or female? What is it to be human? With this name, she becomes not just an animal but "all kinds of" (allerlei) animals, especially those dangerous animals bearing rough fur and associated with men's hunting parties: fox, wolf, bear, boar. By giving her this name, the hunters send her far away from a human, gendered identity.

In section 5e, the hunters give All Kinds of Fur a place to live and a second proper name, one even more closely associated with the non-human: Rauhtierchen (Little Hairy Animal). The narrator, meanwhile, continues to use neuter gender terms for All Kinds of Fur, both with ihm and with es. Since Rauhtierchen is spoken as a proper name here, the narrator could use either sie (she) or es (it), but es is chosen. This choice of es, given that the word ends with -chen, is reasonable since -chen endings generally call for neuter referents.

(5e) Dort wiesen sie ihm ein Ställchen an unter der Treppe, wo kein Tageslicht hinkam, und sagten: "Rauhtierchen, da kannst du wohnen und schlafen."

Dann ward es in die Küche geschickt, da trug es Holz und Wasser, schürte das Feuer, rupfte das Federvieh, belas das Gemüse, kehrte die Asche und tat alle schlechte Arbeit.

Then it was sent to the kitchen. There it carried wood and water, stoked the fire, plucked the poultry, sorted the vegetables, swept the ashes, and did all of the worst work.

In section 6a, in a major rhetorical move, the narrator shifts to the feminine gender and reveals the female body of All Kinds of Fur. Lamenting the heroine's circumstances, the narrator directly addresses her as schöne Königstochter (beautiful king's daughter), thus switching to a feminine noun after the many preceding neuter terms. An exclamation point, rare in this text, calls further attention to the gender shift:

(6a) Da lebte Allerleirauch lange... (6a) All Kinds of Fur lived there
zeit recht armelig. Ach, du schöne Königstochter, wie soll’s mit dir noch werden!

Es geschah aber einmal, daß ein Fest im Schloß gefeiert ward, da sprach sie zum Koch: “Darf ich ein wenig hinaufgehen und zusehen?”

“Beautiful king’s daughter” stipulates and intensifies All Kinds of Fur’s sex and gender by broadcasting her female beauty. In naming her noble rank, the phrase also recalls her relationship to her father, his incestuous desires, and his attempted possession of her as his wife. At this point in the 1812 text, the brothers Grimm used Jungfrau (maiden, virgin) but changed it in 1819 and onward to the term that clearly names the perpetrator and his close relationship to his victim: Königstochter. English translators of the 1857 edition who use “princess” at this critical juncture in the text (and the translators of the two most popular anthologies do) deemphasize the incest motif and the text’s subversive question of men’s ownership of women.20

In sections 6b to 7b, as the tale proceeds through the first ball and its aftermath, the narrator continues the use of sie (she). All Kinds of Fur enters her stall just off the kitchen, removes her rough-fur mantle, washes, and clothes herself in the dress of the sun. At the ball, everyone thinks she is a king’s daughter. The king dances with her and she disappears. Back in her stall, she removes her dress, rubs soot back on her face and hands, and puts on her mantle. When she starts to sweep the ashes as instructed, the cook surprises her:

(7b) Als sie nun in die Küche kam und an ihre Arbeit gehen und die Asche zusammenkehren wollte, sprach der Koch: “Laß das gut sein bis morgen und koche mir da die Suppe für den König.”

Cooking soup for the king is a major rite of passage for All Kinds of Fur, an act that signals her transformation from a servant who fetches water, tends ashes, and chops vegetables to one who now assembles all the ingredients and transforms them, over a fire, into a dish literally fit for a king. Cooking also signals her human condition, for, as James Boswell wrote in his journal, “No beast is a cook” (quoted in Symons 1998, xii). Throughout the section that follows the narrator’s direct address to the beautiful king’s daughter, the narrator continues to refer to All Kinds of Fur as sie (she). The narrator’s word choice reminds readers that, throughout her days in the kitchen, All Kinds of Fur is both an animal and a woman.

When All Kinds of Fur cooks the king’s soup and places a gold ring in the bowl (section 7c), the narrator shifts to es (it) and continues to use this neutral pronoun through section 9b. Here, as before, the narrator can use either sie or es after the proper noun Allerleirauf. This editorial choice once again links the name Allerleirauf with “it” and hides All Kinds of Fur’s female sex:

(7c) Da ging der Koch fort, und Allerleirauf kochte die Suppe für den König und koche eine Brotsuppe, so gut es konnte, und wie sie fertig war, holte es in dem Ställchen seinen goldenen Ring und legte ihn in die Schüssel, in welche die Suppe angerichtet ward.

(7c) Then the cook went away, and All Kinds of Fur cooked the soup for the king, a bread soup, as well as it could. And when the soup was ready, it got from the little stall its gold ring, and laid it in the bowl in which the soup was to be served.

Between section 7c, where she cooks the king’s soup for the first time, and section 9b, where All Kinds of Fur prepares for the second ball, the text contains several instances where the use of es (it) is especially intensified. In 7f when the cook talks to the king, the cook uses das Rauchtieren, the more animal, less gendered noun, with its neutral diminutive -chen. In section 8a, as she comes before the king, she calls herself “child,” once again hiding her female sex. As the narrator relates All Kinds of Fur and the king’s conversation in sections 8b and 8c, the narrator’s repetition of Antwortete es (it answered) emphasizes her ambiguous, gender-neutral status.

The narrator continues to use es (it) in 9b as All Kinds of Fur transforms
herself for the second ball from a creature in a rough-fur mantle into a woman dressed in a silver gown. Directly afterward, though, as she steps into the ballroom in section 9c, the narrator shifts to *sie* (she) and foregrounds All Kinds of Fur’s human, female identity:

(9b) Da lief es in sein Ställchen, wusch sich geschwind und nahm aus der Nuß das Kleid, das so silbern war wie der Mond, und tat es an.

(9c) Da ging sie hinauf und gleich einer Königstochter, und der König trat ihr entgegen und freute sich, daß er sie wiedersah.

From this point in the tale until the end, the gender shifts in the pronouns referring to All Kinds of Fur increase in number, intensity, and propinquity. As the shifts emphasize the complex, fluid, gendered landscape of the tale, they call increased attention to the oscillating feminine/neutral genders and human/non-human animal condition of All Kinds of Fur.

After the second ball, All Kinds of Fur runs from the king, changes, cooks his soup, and puts the gold spinning wheel in the bowl (section 9d). At first the narrator uses feminine pronouns (*sie* and *ihrr*), but as All Kinds of Fur wraps herself in her mantle, the narrator calls her (*das*) Rauhtierchen (Little Hairy Animal) and shifts to the neuter pronoun:

(9d) Als aber der Tanz zu Ende war, verschwand sie wieder so schnell, daß der König nicht bemerken konnte, wo sie hinging. Sie sprang aber in ihr Ställchen und machte sich wieder zum Rauhtierchen und ging in die Küche, die Brotsuppe zu kochen.

(9d) As soon as the dance ended though, she disappeared again so fast that the king could not notice where she went. She ran however into her little stall and made herself again into the Little Hairy Animal and went into the kitchen to cook the bread soup.

The use of *Rauhtierchen* in 9d adds to the gender ambiguity on the lexical level because readers and translators have two choices: they can see *Rauhtierchen* either as a noun or as a proper name. Each choice has implications. If the reader takes the word for the noun “little hairy animal,” then *Rauhtierchen* clearly takes neuter pronouns, for in German (*das*) Tier is a neuter noun. If the reader sees *Rauhtierchen* as a proper name, then either *sie* or *es* could be used as the related pronoun. In my translation, *Rauhtierchen* is a familiar proper name; the narrator chooses to use the neuter pronoun *es* rather than *sie* and shifts All Kinds of Fur back to her gender-neutral self.

Only a sentence later, as All Kinds of Fur confesses for the second time that she cooked the soup and that she was only good for having boots thrown at her head, the narrator in section 9e calls the heroine *Allerleirauf* and links the name with *sie* this time, shifting to the feminine pronoun. (The narrator paired *Allerleirauf* with *es* in sections 5d and 7c.)

(9e) Allerleirauf kam da wieder vor den König, aber sie antwortete, daß sie nur dazu wäre, daß ihr die Stiefel an dem Kopf geworfen würden und daß sie von dem goldenen Spinnrädchen gar nichts wüßte.

(9e) Then All Kinds of Fur came before the king again, but she answered that she was only good for having boots thrown at her head,\(^{46}\) and that she knew nothing at all about the gold spinning wheel.

Immediately after the use of *sie* for *Allerleirauf* in 9e, the cook uses a feminine noun and then switches to neuter nouns to refer to All Kinds of Fur: the cook declares her *eine Hexe* (a witch),\(^{47}\) then calls her *Rauhtierchen*, all in the space of one sentence in section 10a. Indeed, the cook always uses the latter more familiar, endearing, family-like name, never *Allerleirauf*:

(10a) Als der König zum drittenmal ein Fest anstellte, da ging es nicht anders als die vorigen Male.

(10a) When the king held a ball for the third time, it went no different from the earlier times except that

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\(^{46}\) Allerleirauf, in the original “beautiful cake”, referred to a dish of the time, not to the heroine.

\(^{47}\) This sentence is in the dative, and translated as such.

Ambiguous Bodies and Ambiguous Pronouns
The intensified use of feminine, gender-specific words ends the complex alternation of "sie (she) and es (it). In the tale's concluding moments, the repetition of "maiden," "she," "beautiful," and "her" effectively attempts to seal off and contain the gender ambiguity of bodies, clothes, and pronouns that had come before. These gendered words seek to reinscribe the text with "the binary framework [of] both sex and gender," what Judith Butler calls "regulatory fictions" ([1990] 1999. 33).

The transformative shifts among ambiguous bodies and ambiguous pronouns, however, constitute the alluring, central actions of "Allerleirauh" ("All Kinds of Fur"). All Kinds of Fur wraps herself in the rough-fur mantle, places three gowns and three tiny gold treasures in a nutshell, and flees from her father. As she journeys, she hides her female self behind rough furs and the word camouflage of "das Kind." Others help her, either inadvertently or on purpose, by calling her "Allerleirauh" and "Rauhtierchen" and by alternating "sie" with es—not using just "sie" alone. The gendered words that close the tale, however, can neither regulate nor cordon off the compelling visions of life in the alternative landscape of the tale's interior. Those visions remain vibrant long after the wedding fades from memory.

"Allerleirauh," with its many ambiguities, is one of those "cultural configurations of gender confusion [that] operate as sites for intervention, exposure, and displacement" of the "reified framework" of the masculine/feminine binary (Butler [1990] 1999. 31). In "Allerleirauh," the disguises of skins and words suggest that delineations of gender and sex are themselves disguises, social constructions, and, in Muñawil's words, "social masks" (2001, 278). Skins and words, the tale suggests, can be changed and blended seemingly at will. But the cost is high; one needs a gown of stars in a midnight sky, a mantle from a piece of every animal's fur, and just the right words.

NOTES

Heartfelt thanks to my tutor and cotranslator Irmgard Wagner. Thanks also to Joan N. Radner, Eileen B. Sypher, John Burt Foster Jr., Susan Gordon, Ruth Bottigheimer, and my graduate research assistants Shawn Flanagan, Jennifer Spulnik-Hughes, and Paulina Guerrero.
1. The last (1857) of the Grimms’ seven published versions is more ambiguous than the first (1812). The 1812 version says the princess’s bridegroom gave her the three treasures while she was living in her father’s kingdom. No such bridegroom appears in the former, which does not name the giver.

2. I write from the perspective where a young woman marries a man who is not her father for two main reasons. First, most people in my audience and classes imagine the story thus. Most of all, though, like incest survivors and many other women, I am personally more interested in the journey of a young woman away from a threatening situation and toward another, more fulfilling life where she makes her own choices, sexual and otherwise. My discussion of ambiguous bodies and ambiguous pronouns, though, applies to both perspectives.

3. I have included a few ATU 510B* (“The Princess in the Chest”) tales because they share many motifs with ATU 510.

4. The story examples that I attribute to one country are meant to be illustrative only, and not exhaustive. When I write “in Scotland,” for example, I do not mean this motif occurs in Scotland alone or that it is the sole Scottish version.

5. All German translations by Yocom with Wagner, unless otherwise noted.

6. Translation from Russian by John Burt Foster Jr.

7. By calling herself Esaua and later Jacobina she offers the king a hint. See the story of Jacob and Esau in Genesis 27:1-40 of the Bible.

8. An Afreet is a demon from the djinn world.

9. In this tale there is no incestuous request but, rather, its replacement; her father wants her to marry an ugly old king in Faraway Land.

10. For information on the huldre or hidden people, see Kvideland and Sehmsdorf (1988).

11. In some versions, especially those where the young man falls ill, the young woman interacts with his mother. For example, see the Chilean tale where the mother refuses to allow Little Stick Figure to make tortillas for the sick young gentleman (Pino-Saavedra 1967, 99–103).

12. Schmidt summarizes a tale found in Grobbelaar (1981, 675) in which there is no incestuous request but, rather, its replacement. Her father wants her to marry an old king, and she is already in love with a young king. According to Schmidt (1991, 87–93), most South African ATU 510B versions begin with this replacement motif or with the opening section of ATU 923 “Love Like Salt.”

13. Space does not allow for a full discussion of the role of the cook, his/her relationship with All Kinds of Fur, and the power of the domestic space of the kitchen. In an article in progress, I detail these connections, their implications for “Allerleirauh,” and the role of the cook in other tales and literary works.

14. In his work with tales told in Arabic, Ibrahim Muhawi has also explored the significance of pronoun shifts. He discusses how the language of “Sackcloth,” a Palestinian ATU 510B version, establishes “a masculine identity for the heroine. Once she dons her sackcloth, this transformation is effected through the latent power of language in creating character and action through narrative. Arabic as we know it is characterized by the use of grammatical gender: in “Sackcloth” the teller deploys this characteristic of language iconically, relying on the deictic power of nouns and pronouns to create reference and a masculine gender for the heroine. Till the unraveling at the end, the teller refers to Sackcloth only by means of masculine pronouns, or by the appellation Abu l-Lababib (Sackcloth-Man)” (2001, 279).

15. Instead, Bechstein establishes a pattern of language usage that tells readers that, without a doubt, Aschenpüster (Ash-Blower), in her crow-skin disguise, is a young woman who has magically changed her shape (Gestalt) to that of a boy. Bechstein avoids the neuter gender (he uses no neuter pronouns to refer to Ash-Blower) and places the feminine and masculine forms of words in clearly different grammatical positions. When he uses nouns and their modifying adjectives (both descriptive and possessive) to refer to her (with her crow-skin disguise and boy’s shape), he uses their masculine form. When he uses pronouns to refer to her (with the identical costume and form), he uses their feminine mode (with one understandable exception). Also, the Grimms’ 1819 text and all subsequent texts have many more sie/ses alternations and more neuter references (Kind/child) than their first version of 1812.

16. I am using the following texts: for 1810/1812 (Grimm 1975); for 1819 (Grimm [1982] 1993); for 1837 (Grimm [1985] 2007); and for 1857 (Grimm 1984).

17. I translate es as “it” and not sie, as is standard in German, because the Grimms sometimes use sie to refer to (das) Mädchen. See “Aschenputtel,” as Robinson (2007) points out.

18. At this point in the German-language edition of the 1857 text I use, edited by Rölleke (1984), Allerleirauh appears in italics. It is the first time the name appears in the tale.

19. Rauch and its variant rauch in the time of the Grimms meant behaart (haired; Kluge [1883] 1960, 586). It also denoted and denotes today, without disparagement, the rough, coarse fur of bear or fox (not sleek deer fur, for example), especially in compound words such as Rauchwerk and Ruchwerk that referred to a furrier’s Werk (work [neuter]) or Ware (goods [feminine]) (586). Words for fur that might also affect which gender the Grimms and others use when referring to the rauch of Allerleirauh are masculine and neuter: der Pelz (warm, thick fur, refers to clothing) and das Fell (fur, skin on a living animal).

20. See the widely used translations of Jack Zipes (2002b, 240) and Margaret
Hunt (1884). The Grimms used Prinzessin (princess), a French loanword, several times in their 1812 edition, but by 1819 they used the German Königinstochter. See also Tatar (1987, 31).

21. For examples of the connection between footwear and human sexuality, see German proverbs that feature boots and shoes (Wander [1867–80] 1964).

22. The Grimms could have had the cook say ein Hexchen, a gender-neutral noun available in their Hessian dialect. Similarly, in Swabia, people used the neuter cognate ein Hexe to refer to tricky little girls and, in Swiss Allemanic, ein Hexti. The Grimms used the feminine eine Hexe instead (conversations with Irmgard Wagner, May 2009).