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‘The Tinderbox’: Military Culture and Literary Culture from Romanticism to Realism

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‘The Tinderbox’, which appeared in a collection of *Fairy-Tales Told for Children* in 1835, was not Hans Christian Andersen’s first published work, but it was the first in the genre in which he would make his reputation. This tale of a discharged soldier’s acquisition of a magical tinderbox, and his use of it to gain riches and power, remains one of his most popular.¹ However, contemporary Danish reviewers were shocked by its ‘moral indifference’ and equally dismayed by its disorderly style, characteristic of oral speech.² Modern critics remain disconcerted: according to Maria Tatar, its soldier hero is ‘Brutal, greedy and impetuous, he is not much of a role model for children listening to the story’.³ The soldier kills, for no particular reason and with no remorse, the witch who directed him to wealth. Later he uses three magical dogs summoned by the tinderbox to carry a princess to his room at night. When the king sentences him to death for this act of *lèse-majesté* he orders the same dogs to kill the king, queen and counsellors. He becomes king himself and marries the princess. Her views on these events go unmentioned.

The plot of ‘The Tinderbox’ (ATU562 in the typology of folktale types) is clearly related to that of ‘Aladdin’, albeit transferred to a European setting.⁴ The story of ‘Aladdin’, which first appeared in Antoine Galland’s 1710 French translation of the *1001 Nights*, enjoyed an enormous vogue in nineteenth-century Denmark thanks to Adam Oehlenschläger’s 1805 theatrical version.⁵ Andersen identified with the Aladdin character, and many of his best-known stories feature ‘rags-to-riches’ plotlines.⁶ However, it was not he who first relocated this magic plot to the Occident. In the introduction to his 1835 *Fairy-Tales*, Andersen wrote that these were typical oral entertainments that accompanied workers’ gatherings in the hop gardens in summer or in the spinning-rooms in winter where he had heard them, growing up in a poor neighbourhood of Odense. One should treat such declarations about the oral origins of a printed text with caution: in eras of censorship authors had sound reasons for masking their own creativity behind the concept of collective composition. However, we know that versions of ‘The Tinderbox’ were circulating in the plebeian oral culture of Restoration Europe. We can even make an educated guess about who told it to Andersen. To explain how, we need to go back twenty years to this tale’s first appearance in print in the Grimms’ collection.

'The Blue Light' was included in the second volume of the first edition of the Grimm brothers' *Children's and Household Tales* in 1815.⁷ Neither volume found favour with the book-buying public at the time, but in retrospect we can recognize that this was the most significant literary event of the Restoration. Not only were the *Tales* themselves endlessly recycled – as schoolbooks, plays and operas – but they would spawn imitators across the continent. The Grimms' domesticated nationalism was the ideal literature for a bourgeois public, and in particular the burgeoning market in children's books. But it sat less well with the expectations of the restored authorities. The bodies of murdered kings proliferated worryingly through their tales.⁸

In the 1815 iteration of 'The Blue Light' a soldier is dismissed by a king after years of service, and hopelessly wanders through the country: a story appropriate to the times. He finds work with an old woman, who gets him to fetch a blue light from the bottom of her well. When he refuses to pass it to her she drops him into the depths. To console himself the soldier lights his pipe with the blue light, at which point a magical servant, a little black man, appears. The little man is ordered to beat the witch to death, then to provide the soldier with gold. The soldier returns to the city, puts up at the best inn, and orders his servant to bring him the daughter of his former employer: 'The king sent me away and let me starve . . . Now . . . She will have to wait on me and do what I command.' The king attempts to trace the culprit, and finally the soldier is caught without his magic light. Through the prison bars, he asks an old comrade to fetch his bundle from the inn. On the way to the scaffold he asks for one last favour, to smoke his pipe. The little black man appears and the soldier orders him to 'Beat everyone here to death and tear the king into three pieces.' The king begs for mercy; the soldier takes the kingdom and the princess.⁹

The Grimms collected rather than authored their tales. They did not give a source for this story, only noting that it came from Mecklenburg, but this and other stories so labelled had been sent to the brothers by August von Haxthausen, who recorded them from a Mecklenburg soldier he was serving with in the Swedish army on the Holstein frontier in 1813–14. Soldiers, Haxthausen wrote to the Grimms, told such tales while on watch duty.¹⁰

The Grimms were not just collectors and writers, they were activists. Jacob took the opportunity, when secretary of the Hesse-Kassel delegation to the Congress of Vienna, to distribute a 'Circular concerning the collection of Folk Poetry'.¹¹ Both the 'Circular' and the *Children's and Household Tales* were sent all over Europe, including Denmark, where selections were published in 1816 and 1823 (though neither included 'The Blue Light'). Danes such as Mathias Winther and Mathias Thiele were inspired by the Grimms to collect Danish folk tales. Thiele was an early patron of Andersen's, and they were neighbours while the latter was writing 'The Tinderbox'. Andersen was certainly familiar with the Grimms' work and the reception of his oeuvre was dependent on the literary fashion that the Grimms had initiated.¹²

The Hungarian Gyorgy Gaal, librarian of the Esterhazy family, was similarly galvanized by the Grimms: he published a collection of *Tales from the Magyars* in 1822. Most of his tales were obtained from soldiers in the 12th Cumanian Regiment of Hussars, which was stationed in Vienna.¹³ The first tale is 'The Wonderful Tobacco Pipe', a version of same story as 'The Blue Light' and 'The Tinderbox'. Again the hero is a

soldier of dubious morality; the magical helper in this iteration is a bronze king (in a revolutionary moment the soldier contemplates decapitating him before he learns how useful he is). He does, however, kill his own sovereign, whose daughter he has ordered to be brought to his room every night, and assumes his place. 'Then', in an echo of Napoleonic imperial policy, 'all the neighbouring kings and princes became his satellites and dependents'.¹⁴

Other versions of this same tale found their way from oral narration into print during the Restoration. Friedmund von Arnim, the son of the Grimms' friends Achim von Arnim and Bettina Brentano, collected one on the Saxon-Bohemian border.¹⁵ Johannes Wilhelm Wolf, the Grimms' most ardent disciple, published a version from the Low Countries in 1845.¹⁶ In 1846 the Moravian journalist Matěj Mikšíček edited a Czech version.¹⁷ Although recognizably the same plot, the discrepancies between these versions suggest that they derived, as their authors claimed, from oral storytelling. The texts themselves contain indications they had passed through a barracks. The hero of Arnim's tale, for example, uses military language. He looks for a 'nachtquartier', he asks where he can 'logiren' and eat a 'portion'. Another feature in this and many other versions (including Gaal's) indicative of a military context is that the hero's interactions with innkeepers occupy much more space than those with the king and his daughter. Food, bedding and lodgings preoccupied common soldiers of all nations, to judge by their surviving letters, and the tales echo this.¹⁸

We can deduce from these texts that this retelling of 'Aladdin' probably originated in the Napoleonic period. It is possible that an ur-narrative lies behind all the extant recordings, perhaps a play or a puppet show. However, this is speculation. What is clear is that it was popular among soldiers, and the tale's diffusion owes something to the multi-national mingling that occurred in the armies of the Napoleonic wars. Demobilized soldiers then carried the story as they wandered through a pacified continent. Evidence of soldiers' narration is to be found even in those texts whose narrator remains unknown, for example in the hero's profession, their tobacco addiction, in the themes, such as desire for revenge against former commanders but also comradeship with lower ranks, in the language larded with military argot.

How then did it reach the young Andersen? The obvious source is his father, a shoemaker and volunteer in the Danish army deployed in Holstein between 1812 and 1814 (on the opposite side to the Mecklenburger who told 'The Blue Light'). Andersen *père* is exemplary of all those commoners inspired by the epic of Napoleon's ascent and his overthrow of the existing social order.¹⁹ 'The Tinderbox' employs the same stylistic elements as tales that we know were in Andersen's father's repertoire, such as the marching rhythm 'Left, right – left, right' which introduces its hero.²⁰

'The Tinderbox' is an example of a new concept of literature that developed in the wake of the Napoleonic wars, one that drew its inspiration not from classical models but from the oral vernacular. From such material a national culture, reflective of and suitable for a mass, participatory society, could be fashioned. By the nineteenth century the curators of these cultural wellsprings were to be found among the poor and the marginalized. But in earlier epochs, before social complexity generated class antagonisms and before elites had been seduced by imported cultural exotica, such tales were part of a common literature shared by entire peoples. As the process of class

differentiation quickened in the nineteenth century, it was vital that this patrimony be revived, or so argued the Grimms and their followers. After 1815, while overt democratic and nationalist movements were suppressed, the concepts of 'the people' and 'the nation' were nonetheless invoked in titles such as Gaal's *Tales of the Magyars*, Wolf's *German Tales and Legends* and Thiele's *Danish Folk Tales*. The people and the nation formed a cultural unit which could, moreover, serve to legitimize political claims. Unsurprisingly, some of these cultural activists were also political activists, including both Jacob Grimm and Matěj Mikšíček, respectively delegates in 1848 to the Frankfurt Parliament and the Prague Slavic Congress.

Yet the example of 'The Tinderbox' also illustrates the difficulties Romantic authors faced when using folklore to argue for a common, enduring and national culture. The material and their ambitions did not fit. We can be fairly certain that the story does not predate Galland; it was not, therefore, an inheritance from the distant past but a relatively modern invention. It is in no sense national as we have already encountered German, Hungarian, Danish, Czech and Flemish versions. And while it was popular, it was especially so in one occupational milieu. It did not belong to 'the people' but rather reflected the experiences and concerns of a particular group: soldiers.

Soldiers' culture was more visible in this period because the expansion of armies fostered interactions between common soldiers and intellectuals in uniform such as Haxthausen and Winthur. However, their interest in soldier's culture was rather haphazard and not an invocation of the revolutionary idea of the 'nation in arms'. The Grimms' most important soldier storyteller, the veteran sergeant of dragoons Johann Friedrich Krause, apparently provided the brothers with his first tales (in 1811) in return for some old clothes.²¹ Gaal turned to his hussars because he was on friendly terms with their colonel. Wolf set off in the spring of 1848 for the remote Hessian Odenwald where he imagined that he would find narrators unsullied by urban contact, only to learn that his brother-in-law, Lieutenant Wilhelm von Ploennies, had a richer source literally under his command in the Hesse-Darmstadt army. 'He ordered the soldiers to march in one by one and tell or sing what they knew.' Some tales they brought with them from home, but others had been 'retold since time immemorial in the army, they had already been heard around the camp fires of earlier campaigns.'²²

Romantic authors had stumbled upon a phenomenon that would be better documented by later generations of folklorists: there was a distinct tradition of military storytelling that was shared across many European armies. Isolated indications of this tradition had already reached the reading public. In 1784 an anonymous author published the 'Tale of La Ramée' which he claimed to have overheard told by one sleepless soldier to another in an inn. The story, the author noted, 'is very old. It dispels the boredom of soldiers in the barracks and prisons. The story varies in facts and style according to the narrator who recounts it . . . There are stories of La Ramée as a child, as a soldier, as a smuggler, as a prince of adventures.'²³ During the Restoration, La Ramée remained the star of stories told in the army. J. Delmart heard his tale in the Saint Raphaël barracks of Bordeaux in the 1820s; Nestor Roquellan heard another at the camp of Compiègne in 1834; Charles Jacque, who spent five years in the French army, illustrated a version for the *Musée Philipon* in 1842; a different adventure was related by

Léo Lespès in an 1846 novel that capitalized on his own military experiences.²⁴ Several nineteenth-century soldier memoirs recall how his tales dispelled military ennui.²⁵ La Ramée was also the hero of the first version of 'The Tinderbox' recorded in France.²⁶

Because a specific literature dedicated to the pleasures, pains and humour of soldiering developed in nineteenth-century France, barracks' storytelling has been richly described there.²⁷ However, scholars in other countries have come to the same conclusion as the Russian folklorist Vladimir Propp that 'We must distinguish the soldier's tale as a special kind of folktale ... with a definite repertoire and specific stylistic traits.'²⁸ The *Bibliothèque universelle des romans* already indicated one element of soldiers' style, prolixity: 'Some make [the Tale of La Ramée] last three days, and others three weeks.' Barracks storytelling was a means of killing time; after lights out, the storyteller was expected to continue until his audience had fallen asleep. The narrator would periodically call out 'Cric!' and if the audience did not respond 'Crac!' he would halt his narration. Brevity was not a virtue and soldiers had many tricks to spin out their narratives. (This facet of soldiers' storytelling was unappreciated by Romantic collectors who took the Grimms' succinct texts as their models.)

According to another Russian folklorist, Yuriy Sokolov, 'The soldier's tale (and it almost always proves at the same time to be a tale about a soldier) not only developed its own imagery and types, but it also has, in its vocabulary, as well as in its style and rhythm, its own "soldier-tale" poetics.'²⁹ The marching rhythm we have already encountered in Andersen's 'Tinderbox' was a commonplace of barracks storytelling. French soldiers initiated the journey from the quotidian world to the marvellous fairy-tale realm with this introductory call-and-response formula: 'Cric! Crac! Sabots! Cuillères à pot! Sous-pieds de guêtres! En route! Marche.'³⁰ Whenever their hero embarked on a journey they repeated the formula 'March today, march tomorrow, by dint of marching one goes a long way.'³¹ In addition to military slang and copious swearing, soldiers also employed distinctive phrases such as 'back in the time when Pontius Pilate was a corporal in the Swiss Guards', 'brave as a sabre', 'no more sardines [stripes] on his sleeve than he had wigs on a spit' ... Writers even employed a distinctive barracks dialect, already indicated in the 1784 'Tale of La Ramée', which is the only text in this collection not written in standard French.³² And of course the tone of soldiers' tales was noticeably coarser than in those deemed fit for children. As one soldier memoirist put it, recalling his first experience of the barracks in 1816, 'The storyteller seeks, through a barrage of desperately crude jokes, to strike the imagination of his audience, and almost always he gets carried away by excessively scabrous descriptions of his characters' love-making.'³³

An attempt has been made in the *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* to define the soldiers' repertoire. It includes 'The Tinderbox' alongside 'The Danced-out Shoes' (ATU306), 'The Princess in the Coffin' (ATU307), 'The Smith and the Devil' (ATU330), 'Bear-Skin' (ATU361), 'The Man as Heater of Hell's Kettle' (ATU475, the tale retold by Jacque in 1842), 'Lamb's Heart' (ATU785), 'The Devil's Riddle' (ATU812) and 'The King and the Soldier' (ATU952).³⁴ I would add 'The Knapsack, The Hat and the Horn' (ATU569) and 'The Three Snake Leaves' (ATU612). But many other tales could be made to fit the barracks milieu, even the venerable 'The King and the Abbot' (ATU922, which was narrated by the soldier-storyteller Bouton, according to Lespès).

There was a repertoire favoured by soldiers, but their tales were also linked thematically. Soldiers' tales often featured a hero who was himself a soldier (or a deserter, never portrayed negatively in these narratives). They had a marked preference for tales which involved descents into a metallic underworld, as in 'The Tinderbox' (and ATU306). While such undertakings were hazardous, the characteristic displayed by soldier heroes is less courage than sangfroid. They are unperturbed by all encounters because they have seen it all before. Hence they are not unwilling to be employed by the Devil himself (ATU361, ATU475), but they are just as likely to be patronized by a saint or God (ATU330, ATU785). The point of these encounters is to demonstrate that the soldier treats both with equal composure, and is able to best both in a trial of wits. His rules are not their rules. He is generous when he has food and drink, but will rob without compunction when he does not. Soldier heroes are very insistent on their rights, which is what generates so much dialogue between them and innkeepers in versions of 'The Tinderbox'. The standard introduction to French soldiers' tales has the discharged hero marching back 100 miles because a centime has been unfairly deducted from his pay.

Although soldier heroes desire promotion, their relations with officers are generally poor. A burning sense of grievance animates them: when La Ramée is granted three wishes by Saint Martin, his first is that his pay should be made up to the correct amount, his second is to find his brigadier in his knapsack, whom he then has beaten to a pulp on an anvil. When the soldier is employed to heat the cauldrons in hell he finds his former officers under the lids: 'Ah, you crumb! Fancy meeting you here! You used to step on me, but now I've got you under my foot.'³⁵ Relations with the sovereigns they serve can be just as brutal. Even on the occasions when the soldier saves the king (which is the plot of ATU 952), he treats him with contempt as a greenhorn, and pours insults on him. If not politically radical, such stories were openly subversive both of military discipline and the established authorities.

Relations with other ranks are usually better, but there are also limits to camaraderie as the hero is just as willing to rob, abandon or even kill his companions if the need arises; his expectations are that they would do the same. His ideal is to have mastery over himself, but he has little interest in the fate of others.

Sokolov viewed soldiers' tales as a commentary on their circumstances: 'Developed by the exceedingly difficult struggle for existence, the soldier's cunning and resourcefulness help him, in the tale, to attain the satisfaction of his desires: he knows how to win for himself both a night's lodging and a dinner. The majority of the subjects of the soldier's tales . . . are different variations of this theme.'³⁶ Hence physical needs – food, drink, tobacco, lodgings – are omnipresent. The endless repetition of these items has an oddly disenchanting effect. The fairy-tale as a genre is defined by magic, but in soldiers' tales their fantasies focus on satisfying immediate, material desires. Such invented satisfactions offered catharsis.

The other expectation of the fairy-tale is that it should achieve a happy ending through a wedding, but this can go missing from soldiers' tales. Soldier narrators appear suspicious of women, and at least two tale types (ATU 612 and ATU 569) build their betrayal by the love-object into the plot. In these instances, as in 'The Tinderbox', soldiers show no compunction about killing women, an expression of the underlying

misogyny of soldiers' culture. At the finale of Krause's version of 'The Knapsack, The Hat and the Horn', the hero discovers his princess bride, who 'was constantly bothered by the fact that she had to take such an old guy for her husband', has stolen three of his magic objects: he uses the last remaining to him to destroy her, the king, the city and everything else.³⁷ Revenge on women, as on social superiors, is often a more potent motivation in soldiers' tales than a happy ending.

The purpose of storytelling in European armies was primarily to entertain large groups held in enforced leisure. But an occupational culture is about more than passing the time. For new recruits, having something to tell was cultural capital with which they could ease their entry into an intimidating environment. But in Hungarian regiments, if a new arrival knew no stories, he was made to shout into the stove 'Oh mother! Haven't you brought me up to be a big brute of an ass, who hasn't even been taught to tell a tale!'³⁸ As narrators adapted to the rhythms of the barracks, they demonstrated their membership of the group through adherence to its aesthetic preferences. The swagger and savagery of the barracks style created a cultural divide between soldiers and the communities from which they came and to which they returned. Just as veterans retained their moustaches and their pipes as markers of their status as experienced men of the world, so they maintained the storytelling techniques learnt in the army. Their ability as narrators in turn enhanced their reputation in their home villages.

An occupational culture is, in effect, a set of norms, albeit ones that are never strictly defined. Through storytelling, military norms were established that had nothing to do with King's Regulations. The soldier had to dispense with the moral lessons inculcated at home, in school and in church. He was defined by his adherence to a purely material value system and a fatalistic outlook. He should be brave, certainly, but he should not be a fool. He had to steal, he had to despise his officers, he had to look out for the main chance. His relations with women should be determined by what his comrades found entertaining. Of course, this process of acculturation was never entirely concluded: recruits brought their own cultural ammunition with which to resist the process, and they were subject to other, competing pressures. However, soldiers' autobiographies from the Restoration period demonstrate that many did adapt themselves to this occupational culture.

For example, soldiers incorporated elements of the stories they heard into their memoirs. When Louis Gabriel Montigny recalled his march from Venice to Moscow in 1811, he used the established formula 'March today, march tomorrow ...'³⁹ Tales that soldiers heard became prisms through which they comprehended their own experiences.⁴⁰ For example, Sergeant Leberton compiled his *Voyage militaire* sometime between 1806 and 1814, while a prisoner-of-war in England. As the name implies, it is basically a route map of his travels as a member of the 89th demi-brigade and almost the only time Leberton steps outside this litany of dates and places is in a section he labels 'aventure', which relates to his time in Haiti in 1803. He writes 'the bailiff of our base [the sugar estate where they were billeted] wanted my lieutenant and me to make a hunting party of three to go after parrots and buntings. We did so and went into a forest mixed with briars and thorns. We separated from each other in this forest. I followed a ravine that took me near to a house where there were brigands [rebels]. I saw a

nightingale perched on a palm-tree. I fired at it and I could not have been more surprised to see coming out of this house about twenty armed black brigands, who fired on me.' Leberton ran away and got lost in the forest, but finally recognized an empty house close to where he was staying. Then he went to the window to see if his companions had returned. 'I saw my lieutenant and the bailiff starting to laugh when they saw how my boots were torn. I told them Gentlemen, if you had had the difficulties I had during my hunt you would not laugh like this ... The bailiff said to me You were lucky to have escaped from such great danger. I forgot to tell you when we set off.'⁴¹

A folklorist would recognize in this 'aventure' an echo of ATU301, 'The Three Stolen Princesses', which was popular among barrack storytellers; the first version recorded in France appears in a soldier's memoir from 1833.⁴² The story starts with three companions, often three soldiers, making a home in a deserted house in the forest. While two go off hunting a third stays at home to prepare the meal, but on each of the first two days the hunters return to find their comrade battered and torn (which, as in this memoir, occasions a good laugh). Although neither victim will admit it, they have been thrashed by a dwarf that inhabits the place. Only the third manages to escape and then confronts his comrades about their failure to warn him. It is possible that Leberton had such a close shave, but when he recalled it he did so in the language of a fairy-tale: the brigands' lair in the forest, the empty house, the torn clothes, the two uncaring companions. When trying to explain something which could not be encapsulated in a list of troop movements, he reached for a narrative schema with which he was familiar.

Soldiers' storytelling was a means to perpetuate a military culture and to shape the identities of those who passed through the army. However, when soldiers' tales were transferred to print they took on other functions. It was the Romantics who first put such tales before the reading public of the Restoration, but as we have seen, the material did not fit with their literary ideals. In fact the Grimms cut or softened many soldiers' tales, including 'The Blue Light', before the appearance of the second edition in 1819. Their gross materialism did not fit with Romantics' spiritual yearnings, their blatant immorality did not fit with expectation that literature should elevate feelings, their treatment of women was at odds with the emerging bourgeois conception of gender roles. There is no higher cause in soldiers' tales, and barely any conception of the common good.

One can make a case that it was the next literary generation, the realists, who really benefitted from the discovery of soldiers' oral culture. While the Romantics' debts to folklore are well documented, those of the realists are comparatively little known, and yet they were just as, if not more, significant. Realists wanted to look unflinchingly at poverty, criminality and prostitution. A convincing portrayal of the illiterate masses meant realists had to make use of oral culture. Argots, superstitions, songs and tales were therefore incorporated into their works to create a potent rendering of popular life. The tone of soldiers' tales made them particularly suitable for this purpose. Realist writers therefore borrowed their stylistic traits. For example Eugène Sue's embittered 'Pique-Vinaigre', the storyteller in the prison of La Force depicted in *Les Mystères de Paris*, introduced his narratives with the same 'Cric! Crac!' formula used in the barracks.⁴³ Realists used the storytelling soldier as a character, for instance the veteran Goguelat in Balzac's *Le Médecin de campagne* (1833).

Perhaps the bleakest use of the genre in realist fiction is the 'black fairy-tale' in Georg Büchner's *Woyzeck* (1836–7). Although the play is largely set among soldiers, the tale is told by a grandmother to young women, a stereotypical storytelling scenario. Yet its message is the reverse of those comforting images of 'Mother Goose'.

Once upon a time there was a poor little girl who had no father and no mother. Everyone was dead, and there was no one left in the whole wide world. And the little girl went out and looked for someone night and day. And because there was no one left on earth she wanted to go to heaven . . . And when she finally got to the moon, it was a piece of rotten wood . . . And when she got to the sun, it was a faded sunflower . . . And when she wanted to go back to the earth, she found that the earth was a tipped over chamber pot. And she was all alone. And she sat down there and she wept. And she sits there to this day, all alone.⁴⁴

This has often been described as an 'anti-fairy-tale', a rejection of the Grimms' attempts to enchant the everyday.⁴⁵ However, for those who were paying attention, as Büchner undoubtedly had, the same tone can be heard in the tale 'The Tablecloth, The Knapsack, The Cannon Hat, and the Horn', which Krause told the Grimms in 1811. It ends with the betrayed soldier who 'had nothing left but his little horn. So he blew it, and the villages, cities, and all the fortresses collapsed instantly into heaps of rubble. Then he alone was king and blew his horn until he died.'⁴⁶

Notes

- 1 Hans Christian Andersen, *Eventyr, fortalte for Børn* (Copenhagen, 1835), no. 1 'Fyrtøiet'.
- 2 Elias Bredsdorff, *Hans Christian Andersen: The Story of his Life and Work* (London, 1975), 123–4.
- 3 Maria Tatar, *The Annotated Hans Christian Andersen* (New York, 2007), 157.
- 4 Hans-Jörg Uther, *The Types of International Folktales: A Classification and Bibliography. Based on the System of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson* (FFC 284–6, Helsinki, 2004), vol. 1, 329–31.
- 5 Mystery surrounds the origins of 'Aladdin'. The story appears in no early Arabic or Persian manuscript. Galland recorded it in 1709 from a Maronite visitor from Aleppo, Hannā Diyāb. In his autobiography Diyāb confirms that 'I told [Galland] some stories that I knew', but does not explain where he learnt them. Ruth B. Bottigheimer, 'East Meets West: Hannā Diyāb and The Thousand and One Nights', *Marvels & Tales* 28:2 (2014), 302–24.
- 6 Paul Binding, *Hans Christian Andersen: European Witness* (New Haven, CT, 2014), 106–7.
- 7 Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm*, 2 vols (Berlin, 1812–15), vol. 2, no. 30 'Das blaue Licht'.
- 8 For a survey of contemporary responses to the Grimms see Christa Kamenetsky, *The Brothers Grimm and their Critics: Folktales and the Quest for Meaning* (Athens, OH, 1992).
- 9 Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *The Original Folk and Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm: The Complete First Edition* (ed. and trans. Jack Zipes) (Princeton, NJ, 2014), 383–6.

- 10 Herman Grimm and Gustav Hinrichs (eds), *Briefwechsel zwischen Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm aus der Jugendzeit* (Weimar, 1881), 223.
- 11 Ludwig Denecke and Kurt Ranke (eds), *Circular wegen Aufsammlung der Volkspoesie* (Cassel, 1968).
- 12 Cay Dollerup, 'Translation as a Creative Force in Literature: The Birth of the European Bourgeois Fairy-Tale', *The Modern Language Review* 90 (1995), 94–102.
- 13 Gyula Ortutay, *Hungarian Folktales* (Budapest, 1962), xxiv.
- 14 Georg von Gaal, *Mährchen der Magyaren* (Vienna, 1822), no. 1 'Das wunderbare Tabakspfeifchen'.
- 15 Friedmund von Arnim, *Hundert neue Mährchen im Gebirge gesammelt* (Charlottenburg, 1844), vol. 1, no. 20 'Der Graf und der grosse Riese'.
- 16 Johannes Wilhelm Wolf, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* (Leipzig, 1845), no. 18 'Die Eisenkerle'.
- 17 Matěj Mikšíček, *Sbírka Pověstí moravských a slezských* (1846), cited in Václav Tille, *Verzeichnis der Bömischen Märchen* (FFC 34: Helsinki, 1921).
- 18 See, for example, Alan Forrest, *Napoleon's Men: The Soldiers of the Revolution and Empire* (London, 2002), chap. 6.
- 19 Jens Andersen, *Hans Christian Andersen: A New Life* (New York and London, 2005), 369–73.
- 20 Bengt Holbek, 'Hans Christian Andersen's Use of Folktales', in Morten Nøjgaard et al. (eds), *The Telling of Stories: Approaches to a Traditional Craft* (Odense, 1990), 165–83.
- 21 Gonthier-Louis Fink, 'The Fairy Tales of the Grimms' Sergeant of Dragoons J.F. Krause as Reflecting the Needs and Wishes of the Common People', in James M. McGlathery (ed.), *The Brothers Grimm and Folktale* (Urbana IL, 1991), 146–63. Krause's correspondence with the Grimms has been published by Albert Schindehütte in *Krauses Grimmsche Märchen* (Kassel, 1985) and *Das Spinnstubenheft* (Marburg, 1992).
- 22 Johannes Wilhelm Wolf, *Deutsche Hausmärchen* (Göttingen/Leipzig, 1851), v–xii.
- 23 *La Bibliothèque universelle des romans* (Paris, 1784), vol. ix, 103–45. See David Hopkin, 'La Ramée: The Archetypal Soldier as an Indicator of Popular Attitudes to the Army in Nineteenth-Century France', *French History* 14 (2000), 115–49.
- 24 J. Delmart and Léon Vidal, *La Caserne: mœurs militaires* (Brussels, 1833), 167; Nestor Roquellan, 'Compiègne', *Revue de Paris* 10 (1834), 5–23, 16; Jacque, 'Histoire de la Ramée', *Musée Philipon* 2 (1842), 9–19; Léo Lespès, *Histoires à faire peur II: Les oubliettes du château de Blois* (Paris, 1846), 121–30.
- 25 Marcel de Baillehache, *Souvenirs intimes d'un lancier de la Garde impériale* (Paris, 1894), 56; Desiré Louis, *Souvenirs d'un prisonnier de guerre en Allemagne (1870–1871)* (Paris, 1898), 78.
- 26 Emmanuel Cosquin, *Contes Populaires de Lorraine* (Paris, 1886), vol.2, no. 31, 'L'homme de fer'.
- 27 Odile Roynette, 'Le Comique Troupier au XIXe siècle: Une culture du rire', *Romantisme* 161 (2013), 45–59.
- 28 Vladimir Propp, *The Russian Folktale* (Detroit, MI, 2012), 308. See also Rudolf Schenda, *Von Mund zu Ohr: Bausteine zu einer Kulturgeschichte volkstümlichen Erzählens in Europa* (Göttingen, 1993), 71–5; and Linda Dégh, *Folktales and Society: Story-telling in a Hungarian Peasant Community* (Bloomington, IN, 1969), 70–2.
- 29 Yuriy Sokolov, *Russian Folklore* (Hatboro, PA, 1966), 491.
- 30 Delmart and Vidal, *La Caserne*, 141. This formula appears in many literary (and folkloric) evocations of military life.

- 31 In an anonymous squib (probably 1828), a character says he was taught the phrase by 'the famous Laramée': *Fifi Cadet à la première représentation du Demi-Siècle au théâtre de M. Comte* (Paris, n.d.), 9.
- 32 As highlighted by Angus Martin, *La Bibliothèque universelle des romans, 1775–1789: Présentation, table analytique, et index* (Oxford, 1985), 204.
- 33 Auguste Lecomte, *Le Chemin de l'épaulette: Histoire de l'enrolé volontaire* (Paris, 1861), 20.
- 34 Silke Götsch, 'Soldat', in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* (15 vols: Berlin, 1975–2015), vol. 12, 850–8.
- 35 Grimm and Grimm, *The Original Folk and Fairy Tales*, 334.
- 36 Sokolov, *Russian Folklore*, 491.
- 37 Grimm and Grimm, *The Original Folk and Fairy Tales*, 129.
- 38 Ortutay, *Hungarian Folktales*, xxiv.
- 39 Louis Gabriel Montigny, *Souvenirs anecdotiques d'un officier de la Grande Armée* (Paris, 1833), 123.
- 40 David Hopkin, 'Storytelling, Fairytales, and Autobiography: Some Observations on Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century French Soldiers' and Sailors' Memoirs', *Social History* 29 (2004), 186–98.
- 41 Pierre Leberton, *Histoire d'un Charentais, soldat de l'an II. Carnet de Route du Sergent Leberton*, ed. Philippe Boulanger and Stéphane Calvet (Angoulême, 2000), 96.
- 42 Delmart and Vidal, *La Caserne*, 141–65.
- 43 Although only in the stage version: Prosper Dinaux and Eugène Sue, *Les Mystères de Paris, Roman en 5 parties et 11 tableaux* (Paris, 1845), 44.
- 44 Georg Büchner, *Woyzeck, and Leonce and Lena*, trans Carl Richard Mueller (San Francisco, CA, 1962), 21.
- 45 Amie A. Doughty, *Folktales Retold: A Critical Overview of Stories Updated for Children* (Jefferson, NC, 2006), 12.
- 46 Grimm and Grimm, *The Original Folk and Fairy Tales*, 129. I am not the first to make this connection: Maria Tatar, *The Hard Facts of the Grimms' Fairy Tales* (Princeton, NJ, 1987), 179–80.