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Rafik Schami's Tales about Fairy Tales

ABSTRACT

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Walter Benjamin mourns the loss of storytelling, especially of the teller of fairy tales, in his essay „Der Erzähler” from 1936. Rafik Schami, however, promotes storytelling simultaneously as „alte neue Kunst” (old new art) in a 1998 interview. This tension between loss and innovation of oral fairytale traditions is a central theme in Schami's texts. This essay focuses on the 1987 collection of „Märchen, Fabeln und phantastische Geschichten” entitled „Das letzte Wort der Wanderratte,” and especially on the eighth tale „Warum Momo sich in J.R. verliebte.” This is a satirical rewriting of Michael Ende's conclusion of his popular fairy tale novel (Märchenroman) *Momo* from 1973.

Keywords / Anahtar Sözcükler: Rafik Schami, storytelling, narratology, colonialism

Schami's re-fictionalization of Ende's novel *Momo* satirically inscribes perverse consequences into Ende's utopian fantasy as it is vulnerable to manipulation by capitalist, commercial, spiritual and colonialist exploitation. Schami's tale „Warum Momo sich in J.R. verliebte” starts where Ende's ends. It inserts fragments of „Momo's” cultural reception in Germany by referring to Rudolf Steiner, the founder of the Waldorf School movement, as Momo's lover and exploiter of her storytelling. I present Schami's critique of Ende's novel as a literary investigation of the New Age culture of the '70s and '80s and of its exploitation and commercialization of storytelling. Schami's idea of storytelling diverges radically from Ende's. The escapist storytelling tradition cannot escape exploitative market conditions while the critical satirical tradition takes such escapist ideas as a starting point for its rethinking. My conclusion will link these reflections on the civilizing potentials of storytelling to Walther Benjamin's and the Brothers' Grimm concepts of storytelling as community building agency.

Rafik Schami is promoted by book publishers, critics and especially by himself as the contemporary „Fortsetzer“ and translator of the „One Thousand and One Night“ tradition into the German context (Tantov 1988).¹ He was born in Damascus in 1947, grew up in the Aramaic Christian minority within the Syrian/Arabian tradition, and has been living and writing in Germany since 1971. Schami's bourgeois name is Suheil Fadél. At the beginning of his writing career he chose the pseudonym Rafik Schami. He writes about this renaming:

„Rafik Schami“ ist mehr als ein Pseudonym, es ist ein Stück Identität von mir. Rafik bedeutet „Freund“, „Genosse“, „Weggefährte“, und Schami Damaszener. „Scham“ ist eine Liebeserklärung an Damaskus, und „i“ bedeutet-wie im Deutschen die Endsilbe „-er.“ Ich habe den Namen selbst gewählt und dieser Name gewährt mir Schutz (quoted by Aifan 2003: 243)

These few biographical facts show the diversity and hybridity of the cultural background that informs his sensitivity towards the issues of the other, the foreigner, the „Ausländer“ in German society. Schami's work has been discussed in terms of addressing the harsh social problems of foreigners in contemporary German society, of their hybrid identities, and Schami's alternative concept of multiculturalism (Khalil 1994: 201-217). Schami was the founder of a group of foreign authors in Germany called „Südwind“ around 1980 and shortly afterwards of the group „PoLiKunst“ (Polinationaler Literatur und Kunstverein). Uta Aifan points towards a „reorientation and differentiation“² in Schami's writing in the 1990s beginning with Germany's unification and leading up to the events surrounding 9/11. She describes this shift as moving away from issues of migration and immigration in order to establish his new focus on mediating the historical and contemporary tensions between Occident and Orient (Aifan 2003: S. 237ff.; Bavar 2004). However, I argue that reflections on the relation and conflicts between Oriental and Western storytelling traditions are part of Schami's work throughout. In fact, as many of his stories comment on social and cultural tensions between East and West they often also reflect on issues of storytelling. How do these meta-

¹ „Dan Diner describes Schami as a narrator from Arabia who takes up the Oriental tradition of the fairy tale as „Erzählung, Bericht, Rede in weitesten Sinne praktischer Sinngebung...“ Ruba Turjman, „The Success of the „Unsuccessful“ Tuma in Mediating between East and West: Rafik Schami's „Erzähler der Nacht.“ *Seminar: A Journal of Germanic Studies* 42.3 (2006) S. 288.

² Hiltrud Arens summarizes Aifan's research in her essay „The 'Circus of Cultures' and Culture as Circus“ in Rafik Schami's *Reise zwischen Nacht und Morgen*. *Seminar* 42.3 (2006), S. 305.

fictions explore his social criticism further? This question will guide the following discussion of two tales. „Warum Momo sich in J.R. verliebte“ was published in the 1987 collection *Das letzte Wort der Wanderratte. Märchen, Fabeln und phantastische Geschichten* as a re-envisioning of the characters in Michael Ende's novel *Momo*. This tale links sharp criticism of Western capitalism to the critical investigation of the shortcomings of its literary culture and storytelling. The tale critiques Michael Ende's popular German fantasy novel („Märchenroman“)³ and its promotion of the harmonizing powers of storytelling. Ende's text was awarded the Deutsche Jugendliteraturpreis in 1974, right after its publication in 1973. Schami's sequel to the original text outlines the failure of Ende's approach to storytelling. In order to set the stage for my discussion I will first examine Schami's introductory story to his collection of tales from his Syrian home village *Märchen aus Malula*. Its title „Eine Vorgeschichte oder Vom Glück Geschichten zu finden“ signifies its meta-fictional agenda. As a pre-story it speaks to the narrator's position in finding and editing stories. It is not only a story about his/her stories but also about the narrator's conception of storytelling.

Schami's stories are populated by a myriad of storytellers, their stories and reflections about the complex issues linked to storytelling: the teller, the audience, the functions of listening, silence and of last words, the loss of stories and voice, and the search for new stories. Schami considers some of these topics in „Eine Vorgeschichte oder Vom Glück Geschichten zu finden“ (Schami 2006: 7-14). This autobiographical fiction explains how he discovered “by chance” the source for his own Malula texts. In fact, he describes this finding as fairytale like, „märchenhaft.“ A doctoral student of the Aramaic language had sent him, the fictional narrator, the bibliographic references of books and journals that portrayed the history and language of his home village Malula. This bibliography inspired him to search for these references in the library of the University of Heidelberg and he was enthralled when he happened upon a bilingual collection of tales of his native culture. These tales were collected from oral traditions and documented by two scholars of orientalism. Schami writes:

³ The complete German title of Michael Ende's German novel is *Momo oder Die seltsame Geschichte von den Zeit-Dieben und von dem Kind, das den Menschen die gestohlene Zeit zurückbrachte. Ein Märchen-Roman*.

Ich kann meine Freude über diesen Fund gar nicht beschreiben. Dreitausend Kilometer von meinem Heimatdorf entfernt und hundertsechzehn Jahre nach dem Tag, an dem eine Frau namens Zeni Scho'ra zwei Orientalisten die erste Geschichte aus Malula erzählte, entdeckte ich sie in der Bundesrepublik. Was für ein Glück! (Schami: 2006, 11)

The printed book reconnects him with his native culture and evokes memories of his youth: „auf einmal tauchten Menschen auf, die ich als alte Männer und Frauen noch gekannt hatte“ (Schami: 2006, 11). He praises the female storytellers of the 19th century as the main preservers of this oral culture. One is reminded of the Brothers' Grimm prefaces to their 1812 edition of fairytales in which they also refer to an actual female storyteller, the „Viehmännin,“ as the main source for their tales⁴ and for their attempt to establish a sense for a German cultural identity. The Grimms insisted that they copied the original tales although we know today that they edited them in order to adhere to Christian and bourgeois value systems and norms. (Zipes 2003: xxx-xxxiii) In contrast, Rafik Schami presents the „Neuaramäische Märchen und andere Texte aus Ma'lula“ as inspiration for his own personal storytelling:

Ich gebe die Märchen und Geschichten meines Dorfes so wieder, wie ich mir vorstelle, daß sie einst fabuliert wurden. Vielleicht habe ich die eine oder andere auch erzählt, wie ich mir wünsche, dass sie so erzählt worden wäre. Es ist ein elementarer Bestandteil der Märchentradition, daß die Nacherzähler sich keine Zwänge und Grenzen durch eine einmal gehörte Geschichte auferlegen lassen, denn die Grenzen einer Geschichte sind die ihrer Erzähler [...] Unentbehrlich für mich als Erzähler waren aber die Freunde, die meinen ersten Fassungen der Geschichten zugehört haben, damit die jetzige Form der Märchen entstehen konnte. (Schami 2006: 13)

Schami insists on linking traditional stories to the teller's own agenda, his/her tastes and the influences of his audiences. He argues against collecting stories as documentation and argues for the literariness of the tales. Stories need to be individualized in order to be effective. This perspective agrees with Walter Benjamin's view that each storyteller gives council and advice. In his 1936 essay „Der Erzähler“ he writes:

⁴ Einer jener guten Zufälle aber war es, daß wir aus dem bei Cassel gelegenen Dorfe Niederzwehm ein Bäuerin kennen lernten, die uns die meisten und schönsten Geschichten des zweiten Bandes erzählte. Diese Frau, namens Viehmännin, war noch rüstig... Sie bewahrte die alten Sagen fest im Gedächtnis... (Grimm 1985: 16).

in jedem Fall ist der Erzähler ein Mann, der dem Hörer Rat weiß. Wenn aber „Rat wissen“ heute altmodisch im Ohre zu klingen anfängt, so ist daran der Umstand schuld, daß die Mitteilbarkeit der Erfahrung abnimmt [...] Rat, in den Stoff gelebten Lebens eingewebt, ist Weisheit. Die Kunst des Erzählens neigt ihrem Ende zu, weil die epische Seite der Wahrheit, die Weisheit, ausstirbt (Benjamin 1980: 442).

The oral tale fosters the actual communication between teller and listener by giving advice and sharing wisdom. It is rooted in personal experience, but Benjamin's term „experience“ is double-edged. He continues: „Der Erzähler nimmt, was er erzählt, aus der Erfahrung; aus der eigenen oder berichteten. Und er macht es wiederum zur Erfahrung derer, die seiner Geschichte zuhören“ (Benjamin 1980: 443). Experience can be personal and/or literary, immediate and/or mediated. Benjamin idealizes the oral tale as the basis for all tales--and especially fairytales--when he writes: „Erfahrung, die von Mund zu Mund geht, ist die Quelle, aus der alle Erzähler geschöpft haben“ (Benjamin 1980: 440). While Walter Benjamin mourns the loss of these storytelling conventions Rafik Schami counters such pessimism with profound optimism and hope. He stresses the community building functions of these stories. In a 1998 conversation he insists: „Der Erzähler wird seine Stimme wiederfinden, denn solange Menschen leben, wird immer einer eine Geschichte erzählen und mindestens einen finden, der zuhört“ (Schami 2008: 106). For him the community-building agency of stories has not been lost at all. His own preface serves as an example as it connects Schami's personal agenda to his competence as literary commentator. It links three different perspectives by framing the story about finding the source texts with personal childhood memories and a critique of a specific Western storytelling tradition. As a child he had often asked his grandmother for stories although she didn't know any. In this tribute to his story-less grandmother he introduces her as a saint-like character praising her enormous patience with her grandsons when he was a young boy, but he presents her also as a counterfeit to Christian hagiographies and homages to the dead. Instead of the saints of the church he celebrates the actual virtuousness and integrity of the everyday person. In fact, he suggests replacing the sanctioned saints by the unknown and nameless. This revision of the hagiographic tradition mocks Christian rhetoric and storytelling. Schami writes a story about figures without story and replaces highly

acclaimed stories about popular saints like King Ludwig IX and Bernhard von Clairvaux through stories about figures like his grandmother. His bitter satire calls Bernhard von Clairvaux a warmonger („Kriegshetzer,“ Schami 2006: S. 7) whose crimes were ironically rewarded by the blessings of the church and its promise of his splendid place in heaven („einen herrlichen Platz im Himmel“ (Schami 2006: S. 7). Schami expands this commentary to a radical postcolonial critique of Western religious and storytelling traditions in general when he argues: „Durch die vielen Kriege und Meuchelorde der Könige Europas wurde der Himmel besetzt, deshalb ist es nicht verwunderlich, wenn den Chinesen, Afrikanern, Arabern und zuletzt meiner Großmutter kein Plätzchen freigehalten wurde“ (Schami 2006: S. 7). Through canonization the Vatican decides about the afterlife of individuals ignoring the needs of others, especially Non-Europeans. The church's corrupt ideology privileges Eurocentrism and thereby inserts political and social ignorance and inhumanity. Schami's texts link personal stories to satirical reflections about Eastern and Western culture. As stories about domestic childhood experiences they interrogate the stories sanctioned by Western religious traditions and critique their religious icons. By inscribing humor and wittiness into his tales he loosens up the ideologically determined and fixated Western mindset. In his texts, diverse and contradictory discourses clash in unexpected ways: „Eine Vorgeschichte“ rewrites the sacred through the mundane. Opposites are turned upside down when memories of the grandmother's patience are privileged while actions of saints like Bernhard von Clairvaux' are totally relegated. Diverse connotations compete with each other and portray their „Widersinn“. Sigmund Freud uses this term in his essay „Der Witz und seine Beziehung zum Unbewussten“ that detects such unexpected and surprising absurdity as the basis for the effects of wit and humor (Freud 1970: 120).

Wittiness is also the narrative principle that guides the short story „Warum Momo sich in J.R. verliebte.“ This time it is directed against Michael Ende's concept of his figure „Momo“ as independent storyteller. The title refers to the story as an explanatory text. The title's wording as subordinate clause is surprising and thought provoking since there is no corresponding main clause. Conventionally the adverbial use of the interrogative pronoun „warum“ refers to a statement in a main clause, for example: Diese Geschichte erklärt, warum Momo sich in J.R. verliebte.

The story itself is charged with taking on the function of the main clause and to outline the reason for a romance that Michael Ende's story does not describe. Schami inserts syntactical logic into the relationship between the two stories: Ende's extensive novel is given a subordinate function to its correction by Schami's very short text. The double perspective of „Momo" as storyteller and told figure is revised.

According to Schami's novel „Erzähler der Nacht" (1989) storytellers have no lasting bourgeois romances. Leila, the figure who tells the crucial final story that actually heals Salim's devastating muteness, leaves her domestic life in the end: „Sie sagte, daß sie nicht mehr bleiben könne und daß sie seit Jahren vom Erzählen in fremden Städten und Dörfern träume. Ihre Tochter war dumm. Sie hatte nur die Mutter und nicht die verzauberte Märchenerzählerin in Leila gesehen" (Schami 2012: 267). While Leila finally commits to her mission of storytelling,⁵ Schami's Momo surrenders her storytelling to commercialism. Schami inscribes this commercialist agenda into Michael Ende's *Momo*, into a text that seeks exactly the opposite, namely to counteract such capitalist modes of social interaction. In his re-writing of Ende's text Schami points to the crises when storytelling is exposed to commercial interests. Schami's fictional narrator explains that this text itself is based on an oral story that revises Michael Ende's *Momo*. He refers to Ende's „Nachwort" that reveals the omniscient narrator, more precisely the „Verfasser," as the storyteller who did not invent his text but copied it down from his memory of a story that was told to him by an anonymous fellow passenger on a train ride. Ende's „Nachwort" places his novel explicitly in the tradition of oral storytelling. The source is anonymous, the „Verfasser" cannot identify the storyteller, the „rätselhafte Passagier" whom he quotes saying: „Ich habe Ihnen das alles erzählt, [...] als sei es bereits geschehen. Ich hätte es auch so erzählen können, als geschehe es erst in der Zukunft. Für mich ist das kein so grosser Unterschied" (Ende 2005: 301). The anonymity of the story is linked to its timelessness, a-historicity and universality.

⁵ The title of this novel relates it to the founding text about the healing functions of storytelling, to „One Thousand and One Nights." Often the text insists that its narrators have told more than 1001 stories, in fact, Leila speaks about her „tausend mal tausend Geschichten" (Schami 2012: 259). In contrast to Scheherazade who protects her own life with her storytelling skills and who finally ends up in marriage and romance Schami's concluding storyteller leaves such a life.

Schami's narrator radically deconstructs this ideal of Ende's storytelling. He identifies Ende's narrator as a ghostwriter whom Ende had hired and he proves this fact by showing a check of 100000 DM signed by Ende. The idea of the universal wisdom of Ende's storytelling vanishes and is replaced by commercialism in fantasy production.

Schami's storyteller criticizes Ende's version of the story as incomplete and misleading. „Er (Ende's narrator) sagt, er könnte nicht weitererzählen, da ich plötzlich verschwunden sei. Das ist eine Lüge. Ich habe ihm die ganze Geschichte erzählt. Willst du die andere Hälfte hören?“ (Schami 2005: 97). Schami's narrator insists that Ende's narrator only presented the first part of his story and did not reproduce it as a whole. He disqualifies Ende's story as original, and its „wisdom” as a lie. He then goes on and tells the second part, the part that Ende's narrator omitted. Here Schami plays with Ende's name. According to Schami Ende does not write the end. He presents only a fragment of the original story, and disrupts that what Schami then closes. In fact, Schami's text renames Ende as „Gabriel Anfang.“ This ironic reinterpretation inscribes a redemptive Christian mode into the name. Schami's text starts where Ende's salvational fantasy ends. Through naming Ende „Gabriel Anfang” Schami posits the end of Ende's text as a beginning. Schami's new end comments on this beginning by fictionalizing its commercial success. While Ende's *Momo* transgresses historicity and the constraints of time in capitalist society--she kills the gray men that capitalize on stealing the life-time of naïve workers--Schami's „Momo” becomes caught up in commercial enterprise. I read Schami's text as critiquing and emptying out Ende's allegory of Momo as a utopian figure that frees hectic modern society from its time constraints and restrictions. The allegory loses its semantic references.

In the beginning Schami's narrator is presented as a social activist who supports underprivileged asylum seekers in Germany. Exhausted from a tense three-day political fight with the German bureaucracy in support of these foreigners he meets the ghostwriter and listens to the „new“ Momo story he volunteers. In these intertextual exchanges between Ende's purchased and Schami's non-purchased texts an interesting reversal takes place: Ende presents his text as having an anonymous oral source while Schami deconstructs this sense of unique originality and identifies it as

a market-driven commodity. The ghostwriter explains that he could not sell his conclusion of „Momo.“ Since it questions the universalizing philosophical moments of the beginning--that is of Ende's fantasy--it has not and will not have any profit margin. He implies that universal truth, and wisdom can easily be appropriated as moneymaking commodity that then becomes part of the culture industry. Fixed philosophical ideologies are prone to becoming consumed by culture industry, and cannot escape the capitalist agenda. Momo herself is presented as an example. The second part of Schami's „Momo” is a persiflage of the anti-materialist movements in the context of postwar Germany's capitalism, of the then popular esotericisms of anthroposophy and Hare Krishna, of the escapist fascination with Eastern meditation practices and/or exotic dances. The turtle Cassiopeia, Momo's magic helper in the first part, gives up her immediate control and asks Momo to submit to patriarchal control. Momo marries „Meister Rudolf,” a figuration of Rudolf Steiner, the founder of the Waldorf School movement, and engages later in an erotic love relationship with Steiner's critic J.R. who makes her an icon of devotion for all those groups that escape capitalism and industrialization in Germany.

The new end of Momo references moments of Ende's biography and some esoteric new age trends in pre- and postwar Germany. It identifies Ende's Momo as an exploiter of anthroposophic ideas. The name of Momo's first platonic lover and husband, Meister Rudolf, refers to Rudolf Steiner, a representative of the early twentieth century „Lebensreform“ movement that opposed industrialization and the machine age. He founded the alternative educational system of the Waldorf School, biodynamic agriculture, and the idea of a social reform that promotes equal income and the communization of capital. Steiner's Anthroposophy--he founded the Anthroposophical Society in 1923--established crosscultural links between Christian, Hindu and Buddhist belief systems. Michael Ende's ties to Steiner's work stem from his attendance at the Waldorf School in Stuttgart in 1948. While a 2011 *Die Zeit* article by Iris Radisch places Steiner's work in the midst of the debate about its reactionary and modernist aspects, Rafik Schami certainly focuses solely on its reactionary aspects, on its ignorance of the problems of mass unemployment and its naïvity towards the capitalist exploitation of its idealism. For example, Schami's Meister Rudolf keeps Momo so busy as a teacher in his schools and as his domestic caregiver

that at one point she asks if she herself has become a slave to the grey men whom she originally fought: „auch wenn sie zwischendurch an ihre Kindheit dachte und sich fragte, ob die grauen Männer sich nicht doch an ihr rächten und ihre Zeit raubten, denn sie fand kaum noch Zeit zum Lesen, Spielen und Spaziergehen“ (Schami 2005: 101). The figure that first escapes capitalist cultural economy is later enslaved by it. Momo realizes that her and Gabriel Anfang’s social initiatives do not address the basic needs of the masses of unemployed workers forced to leave the city in economic exile. „Die kleine Töpferei konnte zehn Arbeiter beschäftigen, nicht jedoch die Hunderttausende, die die Stadt verlassen mussten“ (Schami 2005: 101). When J.R. enters the scene his entrepreneurial initiatives challenge Meister Rudolf’s and Momo’s lifestyle: he not only seduces her erotically, but also ideologically into trusting industrial development and mass production. He destroys the small „Handwerksbetriebe” that Meister Rudolf built and replaces them with facilities for industrial production until demonstrations take over fighting and destroying J.R.’s businesses and Momo’s involvement. This is probably a reference to the anti-capitalist student movements of the 1960s. However, J.R. then invents a new business: esoteric tourism. He markets Momo as an icon for Western spirituality, first as a Guru (playing with Momo’s name as the mantra ‘om’) and then as an exotic belly dancer. He and Momo’s followers colonize foreign islands and overpopulate one after the other. J.R. capitalizes on this success when he constructs artificial reproductions of Momo that seduce more and more tourists on other „unzähligen Inseln.“ Momo turns into an exploitative marketing tool for JR’s capitalist interest in colonializing spirituality. Schami places Ende’s Momo figure with its escapist and utopian connotations into the hegemonic structures of colonializing capitalism. He literalizes the figure, erases its metaphoricity and states that Momo is captured by the system she originally subverted.

Ende’s and Schami’s texts indicate that esoteric, escapist and capitalist movements cannot be separated. They are always linked: The escapist storytelling tradition cannot escape exploitative market conditions while the critical satirical tradition takes escapist ideas as a starting point for their rethinking. If Ende’s „Momo“ figures freedom from the oppression by time constraints, then Schami’s „Momo“ demonstrates that such freedom is an illusion and is easily commoditized and turned into a commercial enterprise.

Schami inscribes economic politics into Ende's so called a-political stance and thus sharply critiques ideological fixations in storytelling. We have seen this also as a crucial move in Schami's assessment of religious hagiographic texts in „Eine Vorgeschichte oder Vom Glück Geschichten zu finden.“

In conclusion, the connections between Ende's and Schami's two major agendas have to be discussed: their criticism of capitalism and their reflection on the narrative tradition of storytelling. The texts of both authors present two modes of critiquing the capitalist enterprise: Schami's allusions to Ende's philosophical affinities and utopian idealism challenge Ende's literary, let us say aesthetic and escapist approach. He demonstrates how such idealistic mindsets can always be exploited. However, although Schami opposes Ende's figuration of the critique of capitalism, his narrator refers to the same source for his text, the same storyteller as Ende's and thus both authors promote taking time for listening. In the tradition of Walter Benjamin they both promote listening as the basis for supplementing oral stories with new ideas: „Geschichten erzählen ist ja immer die Kunst, sie weiter zu erzählen, und die verliert sich [...] weil nicht mehr gewebt und gesponnen wird, während man ihnen lauscht“ (Benjamin 1980: 447). Benjamin describes here the performative power of words that inspire the listener to weave new stories, fictions, politics and texts. Narratologic invention erupts between storytelling and listening as a social event. With their references to the storyteller Schami as well as Ende⁶ certainly commemorate this dialogic moment of performativity as the precondition for their storytelling and critiques of capitalism.⁷ Schami says at one point: „Zuhören ist die Kunst, die am wenigsten gelobt wird. Wo immer ich auftrete, plädiere ich für einen Zuhörer-Preis [...] So wie ein Buch nicht beim Schreiben entsteht, sondern erst beim Lesen, so entsteht eine mündliche Erzählung erst, wenn jemand ihr zuhört“ (Schami 2008: 80). Stories are dependent on their precursors as their critical and satirical mode on the non-satirical. In this way, the non-polemical „Ende“ prescribed his fictionalization as polemical „Gabriel Anfang“ by Schami.

⁶ Ende's Momo heals social wounds by listening to her friends. She saves time in order to protect this performative power of the word.

⁷ The testing of the written word through the oral seems not to be only an Arabic tradition as Schami claims (Aifan 259). His text proves that this tradition links European and Arabic authors.

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