

land, and America—which I have been able to uncover. What is striking about these versions of *Little Red Riding Hood* by Caroline Thomason, Charles Guyot, Joachim Ringelnatz (Tale 14), Milt Gross (Tale 15), Walter de la Mare (Tale 16), Johnny Gruelle, Edith A. O. Somerville (Tale 17), and James Thurber (Tale 18) is that they were not written expressly for children. With the exception of Thomason's and Gruelle's stories, it is evident from their debunking irony that the primary audience was to be mature—which, to be sure, is generally the case when authors write so-called children's books intended for children. After all, the distribution of children's books has always depended first on the reception they receive by publishers, educators, librarians, and parents. Consequently, it was expected, as we have seen in the 1801 Gothic persiflage, that the irreverence shown to the traditional *Riding Hood* would begin first with adults.

Charles Guyot's *The Granddaughter of Red Riding Hood* (1922) addresses the entire question of readers' reception in a most amusing manner. From Guyot's point of view, it is difficult to predict how children as readers will react to stories. Thus he begins his own story-within-a-story by refuting Perrault, insisting that another ending would have been preferable to the tragic one. So he relates his new version, ostensibly to a little boy as a test case. In contrast to Perrault's, Guyot's *Riding Hood* is saved, grows up to be a grandmother, and sends her own granddaughter to the woods to lure the old wolf into a trap. Instead of killing the wolf, who has become feeble by this time, the grandmother takes pity on him (after intercession by the kind granddaughter), and the wolf is kept as pet and watchdog in the house. So ends the main story, but there is a comment in the frame. The fictional boy who hears this new version would have preferred that the wolf eat Little Red Riding Hood. It would appear that the narrator's intentions and expectations are proven wrong. Yet, this is exactly the point of the tale. Guyot transformed the *Little Red Riding Hood* tale from one that preaches the control of appetites to one that questions the need to control desire, preference, and expectations. By turning the tale upside down, Guyot was one of the first writers to signal the great experimentation with *Red Riding Hood* in the 1920s and 1930s, when expressionism and surrealism were encouraging writers to be daring and innovative.

It was with humor and irony most of all that writers began tinkering with the *Red Riding Hood* pattern. This can be clearly seen

in Milt Gross's Yiddish-American rendition of *Sturrry from Rad Ridink Hoot*—part of a volume of stories entitled *Nize Baby* (1925)—in which numerous traditional stories are retold by the neighbors in a New York tenement house, especially “ferry tales” for a baby so that he will be pacified and eat or go to sleep. Thus, Gross's *Rad Ridink Hoot* was not told as a warning; rather, the seriousness of the tale is parodied, making the stringent sexual code appear ridiculous. The art of parodying *Red Riding Hood* was also being cultivated at the same time in Germany. Ringelnatz's highly irreverent tale, *Kuttel Daddeldu Tells His Children the Fairy Tale about Little Red Cap*, was written in 1923, during a period of great literary experimentation with fairy tales in the Weimar Republic. In fact, the realm of fairy tales was a virtual battleground, where educators and writers with varying pedagogical ideas and with social-democratic, liberal, communist, and fascist leanings fought over the welfare of children. Ringelnatz's own position was that of the satirist who conveyed an ironic attitude toward the traditional rearing of children and accepted notions of sexuality. Neither *Little Red Cap* nor the children who are implicitly integrated as audience in his tale were treated with kid gloves. The major intention of the tale was to smash the conservative expectations of the readers, to provoke, and to criticize the notion that children were soft, lovable creatures to be protected at all costs. The narrator, who identified with the grandmother, sought to fulfill his own needs and addressed his listeners bluntly and somewhat insolently. If we recall the difficult beginnings of the Weimar period—inflation, unemployment, poverty—Ringelnatz was apparently seeking to provide a sober perspective on harsh realities in Germany. The idyllic, conservative notions of the traditional *Little Red Cap* yielded to a rude awakening when the grandmother devoured everything in sight.

In contrast to the Gross and Ringelnatz parodies of *Little Red Riding Hood*, two American adaptations from the 1920s express an ambivalent attitude toward the conservative notions of the traditional tale. Both Thomason's play *Red Riding Hood* (1920) and Gruelle's story *All about Red Riding Hood* (1929) appear to have been written on behalf of “good” government in direct response to the political upheavals engendered by World War I and the continuous socio-economic crises. Thus, they refrain from parody and address children in a sober and serious vein. Thomason wrote her play in English and French, and it is eminently clear that the wolf represents Germany, the foreign enemy *par excellence*. As the play



Grimm's Fairy Tales, New York: Cupples & Leon, 1914. Illustrator Johnny Gruelle.

unfolds, it assumes the form of a "political" liberation: all the characters sing the Marseillaise at the end. However, although the play may say something about the defeat of a wicked marauder, it says nothing about basic liberties and women's liberation. As usual, Riding Hood and granny are sweet, naive, and totally dependent on a male hero. Moreover, the dainty language and meager alterations of the plot tend to belittle the character of Riding Hood, transforming her into a type of Kewpie doll. On the other hand, Gruelle's story appears at first to offer a remarkably different picture of Riding Hood. She is not given moral instructions by her mother and shows herself to be brave and smart like her grandmother. However, the story takes a strange twist toward the end, when the woodcutters save the two females and pose as the strong arm of justice. Gruelle transforms the tale into a law-and-order story in the

tradition of the Grimms, asserting as a clear-cut conclusion that policemen and prisons are needed because there are evil people who cannot listen to reason or be persuaded to do right. Obviously the reigning powers are just, and anyone who questions the status quo is to be looked upon as a wolfish deviate. Considering that this tale was published during the depression, its message legitimized the selective political repression and elitism then growing stronger in the United States and assuming a still more ominous shape in Germany.

For instance there were other German writers than Ringelnatz, like Werner von Bülow, who saw in *Little Red Cap* a special type of "teutonic awakening," which could inspire a national feeling for law and order. Von Bülow did not invent a new fictional version of *Little Red Riding Hood/Little Red Cap* during the 1920s, but he did compose a highly mythopoeic interpretation linking the wolf to the early Roman Empire, Red Cap to Germania, and the hunter to the great German protector or *Führer*. Published by the Hakenkreuz or Swastika Publishing House,⁵⁵ von Bülow's essay on *Little Red Cap* drew a propagandistic parallel to the "knife-in-the-back" conspiracy theory, which was being spread at that time by reactionaries as the reason Germany lost World War I.

So we are also justified in view of the wolf's swallowing Little Red Cap in thinking about the materialistic lust for profits which is threatening to destroy German idealism right in our own times. And we can garner hope from the outcome of the fairy tale that this idealism will be liberated from its unworthy prison by the spiritual humanity appropriately selected and represented in the fairy tale by the symbol of the hunter. . . . The genuine, childlike moral of the story as well as the thoroughly naive freshness of the narrative are very much suited to make an impression on the child's soul. However, there is such a painful experience of German history running throughout the plot that it is about time, especially in our own day after such an incredible deception of the German people by wolfish trickery, that the German people open their eyes which have been oh much too trusting.⁵⁶

Von Bülow's racist and exaggerated nationalistic interpretation of an originally French folk tale and French literary fairy tale was no exception in the Weimar and fascist periods in Germany. Von Bülow was supported by a host of folklore specialists such as Rudolf Viergutz,⁵⁷ who sought to ground all the Grimms' tales in German blood and soil, though many actually originated in France and else-

where in Europe. Fortunately there were various disbelievers during fascism who sought to counter Nazi propaganda as best they could. Ulrich Link, for example, wrote a version of *Little Red Cap* in 1937, which was printed in the *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, a daily newspaper.⁵⁸ Link's story is worth relating in full.

A long, long time ago in Germany there was a wood which the ministry of labor had not yet cleared, and in this wood lived a wolf. Now on one beautiful Sunday—it was the harvest day of thanksgiving—a little girl from the League of German Maidens⁵⁹ went through the wood. She wore a little red cap and wanted to visit her Aryan grandmother who had been living in the Mothers Home of the National Socialist Club.⁶⁰ She carried a basket with donations and a bottle of ancestral wine.

Then she met the wicked wolf who had such very brown fur that nobody would sense his racially alien intentions at the start. Nor did Little Red Cap suspect anything evil since she knew that all elements harmful to the people were sitting in concentration camps, and so she believed that she was face-to-face with a common sort of bourgeois dog.

"Heil, Little Red Cap," said the wolf. "Where are you going?" Little Red Cap answered: "I'm going to my granny in the Mothers Home." "So," the wolf said. "But then bring her some flowers planted by the office for the Beautification of Woodwork⁶¹ to ornament the woods!" At once Little Red Cap began to pluck flowers for a harvest bouquet. However, the wolf rushed to the Mothers Home, ate the grandmother, slipped into her clothes, pinned the badge of womanhood on himself and lay down in bed.

Then Little Red Cap entered right through the door and asked: "Well, granny dear, how are you?" The wolf attempted to imitate the folkish voice of the granny and answered: "I'm fine, my dear child." Little Red Cap asked: "Why are you speaking so strangely to me?" The wolf answered: "The speech education lessons this morning have taken a lot out of me." "But, granny, what large ears you have!" "The better to hear the whispers of complainers!" "What big eyes you have!" "The better to see the agitators!" "What a big mouth you have!" "You know, don't you, that I'm on the cultural council!" And with these words he ate Little Red Cap, lay down in bed, and fell asleep snoring in his reckless way.

Outside, the district forester⁶² passed by. He heard the snoring and thought: How can an Aryan grandmother snore in such a racially alien way? And when he checked it out, he found the wolf. And he shot him, even though he did not have a hunting permit for wolves, and he assumed the entire responsibility himself. Then he slit open the wolf's stomach and found the grandmother and child alive. What a joy that was! The wolf was distributed among the Reich's nutrient producers and made into meat in his own juice. The district chief hunter was permitted to wear a gold-woven wolf on his uniform, Little Red

Cap was promoted to scout leader in the League for German Maidens, and the grandmother was allowed to take a trip to Madeira to recuperate on board a brand new "Strength through Joy"⁶³ steamship.

The critique of Nazism and conformism needs no explanation, except to say that it reverses the cultural pattern in the traditional Red Riding Hood story. In other words, implicit in the literary tradition is a notion of conformism and strict obedience, which has deep roots in reactionary movements, much deeper than we suspect. But more about these roots, which are tied to the witch craze of the Reformation, later.

In England and Ireland during the 1920s and 1930s there is not much evidence of radical change or political disputation concerning fairy tales. The reigning fairy-tale writers of this period were of a conservative bent,⁶⁴ and the socio-economic situation in Great Britain at this time was so weakened by the tottering colonial empire that there was a strong tendency to dwell on the preservation of traditional moral values. Both fascism and communism appeared distasteful to the English ruling class, and it is within the British context of upholding solid Christian ethics threatened by radical political movements and moral decadence that one must regard the versions of *Little Red Riding Hood* written by Walter de la Mare in 1927 and Edith A. O. Somerville in 1934. De la Mare transforms Little Red Riding Hood into a pouting, spoiled little shrew who must be taught a lesson. Her vanity and greed lead to the swallowing scenes by the gluttonous wolf. Only the reliable woodman, full of good British common sense, is capable of rescuing granny and her granddaughter. As usual, virtue in the form of law and order triumphs over chaos in the form of the voracious wolf.

Somerville's charming Irish adaptation of *Little Red Riding Hood* elaborates on the traditional motif of taming the shrew, too, but there is a sense of admiration for the wild spirit of Moira Cloca-dearg. In this unusual blarney version the wolf, in the form of Curley Brech, seduces and marries Moira. The farms they will inherit are thus joined together in a good match, and their "wild" days will live on in their memory. The threat to their order will also continue to persist in the shape of treacherous fairies in the woods. The tale is essentially an extension of the traditional Red Riding Hood pattern in that on her eighteenth birthday (Valentine's Day) Moira and Curley learn to channel their sexual drives in a holy union. The male hero is older and typically becomes the mighty protector

of the weaker female. Both their wild urges can only be brought under control through orderly behavior in societies where men rule with weapons.

However, James Thurber's short version, *The Little Girl and the Wolf*, demonstrates that this cultural pattern was on the verge of being severely questioned by 1939, at least in America. His "Red Riding Hood" does not need a name. She is a little "no-nonsense" girl who is not easily deceived—the image of a new, more independent, woman in the making. Instead of waiting to be rescued in the belly of the wolf, she takes matters into her own hands and shoots him calmly with her automatic. In apparent disdain of Perrault's *moralité*, Thurber writes a blunter, more contemporary moral: "It is not so easy to fool little girls nowadays as it used to be."⁶⁵

This moral could have also served as the basis for a remarkable Marxist dramatization of *Little Red Riding Hood* by the renowned Russian playwright Evgenii Shvarts,⁶⁶ who wrote numerous fairytale plays for children and adults during the 1930s and 1940s. Many were veiled attacks on Stalinism. It is conceivable for one to regard his *Little Red Riding Hood* of 1937 as a comment on the Moscow show trials and "witch hunts" in the Soviet Union of that time. Certainly Shvarts was too aware of the purges and spying not to be unaffected by the political repression. On a more positive level, his play is about a new view of women and collectivity. Little Red Riding Hood has been teaching the animals in the woods to become more courageous and independent so that they can be self-sufficient. She herself is depicted as fearless and resourceful. In fact, it is because she sets such an example for all the other animals in the woods that the wolf and the fox want to kill her. However, the rabbit, bear, snake, and birds work together to protect her in the woods. Eventually they are separated by the wiles of the treacherous fox, and though Little Red Riding Hood is capable of fighting the wolf on her own terms, he overcomes her by using great deceit. Swallowed alive, Little Red Riding Hood and her grandmother sit in the wolf's stomach as if in a prison. In the meantime, the animals fetch the forester, who is responsible for peace and justice in the woods, and he and Riding Hood's courageous mother rescue the girl and her grandmother. The predatory beasts are thus thwarted and arrested, and harmony is restored to the woods. Though it is clear that Little Red Riding Hood as an individual provides a model for the animals and audience as a brave, democratic, and resourceful girl, the play stresses collectivity as the means to over-



Märchen der Brüder Grimm, Berlin: Knaur, 1937. Illustrator Ruth Koser-Michaëls.

come potential tyrannical rulers. The social order of the woods is based on principles of equality, and force is only used to quell dictatorships. Here, too, there is no bloodbath or killing. The wolf and fox, are arrested and incarcerated. The Marxist implications of this *Red Riding Hood* drama are apparent, and must be seen in the context of the 1930s. Fascism had spread throughout Europe, and in the Soviet Union itself the communist revolution had disintegrated into a repressive political system. Thus, Shvarts's stress on friendship, solidarity, and courage introduced qualities that all little girls and boys would need during World War II, and in the post-war years as well.

The perspective was somewhat different in the United States, at least in H. I. Phillips's version of *Little Red Riding Hood*, told in 1940 for adults "as a Dictator Would Tell It" (Tale 19). Here Phillips, like Shvarts, criticizes totalitarianism and ironically portrays Little Red

Riding Hood as "a vile provocateur and an agent of capitalistic interests." By making her into an aggressor, the wolf/Hitler can rationalize all his aggressive actions and pretend to be fighting for common peace and happiness in the world. So by 1940, in Europe and the United States, Little Red Riding Hood appeared to have become the symbol for real democracy or democratic socialism. If we take into account Thurber's tale, too, there is no doubt but she seemed to be bent on more rebellious ways as World War II dawned.

After the war, Riding Hood continued to change radically throughout Europe and America. Beginning with Catherine Storr's *Little Polly Riding Hood* (1955; Tale 20), options to the traditional cultural pattern of the virtuous, helpless Riding Hood were being formed, and there was some agreement among the "rebel" fairy-tale writers that she need not curb her imagination and sensuality and wait for a strong, orderly, male hero to rescue her. This literary change can be attributed to the gradual rise of civil rights and women's movements, along with progressive developments in child rearing and sexual education. The 1960s added a strong political component to all counter-cultural tendencies, and often they were substantiated by critical psychological insights and social attacks on conformity presented in such key books as Herbert Marcuse's *Eros and Civilization* and *One-Dimensional Man*⁶⁷ and R. D. Laing's *The Politics of Experience*.⁶⁸ Marcuse and Laing became counter-cultural heroes, influencing numerous intellectuals and reformers. In addition, there was an important rediscovery of Wilhelm Reich and other radical psychologists and educators from the 1920s and 1930s, and this recall for a rebellious past stimulated contemporary critics to analyze traditional notions of sexuality and socialization in a political light.⁶⁹ The reception of these writers was only symptomatic of a great clamor for real democratic change. The overall result from 1945 to 1993 in the Riding Hood tradition was an influx of critical ideas pointing to the necessity for changing our social views of sexuality and domination. In contrast to the adaptations of the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, the new versions of the fairy tale addressed both children and adults at the same time, though some were still highly sophisticated and intended solely for adults. It is also interesting to note that many of these radical versions have been translated into different languages, which suggests that there are cross-cultural patterns in Great Britain, America, France, and West Germany corresponding to the problematic tendencies and legitimization crises in corporate capitalist societies.⁷⁰

In general it appears that there are three major currents in the radical Riding Hood tales from 1950 to 1993. First, many narratives portray Little Red Riding Hood coming into her own, developing a sense of independence without help from males. Second, certain tales and poems seek to rehabilitate the wolf. Third, there are stories which are unusual aesthetic experiments, debunking traditional narrative forms and seeking to free readers and listeners so that they can question the conventional cultural patterns. All of these radical currents overlap or merge to form critical statements about the way we view sexuality on the basis of the Riding Hood pattern. Let us consider some of the more significant examples of these different currents.

The first strong vote for independence was sounded by Storr's *Little Polly Riding Hood* of 1955. This tale belongs to a collection of *Clever Polly* stories in which Polly continually outwits a conceited foolish wolf. The girl is level-headed, fearless, and practical. She needs nobody's help to contend with the wolf, who frequently discloses his own tricky plots. Storr's delightful parody exudes a young girl's self-confidence, and clever Polly knows that she has the brains and ability to counter potential seducers. This theme is repeated more seriously in another English adaptation of *Red Riding Hood* (1972; Tale 24) by committed feminists of the Merseyside Fairy Story Collective in Liverpool (Audrey Ackroyd, Marge Ben-Tovim, Catherine Meredith, and Anne Neville). In contrast to Storr's tale there is a little humor here. The wolf is a wild inimical force and poses a real natural threat to Nadia and her great-grandmother. However, the two women combine their strength and wit to overcome the wolf, who provides a lining for Nadia's tattered winter coat. In the course of events, Nadia learns to deal with her timidity, and her red coat becomes a symbol of courage.

The symbolism of the red hood, cap, or coat has generally been ambivalent in the past 300 years. In Max von der Grün's version of *Little Red Cap* (1974; Tale 26), it reflects upon the prejudices and intolerance of people who are afraid of something different. Whether von der Grün had the anti-Semitism of Germans in mind or the fear of the communist "red peril" is difficult to say. However, it is clear that the tale totally reverses the cultural code transmitted by the stories of Perrault and the Grimms. Instead of praising conformity, von der Grün questions the dependence on uniformity that can lead to rabid terrorism on the part of conventional people. Little Red Cap's experience of arbitrary and seemingly senseless



Beatrice Schenk de Regniers, *Red Riding Hood*, New York: Atheneum, 1972. Illustrator Edward Gorey.

prejudice is a maturation process that she will never forget, and the ending of this "bad fairy tale" punctures the mythical happy ending of conformist Riding Hood tales.

Tony Ross punctures the conformist illusion even more irreverently in his *Little Red Hood: A Classic Story Bent Out of Shape* (1978; Tale 32) by using contemporary hip talk and commercial jargon to parody commodity fetishism. He depicts Red Riding Hood as a tough kid, who once she "hits puberty" begins fighting for her rights against her indolent father Rocky, the owner of a woodmill.

He suspects her of being a commie, but she merely wants to go her own way. The comic spoof breaks down in the end, when Little Red Hood is prevented by the wolf from going her own way, needs to be saved by Rocky, and returns to the family fold. Here the roguish clichés of the story tend to belittle the struggle for women's rights, transforming it into a fashionable television situation comedy, which everyone can watch and laugh about over pizza and wine. Such travesty is also the case in Anneliese Meinert's *Little Red Cap* '65 (Tale 21), in which the heroine is a "spoiled product" of Germany's economic miracle. In contrast, O. F. Gmelin's West-German *Little Red Cap* (1978; Tale 31) is more in line with radical sexual politics, introducing us to a fearless girl who uses her wits to cut her own way out of the wolf's belly. She and her grandmother team up to uncover the wolf's true identity, and it is clear from the ending that everyone can satisfy his or her own needs. Such self-satisfaction, however, can also become dangerous if overdone, according to Margaret Kassajep's *Little Red Cap with Crash Helmet* (1980). Here Little Red Cap as representative of the "no-future" generation visits her granny in an old age home. Since she and her friend Wolfi want to have granny's money to enjoy life, they kill the poor woman (to be sure, without causing her pain) and then take off into the wide blue yonder on Wolfi's Suzuki motorcycle without leaving a trace behind them. These latest "models" of Little Red Riding Hood and the Wolf from West Germany are products of a consumer society where crime has become more or less accepted as a way of life. Unfortunately, it seems that both the girl and the wolf have adapted to the inhuman standards that the adapted story itself ironically criticizes through its blasé tone.

Despite the differences in adaptation, all the tales of this first group share one basic element in common: Little Red Riding Hood is no longer innocent, helpless, and disobedient. Rather, she is fearless, intelligent, and confident. She demonstrates a capacity to learn through experience and can stand on her own feet. Though the wolf may indeed be dangerous, Red Riding Hood is equal to the tasks he sets her. Through confrontation with him she establishes her own identity and becomes her own person.

In the second current of radical tales there are various writers who have endeavored to question the "truth" of the classical Perrault and Grimm tales by viewing the contents from the wolf's perspective. Rudolf Otto Wiemer's ironic poem "The Old Wolf" (1976; Tale 28) is a good introduction here since it sets the tone:

the surprising wolf casually threatens Red Riding Hood by remarking that it is discourteous to spread "wild stories" about his reputation. But it is Tomi Ungerer who suggests more positively that the wolf is not a male predator. His version of *Little Red Riding Hood* (1974; Tale 27) portrays the girl as prey to the fears and needs of her parents and grandmother. The slandered wolf seeks to overcome his bad reputation by helping the girl and offering his hand in marriage. There need not be fear of sex or fear of one's own sexuality, according to the non-conformist Ungerer. His tale indicates that Riding Hood does not have to combat the wolf as a carnal symbol but rather must learn to trust her own senses. This is also true in Hans Joachim Schädlich's comic *Criminal Fairy Tale* (1977) in which Ulf, a petty thief, is rebuffed by Rosie and then drinks so much whiskey that he is caught robbing grandmother's house. His mock tale of sorrow is told from his perspective in a prison cell. Rosie is clearly Ulf's downfall, and yet the "wolf" appears to be more defeated by his own ineffectuality than by Rosie's courage.

If the wolf is not devious, wicked, and mean, then what is he? Irving Fetscher supplies a tongue-in-cheek interpretation that transforms the wolf into a scapegoat: he serves to justify socially conditioned human aggression. Fetscher's *Little Redhead and the Wolf* (1972; Tale 23) is a pre-Red Cap story, which historically explains that the wolf did not desire to molest the little girl sexually but wanted to avenge himself for the brutal manner in which Little Red Cap's father had treated the wolf's friend Little Redhead, who happened to be the brother of Little Red Cap, in other words, the father's son, who does not live up to the high expectations of the father. Though Fetscher chiefly pokes fun at psychoanalytical interpretations of *Little Red Cap*, there is more truth than he realizes to his assertion that the tale is a neurotic male projection. This will become more apparent when we consider how the literary tradition was founded on a male conception of women and sexuality. Here the impudent questioning of the psychological motivations behind the tale serves to shed a different light on the wolf as symbol. Portrayed as a maltreated creature of nature and a good-natured "underdog," the wolf strikes back against society to teach humans a lesson: nature will rule out in the end. That is, at least in this version.

We also have other versions where wolves have given up on humans and society and merely seek their peace. In Philippe Dumas's and Boris Moissard's *Little Aqua Riding Hood* (1977; Tale 29), set in contemporary Paris, the granddaughter of Little Red

Riding Hood tries to relive the old tale and gain fame by freeing a wolf from the zoo in the Jardin des Plantes. However, the wolf, a grandnephew of the wolf in Perrault's story, is unwilling to play along. He likes the zoo, where he is well fed and can sleep the entire day. Besides, he knows what happened to his granduncle. On the other hand, he would also like to be free to roam the woods. So he pretends to comply with the wishes of Little Aqua Riding Hood, but instead heads straight for Siberia to be among his brothers and friends and to warn them about little French girls and the dangers of men who threaten to exterminate wolves. The moral of this story reads: "Certain men are more dangerous than wolves."⁷¹

Like the radical adaptations that have transformed Little Red Riding Hood into a fearless, independent girl, the versions that rehabilitate the wolf undermine the assumptions of the traditional cultural pattern. The first obvious explanation for this is that wolves as animals are virtually extinct in Western societies and no longer represent a menace to humans (if they ever did). Second, the wolf as representative of sexuality in general is less a threat today. Fears of sex have diminished because greater scientific control over the body has been achieved. In fact, the body is no longer equated in contemporary literature with unruly nature, but more and more comparisons are drawn with machines. Thus, if the body itself is no longer "natural" but "manufacturable," then its collapse cannot be brought about by nature but by malfunctioning parts. The ideal in Western society today is not the organic natural body but the scientifically machine-like body. This leads us to a third point, which is linked to the ecological movements of the 1960s and 1970s. To rehabilitate the wolf in Red Riding Hood tales is a great reversal of *homo homini lupus*, or at least, it indicates how far we have come in destroying our inner nature. To recapture the wolf in us is part of a general counter-cultural movement against the nuclear extinction of the human species, made possible in the name of technological progress. As raw nature, the wolf is threatened by chemical pollution, scientific automation, and the general drive for scientific human perfection. This is why the wolf is no longer pictured as a real threat in radical adaptations of the traditional Red Riding Hood story.

This is also evident in the third current of radical tales. For instance, Jean Merrill and Gianni Rodari tear the traditional narrative discourse and contents asunder, and play sardonically with conservative expectations. In Merrill's *Red Riding* (1968), Katy's little brother Tony ruins the story of Red Riding Hood because he is con-

stantly adding incredible motifs or questioning the events. Tony asks why the woods are dangerous and wants to supply more ferocious beasts. He also suggests that Red Riding share her deviled eggs with the wolf. Later, Red Riding hides from the wolf who appears on the television screen, and, when the wolf is finally killed, he is buried with flowers. By making the events of the story appear harmless and absurd through a witty dialogue of brother and sister on a rainy afternoon, the narrator frees the reader from the traditional story-line to invent his or her own alternatives. Here the very narrative technique radically conceives a discourse that opens possibilities for change. This is also true in Gianni Rodari's *Little Green Riding Hood* (1973; Tale 25), where a grandpa mixes up the story so much that he makes a mess out of it and frustrates his grandchild.

By far the two most experimental versions from a socio-aesthetic point of view are Anne Sexton's poem "Red Riding Hood" (1971; Tale 22) and Angela Carter's story *The Company of Wolves* (1979; Tale 33), both intended primarily for adults. Sexton rewrote various of the Grimms' tales in her book *Transformations*; her poems depict how women are used as sex objects and how their lives become little more than commodities or hollow existences when they follow the social paths designed for them. Her utmost concern is with the ways and means women become drained of their energy, creativity, and power. In her blunt free verse, which parodies advertisement slogans and American dreams of the wholesome life, Sexton retells the Red Riding Hood story as one of deception, and she cynically concludes the tale with the "saved" grandmother and Red Riding Hood in a state of social amnesia. By not remembering how empty and treacherous their lives had been, they will obviously repeat the mistakes they had made in the past. In contrast to Sexton's pessimistic poem, Carter's Gothic version of *Red Riding Hood* recalls the superstitious past to transcend it. Relying on the folk tradition of the peasant girl and the werewolf, Carter blends the past with stark notions of sexuality and social behavior from the present. She deftly illustrates how a "strong-minded child" can fend for herself in the woods and tame the wolf. The savagery of sex reveals its tender side, and the girl becomes at one with the wolf to soothe his tormented soul.

Carter's remarkable adaptation of the traditional French folk tale is significant because it reflects the changing attitudes toward women and sexuality in Western society in a more positive way than Sexton. Interestingly, in China, a recent version of *Little Red*



Little Red Riding Hood, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1968. Illustrator Harriet Pincus.

Riding Hood entitled *Goldflower and the Bear* (1979; Tale 34), by Chiang Mi, expresses the same sentiments as Carter's story.⁷² Written expressly for children, this tale returns to the oral folk tale to explore its potential for the development of children's social and personal sensibilities in today's world. Goldflower is a self-confident girl who uses her wits to protect her younger brother and to outsmart the predatory bear. She is entirely capable of defending herself on an individual level, and it is apparent that she also signifies young Chinese society on a political level by overcoming a bear, symbolic of gigantic Russia, instead of a wolf.

Both in the East and the West great strides have been made in society and literature to offset male domination through the projection of images of girls and women who have diverse skills and roles. Nevertheless, the culture industry, particularly in the West, insists on maintaining conservative stereotypes of women in advertisements, films, television, radio, and literature to profit from traditional male expectations. If we look at three contemporary American versions of *Little Red Riding Hood*, which are slight adaptations of the Grimms' tale and are more widely circulated among children than the radical adaptations, then Sexton's concern about sexual

deception, exploitation, and social amnesia must be taken more seriously. Beatrice Schenk de Regnier's *Red Riding Hood* (1972), retold in verse for boys and girls to read to themselves, is interesting insofar as the moral imperatives are downplayed. Little Red Riding Hood does break her promise to her mother, but all is forgotten and forgiven. The verse simplifies the story to make it easy to read and delectable for young children. The wolf is wicked; granny and Little Red Riding Hood are gobbled up; the hunter saves them. This is also the case in two popular versions by Mabel Watts and Jane Carruth, sold throughout the United States in bookstores, drugstores, and supermarkets and attractively illustrated to stress Red Riding Hood's virtuous nature and helplessness. In Watts's adaptation—which evidently was influenced by the Walt Disney sterilization process—the wolf is prevented from touching grandma and Little Red Riding Hood; the tale is neutered, and everyone can have some good clean fun. Even the wolf retreats alive. There is no slicing his belly or death. Both the woodcutter and grandma are the rescuers and guarantee Red Riding Hood that everything is all right and that they can live in peace and quiet. Similar things occur in Carruth's more elaborate, somewhat Victorian, adaptation of 1979. A fatherly hunter saves Little Red Riding Hood and guides her safely back to her mommy. Though Riding Hood is not scolded, the tale stresses that she landed in trouble because she was disobedient and could not curb her desire to run into the woods and pick wild flowers. Furthermore, the paternal hunter, who more or less lends Red Riding Hood life and her identity, is given a major role.

All three versions, by de Regnier, Watts, and Carruth, continue the stereotyping of little girls as innocent creatures who must be protected by strong male guardians because as females they cannot control their "natural urges" and thus make themselves prey to vicious animals. Despite the contemporary Western change of attitude toward women and toward puritanical and repressive child-rearing, and despite numerous radical adaptations of Red Riding Hood's life history, the Perrault and Grimm traditional patterns remain strong, and are continually reinforced by modified versions preaching obedience and the regulation of little girls' sexuality.⁷³ One can talk about a "Red Riding Hood syndrome" in Western culture, and its persistence at all levels of society is remarkable. This syndrome involves a perversion of sexuality that began during the 17th century and led to an instrumentalization of the body. As

Michel Foucault and others have demonstrated,⁷⁴ sexual forces have been deployed in the development of bio-politics to bring about the supervision of the body as a machine for maximum use and profit. Concern with the body has been associated with eugenics and the advancement of the human species. However, the categorization and care of the body in the name of progress has ironically led to a perverted sense of sexuality. The question we must now ask is what is at the root of this cultural syndrome as reflected in the *Red Riding Hood* tales.

• The Medieval Tale in Socio-Religious Context

To answer this question we must return to the late Middle Ages, werewolves, witches, and the socio-religious crises which engendered a new view of nature and sexuality. We have already seen that the original folk version of *The Story of Grandmother* emanated from a general superstition in France about werewolves. However, we have not yet explored notions about werewolves, nature, sexuality, and heresy in the late Middle Ages, which will enable us to grasp the significant differences between the oral tale and the two major versions—by Perrault and the Grimm brothers, who were largely responsible for the *Red Riding Hood* literary syndrome.

To begin with the werewolf, it is interesting to note the etymology of the word, which generally means "man-wolf." It originated thousands of years ago in pagan rituals, where the wolf was actually celebrated as a protector. Witch doctors, shamans, and other spiritual leaders often wrapped themselves in a wolfskin or bearskin and were said to have been possessed by the animal, thereby acquiring magical powers. The word "berserk" is also derived from the man wearing a wolfskin or bearskin, possessor and possessed of supernatural gifts. This wolf-man was generally regarded with great awe by hunting tribes. As attitudes changed and tribes became more settled and transformed into grazing societies, wolves and werewolves gradually became associated with hostile forces, or outcasts who lived in the woods outside society and preyed upon humans. Eventually the wolf became associated with legal terminology designating a social misfit, or a deviate who was dangerous and had to be expelled from society.⁷⁵ Both werewolf and wolf were endowed with the same ferocious and aggressive qualities, with the exception that the werewolf was identified more with the gods, suspected of possessing unique powers of transformation, and considered uncontrollable, untam-

able, and yet necessary for the cultural process. Perhaps the best definition of a werewolf has been given by Hans Peter Duerr:

A werewolf is a human being who can dissolve the boundary between civilization and wilderness in himself and is capable of crossing over the fence which separates his "civilized side" from his "wild side." A werewolf is a creature who looks "straight into the eyes" of his "animal nature," which is usually kept under lock and key by his culture. Consequently, this creature is the first to develop a consciousness of his "cultural nature."⁷⁶

As Duerr demonstrates in his book *Traumzeit*, primitive tribes and societies looked upon the werewolf positively (even though with awe) because the werewolf pointed the way toward integration of the cultural and the wild elements of humans. Ironically, to learn to howl with the wolves (or to learn to dance with the witches) meant opening oneself up to the essence of nature, and through this experience, one could achieve greater self-awareness. In order to be able to live in a social order and in order to be tame and self-aware, archaic societies believed that one had to have spent some time in the wilderness. One could only know what one's inner nature meant by having gone outside oneself.

Up through the Middle Ages most Europeans—particularly the peasantry—believed in werewolves. The superstition was strongest in France. Gradually the reverence and awe shown toward the werewolf lost its positive ritual meaning. What is most noteworthy is that the werewolf was considered destructive, bloodthirsty, cunning, and supernatural, but he was not directly associated with the devil until the late Middle Ages. It was particularly during the time from 1400 to 1700 that the notion of the werewolf underwent a profound change. As Konrad Müller and many others have pointed out, certain awesome characteristics of the werewolf became associated with witches and the devil, especially the magical transformations, which were supposedly explained by numerous religious tracts about werewolves and lycanthropy.⁷⁷ Whereas it had previously been considered sinful or nonsensical to believe in werewolves from the official Catholic viewpoint, in an about-face toward the end of the 15th century, the Church deemed it necessary to believe in their existence—as accomplices of the devil. This was directly connected to the holy dictum to believe in witches. Along with cats, werewolves were allegedly the favorite cohorts of witches, and in many werewolf trials of the 16th and 17th centuries there was no real distinction made between werewolf and witch.

All this was initiated by Pope Innocent VIII in the *Papal Bull Summis Desiderantes Affectibus* in December 1484, and further elaborated in the *Malleus Maleficarum* (*Hammer of Witches*, 1486). Both proclaimed that the devil had spread his rule to the earth and had to be combated, and Satan's deputies such as witches and werewolves had to be annihilated. The witch craze began and spread rapidly throughout Europe, and, as H. R. Trevor-Roper maintains,

a general mandate was given, or implied. And the *Malleus*, which is inseparable from the bull, gave force to that mandate. First, by its content, by gathering together all the curiosities and credulities of Alpine peasants and their confessors, it built up a solid basis for the new mythology. Secondly, by its universal circulation, it carried this mythology, as a truth recognized by the Church, over all Christendom. Finally, the *Malleus* explicitly called on other authorities, lay and secular, not merely not to obstruct, but positively to assist the inquisitors in their task of exterminating witches. From now on, the persecution which had been sporadic, was—at least in theory—made general, and secular authorities were encouraged to use the methods and mythology of the Inquisition. Rome had spoken.⁷⁸

Not only Rome but also Protestantism spoke, because of the general crisis of religious belief and the growth of heresies and nonconformism. This led to institutionalized social intolerance. Everyone and anyone had to come under suspicion as a heretic in order for Christianity to maintain its rule in Europe. Catholics attacked Protestants as deviates and vice versa, but their real common enemies were the non-believers in Christianity associated with Jews, witches, werewolves, and other non-Christian types who were equated with one another and were suspected of working in league with the devil. They were all named explicitly by the Church, its official inquisitors, and such venerable scholars as Pierre de l'Ancre, whose influential book *L'Incrédulité et mescréance du sortilege pleinement convaincue* (1622) argued that Jews were condemned by God because of their filthy stench and were sentenced to crawl around the world like snakes. As great magicians they allegedly could turn themselves into wolves by night and could not be converted into good Christians.⁷⁹ There was only one remedy for Jews, werewolves, and witches—extermination.

In all the religious diatribe of the 16th and 17th centuries there were constant parallels drawn between the devil and his associates, the Jews, witches, and werewolves, and this had a profound effect on the popular imagination. As Müller has documented:

One feature was continually stressed time and again in all the trial protocols and religious sermons of that time: the connection of the transformed human being to the devil; the help which the devil provides in the transformation; the arrangement of a personal relationship to him and similar things. . . . Since the connection of the devil to the werewolf was based on the impact of generally valid, spiritual Christian teachings in the mind of the people, this feature was naturally not limited to specific localities but appeared throughout France, England, the Netherlands, and Germany.⁶⁰

It is apparent today that the *firm Christian belief* in werewolves in the 16th and 17th centuries derived from a strident campaign by the Church to exploit folk superstition in order to keep all social groups under its control. As Trevor-Roper and other historians have proven,⁶¹ the witch hunts (including the persecution of werewolves) can be regarded as a form of institutionalized terrorism on the part of the Church, supported by Protestantism and secular authorities.⁶² But there is even more here, involving structural social changes that influenced general notions of sexuality and nature.

By studying the rise of the witch cultural pattern in the early Middle Ages, its "demonization" in the 15th century, and its decline as a valid social category of heresy by the end of the 17th century, Claudia Honegger has shown that

with the social changes since the 12th century the domination of nature in regard to humans became a problem. Only at the time when woman became the representative of nature did the polemics between feminism and anti-feminism flare up in all their sharpness. The ideal of woman disintegrated first into the two contrasting images of the unnatural virgin and the naturally potent witch and ultimately found its temperate and fragile synthesis only in the 18th-century "good Mother." However, time and again the two figures of the virgin and witch emerged in the conceptual world of bourgeois society whenever the precarious balance of the mother, who was continually threatened by nervous breakdowns, appeared to be destroyed. The Maria Cult and the witch craze introduced that transformation which changed the woman as feared representative of nature into an object no longer capable of dominating her nature.⁶³

In the 16th and 17th centuries women more than men were declared witches and were burned because they were associated with untamed nature and potential heresy. The actions of the Church, which lasted well over 200 years in Western Europe and spread to America, were not simply police measures that affected social struc-

tures. They also had a profound effect on social consciousness, customs, and habits in Western society. Gradually there was a shift in the socialization processes. In particular, the witch and werewolf crazes were aimed at regulating sexual practices and sex roles for the benefit of male-dominated social orders, which were depending more and more on economic rationalization in the production and reproduction spheres. Whereas people in the early Middle Ages had assumed their nature to be determined by the social order and had also accepted the unity of inner and outer nature, the emergence of bourgeois relations of production and the increasing technological capacity to control nature brought about a division between human beings as subjects and the objective outside world. Along with these socio-economic factors, the Church distinguished human beings as "electors" distinct from nature. The task of all good Christians was to subdue nature, drive out Satan and heretics from the world, restore order, and bring about God's kingdom on earth. As the Europeans of the 16th and 17th centuries sought to make progress and change nature, they supervised their own behavior in a most diligent and often self-defeating manner. The efforts made to imbue outside nature with Christian virtues and to bring about divine harmony were based on the belief that God revealed and manifested Himself in outer nature. Moreover, if outer nature displayed defects, this reflected upon the moral degeneration of humankind. In accordance with new forms of production, which depended on reason, discipline, and machine technology, people—and especially the upper classes, who were the first to operate on themselves—began to separate their sensual drives from their intellects, and to view themselves objectively as technically capable of achieving some form of moral perfection. In both Catholic and Protestant thinking of the 16th and 17th centuries the greatest fear was chaos, which was associated with sensuality and uncontrollable inner and outer nature. Thomas Hobbes summed up this fear most succinctly, using wolf imagery to express it: *Homo homini lupus*.

As Honegger has shown in her discussion of witches,

the religious and social views of nature and sexuality which were undergoing a change at this time must be regarded in connection with socio-economic advances and shifts. With the development of capitalist conditions of production in Western Europe, the progressive domination of nature by technology and the formation of the modern state (monopoly on taxes, constant administration, standing armies and police) the gap be-

tween the individual and society, individual and nature, theoretically conveyed through religious change, was also deepened in everyday life. This restructuration of the economic and political conditions required the collapse of the organic unity of society and nature, and it was important that this gap continue to be widened and deepened. The increasing dissolution of the feudal estates, which until then had guaranteed people an ordered, fully coordinated life context in which societies had derived their laws from the laws of nature and the natural laws had been derived from the political order, led to the liberation and projection of the individual into a world which had to appear more and more senseless and corrupt. Nature, which had gradually become more the object of exploitation, could no longer provide a direct basis of legitimation for the state which, implanted by positive law, served only the subjugation, punishment, and security of individuals who stood opposed to each other in competition. Therefore, the state was just as incapable of providing the meaning of existence as fallen nature.⁸⁴

Ironically, the conceptual depiction of utopias, which were supposed to help overcome the socio-religious crisis of the 16th and 17th centuries, generated a contradictory development: human progress through reason and Christian morality was to involve the unreasonable and immoral exploitation of women, children, and minority groups, and the irresponsible technological domination of nature for profit.⁸⁵ Cultural processes were brought into line with new visionary projections of paradise on earth, which essentially furthered bourgeois hegemony in Western Europe and America. Again, Honegger is helpful, clarifying what was necessary to realize the ideals of the time.

The adaptation to such demands necessitated an immense increase in self-discipline and an exacting regimentation of one's life by the subjects. "The domination of nature inside and outside" became "the absolute purpose in life for them." This was valid to a large degree particularly for the rising industrial bourgeoisie, but also for the court aristocracy, the bureaucracy and the military. Whoever could not or did not want to be integrated was punished with hate and despoliation. Numerous "primitive" and heretical peoples were decimated; the poor and insane were interned in their own society or annihilated through the new race laws; the peasantry was oppressed and dispossessed. In this process the sexual roles which were transmitted in tradition also experienced a legal definition of opposition: the basis of every state order was now considered the dominance of the sole reasonably gifted man over woman as so-called natural creature.



Little Red Riding Hood and Other Stories, New York: A. L. Burt, 1907. Illustration unknown.

The claim to domination of reason over material and natural needs, the devaluation of the unordered elementary nature and natural human beings was additionally strengthened by abstract and irrational religiosity which penetrated the gap between reason and nature and found its most precise expression in Calvinism. Here human beings are definitely evil, and nature, depraved.

... The result for humankind was a neurotic compulsory fixation on the laws of God and the normative system which emanated from this, and authoritarian subjugation of all deviate ways of behavior through disciplinary measures.⁸⁶

The appropriation of folk customs and beliefs was translated by the Church and civil order into forms and modes of control to legitimate the dominance of Christianity, men over women and children, and rising industrial groups, specifically among the bourgeoisie, over all other social classes. Max Weber equated this with the formation of the Protestant ethic,⁸⁷ but the impact of the rationalized moral code for exploitation was not limited to Protestantism. This can be documented by studying the socio-political development of werewolves and witches in the 16th and 17th centuries as heretics and non-conformists, which gave rise to cultural patterns in oral folklore and literary fairy tales. The fact that the *Little Red Riding Hood* syndrome as a cultural configuration of legalized terror has endured and remained so powerful can only be attributed to the significant role it played in the rise of a new ideology. This can be traced to the socio-religious transition during the Renaissance and Reformation. That is, *Little Red Riding Hood* as part of the literary socialization process came to reinforce socially accepted ways of viewing women, sexuality, and nature. The key tales that gave rise to the *Little Red Riding Hood* syndrome are the oral tale of *The Grandmother*, Perrault's adaptation of folklore, and the Grimms' puritanical version. Let us now re-examine them in light of the socio-historical background of werewolves, witches, and legalized terror in the 16th and 17th centuries.

If we assume that Paul Delarue's integral text of *The Story of the Grandmother* (quoted earlier in this Introduction; see pp. 21-22) emanated from peasant superstition and actual case histories from 1400 to 1700, then we can interpret it as a transitional secular folk tale, which had not yet been contaminated by Christian notions linking the werewolf to the devil, or by ideas aimed at controlling children. The tale, which carries a peasant viewpoint, has nothing to do with obedience or the curbing of sexual drives, even though it is a warning. In fact, the sexual cravings of the wolf are debunked and treated as harmless because the little girl knows how to take care of herself in nature. She does not have a special name, cap, or color. She is an average little girl visiting her grandmother. She is not afraid of the woods. She is not terrified by the wolf. She exposes herself but takes care of herself. The oral tale does not mince

words. It frankly repeats a familiar superstition as a comical warning to children in which a little girl outwits the wolf. Clear sympathy is expressed for children, and the female figure is regarded as naturally equal to the werewolf. As Foucault has pointed out:

At the beginning of the seventeenth century a certain frankness was still common, it would seem. Sexual practices had little need of secrecy; words were said without undue reticence, and things were done without much concealment; one had a tolerant familiarity with the illicit. Codes regulating the coarse, the obscene, and the indecent were quite lax compared to those of the nineteenth century. It was a time of direct gestures, shameless discourse, and open transgressions, when anatomies were shown and intermingled at will, and knowing children hung about amid the laughter of adults: it was a period when bodies "made a display of themselves."⁸⁸

Clearly the original folk tale of *The Grandmother* reflected the sexual frankness of the peasantry during the late Middle Ages, as well as a general tolerance of differences. As we know, all this was on the verge of changing.

Regulatory Significance of Perrault's and the Brothers Grimm's Moralité

By the time Perrault began to revise the oral folk tale of *The Grandmother*, it was no longer necessary to believe in witches or werewolves, especially if one were a member of the upper classes, for the witch craze had subsided and was no longer fashionable. It was now necessary to project an image of woman as innocent, helpless, and susceptible to the chaotic, somewhat seductive, forces of nature, capable of making a pact with the devil or yielding to her fancy. Delarue is quite right when he points out that Perrault decided to change the werewolf into a simple wolf because werewolves had lost their significance after the decline of the witch hunts. Nevertheless, Perrault's audience still identified the wolf with the bloody werewolf, the devil, insatiable lust, and chaotic nature, *if not with a witch*. The wolf as witch may strike readers today as far-fetched, but it was not far from the minds of 17th- and 18th-century readers. Thus, let us proceed to reinterpret Perrault's tale according to the French ideology of his time.

As we know, numerous modern studies have focused on the red cap in Perrault's tale as a symbol either of the sun or of puberty. Neither viewpoint is correct. Perrault used the word *chaperon*, which was a small stylish cap worn by women of the aristocracy and mid-



Le Petit Chaperon Rouge, Epinal: Imogene Pellerin, c. 1885. Illustrator unknown.

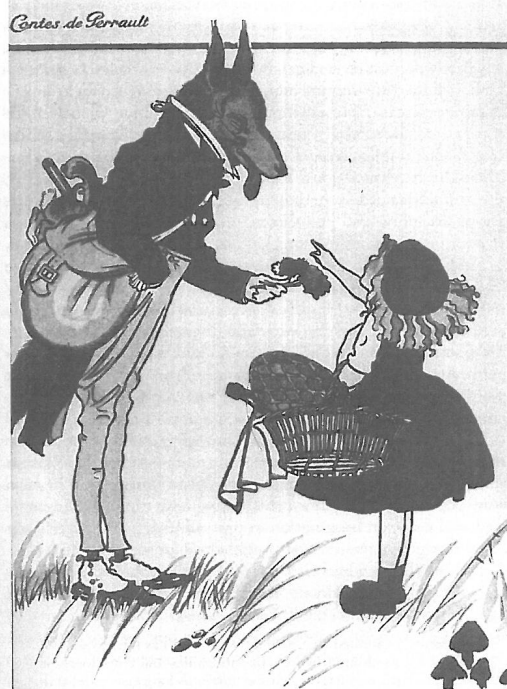
dle classes in the 16th and 17th centuries.⁸⁹ Since clothing was codified and strictly enforced under Louis XIV, it was customary for middle-class women to wear cloth caps, whereas aristocratic ladies wore velvet. Bright colors were preferred, especially red, and the skull cap was generally ornamental. For a village girl, in Perrault's story, to wear a red *chaperon* signified that she was individualistic

and perhaps nonconformist. Perrault probably intended that she bear the sign of the middle class, and by giving her a name he made something special out of her.⁹⁰ Again there is something definitely individualistic about Little Red Riding Hood. We already know that she is the prettiest creature around, spoiled by her mother and grandmother. Thus, the image of this young girl suggests that she contains certain potential qualities which could convert her into a witch or heretic. Her *natural* inclinations do in fact lead her into trouble. In the woods, which was a known haunting place of werewolves, witches, outlaws, and other social deviates, Little Red Riding Hood talks naturally to the wolf because she is unaware of any danger. She trusts her instincts. If it were not for the *male* woodcutters (for only men can serve as protectors), the wolf would have indulged his appetite on the spot, in his natural abode. Instead he is forced to make a "pact" with her. Certainly, according to 17th-century beliefs, anyone who entered into an agreement with a diabolic figure was contaminated and would have to fight for his or her soul. The motif depicted here was fully and consciously developed in 18th-century France by writers of bourgeois morality plays, like Louis Sebastian Mercier and Denis Diderot, who depicted decadent aristocrats seducing young virtuous bourgeois ladies.⁹¹ This dramatic genre, labeled *comédie sérieuse*, became extremely popular and lasted well through the 19th century into the 20th. Interestingly enough, it served as the basis for Boieldieu's 1818 opera *Le petit Chaperon rouge*. In 18th-century Germany this type of drama was cultivated by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing in *Miss Sara Sampson* and *Emilia Galotti*, and he was followed by such *Sturm und Drang* writers as J. M. R. Lenz, Henrich Leopold Wagner, Friedrich Maximilian Klinger, and even Friedrich Schiller in *Kabale und Liebe*. And, of course, the constellation of diabolic wolf and virtuous bourgeois damsel served as the basis for Part I of Goethe's *Faust*, where the transformed Faust (a type of werewolf) with the aid of Mephistopheles seduces Gretchen, who must pay for her sin. It is important to note that Faust is a necromancer doing the devil's work, and it is apparent that Gretchen's bourgeois/village forebear was none other than Little Red Riding Hood. All French and German writers of the 18th century knew that Little Red Riding Hood had been punished for her "crime" of speaking to the devil and of laying the grounds for her own seduction and rape.

The eating or swallowing of Little Red Riding Hood is an obvious sexual act, symbolizing the uncontrollable appetite or chaos of

nature. Moreover, Little Red Riding Hood becomes at one with the wolf. That is, her "natural" potential to become a witch is realized because she lacks self-discipline. As Honegger has made clear, the flip side of the Maria cult, the supreme virgin, is the witch. All this is summarized in the *moralité* of the fairy tale. The blame for the diabolical rape is placed squarely on the shoulders of naive young girls who are pretty and have correct manners. Ostensibly, the seduction would not have occurred had Little Red Riding Hood not stopped to listen to a stranger. Her "dallying" or her undisciplined ways lead her into the wolf's lair. Perrault obviously extends the definition of wolf to include deceptive male seducers of bourgeois women. Still, the overall notion of the fairy tale concerns the regulation of sex roles and sexuality. Where order and discipline reign—Perrault supported the absolutism of Louis XIV—young girls will be safe from both their own inner sexual drives and outer natural forces. Inner and outer nature must be brought under control, otherwise chaos and destruction will reign.

The cultural code and pattern embedded in *Little Red Riding Hood* make it obvious that this tale in particular was bound to become an immediate favorite in the 18th and 19th centuries, particularly among members of the aristocracy and bourgeoisie. However, it was not until the Grimms morally improved upon the Perrault version, showing more clemency for Little Red Riding Hood, that the tale became an explicit narrative of law and order. As we know, by the time the Grimms touched up Perrault's tale, a bourgeois Red Riding Hood syndrome had been established throughout Europe and America, and it went under the name of "virtue seduced." Obviously, the middle classes were reflecting in general upon the fact that, if they did not discipline themselves and their children and rationalize their lives, they would be "raped" by the depraved aristocracy or experience a fall due to unruly natural forces. Then they would have to succumb to the uncouth lower classes. Fear of chaos as dangerous for sound and orderly business was overwhelming among members of the third estate, and, even though the French Revolution had brought turmoil with it, this upheaval had been deemed necessary in order to clean out decadent aristocratic squalor and to bring more order, rationality, and just conditions into France. The effect that the French Revolution had on Ludwig Tieck and the Brothers Grimm has already been documented. Now it is more important to note how the Grimms doctored *Little Red Riding Hood* as *Little Red Cap* to make a comment on sexual norms and sex roles.



Les Contes de Perrault, Paris: Flammarion, 1927. Illustrator Felix Lorient.

The Grimms were responsible for making Little Red Riding Hood definitively into a disobedient, helpless little girl. Before she makes a pact with the devil, she makes one with her good mother. Thus, they also prepared the way for clemency. Yet, with this clemency they also introduced more phrases and images suggestive of authority and order, and they elaborated on the woods scene to show that Little Red Riding Hood wants to break from the moral

restraints of her society to enjoy her own sensuality (inner nature) and nature's pleasures (outer nature). She is much more fully to blame for her rape by the wolf because she has a nonconformist streak which must be eradicated. But times had changed since Perrault, and the 19th-century moralists no longer argued for killing or burning heretics, especially not their own children. First they displayed the power of their authority in the form of the police, in this case the hunter-gamekeeper, and then they set an example of punishment using a misfit or outsider from the lower classes—that is, the wolf. Foucault has thoroughly outlined the panopticum principle of discipline and punishment in the 19th century, where a watchful eye is constantly on the alert for social deviates.⁹² Thus, in the Grimms' tale, a policeman appears out of nowhere to save Little Red Riding Hood, and, when she is granted the opportunity to punish the wolf by filling his stomach with rocks, she is actually punishing herself. The sterile rocks in his stomach will also prevent her from rising and fulfilling her potential. As she carries out this punishment, she internalizes the restraining norms of sexuality in a political manner. The actual form of the fairy-tale narrative partakes in such repressive socialization.

It is impossible to exaggerate the impact and importance of the Little Red Riding Hood syndrome as a dominant cultural pattern in Western societies. In this regard, I want to stress that in her two most popular literary forms, which have fully captured the mass-mediated common imagination in our own day, Little Red Riding Hood is a male creation and projection. Not women but men—Perrault and the Brothers Grimm—gave birth to our common image of Little Red Riding Hood. "The point is," as Andrea Dworkin rightly maintains in her book *Woman Hating*:

We have not formed that ancient world—it has formed us. We ingested it as children whole, had its values and consciousness imprinted on our minds as cultural absolutes long before we were in fact men and women. We have taken the fairy tales of childhood with us into maturity, chewed but still lying in the stomach, as real identity. Between Snow-white and her heroic prince, our two great fictions, we never did have much of a chance. At some point, the Great Divide took place: they (the boys) dreamed of mounting the Great Steed and buying Snow-white from the dwarfs; we (the girls) aspired to become that object of every necrophiliac's lust—the innocent, victimized Sleeping Beauty, beauteous lump of ultimate, sleeping good. Despite ourselves, sometimes unknowing, sometimes knowing, unwilling, unable to do otherwise, we act out the roles we were taught.⁹³

Viewed in this light, *Little Red Riding Hood* reflects men's fear of women's sexuality—and of their own as well. The curbing and regulation of sexual drives is fully portrayed in this bourgeois literary fairy tale on the basis of deprived male needs. Red Riding Hood is to blame for her own rape. The wolf is not really a male but symbolizes natural urges and social nonconformity. The real hero of the tale, the hunter-gamekeeper, is male governance. If the tale has enjoyed such a widespread friendly reception in the Perrault and Grimm forms, then this can only be attributed to a general acceptance of the cultural notions of sexuality, sex roles, and domination embedded in it.

All this is not to say that the tale is outmoded and totally negative, that it should be censored by the women's movement and local school boards, or that it should be replaced by non-sexist versions. The problem is not in the literature, nor can it be solved through censorship. Given the conditions in Western society where women have been prey for men, there is a positive feature to the tale: its warning about the possibility of sexual molestation continues to serve a social purpose. At present, where I teach, women are forced to carry whistles (not a red cap) in the library and classroom buildings and on campus because of rape and violence, and this institution of academic learning is not an exception. Until men learn that they need not be wolves or gamekeepers to fulfill their lives, the tale offers a valuable lesson for young girls and women—albeit a lesson based on the perversion of sexuality.

As we have seen, signs of change have already been depicted in the radical *Little Red Riding Hood* adaptations of the 20th century. However, it took 200 years of hunting witches and werewolves to give birth to the traditional helpless Red Riding Hood and restrictive notions of sex and nature, then another 200 years to establish the proper bourgeois image of the obedient Red Riding Hood learning her lessons of discipline; it may take another 200 years for us to undo all the lessons Red Riding Hood, and the wolf as well, were forced to learn.

1. For the mythological interpretations of sunrise and sunset, see Hyacinthe Husson, *La chaîne traditionnelle* (Paris: Franck, 1874), p. 7; Franz Linnig, *Deutsche Mythenmärchen* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1883), p. 184; Andrew Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion* (London: Longmans, Green, 1882); idem, *Perrault's Popular Tales* (London: Longmans, Green, 1888), p. lix; Hermann Zech, *Perrault's Contes de ma mère l'oye und die Grimmischen Märchen* (Stuttgart: Schulprogramm, 1906), p. 25; p. Saintyres, *Les Contes de Perrault et les récits parallèles* (Paris: Nourry, 1923), pp. 215–229; Henry Brett, *Nursery Rhymes and Tales* (Detroit, 1924), pp. 20–22.
2. See Macleod Yearsley, *The Folklore of Fairy Tales* (London: Watts, 1924), pp. 218–221. C. G. Jung uses this notion as the basis of his psychological interpretation to explain certain neuroses involving sexual intercourse. The wolf is the father, and the fear of being swallowed concerns fear of intercourse and conception. See Jung's "Versuch einer Darstellung der psychoanalytischen Theorie" (1913), in *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 4 (Zurich: Rasch, 1971), p. 237. For a more Freudian approach, cf. Bruno Bettelheim, *The Uses of Enchantment* (New York: Knopf, 1976), pp. 166–183.
3. The mythological interpretations have helped to stimulate this notion and have often included it. See Lee Burns, "Red Riding Hood," *Children's Literature*, 1 (1972), p. 31. The depiction of the wolf as the absolute category of evil led racist folklorists in Germany to equate the beast with alien or racially inimical forces.
4. See Gottfried Henssen, "Deutsche Schreckmärchen und ihre europäischen Anverwandten," *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, 51 (1953), pp. 84–97; and Marianne Rumpf, "Ursprung und Entstehung von Warn- und Schreckmärchen," *FF Communications*, 160 (1955), pp. 3–16.
5. In addition to Rumpf's significant essay "Ursprung und Entstehung von Warn- und Schreckmärchen," see her doctoral dissertation *Rotkäppchen: Eine vergleichende Märchenuntersuchung*. University of Göttingen, 1951, and "Caterinella: Ein italienisches Warnmärchen," *Fabula*, 1 (1957), pp. 76–84.
6. "Les contes merveilleux de Perrault et la tradition populaire," *Bulletin folklorique d'Ile-de-France* (1951), pp. 221–228, 251–260, 283–291; (1953), pp. 511–517; "Le Petit Chaperon Rouge," *Le Conte Populaire Français*, vol. 1 (Paris: Erasme, 1957), pp. 373–383.
7. "Le Petit Chaperon Rouge," *Nouvelle Revue Française*, 16 (1968), pp. 429–443; and "From Tales of Warning to Formulettes: The Oral

Tradition in French Children's Literature," *Yale French Studies*, 43 (1969), pp. 2–3.

8. See Elliott O'Donnell, *Werewolves* (London: Methuen, 1912), pp. 110–125; and Montague Summers, *The Werewolf* (New York: Dutton, 1934), pp. 217–241.
9. Cf. Leubuscher, *Ueber die Wehrwölfe und die Thierverwandlungen im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Reimer, 1850); and Wilhelm Hertz, *Der Werewolf* (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1862).
10. This case has been repeatedly documented in histories of werewolves. See Summers, *The Werewolf*, pp. 223–225.
11. Cf. Soriano, "Le petit chaperon rouge," pp. 429–43. See also Soriano's excellent critical biography, *Les Contes de Perrault: Culture savante et traditions populaires* (Paris: Gallimard, 1968).
12. Soriano, "From Tales of Warning," pp. 27–28.
13. See "Conte de la mère grande," in Delarue, *Le Conte Populaire Français*, pp. 373–74.
14. A slightly different version translated by Austin E. Fife can be found in Paul Delarue, ed., *The Borzoi Book of French Folk Tales* (New York: Knopf, 1956), pp. 230–232.
15. Henssen, "Deutsche Schreckmärchen."
16. "Grand-mères, sie vous sachiez: le Petit Chaperon Rouge dans la tradition orale," *Cahiers de Littérature Orale*, 4 (1978), pp. 17–55.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 43–44.
18. "Le Petit Chaperon Rouge," *Le Conte Populaire Français*, p. 383.
19. A *Social History of Family Life* (New York: Knopf, 1962). See also his essay "At the Point of Origin," *Yale French Studies*, 43 (1969), pp. 15–23.
20. The use of a red sign or hat to stigmatize social nonconformists or outcasts was common throughout the Middle Ages and Reformation. For instance, Venetia Newall in her article "The Jew as a Witch Figure" reports that Jews in Central Europe were obliged to wear a Judenhut in the later Middle Ages. "This was a special hat, usually red, the brim shaped to resemble a pair of horns. The demoniacal implications of this item of headgear need not be enlarged upon, and there is additional evidence of alleged links between satanism and Jewry." See *The Witch Figure*, ed. Venetia Newall (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), p. 104. In France and Germany Jews were supposed to appear in mystery plays wearing satanic pointed caps. Sidney Oldall Addy has also recorded that in parts of England witches were

dressed exactly like fairies. They wear a red mantle and hood, which covers the whole body. They always wear these hoods. An old woman living at Holmesfield, in the parish of Dronfield, in Derbyshire, who wore "one of those hoods called

'little red riding hoods,' used to be called the old witch." The favourite meeting-places of witches are cross-ways, or "four lane ends," or toll-bars, where they bewitch people.

- See *Folk Tales and Superstitions* (London: E.P. Publishing, 1973), pp. 70–71, a reprint of the 1895 edition. The connection between the devil, Jews, werewolves, witches, and fairies with Little Red Riding Hood will be made clearer later in this Introduction.
21. Cf. Mary Elizabeth Storer, *La Mode des contes des fées* (1685–1700) (Paris: Champion, 1928).
 22. Charles Perrault, *Contes*, ed. Gilbert Rouger (Paris: Garnier, 1967), p. 89.
 23. Cf. Marc Soriano, *Les Contes de Perrault, Culture savante et traditions populaires* (Paris: Gallimard, 1968), and *Le Dossier Perrault* (Paris: Hachette, 1972).
 24. *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners*, vol. 1, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Urizen, 1978), p. 36.
 25. *Ibid.*, pp. 59–143.
 26. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
 27. Paris: Minard, 1978, p. 40.
 28. For one of the best accounts of the historical development of *Little Red Riding Hood*, see Harry B. Weiss, *Little Red Riding Hood: A Terror Tale of the Nursery* (Trenton: Privately Printed, 1939). See also "Die Verbreitung der Perraultschen Märchen," in Marianne Rumpf's dissertation *Rotkäppchen: Eine vergleichende Märchenuntersuchung*, University of Göttingen, 1951, pp. 92–94; and Paul Tesdorpf, *Beiträge zur Würdigung Charles Perraults und seiner Märchen* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1910).
 29. Cf. *Die älteste Märchensammlung der Brüder Grimm* (Cologne-Genève: Fondation Martin Bodmer, 1975), pp. 390–392.
 30. *Ibid.*, p. 391.
 31. "The Influence of Charles Perrault's *Contes de ma Mère L'Oie* on German Folklore," *Germanic Review*, 5 (1930), pp. 4–18. See also Lilyane Mourey, *Introduction aux contes de Grimm et de Perrault* (Paris: Minard, 1978), pp. 31–35, 52–55.
 32. *The History of Sexuality* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), p. 104.
 33. "Trägt Rotkäppchen eine Jakobiner-Mütze? Über mutmaßliche Konnotate bei Tieck und Grimm," in *Literatursoziologie*, ed. Joachim Bark, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1974), pp. 159–180.
 34. *Ibid.*, p. 175.
 35. Cf. Rumpf, *Rotkäppchen*, pp. 92–105.
 36. See Carole and D. T. Hanks, "Perrault's 'Little Red Riding Hood': Victim of Revision," *Children's Literature*, 7 (1978), pp. 68–77.

37. See Lutz Röhrich, "Zwölfmal Rotkäppchen," in *Gebärden—Metapher—Parodie* (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1967), pp. 130–152.
38. Aside from Charles Marelle's *La Véritable Histoire du Petit Chaperon d'or* (1888), which I shall discuss, see Armand Legrand, Junien Champeaux, and Auguste Gombault, *Le Petit Chaperon Rouge: Conte en Action* (Paris: Duvernois, 1823); Ernest Blum and Raoul Toché, *Le Petit Chaperon Rouge: Opérette en trois actes* (Musique de Gaston Serpette) (Paris: Choudens, 1885); and E. Baneux, *Le Petit Chaperon Rouge* (Paris: Librairie Théatrale, 1888).
39. For the French text, see *Le Petit Chaperon rouge, Opera-feerie, en Trois Actes et en Prose*, de M. T. Théaulon (Paris: C. Ballard, 1818). For the English translation, see *The Little Red Riding Hood*, trans. W. F. F. (Baltimore: E. J. Coale, 1831).
40. See E. van Heurck and G.J. Boekennoogen, *Histoire de l'Imagerie populaire flammande* (Brussels: Oest, 1910) and A. van Gennep, "Remarques sur l'Imagerie populaire," *Revue d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie*, 2 (1911), pp. 26–50.
41. *The Red Fairy Book* (London: Longmans, Green, 1890), pp. 215–219.
42. *Fairy Stories and Fables* (New York: American Book Co., 1898), pp. 38–44.
43. See the notes and afterword by Walter Scherf in Ludwig Bechstein, *Sämtliche Märchen* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1970), pp. 779–871.
44. "Das Rothkäppchen" in *Märchen nach Perrault* (Stuttgart: Halberger, 1869), p. 4.
45. There is a discussion of both the anonymous Gothic version and Bayley's tale in Harry B. Weiss, *Little Red Riding Hood: A Terror Tale of the Nursery* (Trenton: Privately Printed, 1939).
46. See Harry B. Weiss, *A Forgotten Version of Little Red Riding Hood* (New York: New York Public Library, 1950).
47. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, pp. 120–21.
48. *Red Riding Hood*, verse adaptation, c. 1890, reprinted by Merrimack Publishing Corp., New York, 1979.
49. *Ibid.*
50. Baring-Gould wrote numerous books dealing with folklore. Aside from the adaptation of Perrault's tale, he wrote a more literal translation of the Grimms' *Little Red Cap* in *Fairy Tales from Grimm* (London: Wells Gardner, Darton, 1894). He also wrote one of the first sober histories of werewolves in English. See *The Book of Were-Wolves: Being an Account of a Terrible Superstition* (London: Smith, Elder, 1865).
51. *A Book of Fairy Tales*, 2d ed. (London: Methuen, 1895), p. 55.
52. See *Little Red Riding-Hood: An Opérette for Juveniles* in Harrison Millard, *Silver Threads of Song for School and Home* (New York: S. T. Gordon, 1875), pp. 125–151.

53. Ibid., p. 148.
54. *Star Nursery Rhymes* (Zanesville, Ohio: Schultz, c. 1895), p. 3.
55. *Märchendeutungen durch Runen* (Hellerau bei Dresden: Hakenkreuz Verlag, 1925), pp. 28–32.
56. Ibid., pp. 28–29.
57. Cf. *Von der Weisheit unserer Märchen* (Berlin, 1942). See also Georg Schott, *Weissagung und Erfüllung im Deutschen Volksmärchen* (Munich: Hermann A. Wiechmann, 1925); and Josef Prestl, *Märchen als Lebensdichtung* (Munich: Max Hueber, 1938).
58. Fasching edition of the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, entitled the *Münchener Netteste Nachrichten* (1937). Reprinted in Röhrich, *Gebärde—Metapher—Parodie*, pp. 137–38.
59. Link constantly parodied the fascist bureaucracy and official organizations which controlled the daily lives of the Germans. Here Little Red Cap is referred to as a BDM-Mädel. The Bund Deutscher Mädel was a Hitler Youth Group.
60. The *Mutterheim der National Sozialistischer Vereinigung* was a type of convalescent home where women went to rest, recuperate, and reside.
61. *Das Amt für Schönheit der Holzarbeit* was Link's designation for the ministry of forestry.
62. *Kreisjäger* was Link's designation for a forest ranger.
63. "Kraft durch Freude" (KdF) was a slogan invented by the Nazis to stimulate the workers so that they would work harder. This slogan became the name of a recreational organization that provided cruises in the Mediterranean, among other things. Thus, Link refers to a KdF-Dampfer.
64. Cf. Cornelia Meigs, ed., *A Critical History of Children's Literature*, rev. ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1969), pp. 446–483.
65. *Fables for Our Time* (New York: Harper, 1939), p. 5.
66. Cf. Irina H. Cotten, "Evgenii Shvarts as an Adapter of Hans Christian Andersen and Charles Perrault," *Russian Review*, 37 (1978), pp. 51–67. Floh de Cologne, a German political rock group, has adapted the play with music and made an excellent recording of their production. See Floh de Cologne, "Rotkäppchen. Ein Märchen mit viel Rock und Pop für kleine und grosse Kinder," Pläne K20905.
67. Boston: Beacon, 1955, 1964.
68. New York: Pantheon, 1967.
69. See Wilhelm Reich, *The Sexual Revolution*, 4th ed. rev., trans. Theodore P. Wolfe (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1970); and *Sex-Pol Essays 1919–1934*, trans. Anna Bostock, Tom Du Bose, and Lee Baxandall (New York: Vintage, 1972); and Paul A. Robinson, *The Freudian Left* (New York: Harper, 1969).

70. Cf. Jürgen Habermas, *Legitimation Crisis*, trans. Thomas McCarthy (Boston: Beacon, 1975).
71. *Contes à l'envers* (Paris: L'Ecole des loisirs, 1977), p. 26.
72. For other Chinese variations, see Isabelle C. Chang, "The Chinese Red Riding Hoods," in *Chinese Fairy Tales* (New York: Barre, 1965).
73. For example, see *Le petit chaperon rouge* (Paris: Editions R.S.T., 1973) with illustrations by Elisabeth and Gerry Embleton and printed in several different languages.
74. *The History of Sexuality*, pp. 135–139. See also Stephan Chorover, *From Genesis to Genocide: The Meaning of Human Nature and the Power of Behavior Control* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1979).
75. See Michael Jacoby, *Wargus, vargr. 'Verbrecher' 'Wolf'* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1974).
76. *Traumzeit: Über die Grenze zwischen Wildnis und Zivilisation* (Frankfurt am Main: Syndikat, 1978), p. 108.
77. Cf. Müller, *Die Werwölfsage*, pp. 47–51; and Summers, *The Werewolf*, pp. 1–132.
78. "The European Witch-Craze," in *Religion, the Reformation and Social Change* (London: Macmillan, 1967), p. 102.
79. Paris, 1622, pp. 446–501.
80. *Die Werwölfsage*, pp. 47–48.
81. Cf. Jules Michelet, *La Sorcière* (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1966), reprint of 1862 ed. Joseph Hansen, *Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexenprozess im Mittelalter* (Munich: Oldenburg, 1900); Robert Mandrou, *Magistrats et sorciers en France au XVIIe Siècle* (Paris: Plon, 1968); Alan Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970); Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1970); Jeanne Favret, "Sorcières et Lumières," *Critique*, 27 (1971), 351–376; Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1972); Gabriele Becker et. al. *Aus der Zeit der Verzweiflung: Zur Genese und Aktualität des Hexenbildes* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1977).
82. Cf. Trever-Roper, "The European Witch-Craze," pp. 126–128.
83. *Die Hexen der Neuzeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1978), pp. 61–62.
84. Ibid., pp. 89–90.
85. See William Leiss, *The Domination of Nature* (Boston: Beacon, 1972).
86. *Die Hexen der Neuzeit*, p. 91.
87. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Scribner, 1958). See also R.H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1926).

88. *The History of Sexuality*, p. 3.
89. Cf. James Robinson Planché, *Encyclopedia of Costume*, vol. 1 (London: Chatto & Windus, 1876), pp. 241–294; Carl Köhler, *A History of Costume* (London: Harrap, 1928), pp. 163–178; Francois Boucher, *20,000 Years of Fashion* (New York: Abrams, 1967), pp. 531–700.
90. Earlier I discussed the significance of the red hat in relation to Jews, witches, werewolves, and the devil. It is difficult to determine exactly why Perrault used the color red, but we do know that it was associated with witches and the devil in his time. In discussing the initiation ritual of witches, Andrea Dworkin points out:

Once the neophyte made the decision for the horned god, she went through a formal initiation, often conducted at the sabbat. The ceremony was simple. The initiate declared that she was joining the coven of her own free will and swore devotion to the master of the coven who represented the horned god. She was then marked with some kind of tattoo which was called the witches' mark. The inflicting of the tattoo was painful, and the healing process was long. When healed the scar was red or blue and indelible. One method particularly favored by the witch hunters when hunting was to take a suspected woman, shave her pubic and other bodily hair (including head hair, eyebrows, etc.) and, upon finding any scar, find her guilty of witchcraft." See *Woman Hating* (New York: Dutton, 1974), pp. 142–43. Suspected women not possessing such a mark would be given one, such as the scarlet letter "A." Even redheads, natural redheads, were suspected for a long time of being in league with the devil or the offspring of the devil. The famous Austrian playwright Johann Nestroy wrote an entire play about the difficulties encountered by redheads. See *Der Talisman* (1840).

91. See W. W. Pusey, *Louis-Sebastien Mercier in Germany: His Vogue and Influence in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1939); and Henry Majewski, *The Preromantic Imagination of L. S. Mercier* (New York: Humanities Press, 1971).
92. See *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon, 1978).
93. *Woman Hating*, p. 33. Cf. Kay Stone, "Things Walt Disney Never Told Us," in *Women and Folklore*, ed. Claire R. Farrer (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1975), pp. 42–50; and Madonna Kolbenschlag, *Kiss Sleeping Beauty Good-Bye* (New York: Doubleday, 1979).

Notes on the Texts

THE VERSIONS OF *Little Red Riding Hood/Little Red Cap* presented on the following pages are intended to offer the reader a chronological and comprehensive overview of the literary tradition that has made the girl and wolf constellation famous in France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States. Two versions, from Italy and China, have been included to show how experimentation with the content of the tale has spread. Other interesting *Red Riding Hood* versions are noted in the Introduction, but they were either unavailable, repetitious, or too lengthy to include in this anthology.

Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my work. In my translations of the original stories by Perrault and the Brothers Grimm I have endeavored to be as literal as possible without losing the flavor of the different styles. Perrault's verse *moralité* has been set in prose to convey his message as exactly as possible. Although we know that *chaperon* does not mean "riding hood," I have followed the English custom of using "riding hood" in the translations, with the exception of the German tales. There I make a distinction by consistently translating *Käppchen* as "cap."

At the end of the collection of tales appears a Bibliography of *Red Riding Hood* Texts, arranged chronologically. My focus has been on France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States because it seemed to me that the development in these countries was paradigmatic for the way people in the West have come to look at sexuality, sex roles, and socialization. *Red Riding Hood* is a pervasive sign. You can find the constellation of the little girl and the wolf on television, billboards, restaurant marquees and menus, postcards, posters, games, and toys, and in newspapers, magazines, cartoons, and films. The signification of the constellation always depends on the socio-historical context and the cultural struggle of the sexes over social roles. In their present context I hope that the