Who bewitched the witch?[1]

Victor-Laurent Tremblay

Résumé: *A la lumière de la psychanalyse et de l'anthropologie, V.-L. Tremblay s'interroge sur la pérennité de l'image de la sorcière dans les contes de fées: celle-ci représente une création patriarcale, liée à la manifestation de pulsions antimaternelles et antiféminines et à la peur inconsciente des femmes, notamment de leur aspiration au pouvoir, de leur appétit sexuel et de leur capacité d'enfanter.*

From time immemorial, the Witch has ridden her broom and performed her bad deeds, not only in the imagination of children, but in people's tales and dreams everywhere. Why does this powerful personification of ugliness, evil, sterility and death persist in inhabiting the human mind? Above all what is the source of this anti-feminine and anti-maternal configuration?[2]

Much has already been said on this subject.[3] The negative perception of women, as embodied by the witch, is interwoven in the very fabric of our Judaic and Greco-Roman tradition and is tied to a dialectic which goes back into distant prehistoric time.[4] Indeed, the meaning of this woman who is always old, ugly, wicked and strangely dressed, has a mythic origin which is based on anthropological reality: mythic because the source of her miserable destiny is the patriarchal order itself—that is why she haunts both the individual and the collective unconscious—and anthropologically true because she translates and perpetuates women's oppression in our daily life since the beginning of time. In order to review the roots of this pertinacious feminine representation, let us examine the correlation which exists between fairy tales on the one hand and individual mind, history and myth on the other. Our belief is that in combining, although too briefly, the fields of psychoanalysis, history and anthropology, we will be able to offer a partial but we hope better understanding of the intricate figure of the "fairy tale witch" that children still encounter in some books and on television.

Today, as in the past, stories of enchantment continue to enthral young listeners. Consequently, psychoanalysts have for many decades been exploring their function in the emotional development of children. For Freudians in particular, like dreams which are considered the "royal road" to the unconscious, fairy tales can be read as a translation of the workings of the Oedipus complex into symbolic language.[5] To illustrate this, let us compare briefly three well-known fairy tales: *Hansel and Gretel*, *Little Red Riding Hood*, and *Snow White*.[6]

In each the child leaves its family, either under duress (*Hansel and Gretel*), deliberately (*Little Red Riding Hood*), or by escaping danger (*Snow White*): three behaviours which vary according to the protagonist's age. After wandering for some time in the woods, the child arrives at another house where its life is threatened by a Witch, a wolf disguised as a grandmother, and a heinous stepmother. According to Julius E. Hensches, whose "Freudian" reading of those tales follows the "etorogenic zones" that even Winnicott recognized (*Home* 23-24), we have here three versions of the same emotional situation expressed at different psychological phases of childhood (116-147).

In *Hansel and Gretel*, we are at the pre-Oedipal stage. Oral fixation is dominant in the gingerbread house owned by the Witch who is planning to eat her young victims. We can identify here the resentment towards the mother who has stopped nursing her child, a feeling which is connected to the fear of rejection, of no longer being loved by her. This obsession with being devoured is encountered in the three fairy tales. With *Little Red Riding Hood*, we are at the anal phase. It is marked by the heroine's need to discover her surroundings, and the double bind on the one hand, of fear and aggressivity, and on the other, of trust; this ambivalence is symbolized by the wolf-grandmother. Finally, *Snow White* projects the more advanced dynamics of preadolescence: the young girl, standing undecided in front of her mirror, questions herself fearfully concerning her future role, a role which is in fact suggested to her by an ambivalent mother figure. Not only at the starting point of these tales, but throughout all those in which the Witch and her disturbing fellow creatures loom up, we can perceive an attempt to escape from the "devouring mother," who by her power to satisfy or frustrate her child's desire, seems to have the power of life and death over her offspring.[7] Christiane Olivier warns mothers about their incredible power over children, noting that the small boy must free himself from the Oedipus complex which binds him to his mother, who in fact does not wish him to leave her. Rather than preventing normal maturation, this situation creates in the adult male a fear of symbiotic feelings towards any woman; this fear can trigger a misogynistic mechanism in the male (*Jocasta* 40-41). In the first tale, although Hansel, as a prisoner of the Witch, can do nothing against her, Gretel keeps a certain distance which is going to allow her to strike back against the "devouring mother" and free herself from her. According to Christiane Olivier, this relative liberty of the little girl comes from the fact that her mother does not "desire" her. Indeed, to give birth to a son instead of a daughter corresponds to the mother's appropriation of the masculine power of which she was herself deprived. But also, for the mother, there is no complementarity except with the male sex, consequently:

> The girl, as a non-Oedipal object for her mother, will feel that she is unsatisfactory, incapable of satisfying ... [T]he girl, and later the woman, is never satisfied with what she has or what she is. She is always yearning for a body other than her own: she would like a different face, different breasts, different legs ... For the first thing that did not look right was indeed something about the body, since it was about her sex not triggering desire in her mother. The little girl, in her mother's eyes, will be

sweet, lovable, graceful, good anything but sexually alive, tinged with desire. The colour of desire will not be found in the little girl that has been handled by a woman. (Olivier 44)

Therefore, not "desired" by her mother, she will always "mistrust other women" (Olivier 50). Indeed it is suggested that this suspicion may be at the source of women's resistance to feminist movements (Olivier 48), thus reaffirming the patriarchal order. The little girl who was rejected as a "sexual object" by her mother is going to demand men's approbation when she becomes older. For example, after Gretel hurls the Witch into the fire, she entrusts the power symbolized by the Witch's treasure to her father, who now lives alone because the stepmother, who had taken the decision to get rid of the children, is now dead. Meanwhile, men are going to profit from their position of power by using every woman they encounter to settle the score with their mother. The other two fairy tales also present this destruction of the mother to the benefit of paternal power. The hunter, who rescues Little Red Riding Hood from the devouring wolf-grandmother, symbolizes not only the protecting father, but also a male maternal figure who gives birth to her, this time, into the patriarchal world. As for Snow White, she escapes from her queen-witch stepmother to put herself into the helping hands of seven dwarfs, after having been rescued from danger by another heroic hunter. The number seven, which designates completeness and perfection, embodies here perfect masculinity. Then, until she is saved by her "prince charming," she plays mother-wife to those "seven male babies," giving them the love-food of which she was deprived. The "seven little fathers," in return, will protect her and their continuous gaze will confirm her sexual identity (see Olivier 77). Her mirror, like those eyes perpetually staring at her, is there to reassure her that she exists, just as is the case for women who are tortured by their perpetual need for makeup and new fashion to reaffirm their existence.

Such an explanation of the particular psychic nature of the little girl may explain why, when she is the protagonist in a tale, the character of the Witch is often present. Indeed, the relationship of women in fairy tales is habitually one of conflict and ends in physical elimination, according to Yvonne Verdier:

Classified by the maturation of their bodies, women find themselves divided and unequal. Perhaps one can see here the principal source of the violence in their conflicts? There are a number of tales which develop this aspect of elimination in the relationships among women, whether they be among women of the same generation (recalling the theme of the "hidden fiancée") or among women of different generations: mother and daughter, step-mother and step-daughter, grandmother and granddaughter, old and young. (Quoted in Zipes *Trials* 8)

Furthermore, it should be stressed that the structure of the folk tale, in popular novels and in myth, depends on the obsessive repetition of the hero's desire to dominate (Tortel 74). In this instance, the child wins the battle against the mother.[8] But after the destruction of the danger, symbolized here by the Witch, why should the new order be irrevocably masculine? It is because the fairy tale, by translating childhood trauma, must in fact confirm the patriarchal structures which rule the traditional family. It seems that the fear of the mother and of

women in general that psychoanalysis finds in fairy tales comes from the same tendency to blame the mother for almost all psycho-emotional problems encountered in patients. This perception of women as being both inferior and dangerous originates in a pre-historical vision. This is why a second analysis of the Witch is needed. Going further than the familial bourgeois circle, we need to question the materialization of this obsessive figure in history itself.

Without a doubt, the Witch's historical persona has largely contributed to her representation in fairy tales, not only in terms of the descriptive elements but also in giving credence to her existence. She was linked for many centuries to the belief system. In Exodus 22:18, we find this exhortation: "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." Also, until the seventeenth century, fairy tales and folk tales were not only for children but for everyone in all social circles. This ill-fated representation of the witch derived from the interaction between the popular belief in her supernatural powers, like flying through the air, or the evil eye, and the more learned tradition like a pact with the devil (Burke 62). Jack Zipes has argued that the adaptation of fairy tales starting in the seventeenth century was motivated by a desire of the bourgeois and aristocratic elite to impose their morality on the lower classes (see note 6). A similar purpose is to be seen in the witch hunts (not known before the sixteenth century) intended to eradicate the sexual licence of the peasants (Klaits 48-85). Thus the inversion of morality (especially the sexual reversal of the dominant woman) was to become a general feature of the witch stereotype. But, although throughout the Middle Ages the witch was equally perceived as a male or a female (in agricultural societies women's power is not yet completely uprooted), there was much from which women were excluded, the written word being only one of the cultural items which was not shared (Burke 490). The villainous woman was presented as intensely active, thus threatening to males. Women had to know their place, as is clear not only in popular (masculine) negative portrayals such as the shrew, but even from images of the passive heroine.[9]

To confirm the correlation between the malevolent Witch and the notion of femininity of this epoch, let us quote a few passages from *Malleus maleficarum*. This book, originally published in 1486 and extensively republished over the next two hundred years, presents the summum of doctrinal formulations drawn from numerous treatises written during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Thanks to this official text, the Inquisition was able to identify and condemn to the stake many thousands of Witches. For an example, take question number VI: "Why are superstitions held especially by women?" (41) The two monks who were the authors of this late medieval best seller, answer this query using the Bible, the writings of the Church's early fathers, and many writers from Antiquity, all presenting women as the worst evil encountered by humanity. Indeed, what is woman but the death of friendship, an ineluctable punishment, a necessary evil, and a domestic danger? When a woman is thinking by herself, she dreams of evil deeds. The reasons given by both authors for women's

superstition, are equally far-fetched. Women are more gullible, more impressionable, cannot keep a secret, are more libidinous than men, and are feeble of mind and body like children. Worse, women are imperfect animals, being born from Adam's rib, a bent bone that is opposite to the masculine straight line: that is why they constantly lie and cheat. A woman has very little faith in God, as is proved by the adjective "feminine," deriving from the Latin *femina: fe* (faith) and *minus* (inferior). The authors conclude that witchcraft is in essence a feminine phenomenon. They are grateful to God for having safeguarded the masculine sex from such crimes and for having granted to men the privilege of being free from all such defects.

The virulent misogyny that runs through this book reflects the general attitude of Christianity up until the present day. This point of view, however, should be balanced by remembering the cult of the Virgin Mary (twelfth century) which to a degree counteracted the negative perception of women. But it should be pointed out that the veneration of God's mother was based on her condition more disembodied than earthly, and on the apotheosis of her virginity rather than her maternity, which is single and asexual. As Joseph Klaits has written, "The many representations of the Virgin Mary served only to draw a contrast between idealized [passive] femininity and the defects of real women" (72). Peter Burke also noted that:

> Most popular heroines were objects, admired not so much for what they did as for what they suffered. For women, martyrdom was virtually the only road to sanctity, and there were many legends of virgin martyrs who are not easy to tell apart except in the manner of their deaths and tortures ... Equally passive is Cinderella, and so are other folktale heroines; almost equally passive is the Virgin Mary, a figure of obedience (the Annunciation) or patient suffering (the Crucifixion). (164)

Stripped of her materiality by a patriarchal religion, in a way without tangible reality, the Virgin Mary weighed little in popular culture if we compare her to the sensuous and dangerous woman described by the *Malleus Maleficarum.*

According to this treatise, it is possible to define women using the three vices that seem to dominate them: unfaithfulness, ambition, and insatiable sexual appetite. Analysis shows that the common denominator of these three perversions is the women's desire to undermine the power of males and appropriate it for themselves. First, the fear of feminine adultery forces males to question their own lineage. Second, women's ambition calls into question masculine authority which is backed up by religious law. And third, feminine sexual appetite fascinates men, who, losing control of their own rationality, tend to become like animals. Indeed, people believed that Witches had the power to transform men into beasts, a power that they had also over themselves. The *Malleus* insists particularly on this third perversion of carnal desire in Witches. Causing impotence and sterility in men as in women, they were also responsible for abortion, the murder of children, and even for cannibalism. Women's desire to usurp men's supremacy, which psychoanalysis has named "penis envy," is revealed metaphorically in fairy tales. The Witch with her pointed hat, her long

nose and her broom between her legs "materializes" the desire for power that patriarchal society attributes to women. Furthermore, her power to fly, comparable to the gift of ubiquity, makes her similar to the masculine God who is privileged with all the signs of verticality (Durand 138-162). Finally, her desire to destroy children and even to devour them, as in the three fairy tales, demonstrates succinctly one of the worst deeds unconsciously attributed to Witches by the patriarchal order. We say "unconsciously" because society has no awareness whatsoever of this inversion according to which woman, at first a symbol of life by her power of procreation, has become the ultimate symbol of sterility and death.

Some anthropologists, for example Bruno Bettelheim in *Symbolic wounds*, a group of researchers in *Rituals of manhood* (Herdt, ed.), and Lucien Scubla in "Contribution à la théorie du sacrifice," offer a pertinent response to the above semantic inversion of femininity. These writers agree that a culture which is structurally masculine relies in fact on "womb envy," which Christiane Olivier has called the "Jocasta Complex" (the desire to replace the mother, not loving-possessing her as in the "Oedipus Complex"). Man became culturally the winner the day he became conscious that he plays a role in procreation. Beforehand he was fearful and jealous of the feminine power of giving and preserving life, a power related to Nature's fertility itself. At such time children were owned by the mother and her clan. When finally man realized, no doubt by observing his livestock, that his seed was necessary to impregnate, phallic cults became predominant.[10] This knowledge anyway was not necessary for males to want to appropriate the children for themselves. Scubla has demonstrated that the antagonism between the sexes, fuelled by the contradictory desire on the part of each to "control" the child, was one of the two bases of the socio-patriarchal order, the other being the mimetic antagonism among all individuals to get whatever they wished.

According to Girard's research into cultural origins, the first general conflict at the source of humanity was resolved by a primordial murder-sacrifice; by directing all antagonism towards a scapegoat, symbolizing the collective misdeeds, it brought peace, order and differentiation to society (*Violence*). Scubla goes further and argues that for the social order to be patriarchal, another ancient rivalry had to come to an end—the one between man and woman. This sexual conflict did not end in collective murder as in the original antagonism, but scapegoating there was: women were expelled from the main culture to play a very minor role.

Men, says Scubla, assigned to themselves the cultural privilege of religion in order to dissimulate, as best they could, the privilege of procreation held naturally by women ... if women are the only ones who can give life to children 'naturally,' only men can confer upon them 'cultural life;' furthermore, it is important to remember that only culture gives to humans their humanity. Thus the function of the initiation rites is to transform into genuine men 'those animals with human vocation' engendered by women. (106, 130-131, my translation)

In primitive societies, initiation represented for young adolescents a metaphorical new birth into a "cultural world," but this ritual especially conferred upon adult men the privilege of giving birth, in a manner somehow "better" than that of women. Let us remember that Plato in *The Symposium* distinguished women from men in the same misogynist fashion: if women give life to the body, how much more important is the role of men who give life to the mind and the spirit? Only men, he adds, can generate wisdom and all the other virtues, and can inspire them in other men. In a patriarchal society, the ideal couple is composed of a child-mother (the woman) and of an overestimated father who has usurped all maternal and other beneficial functions. Women's relations with the world rarely, if ever, outgrow the infantile mode, and will always be associated with violence and evil in order to undercut their power to procreate. That is why in many myths like that of Adam and Eve, women have sole responsibility for the emergence of violence and evil in the world.

Fairy tales, in a minor way, narrate as do myths the passage from the ill-starred generating power of a feminine Nature to the lifesaving protective culture of the father, and the urgency of rescuing children from the first female force which is associated with the Witch.[11] Man the saviour, in appropriating for himself the uterus, gives birth anew to the little boy and in a lesser degree, to the little girl, integrating them into the social, moral and intellectual life of a community. By the same token, maternal power is annihilated to the advantage of the authority of the father and the husband. Thus, when the fairy tale ends, the mother-witch is replaced by a submissive young girl who helps to perpetuate the male's power. Gretel gives the jewels of the Witch to her now widowed father, and under his protection she will live happily forever after. Little Red Riding Hood, red with the blood of her first menstruation, must be born to the paternal order with the help of a brave hunter who is metamorphosed into a "male midwife." As for the grandmother-wolf, the maternal principle, in some versions her womb will be filled with stones, a sign of sterility which is determined by the "life giving" hunter.[12]

From now on, the fairy tale woman can do nothing but swear obedience and follow the example and counsel of the "good mother;" enclosed in the narrow space of her home, she now serves with all her heart the patriarchal order which has vanquished her "at the beginning of time." Snow White represents with remarkable succinctness this "whitening," this neutralization of women. Entirely under the control of the male gaze of the dwarfs, this virgin housewife at the service of men is a very harmful role model. The danger that she may wander from the straight path traced for her is constantly present, because of her credulity, her vanity and her sensuality—three flaws which bring back to mind the three vices inherent in women according to the *Malleus*. Like Eve's sin in Eden, Snow White's misfortune is brought on her because of the third perversion; the tempting but poisoned red apple represents both the mortal dangers of menstrual blood and of erotic pleasure outside patriarchal norms. At the end of

this tale, the destiny of the two feminine characters is very significant. Snow White is reborn to the world, thanks to her "prince charming" who by his title participates in the patriarchal hierarchy. In *Sleeping Beauty*, the prince's kiss gives back life to the young girl, just as God does, who in Genesis blows life into his first creature. As for the stepmother-witch, she finds death in an infernal dance, squeezed unrelentingly into red-hot shoes, symbols of the dangerous sexual organs of women which in insatiable frenzy can cause the death of women themselves. Only masculine control of women and their reproductive power can save them from their own destruction and assure the continuity of the social order.

The historical and anthropological figure of the Witch, then, moves beyond the confines of the psychoanalytic interpretation. Nevertheless, the different points of view are not incompatible with each other. Psychology as "scientific" discipline, in fact, appeared only when man experienced difficulties in integrating himself into his community, moving away and differentiating himself from his collective group. When, instead of being lived through rituals and rules, myth was projected into the psyche, the initial antagonism of males against women was transposed to the individual level in the modern family. As it comes into contact with the collective unconscious through the study of fairy tales, psychoanalysis gains insight which may be very helpful not only in our social and personal interactions, but in our reading of literature and our understanding of dreams. The resulting psycho-historical reading of the fairy tales may help us to perceive the dangers of an absence of males and their exclusion from the mothering process.[13] But, in turn, people may no longer view so naïvely certain things which appear trivial, like the witch of cotton or straw that is hanging in the kitchen, the comic strip *Broom Hilda*, or children's drawings and masquerades on October 31st.

NOTES

1 This is a revised and translated version of a text presented at the 30th annual meeting of the Canadian Association of University & College Teachers of French (CAUCTF), McMaster University, Hamilton (Ontario, Canada), May 26-28, 1988. The author would like to thank Dr. Gillian Adams for her very helpful comments.

2 Modern witches have dissociated themselves from the old malevolent stereotype. Contrary to popular belief, no neopagan faith worships the Christian Devil. Neopaganism (cf. its categories: Druidism, Egyptian, Erisian, Pagan Eclectic, and Wicca) proposes alternative ways of looking at the world, advocating, among other things, feminism and environmentalism. For example, see Starhawk and Rupert Sheldrake.

3 For a comprehensive survey, see Joseph Klaits.

4 See Jeffrey B. Russell: "Among the most terrible Sumerian demons was Ardat Lili or Lititu, a cousin of the Graeco-Roman Lamia and the prototype of the Hebrew Lilith. Lilitu was a frigid, barren female spirit with wings and taloned hands and feet; accompanied by owls and lions she swept shrieking through the night, seducing sleeping men or drinking their blood. Another female demon, Labartu, went out with a serpent in each hand and attacked children and their mothers or nurses ... The image of the sorcerer in Classical literature is almost uniformly dark: Circe the seductress, Media the murderess, Ovid's Dipsias, Apuleius Oenothes, and especially

the Canidia and Sagana of Horace ... This literary tradition of the evil sorceress readily supported the later Christian image of the witch" (29,31).

5 Although in our days the Oedipus Complex is often scorned, some psychoanalysts still consider it more than a useful metaphor. Even Winnicott—who is popular with American feminists and who is criticized by certain psychoanalysts for neglecting the role of the Oedipus complex (see Clancier and Kalmonovitch 95)—regards it as "a central fact, infinitely elaborated and modified, but inescapable. Psychology built on a hushing up of this central theme would have been doomed to failure, and therefore one cannot help being grateful to Freud ..." (*The child* 148). Winnicott adds though that "the nature of the parents, the place of the child in the family, and other factors all affect the pattern and distort the classical picture which is known as the Oedipus complex" (*Home* 185). See also *Through paediatrics* 318. Christiane Olivier, a renowned French psychoanalyst, is worth citing: "I think that outright rejection of Freud's discoveries, which is what feminists want, may well mean denying ourselves [women] access to an approach whose main lines have already been laid down ... And the way we shall do so is by going back to Freud and making a fresh start, repudiating his anti-feminism" (*Jocasta* 6).

6 There are many versions of these tales. We have used here the Grimm's brothers adaptations (*Grimms' fairy tales*) because they are (with Perrault's) the most widely read or seen on film by twentieth century children. Behind the popularity of those particular forms of the tales, one should see the more or less conscious need of the patriarchal bourgeois elite to curb and regulate family relations and sexual drives. According to Jack Zipes, Perrault's fairy tales, like Grimm's, "provided behavioral patterns and models for children which were intended to reinforce the prestige and superiority of bourgeois-aristocratic values and styles. Like the civilizing process itself, the tales also perpetuated strong notions of male dominance ..." (*Trials* 13). See also Zipes (*Brothers Grimm* 74). For the manuscripts to the seventh edition of Grimm's *Snow White* and *Hansel and Gretel*, see John M. Ellis (145-194).

7 See Winnicott on the universal fear of women to be found in both men and women: "The root of this fear of *woman* is known. It is related to the fact that in the early history of every individual who develops well, and who is sane, and who has been able to find himself, there is a debt to a woman—the woman who was devoted to that individual as an infant, and whose devotion was absolutely essential for that individual's healthy development. The original dependence is not remembered, and therefore the debt is not acknowledged, except in so far as the fear of *woman* represents the first stage of this acknowledgement ... *One of the roots of the need to be dictator can be a compulsion to deal with this fear of woman by encompassing her and acting for her* ... The dictator can be overthrown, and must eventually die; but the woman figure of primitive unconscious fantasy has no limits to her existence or power" (*The family* 164-165).

8 Winnicott underlines the "*experience of omnipotence*" that, at the beginning, the baby feels when living in the "subjective world" of the mother (*Home* 23): "At the beginning omnipotence is almost a fact of experience. The mother's eventual task is gradually to disillusion the infant ... for the child, the 'black mummy' mean[s] that hate (or dis-illusion) had made its appearance" (Clancier and Kalmanovitch 47,48). The answer to this conflict for Winnicott is the "good-enough mother": not the good or bad mother, but, the one who is "enough" that, at the right moment, one can do without her. From absolute dependence, slowly the infant is on the road to more independence. A study of this interdependence between child and mother in relation with the "intern mediation" of René Girard's theory (see *Des choses* 422-430) and the "double bind" of Gregory Bateson demonstrates the importance of the effects of this first "battle of wills" in the development of children. If we consider the historical point of view, it should be stated that in witch hunts children often bring charges against their parents and that the women charged are at least one generation older (see Klaits 126). Finally, it should be reminded that in the Jungian *anima*, it is still possible to recognize "the two-faced mother (fairy/witch)." According to Marie-Louise von Franz, "[It] indicate[s] the feminine aspect of man's psyche that is first embodied in the mother-imago ... It is actually the power that stands behind all love entanglements and behind most marital conflicts. The anima appears as an irrational sort of temperament, or disposition ... that disposes his feelings to warmth or *joie de vivre* or to cold and

lackluster outlook, that fills him with enthusiasm or revulsion, seduces him to lust and 'sin,' and also finally brings him an awakening to himself" (123-124). It should be pointed out that Jung's concept of the *anima* is still bound by the patriarchal misogynistic tradition, for example, when he states "there are naturally fields of experience in a man which, for woman, are still wrapped in the shadows of non-differentiation ... (Jung 95). See also Jung's analysis of the "mother archetype" in its ambivalent aspect (109-112).

9 If, in fairy tales, the fairy is not menacing it is because she is helpful (cf. the "good" mother). Her power is at the service of the protagonist.

10 For a persuasive argument of the historicity of female subordination, see Gerda Lerner, *The creation of patriarchy*. In the first third of her book *L'Un est l'autre*, Elisabeth Badinter demonstrates that if sexual division in tasks and functions existed in the first 30,000 years of humanity, no one sex had a definitive power over the other. Although separate, both sexes needed each other economically, and respected each other's prerogative (men—defending and hunting; women—childbearing/nurturing, gathering, and gardening).

11 About "the patriarchalization of matrilineal tales, which began in the oral tradition itself, as matriarchal societies were conquered or underwent changes by themselves," see Zipes (*Brothers Grimm* 135-146).

12 It may be remarked in passing that Arabs living in the desert place small stones in the uterus of their female camels in order to prevent pregnancy.

13 Several well-known feminist writers, Jean Baker Miller, Dorothy Dinnerstein, and Nancy Chodorow, building upon earlier work (Winnicott), have argued that much of the malaise of both sexes is the result of child care arrangements in which the mother in the nuclear family is involved in early child care, whereas the father remains relatively emotionally remote from the child. As a solution, Olivier suggests that: "One sex must step back so that the other can take its place in the child's Oedipal configuration. Can women face giving away so much? Can men face taking on their share of Oedipal power [... so that they] will feel far less needed to defend themselves against [women's] power when grown up [?]" (51-50).

WORKS CITED

Badinter, Elisabeth. *L'Un est l'autre*. Paris: Éditions Odile Jacob, 1986.

Bateson, Gregory. *Steps to an ecology of mind*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1972.

Bettelheim, Bruno. *Symbolic wounds*. New York: Collier Books, 1962.

Burke, Peter. *Popular culture in early modern Europe*. New York: Harper & Row, 1978.

Chodorow, Nancy. *The reproduction of mothering: Psychoanalysis and the sociology of gender*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.

Clancier, Anne and Jeannine Kalmanovitch. *Winnicott and paradox from birth to creation*. London and New York: Tavistock Publications, 1987.

Dinnerstein, Dorothy. *The mermaid and the Minotaur*. New York: Harper and Row, 1976.

Durand, Gilbert. *Les structures anthropologiques de l'imaginaire*. Paris: Bordas, 1969.

Ellis, John M. *One fairy story too many*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1983.

Girard, René. *Des choses cachées depuis la fondation du monde*. 1978. Paris: Grasset & Fasquelle, 1983.

—. *Violence and sacred*. Trans. Patrick Gregory. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977.

Grimms' fairy tales. Trans. Peter Carter. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Hensches, Julius E. *A psychiatric study of myths and fairy tales*. Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas Publisher, 1974.

Herdt, Gilbert H., ed. *Rituals of manhood*. Berkely: University of California Press, 1982.

Jung, Carl-Gustav. *Aspects of the feminine*. Trans. R.F.C. Hull. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.

Klaits, Joseph. *Servants of Satan: The age of the witch hunts*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985.

Lerner, Gerda. *The creation of patriarchy*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
Malleus Maleficarum. London: The Pushkin Press, 1951.
Miller, Jean Baker. *Toward a new psychology of women*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1976.
Olivier, Christiane. *Jocasta's children: The imprint of the mother*. London: Routledge, 1989.
Russell, Jeffrey B. *A history of witchcraft*. London and New York: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1980.
Scubla, Lucien. "Contribution à la théorie du sacrifice." *René Girard et le problème du mal*. Ed. Michel Deguy and Jean-Pierre Dupuy. Paris: Grasset, 1982. 103-67.
Sheldrake, Rupert. *The Rebirth of nature: The greening of science and God*. New York: Bantam Books, 1991.
Starhawk. *The spiral dance: A rebirth of the ancient religion of the Great Goddess*. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1979.
Tortel, Jean. "Le Roman populaire." *Entretiens sur la paralittérature*. Ed. Noël Arnaud et al. Paris: Plon, 1971. 53-75.
von Franz, Marie-Louise. *Projection and re-collection in Jungian Psychology*. Trans. W.H. Kennedy. La Salle & London: Open Court, 1980.
Winnicott, Donald Woods. *The child, the family, and the outside world*. Penguin Books Ltd., 1967.
—. *The family and individual development*. London: Tavistock Publications Ltd., 1969.
—. *Home is where we start from*. New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1986.
—. *Through Paediatrics to Psycho-analysis*. London: The Hogarth Press, 1975.
Zipes, Jack. *The brothers Grimm*. New York and London: Routledge, 1988.
—.*The trials & tribulations of "Little Red Riding Hood"*. South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey Publishers, Inc., 1984.

Victor-Laurent Tremblay *teaches literature in the French Department at Wilfrid Laurier University.*